The World of Rituals: Masters of Ceremonies (*Lisheng*), Ancestral Cults, Community Compacts, and Local Temples in Late Imperial Sibao, Fujian

by

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Abstract

From the establishment of the Ming to the fall of the Qing (1368-1911), the social and cultural scene of the Chinese countryside was greatly transformed. Lineages became the dominant social organization in many areas. Local temples became a familiar part of the rural landscape. Local culture was increasingly exposed to the influence of regional culture and gentry culture with the proliferation of market towns, the development of the printing industry and the rise of literacy. By investigating the history of ritual specialists and their rituals in a sub-county area in southeast China, this thesis shows how these social and cultural transformations took place and how the local population experienced them. *Lisheng* or masters of ceremonies, the focus of this thesis, played and still play an important role in the local social and symbolic life. Either along with or in the absence of other ritual specialists, they guided the laity through ritual procedures to communicate with ancestors, gods, and the dead. These rituals, and also the related liturgical texts, were the outcome of social and cultural transformations in the late imperial period. Through a detailed discussion of the history of the three important local institutions that were closely related to *lisheng* and their rituals, namely, lineages, community compacts, and temple networks, the thesis shows the limitations of the elitist interpretation of late imperial cultural transformations. Cultural integration and gentrification were without doubt important aspects of these processes. However, both may have oversimplified the complexity of the processes and exaggerate the influence of high culture. Cultural hybridization, the process in which elements from different cultural traditions were synthesized into a new, constantly changing cultural mosaic, provides a multipolar, interactional, and thus more complex approach to our understanding of cultural processes in late imperial China.

Résumé

Depuis l'établissement des Ming jusqu'à la chute des Qing (1368-1911), le paysage socioculturel de la campagne chinoise s'est grandement transformé. Les lignages devinrent l'organisation sociale dominante dans de nombreux endroits. Les temples locaux devinrent une partie familière du paysage rural. La culture locale fut de plus en plus exposée à l'influence de la culture régionale et la culture des notables avec la prolifération des villes marchandes, le développement de l'imprimerie et l'essor de l'alphabétisation. En examinant l'histoire des spécialistes du rituel et de leurs rituels dans une communauté du sud-est de la Chine, la présente thèse montre comment ces transformations sociales et culturelles se sont produites, et quel en fut leur expérience par la population locale. Les *lisheng*, soit les maîtres des cérémonies, sujet central de notre thèse, ont joué et jouent encore un rôle important dans la vie locale sociale et symbolique. Soit en compagnie avec, soit en absence d'autres spécialistes des rituels, ils ont guidés les laïques par le biais de procédures rituelles à communiquer avec les ancêtres, les dieux, et les morts. Ces rituels, et aussi les textes liturgiques associés sont la résultante de transformations sociales et culturelles de la fin de la période impériale. Par le biais d'une discussions détaillées de l'histoire des trois institutions locales importantes étroitement liées aux *lisheng* et à leurs rituels : les lignages, les covenants communautaires, et les réseaux de temples, notre thèse montre les limites d'une interprétations élitiste des transformations culturelles de la fin de la période impériale. L'intégration culturelle et l'embourgeoisement ont été sans aucun doute d'importants aspects de ces processus. Mais l'accent qui leur a été mis a eu pour conséquence une simplification excessive de ces processus et une exagération de l'influence de la culture de l'élite. L'hybridation culturelle, le processus par lequel des éléments de différentes traditions culturelles entrent dans la synthèse d'une nouvelle mosaïque culturelle, nous apporte une approche multipolaire, interactive, et ainsi plus complexe, pour notre compréhension des processus culturels de la fin de la période impériale en Chine.

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Terms for Measures and Money

Area:

1 *mu* = 0.077 hectare

1 *tiao* = 1/3 *mu* = 0.0257 hectare

Capacity:

1 *shi/dan* = 67 liters or 99 quarts

Weight:

1 *shi/dan* = 133 lbs

1 *shi/dan* = 100 *jin* = 16 taels (*liang*)

1 *hu* = 30 kg

Length:

1 *li* = 1/3 mile

Money:

1 tael (*liang*) = 37.8 grams of silver

1 tael (*liang*) = 10 mace (*qian*) = 10 candareen (*fen*)

1 silver dollar (*yuan*) = 10 *jiao*

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Chapter I

Introduction

For historians working on the society and culture of China, the Ming and Qing dynasties are a period meriting special attention. Within this period, the social and cultural landscape of the Chinese countryside was greatly transformed. Lineage became the dominant social organization in many areas, especially in central and south China. Local temples, which began to be established in great numbers in the Song, became a familiar part of the rural landscape in the Ming and Qing. The community compact (*xiangyue*), whether initiated by officials or by the local elite, achieved some importance and changed into village alliances in many places. Local culture was increasingly exposed to the influence of regional culture and gentry culture with the proliferation of market towns, the development of the printing industry and the rise of literacy. How were these transformations made possible? How did local society experience them? How should we approach and interpret these transformations? Anthropologists and social historians alike have offered many interesting insights, which provide important points of departure.

Theoretical Considerations

Lineages, Temples and Community Compacts

Given their special interest in social structure, it should not surprise us that social anthropologists were among the first group of researchers who offered serious studies on Chinese society and culture. In the late 1950s and mid-1960s, the British social anthropologist Maurice Freedman offered a systematic analysis of social structure in

southeastern China. He focused on lineage, which he regarded as the dominant social organization in that part of China. He found in the Chinese lineage a corporate group composed of segments. The emergence of segments "depended not simply upon ancestor worship as such but upon the endowment of special places of worship." Therefore, "ritually expressed segmentation of this order depended directly upon economic resources. Without a hall and land or other property to support it, a segment could not come into being and perpetuate itself."[1] Freedman argued further that this system was compatible with Chinese social structure. The state had long before come into being and played an important role in Chinese society. Social differentiation had long been a characteristic of Chinese society. It would be difficult to imagine how the kinship system could not have been influenced by these factors. Indeed, Freedman saw Chinese lineage as the social and economic modification of a genealogical principle. His typology of Chinese lineage was based on the extent of the differentiation in social status.[2] Freedman did not regard the lineage organization as a nation-wide phenomenon. He claimed that it was only regional, concentrated in southeastern and, to a lesser degree, central China. This he explained was due to three reasons. The rice economy allowed dense populations to build up on small surfaces of land. The making of channels, dams, terraces, and all other facilities of wet rice agriculture also required a great investment of labor and intensive co-operation, which encouraged the appearance of lineage organization. The concern of defense in a frontier area remote from the central government also "stimulated the growth of relatively independent and tightly settled local lineage[s]."[3]

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[1] Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: Athlone Press, 1958), 48.

[2] Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*, 131.

[3] Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* (London: Athlone Press, 1966), 159-163.

Freedman's model has raised some important issues, but it also has many problems. His explanation of the distribution of lineages has been shown to be problematic. In Taiwanese frontier society, lineages show signs of agnatic atrophy rather than strength.[4] Freedman's speculation that lineage organization exists only in southeastern and central China also needs correction. The monographs of Hilary J. Beattie, Jerry Dennerline, and Harriet Zurndorfer demonstrate that lineages were relatively strong in central and eastern China, too.[5] The studies of Prasenjit Duara and Myron Cohen suggest that lineages also exist in north China, though they are of a different kind.[6] Freedman assumed that Chinese lineages developed from a single, founding ancestor through a "natural" process of segmentary growth. The findings of Jack Potter and James L. Watson support this assumption.[7] However, this process of lineage formation was not the only model of development. Rubie S. Watson found a localized descent group in the New Territories, Hong Kong, which was created by a process involving the amalgamation of previously separate units into a unified lineage organization. This process is characterized by fusion rather than fission. This form of lineage building was actually quite common in south China.[8]

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[4] Burton Pasternak, "The Role of the Frontier in Chinese Lineage Development," *Journal of Asian Studies* 28.4 (1969), 551-561.

[5] Hilary Beattie, *Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T'ung-ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Harriet T. Zurndorfer, *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History: The Development of Huichou Prefecture, 800 to 1800* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990).

[6] Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Myron Cohen, "Lineage Organization in North China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 49.3 (1990), 509-534.

[7] Jack Potter, *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968); James Watson, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

[8] Rubie Watson, "The Creation of a Chinese Lineage: The Teng of Ha Tsuen, 1669-1751," *Modern Asian Studies* 16 (1982), 69-100; Rubie Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and*

By far the most critical problem of Freedman's model is that lineage in his perspective is essentially a timeless organization. A lineage comes into being naturally as long as its members set up an ancestral hall or put aside a certain amount of common property for the ancestral cult. This perspective proved to be problematic because lineages in Freedman's definition did not really exist before the Ming. In the 1980s, both anthropologists and social historians attempted to historicize the Chinese lineage. Rubie Watson's study of lineage formation in Hong Kong involves historical analysis of a single lineage. She tries to show that lineages were actually a "creation" of social and economic changes in south China.[9] This concern for historical context and changes over time became highly visible from the 1980s onward. More and more social historians took an interest in Chinese kinship organization and devoted themselves to the study of the historical contexts within which lineages grew. Dialogues between social historians and social anthropologists also began and resulted in several important studies.[10] Social historians took an interest in Chinese kinship organization mainly because an understanding of kinship systems was crucial to the exploration of historical issues concerning social mobility, the power and resources of the elite, as well as the dynamics of local society. Their studies show that the localized lineages found in southeastern

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Kinship in South China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). See also Hugh D. R. Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968); Pasternak, "The Role of the Frontier in Chinese Lineage Development;" Cohen, "Agnatic Kinship in South Taiwan," *Ethnology* 8.2 (1969), 167-182; Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿, *Ming Qing Fujian jiazu zuzhi yu shehui bianqian* 明清福建家族組織與社會變遷 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992). English translation: *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian* (Trans. Michael Szonyi. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

[9] Rubie Watson, "The Creation of a Chinese Lineage: The Teng of Ha Tsuen, 1669-1751."

[10] James L. Watson, "Chinese Kinship Reconsidered: Anthropological Perspectives on Historical Research," *China Quarterly* 92 (1982), 589-622; Denis C. Twitchett, "Comments on J. L. Watson's Article," *China Quarterly* 92 (1982), 623-627; Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, 1000-1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

China did not become common until after the mid-Ming.[11] They also suggest that the popularization of lineages was closely related to the shift of strategy of the elite from professionalism to localism.[12] Finally, some scholars hold that the process of lineage building was closely connected to Confucian discourse in the late imperial period.[13]

Proceeding from an historical analysis of lineages, some scholars also touched upon the problem of the unity and diversity of Chinese society and culture. Patricia B. Ebrey and James L. Watson believe that the study of kinship organization is "one of the best ways to approach the coexisting uniformities and variations of Chinese society."[14] Unfortunately they did not explore this problem in their book. David Faure, Liu Zhiwei, and Zheng Zhenman addressed this problem but reached different conclusions. Faure and Liu see the spread of Freedman-type lineages, especially ornate ancestral halls, as a process of gentrification and cultural integration,[15] whereas Zheng suggests instead that this process involved the "popularization" and thus localization of Confucian culture and

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[11] Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, eds. *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China*, 16-61; Chen Zhiping 陳支平, *Jin 500 nian lai de Fujian jiazu shehui yu wenhua* 近 500 年來福建家族社會與文化 (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1990); Zheng Zhenman, *Ming Qing Fujian jiazu zuzhi yu shehui bianqian.*

[12] Robert M. Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982), 365-442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[13] Denis C. Twitchett, "The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate, 1050-1760," in David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 97-133; Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization;" Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[14] Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, "Introduction," in Ebrey and Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, xi.*

[15] David Faure, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1986); Faure, "The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta," *Modern China* 15.1 (1989), 4-36; Ke Dawei 科大衛 (David Faure) and Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, "Zongzu yu difang shehui de guojia rentong: Ming Qing Huanan diqu zongzu fazhan de yishixingtai jichu" 宗族與地方社會的國家認同: 明清華南地區宗族發展的意識形態基礎, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 3 (2000), 3-14.

value.[16] The recent work of Michael Szonyi attempts to pursue an alternative approach to the interpretation of the development of Chinese lineage, arguing that kinship practice reflected the outcome of strategies by both elite and non-elite groups.[17]

These recent works are very important for our understanding of social and cultural history in the Ming and Qing periods. They indicate that we cannot explain lineage on its own terms. Instead, we should put it back into its social, cultural, and historical settings. It is important to pay attention to national and regional Neo-Confucian discourse in the period under discussion, but it is also critical to focus on the social structure and cultural dynamism of the community within which the lineage was built and functioned. Only at this level can we make sense of the social and cultural processes we mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.

Freedman's model has yet another problem: the importance of the lineage is emphasized at the expense of neglecting the rural population's religious life. It is true that Freedman does not ignore Chinese religion and ritual completely. He devotes some chapters to discussing ancestor worship and geomancy. But he hardly mentions the beliefs and rituals related to local patron gods. In contrast, his contemporary sociologist, C. K. Yang, recognizes the importance of Chinese religious life and offers an overall analysis of this subject. Chinese religion is, according to Yang, composed of two structural forms: institutional religion and diffused religion. The latter is "with its theology, rituals, and organization intimately merged with the concepts and structure of

[16] Zheng Zhenman, *Ming Qing Fujian jiazu zuzhi yu shehui bianqian*, 227-241.

[17] Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

secular institutions and other aspects of the social order."[18] "The beliefs and rituals of diffused religion," he maintains, "develop their organizational system as an integral part of the organized social pattern." Religion in the diffused form "performs a pervasive function in an organized manner in every major aspect of Chinese social life."[19] This approach to religion stresses the importance of religion for the understanding of Chinese society and of society for the understanding on Chinese religion.

Following Yang's functionalist explanation, two approaches developed to analyze the interplay between religion and Chinese society. The first approach discussed how the supernatural world reflects Chinese society, while the second investigated how religion provides the focus and a framework for the organization of Chinese society. Arthur Wolf's analysis of Taiwanese popular religion falls into the first category. According to him, there are three classes of supernatural beings: gods, ghosts, and ancestors. Taiwanese treat them in different ways. Gods are powerful and represent public morality, while ancestors are relatively weak and concerned only with their own welfare and that of their descendants. The peasant's attitude to the gods is similar to their attitude towards government officials, and their attitude to the ancestors parallels their attitude towards kinsmen. On the other hand, the ghosts offer men nothing but misfortune of every kind. They are demons and devils, or, in other words, the replication of outsiders, especially bandits and beggars.[20] To sum up, the supernatural is a replication of Chinese society. This functionalist interpretation of Chinese religion has aroused much criticism. Stevan Sangren argues that the most remarkable thing in Chinese popular religion is not that the gods are the replication of officialdom, the ancestors that of

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[18] C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 20.

[19] Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society, ibid.*

[20] Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors," in Arthur P. Wolf, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 131-182.

kinsmen, or the ghosts that of outsiders. Rather, it is that the difference between the gods, the ghosts, and the ancestors and, more essentially, the binary opposition of *yin* and *yang* provides a reference framework for social classification.[21]

The second approach is more relevant to our discussion. This approach has its clear expression in the study of *jisiquan* 祭祀圈 (*saishi ken* in Japanese, or sacrificial sphere, i.e., cult territory). Anthropologists have used a variety of different concepts to discuss how territorial cults function as "social glue" for social solidarity: temple community, neighborhood cult association, festival organization, festival area, and so forth. From early 1970s onward *jisiquan*, a term put forward by Okata Ken 岡田謙 in the 1930s, has achieved some form of popularity.[22] *Jisiquan* is, according to Lin Meirong 林美容, "a territorial unit whose members collectively offer sacrificial offerings to the god(s) they worship."[23] According to Lin's definition, *jisiquan* is focused on local patron gods. Its membership is ascriptive. Its activity is basically calendrical. These features differentiate it from *xinyangquan* 信仰圈 (sphere of worship), which is focused on the voluntary regional cult of a god.[24] The change from *jisiquan* to *xinyangquan*, Lin suggests, indicates the transformation of society. This concept is very important for our

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[21] Steven Sangren, *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987). We need also to know that ghosts can become gods, and that the structure of contemporary gods does not represent imperial bureaucracy that disappeared over ninety years ago. See C. Stevan Harrell, "When a Ghost becomes a God," in Wolf, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, 193-206.

[22] Okata Ken, "Taiwan hokubu sōraku ni okeru saishiken" 台灣北部村落に於ける祭祀圈, *Minzokugaku kenkyū* 民族學研究 4.1 (1938), 1-22.

[23] Lin Meirong, "Cong jisiquan dao xinyangquan-Taiwan minjian shehui de diyu goucheng yu fazhan" 從祭祀圈到信仰圈-台灣民間社會的地域構成與發展, in Zhang Yanxian 張炎憲, ed., *Zhongguo haiyang fazhan shi lunwenji* 中國海洋發展史論文集 (Taipei: Zhongshan renwen shehui kexue yanjiusuo, Academia Sinica, 1988) III, 93.

[24] Lin Meirong, "Cong jisiquan dao xinyangquan," 101-106. For some criticism of these concepts, see Zhang Xun 張珣, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renleixue Hanren zongjiao yanjiu zhi huigu" 光復後台灣人類學漢人宗教研究之回顧, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院民族學研究集刊 81 (Spring 1996), 186-189; Zheng Zhenman, "Shenmiao jidian yu shequ fazhan moshi-Putian Jiangkou pingyuan de lizheng" 神廟祭典與社區發展模式-莆田江口平原的例證, *Shilin* 史林 1 (1995), 46-47.

understanding of Chinese society, for it directs our attention from kinship ties to territorial bonds. It thus helps avoid some problems of Freedman's model and provides an alternative perspective on Chinese society other than kinship.

Recent literature on Chinese religion has made much progress on the interplay between territorial cults and rural society. But as for the process through which temples entered villagers' everyday life, our study has just begun.[25] For the author's purposes, this is an important issue. Contemporary ethnographic reports of the religious aspects of rural society should not blind us to the fact that village temples, too, have their own history. When and why did the rural population devote themselves to the establishment of temples within their villages? How was the development of local temple networks related to different historical agendas? These are questions scholars seldom ask, but they are important questions nevertheless. Whatever the answers, one thing is important when investigating local religion. We should, on the one hand, investigate regional and national factors and, on the other hand, discuss it in its local settings: the overall social structure and cultural tradition of the locality under discussion.

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[25] Chen Chunsheng 陳春聲, "Sheshen chongbai yu shequ diyu guanxi-Zhanglin Sanshan guowang de yanjiu" 社神崇拜與社區地域關係-樟林三山國王的研究, *Zhongshan daxue shixue jikan* 中山大學史學集刊 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1994) 2, 90-105; Chen Chunsheng, "Xinyang kongjian yu shequ lishi de yanbian-Yi Zhanglin shenmiao xitong wei zhongxin" 信仰空間與社區歷史的演變-以樟林神廟系統為中心, *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 2 (1999), 1-13; Liu Yonghua 劉永華, "Wenhua chuantong de chuangzao yu shequ de bianqian-Guanyu Longyan Shizhong lanpen shenghui de kaocha" 文化傳統的創造與社區的變遷-關於龍巖適中蘭盆勝會的攷察, *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國社會經濟史研究 3 (1994): 57-69; Liu Zhiwei, "Shenming de zhengtongxing yu difanghua-Guanyu Zhujiang sanjiaozhou Beidi chongbai de yige jieshi" 神明的正統性與地方化: 關於珠江三角洲北帝崇拜的一個解釋, *Zhongshan daxue shixue jikan* 2, 107-125; Zhao Shiyu 趙世瑜, *Kuanghuan yu richang: Ming Qing yilai de miaohui yu mianjian shehui* 狂歡與日常: 明清以來的廟會與民間社會 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2002); Zheng Zhenman, "Putian Jiangkou pingyuan de lishe yu cunmiao" 莆田江口平原的里社與村廟, in Zhou Tianyou 周天遊, ed., *Diyu shehui yu chuantong Zhongguo* (Xi'an: Xibei daxue chubanshe, 1995), 112-117; Zheng Zhenman, "Shenmiao jidian yu shequ fazhan moshi-Putian Jiangkou pingyuan de lizheng." Wang Mingming's essay, "Place, Administration, and Territorial Cults in Late Imperial China: A Case Study from South Fujian (Quanzhou)," *Late Imperial China* 16.1 (June 1995), 33-78, deals with the evolution of local religion in an urban context.

It should not be forgotten that village temples belong to the religious tradition anthropologists usually call "folk religion" and "popular religion."[26] The author prefers "local religion,"[27] for this term not only refers to the local settings within which belief is transmitted and ritual performed, but also implies that they do not belong to a self-contained system, but may have complicated relationships with other religious and cultural traditions. Local religion has a close connection to official religion, Taoist religion, and Buddhism, and is closely related to local culture as well. The modes of interaction between local religion and these traditions can be very different. From the point of view of official religion, many temples found in the countryside belonged to the category of "licentious temples" and the cult of the gods inside these temples should theoretically be suppressed. Given the persistent danger of suppression, local people adopted a range of strategies to make their cults look legitimate.[28] There is yet another mode of interaction between these two religious traditions. The detailed study of Zheng Zhenman on the southern Fujian temple system demonstrates that temples may have their origin in the cult of the *she* (god of the soil) of the early Ming. His evidence shows that many temples there seem to have evolved from the original *she*. He suggests that it is not completely wrong to equate *jisiquan* to the locally initiated autonomous organization, but

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[26] David Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: The Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972); Stephan Feuchtwang, *The Imperial Metaphor: Popular Religion in China* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[27] William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Robert P. Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

[28] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Michael Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing of Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.1 (1997), 113-135.

it is also important to remember that it had close connections to official religion.[29] This insight points to the problem of orthodoxy and symbolic power related to popular cults.

The relationship between local religion and institutional religions is also complicated. It is without doubt that Taoist religion has greatly influenced local religion, especially that of southeastern China, by imposing a "framework" within which local religion worked.[30] But it is also noteworthy that Taoist religion enriched itself by absorbing the elements of local religion. Where Taoist religion did not have a strong presence, specialists from other religious traditions played the role of Taoist priests. Even in an area where its presence was strong, it was not the only or even the dominant element. Often in community festivals, Taoist priests had to work side by side with ritual specialists such as the magical masters (*fashi*) or masters of ceremonies (*lisheng*): Taoist priests performed ritual, as Kristofer Schipper reports, in a sacred space inside the temple, and the magical masters, *fashi*, practiced outside the temple in public.[31]

When discussing *local* religion, we should also remember its local setting. Local culture may have great bearings on local religion, which is actually only a part of the former. This point is important if we bring into consideration the history of southeastern China. Although the incorporation of this region into the Chinese Empire started in the Han dynasty, it was not completed until the early Qing. Even after this region was incorporated into the empire administratively, the state's presence was by no means

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[29] Zheng Zhenman, "Putian Jiangkou pingyuan de lishe yu cunmiao," 112-117; Kenneth Dean, "Transformations of the *She* (Altars of the Soil) in Fujian," in F. Verellen, ed., *Cults of Saints/Cults of Sites, Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1998), 19-75.

[30] Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Trans. Karen Duval. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Religion in Southeastern China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[31] Cited in Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 10. See also Fong-mao Lee [Li Fengmao] 李豐楙, "Lisheng yu daoshi: Taiwan minjian shehui zhong liyi shijian de liangge mianxiang" 禮生與道士: 台灣民間社會中禮儀實踐的兩個面向, in Wang Qiugui 王秋桂, Zhuang Yingzhang 莊英章, and Chen Zhongmin 陳中民, eds., *Shehui, minzu yu wenhua zhanyan guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* 社會、民族與文化展演國際研討會論文集 (Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies, 2001), 331-364.

strong, especially in those politically peripheral and frontier areas. As a result, indigenous culture may have had a stronger presence than in other regions and indigenous religious elements may have been modified but nevertheless have not been eliminated within the period under discussion. Another result is that the state, with its weak administrative machinery, was obliged to resort to instruments of ideological control such as community compacts to educate and "civilize" the people there.

The community compact was a Neo-Confucian device designed to educate the common people. As practiced in the late imperial period, it was often also a multi-village alliance centered on a local temple. The community compact has its origins in the *Rituals of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮). It was first proposed by Lü Dajun 呂大鈞 (1031-1082) in the Northern Song and became famous due to Zhu Xi 朱熹's advocacy.[32] But it was not until the Ming and Qing periods that community compacts became a popular social and political institution. The establishment of community compacts was first advocated in the fifteenth century by a handful of scholar-literati. At the turn of the sixteenth century, when the state met with Mongol invasions, the *wokou* 倭寇 bandits, and peasant uprisings, more and more compacts were initiated to resolve these problems. The tendency continued until the fall of the Ming. When the Manchus conquered China proper, they adopted the community compact and implemented it throughout the empire. It became an instrument of ideological control and continued to exist well into the twentieth century in some rural areas.[33]

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[32] Monika Übelhör, "The Community Compact (Hsiang-yueh) of the Sung and Its Educational Significance," in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 371-388.

[33] Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960).

Recent studies on the community compact emphasize the role that scholar-literati played in its initiation and its connection to the state. Kung-chuan Hsiao's pioneer study in the early 1960s regards the community compact as a form of state control.[34] Monika Übelhör's study of this subject in the Song dynasty focuses on the representation of the community compact in Neo-Confucian discourse.[35] The study of Kandice Hauf focuses on the practice of community compacts in Ji'an 吉安 Prefecture, Jiangxi 江西, in the sixteenth century, but nevertheless takes the same viewpoint. She discusses the use of community compact by the Jiangyou 江右 group of Wang Yangming 王陽明's followers in Ji'an Prefecture.[36] Cao Guoqing 曹國慶 gives an overall survey of community compacts in the Ming dynasty. He suggests that the community compact was, depending on their initiators, composed of two forms: those initiated by the state and those by local people. But the local people in his study turn out to be official-literati. He comes to the conclusion that community compacts could easily turn into "the tool of government control."[37] Zhu Honglin 朱鴻林's recent article offers a case study of a community compact in a sixteenth-century Guangdong 廣東 community. This organization was initiated and managed by the famous Confucian Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 (1466-1560) and one of his pupils, a provincial degree-holder. Commenting on community compacts in the Ming dynasty, Zhu holds that, no matter who was the initiator, "in all cases the participation of the gentry is the norm, it is also the most important condition under

[34] Hsiao, *Rural China*.

[35] Übelhör, "The Community Compact (Hsiang-yueh) of the Sung and Its Educational Significance."

[36] Kandice Hauf, "The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji'an Prefecture, Jiangxi," *Late Imperial China* 17.2 (1996), 1-50.

[37] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu" 明代鄉約研究, *Wenshi* 文史 46 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 197-221.

which it came into being" (Zhu 2000: 148).[38] To sum up, most scholars see the community compact as the creation of either the imperial state or of official-literati with a strong Neo-Confucian orientation.[39]

Keeping this in mind, we can easily understand the nature and fate of the community compacts they discuss. Most community compacts were short-lived. Those initiated by Wang Yangming and his followers in Ji'an survived only a few years. Seldom did they last more than ten years. Only in two cases did they survive longer than thirty years.[40] Their activities as represented by these authors are also limited. They include gathering local people to read the *Sacred Edicts* (*shengyu* 聖諭), the classics, and the community compact, holding banquets, punishing those who did evil deeds and rewarding those who did good deeds, and settling local disputes.[41] Almost none of these studies, of which Zhu Honglin's article is perhaps the only exception, gives a clear, let alone a detailed, description of the economic, social, and cultural situation of those communities in which this institution was embedded. This results in their pessimistic appraisals. The community compacts as represented in these studies were unsuccessful social and political institutions without prolonged effects on rural society.

Representations of this kind are understandable given the limitation of written source material collected in libraries. But this should not become an excuse preventing us from reappraising the community compact. To overcome the biased views on this institution, we need to glean evidence from local documents, especially genealogies, and

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[38] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue" 明代嘉靖年間的增城沙堤鄉約, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 8 (n. s. 2000), 148.

[39] Joseph McDermott's study seems to be an exception, for it takes a more complicated perspective on community compacts. See Joseph P. McDermott, "Emperor, Élites, and Commoners: The Community Pact Ritual of the Late Ming," in Joseph P. McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 299-351.

[40] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 135-136.

[41] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu;" Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue."

conduct extensive fieldwork in village communities. Genealogies not only provide information on the community compacts themselves, they also inform us about the social contexts in which this institution was put into practice. So does oral history: we can get a clear picture of the spatial layout of the village community and of the way in which different aspects of rural life interacted. Both will inform us how community compacts were woven into the fabric of rural society.

From Gentry Studies to the Syncretic Field

The word "fabric" calls our attention to the interactive process between each aspect of rural society. How can we approach this process? The studies on the gentry in the 1960s addressed this problem by examining the upper echelon of rural society. They had every reason to take this approach: not only because the gentry had a pivotal importance in rural society, but also because the local society itself can be seen to some degree to be the result of gentry activism. According to these studies, the gentry was an elite group that held degrees either through examination success or less frequently by purchase. They enjoyed some legal and fiscal privileges such as favorable land tax rates and immunity from corporal punishment. They played important roles in education, public works, local defense, tax collection, and cultural leadership. They were also regarded as intermediaries between the imperial bureaucracy and the population at large.[42] In a word, gentry studies defines gentry as a status group and stresses its intermediate role between state and society.

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[42] Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955); Hsiao, *Rural China*; Chü T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

These assumptions have been called into question since the late 1960s. Frederic Wakeman, Philip A. Kuhn, and Keith Schoppa all assure us that we need a broader definition of local notables, a definition including those who did not hold degrees and titles but nevertheless played important roles at the local level.[43] Later studies attempted to offer a more specific description of local elites, giving them both spatial and temporal dimensions.[44] They not only located this group within the macroregional system proposed by G. William Skinner,[45] but also investigated their rise, change, and transformation. The recent work of Joseph W. Esherick and Mary Rankin pushes the study of local elites still further. They give a more complex definition of this group. Their approach emphasizes the study of local elites in their local settings, on the one hand, and the analysis of their relationship to national and regional economic, social, cultural, and political changes, on the other.[46]

It should be admitted that although the study of the local elites is very different from gentry studies, they have one thing in common: both focus on historical agency. The structure of rural society was either the condition under which they acted and thought or

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[43] Frederic Wakeman, *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Keith Schoppa, "The Composition and Functions of the Local Elite in Szechwan, 1851-1874," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 2.10 (1973), 7-23.

[44] Philip A. Kuhn and Susan Mann Jones, "Introduction," in Susan Mann Jones, ed., *Select Papers from the Center for Far Eastern Studies* 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979), *v-xix*; Hilary Beattie, *Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T'ung-ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elite and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Robert M. Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982), 365-442; Mary B. Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[45] G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977).

[46] Joseph W. Esherick and Mary B. Rankin, "Introduction," in Joseph W. Esherick and Mary B. Rankin, eds., *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

the creation of their activism. They thus stand for an agent-oriented approach to Chinese society. In contrast, the concept "cultural nexus of power" offers a structure-oriented approach to Chinese society. It is intended to bridge the gap between the half-isolated study of lineage organizations, territorial cults, marketing communities, voluntary associations, and other aspects of rural Chinese society and gives a general consideration of the way these aspects were interwoven. According to Prasenjit Duara, the advocate of this term, the cultural nexus is a set of segmentary hierarchies (lineages, markets), territorial hierarchies (temple cults), interpersonal networks (patron-client, master-disciple relationships), and voluntary associations (irrigation societies, guilds, spirit-writing cults). These hierarchies, networks, and associations converged around temples, altars, and monasteries.[47] Duara's conclusion is that this cultural nexus was destroyed first by Nationalist and then by Communist state-making from the 1920s to 1940s.

Its advantages notwithstanding, the basic trouble with this term is that it is a category without history, or, more exactly, without pre-history. When its history began, it became the target of the modern state and, we are told, was almost completely destroyed in three decades. We are not told when, how, and why it came into being. These questions are important for the author since he is concerned more about rural society and its changes than the process of state-making.[48] Now we know more about when, how, and why lineage organizations, territorial cults, community compacts, marketing communities, and other hierarchies, networks, and associations came into the life of village populace. But this knowledge is more often than not fragmentary. A complete picture of village life in late imperial China is still to be drawn. In this sense, we need to write a "pre-history" of the cultural nexus.

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[47] Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942.*

[48] Cf. Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 201-208.

Partly responding to the problems of the term "cultural nexus," Kenneth Dean put forward the idea of "the syncretic field." The syncretic field is, according to Dean, "[a]n irregular shaped, multidimensional force-field" that is "opened up around and between and polar attractors of *sheng* 聖 (Confucian sagehood) and *ling* 靈 (spiritual power) by the attraction and mutual repulsion of those centers."[49] The *sheng* center of attraction is characterized by forces of fusion manifested in the arenas of the nested hierarchy of the local cultural system, while the *ling* center of attraction is characterized by fission, pulling toward the *she* (altar of the soil), the smallest communal unit. Two lines cut across the force-field. A vertical, transversal, territorializing line constantly struggles to re-gather the local altar/community into the nested hierarchy. A horizontal line attempts to deterritorialize the field. The syncretic field is made irregular by social and cultural processes such as the localized lineages, the irrigation system, the administrative hierarchy, and, this author would like to add, community compacts. Finally, the syncretic field is "actualized" in each ritual-event through "folding the entire field into itself and redistributing it in a new way."[50]

To this author, the syncretic field provides a useful conceptual tool for analyzing late imperial rural society. First, it is a successful attempt to overcome the gaps between studies in, among others, lineages, local religion, and community compacts. Lineages, territorial cults, and community compacts are seen as parts of factors that contribute to shape the form of the field. Besides, it also considers the roles that official religion, Neo-Confucian discourse, institutional religions, and local culture played in the field. Second, it gives sufficient consideration to the social and cultural formations involved in the production and reproduction of the field. The syncretic field is not a timeless category. It

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[49] Kenneth Dean, *Lord of the Three in One: The Spread of a Cult in Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 58.

[50] Dean, *Lord of the Three in One*, 60.

constantly changes, for the social and cultural formations and the relationship between these formations change constantly. This characteristic differentiates it from the cultural nexus. Finally, it calls into attention ritual-events. This perspective transcends, as Edward Davis correctly points out, the study of institutions and texts and gives sufficient consideration to the actual performance of rituals.[51] While utilizing this concept in the study of a Chinese locality, the author also attempts to enrich it by elaborating on the dynamism, that is to say, mediation and mediators, of the reproduction and transformations of different cultural traditions within the late imperial syncretic field.

A Social History of Rituals in Sibao

Mediation and Mediators

This study attempts to present a history of the social and cultural landscape of the late imperial period.[52] It will not, however, address this problem in a universal way. It gives a detailed study of social and cultural history in one locality. Focusing on a locality makes it possible to scrutinize the interaction of different aspects of rural life. It will not be a study of a single institution. Instead, it attempts to investigate how different aspects of social and cultural life were interwoven. This study attempts a "historicization" of the cultural nexus or the location of the syncretic field within its regional system. To accomplish these purposes, the author suggests the combination of a sociological study with cultural analysis. The former studies how society works and changes, whereas the latter investigates how people give, communicate, and negotiate meanings. The whole story appears only when we combine both approaches. In addition, the author thinks it

[51] Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 212.

[52] I will consider pre-Ming issues when tracing the history of local institutions and latest development of these institutions in Republican and contemporary Sibao when detailed information on them in the late imperial period is not available.

also important to combine agent-oriented approaches with structure-oriented ones. Without this combination we would have only either actors or stages of historical drama, but not both. This syncretic approach directs our attention to concrete historical practice,[53] that is, the way historical agents lived, acted, and thought within the syncretic field, the interaction between agent and structure, the level of ritual-event. The author also pays special attention to cultural marginality and boundaries. By focusing on mediation and mediators, this relational approach makes it possible for us to understand the dynamism of social and cultural reproduction and transformations in late imperial China.[54]

The locality this thesis chooses to study is a community within Tingzhou 汀州 Prefecture, western Fujian 福建. Recently, Tingzhou Prefecture has become the focus of several extensive ethnographic research projects organized respectively by John Lagerwey and Wang Qiugui 王秋桂. Lagerwey and his Chinese collaborators have published five volumes of ethnographic reports on Tingzhou, all under the series title *Traditional Hakka Society Series*.[55] In the second series, under the title of *Ritual, Theatre,*

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[53] Practice is used here as defined in Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[54] For the uses of mediators in cultural history, see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Revised edition. Aldershot, Eng.: Scolar Press, 1994), 65-87. Bob Scribner discusses the limits of this approach. See Bob Scribner, "Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?" *History of European Ideas* 10.2 (1989), 175-191. It should be noted that while Burke and Scribner see mediators as a negative factor that prevent cultural historians from reconstructing the past, they are dealt with in this thesis as the point of departure for our understanding of interaction between different cultural traditions.

[55] Yang Yanjie 楊彥傑, *Minxi Kejia zongzu shehui yanjiu* 閩西客家宗族社會研究 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1996); Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxi de chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua* 閩西的城鄉廟會與村落文化 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1997); Yang Yanjie, ed., *Tingzhou fu de zongzu miaohui yu jingji* 汀州府的宗族廟會與經濟 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1998); Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxibei de minsu zongjiao yu shehui* 閩西北的民俗宗教與社會 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives, École Française d'Extrême-Orient and Research Program on Ethnicity and Overseas Chinese Economics, Lingnan University, 2000); Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu jingji yu minsu* 長汀縣

and Folklore Series, at least two volumes are focused on Tingzhou.[56] The first series gives a detailed account of villages, lineages, and local religion, while the second series focuses on ritual drama. There are also some articles that have been presented on other occasions but come out of the same research project. Altogether these reports provide, to quote Daniel Overmyer, "fresh information for an understanding of the culture of the majority of the Chinese people."[57] However, they have some serious problems, too. The first problem concerns their methodology. Most of the reports are based on short-term field research, usually less than one month.[58] This means that the interviews had to be confined to highly selective topics. As a result, the scope and depth of these reports are unavoidably limited. Overmyer is absolutely correct when he suggests that we are in need of "long-term fieldwork in clusters of villages at the *xiang* 鄉 (township) level."[59] The second problem concerns their way of organizing the ethnographic information. It is true that these works have provided rich information on some aspects of village life. But the information has not been, on the one hand, organized into a coherent argument, and, on the other hand, was not well located in the context of either local history or national history. Instead, it seems to have been arranged according to a previously prescribed investigating and writing format. This further affects the quality of these reports.

的宗族經濟與民俗 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2002), 2 vols.

[56] Ye Mingsheng 葉明生, *Minxi Shanghang gaoqiang kuilei yu furen xi* 閩西上杭高腔傀儡與夫人戲 (Taipei: Shih Ho-cheng Folk Culture Foundation, 1995); Ye Mingsheng and Yuan Hongliang 袁洪亮, *Fujian Shanghang luantan kuilei furen zhuan* 福建上杭亂彈傀儡夫人傳 (Taipei: Shih Ho-cheng Folk Culture Foundation, 1996).

[57] Daniel Overmyer, "Introduction," in Daniel Overmyer, ed., *Ethnography in China Today: A Critical Assessment of Methods and Results* (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., 2002), 6.

[58] For example, John Lagerwey and Zhou Lifang's collaborative study of the rotation cult of Fuhu chanshi is based on fieldwork that lasted only a dozen days. See Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors: The Ten-Village Rotation of Pingyuan Shan," *Minsu quyi* 137 (2002), 63, n. 1.

[59] Overmyer, "Introduction," 10.

This study can be regarded in a certain sense as a response to the problems of these works. It is based on the author's ten-month fieldwork in Sibao, Tingzhou.[60] It will begin with a detailed account of *lisheng* 禮生 (masters of ceremonies) and their ritual texts. As specialists dealing with family and communal rituals of different kinds, *lisheng* played and still play important roles in Sibao's social and symbolic life. Their texts involve economic, social, and religious aspects of Sibao society. The author sees these texts as the outcome of social and cultural changes that Sibao experienced in the late imperial period. The description of *lisheng* and their texts is followed by a historical inquiry into how lineage organizations, community compacts, and territorial cults came into the village world. This study will show when, how, and why these institutions were woven into Sibao society.

Readers will find the approach adopted here is to some extent similar to that of Ebrey.[61] But while Ebrey starts from a ritual text and studies how it was reproduced, circulated, revised, and "consumed" in the later period, this study investigates the earlier history of ritual texts and regards them as the outcome of earlier historical processes. There is yet another difference: while Ebrey is focused basically on ritual texts, this study focuses more on the social and cultural transformations and dynamism that produced the ritual texts rather than on the ritual texts themselves. The basic interest of this study will be on the local context of these transformations such as social structure and local culture. But it will also bring into consideration the regional and national economic, social, and cultural processes, such as intellectual discourses, political issues, and the commercialization of the rural economy, that were going on during the Ming and Qing

[60] The author entered this community in November 1995, working as research assistant for Prof. Cynthia Brokaw. We worked more than two and a half months in this community between the winter of 1995 and the summer of 1996. He went back there in August 2001 and conducted more than seven months of fieldwork in this community between August 2001 and August 2002.

[61] Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

periods. Put another way, while Ebrey focuses on key Neo-Confucian ritual texts, the author attempts to analyze rituals and ritual texts that were "located" between high and low cultures from an interactional or relational perspective. Rather than trying to show how Neo-Confucian ideas were disseminated through late imperial society, the author attempts to focus on how elements from different cultural traditions were synthesized into a new cultural mosaic. It is his contention that the popular homology between the binary oppositions of local culture/Neo-Confucianism and particular/universal is an obstacle to our understanding of late imperial Chinese culture. What the author attempts to do is to discover "history" in local society, and at the same time to present a local understanding of what the late Ray Huang calls "macro-history." He will try to show that the rituals to be discussed in the following chapters were not only the outcomes of social and cultural changes, they may also have been important mediating factors in these changes.

Themes of the Thesis

The thesis will be in seven chapters. Following an introduction to the theoretical orientation of this study at the beginning, the second chapter will provide a basic ecological and historical background to the issues discussed in the following chapters. In the third chapter, the author will discuss *lisheng*, their rituals, and their liturgical texts. The three major historical processes that were closely related to *lisheng* and their rituals, that is, lineage building, the establishment of community compacts, and the development of local temple networks, will be explored in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters. The theoretical issues and the implication of the findings of the thesis will be further discussed in the last, concluding chapter.

The second chapter will give a basic description of the history of Tingzhou Prefecture in general and Sibao in particular. Tingzhou is a mountainous region in the western part of the southeastern coastal province of Fujian and belongs to a broader

region that includes southern Jiangxi and northeastern Guangdong, which is the peripheral region connecting G. W. Skinner's three South Chinese macroregions. The residents of this region claim that they are Hakka Chinese, but minority groups such as She had a strong presence even in the late imperial period. Although Tingzhou was incorporated into the Later Han empire in the second century, until the Ming and Qing periods the state machinery was relatively weak there. Within this politically and economically peripheral region, the danger of rebellion was constant. Bandits and rebellion were a persistent threat to the local people. In the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, Tingzhou became part of a Communist revolutionary base.

Though mountainous, Tingzhou was not isolated from the outside world. Since the sixteenth century it was increasingly incorporated into regional and national market networks. More and more local people were involved in the production of cash crops, such as tobacco, handicraft products and commercial activities. Sibao is a cluster of villages that lie on the borders of four Tingzhou counties. It is differentiated from its neighbors by its special dialect, customs, and local identity. Starting in the late sixteenth century, Sibao people developed a printing industry. This industry reached its peak during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Its network of distribution existed throughout almost every province of South China. Sibao became one of the super-centers of book production and distribution in south China. The persistent threat of banditry, the relatively strong presence of minority groups, and the commercialization of the rural economy have had a profound, sometimes conflicting, influence on Tingzhou's local culture. These forces created a situation that facilitated the hybridization of a variety of different cultural traditions.

In the third chapter, the author will describe *lisheng*, their rituals, and their ritual texts. *Lisheng* originated from ritual specialists (also called *lisheng*) who were appointed probably starting in the Former Han period (206 BC-8 AD). They played important roles

in rituals ranging from funerals, ancestral rites, to *jiao* festivals of communal offerings. Evidence shows that they had a connection to the community compact rituals, too. They often worked with ritual specialists from other religious traditions that included Taoist priests and Buddhist monks. But they were different from these other specialists because they were not professional specialists, more reverence was given to them, and their work focused more on social rather than the religious aspects of village ritual.

The literature left behind by *lisheng* provides rich information on this group. They deal with a variety of different activities ranging from economic transactions to ritual performances. But by far the most important part is devoted to two categories of supernatural beings: gods and ancestors. Almost every god worshiped in the community is mentioned in these texts and one or more sacrificial texts are written for them. The same is true for ancestors. One or more sacrificial texts are composed to ancestors from those dead recently up to the founding ancestor. These texts therefore belong to what Clifford Geertz has called "local knowledge."[62] But more than that, the similarities between the rituals they performed and those performed in official religion as well as, to a lesser degree, those performed by Taoist priests and Buddhist monks, together with the fact that quite a few of their ritual texts were transcribed from official literatures, suggest that they were important mediators between official religion, local religion, and other religious traditions.

In the fourth chapter, the author will discuss the process of lineage building and its influences and limits in Sibao. The lineage of the gentry[63] style, that is, lineage with ornate ancestral halls and compiled genealogies, was introduced into Sibao in the

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[62] Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

[63] "Gentry" is used here in its broadest sense to include all officials, degree holders, and title holders. Local elite as used in this study refers to all members of gentry and other non-gentry elite who played dominant roles in local economic, social, and political life.

fifteenth century by two Sibao native sons who became high officials. While most villagers at the time worshiped only close ancestors (*mi*), these men advocated establishing ancestral halls that put the distant or founding ancestor at the center of their worship and compiling genealogies that brought into inclusion all the descendants of the this focal ancestor. Their efforts to "bring together" their kinsmen were followed by low officials and degree holders from other villages during the late Ming. By the end of the eighteenth century, when a group of small agnatic groups compiled their first genealogies, almost every Sibao agnatic group had become a descent group. This chapter shows that local elites, especially National University Students, sometimes played a critical role in the process of lineage building.

It is not easy to assess the influence of this social and cultural process. On the one hand, its influence can be readily seen in issues such as ancestral rites and landed property. It has modified the ways of ancestral worship by emphasizing the cult of early ancestors and the rites of sacrifice. Lineage building also has a profound influence upon the class structure and modes of dominance that arose from the land distribution. On the other hand, some important limits existed in the process of lineage building. A detailed scrutiny shows that although by the eighteenth century Sibao has became a lineage society, different agnatic groups may have imagined what lineage was in different ways, to the extent that on some occasions even the gentry themselves did not follow the way of "gentry" culture. This means that the "gentrification" of local society thesis put forward by David Faure may have overestimated the influence of high culture.

The fifth chapter will reconstruct the process through which community compacts, another important institution that had its origin in Neo-Confucian thought, was woven into Sibao society. Community compacts were introduced into Sibao at the height of their popularity. In the late Ming, several high provincial officials attempted to implement community compacts throughout Fujian. Several Sibao community compacts

were initiated during this period. Of these community compacts, that of Shangbao is the best documented and most illuminating.

The community compact of Shangbao was initiated by a group of villages located in the periphery of the Sibao basin in the late sixteenth century and continued to exist until the early twentieth century. This institution was probably set up to counteract the encroachment of strong localized lineages based in the center of the Sibao basin. The interesting point about this organization consists in the fact that its activities transcended what has recently been thought of as the scope and nature of community compacts. Besides basic activities such as giving lectures on the *Sacred Edicts*, holding banquets, and settling local disputes, it also was involved in the maintenance of irrigation works, the organization of the worship of local gods, and the opening of a new market. This case shows the way in which local people manipulated the symbols of the state for their own purposes. It also demonstrates the limits of recent perspectives on community compacts and prevents us from overstating its connection with either the imperial court or to Neo-Confucian discourse.

The issue of local religion will be addressed in the sixth chapter. The author will inquire into three layers of territorial cults: namely Zougong, the gods of the soil and orphan souls, and deities introduced after the mid-Ming. Zougong has his origins in at least the Yuan dynasty. Originally probably a Ritual Master, he was transformed into a local patron god before the establishment of the Ming. Ming Taizu's suppression of local religion did not seem to eliminate this cult in Sibao. The cult of Zougong became popular from the mid-Ming onwards. Then, when the pursuit of founding ancestors became an important issue because of the introduction of the lineage, a local descent group also surnamed Zou adopted this deity as their founding ancestor, edited a genealogy to include him in their descent line, and connected him to the famous Southern Song official, Zou Yinglong 鄒應龍 (1173-1245). This "privatization" of a public symbol triggered a series

of responses from almost every other important descent group, which turned the local people of Sibao into a historically meaningful community.

The cult of the god of the soil and orphan souls was introduced to Tingzhou before the Ming. It was standardized and (re)introduced to the Sibao area in the early Ming as an important apparatus of ideological control. From the mid-Ming onward, when lineages/villages started to establish their own altars of the soil, the god of the soil and orphan souls were gradually transformed from symbols of ideological control into the foci of territorial or associational cults. This chapter also discusses several legends of the god of the soil circulating across the Sibao area, illustrating the fate of a key symbol of the empire in Sibao.

The third group of deities was introduced into Sibao after the mid-Ming. Most of them are nationally or regionally popular deities such as Guandi, Tianhou, and Liuzu. The rise of this layer of territorial cult was closely related to the necessity to mark one's own community from other ones in an increasingly commercialized society. While Guandi usually served as the focus of village identity, Tianhou was often utilized to facilitate the commercial exchange among people from different villages and lineages. Altogether, the development of local religion in Sibao illustrates the complex interplay between lineage and village, agnatic group and territorial cult, economy and religion, and local culture and high culture.

To sum up, the findings of this thesis indicate the complexity of social and cultural processes in the late imperial period. They show the limits of analyzing local culture from elitist perspective, which emphasizes how local culture was suppressed and eliminated by high culture. Rather than repeating the words of what we may call the "integration" or "gentrification" school, the author will argue that cultural hybridization, the process whereby elements from different cultural traditions were synthesized into a new, constantly changing cultural entity, is a more proper conceptual tool in our

exploration of the dynamism of the reproduction and transformation of late imperial Chinese culture.

Sources

In the study of Chinese local history, one important trend in the last decades is that the importance of local gazetteers is increasingly replaced by that of lineage genealogies. This is not surprising because the latter provide much more detailed information on the economic, social, and cultural situation of a locality below the county level. In Tingzhou, there are quite a few local gazetteers. Some of them are even very well compiled and filled with interesting information. They provide one of the most important sources for tracing the evolution of official institutions and local administration. But in most cases they include only a little information on local religion and scarcely mention other unofficial communities, associations, and organizations such as lineages and villages.

As a study of a sub-county area, this thesis relies greatly on genealogies of the local lineages. Fortunately enough, while genealogies in many other places were burned to ashes after 1949, almost every Sibao lineage keeps its genealogy intact. During my stay in Sibao, I was able to read about thirty genealogies, some kept in ancestral halls, while others were in private hands. Furthermore, many of these genealogies include information on almost every important aspect of village life. This said, I have to add that genealogies also have a bad reputation for distorting historical facts to serve contemporary purposes. As Jan Vansina points out, genealogies "are among the most complex sources in existence" and are both "taxonomies" that are "used all over the world for speculating about origins" and "social charters" that "validate relationships

between groups."[64] However, precisely because of this "defect," the manipulated genealogies sometimes provide interesting insights into local history when used carefully and supported by other sources of a different nature.

I also make considerable use of ritual texts of the ritual specialists discussed in this thesis: *lisheng*. The nature of this group of sources will be discussed in detail in Chapter III. The other sources this study relies on include account books, family division contracts, and local archives. During my ten-month stay in Sibao, I read over twenty account books. They provide detailed information on such activities as ancestral worship, territorial cults, land purchases, money and rice loaning, the book business, and so forth. Only a few are utilized here. Family division contracts are another group of sources that merit our attention. I found over twenty such documents in Sibao. The information they provide includes not only information on kinship organizations, but also, in quite a few such Sibao documents, the printing industry and voluntary associations. The value of local archives has long been recognized. But, probably due to political reasons, it is only recently that historians of Chinese history turned to land reform archives for the information on land distribution in pre-Revolutionary China. Their political overtones notwithstanding, these archives give us not only a concrete picture of economic inequality before the land reform, but also vivid descriptions of often conflicting views of peasants and the Communist cadres concerning social justice and moral equality. All of these written sources make it possible to treat local institutions historically.

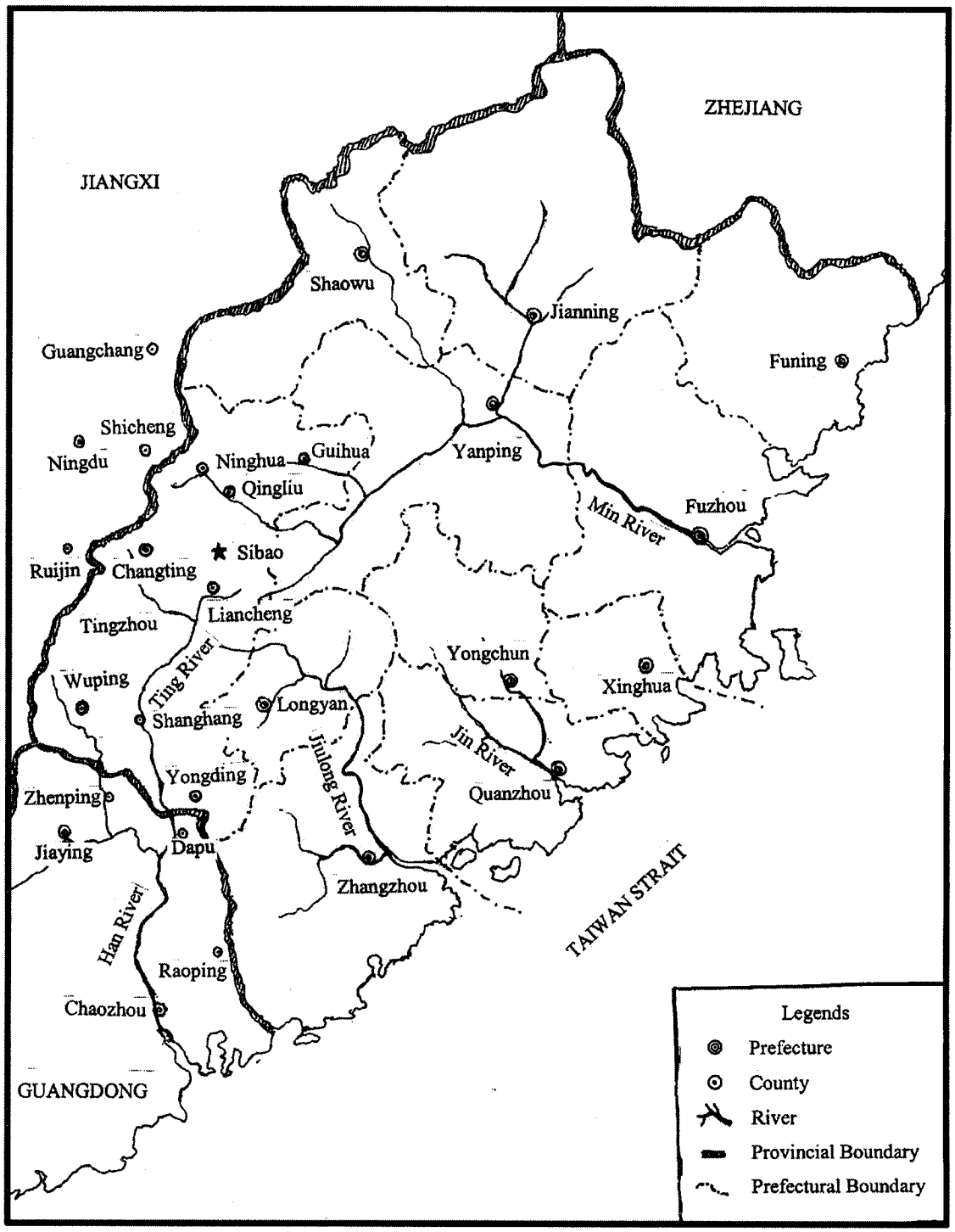
In an effort to understand social structure and local culture, the author also collected oral history and observed ritual performances during his stay in Sibao. These sources enrich the written accounts mentioned above. Oral history, for example, provides

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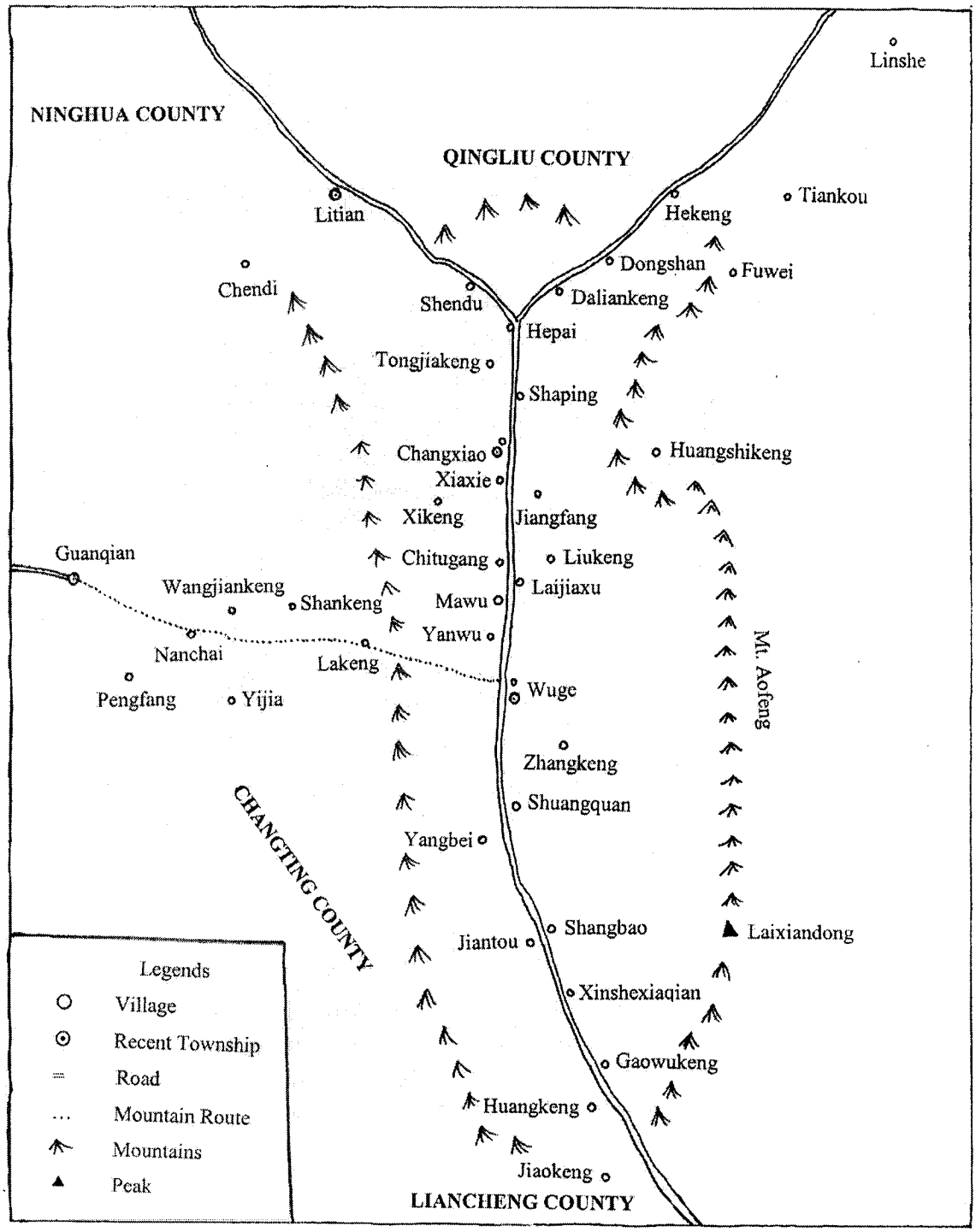
[64] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 182. Vansina is here talking about oral, not written, genealogies. But his comments can be applied to written genealogies, too.

particularly important information on settlement history, local patron gods, lineage relationships, and social and symbolic life in the late Qing and Republican periods. The shortcomings of this group of sources are also well-known and they should be utilized critically. That is to say, each person interviewed may relate local history from the perspective of the social grouping he/she belongs to. It is important to crosscheck what he or she says with other sources. The merits of ritual performance for our understanding of local history are unmistakable. They provide information on a lot of issues: the relationship between *lisheng* and Taoist religion, community structure, and peasant worldviews. I observed life-cycle rituals, calendrical rituals, *jiao* festivals of communal offerings, and other rituals in Sibao. Some of them will be introduced in the third chapter. The most important lesson I learned from these observations is that I gradually realized the limits of an elitist reading of local culture and started to develop an alternative approach to this major issue.

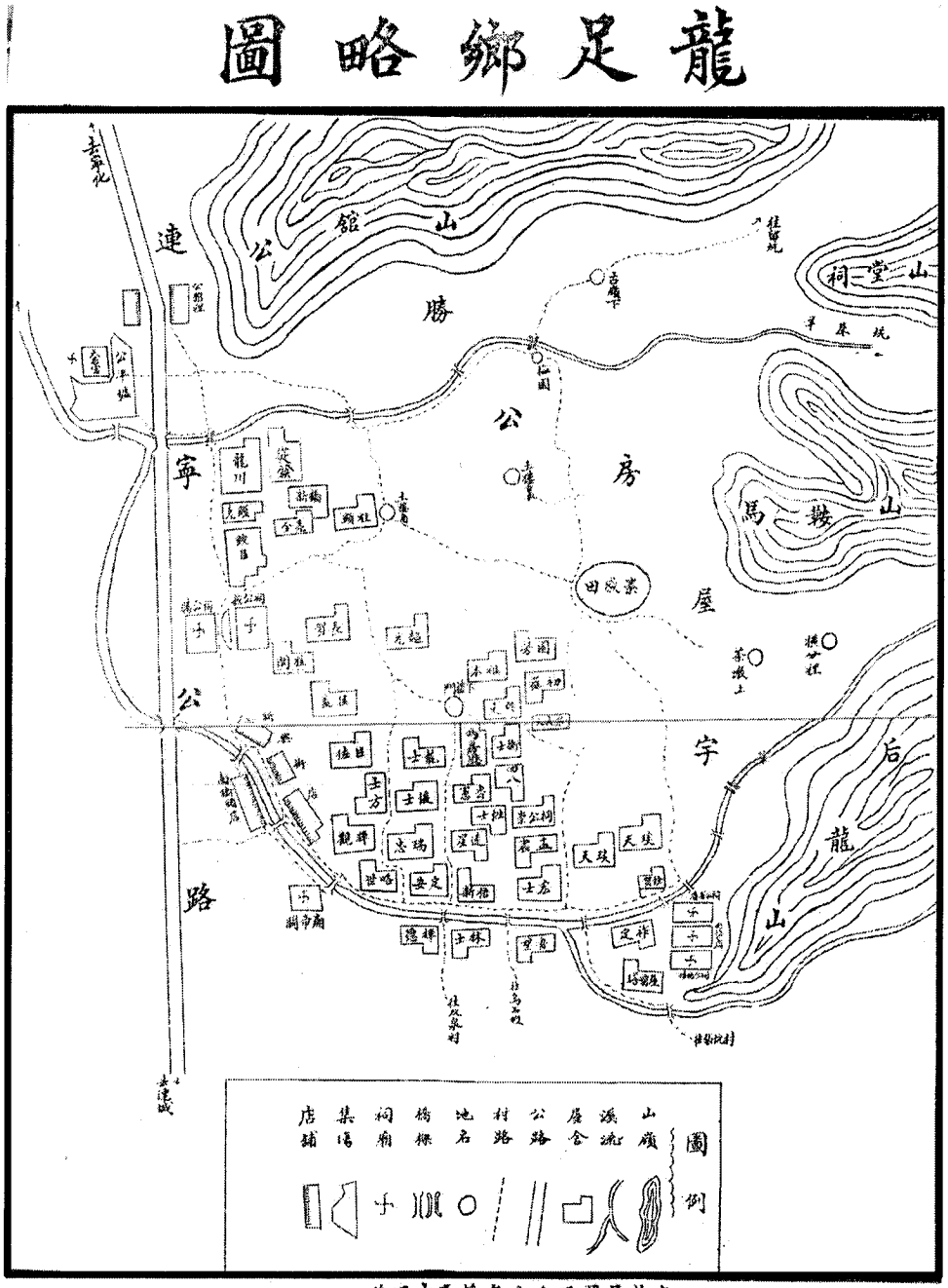
Plates



Map 2.1 Tingzhou in the Qing Dynasty



Map 2.2 Sibao in the Late Qing



Source: *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan* 29.

Map 2.3 Wuge in the Republican Period

Chapter II

History at the Periphery: Tingzhou and Sibao

This chapter will give a brief introduction to the ecology, history, and ethnicity of both Tingzhou Prefecture and the Sibao area. The description will focus on three questions: (1) What was the role of Tingzhou in the regional system of late imperial south China? (2) Who were the people living in Tingzhou and Sibao? (3) How was the peasant economy of Tingzhou in general and Sibao in particular involved in commercialization? By discussing these problems, the author hopes to provide a regional and historical context for understanding social and cultural changes in Sibao during the Ming and Qing periods.

Tingzhou as a Periphery

> The eight counties of Tingzhou Prefecture belong to a region full of rows of high mountains. Wherever there is flat ground, it makes up only less than one-tenth of the land. Yet the country fools living in this mountainous and remote place make agricultural cultivation their only work. 汀屬八邑盡系高山疊嶂間有平原不及十分之一而山僻鄉愚尚以農耕為事

Thus wrote a late seventeenth-century Prefect of Tingzhou 汀州.[1] The prefecture of Tingzhou lay in the western part of the southeastern Chinese coastal province of Fujian 福建, a region bordered by a rocky and irregular shoreline backed by picturesque

[1] Wang Jian'an 王简菴, *Linting kaoyan* 臨汀考言 (preface dated 1699), 6/8a. The eight counties were Changting 長汀, Ninghua 寧化, Qingliu 清流, Guihua 歸化, Liancheng 連城, Shanghang 上杭, Wuping 武平, and Yongding 永定.

mountains. The rugged topography of Fujian is notorious. It extends from the coastal margin continuously inland up to the high ranges that mark the western limits of the region. Hills and low mountains form the characteristic features of Fujian's physical landscape, but they are not distributed equally across the region. While its major plains spread from the northeast to the southeast along the shoreline in its eastern coastal part, in western Fujian we find an area of mountains and hills. Three mountain ridges, the Wuyi 武夷, Daimao 玳瑁, and Boping 博平 ranges, cut this area into three half-separated sections. The elevations of the ridge summits above the valley bottoms are commonly from 1,500 to 2,500 ft., whereas higher elevations are found along the western and northwestern border of Fujian.[2] Tingzhou and three other prefectures, Jianning 建寧, Yanping 延平, and Shaowu 邵武, lie in the western region. They were usually called "the upper four prefectures" (*shang si zhou* 上四州) in late imperial literature.

Among these four prefectures, the topography and ecology of Tingzhou is said to be the most complicated. The local saying has it that "the South is a called country of mashes, but only Tingzhou lies within tens of thousands of mountains" (*nanfang cheng zeguo, Ting du zai wanshan zhong* 南方稱澤國汀獨在萬山中).[3] Low mountains, hills, terraces, river valleys can be found throughout this region. Hills and low mountains account for more than forty percent and thirty-five percent respectively of this region. These geological conditions had a great influence on its agriculture. Only five to ten percent of the land is suitable for agriculture, which is the lowest percentage of cultivatable land in Fujian. Around sixty-five percent of the arable land in this region consists of terrace fields and mountain-ridge fields (*shanlong tian* 山壟田) whereas the

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[2] George Babcock Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations: A Survey of the Land and Its People* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934), 334-335; Sun Jingzhi 孫敬之, ed., *Huanan jingji dili* 華南經濟地理 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), 102, 147.

[3] *Tingzhou fuzhi* 汀州府志 (Hereafter *TZFZ*, 1752 edition), 3/1a.

provincial average is under fifty percent. The topography also makes the acreage of each field plot of this region very low, to the extent that more than sixty percent of field plots are lower than 0.5 *mu*. Topography affects this region's quality of soil, too. Middle and low productivity fields account for seventy-seven percent of the region's arable land. The complicated topography creates many small basins. Statistics show that western Fujian has more than one hundred basins, most of which are less than ten square kilometers in area.[4] These basins are centers of economic, social, cultural, and political activity. They are not, however, completely isolated from the outside. Tingzhou is called "the origin of three rivers," the Min 閩, Jiulong 九龍, and Ting 汀 rivers. They flow northeast, southeast, and southwest respectively, connecting Tingzhou to Fuzhou 福州, Xiamen 厦門, Chaozhou 潮州, and other major regional cities in the coastal area.

Tingzhou belongs to the Southeast Coast macroregion in G. William Skinner's regional system. The Southeast Coast ranges from the southeastern corner of Zhejiang to the Chaozhou-Shantou plain in northeastern Guangdong. It is divided into four sub-regions: the Ouling Basin, the Min Basin, the Zhangquan, and the Han Basin. Probably because its main river, the Ting River, links most parts of Tingzhou prefecture to northeastern Guangdong, Skinner puts Tingzhou in the region of the Han Basin, rather than in the regions of Fujian.[5] But for our purposes, it is important to understand Tingzhou's relationship not only to northeastern Guangdong, but also to southern Jiangxi. For all three of these areas constitute a region with a quite distinctive ecology, dialect, historical connections, and common identity, which differentiates it from neighboring regions. This region connects and also divides Skinner's three macroregions: the

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[4] Tong Wanheng 童萬亨, ed., *Fujian nongye ziyuan yu quhua* 福建農業資源與區劃 (Fuzhou: Fujian kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), 247.

[5] G. William Skinner, "The Structure of Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 44.2 (Feb. 1985), 277.

Southeast Coast, the Gan Yangzi, and Lingnan.[6] It belonged to the periphery[7] of these macroregions and was remote from Nanchang, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, and other metropolitan and regional cities. [8] Principally because of its inaccessibility, this conjuncture of peripheries provided a niche not only for minority groups and later-arriving Chinese refugees, but for bandits and rebels as well. It had been the homeland of the She minorities during the Sui-Tang period,[9] and later became the heartland of the Hakkas.

The Promised Land of Bandits?

The "Military Merit" (Wugong 武功) Section of the 1879 edition of the *Changting xianzhi* 長汀縣志 (Changting county gazetteer, hereafter *CTXZ*) begins with a brief introduction to the banditry and rebellion that took place in Changting history. According to the editor,[10] there existed in Changting a wide variety of different kinds of banditry and rebels: Jiangxi bandits (*Jiangkou* 江寇), Qianzhou bandits (*Qiankou* 虔寇), Guangdong bandits (*Guangkou* 廣寇), Zhangzhou bandits (*Zhangkou* 漳寇), bandits from the sea (*haikou* 海寇), cave bandits (*tongkou* 峒寇), She bandits (*shekou* 畲寇), salt bandits (*yankou* 鹽寇), and so forth. When the troops of Wang Xu 王緒, a warlord from

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[6] For macroregions in China, see G. William Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 211-249. See especially Map 1 on page 214.

[7] The "periphery" as used in this thesis includes those criteria used by Skinner. However, in addition to criteria of economic geography, I also consider such factors as the limited number of degree-holders and the limited presence of the state administration.

[8] The core area of these macroregions can be found in Map 1 of Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China," 214.

[9] Jiang Bingzhao 蔣炳釗, *Shezu shigao* 畲族史稿 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1988), 115-120.

[10] The editor is probably Yang Lan 楊瀾, a famous late Qing local historian from Changting since, on the one hand, he was one of the editors of *CTXZ* (1879 edition), on the other, the introductory passage appears in his book, *Linting huikao* 臨汀彙考 (Hereafter *LTHK*, preface dated 1878), almost without any changes. See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/1a-1b.

Guangzhou Prefecture, Henan, entered Fujian in the late Tang, the editor relates, Tingzhou was the first prefecture to be occupied. When the Song ruled China, salt bandits kept plundering local people (see below). Their influence extended to western and southern Fujian, southern Jiangxi, and the majority of Guangdong. The government had no way to eliminate them. Tingzhou was thus thrown into turmoil for a whole century. Even Zhu Xi (1130-1200) complained that Tingzhou was a place "difficult to reach and full of bandits" (*lu yuan duo dao* 路遠多盜). The situation continued well into the Ming dynasty, especially from the mid-Ming onward.[11]

Despite the fact that all these cases of banditry and rebellion occurred in the Tingzhou region, the editor argues, this does not mean that one has to accept the stereotype that Tingzhou was a hotbed of bandits. At least as far as the Ming Dynasty was concerned, those bandits did not come from Tingzhou, but were from the neighboring provinces of Jiangxi and Guangdong.[12] More importantly, the editor believes that for the "present" he and his fellow Tingzhou residents lived in a "place free from sorrow" (*letu* 樂土). Obviously, by giving a description of this turbulent past, the editor meant to demonstrate the "greatness" and peacefulness of the age he lived in, that is, the first half of the nineteenth century. This is, of course, a self-orchestrated point of view. But as to his representation of the history of Tingzhou, can we also simply dismiss it for the same reason? To answer this question, we need to look retrospectively back over the history of Tingzhou.

Although western Fujian was brought under Chinese control in the Later Han, the editor traced Tingzhou's first moment of military merit to the Sui-Tang transition.[13] In

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[11] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/1a-1b.

[12] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/18b.

[13] The first county, Xinluo 新羅, was set up in western Fujian in 138 AD. See *Linting zhi* 臨汀志 (Compiled in 1259, hereafter *LTZ*), in *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Hereafter *YLDD*. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1977, reprint), 7889/12a.

this turbulent age, there were bandits and rebels everywhere. Wu Luojun 巫羅俊, a person from Huanglian 黃連 (later Ninghua), defended local people by establishing a stronghold upon a hill and bandits did not dare to attack them.[14] At the time the Tang unified the Chinese empire, its control of southeastern China was weak. The region that later became Tingzhou was governed separately by Fuzhou 福州 in Fujian and Fuzhou 撫州 in Jiangxi.[15] After the Tang had consolidated its control of China, it began to bring this region under more direct governance. At the petition of local people, a new county, Huanglian, was set up in 725. It was renamed Ninghua (Calm Transformation) in 742.[16] In the year 733, Tang Xunzhong 唐循忠, the Aide (*zhangshi* 長史) of Fuzhou, examined northern Chaozhou, eastern Qianzhou, western Fuzhou (Jiangxi), and Guanglong Cave 光龍洞 and found some three thousand households of commoners living there, who went into this region from different prefectures to evade corvée labor. He forwarded a memorial to the court, suggesting setting up a prefecture there. His suggestion was approved three years later. The court ordered the "opening up of the cavern (strongholds) between the two prefectures of Fuzhou and Fuzhou (Jiangxi)" (*kai Fu Fu er zhou shandong* 開福撫二州山洞) and set up Tingzhou Prefecture. The name of this prefecture was taken from its main river, the Stream of Changting 長汀溪. Four counties were placed under the jurisdiction of Tingzhou: Changting, Ninghua, Longyan 龍巖, and Shaxian 沙縣.[17]

As the editor of the *Changting County Gazetteer* points out, the Five Dynasties were an age of turmoil. The troops of Wang Xu invaded Fujian in 885. They entered

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[14] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/2a.

[15] Fuzhou of Fujian and Fuzhou of Jiangxi, though with different Chinese characters, share the same pronunciation, hereafter, when I mention Fuzhou of Jiangxi, I will put Jiangxi within the brackets behind Fuzhou. For Fuzhou of Fujian, I will simply call "Fuzhou."

[16] *YLDD*, 7889/15a.

[17] *YLDD*, 7889/12a.

Tingzhou from Nankang 南康 Prefecture, Jiangxi. After occupying Tingzhou, they marched southward and took Zhangzhou. From there Wang Chao 王潮, who killed Wang Xu and became the general of the troop, marched northward to seize Fuzhou and eventually controlled the majority of Fujian. His younger brother, Wang Shenzhi 王審知, became the king of Min 閩.[18] During the Tang-Song transition, Tingzhou was attacked twice by local people. The first attack took place in 894 and involved groups of minority people. We will discuss this attack in the next section. The second attack happened in 925. Local history has it that a local person called Chen Ben 陳本 gathered thirty thousand people and launched an attack on Tingzhou. The King of Min sent a troop of twenty thousand soldiers to suppress them. They successfully defeated Chen Ben and killed him.[19]

Tingzhou was brought under the control of the Song in 974. At this time, two counties, Changting and Ninghua, were under its jurisdiction. Another four new counties, Shanghang, Wuping, Qingliu, and Liancheng, were established and added to Tingzhou in 994, 1098, and 1133 respectively.[20] The main reason to establish these counties was to bring these areas under more direct state control. The name "*wuping*" (Martially Pacified) was used because, as the gazetteer tells us, "the land is flat but many of her people are bellicose" (*qi di tanyi er ren duo hao wu* 其地坦夷而人多好武). The county Liancheng was established because this area was far away from the county seat and local bosses often harassed local residents and traveling merchants. The establishment of Qingliu County was approved for the same reason.[21] This evidence implies that the countryside of

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[18] *YLDD*, 7889/12b; *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/1b-2a. For the history of the empire of Min, see Edward H. Schafer, *The Empire of Min* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1954).

[19] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/2a.

[20] Among these four counties, both Shanghang and Wuping were established in 994. Liancheng was first named as Liancheng 蓮城 instead of Liancheng 連城. The latter is a later change.

[21] *YLDD*, 7889/15b-17a.

Tingzhou was often ruled by local strongmen whose nature we hardly know. But it is almost certain that the reach of the state was limited in such a region. Zhu Xi's complaint was not without reason. In 1190, when he was still the prefect of Zhangzhou, Zhu Xi forwarded a memorial to the court, suggesting measuring the land owned by each resident in Fujian. This measure was meant to collect more updated and complete information on land ownership so as to equalize the burden of tax and corvée labor. This suggestion was approved by the court and implemented in Zhangzhou and Quanzhou. It was called "the measure of the division of land into fields" (*jingjiefa* 經界法).[22] But it was not put into effect in Tingzhou. Those who objected to it claimed that this would harm the interests of local people.[23] But who were these "local people"? As a memorial in 1259 clearly shows, they are actually rich people who owned a lot of land which the government could not lay a hand on simply because it did not have any information on it.[24] From these people's point of view, *jingjiefa* was really a disaster.

In order to place Tingzhou region under stricter military control, six troop units (*zhihui* 指揮) and twelve strongholds (*zhai* 寨) were established there during the Song period. The six *zhihui* were garrisoned to the south, west, and east of Tingzhou city and theoretically had a total of over sixteen hundred soldiers. Of the twelve *zhai*, two were garrisoned in Changting, four in Ninghua, three in Wuping, and Liancheng, Qingliu and Shanghang each had one. Theoretically, they had altogether over twelve hundred soldiers. Besides, each county was supposed to have a number of archers (*gongshou* 弓手) and ward militia (*pubing* 鋪兵). Therefore, Tingzhou region was supposed to have over three thousand soldiers. Actually, this ideal number was rarely reached. As the editor of the

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[22] Wang Hui 王回, the chief transport commissioner (*yunshi* 運使) of Fujian, and Lei Heng 雷衡, a Tingzhou native, had also petitioned to implement *jingjiefa* in Tingzhou in 1187 and 1189. See *YLDD*, 7895/9b-10b.

[23] See the article of Tingzhou prefect Zhao Chongfu 趙充夫 (dated 1191) in *YLDD*, 7895/11a-11b.

[24] See the article of Tingzhou prefect Hu Taichu 胡太初 in *YLDD*, 7895/12b.

1259 edition of *LTZ* pointed out, the majority of the *zhihui* no longer existed, and the strength of the strongholds was also seriously reduced. It is true that there were still several hundred archers in the counties of the region, but they were hired by the government and proved unreliable. Whenever they did not get paid in a timely fashion, they just left their camps.[25]

Therefore, it would not surprise us to find that the agents of the state in the Song were not only troubled by the problem of local strongmen, but also troubled by different kinds of banditry and rebellion such as salt bandits. The appearance of salt bandits was principally due to the problems of the salt distribution policy. During the Song period, salt was produced in, among other areas, the Lower Yangzi, coastal Fujian (particularly Zhangzhou and Fuzhou), and Chaozhou of Guangdong. Each salt production district was ordered to distribute the salt it produced in appointed areas. If the salt sold in an area was not produced by the appointed district but was, instead, smuggled from other districts, it was called "private salt" (*siyan* 私鹽) and the government would punish those who sold it. The salt supplied to Tingzhou was called "Fujian salt" (*fuyan* 福鹽), which was actually produced around Fuzhou, while the salt distributed in Qianzhou 虔州, Tingzhou's neighboring prefecture, was produced in the Lower Yangzi region. Since in both cases salt was produced in remote districts and thus long distance transportation was involved in salt distribution, it was much more expensive than that smuggled from nearby districts. Besides, while the salt supplied by the appointed districts was of bad quality, the smuggled salt was usually white and clean.[26] The salt bandits appear in the literature in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Each year in late autumn or early winter, after the farm work was finished, drums were beaten in Tingzhou and Qianzhou to notify local

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[25] *YLDD*, 7892/27a-29b.

[26] See Tuotuo, et. al., *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), j. 182, "shihuo xia, 4" 食貨下, 四, 4441-4442; *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/5b-6b.

residents that it was time to smuggle salt. When a gang ranging from several dozens to several hundred members was formed, they marched southwestward, with weapons, flags and drums, to smuggle salt from Guangdong. Not only did they smuggle salt, they also robbed money and kidnapped girls wherever they went. If *yamen* runners went to stop them, they resisted and often killed them. The region harassed by them included Qianzhou, Tingzhou, Zhangzhou, Chaozhou, Xunzhou 循州, Meizhou 梅州, Huizhou 惠州, and Guangzhou. They became a major headache for both local officials and many residents of these prefectures for almost a century. It was not until the memorial of Li Hua 李華, the prefect of Tingzhou, was approved in the Shaoding 紹定 era (1228-1233) that salt bandits eventually disappeared.[27]

Even before the salt bandits disappeared, several bandit gangs attacked Tingzhou city and several of its counties in 1229. Since the attack happened in the Shaoding era (1228-1233), these bandits were given the general name of "the bandits of Shaoding" (*Shaoding kou* 紹定寇). There is little evidence for the reasons behind this rebellion. We only know that the commander of the bandit gang was Yan Toutuo 晏頭陀[28] and at least some Tingzhou soldiers were involved in it. Yan Toutuo was able to gather some ten thousand people together and controlled more than seventy strongholds (*zhai* 砦) in Liancheng, Ninghua, Qingliu, and so forth. His troops attacked the county seat of Ninghua but were defeated by government troops. The rebellion was put down in 1231.[29] The rebellion seems to have seriously damaged the rural economy, for the state ordered the exemption of half of the tax and corvée labor due in 1230.[30] It also seriously

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[27] Li Hua suggested distributing in Tingzhou the salt produced in Chaozhou. See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/6b.

[28] From his name one can surmise that Yan Toutuo was probably a monk, for "*toutuo*" has the meaning of monk.

[29] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/9b; *Ninghua xianzhi* 寧化縣志 (Hereafter *NHXZ*, 1684 edition), 7/51a.

[30] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/9a.

influenced the income of the local government for at least two decades. The taxes collected in the summer (*xiashui* 夏稅) decreased forty-four percent, while those collected in the autumn (*qiumiao* 秋苗) decreased fifty-seven percent.[31]

Although there were different reasons behind each instance, local residents of Tingzhou in the Song period were, as the editor of the *Changting County Gazetteer* comments, involved in a series of predatory and rebellious activities. This continued in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Altogether we find six cases of banditry and rebellion in Tingzhou during the Yuan period. The reasons behind most of these cases are unknown.

The first case happened in the late Southern Song. It involved a native of Changting with the last name Tu 涂, who established a base in the border region of Shanghang and Chengxiang 程鄉, controlled southern Shanghang, Sanrao 三饒, and Chengxiang, and collected taxes and imposed corvée labor in these regions. This bandit gang was suppressed in 1284, that is, more than twenty years after its rise.[32] The second case happened in 1280, right after the Mongols conquered south China. The gazetteer claims that the bandits of Tingzhou and Zhangzhou under the command of Liao Desheng 廖得勝 rose in revolt and were eventually suppressed by the government.[33] The next year, Chen Guilong 陳桂龍 and his nephew Chen Diaoyan 陳吊眼, both from Zhangzhou, gathered several tens of thousands of people and raided the prefectures of Zhangzhou and Tingzhou. Although the Chen's were from Zhangzhou, it seems that Tingzhou natives may have been involved in the rebellion too.[34] The fourth case had a connection with the She minority people and happened in 1288. We will discuss it in the next section.[35] In

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[31] *YLDD*, 7890/13a-15a.

[32] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/11a.

[33] *CTXZ*, 1879 edition, 15/11a.

[34] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/11a-11b.

[35] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/14a.

1346, two Liancheng natives called Luo Tianlin 羅天麟 and Chen Jiwan 陳積萬 led another rebellion. Luo Tianlin was a soldier in Liancheng. He committed crimes but resisted arrest. Together with Chen Jiwan and others, he attacked Liancheng and Changting and took both of them. All of the six counties under Tingzhou were reported to have been seriously damaged by the rebellion.[36] The last case happened at the end of the Yuan. Around 1362, a Ninghua native called Cao Liushun 曹柳順 managed to gather ten thousand people. He had his base in Caofang 曹坊 in southern Ninghua and plundered neighboring counties. He was killed by the famous Chen Youding 陳有定, who later became the warlord of Fujian during the Yuan-Ming transition.[37]

The *Changting County Gazetteer* traces the first social unrest in the Ming period to the mid-Ming. This is not completely wrong. But even earlier in the Hongwu era (1368-1398), we find at least two cases of rebellions that involved Tingzhou natives. Both cases happened in Shanghang County. In the first case, a Shanghang native called Zhong Ziren 鍾子仁 and his men launched an attack on the county seat in 1385. They were defeated because the city wall had been repaired right before the attack.[38] We do not know the exact time of the second case, but evidence indicates clearly that it happened in the late fourteenth century. Probably because they came from Xinan *li* 溪南里 of Shanghang, they were called "the Xinan bandits." Their attack on the same county seat was also unsuccessful.[39]

The timing of these military events is not surprising if we consider the military establishment of the early Ming. As in the Song, the armed forces of Tingzhou concentrated around Tingzhou city. A guard (*wei* 衛) was established in Tingzhou in

[36] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/12b.

[37] *NHXZ* (1684 edition), 7/51b. Youding 有定 was also written as Youding 友定 in local gazetteers. See, for example, *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/13a-13b.

[38] *Tingzhou fuzhi* 汀州府志 (Hereafter *TZFZ*, 1752 edition), 5/5b.

[39] *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 31/4b.

1371. It was composed of five battalions, each with theoretically one thousand soldiers. One of the battalions was assigned to garrison Wuping in 1395, which was the only regular troop that was garrisoned outside the environs of Tingzhou city until a dependent battalion was established in Shanghang in 1463 (see below). In addition to regular troops, a number of militias existed throughout the Ming. In the early Ming, they were imposed on civil households as a form of the "miscellaneous corvée labor" (*zafan* 雜泛), but from the mid-Ming onward, when the government found that it became difficult to put this policy into effect due to the breakdown of the *lijia* system, it started to hire militias. The militias were ordered to participate in military actions in time of necessity but in normal times they were allowed to work on their farms. Their number in one county could be as many as several hundred men. Their usefulness proved to be very limited. While lack of funds prevented the government from hiring sufficient militias, lack of training made the militias that were hired incapable of coping with even local banditry.[40]

An age of turmoil began in Tingzhou in the middle of the fifteenth century. This was a rebellious age not only for Tingzhou, but also for almost all parts of China: consider, for example, the Ye Zongliu 葉宗留 Rebellion in Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian (1444-1450), the Deng Maoqi 鄧茂七 Rebellion in Fujian (1448-1449), and the Liu Tong 劉通 Rebellion in northern Huguang and southern Shanxi (1464-1471).[41] The security of Tingzhou was threatened principally by Deng Maoqi's troops, who were usually known in Tingzhou literature as "the Shaxian-Youxi bandits" (*Sha-You kou* 沙尤寇). A subordinate of Deng Maoqi called Chen Jingzheng 陳景正 attacked Tingzhou city in 1449

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[40] *TZFZ* (1527 edition, reprinted in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian* 天一閣藏明代方志選刊續編 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990)), 8/3a-3b. See also Liu Yonghua, "Shiqi shiji Zhongguo de koubian, guojia, yu difang shehui-Koubianji de yige kaocha" 十七世紀中國的寇變、國家與地方社會-《寇變紀》的一個攷察 (Manuscript, 1997), 8-9.

[41] For a brief description of these rebellions, see Li Guangbi 李光璧, *Mingchao shilue* 明朝史略 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1957), 80-91.

but was defeated. Chen Jingzheng himself was captured and sent to Beijing for punishment.[42] The rebellions were eventually suppressed, but the social unrest did not come to an end. A decade after Deng Maoqi's rebellion was put down, Li Zongzheng 李宗政, a Shanghang native, gathered a gang of outlaws and successfully seized the county seat of Shanghang in 1463.[43] In the winter of 1477, another bandit gang appeared in Xinan *li* of Shanghang. They were under the command of Xinan natives Zhong San 鍾三 and Li Zhongrui 黎仲瑞.[44]

To deal with these mounting problems, the Ming court took a series of measures. First, two new counties were established in Tingzhou. Twenty years after the suppression of Deng Maoqi rebellion, a county was established in the border area of Jiangle 將樂, Shaxian, Ninghua, and Qingliu counties. The reason given to us was that the people living there were "obstinate and difficult to rule" (*min geng nan zhi* 民梗難治). This new county was named as "*guihua*" 歸化, literally "Being Naturalized."[45] It shows clearly what the government wanted to achieve through this establishment. A second new county was set up right after the Xinan bandits (1477) were put down. A large portion of land in southern Shanghang, including Xinan *li* and part of Shengyun *li*, was ceded to this new county for three reasons: "the land is dangerous and the residents are fierce" 地險而民悍; "it is inaccessible to the county *yamen*" 去縣絕遠; and "bandits rebelled frequently" 草寇屢發. The name of this new county was "*yongding*" 永定, literally "Forever Settled."[46] Again, it shows more the government's hope than the reality. In the meantime, a new independent battalion (*shouyu qianhusuo* 守御千戶所) was established in Shanghang in

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[42] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/13a.

[43] *Shanghang xianzhi* 上杭縣志 (Hereafter *SHXZ*, 1939 edition), 1/7b.

[44] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/9a.

[45] *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 2/4a.

[46] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/9b-10a; *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 2/5b.

1463 and a battalion of the Tingzhou Guard was garrisoned there.[47] This was meant to place southern Tingzhou under stricter military surveillance.[48] Seven years later, a circuit (*dao*), Zhangnan Circuit 漳南道, was set up to oversee the military activity in Tingzhou and Zhangzhou.[49] Its headquarters were in Zhangzhou, but a branch office was established in Shanghang. To further strengthen the state's military control of southern Tingzhou, a military defense circuit (*bingbeidao* 兵備道) was established in Shanghang in 1488.[50]

To be sure, all these establishments made those rebellious areas more accessible to government surveillance. But the measures were hardly successful. The main reason for this is that they were only local or regional establishments, while bandits and rebels could, thanks to the location of Tingzhou, move freely from Tingzhou to Jiangxi or Guangdong. When attacked by government troops of Tingzhou, they could cross provincial boundaries and enter another province, where the government might not regard them as enemies. As a seventeenth-century Ninghua gentry points out, such movements were made easy by the routes connecting the mountain ridges in the border region of Tingzhou, southern Jiangxi, and northeastern Guangdong. Even worse, this gentry continues, it was not infrequent that when the bandits and rebels of Tingzhou fled to neighboring provinces, they surrendered in name to the government there, thus changing themselves into government troops.[51] This situation gradually became clear to the government after several larger scale rebellions. In 1487, with the help of Liu Duo 劉鐸, the commander (*qianhu* 千戶) of Wuping Battalion, and Qiu Long 丘隆, the tenant of Liu

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[47] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 8/3a-3b.

[48] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/8a.

[49] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/8b.

[50] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/10b.

[51] Li Shixiong 李世熊, *Koubian ji* 寇變紀, collected in Yu Yang 余颺 et al., *Pubian jishi* 莆變紀事 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000), 8-9, 68.

Duo, Liu Ang 劉昂 and Wen Liusheng 溫留生, two Shanghang natives, gathered several thousand people and attacked Shicheng 石城, Guangchang 廣昌, and Xinfeng 信豐 counties of Jiangxi and Jieyang 揭陽 county of Guangdong. They killed officials and raided government storehouses. This rebellion directly led to the establishment of the Shanghang Military Defense Circuit.[52] At the turn of the sixteenth century, a bandit gang controlled Damao Mountain 大帽山 on the Tingzhou-Jiangxi border. From this base they plundered neighboring cities and towns, defeated government troops, and killed several local officials.[53] The government realized eventually that it could not mount a successful campaign without coordinating military activities with neighboring provinces. In the year 1509, the first Nangan Grand Coordinator (*Nangan Xunfu* 南贛巡撫) was appointed to serve this role. His *yamen* was in Qianzhou. His main task was to coordinate military and, to a lesser degree, civil administration in the border region of southern Jiangxi, western and southwestern Fujian, northern and northeastern Guangdong, and southeastern Hunan. Altogether eight prefectures, one sub-prefecture (*zhou* 州), sixty-four counties, seven guards (*wei* 衛), and twenty-eight battalions were under his control.[54] Zhou Nan 周南 and the famous statesman, soldier and philosopher Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472-1529) were appointed successively as Grand Coordinator. They managed to put down most of the bandits and the rebellion.[55]

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[52] *Wuping xianzhi* 武平縣志 (Hereafter *WPXZ*, 1941 edition. Wuping: Wuping xianzhi bianweihui, 1986), 7.

[53] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/16a-16b.

[54] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 1/11a; *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/16a-16b. For the history of Nangan Grand Coordinator, see Tang Lizhong 唐立忠, *Zai "daoqu" yu "zhengqu" zhijian: Mingdai Min Yue Gan Xiang jiaojie de zhixu biandong yu difang xingzheng yanhua* 在"盜區"與"政區"之間：明代閩粵贛湘交界的秩序變動與地方行政演化 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban weiyuanhui, 2002). For social unrest in southern Jiangxi during this period, see Rao Weixin 饒偉新, "Shengtai, zuqun yu jieji: Gannan tudi geming de lishi beijing fenxi" 生態、族群與階級: 贛南土地革命的歷史背景分析 (Ph. D. dissertation. Xiamen University, 2002).

[55] *WPXZ* (1941 edition), 9-10; *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/16b-18b.

However, small-scale banditry and rebellions continued to trouble Tingzhou in 1525, 1540, 1543, 1547, and 1553.[56] Their strength accumulated to a high degree in 1557. This was an age when China was troubled by *wo* pirate attacks. Local gazetteers report that mountain bandits (*shankou* 山寇) also rose in revolt everywhere in Qianzhou, Ganzhou, Huizhou, Chaozhou, and Tingzhou. They had their bases, among other places, in Santu 三涂 of Shanghang, Yanqian 巖前 and Xiangdong 象洞 of Wuping, and Langcun 朗村 of Liancheng. They were put down by the famous general Qi Jiguang 戚繼光 (1528-1587).[57] What followed was an age of peace lasting about half a century long. The next wave of banditry and rebellions came in the second quarter of the seventeenth century and continued well into early Qing period.[58]

The preceding description has made it clear that Tingzhou was a rebellious region and was, to a considerable extent, a hotbed of banditry and rebellions, contrary to the claims of the editor of *Changting County Gazetteer*. Even the editor's view that Tingzhou in his own age was "a place free from sorrow" needs not to be accepted without reservation. We do not have to mention the troubles of the early or great rebellions of the late Qing. Even during the high Qing, when the Manchu Empire entered a prosperous age, tenant resistance, banditry, and small-scale rebellions were not difficult to find.[59]

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[56] *Liancheng xianzhi* 連城縣志 (Hereafter *LCXZ*, 1668 edition. Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe, 1997), 34-35; *Qingliu xianzhi* 清流縣志 (Hereafter *QLXZ*, 1829 edition. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1992), 385; *NHXZ* (1684 edition), 7/52b-53a; *WPXZ* (1941 edition), 11.

[57] *NHXZ* (1684 edition), 7/52b; Li Shixiong, *Koubian ji*, 1.

[58] For a detailed account of social unrest in Ninghua, see Li Shixiong, *Koubian ji* and *Koubian houji*.

[59] See Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, "Ming mo Qing chu Min Gan pilin diqu de shehui jingji yu diannong kangzu fengchao" 明末清初閩贛毗鄰地區的社會經濟與佃農抗租風潮, in Fu Yiling, *Ming Qing shehui jingji shi lunwen ji* 明清社會經濟史論文集 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1982), 376; Liu Yonghua 劉永華, "Shiqi zhi shiba shiji Minxi diannong de kangzu, nongcun shehui yu xiangmin wenhua" 17 至 18 世紀閩西佃農的抗租、農村社會與鄉民文化, *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究 3 (1998): 139-150. For a Ninghua food riot in 1743, see Zhongguo renmin daxue Qingshi yanjiusuo 中國人民大學清史研究所 and Dang'an xi Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidu shi jiaoyanshi 檔案系中國政治制度史教研室, eds., *Kang Yong Qian shiqi*

In this brief description of the history of Tingzhou, the author has described how this region was brought under the control of the Chinese state and how the local residents responded to it. In saying that Tingzhou was a rebellious region, the author does not mean to imply a place free from state control. Such a place was unlikely to be found in this part of China, no matter how weak the state's presence was. After all, Tingzhou had been incorporated into the imperial administration in the second century. During the period under discussion, Tingzhou was indeed exposed increasingly to the influence of the state. Indeed, the consistent banditry and rebellion found in Tingzhou could be read as a special form of response to the increasing encroachment of the state. What the author intends to show is the following. While Tingzhou was undoubtedly brought increasingly under stricter state control, especially since the eighth century, the state's presence in this peripheral region, at least as far as military control and administration were concerned, was not strong, not even strong enough to eliminate banditry and rebellion in normal times. This means that Tingzhou was a peripheral area in terms of economic geography, but also in terms of political geography. This had great bearing on the society and culture of Tingzhou and their relationship to the state.

Tingzhou's peripheral situation in the late imperial period can also be illustrated by reference to the amount of degree holders. Compared with coastal regions of Fujian, Tingzhou produced far fewer degree-holders (see Table 2.1). Tingzhou Prefecture produced only fifty *jinshi* in the Ming and eighty-four in the Qing. This number is a far cry from coastal regions. According to Ping-ti Ho, 654 *jinshi* were produced in Fuzhou during the Ming and 723 during the Qing, while 627 *jinshi* were produced in Quanzhou and 524 in Xinghua during the Ming. The statistics of Evelyn S. Rawski show that during

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chengxiang renmin fankang douzheng ziliao 康雍乾時期城鄉人民反抗鬥爭資料 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 576-578. For the Society of Heaven and Earth (Tiandi hui) in the western Fujian-Eastern Jiangxi region in the mid-Qing, see David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China: The Formation of a Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 126-144.

the period 1513-1541, 112 *jinshi* were produced in Fuzhou, 112 in Xinghua, 65 in Quanzhou; and during 1549-1601, 103 *jinshi* were produced in Fuzhou, 90 in Xinghua, 237 in Quanzhou, and 137 in Zhangzhou.[60] During the same periods Tingzhou only produced 2 and 5 *jinshi* respectively. If the common sense view that degree-holders such as *jinshi* played a major role in the stabilization of a Confucianist social order and the spread of orthodox belief and practice is to be believed, Tingzhou does not seem to have had many such resources.

Table 2.1 *Jinshi* (Metropolitan Graduates) in the Late Imperial Tingzhou

Period	Chang-ting	Shang-hang	Yong-ding	Wu-ping	Lian-cheng	Ning-hua	Qing-liu	Gui-hua	Total
1368-1418	8	3	0	1	1	2	2	0	17
1419-1468	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	7
1469-1518	3	5	1	0	0	0	2	0	11
1519-1568	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4
1569-1618	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4
1619-1644	2	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	7
Sub-total	18	12	5	1	1	2	11	0	50
1645-1718	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	6
1719-1768	5	8	8	2	1	6	1	3	34
1769-1818	4	2	4	0	3	4	1	5	23
1819-1868	3	3	1	3	4	0	0	0	14
1818-1904	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	7
Sub-total	16	15	16	6	9	11	2	9	84
Total	34	27	21	7	10	13	13	9	134

Source: Zhu Baojiong 朱保炯 and Xie Peilin 謝沛霖, eds., *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin* 明清進士題名碑錄索引 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 3 vols.

[60] Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 245-248; Evelyn S. Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 89.

Hakka and Their Neighbors

When asked who they are, most local residents of Tingzhou will tell you that they are the Hakka (*kejia* 客家) Chinese. They will trace their ancestry to the Northern China Plain and tell you that their ancestors came to Tingzhou in the late Tang or late Song due to social disorder in north China. Often they will also mention Shibi 石壁 village in Ninghua, claiming that their ancestors had stayed at this place for some time. This sort of answer is popular not only in Tingzhou,[61] but also among the Hakkas in northern Guangdong.[62] The view is also echoed in U. S. geographer George B. Cressey's book on Chinese geography. For Cressey, the Hakkas provide a good example of "selection by migration." "One of the most interesting racial groups in this region," claims Cressey, "are the Hakkas or 'guest people' who live in Fukien [Fujian] and Kwangtung [Guangdong]." Although they are a mountain folk who are often regarded as aborigines or barbarians, they "are really as Chinese as their neighbors." They originally lived in Henan and Shandong and migrated from there during the fourth and ninth centuries because of Tartar invasions. After a series of moves the Hakkas came to southwestern Fujian, Cressey continues, "but later most of them migrated to Kwangtung [Guangdong]." After commenting that the Hakka dialect still resembles the Mandarin of the north, Cressey comes to the statement that "On account of their tribal purity it may be that they represent more clearly than any other group what the early Chinese were like."[63] The similarity between this perspective and what local residents told us is not difficult to figure out. But Cressey's view of Hakka people seemed to have been shaped mainly by the reports of nineteenth-century and early

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[61] See section of clans (*shizu zhi* 氏族志) in *SHXZ* (1939 edition, *juan* 8) and *WPXZ* (1941 edition, *juan* 7).

[62] Luo Xianglin 羅香林, *Kejia yanjiu ziliao* 客家研究資料 (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe, 1965), 377-387.

[63] Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations*, 334.

twentieth-century missionaries.[64] If the racial "purity" of the Hakkas was taken for granted by Cressey and many missionaries of that period, it is no longer so sure to scholars now.[65]

Chinese started to move to Tingzhou before the first county Xinluo 新羅 was established in the second century. But their number could not have been large. When it was established in the eighth century, Tingzhou Prefecture controlled only around three thousand households. Statistics from the mid-Tang reveal that around 5,330 households or 15,995 people lived in Tingzhou.[66] The number of households rose to 81,456 in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century and further to 218,570 at the end of the twelfth century.[67] This figure was slightly surpassed by that of mid-thirteenth century. The figure of the latter is 223,432 households.[68] During Song period, therefore, the most important population increase took place between 1080s and 1190s. Within a period of about 110 years, the population almost tripled. This rapid growth cannot be explained unless we bring into consideration the factor of immigration. If the figures of the early Ming are to be believed,[69] the population of Tingzhou decreased greatly during the period from the late Song to the early Ming. The figure given to us is 60,033 households or 290,977 people,[70] that is, less than one third of the Southern Song figure. Unfortunately, we do not

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[64] E. J. Eitel, "An Outline History of the Hakkas," *China Review* 2 (July 1873-June 1874), 160-164; George Campbell, "Origin and Migrations of the Hakkas," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 43 (1912), 473-480.

[65] Herold J. Wiens seems to share Cressey's view when he claims that "Whatever their real origin, there is little doubt that they [i.e., the Hakka] originally migrated from Ho-nan [Henan] Province in North China." See Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China* (New York: The Shoe String Press, 1967), 269.

[66] *YLDD*, 7890/11b.

[67] *YLDD*, 7890/11b.

[68] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 4/2a-2b.

[69] The Ming population figures are notoriously unreliable, but those of early Ming are more reliable. See Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 97.

[70] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 4/2b.

have population figures for Tingzhou during the Qianlong era (1736-1795), another period that proved to have produced more reliable statistics. The most recent statistics report a population of 2,710,300 in the old Tingzhou area.[71]

Recent studies of Fujian's early history show that, before successive waves of migrants found refuge and came to be known as Hakkas, the border region of the Southeast Coast, the Gan Yangzi, and Lingnan was originally populated sparsely by *Baiyue* 百越 peoples. After this region was incorporated into China during the Former Han period, the government moved many aborigines to the Lower Yangzi region. But those who were left behind evolved into Shanyue 山越 in the Three Kingdoms period and then into present-day She during the Tang and Song period.[72] The She are commonly identified as a subgroup of the Yao, who were spread across much of Lingnan. The She appear to have been mountains-and-hills people, living by hunting and slash-and-burn agriculture, which differentiates them from the Zhuang, who were reported to be valleys-and-plains people before they were assimilated or driven into the hills by Han Chinese.[73] The term "*she*" 畲 appeared first in an essay written by the famous Song poet Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269) in the mid-thirteenth century. In this essay, Liu mentions that minority groups in south China were designated by a variety of names. Those who lived in Zhangzhou were called the She. They were composed of two groups: those who lived in Longxi 龍溪 County were called the western She (*Xishe* 西畲), while those who lived in Zhangpu 漳浦 County were called the southern She (*Nanshe* 南畲). The She did not pay tax nor provide corvée labor. Liu also implies that the southern She may have had

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[71] This figure is based on Fujian sheng ditu ce bianwei hui 福建省地圖冊編委會, ed., *Fujian sheng ditu ce* 福建省地圖冊 (Fuzhou: Fujian ditu chubanshe, 2001), 43-47, 54-56.

[72] Jiang Bingzhao, *Shezu shigao*, 66-75.

[73] Sow-Theng Leong, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and Their Neighbors* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 31; Herold Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China*, 276.

connections to Tingzhou, northeastern Guangdong, and Jiangxi.[74] In addition to the She, there were also some minority groups whose ethnicity is difficult to identify. In local history the term "*tong*" 峒 or "*dong*" 洞 was often used. The meaning of this term is "a place that was populated sparsely by Miao people" 苗人散處之鄉.[75] This term was often used in a pejorative sense when it is combined with "*kou*" (bandit).

As early as 897, a large gang of rebels with strong minority elements, called "cave barbarians" (*dongman* 洞蠻), laid siege to Tingzhou city. They managed to gather twenty thousand people. They fled away when Wang Chao's troops came to reinforce Tingzhou.[76] In the era of Shaoxi (1190-1194) during Southern Song period, Shanghang "cave bandits" were reported to have ganged up with other "caves" and rose in revolt. The revolt was put down after the government captured their leaders.[77] Aborigines may have also joined the Shaoding bandits mentioned in the first section, for it was reported that in the second month of 1230 the barbarian people living in Tingzhou, Ganzhou, Ji'an 吉安, and Jianchang 建昌 rose up and plundered these regions.[78] Right before Mongol troops conquered south China, several troops constituted principally by the She (*zhu tong She jun* 諸峒畲軍), under the command of Chen Diaoyan and Xu Furen 許夫人, helped the Song general Zhang Shijie 張世傑 in an attack on Quanzhou 泉州 city.[79] This case is

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[74] Liu Kezhuang, "Zhangzhou yu She" 漳州諭畲, in Liu Kezhuang, *Houcun xiansheng da quanji* 後村先生大全集, *juan* 93, collected in Zhongguo shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha ziliao congkan Fujian bianji zu 中國少數民族社會歷史調查資料叢刊福建編輯組, ed., *Shezu shehui lishi diaocha* 畲族社會歷史調查 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1986), 348. Translation of one passage of Liu's essay can be found in Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China*, 44.

[75] *LTHK*, 1/14a.

[76] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/2a.

[77] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 15/8a.

[78] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/9a.

[79] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/10b. See also Jao Tsung-i, "The She Settlements in the Han River Basin, Kwangtung," in F. S. Drake, ed., *Symposium on Historical, Archaeological, and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-east Asia and Hong Kong Region* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967), 102.

particularly interesting for it shows clearly the interaction between the She and Han Chinese. Again, before the fall of the Southern Song, Khubilai Khan (1215-1294) published a proclamation that, if officials, soldiers, and commoners in Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Tingzhou, and Shaowu as well as "the eighty-four She [tribes]" (*bashisi She* 八十四畲) would surrender, their officials would be promoted or awarded, while the soldiers and commoners would be unhurt.[80] The next case happened in 1288. In the third month of that year, "more than one thousand She bandits from Tingzhou and Ganzhou rose up and were put down [by government troops]" 汀贛畲賊千餘人亂討平之.[81]

Other sources from the Southern Song and Yuan periods also mention the She. But in these cases the term *she* was principally used as a stereotype. According to one of these sources, Tingzhou as a prefecture was a region with deep mountains and thick forests. "Outlaws and those who are obstinate and relentless" gather here "from all directions." Their members ranged from several hundred to a thousand and from time to time they rose in revolt. They "called themselves the She." But they were not. As a matter of fact, they were "loafers and the unemployed from Jiangxi and Guangdong."[82] Another source shows that the same may have been true for Wuping County, too. According to this source, those who evaded their tax and corvée labor responsibilities fled to Wuping. They had their bases in sparsely populated places, which they called "such and such stronghold" or "the She caves" (*Shedong* 畲洞).[83] In both cases, the role of the She is not clear. But it implies that some She people may have existed in these places. Furthermore, the fact that the label "She" could be used so often means that the

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[80] *Yuanshi, juan* 12, quoted in Jiang Bingzhao, *Shezu shigao*, 88.

[81] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 2/11a.

[82] *Yuan yitong zhi* 元一統志, quoted in *YLDD*, 7890/10b-11a.

[83] *YLDD*, 7890/11a.

difference between the She and Han Chinese may not have been so obvious any longer, thanks to She-Han intermingling.

After the end of Yuan, the She people seemed no longer to be so closely connected to banditry and rebellions. This is perhaps the basic reason that local gazetteers mention them less frequently. Indeed, it is reported that when a rebellion took place in Guangxi in 1527, a group of She troops (*shebing* 畲兵) from Tingzhou and Ganzhou was assigned to suppress them.[84] After visiting Tingzhou, a late Ming author remarked that the area to the south of Changting and to the east of Shanghang was dangerous and filled with malaria. He was also told that there was a wonderful cave at the border of Yongding and Longyan. He guesses that perhaps many "barbarian" tribes may have been still living in these places.[85] Another late Ming writer mentions the family names of the She. The descendants of Panhu 盤瓠, he tells us, lived sparsely in Qianzhou, Zhangzhou, and Chaozhou. Their last names include Pan 盤, Lan 藍, and Lei 雷. But Tingzhou residents usually called them Pan 潘, Lan 藍, and Lou 簍 instead. They also called those people "She the guest people" (*sheke* 畲客).[86] Our evidence also shows that the She may have moved to other regions as "the shed people" (*pengmin* 棚民) during the Ming period. One author reports that hundreds of shed people went to mountainous southern Zhejiang region and worked as tenants or hired labors for "the shed lord" (*liaozhu* 寮主), usually from Tingzhou. These people "are also called the She people, who are impoverished people from Shanghang of Tingzhou" 一曰畲民汀上杭之貧民也.[87] This case is

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[84] Zhang Tingyü 張廷玉 et al., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), j. 318, "Guangxi tusi" 廣西土司, 8249.

[85] Wang Shimao 王世懋, *Min bu shu* 閩部疏 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 edition), 19.

[86] Tan Qian 談遷, *Zaolin zazu* 棗林雜俎 (Biji xiaoshuo daguan 筆記小說大觀 edition), "He ji" 和集, 23a.

[87] Xiong Renlin 熊人霖, "Fang jing yi xia" 防菁議下, collected in *Shezu shehui lishi diaocha*, 350.

particularly interesting for us for it indicates that the term "*shemin*" became a synonym for the poor in Tingzhou dialect. This probably means that many of the She had changed their way of subsistence and joined the economic activities of Han Chinese. The timing is also illuminating if we remember that late Ming was an age of commercial expansion in China in general and Tingzhou in particular (see next section).

During the Qing, the She also appeared regularly in literature. They became the subject of exotic poems and quasi-ethnographic reports. Among those written in this period, *A Brief Account of the Yao People* (*Yaomin jilue* 猺民紀略) by Fan Shaozhi 范紹質 was the most famous. Fan was probably a first class tribute student by purchase (*gongsheng* 貢生) who was later recruited as an erudite literatus (*boxue hongci* 博學鴻詞) in the Kangxi era (1662-1722).[88] In his essay, Fan describes briefly the physical appearance, customs, and economy of the She living in southeastern corner of Changting. According to Fan, the She did not wear hats. Their garments were short and their sleeves wide. They dressed their hair high and they were bare-footed. Their faces were dark and their eyes golden. They were tall and their arms long. The She women did not pin their hair. Their eyes were bright and their teeth white. Unlike men, their skin had a fair complexion. Their language was similar to that of birds. Peasants usually called them "She the guest people." Their basic means of supporting themselves was hunting and slash-and-burn agriculture. They also collected honey and wove bamboo articles, which they sold in nearby markets. Surnamed Pan, Lan, and Lou, they practiced endogamy. They believed in spirit mediums and worshipped those who passed away. Since they settled sparsely and moved frequently, no chiefdom was found among them. They did not have to pay tax nor provide corvée labor and thus were freed from the trouble of *yamen*

[88] A brief biography of Fan Shaozhi can be found in *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 22/9a-9b.

runners. The only thing they had to do was to pay rent to the owners of mountains.[89] The whole essay has an air of exoticism and it is clear that the author wrote it with admiration of its subject. It is difficult to say whether Fan's description was based on his own observation or on earlier writings. But given the preceding description, it is hard to imagine that the She as described by Fan still existed in Tingzhou at his time. Indeed, the editor of *Changting County Gazetteer* (1879) seems to doubt what Fan said when he remarks that "what is reported was perhaps true at that time [Fan wrote this essay]" 紀所云當時或皆然. In this brief note given at the end of Fan's essay, the editor continues to comment that "for the present, the styles of clothing and hairstyles (braids) of the men are similar to the (Han) peasants. Men and women alike often work as hired labor, household servants and female bondservants. Not all of them practice endogamous marriage among their three surname groups and avoid inter-marriage with the [Han] peasants. When they do have landed property, they certainly pay tax and provide corvée labor" 今則男子衣帽髮辮如鄉人男女時為人佣工婢妾未必皆三族自相匹偶不與鄉人通其有田產者亦必輸糧而給官差. The editor finally claims that this change was due to the successful civilizing policy of his "great dynasty."[90] We do not have to agree with this last statement. But it is clear that when the editor wrote this comment the assimilation of the She had made it difficult to differentiate them from Han Chinese. This comment also shows that the She were usually impoverished, which supports the late Ming evidence provided by the author mentioned above.

Although we do not have much evidence on the cultural borrowings between the She and the Hakkas, it is unimaginable that this did not happen at all in several centuries-long interaction. The widespread practice of unorthodox uxorilocal marriage among Hakkas may have been influenced by the She, for this type of marriage is popular in

[89] Fan Shaozhi, "Yaomin jilue," *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 33/2a-2b.

[90] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 33/2b-3a.

minority groups of south China and part of southwest China.[91] Another piece of evidence is a kind of grain called "*lenghe*" 稜禾. This grain could be found in Changting and Shanghang. It was planted in dry mountain land rather than in wet fields in the summer and harvested in the ninth or tenth month. A local gazetteer reports that it was also called "the rice of the She" (*shemi* 畲米) and it worked quite well with the slash-and-burn method of the She.[92] Slash-and-burn, the typical agricultural technique closely connected to the She, was used by Tingzhou migrants who planted indigo in southern Zhejiang in the late Ming.[93] The Hakka dialect was long believed to be close to the Mandarin (*kuanhua* 官話) of the Tang and Song periods. But recent scholarship demonstrates that the Hakka dialect, along with the Min and Yue dialects, are a development of Old Southern Chinese, a language spoken by Chinese migrants to the south in the Han dynasty and before, which split off from the northern dialects sometime long before the Tang and Song period. The present differences between the Hakka, Min, and Yue dialects are due to local peculiarities caused by geographical isolation.[94] If the point that the She settled in the present Hakka heartland before Han Chinese migration is to be believed, they should have contributed in large part to the making of the local peculiarities of the Hakka dialect.[95] Finally, the widespread practice of Taoist ordination names such as

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[91] Li Yiyuan 李亦園, "Hanhua, tuzhuhua huo shehui yanhua-cong hunyin, juzhu, funü kan Hanzu yu shaoshu minzu zhi guanxi" 漢化土著化或社會演化-從婚姻居住婦女看漢族與少數民族之關係, in Li Yiyuan, *Li Yiyuan zi xuanji* 李亦園自選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 347-382. For uxorilocal marriage in Taiwan, see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

[92] *LTHK*, 4/15a.

[93] Xiong Renlin, "Fang jing yi xia," collected in *Shezu shehui lishi diaocha*, 350.

[94] Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 210. See also Sow-Theng Leong, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History*, 33.

[95] Shi Lianzhu points out that ninety-nine percent of the She people speak a language similar to the Hakka. See Shi Lianzhu 施聯朱, *Shezu fengsu zhi* 畲族風俗志 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1989), 9. Herold Wiens, quoting Xu Songshi, also points out that "Some Shan Yueh [Shanyue] phonetic elements and localism have crept into the Hakka dialect." See Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China*, 270.

"*faming*" 法名 (ordination names), "*langming*" 郎名 (names with the character of "*lang*") and numeral names among the Hakkas as well as the Yao and the She also suggests the close connection between them. Among the Yao, when a layman reaches a certain age, usually around seventeen, a Taoist ritual called "*gua deng*" 掛燈 (lantern-hanging) is performed on his behalf. He is introduced to the Taoist Pantheon through this ritual. The main purpose of the ritual is to entitle him to perform some rituals, and to confer on him a first "official" degree in the clerical hierarchy. As a result he will be granted a religious name *faming*. He will drop his middle generation name and replace it by the word "*fa*," "the Law [of Tao]." Also popular among the She and the Yao is the practice of *langming* and numerals names. When they give names, the character "*lang*" and numerals, such as "*bai*" 百, "*qian*" 千, and "*wan*" 萬, are often used. Both practices are readily found in the early generations of Hakka genealogies and, in the cases of *langming* and numeral names, of Sibao genealogies. These names disappear from the genealogies sometime in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[96]

The Age of Commerce

Another important aspect of the late imperial period was the commercialization of the rural economy. Indeed, only when we have brought this topic into consideration can we correctly understand the social and cultural changes of Tingzhou and Sibao. But before moving to this topic, we need to give a brief introduction to the subsistence agriculture of Tingzhou.

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[96] See Jacques Lemoine, *Yao Ceremonial Paintings* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co., 1982), 24; Zhongguo shaoshu minzu shehui lishi diaocha ziliao congkan fujian sheng bianji zu 中國少數民族社會歷史調查資料叢刊福建省編輯組, ed., *Shezu shehui lishi diaocha* 畲族社會歷史調查 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1986), 17-18, 37, 267, 291-292; Chan Wing-hoi, "Ordination Names in Hakka Genealogies: A Religious Practice and Its Decline," in David Faure and Helen F. Siu, eds., *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 65-82.

As mentioned above, less than ten percent of land in western Fujian is suitable for agriculture. This arable land is not equally distributed throughout Tingzhou. More than seventy percent is actually located in hills and basins below 500 meters above sea level. Less than twenty-three percent is located in low mountains with an elevation between 500 and 800 meters. What remains is located in areas with an elevation over 800 meters.[97] Obviously, agriculture concentrated in basins and on hills. Land in basins is easier to be utilized than that of hills. To build terrace fields on hills requires more intensive capital and labor inputs. But this has to be done because of the limited supply of basin fields. The basic crops of Tingzhou included rice, soybeans, and sweet potatoes, of which rice was the most important. Mid-1950s statistics show that rice accounted in area for seventy-two percent of crops planted and eighty-three percent of grain crops planted. It also accounted for eighty-nine percent of all grain output.[98] Sweet potato was also popular. This is, of course, understandable given the low percentage of arable land, especially wet fields. Sweet potato crops were concentrated in Changting, Liancheng, and Shanghang and accounted for more than thirteen percent in area of all grain crops planted.[99] Sweet potato was highly praised in Tingzhou local gazetteers. Yang Lan 楊瀾, a famous late Qing local historian from Changting, remarks that "The seed of the sweet potato came from the southern barbarians. It was spread to Fujian in the Wanli era (1573-1619). It is called 'the melon of earth' (*digua* 地瓜) in the North. It can be planted even in poor and sandy soil. The production of one *mu* can amount to more than ten *dan* or six hundred kg. Those who live in mountains and hills feed on it and thereby they can save half-a-year's grain. It really saves men" 番薯種來自南夷閩中萬歷中始有之北方曰地瓜瘠

[97] Tong Wanheng, ed., *Fujian nongye ziyuan yu quhua*, 247.

[98] Sun Jingzhi, ed., *Huanan jingji dili*, 147.

[99] Sun Jingzhi, ed., *Huanan jingji dili*, 147.

土沙土皆可種一畝之地收可十餘石山居之民以此代飯可省半歲之糧其濟人甚溥.[100] Another source also holds that "the countrymen often use this [sweet potato] to offset the shortage of grains, thus it really saves men" 鄉人多藉以補糧食之不足濟人甚溥多.[101] Soybeans were also popular in Ninghua and Changting and were usually planted in the fall. Other grains such as wheat, barley, and maize were not popular in Tingzhou. Wheat and barley were usually planted in southern Tingzhou, while maize was planted principally in northern Tingzhou.[102]

The main cropping system in Tingzhou can be divided into three types: single crop, double crops, and triple crops. The double crop system was most popular. The first crop was early-ripening rice. This was followed by, where possible, another crop of rice or wheat, which was harvested in the fall or next spring respectively. The single crop system was less widespread. It could be found in northern Tingzhou and on the mountain-ridge fields mentioned above. The crop planted was usually "great winter rice" (*dadongdao* 大冬稻), a breed of rice that needs a longer time to ripen than the early-ripening one. Triple crop systems were rare. But Yang Lan does report that "early rice is planted in the spring and harvested in the summer. The rice whose seedlings are raised right after [the harvesting of the first crop] and that is harvested in the tenth month is called late rice...Nowadays the peasants often plant soybeans after harvesting [the first crop of] rice, which is [in turn] harvested in the tenth month. There are still some people who plant wheat after harvesting soybeans. Altogether there are more than two crops" 早稻春種夏收又再下秧其十月穫者為晚稻...今農民穫稻後率多種豆至十月可穫且有收豆而又

[100] *LTHK*, 4/1a.

[101] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 9/6a.

[102] Sun Jingzhi, ed., *Huanan nongye dili*, 147.

種麥者不止再穫矣.[103] In this case, the first crop is rice, the second soybeans, and the third wheat.

According to Skinner, the stage of the developmental upswing of the Southeast Coast macroregion started in the eleventh century and came to an end around 1300. What followed was a prolonged economic depression that lasted two centuries. This depression affected not only the Southeast Coast, but also the Middle Yangzi and the Lingnan region during the same period. The regional economies revived in the sixteenth century. This trend continued in the Middle Yangzi and the Lingnan until the end of the eighteenth century. But in the Southeast Coast, it ended in 1600 and did not revive until 1800.[104] These developmental cycles mean that even when the Southeast Coast was on the downswing, the Tingzhou economy was not seriously affected, for it could take advantage of the economic growth of two other macroregions. This partly accounts for the long-term commercialization found in Tingzhou between the late sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century.[105]

The first type of area to be influenced by the tide of commercialization were mountain villages. In these villages, the scarcity of arable land resulted in the shortage of grain and this pushed local residents to produce for the market. It is reported that even before Tingzhou was established, merchants from Huizhou 徽州, Anhui, came to Ninghua and bought lumber from local people. Tens of thousands of feet of lumber were transported to the Lower Yangzi region and local people made a considerable amount of money from this business. In the period under discussion, many local residents planted China fir trees for the market, as this wood was an important material for architecture and

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[103] *LTHK*, 4/1b.

[104] Skinner, "The Structure of Chinese History," 275-279. See especially Figure 1 on page 279.

[105] The Tingzhou economy was seriously damaged during the Ming-Qing transition, but it revived quickly after Qing eliminated its enemies, the Three Feudatories (*sanfan* 三藩) and Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 in south China and in Taiwan.

furniture in China. They were reported to have planted China fir trees in as many as several tens of square kilometers. Due to the money made from this business, "the rich families do not have to enter the market place or to travel to other counties. They just sit there and wait for the profits, which can be transmitted for several generations. All of them regard this as the provider of richness and sufficiency" 素封之家不窺市井不行異邑坐而待收利貽數世胥以此為富給之資.[106] This describes the conditions in Ninghua. But it was true for Shanghang, too. A local gazetteer reports that it was also popular to plant China fir trees in Shanghang. Lumber thus produced was not only sufficient for this county: every year it was exported to Chaozhou and Shantou. There the lumber was milled into planks and further exported to Foshan in the Pearl River Delta. A considerable amount of money was made from this business.[107] In Changting, it was usually Chaozhou merchants who came to order lumber. They transported lumber to the Ting River and floated the logs downstream. Many villages nearby the river were said to have become well-to-do because of this business.[108]

The plentiful availability of wood also made the papermaking industry possible. During the Ming and Qing periods, paper became the most important and profitable export product of Tingzhou. The local historian Yang Lan did not fail to observe this. He claims that "among those items produced in Tingzhou, only paper has a ready market everywhere" 汀地貨物惟紙遠行四方.[109] Tingzhou paper was sold in Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hunan, Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, and even Southeast Asia.[110] The industry of papermaking concentrated in Changting, Liancheng, Shanghang,

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[106] *NHXZ* (1684 edition), 2/94b.

[107] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 9/22b-23a.

[108] *LTHK*, 4/6a.

[109] *LTHK*, 4/15a.

[110] Huang Majin 黃馬金, ed., *Changting zhi shi* 長汀紙史 (Beijing: Zhongguo qinggongye chubanshe, 1992), 63-64; Liu Zhenggang 劉正剛, "Tingjiang liuyu yu Hanjiang sanjiao zhou de

and Wuping. In Changting, "local residents leased mountains to plant bamboo trees, they set up troughs and made paper. Paper ranks first [in profits] among those items produced in Changting" 邑人賃山栽竹設槽造紙為汀產之最.[111] The local gazetteer of Shanghang also reports that "among those items produced in our county, paper is the most important. In the past, the worth of the paper sold to the counties belonging to the Chaozhou and Meizhou as well as Zhangzhou prefectures was no less than one million plus silver *yuan*" 本邑出產以紙為大宗每年運售潮梅各屬及漳州者舊時價值不下百餘萬.[112] Another source from the mid-Qing mentions that more than ten thousand households were involved in the industry in Shanghang.[113] Evidence from Wuping also claims that papermaking used to be the most important industry there. At its height several hundred paper troughs could be found in this county. Its yearly output amounted to more than seven hundred thousand silver *yuan*.[114] In Liancheng, the industry of paper making concentrated in Gutian 姑田 and Juxi 莒溪. These two places made so much money from this business that the former was called "Gold Gutian" (*jin Gutian* 金姑田) while the latter "Silver Juxi" (*yin Juxi* 銀莒溪).[115] Finally, statistics from the mid-1950s show that seventy percent of paper from Fujian was produced in the Ting River valley.[116]

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jingji fazhan" 汀江流域與韓江三角洲的經濟發展, *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國社會經濟史研究 2 (1995), 80.

[111] *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 10/20b.

[112] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 10/5a.

[113] Mo Shuchun 莫樹椿, "Lun Wuping jin he fu Li Runzhai shu" 論武平禁河覆李潤齋書, collected in *SHXZ* (1864 edition), 10/4b-5a. Mo Shuchun became a Metropolitan Graduate (*jinshi*) in 1820.

[114] *WPXZ* (1941 edition), 194.

[115] Wu Hongyou 吳鴻猷, "Lue lun Liancheng tuzhi he dalianzhi ji qi jingying qingkuang" 略論連城土紙和大連紙及其經營情況, *Liancheng wenshi ziliao* 連城文史資料 6 (May 1986), 81-83; Luo Qiting 羅啟汀 et al., "'Yin Juxi' meiming de youlai" 銀莒溪美名的由來, *Liancheng wenshi ziliao* 16 (Aug. 1992), 94-95.

[116] Sun Jingzhi, ed., *Huanan nongye dili*, 146.

Following the lumber industry and papermaking, the agriculture of Tingzhou also entered the age of commerce in the seventeenth century. Take the example of the history of tobacco planting in Tingzhou. This plant was introduced into Fujian in the early seventeenth century. But it was not introduced to Tingzhou until the late seventeenth century and then spread rapidly within this region. According to Wang Jian'an,

> The eight counties of Tingzhou lie among deep mountains. No fertile field and flat ground can be found there, since everywhere it is full of rows of mountains and hills. Even if all the fields were devoted to planting rice, [their output] would not be sufficient to meet the everyday demands of the people. Of the rice demanded for everyday consumption, half has to be assisted [imported] by Jiangxi. Therefore, peasants who lived in this mountainous and remote place knew only ploughing and weeding as well as sowing and reaping. None of them has been found to pursue profits by planting tobacco. In the thirty-third to thirty-fourth year of the Kangxi era (1694-1695), Zhangzhou people sojourned in Tingzhou and they planted tobacco to support themselves. Since the profits they made were several times of those of sowing and reaping [rice], Tingzhou residents followed their example. For the past few years, of the fertile fields of eight counties, three-tenths to four-tenths have been used to plant tobacco.[117] 汀屬八邑僻處深山本無沃野平原盡係層巒疊嶂所有田土即使盡栽稻穀不足民間日給而所需食米半資江西接濟是以山僻村農惟知耕耘稼穡從無種煙網利之徒自康熙三十四五年間漳民流寓於汀州遂以種煙為業因其所獲之利息數倍於稼穡汀民亦皆效尤遡年以來八邑之膏腴田土種煙者十居三四

It is true that Wang's essay has a sense of exaggeration, which is understandable since that he was trying to persuade the provincial authority to ban the planting of tobacco. But it is clear that tobacco-planting spread to so many places that Wang was obliged to

[117] Wang Jian'an, *Linting kaoyan*, 6/9b-10a.

respond to it. Wang's worry was that, on the one hand, more tobacco meant less rice, which meant the region became more vulnerable to natural calamities and, on the other hand, it was thought in the Qing period that tobacco would rob the soil of nutrients.[118] The government, however, did not ban tobacco-growing until the middle of the Qianlong era (1736-1795).[119] The ban does not seem to have changed the situation very much. What really destroyed tobacco-planting and selling was the competition from Western-style tobacco in the modern period. As the local gazetteer has it: "If tobacco was planted on fertile land, profits from it were two times those from planting grain...Many people of Yongding became well-to-do by means of it. However, after cigarettes become popular, the sale of pipe tobacco decreased abruptly. The profits from planting tobacco are getting lower and lower" 膏田種煙利倍於穀... 永民多藉此以致厚實至今則紙煙盛行制條絲銷路頓減種煙之利已微矣.[120]

The commercialization of agriculture and the rise of handicrafts had their impact on the local marketing system. The Tingzhou economy was seriously damaged in the Yuan-Ming transition. In year 1394, when he went to Shanghang, magistrate Qin Bin 秦斌 found a place with few merchants and goods. He "organized a fair in Lingying Temple, trying to draw merchants from nearby and afar. Merchants indeed came, bringing with them their local produce, and traded with people [there]" 乃於靈應廟為會招集遠近商旅各

[118] Wang Jian'an, *Linting kaoyan*, 6/10a-10b. Wang's worry was not baseless. According to Yeh-chien Wang, Tingzhou was among the "deficit areas" which did not produce sufficient food in the mid-Qing. Changting, Shanghang, and Yongding were in need of food imports; Liancheng could probably support itself; the other counties had rice readily available. See Yeh-chien Wang, "Food Supply in Eighteenth-Century Fukien," *Late Imperial China* 7.2 (Dec. 1986), 80-117.

[119] Miki Satoshi 三木聰, "Qingdai qianqi Fujian nongcun shehui yu diannong kangzu douzheng" 清代前期福建農村社會與佃農抗租鬥爭, *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 1 (1988), 52.

[120] *Yongding xianzhi* 永定縣志 (Hereafter *YDXZ*, 1949 edition), 15/5b.

以方物至與民貿易. This temple fair stopped only after a market was established.[121] It is obvious from this case that in the early Ming, the shortage of both merchants and goods made it difficult for even a county seat to set up a market place. The situation changed in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not earlier. In Tingzhou city, specialized markets appeared at this time. At least four markets could be found in this city. Salt, iron, indigo, and sundry goods were sold at a market in the southern corner of this city. Bamboos and trees were sold along the Ting River. Goods from Jiangxi and Guangdong were sold at a market in the eastern part of the city. In still another market in front of the Wutong Temple 五通廟, people could find goods "from four directions."[122] It was also during this period that the Fangong 樊公 Temple Fair made the county seat of Qingliu an important and busy central place. "Tradition has it that the birthday of Fangong is on the twenty-eighth of the eighth month of each year. We local residents of this county take the image of the god in procession this day. Before this, since early in the eighth month, merchants from Zhili, Jiangnan, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong bring with them their local produce and gather in the county seat. On this day [the god's birthday], they trade goods with each other. Those who come from the four directions to buy goods here all participate in the fair on that day. This continues until well into the ninth month" 每歲八月二十八日相傳樊公誕辰邑人每歲於是日迎神賽會先期八月初直隸江浙閩廣各處客商俱賫其土所有貨物集於縣中至期各以財貨互相貿易四方人欲市貨者俱如期至會至九月間方散.[123] Another change took place in marketing days. Increase in the frequency of buying and selling was sometimes translated into an increase in the frequency of marketing days.

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[121] *SHXZ* (1864 edition), 7/3a. Lingying Temple was established in the Song period. It is located in western part of the county seat. The temple fair took place on the twenty-eighth of the ninth month every year. See *SHXZ* (1864 edition), 4/26b.

[122] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 3/15a-15b.

[123] *Qingliu xianzhi* 清流縣志 (Hereafter *QLXZ*, 1545 edition. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1992), 14.

This change is reported to have happened in the rural periodical markets of Liancheng. The *Liancheng County Gazetteer* mentions that four of this county's periodical markets, Shanxia *xu* 山下墟, Pengkou *xu* 朋口墟, Xinquan *xu* 新泉墟, and Gutian *xu* 姑田墟, shifted their marketing days from three times a month to six times a month.[124] We may also mention the increase in the density of rural markets within this region. There is no doubt that this happened during the period under discussion. But the case here is more complicated and the author will discuss it in detail in Chapter VI. Suffice it to say that the relationship between the increase in the density of rural markets and the extent of commercialization is much more complicated than it appears.

In addition to the cases mentioned above, there were still many Tingzhou natives who made their fortune outside this region. They were, among others, farmers and merchants. Beginning in the sixteenth century, many Tingzhou natives crossed the Fujian-Jiangxi border and went into southern Jiangxi. There they farmed land rented from local residents and leased the land in turn to landless people. An early Qing author from Ningdu 寧都 observes that many farmers of his county were actually from Jianning 建寧, Ninghua, Shanghang, and Liancheng and had lived there from three to over ten generations. "Most of them made considerable money and have bought land and established houses in their hometown. They also earned a lot of money when they leased the land to tenants" 率皆致厚資立田宅於其祖里彼然後召頂耕者又獲重價.[125] These migrants not only leased land, but also leased mountains from local residents. In south China, they were given the general name of "the shed people" (*pengmin* 棚民).[126] In

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[124] *LCXZ* (1938 edition), 6/8a-b. Unfortunately, this source does not tell us when these shifts took place.

[125] Wei Li 魏禮, "Da Li yihou shu" 答李邑侯書, in Lin Shiyi 李時益, ed., *Ningdu san Wei quanji, Wei Jizi wenji* 寧都三魏全集, 魏季子文集 (1845 edition), 8/100b-101a.

[126] For the shed people in Ming and Qing period, see Stephen C. Averill, "The Shed People and the Opening of the Yangzi Highlands," *Modern China* 9.1 (Jan. 1983), 84-126; Sow-Theng Leong, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History*, Part Two.

Zhejiang, they were often called "the people who harvest the flower of the leek" (*jingmin* 菁民). A late Ming official in Zhejiang reports that the *jingmin* from Tingzhou planted indigo by the method of slash-and-burn. They leased mountains from local residents and rented them to poor peasants from Shanghang.[127] The *Shanghang County Gazetteer* supports this point. According to this source, "lots of Shanghang natives were involved in this business and often made much money. Shanghang Guild Halls (*huiguan* 會館), which were established in many provinces and counties, were all set up by funds collected from merchants in this business" 邑人曩時業此者甚夥多獲厚利各省縣多有上杭會館皆此業商人醵資所建. Most of them did not plant indigo in Shanghang. They "produced indigo in southern Zhejiang and made invaluable profits from it" 往南浙作靛獲利難以枚數.[128]

Some merchants made a fortune by selling paper, the most important export item in Tingzhou. The main distribution route of paper was along the Ting River and the Han River. Paper was shipped downstream to Chaozhou. From there paper was distributed to Guangzhou, Foshan, and other south Chinese cities. Chaozhou thus played a key role in the distribution of paper. Actually, about nine merchant groups from Tingzhou and Longyan Independent Subprefecture (*zhilizhou* 直隸州) established a Tingzhou-Longyan Huiguan in Chaozhou in 1763. At least half of these groups specialized in the paper business.[129] A Fujian Paper Guild (*Fujian zhihang* 福建紙行) was also established in Foshan due to its important role in distributing paper in the Pearl River Delta. As local history reports, it was actually set up by paper merchants from Tingzhou. "It [Paper] has a ready market inland, in other cities, and in the counties of Guangzhou and Zhaoqing" 銷

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[127] Xiong Renlin, "Fang jing yi xia," collected in *Shezu shehui lishi diaocha*, 350.

[128] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 9/27b. According to 10/2b-3a of *SHXZ*, Shanghang *huiguan* were established in Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Shanghai, Foshan, and Hankou.

[129] *Chaozhou Ting-Long huiguan zhi* 潮州汀龍會館志 (1871 edition), "Fengang" 分綱, unpaged. See also Li Lanfang 李蘭芳 and Li Chuanyue 李傳躍, "Chaozhou de Ting-Long huiguan yu lianfeng gang" 潮州的汀龍會館與蓮峰綱, *Liancheng wenshi ziliao* 16 (Aug. 1992), 49-56.

行內地四鄉外埠及廣肇各屬. Altogether eight shops were set up by Tingzhou natives. The paper merchants also established a *huiguan* in this city in 1733.[130] Paper merchants also played an important role in the establishment of the Tingzhou *huiguan* in Suzhou and Shanghai.[131]

Making a Center out of a Periphery: Sibao

Periphery of a Periphery

Sibao 四保,[132] the area this thesis studies, is a cluster of villages located in the border area of Changting, Qingliu, Liancheng, and Ninghua counties. In the late imperial period, it included more than seventy villages of different sizes: forty-four villages of Sibao sub-canton of Changting, twenty-two villages of Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu, and several villages of Bei'an sub-canton 北安里 of Liancheng and Huitong sub-canton 會同里 of Ninghua (see Appendix I).[133] The name "*sibao*" itself was given, some Sibao people believe, because in the northern Song, before Qingliu and Liancheng counties were established, there used to be four security groups (*bao* 保) in the area. Others hold instead

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[130] Guangdong sheng shehui kexue yuan lishi yanjiusuo Zhongguo gudaishi yanjiushi 廣東省社會科學院歷史研究所中國古代史研究室, Zhongshan daxue lishi xi zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi 中山大學歷史系中國古代史教研室 and Guangdong sheng Foshan shi bowuguan 廣東省佛山市博物館, eds., *Ming Qing Foshan beike wenxian jingji ziliao* 明清佛山碑刻文獻經濟資料 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1987), 350.

[131] *Ming Qing Suzhou gongshangye beike ji* 明清蘇州工商業碑刻集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1981), 369-370; Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, ed., *Shanghai beike ziliao xuanji* 上海碑刻資料選輯 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984), 277.

[132] For the present "sibao" 四堡 instead of "sibao" 四保 is used.

[133] For a list of villages belonging to the Sibao sub-canton of Changting, see *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 2/3a-3b; For a list of villages belonging to the Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu, see *QLXZ* (1829 edition), 36. As for Sibao villages in Liancheng and Qingliu, less information is reported. But my informants in Sibao believe that residents of Jiaokeng 焦坑, Daohu 到湖, and Dakengyuan 大坑源 villages of Liancheng (in present Beituan 北團 Township) and Zhubeiling 助背嶺 village of Ninghua (in persent Zhiping 治平 Township) used to identify themselves as Sibao *ren* (Sibao people).

that the name has its origin in the term "Sibao *dong*" 四保洞 (Sibao Cave), which allegedly existed even before Tingzhou Prefecture was established. Still others argue that the name was given because a lot of "fortresses" (*bao* 堡) were built within this area due to prolonged social unrest.[134] It is difficult to say which one of these stories is correct. But we do know that both Changting and Qingliu had a sub-county administrative unit called Sibao since the Southern Song period.[135] They constitute the major part of present-day Sibao. We should also mention that major villages of the Sibao sub-canton of Changting were ceded to Liancheng in the early 1950s. Therefore, present-day Sibao is composed principally of Sibao Township in Liancheng, Changxiao 長校 and Litian 里田 townships in Qingliu, as well as some villages in the townships of Guanqian 館前 and Tongfang 童坊 in Changting. Its present population is around forty-two thousand (2002).[136]

The majority of Sibao's villages lie within the Sibao Basin. This is a long but narrow strip of land. It spreads from the bottom of the basin to the foot of Aofeng 鰲峰 Mountains to the east and that of several lower mountains and hills to the west. It becomes narrower and narrower when we approach both its northern and southern ends. Although some small villages can be found scattered in the mountainous area in west and northwest Sibao, their population size is not big enough to change Sibao's overall picture of population distribution. Most of Sibao's population concentrates in the basin. A river runs through the bottom of northern section. It is a tributary of Shaxi 沙溪, one of important tributaries of the Min River. But it is not deep enough for navigation. Another much smaller river can be found in southern Sibao. It flows into a tributary of the Ting

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[134] See Zou Risheng 鄒日昇, "Zhongguo sida diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi: Sibao-Qiantan Sibao diaoban yinshuaye de shengshuai" 中國四大雕版印刷基地之一：四堡-淺談四堡雕版印刷業的盛衰, *Liancheng wenshi ziliao* 4 (May 1985), 102-115; Li Shengbao 李升寶, "Sibao diming kao" 四堡地名考, *Qingliu wenshi ziliao* 8 (Oct. 1992), 19-20.

[135] *YLDD*, 7890/7a-7b.

[136] This figure is based principally on the estimate of local residents.

River and is, again, unsuitable for navigation. The communication between Sibao and the outside world thus relies on land routes. A courier route (*yidao* 驛道) is reported to have run through Sibao basin and connected this area to Liancheng to the south and Ninghua and Qingliu to the north before it was replaced by a modern highway in the Republican period. This must have provided not only important communication means, but also economic opportunities to late imperial Sibao book merchants. The communication between Sibao and Tingzhou city, the economic, political, and cultural center of this region, was not so favorable. Even traveling by the shortest route, Sibao people had to walk about 60 km before they arrived at Tingzhou city. What is more, the road was not easy to pass. One would have to cross the mountains and hills that lie to the west of the Sibao basin, where bandits often were reported to have their haunts. This meant that Sibao was to a certain degree inaccessible to Changting. That was the basic reason that encouraged the cession of Sibao from Changting to Liancheng County in the early 1950s.

It is important to note that Sibao people, though managed by different administrative units, had and still have a strong sense of territorial identity. When they are asked "Where are you from?" the answer Sibao residents usually give is "We are Sibao people" instead of "We are Liancheng people" or "We are Qingliu people."[137] This local identity has its strongest expression in the present Sibao Township of Liancheng and Changxiao Township of Qingliu, the heartland of Sibao. But it can also be observed, though to a lesser degree, in the periphery of Sibao such as the villages of Guanqian and Tongfang townships and Litian. Several reasons may suffice to explain this. Sibao has its own special dialect. Sibao people claim that what they speak is a sub-dialect of Hakka. But it is certain that it is different from the dialects of Qingliu, Ninghua, Changting, and

[137] A native of Sibao points out that "the people of this area do not regard the difference of administrative affiliations as important." See Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo sida dianban yinshua jidi zhiyi," 104-105.

Liancheng, all of which are considered to belong to the Hakka dialect. The Sibao people can hardly understand Liancheng dialect (*Liancheng hua* 連城話), for example. The same is true for Liancheng dialect speakers, who can understand only twenty to thirty percent of Sibao dialect. This linguistic difference may have contributed a lot to the building of Sibao's local identity. Custom is another factor that may reinforce local identity. Sibao people, especially those who live in its heartland, have a clear sense of the differences between their customs and those of surrounding areas. They feel funny when they think that at weddings Ninghua natives have to carry on their backs their sisters (brides) through the main door. They also understand quite clearly that although a groom pays a lower bride price for a Liancheng bride than for a Sibao one, he will have to give many more gifts when he visits his father-in-law during the Chinese New Year each year. They mention that these differences of customs can even lead to the break-up of a family.

The peripheral status of Sibao in surrounding counties may also have contributed to the rise of local identity. Sibao is peripheral not only in the sense of its physical location. This conception exists in the mind of Sibao people as well. Sibao people often complain that few native sons hold high positions in the Longyan municipal government and the Liancheng county government and that the government does not give them enough economic and administrative support. They think that if Sibao had not been ceded to Liancheng the situation of Sibao would be better. This is a nostalgic view without much basis. It is true that Sibao managed to build a center of printing in the late imperial period. But even during this period little evidence shows that Sibao played a significant role, let alone a key role, in the political and economic life of Changting or Qingliu. If Tingzhou was and still is a periphery, Sibao is a periphery of a periphery.

If Sibao identity is important for Sibao people, what is their ethnic identity? Sibao people usually identify themselves as Hakka Chinese. But it is alleged that during the land reform in early 1950s some Sibao notables forwarded an application to the

government, claiming that they were minorities rather than Han Chinese. They allegedly withdrew their application eventually because they were afraid that if they indeed became minority people they would be bullied by Han Chinese. This hearsay calls into question the ethnicity of Sibao people. Unfortunately, little evidence clearly shows their ethnicity. One legend makes a connection between the Lin lineage, alleged to have settled in a village next to Shuangquan 雙泉 in the late imperial period, and the She. This lineage, as the legend goes, was once a strong lineage with hundreds of members. Its members kept harassing their Shuangquan neighbors, who belonged to the Zous, a small, weak lineage at the time. Whenever livestock such as pigs and cows of Shuangquan village went to their village, the Lins would slaughter and eat them. Sometimes they went so far as to invite Shuangquan villagers to participate in this special "feast." The Zou did not have the means for a straightforward confrontation. But they did plot their revenge. It was in the middle of a year when this was decided. From then on, when they collected firewood in the mountains, they would give some of it to the Lins to show their obedience to them. By the end of the year, firewood piled up in every corner of the village where the Lins lived. The revenge took place on Chinese New Year's Eve. After all the members of Lin lineage were asleep, the Zous slipped into their enemies' village, locked their doors, and set fire to all the firewood. All the villagers and livestock were burnt to ashes except one woman and a dog. In order to perpetuate her husband's family, the woman had carnal knowledge of the dog and she finally gave birth to a boy. The legend explains the reason why the Lins worshipped a dog.[138] It is impossible to verify this legend, for the only descendant of the Lins moved away from Sibao several decades ago. When they relate

[138] A shorter version of this legend can be found in Yu Feng 余豐, "Chuantong yu shanbian: Difang shehui zhuanxing zhong de zongzu yu minjian xinyang-Yi Minxi Kejia Guilong xiang wei li" 傳統與嬗變: 地方社會轉型中的宗族與民間信仰-以閩西客家桂龍鄉為例 (MA thesis, Xiamen University, 2001), 29-30. The dog myth, as Wolfram Eberhard points out, "was characteristic for the Yao tribes." See Wolfram Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 50.

this story, Sibao villagers do not take it seriously. They just think it funny. Some even argue that it is a thorough fabrication that is meant to insult Shuangquan villagers. In Xiaowuling 蕭屋嶺, a small village in western Sibao, the Xiaos living there perform a ritual called "invitation of the gods" (*qingshen* 請神) in the first month of the year. After scripture recitations are done, acrobatics and lion dances are performed. Then the songs that "tell people how to act properly" are sung. This "is followed by the song of Pangu (*Pangu ge* 盤古歌)." The inclusion of the song of Pangu in the ritual, as John Lagerwey points out, "is almost a certain sign of the She origin of the Xiaos, as is the fact that, until recently, they did not eat dog meat."[139] Another piece of evidence is the traditional dress of Sibao people. This is reported to be similar to that of the She living in northeastern Fujian. But before we accept this assumption, more detailed study will have to be done. Finally, I should also provide some comments on "Sibao Cave" mentioned above. It is reported that before the Chinese Communists controlled China, Sibao people usually referred to themselves as "the people from Sibao Cave" (*Sibao dong de* 四保洞的) when they visited other regions. This is interesting because the term "*dong*" (literally, "cave") has a close connection to ethnic groups other than the Han Chinese. All of this evidence has not given us clear and direct support as to the presence of the She or other minority groups in Sibao. However, the existence and wide circulation of these legends does suggest that the She may have lived here before they were assimilated or driven out of Sibao.

According to their size, location, and settlement history, three types of villages can be observed in Sibao. At the bottom of Sibao basin, we can find super-lineage villages with more than 3,000 members. They are reported to have settled in Sibao by the

[139] John Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors: The Ten-Village Rotation of Pingyuan Shan," *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 137 (Sept. 2002), 124.

end of the Southern Song. Four villages, namely, Wuge 霧閣, Mawu 馬屋, Jiangfang 江坊, and Changxiao 長校, fall into this category. Wuge village has a population of 5,400.[140] Most of them have the last name Zou 鄒. The villagers believe that their ancestor had settled in Sibao by the end of the Southern Song.[141] Only the Zhang 張 lineage, with only about twenty households, also lives in the same village. The government of Sibao Township has been located in Wuge since the Republican period. The only market of this township also lies within the boundaries of this village. Mawu lies 2 km to the north of Wuge. Its size is close to that of Wuge, with a population of around 5,500.[142] All villagers are surnamed Ma. It is reported that their founding ancestor settled in this village in the early Southern Song. Both Wuge and Mawu belong to Sibao Township of Liancheng County. Jiangfang and Changxiao, on the other hand, belong to Changxiao Township of Qingliu County. Changxiao village lies in the southern corner of Qingliu. Like Wuge, it is the location of the government of Changxiao Township and the only market of this township. All villagers have the last name Li 李. The population of this village is about 3,000. All of them claim to be descendants of a founding ancestor of the Northern Song period. The distance from Changxiao village to Wuge is about 10 km. Jiangfang lies at the middle point between Mawu and Changxiao villages. Its population size is the same as that of Changxiao, that is, around 3,000. It is also a lineage village: only the last name

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[140] This figure is based on the official census and was kindly given to the author by a village head. It includes only villagers of the two administrative villages Wuge and Tiancha 田茶. The villagers will usually give higher figures, often over 6,000, since they include not only the villagers belonging to Wuge and Tiancha administrative villages, but also the Wuge natives who work outside Sibao. The same is true for Mawu and other villages, too.

[141] The documentation on settlement history will not be repeated when the lineage under discussion will be investigated in more detail in following chapters.

[142] Ma Chuanyong 馬傳永, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu" 連城縣四堡鄉馬屋村民間習俗, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxi de chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua*, 310. The population figure given in this article may have included those who work outside Sibao. The population figures given here are based on the author's field notes except when they are specially noted.

Jiang 江 can be found in this village. The villagers here trace their settlement history to the late Southern Song.

The second category of villages is usually located at the periphery of the Sibao basin. Shuangquan, Shangbao 上保, Jiantou 梘頭, and Pengfang 彭坊 villages, among others, belong to this category. These villages have a population size usually between 1,000 and 3,000 and they are usually single lineage villages. The settlement history of these villages can be traced back to Southern Song but some of them may have come to Sibao in later periods. Shuangquan village is located next to Wuge to the south. It has a population of more than 2,000. All villagers belong to the Zou lineage. They trace their ancestry as the Zou lineage does in Wuge. Shangbao is actually a general name for three closely related settlements: Yangzibian 洋子邊, Zhenbian 圳邊, and Dapingtou 大坪頭. Its total population is about 1,500. Jiantou village is a neighboring village of Shangbao. It lies to the west of Shangbao. The residents of Jiantou village belong to the Wu 吳 lineage that has around 1,000 members. Their founding ancestor was reported to have settled in Sibao sometime during the Southern Song. Pengfang village does not lie within Sibao basin. It belongs to those Sibao villages lying in its western, mountainous part. It is the second largest village in Tongfang Township, Changting County, with a population of about 1,420. This is a multi-lineage village with seven last names. Peng lineage is the biggest lineage and has more than 100 households. It traces its settlement history to an ancestor living in the eleventh century.[143]

The majority of Sibao villages fall into the third type. They are small villages with a population from several dozens to several hundred and they are usually located

[143] Zhou Lifang 周立方, "Changting xian Pingyuan shan Fuhu zushi shi xiang lunsiquan" 長汀縣平原山伏虎祖師十鄉輪祀圈, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxi de chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua*, 236. My own field notes show lower figures than those reported in Zhou's article. About one thousand one hundred and fifty villagers are reported in this village. The villagers with the last name Peng number about 400.

around super lineages and in remote, mountainous areas. Most of them, however, are also single lineage villages. More often than not they settled in Sibao no earlier than the fourteenth century. Huangkeng 黃坑, Zhangkeng 張坑, Yanwu 嚴屋, and Huangshikeng 黃石坑 are examples of villages of this type. Huangkeng is located in the mountains to the south of Sibao basin. It is constituted by two settlements: Shang Huangkeng 上黃坑 and Xia Huangkeng 下黃坑. Altogether 274 villagers live there.[144] The villagers of Shang Huangkeng belong to Lai 賴 lineage, whose ancestor moved there in the late Ming.[145] All of those who live in Xia Huangkeng moved from Wuge no earlier than the early Qing. Zhangkeng village lies at the foot of Aofeng Mountains and is close to Wuge and Shuangquan villages. Its small settlement has forty households. All of them belong to a Li 李 lineage. It is reported that their founding ancestor moved into this village from Changxiao during the Ming.[146] Yanwu village lies next to Mawu. All villagers there belong to the Yan lineage. The population of this small lineage village is about 200. Their ancestors are said to have settled here since the early Ming. The last example, Huangshikeng, is a remote village buried in the northern part of Aofeng Mountains. Even by the closest route, it still takes a two-hour walk from Sibao basin to this village. For the present only 100 people live in this village. All of them belong to the Zou lineage. It is reported that their founding ancestor came to this village from Shuangquan in the late Southern Song.[147]

Therefore, several major lineages of the Ming and Qing periods had settled in Sibao before the Yuan-Ming transition. After the Ming Empire was established, they

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[144] Fujian sheng liancheng xian difang bangongshi 福建省連城縣地名辦公室, ed., *Liancheng xian diming lu* 連城縣地名錄 (Liancheng, 1981), 33.

[145] *Songyang jun Lai shi zupu* 松陽郡賴氏族譜 (1995 edition), *juan shou*, 4.

[146] *Lishi zupu* 李氏族譜 (1895 edition), *juan shou*, 1a-4b.

[147] *Gucheng Zoushi zupu* 穀城鄒氏族譜 (1992 edition), 1/1a-1b.

were incorporated into the *lijia* system.[148] As we know, the standard *lijia* system of the early Ming was composed of one hundred and ten households. Among them, ten households were assigned the leadership role of sub-canton heads (*lizhang* 里長). Each was in charge of ten of the other one hundred households, the *jia* heads (*jiashou* 甲首).[149] What was practiced in Tingzhou was a modified form of this standard system. First, an intermediate unit called *tu* 圖 (plot) existed between the sub-canton level and the *jia* level. In Changting, the number of plots within a sub-canton ranged from one to six. The average was about four plots per sub-canton. Sibao sub-canton had five plots. Second, the strict regulation that each sub-canton could be composed of only one hundred and ten households may not have been followed, for in the local gazetteer the villages are usually listed under each sub-canton, which would be impossible if the regulation was followed strictly.[150] It is important to understand that the *lijia* system was not simply an institution for tax collection. It had social and cultural meanings as well. To be included in the *lijia* system made one a citizen who was entitled, among other things, to own land and sit for civil and military service exams. It also implied that he was a civilized man rather than a barbarian who was not included in the system and did not pay tax.[151] This last implication is especially important for Sibao. No matter what their ethnicity was, they would be included in the *lijia* system. The whole process of social and cultural change of late imperial Sibao took place within this system.

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[148] See, for example, *Ma shi zupu* 馬氏族譜 (Hereafter *MSZP*, 1993 edition, Xiaci 下祠), 5 *ji*, 2; *Zou shi zupu* 鄒氏族譜 (Hereafter *ZSZP*, 1947 edition, Shangci 上祠), 1/6.

[149] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 5/23b-24a.

[150] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 2/2b-5b.

[151] See Zheng Zhenman, *Ming Qing Fujian jiazu zuzhi yu shehui bianqian*; Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, *Zai guojia yu shehui zhijian-Ming Qing Guangdong lijia fuyi zhidu yanjiu* 在國家與社會之間-明清廣東里甲賦役制度研究 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1997); Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 71-72.

The Rise of Sibao Printing

Agriculture used to be important in Sibao before the rise of the printing industry and its importance resumed after the decline of printing. Even at the height of this industry it was important for many villagers because only two villages, though both with thousands of members, were deeply involved in this business. For those who did not possess the necessary capital and printing technology, farming was often their only or key means of supporting themselves.

For Sibao people, agriculture usually means rice farming. Sibao's best land concentrates in the Sibao basin. The land here is flat, fertile, and not difficult to irrigate. The double crop system was and remains popular on the land. Both crops were rice. The first crop was planted in the spring and harvested in the summer. The second crop was planted right after the first harvest and harvested in the fall. In the summer soybeans were often planted on the ridges of the fields. Besides the land in the basin, mountain-ridge land was widely distributed in Sibao. The statistics from Shuangquan village show that before the 1970s more than one-third of its land fell into this category.[152] Since the land of this village used to be better than the Sibao average, the percentage of this type of land in Sibao as a whole should have been even higher. Only one crop, usually "great winter rice," was planted on this kind of land each year. Shortage of land was a problem for almost every village in Sibao and continues to trouble the villagers. On the eve of Land Reform, the land per capita in Sibao district (*qu* 區) of Liancheng was 1.8 *mu*.[153] The author should note that this figure did not include the land Sibao people owned in other areas, which probably was quite considerable (see Chapter IV). But it should also be

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[152] [Zou] Chunyou 鄒春攸, *Shuangquan cun shi* 雙泉村史 (Mimeographed. Shuangquan, 1996), 10-11.

[153] "Liancheng xian quanxian hushu renkou qingkuang biao" 連城縣全縣戶數人口情況表 (1951), *Liancheng tugai dang'an* 連城土改檔案 (Liancheng xian dang'an guan), 1-13, unpaged.

remembered that at that time the productivity was low, usually 230 kg of rice per *mu*. The present situation is getting worse. At the time the author stayed in Sibao, Wuge villagers often complained that the land per capita of this village was 0.4 *mu*, which is not even enough to support the everyday food demands of a single person. This is the basic reason that pushed Sibao residents to find non-agricultural work.

Since the mid-1980s, villagers have planted honey peach, plum, mandarin orange, and pear trees. They provide important sources of income for many villagers. But in the past few years, the productivity, particularly that of honey peach, has been affected seriously by an unknown disease. Lack of necessary knowledge also prevents villagers from promoting productivity. Furthermore, fierce competition drives the price very low. But this benefits the fruit retailers. They purchase fruits from Sibao peasants and distribute them to Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Meizhou, Guangzhou, and other South Chinese cities. Some of them make fortunes from this business.

Few factories exist in Sibao. There was one firework factory in the 1980s but it went bankrupt a few years later. During the time the author stayed in Sibao, thousands of Sibao natives worked in factories in Xiamen, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and other cities and it was reported that factory jobs provided the most important source of income in Sibao.

In the late Qing and the Republican period, a lot of Sibao natives worked as silversmiths and tinsmiths. Besides Tingzhou, they usually traveled to northwestern Fujian, southern Jiangxi, and northeastern Guangdong. There in the cities and towns they opened stores to make and sell jewelry made of silver and pots made of tin. Even today quite a few people still take this as their major profession. Their workmanship was and remains well known in the region mentioned above. A more popular job was to work as a rice peddler. As I mentioned above, as far as food supply was concerned, southern Tingzhou counties usually needed to import food. The northern Tingzhou counties such as Qingliu and Ninghua had food to export. This situation thus created a price pressure:

the grain price in southern Tingzhou counties was usually higher than that in the northern counties. Sibao was at the right point on the road from the northern counties to the southern counties. It is reported that thousands of Sibao people worked as rice peddlers in the Republican period. They transported the rice from the markets in Ninghua and Qingliu to Liancheng. Since they kept traveling from one market to another, they were called "market-traveling peddlers" (*zouxufan* 走墟販). In Wuge, it is said that more than ninety percent of villagers, many of them females, worked as market-traveling peddlers, and among them more than one hundred villagers did this frequently.[154] This is probably a later development due to the decline of printing. It is unlikely that at the height of the printing industry this business had the importance it achieved in the late Qing and the Republican period. At this point, it is time to review the rise of the printing industry in Sibao.

Several hypotheses have been put forward to explain how the printing industry was introduced into Sibao.[155] When we introduce these hypotheses, it is important to pay attention not only to what they tell us but also to who is telling us these stories. In the *Lingting huikao*, Yang Lan mentions a book printed in Song Tingzhou. He implies that Sibao printing should have its origin in the Song period.[156] Sibao natives usually trace the origin of the printing industry back to the Ming period. Those from Mawu often attribute the introduction of the printing industry to Ma Xun 馬馴 (1411-1496), a Mawu native

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[154] Zou Hengchen 鄒恆琛, *Sibao Wuge cunshi* 四堡霧閣村史 (Manuscript, Wuge, 1987), 23.

[155] For a detailed study of the printing industry in Sibao, see Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi;" Chen Zhiping 陳支平 and Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿, "Qing dai Minxi Sibao zushang yanjiu" 清代閩西四堡族商研究, *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 2 (1988), 93-109; Cynthia J. Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China: The Zou and Ma Family Businesses of Sibao, Fujian," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (June 1996), 49-92. Brokaw is writing a book on the printing history of Sibao.

[156] *LTHK*, 4/8a-8b.

who became high official in the fifteenth century. Ma Xun was a provincial official in Huguang 湖廣.[157] Thus the legend has it that he may have introduced printing technology from Wuchang 武昌.[158] Wuge residents have their own version of the legend. They claim that the printing technology was introduced into Sibao not in the mid-Ming but in the late sixteenth century by a Wuge native called Zou Xuesheng 鄒學聖. Zou Xuesheng (1523-1598) was a minor official who had been appointed commissioner-in-chief of the government granary (*cang dashi* 倉大使) in Hangzhou. The legend holds that it was he who introduced printing technology into Sibao.[159] As we will be clear in the following chapters, these legends have a close connection to local politics. They are more, to use a term of Bronislaw Malinowski, the "charter" of the present than the reality of the past.

The first mention in Sibao written sources of the book business draws a connection from this trade to Ma Qibing 馬其炳, a seventeenth-century Mawu native. In his biography, he is reported to have been a teacher but his "sons did the business of selling books."[160] It is not clear whether the books they sold were printed in Sibao or elsewhere. But the biography of his contemporary, Zou Baochu 鄒葆初 (1619-1672) of Wuge village, clearly shows that he not only sold but also printed books in Sibao. According to the biography, when he was young, Baochu did business in northeastern Guangdong and earned considerable profits from it. It was there he started to "cut blocks and print the Classics for sale" 刊刻經書出售. After returning home in 1663, he continued his book business and established the first printing shop (*shufang* 書坊) in Sibao.[161] At

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[157] A detailed biographical account of Ma Xun will be given in Chapter IV.

[158] Ma Yunzhang 馬雲章, "Zhongguo si da yinshua jidi-Sibao" 中國四大印刷基地-四堡, in Ma Yunzhang, *Yunzhang yi shi* 雲章遺詩 (Mimeographed. Mawu, 1987), unpaged.

[159] Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi," 103.

[160] *MSZP* (Mawu, 1993 edition), 5 *ji*, 26. His biography shows that at the time the Manchus took over Beijing Qibing was twenty-one years old.

[161] *ZSZP* (Wuge, 1947 edition), 34/9a. See also Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 55-56.

almost the same time, a Mawu native called Ma Weihan (1639-1700) 馬維翰 also started to print books in Sibao. His biography tells us that when he was young he had sold books in Jiangxi and Guangdong for about fifteen years and had made a lot of money from it. But then his younger brother died, leaving behind his old parents and a disabled son. He thus stopped selling books and instead hired people to cut woodblocks and print books, and sold them to book merchants. It is said that the profits he made from this business were two times those of selling books.[162] Two of Weihan's contemporaries, Ma Quanheng 馬權亨 and Ma Quanwen 馬權文, are also said to have started to print books in Sibao.[163] This evidence shows that in the second half of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, the printing industry had been founded in Sibao.

At first glance, Sibao was an unlikely choice for the printing industry. A careful scrutiny, however, finds that not everything was to Sibao's disadvantage. Some factors were actually favorable to Sibao. For one thing, most of the raw materials required for woodblock printing, including camphor trees, paper, soot, and brushes, can be easily found there.[164] For the other, although Sibao was almost inaccessible to Tingzhou city, it was located on the most important road that connected the southern part of Tingzhou to its northern part and to northwestern Fujian as a whole. In addition, we also need to remember that the famous printing center in Jianyang 建陽, northern Fujian, declined in the mid-Ming.[165] The printing industry would not have become possible in Sibao if this had not happened.

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[162] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 5 *ji*, 30.

[163] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 5 *ji*, 33, 35.

[164] Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da dianban yinshua jidi zhiji," 105; Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 52-53.

[165] Lucille Chia, "Book Emporium: The Development of the Jianyang Book Trade, Song-Yuan," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (June 1996): 10-48; Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th – 17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002); Chia, "*Mashaben*: Commercial Publishing in Jianyang from the Song to

The Sibao printing industry entered its golden age in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As mentioned above, this is an important age for Tingzhou as a whole, too. The planting of cash crops and the growth of handicraft production and commerce, though starting in the late sixteenth century, did not lead to prosperity until this period. Within this period of over one century, Wuge and Mawu, the two villages first involved in printing, became the center of printing in Sibao. The number of printing shops operated by villagers of these two villages increased significantly during this period. At the height of its prosperity, about 1,200 people, or roughly 60 percent of the local residents, were involved in the printing and selling of books.[166] Seventy-three printing shops were opened in Wuge and Mawu during this period: fifty-three in the former, twenty in the latter.[167] A few printing shops were opened outside these two villages, too: Yanwu, Shangbao, and Jiantou each had at least one printing shop and more book merchants.[168] Book merchants from other regions flocked to Sibao. It is reported that a group of book merchants from Xuwan 湫灣, Jiangxi, which was itself a publishing center in the Qing period, even built a guild in Yangkengwei 羊坑尾, a place between Wuge and Mawu, which suggests that a larger regional book marketing network was

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Ming," in Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 284-328.

[166] Ma Yunzhang, "Zhongguo si da yinshua jidi," unpaged.

[167] Wu Shideng 吳世燈, "Qingdai Sibao keshuye diaocha baogao" 清代四堡刻書業調查報告, *Chubanshi yanjiu* 出版史研究 2 (1994), 136.

[168] For Yanwu, see Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi," 147; For Shangbao, see *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 15, "Zhaohua gong zhuan" 兆化公傳, 1a. Another man from this village sold books in Guangdong, see *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 15, "Shizan gong qi dai shishi" 世贊公七代事實, 1a. For Jiantou, see the title page of *Yifang xunzi* 義方訓子, published in Jiantou in 1909. Quite a few Jiantou natives worked as book merchants during the Qing period. See for example *Wu shi zupu* 吳氏族譜 (hereafter *WSZP*, 1899 edition, Shangci), *juan* 8, "Jishan zongweng lao xiansheng daren zhuan" 際善宗翁老先生大人傳, 1a; "Wangsheng zongweng lao xiansheng daren zhuan" 旺生宗翁老先生大人傳, 1a; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Jinlin gong fufu ji lingsi Jiren gong Jiyang gong Jishi gong Jiru gong Jishi gong Jijie gong Jiren gong zongxu" 金林公夫婦暨令嗣季任公季仰公季仕公季儒公季使公季傑公季仁公總序, 1b.

developing there.[169] Sibao publishers were also able to attract merchants from Hunan, Guangdong, and Guangxi. Each year a market was held on the fifteenth of the first month at Yangkengwei to sell Sibao products to these merchants.[170]

Sibao publishers not only sold books to the merchants who came to Sibao, but also sold books by themselves. According to Yang Lan, "the whole community of Sibao" made it a profession to print and sell books. "Each family has a store of woodblocks. Each year they print once and sell them far and near" 家有藏板歲一刷印販行遠近. Although Sibao had not achieved the prosperity of Jian'an (Jianyang), Yang Lan remarks, the books they published included everything falling into the categories of "books for livelihoods and everyday uses" 經生應用典籍 and "essays for teaching and preparing for the examinations" 課藝應試之文. They "open[ed] bookstores in the city and transport[ed] their texts on their shoulders to the countryside for sale. Not only have they benefited the world of scholarship, but they also serve[d] as permanent property for Sibao families" 城市有店鄉以肩擔不但便於藝林抑且家為恆產富埒多藏.[171] As Brokaw correctly points out, the distribution networks the Sibao publishers were able to establish are "impressive." They could be found in all the major markets of South China. "There were routes north, from Ninghua into Jiangxi, Hubei, Sichuan, Anhui, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu (and thus to the major book markets in Wuhan, Chongqing, Chengdu, Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou); and another from Qingliu to eastern Fujian, Fuzhou, and (by sea) to Wenzhou and the book markets of Zhejiang. The western route started in Changting and then divided into water and land routes leading to eastern Guangdong, Guangzhou, western Guangdong, Guangxi (Wuzhou, Guixian, Nanning, and Baise), and Yunnan. Finally, the southern

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[169] Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi," 110.

[170] Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 58.

[171] *LTHK*, 4/8a. The translation is adapted from Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 50 n. 2.

route, beginning in Liancheng, branched north to northern Fujian, southeast to the Minnan cities of Zhangzhou, Xiamen, and Quanzhou, and south to Guangdong."[172] Given the co-existence of these distributing regions and the distribution of the Hakkas, Chen Zhiping and Zheng Zhenman suggests Hakka ethnicity may have played an important role at the time Sibao publishers decided where to sell their books.[173]

Although the term "lineage merchant" (*zushang* 族商) is often used to describe Sibao merchants, this does not mean that the lineage organizations participated in the printing and selling of the books of its member families. The predominant way of managing printing shops was actually based on families rather than on the lineage as a whole. As Brokaw points out, management of the printing shops was usually in the hands of the family patriarch, the *jiazhang* 家長. Only when he was illiterate or did not have the basic skill in management would a son take charge. The work of printing itself was also very much a family matter. Most of the work, except the kind of work for which much skill was needed such as block carving, was performed by family members. The large printing shops did have to hire laborers to help in the printing and sometimes they hired as many as eight to ten laborers. Usually they hired relatives. When the family was divided, the woodblocks were usually divided equally among those who were entitled to have a share. After division, they might or might not continue this business and this was again a family matter.[174] However, lineage did play an important role in some aspects. In these cases, the lineage functioned less as a corporation than as a network. This is most clearly shown when a family was divided. Roughly in the middle of the nineteenth century, a family division took place in Wuge. The woodblocks were divided equally

[172] Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 76. See also Zou Risheng, "Zhongguo si da diaoban yinshua jidi zhiyi," 111.

[173] Chen and Zheng, "Qingdai Minxi Sibao zushang yanjiu," 107.

[174] Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 59-60.

among the five sons involved, so that each of them received eight to ten sets of wood blocks. A document of family division (*fen'guan* 分關) was drawn up when the family was divided. The document claims that according to their "family regulations" (*jiagui* 家規), after the family was divided, the wood blocks could only be rented among the five sons.[175] This is, of course, an extreme case. In more usual ways, lineages functioned as regulators of potential competition between different printing shops. For example, managers of different printing shops agreed on the practice of "*sui yi shua yin*" (each year printing anew), a method of dividing titles to be published among the various shops. After these managers had decided which titles they wished to print, they would discuss their wishes among themselves, negotiating over any duplication in order to limit competition on the market.[176] It is true that the regulation of competition was basically not a lineage matter. But still, kinship ties may have their influence felt when conflict did happen within a lineage or between two lineages.

Lineage as a kinship network was relied upon when book merchants needed to replenish their stocks. In a book merchant's account book dating from the late Qing, a merchant replenished his stock from a variety of different bookstores: twice from a bookstore in Nanning 南寧, the provincial capital of Guangxi, twice from Lingshan 靈山, Guangxi, once from Hengxian 橫縣, Guangxi, once directly from Fujian, twice from Lianyuan 連元, a bookstore whose location is not given, twice from Hanbao 翰寶, probably Hanbao Lou 翰寶樓 of Sibao, once from Yingwen 英文, Jinwen 近文, and

[175] A photocopy of this document is in the author's possession (Fen'guan #3). The number of the *fen'guan* is given by the author.

[176] Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 73; Zeng Ling 曾玲 and Ma Kadan 馬卡丹, "Sibao diaoban yinshua de xingqi yu shuailuo" 四堡雕版印刷的興起與衰落, in Zhonggong Liancheng xianwei xuanchuanbu 中共連城縣委宣傳部, ed., *Zhonghua wenhua mingzhu-Sibao* 中華文化明珠-四堡 (Liancheng, 2000), 29-30.

Guanghua 光華 whose locations are not given.[177] According to its present owner, this is an account book of Wenhai Lou 文海樓, a famous bookstore in Sibao. Its main store was in Nanning. Five branch stores were opened in Lingshan, Hengzhou (Hengxian), Chaozhou, and Changting. The stocks from Lingshan, Nanning, and Hengzhou mentioned in the account book were probably, if not necessarily, from the stores opened by the same family or family network if the family had divided. Again, those from Fujian and Hanbao were probably from Sibao printing shops or bookstores.

It is difficult to estimate the number of books printed in Sibao. Wu Shideng gives an estimate of 667 titles, which generalizes the evidence from the extant woodblocks (70), the extant books (77), the woodblocks mentioned in five Sibao *fen'guan* (325), the books mentioned in the account book of Wenhai Lou (64), the books mentioned in Sibao genealogies (25), and the books Wu saw personally (106). But Wu suggests that the actual number of books printed in Sibao could be far more than the figure he gives.[178] The figure given by Brokaw is much larger. She gives one thousand titles as a conservative figure.[179] The total number of titles of books published in Sibao is, of course, very difficult to determine. But we may get some idea by calculating the books mentioned in the account book of the Wenhai Lou and from an inventory for printing. Wu Shideng mentions 64 books in the account book. But the actual number of the books mentioned in this account book is much larger.[180] My own calculation gives 454 titles of books but 128 of them have appeared more than once. We have thus roughly 326 separate

[177] Book account #6, p. 25. The pictures of the account book are in the author's possession. Both the number of the account book and the page number shown here are given by the author.

[178] Wu Shideng, "Qingdai Sibao keshuye diaocha baogao," 138.

[179] Cynthia Brokaw, personal communication, July 18, 2003.

[180] Due to unknown reasons the owner did not show the account book to Wu Shideng.

titles.[181] The inventory was kept by a printing shop in late Qing Wuge. It is a list of the titles of books, their authors, and the amount and size of paper (and sometimes the number of pieces the paper should be cut into) needed to print them. It gives 858 titles,[182] which is 191 titles more than the number proposed by Wu Shideng. The nature of this inventory should be investigated carefully before we accept this figure. It makes no sense that the books mentioned in the inventory were printed by only one printing shop, which was clearly impossible. But it does not mean that these books, or more exactly, the woodblocks of these books, did not exist in Sibao at all. This inventory functioned principally as a manual which managers of the printing shops could refer to when they determined which books they would print. It informed them how much paper was needed for such and such book. It was taken for granted that the woodblocks involved were not a problem. If they were not in the possession of this printing shop, other Sibao printing shops may have owned them. It is on this ground that the author tends to think that it could be used to show the number of books actually printed in Sibao, or at least the number of woodblocks once in the possession of Sibao printing shops. Furthermore, given the nature of this inventory, the same title of a book may appear several times, but this is not a simple repetition. They are mentioned several times since it involved several editions of one single title. Thus what we have is the "net" figure without essential repetition.

Yang Lan mentions that the books published in Sibao fell principally into two categories: (a) books for daily livelihood and everyday uses, and (b) textbooks and books for preparing for the examinations. The inventory mentioned above classifies all books

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[181] This is based on a manuscript of Cynthia J. Brokaw tentatively titled, "Commerce in Culture: The Book Trade of Sibao, 1663-1946," 8.1.

[182] A photocopy of this inventory is in the author's possession. The inventory had been in the possession of a descendant of the family that operated the Cailin Tang printing shop before it was sold to its present owner, another Sibao villager.

into three categories: *tian* 天 (Heaven), *di* 地 (Earth), and *ren* 人 (mankind). The first category consists of "essays" and includes 149 titles and is similar to the second type of Yang Lan's classification. The second category is constituted by the "Four Books" and includes 61 various editions of the "Four Books"-*Analects*, *Mencius*, *Great Learning*, and *Doctrine of the Mean*. The third category is composed of "classics and history" and lists all books that are not included in the first two categories. Wu Shideng gives a more complicated classification. He differentiates eight categories of books printed in Sibao: (a) primers (41); (b) Classics, history, and philosophy books (106); (c) textbooks and books for preparing exams (49); (d) medical texts (58); (e) books for daily livelihood and everyday reference (66); (f) books of geomancy, fortune-telling, and astrological reckonings (42); (g) collected works of poems and essays (51); (h) novels and dramas (83).[183] The first type, primers, includes such books as the *San zi jing* 三字經 (Three character classic), the *Bai jia xing* 百家姓 (Myriad family names), the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 (Thousand character text), and the *Youxue gushi qionglin* 幼學故事瓊林 (Essential allusions for beginners). The majority of books listed in the second category are different editions of the Classics. Only a few history and philosophy books are mentioned. The third type includes principally those books that instruct one how to write poems and compose eight-legged prose, the basic skill needed to become a member of the gentry. The books included in the fifth type cover different topics: dictionaries, arithmetic books, selections of classical essays, couplet books, books that instruct one how to write letters, chess books, and more than a dozen books on social interaction. The other categories have clearly shown the books listed under them and do not need further explanation.

Among Wu's eight categories listed above, the fifth type is most relevant to the topic of this thesis. In this type, we can find sixteen books whose major topic(s) includes

[183] Wu Shideng, "Qingdai Sibao keshuye diaocha baogao," 145-153.

li (ritual): *Yingshi bianshu* 應世便書 (Handbook for social intercourse), *Yingchou xinsheng* 應酬新聲 (Updated handbook for social intercourse), *Yingchou zhushi* 應酬註釋 (Commentaries to the book of social intercourse), *Choushi zhinan* 酬世指南 (Guide to social intercourse), *Choushi hebi* 酬世合璧 (Collected essays for social intercourse), *Minggong yingchou* 名公應酬 (Social intercourse of famous persons), *Choushi jinnang* 酬世錦囊 (Wise counsel for social intercourse), *Xin choushi jinnang* 新酬世錦囊 (Wise counsel for social intercourse, new edition), *Lao choushi jinnang* 老酬世錦囊 (Wise counsel for social intercourse, old edition), *Xie tie kuanshi* 寫帖款式 (Forms of address), *Wengong jiali* 文公家禮 (Zhu Xi's family rituals), *Jiali guanglei* 家禮廣類 (Broadly classified edition of family rituals), *Jiali daquan* 家禮大全 (Complete edition of family rituals), *Jiali fangyu* 家禮方輿 (Guide to family rituals), *Jiali faqiao* 家禮法竅 (Key to family rituals), *Huizuan jiali tieshi jiyao* 彙纂家禮帖式集要 (Collected elementary styles of invitation cards for family rituals). These books can be further divided into two groups: books for "*yingchou*" (social intercourse) and books of "*jiali*" (family rituals). The topic of the former is usually broader than the latter (see below). The *jiali* here were used in the same way as Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*.[184] Actually one of them is exactly this book. The printer's inventory lists fifteen books that fall into the same category. Eleven of them belong to the first group, i.e., the *yingchou* group. The other four fall into the *jiali* group. Six of them were mentioned in Wu's list. Among the other nine books, seven fall into the first group, including *Choushi xubian* 酬世續編 (Continuation of social intercourse), *Choushi jinghua* 酬世精華 (Essentials for social intercourse), *Choushi tannang* 酬世探囊 (Easy way of social intercourse), *Choushi bianlan* 酬世便覽 (Brief guide to social

[184] For Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* and its circulation in late imperial period, see Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*.

intercourse), *Yingchou siliu xinbian* 應酬四六新編 (A lately compiled book for social intercourse written in verse), *Choushi baoyao* 酬世寶要 (Precious essentials for social intercourse), and *Choushi bazhen* 酬世八珍 (Eight treasures for social intercourse); two fall into the second group: *Wengong si bao* 文公四寶 (Four treasures of Zhu Xi) and *Jiali jiyao* 家禮集要 (Collected essentials for family rituals).

Another category that has some relevance to the present study is Wu's sixth type. This category includes books concerning geomancy, fortune-telling, and astrological reckonings. Forty-two books are listed under this category. If one excludes three books that do not belong to this category,[185] we get thirty-nine books. Among them fourteen concern geomancy. Thirteen concern fortune-telling. Seven concern astrological reckonings. The topics of the other five books are unknown to the author. The books of astrological reckonings are most relevant to the recent study. The five books mentioned in Wu's article are principally *tongshu* 通書 (almanacs).[186] The printer's inventory mentions twelve books of astrological reckonings. The majority of them are also almanacs by which *lisheng* could select auspicious dates (see Chapter III).

The authors of most of the books printed in Sibao were not Sibao natives. But our evidence shows that Sibao authors did write and publish a few books. The popular primer, *Youxue gushi qionglin*, was written by Zou Shengmai 鄒聖脈 (1691-1761), a Wuge native. Zou Shengmai was more usually known as Zou Wugang 鄒梧崗, which was his literary name. He seemed to have born into a well-to-do family. At the age of six, his father bought a title of *jiansheng* 監生 (National University Student) for him, hoping that he would concentrate on studying for the civil service examination. But he was frustrated by

[185] These three books are *Ganying bian* 感應編, *Guanyin jing* 觀音經, and *Guandi mingsheng jing* 關帝明聖經.

[186] Wu Shideng, "Qingdai Sibao keshuye diaocha baogao," 150-151.

continuous failure in the exams.[187] During his life he must have kept writing, since our evidence shows that he wrote quite a few books. *Youxue gushi qionglin*, or *Youxue qionglin*, is originally a book written by Cheng Yunsheng 程允昇. The main contents of this primer are essential allusions that were basic knowledge for poetry writing. It is written in verse and thus easy to remember. Believing that the contents of this book were not broad enough, Zou Shengmai followed its original style and added a number of new allusions, making this book more useful to the reader. This edition replaced the earlier one and became a very popular primer and it is still reprinted today.[188] Shengmai also wrote a series of commentaries to the *Five Classics* (Wujing 五經), with the general title *Wujing beizhi* 五經備旨 (Five classics with leading thoughts). The main purpose of these books was to assist in preparing for the civil service examination. Shengmai's other books include *Shuhua tongzhen* 書畫同珍 (Handbook for calligraphy and painting) and *Jianlue tuozhu* 鑒略妥注 (Commentaries to the abridged Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government).[189] The former appears to be a handbook for painting and calligraphy, while the latter seems to be an abridged edition of the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) with commentaries.[190] Shengmai's second son, Zou Keting 鄒可庭 (1715-1803), was a less well-known author. His name was Tingyou 廷猷 and Keting was his literary name. Another of his literary names was Sheyuan 涉園. He was a National University Student.[191] He compiled the *Xinbian choushi jinnang* 新編酬世錦囊 (Lately compiled wise counsel for social intercourse). The title page of this

[187] The biography of Zou Shengmai can be found in *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/16b-17b.

[188] Cheng Yunsheng and Zou Shengmai, *Youxue qionglin* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1986).

[189] See the printer's inventory, 15b-19b, 29b-30a, 32a-32b.

[190] Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995). Zhu Xi and his pupils have written an adapted, highly moralistic edition of *Zizhi tongjian*, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目. But from the evidence the author has at hand, it is impossible to determine whether the one for which Shengmai wrote his commentaries was the same as this edition.

[191] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 8/111b-112a.

book shows clearly that it was edited by "Zou Keting, with the literary name of Sheyuan 涉園, from Wuge."[192] This book turns out to be a collection of five books: *Chidu xin cai* 尺牘新裁 (Updated selection of letters), *Jiali zuanyao* 家禮纂要 (Selected essentials of family rituals), *Duilian junju* 對聯雋句 (Excellent couplets), *Tieshi chenghu* 帖式稱呼 (Styles of addressing), and *Tianxia lucheng* 天下路程 (Guide to the routes of the empire).[193] The title page of another book, *Ji'ao shanfang ji shi lian zaojing* 寄傲山房集詩聯藻鏡 (An appraisal of poem-couplets, compiled by [the owner of] the Ji'ao Mountain Chamber), shows that Zou Keting also edited this book along with his second son, Zou Jingyang 鄒景揚 (1744-1809), a Military Provincial Graduate.[194] Still another Wuge resident, Zou Pinghan 鄒屏翰, compiled a book called *Duilian daquan* 對聯大全 (A complete collection of couplets).[195]

It is now the time to have a brief discussion of the self-image of Sibao book merchants, an issue that is important for our understanding of the social and cultural history of Sibao. Brokaw finds a "common theme" that "runs through all the discussions of family occupational strategy in the Zou and Ma genealogies:" is "a fundamental hope for success in the examinations." As the biographies in these sources show, "[e]ach descent group put great stock in continuing the education of its sons; commerce in books was chosen as occupation in the greatest number of cases only after several years of examination study and perhaps one or more attempts to pass the examinations." But this hope for success in examinations popular among Sibao people was seldom realized (see

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[192] A photocopy of this book is in the author's possession. At the beginning of the book, there is a preface written in 1802.

[193] *Choushi jinnang* is published even today. See Li Qingping 李清平, *Deli choushi jinnang* 得利酬世錦囊 (Hong Kong: Deli shuju, 1964). This book is an updated edition of *Choushi jinnang*.

[194] A list of books and wood-blocks extant in Sibao (compiled by Brokaw, no date), 5.

[195] Brokaw's booklist, 3. A man called Zou Ruda 鄒汝達 wrote a book called *Sishu buzhu beizhi tiqiao huican* 四書補註備旨題竅彙參, but it is uncertain whether he was from Sibao. See Brokaw's booklist, 12.

Table 4.2). For Brokaw, the "frustrations with the examination system served to fuel the publishing ventures of the two families," because the association with books and Confucian scholarship provided several factors, such as literacy and access to literati networks, that were important to the book business. In the book business, the failed scholars found an occupation that was relatively different from other ones: the association between the book trade, learning, and high social status. Sibao book merchants "insisted that they were a special kind of merchant, a 'scholar-merchant' or 'Confucian merchant' (*ru shang* 儒商), devoted not just to the petty search for profit, but to the spread of learning."[196] Theoretically speaking, this representation of book merchants should not be confused with the self-image of book merchants themselves. As will be pointed out in the last chapter, this way of representing merchants was an important means that the Confucian grand narrative realized and reproduced itself. But in late imperial Sibao, it could be adopted by book merchants themselves and thus became the latter's self-image, not only because this image helped them in their business, but also because Confucianism as an orthodoxy was closely related to the power of the court. And this image was not without some reality. Although many Sibao literati turned to the book business after they had failed to pass the examination several times, the *juanna* 捐納 system that was practiced in the Qing period almost continuously provided an important channel for them to enter the stratum of gentry.[197] Sibao sources show that the majority of Sibao degree-and-title holders obtained their degrees and titles by purchase. Of 327 degree-and-title holders among the Lower Shrine branch of the Zous of Wuge, 208 or 63.6 percent, most of them *jiansheng* 監生 (National University Students) obtained their degrees and titles

[196] Brokaw, "Commercial Publishing in Late Imperial China," 61-65.

[197] For the *juanna* system, see Xu Daling 許大齡, "Qingdai juanna zhidu" 清代捐納制度, in Xu Daling, *Ming Qing shi lunji* 明清史論集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 1-173.

by purchase (Table 2.2). The same was true for other branches and lineages.[198] Although we do not know exactly the percentage of book merchants among them, the fact that the degree and titles were purchased means that more often than not these people were merchants. For our present purpose, it is important to understand the roles these people played in the social and cultural life of Sibao. Min Tu-ki suggests differentiating the *shengyuan-jiansheng* stratum from higher gentry such as *jinshi* and *juren.*[199] The following chapters will show that it would be better to make a further differentiation between *shengyuan* and *jiansheng*. Their predominant percentage among the gentry elite perhaps explained why they played such an important role in lineage building, community compacts, and the establishment of local temples. But their active participation in these activities can be fully understood only from the perspective of their self-image as "scholar merchants."

Before concluding this chapter, we need to make a few remarks on the preceding discussion. First, Sibao lies in a peripheral area of four counties of Tingzhou. Starting from the seventeenth century, however, this community was able to make itself into a center of book production and distribution. The creation of this center of production had less to do with the expansion of its own hinterland than it did with the opening up of markets outside of Tingzhou. Second, within the Sibao area, different villages were involved in the book business to different degrees. Wuge and Mawu were the two most important villages that not only sold but also printed books. In some villages, only a few

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[198] For the Upper Shrine branch of the Zous of Wuge, see *ZSZP* (Wuge, 1947), *juan mo* 卷末; for the Zous of Yangzibian, see *ZSZP* (1946, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "*Shenshi timing*" 紳士題名, 1a-8a.

[199] Min Tu-ki, "The Sheng-yuan-Chien-sheng Stratum (Sheng-Chien) in Ch'ing Society," in Min Tu-ki, *National Polity and Local Power: The Transformation of Late Imperial China* (Ed. Philip A. Kuhn and Timothy Brook. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989), 21-49.

families were involved in this business. Shangbao, Jiantou, and Yanwu are three examples. Other villages, such as Changxiao and Jiangfang, did not show any involvement in this business. It is true that, on the one hand, the printing and selling of books was not the only way of making money and, on the other hand, involvement in this business did not guarantee that one would make money. Generally speaking, however, Sibao's book business was successful and book merchants did make considerable profits from it. It would thus be interesting to know how the wealth from the book business transformed the power structure of Sibao community. Last but not the least, the fact that more than eight hundred titles of books, especially books related to court ritual and gentry culture, were printed in Sibao implies that many Sibao people, at least those who could read, were exposed directly to the influence of gentry culture. They must have been more or less familiar with, even if they may not have accepted or have had deep understanding of, orthodox ways of performing rituals.

Table 2.2 Degree-and-Title Holders among the Lower Shrine, Wuge

Dates	*Juren* (a)	*Gong-sheng* (b)	*Sheng-yuan* (c)	*Li-yuan* (d)	*Feng-zeng* (e)	*Jian-sheng* (f)	*Qimin guandai; Cong jiu ping* (g)	Others (h)	Total
Ming	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Kangxi	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Qianlong	13	2	17	-	1	-	-	-	33
Jiaqing	1	1	7	2	1	-	-	-	12
Daoguang	-	1	7	1	5	-	-	-	14
Xianfeng	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	5
Tongzhi	-	1	6	2	2	-	-	-	11
Guangxu	1	3	1	-	3	-	-	-	8
Unknown	-	1	5	1	3	208	36	8	262
Total	15	9	45	7	19	208	36	8	347

Source: *ZSZP* (Wuge, 1994), *juan* 30, "*Ti ming* 題名."

Notes: (a) *Juren* 舉人: Provincial Graduate.

(b) *Gongsheng* 貢生: Tribute Student.

(c) *Shengyuan* 生員: Government Student.

(d) *Liyuan* 吏員: Clerk.

(e) *Fengzeng* 封贈: Title holder.

(f) *Jiansheng/Taixuesheng/Guoxuesheng* 太學生/國學生: National University Student.

(g) *Qimin guandai* 耆民冠帶: Elder; *Cong jiu ping* 從九品: [Receiver of] rank 9b.

(h) Included here are *xiangbing* 鄉賓 (community guest) and *cibian* 賜匾 (plaque receiver).

Chapter III

Lisheng and Their Texts

"*Li*" 禮, usually translated as "ritual" or "ceremony," plays a crucial role in ancient Chinese texts and practices. Given the wide range of the meaning of the term "*li*," Chinese rituals are especially amenable to analysis by the performative approach, a theoretical trend that can be observed in current anthropological literature.[1] According to the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explanations of single component graphs and analyses of compound characters), the term "*li*" means "a step" (*li li ye* 禮履也), with the derivative meanings of "to practice," "to act," or "to perform." The *li* is performed "so as to serve supernatural beings and obtain happiness" (*shi shen zhi fu* 事神致福).[2] The character "禮" is composed of two parts, "*shi*" 示 (literally, "show," "sign," or "indicate") and "*li*" 豐 (ritual vase), because among the "five rites" (*wuli* 五禮) the rite of sacrifice (*jili* 祭禮) was the most important.[3] As the Qing scholar Duan Yucai points out, the explanation given in the *Shuo wen* is quoted from the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) and the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Classic of

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[1] See, for example, Stanley J. Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," in Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 123-166; James L. Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funeral Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 3-19.

[2] "Throughout the early lexicons, ritual actions (*li* 禮) is defined with its homophone, 'to tread a path' (*li* 履), emphasizing the necessity of enacting and ultimately embodying the cultural tradition that is captured in ritual action." David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 87.

[3] Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuo wen jie zi zhu* 說文解字注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 2. See also Hall and Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, 85-89. Hall and Ames distinguish various meanings of *li* in early texts. These include social position or hierarchy; the cosmological dimension of social relationships; and the physical embodiment of the cultural tradition in ritual action. Overall, they too emphasize the importance of ritual performance in their analysis of *li*.

change),[4] which indicates that this way of understanding *li* was quite popular in ancient China. An emphasis on ritual performance implies that to in order to perform a ritual, it is not only often necessary to have the ritual text that prescribes the procedures of the ritual, but it is also often necessary to have specialists who guide the whole process of the ritual. Just as in making a film one needs the script, actors, and the director, to perform a ritual one also needs not only a ritual text and the persons who perform the ritual, but also the specialist who guides the ritual. In China from the Han onwards, this guide has been usually called *lisheng* (the master of ceremonies).

Lisheng: An Overview

Lisheng and *Yinyang sheng*

Just as the audience of a film usually pays more attention to the narrative of the film than to its director, so students of Chinese rituals, at least as far as village rituals are concerned, focus primarily on the performance of rituals and on ritual texts rather than on directors of the rites. Therefore so far little study has been done concerning *lisheng*.[5] Little is known about their history, their role in Chinese social and cultural life, and the transmission of their expertise and their special texts. Since this thesis is focused on *lisheng* and the history of their rituals in Sibao, a thorough survey of these problems is

[4] Sun Xidan 孫希旦, *Liji ji jie* 禮記集解 (Taiwan: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1990), j. 46, "Jiyi" 祭義, 1226; Gao Heng 高亨, *Zhouyi dazhuan jin zhu* 周易大傳今注 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1979), j. 6, "Xu gua" 序卦, 644.

[5] The only article examines lisheng as its major topic is Lee Fong-Mao, "Lisheng yu daoshi: Taiwan minjian shehui zhong liyi shijian de liang ge mianxiang," 331-364. Philip Clart's article, "Confucius and the Mediums: Is There a 'Popular Confucianism'?" (*T'oung Pao*, forthcoming), gives a brief account to *lisheng* and introduces some information that may have relation to *lisheng* in English literature. A group of articles published in Chinese journal *Zhonghua xiqu* 中華戲曲 to be discussed below also mentions *lisheng*.

impossible. But a brief overview of them will be helpful for our understanding of their role in Sibao.

The recent scholarship usually makes a connection between *lisheng* and *yinyang sheng* 陰陽生 or *yinyang xiansheng* 陰陽先生 (the *yinyang* masters). This connection was first made when a late Qing manuscript related to the *sai* 賽 temple festivals was discovered in Shanxi in 1989. The first question that arose from the discovery of this new source was how it was produced. It turned out that the owner of the manuscript was a local villager whose ancestors had been *yinyang* masters from the mid-Ming onward. Every year in the *sai* temple festivals, they worked as masters of ceremonies (*zhuli* 主禮 or *zhuli sheng* 主禮生). During the three-day festivals, they performed the rites of sacrifice to local patron gods and arranged the playing of music and the performing of dramas. Their major role is quite similar to *lisheng* in South China. According to the information given in the manuscript, it was actually copied from another source, which was reportedly owned by a state appointed *yinyang* master from a nearby village.[6] This clue implies that these ritual specialists-whether *zhuli sheng* or *yinyang sheng*-may have had their origins in the Yinyang School (*yinyang xue* 陰陽學) in the Ming government.

It is held that the Yinyang School as a government agency first appeared in the early Ming.[7] This point is actually not correct. The history of the Yinyang School can be traced back to the early Yuan, if not earlier. In 1295, a proclamation was published

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[6] See Han Sheng 寒聲, Li Shoutian 栗守田, Yuan Shuangxi 原雙喜, and Chang Zhitan 常之坦, "Yingshen saishe lijie chuanbu sishi qu gongdiao zhushi" 迎神賽社禮節傳簿四十曲宮調註釋, and "Yingshen saishe lijie chuanbu sishi qu gongdiao chutan" 迎神賽社禮節傳簿四十曲宮調初探, *Zhonghua xiqu* 3 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), 51-117, 118-136. See also Yang Mengheng 楊孟衡, *Shangdang gusai xiejuan shisi zhong jianzhu* 上黨古賽寫卷十四種箋註 (Taibei: Caituan faren Shi hezheng minsu wenhua jijinhui, 2000), 5-27. See also David Johnson, "'Confucian' Elements in the Great Temple Festivals of Southeastern Shanxi in Late Imperial Times," *T'oung Pao* 83 (1997), 126-161, and "Temple Festivals in Southeastern Shanxi: The Sai of Nashe Village and Big West Gate," *Minsu quyi* 91 (1993), 641-734.

[7] Charles O. Hucker traces the history of the Yin-yang School to the early Ming. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 583.

concerning the selection, examination, and appointment of Professors of Yinyang (*yinyang jiaoshou* 陰陽教授). The proclamation ordered that each circuit (*lu* 路) should recommend a person who was "experienced and prudent, well-versed in his business, and held in esteem." This candidate should be examined with questions from the *Sanyuan Classics* (*sanyuan jingshu* 三元經書)[8] and, if he passed the exam, be reexamined by the Surveillance Commissioner (*lianfeng shi* 廉訪使) of the concerned province. Finally, the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*jixian yuan* 集賢院) would appoint the candidates who passed both exams as Professors of Yinyang. The Classics mentioned included the *Zhansuan* 占算 (Astrological reckoning), *Sanming* 三命 (Three fates), *Wuxing* 五星 (Five planets), *Zhouyi* 周易 (Book of change), *Liuren* 六壬 (Six *ren*), *Shuxue* 數學 (Study of prognostication), *Zhancai dayi shu* 占才大義書 (Book of the Chinese horoscope), *Zhoushu mi'ao* 周書秘奧 (Secret of book of Zhou), *Bazhai tongzhen lun* 八宅通真論 (Account of the penetrating truth of the eight [forms] of residence), *Dili xin shu* 地理新書 (A new book on geomancy), *Ying yuan zonglun* 塋元總論 (A general account of grave geomancy), and *Dili mingzhen lun* 地理明真論 (Account of the enlightening truth of geomancy).[9] The first seven books are those of fortune-telling and astrological reckonings. The other five books are those of geomancy. The topics of these books suggest the major fields of interest of the Professor of Yinyang.

The Yinyang School is mentioned in the "School" section of the Ministry of Rites in the *Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 (Yuan Statutes). According to the first entry of this section, a proclamation was published in 1261 concerning those who took Yinyang

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[8] The term "*sanyuan*" has various meanings in China. The most popular one is the Heaven, the Earth, and man. But the "*sanyuan*" in "Sanyuan Classics" may have a different meaning. At the end of this proclamation, a dozen books were mentioned (see below). Six of them were listed under *Hunyuan* 婚元 (marriage), *Zhaiyuan* 宅元 (geomancy of houses), and *Yingyuan* 塋元 (geomancy of graves). It is probable that *sanyuan* in this context means these three "*yuan*."

[9] *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* 大元聖政國朝典章 (1318 edition. Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi daxue, 1998, reprint), "Guanzhi, 3" 官制三, 325.

Masters as their profession. They were usually known as *yinyang ren* or *yinyang renyuan* 陰陽人員. Sometimes they were also addressed as "the clerks or people of the Bureau of Astronomy" (*sitiantai renyuan* 司天臺人員) probably because they were under the supervision of the Bureau of Astronomy. The proclamation ordered that tax and corvée labor should not be imposed upon those who were in this profession on the ground that while people of other professions had their "livelihoods" (*yingyun* 營運), those who were in this profession did not.[10] The second and the third entries provide two proclamations published in 1308 and 1312. Both of these proclamations prohibited the handover of "the Ritual Masters of *yin* and *yang*" (*yinyang fashi* 陰陽法師), probably another name for *yinyang* masters, to the princes and commander-escorts (*fuma* 駙馬). This is probably meant to put the *yinyang* master under direct state control. The following four entries concern the books of astronomy and almanacs. The government prohibited the printing of *Shoushili* 授時曆 (Calendar for the farming year) and *Tuibeitu* 推背圖 (Charts of extrapolation from the back) without state permission and confiscated privately owned old almanacs and astronomical books. It seems that these regulations were established because the government was worried that these books might be used for illegal or rebellious purposes. The next entry includes the *Tuniu jing* 土牛經 (Book of the earth oxen) approved in 1287. This book attempts to prescribe a universal ritual format for the performing of the rite of ploughing the fields at the Lunar New Year. It is included here probably because it was published by the Bureau of Astronomy. The topic of the last entry is the examination of *yinyang* masters summarized above.[11] To conclude, during the

[10] The Yuan household registration system was complicated. Generally speaking, a household was classified into a category according to its major profession. *Yinyang ren* were registered along with *minhu* 民戶 (civil households), *junhu* 軍戶 (military households), *jianghu* 匠戶 (craftsman households), *ruhu* 儒戶 (scholar households), *yihu* 醫戶 (doctor households), and so forth. See Meng Siming 蒙思明, *Yuandai shehui jieji zhidu* 元代社會階級制度 (Beiping: Hafo yanjing xueshe, 1938), 149, 168.

[11] *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, 1213-1218.

Yuan period, the *yinyang* masters were usually under the supervision of the Bureau of Astronomy. They were exempted from tax and corvée labor. A Professor of Yinyang was appointed in each circuit. The major fields of their study included geomancy, astrological reckonings, and probably fortune-telling. Judging from their titles, it is possible that they were also in charge of training students who had interest in these arts and supervising commoner *yinyang* masters who neither held official posts nor receive salary from the government.

After the Ming was established, the state inherited these basic practices of the Yuan. It is true that the early Ming household registration system was much more simplified than that of the Yuan. But the principle that households were registered based on their major professions was not dramatically modified. Thus in the early Ming, all households were divided into three major categories: *minhu* (civil households), *junhu* (military households), and *jianghu* (craftsman households). The *yinyang* households fell into the first category, *minhu*, along with *ru* (scholars) and *yi* (doctors). They were forbidden to change the category of household within which they were registered.[12] The *yinyang* masters were allowed to tell fortunes according to the "classics." But those who "made false prophecy at the home of officials, whether they were minor or great, civil or military," would be flogged a hundred heavy blows.[13]

Charles Hucker suggested that the Ming Yinyang School was "established under the authorization of local units of territorial administration but without state subsidies."[14] The principal of this school at the prefectural level was called a *zhengshu* 正術 (rank 9b).

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[12] *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (1587 edition. Taiwan: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976, reprint), 19/19a; *Xu Wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 (Compiled in the Qianlong era. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000), j. 13, "Hukou, 2" 户口二, 2891.

[13] See *Da Ming lü* 大明律 (Collected in Zhang Lu 張鹵, ed., *Huang Ming zhishu* 皇明制書. Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1966-1967, vol. 2, 23-172), j. 13, "Lilü" 禮律, 98.

[14] Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 583.

He was called a *dianshu* 典術 (unranked) at the level of sub-prefecture and a *xunshu* 訓術 (unranked) at county level. All of these officials were appointed from 1384 onwards without state subsidies.[15] Evidence from local gazetteers shows that although they had only minor importance in local government, they seemed to have been appointed regularly during the Ming period. For example, the *Changting County Gazetteer* mentions the names of nine Principals of the prefecture level Yinyang School. The first one was appointed in the Jingtai era (1450-1456). The failure to mention any principals appointed before this date may either be due to the minor importance of this position or to a lack of information. The gazetteer does not mention the duration of their tenancy.[16] One piece of evidence shows that their appointments were usually based on recommendation (*baochu* 保除).[17] But this source does not tell us who was entitled to recommend them. Hucker maintains that one of the main purposes for the establishment of the Yinyang School was "to train practitioners of geomancy and similar arts."[18] If this is to be believed, this purpose was hardly put into practice. According to the Qing scholar Zhai Hao 翟顥:

> The Yinyang School was established in the Yuan period. Those who studied in the school were called *yinyang* masters. The major book they had to study was the *Book of Change*. But they were also expected to study all the arts of astronomy, geography, astrology, divination, house geomancy, grave geomancy, and the picking of auspicious dates. From the Ming onwards the school was abandoned and the *yinyang* masters attached themselves only to Taoism. Thus the name very much falls short

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[15] Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 75, "Zhiguan, 4" 職官四, 1853.

[16] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 20/33a. For county level principals of the Yinyang School, see *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 11/48b, 55b, 60a, 64b-65a, 69b, 73b, 76b.

[17] *CZFZ* (1527 edition), 11/48b.

[18] Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 583.

of the reality.[19] 按元設陰陽學學中習業者乃謂之陰陽生所習書以周易為首而凡天文地理星命占十及相宅相墓選日諸術悉期精通明以來學廢而陰陽生但依附道家名實甚不稱矣

This evidence is interesting not only because it claims clearly that since the Ming the Yinyang School did not train *yinyang* masters any longer, but also because it points out explicitly the close relationship between *yinyang* masters and Taoism. The ambiguity of the term "*yifu*" prevents us from knowing what kind of relationship it was, but it sounds likely that it means the *yinyang* masters were increasingly exposed to the influence of Taoist traditions. The appointment of Principals of the Yinyang School continued during the Qing period.[20] But, according to Hucker, the responsibility of these prefectural Principals seems to have broadened. Besides their original responsibility, they was also in charge of supervising local fortune-tellers, entertainers, women dentists, midwives, etc., as a kind of licenser and inspector.[21]

The preceding description of *yinyang* masters has made it clear that they specialized in geomancy, astronomy, and divination. They were institutionally affiliated with the Yinyang School at the local level and the Bureau of Astronomy at the empire-wide level. Their connection to Taoist religion is a later development. These observations make it necessary to reconsider the relationship between masters of ceremonies and *yinyang* masters, for while the former specialized in ritual, the latter specialized in other fields. As we focus our attention on ritual specialists, we find another tradition that may be historically more relevant to masters of ceremonies in the late imperial period. This tradition had a close connection to state and court rituals. The specialists that belonged to

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[19] Zhai Hao, *Tongsu bian* 通俗編 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* edition), 10/114.

[20] The Yinyang School as a government agency continued to be mentioned in local gazetteers. See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 20/3b. But local gazetteers, at least those of Tingzhou Prefecture, did not mention the names of the Principals any longer.

[21] Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 583.

this tradition were usually institutionally affiliated with the Court of Imperial Sacrifice (*taichang si* 太常寺), whose major function was to take charge of state and court rituals.

One of the earliest mentions of *lisheng* can be found in the *Officials and Rites of the Han Dynasty* (*Han guanyi* 漢官儀), a now lost book on the official system of the Former Han (206 BC-8 AD) written by the Later Han scholar Ying Shao 應劭. This book mentions that "in the third month of the spring and the ninth month of the autumn, rites of the community archery were studied. All masters of ceremonies were appointed from among students of the National University" 春三月秋九月習鄉射禮禮生皆使太學學生.[22] This source does not tell us what kind of roles the *lisheng* played in the rites of community archery, though it is not unlikely that they guided the procedures of the rites. Another piece of early evidence comes from the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (*Liangshu* 梁書). In his biography, Liu Jue 劉穀 is said to have been a *lisheng* of the Directorate of Education (*guozi lisheng* 國子禮生) before he was, thanks to his high marks in an important examination, appointed as a magistrate.[23] No information is given concerning to his position as a *lisheng*. Given the institution he belonged to, it is not impossible that he worked as the master of ceremonies when the Directorate of Education offered sacrifices to Confucius and other ancient sages.

If *lisheng* seems to have been a role to play rather than an office in the pre-Tang texts, it was more likely an official position during the Tang period (618-907). In the year 792, the Court of Imperial Sacrifice forwarded a memorial to the emperor. According to the memorial, "the masters of ceremonies[24] are appointed specifically to assist [in the

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[22] Cited in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), j. 79, "Rulin liezhuan" 儒林列传, 2547, n. 6.

[23] Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), j. 41, "Liezhuan, 35," 584.

[24] Hucker's translation of *lisheng* is "ritual apprentice" rather than "master of ceremonies." See Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 307. The author prefers the latter on the ground that *lisheng* as seen in this source were more than apprentices.

performing of rites]" 本置禮生是資贊相. Since no sacrifices were offered any longer in the Eastern Capital, Luoyang 洛陽, the memorial continues, it was not necessary to have *lisheng* there. The official of the Court of Imperial Sacrifice complains that even though these *lisheng* had not shown any merit, when they had served the full term of their office, they were routinely appointed as officials. He suggests stopping this unfair practice.[25] This evidence indicates clearly the function of *lisheng* in state rituals. Another memorial forwarded in 822, also from the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, mentions that altogether there were thirty-five *lisheng* in the ministry.[26] During the Tang period, *lisheng* were institutionally affiliated with the Ritual Academy (*liyuan* 禮院 or *taichang liyuan* 太常禮院), which was in turn affiliated with the Court of Imperial Sacrifice. The academy was staffed principally with four Erudites (*boshi* 博士). It was the Erudites rather than the chief minister of the court who customarily supervised *lisheng*.[27] A story collected in the *Wide Gleanings Made in the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記) of Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) shows how *lisheng* performed rites in the government in the Tang.

> A man from a well-to-do family of the Tang was appointed to the position of Prefect. People of the prefecture welcomed and waited on him very reverently. The former Prefect performed the rites of the handover [of responsibility] to him. The rites [were performed] without any omission. Two *lisheng*, in their hats and ritual robes, assisted the

[25] Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), j. 65, "Taichang si" 太常寺, 1135.

[26] Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, 65/1136.

[27] Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao*, 65/1137; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 307. *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* quotes an evidence of *lisheng* in the reign of Dezong (780-804) from Zhai Hao's *Tongsu bian*, but I am not able to locate it in *Tongsu bian*. See Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典 (Tokyo: Taishūkan, 1976), 8642. However, the *New History of the Tang* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書) mentions that the Court of Imperial Sacrifice and the Ritual Academy each had thirty-five *lisheng*. See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), j. 48, "Baiguan, 3" 百官三, 1242.

host and the guest [in the rites of] going up, going down, bowing, and inviting. The new Prefect was nervous and uneasy. [He] wore a serious expression, looked down, and dared not to face the *lisheng* straightly. After the rites were completed, [he] had people pass his message several times [to the *lisheng*], consoling [them] with kinds words and thanks. Nobody could figure out his intention. The next day, the *lisheng* followed [him] in the inner court.... He said in low voice: "How is your worthy and reverent (i.e., father)?" The *lisheng* answered promptly and respectfully. Again [he] said: "Several years ago, when the great enterprise was undertaken, [we] had given much trouble to [your] worthy and reverent (fathers)." The *lisheng* was again at a loss. After that, a close friend asked [the Prefect] for details. [He] thus replied: "The *lisheng* were the sons and brothers of demon-quellers. Formerly [I] had hired their fathers. This is the reason that I thanked [them] several times."[28] 唐有膏粱子出刺郡人迎候甚至前任與之設交代之禮儀無闕者二禮生具頭冠禮衣相其賓主陞降揖讓而新牧巉岏踧踖斂容低視不敢正面對禮生及禮畢使人再三傳語慰勞感謝皆莫涯其意翌日於內閣從禮生...低語曰賢尊安否禮生唯唯又曰頃年營大事時極煩賢尊心力生亦瞢然及罷有親知細詢之乃曰此禮生緣方相氏子弟昔曾使他家君是以再三感謝

The *fangxiangshi* 方相氏 or demon-quellers were exorcists who expelled pestilences and bad spirits at the seasonal *nuo* 儺 (exorcism) and at funerals.[29] The "great enterprise" mentioned in the story was probably a funeral of one of the Prefect's important relatives. This indicates that the *lisheng* may have had some connection to other ritual specialists such as demon-quellers in the Tang.

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[28] Li Fang, *Taiping guangji* (*Biji xiaoshuo daguan* edition. Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangli guji keyin she, 1995, reprint), 262/19b. This story is cited from a book called *Yutang xianhua* 玉堂閒話 (Pleasant talks of the Jade Hall).

[29] For *fangxiangshi* in the early Chinese history, see Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.-A.D. 220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 138. For the role of *fangxiangshi* in funerals as prescribed in Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, see Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 215.

The Ritual Academy continued to exist in the Song period but lost its autonomy after 1040, and was then subordinated to the Court of Imperial Sacrifice. It was then overseen by a supervisor (*panyuan* 判院), and its major responsibility was the compiling of ritual regulations.[30] I have not been able to locate any information as to whether *lisheng* as a position still existed in the Ritual Academy in the Song period.

The position of *lisheng* as seen in Yuan state ritual was more of a role to play than an official post. In the year 1273, a regulation drawn up jointly by the Ministry of Personnel and the Ministry of Rites claims that it was not necessary to appoint *lisheng* in each circuit (does this mean that *lisheng* were appointed before this regulation was put into practice?). It suggests instead that, when the emperor's birthday was celebrated and the rite of sacrifice to Confucius was performed, the role of *lisheng* could be played by one of the officials in the circuit government. This regulation also prescribes the dressing of *lisheng*.[31] The Yuan source also mentions the existence of "the households of ritualists and actors" (*liyuehu* 禮樂戶) along with other household types and shows that they were different from the mean people of households of musicians (*yuehu* 樂戶) of the Ming and Qing periods in that they shared the same status as civil households and military households.[32] But we do not know their relationship to *lisheng*.

The situation of *lisheng* seems to have continued in the Ming and Qing periods without many changes. The evidence so far available to the author does not show that

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[30] Xu Song 徐松, ed., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), "Zhiguan, 22," 2869; Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), j. 164, "Zhiguan, 4," 3883; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 308.

[31] *Dayuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, 1112, 1120. See also *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* (*Xu xiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, vol. 787. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), j. 28, "Lizhi, 1" 禮制一, 306.

[32] Meng Siming, *Yuandai shehui jieji zhidu*, 170. For the *yuehu* in the late imperial period, see Anders Hansson, *Chinese Outcasts: Discrimination and Emancipation in Late Imperial China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 55-75; Matthew H. Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 210-304.

lisheng were officially appointed except in the Confucian Temples of Qufu 曲阜, Shandong, and Xi'an 西安, Zhejiang, where eighty and forty *lisheng* respectively were reported to have been appointed during the Qing period.[33] These *lisheng* were selected from among commoners and tenants of the temple estates. They were responsible for laying out the offerings, calling out and guiding the ritual procedures, and recitation of sacrificial texts.[34] In other places, the position of *lisheng* was more a role than a post. The term "*lisheng*" was probably the general and popular name for persons who performed this role.[35] Under some circumstances, more specific terms were used to differentiate different roles involved in the guiding of ritual performance. Thus in an early Ming ritual text we find that "*tongzan*" 通贊 (general assistant) is mentioned along with "*yinzan*" 引贊 (guiding assistant).[36] On the emperor's birthday, New Year's Day, the Winter Solstice, as well as when the rite of bi-annual sacrifices to Confucius was performed in the Confucian Temple, government officials from the level of the province down to the level of county would assign four persons to assist in the performing of the rites. Their responsibilities included the preparation of offerings, the guiding of ritual procedures,

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[33] *Qinding libu zeli* 欽定禮部則例 (1844 edition. Taibei: Chengwen, 1966, reprint), 50/3b-4a. See also Li Pengnian 李鵬年, Liu Ziyang 劉子揚, and Chen Kengyi 陳鏗儀, *Qingdai liubu chengyu cidian* 清代六部成語詞典 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1990), 224. But Justus Doolittle reports that all the mandarins "from the district magistrate to the viceroy, each have a professor of ceremony, who is paid out of the imperial treasury a small monthly stipend. Their official duty is to conduct the ceremonies which the mandarins, their masters, are required by the emperor to have performed at certain temples or elsewhere, at certain times of the year. When they go to make offerings to heaven and earth in the spring and fall, or to the god of agriculture, to the god of war, to Confucius, &c. The mandarins are accompanied by their teachers of ceremony. It is their part to read or chant the sacrificial or adulatory ode to the object of worship, to tell the mandarins when to kneel down, to knock their heads on the ground, and to arise to their feet." See Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1868), 195. "Professor of ceremony" mentioned in this passage is what we call *lisheng*. Hiring *lisheng* with government funds described above seemed to have been a customary practice without legal basis.

[34] *Qinding libu zeli*, 50/3b-4a.

[35] Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Chengwei lu* 稱謂錄 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1991), 358; *CTXZ* (1782 edition), 12/31b.

[36] See *Hongwu lizhi* 洪武禮制 (Collected in Zhang Lu 張鹵, ed., *Huang Ming zhishu* 皇明制書. Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1966-1967, vol. 2, 475-510), 484.

and the recitation of sacrificial texts. This job was usually assigned to the Government Students (*shengyuan* 生員) who were versed in rituals.[37] *Lisheng* were also needed at the time of performing state or state-endorsed rituals such as the community wine drinking ceremony and the offering of sacrifices to the Gods of the Soil and Grain.[38]

Our discussion so far has focused on the problem of *lisheng* in state and court rituals. What was their role in domestic and community rituals? Lack of evidence makes this question difficult to answer. However, some evidence does imply that *lisheng* played a necessary role in the performing of family rituals. According to the *Shuyi* 書儀 (Book of family rituals) of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), at the time of a wedding, both the family of the bride and the family of the groom should appoint ritual assistants (*zanzhe* 贊者) from amongst their relatives who were versed in ritual. "When the groom and bride perform the acts of ceremony, it is the ritual assistants who guide them" 凡婿及婦行禮皆贊者相導之.[39] In Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, the existence of *lisheng* is self-evident. The performing of the capping ritual, for example, necessitates the role of *lisheng*. In this ritual, the patriarch should not only select "a younger relative versed in ritual to act as usher," he also needs to invite a friend "who is wise and versed in ritual" to act as sponsor, who will also "select for himself a young relative versed in ritual to act as his assistant in the capping." These three persons would guide the whole process of the capping ritual.[40]

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[37] Li Pengnian, Liu Ziyang, and Chen Kengyi, *Qingdai liubu chengyu cidian*, 224; *Qinding libu zeling*, 50/3a.

[38] *Hongwu lizhi*, 484-485, 499-500, 503-505; *Da Ming huidian*, 79/7a. See also Huang Liu-hung [Huang Liuhong 黃六鴻], *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence, Fu-hui ch'üan-shu: A Manual for Local Magistrates in Seventeenth-Century China* (Trans. and ed. Djang Chu. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1984), 534.

[39] Sima Guang, *Sima shi shuyi* 司馬氏書儀 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* edition. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), j. 3, "hunyi shang" 婚儀上, 34.

[40] Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 37-45.

In the Ming and Qing periods, *lisheng* often played more or less important roles in the rites of sacrifice in ancestral halls. The famous late Qing novel *Guanchang xianxing ji* 官場現形記 (The bureaucracy exposed) mentions such a case. The story happened in Shanxi. One of the protagonists, Zhao Wen 趙溫, passed the provincial examination (*xiangshi* 鄉試), the most difficult step in the ladder of success in late imperial China. As this was a great event in his lineage's history, the lineage head thought it his responsibility to report this great success to his ancestors. He thus hired a *lisheng* to assist in the performing of the rite of sacrifice. On the day of the performance of the ceremony:

> The whole lineage elected the new *xiaolian*[41] to be the chief sacrifier. The lineage head worked as assistant sacrifier. The other people followed them to kowtow. Even though the *lisheng*, standing besides them, called out [the procedures], they in the capacity of country folk did not have any understanding of these ritual practices. Some bowed first and then made a kowtow. Some bowed after making a kowtow. Finding these people did not [perform ritual acts] in uniform, the *lisheng* let them go and muddled through his work.[42] 當下合族公推新孝廉主祭族長陪祭大眾跟著磕頭雖有贊禮生在旁邊吆喝著無奈他們都是鄉下人不懂得這樣的規矩也有先作揖後磕頭的也有磕起頭來再做一個揖的禮生見他們參差不齊也只好由著他們敷衍了事

In the novel the performing of the rite concluded when a provincial degree-holder came to visit Zhao Wen.

Lisheng were also involved in the performing of funerals. In the famous modern Chinese novel *Jia* 家 (Family) of Ba Jin 巴金 (1904-), a *lisheng* was hired to perform

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[41] *Xiaolian* is the literary name of *juren* (Provincial Graduate).

[42] Li Baojia 李寶嘉, *Guanchang xianxing ji* (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1994), 8.

rituals along with Taoist priests and Buddhist monks when the grandfather of the protagonists died.[43] In the first two cases mentioned above, *lisheng* were selected from one's own relatives. While in the other two cases *Lisheng* seemed to have been professional ritual specialists hired to performed rituals for their patrons.

According to Kenneth Dean, *lisheng* seemed to have involved in the rite of sacrifice performed at the grave of the parents of the famous god Guangze zunwang 廣澤尊王 (the Reverent Lord of Broad Compassion) in Nan'an 南安 County, southern Fujian, at the end of the nineteenth century. A native *jinshi* relates the process of the rite.

> Suddenly, the moment of the sacrifice arrived. The palanquin of the god appeared with pendants and banners leading the way and carriages and horses crowding behind. The gentlemen and ladies gazed upon the dust and bowed with their incense. The Invoker said, "The Reverent Lord has arrived at the tomb." Cassia wine and peppered soup were first offered at the tomb of Yang the Elder so as not to forget the mercy of [the god's] former lord. They killed the victims by the shrine and when the time of the sacrifice drew near, they laid them out before the tomb to display their purity. [Officiants] in long blue robes with purple sashes poured three libations of wine onto the rushes. The Chief Sacrifier pronounced his sincerity. Those holding sacrificial vessels rushed left and right, assisting in the solemn execution of the sacrifice. When the sacrifice was over and the repast complete, they all turned back the palanquin of the god.[44]

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[43] Ba Jin, *Jia* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), 367. This story of novel is set in early twentieth century China.

[44] Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 154.

The ritual specialists who performed this rite included a Chief Sacrificial Officiant, two Libationers, two Silk Officials, two Prayer Readers, and two Cantors.[45] The roles these specialists played are more or less similar to those performed by Sibao *lisheng*.

Keen Western observers living in nineteenth century China such as Justus Doolittle did not fail to mention *lisheng*. Doolittle gives a description of the sacrifice to Confucius at the prefectural Confucian Temple in Fuzhou in September 1858. The provincial governor and other officials attended the ceremony. Five or six of the highest-ranking officials knelt in front of the altar and presented the offerings, while most of the officials remained in the courtyard. They presented the offerings three times. Each time after finishing the presentation, they left the main hall, walked out into the courtyard, paused, and then returned to the altars for another round of offerings. Throughout the ceremony, the officials were guided by men Doolittle calls "professors of ceremony." These men were "entitled to dress like graduates of the lowest degree" and were "always treated with great respect and deference by the mandarins." Obviously, they were *lisheng* in the state rituals. Doolittle not only mentions the *lisheng* "employed by mandarins," but also reports the existence of another class of *lisheng* who were "employed by the common people." Compared with the *lisheng* in the government, they were not given official stipends, but were "rewarded by fees or wages, which var[ied] according to circumstances." They were "quite numerous and influential" and were "necessarily literary men, of respectable connections, of polite demeanor, able to assume, when occasion demands, a grave and dignified appearance, self-possessed and authoritative."[46]

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[45] Dean uses the term "Masters of Sacrifices" to include all of the ritual specialists who performed the rite. See Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, 180.

[46] Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1868), 195-197, 291-296. This evidence has been utilized by both Susan Naquin and David Johnson when they discuss respectively death ritual and temple festivals in North China. See Susan Naquin, "Funerals in North China: Uniformity and Variation," in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles:

In all likelihood these men were similar to the *lisheng* mentioned in the novels *Guanchang xianxing ji* and *Jia*.

To sum up, the recent viewpoint that *lisheng* had their origins in the Yinyang School in the late imperial period needs to be re-examined. The *yinyang* masters had close connection to the Bureau of Astronomy and specialized in geomancy, astrological reckonings, and probably fortune-telling. In contrast, *lisheng* had close connections with the Court of Imperial Sacrifice and specialized in the performing of rituals. A differentiation between *lisheng* and *yinyang* masters, however, should not lead to the conclusion that they had nothing in common and did not influence one another. In practice, it may be difficult to differentiate *lisheng* from *yinyang* masters for, as we shall see later, *lisheng* were also involved in activities that used to be connected to *yinyang* masters such as the picking of auspicious dates. Furthermore, by pointing out that *lisheng* may have derived their origins from governmental positions, the author does not mean to say that they inherited all their techniques from these experts. On the contrary, it is important to remember that *lisheng*, like the *yinyang* masters mentioned in Zhai Hao's book, may also be exposed to the influences of other religious traditions.

Lisheng in Contemporary Ethnographic Literature

As mentioned above, since little study has been done on *lisheng*, our knowledge of them is still fragmentary. The only study that treats *lisheng* in depth is an article by the Taiwanese scholar Lee Fong-Mao [Li Fengmao] 李豐楙. In this article, Lee gives a description of the role of *lisheng* in Taiwanese society and their relationship to Taoist priests. According to him, *lisheng* and Taoist priests were two groups of the most important ritual specialists in the performing of a variety of different rituals from familial

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University of California Press, 1988), 64; David Johnson, "Temple Festivals in Southeastern Shanxi: The Sai of Nashe Village and Big West Gate," 707-709.

life-cycle rites to communal calendrical rites prior to 1949. The existence of *lisheng* and their ritual troupes could be found in most parts of Taiwan, especially in those places where the cults of Wangyue 王爺 were popular. In traditional times, *lisheng* were usually recruited from retired officials, Government Students, and literati. The term "*lisheng*" means the "masters" who were literati and versed in ritual. The books they study include different texts related to family rituals: Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, the *Jiali daquan* 家禮大全 (A complete collection of family rituals) of Lü Zizhen 呂子振, the *Jiali huitong* 家禮會通 (Compendium of family rituals) of Zhang Rucheng 張汝誠, as well as a great many manuscripts usually called "*jiali bu*" 家禮簿 (records of family rituals), which seem to be quite similar to *jiwenben* or manuals of sacrificial texts in Sibao to be discussed below. Lee suggests that local contexts and ethnicity may lead to local variations when these manuscripts are transmitted and spread. At the time of performing rituals, *lisheng* usually put on white long gowns with black riding jackets. *Lisheng* are different from Taoist priests in several different ways. First, while the profession of Taoist priest was not open to ordinary people and their esoteric knowledge was usually transmitted through family and master-disciple networks, the position of *lisheng* was usually open to those who were literati versed in ritual. The transmission of their knowledge was not only limited to a small and more or less exclusive circle of people. Second, while the function of *lisheng* was basically the guiding and assisting of ritual performance, Taoist priests performed rituals directly. Third, it usually took a longer time to become a Taoist priest than a *lisheng*. In Taiwanese festivals, *lisheng* worked side by side with Taoist priests. The former specialized in the rites of sacrifices, while the latter specialized in Taoist fasting and prayers to avert calamities. The former focused on social and human relationships, while the latter stressed religious relations between men and the sacred. Lee also illustrated the relationship between *lisheng* and Taoist priests by presenting three case

studies of Taiwanese ritual occasions.[47] Lee's article offers rich information and interesting insights into *lisheng* in Taiwan and their cooperation-competition with Taoist priests. Several problems are still, however, not clear from his article. What are the major contents of their ritual texts? How is their knowledge transmitted? Within what historical background were these ritual texts produced? Essentially speaking, Lee's representation of *lisheng* is ahistorical. It does not give sufficient consideration to the problem of how *lisheng* evolved historically and how their rituals and texts were produced, modified, and circulated.

Hugh Baker mentions briefly the existence of what he calls "ritual officiants" in a lineage village in the New Territories, Hong Kong. "They are," Baker reports, "the repositories and interpreters of ritual knowledge, men who, by virtue of an idiosyncratic interest in ritual, devote themselves whenever necessary to the task of organizing ceremonies, and make themselves familiar with the forms of service, learning the complicated patterns by heart." They were neither elected nor chosen nor given official position. A person served as "ritual officiant" since he hoped to gain "the satisfaction of his own interests and perhaps a certain amount of prestige from being in the public eye in the execution of the job." Their numbers were unfixed, and more were required for some ceremonies than for others. They served as Altar-sacrifier, Wine-bearer, Master of Ceremonies, Address-deliverer, Drum-beater, etc. Baker reports that a *cunzhang* 村長 (village head) "regularly acted as Master of Ceremonies" until his death in the early 1950s.[48] Baker also mentions that the ceremonies were "conducted partly in a speech

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[47] Lee Fong-Mao, "Lisheng yu daoshi," 331-359.

[48] Hugh D. R. Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 148. A picture that appears between page 146 and page 147 of this book illustrates the scene of the autumn rites performed at the grave of one of this lineage's ancestors. In front of the grave stood several rows of participants. Between them and the offerings stood two men in long gowns. The man on the right side, with a wine-pot in his left hand, seemed to be serving wine to the ancestor. Both men appear to be the *lisheng* of this rite.

foreign to the village, which is said by the villagers to be 'Ch'ing [Qing] dynasty officials' language,' but which bears little resemblance to Mandarin."[49] The ritual officiants mentioned here are similar to *lisheng* the author found in Sibao.

Lisheng are also mentioned in Jun Jing's recent study of a Kong lineage village in the northwestern Chinese province of Gansu. Jing reports that before the Communist Revolution the students in the primary school of this village were not only taught normal courses, but also instructed on how to become *lisheng*, which he renders into "ritual performers." They were "taught the principles and procedures of temple rituals by an older generation of educated villagers in the hope that they would carry on the tradition of offering sacrifices to Confucius." Four of the students actually assisted at the 1949 temple ceremony attended by representatives of the entire Kong lineage.[50] It appears that this village used to have a ritual handbook that provided instructions on how to perform the rite of sacrifice to Confucius which was written in classical Chinese (*wen yan* 文言), which is seldom used in conversation or for practical purposes in daily life.[51]

James Russell Wilkerson also mentions *lisheng* in passing. In a village in the Penghu Islands, Taiwan, where he did field work, the "Waited Banquet," a "Confucian-style" rite of ancestor worship, "is performed by a lineage elder trained as a Confucian Master of Ceremonies (*le-seng* [*lisheng*]), who in the Ch'ing [Qing] dynasty was a local elite with training in the school system, and sometimes was a degree holder." During the

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[49] Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village*, 64. James Hayes mentions the existence of "handbooks" that provide "the text of prayers to be said at local temples and give couplets suitable for use in particular temples" in the New Territories of Hong Kong. They were usually owned by schoolmasters, teachers, and those who held managerial posts in their lineages, villages, and townships. Some of these schoolmasters and respected village elders "would attend at weddings, funerals, and other occasions when the saying of prayers and the making of offerings required the presence of masters of ceremony." See Hayes, "Written Materials in the Village World," in David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, 101-103.

[50] Jun Jing, *The Temple of Memories: History, Power, and Morality in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 97.

[51] Jun Jing, *The Temple of Memories*, 103-114.

rite *lisheng*, dressed in a "long traditional Chinese scholar's gown," burns incense and offers tea, wine, and food dishes to the ancestors. This is interesting for these activities are usually performed by the chief sacrifier rather than by *lisheng* in Sibao. Wilkerson also reports that "[l]earning to be a Master of Ceremonies is now attractive to late middle-aged villagers" and that at least one villager was "actively receiving training by a teacher from outside the village."[52]

The articles collected in the *Traditional Hakka Society Series* organized by John Lagerwey and Yang Yanjie mention *lisheng* frequently, though most of them have never given any detailed information on these ritual specialists. Based on information given in these articles, the author is able to compile the following table (Table 3.1), which is arranged according to the closeness in distance to Sibao.

Table 3.1 *Lisheng* and the Rituals Performed by Them in Tingzhou

Places	Dates (Lunar Calendar)	Rituals Performed	Numbers of Lisheng	Sources
Tingzhou city	9/16	Offering sacrifices to ancestor	Unknown	Zhang Hongxiang 1997: 97
Tingzhou city	----	Wedding	Unknown	Lai Guangyao 1998: 365-368
Tingdong, Changting	9/10	Pilgrimage	Unknown	Zhang Chunrong 2002: 216-217
Tongfang, Changting	8/13	Pilgrimage	1	Lai Jian 2002: 306
Tongfang, Changting	1/14	God procession	Unknown	Lai Jian 2002: 311

[52] James Russell Wilkerson, "Other Islands of Chinese History and Religion" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1990), 276-277.

Sanzhou, Changting	1/15; 6/15	Temple fair	Unknown	Zhang Laihe 2002: 439
Sidu, Changting	4/8	Temple fair	Unknown	Lai Guangyao 2002: 485-486
Xuancheng, Changting	1/15	*Jiao* festival	2	Zhong Jinlan 2002: 683
Banken, Changting	1/15	*Jiao* festival	2	Lai Jian 2002: 763-764; 766
Banken, Changting	4/15	*Jiao* festival	Unknown	Lai Jian 2002: 767
Dongshan, Qingliu	1/5	Offering sacrifices to god/ancestor	Unknown	Tong Jingen 1997: 215
Dongkeng, Qingliu	1/15	"*Bohuo*" ritual performed in a village temple	3	Jiang Chunfu and Chen Lizhong 1997: 373
Liukeng, Qingliu	Qingming festival	Offering sacrifice to ancestors	4	Tong Jingen 1998: 237-238
Changxiao, Qingliu	1/13	Offering sacrifice to ancestors	4	Li Shengbao 1998: 282-283
Lingdi, Qingliu	Spring and Fall	Offering sacrifice to ancestors	2	Huang Yuwan 1998: 309
Peitian, Liancheng	2/2	Offering sacrifices to patron god	Unknown	Yang Yanjie 1996: 258
Mawu, Liancheng	Qingming festival	Offering sacrifices to ancestors	4	Ma Chuanyong 1997: 320
Gutian, Liancheng	1/15	Offering sacrifices to dragon lantern	2	Hua Qinjin 1997: 123
Gutian, Liancheng	1/16	Offering sacrifices to patron god	4	Hua Qinjin 1997: 131
Xiangcun, Wuping	Qingming festival	Offering sacrifices to ancestors	Unknown	Liu Dake and Liu Wenbo 1997: 275

Xiangcun, Wuping	----	Funeral	Unknown	Liu Dake and Liu Wenbo 1997: 295
Yanqian, Wuping	1/6	Temple fair	Unknown	Li Tansheng and Lin Shanke 1998: 59
Zhongshan, Wuping	Winter	*Jiao* festival	Unknown	Zhong Desheng 1998: 101
Laixi, Shanghang	Chongyang festival	God procession	Unknown	Lin Fengnian 1998: 140
Xikou, Shanghang	1/8-13; 4/8-13	God procession	Unknown	Chen Bingchuan 1998: 191
County seat, Mingxi (Guihua)	6/9	Offering sacrifice to patron god	Unknown	Lin Huadong 2000: 107
Chendong, Yongding	4/7-9	*Jiao* festival	Unknown	Tu Xiangsheng and Lu Zhenfu 1998: 19-21

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Chen Bingchuan 陳秉傳, "Shanghang xian Xikou xiang de liufang kang Xianshi" 上杭縣溪口鄉的六坊扛仙師, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 185-192; Hua Qinjin 華欽進, "Liancheng xian Gutian zhen zhengyue you dalong" 連城縣姑田鎮正月游大龍, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 114-139; Huang Yuwan 黃于萬, "Qingliu xian Lingdi zhen Huang xing minsu" 清流縣靈地鎮黃姓民俗, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 298-358; Jiang Chunfu 江椿福 and Chen Lizhong 陳立忠, "Qingliu xian Yupeng xiang Dongkeng cun minsu diaocha" 清流縣余朋鄉東坑村民俗調查, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 344-378; Lai Guangyao 賴光耀, "Tingzhou chuantong hunsu" 汀州傳統婚俗, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 359-374; Lai Guangyao, "Sidu zhen de zongzu yu miaohui" 四都鎮的宗族與廟會, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 447-503; Lai Jian 賴建, "Tongfang cun xushi yu shenming chongbai" 童坊村墟市與神明崇拜, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 285-319; Lai Jian, "Changting Santai zushi shenming xinyang" 長汀三太祖師神明信仰, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 741-778; Li Shengbao 李升寶, "Qingliu xian Changxiao cun de zongzu chuantong diaocha" 清流縣長校村的宗族傳統調查, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 263-297; Li Tansheng 李坦生 and Lin Shanke 林善珂, "Wuping xian Yanqian miaohui jiaohui gaikuang" 武平縣巖前廟會醮會概況, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 53-71; Lin Fengnian 林鳳年,

"Shanghang xian Huyang xiang Laixi cun de yingshen saihui" 上杭縣湖洋鄉瀨溪村的迎神賽會, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 122-142; Lin Huadong 林華東, "Mingxi xiancheng yu Xing furen miaohui" 明溪縣城與莘夫人廟會, in Yang Yanjie 2000, 89-116; Liu Dake 劉大可 and Liu Wenbo 劉文波, "Wubei Xiangcun de zongzu shehui yu wenhua" 武北湘村的宗族社會與文化, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 253-298; Ma Chuanyong 馬傳永, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu" 連城縣四堡鄉馬屋村民間習俗, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 299-343; Tong Jingen 童金根, "Qingliu xian Dongshan Xiao shi de zongzu chuanshuo jiqi miaohui" 清流縣東山肖氏的宗族傳說及其廟會, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 208-231; Tong Jingen 童金根, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese" 清流縣進士鄉的民間信仰與民俗特色, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 222-262; Tu Xiangsheng 涂祥生 and Lu Zhenfu 盧真福, "Yongding xian Chendong 'si yue ba' yingshen huodong" 永定縣陳東四月八迎神活動, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 1-30; Yang Yanjie, *Minxi Kejia zongzu shehui yanjiu*; Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxi de chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua*; Yang Yanjie, ed., *Tingzhou fu de zongzu miaohui yu jingji*; Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxibei de minsu zongjiao yu shehui*; Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu jingji yu minsu*; Zhang Chunrong 張春榮, "Guanqian zhen Tingdong cun chuantong shehui diaocha" 館前鎮汀東村傳統社會調查, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 189-225; Zhang Hongxiang 張鴻祥, "Tingzhou chengqu de miaohui daguan" 汀州城區的廟會大觀, in Yang Yanjie 1997, 80-113; Zhang Laihe 章籟和, "Sanzhou xiang Sanzhou cun de jingji yu Santai zushi huiqi" 三洲鄉三洲村的經濟與三太祖師會期, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 412-446; Zhong Desheng 鐘德盛, "Wuping xian Zhongshan zhen miaohui shenggai" 武平縣中山鎮廟會勝概, in Yang Yanjie 1998, 72-107; Zhong Jinlan 鐘晉蘭, "Xuancheng xiang de zongzu yu xinyang xisu" 宣成鄉的宗族與信仰習俗, in Yang Yanjie 2002, 630-699.

According to Table 3.1, the existence of *lisheng* is widespread in Tingzhou. Of sixty-six ethnographic reports whose major topics include ceremonies in the series of Lagerwey and Yang, twenty-three or more than one-third mention *lisheng*.[53] *Lisheng* can be found in almost every county of Tingzhou.[54] *Lisheng* were involved most frequently (altogether seventeen times in Table 3.1) in different rites and ceremonies performed to patron gods. These activities included offering sacrifices, god processions, temple fairs, *jiao* festivals,

[53] The author has included here those who are called "*siyi*" 司儀, "*sili*" 司禮, and "*zanlisheng*" 贊禮生, whose role in the ceremonies shows that they fall into the category of *lisheng*.

[54] The only exception is Ninghua. The articles published in the series do not mention *lisheng*.

and pilgrimages. The rite of sacrifice to ancestors was another ceremony that involves *lisheng* frequently, and it is mentioned seven times in Table 3.1. The other three types of ceremonies that involved *lisheng* were weddings, funerals, and the rites of sacrifice to the dragon lantern (each mentioned once). The *lisheng* involved in each ritual occasion ranged from one to four, but two seemed to be the normal number. When more than one *lisheng* was involved, they were given specific names according to their importance and roles in the ceremonies. "*Tongzan* 通贊" (general assistant) was usually the designation of the *lisheng* who played the most important role. *Lisheng* of secondary importance were called "*yazan* 亞贊" (secondary assistant) or "*yinzan* 引贊" (guiding assistant).[55] In Gutian, Liancheng, where four *lisheng* were invited to perform the rite of sacrifice to a local deity, the most important *lisheng* was called "*changtong* 唱通" (general cantor) and this position was usually occupied by the most prestigious gentry elite or local notable. The other three were called "*peitong* 陪通" (assistant general cantor), "*yinzan* 引贊" and "*peiyin* 陪引" (secondary guiding assistant) respectively according to their importance.[56] In most cases *lisheng* not only guided the procedures of rituals, but also recited sacrificial texts (*jiwen* 祭文) written in classical Chinese. As Baker observed in Hong Kong, these ritual texts are usually recited in what villagers regard as "Mandarin" (*guanhua* 官話).[57] The position of *lisheng* was eligible to the holders of degrees and titles and government officials in the late imperial period, those who were primary school graduates in the

[55] Li Shengbao, "Qingliu xian Changxiao cun de zongzu chuantong diaocha," 283; Huang Yuwan, "Qingliu xian Lingdi zhen Huang xing minsu," 309.

[56] Hua Qinjin, "Liancheng xian Gutian zhen zhengyue you dalong," 131.

[57] Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese," 238.

Republican period, and those who are high school graduates in the present.[58] In one case they were paid for their services (in the 1990s).[59]

Lisheng and Sibao Society

A Summary of Rituals in Sibao

Before giving an account of *lisheng*, it is necessary to present a summary of the basic rituals performed in Sibao, no matter whether they involve *lisheng* or not. This description is meant to show the ways in which *lisheng* are embedded in the symbolic life of Sibao people.

The first group of rituals in Sibao are those related to ancestors. They may take place in family shrines, ancestral halls, or graves and they are usually calendrical. The rites usually performed include presenting offerings to ancestors on important ritual occasions. This kind of rite takes place most frequently at family shrines. Family shrines are usually located in the inner side of the main hall of each house. There on the wall villagers paste the paper spirit tablets (*shenzhupai* 神主牌) of their late ancestors (sometimes an overall statement that "all descendants of founding ancestor such and such" is used instead). Many Sibao villagers burn incense and present offerings at their family shrines on the first and the fifteenth days of each month. These activities also happen on important calendrical occasions, such as the Lunar New Year, Qingming, Dragon Boat, Ghost festival, Mid-Autumn, Double Nine, and so forth. On these occasions more offerings are usually presented. Starting from the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month, villagers hang their ancestors' portraits on the wall

[58] Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese," 237; Hua Qinjin, "Liancheng xian Gutian zhen zhengyue you dalong," 131.

[59] Lai Jian, "Changting Santai zushi shenming xinyang," 767.

and this often continues until after the Yuanxiao Festival. During this period offerings are also presented to the ancestors. Basically, these rites at family shrines are performed in the absence of *lisheng* and other ritual specialists.

The rite of presenting offerings in ancestral halls takes place usually three times a year. On lunar Near Year's Eve incense is burnt and offerings are presented in the ancestral halls. If a lineage or branch has the portrait of their founding ancestor, they will usually hang it in the hall on this occasion. The similar rite is repeated during Qingming and Mid-Autumn Festivals. *Lisheng* are usually invited to assist in the performing of rites in ancestral halls. In some cases, in addition to family shrines and the ancestral hall, there are also "collectively owned halls" (*zhongting* 眾廳), that serve as places of worship for various branches of a lineage. The rites performed here are similar to those of the main ancestral hall and sometimes the involvement of *lisheng* is reported.

The rites performed at ancestors' graves are called "sweeping a grave" (*saomu* 掃墓). Of course, as in other parts of China, this involves not only the cleaning up of graves, but also the presenting of offerings to the ancestors. The social groups involved range from one family to a whole lineage. If they are constituted by a number of members and have a considerable amount of collective funds, they usually invite *lisheng*.

The second group of rituals includes those related to gods. Like ancestors, gods are in need of men's care. Most frequently the rites are performed during important calendrical festivals. On these occasions some villagers show their reverence to the gods by burning incense and offering food. These rites are usually performed individually rather than collectively and no ritual specialists are present. As a matter of fact, quite a few villagers do not perform these rites at all. Gods play a more important role in village life on their birthdays and when villagers organize *jiao* festivals of communal offerings. These occasions are generally called "the dates of the [temple] fair" (*huiqi* 會期) in Sibao.

Every village has its own *huiqi*, and some have more than one each year. These are not only the time to entertain the gods, but also important occasions for the exchange of gifts. Food is offered in the temples and gods are invited to enjoy offerings. Often theatrical troupes are hired and plays are performed to entertain gods as well as guests who come to visit their relatives or friends. The involvement of *lisheng* and Buddhist monks in these rites used to be the norm prior to 1949, but it is usually not the case now. This is especially true for *jiao* festivals of communal offerings. *Lisheng* used to play an important role in these festivals, but now their place has been taken over by Taoist priests. Why *lisheng* retreated from this "territory" remains to be explored. Some explanations will be given in the next section. However, the *lisheng*'s important role in the rites of sacrifice to ancestors/gods, those supernatural beings who were worshipped both as gods and ancestors, is unmistakable. Different kinds of ritual texts addressed to local deities and evidence from oral tradition can testify this point (see Chapter VI for a discussion of ancestors/gods).

Life-cycle ceremonies fall into the third group of rites performed in Sibao. The first ceremony of this group takes place one month after a baby has been born. This occasion, usually called "full month" (*manyue* 滿月), is marked by giving a banquet to the relatives and friends of the baby's parents. Seldom are ritual specialists involved in this ceremony. Another life-cycle ceremony is the wedding. The important rites involved are the rite of farewell to the bride's natal family members (*chumen* 出門) and her ancestors, and the rite of worshipping Heaven and Earth (*baitang* 拜堂). In the past usually no *lisheng* were invited to attend the ceremony but now more weddings are performed under their guidance. The third ceremony that falls into this group is individual's birthdays. It should be noted that in the traditional sense, the birthday does not mean the date of birth and sometimes not even the month of birth. Only over fifty years after one has been born and then in ten-year intervals can a banquet be held to

celebrate the person's "birthday."[60] Some of the celebrations, known as "the celebration of longevity" (*zhushou* 祝壽), are held under the guidance of *lisheng*.[61] The last important life-cycle ceremony is the funeral, which aims to transform the dead into an ancestor. According to one of the author's informants, if the family of the dead were rich enough, they would hire *lisheng*, Taoist priests, and Buddhist monks to assist in the funeral before the Revolution. Families of average income usually did not hire *lisheng*. But now most funerals are performed in the presence of both *lisheng* and Taoist priests.

The fourth group of rites are those devoted to the dragon lanterns. Each year around the Full Moon Yuanxiao festival, many Sibao villages organize a procession of dragon lanterns (*longdeng* 龍燈, sometimes called "decorated lanterns" *huadeng* 花燈 instead). Another activity, "renewing the spirit of the dragon" (*balong* 拔龍), also usually takes place at this time or in the second month. Before the procession begins, it is necessary to present sacrifices to the dragon lantern and this rite is performed under the guidance of *lisheng* rather than other types of ritual specialists.

The fifth group of rites that were performed in Sibao are those related to community compacts. No evidence shows exactly the rites performed by *lisheng* but evidence shows that their presence seemed to be indispensable (see Chapter V).

As a sixth category, there are still many miscellaneous rites performed for specific purposes in Sibao. When a house is begun to be built or when it has been built, a rite is expected to be performed to please and thank nearby gods, especially "the Empress of the Soil" (*houtu* 后土) and this rite was sometimes performed by *lisheng* in pre-Revolutionary days. When a child is frightened and gets sick, one of his/her parents will perform a rite to bring his soul back (*shoujing* 收驚). Or when a family meets with a

[60] The birthday is celebrated on his/her fifty-first, sixty-first, and seventy-first birthdays.

[61] Some *jiwen ben* collected from Sibao, to be discussed below, include texts related to birthday celebration: see the third section of this chapter.

mishap, it will hire ritual specialist(s), often a Taoist priest, to expel noxious spirits who are believed to have brought about this mishap. Finally, there are those rites related to spirit-mediums and automatic writing with a planchette and these rites are performed by the spirit-mediums themselves.[62]

To sum up, a wide variety of different kinds of rites have been and still are performed in Sibao under the guidance of *lisheng*. Most frequently *lisheng* are involved in the "rites of passage" that mark the critical moments of transition of an individual or a social group from one situation to another.[63] That is to say, *lisheng* are usually necessary in two kinds of ritual occasions: the rites that involve social groups of considerable size such as a lineage and a village, and the rites that mean to deal with the critical moments of an individual or a family such as funeral which have otherwise the possibility to bring about crisis if not dealt with properly.

Who Are *Lisheng*?

In the late imperial period, the position of *lisheng* was reportedly eligible only to those who held degrees or titles. They included Government Students (*shengyuan* 生員 or *xiucai* 秀才), Provincial Graduates (*juren* 舉人), Metropolitan Degree Holders (*jinshi* 進士) of course, and officials, as well as those who received their titles from the government either by their services or by purchase, such as National University Students (*jiansheng* 監生, *taixuesheng* 太學生, *guoxuesheng* 國學生). According to a Sibao *lisheng*, when one became a National University Student, the first thing he should do was to get hold of a

[62] For a brief description of spirit-mediums in Sibao, see Yu Feng, "Chuantong yu shanbian," 20-24. For a thorough discussion of the automatic writing with a planchette in contemporary Taiwan, see David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[63] For the classical study of the rites of passage, see Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

manual of sacrificial texts (*jiwen ben* 祭文本). He might get this manual through copying or purchase. But he had to have a copy and learn how to perform rituals if he did not want to be looked down upon or if he wanted to attend the annual banquet held specifically for those who had degrees and titles in his lineage. The *lisheng* learned this from the experience of one of his cousins, a National University Student and also a *lisheng*. The requirement for *lisheng* position changed after the abolition of the civil service examination (*keju* 科舉) in 1905. During the Republican period (1912-1949), the minimum requirement for becoming a *lisheng* in Sibao was to be the graduate of a primary school. This was especially true in the early Republican period, when only a few primary schools were established in Sibao and thus only a few students graduated from these schools. It was a common practice in Republican Sibao to equate primary school graduates to imperial Government Students prior to 1905.[64] The requirement did not change until the Communists controlled China. For the present the requirement for the position of *lisheng* is not so strict as before. Theoretically speaking, it is open to any male villager who knows how to read and write properly. But actually nowadays only a few villagers have an interest in obtaining this position.

Obviously, meeting the requirements for a *lisheng* position does not guarantee that one becomes a *lisheng*. As mentioned above, one also needs to have a manual of sacrificial texts. If one does not know how to perform rituals, he may have to receive training from his fellow villagers or from outside masters such as in the case observed by Wilkerson. As for the manual of sacrificial texts, he could borrow a copy from a *lisheng* and make a copy of it. As will be shown below, the manual usually provides text

[64] Tong Jingen reports that in Liukeng, Sibao, only "*siwen*" 斯文 (literati) and those who are over fifty years old could attend the "Qingming banquet" (Qingming *jiu* 清明酒) held in the ancestral hall after the rite of sacrifice. Only those who had graduated from primary school were eligible for *siwen* status in the Republican period. See Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese," 237n. 1.

formularies for most ritual occasions that take place in his village. What he has to do is to copy the text formularies and make changes only to the dates, names, and so forth. This is not difficult. A more difficult expectation is that he has to write the texts in fine calligraphy. School training in the pre-Revolution period could also have solved that problem at least partly, for calligraphy was part of the training students received from a primary school. But those born after the Revolution have to devote much time to practicing calligraphy before becoming a *lisheng*. Those who want to be a *lisheng* may encounter another difficulty: addressing. The art of addressing is not only an indispensable precondition for social advancement,[65] but also one of the basic skills a *lisheng* has to master. A manuscript of *lisheng* collected in Sibao gives a list of up to three thousand phrases for addressing people of different categories in different circumstances (see the third section). It is not easy to familiarize oneself with all those words, let alone to memorize them. Indeed, a *lisheng* comments that the most difficult training of a *lisheng* lies in learning modes of address. A mistaken form of addressing may have unexpected negative affects on the parties involved. It may also result in "losing face" on the part of *lisheng* himself. Even though he may have received training on writing sacrificial texts and addressing properly, one still has to know how to perform rituals. He should know how to call out each ritual act and recite the ritual text, if necessary, loudly, and in the style of so-called "*guanhua*." This does not prove to be a big problem for most people, mainly because as a village member he has seen and often participated in rituals of the same kind many times and the ritual acts have been, in the word of Paul Connerton, "incorporated" into his body through these practices.[66] This said,

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[65] For the importance of correct addressing, see Hayes, "Written Materials in the Village World," 101.

[66] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 79-88. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *An Outline of Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 86-89.

we must add that the situation may not have remained the same during the first three decades starting from 1949. During this period, all rites related to supernatural beings were labeled as "superstitions" and banned by the government and a generation of people passed their childhood and youth without attending any rituals performed by *lisheng*. This situation changed after 1978, especially from the mid-1980s onward. Most of ritual practices revived and *lisheng* performed rituals in their communities again and through these practices the acts of ritual are again "incorporated" into the bodies of local people. Finally, *lisheng* are expected to know how to pick auspicious dates (*jian rizi* 撿日子). In North China, this seemed to be the work of *yinyang* masters.[67] But in Tingzhou, where *yinyang* masters are rarely found,[68] it is *lisheng* who perform this function.

In the Hong Kong community studied by Baker, *lisheng* did not seem to command much status from their fellow villagers.[69] Filling the position of *lisheng* from Baker's perspective is quite similar to pursuing a hobby. In contrast, *lisheng* appear to have commanded much authority in the Kong lineage village studied by Jun Jing. In Sibao, too, *lisheng* were given more reverence than normal villagers. According to an account book recording the incomes and expenditures of annual grave sweeping for a branch of the Zous in Wuge, *lisheng* were entitled to receive better treatment than their fellow members. For example, in the spring of 1904, two *lisheng* from this branch were invited to perform rituals at the grave of one of this branch's ancestors. Each of the two *lisheng* received three rice cakes and 0.25 kg of pork for his service in addition to his

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[67] See Susan Naquin, "Funerals in North China," 55-57; Yang Nianqun 楊念群, "Minguo chunian Beijing de shengsi kongzhi yu kongjian zhuanhuan" 民國初年北京的生死控制與空間轉換, in Yang Nianqun, ed., *Kongjian, jiyi, shehui zhuanxing: "Xin shehui shi" yanjiu lunwen jing xuanji* 空間、記憶、社會轉型："新社會史"研究論文精選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001), 141-147.

[68] In *Traditional Hakka Society Series*, only once is a *yinyang* master mentioned. He is hired to pick an auspicious date for a wedding. See Lai Guangyao, "Tingzhou chuantong hunsu," 362-363. No *yinyang* masters are reported in Sibao.

[69] Baker, *A Chinese Lineage Village*, 148.

share as a member of the branch. And only *lisheng* and the chief sacrifier had the privilege to ride in sedan chairs.[70] According to another piece of evidence, two *lisheng* were invited to perform a grave sweeping rite in the spring of 1901. They received three rice cakes and 0.5 kg of pork for their service. Again, only they and the chief sacrifier had the privilege to ride in sedan chairs.[71] In Sibao, the privilege of riding in sedan chairs was not open to everybody. First, not everybody could afford it. According the source mentioned above, six sedan chair bearers were hired (two bearers for each chair). Altogether they received 0.0666 taels of silver and 1.5 kg of pork for their service.[72] More important, even if one could afford to ride in a sedan chair, it might not be socially proper for him to do so. Only when one had reached some form of eminence in his community could he have this privilege. Therefore, this privilege distinguished *lisheng* from ordinary villagers.

In the two cases mentioned above, no evidence shows that *lisheng* were paid except for the additional pork and rice cakes they received. This is probably because they served their own branch and performed ritual to their own ancestors. If they were invited to perform rituals on other people's behalf, such as in the case of wedding and funeral, they were usually paid. In Bankeng 半坑, Changting, during the procession of a local deity, some family hired *lisheng* in the procession to perform the rite of sacrifice on their behalf. The *lisheng* was expected to compose a sacrificial text and present offerings to the god and he was usually paid.[73] According to a *lisheng* of Wuge, the income of *lisheng* fell into two categories. Take the example of funerals. Those who participated in the funeral

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[70] *Longchuan gong jibu* 龍川公祭簿 (Wuge, 1897-1929), 43. A photocopy of this account book is in the author's possession. The page number is given by the author.

[71] *Dingzuo gong jibu* 定祚公祭簿 (Wuge, 1901-1923), 2. The author has a photocopy of this account book. The page number is given by the author.

[72] *Dingzuo gong jibu*, 5.

[73] Lai Jian, "Changting Santai zushi shenming xinyang," 766-767.

usually hired *lisheng* to compose sacrificial texts. They paid about 0.2 silver dollars (*yuan* 元) for each text. The *lisheng* told me that once he composed one hundred texts at one funeral and he was thus paid more than 20 silver dollars. Besides, the family who organized the ceremony would also pay for the *lisheng*'s services. Once the *lisheng* received 1.5 kg of pork and a piece of cloth for his service in a funeral. According to this *lisheng*, the income of the *lisheng* was considerable. He still remembers that during the Sino-Japanese War, when cloth was relatively expensive, the income he received for his service in one ceremony was enough to afford a new suit.

Among the *lisheng* I interviewed in Sibao, Zou Chen (pseudonym), a native of Wuge, is the one with whom I am most familiar. He was born in 1917. At the age of six his parents sent him into a private school in his village. He was involved in some trouble with one of the teachers of this school and was forced to stop his studies and stayed at home for two to three years. He was eleven years old when he went to study in the primary school established in one of this village's best ancestral halls. Since he had received training in a private school, he entered Grade 3 directly. When he graduated with excellent marks from this primary school in 1930, he was thirteen. As a primary school graduate, he was entitled to receiving a scholarship of 100 kg of unhusked rice from his lineage every year. During the late 1920s and mid-1930s, the Red Army came to Tingzhou and they tried to establish a revolutionary base there. They marched through Sibao but did not have time to carry out their policy of social revolution before they encountered attacks from the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party) troops commanded by the famous general Cai Tingkai 蔡廷楷 (1892-1968). This was an age of turmoil in the memory of Zou Chen and he decided that it was better to stay at home than to continue his studies in the city. Besides, his family was not well-to-do. It was after the Red Army left Tingzhou and started the Long March in 1935 that social order in Sibao was restored.

Schools were reopened to accept students. Zou Chen fortunately found a job in the nearby Liukeng Primary School and taught there for one and half years.

Zou Chen started to work as a *lisheng* in the early 1930s, that is, after he graduated from primary school. During this period, only a few primary school graduates could be found in Sibao. When asked why people invited him to perform rituals, Zou Chen emphasized that it was because he was a primary school graduate. For him, becoming a *lisheng* seemed so natural. The father of one of his cousins was a National Imperial Student and had a manual of sacrificial texts. Zou Chen borrowed the manual from him and made a copy for himself. But he tried not to copy the texts when he was invited to perform rituals. He just imitated the style of the texts in the manual and composed new texts in his own words. He learned how to perform ritual by imitating the performance of other *lisheng* during *jiao* festivals and the bi-annual rite of sacrifice to the ancestors. His excellent marks in primary school also helped him a lot-he once proudly claimed that everybody in his village knew about that.

In order to recruit more tax collectors, Changting county government organized an entrance exam in 1938. Zou Chen registered and attended the exam and was admitted. After receiving three months of training in Changting, he was assigned a job at a bureau of tax collection in Tingzhou city for some time and then, due to his lack of connections to higher officials of Changting county, relocated to a tax collection office also in Tingzhou city. He worked in this office for about three years before he was assigned a new job at another tax collection office in southern Changting in 1942. He worked only several months there and was assigned a similar job in western Sibao in the same year. The Sino-Japanese War had started several years earlier and financial problems kept troubling Changting county government, to the extent that it had difficulty paying salaries to many of its agents. Zou Chen was among those who did not get paid. He thus returned to Sibao in 1943 and was recommended to work in the township government (*xianggong*

suo 鄉公所). A year after the head of the township government who had recommended him to his new position was removed from his position, it seemed difficult to continue to work there any longer and thus he resigned from his position and this ended his service in the government. Recollecting these years as a government clerk, Zou Chen thought that his filling of this position might have also helped him somehow in his role as a *lisheng*. Anyway, the collecting of taxes was an important position from the villagers' point of view and villagers may have invited him as a *lisheng* not only because he was a primary school graduate, but also because he held this position.

After resigning from the government position, Zou Chen opened a cloth shop. He was twenty-seven at this point. In 1947, Zou Chen was involved in a dispute with a low official in the local government. Fearful of the official's revenge, he accepted one of his friends' suggestions to join the Guomindang. At this time the head of the local branch of Guomindang died, and Zou Chen was recommended to take the position, which would prove to create a lot of trouble for him in the post-Revolution years. After 1949, Zou Chen was appointed as a salesman in Sibao and Beituan, a neighboring township of Sibao. He was removed from this position in 1958 and sent back to Sibao. He was labeled as "a counter-revolutionary" (*fangeming* 反革命) in the years that followed due to the reasons mentioned above. It is only after 1978 that he was allowed to reopen his shop and live a normal life. He played an important role in the restoration of ancestral halls, the compilation of the genealogies, and the reviving of rituals. He was invited to perform rituals again and, indeed, he has become an outstanding *lisheng* in his community, one of the *lisheng* best versed in rituals I have met in Sibao.

Lisheng and Sibao Rituals

Ritual Formats

As Catherine Bell points out, a ritual is a (series of) very formalized action(s).[74] When Sibao *lisheng* perform ritual, they follow formats popular throughout this area. Basically speaking, these formats fall into two categories: rituals involving two *lisheng* and rituals involving four *lisheng*. What follows is a format for rituals involving four *lisheng*. The four *lisheng* are given specific names according to their roles in the ritual: *tongzan* (general assistant), *yinzan* (guiding assistant), *yazan* (secondary assistant), and *duzan* 讀贊 (liturgist). The most important *lisheng* in this format is the *tongzan*. His responsibility is to place the whole ritual procedures under his guidance. The *tongzan* is assisted by the *yinzan*, *yazan*, and *duzan*. The roles of *yinzan* and *yazan* are similar except for the fact that the former plays a more prominent role than the latter. Both of them assist the *tongzan* in calling out the ritual procedures. The most important responsibility of the *duzan* is to recite the sacrificial text addressed to supernatural beings such as deities and ancestors (see Figure 3.1).

A Ritual Format for the Rite of Sacrifice to the Saints (*sheng* 聖)[75]
Performed by four *lisheng*

[Tongzan] Beat the drum. Beat the drum the second time. Beat the drum the third time. Ring the bell. Play music. The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, take your place. Pay respects to the spirits. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Yazan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the sixth time.

[Yazan] Rise.

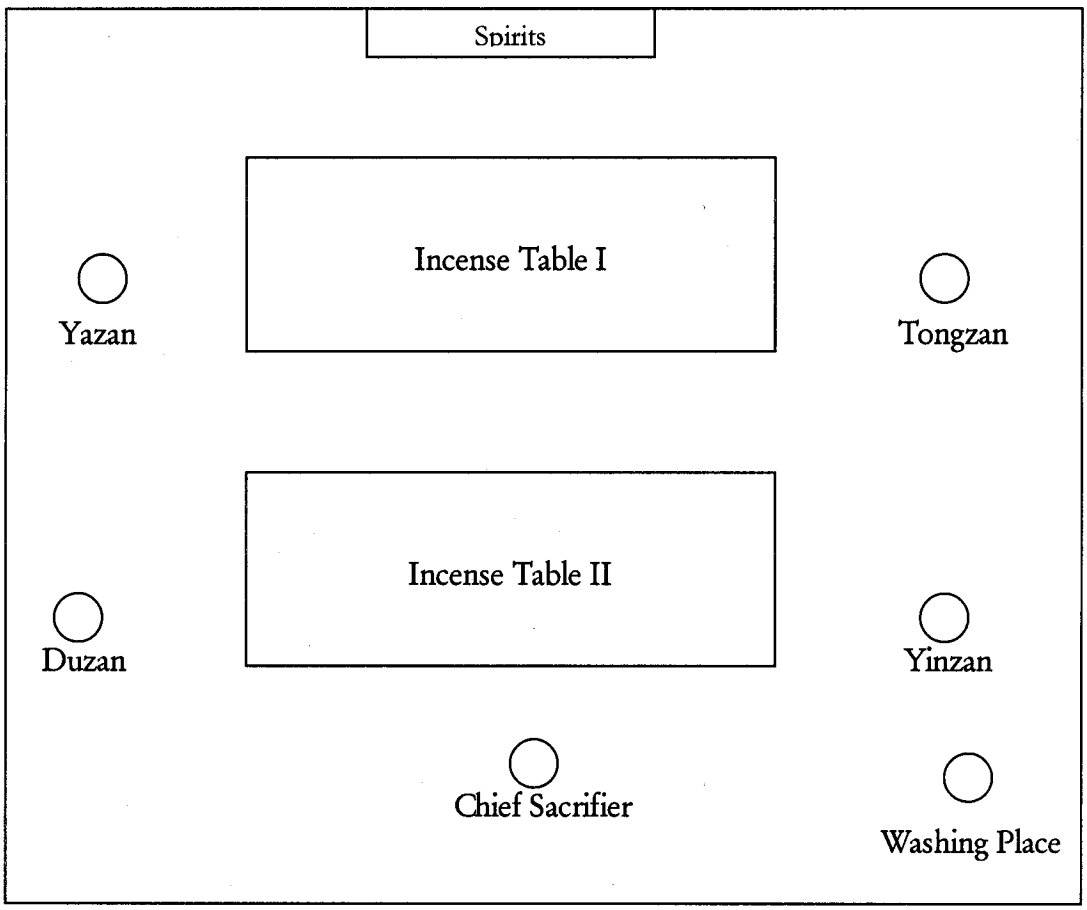
[Tongzan] Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the ninth time.

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[74] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 139-144.

[75] This ritual format can be found in the beginning of the manual of sacrificial texts (Manual A, see the third section of this chapter). Another ritual format with minor differences was kindly given to me by Zou Hengchen.

Figure 3.1 Layout of the Rituals Performed by Four *Lisheng*



Source: The author's field notes.

[Yazan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Move to the front of the seat of the spirit image and present incense.

[Yinzan] The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, move to the front of the seat of the spirit image and present incense. Kneel. Present incense. Offer [liquor in the] *jue*. Invite the spirits to come down. Pour out a libation of liquor. Present the silk. Recite the sacrificial text.

[Duzan] [Recites the sacrificial text while prostrating.]

[Tongzan] Rise.

[Yinzan] Return to your original place. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Perform the rite of the first presentation.

[Yinzan] The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, move to the front of the seat of the spirit image and perform the rite of the first presentation. Kneel. Present the liquor the first time. Present animal sacrifices. Present soup. Present dishes. Kowtow.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Yinzan] Return to your original place. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Tongzan] Perform the rite of the second presentation.

[Yinzan] The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, move to the front of the seat of the spirit image and perform the rite of the second presentation. Kneel. Present liquor the second time. Present animal sacrifices. Present soup. Present dishes. Kowtow.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Yinzan] Return to your original place. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Perform the rite of the third presentation.

[Yinzan] The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, move to the front of the seat of the spirit image and perform the rite of the third presentation. Kneel. Present liquor the third time. Present animal sacrifices. Present soup. Present dishes. Kowtow.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Yinzan] Return to your original place. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Perform the rite of urging [the spirits] to eat.

[Yinzan] The gentleman who works as chief sacrifier, move to the front of the spirit image and perform the rite of urging [the spirits] to eat. Kneel. Urge [the spirits] to eat. Lift the bottle. Add liquor. Present soup. Serve rice. Serve tea. Serve fruits. Kowtow.

[Duzan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Take with *jue* in your hands and move to the burner. Watch the burning of the text and offer the silk.[76] Return to your original place. Send off the spirits. Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the third time.

[Yazan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the sixth time.

[Yazan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Kneel. Kowtow. Kowtow. Kowtow the ninth time.

[Yazan] Rise.

[Tongzan] Relax. The rite is completed.

During the ritual process, the *tongzan* calls out thirteen times, the *yinzan* ten times, the yazan six times, and the *duzan* seven times and recites once. The prominent role of *tongzan* in the ritual is obvious. Not only does he start and conclude the ritual, but also he calls out the most important ritual acts to be performed by the chief sacrifier and other *lisheng*. The role of *yinzan* is also important. The majority of ritual acts are actually called out by him. The *duzan* not only recites the sacrificial text, but also calls out simple ritual acts. *Yazan* seems to the least important among the four *lisheng*. He calls out only six times and his words are usually short.

The whole ritual procedures can be divided into seven parts: the rite of burning incense (*shangxiang li* 上香禮), the rites of triple presentation of sacrifices (*chu xian li* 初獻禮, *ya xian li* 亞獻禮, *san xian li* 三獻禮), the rite of urging the spirits to eat (*youshi li* 侑食禮), the rite of sending off the spirits (*song shen* 送神), and the rite of burning the sacrificial text. In the first part, the chief sacrifier represents the community in inviting the spirits to come down by burning incense and the *duzan* recites the sacrificial text to the spirits, declaring the purpose of the ritual and the community involved. The main

[76] Although the silk is mentioned here, the author did not find any silk in the rites performed in Sibao.

purpose of parts 2-5 is to entertain the spirits with offerings. This rite is followed by the sixth part of the ritual: sending off the spirits. The sacrificial text is burned in the last part. All these parts are marked by kneeling and kowtowing. In the ritual, the chief sacrifier is expected to kneel fifteen times and kowtow thirty-four times. This is really a difficult job to finish, even more so if we remember that most of chief sacrifiers are men over sixty years old. The rites performed by four *lisheng* are usually those rites of greater importance. For less important rites such as weddings, funerals, and the rites of offering sacrifices to dragon lanterns, usually only two *lisheng* are invited. However, the ritual format itself is similar.

A comparison between the preceding ritual format and the formats of the state rituals provides some interesting insights for our understanding of rituals performed by *lisheng*. The basic state rituals can be found in the *Shitong* 十通 (The ten encyclopedic histories of institutions), *Huidian* 會典 (Collected statutes), and local gazetteers. The rituals performed at the level of local government consisted of the rites of sacrifice to the sages in the Confucian Temple (*wenmiao* 文廟), the similar rites to the God of the soil and grain, to the gods of the wind, cloud, thunder, rain, mountain, river, and the City God, to orphan souls, the rite of community wine drinking, and so forth (see Chapter VI).[77] Limitations of space do not allow me to provide a description of all the rites mentioned here. I will introduce the rites of sacrifice at the Confucian Temple and the rites of sacrifice to the god of the soil and grain (*Sheji* 社稷) because of their importance for local society in general and local gentry in particular.

The rites of sacrifice to Confucius were conducted at the Confucian Temple each year on the first *ding* 丁 day of the second and eighth months respectively.[78] The rite was

[77] *Hongwu lizhi*, 481-506.

[78] Years and days in the lunar calendar were arranged according to the sixty combinations of the ten celestial stems *(tiangan* 天干) and twelve terrestrial branches (*dizhi* 地支). *Ting* happened to

performed under the guidance of two *lisheng* by one chief sacrifier (usually the magistrate), and several secondary sacrifiers (usually the principal and experienced scholars). Three days before the rite all of them would bathe and abstain from meat, wine, sex, and so forth. The day before the rite, the sacrificial animals would be inspected to ensure that they were suitable for sacrifice. The rite itself can be divided into eight parts. In the first part, those who participated in the rite first took their places and the hair and blood of the sacrificial animal were buried (*yi mao xie* 瘞毛血) in a hole dug in advance,[79] then the spirits were invited to come down. In the second part, the sacrifices were presented for the first time. They were first presented to Confucius and then to all of the other saints in the Confucian Temple. A sacrificial text was recited in front of the spirit tablet of Confucius. This was followed by the second presentation and the last presentation. In the fifth part, the participants drank wine and received sacrificial meat (*yinfu shouzuo* 飲福受胙). This done, the offerings were taken away and the spirits were sent off. The ceremony was concluded by the burning of the sacrificial text and cloth silk.[80] Obviously, the structure of the rite is quite similar to the Sibao ritual format discussed above. In the beginning of the rite, the spirits were invited to come down and a sacrificial text was addressed to them. This was followed by the rites of triple presentation of sacrifices to the spirits. Finally, the sending off of the spirits and the burning of the text concluded the ceremony (see Table 3.2). But there were also some

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be the fourth among the ten celestial stems. See Huang Liuhung, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, 511 n. 4. In a recent article, Thomas A. Wilson gives a brief summary of the liturgy of the state cult of Confucius from mid-fifth century to the Ming. See Wilson, "Ritualizing Confucius/Kongzi: The Family and State Cults of the Sage of Culture in Imperial China," in Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asian Center, 2002), 76-79.

[79] "The stripping of the victims' hide and the draining of their blood reduced them to the layer of boundary flesh between. They were empty inside and plian outside, unlike the participants, who wore their various prescribed silk robes." Angela Zito, *Of Body & Blush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 159.

[80] *Hongwu lizhi*, 481-485.

differences. Firstly, the fifth part, the rite of urging the spirits to eat, in the Sibao ritual format was replaced by the rite of drinking wine and receiving sacrificial meat in the official ceremony. Secondly, the official ceremony was accompanied not only by music, but also by dance. Dance was performed three times in the rite, each performed when sacrifices were presented to the spirits. Thirdly, when the spirits were invited to come down, no incense was burned in the official rite.[81] Instead, the hair and blood of the sacrificial animals were buried and silk was offered. Fourthly, the official ceremony was performed in the presence of two *lisheng* while the Sibao rite was performed by four *lisheng*. Lastly, in the official ceremony, the chief sacrifier was expected to kneel and kowtow less frequently. He had to bow eight times, kneel seventeen times, and kowtow seventeen times. Remember that as he performed the rite he was paying respect to five spirits one by one and each time he knelt only once rather than three times.[82]

Like the rite of spring and autumn sacrifices to Confucius in the Confucian Temple, the rite of sacrifice to the god of the soil and grain was also conducted twice a year. But unlike the former, this rite was conducted in the first *wu* 戊 day of the second and eighth months respectively. The rite was performed by two *lisheng* and one chief sacrifier (usually the magistrate) in front of the county-level altar of the god of the soil and grain. Other civil officials of less importance participated the rite and the military officials were not expected to participate. The structure of the rite was quite similar to the

[81] However, the rite of sacrifice performed in the Changting Confucius Temple did burn incense. See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 12/13a.

[82] Joseph McDermott suggests that the Five Bows and Three Kowtows ritual was inherited by Zhu Yuanzhang from the Yuan dynasty and was spread to the rural community in the middle of the sixteenth century probably through the community compact system. See McDermott, "Emperor, Elites, and Commoners," 306-311. What was popular in the late Qing and Republican Sibao was the Three Kneelings and Nine Kowtows ritual, which expresses more reverence than that mentioned by McDermott. The local gazetteer shows that the same ritual was also practiced when the rite of sacrifice to Confucius and Guandi was performed. But the rite of sacrifice to less important gods was performed with two kneeling and six kowtows (in the case of Tianhou, Zhuxi, Lüxian 呂仙) or one kneeling and three kowtows (in the case of the loyalists in the Hall of Loyalists 昭忠祠, Chenghuang, Mangshen 芒神, the God of the soil and grain). See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 12/13a, 28a, 37a, 41a-41b, 44a, 46a, 47b.

rite performed in the Confucian Temple. The rite was divided into eight parts: the welcoming of the spirits (*yingshen* 迎神), the presenting of the silk and the performing of the rite of presentation of the first sacrifices (*dianbo xing chuxian li* 奠帛行初獻禮), the second presentation (*yaxian* 亞獻), the last presentation (*zhongxian* 終獻), the drinking of wine and the receiving of sacrificial meat, the taking away of the sacrifices (*chezhuan* 徹饌), the sending off of the spirits, and the watching of the burning of the text and the offering of the silk (*wang yi* 望瘞).[83] Obviously, the structure is almost the same as that of the rite performed in the Confucian Temple. The only major difference is probably that the magistrate knelt and kowtowed less since fewer spirits were involved.

Table 3.2 A Comparison of the Ritual Structure between the Sibao Ritual Format, the Confucian Temple Rite, and the Altar of the God of the Soil and Grain Rite

Part Number	Sibao Ritual Format	Confucian Temple Rite	Altar of the Soil and Grain Rite
1	Presenting incense	Welcoming the spirits	Welcoming the spirits
2	First presentation	First presentation	First presentation
3	Second presentation	Second presentation	Second presentation
4	Third presentation	Last presentation	Last presentation
5	Urging the spirits to eat	Drinking wine and receiving sacrificial meat	Drinking wine and receiving sacrificial meat
6	Sending off the spirits	Taking away sacrifices	Taking away sacrifices
7	Burning sacrificial text	Sending off the spirits	Sending off the spirits
8	-	Burning the sacrificial text and offering silk	Burning the sacrificial text and offering silk

Source: Manual A (Manuscript, the Guangxu era); *Hongwu lizhi*, 481-506.

[83] *Hongwu lizhi*, 487-493.

The striking similarities between the Sibao ritual format and the state rituals seem obvious: The Sibao ritual format appears to be a copy of the state rituals. This becomes understandable if we bring into consideration the ritual specialists involved. Remember that the position of *lisheng* used to be occupied by only those who held degrees and titles. Many of them must have been Government Students, who would have watched and sometimes participated in the performance of the state rituals several times a year. The Sibao natives who became officials would also have participated and, when necessary, performed the state rituals. We need also to remember that many Sibao people were involved in the printing and selling of books, and some of these books may have included chapters on state rituals. It is likely that they introduced the ritual formats from the ritual books they printed and sold.[84] In the view of these factors, it should not surprise us that the Sibao rites are so similar in structure to the state rituals. This said, a word of caution is in order. When the ritual formats were introduced to Sibao, they were not kept intact. The performing of dance is completely omitted in the Sibao formats, probably because it is difficult to hire dancers in the countryside. More respect is paid to the spirits, as expressed in more kowtows, whether they are patron gods or ancestors. These changes were probably made to adapt the ritual formats of the state rituals to the ritual traditions of the rural population.

Lisheng in Action

Among the rituals the author observed in Sibao, five were performed in the presence of *lisheng*. These rituals included the rites of sacrifice to a god/ancestor and to dragon

[84] In the book inventory discussed in the second chapter mentions the *Huidian* 會典 (*Qing huidian*?) and *Fuhui quanshu* 福惠全書. Both have detailed information on state rituals. See page 46a-46b of this inventory.

lanterns, a wedding, and a funeral. It is time to give an account of all these rituals and locate *lisheng* within them.

The Rite of Sacrifices to Zougong. Every year during the Lunar New Year, the three Zou lineages in Wuge, Shangbao, and Shuangquan offer sacrifices to their god/ancestor, the Lord of Zou (Zougong 鄒公) (for the cult of Zougong, see Chapter VI). The rite of sacrifice is performed in front of the image of Zougong within the Zougong Temple in Shangbao. An old image, made of wood, was unfortunately burnt into ashes by a vagabond during the Lunar New Year of 2001. Shortly after the fire, money was collected from members of the three lineages and from donations to carve a new image of Zougong. A young Changting carver was hired to carve the image and he finished carving several days before the author re-visited Sibao in the summer of 2001. A rite of dotting the eyes and animating the statue (*kai guang* 開光) was performed by the carver himself at 11:00 pm, August 11, on the bank of the "water exit" (*shuikou* 水口) of a major stream that flows through Shangbao. The rite lasted half an hour. After the rite the image was carried to the Zougong Temple mentioned above. There the image of Zougong was placed in the spot where it used to be. This was followed by the slaughtering of a pig in the temple. Then the pig was taken to the nearby Shangbao village to be cleaned and prepared for the sacrifice that would take place after mid-night. Around 3:00 am, August 12, the pig's head and other offerings, including fish, dry squid, chicken, rice cake and wine, were prepared and brought to the temple. They were laid out on the incense table in order.

The rite of sacrifice began at 3:50 am. The three lineages performed the rite one by one: first came the Zou lineage of Wuge, then that of Shangbao, and lastly that of Shuangquan. This arrangement is based on the order of seniority in the respective ages of

their ancestors. We will discuss this in detail in the third chapter. Suffice it to say here that each of these lineages claims to be the descendants of one of Zougong's three sons. And the arrangement mentioned above is based on the order of seniority of the ages of these three sons. The rite was performed under the guidance of four *lisheng* (see Figure 3.1 for layout of the four *lisheng*). *Tongzan* and *yinzan* stood at the left side[85] of two offering tables (Table I and Table II in Figure 3.1) that were placed in front of the image of Zougong. *Yazan* and *duzan* stood the right side of the tables. Two chief sacrifiers stood in front of the incense table that was near the gate of the temple (the Table II in Figure 3.1). There were two chief sacrifiers in this rite because the Zou lineage of Sibao is composed of two major branches (see Chapter IV). Therefore, they represented each of the two branches. The one who stood on the left side was assigned to this place because his ancestor was the elder brother of the ancestor of the one who stood on the right side. The *lisheng* were appointed according to the same rule. Each branch had two *lisheng*. The *tongzan* and *yazan* were appointed from one branch, while the *yinzan* and *duzan* were from another branch. All of them wore the Chinese tunic suit (*zhongshan zhuang* 中山装).

The rite was performed basically according to the ritual format introduced above. The *lisheng*, except for the *duzan*, did not move during the ritual and stood where they were throughout the rite. In contrast, the chief sacrifiers had to move between the two tables in the temple. They went to the washing place to wash their hands. They moved to Table I when they were asked to present offerings. They stood in front of Table II in the beginning and this was the place they returned to after they presented the offerings. The *duzan* had to walk to the Incense Table I when he recited the sacrificial text. Throughout the ritual the *lisheng* called out the ritual acts in Mandarin with strong Sibao accents. So did the *duzan* when he recited the sacrificial text. He recited the text slowly but loudly.

[85] The distinction between right and left is based on the point of view of the god rather than that of the participants and onlookers of the ceremony.

His voice was different from the normal ways of speaking but was not quite similar to singing. Probably we can say the voice lay mid-way between speech and song. The text was recited in the so-called *guanhua*. At the end of the rite, the text was put into a burner in front of the temple and burned and then a libation was poured out in front of the burner. The rite lasted about half an hour.

During the rite, a music troupe was hired to play music. It consisted of ten players. Three of them played *erhu* 二胡. Three beat gongs. Two played *dizi* 笛子. The other two beat a *nao* 鐃 (hand bells) and drum respectively. They played music when the *lisheng* gave them notice.

The Rite of Sacrifices to the Dragon Lantern. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, during the Lunar New Year, many villages in Sibao organize a procession of dragon lanterns. This annual procession is an important social and cultural activity in Sibao. The procession takes place around the Lantern Festival on the fifteenth day of the first month and is usually organized by local lineages. It used to be an important occasion for showing off lineage strength. It now appears that a decline has set in because the youths, the most important participants in this activity, seem to have found other forms of entertainment. But still this is probably the only collective activity that involves the co-operation between hundreds of people. In Wuge, the activity is usually organized by a branch rather than by the lineage as a whole. One of the most famous processions, and probably the deepest in terms of historical origin, is that organized by the Lichong branch (*Lichong gong fang* 禮崇公房). The organization of this procession is placed under the direction of an organization called "the Dragon Lantern Society of the Guangyu Hall" (Guangyu tang *longdeng shenghui* 光裕堂龍燈勝會),[86] which is constituted by branch

[86] Guangyu Hall is the name of the ancestral hall of this branch.

heads and sub-branch heads. Every "stove" (*zhao* 灶) or household of the branch is expected to appoint one of its members to participate in the procession. Those who are involved in the procession are divided into two categories: the managers (*zhishi renyuan* 執事人員) and the normal participants. There are twenty managers and they are selected from participating households by drawing lots (*nianjiu* 拈鬮). It is said that only those who were lucky could be selected as managers and those who were selected used to give a banquet to their relatives to celebrate. The household that takes charge of carrying the head of the dragon lantern, sometimes known as "the lantern head" (*dengshou* 燈首), is selected from these managers also by drawing lots. This household is said to be the luckiest among the managers and is expected to give a big banquet to their relatives. The managers are in charge of carrying the head and the tail of the dragon lantern, beating gongs to notify villagers of the schedule of the procession, cooking dishes for the society and the managers, burning incense to the most important local deities, and firing Chinese gunpowder charges (retards). The normal participants, that is, those who are not selected as managers, are grouped into each of several dozen *jia* 甲 that consisted of ten participants each.

During the Lunar New Year of 2002, the procession organized by the Dragon Lantern Society of the Guangyu Hall took place in the evening of the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the first month (February 25-26). Three days before the procession, the list of managers and participants was pasted on the walls beside the village's main street.[87] The rite of sacrifice to the dragon lantern took place in the afternoon of February 25. As a rule, the rite was performed first at the main hall of the lantern head's house or *zongting* and again at the Guangyu Hall. The rites were similar except that they took

[87] The participants of this procession were grouped into thirty-four *jia*.

place in different places. The rite I am going to introduce below took place in the *zongting* of the lantern head.

Before the rite began, two tables were placed in the middle of the *zongting*. The head and tail of the dragon lantern were put on the table, facing outside. In front of them were put offerings such as a pig's head, pork, chicken, fish, dried squid, orange cakes, tea, apples, and roses. The rite was performed by two *lisheng* along with one *suona* 鎖吶 (Chinese oboe) player and two persons who beat a drum and gong respectively. The *lisheng* stood at each side of the offering tables. The rite started at 4:00 pm and lasted only about 7 minutes. The structure of the rite was similar to the ritual format translated above except that it was conducted by two *lisheng*. At the beginning, the incense was presented, the spirit of the dragon was invited to come down to entertain itself with the offerings, and the sacrificial text was recited. Then offerings were presented to the spirit three times. After urging the spirit to enjoy the offerings, the sacrificial text was burned and libation was poured out beside the burner. The difference between this rite and the ritual formats discussed above appeared when the rite was concluded. A cock was killed and the blood of the cock was sprinkled upon the head and tail of the dragon lantern. This action was supposed to ensure efficacy-that is, that the spirit would act on their prayers and demonstrate its *ling* quality.[88] This done, firecrackers were set off to conclude the rite.

The Zou lineage of Shuangquan also organized a procession of dragon lanterns in the Lunar New Year of 2002. Since they invited some important figures from their kinsmen of northeastern Guangdong to participate in the procession and the latter were said to have sponsored the whole activity, the procession was organized with extraordinary zeal. The procession lasted three days, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth (February 24-26). The first day was devoted to the procession for "the renewing of the

[88] Cythia Brokaw, personal communication, June 8, 2003.

spirit of dragon." Every village is believed to have its "dragon's pulse" (*longmai* 龍脈) and the procession is meant to renew the spirit of the dragon and guide the flow of vital elements of the spirit of the dragon through the lineage's ancestral hall into the village. Before performing the rite, the offerings were presented to the dragon lantern. This rite of sacrifice was conducted at 5:40 pm, February 24, in front of the ruins of the ancestral hall of the Zou lineage. It was performed by four *lisheng* in the presence of many villagers and visitors. The rite was different in structure from the ritual format described above only at one point. The sacrificial text was recited right before the spirit was sent off rather than at the beginning of the rite. The rite concluded at 6:15 pm and the procession began right after this.

The Rite of Worshiping Heaven and Earth at a Wedding. As pointed out at the beginning of this section, weddings used to be performed without the guidance of *lisheng* but now usually take place in their presence. During my stay in Sibao, I was able to observe the whole procedures of only one wedding. Weddings in Sibao usually happen in the winter, before the Lunar New Year, when farm work is finished and villagers have more time for social exchange. The wedding the author observed took place late in the eleventh lunar month (January 10, 2002). The groom was a middle school teacher from Xikeng 茜坑, Changxiao Township, Qingliu. The bride was a clerk of the Changxiao Post Office from Jiantou, Sibao Township, Liancheng. The rite was basically composed of two parts: the rites performed in the bride's house and the rites in the groom's house.

The date of the wedding was decided by the groom's family after consulting *lisheng*. The groom's family then informed the bride's family of the date in advance. Three days before the wedding (January 7), an ancestors' image was hung on the wall of the hall of the bride's house and some offerings were presented to the ancestors on the incense table. One day before the wedding (January 9), three big cases of gifts were sent

to the bride's house from the groom's family in the morning. The gifts included: the meat for banquets given in the bride's house first at noon and then in the evening, a pig's head, a sedan chair lamp (*jiaodeng* 轎燈) with its lights on, two baskets of pine torches, a pair of candle holders and candles, and so forth. The gifts were presented to the ancestors in a branch ancestral hall and a sub-branch ancestral hall of the bride's family. This done, they were next placed on the incense table in the bride's hall and presented to the bride's near ancestors. All these ceremonies were conducted without the help of *lisheng*. People just followed the local customs. The people who sent gifts to the bride's family stayed there and did not go back to their village until the bride had left her natal family.

According to the schedule given by the groom's family, the time for the rite of "entering the gate [of the groom's house]" (*jinmen* 進門) was 2:00 am, January 10. Based on this schedule, the bride's family decided that the bride should leave her natal family at 9:40 pm, January 9. After the evening banquet, a women versed in the ceremony of weddings from the bride's village went into the bride's bedroom and appeared to give her some instructions.[89] In the mean time, the bride dressed herself up. She had on red clothes, a red skirt, red shoes, and a red hair dress. About half an hour before she left her family, she started to cry. It was as much an expression of emotion as the performance of a rite. This is called "marriage lamentation" (*kujia* 哭嫁) in Sibao. At this juncture, some dishes were prepared for the bride and they served as a farewell dinner. The dinner was attended only by the bride's family and all other people were supposed to leave the dinner table. During the dinner one of the elder brothers of the bride urged the bride to drink some rice wine, instructed her how to behave after she joined her husband's family, and congratulated her for her wedding. This is known as "filling a wine cup" (*bajiu* 把酒). This rite performed, the bride had to say farewell to her natal family. While crying loudly,

[89] Unfortunately, the content of the instructions was not given to the author.

the bride walked to the door in the company of a woman from the groom's side, who led the bride along while holding a rice screen (*mishai* 米篩) before the bride.[90] Men from the groom's village rushed out of the hall and burned two pine torches in front of the house. The man who was in charge of holding the sedan chair lamp waited in front of the house in advance. Firecrackers were set off. As soon as the bride walked out of the house, the woman who led her along opened an umbrella. At the same time, the door was closed by people inside the house, which was meant to prevent the outflow of treasure from the bride's side by the marrying-out of their woman.[91] A minute later, after the bride walked away, the man who took care of the sedan chair lamp knocked on the door. He left when people inside opened the door. At this juncture the kinsmen of the bride's natal family walked out of the house to pick up one of the pine torches and then went home. The purpose of this activity was reportedly the same as the closing of the main door.

It was still early when the bride arrived at the groom's village. She was led into the groom's house from a side door and waited in the house for the auspicious moment to perform the rite of "entering the gate." When the moment came, she walked out of the house from the side door and re-entered the house from the main door. Again, she did this in the company of the woman who led her along when the bride said farewell to her natal family. And again, the woman led the bride along while holding a rice screen before the groom. At the moment they walked through the door, a cock was killed and its blood was sprinkled on the floor. After the bride entered the house, she was led into her bedroom (*dongfang* 洞房).

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[90] The rice screen is utilized to protect the bride, who was going through the rite of passage, from the attack of the active spirit of death (*shaqi* 煞氣). This female companion does not have to be one who is versed in ritual. In this case, she was the wife of the groom's elder brother.

[91] A similar rite can be found in the New Territories, Hong Kong. According to Rubie Watson, as the bride left her father's house, "the door was slammed shut behind her," which she interprets as "a firm reminder that she could no longer call this household her own." See Rubie S. Watson, *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 122.

The rite of worshiping Heaven and Earth (*baiting* 拜堂), the central part of the wedding, took place in the hall of the groom's house at 10:00 pm, January 10. An incense table was placed in the inner part of the hall and an incense burner, planted with two sticks of incense, was put on the table. Formerly, the ancestors' image used to be hung up on the wall of the hall but since it was destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, the big red Chinese character "double happiness" (*xi* 囍) was pasted up instead. A cushion was also put on the floor. A *lisheng* was invited to guide the ceremony. He gave the groom a quick training course before the ceremony began. As the auspicious moment came, the bride was led along by the same woman who accompanied her through the rite of entering the gate, and this woman did the same to the bride-holding a rice screen before her. Following the instruction of *lisheng*, the bride and groom paid respect to Heaven and Earth, then to ancestors, and finally bowed to each other. When paying respect to Heaven and Earth and ancestors, the groom had to kneel upon the cushion. He performed three kneelings and twelve kowtows to Heaven and Earth and three kneelings and nine kowtows to his ancestors. The bride did not kneel but bowed the same number of times. The ceremony lasted twelve minutes. After the ceremony the bride and groom bowed to each other, the rice screen was taken away and the bride completed the rite of passage and became a member of her husband's family.

However, the wedding as a ritual series did not stop here. First, the wedding was followed by a banquet at noon and another in the evening. The first banquet is called "the banquet of entering the gate" (*jinmen jiu* 進門酒) while the second is called "the banquet of fruits and sweets" (*guozi jiu* 果子酒). Another banquet, known as "the banquet of sending off guests" (*songke jiu* 送客酒), was given the next day. Three days later, the bride went back to her natal family in the company of her husband. The series of rites

concluded a month later by "the banquet of the full month" (*manyue jiu* 滿月酒),[92] which was given at the groom's home to honor the mother of the bride.

Funerals. As with weddings, in the past the funerals of normal Sibao people used to be conducted without the guidance of *lisheng*. The reason is that *lisheng* had to be well-paid when they were involved in death pollution and not many people could afford it. Now, most of funerals are performed by *lisheng* along with other ritual specialists such as Taoist priests and/or Buddhist monks. Before giving a brief description of the role of *lisheng* in funerals, the author should admit that he managed to observe only one funeral and not the entire process of any one funeral. This is because the family of the dead in Sibao are usually reluctant to be bothered by an outsider who has no connection to the family. But with the help of *lisheng* and several of my informants, I was able to learn the general procedures of funerals and the rites of burial.

The funeral took place in Jiantou after the death of an old man on February 28, 2002. The next day (March 1), the family of the dead sent a person to the nearby Gechuan 隔川 Township, Liancheng, to hire four Taoist priests. In the past funerals were performed by married monks, usually known as "the monks of incense and flowers" (*xianghua heshang* 香花和尚), from Buddhist temples within the Sibao area (see Chapter VI).[93] After the Cultural Revolution, when religious activities revived in Sibao, the influence of the Taoist priests from Gechuan Township, Liancheng, reached the area. They gradually gained control over many of the important and expansive rituals performed at *jiao* festivals and funerals at least as far as the southern part of Sibao area is

[92] This is different from the banquet with the same name that celebrates the one-month birthday of a baby.

[93] In contrast, Taoism seems to have played important role in the funerals of southern Fujian from earlier periods. See Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988), 19-78.

concerned.[94] Two *lisheng* from Jiantou and several *suona* players from nearby villages were also hired to assist in the funeral. Besides, a paper spirit house (*lingwu* 靈屋) and a set of paper appliances were also ordered. Throughout the funeral, the family of the dead had to see to it that the cat did not touch the corpse since Sibao people believe that if this happens the corpse would rise up. Caution was also taken to prevent rats from biting the corpse before the corpse was put into the coffin.

The pit for the coffin was dug the next day (March 2) and, following the local arrangement, this was done by the close kinsmen of the dead. On the same day, the corpse of the dead was put into the coffin. In Sibao, before the corpse is put into a coffin, the brothers, sisters, or daughters of the dead usually put paper money into the hands of the dead. The gold paper money is put into its left hand while the silver paper money is placed in its left hand. This is known as "*mailu qian*" 買路錢 (literally, "money to pay for access to the road"). The dead usually had on three suits of garments and four suits of pants. The inner suits should be white, while the other suits should be blue. The aim of this arrangement is clearly indicated by a local saying: "[When the dead wears] three suits of garments and four suits of pants, [his] descendants will become wealthy and honorable" 上三下四子孫富貴. The deceased had on a black hat, white stockings, and black shoes. Finally, a small peach-shaped ball made of gold or silver and inscribed with the Chinese character "*shou*" 壽 (longevity), known as "the money held in the mouth" (*xiankou qian* 銜口錢), was put into the mouth of the dead. The deceased was put into a coffin when the auspicious moment arrived. This done, the deceased was covered first by a peace of white cloth, then by cloth in different colors from the brother(s) of the wife of

[94] The Taoist priests of Gechuan have their esoteric knowledge transmitted from a Taoist priest called Chen He 陳禾, who lived in the Kangxi era (1662-1722). Chen He was trained at Dragon Tiger Mountain (Longhu shan 龍虎山) in Jiangxi, and had his base on Mount Yuanfeng 員峰 in northern Liancheng. See Hua Qinjin, "Yuanfeng shan de Lai xiangong jiqi daoshi" 員峰山的賴仙公及其道士, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Tingzhou fu de zongzu miaohui yu jingji*, 407-408.

the deceased and the daughter(s) of the deceased, and finally by a quilt. Shortly before the coffin was sent to the grave (*chubin* 出殯), the cloth covering the corpse was taken away and the coffin was nailed shut. On the way to the grave, paper money was scattered here and there. Every time a bridge had to be crossed, the persons who carried the coffin stopped to burn incense and light candles at one end of the bridge, which was meant to ask the god of the bridge to allow them cross the bridge. As with the men who dug the grave, the men who carried the coffin were also selected from the close kinsmen of the deceased.

In Sibao, the coffin is sent to the grave usually after Taoist priests and *lisheng* alike have finished performing most of the rites. But in the case the author observed, this was done before the ritual specialists started to perform rituals. This was because the government has banned earth burials and the family of the dead arranged the burial secretly and quickly before the government discovered it. Therefore, in this case the funeral started only after the dead had been buried.

The Taoist priests began their service (*zuo fashi* 做法事) by performing the rites of "inviting the gods" (*qingshen* 請神) and "announcement of the memorial" (fabiao 發表) in the evening of March 2. The gods from the underworld were invited to preside over the funeral and the purpose of the ritual was announced. The next morning, the rites of "morning audience" (*zaochao* 早朝) and "raising the streamer" (*yangfan* 揚幡) were performed. After breakfast the Taoist priests recited the first and second volume of the *Shuican jing* 水懺經 (Sutra of water litany). The rite of "noon audience" (*wuchao* 午朝) was performed at noon. The recitation of the *Shuican jing* continued in the afternoon and it was followed by the rites of "calling-back of the soul" (*zhao wanghun* 招亡魂) and "passing before the ten kings of the underworld" (*guo shidian mingwang* 過十殿冥王). The rite performed in the evening was called "bathing the soul" (*muyu* 沐浴), during

which the soul of the dead was guided from his bedroom to the ritual place to be given a bath. A series of rites followed after the evening dinner. These included: "mounting the golden bridge" (*shang jinqiao* 上金橋), "mounting the altar" (*shengtan* 昇壇), "holding the candle" (*bingzhu* 秉燭), "salvation of the dragon flower" (*longhua jiuku* 龍華救苦), "paying back loans to the government of the underworld" (*tiao shousheng* 挑受生), "witnessing a signature and receiving life" (*qianya shousheng* 簽押受生), "feeding the orphan souls" (*shigu* 施孤), and "sending off the gods" (*songshen* 送神). The main purpose of these rituals was to ensure the rebirth of the soul of the dead. In the morning of March 4, a series of rituals was performed at the grave of the dead. In the past these were usually done when the dead was buried. But in this case they were done two days after the burial due to the reason mentioned above. The first ritual was known as "paying respect to the Earth" (*shatu* 煞土). One of the purposes of this ritual was to pay respect to the Earth for allowing the dead to be buried there. Another purpose of the ritual was to solicit the help of "the golden boy and jade girl" (*jintong yunü* 金童玉女) to escort the soul of the dead to the Western Paradise. Then the Taoist priests walked around the grave three times. This was called the rite of "circling three times" (*zhuansan* 轉三) but the meaning of the ritual was not given to the author. What followed was the rite of "crying out to the dragon" (*hulong* 呼龍). The Taoist priests who performed this ritual called out ten wishes to the family members and descendants of the dead. The latter included wishes for becoming wealthy, honorable, prosperous, and so forth. Returning from the grave, the paper spirit house and paper appliances together with the paper spirit tablet (*lingpai* 靈牌) were burnt in front of the ancestral hall. This is called "eliminating the spirit house" (*chuling* 除靈) and aims to transform the dead into an ancestor.

While the Taoist priests were performing rituals in the "Place of the Tao" (*daochang* 道場) constructed in the house of the deceased on March 3, the *lisheng* were

busy sorting gifts and composing sacrificial texts in a nearby house. Whenever a guest came to attend the funeral, the *lisheng* would accept their gifts and arrange them in order. Many of the gifts were cloth to be used as "streamers" (*fan* 幡) that covered the corpse or were displayed in the hall of the house of the dead man. *Lisheng* were expected to write a paper slip and paste it on the cloth, explaining who gave this gift. A more difficult work was to compose sacrificial texts. *Lisheng* had to compose one sacrificial text for each of the guests who wanted to have one. Of course, they could follow a text format given in the manual of sacrificial texts. Still they had to ensure that the form of address related to the relationship between each guest and the deceased was correct. In the case I observed, the *lisheng* wrote over thirty texts of this kind and felt exhausted when they finished. These texts were prepared for the rite of sacrifice to the dead that took place in the early morning of March 4. The rite was performed in front of the paper spirit tablet of the dead. Since *lisheng* had to guide the sacrifiers through the rite one by one, the rite lasted over three hours. Only after the rite was completed did the Taoist priests, in the company of the family and relatives of the dead, go to the grave to perform the rites of *shatu*, *zhuansan*, and *hulong*.[95] Kenneth Dean reported that in a burial procession in Zhangpu 漳浦, southern Fujian, the *lisheng* guided the rite of sacrifice to the dead at graveyard. He first "directed the mourners to pour libations by turn in front of the offerings set before the coffin. Then he read a *jiwen*." Next the son and of the dead and his nephew

[95] Among Hainanese in Bangkok, Piet van der Loon finds that in the funeral rites the role of *lisheng* was played by Taoist priests and the rite of sacrifice become part of a liturgical drama. The rite was performed before the drama draws to an end. The priest who played the role of *lisheng* is assisted by two of his attendants. One of them introduces himself as A-kau. He is an orphan who, together with his sister, has been looked after and employed as a servant by an official. As his benefactor has just passed away, he feels it necessary to have a sacrificial text. Accompanied by his sister he visited the *lisheng*. After negotiating the terms of payment, all three go to the underworld, where A-kau and his sister assemble the deceased's family members in order to sacrifice to the soul. When this important ceremony has been completed, the sacrificial text is spread out. The *lisheng* reads it aloud, pointing at each sentence with his stick. He orders the mourners to kowtow again and again. See Long Bide 龍彼得 (Piet van der Loon), "Fashi xi chutan" 法事戲初探, *Minsu quyi* 84 (Jul. 1993), 25-26.

"performed libations to the right of the grave for the Houtu."[96] This was not observed in the Sibao case.

In the rituals described above, *lisheng* played roles of varied importance. In the rite of sacrifice to Zougong, *lisheng* played a central role throughout the ritual process. They were the only class of ritual specialists that performed the ritual after the carver finished the rite of dotting the eyes of the statue of the god. In the rite of sacrifice to the dragon lantern, *lisheng* also played an exclusive role. No other ritual specialists were hired to perform this ritual. However, the rite itself, however important it might appear, was only one part of a more spectacular religious folkloric activity. *Lisheng* played an outstanding role in the wedding, too. The most important part of the rite, *baitang*, was performed under their guidance. But for other rites, such as *bajiu*, local customs were followed. Remember also that the wedding involved a woman who was well versed in wedding ceremonies. In the fourth rite, the funeral, the Taoist priests played a similar, if not a more, important role as the *lisheng*. From what I observed and learned from this case I came to the conclusion that while the rites performed by Taoist priests focused on guiding the soul of the dead through the underworld, ensuring both the rebirth of the soul and its journey to the Western Paradise, and transforming the dead into an ancestor, the rites of the *lisheng* focused on communications between the guests and the family of the deceased and between the living and the dead. In a word, it appears from these cases that *lisheng* particularly specialize in the rites of sacrifice, that is, offering sacrifices to supernatural beings. And they usually accomplish this not by their own performance, but by guiding the people who in their capacity as members of the social collectivities involved (members of a lineage, members of a community, the son of the dead) are more

[96] Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujian," 35.

suitable to perform the rites. In other words, *lisheng* do not work as mediators between human beings and the supernatural. What they do is to guide the procedures of the ceremony involved. If there be something mediating the two worlds, it is not the *lisheng* but may be the incense, the sacrifices, and the rite itself. Kristopher Schipper and Kenneth Dean point out that Taoist ritual provides the unifying liturgical framework for popular religion,[97] while Robert Hymes argues that besides the Taoist "bureaucratic model" there exists a "personal model" of communication between religious actors and the divinities.[98] *Lisheng* have not provided a unifying framework for popular religion. Seen from *lisheng*'s rituals, the personal model does not exist there either. But they have provided a format as to how the rite should be performed, when the incense should be burned, and when and how the sacrifices should be presented and thus provided a channel through which the villagers could communicate with the supernatural. If Taoist priests are both directors and actors of rituals, *lisheng* are only directors.

Manuals of Sacrificial Texts

A Summary of Six *Jiwen ben* of *Lisheng*

Like the Taoist priest, *lisheng* also rely considerably on written sources.[99] Almost every rite performed by *lisheng* is accompanied by the composing, reciting, and usually the burning of written texts. This marks them off from ritual specialists such as spirit

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[97] Kristopher M. Schipper, "Taoist Ritual and the Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty," in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R. A. Stein* (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1985), vol. 3, 812-24; Kristofer M. Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Trans. Karen C. Duval. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China.*

[98] Robert Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

[99] Kristofer M. Schipper, "The Written Memorial in Taoist Ceremonies," in Arthur P. Wolf, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 309-324.

mediums and the carver mentioned above. These texts are usually utilized to praise the merits of supernatural beings involved, inviting them to enjoy the offerings, and often begging them to intervene in human affairs on behalf of the collectivity (family, lineage and its segments, community) for whom the *lisheng* are performing the services. These texts are known as "*jiwen*" (sacrificial texts) in Sibao. And the manual of sacrificial texts is called "*jiwen ben*" (manual of sacrificial texts).

Table 3.3 Five Manuals of Sacrificial Texts Found in Sibao

Manual No.	A	B	C	D	E	Total
Location	Wuge	Wuge	Wuge	Shangbao	Mawu	-
Date	Guangxu era (1875-1908)	? (b)	1936	Early Repubican period	Early Republican period	-
Status of Previous Holders	National University Student	?	?	National University Student	National University Student	-
Texts to Gods	44	44	58	79	0	225
Texts to Ancestors	136	85	29	60	11	321
Dragon Lantern	0	0	2	0	0	2
Funerals	215	269	3	238	7	732
Weddings	0	0	0	1	17	18
Xiangyue	0	0	0	10	0	10
Contracts	0	0	0	12	1	13
Others	24 (a)	21 (c)	12 (d)	34 (e)	0	91
Total	419	419	104	434	36	1412

Notes: (a) Included in this category are eight texts for the expelling of worms, tigers, and plague, four for the rite of sacrifice to the hall of a building, four for the rite of sacrifice to genealogies, three texts for the celebration of the establishment of a building, three forms of invitation letters, and two ritual formats.

(b) According to its recent owner (also a *lisheng*), this *jiwen ben* was probably produced earlier than Manual A because the Manual A seems to have been copied from this *jiwen ben*. If this is true, the person who made this copy did not do it without making any change (see Table 3.3).

(c) Included in this category are nine texts for the expelling of worms and plague, five for the rite of sacrifice to the hall of a building, four for the rite of sacrifice to genealogies, and three for the celebration of the establishment of a building.

(d) Included in this category are five forms of invitation letter, two texts for the rite of sacrifice to orphan souls, two for the rite of sacrifice to the hall of a building, two for the expelling of worms, and a ritual format.

(e) Included in this category are twelve forms of contracts, six texts for the expelling of worms, four forms of invitation letter and addressing, four for birthday celebrations, a list of words used for sacrificial texts, a timetable for encoffining and burial and a list of persons who should not be present at these moments because of the years of the astrological animals of their birth, a timetable for funerals, a list of ways of performing funerals, a form for making stone tablets, an talisman (another talisman is listed in the category of weddings), and a couplet.

The author found six manuals of sacrificial texts and a handbook of addressing terms in Sibao (see Table 3.3). These texts were collected from four of the important villages of Sibao: Wuge, Mawu, Changxiao, and Shangbao. All of them dated to the late Qing and the early Republican periods, are owned by *lisheng* or people with strong interest in rituals, and are still consulted by them for ritual performance. What follows is a description of them. To avoid imposing our own categories upon these documents, the author will introduce them in their own order and logic.

Manual A. This manual and Manual B are currently owned by a *lisheng* of Wuge, who actually uses both in conducting his rituals. According to this *lisheng*, the previous owner of this *jiwenben* was a National University Student, which, as I mentioned above, made him eligible for the *lisheng* position. The manual was probably copied in the Guangxu era (1875-1908). The manuscript is in average condition. Right before the Table of Contents of this document, the previous owner left this information: "Broadly

classified sacrificial texts (*Jiwen guanglei* 祭文廣類), transcribed by Zou Zhongmei 鄒種梅 at Yuying Study (Yuying *shushi* 育英書室), Wuge." We learn from this information that the previous owner's name was Zou Zhongmei from Wuge. Before the Table of Contents, there are two ritual formats, one that I have translated above, while the other is a prescription for the rite of sacrifice at a grave, as well as three invitation letter forms. The main body of the *jiwen ben* is arranged according to the situations in which the texts were used. It begins with 44 sacrificial texts for different gods. This is followed by 136 sacrificial texts for different ancestors (for detailed analysis of the gods and ancestors, see Chapter IV and Chapter VI). Finally come 215 sacrificial texts used for funerals. Eight texts are prepared for the expelling of worms, tigers, and plague and they come with texts to the gods. Though we do not know what kind of supernatural beings they are addressing, the existence of these texts here shows that *lisheng* may have once been involved in the rites of expelling worms, tigers, and plague. The texts for the rite of sacrifice to the hall of a building and completion of a genealogy are also placed along with texts to gods. The involvement of *lisheng* in these situations is natural. *Lisheng* seem to have had a connection to the ritual that celebrates the establishment of a building because three texts are clearly prepared for this ritual.

Manual B. This document is also in average condition. It is held by the same *lisheng* of Wuge. According to him, this document is older than Manual A. He thinks that Manual A was copied from Manual B. This is not unlikely since the overall arrangement of the texts of both sources is quite similar and the number of texts dedicated to various gods is the same. But if it is true, Zou Zhongmei, the previous owner of Manual A, made many changes in the parts concerning ancestors and funerals. Eighty-five texts in Manual B were prepared for the rite of sacrifice to ancestors, while in Manual A we found 136 such texts. Two hundred sixty-nine texts in Manual B were prepared for funerals, while

in Manual A we found only 215. But the manual does not show whether he also made changes to the rituals themselves.

Manual C. This manuscript is currently owned by a retired school headmaster of Wuge who after his retirement became more and more interested in ritual affairs. It is in good condition but the second volume of this document is lost. On the first page of this manuscript, we are given the title "*Jiwen ben*." The name of its previous owner and the date when it was produced are also given on this page. It was transcribed by Zou Guoguang 鄒國光 on the twentieth day of the first month, 1936. The arrangement of the texts is basically similar to that of Manual A and Manual B. It begins with two sacrificial texts to dragon lanterns. Then come the texts to gods and ancestors. Only three texts for funerals are found in this document and are placed along with the texts for gods. This may not be surprising since the texts for funerals usually come after the texts for ancestors and they were probably transcribed in the second volume now lost.

Manual D. This manuscript is also kept by an aged *lisheng* of Shangbao, who, like the current owner of Manual A and Manual B, consults it when he is hired to perform rituals. Its condition is not as good as the other four manuscripts. The first four pages of this document are damaged. So are its last several pages. But this damage does not significantly influence our statistics concerning the texts included in this document. According to its current owner, this manuscript used to be owned by his cousin, a National University Student. This is one of the most interesting documents I was able to collect in Sibao. It shows the wide scope of activities in which *lisheng* used to be involved. Again, the arrangement of the manuscript is not different from the *jiwen ben* discussed above. First come 79 sacrificial texts dedicated to gods and 60 sacrificial texts prepared for the rite of sacrifice to ancestors. At the end of this section the previous owner of this manual made a note, claiming that "the preceding sacrificial texts are used in the rites of sacrifice to spirits (*shen* 神), grave sacrifices, and miscellaneous

sacrifices."[100] The term "*shen*" was used here as a general term to include the gods and the ancestors, i.e., numinous and spiritual beings.[101] This indicates that the person who made this note did not think that there was a big gap between the gods and the ancestors. In other words, the gods are not as different from the ancestors as we usually think. As will be shown in Chapter VI, this is a view with considerable popularity in Sibao. Sacrificial texts for funerals, totaling 238, are placed after the texts to ancestors. These three categories of texts account for eighty-seven percent of all the texts included in this document. In addition, twelve contract forms are placed at the end of the document. They concern the leasing of land, the sale of land, the loan of money, family division, partnership in business, adoption, and the mortgage of oxen. Ten texts included in the documents are connected to the community compact organization (see Chapter V for detailed discussion). Four texts for longevity celebration are included here and this shows that *lisheng* may have been involved in the rites related to this activity. Included in this *jiwen ben* are also two timetables for encoffining and burial, which indicates that *lisheng* in Sibao had to perform the work usually conducted by *yinyang* masters in North China. Also included here is a list of those who should not be present at the moment of encoffining and burying due to the astrological animals of the years in which they were born. Finally, two talismans are included in this document. One is called "*dongtu fu*" 動土符 (the talisman for the breaking of ground) and this is used when one starts to construct a building. Another is called "*yingqin zhusha tongyong fushi*" 迎親諸煞通用符式 (a general talisman form for the expelling of various Killer spirits (*sha*) at the time of going to meet the bride) and is apparently used to expel various Killer spirits at weddings,

[100] Manual D (Wuge manuscript, 1936), 39a.

[101] As in other parts of China, the ancestor's tablets are usually called "*shenzhu pai*" 神主牌.

which, as mentioned above, are believed to put those who go through the rite of passage, such as the bride and groom, into a more vulnerable state than in normal circumstances.

Manual E. The current owner of this manuscript is a young primary school teacher of Mawu. He told me that it was produced by his grandfather, a National University Student, in the early Republican period. It is in normal condition. On the title page of this document, its previous owner gives us the title of this document: "Various sacrificial texts and forms for auspicious rites and funerals" (*Gese jiwen jitie sangtie* 各色祭文吉帖喪帖). The title page also shows that the manual was "transcribed by Lanjie shi 蘭階氏," which was the literary name of the manuscript's previous owner. Compared with other manuals, this one seems to be uncommon. No texts for gods are included here. The number of sacrificial texts to ancestors and for funerals is only 11 and 7 respectively. There are 17 texts related to weddings. This suggests that if its previous owner was a *lisheng* he performed rites only occasionally and that this document was used principally for personal purposes.

Manual F. This manuscript is held by an aged shopkeeper of Changxiao. The man works as a *lisheng* sometimes and transcribed this document himself for this purpose. One of his sons-in-law living in Chitugang 赤土崗, Sibao, is also a *lisheng* and made a copy of this manual. The manuscript is in good condition. Unfortunately, I did not make photocopies any of these texts included in this document or of their tables of contents when I stayed in Sibao. What I have are a ritual format and several sacrificial texts addressed to a local god/ancestor and orphan souls. Therefore, I did not include them in Table 3.3.

Manual G. The current owner of this manuscript is the same as the one who holds Manual F. According to one of my informants, this document was produced by a retired primary school teacher of Changxiao in the late 1940s. It is not a *jiwen ben* but a

handbook for addressing. This handbook has 109 pages and lists altogether 2981 terms of address used by different persons in different circumstances (many of them are the same). It shows clearly the subtlety and complicatedness of the art of addressing in Chinese society. And it supports what one of the Sibao *lisheng* told me. He said the most difficult aspect of training for those who want to be *lisheng* was not composing sacrificial texts but mastering the art of addressing.

The six *jiwen ben* mentioned above include altogether over fourteen hundred sacrificial texts and related documents. They provide a variety of different types of information on the social, economic, and symbolic life of Sibao people in general and *lisheng* in particular. They show that *lisheng* were involved in various kinds of ceremonies. They not only perform rituals to gods and ancestors, but also guide the rites of sacrifice to the dead. They not only perform the rites of sacrifice to genealogies, lineage halls (or the spirits of halls?), and dragon lanterns, but also compose sacrificial texts to expel worms, tigers, and plague. They also guide weddings and funerals. These texts also indicate that *lisheng* may have some connection to economic and social activities, too. The inclusion of contract forms and *xiangyue* documents in the *jiwen ben* testifies that *lisheng* were/are present when a family is/was divided, a son is/was adopted, a plot of land is/was leased or sold, and when the *xiangyue* organizations tried to regulate rural life. Why were these texts included here? Did it arise from the position of *lisheng* itself or from the status of the holders of degrees or titles who became *lisheng*? These problems remain to be explored and some discussion will be offered in the chapters that follow. For the present suffice it to say that both may be true. The position of the *lisheng* as holding a degree or title may have helped make him a member of the local elite, while the status of the degree or title holder made him suitable to become a *lisheng*. This means that it is not only difficult but also more or less unnecessary to give an either/or answer to the preceding question. The *jiwen ben* also supports what I mentioned before, that is,

lisheng conducted the activities that were usually related to *yinyang* masters in pre-revolutionary North China. They picked auspicious dates and notified in advance those who should not be present because of their years of birth. Finally, the evidence from *jiwen ben* indicates the involvement of *lisheng* in certain relatively unorthodox practices from the point of view of Neo-Confucianism. For example, they seemed to have composed talismans to prevent the encroachment of unwelcome Killer spirits. This calls into question the interpretation of *lisheng* as "orthodox Confucian-style" ritual specialists.

Where Were *Jiwen* from?

All of the sacrificial texts collected in *jiwen ben* are written in classical Chinese. They are usually short and no more than one page. To give readers a concrete sense of their contents and style, I have translated three texts. They are used when *lisheng* perform the rite of sacrifice respectively to a god, the ancestors, and a person who has recently died.

I. A sacrificial text dedicated to Tianhou (Empress of Heaven, i.e., Mazu)

> O my goddess, [you are] the manifestation of Bodhisattva. [You are] the holiest and the most sincere. [You] control the four Rivers (*sidu* 四瀆)[102] and govern the hundred spirits. If the sea does not ripple, if the sea is calm and unruffled, if the ships navigate stably, they all rely on [your] merciful benevolence. [It] happens respectfully that [today is your] holy birthday. May [you] enjoy offerings eternally. Today the mid-spring falls due, and [we] present pure offerings reverently. [We] beg you, my goddess, protect [us], making the seas calm and the rivers clean. May thou enjoy this![103] 惟神菩薩化身至聖至誠主宰四瀆統御百靈海不揚波浪靜風平舟航穩載悉仗慈仁奉旨崇祀永享嘗烝茲屆仲春秋敬潔豆馨希神庇佑海晏河清尚饗

[102] The four rivers are Yangzi, Yellow, Huai, and Ji rivers.

[103] Manual A (Late Qing manuscript, Wuge), unpaged.

II. A sacrificial text dedicated to ancestors, used when they had obtained the position of Government Students

O my ancestors! You cultivated [your] virtue. You founded [our lineage] by your honesty. You saw the benefits of the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents*. Today so and so has been determined in [his] studies and grasped tablets over his desk, so that he has been admitted into the government school to study there. [This is all] because of your countenance. [I] beg that the virtue of you, my ancestors, will give aid secretly, [so that] he could "break the bough of cassia in the [Lunar] Palace of the Toad" (i.e., becoming a *juren*) in the eighth month. (If the person was preparing for a military examination, this sentence should be replaced by "so that he could be selected as a hawk on the wing (i.e., become a military *juren*) in the spring.") My late ancestors, give aid to him secretly. If he could "tempt the flower of the Park" (i.e., become a *jinshi*) in the beginning of the spring (or in the fall in the case of military examination), happiness will be extended without boundaries and blessings will expand without limits. [Here] at this auspicious date [I] bring some poor sacrifices, presenting [them] to your respectful grave. [I] inform [you] with respect.[104] 恭惟我祖聿修厥德忠厚開基詩書為澤今△奮志芸窗操觚雪案幸叨祖庇俾得庸身于黌宮採芹于泮沼伏冀祖德陰扶八月折蟾宮之桂陽春占鷹陽之選先靈默佑立春秋季探閬苑之花則福衍無疆慶筵靡既謹于穀旦芬苾明虔不腆牲醴聊薦尊塋謹告

III. A sacrificial text dedicated to one's grandmother, used at her funeral

Alas! My grandmother. You gave birth to my father and his brothers. The three of them met with calamity and were lost to death earlier. My father and uncle passed away successively and left degenerate (i.e., me) behind. I was only a child [at the time] and you, grandmother, regarded me with favor. [You] took care of me attentively. It is because of [your] sustenance that [I] made some achievements. How today could you

[104] Manual C (Manuscript, Wuge, 1936), unpaged.

harden your heart and leave your young grandson behind, so that only his form and shadow console each other and [he can only] stand alone desolately. Now it is time to escort the funeral to the grave. [I] wail [so much that I have difficulty] making a sound. [Here I] pour out three libations, mayest [thou] come down to enjoy them. [I] bow down and ask that this be accepted![105] 嗚呼祖母生我父親我父兄弟厥有三人遭家不造喪亡頻仍我父與叔相繼歸冥止遺不肖年方數齡維祖是依顧復慇懃長得怙恃庶幾有成胡為一旦舍我稱孫形影相弔孑立煢煢今當發引哭不成聲奠茲三酌庶幾來欣伏惟尚饗

These texts can be divided into three parts. They begin with a praise of the merits of the supernatural beings to whom they are dedicated. The praise could be general (Text II) or specific (Text I and III). What follows is a claim regarding the time and purpose of the rite performed (god's birthday in Text I, examinations and admittance into the government school in Text II, and the moment to start escorting the coffin to the grave in Text III). In the last part, supernatural beings are asked to enjoy the offerings and/or give protection to the addresser (a community in Text I, a single person in Text II and Text III). The texts serve as the means of communication between the addressers and the addressed.

Who were the authors of these texts? The plural is used here because it is clear that the texts were written by a number of authors instead of a single author. But who were they? Put another way, where did these texts come from? Were they written by local *lisheng* or copied from outside sources? Let us begin with an evaluation of the nature of the three texts translated above. The first text is fairly general and can be used in different temples as long as the temples are dedicated to Tianhou. It need not have been written by a local *lisheng* but may have been copied from outside, if not necessarily printed, sources. The second text is less general since the addresser was specific. He should be a candidate

[105] Manual D (Manucript, Shangbao, early Republian period), 42a-42b.

for the position of Government Student. This could have been either written by a local *lisheng* or copied from outside sources. The third one is very specific since the addresser should be a person who has been raised by his grandmother after his father's death in his childhood. It is probable that this text has been written by a local *lisheng*.

The problem of the authorship and circulation of the texts can be approached from different perspectives as well. We could compare different texts in Sibao since they are collected from different villages. We could compare the Sibao *jiwen ben* with the books printed there. We could compare these Sibao texts with the texts collected from other parts of Tingzhou. We could also compare them with texts in official sources. We could even compare them with the same type of texts from other parts of China if the latter were available. The comparison should not be focused on more specific texts. For these texts tend to be written by local *lisheng*, as I have pointed out above. Take the example of Manual A. A large part of this *jiwen ben* is dedicated to the ancestors of the branch of Zou lineage in Wuge to which the previous owner of the *jiwen ben* belonged. The ancestors range from the founding ancestor to an ancestor of the nineteenth generation. The forms and phrases of these texts may have been copied from outside sources, but it is unlikely that the texts themselves were copied from outside sources. Instead, they should have been composed by local *lisheng*. These texts, of course, cannot be found in other *jiwen ben* that are collected from other villages, let alone other parts of China. Therefore, when comparing one *jiwen ben* with text from another *jiwe nben* or other sources, we had better focus on more general texts that could be used in different places such as Text I.

A Sibao-wide comparison is possible because we have six *jiwen ben*. As mentioned above, some texts of Manual A may have been copied from Manual B. We will not be surprised to learn that the texts dedicated to gods from both *jiwen ben* are similar. But are they similar to those in other manuals? Let us take the example of

Tianhou 天后, Guandi 關帝, the God of the Soil (Shegong 社公) and the orphan souls (*li* 厲). As we know, they are supernatural beings that were popular throughout most parts of China. There are eight texts dedicated to Tianhou in Manual A, eight texts in Manual C, and five in Manual D. An identical text is found in both Manual A and Manual C. Another identical text is found in Manual A and Manual D. The other texts are different. A large number of texts are dedicated to Guandi: four in Manual A, eighteen in Manual C, and sixteen in Manual D. An identical text is found in Manual A and Manual C. Another two identical texts are found in Manual A and Manual C. Besides, a text with only a few differences is found in Manual A and Manual C. Three texts are dedicated to the God of the Soil in Manual A, four in Manual C, and six in Manual D. Although they used relatively similar phrases, no identical texts are found in these *jiwen ben*. Two texts are dedicated to the orphan souls in Manual A, one in Manual C, and two in Manual F. Again, no identical texts are found among these sources, though more or less similar phrases are used here and there.[106] It seems that the borrowing of texts did happen within Sibao, but judging from the number of texts borrowed, the borrowing was not a frequent phenomenon and similarities may be due to the fact that they may have been copied from third, earlier sources (see below).

It would be interesting to compare the Sibao *jiwen ben* with ritual books published or circulated in the area, but unfortunately only one complete ritual book is available to the author. Still, a careful comparison shows that the timetable for funerals, "Fusang chongsang sansang ri bianlan" 伏喪重喪三喪日便覽 (A brief guide to dates of holding the [first] funeral, second funeral and third funeral service), and the way to hold funerals, "Chusang chuzang li chongsang fa" 初喪出葬禮重喪法 (The rites of holding the

[106] Mr. Zou Hengchen, an aged *lisheng* of Wuge, kindly gave me two texts dedicated to the orphan souls. One was composed by himself. Another is similar to the text included in Manual C, which was collected from the same village.

first funeral and burial and the way of the second funeral), found in Manual D can also be found in *Huizuan jiali tieshi jiyao* 彙纂家禮帖式集要 (Collection of essential formularies for family rituals), a woodblock-printed book found in Sibao.[107] Manual G, the handbook for addressing, is very much the same as the chapters on addressing in the book mentioned above.[108]

Given that few *jiwen ben* are so far available to the author, it is impossible to give a comparison between the Sibao *jiwen ben* and those from other parts of Tingzhou. A few sacrificial texts have been mentioned in the secondary literature.[109] Judging from this evidence, they are similar in style and in the phraseology used, but they are not completely the same as those found in Sibao. The only complete *jiwen ben* the author collected outside Sibao is from Peitian 培田, a village that used to belong to Changting County and was ceded, like Sibao, to Liancheng County at the time of the land reform.[110] Two texts dedicated to Guandi, one text to Tianhou, and one to the god of the soil are included in this *jiwenben*. Again, a similar style and similar phrases are utilized in the texts but no identical texts were found.

A comparison between Sibao texts and official sources is possible because sacrificial texts dedicated to gods of the official religion are usually included in local gazetteers and other sources. Several gods worshiped in Sibao were listed in the "*sidian*

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[107] Manual C, 20a-21a; Jiang Haoran 江浩然 and Jiang Jianzi 江健資, *Huizuan jiali tieshi jiyao* (Preface 1810), 6/9a-10a.

[108] Manual G; Jiang Haoran and Jiang Jianzi, *Huizuan jiali tieshi jiyao*, 3/1b-47b, 4/1b-10b.

[109] See, for example, Lin Shuimei and Xie Jizhong, "Liancheng xian chengguan de Chenghuang miaohui," 27; Liu Dake and Liu Wenbo, "Wubei Xiangcun de zongzu shehui yu wenhua," 277; Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 321; Jiang Chunfu and Chen Lizhong, "Qingliu xian Yupeng xiang Dongkeng cun minsu diaocha," 373, 375; Tu Xiangsheng and Lu Zhenfu, "Yongding xian Chendong siyue ba yingshen huodong," 20-21; Zhong Desheng, "Wuping xian Zhongshan zhen miaohui shengkai," 77-83; Chen Bingchuan, "Shanghang xian Xikou xiang de liu fang kang xianshi," 191; Hua Qinjin, "Liancheng xian Xiabao liusheng she you Shennong," 209; Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese," 237-238; Lai Guangyao, "Tingzhou chuantong hunsu," 365, 368, 370, 372.

[110] This *jiwen ben* was copied in the late 1990s and is held by a retired village cadre.

祀典" (register of sacrifices) of the official religion. These gods are Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君, Guandi, Tianhou, the god of the soil and grain, and the orphan souls. At least one sacrificial text was dedicated to each of them, and all have texts included in the official sources. Manual A, Manual C, and Manual D each has one text that is dedicated to Wenchang dijun. They are different from each other and from the one included in the *Changting County Gazetteer*. Two texts included in the local gazetteer were dedicated to Guandi, another one to his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The two texts dedicated to Guandi are not found in Sibao *jiwen ben*. But the one to his three ancestors is found in Manual D without any change and in Manual C with only a few changes.[111] One text is dedicated to Tianhou and another one dedicated to her parents in the local gazetteer. Since no cult of Tianhou's parents existed in Sibao, no texts are dedicated to them. But the one dedicated to Tianhou, Text I translated above, can be found in Manual A without any change.[112] The texts dedicated to the god of the soil and grain and the orphan souls are not included in the *Changting County Gazetteer*. But they can be found in the *Hongwu lizhi* and the *Da Ming Huidian*. In the *Hongwu lizhi*, two texts are dedicated to the god of the soil and grain, one used at the county level, another used at the level of sub-canton. Both are different from those collected in Sibao *jiwen ben*.[113] There are also two texts dedicated to the orphan souls in the *Hongwu lizhi*. Again, one is prepared for the rite of sacrifice performed at the level of county, another for the rite at the level of sub-canton.[114] Compared with the texts dedicated to the orphan souls in *jiwen ben*, they are relatively long and not the same as their counterparts in Sibao sources. This comparison indicates that the borrowing of texts also happened between Sibao *jiwen ben*

[111] See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 12/28b-34b; Manual C, unpaged; Manual D, 7b.

[112] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 12/37a-37b; Manual A, unpaged.

[113] *Hongwu lizhi*, 489-490, 500. See also *Da Ming huidian*, 94/7b-8a, 17b-18a.

[114] *Hongwu lizhi*, 496-497, 500-502. See also *Da Ming huidian*, 94/12a-14b, 18b-19a.

and the official sources. It is likely that Sibao *lisheng* borrowed the texts from official sources rather than the other way around. This also partly explains the existence of identical texts in several Sibao *jiwen ben*-this phenomenon may have happened when the texts were copied from the same original source.

Finally, a comparison between Sibao *jiwen ben* and sources of a similar nature from Shanxi published in recent years is difficult for different gods are involved.[115] I can only say that the style of the texts included in these sources are more or less similar to that of the Sibao texts but the texts used relatively different phrases.[116] However, it appears that a very similar ritual format is practiced in Shanxi. This ritual format is prescribed for the *sai* festival popular in the Shangdang region of Shanxi. It is included in a ritual manual known as *Saishang zayong shenqian ben* 賽上雜用神前本 (Collected miscellaneous texts for the *sai* festival), of the same nature as *jiwen ben*, produced in 1925. The rite began when the community representative and *zhuli* (usually performed by a *yinyang* master) walked into the offering place. After being given incense sticks, they burnt the incense and the *yuehu* 樂戶 (musicians) started to play music. Then they knelt and kowtowed three times. This done, the offerings were presented to the gods three

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[115] Han Sheng, et. al., "Yingshen saishe lijie chuanbu sishi qu gongdiao zhushi," 51-117; Han Sheng, Li Shoutian, and Yuan Shuangxi, "Yingshen saishe jisi wenfan ji gongzhan qumu" 迎神賽社祭祀文范及供盞曲目, *Zhonghua xiqu* 11 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), 1-62; Yang Mengheng, *Shangdang gu sai xiejuan shisi zhong jianzhu.*

[116] Johnson has translated some of the texts into English in his "'Confucian' Elements in the Great Temple Festivals of Southeastern Shanxi in Late Imperial Times." Here I translate a text dated 1726 from Shangdang in Shanxi. This text was presented to Jade Emperor on the fourth day of the local *sai* festival that started on the third day of the third month. It goes as followed: "O my god, [you are] the lord of gods and men and the axis of creation. Bringing blessings to the empire and providing protection to the people, [you] have been and will still be relied upon from the past into future. It would be impossible to pay back [your] great honor and difficult to return thanks to [your] ultimate virtue. It happens respectfully that today is the time of spring praying / thanks giving. Reverently [we] present offerings. Please forgive the excess of our stupid honesty and wish [you] are well pleased with the sweet savor. [We] look up to [you] with extreme reverence and send in this memorial in tremble. [We] send it to inform [you] with respect 惟神神人之主造化之樞福國庇民古今永賴弘恩莫報至德難酬茲值春祈享賽之辰恪陳豆登之之祀恕愚誠之僭越期右享以居歆無任瞻仰悚惶啟奏謹表以聞." See Yang Mengheng, *Shangdang gusai xiejuan shisi zhong jianzhu*, 86.

times. After they prostrated and bowed, they went back to the temple and placed plates with offerings on the table inside. At this juncture, tea was served by the person who was in charge of tea (*sicha* 司茶) and liquor was served by the person who was in charge of liquor (*sijiu* 司酒). Then to the sound of music the representative and *zhuli* burnt incense again and performed the Four Bows rite. They presented the offerings to the gods twice and recited the sacrificial text, which was followed by the rite of the third presentation. The rite was completed when they prostrated, rose, and bowed to the gods.[117] The structural similarities between this ritual format and the one translated in this chapter are apparent. Both begin with the burning of incense. Both include the rite of triple presentation. The major difference is that the rite of triple presentation is performed only once in Sibao while in this case it was performed twice. In addition, the sacrificial text is recited at the beginning of the ceremony, after the incense has been presented in the Sibao format, while in the Shanxi case it was recited while the rite of triple presentation was being performed. It is uncertain to us whether the text was burnt or not after the completion of the rite. Generally speaking, the two ritual formats, though with some differences, are quite similar in structure. It is unlikely that Sibao ritual format was adapted from that of Shanxi or vice versa. Their similarities are more likely due to the fact that they may have drawn upon the same ritual tradition: the official religion. This supports the conclusion we drew from a comparison between the Sibao ritual format and the formats prescribed for official religion: the official religion may have provided forms or structures of ceremony to the village rituals.

A caution is in order here. To say that the ritual corpus of *lisheng* was greatly influenced by the official religion does not mean that the latter was the only source of influence. On the contrary, given the active presence of a variety of local and regional

[117] The ritual format can be found in Yang Mengheng, *Shangdang gusai xiejuan shisi zhong jianzhu*, 33.

ritual traditions, we may expect that the liturgical texts of *lisheng* should have left us some evidence of the influence from these traditions. According to a recent study by John Lagerwey, the ritual specialists in Tingzhou can be divided into three schools. In the major part of Tingzhou, Taoist priests of the so-called Lüshan school (Lüshan pai 閭山派) play a central role in both exorcisms and rituals. In contrast, in Ninghua and Mingxi in northern Tingzhou, "while Lüshan Taoists are to be found, they are far less numerous than Taoists of the classic Qingwei school (Qingwei pai 清微派) and Buddhists of the Pu'an school (Pu'an pai 普庵派)."[118] The location of Sibao makes it a place that receives the influence from at least both Lüshan school and Pu'an schools. For example, the "talisman for the breaking of ground" mentioned earlier shows the influence of the Pu'an school. This talisman reads as followed:

> Receiving orders from Pu'an, I activate the stars of metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. No taboo with regards to heaven. No taboo with regards to earth. No taboo with regards to humans. No taboo with regards to the sun and the moon. No taboo with regards to the four seasons. No taboo with regards to the year. No taboo with regards to the month. No taboo with regards to the date. No taboo with regards to the moment. And no taboo with regards to any Killer spirits. All things are auspicious.[119] 吾奉

[118] John Lagerwey, "Popular Ritual Specialists in West Central Fujian," in Ch'iu-kui Wang, Ying-chang Chuang, and Chung-min Chen, eds., *Proceedings of the International Conference on Society, Ethnicity and Cultural Performance*, 436. Pu'an was also the name of a sect that was once active in this part of Fujian during the Qing. Cao Xinyu, personal communication, April 22, 2003. But whether Pu'an school and Pu'an sect were the same is a problem that remains to be explored.

[119] Manual D, 22a. For talismans still used by Pu'an school ritual specialists in present-day Northwestern Fujian, see Ye Mingsheng 葉明生, "Minxibei Pu'an Qingwei deng pai diaocha" 閩西北普庵清微等派調查, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxibei de minsu zongjiao yu shehui*, 443-446. It needs to be mentioned that Pu'an is also the patron-saint of Chinese carpenters. The *Lu Ban jing* 魯班經 mentions that in constructing a house, incense and offerings are to be presented to Pu'an at the time the frame is erected and the ridge-pole hoisted. See Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual* Lu Ban jing (Second edition. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 164. But we cannot find similar talismans in the *Lu Ban jing*, nor can we find talismans that mention Pu'an.

普庵敕令動起金木水火土罡天無忌地無忌人無忌日月無忌四時無忌年無忌月無忌日無忌時刻無忌諸然[煞]無忌萬事大吉大利

Pu'an mentioned in the talisman is the ancestral master of Buddhists of the Pu'an school.[120] The information on several Buddhist temples established in the mid-Ming also suggests that Buddhist monks may have played important roles in funerals (see Chapter IV and Chapter VI). On the other hand, the legends of the god of the soil to be discussed in the sixth chapter indicates the strong influence of the Lüshan school in the late imperial period. Since the early 1980s the influence of the latter has been getting more visible and Lüshan Taoists from Gechuan, as I mentioned earlier, almost monopolize the performance of the major important *jiao* communal offering ceremonies in southern Sibao. Under these circumstances, it would be difficult to imagine that *lisheng* had not received any influence from these ritual traditions. I mentioned the existence of a group of texts for the expelling of worms, tigers, and plague in *jiwen ben*. Some of them are addressed to the god of the soil. This is also an important purpose of the Lüshan Taoist *jiao* communal offering.[121] However, much work remains to be done before we can attain a full understanding of interaction between *lisheng* and other local and regional ritual traditions.

In a recent article, David Johnson investigates the *sai* festivals in southeastern Shanxi in the late imperial period. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the ceremonies in those festivals used to be performed by *yinyang* masters, who, like their Sibao counterparts, had a tradition of composing and transmitting sacrificial texts. Johnson raises several interesting questions concerning these ritual specialists, the rituals

[120] Lagerwey, "Popular Ritual Specialists in West Central Fujian," *passim*.

[121] Liu Jingfeng 劉勁峰, "Hetian zhen shegong jiaoyi shulue" 河田鎮社公醮儀述略, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu, jingji yu minsu*, 871-888.

they performed, and their texts. Where did the liturgies used by the *zhuli* come from? Why had not the local forms been displaced by either Buddhist or Taoist ones? And more generally, if the *sai* in some ways expressed a larger religious or ethical system that was neither Taoist nor Buddhist, what was it?

Johnson's answer to the first question, which I think is basically acceptable, is that a given *sai* liturgy may have been either created by a *yinyang* master based on a liturgical text prescribed for important public or domestic ceremonies or devised by local officials, gentry, or other members of the educated elite, including teachers at the local *shuyuan* 書院, for local temple festivals that were intended to promote orthodox values. He suggests that the liturgical texts on which the *yinyang* masters depended could be the appropriate sections from official ritual compendia such as the Qing dynasty *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 (A complete collection of essays concerning the philosophy of human nature) or influential private summaries such as *Sili chugao* 四禮初稿 (A draft of four rituals) or even Zhu Xi's *Jiali*. *Yinyang* masters could have also imitated the rites of sacrifice to the orphan souls, Guandi, the city god (Chenghuang 城隍), and Wenchang dijun, the community wine drinking rite, the community compact ritual, as well as domestic sacrifices to the ancestors.

Johnson's answers to the second and third questions are less acceptable. According to him, the liturgical tradition of *yinyang* masters was not replaced by either Buddhism or Taoism because:

> Southern Shanxi was an important center of Chinese civilization a millennium and a half before Fukien [Fujian] and most of the rest of southern China was wrested from the hands of its aboriginal inhabitants. Ancient religious beliefs and practices could have become so deeply embedded in the local culture that it was impossible for the two sacerdotal religions to replace, or efface, them. And yet Confucian values

> and Confucian rituals combined with those ancient elements to form the mature ritual complex of the *sai*, which endured in southeastern Shanxi until obliterated in our century of war and revolution.[122]

As for the third question, Johnson argues that "although the religious or ideological underpinnings of the *sai* were not part of a religious system analogous to Buddhism or Taoism, it is impossible to deny their connection with what for lack of a better word I call 'Confucianism.'"[123] Or again, "[t]here were many elements that certainly would not have found a place in the state cult or ancestral sacrifices, but the Confucian tone of the liturgy as a whole is unmistakable."[124]

The discussion of *lisheng*, their liturgical tradition, and their texts in this chapter provides some support to Johnson's answer to the first question. The position of *lisheng* in Sibao used to be available principally to the holders of imperial degrees and titles from whom one might expect relatively more loyalty to orthodoxy than other social groups. The rituals performed under their guidance were more or less similar in structure to those performed in the official religion, which suggests that *lisheng* may have adapted their liturgical format from the official religion in which they had probably participated. The similarities between the sacrificial texts found in Sibao and those included in official sources tells the same story. This said, I must add that *lisheng* were more orthodox than other social groups only in a matter of degree rather than by nature. When necessary, they would copy texts (such as talismans) from other religious traditions.

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[122] Johnson, "'Confucian' Elements in the Great Temple Festivals of Southeastern Shanxi in Late Imperial Times," 161.

[123] Johnson, "'Confucian' Elements in the Great Temple Festivals of Southeastern Shanxi in Late Imperial Times," 128.

[124] Johnson, "'Confucian' Elements in the Great Temple Festivals of Southeastern Shanxi in Late Imperial Times," 159-160.

I think Johnson's answer to the second question is more or less far-fetched. By giving this answer, he implies that some elements that came into being a millennium and a half ago did not undergo much change in spite the fact that there were waves of wars, migration, and cultural changes. He believes in the endurance of these elements in imperial times while at the same time claiming that they were easily "obliterated" by war and revolution in the twentieth century. My answer to this question is that the liturgical tradition of *yinyang* masters or *lisheng* was not replaced by other religious systems because they performed different roles in rural symbolic life. As shown in this chapter, when *lisheng* worked along with ritual specialists from other religious traditions, they focused on the guiding of presenting sacrifices to supernatural beings. In other cases such as the rite of sacrifice to the ancestors, the rite was performed by *lisheng* alone because villagers did not think either other ritual specialists specialized in this rite or that it was suitable to hire those specialists to perform the rite.

From my point of view, Johnson's third question is not raised properly for this way of asking the question implies that the subject (the *sai* festivals in his case) are composed of a number of "elements." This is accurate up to a point, but there is more to the question. Seen from the perspective of a *lisheng*, the ritual he performs and the text he composes is a meaningfully coherent unity rather than a collection of fragments. The word "Confucian" is an ill-defined term. What is "Confucian"? From whose point of view is it Confucian? Even if we follow Johnson's way of asking the question, we can say that we could find not only "Confucian" elements, but also, to quote Johnson's own words, "many elements that certainly would not have found a place in the state cult or ancestral sacrifices." By trying to find "Confucian" elements in the *sai* festivals, Johnson also fails to address the problem when and how these festivals came into being. That these festivals, together with their actors, rituals, and texts, have a history is without doubt. As will be revealed in the following chapters, some "elements" of *lisheng* ritual

dated back to earlier periods, but many were later introductions. A more fruitful question is probably to ask how these ritual elements that were introduced later on were appropriated by local society and how they were incorporated into local ritual tradition. In other words, rather than looking for elements of one religious or ritual tradition, a more fruitful way of addressing the problem here is to study the "dialogues" between different religious or ritual traditions at the village level. It is in these "dialogues" that some elements gained the appearance of being "Confucian." We now turn to the process whereby these ritual elements were introduced to Sibao society and incorporated into local ritual tradition.

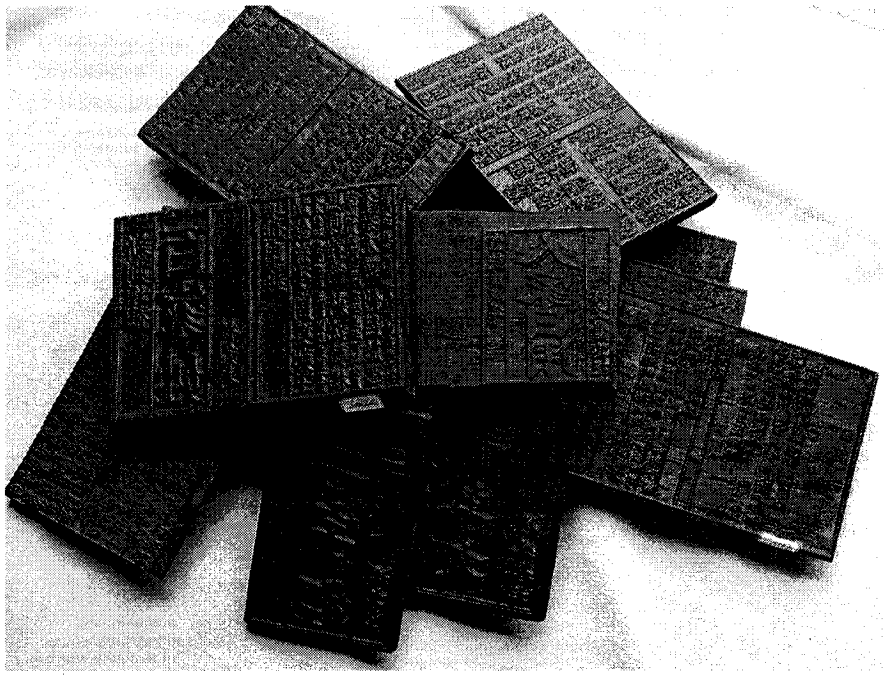
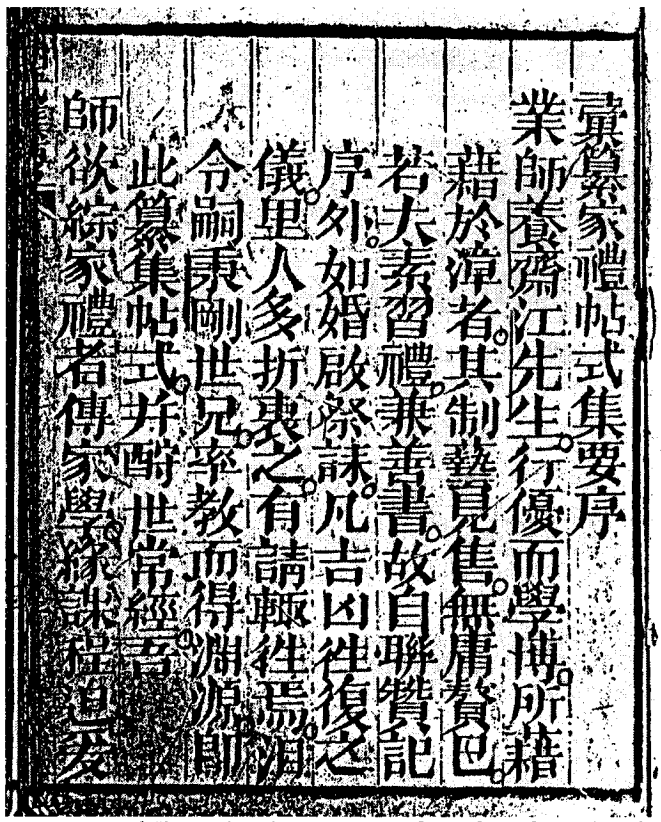


Plate 2.1 Woodblocks of Sibao



Source: Jiang Haoran and Jiang Jianzi, *Huizuan jiali tieshi jicheng* (Prefaced in 1810).

Plate 2.2 A Manual of Rituals Printed in Sibao



Plate 3.1 Sacrifices to Dragon Lantern, Wuge

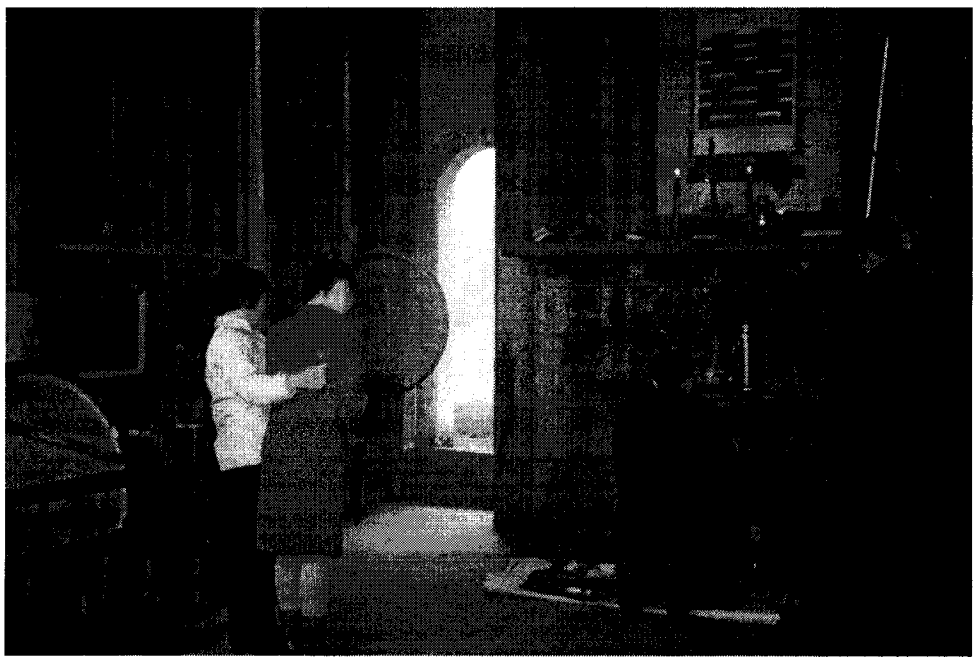


Plate 3.2 Baitang Ceremony, Xikeng



PROFESSOR OF CEREMONY.

Source: Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1868), 196.

Plate 3.3 Professor of Ceremony

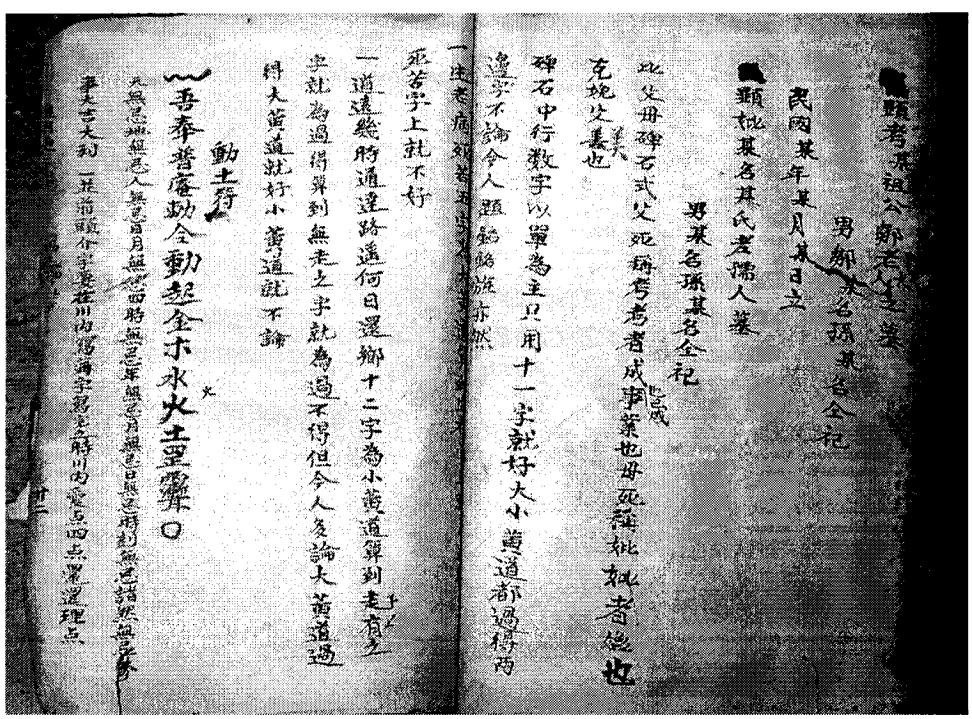


Plate 3.4 A Manual of Sacrificial Texts

Chapter IV

Lineage Building and Its Limits

In one of the most comprehensive manuals of liturgical texts found in Sibao, altogether 136 texts are dedicated to ancestors. Among them 55 texts are dedicated to specific ancestors, ancestors of the previous owner of the manual, Zou Zhongmei. They were composed for the rites of sacrifice to his ancestors performed in ancestral halls and at their graves. The ancestors to whom the texts are dedicated included the lineal ancestors from the first to the nineteenth generations.

The ancestor of the first generation, that is, the founding ancestor (*shizu* 始祖 or *kaijizu* 開基祖), was Zougong or Lord of Zou (see Figure 4.2). Eight sacrificial texts were dedicated to him. Two of them were composed for the rite of sacrifice that took place when the statue of Zougong was carried from the Zougong Temple of Shangbao to Wuge. The other six were composed for the same rite as performed in the Zougong Temple, which I introduced in the third chapter. Two texts were dedicated to Liulang 六郎, one of Zougong's sons, and two to Liugong's wife. Two texts were dedicated to the third generation ancestor and two to the fourth generation ancestor. To each of the ancestors of the fifth and sixth generations was dedicated one text. The seventh generation ancestor, Zou Qingfu 鄒慶甫 and his wife, seemed to have been given more attention since more texts were dedicated to them. One text was dedicated to their spirit tablet, two to Qingfu's grave, and another four to the grave of Qingfu's wife. The spirit tablet of Zou Qingfu and his wife was placed in the Ancestral Hall of Qingfu Lord (*Qingfu gong ci* 慶甫公祠) located in eastern Wuge. Similarly, altogether six texts were dedicated to the eighth generation ancestor, Zou Yesheng 鄒葉勝 and his wife: two to

their spirit tablet in the Ancestral Hall of Yesheng (*Yesheng gongci* 葉勝公祠), two to Yesheng's grave, and the other two to the grave of his wife. To each of the ancestors from the ninth to the seventeenth generations was dedicated only one text. The number of texts increased approaching the immediate ancestors of the manual's previous owner. Three texts were dedicated to the eighteenth generation ancestor. Zou Rensheng 鄒仁聲, the nineteenth generation ancestor, had two texts dedicated to him while to his wife were dedicated four.[1]

A superficial overview of these awkward texts suggests that this represents a lineal genealogy. However, for a villager living in late imperial Wuge, what was involved was probably a series of ancestral rites performed in different places and organized by different agnatic groupings. The sacrifices to Zougong, for example, usually took place in the Zougong Temple and involved not only all of the Zous of Wuge, but also all of the Zous in Shuangquan and Shangbao. Similarly, the sacrifices to Zou Qingfu could take place either in his ancestral hall or at his grave and involved not only all the members of the Upper Shrine branch, but also those of the Lower Shrine branch. The size of the social groupings involved decreased further away from the distant ancestors to the immediate ancestors of the villager. Every year in the spring and the fall, the members of these groupings, or part of them, went to the ancestral halls or graves and, often under the direction of *lisheng*, presented offerings to their ancestors. It was for these ritual occasions that the sacrificial texts were composed, and one of the most important functions of *lisheng* was to give the performance of these ceremonies. Therefore, the history of the liturgical texts is essentially related to the history of ancestral rites in Sibao. The question that thus arises is less when and how these liturgical texts came into being than when and how these rituals were introduced to Sibao. When did Sibao people start to

[1] Manual D, no page numbers.

worship their distant ancestors? Why did they bother to worship these ancestors for whom they in most cases had neither affection nor any concrete memory? When did they start to erect ornate ancestral halls and construct spectacular graves for them? When and why did they start to compile genealogies that included not only their immediate ancestors but also their distant ancestors? How were rituals dedicated to the ancestors introduced to Sibao villages? What were the consequences of the introduction? If it was some form of transformation, what was its limit? To answer these questions, we need to reconstruct the overall history of Sibao lineages[2] and the related rituals.

The Process of Lineage Building

Lineage Building, I: The Mas of Mawu

In 1439, Ma Hetu 馬河圖, a member of the gentry of the Mas of Mawu, wrote a preface to the genealogy that he had just compiled. The preface goes as follows:

> Almost nothing under Heaven does not have roots and does not have sources. If the root of a tree is planted firmly, the branches of the tree will be exuberant. If the source of a stream is distant, the river will be long. This is just the way that principle works. Similarly, the root of a human being is his ancestor. However, after many generations, the source and the stream become more and more distant, until in the end

[2] Following James L. Watson and Patricia B. Ebrey, I will differentiate three categories of kinship units. The term "agnates" or "agnate group" is used here to refer to "the general *category* of people related patrilineally, when no enduring group organization or group activities is evident or clearly implied." The term "descent group" will be used for a group "whose members are aware of their kinship connections, but corporate behavior may be limited to activities such as ancestral rites or compilation of genealogies." When a descent group has "strong corporate bases in shared assets, usually, but not exclusively, land," I will call it a lineage. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, "Introduction," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, 1000-1940*, 5. See also James L. Watson, "Chinese Kinship Reconsidered: Anthropological Perspectives on Historical Research," 586-622.

genealogies are lost and it becomes impossible to investigate the [genealogical] details. [Therefore,] if a genealogy is not compiled, how is it possible to distinguish one generation from another, to learn [one's] origin, and to differentiate the close from the distant? This is why a genealogy has to be compiled. Furthermore, the ancients regarded it (i.e., genealogy-compiling) as an important matter. This is probably due to the fact that if after successive upheavals, only one or two among a hundred great clans could have kept it, then how could their descendants in the later generations not feel regretful?

[I,] Hetu, am a descendant [of my ancestors]; how can I not trace my ancestry, compile a genealogy, and tell future generations about them? I have long searched and learned that the source [of our lineage] dated back to Zhou, an Investigating Censor in the Tang. [However,] here I will go into details about those I know and neglect those I do not yet know. The genealogy will begin with the founding ancestor Lord Qilang who moved to Changting and whose ancestry could be traced back to an ancestor with such and such name of Anle village in Ninghua County. His descendants became villagers of Wanshou village.[3] Thus Lord Qilang is my founding ancestor. [Generations after,] the branches became more exuberant, and the descendants became numerous. My father, Dingtong, had three sons: Yingtu, Futu, and Hetu. [I,] Hetu, am a prefectural Government Student. I attended the exam of the Tribute Students in the third year of the Zhengtong era (1438). Before I set off, my elder brother Futu, together with my cousins Kegong and Shizong, said to me: "In the past, when he was alive, our late father ever said: 'As an ancient family and great clan, [we] could not go on without compiling a genealogy. If the genealogy is not compiled, [our] future descendants will not know their sources. Please do not forget this.'" [I,] Hetu, bowed and received the order and [agreed to] follow it. Often I regret that I had not yet followed my father's order. I made a register and put down everything: names, birth order, birth, marriage, death, and burial. [I] traced the ancestry back to the founding ancestor who moved to

[3] Wanshou was a previous name of Mawu village, which was also known as "Zhegui" 折桂 (Break a bough of cassias).

Changting, distinguished one generation from another, recorded the guidelines for compilation, and put the *zhao* and *mu* in order. This is meant to let future descendants know that even if the mourning dress stops, the affection will not be ended, and that they should console together in times of sorrow, and celebrate together in times of happiness. The seniors and the juniors will not get confused and the close and the distant will be distinguished. Then the heart of revering the ancestors and respecting the descent-line and the meaning of the root of a tree and the source of a stream will be manifested in the Ma lineage.[4] 大凡天下之物莫不有本莫不有源如木本固而枝必懋水源深而流必長理自然也人之本乎祖者亦若是已然世代相沿源流漸遠遂至譜牒湮廢而莫考其詳苟譜牒不修則世次何由而辨本源何自而知親疏何從而別哉此圖譜所以不得不作也且古人甚重焉蓋因亂離薦更故家大族能寶而存之者百無一二則後之為子孫者得毋深悼乎河圖既為人後可不推所從出而修譜牒以示將來耶然嘗尋厥墜緒實出於唐監察御史周之後今乃詳其所可知闕其所未知姑以始祖諱七郎府君遷汀之鄞江者以為族譜之始其系誠出於寧邑安樂鄉之高祖諱某者其後遂為萬壽人也而七郎公實河圖之始祖其宗派益盛子孫益繁吾父定通生三子應圖負圖河圖河圖為府庠生應正統三年戊午貢戒行誦兄負圖偕堂兄克恭仕宗謂河圖曰昔先父生日嘗曰故家大族譜圖不可不修也譜圖不修則後世不知所從出矣幸毋忘吾言可也即拜領命服膺弗失常以未副父命為歉於是裝成帙本名字行位生娶卒葬備而書之斷自遷鄞江之始祖分列世次紀以凡例敘以昭穆俾後世子孫知服雖盡而情不窮憂當弔喜當慶尊卑不紊親疏有別其尊祖敬宗之心水木本源之義庶有昭於馬氏之宗族矣

As claimed in this preface, Ma Hetu was a prefectural Government Student living in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the year 1438, he passed the exam for recruiting Tribute Students and was appointed to the position of the Prefect of Cizhou 磁州 Sub-Prefecture in Henan. He started to compile the genealogy of his lineage in 1437 and probably completed it a year later. Besides his own preface, he also solicited two prefaces from an Erudite (*boshi* 博士) and an Instructor (*zhujiao* 助教) of the National University.

[4] *Ma shi dazong zupu* 馬氏大宗族譜 (Hereafter MSDZZP, 1993 edition, Mawu), 1/6b.

In both prefaces, Hetu was praised for his effort to hold his kinsmen together by compiling a genealogy.[5] His biography reports that after retirement from the government position, he drafted "ancestral hall regulations" (*cigui* 祠規), and that "at the auspicious time in every month, [he] gathered lineage members and taught the regulations [to them]," therefore, "the customs of [our] community/lineage (*xiangzu* 鄉族) did not become degenerate."[6] The genealogy Hetu compiled is not extant, as it has been updated several times. Judging from the preface, we know that it included basic information on the ancestors: their names, years of birth, birth order, wives, years of death, and the location of their graves. His biography also claims that he wrote a biographical note for each of his great-great grandfather, great grandfather, grandfather, and father.[7] No biography was given to the ancestors from the first to the fifth generations, probably due to the fact that none of the lineage members had any memory of them and no written materials were available (Hetu himself was of the tenth generation.). In addition to the compilation of a genealogy, Hetu also erected an ancestral hall on the left side of the Zougong Temple in Mawu after he became a Tribute Student. It is reported that the tablets of the founding ancestor and Hetu's own great-great grandfather, great grandfather, grandfather, and father as well as some ancestors who had lived between the founding ancestor and the sixth generation ancestors (*shizu* 世祖) were placed within the hall.[8]

If the two genealogies of the Mas are to be believed, the settlement history of the Mas in Mawu dated back to a Southern Song ancestor known as Qilang (G1) (see Figure 4.1). It is said that Qilang used to live in Anle village, Ninghua. For some unknown

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[5] *MSDZZP*, 1/6b.

[6] *MSDZZP*, 1/31b.

[7] *MSDZZP*, 1/31a.

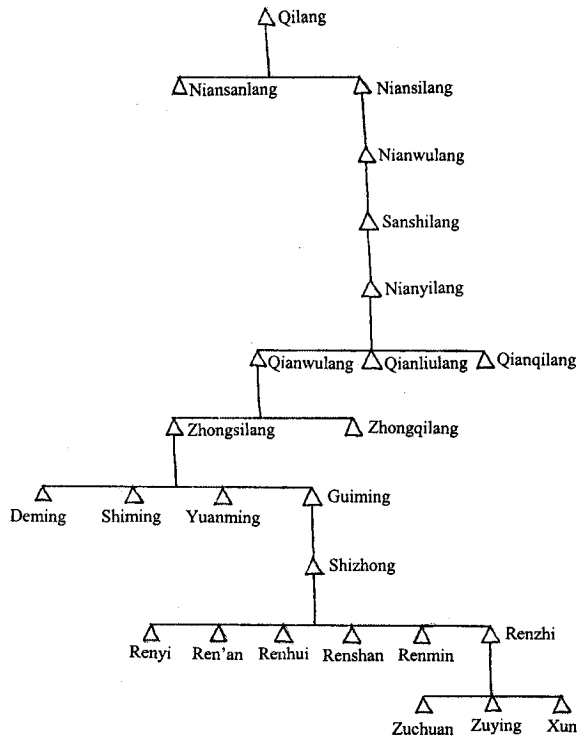
[8] *MSDZZP*, 1/49a. This ancestral hall was moved to its recent location, that is, the place next to the ancestral hall of the Lower Shrine branch, in 1643.

reason he moved to the present-day Mawu. Before he settled in the village, people with other last names such as Lai 賴 and Peng 彭 had settled in the village for some time. The genealogy of the Mas reports that Qilang had two sons: Niansanlang 念三郎 and Niansilang 念四郎 (G2). The descendants of Niansanlang moved to Guangdong several generations later. Niansilang had a son, Nianwulang 念五郎 (G3), who had a son and a grandson, known as Sanshilang 三十郎 (G4) and Nianyilang 念一郎 (G5) respectively. Nianyilang, the fifth generation ancestor of the Mas, had three sons: Qianwulang 千五郎, Qianliulang 千六郎, Qianqilang 千七郎 (G6). The descendants of his second son, Qianliulang, moved to Guangdong. The other two sons, Qianwulang and Qianqilang become the founding ancestors of two major branches in Mawu. The branch of the descendants of Qianwulang is known as Xiaci 下祠 (lower shrine), while that of Qisqilang is known as Shangci 上祠 (upper shrine). These names were given probably due to the fact that the ancestral hall of the Upper Shrine branch stands in the inner/upper side of the village while that of the Lower Shrine branch stands in the outer/lower side.[9] We know little about these early ancestors. Indeed, they were shadowy even to Ma Hetu. As the character "*lang* 郎" in their names suggests, they may have had close connection to the She or Yao ethnic groups that used to live in the Fujian-Guangdong-Jiangxi border region, because, as I mentioned in chapter two, such ordination names were quite popular not only in Hakka genealogies, but also in the minority groups such as the She and the Yao.[10]

Figure 4.1 Simplified Genealogy of the Mas of Mawu

[9] The ancestral halls are erected next to each other.

[10] Chan Wing-hoi, "Ordination Names in Hakka Genealogies: A Religious Practice and Its Decline," 65-82.



Source: *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu).

Ma Hetu belonged to the Upper Shrine branch. His great-great-grandfather, Qianqilang, seemed to be a man who managed to achieve some prominence. His name was Jinqqing 晉卿. Jinqing lived in the Song-Yuan transition. Somehow he went to North China and joined the troops garrisoned in Kaifeng Prefecture 開封府. Finally he became the General of Military Strategy (*wulue jiangjun* 武略將軍). He came back to Mawu after retirement and seems to have donated funds to build two bridges in the village.[11] Jinqin had two sons: Zhongliulang 仲六郎 and Zhongshiyilang 仲十一郎 (G7). Zhongshiyilang was the great grandfather of Ma Hetu and had four sons: Wanyi 萬一, Wansan 萬三, Wanwu 萬五, and Wanliu 萬六. Wanliu was Hetu's grandfather. It is noteworthy that the character "*lang*" did not appear in the names of the Mas any longer after the eighth generation (roughly the early Ming). Whether this change in the customary form of

[11] *MSDZZP*, 1/31b.

naming represented a shift of ethnic identity is a problem that remains to be explored. Hetu's father, Dingtong, was the only son of Wanliu.[12] No evidence shows that Hetu's ancestors had achieved social standing of some sort after Jinqing, though the wealth Jinqing amassed in his life must have benefited his offspring and marked them off from ordinary villagers. Hetu was the first member who became an outstanding official in his lineage. Therefore, when Hetu compiled the genealogy, the descent group he was a member of was not yet, as Hetu's brother claimed, an "ancient family and great clan," but had just begun its rise.

Ma Hetu's effort to hold his kinsmen together started the first wave of lineage building in Sibao. To understand its significance, it is necessary to review the social landscape in Hetu's time. Kinship networks in some form may have existed before Hetu's time. The rite of grave sweeping started to become popular in the Tang and became a common practice in the Song.[13] It should have provided an occasion not only for kinsmen to communicate with the ancestors but also to create some mutual affection between each other. The cult of the ancestor's portrait, a common practice in the Song and widespread in late imperial Sibao, may also have provided the same opportunity.[14] The main hall of the building established by a key ancestor, if it was not divided among his offspring, became not only a material expression of the kinship ties of these offspring, but also a place where they could pay respect to the ancestor by burning incense and presenting

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[12] The preceding description of Hetu's genealogy is based on *MSDZZP*, 2/1-6.

[13] Patricia B. Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization," in Patricia B. Ebrey and James L. Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China*, 20-29.

[14] For the cult of ancestor's portraits, see Liu Yonghua, "Ming-Qing Huanan diqu zuxian huaxiang chongbai kao" 明清華南地區祖先畫像崇拜考 (Unpublished manuscript, 2002). See also Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001). This book provides quite a few illustrations of ancestor's portraits. But it focuses more on artistic dimension of those images than on their historical, social, and religious dimensions, and more on those images of upper classes, especially the imperial court, than on those of commoners.

offerings on important calendrical occasions (see Chapter III). Some Wuge villagers believe that the hall erected by Zou Qingfu became such a place after Qingfu deceased. When a hall of this nature was restored, it may have become a specific place for performing ancestral rites. In this case it became a "hall of incense and fire" (*xianghuotang* 香火堂), also known as "the hall of ancestors" (*zutang* 祖堂). It is reported that a hall of this nature was constructed in the late Yuan in Mawu. Worshipped inside were the ancestors from the second to the tenth generations of the Lower Shrine branch. Every year in the spring and fall, the Mas presented offerings to their ancestors.[15] We do not know whether the rite was conducted collectively under the guidance of *lisheng*. And as we will see below, it seems to have been a common practice until the fifteenth century for most villagers to take care of their immediate ancestors and neglect the early, distant ones.

Many villagers may have found temples a more attractive place. In Hetu's time, at least two temples existed in Mawu. One was the Zougong Temple standing half a *li* away from the village. When he first erected the ancestral hall, Hetu decided to build it next to the temple. The temple was established in the Yuan and dedicated to the Zougong, a local deity who became very popular throughout Sibao in later periods (see Chapter VI).[16] The other temple was also located half a mile away from the village to the east. This was a Buddhist temple claimed to have been established in the Northern Song.[17] These two temples may have provided important religious services to the villagers. Ma Xun once warned his kinsmen that they should not hire Buddhist monks to recite sutras at funerals and that they should not believe in ritual specialists such as

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[15] Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 316.

[16] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 28.

[17] *MSDZZP*, 1/48a; Ma Chuanyuan, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 329.

Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, "ritual masters," and "the holy mothers."[18] This warning implies that these specialists may have existed in Sibao in his age. We also have to remember that the Altar of the Soil and Grains and the Altar of Orphaned Souls were erected in every sub-canton in the early Ming. Every year, residents of each sub-canton were expected to pay respect to them twice (in the case of the former) or three times a year (in the case of the latter). An altar of the soil was erected in Mawu probably before Hetu's age (see Chapter VI). These places must have been relatively important locations where villagers could gather regularly. Of course, not only ordinary villagers but also gentry were involved in religious activities. The case of Xie Hui 謝惠 of Liukeng, one of the two Metropolitan Graduates in Sibao history, is illuminating. Xie Hui became a Metropolitan Graduate in 1404. He was appointed first to the position of magistrate of Fenyi 分宜 County, Jiangxi, and later to that of the Secretary of the Ministry of Revenue in Nanjing (which he did not take for unknown reasons). The genealogy of his lineage has it that after his retirement Xie Hui often gave financial aid to his impoverished kinsmen (*zu zhi pinfa* 族之貧乏).[19] But he neither compiled a genealogy nor erected an ancestral hall. Instead, it is reported that he contributed to the establishment of a Buddhist temple near the village.[20] Similarly, Ma Ziren 馬子仁, a contemporary of Hetu and a minor official of the eleventh generation of the Upper Shrine branch, also bestowed about 25 *mu* of land on the same temple.[21] Furthermore, temples sometimes provided places in which the ancestors were cared for. The spirit tablets of the seven third generation ancestors of the Zous of Shangbao village, Zou Shelang 鄒社郎, Zou Fulang 鄒福郎, Zou Zhenlang 鄒禎郎, Zou Xianglang 鄒祥郎, Zou Lilang 鄒禮郎, Zou Youlang 鄒祐郎, and

[18] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 10.

[19] *Lanlin Xie shi zupu* 蘭林謝氏族譜 (Hereafter *LLXSZP*. 1754 edition), *juan shou*, 4a-6a.

[20] Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Jinshi xiang de minjian xinyang yu minsu tese," 231.

[21] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 1/37.

Zou Lulang 鄒祿郎, for example, were placed in the Convent of Accumulating Blessings (Jifu An 積福庵) of this village. The monks of this temple were responsible for taking care of the tablets. In return, they received land and contributions from the Zous.[22]

In view of this background, the significance of Ma Hetu's activities becomes clear. It was, first of all, an attempt to divert villagers' attention away from what he may, like Ma Xun, have regarded as unorthodox local religious traditions that had been so far an integral part of villagers' life. He emphasized the importance of ancestor worship, and not merely the worship of one's immediate ancestors, but, more importantly, that of the early, distant ancestors, particularly the founding ancestor. By putting more emphasis on the cult of distant ancestors, he meant to create a descent group that included not only close relatives, but also distant relatives to whom they were related genealogically only by distant common ancestors, and to instill a group consciousness of the collectivity in the mind of its members. In a word, he intended to create a kinship community based on the cult of the early ancestor.

The metaphors used in Hetu's preface were familiar to those who lived in the Ming period. The root of a tree and the source of a stream, the two metaphors mentioned in the text, had been used again and again in the texts of the same sort: the preface and postscript of a genealogy. They were utilized to invoke from the bottom of one's heart the respect towards one's early ancestors, whom one hardly knew or remembered. By shifting attention from immediate ancestors to early ancestors, the preface attempts to create a sense of "community" out of the descendants of the early ancestors or, more exactly, the founding ancestor. The members within this community should go beyond the limits of systems of the five mourning ranks (*wufu* 五服) and "console together in times of sorrow, and celebrate together in times of happiness." This was not a

[22] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), 15/4.

homogeneous community, however. For within the community "the seniors and the juniors will not get confused and the close and the distant will be distinguished." That is to say, it was a community with distinctions based on seniority (both in terms of age and social status) and social distance of kinship relations. There was yet another purpose for the compilation of the genealogy. As I pointed out above, the Mas were not an "ancient family and great clan." The compilation of the genealogy meant to make it one, marking it off from other ordinary agnatic groups.

Ma Hetu's project of lineage building anticipated a series of similar activities from the mid-Ming through the late Qing in Sibao. Fifty years later, another ancestral hall was established at the suggestion of Ma Xun 馬馴, an outstanding Mawu native. Ma Xun (1421-1496) was a generation lower than Ma Hetu. Unlike Hetu, he belonged to the Lower Shrine branch, that is, the branch starting from Qianwulang (G6). Qianwulang had two sons: Zhongsilang 仲四郎 and Zhongqilang 仲七郎. The latter had no descendant and his line was thus terminated. Zhongsilang had four sons, including Ma Xun's great grandfather Guiming 貴明 and his three elder brothers: Deming 德明, Shiming 仕明, and Yuanming 原明. Ma Xun's grandfather was Guqing 谷卿 (styled Shizhong 時中), the only son of Guiming. Guqing had six sons. Ma Xun's father, Renmin 任敏, was his fifth son.[23] Renmin (1378-1444) was a sub-canton head. His biography reports that at the time he was appointed to the position of sub-canton head, he "equalized the corvée labor, curbed the violent and assisted the weak, and quite a few people benefited from his services."[24]

As a son of a sub-canton head, Ma Xun probably had more opportunity to receive a better education than his fellow villagers. He became a Metropolitan Graduate in 1445 at the age of twenty-four. He was first appointed to the position of the Secretary (*zhushi*

[23] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 1/1-16.

[24] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 5 *ji*, 2.

主事) of the Ministry of Revenue. Several years later, he became the Director (*langzhong* 郎中) of the same ministry and was commissioned to Xuanfu 宣府 (today's Xuanhua County, Hebei) to supervise the logistics of the troops garrisoned there. He managed the logistics carefully and reduced transportation costs by one-third. Sixteen years after he began working in the Ministry of Revenue, Ma Xun was promoted to the position of Administration Vice Commissioner (*canzheng* 參政) of Sichuan Province. At this juncture, the Sichuan Rebellion took place and the provincial government was worried because the grains in the government granaries were almost exhausted. As soon as Ma Xun arrived, he managed to gather about a million *hu* 斛 of grain. Because of his outstanding service, Ma Xun was promoted to the position of Right Provincial Administration Commissioner (*you buzhengshi* 右布政使) of the same province. As the Bozhou 播州 Rebellion broke out, the timely providing of rice that Ma Xun bought with the government funds ensured the final suppression of the rebellion. After the suppression of the rebellion, Ma Xun was promoted to the position of Provincial Administration Commissioner. When the minority groups of Songfan 松藩 rose in revolt, the court planned to suppress them by military force. Ma Xun forwarded a memorial to the throne, arguing instead that the government should settle the affair in a peaceful way. His suggestion was not, however, accepted and the government spent a large sum of money to accomplish the purpose. Several years later, Ma Xun was appointed Right Vice Censor-in-Chief (*you fudu yushi* 右副都御史) and delegated to supervise the Huguang region (Hubei and Hunan). During his seven-year service in this position, Ma Xun is reported to have given relief to the hungry Guanzhong 關中 refugees in northwestern Hubei, successfully requested to exempt part of the tax in the calamity-attacked Hunan region, and dissuaded the approval of the request to conquer the Miao minority groups in

Guizhou. Ma Xun was allowed to retire from the government at the age of sixty-six with the title of Left Censor-in-Chief (*Zuo du yushi* 左都御史).[25]

When the ancestral hall was established, Ma Xun was still in Huguang. He let his sons supervise the construction of the hall. After the hall was erected, he wrote an essay to explain why he had the hall erected. According to the essay,

> When my great-great-grandfather put up a house here, the foundations were only a hundred paces in area. [But it] brings together the upright primal elements of the dragon mountain (*longshan* 龍山)[26] and is the place where the spirits descend and the talents gather. My great-grandfather and his three brothers settled around this place. Now, after several generations, their descendants multiplied and amount to no less than several hundred people. They have scattered into different places and worship [only] their grandfather and father (*ge feng zu ni* 各奉祖禰), to the extent that the old foundations of the building of my great-great-grandfather were overgrown with weeds. Without an ancestral hall, [his] spirit had no place to rest. O [this is] to turn one's back upon one's root and to forget one's distant [ancestors]. How could the descendants escape the curse of unfiliality? [I,] Xun, am of the eleventh generation. I passed the metropolitan exam on one single classic (*yi jing qu di* 一經取第)[27] and have been an official in the inner [court] and outer [provinces] for over forty years. Thanks to the great kindness of the Saintly Son of Heaven, I was promoted to the position of Censor-in-Chief. However, this is not due to my [own] ability but has been all brought about by the surplus of blessings of my ancestors. [I] am overcome with melancholy as [I] think of this root and source. Therefore, [I] used my own salary,

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[25] He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠, *Minshu* 閩書 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1995), j. 104, "Yingjiu zhi" 英舊志, "Jinshen" 縉紳, 3123; *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 4-5.

[26] In Sibao, the dragon mountain is usually located at the back of a village and is regarded as the channel through which the dragon vein is connected to the village. The ancestral halls are often established at the point where the dragon vein is connected to the village.

[27] The classic was *Lijing* (Classic of rites), see *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 4-5.

ordered my sons to consult lineage members, and erected the ancestral hall to place the spirit tablets [of my ancestors]. An official hall was put up in front of the hall for performing the rites of sacrifices, capping and weddings, and annual [wine] drinking [ceremony]. The three rooms at each wing of the hall serve as the kitchen and storehouses. [The construction] started on the first day of the first month in the year *yisi* of the Chenghua era (1485), and was completed at the end of the fourth intercalary month of the same year. We should not merely record here the month and year [of the construction], but also [include] a word to make manifest the exhortation. [I,] Xun, think that all of the several hundred members of the whole lineage have their root in their great-great-grandfather. Now that the hall has been erected, the spirits of the ancestor (*zu* 祖) and [his] four descendants (*zong* 宗) all have place to rest and the several hundred members of our lineage will receive blessings from this. How could this be called a trivial event? [I] hope that all of the seniors and the juniors and all future descendants will think of [the meaning of] the root of a tree and the source of a stream as well as the spring dews and autumn frosts, and take care [of the hall] with united effort, sprinkle and sweep [it] constantly, gather here and pay respect and [show] filial piety, conduct the rite of differentiating those of superior [social standing] from their inferiors, and the elder from the juniors, after burning incense and paying respect, and be at peace with each other in the same hall. If there is someone who is unfilial or makes mistake, each one should warn him. If [he] is still slow to correct [his mistake], the whole lineage should scold him so that he will not be involved in the realm of improperness and [inhabit] the place of unrighteousness, and the ancestors' virtue will not be disgraced and the ancestors' merits will not be debased. [I,] Xun, take this both as an admonition (*dugao* 瀆告) and as a self-exhortation.[28] 昔高祖創居此地基址週圍僅得百步獨鍾龍山氣脈之正誠降靈毓秀之所也曾祖四人傍居四處流傳及今子孫繁衍無慮數百人星散異處各奉祖禰以致高祖舊基蕪穢不治未有祠堂神無所依嗚呼背本而忘遠子孫不孝之罪安可逃耶馴為十一代孫以一經取第歷官中外四十餘年荷蒙聖天子

[28] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 3-4.

念其微勞擢以都憲顧馴何能皆祖宗餘庥所致也思厥本源豈勝感愴爰用俸資命男謀於族眾構立祠堂以奉神主前豎官廳以行祭拜冠婚歲飲之禮東西房各三間以為廚庫經始於成化乙巳正月初旦落成於是年閏四月終非惟歲月當紀亦當有言以昭勸戒馴惟合族數百人本於高祖一人祠堂落成則一祖四宗之神俱有依歸矣族中數百人亦俱受福矣豈細故云乎哉尚冀諸長幼及將來子孫每懷木本水源之念春秋霜露之思同心愛護時常灑掃會集於茲起敬起孝焚香參拜之後各序尊卑長幼之儀和睦一堂之上倘有一人乖忤及有事過失互相規戒如或冥頑不悛合族攻之俾不陷於非禮之域非義之場庶無辱於組德無忝於宗功也馴以此瀆告亦以此自勉

This essay is notable for several reasons. First of all, even through Ma Xun was the eleventh generation descendant of his founding ancestor, Qilang, he did not include Qilang in the ancestral hall. What were included in the hall were the tablets of his great-great-grandfather, his great-grandfather, and the latter's three brothers. This means that the kinship organization, which Ma Xun called "lineage" (*zu*), involved only all the descendants of Ma Xun's great-great-grandfather. This is different from the hall established by Ma Hetu, which seems to have included not only the tablets of his immediate ancestors, but also that of Qilang. This essay also shows explicitly the situation of kinship ties of the Mas in the fifteenth century. According to Ma Xun, his contemporary villagers only cared about their lineal immediate ancestors, particularly their grandfathers and fathers for whom they had affection and concrete memories. In contrast, their early ancestors, even their great-great-grandfather, who was only four generations back, were not given sufficient attention. From Ma Xun's point of view, this meant that the descent group, composed of all the descendants of his great-great-grandfather, had been split into several separate units. The establishment of the hall aimed not only to provide a place where the spirits of the ancestors could rest, but also to bring and hold together the previously separated units. Furthermore, the hall also provided a place where a series of rites could be performed to instill lineage

consciousness in the mind of its every member: the rite of sacrifices, capping and weddings, and annual wine drinking. Finally, the lineage as designed by Ma Xun was a morally charged community whose members supervised each other's conduct so that no illegal and immoral behavior could happen and the social order and moral order could be thus stabilized.

After retirement, Ma Xun ordered his grandsons to compile a genealogy of his descent group. When the genealogy was completed, one of his grandsons, Ma Wenming 馬文明, wrote a preface to the genealogy. According to Ma Wenming, the suggestion to compile a genealogy dated back to the spring of 1496. It was on a day in the third month, when Wenming and his grandfather visited the Pavilion of Lazy Clouds (Lanyun Ting 懶雲亭) at the Hill of Happiness (Leqiu 樂丘).[29] Besides the pavilion stood two pear trees. The trees were blooming and the wind sent the flagrance of the trees to the pavilion. Ma Wenming stood there silently, absorbing himself in watching the trees for a long time. His grandfather brought him back with the comments that follow:

> You do not appreciate their fragrance and gorgeousness [alone]. There exists the Tao of the root. Do you realize it or not? Almost everything under Heaven has a root. Take the example of the pear tree. If the root does not stand firmly, it is impossible to have branches from the trunk, have leaves from the braches, and have flowers from the leaves. Only when its root is planted firm and deep can its trunk be big and tall, and thus hundreds of branches and thousands of leaves stretch and the flowers are exuberant and their beauty dazzles. Men have their root in their ancestors, is it any different from this? However, a tree depends on its root, and the position of the branches and leaves-whether they are in upper position or in lower position-[arises] uniformly according to the

[29] After retirement Ma Xun established a villa on the Hill of Happiness six miles away from Tingzhou city and he took the place name as his literary name. He usually lived there with his family rather than in Mawu.

> natural order (*yi ding yu ziran* 一定於自然). [In contrast,] all men have their origin from their ancestors. At the beginning, they are brothers. From the brothers arise the direct line of descent and then the kindred who wear the untrimmed sackcloth (*ji* 期) and processed cloth (*gong* 功) [of mourning dresses]. The generations increase and the branches extend. If [we] let it go without compiling a genealogy to detail it, it would be unlikely that the blood relations such as those between brothers will not diminish into that of strangers [without any mutual affection].[30] 汝毋賞其香艷也斯殆有本道存焉汝悟之否大凡天下之物莫不有本如此梨也非其托根者固而欲其由幹而枝由枝而葉又葉而蓓蕾不可得已惟其根植者既永固而深遠則其立幹也必博大而高搴故夫千枝萬葉挺生側出蓓蕾盛而精光益煥也人之本乎祖者寧異是哉然木之托原於一本者枝葉上下位置一定於自然若人之托始於一祖者其初僅此骨肉兄弟也由骨肉而嫡從而期功派愈衍而枝愈繁苟聽其自然而不為譜牒以詳之則骨肉之親其不至相視為途人歸者蓋亦鮮矣

Ma Xun also told his grandson that his grandfather, Ma Shizhong, compiled a genealogy but it was destroyed during the Deng Maoqi Rebellion. The extant manuscript was further bitten into pieces by rats and worms. He thus urged Wenming to compile a new genealogy. Wenming followed his order and completed it the next spring when the pear trees were blooming again.[31]

In this preface, the metaphor of the root of a tree appeared once more. Ma Xun's comments carefully proceeded from an everyday encounter to an abstract principle. From the metaphor of the pear trees he attempted to call attention to the importance of caring for his early ancestors and the compilation of a genealogy. Also utilized here was the comparison between blood relations and relations between strangers, which dates back to the famous essayist Su Xun 蘇洵 in the Northern Song.[32] This metaphor was also utilized

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[30] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 2 *ji*, 22-23.

[31] *MSZP* (1993 edition), 2 *ji*, 23.

[32] Su Xun, *Jiayou ji jianzhu* 嘉祐集箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 373-374.

to emphasize the importance of the compilation of a genealogy. Compared with the ancestral hall set up by the order of Ma Xun, the genealogy he suggested seemed to be more inclusive. Wenming's preface reports that it started from the founding ancestor Qilang. But it is unknown whether the genealogy included the Upper Shrine branch.

The genealogy of the Lower Shrine branch also includes lineage regulations including fifteen injunctions, fourteen of which were reportedly drawn up by Ma Xun. They provide an opportunity to know more about Ma Xun's program of lineage building. The first injunction is a re-statement of the *Sacred Edicts* (*shengyu* 聖諭) of Ming Taizu (1328-1398, reigned 1368-1398) (see Chapter V). It requires that the sons should be obedient to their parents, villagers should be satisfied with their own professions and help each other in time of need, and they should be at peace with each other since they were relatives.

The second through the sixth injunctions concern the ancestral hall. The major concern of the second injunction is the maintenance of the hall. Ma Xun points out that the hall is the place where the ancestors' spirits rest. If the hall and the sacrificial utensils are damaged, they should be repaired right away. Furthermore, since the hall is "the place for [conducting] ceremonies and [executing] the laws" (*li fa zhi suo* 禮法之所), it is forbidden to "dress oneself up as [the protagonist] in the old stories" (*zhuangban gushi* 妝扮故事) and perform plays. For the same reason, it is forbidden to place dung and straw and pen buffaloes and pigs in it. The third injunction concerns the rites of sacrifice performed in the hall. It requires that whenever the rites are performed there, every participant should be in full attire. Those who are in mourning dress should not participate in the rites. And if they had to, they should do it in "auspicious suits" (*jifu* 吉服). According to the fourth injunction, the rites of sweeping of immediate ancestors' graves should not be conducted until rites of sacrifice have been performed in the hall

and at the graves of early ancestors. The fifth injunction concerns the order of seniority. It orders that the juniors pay respect to the seniors and that the latter should sit in seats of honor when attending the banquet held in the hall. According to the sixth injunction, the bride should be introduced to the ancestors in the hall three days after the wedding. But if the bride is the daughter of a bondservant, this should not be done. If the groom insists on doing so, he will be sent to the county *yamen* for punishment.

The seventh injunction concerns those who committed crimes. Those who are disloyal and disobedient and those who have committed such crimes as rape, debauchery, theft, and banditry will be sent to the *yamen* for the death penalty. Their names will be deleted from the genealogy. If they are wives of lineage members, they will be ousted. Similarly, those who dare to beat up their uncles or brothers will also be punished. The names of those who refuse to accept the punishment that follows will be deleted from the genealogy.

The major concern of the eighth and the ninth injunctions is improper marriage. The eighth injunction prohibits the practice of the marrying-in of bondservants' daughters and the marrying-out of girls to bondservants. Those who preside at the betrothal will be fined five taels of silver and the names of the brides will be deleted from the genealogy. The ninth injunction prohibits the illicit marriage practice of marrying one's brother's wife or other lineage member's wife for it is a form of incest. The names of those who insist on practicing it will be deleted from the genealogy.

The tenth injunction concerns adoption. Those who have no heir should first look for an heir among the descendants of his great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. Only after he is not able to find an apropriate candidate among these relatives can he adopt a child among those who are of common descent and of proper generation. It is prohibited to adopt a lineage member's first son or single son. Nor is it allowed to adopt a child with a last name other than Ma.

The eleventh injunction concerns the proper rites of cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites. All the rites should be performed in accord with the *Family Rituals* of Zhu Xi. It is not permitted to be wasteful in the rite and it is not permitted to hire Buddhist monks to recite sutras in the name of paying respect to the deceased. "To insinuate Buddhism so as to worship [the dead] kinsman is particularly not acceptable to the worthy" 佞佛尤為賢者之不取. It is even worse to believe in "evil Buddhist monks and malignant Taoist priests as well as the ritual masters and the holy mothers" 妖僧魔道師公聖母, which "will result in a tendency to elope" 啟淫奔之漸.

The twelfth injunction echoes the warning given in the first regulation. Lineage members should be on good terms with each other. The dispute should not be brought to the local *yamen* but should instead be settled in peaceful ways. The lineage head has the authority to punish severely those who disobey this regulation.

The thirteenth injunction concerns the relationship of lineage members to bondservants. The bondservants are prohibited from showing contempt of their master's lineage members, even if the members are distant relatives beyond the five degrees of mourning. It is also not allowed either to pledge sworn brotherhood with bondservants or to make friends with them. It is prohibited to bury bondservants in the lineage cemetery.

The last injunction repeats the words of the *Sacred Edicts*. Lineage members, whether they are in the professions of scholar, peasant, artisan, or merchant, should mind their own business. They are prohibited from bullying villagers, trading forcefully, and using fake silver in the market place.[33]

By these injunctions, Ma Xun attempted to regulate the economic, social, and religious life of his lineage. The purpose of the regulations was, first of all, to stabilize the social order and at the same time to promote a new social order. According to the

[33] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 7-10.

regulations, the social status of commoners and that of bondservants were not allowed to be confused. The seniors should be distinguished from the juniors. And the four categories of people (*simin* 四民) were encouraged to be satisfied with their own professions. Ma Xun seemed to have drawn up the regulation from the *Sacred Edicts* of Ming Taizu and the *Family Rituals* of Zhu Xi. The former had been introduced to every corner of China in the early Ming. The latter was officially promoted but it is difficult to say whether it had been introduced to Sibao before Ma Xun. It is reported that Ma Xun probably initiated the first community compact in Sibao. Although this compact is not extant, it is not unlikely that it may have been quite similar to the regulations discussed above (see Chapter V).

On the other hand, it is clear that by drafting these regulations, Ma Xun attempted to exterminate what he thought were licentious religious activities and replace them by orthodox forms of performing rituals. Consider the case of the eleventh injunction. It prohibits the practice of hiring ritual specialists from Buddhist, Taoist, and other unorthodox religious traditions. Similarly, the second injunction prohibits the performing of plays. The prohibition of "malignant" customs was meant to enshrine an orthodox way of conducting cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites. This is not surprising if we remember that Ma Xun was versed in the *Book of Rites*. If the performing of these orthodox ceremonies necessitates the assistance of *lisheng*, these regulations might possibly reflect Ma Xun's desire to place rural rituals under the guidance of *lisheng*.

Roughly at the same time that Ma Xun ordered his sons to establish their ancestral hall, Xie Jian 謝堅 began the compilation of a genealogy for his own lineage. Xie Jian belonged to the Xies of Liukeng. As mentioned above, this agnate group produced a Metropolitan Graduate, Xie Hui, in the early Ming. Xie Hui did not seem to have much interest in lineage building. Instead, he must have found Buddhist temples

more attractive since he donated money to establish a Buddhist temple near his village. Xie Jian was of the fifteenth generation of his descent group and had been a Vice Magistrate of Huating 華亭 County, Jiangnan. The genealogy he compiled is not extant but the preface he wrote for the genealogy is available. The reason he gave for the compilation of a genealogy was relatively similar to that of Ma Hetu and Ma Xun. The purpose of such activity was, he explained, that with a genealogy, descendants would know not only from whom they originated, but also who shared the same common descent. The former would arouse filial piety towards ancestors and the seniors, while the latter would promote harmony among the descendants. Therefore, a genealogy "does matter very much." The genealogy regarded Xie Weiren 謝偉人, a man in the Southern Song, as the founding ancestor. It claimed that he moved to Liukeng in the early Southern Song.[34] It is reported that the genealogy that Xie Jian compiled was simple, including information only about genealogy, burial places, and a village map.[35] Another citation shows that one Xie Yantang 謝燕堂, a person one generation lower than Xie Jian, established an ancestral hall. We are not told who this man was and which ancestors were worshipped inside the ancestral hall. But it seems that the hall was relatively large and ornate.[36]

By the end of the fifteenth century, thanks to three local scholar-officials, three descent groups had come into being in Sibao. Each of them had an ancestral hall and a genealogy, both of which emphasized the importance of the inclusion of and focus on the early, distant ancestors and the necessity of going beyond the circle of the five degrees of (mourning) relation. They organized the collective worship of these ancestors.

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[34] *LLXSZP* (1754 edition), *juan shou*, "Xu" 序, 4a-6a.

[35] *LLXSZP* (1754 edition), *juan shou*, "Fanli" 凡例, 1a-2a.

[36] *LLXSZP* (1754 edition), *juan shou*, "Tu shuo" 圖說, 9b.

Before providing an explanation of the social contexts within which these descent groups were created, we should understand that some of the activities involved in these cases were not legally justified. According to the early Ming regulations, commoners were only allowed to worship lineal ancestors three generations back, that is, their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfather, at their home. Ranked officials were permitted to erect a family temple to the east of their residences and to worship lineal ancestors four generations back.[37] At the first glance, the ancestral hall established by Ma Xun appeared to have followed these regulations. But a careful scrutiny finds that it differed from state regulations in an important way. The state regulations demanded that the ancestors in the temple should be the official's great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. In the case of Ma Xun, his great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, and the latter's three elder brothers were worshipped instead. While the official permitted model of family temple was essentially a family establishment in the sense that the rite was performed by the official's family, the ancestral hall erected by Ma Xun created a descent group for the ancestral rites involving not only the descendants of Ma Xun's great-grandfather, but also those of Ma Xun's great-grandfather's three brothers. Furthermore, some time after Ma Xun died, the tablets of the ancestors from Qilang to Qianwulang (G1-G6) were also brought into the ancestral hall, which means that ancestors worshipped inside the hall went beyond what the regulations allowed. Similarly, the ancestral hall established by Ma Hetu also included ancestors over four generations. Some Ma members of the gentry were not unaware of this problem. They tended to justify this by claiming that they were entitled to do so because their ancestors

[37] See *Jiexing shili* 節行事例 (Collected in Zhang Lu 張鹵, ed., *Huang Ming zhishu* 皇明制書. Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1966-1967, vol. 2, 350-397), 388-389. See also Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian* (Trans. Michael Szonyi. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 269.

were high officials. As Ma Zuiliang 馬最良 (1797-1861), a prefectural Government Student of Mawu, put it:

> In ancient times only the Son of Heaven, feudal lords, and *daifu* were entitled to establish temples to worship [their] ancestors. The scholars and commoners had no temple. They could only set up spirit tablets at home and present offerings rather than [perform the rite of] sacrifice (*jian er bu ji* 薦而不祭). This is what was ritually correct. It was not until the Grand Ceremony controversies (*daliyi* 大禮議) were eventually settled in the Jiajing era (1522-1566) in the Ming that a proclamation was published to allow scholars and commoners alike under Heaven to erect ancestral halls. This probably means that ritual is created in accord with feelings (*yuan qing zhi li* 緣情制禮) and [this is] an impressive favor compared with the ancient [regulations]. Therefore, in general it was after the Jiajing era that all scholars and commoners within the Empire started to establish ancestral halls. However, our Family Temple of Lord Qianwulang was established before the Jiajing era, why is this? My eleventh generation ancestor Lord Leqiu (i.e., Ma Xun) was born in the reign of Wendi 文帝 (?).[38] He became a Metropolitan Graduate by examination on one single classic and became an official, starting from a position as Director of the Ministry of Rites,[39] [then serving] in the inner [court] and outer [provinces] for over forty years. Thanks to the great kindness of the Saintly Son of Heaven, [he] was promoted to the position of [Vice] Censor-in-Chief in the year *xinchou* 辛丑 of the Chenghua era (1481). Five years later, in the year *yisi* 乙巳 (1485), [he] donated his salary and ordered his sons to consult lineage members and established an ancestral hall.... Evidently the family temple of our great descent-line was established in the year *yisi* of the Chenghua era.[40] 古者惟天子諸侯大

[38] Ma Xun was born in 1421 in the reign of Ming Chengzu (1403-1424).

[39] Probably because Ma Xun specialized in the *Classic of Rites*, he was trained in the Ministry of Rites before his first appointment of the Secretary of the Ministry of Revenue.

[40] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 1-2. Similar justification can be found in *MSDZZP*, 1/48a-48b; *LLXSZP, juan shou*, "*Tu shuo*," 9b.

> 夫始得立廟以祀其祖先士庶無廟但設主於家薦而不祭禮也迨至明嘉靖間大禮儀定詔許天下士庶皆得立廟此蓋緣情制禮視古倍隆故凡天下士庶宗祠皆建始於嘉靖後者也惟我千五郎公家廟則建於嘉靖前者何哉我十一世祖樂邱公篤生文帝朝以一經取進士第由禮部郎歷官中外四十年成化辛丑蒙恩擢都憲越五年乙巳捐俸命男謀建祠... 是我大宗家廟之建於成化乙巳也彰彰可考矣

The proclamation mentioned by Zuiliang was published in 1536 at the request of Xia Yan 夏言, then the Minister of the Ministry of Rites. According to Xia Yan's memorial, an official of the third rank or above and their descendants were allowed to erect a temple with five niches. The center niche would house the tablet of the father of his great-great-grandfather with the four immediate lineal ancestors arrayed to either side. When the official died, his tablet could be enshrined in the temple and be worshipped there even if his descendants were five generations distant from him. Officials of the fourth rank or below were allowed to establish a family temple to enshrine ancestors four generations back. After they died, their descendants were allowed to follow this practice. But they were not allowed to keep their official-ancestors in the family temple forever. Instead, when the worshippers were over four generations after the officials, they were to destroy the spirit tablets of the officials and worship their own great-great-grandfather. The regulation for the commoners none of whose ancestors had been an official remained the same as before.[41] According to this regulation, Zuiliang's claim is not justified. Zuiliang argues that the Mas were entitled to worship Qianqilang, the father of the great-great-grandfather of Ma Xun, because Ma Xun achieved rank two in the imperial officialdom. But according to this memorial, after Ma Xun died, his sons should have destroyed the spirit tablet of Qianqilang and placed that of Ma Xun in the family temple. Furthermore,

[41] Inoue Tōru 井上徹, *Chūgoku no seizoku to kokka no risei* 中國の宗族と國家の禮制 (Tokyo: Kenmonsha, 2000), 178-199; Chang Jianhua 常建華, *Zhonghua wenhua tongzhi zongzuzhi* 中華文化通志: 宗族志 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1998), 98-101.

Xia Yan's memorial does not seem to have changed matters very much. As Zheng Zhenman points out, a number of officials in the Ming proposed allowing commoners to erect ancestral temples and extend sacrifice back to founding ancestors, but "they have never become formal laws." Therefore, the "development of popular lineage organization in the Ming and Qing was not based on the official model of the descent-line system. Rather, demolishing the restrictive official system was the essential precondition for this development."[42]

If the ancestral halls erected by the Mas and the Xies were not legally justified, why did Sibao scholar-officials still build them? The fact that these activities could mark them off from commoners and the latter's kinship groups provides part of the reason. A legend of Liukeng illustrates this point clearly. When one first opens the genealogy of the Tongs of Liukeng, he will be surprised to find that this seemingly mediocre lineage produced so many interesting and important people: they were officials, Government Students, the friends of magistrates, and even agronomists.[43] A story one Sibao villager told me partly resolves this puzzle. As the story goes, previously the people living in the village were involved in banditry or so people from other villages claimed. The villagers in Liukeng could not put up with this humiliation and eventually decided to get rid of it. At this juncture, one of the villagers of Liukeng went to Zhejiang to work as artisan. Once he worked for a rich family. He stole the genealogy of the family and went back to his native village. It was on the basis of this genealogy that a genealogy of the Tongs was compiled. This story is very difficult to verify and seems to have been fabricated to humiliate the Tongs. Anyway, whether it is true is not important. What is noteworthy in the story is that Sibao people do think that a written genealogy can make a difference,

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[42] Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, 270.

[43] *Tong shi zupu* 童氏族譜 (1843 edition), 1/1a-19b.

changing an agnate group with a shadowy background into one that commands respect. As mentioned above, this was the basic motivation behind Ma Hetu's compilation of the genealogy for his lineage. By doing so, he intended to create an "ancient family and great clan" out of his kinship group. When he drew up the regulations for his lineage and prohibited a series of improper practices, did not Ma Xun attempt to mark off his descent group from other ones that still indulged in "licentious" activities? The case of Sibao thus provides support to Michale Szonyi's view that the ancestral hall and, I would say, the genealogy were often utilized as a marker of social distinctiveness and as a "status symbol."[44]

Shifting our focus from local to the regional level, we find that the attempt to hold kinship members together through the erection of an ancestral hall and the compilation of a genealogy was not a local phenomenon. This activity had its origins in the programs of social reform and moral renewal put forward by Neo-Confucians in the Song.[45] It did not become more widespread until the fifteenth century onward. According to Peng Shao 彭韶, a late fifteenth century Putian 莆田 literatus, the gentry and the commoners in Putian County were permitted to sacrifice to their great-grandfathers, grandfathers, and fathers in the early Ming. In the Yongle era (1403-1424), when the *Xingli daquan* was compiled and the *Family Rituals* promulgated all over the empire, sacrifice to distant ancestors became the common rule. Still, there was not an ancestral hall for the placement of tablets. However, by the time Peng Shao wrote this inscription, the construction of ancestral halls and sacrifices to distant ancestors "became common

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[44] Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 97.

[45] Ebrey, "The Early Stage in the Development of Descent Group Organization;" Zhu Ruixi 朱瑞熙, *Songdai shehui yanjiu* 宋代社會研究 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou shuhuashe, 1988), 98-114; Shimizu Morimitsu 清水盛光, *Chūgoku zokusan seido kō* 中國族產制度考 (Chinese translation. Trans. Song Nianci 宋念慈. Taibei: Zhongguo wenhua chuban shiye weiyuanhui, 1956); Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 99-105.

social practice" and each family had "its own system for the number of ancestors and their arrangements in the niche."[46] Similarly, in Nantai 南臺 Island, Fuzhou, the establishment of the earliest ancestral halls in this area dated back to pre-Ming periods. But it was not until the mid-Ming onward that more and more individuals and families constructed free-standing ancestral halls.[47] In the Pearl River Delta, the erection of ancestral halls and the compilation of written genealogies started to become widespread a little later; they did not become popular until probably the sixteenth century onward.[48]

The problem thus arises why this should have happened in the mid-Ming. Besides their commitments to Neo-Confucianism and their intention to mark their kinship groups off from other parts of local society, were there other reasons behind these scholar-officials' efforts to hold their kinsmen together? While this is a problem beyond the scope of this thesis, the case of Sibao does suggest some explanations. It indicates that the scholar-officials' activism may have had some connection to the social crisis of their age. Compared with the image of lineage as seen in Ma Hetu's essay, Ma Xun's view of lineage appeared to be different in some important ways. Hetu and his brothers seemed eager to create an "ancient family and great clan" in their community. While we cannot exclude this concern from Ma Xun, Ma Xun seemed to emphasize more than Hetu the instillation of group consciousness and the stabilization of the social order. This is not surprising if we take into consideration the events taking place after Hetu compiled his genealogy. Hetu's essay was written in 1439, when the mid-Ming rebellions had not taken place yet. As mentioned in the second chapter, two rebellions that had a strong

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[46] Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, 272-273.

[47] Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 96-137.

[48] Helen F. Siu and David Faure, "Introduction," in David Faure and Helen F. Siu, eds., *Down to Earth*, 2; Ke Dawei 科大衛 (David Faure) and Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, "Zongzu yu difang shehui de guojia rentong" 宗族與地方社會的國家認同, *Lishi yanjiu* 3 (2000), 9.

impact in Tingzhou took place after 1439. The Ye Zongliu Rebellion took place in 1444 and the Deng Maoqi Rebellion in 1448. Except for several small-scale incidents of banditry and rebellion that happened in the early Ming, the period before the 1440s could be called peaceful in Tingzhou. The situation deteriorated from the 1440s onward. In addition to the two large-scale rebellions mentioned above, small and middle-scale banditry and rebellion became a constant threat to social order in Tingzhou. This could not have failed to have an impact on the mind of so notable a man as Ma Xun. Remember also Ma Xun's rich experience with rebellions during his career as an official that lasted over forty years. After serving sixteen years in the Ministry of Revenue, Ma Xun was appointed to a number of senior provincial positions of a number of provinces, where he confronted a number of rebellions, including the Sichuan Rebellion and Songfan Rebellion. When he wrote the record of the erection of the ancestral hall, Ma Xun was delegated to Huguang region. He was troubled by the problem of Guanzhong refugees, who were prepared to rebel if they were not dealt with tactfully. It is likely that this experience also had contributed to shaping Ma Xun's view of how a lineage should be, stressing especially its function to stabilize social order. Obviously, a corporate lineage organization had more chance to survive the social crisis than other social groups without much solidarity.

Lineage Building, II: The Zous of Wuge

The efforts of Ma Hetu, Ma Xun, and Xie Jian to hold their kinsmen together in the mid-Ming represent the first wave of lineage building in Sibao. This wave of lineage building differs from the later waves due to the fact that the process of lineage building was initiated and essentially under the direction of outstanding scholar-officials. In contrast, the later waves of lineage building were initiated by minor officials, Government Students, and sometimes even villagers without any titles and degrees. This difference

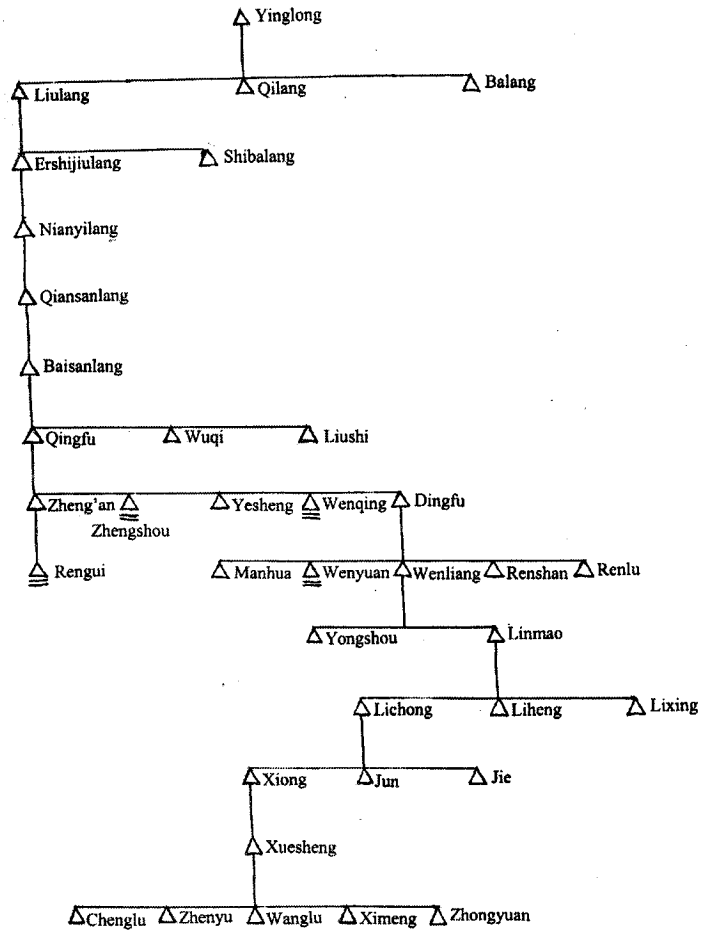
has important implications. The second wave of lineage building set in a century later, led by the Zous of Wuge.

The Zous usually trace their settlement history in Wuge to Zou Liulang (G2). It is reported that he used to live with his younger brothers, Qilang 七郎 and Balang 八郎, in the Zou Family Mountain (Zoujia shan 鄒家山) in Shangbao before he moved to Wuge. Balang moved to Shuangquan while Qilang remained in Shangbao. Liulang had two sons: Ershijiulang 二十九郎 and Sibalang 四八郎 (G3). The descendants of Sibalang moved to Longtoufang 龍頭坊 village in western Sibao several generations later. Ershijiulang had one son, Nianyilang 念一郎 (G4) and one grandson, Qiansanlang 千三郎 (G5). Qiansanlang had one son, Baisanlang 百三郎 (G6), and the latter had three sons: Qingfu and his two younger brothers, Wuqi 五七 and Liushi 六十 (G7). Wuqi himself moved to Yong'an while the line of Liushi was terminated since he had no descendants. This means that all of the Zous living in Wuge are descendants of Qingfu. That is why Qingfu was singled out to be worshipped in an ancestral hall. Qingfu seems to have lived in the turbulent age of the Yuan-Ming transition. He had five sons: Zheng'an 鄭安, Zhengshou 鄭受, Yesheng (1342-1407), Wenqing 文清, and Dingfu 定敷 (1349-1417) (G8). The lines of Zhengshou and Wenqing were terminated since both had no descendants. The line of Zheng'an was terminated a generation later for the same reason. Qingfu's other two sons, Yesheng and Dingfu, started the two major branches of the Zous in present day Wuge.[49] The branch of Yesheng is known as the Lower Shrine branch while that of Dingfu is known as the Upper Shrine branch. Again, both names were given according to the location of their branch ancestral halls rather than the order of seniority. The importance of Yesheng and Dingfu to the Zous is apparent. An ornate ancestral hall was dedicated to each of them. These halls became important places not only to perform

[49] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/1a-8a.

the rites of sacrifice, but also to discuss lineage and community affairs before they were collectivized by the township government in the early 1950s.

Figure 4.2 Simplified Genealogy of the Zous of Wuge



Source: *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge).

Note: The triangles with a = below represent those people whose lines had terminated for some reasons.

The first act of lineage building was made by Zou Xiong of the Upper Shrine branch in the early Wanli era (1573-1619). Zou Xiong 鄒雄 erected perhaps the first

ancestral hall in Wuge.[50] It was called the Guangyu Hall or the Ancestral Hall of the Lord of Lichong. The descendants of Lichong usually call it "the hall of the ancestors." Zou Xiong (1488-1581, G12) was the grandson of one of Dingfu's grandsons. He was not a Government Student and does not seem to have received any titles from the government. He was a geomancer of a certain standing. In the record he wrote for the erection of the ancestral hall, he claimed that he was interested in geomancy in his youth. When he grew up, he went to Jiangxi and found a master of geomancy for himself. He mastered the art of geomancy after many years of training. After he went back to Sibao, he found a grave with good geomancy for his parents and several years later the descendants of Lichong became "prosperous." Believing that good geomancy could bring good luck to his descendants, he decided to erect an ancestral hall. He selected the current place where the Guanyu Hall stands after searching for some time. On an auspicious date he placed the tablet of his parents in the hall. In the record, Zou Xiong comments that the erection of the hall would produce positive results for his descendants and those of his brothers. "Every generation will have representatives in official life and every branch will be well-to-do and honorable" 世世簪纓房房富貴. At the end of the record, Zou Xiong warns that his descendants should take care to maintain the geomancy of the hall and not make any changes since that would lead to malignant results.[51] Compared with Ma Hetu and Ma Xun, Zou Xiong justified the establishment of an ancestral hall in pragmatic and utilitarian terms, i.e., geomancy, rather than resorting to Neo-Confucian discourse. Instead of stressing the hall's function to hold kinsmen together, Zou Xiong seemed to emphasize the results brought about by the establishment of an ancestral hall with good geomancy.

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[50] As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, an ancestral hall was dedicated to Zou Qingfu, Lichong's father. This was known as the "hall of incense and fire" and seemed to be relatively different from the ancestral hall. The date of the erection of this hall is unknown.

[51] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/20a-20b.

Following Zou Xiong, several minor officials and Government Students of the Upper Shrine branch compiled the first genealogy of the Zous of Wuge. Zou Bangxian 鄒邦賢 (1546-1613) wrote a preface for the genealogy and explained the reasons behind the compilation of the genealogy.

> In the summer of year *gengyin* 庚寅 (1590), thanks to the order of the emperor, I was awarded a gown and a cap and [permitted to] come home to visit [my family] and [present] sacrifices [to my ancestors]. During that time [I] often regretted that if a lineage did not have a genealogy, the origin of the surname and the deeds of the ancestors would disappear and be known to no one. Even if there were filial sons and virtuous grandsons, it would be difficult to verify the facts. How relevant is the genealogy to men! Our descent group (*zong* 宗) has its origins in Jiangxi Province and [our ancestors] settled here at the end of the Tang.... [Because] no genealogy is extant, the names and graves of the ancestors have for the most part been lost and there is no way to know them. Fortunately, a copy of the *Record of the Journey* (*Xingcheng ji* 行程記) is still extant. However, our descent group is lax in solidarity and scattered, it would be difficult to compile a genealogy for the whole descent group. [Therefore,] [we decided to] compile a genealogy of the branch (*zhi* 支) of Lord Wenliang 文亮. In the first month of the spring of 1598, together with my cousin who is the holder of the title of the Court Gentleman for Promoted Service (*dengshilang* 登仕郎, 9a) and an old man of seventy-six years old whose literary name is Qingquan 清泉 (Pure Spring), and [my cousin] who is a Government Student and is an old man of seventy years old and whose literary name is Kezhai 可齋, as well as my cousins' sons and Government Students Xidao 希道 and Ximeng 希孟, [I] subjected the *Record of the Journey* to editing, revised it to put it in order, and recorded the origin and development of the surname, the virtuous deeds of the ancestors, the order of the senior and the junior, the date and time of death, the location and direction of the graves, and the difficulties [our ancestors] experienced, so that when they read the

genealogy, the descendants in the future generations would broaden their thought and learn the good regulations by which their ancestors started an undertaking and carried them on to the next generations. Even though, [I,] Xian (i.e., Bangxian) am degenerate, I am moved and discipline myself through a warning. Generally speaking, the compilation of a genealogy is not only meant to render meritorious service to the ancestors by recording the ancestors' virtue completely, but also to benefit ten thousand generations by providing [to them] a magic mirror.[52]

賢自庚寅夏恭承上命給賜裳冠回籍省祭間恆慨夫人宗族無譜則姓氏之來歷先人之出處泯息無聞雖有肖子賢孫繼乎其間難以覈其實也譜之系於人也大矣余宗出自江省來於唐季... 譜籍無存致先代祖諱窀穸多有失落無繇查攷幸行程記一冊存焉但吾宗人心渙散通族之譜一時難以修集漸將文亮公一支之譜於萬歷戊戌春正月同從兄原任登仕郎七十六翁號清泉邑庠弟子員七十翁號可齋暨從姪弟子員希道希孟將行程記加筆削之功大略敷陳識載姓氏之源流先人之德業長幼之次序誕忌之日時墳塋之形向經歷之險阻俾後世子孫見其譜即廣其思得覩先人創業垂統之良規而賢不肖亦有感而懲創之也大抵譜書之設不惟載祖德之無遺而有功於上世且為後人之龜鑒抑有益於萬代者矣

Zou Bangxian (G13) was a minor official (*liyuan* 吏員). He had been a clerk in Changting County government before he was appointed to the position of the County Jailor (*dianshi* 典史) of Haiyang 海陽 County. Several years later, he was promoted to the position of Vice Magistrate of the same county. His last appointment was as Chief Commissioner of granaries of Zhaoqing Prefecture.[53] No evidence shows that he had got a degree but, as shown in the preface, he seemed to have received a certain title from the court. Bangxian's cousin, Qingquan (1523-1598), was also a minor official. His name was Xuesheng 學聖. He had been a Chief Commissioner of the Southern City Granary of Hangzhou. He had received the title of the Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service

[52] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 10b-11a.

[53] ZSZP (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/66a.

(*jiangshilang* 獎士郎, 9b).[54] Bangxian's other cousin, Kezhai (1530-1606), was the first Government Student in the history of the Zous of Wuge. He became a Government Student at the age of eighteen in 1547. His name was Yunguang 運光.[55] His biographical note tells us that he had been the head of a poetry society for many years.[56] Xidao (1561-1617) was the son of Bangxian's cousin, Xueshun 學舜. He was a Government Student.[57] Ximeng (1578-1643) was the fourth son of Xuesheng and also a Government Student.[58] When he joined Bangxian to compile the genealogy, Ximeng was only twenty. According to his biographical note, he was later involved in commercial activities and became quite wealthy. With the wealth he accumulated from commerce, he bought a great quantity of land and set aside some of this as "book land" (*shutian* 書田), subsidizing those who prepared for the civil service examination and awarding those who had received degrees.[59] Prior to the land reform, the corporate estate established under his name was one of the biggest estates in Sibao.

In his preface, Zou Bangxian explained the importance of a genealogy. Unlike Ma Hetu and Ma Xun, he did not resort to the metaphor of the root of a tree or the source of a stream. For him, the genealogy is important for two reasons. On the one hand, a genealogy informs one of the "virtuous deeds" of his ancestors. It seemed to be an obligation for a descendant to know his source of origin and his ancestors' deeds. On the other hand, the genealogy is compiled for future generations, for one's descendants. It provides them a "magic mirror" by which they could learn the "good regulations" of their

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[54] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/12b. Note that this title is different from the one given in Bangxian's preface.

[55] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/39b, 33/5a.

[56] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan mo* 卷末, "*Guanshen gongzhi lei*" 官紳公職類, 1b.

[57] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/49a.

[58] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/18b.

[59] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 34/5a-5b.

ancestors and draw lessons from their deeds. In a word, just as the history of a dynasty could provide a mirror for contemporary actions, a recent genealogy could also serve as a mirror for the future descendants. In this sense, Bangxian's view of the genealogy was relatively historical. As claimed in the preface, the genealogy Bangxian compiled did not include all the Zous of Wuge because the Zous were "lax in solidarity." It was only a genealogy of the branch starting from Zou Wenliang 鄒文亮 (1377-1430) of the ninth generation, the third son of Zou Dingfu. The descendants of Zou Yesheng were not included in the genealogy. It is interesting that Wenliang rather than Dingfu was singled out as the focal ancestor of the genealogy. Another interesting item of information is that the settlement history of the Zou was traced back to the late Tang. We will discuss this in detail later in this section.

Shortly after Bangxian compiled the genealogy, the descendants of Yesheng also started a similar project. As mentioned above, Yesheng (1342-1407) was the third son of Qingfu and one of Dingfu's brothers. His descendants constitute the Lower Shrine branch of the Zous of Wuge. The first genealogy of the Lower Shrine was compiled by Zou Weiyun 鄒惟耘 and his brother, Zou Weidi 鄒惟棣 (G16). Zou Weiyun's father, Sisong 思松 (usually known in Sibao by his style name, Yisheng 一昇, 1550-1607, G15), seemed to be an ordinary peasant.[60] He had four sons. Weiyun (styled Konghua 孔華) was his fourth son while Weidi his second son. It is reported that after his father died Weiyun had difficulty in continuing his studies. It was with the help of his elder brother, Weidi, that he was able to continue to prepare for the civil service examination and became a Government Student.[61] Weiyun's brother, Weidi (styled Binhua 賓華, 1587-1638), appeared to be able to accumulate some wealth in his life, probably through commercial activities. His biography tells us a story about him. Once Weidi met a person with the last

[60] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 19/1a.

[61] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 19/1a.

name Zhou. The latter smuggled private salt and was arrested by *yamen* runners. When Weidi met him, the *yamen* runners, together with the man they arrested, were on their way back to the *yamen*. Weidi had pity on this man and had him released by means unknown to us. It was only later that Weidi found out that the man he had helped became the head of a bandit gang in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Several years later, one of Weidi's sons visited Zhejiang. On his way home, all of his money was stolen. He went to the bandit's den, begging them to return some money to him. The head of the bandit gang asked his native place and last name. After he was given the answer, he exclaimed: "You are the son of my great benefactor, Lord Binhua." He returned everything to him, held a banquet in his honor, and sent him off.[62] In view of this story, Weidi was not an ordinary peasant, but had probably been involved in commercial activity. However, no evidence shows that he had received any imperial titles.

Weiyun wrote a long preface to the genealogy he compiled. At the beginning of the preface, Weidi stresses the importance of compiling a genealogy. The importance of the genealogy, he points out, lies in the fact that it is "the means by which human relations are put in order and customs are made solid." The preface then illustrates the difficulty of compiling a genealogy by quoting several pieces of historical evidence. Unlike history, which was often printed, kept in the libraries, and circulated across the empire, genealogies are not public knowledge. "As for genealogy, [it] is only the private [knowledge] of one single surname [group]. Except for the relatives and their descendants, who will keep it? Who will remember it?" Furthermore, "as generations become distant, so do men (i.e., ancestors); as age change, so do affairs." It becomes very difficult for people in later generations to know their origins. Therefore, the compilation of a genealogy is not only important, but also more or less urgent. It was on this ground

[62] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/1a-1b.

that Weidi suggested to his brothers: "The virtuous in each generation should compile a genealogy of [our] lineage lest [our] descendants have doubts [about their ancestry]." His suggestion was applauded by his brothers and nephews and he was asked to compile the genealogy. From his preface we learn that the genealogy began with a biography and hagiography of Zougong, which was followed by the genealogical chart.[63] It appears that the Upper Shrine branch was excluded from the genealogy.[64] That is to say, this was a genealogy only of the Lower Shrine branch.

The genealogy of the Upper Shrine branch was updated over a century later, in 1706. This project was directed by Zou Zhengguo 鄒正國. Zhengguo (1663-1716), styled Lüchen 膂臣, was a Government Student.[65] According to his biographical notes, he was a teacher who "expelled Buddhism and revered Confucianism" 闢佛崇儒 and believed in the teaching of Cheng Yi (1033-1107) and Zhu Xi.[66] In the preface he wrote for this genealogy, he repeated what he predecessors claimed concerning the importance of the genealogy. The genealogy is, he claimed, meant to "lay emphasis on the root and give due weight to kinship" 重本篤親. If the genealogy has not been compiled, the order of the generations will have no way to be differentiated, and "the affection and righteousness will deviate" 情義乖離. The compilation of a genealogy is, he emphasized, especially important for the Zous of Wuge, who included more and more lineage members.[67] In spite of this, Zhengguo does not seem to have taken much effort to compile a genealogy of all the Zous of Wuge. The genealogy he compiled did not include the branch of the

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[63] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 1a-3b.

[64] The preface was called the "Preface to the *Genealogy of Yesheng Branch*." See *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 1a.

[65] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 6/12b-13a.

[66] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 34/14a.

[67] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 13a-13b.

Lower Shrine. And no evidence shows that the Lower Shrine branch updated its genealogy in the early eighteenth century.

The second half of the eighteenth century seems to have been a very important period for the development of the Zous of Wuge. First of all, in the year 1756, the Lower Shrine branch established an ornate ancestral hall dedicated to Yesheng, the focal ancestor of this branch. Zou Shengmai wrote an essay to record how the hall was erected.

> Formerly, the first Lord (e.g., Zou Qingfu) and uncle-ancestor Lord Fu (e.g., Zou Dingfu) were worshipped jointly in a same ancestral hall. Later, the people [of our lineage] became more and more plentiful, [but] the old hall was narrow, [therefore,] [the performance of] sacrifices, bowing, and presentation had difficulty in conforming to etiquette. In the year *jimao* of the Kangxi era (1699), Lord Hui, my uncle, advocated building [an ancestral hall of] the lesser descent line to the left of the Lord's grave hill. The pattern [of the hall] was spacious and grand. It is regrettable that the construction had not been completed when my uncle died. Nobody followed [him] to complete [the construction work].... Therefore the suggestion to change [a place] came up. [But] lineage members were habituated to common sense views and did not know that today's situation may be not the same as that of yesterday. [They] dissuaded the person who made the suggestion and claimed: "There is no such place with good geomancy to which [we can] move [the ancestral hall]." Did they know that if ancestors' spirits are not comfortable, the good fortunes and favor will not continue. Some one advanced and said: "To the north of the Southern Bridge there lies several *mu* of the Lord's sacrificial land. The place is spacious and the ground is flat. The hills are green and the water clear. The form and scenery both are there. Why did people say that there was no [a proper place]?"[68] 原其初公與叔祖敷公合祀一祠後因生齒日繁舊祠湫隘祭祀拜獻難以成禮迄康熙己卯吾季父惠公乃於公之墳山左麓倡建小宗規模頗壯惜工未竣而季父下世無人踵而成之... 因

[68] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 21/2a.

是而有改遷之議族人狃於習見不知事有昨非今是而阻其議者謂無形勝可遷也豈知祖靈不爽福澤未泯有進而言曰南橋之陽公遺祭田數畝地廣疇平山明水秀形勝具在何以謂無

The members of the branch thus set up an ancestral hall at the place this person suggested. According to Shengmai, the spirit tablets of Yesheng and Dingfu were formerly placed in the same ancestral hall. The hall should have been the "hall of incense and fire" of Zou Qingfu, the father of Yesheng and Dingfu, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Then, at the turn of the eighteenth century, Shengmai's uncle made an unsuccessful effort to construct an ancestral hall dedicated to his sub-branch. The ancestral hall of the Lower Shrine branch was not erected until the mid-eighteenth century due to the fact that the members of this branch had trouble deciding on the location of the hall, a place with good geomancy. Shengmai may have exaggerated the gap between a few persons who took pains to construct an ancestral hall, such as his uncle and himself, and many members of his branch, those who "were stuck in their common sense (views)." But the lack of success of his uncle's efforts suggests unmistakably that many people did not share the same interest as him with his project and they paid more attention to geomantic influence than to the solidarity of the agnate group they belonged to.

Following the example of Lower Shrine branch, the Upper Shrine branch dedicated an ancestral hall to Dingfu, the focal ancestor of their branch, in 1768. The ornate hall stood beside the hall of the Lower Shrine branch. These halls, together with the Tianhou Temple established in 1792, became three of the grandest public buildings in Wuge. No essay recorded how this hall was set up. An essay that recorded the renovation of the hall in 1820 mentions that the foundation was donated by two sub-branches of the

Upper Shrine descent group and thus the spirit tablets of the focal ancestors of these sub-branches were placed in the altar of the hall.[69]

In the year 1764, the Zous of Wuge compiled the only genealogy that included all the Zous of this village in their history. Before the genealogy was compiled, the managers of the project wrote an essay to explain why they launched the project. The Zous of Wuge, they claimed, were the descendants of Zou Liulang. They divided into two branches after the eighth generation. The Zous had so far became a large lineage that included about a thousand male members. Although the members were plenty, they were "at peace" with each other. "One thousand branches and ten thousand streams have one single root and the same spring [respectively]" 千枝萬派一本同源. The compilation of a genealogy of all the Zous of Wuge was meant to "make the spirits [of the members] be united and their blood flow through one another" 使精神團結血脈貫通.[70]

What is noteworthy concerning this event is the predominant role that National University Students played in the project (see Table 4.1). Altogether twelve people were involved in the management of the compilation of the genealogy. Of the eleven managers on whom we have information, eight were National University Students and five were involved in commercial activities. Six of the managers were from the Upper Shrine branch and the other six from the Lower Shrine branch. They were Xiongfei, Benzu, Duchen, Yingwen, Mingkui, Shiduan, Zhengyao, Zhongyan, Yiyan, Huiyan, Zhengsheng, and Zhengxuan. The name of the first manager, Xiongfei (1718-1766), was Qishan 岐山. According to an essay celebrating his fortieth birthday, he did business in Guangdong and Zhangzhou in southern Fujian.[71] But this source does not specify which business he was involved in. Benzu (1741-1826) was both a manager of a printing shop

[69] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 35/23a-23b.

[70] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, "Zheng xiu pu yin" 徵修譜引, 1a-3a.

[71] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 34/37b-38a.

and a book merchant. His business seems to have been successful.[72] We do not know much about Duchen (1699-?), whose name was Duguo 都國. But no evidence indicates that he had received any degrees or titles.[73] Yingwen (1715-1791), also known for his style name Yuzu 御祖, was probably a merchant but no evidence shows that he gained or purchased any titles.[74] Mingkui (1707-1778), whose name was Bingheng 秉衡, does not seem to be a prominent person himself. But he was the elder brother of Bingjun 秉均 (1718-1796), a successful and rich merchant who played an important role in the opening of the Fair Market of Wuge in 1778 (see Chapter VI).[75] Shiduan (1723-1772), usually known by his literary name Longchuan 龍川, was a successful book merchant. He managed a bookstore in the prosperous town of Zhangshu 樟樹, Jiangxi, opened by his father.[76] Zhengyao (1720-1782), known by his literary name Yixuan 怡軒, was also a book merchant and the father of Zou Jing 鄒經 (1742-1804), a Military Provincial Graduate and Regional Vice Commander of Taiwan Naval Forces (*shuishi fujiang* 水師副將). He received the title Grand Master of Militant Assistance (*wuyu dafu* 武翼大夫, 7a) because of his son's service for the government.[77] Zhongyan, known also by his literary name Dancun 澹村, was born into a wealthy family. His father was a book merchant. His biography mentions that when he visited Sibao, the Magistrate of Changting County

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[72] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/27b-28a. For his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 7/57a-57b.

[73] For his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 7/14b.

[74] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/27a-27b. For his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 5/93b-94a.

[75] For genealogical information of Bingheng, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 9/20a. For the biography of Bingjun, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/40a-41a.

[76] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/43a-43b.

[77] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/30b-31a, 31b-32a. For Zhengyao's genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 10/108a-108b. For the biography of Zou Jing, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/52a-52b.

lodged for the night in Zhongyan's house.[78] We do not know much about Yiyan (1697-1785), Huiyan (1701-?), and Zhengsheng (1718-1809), except for the fact that all of them were National University Students.[79] Finally, I am not able to find any information on Zhengxuan.

Table 4.1 Managers of the Compilation of the *Zou Family Genealogy* of Wuge in 1764

Name	Branch	Occupation	Degree/Title
Xiongfei 雄飛	Upper Shrine	Merchant	National University Student; Secondary Gentleman for Promoted Service (*dengshi zuolang* 登仕佐郎, 9b)
Benzu 本祖	Upper Shrine	Book Merchant	National University Student
Duchen 督臣	Upper Shrine	?	-
Yingwen 盈文	Upper Shrine	Merchant?	-
Mingkui 鳴魁	Upper Shrine	?	-
Shiduan 時端	Upper Shrine	Book Merchant	National University Student
Zhengyao 徵耀	Lower Shrine	Book Merchant	National University Student; Grand Master of Militant Assistance
Zhongyan 中彥	Lower Shrine	?	National University Student
Yiyan 一彥	Lower Shrine	?	National University Student
Huiyan 會彥	Lower Shrine	?	National University Student
Zhengsheng 徵盛	Lower Shrine	?	National University Student
Zhengxuan 徵琁	Lower Shrine	?	?

Sources: Xiongfei: for his biographical note, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 34/37b-38a, for his title, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan mo*, "Guanshen gongzhi lei," 4b; Benzu: for his biography, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/27b-28a, for his title, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan mo*, "Guanshen gongzhi lei," 4b; Duchen: for his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 7/14b; Yingwen: for his biography, see

[78] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/21b-22a.

[79] See *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 5/61a-61b, 6/18a-18b, 9/81a-81b.

ZSZP (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/27a-27b; Mingkui: for his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 9/20a; Shiduan: for his biography, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/43a-43b; Zhengyao: for his biography, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/30b-31a, 31b-32a; Zhongyan: for his biography, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 21b-22a; Yiyan: for his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 5/61a-61b; Huiyan: for his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 6/18a-18b; Zhengsheng: for his genealogical information, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 9/81a/81b; for an essay celebrating his 91st birthday, see *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 19/20a-20b.

The great involvement of National University Students in the compilation of the genealogy is not surprising if we remember that the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries were the golden age of the Sibao book business. The purchase of titles was just one way that the wealth from the business was converted into cultural capital. What is really startling is the fact that none of the managers were Government Students or Provincial Graduates. This is all the more surprising if we remember that the Qianlong era (1736-1795) was a period when the Zous of Wuge achieved some form of success in the civil service examination. During this period, the Zous of Sibao sub-canton of Changting County produced twelve Military Provincial Graduates and quite a few Government Students, either military or civil (see Table 4.2).[80] In contrast, when the Tianhou Temple was constructed at the end of the eighteenth century, quite a few Provincial Graduates and Government Students, along with many merchants, participated in an association for celebrating the annual birthday of Tianhou, the Empress of Heaven (see Chapter VI). Does this mean that National University Students, who gained their titles by purchase, were more eager to display their willingness to adhere to Neo-Confucian notions of lineage building? Or is it because the project of compiling a

[80] During this period, the Lower Shrine branch produced seventeen Government Students. See *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Wuge), 30. For the list of degree holders of the Upper Shrine branch, see *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan mo*, "Guanshen gongzhi lei," 1a-37b.

genealogy gave them an important opportunity to engage in public work rather than the pursuit of individual gain? Or does this imply that Provincial Graduate and Government Students took less interest in lineage building than National University Students? These are problems concerning the self-identity of National University Students. Although so far my sources provide few clues or proper answers, one thing is certain: this is not co-incidental if we remember that several manuals of sacrificial texts were reportedly copied and consulted by *lisheng* who were also usually National University Students themselves.

Lineage Building, III: The Yans of Yanwu

By the end of the seventeenth century, the major big agnate groups of Sibao, such as the Mas, the Zous in Wuge and Shuangquan, the Lis in Changxiao, and the Jiangs in Jiangfang, had been transformed into lineage organizations due to the efforts of high scholar-officials such as Ma Xu as well as minor officials and low-level gentry such as Zou Bangxian and Zou Weiyun. For the small agnate groups settled in the satellite villages of these lineages or in the peripheral areas, conscious efforts at lineage building, the third wave of lineage building in Sibao history, would only take place a century later. The several kinship groups that settled next to the Zougong temple of Shangbao who organized themselves into a community compact were one such example (see Chapter V for a brief discussion of their lineage building). The Yans of Yanwu who settled next to the Mas of Mawu and the Zous of Wuge provide another example.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Yans traced their ancestry to a man called Jiulang 九郎 (G1) (see Figure 4.3). It is reported that Jiulang used to live in Yanfang 嚴坊 village of Guiren *li* 歸仁里 of Changting. He moved to Laijiaxu since he did business there. His son, Demei 德梅 (G2), moved to a place called Qingshuitang 清水塘 (the Pond

of Clear Water) between Wuge and Mawu.[81] Although nobody knows the exact dates when Jiulang moved to Sibao, some members of the Yans think that it happened in the early Ming. From the second generation through the tenth generation, the Yans appeared to be a small kinship group that usually included no more than five households. Demei had two sons, but only one of them, Shaosheng 紹生 (G3), had a male heir. The son of Shaosheng, Chenfu 陳富 (G4), had three sons, but again, only one of his sons, Manchong 滿崇 (G5), had any heirs. Manchong had six sons, but only one of them, Fucong 福聰 (G6), survived or stayed in Sibao. Four of them moved out of Sibao. The other one died without an heir. The same problem happened again in the seventh generation. Of the four sons of Fucong, two died without an heir, one had heirs but his line was terminated in the generations of his grandsons and great-grandsons, only his third son, Fobao 佛保 (G7), had descendants in Sibao. The problem was repeated two generations later. Although Fobao's only son, Changmin 長旻 (G8), had five sons, four of his sons or their immediate descendants either died without heir or moved out of Sibao, leaving only their brother, Shixiong 世雄 (G9), in Sibao. The tenth generation was no exception. Both of Shixiong's two sons had heirs, but the only son of Shixiong's first son died without an heir and thus his line was terminated. This means that all of the Yans are the descendants of their tenth generation ancestor, Ta 闥 (styled Ziyu 子譽, G10). Only after the eleventh generation, and particularly after the fifteenth generation were the Yans able to expand the number of their lineage members.[82] The eleventh generation ancestors lived in the late Ming.

The Yans appeared to have been under the control of the Mas since they moved into Sibao. A contract drafted in 1716 shows that the Yans belonged to one of the *jia* households (*jiahu* 甲戶) in the plot controlled by the Mas. They did not pay tax to the

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[81] *Yan shi zupu* 嚴氏族譜 (Hereafer YSZP, 1913 edition), 1/1a-1b.

[82] The preceding description is based on *YSZP* (1913 edition), 1/1a-9a.

state directly. Rather they paid it through the Mas. When the government collected non-tax fees or assigned corvée labor, it did so through the Mas. The implication of this arrangement is clear. By relying on the Mas to pay their tax, the Yans were subjected to the control of the latter and were susceptible to the latter's abuse of power. It was for this reason that the contract was drafted. According to the contract, the Yans were allowed to pay tax directly to the government after they first paid five taels of silver to the Mas.[83]

It is reported that there were two ancestral halls in Yanwu. One was dedicated to the founding ancestor, Qilang. The other was dedicated to a thirteenth generation ancestor, Chengde 成德 (styled Zhouye 周也). When I visited Yanwu, the latter was still there. But the tablets were destroyed in the Cultural Revolution and a paper plaque was used instead. Nobody knows when this hall was established. The ancestral hall of Qilang was located in Qingshuitang. When the government decided to establish Sibao Middle School, the place where the ancestral hall stood was selected and thus the hall was brought down. It is reported that the hall was erected in 1778. Although no information is available on the person who organized the establishment, the layout of the building, and how the Yans performed ancestral rites in the hall, the erection of the hall itself indicates that efforts had been made to hold the kinsmen together in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century.

The conscious efforts to build a lineage community were expressed again in 1797 when the Yans compiled their first genealogy. The preface of the genealogy seems to have been drafted by five members of the Yans but written by Ma Lüxin 馬履新. This does not surprise me for the Yans had not produced any degree holder and official by that time. The preface mentions that the Yans had settled in Yanwu for several hundred years after Jiulang moved to Sibao. "Although their heroes are yet to arise, [the Yans] always

[83] *YSZP* (1913 edition), *juan* 4, "*yizi*" 議字, 1a-1b.

earn their living by one skill" 雖豪杰未興恆挾一藝以自食. The preface explains that "as to the idea of the root of a tree and the source of a stream, if there is no genealogy to record it, will not [the descendants] have no means to know [it] after many generations" 而水源木本之思苟非譜牒以詳記之不將於世遠而無徵乎? At the end of the preface, probably to justify their having to rely on a person from another lineage to write the preface, the collective editors comment that "for those literary scholars and the well-to-do families, the grand enterprise of genealogy compiling is undoubtedly easy to do. But Xing, et al. (the editors), earn their living by [relying on our] skills. We undertake to do this as best we can because we are afraid that the order of patriline would be confused" 文學之士素豐之家修譜盛舉固其所易奈行等咸挾藝自食第恐昭穆混淆莫辨以故勉強從事.[84]

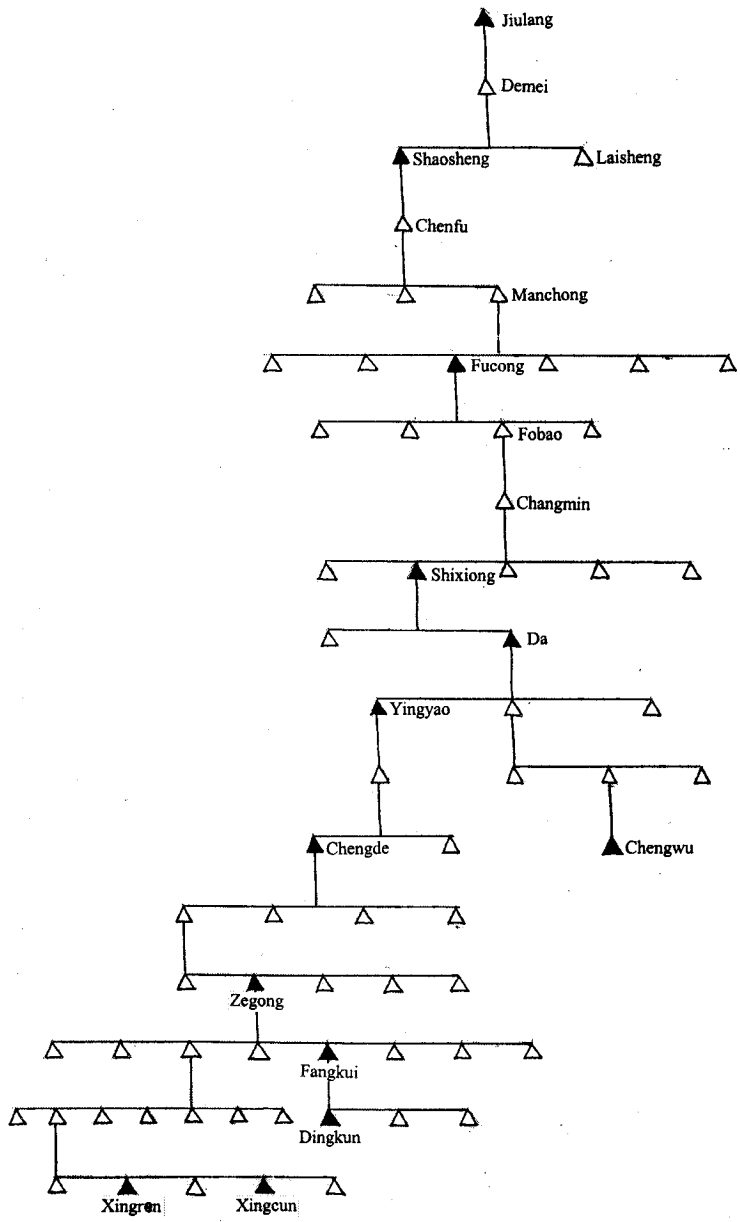
By the time the genealogy was updated in 1913, the Yans has become a relatively segmented lineage. According to the genealogy, altogether sixty plots of land, mountain, and pond were dedicated to fifteen ancestors ranging from Jiulang to two eighteenth generation ancestors (see Figure 4.3). Among these ancestors, only four received over three plots of land. None of them were ancestors of the first nine generations. They were Ta of the tenth generation (eleven plots), Zhouye of the thirteenth generation (twelve plots), Dingkun 定崑 of the seventeenth generation (ten plots), and Xingren 興仁 of the eighteenth generation (seven plots). The founding ancestor received only three plots. The majority of the ancestors received estates belong to the descendants of Shengliang 勝亮 (1635-1722, G11), the first son of Ta. Among the descendants of Shengliang, the ancestors who had been endowed estates concentrated in the line of Zegong 則恭 (G15).[85] The pattern of the distribution of lineage estates is clear: more plots of land were given to the later ancestors than to the earlier ancestors. This pattern of distribution of lineage

[84] *YSZP* (1913 edition), 1/1a-1b.

[85] The preceding description is based on *YSZP* (1913 edition), *juan* 4, "*Changtian pian*" 嘗田片, 1a-7b.

estates among each generation is suggestive. It indicates the different attitudes most of the Yans had towards their earlier ancestors and toward their later ones. We will return to this point later.

Figure 4.3 The Lineage Estates of the Yans of Yanwu



Source: *YSZP* (1913 edition).

Note: The black triangles represent the ancestors who were endowed estates.

If the erection of the ancestral hall of Qilang in 1778 was the beginning of lineage building of the Yans, the compilation of a genealogy in 1797 made the Yans a standard lineage organization. By the end of the eighteenth century, almost every kinship group in Sibao had established an ancestral hall, compiled a genealogy, created lineage estates, and performed ancestral rites regularly. In a word, the Sibao had been transformed into a lineage society. The extent of this transformation, that is, its consequences and limits, is the topic of the following section.

Ancestors, Genealogy, and Lineage Building

The lineage building in late imperial Sibao usually involved a shift from the villagers' immediate ancestors to early ancestors. When a genealogy was compiled, an ancestor was singled out as a founding ancestor and a genealogical connection was made between this ancestor and the villagers' immediate ancestors. The problem that thus arises is why one ancestor rather than another was selected as the founding ancestor and how the connection was made between this ancestor and later ancestors. This problem of selecting and compiling can be found in almost every Sibao descent group. But it is in the case of the Zous of Sibao that it assumed a central role and consistently haunted editors of almost every edition of the Zous' genealogies. The case of the Zous shows clearly how the compilation of genealogy was closely connected to the social and cultural processes of the period under discussion. It provides an important opportunity to look into the mentalities behind the seeming Neo-Confucian project of lineage building.

As will be shown in the sixth chapter, Zougong used to be a local patron god of some popularity in Sibao before/when he became the founding ancestor of the Zous in Wuge, Shangbao, Shuangquan, and other villages. Two temples, one in Mawu, another in Shangbao, were dedicated to him and both had been reportedly erected before the

establishment of the Ming (see Chapter VI for documentation). The early information on this god was in disarray. The preface written by Zou Bangxian mentions that the Zous came from Jiangxi and had settled in Sibao from the late Tang onward. This implies that Zougong was a man living in the late Tang. The preface of Zou Weiyun does not mention when Zougong moved to Sibao. But it nevertheless claims that Zougong had received imperial titles from the court several times and that wherever his "majestic efficacy" went he was worshipped by the people of "the four seas."[86] This implies that Zougong as a god was popular and was worshipped in many areas. A stele erected in the Zougong Temple in the mountain village of Huangshikeng, all of whose residents traced their ancestry to Zougong, gives more detailed information. It was written by a Qingliu Metropolitan Graduate Li Yujian 李于堅 (*jinshi* 1631)[87] in 1639. The inscription goes as follows:

> [I] have investigated the *Genealogy of the Zous*. The name of Lord was Yinglong 應龍. His style was Zhonggong 仲恭. Jingchu 景初 was his literary name. [He] was born in the seventh year, *renchen* 壬辰, of the Yuanhe 元和 era of the Tang (812). He was married with Lady Chen and Lady Li. His ancestors moved from Taining 太寧 [泰寧] of Shaowu [Prefecture] to Shangbao of Changting. [One of] his descendants, Ershi'ergong 二十二公, moved to Huangshi [Huangshikeng] in 1259. The Lord was intelligent in [his] childhood. He was known for his filial serving of his widowed mother. At the age of twenty-four, he ranked first in the metropolitan civil service examination (*zhuangyuan jidi* 狀元及第). [He] had been appointed to fifteen official positions.... When [he] was a full seventy years old, [he] requested to resign on account of old age and returned [to his native place]. He was granted the title of the Marquis of the Lu State. Five years after [his] retirement, [that is,] in the second year, *bingwu* 丙午, of the Guangqi 光啟 era (886), he died. He was

[86] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 3b.

[87] The biography of Li Yujian can be found in *QLXZ* (1947 edition) 21/5b.

granted an imperial burial in Longziwei 龍子圍 (of Shangbao) and a temple was ordered to be dedicated to him. During the eras of Shaoxing (1131-1162) and Shaoding (1228-1233) in the Song, the barbarians invaded the Central Plain 中原 and plundered Jingzhou 荊州, Xiangyang 襄陽, Hongxian 虹縣, and the Lianghuai 兩淮 region.... The Lord commanded spirit soldiers to destroy them and the bandits were exterminated. [He] was bestowed the title of the Saintly Prince of Manifested Benevolence, Expressed Brightness, Majestic Relief, and Broad Protection 昭仁顯烈威濟廣佑聖王 and Lady Chen and Lady Li were bestowed the titles of the Ladies of Sincerity and Benevolence 孚惠夫人.[88] 粵考鄒氏家譜公諱應龍字仲恭景初其號也生於唐元和七年壬辰娶陳氏李氏其先自邵武太寧遷於長汀上保其裔即二十二公於宋開慶元年遷於黃石者也公幼穎異事孀母以孝聞年二十四登狀元及第歷官十五任... 因年滿七十告老而歸休焉封為魯國侯林遊五載而終於光啟二年丙午敕葬於龍子圍賜廟祀焉及宋紹興紹定間虜犯中原掠荊襄虹縣及兩淮... 公以神兵剿之寇繇是戢遂追贈為昭仁顯烈威濟廣佑聖王陳氏李氏為孚惠夫人

The stele claims explicitly that Zougong was Zou Yinglong, styled Zhonggong, with the literary name Jingchu and that he was a *zhuangyuan* of the mid-Tang. It mentions that Zougong's ancestors moved to Shangbao from Taining County in northwestern Fujian, which implies that Zougong himself was born in Shangbao. It also tells us that imperial titles were granted to Zougong and his wives because after his death he displayed divine efficacy to intervene in human affairs by defending the weak Southern Song from "barbarian" invasion of the Jin. Li Yujian claims that this information was drawn from the genealogy of the Zous of Huangshikeng. This is not surprising for he appeared to be acquainted with a member of the Zous called Zou Hui 鄒徽, a Government Student, who actually solicited a preface from him in 1652 when the second edition of the *Zou Family*

[88] The Record of the Zougong Temple (Stone inscription, 1639, Zougong Temple, Huangshikeng).

Genealogy of this village was in preparation.[89] Of course, the information in the genealogy may have been drawn from oral tradition. What surprises me is that the dates were explicitly given in the inscription. This may imply that before the information was given to Li Yujian it may have been manipulated by certain gentry who had some knowledge of history. Anyway, the account given in the inscription was the first systematic effort to document Zougong's life history.

In the early Qing, the image of Zougong did not experience dramatic change in Wuge. The genealogy of the Upper Shrine branch was updated in 1706. In the preface of Zou Zhengguo, he claims that "the name of our founding ancestor, Lord Zou, is Yinglong, styled Zhonggong, with the literary name of Jingchu. He moved from Liangtian 良田, Shaxian 沙縣, to the Zou Family Mountain of Shangbao. Since our ancestor did meritorious services to help the state at the time of rebellious barbarians' invasions in the late Tang, from the Tang throughout the Song, [he] received successive titles. A magnificent temple was dedicated to him and offerings [were made to him]. They will last for a thousand years" 始祖鄒公諱應龍字仲恭號景初原自良田沙縣遷居於上保之鄒家山因唐季逆虜侵疆我祖助國有功歷唐迄宋疊受榮封皇皇廟食照耀千古.[90] Compared with the version given by Li Yujian, this preface claims that Zougong moved from Liangtian, which is an unknown place, rather than Taining. Another difference is that in this account Zougong expressed divine efficacy by defending Chinese boundaries and began to receive imperial titles from the late Tang onward rather than from the early Southern Song. The preface is also different from the version of Li Yujian in that it does not mention the episode of Zougong's success in the civil service examination. In view of these differences, Zou Zhengguo does not seem to have known Li Yujian's essay.

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[89] *Gucheng Zoushi zupu* 穀城鄒氏族譜 (1992 edition, Huangshikeng), 1/2a-2b.

[90] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 13a-13b.

However, in the late Ming or the early Qing, some members of the gentry of Shuangquan began to make a connection between Zougong and Zou Yinglong of Taining. Zou Yinglong (1173-1245) was a native son of Taining County, Shaowu Prefecture. He ranked first in the metropolitan civil service examination of 1196. He had been appointed to several important positions before his retirement.[91] The first member of the Shuangquan gentry who made this connection was Zou Zhili 鄒志禮, a Government Student of the seventeenth generation. In the preface he wrote for the Shuangquan genealogy, he claims that "our lineage is probably the descendants of Lord Jingchu of Shaowu. [Lord Jingchu] retired from a meritorious Song official position to be a commoner. His sons, Balang and his brothers, moved from Taining to Sibao" 吾宗蓋自邵武景初公之後也以宋勛臣葛巾投老其嗣八郎公兄弟者由泰寧而遷居四堡.[92] Another preface written by Zou Bin 鄒彬, a Government Student of the eighteenth generation, also reports that "our lineage had its origin in Fanyang.[93] It segmented from Taining of Shaowu only in the late Song. It has long history and is the most prosperous [lineage]" 余宗肇自范陽於宋季始由邵武泰寧而分歷世久遠最為蕃昌.[94]

In the year 1676, when the Zous of Shuangquan began to update their genealogy, Zou Dinghuang 鄒鼎璜 wrote two essays to clarify the life of Zougong. Dinghuang (1645-?), usually known for his literary name Wei'an 渭庵, was a prefectural Government Student of the eighteenth generation. He seemed to have been born in a family of some standing. Both his grandfather and father had been invited to attend the community wine drinking ceremony performed in Tingzhou city. After he became a

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[91] The biography of Zou Yinglong can be found in Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 12550-12551.

[92] *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, "Yuan xu" 原序, 2a.

[93] Fanyang is the *junwang* 郡望 (choronym) of the Zous.

[94] *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, "Yuan xu," 3a.

Government Student, Dinghuang was not able to pass the provincial civil service examination. He probably spent the rest of his life in his native village. His biography tells us that he often provided financial support to his poor fellow villagers and the orphaned children. He was interested in lineage affairs. He was reportedly involved in the management of the lineage estate, the renewing of the ancestral hall, and the compilation of the genealogy of his lineage. He also drew up some community regulations (*xianggui* 鄉規), attempting to eliminate evil customs. His biography even suggests implicitly that he was involved in the 1684 Wuge-Shuangquan feud.[95] In a word, he was a member of the gentry with a relatively strong localist orientation. Dinghuang's two essays are collected in the *Zou Family Genealogy* (Shuangquan). In the first essay, "An Evidential Study of Lord Jingchu," he explains why he wanted to write the two essays:

> Once I examined the fragments of texts on [my] bookshelf, and [I] found the gazetteer of this prefecture.[96] I picked up the book and read it. [It] records that our earliest ancestor (*bizu* 鼻祖), Lord Jingchu, was a Metropolitan Graduate in the Yuanhe era of the Tang. It relates that he was upright in his life and helped the country after his death and was thus granted imperial titles. I have read the *Veritable Record of Tang Xianzong* (Tang Xianzong shilu 唐憲宗實錄). There were only scholars attended the civil service examination, but was there ever the title of *zhuangyuan*? And was there ever a man known as Yingling? Actually, our ancestor was a man in the Qingyuan era (1195-1200) of the Song. [He] ranked first in the palace exams (*dianshi* 殿試) and was appointed to

[95] *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, "Zengwen" 贈文, 30b-31a. The feud was due to an irrigation dispute. In the year 1684, the Zous of Shuangquan tried to construct a weir, called Sanyuan gubei 三元古陂, across the stream on the border of Shuangquan and Wuge. The Zous of Wuge intervened, probably on the ground that their share of the water would be affected by this construction. The feud that followed resulted in three persons killed and many more wounded. See *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, "Zengwen," 35b-36a.

[96] This is probably the 1637 edition of *Tingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, since the information discussed here cannot be found in the 1527 edition.

several important positions and frequently participated in [the making of] great policy (*lü xiu dazheng* 屢修大政). After retirement, Lizong (reigned 1225-1264) wrote two characters "the Southern Valley" (Nangu 南谷) and granted this [to him] and bestowed [on him] the title of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent (*taizi shaobao* 太子少保). [He was] granted the posthumous title "*wenjing*" 文靖 (Cultured and Tranquil). [This was] clearly written in the historical records and can be verified. In addition, Qingyuan is the name of the first year of Song Ningzong (reigned 1195-1224). From Qingyuan back to Yuanhe, [one proceeded] from the Tang to the Five Dynasties, and from the Northern Song to the age that followed the dynasty's crossing [the Yangzi River] to the South and further to the reign of Ningzong. [The interval lasted] several tens of generations and over three hundred years. [They are] as far apart as the sky and sea.[97] 忽檢架上殘篇得本府志書取而觀之載吾鼻祖景初公為唐元和進士書其生平正直卒後助國得以敕封予閱唐憲宗實錄只有策試制舉之士何嘗有狀元名色又何嘗有應龍其人不知吾祖乃宋慶元時人也殿試第一歷任顯宦屢修大政及其解組歸田理宗御賜南谷二字贈太子少保謚文靖炳然於史可稽也況慶元乃宋寧宗元年號由慶元而上溯元和歷唐五代由北宋而下至南渡以及寧宗凡數十代閱三百年何啻天淵

In his second essay, "The Biographical Facts of Lord Jingchu," Dinghuang provides a life history of Zou Yinglong, pretty close to the latter's biography in the *History of the Song Dynasty* (*Songshi*). But at the end of the essay, he adds that Zou Yinglong's sons, Liulang, Qilang, and Balang, "moved to the Zou Family Mountain of Sibao of Changting and settled there in order to flee from social turmoil. Liulang was the ancestor of Longzu (Dragon foot),[98] Qilang was the ancestor of Shangbao, and Balang settled in Shuangquan and was our founding ancestor" 因避亂由太寧喬遷於長汀之四堡鄒家山居焉六郎為龍足之

[97] *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, "Jingchu gong kao" 景初公考, 1a-1b.

[98] Longzu is another name of Wuge.

祖七郎為上保之祖八郎公則居雙泉鄉而為我之始祖也.[99] Zou Dinghuang's reconstruction of the genealogy of the Zous' early ancestors is noteworthy for it made an explicit connection between the Zous in Sibao and Zou Yinglong, the *zhuangyuan* of Taining. It claims clearly that Zou Yinglong was a *zhuangyuan* from Taining in the Southern Song rather than in the Tang and that Liulang, Qilang, and Balang, the first ancestors who settled in Wuge, Shangbao, and Shuangquan respectively, were his sons and that they moved from Taining to Sibao in order to "flee from social turmoil." On the other hand, Dinghuang did not mention the divine intervention of Zougong and the imperial titles granted to him, which seemed to have been relatively popular in the late Ming and early Qing Sibao. It seems that Dinghuang avoided this topic for it contradicted the "facts" he gave in his essays. Now that he equated Zougong with Zou Yinglong of Taining, it would have been anachronistic if he still talked about how Zougong provided divine intervention in the late Tang or the early Southern Song. It is unlikely that Dinghuang would make such a mistake given his knowledge of history. Another problem is how Dinghuang learned the biography of Zou Yinglong. A possible channel would have been to send a lineage member to Taining to check the genealogy of Zou Yinglong's lineage. This did happen when the Zous of Shangbao compiled their genealogy for the first time in 1794.[100] The information may have been introduced to Sibao through merchants and artisans. The silversmiths and tinsmiths of Sibao were active in northwestern Fujian. It is not impossible that they copied some texts from their supposed kinsmen in Taining.[101] We also need to remember that Dinghuang may have learned this through reading history or being told by his fellow Government Students. (Remember, too, that he even owned

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[99] *ZSZP* (1901 edition, Shengquan), *juan shou*, "Jingchu gong shishi" 景初公事實, 1a-1b.

[100] *ZSZP* (1894 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 1, "Yuan xu," 3b.

[101] An oral tradition has it that some texts of the Shangbao genealogy were copied from the genealogies of the Zous in Jiangxi by a tinsmith.

and had read a copy of the *Veritable Record of Tang Xianzong*, which was not readily found even in ordinary government libraries.)

When the Zous of Yangzibian, Shangbao, compiled their first genealogy in 1794, Zou Danyan 鄒丹嚴 of the eighteenth generation wrote an essay titled "A Preface on the Origin and Development of the Zous." Not surprisingly, he made an explicit claim that his ancestor was Zou Yingling, the Southern Song *zhuangyuan* of Taining.[102] As mentioned above, he learned this probably from the Zous of Taining for four lineage members of Shangbao were sent to Taining to check the Taining genealogy. The reconstruction of early genealogy did not stop there. In a short note written in the late Qing, a man called Sixing 斯馨 of the twenty-first generation made the following remarks:

> Our lineage moved from Taining to the Zou Family Mountain of Sibao, Tingzhou, in the early Yuan. In the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Qianlong era (1794), the genealogy [of our lineage] was first compiled. The origin and development [of our lineage] were compiled [in genealogical form] by Danyan of the eighteenth generation. [Because it was] far distant from the Yuan and it was impossible to verify [the facts], nothing was recorded of the founding ancestor, Yongfu 勇夫. Later in the Xianfeng era (1851-1861), a lineage member brought back from Nanfeng 南豐 (a county in eastern Jiangxi) the genealogy (*shixi* 世系) written by He Daomin 何道旻, the Provincial Surveillance Vice Commissioner (*anchasi fushi* 按察司副使) of Jiangxi, in the thirtieth year of the Hongwu era (1397). The time [when He Daomin wrote the text] was not distant from the Yuan. A careful and detailed analysis had been made of the deeds of every generation and [the latter provided with] indisputable proofs. However, it is not the same as in the text mentioned above (i.e., the essay

[102] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Zou shi yuanliu xu" 鄒氏源流序, 1b-2a.

written by Danyan).[103] 余族原系元初由泰寧移居汀之四堡鄒家山至國朝乾隆甲寅年其譜始修源流乃十九世丹嚴所輯去元寫遠無所稽考始祖勇夫失載后咸豐年間族人南豐攜歸譜系大明洪武三十年江西按察司副使何道旻所撰時去元未久歷代行實條分縷晰鑿鑿有據但與前篇不相昭合

Sixing thinks it wise to keep both texts in the genealogy in the hope that one of the descendants would be able to clarify the facts in these texts.

The "genealogy" mentioned in Sixing's note is actually a preface to the Taining genealogy.[104] The author of this preface, He Daomin, was a native of Taining in the early Ming. In addition to serving as a Provincial Surveillance Vice Commissioner (4a), he had been appointed to the positions of the Case Reviewer (*pingshi* 評事) of the Court of Judicial Review (*dalisi* 大理寺), Investigating Censor, Assistant Commissioner (*qianshi* 僉事) of the Guangdong Provincial Surveillance Commission, Prefect, and so forth.[105] When he wrote the preface, he held the office of the Provincial Surveillance Vice-Commissioner of Jiangxi. The preface summarizes the genealogy of Zou Yinglong. He first mentions the life of Zou Yongfu and then the success stories of Yongfu's descendants in the civil service examinations. From this he proceeds to the life of Yongfu's tenth generation descendant, Zou Yinglong. At the end of the preface, he relates that he wrote this preface at the request of Longqin 隆欽, the grandson of the grandson of Yinglong.[106] This is the main content of the version given in the Taining genealogy, which I will call version A. The version given in the Shangbao genealogy,[107] which I will call version B, is different from version A in some important ways. Firstly,

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[103] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Yuan xu," 4a.

[104] The preface can be found in the *Houfang Zou shi zupu* 厚坊鄒氏族譜 (1920 edition, Taining), *juan shou*, *xu*, 1a-4a.

[105] He Qiaoyuan, *Minshu*, 3504; *Shaowu fuzhi* 邵武府志 (1900 edition), 19/73b-74a.

[106] *Houfang Zou shi zupu*, *juan shou*, *xu*, 1a-4a.

[107] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Zou shi zupu yuan xu," 3a.

version B has the information on Zou Yinglong's wives, while version A does not. Version B mentions that Yinglong's first wife was Lady Chen and his second wife was Lady Li. Both "were granted the title of Ladies of Sincere Benevolence and Admirable Virtue." Secondly, while version A does not mention any of title of Zou Yinglong, version B has a passage introducing the imperial honors and titles Zou Yinglong received at the time of his retirement and funeral. Thirdly, while version A does not mention that any son of Zou Yinglong ever moved to Sibao, version B mentions this point. Version A only mentions that the second son of Zou Yinglong "received official recommendation and was appointed Prefect of Shaozhou 韶州 Prefecture." Version B adds a whole passage to introduce the sons of Zou Yinglong. It claims that Yinglong had four sons.

> The name of the first son, Liulang, is Shuyan 恕顏. That of the second son, Qilang, Shuzeng 恕曾, who ever held [the prestige title] Gentleman for Court Service (*chaofeng lang* 朝奉郎, 6a or 7a). That of the third son, Balang, Shusi 恕思. That of the fourth son, Jiulang, Shumeng 恕孟, *zi* Gong 恭, who was appointed Prefect of Shaozhou.... Yan, Zeng, and Si were all retired [from government positions]. Each [of them], together with their families, moved to Tingzhou, and later settled and set up houses there.[108] 長六郎諱恕顏次七郎諱恕曾仕至朝奉郎三八郎諱恕思四九郎諱恕孟一字恭任韶州知府... 顏曾思皆致仕舉室隨愿之汀州後即寓其地而家焉

Finally, while version A explains why the author wrote the preface, the passage disappears in version B. In view of the preceding comparison, it is likely that version B was composed based on version A. The manipulation of the text was meant to make a connection between the ancestors of the Zous of Sibao and Zou Yinglong, and between Zougong the god and Zou Yinglong. As a result, Zougong became Zou Yinglong, and

[108] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Zou shi zupu yuan xu," 3a.

Liulang and his brothers became the sons of Zou Yinglong. It is surprising that version B was copied from Jiangxi rather than other genealogies in Sibao for it actually provides critical support to the efforts of the Zous of Sibao to bridge the gap between their early ancestors to Zou Yinglong, or the gap between Zougong the god to Zou Yinglong.

Returning to the Zous in Wuge, we find that the earlier image of Zougong had also changed gradually in the eighteenth century. In 1764, the Upper Shrine branch and Lower Shrine branch compiled the first and only genealogy that included all of the Zous of Wuge in their history. Two prefaces were related to this edition. One of them was written by Sun Gongji 孫拱極, a Bachelor (*shujishi* 庶吉士) of the Hanlin Academy from Lianjiang 連江, Fujian. The preface mentions that the ancestor of the Zous was granted imperial titles because he "defended the country and protected the people."[109] The other preface was written by a group of the editors of the genealogy. It does not mention Zougong at all.[110] It appears that the editors of the 1764 edition of the Wuge genealogy were not aware of the important texts written by Zou Dinghuang, which is understandable provided the fact that they were not on good terms with the Zous of Shuangquan after the 1684 feud. Another genealogy edited by Zou Shengmai gave clearer information. In the preface of this genealogy, Shengmai claims that the Zous of Wuge were "the descendants of Lord Zou Yinglong. In order to flee from turmoil of the late Song, his sons, Liulang, Qilang, and Balang, moved from Taining of Shaowu to the Zou Family Mountain and settled there."[111] When the Upper Shrine updated its genealogy in 1820, the editors had already changed of the references to Zougong. In a preface written for this edition, Yu Guochen 余國琛, an official of the Ministry of War, mentions that Zougong "was appointed to the position of the Notary of the Bureau of Military Affairs (*qian shumiyuan*

[109] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 14a-14b.

[110] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 15a-15b.

[111] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 21/20a.

shi 簽樞密院事) in the Jiaxi 嘉熙 era (1237-1240). After [his] death he became a god. [He] is famous for combating calamities and preventing disasters and has been granted the title of prince."[112] Compared with the information given by Zou Zhengguo in 1706, this preface made it clear that Zougong was a high official of the Song rather then the Tang. The information given in the preface is thus closer to the actual life of Zou Yinglong.

The problem of Zougong continued to trouble the Zous of Wuge in the twentieth century. The 1947 edition of their genealogy includes an essay called "A New Evidential Study of the Origin and Development" written by Zou Wenjun 鄒文峻. In this essay, Wenjun summarizes the history of his surname and the genealogy and life of Zou Yinglong. Wenjun seemed to have checked some history books or other genealogies before he wrote the essay for the information he gave is generally accurate. What troubled him is the hagiography of Zougong, which does not, as we have seen, fit very well with the biography of Zou Yinglong. Wenjun calls into question the information given by Zou Zhengguo for the preceding reason. He seems to maintain that if Zougong had ever been a god, the divine intervention must have happened in the late Song rather than in the earlier periods.[113] It was not until in the 1990s when a lineage member with academic historical training compiled an updated genealogy, that the problem was settled temporarily, if not forever. The editor of the new genealogy, Zou Risheng, is the editor of the new *Liancheng County Gazetteer*.[114] As an outstanding local historian, he is familiar with the history of the Chinese Empire in general and the history of western Fujian in particular. He was able to pay a visit to the Zous of Taining and check their genealogy, from which he actually copied some texts into the genealogy he compiled, including the

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[112] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 17a-17b.

[113] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, 6a-8b.

[114] Zou Risheng, ed., *Liancheng xianzhi* (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1993).

important preface written by He Daomin mentioned above. He made efforts to clarify the life of Zou Yinglong and, like Zou Wenjun, calls into question the hagiography of Zougong. As one may expect, he does not cast doubt on the relationship between his ancestor, Liulang, and Zou Yinglong. On the contrary, his manipulation of the sources and events ensures that there is much less space to debate this issue.[115]

From the late Ming to the 1990s, the editors of almost every edition of the genealogies of the Zous, usually low-level gentry, took pains to document their founding ancestor and (re)compile the upper reaches of their genealogy. The connection was first made between the early ancestors and a local patron god, Zougong. Then this supposed founding ancestor, Zougong, was transformed from a patron god dating back to the late Tang, to a high official who ranked first in the civil service examination and received considerable imperial honor in the Southern Song. The question that thus arises is not whether these statements are true or false, but when and why they made such statements: the reconstructions of the life of the early ancestors given by successive generations of the Zous, whether they conformed to or were distant from "historical fact" in its ordinary sense, are themselves interesting historical facts that need to be interpreted by social historians. Apparently, the compilation and recompilation of the early genealogies are closely related to the process of the lineage building of the Zous. As I pointed out earlier, the process of lineage building involved the shift of lineage members' focus from their immediate ancestors to the distant ancestors who were the common ancestors of all lineage members. It also involved bridging the gap between the immediate ancestors and distant ancestors. The genealogy of these ancestors should be put in order and changed into written form. However, while this explains why the compilation of genealogies happened, it does not explain why the process took the form mentioned above, that is,

[115] *ZSZP* (1996 edition, Wuge), *shang bian* 上編.

why was Zougong chosen as the founding ancestor? Why was it necessary to draw a connection between Zougong and Zou Yinglong? To answer this question, we need to review local politics in Sibao from the mid-Ming through the Qing.

With the initiatives of Ma Hetu and Ma Xun, the Mas must have become a relatively powerful kinship organization in the second half of the fifteenth century, while the Zous were yet to accumulate their strength. The Mas seemed to have controlled Laijiaxu 賴家墟 market during this period or a little earlier. Ma Xun once warned his kinsmen that they should not trade forcefully and use fake silver in the market place (see above). If this implies that such actions did happen in the market place, the Zous would have been their victims for Laijiaxu market was the only market in the Sibao area at the time. In the year 1550, a land dispute happened between Zou Linmao, the father of Zou Lichong, and Ma Tianxi 馬天錫, a member of the Mas of Mawu. The case was brought to the *yamen* and this cost Linmao over eighty taels of silver.[116] Twenty-two years later, the Zous of Wuge had some trouble with their household registration allegedly due to the intervention of a member of the Mas.[117] In the Wanli era, it is reported that two persons with the names of Zou Rungou 鄒閏狗 and Zou Sangou 鄒三狗 occupied a deserted house in Mawu and were eventually driven out of the village.[118] These episodes show that unpleasant confrontations between the Mas and the Zous occurred from the mid-Ming onward, if not earlier, and that the Zous were at the disadvantage. In view of this, it is not unlikely that Zougong, an important patron god who had a close relation to Ma Xun (see Chapter VI), was chosen by the Zous as a "weapon of the weak."[119] By adopting an

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[116] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 1/6a.

[117] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 34/4a.

[118] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 16.

[119] James C. Scott, *The Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

important patron god as their founding ancestor, the Zous attempted to subvert the power of the Mas in symbolic terms.

If the adoption of Zougong into their genealogy was due to the Zous' disadvantaged position in their confrontation with the Mas, the connection made between Zougong and Zou Yingling was probably due to the relative unsuccessfulness of the Zous in the civil service examinations. After the Ming-Qing transition, the rise of the printing industry benefited not merely the Mas, but also the Zous. With the wealth accumulated from the book business and other commercial activities, the Zous, especially those of Wuge, became a prosperous and powerful descent group. In 1778, the Zous of Wuge opened a new market in their village. The market adopted the same marketing schedules as that of the Laijiaxu market (see Chapter VI). Obviously, this was a revolt not only against the Mas' monopoly over the Laijiaxu market, but also the latter's authority in local society. The rivalry of the Zous and the Mas continued into the late Qing and culminated in a series of feuds in the Daoguang era (1821-1850), 1900, 1938, and even 1963.[120] While the Zous managed to become a relatively strong descent group in the Qing period, they were only able to produce some *juren* (most of them military *juren*) and none of them became *jinshi* (see Table 4.2). In view of this fact, the importance of the connection made between Zougong and Zou Yinglong is revealed. It was an important social strategy for the Zous who were struggling not only to contest the power of the Mas but also to build their own power base in Sibao.

The case of the Zous provides us with rich information on the meanings of lineage building and genealogy compilation in the late imperial and modern Sibao. The process of lineage building involved not only the establishment of ancestral halls and the

[120] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 3 *ji*, 61-62; 4 *ji*, 80; 5 *ji*, 130-131, 141, 204-205; Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 314. All of the feuds were triggered by acts of destruction and/or the protection of the geomancy of the grave of one of the most important ancestors of the Mas, Qianwulang (G6), which is located at a strategic point between Wuge and Mawu.

putting-aside of common property, it also involved the search for founding ancestors and "a shrewd interweaving of genealogical principles and literati culture to create, maintain, and transform local political and economic environments."[121] The case of the Zous shows that the compilation of genealogies was an indispensable aspect of lineage building. What is more, it became an important social and cultural strategy in the contest over local control and the pursuit of authority.

Table 4.2 Degree and Title Holders and Officials of the Mas and the Zous in Sibao[122]
[M=Ma; Z=Zou]

Period/ Era	*Jinshi* M/Z	*Juren* M/Z	*Wuju* M/Z	*Gongsheng* M/Z	*Liyuan* M/Z	*Lishi* M/Z	*Fengzeng* M/Z	Total M/Z
Ming	1/0	1/0	0/0	9/0	1/4	0/0	2/0	13/4
Shunzhi	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0
Kangxi	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1
Qianlong	0/0	3/0	1/12	3/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	9/12
Jiaqing	0/0	0/0	0/2	3/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	3/3
Xianfeng	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0
Tongzhi	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/1
Guangxu	0/0	0/1	0/2	3/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	3/3
Unknown	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	0/0	3/0
Total	1/0	4/1	1/16	25/3	2/4	1/0	4/0	37/24

Source: *CTXZ* (1940 edition), 14/3a-16b.

Note: *Lishi* 例仕: official by purchase.

Lineage, Gentry, and Local Society

[121] Liu Zhiwei, "Lineage on the Sands: The Case of Shawan," in David Faure and Helen F. Siu, eds., *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China*, 42.

[122] Careful readers may notice that the amounts of degree-and-title holders in this table are sometimes different from those in Table 2.2. These discrepancies are due to two factors. Firstly, Table 2.2 counts the amounts of degree-and-title holders among the Lower Shrine of the Zous, while Table 4.2 counts those of the Zous of Wuge as a whole. Secondly, Table 2.2 is based on the genealogy of the Lower Shrine Zous, while Table 4.2 is based on the *Changting County Gazetteer*.

Ancestral Rites

In his stimulating book, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, Zheng Zhenman shows how late imperial Fujian society was transformed from the perspective of lineage building. According to him, the transformation of Fujian society can be observed in at least three aspects: descent-line ideology, social control, and property relations. Firstly, lineage building is a process whereby Neo-Confucian ideology, especially the ethics of the descent-line, was popularized, popularized in the sense that lineage ideology, originally prescribed for elites only, now permeated the whole society. Secondly, the localized lineage developed in a period when state-society relations were being transformed. Due to fiscal and administrative problems, it became more and more difficult for the late imperial state to exert effective control over society. The development of the lineage was one result of the growing autonomy of local society that followed. Finally, the process of lineage building was followed by the corporatization of property relations. By ways of donation and special arrangements at the time of family division, more and more property was turned into corporately owned lineage property.[123] These observations provide the basic frameworks for studying the complicated relations between gentry, state, lineage formation, and local society. Since Zheng has provided detailed analysis of these problems, I will not repeat them here. Instead, I am going to focus my discussion on the following two problems that have not been given sufficient attention: the rituals introduced by lineage building and the implications of the corporatization of lineage property.

When they had ancestral halls erected for their ancestors, Ma Hetu and Ma Xun not only enshrined the tablets of their ancestors in the hall, but also introduced a series of

[123] Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, Chapter 5.

ancestral rites. The lineage regulations drafted by Ma Xun had mentioned how the ancestral rites should be performed and who could participate. Later, the descendants of Ma Xun systematized the ancestral rites and set up what they called the "Sacrificial Rites of the Ancestral Hall" (*zongci sidian* 宗祠祀典). They attempted to regulate everything related to the ancestral hall, from the maintenance of the hall to the management of corporate property, from the installation of the tablets to the procedures of the ancestral rites. I will introduce the latter here.

According to the "Sacrificial Rites," the rites of sacrifice should be performed in the hall five times a year: on Yuandan 元旦 (the lunar New Year's Day), Qingming, the first day of the eighth month, the winter solstice, and Chuxi 除夕 (the lunar New Year's Eve). Among them the rite performed on Qingming was the most important. Ten days before Qingming, the lineage branch on duty, that is, the branch that was in charge of taking care of the hall, put up a notice declaring the schedule of the ancestral rite. It invited the elders who were over sixty years old and the head of every branch to participate in the rite. It also appointed the chief sacrifier, assistant sacrifiers, and other participants with roles in the performing of the rite, including probably *lisheng*, in advance. On the day before Qingming, the branch on duty cleaned the hall and slaughtered the sacrificial animals there after burning incense. At mid-night on Qingming, the branch on duty hired someone to notify every branch of the schedule by beating a gong. This was repeated one hour later. Upon hearing the gongs, the descendants of every branch got up and went to the hall in full attire. The rites of sacrifice were performed between 1:00-3:00 am (*choushi* 丑時) to the accompaniment of music. This timing was reportedly set by Ma Xun, who arranged the time according to his rank in the bureaucratic hierarchy.[124] This done, the sacrificial pork was portioned out to all of

[124] Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 320.

the participants. All of those who played an important part in the rite should be students and scholars, except for musicians, cooks, the persons in charge of laying out the offerings, and the persons in charge of watching over the rites (*jiuyi* 糾儀). Only when there were not sufficient students and scholars could the virtuous lineage members who were neither students nor scholars be invited to perform the rite. At noon, the lineage members set out to perform the rite of grave sweeping at the graves of the early ancestors. The rites performed on the first day of the eighth month and winter solstice were more or less similar to that of Qingming. The rite of Chuxi was performed by the branch on duty only. After the rite finished, over ten members selected from the branch stayed in the hall until the next morning, which was called "seeing the old year out and the new year in" (*shousui* 守歲). The next day, the lunar New Year's Day, the descendants of the branch on duty went to the hall to turn over their duties to the next branch. At about 7:00 am, they performed the rites of sacrifice. The members of other branches went to pay respect to the ancestors thereafter and tea was offered to them. The hall was closed after members of every branch had come to pay their respects.[125]

The rites of sacrifice performed on Qingming were conducted by a chief sacrifier and several assistant sacrifiers under the guidance of four *lisheng*. The chief sacrifier was selected from the lineage members who were degree or title holders and lived in a household of three or more generations. The assistant sacrifiers should be degree or title holders. The rite itself was quite similar to the ritual format discussed in Chapter III. At the beginning of the rite, the chief sacrifier presented incense and lighted candles. After the drum was beaten three times and music played, the sacrifices were presented the first time. Then the sacrificial text was recited, which was followed by the second and third presentation of sacrifices. This done, the ancestors were urged to eat. The rite lasted

[125] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 12-15.

about half an hour. After the rite, the assistant sacrifier, the elders, and the holders of degrees or titles performed the Three Kowtows Ritual in front of their ancestors.[126]

In addition to the rites of sacrifice discussed above, every month on the first (*shuo* 朔) and the fifteenth day (*wang* 望), the branch on duty should clean the hall, light the oil lamp inside, burn incense, and present tea and rice to the ancestors.[127] The difference between this regular rite and the rite discussed above is clear. The former was performed by the caretakers themselves alone, while the latter was performed by the chief sacrifier under the guidance of the *lisheng*.

Ma Xun claimed that his contemporaries cared only about their deceased parents and grandparents and did not have much interest in distant ancestors. If this is to be believed, the construction of ancestral halls and the worship of distant and early ancestors introduced a new way of performing ancestral rites, for ancestor worship of this form necessitated the existence of *lisheng*, who were usually not necessary when offerings were to one's deceased parents and grandparents. Therefore, through the popularization of Neo-Confucian descent-line ethics, not only were sacrifices presented to over five generations of ancestors, but also the distinctions between elites and commoners and those between greater and lesser descent-lines were eliminated. What is more, a new way of performing rites and thus *lisheng* and their texts were introduced and added to the previous ritual corpus. Returning to the beginning of this chapter, we now understand that those texts and the rites within which those texts were used, like the ancestral halls where the rites were performed, were actually the products of the lineage building process starting from the mid-Ming on.

Land, Lineage, and Local Elite

[126] Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 320-321.

[127] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 14.

The building of a lineage was not only a process whereby a new form of ritual tradition was introduced into the countryside, but also a process during which property, especially landed property, was increasingly passed from the hands of individuals or families on to larger collectivities. This corporatization of property had a great impact on late imperial Sibao society by modifying the class structure, community relations, and the local elite's pattern of dominance.

Researchers of pre-land reform South Chinese society are often impressed by the high percentage of land owned corporately.[128] On the eve of land reform in 1951, 6,789 *mu* or over 51% percent of all arable land in the Sibao District (*qu* 區) of Liancheng County was corporate land belonging to "collectively rotated land" (*gongluntian* 公輪田), that is, the land held by lineage organizations, temples, and other local institutions. In contrast, only 1.75% belonged to twelve landlord households.[129] Most of the corporate land fell into the category of lineage estates. The situation of the Fifth District (today's Changxiao Township and Litian Township) of Qingliu County was similar (see Table 4.3). Of about twenty three thousand *mu* of arable land of this district, 46% belonged to lineage estates, and less than 9% belonged to individual landlords.

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[128] See, for example, the pioneer study of Chen Han-seng, *Landlord and Peasant in China: A Study of the Agrarian Crisis in South China* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1973 [1936]), Chapter II.

[129] See "Liancheng xian tugai zhong gequxiang moshou zhengshou qingkuang tongji biao ji fenpei yiliu fengjian caichan tongji biao" 連城縣土改中各區鄉沒收征收情況統計表及分配遺留封建財產統計表, *Liancheng xian tugai dang'an* 連城縣土改檔案 (Liancheng xian dang'anguan, 1951), 1-24, no page number. The amount of arable land in Sibao appears in "Liancheng xian quanxian hushu renkou qingkuang biao" 連城縣全縣戶數人口情況表, *Liancheng xian tugai dang'an* (Liancheng xian dang'anguan, 1951), 1-13, no page number. The high percentage of corporate land in Sibao was not exceptional in western Fujian. Statistics drawn from the report of the Fujian Peasants' Association on their investigation of two villages, one in Yongding County, the other in Yong'an County, show that corporate land amounted to 60% and 56.6% respectively of all arable land in the two villages. See Fujian sheng nongmin xiehui 福建省農民協會, ed., *Fujian sheng nongcun diaocha* 福建省農村調查 (No publishing place: Huadong junzheng weiyuanhui tudi gaige weiyuanhui, 1950), 109. See also Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, 308-309.

The high percentage of land owned corporately and the low percentage of land owned by rich landlords seems to have created trouble for the land reform cadres in the early 1950s. The cadres working in almost every village complained that due to the situation of land distribution discussed above, the villagers usually tended to imply that land reform was unnecessary since there was no landlord. Thus a report drafted on March 4, 1952, by several cadres working in Liuxi *xiang* complained that the villagers "have only a vague understanding of the landlord class and think that our village does not have any landlord. [They claim that] if there ever were any landlords, [we] would have to look for [them] in other villages, or they say that there are only 'dead landlords' (*si dizhu* 死地主)[130] and landlords who have fled away."[131] Another group of cadres working in Litian *xiang* made the same complaint. They point out that since much of the land (over 55%) belonged to the "land of ancestors" (*zugong tian* 祖公田) while living landlords owned only a little land, "the class relations are not clear. The villagers' understanding of class was thus "relatively vague." They "hate local bosses and [their] henchmen, but do not show hatred towards the landlord class, and think that those who have been involved in the activities of local bosses are landlords."[132]

Given the high percentage of corporate land in Sibao, it is not surprising that there was also a high tenancy rate. On the eve of land reform, a total of 7,787 *mu* of land was rented out, either by individual landlords or by corporate organizations. Middle and poor peasants rented 2,794.72 *mu* and 4,732.26 *mu* respectively. In other words, 83.98% of the Sibao population (29.8% of middle peasants and 54.18% of poor peasants) rented

[130] During land reform, the term "dead landlords" meant lineage estates.

[131] "Liuxi xiang tudi gaige fang'an" 留西鄉土地改革方案, *Qingliu xian tugai dang'an*, 15-75, 5.

[132] "Quwei guanyu diyi ci tugai gongzuozu zuzhang huiyi zonghe tugai diyi jieduan diyi bu gongzuo" 區委關於第一次土改工作組組長會議綜合土改第一階段第一步工作 (March 13, 1952), *Qingliu xian tugai dang'an*, 15-66, 58b.

96.66% of the land available to them for cultivation.[133] Although the precise rate of tenancy cannot be calculated with the information we have, the rate was doubtless a high one. What is noteworthy about the high tenancy rate is that most of the tenants dealt with corporations rather than with individuals.

Table 4.3 Arable Land Owned Corporately and by Individual Landlords in the Fifth Districts of Qingliu County on the eve of Land Reform (1952)

Administrative Village	Total Arable Land [*mu*]	Landlord-Owned Land [*mu*]	Percentage of All Land	Lineage Estates [*mu*]	Percentage of All Land
Liliao 李廖	2,545.85	452.72	17.78	885.20	34.77
Liuxi 留茜	2,536.25	103.95	4.10	524.04	20.66
Tianping 田坪	2,235.59	304.52	13.62	841.52	37.64
Shahe 沙河	2,319.13	410.49	17.70	1,686.75	72.73
Litian	4,690.50	253.00	5.39	2,586.00	55.13
Changxiao	3,323.70	174.24	5.24	1,779.48	53.54
Jiangfang	2,869.58	233.98	8.15	1,060.24	36.95
Huangshikeng	2,397.47	37.71	1.57	1,190.33	49.65
Total	22,918.07	1,970.61	8.60	10,553.56	46.05

Source: "Diwu qu gexiang youguan tugai chengguo tongji biao" 第五區各鄉有關土改成果統計表, *Qingliu xian tugai dang'an* 清流縣土改檔案 (Qingliu xian dang'an guan, 1952), 15-67, no page number.

Notes: (a) The figures given here include land in other villages owned by individuals and/or corporate groups of the village concerned. On the other hand, the land in the village concerned owned by individuals and/or corporate groups of other villages is not included in these figures.

(b) The figures for lineage estates given here include a little "reserved land" (*jidong tian* 機動田), that is, the land set aside for specific purposes such as the maintenance of bridges and irrigation works.

[133] "Liancheng xian tugai zhong gequxiang ge jieceng zhanyou tudi qingkuang tongji biao" 連城縣土改中各區鄉各階層佔有土地情況統計表, *Liancheng xian tugai dang'an* (Liancheng xian dang'anguan, 1951), 1-29, no page number.

The high percentage of corporate land was the result of social and economic transformations Sibao experienced in the Ming and Qing period. It is, firstly, the result of the rise of the handicraft industry and commercial activities, especially the printing industry, which provided the necessary capital to purchase land. More importantly, it is closely related to lineage building. The ancestral rites performed regularly at ancestral halls and graves necessitated the gathering of collective reserve funds that the members of the lineage or branch could draw upon at the time of performing rites. Thus from the late Ming onward, if not earlier, the setting aside of some property to serve this function became a custom in Sibao.[134] The percentage of property set aside out of the total property involved could be fairly high, sometimes over seventy percent (see Table 4.4).[135] The property was used for a variety of purposes but its basic function was to serve as a collective reserve fund for the performance of ancestral rites. Finally, rent resistance, which regularly recurred in Tingzhou, may also have contributed to the high percentage of corporate land. A group would be better able to deal with rebellious tenants than an individual. Thus the following evidence from Wuge explains that,

> During the turbulent years of the late Ming, Lord Ming (e.g., Zou Maoming 鄒茂明) and Lord Heng (e.g., Zou Maoheng 鄒茂亨) went through hardships and difficulties in their conducting of commercial activities and made considerable profits several times. They then purchased land in Ninghua and Qingliu and the rent [of all the land] amounted to over three thousand *dan* 石 [of rice].... Considering that the land was distant and the tenants obstinate (*wangen* 玩梗) and that it

[134] When Zou Ximeng's property was divided, a large amount of land was set aside for collective purposes. See *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 36/1b-12a.

[135] The high percentage is not surprising. For similar custom in northern Fujian, see Zheng Zhenman, "Qing zhi Minguo Minbei liujian fenguan de fenxi" 清至民國閩北六件分關的分析, *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* (1984) 3, 32-36.

would be difficult to collect the rent, the Lords did not divide the rent.[136]
明公與亨公當明季之亂歷險同商數獲重貲乃於寧清二邑合置田產會計收租參百石有奇...公念田莊遙遠佃戶玩梗難以收租所以田租兩未分析

During the Ming-Qing transition, Ninghua and Qingliu, where the land of the Zou brothers lay, was a center of rent resistance.[137] Apparently, if the land had been divided, it would have been impossible to collect the rent at all. Thus the existence of rent resistance encouraged land properties to be kept undivided. The corporatization of land happened gradually, in a snowball effect. At the beginning, the amount was negligible. Gradually, it accumulated and increased until in the end a high percentage of land became the corporately owned land (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.4 Percentage of Property Set-Aside in the Total Property as Shown in Five Sibao *Fen'guan*

Fen'guan No.	Date	Total Property (A)	Property Set-Aside (B)	B/A
1	1773	358 *sheng* 升	61 *sheng*	17%
2	1839	196 *sheng*	93 *sheng*	47%
3	1839	68 *dan* 石	48 *dan*	71%
4	1895	110 *dan*	69 *dan*	63%
5	1897	99 *dan*	72 *dan*	73%

Source: Five *fen'guan* (contracts of family division) collected in Wuge and Mawu.

Note: "*Sheng*" as a measurement unit is used here to measure the amount of tax payment on a plot of land before it was converted to silver. "*Dan*" as a measure unit, on the other hand, is used here to measure the amount of rent paid on a plot of land.

[136] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 22/4a-4b.

[137] Fu Yiling, "Ming mo Qing chu Min Gan piling diqu de shehui jingji yu diannong kangzu fengchao;" Liu Yonghua, "Shiqi zhi shiba shiji Minxi diannong de kangzu, nongcun shehui yu xiangmin wenhua."

How, then, did the corporatization of landed property affect the condition of peasants in Sibao? Firstly, because of the power of the two large lineages, it would have been very difficult for tenants to launch any kind of collective action such as rent resistance even if they had wanted to do so. But it is not unlikely that many peasants did not want to, for, more importantly, as members of the lineage, they were given the first opportunities to rent from the lineage estates, and thus were able to benefit from the low rental rates of these estates. For it appears that the rent for lineage estates was lower than that for private land. While rent for private land was usually fifty percent or more of the annual output of the land, for corporate estates, rent was usually thirty percent or less of the annual output. Zou Guangjin, a retired teacher of Wuge who rented five *mu* of lineage-estate land before 1949, claims that the standard rental rate paid by kinsmen-tenants for lineage land was thirty percent of the annual harvest. Zou Hengshan, a Wuge peasant who rented a little more than five *mu*, also maintains that the rent for kinsmen was very low; he paid only thirty percent of the harvest to his branch. Rent might be even lower. Consider the case of Ma Xuyu, a Mawu villager who rented land from two different lineage estates: The first plot, of nine *tiao* 挑, rented for 2.2 *tiao* of rice per year; the second plot, of twelve *tiao*, rented for 6 *tiao* a year. If the annual output for each *tiao* of land was 1.6 *tiao* of rice (the average output of middle-grade land), then the rental rate for the first plot was a very low fifteen percent, and the rate for the second plot was thirty-one percent. Zou Hengfu, a Wuge villager who regularly rented about fifty *tiao* of land from a lineage estate, states that the rental rate for corporate land was usually three *mu* for each *tiao* of land. According to his estimate, the average annual output for one *mu* of land was about four hundred catties of rice. If the price of one hundred catties was three silver dollars, if one silver dollar equaled eighteen *mu*, and finally if one *mu* of land was the equivalent of four *tiao* of land, then the rent, remarkably, was less than ten

percent of the annual output. Zou Jinfu of Wuge supports this account, giving the normal rental rate for lineage land as ten percent of the harvest.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that peasants were quite eager to rent lineage land. Ma Jiashu, a retired teacher of Mawu, reports that his father told him, "it is more profitable to rent from the lineage estate than to cultivate one's own land, because tenants do not have to pay taxes on the land they rent. Once one is able to rent some plots of the lineage estate, one should never give up the tenancy rights to other people." Indeed, because of the low rental rates, some villagers preferred to rent out their own land and, at the same time, rent lineage land for cultivation. Zou Risheng's family, for example, rented out eighty to ninety *tiao* of its 120 to 130 *tiao* of land, while cultivating several plots rented from the lineage estate.

Table 4.5 Lineage Estates of the Lower Shrine of the Zou Lineage, Wuge

Period	Area (in *mu*)	Period	Area (in *mu*)
1573-1597	17.45	1748-1772	20.16
1598-1622	-	1773-1797	4.74
1623-1647	111.21	1798-1822	5.81
1648-1672	49.64	1823-1847	-
1679-1697	18.43	1848-1872	1.74
1698-1722	42.59	1873-1897	3.47
1723-1747	58.15	Total	333.39

Source: *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 22/1a-60b.

Note: The *Zou Genealogy* of the Lower Shrine, Wuge, lists over 720 plots of land, of which only about 330 plots have precise information about location, acreage, and date of purchase. The figures given here are based on these 330 plots of land.

Furthermore, during times of crop failure or drought, the rent on lineage-estate land would almost certainly be reduced. As Zou Guangjin notes, "if there was a bad harvest, the kinsmen-tenants could pay less rent, because the managers of the lineage

estates were generous." Here clearly the lineage context worked to the advantage of the tenants; Zou Hengshen explains, "Whenever there was a crop failure, everyone would discuss how much the rent should be reduced, because they were all descendants of the same ancestor. They were all brothers."

The low rent rate of corporate land should not surprise us. The relative advantages those who rented lineage land enjoyed in Sibao was not unique to south China. In Nanching [Nanjing], a village close to Canton, C. K. Yang tells us, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Wong clan possessed a sizable amount of clan land. At that time, "the clan demanded no deposit from the tenant, the rent of the clan land was less than 10 per cent of the yield, and the right of renting the clan land was shared equally among all males of the clan." Yang goes on to tell us that this system was still in effect in 1949 in Po Tsun [Baocun], a neighboring village about four miles from Nanching [Nanjing]. There, the collective land of the Wu clan comprised about one-half of that village's total cultivated area, and each male descendant was entitled to rent 1.5 *mu* of land from the lineage corporate land at the nominal annual rent of 40 catties of unhusked rice per *mu*, "the equivalent of about 7 per cent of the average yield of the irrigated fields there."[138] When reading this passage, we should keep in mind that the rent on private land was usually 40 to 50 per cent of the yield.[139] Similarly, in Luts'un [Lucun], Yunnan, Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang found that a substantial amount of land (27 percent of all land owned by members of the village) was owned by social groups such as clans, clubs, and temples. According to them, the "tenants of clan lands are in a particularly fortunate situation, for, insomuch as they are members of the owning group, it is virtually impossible to alienate them from their farms." The poorer households "have a traditional

[138] C. K. Yang, *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1959), 47.

[139] C. K. Yang, *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition*, 49.

right of occupancy" and, though they are theoretically bound to pay the fees fixed for that privilege, the manager of clan land would have difficulty in dispossessing them for delinquency in payment or for any other reasons. His freedom of action was "limited both by the sanctity of kinship ties and by his fear that incurring the hostility of members of his clan will result in the loss of his job."[140]

I would not want to exaggerate the benefits of corporate land for the peasants. Not all kinsmen had equal access to the rental of this land; a few informants did complain that "lineage land was hard to rent," doubtless because of the attractiveness of the low rental rates and long-term tenancy described above. It is likely that, particularly in the absence of benevolent lineage leadership, poorer branches of the lineage might not be able to enjoy the advantages of rental from lineage estates. And unscrupulous estate managers apparently did from time to time exact fees from some of the lineage tenants.

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[140] Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, *Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 78. It should be noted that not all scholars have made the same observations. Zhang Youyi 章有義 and Tian Jiongquan 田炯權, for example, maintain that there was no difference between lineage land and charitable land and private land as far as their tenancy was concerned. Tian even discusses general landlordism through analyzing charitable land. See Zhang Youyi, *Jindai Huizhou zudian guanxi anli yanjiu* 近代徽州租佃關係案例研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1988), 316-318; Tian Jiongquan, *Zhongguo jindai shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國近代社會經濟史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 7 and *passim*. One explanation of this difference is probably to regard it as the result of regional variation on corporate land management. For while Yang and Fei study Guangdong and Yunnan, Zhang and Tian study Hunan and Jiangnan (including Huizhou). The latter regions could have been influenced by the mode of management of Fan's charitable estate, which used to rent out the estate to non-kinsmen (On the management of Fan's charitable land, see Denis Twitchett, "The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate, 1050-1760," in David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds., *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 111-112). But even in some parts of Anhui, when the lineage land was rented to its members, they had the same advantages as their counterparts in Fujian, Guangdong, and Yunnan. According to an investigation done in Anhui in the early 1950s, much lineage land which was called *gongtang* 公堂 was found there. "The origin of these lineage lands was all the land for supporting the aged (*yanglaodi* 養老地), which was set aside when the ancestral brothers divided their families and [this land] could become corporate land managed by these brothers respectively and used to [fund] ancestral sacrifice after their parents died...[The ownership of] these lineage lands is more scattered and its rent is lower. In addition to annual ancestral sacrifice, its income is also used to fund the rites of greeting ancestors on the fifteenth day of each lunar month and on New Year's day." See Huadong junzheng weiyuanhui tudi gaige weiyuanhui 華東軍政委員會土地改革委員會, ed., *Anhui sheng nongcun diaocha* 安徽省農村調查 (No publishing place, 1952), 188.

Finally, economic dependency on the lineage often entailed acceptance of the social and moral authority of the lineage branch leaders as well; both the Zou and Ma lineage leaders had the power to reprimand and even to evict members who violated the family rules from the lineage village.

Thus far I have described the conditions under which lineage members rented lineage land, but there is also evidence revealing that it was advantageous for non-lineage members to rent lineage land as well. In a report on Minxi lineage estates in the 1940s, the author Zhong Qisheng 鍾其生 explains that in those cases in which land was rented to non-lineage members, the terms of tenancy could be either fixed or unfixed, including the possibility of permanent tenancy.

> As for an unfixed tenancy agreement, though it could be terminated at any time, tenants rarely canceled the arrangement because the rent in such cases was usually relatively low. Moreover, because the land was owned collectively by the lineage, it was not managed as closely as privately owned land was; as long as the tenant did not get behind in his rent payments, it was easy to extend the term of tenancy.[141]

Although interview evidence from Sibao does not describe precisely this difference between non-lineage members' rental of lineage land and their rental from private landlords, it does nonetheless suggest circumstances like those summarized by Zhong. Zou Hengshan, for example, explained that because lineage land was public, the rent rate for both lineage members and non-lineage members was open to negotiation; when rent payments were due, the amount of rent could be discussed in each case by the rent collector and tenants.

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[141] Zhong Qisheng, "Lun Fujian zongzu tudi" 論福建宗族土地, *Shehui kexue* 社会科学 (Fuzhou, 1949) 5.2, no page number.

This said, I need to point out that if such cases did exist, they were rare. Generally speaking, when the tenant was not a member of the corporation, they paid rent at the same rate for corporate land as for land owned by individuals. A difference was thus created between the beneficiaries of the corporate land and non-beneficiaries. Since almost all Sibao lineages were localized lineages, most all of the beneficiaries were fellow villagers, while the non-beneficiaries were usually members of other villages. Therefore, the corporatization of landed property led to the differentiation of villages. In this process, large localized lineages that were able to accumulate a large amount of land, such as the Mas of Mawu and the Zous of Wuge, became the dominant lineages, while the land of those small lineage villages, such as Yanwu, found its way into the hands of larger lineage communities. Take the example of Shuangquan. Statistics shows that on the eve of land reform, about 922 *mu* or 47% of all arable land of this village was owned by corporations and individuals of its neighboring villages. Most of them were so-called "dead landlords."[142]

Another implication of the preceding finding is that the corporatization of landed property had its impact on the pattern of dominance of the local elite. Since more and more land found its way into the lineage estates, the percentage of land owned by individual landholders consequently became lower and lower, until on the eve of the land reform it became very difficult to find a landlord in even the large villages. This implies that while landed property was still an important criterion for social status, many people had to look for other kinds of resources for social advancement. For example, loaning may have started to play a more important role when land was increasingly corporatized. In Sibao District of Liancheng, where twelve landlord households owned only a sum of

[142] [Zou] Chunyou, *Shuangquan cun shi*, 48.

266 *mu* of land,[143] quite a few people were able to get rich through loaning out grain and money. The most popular way of loaning was to participate in a loan society (*hui* 會). Limit of space prevents me from explaining how these societies worked.[144] Suffice it to say here that the person who borrowed from the society usually paid twenty to forty percent interest every year, which made it profitable to invest grain or money in the society. A survey from the early 1950s reports that two Wuge villagers made considerable profits from this business. One villager had participated in ten "grain societies" (*guhui* 穀會). Altogether he had invested one hundred *dan* of grain in those societies. The annual interest he received amounted to forty *dan* of grain (an annual interest rate of 40%). The other villager invested forty *dan* of grain. He received twelve *dan* of grain in interest on his investment. Although most investors may not have been able to invest as much grain as the first person, the number of persons involved in loan societies was strikingly high. The survey reports that over ninety percent of residents of Sibao District were involved in these societies. About 182 households had borrowed over fifty *dan* of grain from the societies. The survey also mentioned that the investors included individual investors such as "landlords," "local bosses," "rich peasants," and "those who managed lineage estates" and institutional investors such as lineage estates, god worshipping societies (*shenhui* 神會), a Christian church, the Society of Forestry Industries (*linyehui* 林葉會), and so forth.[145] As an institution that was so deeply

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[143] "Liancheng xian Sibao qu ge jieceng tugai qian tudi zhanyou ji shiyong jiben qingkuang tongji biao" 連城縣四堡區各階層土改前土地佔有及使用基本情況統計表, *Liancheng tugai dang'an* (1951), 1-29, no page number.

[144] Those who have an interest in this subject may refer to Maurice Freedman, "The Handling of Money: A Note on the Background to the Economic Sophistication of Overseas Chinese," in G. W. Skinner, ed., *The Study of Chinese Society: Essays by Maurice Freedman* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 22-26.

[145] "Sibao qu Wuge zhongdian xiang huigu qingkuang diaocha cailiao" 四堡區霧閣重點鄉會穀情況調查材料 (August 30, 1953), *Liancheng tugai dang'an*, 74-3, no page number.

embedded in the rural life of Sibao, it would be hard to believe that it did not provide an important means for social dominance.

Finally, we need to remember that the corporatizaton of land itself had produced a new means of dominance. It necessitated the role of managers of lineage estates. Since an ancestral hall was usually called a "public hall" (*gongtang* 公堂), the managers of lineage estates were called "the managers of public halls" (*guan gongtang de* 管公堂的). Not all lineage estates needed managers. Only lineage estates that owned a large amount of land needed them. A survey conducted in 1952 reports that two forms of management of linage estates existed in Liukeng, Chitugang, and Xikeng prior to land reform. Large estates were managed by "landlords" and "big households" (*dahu* 大戶). They collected rents from tenants. Small estates did not need managers. They were rotated among the beneficiaries of the estates, who could either cultivate the land or leased the land to other people.[146] One of the lineage estate managers was classified as a "landlord" in the land reform. It is reported that he had twenty *mu* of land (including the corporate land he had allegedly "dominated").[147] In Litian, where "landlords did not own large amounts of land," it is reported that the large lineage estates were controlled by the "landlord class."[148] But no information is given on the economic situation of these landlords. In Changxiao, the manager of the village's largest lineage estate was a man called Li Tongfang 李桐芳. On the eve of the land reform, he lived with his wife, two sons and their wives. His first son was a doctor, while his second son was a schoolboy at the time. He owned about 21 *mu* of land and was entitled to receive the rent of about 14 *mu* of corporate land when it was his turn (the frequency of rotation is not given in the data). He

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[146] "Liuxi xiang gongzuozu disi ci gongzuo huibao" 留茜鄉工作組第四次工作會報 (March 21, 1952), *Qingliu tugai dang'an*, 15-75, 25.

[147] "Liuxi xiang tudi gaige fang'an" 留茜鄉土地改革方案 (March 4, 1952), in Qingliu xian tugai dang'an, 15/75.

[148] "Fenquwei huiyi jilu" 分區委會議記錄 (July 18, 1951), *Qingliu tugai dang'an*, 15/66.

rented out 19 *mu* of land and farmed the remaining 1.88 *mu* of land. He received 890 kg of rice of rent from his tenants and the output of the land he farmed was about 140 kg of rice. As for the lineage estate, its annual output was 1508 kg of rice and he "paid an extremely small amount of grain rent." Besides, Li Tongfang also "practiced usury." On a loan of over 10 *dan* of grain, he could receive 6 *dan* of interest annually. Prior to 1947 Li was also involved in the trading of cloth, which could provide an annual profit of 40-50 *dan* of rice. The lineage estate he managed was the estate of the Lis' founding ancestor, Wulang. It amounted to over 200 *mu*.[149] Zhong Qisheng provides more detailed information on the managers and their responsibilities. According to him, since lineage estates were owned corporately, the position of manager was necessary. The position was usually occupied by lineage heads or branch heads. Alternatively, one could be appointed to this position by lineage elders. Managers could also be elected by lineage members at the time of the performance of ancestral rites. No matter who occupied the position, the incumbent was usually a member of the gentry or a wealthy individual from the lineage branch with the greatest number of members. Once having occupied the position, the incumbent would either continue to manage the estate for the rest of his life or be regularly re-appointed. The manager was "not only in charge of renting out the estate, changing tenants (*qidian* 起佃), collecting and storing rent grain, but also was routinely in charge of carrying out the task of spending the income." These responsibilities allowed a manager access to resources that were inaccessible to most of his fellow villagers. Zhong reports that "few [of the managers] could be said to have been faultless. Graft and embezzlement were widespread phenomena."[150] Most of the reports mentioned above suggest that lineage estates were managed by landlords and rich people and this may have

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[149] "Qingliu xian tudi gaige jieji chengfen pizhun dengji biao: Li Tongfang" 清流縣土地改革階級成份批准登記表: 李桐芳, *Qingliu tugai dang'an*, 15/70.

[150] Zhong Qisheng, "Lun Fujian zongzu tudi."

been the fact. For the present author, it is also important to understand that the problem involved is not merely how a landlord was appointed to the position of manager of a lineage estate, but also how the management of a lineage estate made the man a landlord. That is to say, the access to the collective resources not merely provided the manager a new means of dominance, it prepared him to be condemned as a "landlord" in the land reform movement as well.

The Legacy of Ma Xun

Before I revisited Sibao in the summer of 2001, I was told that a villager of Wuge had lodged an accusation against Zou Sheng (pseudo name), one of my most important informants. He claimed that Zou Sheng, taking advantage of his position as the chief editor of the *Zou Family Genealogy*, maltreated him by making his status in the lineage shadowy. This person is an adopted son of a descendant of Zou Shijie 鄒士節 (G15), the ninth son of Zou Ximeng. He lodged the accusation against Zou Sheng because his demand to change his entry in the genealogy from "adopted son" to "son" was refused. When I revisited Sibao, I learned that the case had "broken up" the lineage. The adopted person, together with several dozen households of his own branch, compiled a separate genealogy of his own branch. But not every household of his branch followed him. Some still had the patriline of their ancestors included in the genealogy edited by Zou Sheng. This did not surprise me. Actually, the first time I visited Sibao, a similar problem had already happened. The descendants of Zou Liheng 鄒禮衡 (G11), one of the brothers of Zou Lichong, decided to compile a genealogy of their own branch after a dispute with the branch of Zou Lichong.[151] Earlier in the 1990s, when the Zous of Wuge undertook to compile a genealogy of the whole lineage, the Lower Shrine withdrew from the project

[151] *ZSZP* (1996 edition, Wuge, Liheng Branch).

by compiling their own genealogy on the ground that the disputes within the Upper Shrine could not be settled easily.[152] As a result, the project to update the genealogy of a single descent group ended in the compilation of four separate genealogies. This result is not surprising if the history of the Zous and other descent groups of Sibao is taken into consideration. It was only an extreme expression of age-old conflicts between different branches. Indeed, ever since the Zous of Wuge began to compile genealogies in the late Ming, only once had a complete genealogy that included all of the Zous been compiled. The Mas were even worse. Throughout their history the two branches of the Upper Shrine and the Lower Shrine have never produced an overall genealogy that included both branches.

The reluctance to compile an overall genealogy was merely part of the story. What was worse, as Zou Shengmai complained below, quite a few people even regarded the compilation of genealogy as an unimportant, if not unnecessary, project.

> As one recites a poem or reads a book, he intends to learn more about other people and their ages. Thus [as] the Lord of Longmen 龍門 (i.e., Sima Qian 司馬遷) wrote the *Historical Records* (*Shiji* 史記), [it] includes thirty *Shijia* 世家 (hereditary houses), twelve *Benji* 本紀 (basic annals), and seventy *Liezhuan* 列傳 (collected biographies), which permit us to learn the ancients' surnames and given names, residences, activities, and the offices [they held] a thousand years ago. How could kinsmen of the same common root know nothing about [their] origins and development, just like a withered mulberry (*kongsang* 空桑) and a desiccated plum (*kuli* 枯李)? Therefore, Ouyang Wenzhong 歐陽文忠 (i.e., Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修) once said: "if there are descendants who know nothing about the origins and development of [their] surname and confuse the order of generations, [they] are worse even than wild beasts."

[152] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Wuge, Lower Shrine).

> In view of this, it is urgent to compile a genealogy... So I took out the genealogies and put them in order... During this project, the stupid among [our] kinsmen, preoccupied [themselves] with their immediate interests (*niu yu muqian zhi li* 狃於目前之利). They saw the [compilation of] the genealogy as a business of no urgency. [They] thought that it was useless to waste money on the carving [of the blocks of a genealogy] and placed various obstacles in the way. This kind of people are not far-sighted at all. They are in the dark when [they are] told that the genealogy is the means by which the ancestors are venerated and lineage harmonized.[153] 夫人誦詩讀書猶欲知人論世如龍門公作史記世家三十本紀十二列傳七十俾古人姓氏里居行事出處千古如見豈有一本之親上下源流昧然不知竟同空桑枯李無乃不可乎故歐陽文忠公有言子孫不知姓氏所從來以昧昭穆之序者禽獸不若也審是則譜牒之當作誠亟... 予於是亟取譜而理之... 是役也子姓中之愚者狃於目前之利視譜牒為不急之務以為妄費梓工無益多方阻撓斯人也殊無遠識與之語譜為敬祖睦族之器固茫然不解

We do not know exactly whom Shengmai blamed in this preface. But his plight seems clear. To compile and print a genealogy, a large sum of money was needed. If a lot of people did not regard this as an urgent business, nothing could be done. Shengmai may have exaggerated the troubles he confronted, but it is clear from the evidence that quite a few of his kinsmen did not care about genealogy. They only cared about their own business and were "preoccupied with the immediate interests."

This situation was not limited to genealogies. Lineage estates reveal the same picture. I have shown the unbalanced distribution of lineage estates among ancestors of the earlier generations and those of later generations in the case of the Yans. The same situation can be observed in other lineages as well. The case of the Upper Shrine branch of Wuge is illuminating. The ancestors of the first ten generations of this agnatic group received much fewer and smaller estates than some ancestors of the later generations.

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[153] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 21/19a-19b.

Thus the founding ancestor, Zougong, was dedicated 7.39 *mu* of land. Qingfu received 0.81 *mu*. His son, Dingfu, received 4.86 *mu*. Dingfu's grandson, Linmao, received 1.28 *mu*.[154] In contrast, Ximeng of the fourteenth generation had about 100 *mu*.[155] This is an extreme case. But the overall distribution of estates was more or less similar to that of the Yans. It needs to be pointed out that some distant ancestors of certain lineages did receive large amounts of land. Wulang, the founding ancestor of the Lis of Changxiao, is reported to have received an estate with over 200 *mu* of land. The early ancestors (of the first eleven generations) of the lineages in Liuxi *xiang*, also received altogether 102.50 *mu* of land, in contrast to the 160 *mu* of land dedicated to later ancestors.[156] But even this case shows that the distribution was unbalanced.

Furthermore, while not every lineage shows the same pattern of distribution of corporate land as the Zous, the majority of lineages in Sibao were considerably segmented as far as ancestral halls and lineage estates were concerned. In Wuge, no ancestral hall was dedicated to the ancestor who first settled in the village, Liulang. His tablets were placed in the hall dedicated to the seventh generation ancestor, Qingfu. And this hall was by no means the most splendid one in Wuge. Rather, the most splendid halls were the Upper Shrine Hall and the Lower Shrine Hall dedicated respectively to Qingfu and Yesheng, the ancestors who started respectively the Upper Shrine branch and the Lower Shrine branch. Within the Upper Shrine branch, to each of the eleventh generation ancestors, Lichong and Liheng, was dedicated an ancestral hall. The former was, as we have seen, erected in the late Ming, while the latter was set up in the Republican period.[157] Within the branch of Liheng, an ancestral hall was dedicated to a fourteenth

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[154] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/14b-18a.

[155] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 36/1a-13a. Thirteen plots of land are not given precise acreage.

[156] "Liuxi xiang gongzuozu di si ci gongzuo huibao."

[157] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/21b-22a.

generation ancestor, Huazhong 華中, and another to a nineteenth generation ancestor, Longchuan 龍川.[158] Similarly, within the branch of the Lower Shrine, an ancestral hall was dedicated to a seventeenth generation, Maoheng and to two ancestors of the subsequent eighteenth generation, Zhouzhen 周楨 and Mingsheng 明勝. Another hall was dedicated to a nineteenth generation ancestor, Rensheng 仁聲.[159] The similar situation could be observed regarding the distribution of corporately owned estates. I have mentioned the case of the Yans of Yanwu. This small lineage had fifteen units of corporate land. The Lower Shrine of Wuge had about thirty-three units.[160] This evidence thus shows a pattern of segmentation quite similar to that observed in the New Territories of Hong Kong.[161]

For Ma Xun, the establishment of the ancestral hall was meant to instill harmony and affection by the means of ancestral rites among kinsmen. Many people did not think this way. For a person such as Zou Xiong, the erection of a hall aimed to channel the good geomantic influences from the "dragon vein" to the descendants involved. Probably we need to point out here that the benefits may not have been meant to be shared by all the descendants involved, but only by part of them. A legend has it that the reason for the termination of the line of Zou Jun 鄒俊, one of Zou Xiong's brothers, in Wuge was that Zou Xiong had made some special arrangements to the hall, which allegedly benefited his own descendants at the expanse of those of his brothers.

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[158] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/21b, 27a-28b.

[159] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, "Maoheng gong ci tu 茂亨公祠圖," 1a-1b; "Zhouzhen gong ci tu" 周楨公祠圖, 1a-1b; "Mingsheng gong ci tu" 明勝公祠圖, 1a-1b. The ancestral hall of Mingsheng was erected in 1776. The hall of Zhouzhen was restored in 1899. No information is given when the halls of Maoheng and Rensheng were erected.

[160] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 22/1a-60b.

[161] See, for example, Jack M. Potter, *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 22-27.

Therefore, in view of genealogy, ancestral hall, and ancestral estates, lineages in Sibao showed an internal structure relatively different from what Ma Xun attempted to achieve. For him, the compilation of a genealogy and the erection of an ancestral hall were meant to hold the agnatic kinsmen together. To use the anthropological terms, their projects of lineage building emphasized the process of fusion rather than fission.[162] In contrast, if we ignore the intervention of Neo-Confucianist-oriented gentry, the actual development of lineage organizations in Sibao followed the path discussed by Maurice Freedman, namely, segmentation. The result was considerably segmented lineages that emphasized the interests of the intermediate branches involved rather than those of the whole kinship group.

If this is true, we have to explain why the lineages still existed rather than broke up, because conflicts between branches and sub-branches within these lineages encouraged their break-up. What was the mechanism that prevented them from breaking up? It is true that conflicts between branches and sub-branches were widespread in late imperial Sibao. But these were, to rephrase the words of Edward Evans-Pritchard, "balanced opposition[s]" between branches and sub-branches "from the largest to the smallest divisions."[163] When it was dealing with outside groups, a branch became a corporation and all conflicts between its sub-branches became secondary compared with threat from without. This situation is not unlike what Evans-Pritchard and Ernest Gellner observed among Nuer people and Muslim society.[164] Gellner coins the term "segmentary society" to generalize that kind of stateless society within which political power and

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[162] For the term "fusion," see Myron L. Cohen, "Agnatic Kinship in South Taiwan," *Ethnology* 8.2 (April 1969), 167-182; Rubie Watson, "The Creation of a Chinese Lineage: The Teng of Ha Tsuen, 1669-1751," *Modern Asian Studies* 16, 69-100; Rubie Watson, *Inequality among Brothers*.

[163] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 59.

[164] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Neolithic People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940); Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*; Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

authority are "fairly evenly diffused" among its segments and whose cohesion lies as much in conflicts as in co-oporation.[165] Recently Edward Davis suggests that these features are not only characteristics of segmentary society, but also those of what he calls "agrarian bureaucratic empires" that "prevailed in river valleys where a sedentary, immobilized peasantry was easily vanquished, disarmed, and subjected to a marked concentration of power and exploitations by a conquering ethnos or elite." In this kind of empire, the imposition and particularly the extension of centralizing despotism are checked by the limitations of pre-modern technology and infrastructure. As a result, "in these agrarian empires one finds 'internally well-organized self-administering and partly or wholly autonomous sub-communities' that are also highly pluralistic and centralization-resistant."[166] While whether the concept Davis proposes here can be applied to Chinese society as a whole is still open to debate, it does provide interesting insights into the development of lineages in Sibao. The creation of a lineage society in Sibao took place in the mid-Ming, when the empire had trouble in exerting its control over the rural population. The withdrawal of the empire from many public affairs encouraged the emergence of a range of social groupings, such as lineages, community compacts, and territorial organizations centering around the cult of local deities (see next chapter). Often these social groupings took the form not unlike that found in segmentary society. The strength of lineage cohesion probably lies here rather than in other places.

It is still our task to assess the impact of lineage building upon the mentalities of the holders of degrees and titles, who were expected to conform more to Neo-Confucian teachings than other social groups. But how can we know what they thought? One way is

[165] Gellner, *Muslim Society*, 37-41.

[166] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 206.

to analyze the social classifications they utilized. Lineage building was not merely a process within which society was reorganized. Seen from the viewpoint of social classification, it should also be considered a redefinition of agnate kinship. When the ritual focus shifted from immediate ancestors to early, distant ancestors, what agnatic kinship meant changed, too. It became more and more inclusive as the focus approached the founding ancestor. Did this change affect gentry in Sibao? Or, more exactly, did the gentry take seriously the more inclusive definition of agnatic kinship? A careful study of an account book collected in Sibao will provide some clues to these questions.

The account book belonged to a Wuge printing shop called Wanjuan Lou 萬卷樓 (Chamber of Ten Thousand Volumes), so let us call it the *Account Book of Wanjuan Lou*. From the preface we know that the account book was produced in 1822. It recorded the land the owners of the account book purchased from 1776 through 1843. The man who kept the accounts was Zou Ming 鄒明 of Wuge. Zou Ming (1732-1819) was a twenty-second generation member of the Lower Shrine branch. He was usually known in Wuge by his style name, Langguan 郎官 and his literary name, Qianzhai 潛齋. Zou Ming became a Government Student in 1759. But like many other Sibao gentry, he was forced to give up his study after the family was divided. He was able to save some money and opened a printing shop. With the profits from the shop and interest from the money he loaned out, he and his sons were able to purchase, plot by plot, over 150 *mu* of land.[167] In the account book, we are given detailed information on the dates of purchase, locations, acreage, and tax on the land purchased, the amount of money paid for each plot of land, and the names and residences of the persons who sold the land, and in most cases, most importantly, their relationship to Zou Ming himself.

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[167] *Account Book of Wanjun Lou* (Wuge, 1822-1843), "Xu," no page number. The account book is collected in the China Sibao Woodblock Printing Exhibition Center, Sibao. After his death, Zou Ming's sons continued to purchase land.

The relational terms appearing in the account book fall into six categories: "*benjia*" 本家 (one's own family), "*benfang*" 本房 (one's own branch), "*benxiang*" 本鄉 (one's own village), "*bentu*" 本圖 (one's own administrative unit of *tu*), such and such surnames, and such and such villages (see Table 4.6). The last two categories are easy to understand. The fifth category covers those people whose surnames were other than Zou, which suggests explicitly that they did not belong to the agnatic relatives of Zou Ming. The sixth category includes all people from villages other than Wuge, including the Zous in Shuangquan and Shangbao. The category "*bentu*" appeared only once. It means those who belonged to the same administrative unit *tu* as Zou Ming (for *tu* see Chapter II). Similarly, the meaning of "*benxiang*" is clear. The "*xiang*" meant village in the late imperial Sibao literature. Thus "*benxiang*" means that the person involved was a fellow villager of Zou Ming. As I pointed out above, almost all villagers of Wuge were surnamed Zou and they believed that they were all descendants of Liulang. The meaning of "*benfang*" is less easy to figure out. The genealogy of the Lower Shrine branch shows that the common ancestor of the person involved and Zou Ming was an ancestor six generations earlier, Zou Binghua (G16). Thus what Zou Ming meant by "*benfang*" was the common descendants of Binghua. The term "*benjia*" has a variety of meanings in China. In its broadest sense, it includes all Chinese. In its less broad sense, it has the meaning of a person with the same last name. But it was used in the account book in a different sense. A study of their genealogy shows that in six of the nine cases the common ancestor of the persons involved and Zou Ming was an ancestor four generations earlier, Zou Zhouzhen (G18). Only in one case was the common ancestor six generations earlier. The genealogical relation between Zou Ming and the other two persons is unknown.[168] This shows that the "*benjia*" is used here most of the time in a

[168] The genealogical information on Zou Ming can be found in *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 8.2/1a. The nine persons listed under the category of *benjia* were Zou Zhengde 鄒徵德, Zou Chuanfang

more exclusive sense than "*benfang*," covering mostly the descendants of an ancestor four generations back.

Once clarifying the meaning of each category, the world of Zou Ming becomes clear. It was a concentric circle, not unlike what Fei Xiaotong calls the "chart of ordered relative relationship" (*chaxu geju* 差序格局).[169] Zou Ming himself was at the center. The most inner circle, the circle of *benjia*, included descendants of his great-great-grandfather (similar to Ma Xun's lineage in terms of inclusiveness). The second-most inner circle, the circle of *benfang*, included descendants of the father of his great-great-grandfather. The middle circle, the circle of *benxiang*, included all his fellow villagers of the same surname. Outside this circle came the circle of villagers of other villages or surnames. The outermost circle, the circle of *bentu*, includes all people in the same administrative unit, *tu*. Most noteworthy is the leap from the second most inner circle (*benfang*) to the middle circle (*benxiang*). Every member of the Zous of Wuge, if he was outside the circle of *benfang*, was included in the category of *benxiang*. That is to say, the category of *benxiang* included not only all members of the Upper Shrine branch, but also all members of the Lower Shrine branch who did not fall into the categories of *benjia* and *benfang*. What is missing in Zou Ming's classification was the category of "*benzu*" 本族 (the common lineage). What does this tell us? I have pointed out that lineage building was followed by a shift from immediate ancestors to early ancestors and a more inclusive definition of the agnatic kinship. The gentry, as their status implied, were expected to take on this more inclusive definition. The case of Zou Ming surprises us. As a member

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鄒傳芳, Zou Zheng'en 鄒徵恩, Zou Zuguan 鄒祖官, Zou Wenshi 鄒文士, Zou Chuanjie 鄒傳傑, Zou Liangguan 鄒良官, Zou Guozu 鄒果祖, and Zou Sizong 鄒嗣宗. The genealogical information on the first seven persons can be found respectively in *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 9.2/31a, 8.1/60a, 9.2/103a, 9.1/23a, 10/125b, 9.1/13a, 13/35a.

[169] Fei Xiaotong 費孝通, *Xiangtu Zhongguo* 鄉土中國 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 24-30.

of the gentry living in the eighteenth century, when lineage building reached its climax in Wuge, Zou Ming seemed to be free from the influence of the process of lineage building.

Table 4.6 Social Classification as Shown in the *Account Book of Wanjuan Lou*

Categories	Number
Benjia	9
Benfang	1
Benxiang	33
Bentu	1
Such and Such Surname	30
Such and Such Village	13
No Information	22
Total	109

Source: *Account Book of Wanjuan Lou* (1822, Wuge).

What about the legacy of Ma Xun? A record written around 1574 mentions that the ancestral hall he established in 1485 "fell into ruin a long time ago." Only when the record was written was the hall restored.[170] Today, two ancestral halls stand side by side in Mawu. Both are known as the "Hall of the Great Descent-Line" (*dazong ci* 大宗祠) and both are dedicated to the same founding ancestor, Qilang. One belongs to the Upper Shrine, the other, to the Lower Shrine. Every year the two branches perform the rites of sacrifice in their own hall. Members of both branches think that their own hall is legitimate while the other is unjustified.[171]

Several models have been put forward by the anthropologists and social historians alike to analyze the development of the Chinese lineage. Maurice Freedman,

[170] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 6.

[171] See, for example, *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 1-2.

for example, believed that Chinese lineage developed through segmentation, that is, when a branch set aside corporate property, erected an ancestral hall, or migrated to other place.[172] Other scholars argue that besides segmentation (which they usually call "fission"), there was another model of lineage development, fusion. According to this model, the lineage emerged when previously separate kinship units were amalgamated into a unified organization through the setting-aside of corporate property and/or the establishment of an ancestral hall.[173] Later studies show that both models may have coexisted in Chinese history. In Taiwan, Chinese lineages emerged either through the setting-aside of property for collective purposes when a family was divided or through the amalgamation of previously separate units.[174] Obviously, the first one is similar to fission, while the second one to fusion. Zheng Zhenman's study suggests three models of lineage development. His first model, the "inheritance lineage," is relatively similar to fission. His third model, the"contractual lineage," operates by processes of fusion. The "control-subordination lineage," his second model, can be developed either through fission or fusion.[175] The case of Sibao supports these recent findings. It shows that the gentry with a Neo-Confucian orientation such as Ma Xun placed importance upon fusion, stressing the importance of taking a more inclusive definition of agnatic kinship by focusing on more distant ancestors. In contrast, the case of Zou Xiong falls into the category of fission because the ancestral hall he erected was dedicated to his father and

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[172] Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China.*

[173] Myron L. Cohen, "Agnatic Kinship in South Taiwan," 180-181; Rubie Watson, "The Creation of a Chinese Lineage: The Teng of Ha Tsuen, 1669-1751," *Modern Asian Studies* 16.1 (1982), 69-100; Rubie Watson, *Inequality among Brothers.*

[174] Zhuang Yingzhang 莊英章 and Chen Qinan 陳其南, "Xian jieduan Zhongguo shehui jiegou yanjiu de jiantao: Taiwan yanjiu de yixie qishi" 現階段中國社會結構研究的檢討: 台灣研究的一些啟示, in Yang Guoshu 楊國樞 and Wen Chongyi 文崇一, eds., *Shehui ji xingwei kexue yanjiu de Zhongguohua* 社會及行為科學研究的中國化 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiu suo, 1982).

[175] Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, Chapter 3.

was erected to benefit the descendants of his father. In addition, the rhetoric of fusion had its strongest expression in genealogy, while the practice of fission could be found most readily in the erection of ancestral halls and the setting-aside of corporate land.

No matter which model was predominant in the development of Sibao lineages, the case of Sibao shows that lineages in the area were historical creations. Contrary to what is implied in Freedman's works, each lineage had its own history. The lineages of Sibao were created from the mid-Ming on and the process did not come to an end until the late Qing. Lineage building had its origins in Neo-Confucian ideology, though lineages emerged through a violation of the limits set by the latter. The program of lineage building of Ma Xun, for example, would be unimaginable if separated from the similar programs of his contemporaries. But the dynamism of lineage building lay in local society rather than elsewhere. Thus when Ma Hetu compiled the genealogy of his lineage, he tried to set his lineage apart from other social groupings. Lineage building was closely related to the pursuit of power and the contest over local control. The Zous' persistent search for a "proper" founding ancestor becomes understandable only when the power structure of Sibao society is taken into consideration.

The case of Sibao also shows the extent of the impact lineage building left upon Sibao society. The process of lineage building seems to have had its most important consequences in two aspects of village life: ancestral rites and landed property. With its emphasis on the cult of early, distant ancestors, with its emphasis on the rites of sacrifice, lineage building had in a certain sense greatly modified the forms of ancestor worship. The rites of sacrifice and the role of their directors, the *lisheng* of the rites, as well as the formation of the latter's liturgical tradition, all seem to have been partly the product of this process. The landed property set aside basically for the performing of ancestral rites and the welfare of lineage members had several unintentional results on the social structure. Following the corporatization of landed property, the means of dominance were

changed. The ownership of land became a less important means of dominance while the loaning of grain and money became an important one. The process was also followed by the rise of a local elite who managed corporate properties. The process had its impact on community relations, too. When the land of a village increasingly found its way into the hands of another village, the first village became more and more economically dependent upon the latter, until eventually a process of what I will call community differentiation took place.

The influence of lineage building, however, cannot be overstated. Although by the end of the Qing Sibao had been transformed into a lineage society, the lineage was often perceived in different ways from those intended by Ma Hetu and Ma Xun. In some extreme cases, the teachings of Ma Xun were neglected altogether. As pointed out above, often the establishment of ancestral halls and the setting-aside of corporate land implied the consideration of the welfare of one's own small group rather than that of the overall organization, that is, a tendency criticized by Ma Xun. David Faure and Liu Zhiwei argue that lineage building was a process of "social gentrification" whereby, in their case, the Pearl River Delta was integrated into Chinese culture.[176] This generalization does not seem to fit well to the case of Sibao. It is true that, as in the Pearl River Delta, ancestral halls were established and genealogies were compiled in Sibao. But in what sense can we say Sibao was gentrified? Who were gentrified? And as the case of Zou Ming shows, sometimes even a member of the gentry does not seem to have accepted what was expected of him. In view of these limits, it is perhaps more persuasive to see the development of lineages in Sibao as a selective process whereby the symbols closely related to gentry lifestyle were appropriated to serve local purposes and the new ways of

[176] David Faure, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*, 12-13; David Faure, "The Emperor in the Village: Representing the State in South China," in Joseph P. McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China*, 287-297; Ke Dawei and Liu Zhiwei, "Zongzu yu difang shehui de guojia rentong."

organizing agnatic kinship and performing ancestral rites were incorporated into the previous ritual tradition and social structure rather than substituted for them.

Chapter V

A Strange Community Compact?

It need not surprise us to find that the texts related to the community compact (*xiangyue*) are collected in *lisheng* manuals of sacrificial texts. The community compact, either as designed by officials and gentry with a Neo-Confucian orientation or as actualized in late imperial Chinese society, was organized around the performance of rituals, including the recitation of texts, oaths, and maxims. The specific rituals performed by the members of community compacts in different regions may have differed, but ritual itself was an integral part of the organization. Even as the community compact organization added a number of additional functions over time, from social control to local defense, ritual performance remained an integral part of the activities of the institution at every stage. And the performance of rituals necessitated the role of ritual directors, the *lisheng*. Thus in the community compact initiated by Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 (1466-1560) and his student, Wu Kegang 伍克剛, in a village in the Pearl River Delta in 1544, the rituals were performed under the guidance of *lisheng*.[1] Again, when he drafted the regulations of a community compact in 1566, He Dongxu 何東序, the Prefect of Huizhou Prefecture, ordered that *lisheng* be appointed when the rituals were performed.[2] Similarly, in late imperial Shangbao, Sibao, *lisheng* were invited to attend the assembly that took place

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[1] Zhu Honglin 朱鴻林, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue" 明代嘉靖年間的增城沙堤鄉約, 119-121.

[2] Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之, "Mindai Kishūfu no kyōyaku ni tsuite" 明代徽州府の鄉約について, in Mindaishi kenkyūkai Mindaishi ronsō henshū iinkai 明代史研究会明代史論叢編集委員会, ed., *Yamane Yukio Kyōju taikyū kinen Mindaishi ronsō* 山根幸夫教授退休記念明代史論叢 (Tokyo: Kiko Shoin, 1990), 1052.

three times a year, probably to direct the rituals performed in the compact office.[3] The texts related to the community compact were collected in the Sibao manuals probably because *lisheng* played important roles in the symbolic life of these organizations, just as they were indispensable in the sacrifices to the recently deceased, the ancestors, and the gods. The problem for us is thus not whether *lisheng* were involved in the rituals of community compacts, but when, how, and why those rituals were introduced to Sibao. To answer this question, we need to reconstruct the history of community compacts in Sibao. Before we proceed to this task, a brief introduction to the history of community compacts in the Ming and Qing periods will provide us a necessary ground for understanding the characteristics of Sibao community compacts.

Gentry, Officials, and Community Compacts

The community compact as a Neo-Confucian device to educate common people had its origins in the *Rituals of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮).[4] The first community compact, known as the *Lü Family Community Compact* (*Lü shi xiangyue* 呂氏鄉約) or *Lantian Community Compact* (*Lantian xiangyue* 藍田鄉約), was established in Lantian, Shaanxi, in 1077 by Lü Dajun 呂大鈞 (1031-1082), a member of a family of national prominence. It was composed of four general injunctions: (1) "admonish each other to virtuous behavior and the undertaking of virtuous activities" 德業相勸, (2) "correct each other's wrong actions"

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[3] *Wu shi zupu* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan* 8, "Ju kai ji zuci guili" 具開祭祖祠規例, 2b.

[4] According to the *Rituals of Zhou*, the head of each *zhou* (*zhouzhang* 州長), a administrative unit that included 2,500 households, was responsible for the gathering of the people under his jurisdiction and the expounding of the laws and decrees to them on the auspicious days of the first month and at the time when sacrifices were offered to the altar of the soil of the *zhou* (*zhoushe* 州社). On these occasions good deeds were praised while bad deeds were criticized. These activities were claimed to be the basis for what later community compacts practiced. See Jia Gongyan 賈公彥, *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 (*Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 edition. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980, reprint), j. 12, "Xiangdafu" 鄉大夫, 79.

過失相規, (3) "associate with one another according to the rules of decorum and customs" 禮俗相交, and (4) "offer assistance to each other in cases of illness and calamities" 患難相恤. During the monthly assemblies of the compact members, people were encouraged to practice socially desirable behavior. The assembly was administered by one or two compact heads who were elected from orderly, upright, and incorruptible persons. The Lü compact became famous in the version of Zhu Xi, *Zeng sun Lü shi xiangyue* 增損呂氏鄉約 (Lü family community compact, with additions and deletions by Zhu Xi). However, Zhu Xi's version is different from that of Lü Dajun in important ways. While the latter "was designed as a voluntary association of unspecified members of a local community, presumably the size of a village (*li*)," the former seemed "to be more of a device to regulate the social life of the educated elite" of a larger area than the immediate local community.[5]

The community compacts do not seem to have been established in the early Ming. But some elements found in later community compacts had appeared in sub-county institutions set up in the early Ming. Ming Taizu (1328-1398, reigned 1368-1398) ordered an altar of the soil and grain be erected in every sub-canton. During the bi-annual assembly at these altars, the laws and decrees as well as the "Oath of Eliminating the Bullies and Helping the Downtrodden" (*Chuqiang furuo zhi shi* 鋤強扶弱之誓) were recited. The content of the oath was relatively similar to that in the Lü compact. The members of a sub-canton were ordered to behave in accord with decorum and to observe

[5] Monika Übelhör, "The Community Compact (*Hsiang-yueh*) of the Sung and Its Educational Significance," in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 371-388. The *Lü Family Community Compact* can be found in Chen Junmin 陳俊民, *Lantian Lü shi yizhu jijiao* 藍田呂氏遺著輯校 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 563-567.

the regulations. They should assist each other in cases of weddings and funerals.[6] Ming Taizu also ordered that a Pavilion for Extending Illumination (*shenming ting* 申明亭) and a Pavilion for Revering Goodness (*jingshan ting* 旌善亭) be erected in towns and in the countryside. On the first and fifteenth day of every month, an elder holding a bell with a wooden clapper (*muduo laoren* 木鐸老人) recited the *Six Maxims of the Sacred Edict* (*Liuyu* 六諭) of Ming Taizu on the streets.[7] Besides, one or several elders elected from each sub-canton were supposed to stay in the Pavilion for Extending Illumination every day, explaining laws and decrees and the *Great Admonitions* (*Dagao* 大誥) published by Ming Taizu to villagers. They were also responsible for praising good deeds in the Pavilion for Revering Goodness and criticizing bad deeds in the Pavilion for Extending Illumination.[8] Both practices can be readily found in later community compacts.

When Ming Chengzu 明成祖 (1360-1424, reigned 1402-1424) ordered that the *Xingli daquan* be published, the *Lü Family Community Compact* was included in it. But no evidence shows that it was put into practice.[9] Recent studies suggest that the community compact was first practiced in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and that Fujian was perhaps the first region in which the community compact was installed in the Ming. Evidence shows that it may have been practiced in Quanzhou in the Yongle 永

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[6] *Hongwu lizhi*, 499; *Da Ming huidian*, 94/16a. The English translation of the oath can be found in Daniel Overmyer, "Attitudes Towards Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989-1990), 208.

[7] The *Six Maxims* are: "Perform filial duties to your parent" 孝順父母, "Honor and respect your elders and superiors" 尊敬長上, "Maintain harmonious relationships with your neighbors" 和睦鄉里, "Instruct and discipline your sons and grandsons" 教訓子孫, "Let each work peacefully for his own livelihood" 各安生業, and "Do not commit wrongful deeds" 毋作非為. The translation is Hsiao Kung-chuan's. See Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), 186.

[8] Cao Guoqing 曹國慶, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu" 明代鄉約研究, *Wenshi* 文史 46 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 199.

[9] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 200.

樂 era (1403-1424) and in Longyan in the Xuande 宣德 era (1426-1435).[10] In the Zhengtong era (1436-1449), Wang Yuan 王源, a Prefect of Chaozhou Prefecture, is reported to have initiated community compacts in both Chaozhou and in his hometown, Longyan County to the southeast of Tingzhou.[11] At the same time, a group of commoners, known as the "six hermits of Pingbu" (*Pingbu liu yi* 平步六逸), established a community compact in Pingbu, Guangdong.[12] In Fujian, in addition to Wang Yuan, several gentry of Longyan lectured on the *Lantian Community Compact* and the *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals* (*Wengong jiali* 文公家禮) in their community in the Zhengtong era.[13] Around 1473, two gentry, Liang Song 梁崧 and Li Ying 李穎, also initiated a community compact in Shanghang, Tingzhou. The compact is known as the *Shanghang Community Compact* (*Hangchuan xiangyue* 杭川鄉約).[14] It attempted to renew decorum and customs by prescribing the "correct" ways of performing the "rites of cappings, weddings, funerals, ancestral rites, celebration, giving, and pledging."[15] Furthermore, Jiang Feng 姜鳳, the Magistrate of Guihua County, Tingzhou, printed and practiced the *Lantian Community Compact* in Guihua.[16] Generally speaking, only a few community compacts were initiated in the fifteenth century. They were usually small in size and often short-lived and had little influence on social life. There was not much need for community

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[10] Wang Yifu 汪毅夫, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue" 試論明清時期的閩臺鄉約, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1 (2002), 132.

[11] Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, 7196. A biography of Wang Yuan can also be found in the *Longyan zhouzhi* 龍巖州志 (1835 edition), 12/7b-8a, but it does not mention how Wang initiated the community compact.

[12] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 200.

[13] Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 132.

[14] Hangchuan is another name of Shanghang.

[15] *SHXZ* (1939 edition), 23/1b-2a; Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 132-133.

[16] Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Ming Tai xiangyue," 133.

compacts because although social crisis set in during this period, it did not lead to the break-down of the overall social order.[17]

The rising social crisis and the breaking down of social order during the sixteenth century were followed by the spread of community compacts throughout the empire. In the Jiajing era (1522-1566), the court ordered that community compacts be implemented in every county.[18] Gentry and officials alike initiated community compacts either in their native places or in the places to which they were appointed. The most influential among them were probably the *Nangan Community Compact* (*Nangan xiangyue* 南贛鄉約) of Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472-1529),[19] the community compact of the Chous 仇氏 of Shanxi, and the *Community Rituals by Taiquan* (*Taiquan xiangli* 泰泉鄉禮) of Huang Zuo 黃佐 (1490-1566).[20] As mentioned in Chapter II, banditry and rebellion recurrently caused considerable trouble in the border region of southern Jiangxi, western Fujian, and northeastern Guangdong in the early sixteenth century. In 1516, Wang Shouren was appointed to the position of Left Vice Censor-in-Chief to coordinate the military actions against bandits and rebels within this region. After he destroyed most of the bandit gangs and established military control in 1518, Wang set up the Ten Family Registration System (*shijia pai fa* 十家牌法), established community schools (*shexue* 社學), and initiated the community compact. The first institution was established to exercise direct

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[17] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 200-201.

[18] Ye Chunji 葉春及, *Shidong ji* 石洞集 (*Siku quanshu* edition. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993, reprint), 7/1b.

[19] For Wang Shouren, see Wing-tsit Chan, "Wang Shou-jen," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), Vol. II, 1408-1416.

[20] During the same period, several of Wang Shouren's followers from Ji'an, Jiangxi, initiated several community compacts in their native places, but the texts of the compacts themselves are not extant. In Guangdong, Zhan Ruoshui and Wu Kegang practiced the community compact in Zengcheng. Both were less well-known than community compacts discussed below. See Kandice Hauf, "The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji'an Prefecture," *Late Imperial China* 17.2 (Dec. 1996), 1-50; Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 107-159.

control upon the society of the border region, while the community schools and the community compact were set up to educate the local populace, especially the "*xinmin*" 新民 (literally, "renewed people," the newly subdued bandits or newly registered people). The *Nangang Community Compact* was based on the *Lü Family Community Compact*. But it was different from the latter in that it not only emphasized the importance of both action and moral cultivation but also was meant to smooth the rural population's relationships with the state, particularly in the payment of taxes. On Wang's insistence, the *Nangang Community Compact* was put into practice in southern Jiangxi and several counties of Fujian and Guangdong. But in most cases the compacts ceased functioning after a few years.[21]

The Chous were a famous Shanxi communal family in the mid-Ming. In 1511 when the community compact was established, the Chous as a household were composed of five generations and had altogether a hundred members. The Chous' compact was also based on the *Lü Family Community Compact*. Together with the family instructions, the compact attempted to regulate many aspects of life, ranging from cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites to everyday decorum. The family instructions were meant to regulate a member's behavior in his family, while the compact was meant to regulate his behavior in the community. It was expected that in the end not merely the family members would cultivate themselves and the family would be put in order, but the community would be morally transformed (*hua* 化) as well.[22]

The *Community Rituals by Taiquan* was drafted by the prominent official Huang Zuo (known by his literary name Taiquan) around 1532 and was implemented in several

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[21] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 202; Hauf, "The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji'an Prefecture," 7-11. The *Nangan Community Compact* has been translated into English by Chan Wing-tsit in Wang Yang-ming, *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings* (Trans Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 298-306.

[22] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 201.

counties of the Pearl River Delta at least by 1535. It was characterized by its incorporation of several Neo-Confucian programs designed for moral education and community reconstruction. These programs include such models as the *Lü Family Community Compact*, *Family Rituals* and community granary system of Zhu Xi, as well as community schools and the *baojia* mutual surveillance policing system. By incorporating these programs, Huang Zuo aimed to promote socially desirable morality in the continuum from the family to the entire community. The institutions thus established were managed by the local community and were free from the government supervision.[23]

The *Nangan Community Compact* was first put into practice in southern Jiangxi. Then it was implemented in some western Fujian counties such as Longyan. In the Jiajing era, when Zhao'an 詔安 County was just being set up, a follower of Wang Shouren, He Chun 何春, was appointed the Magistrate of this county. He established community compacts, destroyed licentious temples,[24] and promoted Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*. Huang Yi 黃懌 and Tang Xiang 湯相 were another two county Magistrates who implemented the community compact in the counties they supervised. In the both cases, the initiation of the community compacts was only part of an overall program for moral renewal. The former, the Magistrate of Anxi, also provided lectures on the *Sacred Edicts*, the *Lü Family Community Compact*, and the *Chen Family Practical Advice* (*Chen shi xunci* 陳氏訓詞), as well as several prohibitions in 1526. The latter, the Magistrate of Longyan, implemented the community compact in addition to the restoring of the Confucian

[23] Huang Zuo, *Taiquan xiangli* (*Siku quanshu zhenben* 四庫全書珍本 edition); Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 208-209; Wing-kai To, "The Construction of Orthodoxy: Handbooks of Village Community Rituals in Late Ming Guangdong," in Yen-p'ing Hao and Hsiu-mei Wei, eds., *Tradition and Metamorphosis in Modern Chinese History: Essays in Honor of Professor Kwang-Ching Liu's Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998), 735-745; Inoue Tōru, *Chūgoku no seizoku to kunika no risei*, 379-388.

[24] The meaning of "licentious temples" and "licentious cults" will be discussed in the first section of the next chapter.

Temple and the Hall of Local Worthies and Famous Officials (*xiangxian minghuan ci* 鄉賢名宦祠). He also set up a *baojia* system.[25]

Based on his interpretation of community compacts of Ming Huizhou, the Japanese scholar Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之 argues that the community compact as a Neo-Confucian device was originally designed to maintain the "order of ritual." It was only later, when the overall social order broke down in the sixteenth century, that it was transformed into a program to maintain the "order of law."[26] We may have reservations about his first statement, but his second point is true for community compacts of the late Ming period. The combination of the community compact and the *baojia* system became increasingly common in the late Ming Fujian in particular and spread throughout the whole of China.[27] As Timothy Brook points out, the combination was made possible "because of their joint reliance on the hundred-family grouping," the sub-canton.[28] The result of this combination was the emergence of the "system of community compact and *baojia*" (*xiangyue baojia fa* 鄉約保甲法). At the provincial level, at least three governors implemented this system throughout Fujian. The first governor was Zhao Canlu 趙參魯 (*jinshi* of 1571). We do not know much about his program except the fact that he implemented the system mentioned above and "the bandits decreased as a

[25] Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 133-134.

[26] Suzuki, "Mindai Kishūfu no kyōyaku ni tsuite," 1056.

[27] Joanna F. Handlin, quoting Sakai Tadao, points out that it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the community compact and the *baojia* system "were truly synthesized." Late Ming officials such as Lü Kun (1536-1618) thought that the two institutions were basically inseparable. See Handlin, *Action in Late Ming Thought: The Reorientation of Lü K'un and Other Scholar-Officials* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 48-49, 126.

[28] Timothy Brook, "The Spatial Structure of Ming Local Administration," *Late Imperial China* 6.1 (June 1985), 41.

consequence."[29] A Sibao community compact seems to have been initiated in accordance with his order.

More information is available about Xu Fuyuan 許孚遠, the second governor who implemented the system. Xu Fuyuan was appointed to the position of Fujian Governor in 1592. The *xiangyue baojia fa* established under his order was based on previous existing territorial units, usually villages, and took the form of associations (*hui*). The associations were administered by the compact heads (*yuezheng* 約正), assistant compact heads (*yuefu* 約副), *bao* heads (*baozhang* 保長), and *jia* heads (*jiazhang* 甲長) who were elected among members of the association concerned. On the second day of every month, *baojia* members assembled in an appointed public hall to perform rituals. The obligations of the associations included providing relief to poor members, praising good deeds and criticizing bad deeds, investigating crimes, and settling civil disputes. The *xiangyue baojia fa* of Xu Fuyuan was characterized by its close connection to the government. Every association was ordered to compile two books, one to be turned over to the county government, the other to be kept in the assembly place. On the day of assembly, the judgments on good and bad deeds, the disputes settled, and the relief provided were all written down in these books. On the sixteenth day of every month, the *bao* head turned over the book to the government and took back the other book kept in the government so that it could be used in the next assembly. He also signed a bond (*zhuang* 狀) authenticating what had happened in the preceding month. In this way the government was able to renew its information on the village continuously. The associations were also ordered to supervise their members and investigate crimes. Every evening the *baojia* heads were to check every household to see to it that no member was involved in crime and that no bandits were hiding in the village. The settling of disputes, another function

[29] *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 (1684 edition. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, n. d., reprint.), 30/41a.

of the associations, was meant to decrease the lawsuits brought before the magistrate. Lastly, the associations were also ordered to assist local militia when necessary. Xu Fuyuan seemed to have relied on the gentry for the management of the associations. The compact heads and assistant compact heads were expected to be elected from among scholar-officials, elders, Provincial Graduates, National University Students, and Government Students.[30]

The *xiangyue baojia zhi* 鄉約保甲制 implemented by Huang Chengxuan 黃承玄, the Fujian Governor in 1615-1617, shared some similarities with that of Xu Fuyuan. Like Xu, Huang also designed the system on the basis of local associations. He claimed that "only when the compact heads of a community are linked to the spirits of the villagers can the effects of transformation be expected. If the compact is initiated in the absence of an association, its (i.e., the *xiangyue baojia zhi*'s) purport is almost lost." Besides the community compact, Huang also advocated that lineages protect their villages by setting up local militias. Obviously, with the mounting peasant rebellions, the *xiangyue baojia zhi* alone was not enough to maintain the "order of law" in the early seventeenth century. Compared with Xu, Huang stressed more explicitly that gentry should take responsibility to organize community compacts and that localized lineages should take a more active role in the organization of local militias.[31]

At the local level, in addition to the case of Tang Xiang mentioned above, the case of Ye Chunji 葉春及 (1532-1595) is the most noteworthy. Ye Chunji was a native of Guishan 歸善, Guangdong. During 1570-1574, when he served as the Magistrate of Hui'an 惠安 County, Quanzhou, he carried out a series of programs aimed at combating

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[30] Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿, "Ming houqi Fujian difang xingzheng de yanbian" 明後期福建地方行政的演變, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 1 (1998), 155; Miki Satoshi 三木聰, *Min-Shin Fukken nōson shakai no kenkyū* 明清福建農村社會の研究 (Sapporo: Hokkaido daigaku tosho shuppankai, 2002), 296-302.

[31] Zheng Zhenman, "Ming houqi Fujian difang xingzheng de yanbian," 155-156; Miki, *Min-Shin Fukken nōson shakai no kenkyū*, 302.

licentious cults and promoting ritual and social order. These programs included the initiation of the community compact, the re-erection of the altar of the soil, the establishment of community schools, and the organization of the *baojia* system. Ye restored some early Ming practices of rural control and incorporated them into the community compact. He ordered that the Pavilion for Extending Illumination be re-erected in every sub-canton and that compact heads and Elders be elected. The Elders were responsible for settling local civil disputes. The community compact drafted by Ye combined Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* with the *Sacred Edicts* of Ming Taizu. The latter was meant to "guide all common people" (*dao wanmin* 導萬民), while the form was meant to "put all people in order" (*qi wanmin* 齊萬民). According to his compact, the "upper households" (*shanghu* 上戶) were permitted to erect ancestral halls, while the "middle and lower households" (*zhong xia hu* 中下戶) could only place their ancestors' tablets in the main halls of their homes. The commoners were prohibited from worshipping Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy) and other gods. When they were sick, they were prohibited from performing *jiao* communal offering ceremonies and receiving services from spirit-mediums. Instead, they were to pray to their ancestors and to the god of the soil. In addition to reinstating the *Family Rituals* and the *Sacred Edicts*, Ye's compact also included four injunctions aimed at "promoting virtues" (*zhende* 振德). These injunctions attempted to regulate kinship relations, eliminate unorthodox religious practices and evil customs, promote farming, and encourage frugality. When the community compact was installed, Ye had about 551 licentious cults destroyed and 221 of them were converted into community schools under his order (for a discussion of licentious cults, see Chapter VI). At the same time, because the cult of the god of the soil had long ceased to be practiced, Ye ordered that altars of the soil be re-erected in every sub-canton. As with other late Ming officials, Ye attempted to combine community compact with the *baojia*

system. The members of each compact were registered in the *baojia* system and placed under the control of compact heads.[32] Therefore, the concern for "order of rituals" merged with the concern for "order of law."

In certain cases, there was a tendency to combine the community compact with local militias. The *Community Compact* of Yin Geng 尹畊 (1515-?) was such an example. It was designed to defend against invasion by "northern barbarians" (*beilu* 北虜). In the preface, it is claimed clearly that the community compact was initiated to "arrange villagers for matters of defense."[33] This compact discusses different aspects related to local defense. Judging from the two essays collected at the end of the compact, it was put into practice in Yin's hometown, Weizhou 蔚州, Shanxi.[34] Similarly, when Huizhou was attacked by peasant rebels and *wo* pirates in the mid-sixteenth century, a community compact was established in Yanzhen 巖鎮 of She 歙 County, Anhui, in 1544 and again in 1555. According to the compact, Yanzhen was divided into eighteen sections and each section organized a local militia that included several dozen braves. The compact also constructed strongholds and fortresses. It is reported to have played an important role in the fight against rebels and *wo* pirates.[35]

The practice of the community compact continued and received much more attention from the Manchu rulers in the Qing period, but, compared with their counterparts in the Ming period, the community compacts as initiated by the Qing

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[32] Ye Chunji, *Shidong ji*, 7/1a-62a. See also Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 134.

[33] Yin Geng, *Xiangyue* (Preface dated 1550. *Zhongguo bingshu jicheng* 中國兵書集成 edition. Beijing and Shenyang: Jiefangjun chubanshe and Liaoshen shushe, 1988, reprint), "Xiangyue xu" 鄉約序, 41. See also Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 204.

[34] Yin Geng, *Xiangyue*, "zhi shen wen" 質神文, "gao xiang zhi yan" 告鄉直言, 108-112.

[35] Chen Keyun 陳柯雲, "Lue lun Ming-Qing Huizhou de xiangyue" 略論明清時期徽州的鄉約, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 4 (1990), 45-46.

officials changed increasingly from a Neo-Confucian device of education to a tool for ideological and administrative control. In 1649, five years after the Manchus seized Beijing, a stele with the *Liuyu* 六諭 (Six maxims of a hortatory edict) of the Shunzhi emperor 顺治 (1638-1661, reigned 1643-1661) was ordered to be erected in every county.[36] In order to make clear the meanings of these maxims to the people, a *xiangyue* was appointed in each locality to give lectures on them at fixed intervals. Here the term "*xiangyue*" (compact head) became an official position related to the community compact. Another imperial decree promulgated in 1659 ordered that the compact head and his chief assistant be nominated by the local inhabitants from among the Government Students who were over sixty years old and, if no such scholar was available, commoners of good reputation over sixty or seventy years of age should be selected. On the first and fifteenth day of every month the compact head was required to explain the imperial maxims and to record all good and bad deeds performed by inhabitants of his neighborhoods. The Kangxi emperor 康熙 (1654-1722, reigned 1661-1722), the son and successor of Shizu, wrote a new set of maxims for the instruction of his subjects, the well-known *Shengyu* (the Sacred edict of Kang Xi). The sixteen maxims of this edict superseded the original six maxims and henceforth became the text for the *xiangyue* lectures. Probably considering that the sixteen maxims were too brief for comprehension by "ignorant rustics," the Yongzheng emperor 雍正 (1678-1735, reigned 1722-1735), the successor of Shengzu, wrote the *Shengyu guangxun* 聖諭廣訓 (Amplified instructions on the sacred edict) in 1724. Five years later, he published a decree, ordering that more compact personnel be nominated and at a fixed place be selected for the delivering of compact lectures. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Manchu rulers

[36] The *Liuyu* of Qing Shizu is similar to the *Sacred Edict* of Ming Taizu.

commanded local officials again and again to redouble their efforts to make the community compact system an effective device of ideological control.[37]

As in the Ming, the community compact system was not only established by the government, but was also initiated by local elites. Zheng Mei 鄭玫, a Provincial Graduate of Longyan, is said to have edited the *Lü Family Community Compact* and used it to educate young students after his retirement from the position of Magistrate in the early eighteenth century.[38] In the early Qing in Yuanli 苑里, Taiwan, it is reported that in the tenth month of every year the compact members assembled and a feast was held after the assembly. The purpose of the compact was to harmonize community relations and promote social order.[39] One of the most detailed extant community compacts in Fujian is the one drafted in 1827 in Meihua 梅花, Changle 長樂 County. Meihua is a town close to Fuzhou that included about seven hundred households. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, gentry of the town started to deliver lectures on the *Sacred Edict* in a local temple with the purpose of harmonizing community relations. This activity stopped shortly after because it received little attention. It was not until in 1827, on the urging of a group of gentry and lineage heads, that the lectures were resumed and a community compact was drawn up again. An office of the community compact (*xiangyuesuo* 鄉約所) and a Hall of the Loyal and Worthy (*zhongxian ci* 忠賢祠) were also built. All residents of the town were registered under one of ten *jia*. At the first and fifteenth day of every month, the compact members gathered at the compact office and lectures were delivered

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[37] Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China*, 185-186; Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 135. For the *Sacred Edict*, see Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China*, 186-186, 191; Victor H. Mair, "Language and Ideology in the Written Popularizations of the Sacred Edict," in David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, 325-359. For an English translation of the *Shengyu guangxun*, see F. W. Baller, trans., *The* Sacred Edict *of K'ang Hsi* (Orono, Maine: The National Poetry Foundation, University of Maine at Orono, 1979. Originally published by China Inland Mission in Shanghai in 1924).

[38] *Longyan xianzhi* 龍巖縣志 (1920 edition), 25/28a-28b.

[39] Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 138.

there. The topics of the lectures included the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edict*, the community compact itself, and stories of retribution for misdeeds. The compact was composed of twenty-two injunctions. The concerns ranged from self-cultivation, the prohibition of gambling, opium, and alcoholism, security maintenance and fire fighting, the management of corporate land, to the payment of taxes, settling of local disputes, as well as the responsibility of the compact heads.[40]

Compared with their Ming predecessors, fewer gentry seem to have initiated community compacts in the Qing period. The reason probably has less to do with the gentry losing interest in community compacts than in the fact that the community compact system became a common, standard practice under the successive orders of the Manchu rulers so that no initiative on the part of gentry was needed in most cases. Another tendency of community compacts during the Qing period is that, as in the late Ming, with the mounting social crisis the community compact became increasingly merged with those institutions set up to deal with policing such as the *baojia* system and local defense such as *tuanlian* 團練 (local militia) to become a tool for ideological as well as administrative purposes. This tendency appeared in the early Qing but became more and more visible in the late Qing. In the nineteenth century, as Hsiao Kung-chuan points out, in some extreme cases the "original" function of the community compact, the delivering of lectures on the *Sacred Edict*, was completely forgotten and it became an institution of the *baojia* system. The process of the transformation of the community compact into an apparatus of local defense also went on with quickened pace in the nineteenth century, especially from the early 1840s onward. At the beginning, the help of the community compact was called upon only at urgent times. Gradually it was, to quote

[40] Fu Yiling, "Ji Qingdai Fujian Changle de xiangyue" 記清代福建長樂的鄉約, in Fu Yiling, *Fu Yiling zhi shi wushi nian wenbian* 傅衣凌治史五十年文編 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1989), 80-85; Wang Yifu, "Shi lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Min Tai xiangyue," 137.

Hsiao Kung-chuan's word, "metamorphosed" into the local defense system until its function of expounding the *Sacred Edict* dropped out of the sight. Cases of this kind can be found in Guangdong, Jiangxi, Shaanxi, and so forth.[41]

The rituals related to the community compact usually took place in appointed places on fixed days. What follows is a description of the community compact ritual as performed in sixteenth century Huizhou. Before the ritual was performed, the sites were swept clean. Everything needed for the ritual, including a table, incense, candles, drums, bells, a lectern, and a wooden tablet bearing the Imperial Instructions of Ming Taizu, were prepared in advance. When people arrived at these sites, they either knelt or stood facing north in assigned locations within the temple or hall. The ritual began with a formal reading of the Instructions on the wooden tablet. This done, they performed a specific number of bows and kowtows. After the last kowtow, they stood erect, at times declaring in unison the Imperial Instructions themselves. Next, they took their designated seat or standing place to the south of the Imperial Instructions tablet and the table with incense and candles. This was followed by "the recitation of poems, the singing of songs by a choir of ten or more boys, and the beating of gongs and drums, all leading up to a full-scale sermon on filial piety and the Imperial Instructions." Then all these men reviewed everyone's recent behavior. Their good deeds were "declared, praised, and recorded in a Good Deed Register," their bad deeds were "revealed, criticized, and recorded in a separate register."[42] The ritual ended by "rising and following their leaders

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[41] Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China*, 201-205; Yang Nianqun 楊念群, "Lun shijiu shiji Lingnan xiangyue de junshihua-Zhong Ying chongtu de yige quyu xing jieguo" 論十九世紀嶺南鄉約的軍事化-中英衝突的一個區域性結果, *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 3 (1993), 114-121.

[42] The Good Deed Registers appear to resemble the Ledgers of Merit and Demerit (*gongguoge* 功過格) studied by Cynthia J. Brokaw in her *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). But whether these texts were related remains to be studied.

out of the ritual's building in the same order that they had entered one to two hours earlier."[43] The ritual of the Shadi community compact of Guangdong was a little more complicated. After the Imperial Instructions were recited and chapters from the Classics expounded, a banquet was held and participants were invited to attend it. When the banquet was over, pacts were recited and chapters from the Classics were again expounded. Only after this was every participant's recent behavior reviewed.[44]

Community Compacts in Sibao

The first community compact of Sibao seemed to have been initiated by Ma Xun in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. An essay by him mentions that he drafted a community compact.[45] His biography claims that Ma Xun often encouraged "villagers" (*xiangren* 鄉人) to reform their morality.[46] But it does not mention the contents of the compact text and its audience. Judging from the lineage rules he drew up, it is likely he may have included the *Sacred Edict* of Ming Taizu in his compact and the compact may not have been very different from these lineage rules. Indeed, the content of his lineage rules was quite similar to community compacts drafted elsewhere. And if "*xiangren*" means his fellow villagers, the compact may have been written for and implemented in Mawu village alone.

The community compact of Ma Xun did not seem to have lasted many years. Like the ancestral hall he ordered built, the compact may have ceased functioning some time after he died. Thus when a new community compact was drafted in Mawu about a

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[43] McDermott, "Emperor, Elites, and Commoners: The Community Compact Ritual of the Late Ming," 299-300.

[44] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 119-121.

[45] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 4.

[46] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 5.

century later, the initiators did not mention the compact of Ma Xun at all. The new compact was initiated by nine Mawu local notables in 1583. The compact's major architect was Ma Mengfu 馬孟復 (1545-1619) of the sixteenth generation. Mengfu, usually known by his literary name Nanlu 南陸, was a member of the gentry with a relatively strong localist orientation. He was a stipend Government Student before he became a Tribute Student at the age of fifty-one. He was then appointed to the position of the Vice-Magistrate of Wuyuan 婺源 County, Huizhou.[47] It was under his advocacy that the ancestral hall erected by Ma Xun was reconstructed and the genealogy of the Lower Shrine branch was updated.[48] In the preface he wrote specifically for this compact, Mengfu claims that "nowadays the village customs are getting less and less pure and have one thousand lesions and a hundred holes" 鄉俗日薄百孔千瘡. The situation was, he believes, not unlike flood prevention: when an embankment is constructed in one place, the embankments in another place break. "To stop a leak," therefore, "is very difficult." The correct way of preventing flood, Mengfu maintains, is to "dredge the source and stream [of a river]" 浚其源流. Similarly, to reform evil customs, the correct way is not to combat one evil custom or another, but to "make an attack upon [one's] mind/heart" (*gong xin* 攻心), not towards the hearts of other people, but firstly to the hearts of "ourselves". Only when "we," Mengfu claims, have got rid of the heart of "selfishness" (*sixin* 私心), "anger" (*fenxin* 忿心), "partiality" (*jiejie xin* 孑孑心), and "narrow-mindedness" (*xuxu xin* 煦煦心) and when "our hearts" "unify to become one heart" could the villagers follow and reform their hearts. In the end, "the customs become pure and refined without having to construct any embankment" 堤防不必設而俗敦淳美.[49] This compact is not extant. But from this preface we learn that its major purpose was to reform

[47] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 3/1-2; 5 *ji*, 16-17.

[48] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Wuge), *shou juan*, 15; 2 *ji*, 6-7.

[49] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 8 *ji*, 145.

evil customs or promote the "order of rituals." The preface does not mentioned how the compact was practiced. The following evidence suggests that a compact head (*yuezheng* 約正) may have been selected to manage the compact organization. A member of the Lower Shrine branch called Ma Wencai 馬文才 had been reportedly selected to such a position because he "was straightforward by nature." According to his biography, "whenever the villagers who were involved in disputes brought their cases before him," asking him "to judge who was correct and who was wrong," Wencai "would never practice favoritism." Therefore, "all people obeyed" his verdict. Once the Magistrate tried to screen one person's faults. Wencai was appointed to decide whether to punish the person. The Magistrate asked Wencai to forgive the man, but Wencai did not agree and threatened that if the Magistrate forced him hard he would resign.[50] Ma Wencai was of the same generation as Ma Mengfu. However, the essay of Mengfu does not mention him. It is thus probable that he participated in the activities of the community compact after it had been initiated for some time. Judging from the fact that all the people who initiated the compact were from the Mas of Mawu, the compact may have been practiced only in Mawu. Finally, the oral tradition of Mawu suggests that the compact may have used the Zougong Temple of this village as its office because the temple is also known as the "sixth compact office" (*liu yue suo* 六約所). Some elders of Mawu claim further that not only did the Mas participate in the management of the compact, but the Lais of Laijiaxu and the Yans of Yanwu participated in the compact activities as well. These two small descent groups were under the control of the Mas from earlier periods and the Zougong Temple was erected with contributions from not merely the Mas but also from the Lais and Yans. It is thus not surprising that they were involved in the compact of Mawu. However, given the discussion above, the involvement of these two descent

[50] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 17.

groups in the compact of Mawu cannot date back to the time of Mengfu but must have been a later development.

The community compact of Mengfu seemed to have been privately initiated without the endorsement of the government. In contrast, the community compact of Changxiao shows how such an organization could be linked to the government during the same period. As mentioned above, several Fujian governors in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries ordered the establishment of community compacts in each county. The community compact of Changxiao may have been initiated in the Wanli era by following this order. Evidence shows that a local notable called Li Shoujing 李守經 was elected to the position of vice-compact head (*yuefu* 約副) when Fujian Governor Zhao Canlu ordered the compact be established. According to his biography, Shoujing was "easy-going, straightforward, generous, and mild" by nature. The temple of a local god/ancestor was restored and a bridge was constructed under his advocacy.[51] The Changxiao compact may have kept registers of good deeds and bad deeds. Thus the deeds of a man called Li Changmao 李常茂 were recorded in the "register of good deeds" (*shance* 善冊, i.e., *zhangshance* 彰善冊) and Changmao was rewarded an honorable plaque inscribed with "esteeming righteousness" (*shangyi* 尚義) by the provincial government. His good deeds included the raising of his young nephew, the supporting of his widowed sister-in-law, the returning of the silver he picked up to its owner, and the glorifying of honest poverty.[52] Another man called Li Changde 李常德 was praised in the register of good deeds for his filial duties to his parents and kindness towards his orphaned nephew and received a plaque inscribed with the term "charitable person"

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[51] See *Changxiao Li shi zupu* 長校李氏族譜 (Hereafter *CXLSZP*, 1945 edition.), *juan zhi shou* 卷之首, 3a.

[52] *CXLSZP* (1945 edition), *juan zhi shou*, 4b.

(*shanren* 善人) from the county government.[53] This evidence not only shows the close connection between the Changxiao compact and the government. It also suggests that the compact head did not have to be a member of the gentry, but may have been selected from amongst wealthy people such as Shoujing. We do not know how long this compact was able to survive. An essay dated 1838 mentions that an office of the community compact stood on the left side of an important village temple.[54] But no evidence shows that this compact had any connection to the one initiated in the late Ming.

A third community compact was established in Nanchai 南柴 village (also known as Nanchaikeng 南柴坑) in western Sibao during roughly the same period. This compact was known as the "compact of the Eight Generals" (*bajiangyue* 八將約) because its head office was located in the Eight Generals Temple (*bajiang miao* 八將廟) of Nanchai. A genealogy of the Mas of this village provides the following description of this compact.

> A temple was formerly established in Xia'an 下庵 of Zaixiagangwu 再下岡屋. At the time of spring praying and autumn thanksgiving, the two gates (*men* 門, i.e., branches) [of the Mas] performed the *jiao* communal offerings [there]. In the fortieth year of the Wanli era (1612), considering that the temple stood too close to the settlement and this was causing some inconvenience to the monks [of the temple], my grandfather's elder brothers Wantai 萬泰, Wenbao 文寶, Xinqing 新慶, and other people from the two branches moved the temple to the water exit (*shuikou* 水口, the place where a stream discharges) [from the village] and used it to guarantee [the geomantic influence] over the whole village. [This temple was given] the general name "the compact of the Eight Generals." Yunwo 雲窩 was the compact head, Zhuyuan 竹園 and Xibei 溪背, the vice-compact head, Weijiafang 魏家坊, the assistant compact head (*yuezan* 約贊), and Lukeng 蘆坑 and Huangjiankeng 黃梘坑, the compact

[53] *CXLSZP* (1945 edition), *juan zhi shou*, 4b.

[54] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition), *juan zhi shou*, "Zumiao ji" 祖廟記, 2b.

> notifier (*yuetong* 約通). The expenditures, ranging from the *yamen* [runners'] visit to check the [yellow] register (*diance* 點冊, i.e., to assign corvée labor) and the gathering for [discussing] public affairs, to the spring praying and autumn thanksgiving, were paid for by four [groups of] compact members as [they] assembled in the public office (i.e., the Eight Generals Temple). As for the old site of the Eight Generals compact at Xia'an, Wantai and Xinqin decided that the two branches would set up a school [there] and masters would be hired to favor the future [descendants].[55] 再下岡屋地名下庵原立庵壹所舉凡春秋祈報兩門共作醮筵至萬歷四十年伯祖萬泰文寶新慶兩門人等議庵太近人家出入僧人不便將庵移至水口以作通鄉保障總名八將約雲窩為約正竹園溪背為約副魏家坊為約贊蘆坑黃梘坑為約通凡官府往來點册及期會公事以迄春祈秋報四約眾等幫塾消耗之費同集公所故八將約下庵老基萬泰新慶共議兩門建學館以延師德後

The Eight Generals compact seemed to have been a village alliance. Its major village, Nanchai, is a small village whose major residents are the Mas and the Lais. The Mas moved to this village in the early Ming from Majiawei 馬家圍, Ninghua. They claim that their ancestor, Wulang 五郎, was a brother of Qilang of Mawu.[56] Later, the founding ancestor of the Lais, a hunting friend of one of the Mas, settled there and was accepted by the Mas.[57] The Mas are composed of two major branches (the two "gates" mentioned above). One is the descendants of Wulang, while the other is allegedly the descendants of the former husband of Wulang's wife. Yunwo, Zhuyuan, and Xibei are three hamlets of Nanchai village. Weijiafang (also known as Yijia 義家) is a small village to the southeast of Nanchai. Its residents are the Mas and the Wangs. The former are reported to have moved to this village from Mawu, the latter, from Yongding County, Tingzhou, in

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[55] *MSZP* (Manuscript, 2000, Nanchai), "Lao pu yi yu" 老譜遺語, no page number.

[56] *MSZP* (Nanchai), no page number.

[57] John Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors," 93.

1583.[58] Lukeng is a small village next to Nanchai. Huangjiankeng, also known as Wangjian or Wangjiankeng 王梘坑, is a small village to the east of Nanchai. The majority of its residents are the Lis. The Eight Generals Temple, where the compact's office was located, was dedicated to the Yang Family Generals (*Yangjiajiang* 楊家將).[59] When I visited Naichai in the summer of 2002, this temple was still there. The positions mentioned in the passage, "*yuezheng*," "*yuefu*," "*yuezan*," and "*yuetong*," were usually appointed to specific persons in the Ming.[60] But in this case they were assigned to specific villages. Another characteristic of this compact is that although it utilized the organizational method of the community compact, its major activity was not the explanation of laws and decrees or any specific village regulations. It seemed to have grown out of the need to deal with the government and public affairs. As cited above, the major functions of this compact included meeting the demands of the state and dealing with the state's agents, conducting public affairs, and performing the bi-annual worship of local gods (the Eight Generals or god of the soil?). The first function is relatively similar to one of the major responsibilities of the *lijia* system, "the conducting of public

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[58] *Taiyuan jun Wang shi zonggong shixi* 太原郡王氏宗公世系 (Manuscript, n. d.), 1.

[59] The cult of this group of gods can also be found in Wuge. The Eight Generals are Yang Ye 楊業 and his seven sons. The story of Yangjiajiang was made popular in Fujian by the novel the *Pacification of the Eighteenth Caverns of Fujian* (Ping Min shiba dong). See Li Yiyuan, "Zhanghui xiaoshuo 'Ping Min shiba dong' de minzuxue yanjiu" 章回小說平閩十八洞的民族學研究, in Li Yiyuan, *Li Yiyuan zi xuan ji*, 383-404. But it is not unlikely that the Eight Generals were the eight subordinates of the God of Eastern Peak (Dongyue Taishan shen 東嶽泰山神), who seem to be widely worshipped in Fujian. They are Yan dudu 顏都督 (also known as Niutou shen 牛頭神), Du zongzheng 都總政, Du geixu 都給緒, Liu dudu 柳都督 (also known as Matou shen 馬頭神), Qiye 七爺 (also known as Bai wuchang 白無常), Liang yuansi 良願司, Baye 八爺 (also known as Hei wuchang 黑無常), and Zheng jia jiang 鄭家將. See Ye Mingsheng 葉明生, "Lun 'Bajiang' zai Fujian de liubu bianyi ji nuo wenhua yiyi" 論'八將' 在福建的流布、變異及儺文化意義, *Minsu quyi* 85 (Sept 1993), 74.

[60] The first three terms were widespread in the Ming, the fourth one seems to be rare. See Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 205-206.

business" (*goushe gongshi* 勾攝公事).[61] The third function belongs to a religious tradition with a long history that usually centered around the altar of the soil (see Chapter VI). How long did this compact last? No written source thereafter mentions this compact again. But a stele standing at the water exit of Yijia shows that it may have continued to exist or have been revived in the mid-eighteenth century. This stele was erected in 1753 and quite a few of its characters were worn away over the years. It is meant to prohibit the practice of cutting trees in the "dragon mountains" of Huangjiankeng and Weijiafang without permission from the local residents and the poisoning of fish in the village streams on the ground that these activities would destroy the geomantic influence over these villages. It indicates explicitly that the organization that promulgated the prohibition was the Eight Generals compact. The two villages mentioned in the stele, as I have pointed out, belonged to the collective memberships of the compact. In view of this evidence, it is not unlikely that this compact was exactly the compact initiated in the Ming over a century earlier or at least a revival of it.

The community compact can also be found in Shuangquan and Wuge, though in both case no information is available on when the compacts were initiated. The existence of community compacts can be seen in the biographies of two members of the Zous of Shuangquan. The first, Zou Yizhu 鄒一柱 (styled Wenzheng 文正), was reportedly "upright and outspoken." When an irrigation dispute resulted in the Shuangquan-Wuge feud of 1684, he as a compact head was involved in the lawsuit that followed. He eventually died in Fuzhou before the lawsuit was concluded.[62] Yizhu did not seem to have received any degree or title of any form. The second person, Zou Wenfang 鄒文芳,

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[61] For responsibilities of *lijia* in the Ming, see Martin Heijdra, "The Socio-Economic Development of Rural China during the Ming," in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 458-475; Kuribayashi Nobuo 栗林宣夫, *Rikosei no kenkyū* 里甲制の研究 (Tokyo: Bunri shoin 文理書院, 1971), 50-65.

[62] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, 35b.

was a merchant. He did business in Nanchang 南昌, the capital of Jiangxi Province, when he was young and was able to make a good deal of money. With the profits from business he put up a splendid building, bought a lot of land, and purchased the title of the National University Student. Some time after he returned to Shuangquan,

> Lord Xie, the Vice-Magistrate [of Changting],[63] learning that he was upright and moderate and forgiving by nature, appointed him the *bao* head of the whole compact. Thereafter whenever disputes arose among villagers the case would be brought [before him] to the extent that [his] courtyard became as crowded as a marketplace. Lord (i.e., Wenfang) settled disputes with honesty and all parties involved were completely convinced and disputes were resolved like ice melting.[64] 邑宰謝公見其正直和平存心寬恕舉為通約之保正嗣是鄉里中爭論曲直而投訴者門庭如市公以至誠排解人咸心悅誠服立為冰釋

According to the two biographies, a community compact was established in Shuangquan no later than 1684. The offices of the compact included the compact head and *bao* head, which implies that in Shuangquan the community compact and the *baojia* system may have fused into one institution. These positions were probably open to people without degree or title (such as Yizhu), but someone who had some wealth or held a degree or title was perhaps more preferable (such as Wenfang). The biography of Wenfang also tells us that he was appointed by the government. This suggests that the heads of the community compact, though probably nominated by villagers, would have to be approved by the local magistrate. In a third biography, a Zou of Shuanquan, a wealthy

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[63] The Vice-Magistrate was Xie Tianxiang 謝天相, who was appointed to the position in 1767. See *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 20/43a.

[64] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shangquan), *juan shou*, 14a-14b.

merchant, contributed and managed to erect an office for the community compact.[65] The existence of a community compact in Shuangquan can be further supported by oral tradition. Zou Jiangrui, an elder of seventy-eight years old from this village, told me that the position of compact head remained up to the early Republican period. The compact head was selected by local notables from among those who were "honest and tolerant." The community compact system turned into the buffer between the state and the village's natural political structure, not unlike the *xiangbao* 鄉保 that Philip Huang finds in the Qing North China.[66] The oral tradition also shows the existence of a community compact in Wuge. According to a Wuge elder well-versed in local history, the last compact head of this village was a man called Zou Xinshou 鄒新壽, who was appointed to this position in the early Republican period. He was a peasant who received an elementary education. He was appointed to the position probably because he was not only upright and outspoken but also capable. His major responsibility was to settle local disputes. When a villager was involved in a dispute, he could bring the case to him. This practice was known as "the presenting of a plaint to the compact head" (*tou xiangyue* 投鄉約). The compact head then invited several local notables to settle the dispute. The party who brought the case to the compact head had to give some gifts or money to him and the local notables. Again, in this case community compact as a position was occupied not by a local notable but by an ordinary peasant. This was closer to the head of the *baojia* than to the compact head in the Ming community compact system. The fact that the written sources of Wuge do not mention this position suggests that it did not perform important functions in the social life of this village. In contrast, we have much more information on

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[65] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, 9a-9b.

[66] Philip C. C. Huang, "County Archives and the Study of Local Social History: Report on a Year's Research in China," *Modern China* 8.1 (Jan. 1982), 137-138; Philip C. C. Huang, *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 225-231.

the community compact of Shangbao and it seems that this organization played a relatively important role in the economic, social, and religious life of the villages that belonged to this compact. It is to the history of this compact we now turn.

Community Compact of Shangbao

Villages and Descent Groups Around Shangbao

As mentioned in Chapter II, in the southern end of the Sibao Basin lies a group of small villages: Shangbao, Jiantou, Shexiaqian, and Huangkeng. Settled in each of these villages is one small-size descent group. Starting from the late sixteenth century, they either initiated or later joined the community compact of Shangbao (Shangbao yue 上保約) and continued to include themselves in the institution until the early twentieth century. Before proceeding to the history of the Shangbao compact, we need to review the history of these villages and their residents.

The residents of Shangbao, the biggest of the four small villages, are the Zous. Like the Zous of other villages, they trace their descent to Zougong or Lord Zou. Local legend has it that when Zougong moved to Sibao he first settled in the Zou Family Mountain of Shangbao. Two of his sons moved to Wuge and Shuangquan and thus became the pioneer ancestors of these two villages respectively. The second son of Zougong, Qilang (G2), stayed in Shangbao and became the ancestor of all of the Zous of Shangbao. Qilang had seven sons. His first, third, and sixth sons, Shelang (G3), Zhenlang, and Youlang, settled in Yangzibian (also known as Yangzixuan 陽紫軒). His second son, Fulang, settled in Dapingtou. Xianglang, the fourth son, settled in Zhenbei. His fifth and seventh sons, Lilang and Lulang, settled in Zhenbian.[67] Of the seven sons,

[67] Yangzibian, Dapingtou, Zhenbei, and Zhenbian are hamlets of Shangbao.

the descendants of Shelang, Fulang, and Lilang are the most prosperous and still live in Shangbao. The descendants of the other four sons moved out of Shangbao or their lines were simply terminated due to a failure to have heirs.[68]

The second biggest village, Jiantou, is also a single-surname village. Its residents, the Wus, traced their settlement history to a Southern Song ancestor called Dalang 大郎 (G1). The genealogy of the Wus has it that Dalang moved to Sibao from Nanfeng 南豐, Jiangxi. The son of Dalang, Wulang 五郎 (G2), had only one son, Nianwulang 念五郎 (G3). Nianwulang, too, had only one son, Nianqilang 念七郎 (G4). Nianqilang was able to have two sons, Boyi 伯益 and Xiaoba 小八 (G5). They became the focal ancestors of the two major branches of the Wus of Jiantou. The branch of Boyi was known as the "Upper Gate" (*shangmen* 上門) or the "Upper Shrine", while that of Xiaoba, the "Middle Gate" (*zhongmen* 中門), the "Lower Gate" (*xiamen* 下門), or the "Lower Shrine."[69]

Shexiaqian 社下前 is actually the name of two settlements, Old Shexiaqian and New Shexiaqian. The former lies to the northwest of Shangbao, while the latter lies to the south. The settlement was called Shexiaqian probably because it was located in front of one of the two altars of the soil of Shangbao that lies at the water exit of this village. The residents of this village are the Yangs. The founding ancestor of the Yangs, Liusanlang 六三郎, is claimed to have been a descendant of the famous Southern Song Neo-Confucian, Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135). Liusanlang used to live in Longhu 龍湖 village, Jiangle 將樂 County. Then together with his brothers, Liusanlang moved to Shexiage 社下閣 in Tingzhou city to flee from social turmoil. He did business in Sibao and found Shexiaqian a nice place and eventually decided to settle there.[70] We do not know when

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[68] See *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Yangzixuan Zou shi zupu xu" 陽紫軒鄒氏族譜序, 1a-1b; 1/1a-5a.

[69] *Wu shi zupu* (1899 edition, Shangci), 1a-1b.

[70] *Hongnong Yang shi zupu* 宏農楊氏族譜 (Hereafter *HNYSZP*, 1996 edition), 1/6b, 8a-9a.

the Yangs moved to New Shexiaqian. When I visited Sibao, only a few Yangs still lived in Old Shexiaqian.

The Lais of Huangkeng used to live in Gaowukeng 高屋坑, a village to the south of New Shexiaqian. Now most of them have moved to Huangkeng, a village close to the old Liancheng-Changting border. According to the genealogy of the Lais, their founding ancestor, Lai Chuanlu 賴傳祿, moved to Sibao from Gutian *li* 古田里 of Shanghang County probably in the late sixteenth century.[71]

Like other small-size descent groups such as the Yans of Yanwu, the Zous, the Wus, the Yangs, and the Lais mentioned above made a conscious effort to build their lineage at the end of the eighteenth century, two centuries after they had organized themselves as a territorial unit under the form of a community compact. Their history thus provides support to the hypothesis of Burton Pasternak that under certain circumstances such as in frontier society non-kin alignment was first practiced and lineage building was only the second phase of social development.[72] Even when the conscious efforts of lineage building transformed these kinship organizations into descent groups, the impact of the territorial bond can still be clearly observed. The most obvious impact is probably that all of these kinship organizations committed to the compilation of genealogies at roughly the same time. All of the three major branches of the Zous compiled their first genealogies in 1794. The branch of Lilang (Zhenbian) completed to compile its first genealogy in the spring of 1794. The branch of Shelang (Yangzibian), in the summer. The branch of Fulang (Dapingtou), in the autumn.[73] The two branches of the

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[71] According to a preface of the genealogy of the Lais written in 1795, the Lais moved to Huangkeng two hundred years ago. This means that the Lais' settlement history in Huangkeng dates back to the end of the sixteenth century. See *Songyang jun Lai shi zupu* 松陽郡賴氏族譜 (Hereafter *SYJLSZP*. 1995 edition), *juan shou*, 4.

[72] Burton Pasternak, "The Role of the Frontier in Chinese Lineage Development," *Journal of Asian Studies* 28.3 (1969), 551-561.

[73] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Zou shi zupu xu" 鄒氏族譜序, 1a-1b.

Wus of Jiantou, the Yangs of Shexiaqian, and the Lais of Huangkeng all compiled their first genealogies the next year.[74] Similarly, when the first editions of the genealogies were updated, they did it roughly at the same time. The Zous of Yangzibian and Zhenbian, the Yangs, and the Lais updated their genealogies in 1851, while the two branches of the Wus did it the next year.[75] Again, when these genealogies were updated the third time, all of the descent groups except the Lais, who updated their genealogy later, in the Republican period, did it within five years of one another. The Zous of Yangzibian and Zhenbian edited their genealogies in 1894. The Zous of Dapingtou, in 1895. The Yangs, two years later, in 1897. The branches of the Wus, in 1899.[76] These phenomena cannot be seen as a coincidence. Instead, they are one impact that the territorial bond, a community compact in this case, exerted upon kinship organization. The lineage building of these small descent groups thus shows a relatively different mode of development from those major lineages such as the Mas of Mawu and the Zous of Wuge. Similarly, all genealogies of the descent groups belonging to the Shangbao compact, except for the *Lai Family Genealogy* of Huangkeng, included a section on the system of mourning

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[74] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan zhi shou*, "Bohai jun Wu shi zupu xu" 渤海郡吳氏族譜序, 1a-1b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Wu shi Xiaoba gong fangpu jiu xu" 吳氏小八公房譜舊序, 1a-1b; *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Chongxiu zupu jiu xu" 重修族譜舊序, 1a-1b; *SYJLSZP*, *juan shou*, 4.

[75] We have no information on the Zous of Dapingtou. See *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Chongxiu zupu xu" 重修族譜序, 1a-1b; *ZSZP* (1894 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 1, "Zou shi chongxiu zupu xu" 鄒氏重修族譜序, 1a-1b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan zhi shou*, "Chongxiu zupu xu" 重修族譜序, 1a-1b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Wu shi Xiaoba gong chongxiu fangpu xu" 吳氏小八公重修房譜序, 1a-1b; *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Yang shi chongxiu zupu xu" 楊氏重修族譜序, 1a-1b; *SYLSZP*, *juan shou*, 5.

[76] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "San xiu zupu xu" 三修族譜序, 1a-1b; "Dapingtou san xiu zupu xu" 大坪頭三修族譜序, 1a-1b; *ZSZP* (1895 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 1, "Zou shi chongxiu zupu xu" 鄒氏重修族譜序, 1a-1b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan zhi shou*, "Chongxiu zupu xu" 重修族譜序, 1a-4b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Chongxiu pu xu" 重修譜序, 1a-3a; *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Shoushi timing" 首事題名, 1b.

dresses,[77] which cannot be found in the genealogies of such agnate groups such as the Zous of Wuge and the Mas of Mawu. This evidence may also be a trace of influence that the community compact left upon the local kinship organizations.

The Making of a Community Compact

The genealogy of the Zous of Zhenbian includes a brief introduction to the early history of Shangbao community compact, which goes as follows.

> The office of the community compact shown on the left [page] is located in front of the Zougong Temple, just before the hill. [Its geomantic location is] *jia* 甲 and [it] faces the direction of *geng* 庚. [Its] eastern boundary is a hill; its west boundary, the Wine Drinking Pavilion (*yinfuting* 飲福亭) of Shangquan village and the courtyard of the temple; its southern boundary are the fields; its northern boundary, the courtyard [of the temple]. In the spring of the seventeenth year of the Chongzhen era of the Great Ming (1644), under the direction of Zongyao 宗堯 and other descendants of Lord [Zou] Qilang, the office of the Shangbao compact was erected. The five rooms [of the office] were adjacent to each other. In the middle hall, [a board with] the *Sacred Edict* was placed and the plaque of "the Office of Community Compact" (*xiangyuesuo* 鄉約所) was hung up. On the left side [of the office] was erected a big stone stele of "the Office of Community Compact of Shangbao" to put an end to confusion. In the three seasons of the first, third, and seventh month, gentry and elders (*jinqi* 衿耆) went to the compact office to discuss the compact rules (*yuegui* 約規). On the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth day of the first month and the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-third day of the sixth month of every year, Shangbao celebrated the god's (i.e., Zougong) birthday. The gentry and elders drank wine inside [the office].

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[77] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Fuzhi" 服制, 1a-9b; *ZSZP* (1894 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 1, "Fuzhi," 1a-9b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan zhi shou*, "Fuzhi," 1a-12b; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Fuzhi," 1a-6b; *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Fuzhi," 2a-10b.

> And may [this] not continue generation after generation.... In the first month of the spring of the fourth year of the Kangxi era of our Dynasty (1665), the four surnames, the Wus, the Yangs, the Lis, and the Lais, all decided to initiate a compact, but [they] did not have compact office. [They] earnestly requested the [descendants of] Lord Zou Qilang to permit [them] to use the compact office to discuss compact rules. Later on, the five surnames of the Zous, the Wus, the Yangs, the Lis, and the Lais constituted the five-fold association with the names of *ren* 仁 (humanity), *yi* 義 (righteousness), *li* 禮 (propriety), *zhi* 智 (wisdom), and *xin* 信 (sincerity). [They] decided the order of rotation of conducting compact affairs by drawing lots.[78] 右約所在鄒公廟前山下甲山庚向東至山西至雙泉鄉飲福亭與廟坪南至田北至坪大明崇禎十七年春七郎公裔孫宗堯等首建上保鄉約所一植毗連五間中廳設立聖諭一座上懸鄉約所匾額右畔豎上保鄉約所大石碑以杜混淆每逢正三七月三季衿耆詣約所議論約規遞年正月十二十三十五日六月廿日廿一日廿三日上保慶祝神誕衿耆飲福於內世世勿替... 至國朝康熙四年春正月吳楊李賴四姓同議合約奈無約所懇借鄒七郎公約所商議約規後鄒吳楊李賴五姓編立仁義禮智信五班字號拈鬮為定輪流辦備約務

Several points made in the preceding passage need to be clarified here. Firstly, although the office of the Shangbao compact was erected in 1644, this does not mean that the community compact itself was initiated in that year. Actually, the Yangzibian genealogy claims clearly that Shangbao compact was initiated in the Wanli era (1573-1619),[79] though it does not give the exact year. Secondly, when the Shangbao compact was initiated, its members included no other villagers than the Zous of Shangbao. That is perhaps the reason the compact got its name. Then, in 1665, the Wus, the Yangs, the Lis,

[78] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), 1/117.

[79] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 19, "Shangbaoyue gongchan" 上保約公產, 1a.

and the Lais decided to establish another compact.[80] They joined the Shangbao compact some years later. Finally, the fusion of the two compact organizations did not necessarily happen in the same year they decided on the order of rotation. The first event may have happened some time after 1665. The second event should have happened between the second and the fourth decades of the Kangxi era (1662-1772) because the first time the Yangs conducted compact affairs was in 1704 (see below).[81]

Why did the villages around Shangbao as well as Mawu, Changxiao, and Nanchai initiate community compacts in the Wanli era? Social historians of Fujian history have offered several explanations and they have outlined the basic social and political backgrounds that may have contributed to the emergence of community compacts in Sibao. The Japanese scholar Miki Satoshi sees the emergence of the community compact and *baojia* system as one of the results of the breaking-down of the *lijia* system established in the early Ming. The *lijia* system established by Ming Taizu had functions ranging from the collecting of taxes and imposing of corvée labor, and the guaranteeing of the reproduction of the rural economy, to the promoting of community security and social order. The development of gentry-landlord landownership in the mid-Ming led to the decline of the resident landlords. Since these landlords provided the basis upon which the *lijia* system functioned, their decline resulted in the breaking-down of the rural control system of the *lijia*. The functions that used to be performed by the *lijia* system had to be taken over by other new institutions in this period. The community compact and *baojia* system were two of these new institutions.[82]

Proceeding from the perspective of the evolution of the local administrative system, Zheng Zhenman gives a different explanation. According to him, the emergence

[80] There was no villager with the surname of Li around Shangbao long before and Shangbao villagers have no idea how they the Lis disappeared.

[81] *HNYSZP, juan shou*, 4a-5a.

[82] Miki Satoshi, *Min-Shin Fukken nōson shakai no kenkyū*, 278-288.

of the community compact and *baojia* system was closely related to financial difficulties of the late Ming local government. The financial difficulties of the local government were brought about, on the one hand, by the *wo* pirates and imposition of extra levies and, on the other hand, by the financial reforms starting from the mid-Ming. The first group of factors resulted in the diverting of the funds reserved for the maintenance of public engineering and local order to military and other more urgent affairs. The financial reforms from the mid-Ming, emphasizing the reduction of expenditures rather than the broadening of sources of income, led to the reduction of the funds controlled by the local government. As a result, the impoverished local government was forced to withdraw from the realm of public affairs and shift the functions concerned to local society. The community compact and *baojia* system arose as the times required. Zheng Zhenman also claims that the local autonomy that thus arose resulted in the expansion of lineage/community power and was followed by feuds between lineage/community organizations.[83] As will be shown below, this factor may also have contributed to the emergence of community compacts. Essentially speaking, the explanation of Miki Satoshi emphasizes the breaking-down of the *lijia* system, while that of Zheng Zhenman emphasizes the financial difficulties of the local government. But both believe that the emergence of the community compact was one of the results of the evolution of the local administrative system.

Both Miki Satoshi and Zheng Zhenman have drawn their conclusions from an investigation of overall Fujian history in the Ming. Their explanations provide the basic historical background for our understanding of Sibao community compacts. Indeed, some evidence implies a correlation between the *lijia* system and the Shangbao community compact. Recent scholarship has made it clear that from the mid-Ming on the *hu* 戶

[83] Zheng Zhenman, "Ming houqi Fujian difang xingzheng de yanbian," 147-156.

(households) in the household registration system often had nothing to do with actual households but were transformed into fiscal units that could include social groups ranging from several small lineages to a branch of a big lineage.[84] The case of Shangbao was no exception. Each of the descent groups around Shangbao or their major branches was registered in the official registration system by a single *hu*. Thus we find Zou Qitai *hu* 鄒啟太戶, Wu Tongren *hu* 吳通仁戶, Wu Deqi *hu* 吳德其戶, and so forth in the genealogical records of Shangbao. The first two *hu*, together with another *hu* called Zeng Taichang 曾太長,[85] were known as "the old three *hu*" (*lao san hu* 老三戶) or "the old sub-canton heads" (*lao lizhang* 老里長). They were the three sub-canton heads that took the responsibility in rotation over the fifth *jia* of the fifth *tu* of Sibao sub-canton of Changting County. Wu Deqi and another two *hu*, Zou Huangguan 鄒煌觀 and Zou Guangfa 鄒廣發, joined them in 1695 and 1757 respectively. These six *hu* took joint responsibility for various services that the government imposed upon the sub-canton head of the fifth *jia* of the fifth *tu*. They then rotated the responsibility among themselves in the following collectively decided order.[86]

Zou Qitai: *wu, jia, ji, yi, geng, bing, xin, ding, ren*;
Wu Tongren: *ji, yi, geng, bing, xin, ding, ren, wu, gui*;
Zeng Taichang: *geng, xin, ren, gui, jia*;
Wu Deqi: *xin, bing, ren, ding, gui, wu, jia, ji, yi*;

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[84] Katayama Tsuyoshi 片山剛, "Shindai Kanton-shō Shukō deruta no zukōsei ni tsuite-zeiryō, koseiki, dōzoku" 清代廣東省珠江デルタの圖甲制について-稅糧·戶籍·同族, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 63.3-4 (March 1982), 1-34; Zheng Zhenman, "Ming-Qing Fujian de lijia huji yu jiazu zuzhi" 明清福建的里甲戶籍與家族組織, *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國社會經濟史研究 2 (1989), 38-44; Liu Zhiwei, *Zai guojia yu shehui zhijian-Ming-Qing Guangdong lijia fuyi zhidu yanjiu* 在國家與社會之間-明清廣東里甲賦役制度研究 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1997).

[85] My Shangbao informants claim that they have never heard of the Zengs around Shangbao, which means that they must have moved out of the area at least two or three generations ago.

[86] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Zhao geng tianpian" 招耕田片, 1a-4b.

Zou Huangguan: *ren, ding, gui, wu, jia, ji, yi, geng, bing*;
Zou Guangfa: *gui, wu, jia, ji, yi, geng, bing, xin, ding*.[87]

Thus the order of rotation went this way: Zou Qitai→Wu Tongren→Zeng Taichang→Wu Deqi→Zou Huangguan→Zou Guangfa→Zou Qitai→Wu Tongren→Wu Deqi→Zou Huangguan→Zou Guangfa and so on. Every *hu* was on duty every other four years or five years except Zeng Qitai *hu*, which was on duty every ten years. This evidence shows that three of the six *hu* did not belong to the fifth *jia* of the fifth *tu* and they may have joined the other three *hu* because they belonged to the same community compact. But the "old three *hu*" seemed to have existed for some time before Wu Deqi *hu* joined them in 1695. The joint responsibility they took may have paved the way for the co-operation between the Zous and the Wus and other agnate groups in the later period. More importantly, the existence of the *lijia* organization suggests that the *lijia* system of Sibao may have been greatly transformed but not have completely broken down. The *lijia* system still provided necessary services imposed by the government. But some functions that the *lijia* system used to assume such as the promoting of social order and moral education may have been performed by other institutions such as the community compact and the *baojia* system. As for the evolution of the financial system of local government, Tingzhou was no exception to the conclusion drawn by Zheng Zhenman. Indeed, some important evidence he cites in his study has been drawn from Tingzhou.[88] The withdrawal of the state from public affairs resulted in the rise of local autonomy. To deal with public affairs, villages, especially small villages, sought cooperation from each other. This led to the emergence of new social groups and networks. Thus before the Wus, the Yangs, and the Lis joined the Shangbao compact, they had worked with the

[87] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Zhao geng tianpian," 3a-3b.

[88] One of the important sources that Zheng Zhenman relies on is the *Ninghua County Gazetteer* compiled by Li Shixiong 李世熊 in the early Qing.

Zous of Shangbao to construct an irrigation system in the late Ming (see below). It is unlikely that this cooperation did not have any influence on their later cooperation in the community compact.

If the transformation of the *lijia* system and the financial system of local government provides the basic historical setting in which the community compact came into being, what were the direct reasons that brought about this institution? Ma Mengfu, the architect of the Mawu compact, claims that the compact was initiated to reform a society that was on the edge of disintegration, a society, to quote his words, whose "customs are getting less and less pure" and a society that "has one thousand lesions and a hundred holes." Therefore, his compact was basically a device for the reforming of evil customs and the renewal of public morality. The motivation behind the establishment of the Shangbao compact is more difficult to figure out. A local legend has it that the compact was initiated to combat the harassment of bandit gangs and the encroachment of the nearby dominant lineages. As we know, the villages around Shangbao were relatively small and were close to the mountainous Changting-Liancheng border. The bandit gangs that haunted this border area harassed these villages from time to time. These villages were also reportedly bullied by those big lineages settled in the southern center of the narrow Sibao Basin once in a while. As pointed out in the fourth chapter, those agnate groups started the process of lineage building in the mid-Ming. At the turn of the seventeenth century, several of them had been transformed into lineages with ancestral halls, genealogies, and some plots of corporate land, whereas the residents of the villages around Shangbao were to wait about two centuries more before starting the process of lineage building. One legend circulated among the Wus of Jiantou explains why the Wus did not marry the girls of the Mas of Mawu. A Wu married a woman from Mawu. The woman died a natural death at the age of over eighty. Upon hearing of the death of this woman, a number of people from her *niangjia* 娘家 (her parents' home) marched to

Jiatou and robbed everything valuable from her husband's house on the pretext that her death was due to mistreatment by her husband's family.[89] The Wus were only a small agnate group and dared not to fight with the Mas. To avoid any similar trouble, they ordered their descendants never to marry girls of the Mas. The Zous of Shangbao, on the other hand, seemed to have had trouble with the Zous of Shuangquan for some time concerning the sacrifices performed in the Zougong Temple before a dispute took place and a lawsuit was brought to Changting *yamen* in the Chongzhen era (1628-1644).[90] The Zous of Shuangquan, though no match for the power of the Mas, were stronger than the Zous of Shangbao, then still a group of agnates without much solidarity. In view of the evidence mentioned above, the establishment of the Shangbao compact probably provided a way for these small villages to defend themselves from the harassment of bandit gangs and big lineages and even a means to challenge the authority of the dominant lineages. A legend circulated around Shangbao shows this point clearly. Once a member of the Shangbao compact was bullied by a member of a dominant lineage. After he reported this to the compact head, the latter gathered a group of compact members and marched to the house of the member of the dominant lineage. They took away every valuable item from the house without meeting any resistance. Therefore, for big or middle-size villages such as Mawu, Wuge, and Shuangquan, the community compact may have been initiated principally in order to maintain moral and ritual order or to carry out the responsibilities that this institution assumed in the Qing period. For the smaller villages such as Shangbao and Jiantou, in addition to promoting the social order, the community compact also assumed additional functions including the guaranteeing of

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[89] For Chinese women's *niangjia*, see Ellen R. Judd, "*Niangjia*: Chinese Women and Their Natal Families," *Journal of Asian Studies* 48.3 (Aug. 1989), 525-544.

[90] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "San xiang fending zhi ji riqi guili" 三鄉分定致祭日期規例, 1a.

local security (see below). But both were in a certain sense the results of the evolution of the local administrative system starting from the mid-Ming.

Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the early history of the Shangbao compact. We know that, at the turn of the eighteenth century, after the Wus, the Yangs, the Lis, and the Lais joined the Shangbao compact, a system of rotation was set up and it remained without much modification until it ceased working in the early Republican period. According to this system, each of the five surname groups or their branches was organized into each of five groups with the names of *ren*, *yi*, *li*, *zhi*, and *xin* respectively. These five groups were:

> *Ren*-character group: the Lower Gate of the Wus, the Yangs, and the Lais;
> *Yi*-character group: the Upper Gate of the Wus;
> *Li*-character group: the Zous of Zhenbian;
> *Zhi*-character group: the Zous of Dapingtou;
> *Xin*-character group: the Zous of Yangzibian.[91]

These groups took charge of the affairs related to the compact on a rotating basis. As for the groups that included more than one surname group, the responsibility rotated among themselves. The frequency of the duties was decided according to the size of the groups concerned. Thus the Yangs were on duty once every twenty-five years according to the following passage from their genealogy.

> On the second day of the first month of every year, the sacrificial animals were slaughtered in the compact office and [the responsibility of] the compact was taken over [by the group that was to be on duty that year].

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[91] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Citu ji" 祠圖記, 5a; *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Zougong miao yuesuo" 鄒公廟約所, 5a.

The two surnames of Lower Gate Wus of Jiantou and the Yangs drew lots and [were assigned to] the *Ren*-character group. It was collectively decided on this day that the Lower Gate Wus and [the Lais of] Gaowukeng were jointly on duty. In [a cycle of] twenty-five years [they] took turns to be on duty five times. The Yangs were on duty once every [twenty-five] years. The Yangs took over the compact duty from the *Xin*-character group of Yangzibian and shifted the duty to the [following] *Yi*-character group of the Upper Gate of the Wus. The person who finish his compact duty should hold a banquet and send a letter to invite the next compact head to attend the banquet. [He] also has to invite another two persons from his own agnates (*benjia*) to attend the banquet. [He] should hold a banquet for the two persons when [he] pays respect to the saint[92] and transfers his duties in the Zougong Temple. On the second day of the seventh month of every year, the compact holds an assembly. The *Six Maxims of the Sacred Edict* is explained for the sake of transforming commoners and making them honest and pure.[93] 每年正月初二日在約所宰牲上輪下接約棍頭下門吳楊二姓合拈鬮得仁字班當日經眾原議下門吳姓並高屋坑在內接約輪流連五班共廿五年至每年楊姓接約一次楊姓接約在洋子邊信字班約送交下棍頭上門義字班脫約人須具帖請新鄉約一餐又于本家敦請二人一餐諸鄒公廟接拜聖送約另請二人一餐每年七月初二日行約一次宣講聖諭六言化民敦淳

The passage goes on to tell us that the Yangs began to be on duty in 1704. Thereafter they were on duty, once every twenty-five years, in 1729, 1754, 1779, 1804, 1829, 1854, 1879. Gaowukeng mentioned in the passage was probably the Lais for they used to live in the settlement before most of them moved to the present day Huangkeng. The passage shows that the Lais and the Wus were on duty in the same year. But we do not know how these two agnates divided their duties. Nor we know which group the Lis belonged to. They seemed to have disappeared after the mid-Qing. This passage also reveals that the

[92] Since this took place in the Zougong Temple, the "saint" here probably refers to Zougong.

[93] *HNYSZP, juan shou*, "Zougong miao yuesuo," 4a-5a.

Shangbao compact functioned continuously at least from the early eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century.

According to the passage, each of the five groups of the Shangbao compact was on duty once every five years and each duty lasted one year. These units took over the duty on the second day of the first month, which was called "taking over the compact duty" (*jieyue* 接約). They shifted the duty to the next group on the same day of the next year, which was called "shifting the compact duty" (*tuoyue* 脫約). Before the day of shifting the duty, the compact head on duty should send an invitation card to notify the next compact head as well as gentry and elders, inviting them attend the assembly that was to take place on that very day. Two such invitation cards can be found in the manual of sacrificial texts (Manual D) collected in Shangbao. The first card was addressed to the compact head of the succeeding group. It claims that the winter was over and the spring was coming, it was time to shift the compact duty to the succeeding group. The compact head on duty sent this card to the next compact head, inviting him to go to the compact office to "receive the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edict*" and take over the compact duty on the second day of the first month.[94] The second card was addressed to gentry and elders of the whole compact. It could be used for the assembly on the second day of the first month and the third day of the third and seventh months. It claims that sacrificial animals would be slaughtered on such-and-such day according to the compact rules. All "gentry, elders, and eminently talented persons of the compact" were invited to the assembly in the compact office to "discuss the compact rules" (*yilun yuegui* 議論約規) so that the "customs will be purified and refined and [all] will enjoy great peace" 風清俗

[94] Manual D, 22b-23a.

美共樂太平.[95] The date given at the end of the card was the Republican period, which shows that the Shangbao compact continued to exist in the early Republican period.

To each group in the Shangbao compact, the duty that took place once every five years was an important responsibility involving the honor and fame of the group. Some groups set up rules concerning how they should take on these duties and recorded them in their genealogies. According to the rules set up by the Upper Gate of the Wus (the *Yi*-character group),

> In the years of *yi* and *geng*, it is this [ancestral] hall's turn to [take on the duty of] the community compact. [It] transfers the compact duty in the years of *bing* and *xin*. There are compact assemblies and the recitation of the text of the compact (*xingyue* 行約). The persons on month duty and on year duty should invite those who talented in management skills (*you zhi shi cai zhe* 有值事才者) to accomplish these affairs collectively and [they] should not shift responsibilities to others nor shrink back. When the [yellow] register was checked (*diance*, i.e., services were imposed by the government), every household should pay no less than twenty-five cash. [We] should not depend upon [proceeds from] the pine trees alone.[96] With united effort it is easily raised.
>
> In the year of the transfer of the compact duty, carry the pig that [our ancestral] hall prepares to the compact office and slaughter [it there]. Government Students, National University Students, *lisheng*, and those who are entitled to drink wine go to the compact office to attend the reception. There is no wine feast in the morning when sacrifices are presented to [ancestors in] the hall except for the musicians, to whom a reception will be offered.[97] 逢乙庚兩年輪該祠內為鄉約丙辛脫約有會約行約值月值年人邀同有值事才者共成其事毋推諉退縮遇點冊每家的要科錢不

[95] Manual D, 23a-23b.

[96] The pine trees were the ones in the corporate mountains of the Upper Gate branch.

[97] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan* 8, "Ju kai ji zuci guili," 2b.

宜專望松子至少要出錢二十五文眾擎易舉脫約之年將祖祠所備豬移宰約所生監禮生凡該飲福者同臨約所款待上午祭祠則無酒筵或待鼓樂一位

These rules show that the Upper Gate Wus were on duty in the years with the celestial stem characters *yi* and *geng* and that they transferred the duties to the following years of the cycle. The first rule orders that persons with management skills conduct the compact affairs. It also indicates that the Shangbao compact, like the Eight Generals compact of Naichai, had to provide services or taxes to the local government. The second rule reveals the involvement of *lisheng* in the community compact. Unfortunately, we are not given any detailed information about the rituals they performed.

The case of Sibao provides an insight into an argument recently proposed by John Lagerwey. In an article published in *Minsu quyu* (Folklore and ritual drama), Lagerwey attempts to differentiate two forms of social organization. The first, presumably more vertical or hierarchical form, represented by the "division of incense" (*fenxiang* 分香) temple networks and "village alliances" (*xiangyue*), was built around what he calls "common [central?] temples." The second, perhaps more horizontal or communal form, which he thinks is still unknown to most scholars, was represented by village networks built around statues that circulated from village to village in the form of rotating worship.[98] Lagerwey places community compacts in the first category, although he does not clearly distinguish these from village alliances. While a thorough discussion of this argument is beyond the scope of this chapter, the findings of this study indicate that his argument cannot be accepted without reservations. As far as community compacts are concerned, the cases of the Eight Generals compact and the Shangbao compact show clearly that they too could take a rotating form.

[98] Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors," 63.

Who were these people who assumed the position of compact head? How were gentry involved in the compact affairs? These questions are important for understanding the nature of the community compact. Lack of evidence, however, makes it possible only to provide some clues to these questions. We have biographical information on only four compact heads. The first person was Wu Dashun 吳大順 (1572-1648), styled Ruochu 若初. His elder brother, Wu Dahang 吳大行, was a Tribute Student. When he was young Dashun went into business and made some money, with which he supported his brother's preparation for the civil service examination. He was appointed community head because he was a man of "straightforwardness and self-control." He was good at dealing with compact affairs. After his term of office ended, he was invited to continue to supervise compact affairs. He was recommended to be one of the honorable guests of the community wine drinking ceremony probably due to his excellent services on behalf of the compact.[99]

The second person, Yang Jiugong 楊九公, is reportedly a man who "had never bullied the widowers and widows and defied excessive force throughout his life." When he "decided what was right and wrong, [he treated as] right those who were right and [treated as] wrong those who were wrong. [He] never compromised with other people." He tried his best to deal with compact affairs and "once making a promise [he] would never change his mind even if [he was offered] a thousand taels [of silver]." We know he had been appointed as the compact head because his biography tells us that:

> the Society of Village Prohibitions (*xiangjinhui* 鄉禁會) of our compact had set up quite harsh regulations, to the point that some [regulation breakers] were sent to the *yamen* to receive punishment. Never had [Jiugong] hesitated to put [these regulations] into practice. If up to now

[99] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Shangci), *juan* 8, "Ruochu gong zhuan" 若初公傳, 1a.

in [our] compact the evil custom of stealing has not become rampant, and residents have been able to lay their heads on their pillows and just drop off to sleep, that was bestowed by [our] brother (i.e., Jiugong).[100] 吾約鄉禁會立下規條甚酷或送官懲治無不果敢而遵行迄今約內賊風不致猖獗居民得高枕而臥者皆兄之賜也

The Society of Village Prohibitions, also known as the *xiangzhengshe* 鄉正社,[101] was an organization belonging to the Shangbao compact that usually dealt with public affairs. We will come across this organization below. The biography of Jiugong finally mentions that he was killed in collective violence between the Yangs and the Lower Gate Wus.

Yang Jianzhong 楊儉忠,[102] the third compact head, did not seem to be a wealthy person. It is reported that he was "thrifty and simple in his life and supported himself by cultivation." When the family was divided, his father did not leave him any valuable property. Besides farming, he also supported his family by peddling rice from Ninghua to Liancheng, which, as I mentioned in the first chapter, was a widespread trade in Sibao prior to 1949. Probably because the Yangs were a poor descent group, the humble situation of Jianzhong does not seem to have influenced his status in his village. He managed the corporate land of an ancestor of the twelfth generation. He was able to accumulate some wealth for his branch by loaning out money. He also accumulated some

[100] *HNYSZP, juan shou*, "Yang Jiugong zhuan" 楊九公傳, 1b.

[101] The pronunciation of term "*xiangjin* " is the same as that of "*xiangzheng*" in Sibao dialect.

[102] I learn the fact that Yang Jianzhong and Zou Yongyuan (see below) had been appointed the compact head from a note put in the *Wu Family Genealogy* of the Upper Gate branch. On the left side of the note were three characters "*xiangyuegong*" 鄉約公. Listed behind were names of the following five persons: Wu Zhiying 吳志有, Zou Yongyuan, Yang Jianzhong, Wu Fengyou 吳豐有, and [Wu] Chuanbing 吳傳炳. Unfortunately, I am not able to find the biographies of Wu Zhiyou, Wu Fengyou, and Wu Chuanbing. But it is clear that none of these persons received any titles and degrees because their names are not found in the list of holders of degrees and titles in the genealogies of the Zous and the Wus.

money to support the sacrifices to a sixteenth generation ancestor whose line was terminated.[103] This evidence suggests that he was relatively capable of managing wealth.

The fourth person, Zou Yongyuan 鄒永遠, seemed to have been born into a well-to-do family. It is reported that a title of National University Student was purchased for him when he was only twelve years old. Yongyuan was "sincere, kindly, faithful, and honest" and "treated people modestly." He played an important role in a variety of public affairs, including the repairing of bridges and roads, the management of corporate funds for ancestor worship, the construction of the stage of the Datong Bridge 大桐橋 market, the renovation of the Hall of Tianhou 天后 (Empress of Heaven), the management of the Society of Birthday Celebration of Lord Jingchu (*Jingchu gong shengdan hui* 景初公聖誕會), and the updating of the genealogy of his own descent group.[104]

The four compact heads mentioned above came from families of different economic and social backgrounds. The fourth one belonged to the lower reach of the gentry group, the first one had received a certain imperial honor, and the other two were commoners. But none of them were Government Students. The fourth one and probably the first one came from a well-to-do family, while the other two were from ordinary families. These family background and economic and social status were, therefore, not necessarily the criteria for the position of the compact head. This was partly due to the fact that not all of the agnate groups of Shangbao compact were able to produce gentry continuously. More importantly, unlike the building of a lineage, where degree-holders seemed to be indispensable as shown in Chapter IV, talent and experience in management of public affairs and corporate funds were more desirable for the position of the compact head. All of these four persons seem to have had to a certain degree this talent and

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[103] *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Jianzhong weng zhuan" 儉忠翁傳, 1a.

[104] *ZSZP* (1930 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 7, "Yongyuan xian zhi xingshu" 永遠賢侄行述, 1a.

experience. This is not surprising if we remember that the establishment of the community compact was meant to deal with public affairs and to settle local disputes. A person without this talent and experience would not be competent at this position even if he were a degree holder. This is probably the reason why the Wus of Jiantou put so much emphasis upon "those who have management talent."

Shangbao Compact and Local Society

The office of the Shangbao compact was built beside the Zougong Temple in Shangbao. As will be shown in Chapter VI, this temple was put up in the Yuan period and was one of the most important temples in southern Sibao. The compact office was erected there probably because it was the community and ceremonial center. As mentioned above, the office included five rooms. The *Sacred Edict* was placed in the middle room. The routine activities of the compact took place three times a year. On the second day of the first month, a banquet was held in the office and gentry, elders, and compact heads were invited to attend. The transfer of the compact duty also happened on this occasion. The assembly that took place on the third day of the third month was meant to "discuss compact rules," that is, the settling of local disputes and the discussion of public affairs. The recitation and expounding of the *Sacred Edict* and the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edict* after 1724 were made on the third day of the seventh month.[105] Besides, when a local dispute happened, it would probably be brought to the compact head right away. Thus when the geomancy of the grave of one of the Yangs' ancestors was endangered by a Zou, the Yangs brought their plaint to the compact head and the *bao* head. The dispute was eventually resolved by the mediation of the latter.[106]

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[105] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Citu ji" 祠圖記, 5a; *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), *juan* 1, 117.

[106] *HNYSZP*, *juan shou*, "Xiangtu" 鄉圖, 3b.

In addition to these routine activities, the Shangbao compact played an important role in the economic, social, and religious life of its members, the role recent studies seldom expect of the community compacts. The involvement of the compact in the maintenance of irrigation works dated back to the late Ming. With the exception of Gaowukeng and Huangkeng, the villages of the compact belong to a common irrigation system. The water of the irrigation system comes from the Aofeng Mountains that lies to the east of the Sibao basin. It goes through Shangbao and then reaches Jiantou and Shexiaqian. In the Wanli era, before they joined the Shangbao compact, the Wus, the Yangs, and the Lis, together with the Zous of Shangbao, constructed an embankment across the stream at a place called Youhangqian 油杭前 to channel water into the major ditch of the irrigation system mentioned above. They also opened some plots of land the rent of which was used to pay for the maintenance of the embankment. During the mid-eighteenth century, the land was reportedly "dominated" by someone who intended to "embezzle corporate property." Thus in the fourth month of 1762, the whole compact held a meeting, taking back the land and leasing it to a man called Zou Xinde 鄒新德. The latter was to pay the rent that amounted to six hundred cash a year to the compact head on duty. The rent was reserved to pay for the expenses of the maintenance of the irrigation system. A land deed was also drafted on the same day.[107]

The Shangbao compact also played an active role in a *jiao* festival that took place on the first day of the ninth month of each year. The festival was organized to celebrate the birthday of the Immortal Lai (Lai xiangong 賴仙公). A temple was dedicated to this god along with the Immortal Ouyang (Ouyang zhenxian 歐陽真仙) and the Immortal Luo (Luogong zhenxian 羅公真仙) on the top of a steep mountain, known as Gufeng Mountain 古峰山 or the Peak of the Immortal Lai (Laixiandong 賴仙崠), to the southeast

[107] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), *juan* 1, "Citu ji," 5b.

of Shangbao.[108] The Immortal Lai, the Immortal Ouyang, and the Immortal Luo was the immortals of the six well-known local deities called the "three immortals, two Buddhas, and one marquis" (*san xian er fo yi houwang* 三仙二佛一侯王) of the old Tingzhou. The Immortal Lai was a native of Qingliu and his name was Xuan 玄. He lived in the Song and became perfect and entered *nirvana* on Yuanfeng 員峰 Mountain in Gutian, Liancheng.[109] The Immortal Ouyang was also a native of Qingliu. He lived in the late Yuan and became perfect in the Shunzhen Taoist Convent (Shunzhen daoyuan 順貞道院) on Fengshan 豐山 Mountain in southern Qingliu.[110] The Immortal Luo was a native of Liancheng in the Northern Song. It is reported that he became perfect in the Yingshan 盈山 Convent of the later Qingliu.[111] We do not know when the temple was established in the Gufeng Mountain. Judging from two stone inscriptions in the temple, the Immortal Lai had a widespread following in Changting, Liancheng, and Qingliu in the late Qing.[112] The first day of the ninth month is said to be his birthday. The pilgrims from Changting, Liancheng, and Qingliu visited the temple on that day. A *jiao* communal offering was and

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[108] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), *juan shou*, "Jifu an fansha ji" 積福庵梵刹記, 1.

[109] Hua Qinjin 華欽進, "Yuanfeng shan de Lai xiangong ji qi daoshi" 員峰山的賴仙公及其道士, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Minxi de chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua*, 399-415; *QLXZ* (1947 edition), 27/12b. The other gods were Dingguang gufo 定光古佛, Fuhu chanshi 伏虎禪師, and Gehu gongwang 蛤蝴公王.

[110] *QLXZ* (1545 edition), 3/16b-17a. See also Jiang Chunfu 江椿福, "Dafeng shan yu Ouyang zhenxian" 大豐山與歐陽真仙, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Tingzhou fu de zongzu miaohui yu jingji*, 416-440.

[111] *LCXZ* (1939 edition), 31/2a-2b. Another source cited in this book claims that the Immortal Luo was a man of the Tang period.

[112] Both stone inscriptions record the contributions made to the restoration of the temple. One stele, with the four characters "*jiang fu kong jie*" 降福孔皆 (may abundant blessings be sent down) on its upper section, has no date. The other, with the characters "*yong chui buxiu*" 永垂不朽 (to be transmitted forever without corruption), was erected in 1894. Behind the list of contributors, the names of the twelve managers (*dongli* 董理) were given at the end of the second stele. Ten of them were from Changting. The other two were from Liancheng and Qingliu respectively. Of the ten managers from Changting, seven were surnamed Zou, two surnamed Wu, one surnamed Yang. This indicates that the members of Shangbao compact played a central role in the management of the temple.

is still organized on this day and lasts for two days. Taoist priests from Gechuan, Liancheng, were invited to perform rituals in the temple. Then the pilgrims visited the Convent of Accumulating Blessings (Jifu An 積福庵) located at the foot the Gufeng shan and presented offerings to the gods inside the temple.[113] All these activities used to be organized by the Shangbao compact. The latter also purchased land to cover the expenses of the ritual, such as the salary paid to musicians, incense sticks, candles, and so forth. As the *Zou Family Genealogy* of Zhenbian tells us,

> On the top of the South Peak (*nanzhang* 南嶂, i.e., Gufeng Mountain), the members of the Shangbao compact erected a temple, which was known as [the temple of] Gufeng Mountain. The golden statue [of the Immortal Lai] was placed inside and sacrifices were offered there. Each of those good men and faithful women from the four directions should fast wholeheartedly and climb the mountain to pay respects. Then the Immortal will surely display divine efficacy. Unfortunately, since our community constructed [the temple], no sacrificial land [was purchased] previously. [We] had to gather fellow members. Money was contributed and deposited for [accumulating] interest. Eventually three plots of arable land were purchased. The five groups *Ren*, *Yi*, *Li*, *Zhi*, and *Xin* of the community compact take turns [to manage the land]. On the first day of the ninth month [every year], the group on duty buys with the money generated by the fields such things as saltpeter, incense sticks and candles, and *caiyi* 彩儀 (a special flag decorated with ribbons prepared for pilgrimage), hires *suona* players, and climbs the mountain to pay religious homage. It celebrates [the birthday of] the Immortal in the temple. This will not be discontinued for one thousand years.[114] 南嶂山頂

[113] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), *juan shou*, "Jifu an fancha ji," 1. I will discuss the Convent of Accumulating Blessings in detail in the next chapter.

[114] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), 1/124. The *Zou Family Genealogy* of Yangzibian mentions two plots of land whose rent belonged to the Shangbao compact. It also mentions a plot of land belonging to the Society of the Immortal (*Xiangong she* 仙公社) and two plots of land belonging to the Society of Pilgrimage (*chaoshan hui* 朝山會), which seemed to belong to the two god

上保約眾人建造神廟一所名曰古峰山內裝金像而祀焉凡四方善男信女各宜誠心齋戒登山朝謁此必仙公之靈顯也惜乎吾鄉自建造以來原無祀田只得鳩集同人題捐存息後置買糧田三處將仁義禮智信五班鄉約輪流每班值年至九月朔日將田錢買辦硝磺香燭彩儀吹手等物登山朝拜至廟慶賀仙公千秋勿替

After it opened a new market at the Datong Bridge in 1866 (see below), the Shangbao compact sponsored the plays performed at the marketplace on the Immortal's birthday. For the performance of the plays it also built a stage there. The birthday celebration thus took place both in the temple and at the marketplace. To coordinate the activities of both places, the compact also set up a series of ways of communication and regulations. No written materials mention the birthday celebration in the temple. When I visited this temple on October 17, 2001 (the first day of the ninth month according to the lunar calendar), two Taoist priests from Gechuan, Liancheng, had been hired to perform rituals there. Although *lisheng* are not involved in the rituals any longer, this may not have been the case before 1949. The manual of sacrificial texts of Shangbao includes a text prepared for the *jiao* festival that took place in the temple. This implies that *lisheng* may well have been involved in the sacrifices to the Immortal Lai.[115]

In the year 1866, under the direction of the Shangbao compact, a new market was opened at the Datong Bridge or the Daqu 大衢 Bridge near Shangbao, Jiantou, and Old Shexiaqian, just in front of the altar of the soil of Shangbao. The market was known as the Datong Bridge market. The *Wu Family Genealogy* of the Lower Gate provides a brief description of how this market was opened.

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worshipping societies rather than Shangbao compact. See *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 19, "Shetian pian" 社田片, 2a, 4a.

[115] Manual D, 11a.

The Fair Market (*gongping xu* 公平墟) of this area was opened at the Daqu Bridge, the place where the public highway from the north to the south [passes through]. The [Pagoda of the] Netted Starring (*luoxingta* 羅星塔) can be found there. It is the [geomantic] key point (*suoyue* 鎖鑰) of the Zous [of Shangbao]. Because the new market of Longzu (i.e., Wuge), whose marketing days are the fifth and ninth,[116] is relatively far away and this produces difficulty for buying and selling, and fearing also that young people would make trouble, the four surnames of the Zous, the Wus, the Yangs, and the Lais, that is, the members of the five groups of *Ren*, *Yi*, *Li*, *Zhi*, *Xin*, and others, assembled and discussed collectively opening another market. This matter was decided long before but no results emerged. In the fifth year of the Tongzhi era (1866), this matter was picked up again and a decision was made collectively to open a new fair market at the Daqu Bridge of this area. [However,] one single bridge has not sufficient space to accommodate villagers. Therefore, twenty thousand copper cash was levied upon each of the five groups of *Ren*, *Yi*, *Li*, *Zhi*, and *Xin* to put up a hall on the top of the pagoda so that the buying and selling [of rice] would not be affected by wind and rain. Neither deities nor Buddhas are placed [in the pagoda]. On every thirds and eights days [of the month],[117] people come and go to do business, and this will not change after generations and years. In the eleventh year of the Guangxu era (1885), a stage was constructed before the pavilion for selling rice (*tiaomi ting* 糶米亭, i.e., the pagoda). [This] was not only to provide a place for performing plays on the first day of the ninth month when respects are paid to the Gufeng Mountain, but also to make the marketplace look more splendid. As for the expenses for erecting this stage, the Society of Village Prohibitions actually contributed several hundred taels [of silver] to cover the cost of construction and materials.[118] 本境公平墟設立於大衝橋正南北通衢之所其間有一羅星係鄉

[116] This means the marketing time were the fifth, ninth, fifteenth, nineteenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-ninth day of each month.

[117] This means the marketing time were the third, eighth, thirteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-eighth day of the each month.

[118] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Xiaci), juan 1, "Daqu qiao guji" 大衝橋古蹟, 1a-1b.

姓之鎖鑰因龍足鄉新墟五九集期路稍遠買賣維艱又恐少年滋事只得鳩集鄒吳楊賴四姓即仁義禮智信五班人等和同集議另設集場籌之久而事不果迨至同治五年間復商此舉僉謀定議擇於本境大衝橋新設公平墟僅一橋難容鄉眾以故於仁義禮智信五班每班科派銅錢貳拾千文正架造一廳於羅星上以便糴糶風雨無驚並無安神塑佛之說每逢三八期往來懋遷者歷世年而莫異越光緒十一年於糶米亭前復搆戲臺一座本為九月初一朝古峰山搬演梨園之有歸更以壯集場之色其架造費款實係鄉正社捐出數百金以資土木之需

The description makes it clear when and how the Datong Bridge market was opened. The suggestion of opening a new market had come up some time before 1866 but it was not put into practice until that year. The passage claims that the market was opened principally for two reasons. On the one hand, the market of Wuge was "relatively far way." On the other hand, there was the fear that young people of the Shangbao compact would make trouble in the market. The first reason is less convincing. As we know, the market was only five km from Shangbao or less than one hour's walk. The major worry of the Shangbao compact lay in the second reason. Young people were more likely to make trouble, and this increased the chances of conflict and rivalry between the major lineages such as the Zous of Wuge and the descent groups of the Shangbao compact. By opening a new market, not only would the chance of conflict be lowered, but also the small villages of the Shangbao compact would be able to avoid the control imposed by dominant major lineages. We should also mention the subtle relationship between the worship of the gods, plays, and markets. Plays were performed in the name of entertaining the local patron god. But actually the performance had an impact upon the market, making "the marketplace more splendid," as the anonymous author of this passage points out. I will discuss the relationship between gods and markets in more detail in the next chapter.

To understand the significance of this event, we need to know the importance of having a market within the boundaries of a community and the complicated relation between markets and the local society. Since this is one of the major topics of Chapter VI, I will not discuss it here in any detail except to bring out the basic implications. Briefly put, the control of the marketplace was of critical importance in challenging and contesting, and constructing local power. Prior to the mid-Ming, there was only one market, the Laijiaxu, in Sibao. It was located roughly in the middle of the narrow Sibao basin. Judged from its name, this market was probably opened by the Lais. But by the mid-Ming it was probably controlled by the Mas of Mawu. From the late Ming onward, following their involvement in the printing industry, the Zous of Wuge became a relatively wealthy lineage. The profits from the book business also created a group of title-holders who obtained their titles by purchase. The Zous of Wuge gathered their strength slowly but steady until in 1778 they were able to open a new market outside their village. This market did business on the same days as the Laijiaxu market. A third market was opened at a place near Jiangfang by the Jiangs in the Republican period. It too had the same marketing days as the Laijiaxu and Wuge markets (see Chapter VI for documentation). This arrangement clearly shows the motivation behind the opening of markets. In contrast, the Datong Bridge market held its marketing days differently (see above). Its arrangement implies that, unlike the Zous of Wuge and the Jiangs of Jiangfang, the Shangbao compact had the more moderate purpose of defending its members from the encroachment of the dominant lineages.

Like the Eight Generals compact, the Shangbao compact sought to regulate social and economic life by installing a series of prohibitions. These prohibitions were meant to decrease local disputes and promote social security. Five of the prohibitions translated below are recorded in the *lisheng* manual of sacrificial texts found in Shangbao. They show the extent of the influence of the Shangbao compact.

A. Prohibition Pact concerning Chicken and Ducks

With reference to stealing and also to letting chicken and ducks go their own way (*fangzong ji ya* 放縱雞鴨), the compact head of such-and-such group of the Shangbao compact and others promulgates this prohibition. Be it known that now is the time when autumn is coming to an end, and when rice is ripening and yam, ginger, and taro are going to be harvested. The harvest can be guaranteed only when [they] are protected properly. Recently there are a class of thieves and a group of those who are greedy for gain. [They] do not know the hardship and difficulty of ploughing and sowing, stealing yam, ginger, and taro at night and letting chickens and ducks have their own way to devour rice. [This] is utterly detestable. Now this severe prohibition is promulgated and everybody should be cautious. If one is caught stealing yam, ginger, and taro, his house will be pulled down. If chicken and ducks are caught devouring rice in the fields, braves (*yiyong* 義勇) will kill the [chicken and] ducks. [We] will never be lenient. Let this special notice be known in advance.

1. It is prohibited to lead a buffalo along field ridges and those who are found doing so will be fined a certain amount of cash;

2. If [one] insists on redeeming his captured ducks, [he has to] pay a certain amount of cash as a fine for each duck;

3. It is prohibited to steal straw. Those who do so will be fined a certain amount of cash for each bundle of hay. Those who steal at night will be fined a certain amount of cash;

4. It is prohibited to steal by cutting ripened rice and those who are caught will be severely punished by pulling down their house;

5. It is prohibited to steal by cutting maize and those who are caught will be fined a certain amount of money;

6. It is prohibited to waylay and steal buffalo and those who are caught will be severely punished by pulling down their house.

禁雞鴨約

立禁字人上保約某字班鄉約等為嚴禁小手以及放縱雞鴨照得目下秋序將殘之際正禾稻成實之時与薯姜芋子將收之日最宜保護周全方可以得收穫近有

一班鼠盜之流与徇利之輩罔知耕稼之艱難潛夜偷掘薯姜芋卵放縱雞鴨只躁食稻穀甚是可惡今申嚴禁各宜謹戒如有捉獲掘薯姜芋卵者定行拆屋重處捉獲雞鴨躁食田穀者其鴨交与義勇殺決不寬放特字預聞

一禁牽牛游田者罰錢若干

一禁捉獲之鴨若要贖回每只罰錢若干

一禁偷盜稈草者每束罰錢若干夜間偷者罰錢若干

一禁偷割黃禾者拆屋重懲

一禁偷割粟子者罰錢若干

一禁攔途劫搶盜牽耕牛者拆屋重懲

B. Prohibition Pact

With reference to prohibiting robbers and bandits and allowing commoners to be contented with their businesses and to keeping the area quiet, the Shangbao compact and others drafts this prohibition pact. It is said that if bandits are not purged, an area will have no means to become beautiful; if robbers are not exterminated, commoners will not be contented with their businesses. The prevailing customs of our Shangbao are good and honest. Everybody is contented with his business and no one dares to transgress the law. [However,] there is the fear that if the compact rules relax slightly, robbers and bandits will rise again. It is on this ground that the whole compact decided to set up prohibitions after discussion. After the prohibition [is promulgated], every one should reform thoroughly, conduct legitimate business (*zhengye* 正業), and become good commoners of this prosperous age. Make sure not to violate the prohibition. If [you] internally keep intact a greedy and dirty heart and externally insist on robbery and banditry, once caught, [we] will either bring [you] to the *yamen* to be investigated and punished accordingly, if [your case is] severe, or will punish you severely in accordance with the village [prohibitions], if [your case is] light. [We] will never be lenient. Of all the members of the compact and others, the father should admonish his sons, and the elder brother should admonish their younger brothers. Admonition should be given to each other so that

the village prohibition (*xiangjin* 鄉禁) will not be violated. Let this notice be widely known.

禁約

立禁字人上保約等為嚴禁盜賊以安民業以靖地方事蓋聞匪類不除則地方無由而美賊盜不滅則民業無得而安我上保俗尚淳良各安生理誰敢作奸犯科誠恐約規稍弛盜賊復起是以通約集議設立禁条自禁之後各宜痛改前非以習正業共為盛世之良民切莫犯禁乃若貪污之心存於中而盜賊之事著於外一經捉獲大則送官究治小則依鄉重罰決不寬徇凡約中人等各宜父戒其子兄戒其弟交相儆戒無犯鄉禁焉可特字通知

C. Prohibition concerning Rice in the Fields

With reference to the prohibition concerning rice in the fields, such-and-such of the Shangbao compact and others draft this prohibition. We have thought that the state regards agriculture as the basis and commoners see foodstuff as Heaven. Therefore, all year long [people] work hard to cultivate in a timely fashion, plant rice seedlings, pay taxes to the court and support parents, wives, and children. [This is because] the lives of the whole family rely upon [rice]. Recently there are fellows who have no sense of shame. They do not know the hardship and difficulty of ploughing and sowing and only care about having their private desires satisfied. [They] either let [their] buffalo and goats go their own ways to trample, or let [their] chicken and geese go their own way to devour [rice], to the point that everywhere there is waste land and the sorrowful sight can be found whenever [you] raise your eyes. Now [we] assemble villagers, smear the blood of a sacrifice on the mouth, and prohibit all of these. All residents and others should be understanding and comply with [the prohibition]. Every household should strengthen fence and fasten pen and stop continuing former malpractices. The people who have entered into the covenant (?) will take turns to watch day and night one by one. No matter whose field it is, whenever buffaloes, goats, chicken, and geese are found trampling and devouring rice, they will be caught right away and a gathering will be held and compensation be paid. If there is one who refuses to obey by show of force, [the case will be]

assuredly reported to the government. Those who screen the fault and do not report will be punished jointly. [This prohibition is meant to] prevent things from creating harm and let people be contented with their business, and make taxes have means to be paid and the mouths of [each] household have something to feed. [For this reason] the special prohibition [is promulgated].

禁田禾

立禁字人上保約某等為嚴禁田禾事竊見國以農為本民以食為天故及時耕種栽布禾苗輸納朝廷糧稅供養父母妻子終歲勤苦所系一家姓命攸關近有無恥之徒罔知耕稼之艱難徒徇一己之私慾或縱牛羊殘蹋或放雞鵝噪食遍地荒蕪舉目慘傷今會鄉眾歃血立盟儘行禁止且居民人等務宜體諒遵守各家俱要嚴固欄匣毋得仍跟前弊同盟之人逐一輪次早夜巡察不拘何人田地若遇牛羊雞鵝等畜踐食禾苗即時拿獲會眾賠償倘有恃强不服者必鳴於官府阿縱不舉者連以問罪使物不滋害人得安生庶糧有所出家口有賴矣特禁

D. Prohibition Pact

The surnames of Shangbao compact, Sibao *li*, Changting County, promulgate this severe prohibition to standardize customs. We have thought that a community's setting up of prohibitions is not originally a private action. When events have clear evidence, the law will not allow private pardon. Furthermore, if the strong relies on his powerful position and acts in an overbearing manner, and the weak keeps his mouth shut and shrinks, or if faults are screened because of favoritism, or partial treatment is given because of being greedy for gain, prohibitions will be ruined and customs will be depraved. Men and beast will create countless troubles simultaneously. If this evil is not corrected, how will it be stopped? Now a wine banquet is held and everybody is gathered, prohibitions are drafted to prevent [the evil] from being continued. Those who violate them will be brought to the compact office publicly. Fines will be imposed upon those who do minor harm and severe punishment be given to those who make serious harm. If [they] insist on refusing to obey, [they] will be surely brought to the *yamen* to be investigated and

punished accordingly. Those who are in charge of disciplinary investigation should not practice favoritism and accept bribes to let [wrong-doers] go. [They] are also not allowed to bully the good and fear the wicked and implicate [others] to carry out their selfish plans. If [they] are found to be involved in these cases, [they] will share the same crime [as those who do evil]. All those who have entered into our compact should be of absolute public-spirited and free from selfishness, so that fellow villagers will not be hurt and customs will be pure and honest hereafter.

禁約

長汀县四保里上保約正姓为嚴申大禁以一風俗事竊見鄉設禁條原非私舉事有明徵法無私貸且强者依勢横行弱者緘口畏縮或徇情以容隐或貪利以偏護卒至禁令敗壞風俗益頹人畜交害不堪悉數此禍不懲曷所底止今特置酒會眾寫立禁條以警後犯如有犯者公扯約所小則議罰大則重懲再抗拒不服定聞官究治糾察之人不得被嫌徇私受錢賣放又不得欺善畏惡挾私排捉如有此情查出同罪凡我共約至公罔私庶鄉鄰不至受害而風俗自此淳厚矣

E. Prohibition Pact

With reference to promulgating prohibition to eliminating robbers and bandits and quiet the area's affairs, the such-and-such character group of Shangbao compact and others draft this prohibition. Formerly when he governed the Zheng 鄭, Taishu 太叔 did not follow the suggestion of taking serious action (*menglie zhi yan* 猛烈之言) of Zichan 子產.[119] As a result, many bandits rose in Huanfu 崔苻. This is because the way [of eliminating bandits] lies in severity rather than leniency. Since the past several decades, because the prohibitions were strict, those who transgressed the law have been gradually put a stop to in our community. If orthodoxy (*shijiao* 世教) declines and commoners will not behave in accord with it, it is feared that when prohibitions relax a little, the people who know small tricks will again appear repeatedly. Therefore, the whole compact met and discussed and drafted the severe prohibition. If

[119] For details see Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (*Shisanjing zhushu* edition), j. 49, "Zhaogong ershi nian" 昭公二十年, 392-393.

there is one who cares for nobody else and violates the prohibition pact, he will be punished severely and no pardon will be granted to him, no matter whether what he has done is a severe crime, such as stealing at night or robbery, or whether it be any kind of minor theft. All of you ruffians should reform thoroughly and do not bring sorrow to yourself (*zi yi yi qi* 自貽伊戚), so that the customs will be pure and refined and [we] can sit and enjoy peace and tranquility, and the pure customs of the former age are not impossible to be seen in the present. Let this special notice be known in advance.[120]

禁條

立禁字人上保約某班等为申嚴禁以弭盜賊以靖地方事昔太叔治鄭不聽子產猛烈之言以致萑符多盜之方不在于寬而在于猛也吾鄉自數十年來律禁森嚴民之作奸犯科者漸息無如世教衰微民不興行誠恐禁令稍弛則雞鳴狗盜之流復因之而迭出是以通約集議申立嚴禁如有肆行無忌敢干約禁者無論夜竊搶奪諸大盜即一切小手亦在重懲所不宥焉凡尔匪徒各宜痛改前非毋致自貽伊戚庶風清俗美坐享昇平而上世之淳風(不)可復睹于今也哉特字預聞

The major concern of these five prohibitions is the protection of private property. The first and third prohibitions attempted to prevent crops from encroachment by animals and thieves. The second and fifth prohibitions sought to eliminate stealing, robbery, and banditry. The fourth one was a general prohibition against all kinds of wrong-doing and an attempt to renew local customs. The prohibitions suggest that the Shangbao compact was not only a social institution that organized local economic, social, and religious life, but also, as was the case for other community compacts, had the function of policing.[121]

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[120] Manual D, 24a-26a.

[121] For similar prohibitions widely found in the handbooks for everyday reference published during the Yuan and the Ming, see Niida Noboru 仁井田陞, *Chūgoku hōsei shi kenkyū: Dorei nōdohō, kazoku sonrakuhō* 中國法制史研究: 奴隸農奴法, 家族村落法 (Revised edition. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1980), 790-829. The similarity between Sibao prohibitions and those mentioned in Niida's book, for example, 763-765, 812, suggests that they may have close connections. Furthermore, most of these prohibitions are called "*xiangyue*," too. An almost similar version as the third prohibition can be found in the *Yunjin shujian* 雲錦書箋, a seven

Compared with community compacts discussed in recent scholarship, the Sibao compact is unique in at least two ways. The Shangbao compact seemed to have existed without interruption from the late Ming to the early twentieth century, a period about three centuries. None of the compacts known so far existed for such a long time. The Nangang compact of Wang Shouren ceased functioning after a few years.[122] The other examples included the Jiezhou 解州 compact of Lü Ran 呂柟 (1479-1543) initiated in 1525, the Hedong 河東 compact of Yu Guangxing 余光行, a student of Lü Ran, initiated in 1534, the Xuchang 許昌 compact of Zhang Liangzhi 張良知, another student of Lü Ran, initiated in 1539, and the community compacts initiated in Ji'an by Wang Shouren's followers in the mid-sixteenth century. All of these compacts ceased working only a few years after they were initiated.[123] In contrast, the Huanggang 黃岡 compact of Raoping 饒平 County, Chaozhou, initiated around 1438 lasted over thirty years. The community compact that lasted the longest was the Xiongshan 雄山 compact of Luzhou 潞州, Shanxi, initiated in 1511, which lasted over sixty years.[124] But none of them lasted longer than the Shangbao compact.

The Shangbao compact was also involved in a number of activities that recent scholarship does not expect of the community compact. The community compacts as described by Cao Guoqing were involved in no other activities than the settlement of local disputes, the handling of public affairs, and their routine functions such as the

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juan book compiled by Lu Pei 陸培 and published in the late Ming (quoted on page 812 of Niida's book). But more research needs to be done before we can draw a definitive conclusion.

[122] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 202; Kandice Hauf, "The Community Covenant in Sixteenth Century Ji'an Prefecture," 7-11.

[123] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 135; Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai zhongqi difang shequ zhi'an chongjian lixiang zhi zhanxian-Shanxi Henan diqu suo xing xiangyue zhi li" 明代中期地方社區治安重建理想之展現-山西河南地區所行鄉約之例, *Chung kuk hak po* 中國學報 32 (Aug. 1992), 88-97.

[124] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 135-136.

expounding of compacts, the *Sacred Edict*, and laws and decrees, the praising of good deeds, and the correcting of wrong deeds.[125] Similarly, the Shadi compact of Zengcheng 增城, Guangdong, was involved in activities ranged from the expounding of the *Sacred Edict*, the Classics, and the compacts, the holding of banquets, to the performing of related rituals at each compact assembly.[126] Although little evidence indicates the routine activities of the Shangbao compact, we have no reason to doubt that it conducted these activities, too. More interesting is the involvement of this compact in a series of other activities: the maintenance of irrigation works, the opening of a new market, the organization of birthday celebration of a local patron god, and the promulgation of some prohibitions, as well as the revenge actions against those who bullied its members. In view of these differences, the Shangbao compact was a community compact and at the same time a village alliance.

During its three century long life, the Shangbao compact may have experienced changes and transformations, as was the case with those compacts initiated by the government and the gentry. As mentioned above, the latter showed a tendency to be increasingly combined with the *baojia* policing system and *tuanlian* local militia organization first in the late Ming and then again starting from the mid-Qing onward. The five prohibitions translated above indicate that the Shangbao compact may have experienced the same changes, increasingly changing from being the guardian of the ritual order to the police of social order. The existence of "braves" mentioned in the first prohibition implies that the Shangbao compact may have been involved in local defense of some form. In this sense, the Shangbao compact was not unlike community compacts found in the late Qing Guangdong.[127]

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[125] Cao Guoqing, "Mingdai xiangyue yanjiu," 205-207.

[126] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 119-121.

[127] Yang Nianqun, "Lun shijiu shiji Lingnan xiangyue de junshihua."

The Shangbao compact appears to be unique because recent scholarship does not expect such broad activities in which a community compact could have been involved. Recent studies are based upon source materials provided by officials and gentry and deal with community compacts initiated by them. Zhu Honglin even goes so far to claim that wherever a community compact was initiated by the government or by local society, the participation of the gentry was the norm and the gentry group was the "important factor that brought it about."[128] This limitation prevents scholars from understanding that the community compact could have been involved in other activities. It is true that without the influence and participation of officials and gentry the Shangbao compact would become unimaginable. But as in the cases of lineage building and temple construction from the late Ming onward, these gentry became more often than not National University Students, who acquired their titles through purchase. What is more, there was the fact that the compact was managed by local elites who often did not hold titles and degrees of any kind. How can we expect them to behave and think in the same way as those who had received classical training and spent much of their time in preparation for civil service examination? It is probably on this ground that the Shangbao compact had moved so far away from the model designed by Neo-Confucian gentry.

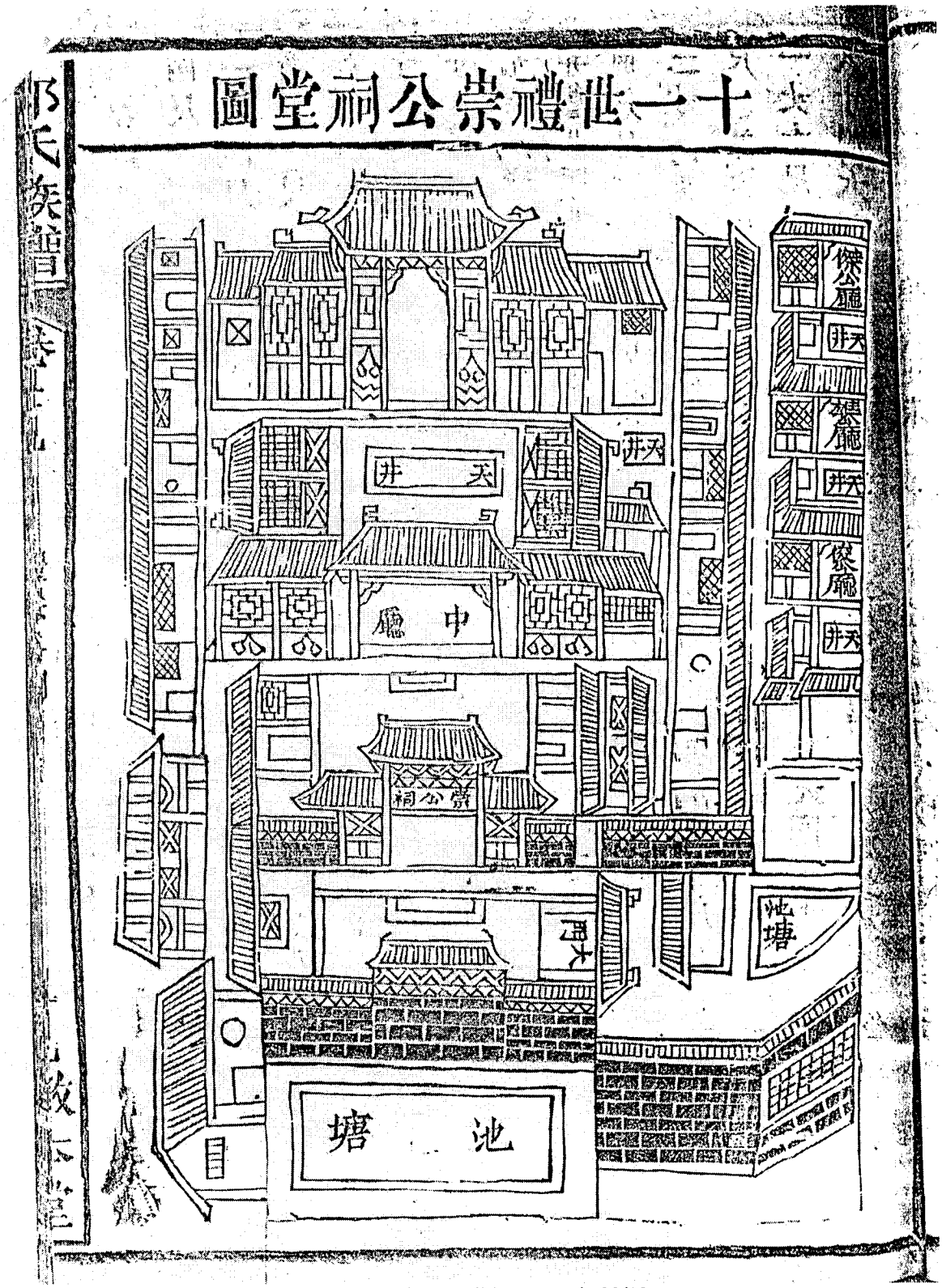
Finally, there is the problem of standards. According to which standard can we say that the Shangbao compact was an abnormality?[129] We have too often followed the elitist views left behind by Neo-Confucians. From the perspective of local society, the problem becomes not so much what the compact was or was not as how it took such a form. In other words, looking from the perspective of the local people and the local

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[128] Zhu Honglin, "Mingdai Jiajing nianjian de Zengcheng Shadi xiangyue," 148.

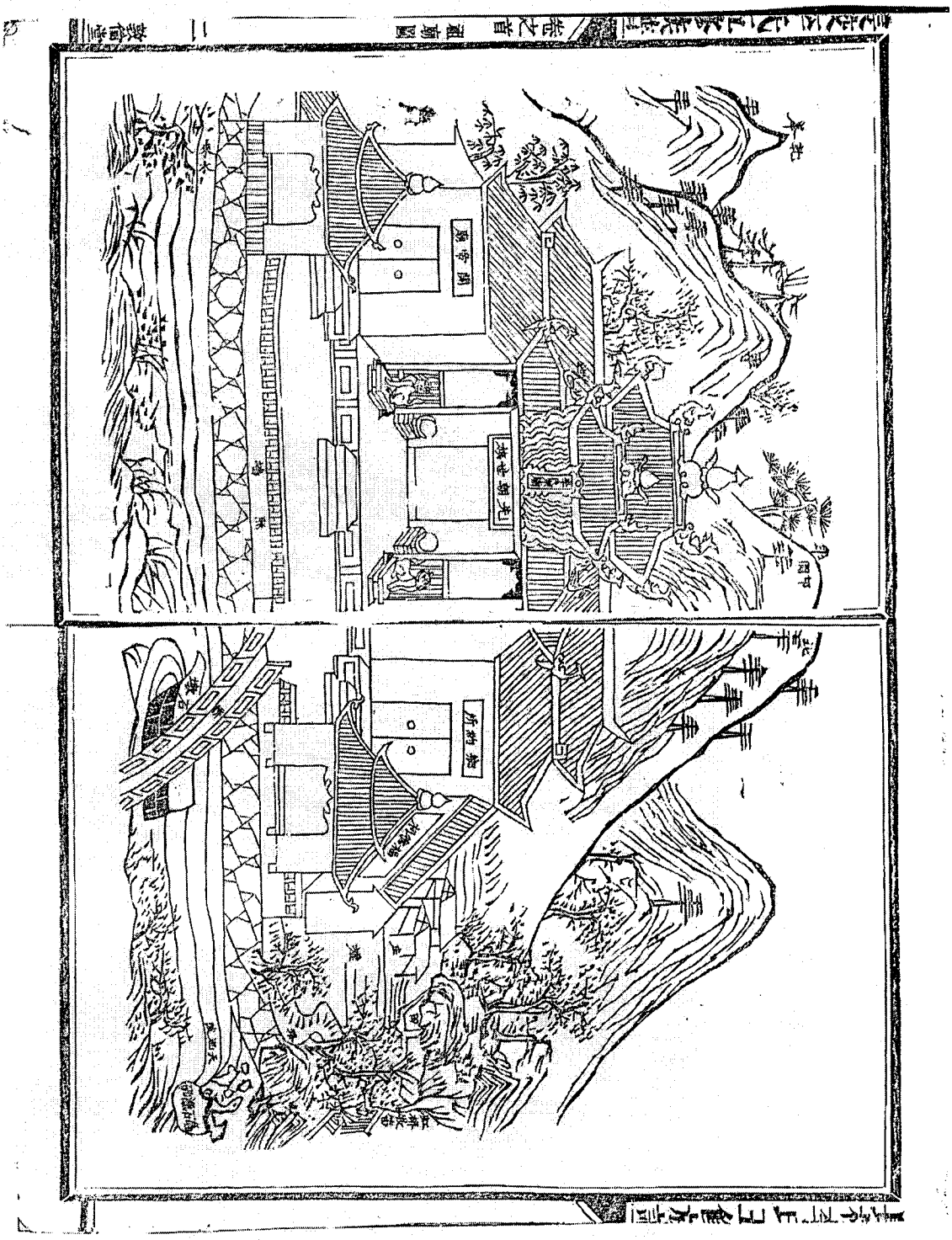
[129] Hung-lam Chu [Zhu Honglin], *The Community Compact in Late Imperial China: Notes on Its Nature, Effectiveness, and Modern Relevance* (The Woodrow Wilson Center Occasional Paper Number 52, May 1993), 3-6, gives a discussion of local and social variations of the community compacts in late imperial China.

process, whether the Shangbao compact was or was not an abnormal community compact becomes a less important issue. What is at issue becomes how and why a Neo-Confucian device of education changed into a village alliance. I will return to this problem in the conclusion of this thesis.



Source: *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/19a.

Plate 4.1 The Guangyu Hall, Wuge



Source: *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Changxiao), *juan zhi shou*, 2a.

Plate 5.1 The Office of Community Compact, Changxiao



Plate 6.1 The Statue of Zougong, Shangbao



Plate 6.2 Altar of Orphan Souls, Jiangtou



Plate 6.3 Altars of the Soil and Grain, Mawu



Plate 6.4 Guandi, the God of War, Wuge (Photograph by Cynthia Brokaw)

Chapter VI

Temples, Commerce, and the Imperial Court

Although nowadays *lisheng* are seldom found performing rituals to gods, their involvement in such rituals prior to 1949 is undisputable. The manuals of sacrificial texts testify to the fact that the *lisheng* not only played an important role in the sacrifices to ancestors and were indispensable in the community compact rituals, but also were once deeply involved in the sacrifices to local patron gods. In their manuals, there are often several dozens sacrificial texts prepared for the rituals performed before gods. The total number of these texts is second only to that of the texts prepared for ancestral rites and funerals (see Table 3.3).

Of the five manuals I collected from Sibao, four manuals include texts for gods. Only Manual E does not include texts of this kind, which is not surprising given that it is an exceptional manual, as I pointed out in the third chapter. Manual A and Manual B both include forty-four texts for gods and the texts in both manuals are almost the same. Manual C includes fifty-eight texts for gods, while Manual D has seventy-nine (see Table 3.3). The number of texts is, of course, not the same as the number of gods, because often several, sometimes over twenty, texts were dedicated to a god. In some cases the name of the god to whom a text is dedicated is not specified (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Gods and Texts Dedicated to Them in the Manuals of Sacrificial Texts

Manual Number	Gods	Number of Texts Dedicated
Manual B	Zougong 鄒公	8
	Tianhou 天后	8

	Guandi 關帝	4
	Shegong 社公	3
	Yushi 雨師	3
	Sanjiang gongwang 三將公王	2
	Li 厲 (a)	2
	Kuixing 魁星	1
	Zhao dayuanshuai 趙大元帥	1
	Jingshen 井神	1
	Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君	1
	Wugu xian 五穀仙	1
	Guanyin pusa 觀音菩薩	1
	Menshen 門神	1
	Zaoshen 灶神	1
	Shuikou zunshen 水口尊神	1
	Unspecified gods	5
Manual C	Guansheng dijun/Guandi 關聖帝君 (b)	21
	Tianhou	8
	Zougong	7
	Sheji/Shegong/Tudigong 社稷/土地公	5
	Wenchang	3
	Zaojun/Zaoshen 灶君	2
	Menshen	1
	Dakui 大魁 (c)	1
	Guanyin dashi 觀音大士 (d)	1
	Xuandi 玄帝 (e)	1
	Houtu 后土	1
	Jingshen	1
	Li	1
	Unspecified gods	5
Manual D	Guandi	16
	Shegong/Tudi/Bogong 伯公	15
	Guangyou shengwang 廣佑聖王 (f)	6

	Houtu	6
	Tianhou	5
	Xuandi	5
	Longshen 龍神 (g)	4
	Lai xiangong 賴仙公	1
	Wenchang dijun	1
	Zhu Fuzi 朱夫子 (h)	1
	Guanyin dashi	1
	Unspecified gods	18

Sources: Manual B (Manuscript, Wuge), Manual C (Manuscript, Wuge), Manual D (Manuscript, Shangbao).

Notes: (a) *Li* is included here because it is addressed in the text as the "reverent god of the altar of orphan souls" (*litan zunshen* 厲壇尊神). See below for detailed discussion.

(b) I have included here texts dedicated to the lineal immediate three ancestors of Guandi.

(c) Dakui is another name of Kuixing.

(d) Guanyin dashi is another name of Guanyin or Guanyin pusa.

(e) Xuandi is a simplified name of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝.

(f) Guangyou shengwang is the abbreviated title of Zougong.

(g) Longshen is different from Longwang (Master Dragon). He is the god of the dragon vein (*longmai* 龍脈) of a mountain.

(h) Zhu fuzi is Zhu Xi (1130-1200).

If repetitions are omitted, texts are dedicated to altogether twenty-one gods in the manuals. Remember that this is the number of gods worshipped in only two villages. The gods to whom most texts are dedicated include Guandi (41), Shegong (23), Zougong (21), and Tianhou (21). At the other extreme, a group of gods receives only one text in each manual. They include Kuixing/Dakui, Zhao dayuanshuai, Wenchang dijun, Guanyin, Wugu, Lai xiangong, Zhu fuzi, Jingshen, Menshen, Zaoshen, and Shuikou zunshen. Lying between the two extremes are such gods as Houtu, Longshen, Xuantian shangdi, Sanjiang gongwang, and Yushi, who received more than one text. Although the

number of texts dedicated to a particular god does not reflect the status of that god in the village concerned, it does show the degree of attention given to each of these gods. In this sense, the four gods who have been dedicated texts in the largest number, Guandi, Shegong, Zougong, and Tianhou, are also the gods who have received most attention. Often, not only were general texts that can be used on different occasions dedicated to these gods, but also texts prepared for specific occasions. Thus texts dedicated to Guandi include those prepared for the sacrifices to the deity in the second and fifth months, praying for the god to provide protection to men and the six domestic animals (*liu chu* 六畜), and sacrifices to the flag performed by the local militia.[1] Similarly, texts dedicated to Tianhou include those prepared for unspecified occasions, the rites of welcoming the god, the birthday celebration, theatrical performance on the god's birthday, and so forth.[2] Again, texts dedicated to Zougong include those prepared for the rites of sacrifice performed on the fourteenth day of the first month, the birthday celebration performed on the twenty-first day of the sixth month, and the rite of dotting the eyes and animating the god's statue.[3]

The rites of sacrifice that *lisheng* used to perform in temples was relatively similar to that performed in ancestral halls. The ritual format translated in the third chapter was used not only when sacrifices were presented to ancestors, but also when they were presented to gods.[4] Of course, a few changes were necessary in the latter case. The chief sacrifier, for example, was addressed as "disciple" (*dizi* 弟子 or *xinshi* 信士) rather than "descendant" (*yisun* 裔孫) when the rites of sacrifices were performed before gods. But the rest of the ritual actions were almost the same. The rites were often

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[1] Manual D, 1a-2b, 7b-8a.

[2] Manual B, no page number; Manual C, no page number; Manual D, 8b.

[3] Manual C, no page number; Manual D, 9a-10b.

[4] Manual B, no page number.

performed by four *lisheng*, a chief sacrifier, and several assistant sacrifiers in the presence of villagers. The procedures of the rites were the same as those performed in front of the ancestors. The major difference probably lies in the fact that while the sacrifices to ancestors were usually led by *lisheng* alone, in the case of presenting sacrifices to gods, *lisheng* performed rituals along with ritual specialists from other religious traditions, such as Taoist priests mentioned in the third chapter.

To give reader a better understanding of the evolution of territorial cults, I have listed all temples, shrines, and altars of major villages in the Sibao basin in Appendix II. I have given information on temples names, locations, gods worshipped in the temples, and dates of construction. In 25 villages in the Sibao basin, there were/are 165 temples, altars, and shrines. That is to say, each village had/has 6.6 temples, altars, and shrines on average. If small altars and shrines are omitted, there were/are 74 temples. The average number of temples in each village is 2.96. Of 67 temples, altars, and shrines whose dates of construction are known to us, 6 were built prior to the Ming, 1 in the early Ming, 7 in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 5 in the seventeenth century, 8 in the eighteenth century, 19 in the nineteenth century (most of them in the first half of the nineteenth century), 4 in the Republican period, and 20 since 1949. In addition, 1 and 3 temples, altars, and shrines were reportedly built in the Ming and Qing respectively but the exact dates of construction are not given. In view of this, the first peak of temple construction took place in the mid-Ming. The second peak, in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The period after 1949, particularly since 1983, is the third peak of temple construction.

The major concern of this chapter is to reconstruct the historical processes in which these gods and their rituals were introduced to Sibao. I will inquire into specifically when, how, and why these gods, particularly the four gods who have received the most attention, were introduced to Sibao. It is my contention that the introduction and

spread of these gods was related to different historical processes. Namely, Zougong represents the gods introduced to Sibao in the Song and Yuan periods. Shegong represents those gods who were introduced prior to the Ming but were standardized and reintroduced in the early Ming. Guandi and Tianhou were the gods who were introduced after the mid-Ming when the population rapidly increased and the rural economy was increasingly commercialized. These three categories of gods thus represent three historical processes that are related to relatively different agendas.

Before turning to the exploration of the history of these deities, I will give a brief description of the attitude of the late imperial court towards the religious activities of the people. This is meant to provide an institutional background for our understanding of local religion of the Sibao area during the period under discussion

Gentry, the Court, and Popular Cults

As Daniel Overmyer correctly points out, there was theoretically "a state monopoly on the worship of the most powerful deities" in pre-modern China, and "the right to worship other gods was delegated by the ruler."[5] The court represented cosmic order in human society, and the rituals the emperor performed in his capacity of the Son of Heaven, as a recent study of Angela Zito shows, played an important role in state formation.[6] Recognizing that some sacrifices to local deities and ancestors were also necessary, the court permitted officials and common people to worship a few local deities and a certain number of generations of ancestors. But "to be legitimate they had to be prescribed by the

[5] Daniel L. Overmyer, "Attitudes Towards Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming," *Cahiers d' Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989-1990), 192.

[6] Angela Zito, *Of Body & Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

state and thus performed as an extension of its own ritual obligations," and "anything beyond them was superfluous and technically illegal."[7]

The term "licentious cult" (*yinsi* 淫祀) was that which the court and scholar-officials usually utilized to designate the worship towards deities that were not prescribed by the court, the "technically illegal" cults. According to the *Book of Rites*, a cult fell into the category of licentious cult principally for one of the two following reasons. On the one hand, when sacrifices were presented to a god by someone who lacked the religious authority to worship the deity in that form, it was called a licentious cult. As this book points out, "[a] sacrifice which it is not proper to offer, and which yet is offered, is called a licentious sacrifice. A licentious sacrifice brings no blessing" 非其所祭而祭之名曰淫祀淫祀無福.[8] On the other hand, a cult fell into the category of licentious cult when sacrifices were offered to an improper deity. One of the most often oft-cited passages used to justify the legitimacy of a cult can also be found in this book. In addition to the sun and moon, and the stars and constellations which "the people look up to," mountains, forests, streams, valleys, and hills that supply people "with the materials for use that they require," "sacrifice should be offered to him who had given [good] laws to the people; to him who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils" 法施於民則祀之以死勤事則祀之以勞定國則祀之能禦大菑則祀之能捍大患則祀之.[9] All cults not mentioned here were theoretically licentious cults. These cults had the persistent danger of being suppressed by the court and its agents if they failed to create credible evidence to illustrate that their deities did in fact offer protection to the people, and thus should be offered an official cult.

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[7] Overmyer, "Attitudes Towards Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State," 192.

[8] Kong Yingda, *Liji zhengyi*, j. 5, "Qu li xia" 曲禮下, 40; Legge, *Li Chi*, Vol. 1, 116.

[9] Kong Yingda, *Liji zhengyi*, j. 46, "Jifa" 祭法, 362; Legge, *Li Chi*, Vol. 2, 207-208.

In practice, of course, the court's monopoly of religious deities was never successfully implemented. In addition to deities included in the official sanctioned register of sacrifices, "there was a whole realm of unofficial popular religion the state was unable to control."[10] There were many "sporadic" attempts to suppress popular cults, but with limitations of the pre-modern technology and infrastructure, the court could never enforce its regulations consistently. Thus starting from the Han, the court adopted another strategy. While keeping a jealous eye on popular cults and preparing to suppress them in times of necessity, the court nevertheless often turned to recognizing the cults of certain popular deities by granting them titles and plaques and listing them in the official register of sacrifices.

This became a common practice towards popular cults in the Song period. To be sure, the campaigns of suppression against popular cults were embarked on throughout the Song. In 1099, for example, the emperor ordered 1,038 licentious temples in Kaifeng, the capital of the Empire, to be torn down. In 1153, the emperor ordered the tearing down of temples not listed in the register of sacrifices in the Lower Yangzi and Sichuan. Isolated examples of an individual official embarking on a campaign to suppress licentious cults "occur throughout the Song."[11] But, as Valerie Hanson points out, the thrust of the Song government policy "was not the suppression of cults outside the register of sacrifices, but, rather, the recognition of powerful gods."[12] Her statistics of the annual frequency of title-granting based on the lists included in *The Important Documents of the Song* (*Song huiyao* 宋會要) show that the granting of titles to popular deities began on a large scale in the late Northern Song (ca. 1070-1120) and continued

[10] Overmyer, "Attitudes Towards Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State," 192.

[11] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 85.

[12] Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China*, 86.

throughout the Southern Song.[13] For the purpose of our discussion here, it is noteworthy that several of important deities in the Sibao area, such as Fuhu Ancestor Master and Tianhou, were granted titles starting in the Song. The practice of granting titles and plaques to local deities seems to have continued in the Yuan, as seen in the case of Tianhou (see below), though to what extent the Yuan court was similar to its predecessor remains to be explored.

In a certain sense, the official religion of the early Ming was the result of the court's effort to regulate and standardize the relationship between men and the supernatural, a tradition that its predecessors left behind. The court's effort was focused primarily on who was entitled to approach each category of gods and how they should approach gods. The answer to the first question was explicitly given in a sacrificial text to orphan souls.

> The Son of Heaven offers sacrifice to the gods in Heaven and on earth and to the [major] mountains and rivers under Heaven. [Royal relatives in] their domains, [and officials of] each prefecture, subprefecture, and county are to offer sacrifice to mountains and rivers within their areas and to spirits [listed] in the Register of Sacrifice. The common people offer sacrifice to their ancestors and the god of the soil and the god of the grain. The rites for high and low each have [their] proper rank. Such is the way of serving the gods.[14] 天子祭天地神祇及天下山川王國各府州縣祭境內山川及祀典神祇庶民祭其祖先及里社土穀之神各有等第此事神之道如此

[13] Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China*, 80. The Japanese scholar Sue Takashi 須江隆 argues that the Song court's policy to the granting of plaques and titles was characterized by discontinuity rather than continuity and it reached climax around the Xuanhe era (1119-1125). See Sue Takashi, "The Shock of the Year Hsüan-ho 2: The Abrupt Change in the Granting of Plaques and Titles during Hui-tsung's Reign," *Acta Asiatica* 84 (Feb. 2003), 80-125.

[14] *Hongwu lizhi*, 496. The same sentence appears in *Da Ming huidian* 94/12b-13a. Overmyer translated this passage into English in his "Attitudes Towards Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State," 206. I have referred to Overmyer's translation here.

The official religion as envisaged in this text was a pyramid turned upside-down. At the top, the emperor was entitled to sacrifice to all categories of spirits. At the bottom, the common people were allowed to sacrifice to only a few supernatural beings: their deceased parents and grandparents, the stove god, the god of the soil and grain of the sub-canton they belonged to, and orphan souls.[15] The local government lay in the middle of the two extremes. The Magistrate of each county was responsible for offering sacrifices to several objects of empire-wide official cults, including Confucius, the city god, the god of the soil and grain, orphan souls, the gods of the wind, cloud, thunder, and rain, and the gods of the mountains and rivers of his area, as well as some specific gods listed in the Register of Sacrifice.[16] Besides, there were usually a group of gods that the Magistrate did not sacrifice to but who were not treated as licentious cults.[17] The majority of them were former officials who had provided good services after their deaths to the local population.

The early Ming court also attempted to regulate the way the spirits of the official religion should be perceived and served. Attempts were made to bring the anthropomorphic forms of those deities back to their more abstract and orthodox forms (i.e., in the form of a wooden tablet). While quite a few of the spirits in official religion used to be identified with historical, or pseudo-historical, human beings and were served accordingly, "the official view held that such spirits were not of human origins at all, but were spiritual beings that had been spontaneously generated and sustained during the

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[15] *Da Ming huidian*, 81/1a. See also Overmyer, "Attitudes Toward Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State," 205.

[16] *Hongwu lizhi*, 481-498.

[17] See, for example, *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 13/1a-27b. Included in this section of the *Changting County Gazetteer* are such gods as Wutong 五通, Wu zhenjun 吳真君, Zhaogong 趙公, Mawang 馬王, Zougong 鄒公, Xiaogong 蕭公, Yan'gong 晏公, Gehu gongwang 蛤瑚公王, Luogong zushi 羅公祖師, and so forth.

continuing cosmogonic process."[18] Thus at the county level, all the objects of official cults mentioned above, except Confucius, were allowed to have only inscribed plaques rather than statues. In the year 1370, the court published a proclamation, ordering that all statues of city gods be destroyed and wooden tablets be used instead. The proclamation also ordered that the former titles of these gods be replaced by the standard title of "the city god of such-and-such county of such-and-such subprefecture of such-and-such prefecture" 某府某州某縣城隍之神. In case the statue was made of earth, it should be immersed in water. The earth was then applied on the wall of the Temple of the City God.[19] The plaque of the city god was placed to the right of the plaque of the gods of the wind, cloud, thunder, and rain, while that of the gods of mountains and rivers of the area was placed to the left side.[20] Like the gods mentioned above, all saints in the Confucian Temple, except Confucius, were only allowed to use wooden plaques.[21]

Similarly, it was forbidden to use statues to worship the god of the soil and grain. In the *sheji* altar, a stone tablet and two wooden plaques were to be used instead. The stone tablet (*shizhu* 石主) was erected in the middle south of the *sheji* altar. The two wooden plaques were inscribed "the god of the soil of the county" (*xian she zhi shen* 縣社之神) and "the god of the grain of the county" (*xian ji zhi shen* 縣稷之神) respectively. As mentioned in the third chapter, sacrifices were offered to the god of the soil and grain on the first *wu* day of the second and eighth months respectively. The rite was performed by two *lisheng* and one chief sacrifier.[22]

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[18] Romeyn Taylor, "Official Religion in the Ming," in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2*, 846.

[19] Huang Rucheng 黃汝成, ed., *Rizhi lu jishi* 日知錄集釋 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1996), 528-529.

[20] *Hongwu lizhi*, 493.

[21] *Rizhi lu jishi*, 528-529.

[22] *Hongwu lizhi*, 489-491. For the evolution of the altar of the soil in the Ming, see Wada Hironori 和田博德, "Rikōsei to rishadan kyoreidan-Mindai no kyōson shihai to saishi" 里甲制と里社壇

In addition, each county was to erect an altar to the orphan souls in the northern suburb of the county seat. Again, this group of supernatural beings was represented by a plaque. Every year sacrifices were offered to them on the Qingming festival, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, and the first day of the tenth month. During the sacrifice, the city god was invited to the altar to supervise those orphan souls.[23]

As mentioned above, commoners were permitted to offer sacrifices only to their deceased parents and grandparents at their domestic shrines, to the god of the stove, as well as to the god of the soil and grain and orphan souls.[24] This means that temples dedicated to other gods, even the gods listed in the register of sacrifice, theoretically fell into the category of "licentious cults." In the year 1375, an altar of the soil and grain and an altar of orphan souls were ordered to be established in each sub-canton constituted by one hundred households.[25] Timely rain and good harvests were prayed for at the altar of the soil and grain. Every year a household head, selected from among the households of the sub-canton, worked as the organizer of these activities. He was responsible for cleaning the altar and preparing offerings for the bi-annual sacrifice. The sacrifices, including a lamb, a pig, fruits, and wine, were offered in the spring and autumn. During the assembly, the "Oath of Eliminating the Bullies and Helping the Downtrodden" was recited (see Chapter V). This done, a feast was held and the seniors and juniors sat in order of seniority. These activities were meant to promote harmony and good customs among villagers.[26]

鄉厲壇-明代の鄉村支配と祭祀, in Keiō gijuku daigaku Tōyōshi kenkyū-shitsu 慶應義塾大學東洋史研究室, ed., *Nishi to higashi to-Maejima Shiji sensei tsuitō ronbunshu* 西と東と-前島信次先生追悼論文集 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1985), 413-432.

[23] *Hongwu lizhi*, 495-498.

[24] *Da Ming Huidian*, 81/1a.

[25] Kuribayashi Nobuo, *Richosei no kenkyū*, 6-7.

[26] *Hongwu lizhi*, 499; *Da Ming huidian*, 94/15b-16a.

The altar of orphan souls, also erected in each sub-canton, was a place to offer sacrifice to orphan souls. There villagers could "pray specifically for good health" and their domestic animals' "abundance." This means that the orphan souls as represented in official religion were not seen as undesirable spirits who people attempted to propitiate and expel, they were instead represented as a group of spirits who could bring about desirable results. At the level of county government, sacrifices were offered to orphan souls three times a year. When the rites of sacrifice were performed, a sacrificial text was recited. The text first explained why the common people offered sacrifice to orphan souls. Then it listed many cases in which orphan souls were created. At the end of the text, orphan souls were asked to supervise the conduct of villagers of the sub-canton, reporting wrong-doers to the city god while protecting model commoners.[27] This again shows how the court's representation of orphan souls was different from what is usually thought of as the villager's perspective, that is, orphan souls as discontented, angry, and vengeful ghosts. This is not surprising for the *litan* was erected for the presentation of sacrifice to "orphan ghosts and spirits" (*wusi guishen* 無祀鬼神).[28] The supernatural beings worshipped at the altar thus included not only those who died a unnatural death and who for some reason were not transformed into ancestors, but also probably the gods whose worship fell into the category of licentious cult and whose situations were therefore similar to the uncared for ghosts.[29]

At first glance, the attitude of the Ming court towards popular cults appears to be a departure from its predecessors. Actually, the changes that Ming Taizu introduced were more a standardization of official religion than an overall reform of it. As time went on, the court resumed the strategies of its predecessors. In as early as 1412, Ming Chengzu

[27] *Hongwu lizhi*, 501-502. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Rural China*, 223, makes a similar comment.

[28] *Hongwu lizhi*, 495.

[29] Wada Hironori, "Rikōsei to rishadan kyoreidan-Mindai no kyōson shihai to saishi," 419-421, provides some pieces of evidence that imply the point I make here.

ordered a massive construction campaign on Wudang 武當 Mountain, Hubei, to give thanks to Zhenwu 真武, the Perfect Warrior, for his "invisible help" in the founding of the dynasty and above all "the manifest aid" given to the emperor when the latter fought and overthrew the second Ming emperor, Ming Huidi 明惠帝 (1377-1402?, reigned 1398-1402).[30] The granting of titles, though seldom did in the early Ming, became a common practice in the late Ming. Guandi, the God of War, was promoted to the rank of emperor in 1590.[31]

Throughout the Ming period, there were also a range of sporadic attempts made by scholar-officials with a Neo-Confucian orientation to suppress licentious cults. This was particularly the case after the mid-Ming.[32] Social disorientation starting from this period stimulated different responses on the part of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials. While many of them may have been involved in the cults along with common people, others cast a more critical eye upon these religious activities. The community compacts, which became a widespread practice in the sixteenth century, were initiated in part to combat licentious cults. When initiated by a local official, community compacts were often established along with the tearing down of licentious temples (see, for example, the case of Ye Chunji discussed in Chapter V). Scholar-officials like Ma Xun also launched an attack upon the practitioners of unorthodox religion and rituals. On the list of ritual practitioners who he attacked, we find "evil Buddhist monks," "malignant Taoist priests," "Ritual Masters," and "Holy Mothers" (see Chapter IV). The worry of these scholar-

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[30] John Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan," in Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 293-300.

[31] Liu Yonghua, "Guan Yu chongbai de sucheng yu minjian wenhua chuantong" 關羽崇拜的塑成與民間文化傳統, *Xiamen daxue xuebao* 廈門大學學報 2 (1995), 81.

[32] See, for example, Inoue Tōru, "Wei Xiao no inshi hakairei-Guangdong ni okeru minkan shinkō to Jukyō" 魏校の淫祠破壞令-廣東における民間信仰と儒教, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 99 (May 2002), 1-17.

officials lay probably not only in the fact that these people practiced rituals in unorthodox ways, but also in the danger that they could be utilized to serve political, rebellious purposes.

Following Ming precedent, the Qing court also attempted to control popular cults by the extensive application of the principle, "instruction through worship." As Kung-chuan Hsiao observes, the Qing court "made use of religious sacrifices to reinforce other methods of influencing the minds of their subjects." The emperors not only ordered temples and shrines be built in the imperial capital, Beijing, and performed sacrificial rites personally, they also "instituted various sacrifices in every *chou* [*zhou*] and *hsien* [*xian*] of the empire, requiring government functionaries and encouraging the people to participate."[33] The number of such sacrifices was quite large. Take the example of Changting County. According to the official register of sacrifices, the Magistrate was expected to present sacrifice to Confucius and other sages, to the God of the Soil and Grain, to the Gods of Mountains, Rivers, Wind, Cloud, Thunder, and Rain, to the city god, to the god of agriculture, to Tianhou, to Huoshen 火神 (the god of fire), to Guandi, to Mangshen 芒神, to Qidu 旗纛 (the god of the flag), to loyal and filial men, to famous local officials, to local worthies, to chaste and filial women, and so forth.[34] Furthermore, the court also ordered that sacrifices be presented to sub-canton level altars of the soil and grain and the altars of orphan souls two and three times respectively each year.[35] It must be pointed out here that besides the above-mentioned gods, there existed a group of gods, though not receiving sacrifice from local officials, who were nevertheless not regarded as

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[33] Hsiao, *Rural China*, 220.

[34] *CTXZ* (1782 edition), 12/1a-57a. See also T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 164-165; Hsiao, *Rural China*, 220-221.

[35] *CTXZ* (1782 edition), 12/89a-89b; Hsiao, *Rural China*, 221-223.

licentious cults. They were sometimes called "cults of the common people" (*minsi* 民祀) or simply "shrines and temples" (*cimiao* 祠廟).[36]

The attempts of both the court and scholar-officials to suppress licentious cults continued throughout the Qing. According to Hsiao Kung-chuan, the Qing court "kept an especially vigilant eye on" local religious festivals, pilgrimages to shrines beyond the provincial boundaries, and the propagation of unauthorized creeds to votaries. As soon as the court saw that they tended to cause disturbances, "it took prompt action to stamp them out." Yet the tendency during the Qing remains that the court did not pay much attention to the licentious cults in the earlier years of the dynasty, and efforts to suppress them increased only when "it became apparent that they might add fuel to the insurrectionary 'heretical sects.'" That is to say, the court paid less attention to whether the cults were unorthodox than to whether they threatened the security of the dynasty. As Hsiao points out, "at bottom the imperial rulers were more interested in safeguarding their own political security than in upholding purity of religious faith or protecting the consciences of their subjects."[37] As for Neo-Confucian scholar officials, their concerns in most cases were essentially not different from those of the court. Security was perhaps their first concern. The continuous actions that local officials of Fuzhou took to suppress a licentious cult, the cult of Hu Tianbo, were not common cases.[38] For the majority of scholar-officials, particularly those who obtained their titles by purchase such as the National University Students, personal security rather than the imperial security may have been their major concern. More often than not their actions were selfishly motivated.[39] Although whether the Qing court and scholar-officials were more tolerant

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[36] For a list of these cults, see *CTXZ* (1782 edition), 12/57b-87b.

[37] Hsiao, *Rural China*, 230.

[38] Michael Szonyi, "The Cult of Hu Tianbo and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse of Homosexuality," *Late Imperial China* 19.1 (Jun. 1998), 1-25.

[39] Hsiao, *Rural China*, 234.

towards popular cults than their Ming predecessors remains to be determined, the fact that many temples were constructed and renovated in Sibao and other areas such as Putian during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, before more severe actions were taken against popular cults, suggests that it may not have been co-incidental.[40]

The Legacy of Early Gods

Gods and Temples in Pre-Ming Sibao

Early sources present conflicting images of the local religion in Tingzhou. The section of "Shrines and Temples" (*cimiao* 祠廟) of the *Liting Gazetteer*, the earliest extant gazetteer of Tingzhou compiled in 1259, claims that "nowadays many [of the gods] worshipped by [the people] of this prefecture are in agreement with the [classical] ritual [order] and it is not correct to say that the customs of Min serves ghosts and etc." 今郡所事多合於禮未可謂閩俗機 (襪) 鬼云.[41]

Other evidence, on the other hand, leaves the impression that Tingzhou was a place in which licentious cults were widely practiced. When he was appointed to a position of minor official in the Tianbao 天寶 (742-755) era in the Tang, Li Pi 林披 found Tingzhou a region with "many mountain ghosts and licentious cults (*shangui yinci* 山鬼淫祠)." He wrote an essay, titled "On the Non-existence of Ghosts" (Wu gui lun 無鬼論), and "proclaimed it,"[42] obviously attempting to eliminate these undesirable practices. But this effort did not seem to have changed the situation very much. Thus when Prefect Chen Ye 陳曄 came to Tingzhou in 1196, the same problem troubled him.

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[40] See discussion below for the case of Sibao. For the case of Putian, Zheng Zhenman, personal communication, December 20, 2002.

[41] Cited in *YLDD*, 7892/1a.

[42] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 23/1b.

The local custom was to honor ghosts and trust spirit mediums. Some wealthy people and wicked *zhushi* 祝史 (temple keepers?)[43] were committed to the pursuit of illegal gains (*wei jian li* 為奸利) by means of the God of Five Manifestations (Wuxian 五顯). [They] cheated people and befuddled the masses, and wasted [the money collected from them] to erect temples, to the point that married women used their skirts to carry earth [for the construction of temples]. Ye learned all of the details. [He] expelled temple-keepers, flogged the leaders, and pulled down the temples. A native, Wu Xiong 吳雄, the Zhanggan 帳幹 of Guangxi,[44] wrote [an essay titled] "On Correcting Customs" (Zheng su lun 正俗論), over two thousand characters in length, to put an end to these practices. When people got sick, they all gave up on doctors and entrusted their lives to spirit mediums. As a result, many [of them] died at a young age. [Ye] thus ordered a thorough search for the items of devilry and heterodoxy throughout the region, confiscating statues, talismans, and sacrificial texts and burning them. [He] prohibited [them] severely and the prevalent customs changed dramatically.[45] 俗尚鬼信巫寧化富民與祝史之姦者託五顯神為姦利誣民惑眾侈立廟宇至有婦人以裙襦畚土者曄廉得之竄祝史杖首事者毀其祠宇郡人廣西帳幹吳雄作正俗論二千余言絕其事民有疾率捨醫而委命于巫多致夭札迺大索境內妖怪左道之術收其像符祝火之痛加懲禁流俗丕變

What is noteworthy in these accounts is the cult of "mountain ghosts" and the widespread existence of spirit mediums. As mentioned in the second chapter, Min Yue peoples populated Fujian before the large-scale Han immigration from north and central

[43] "*Zhu*" and "*shi*" are translated by James Legge from the *Liji* as "prayer-makers" and "writers" respectively. However, in this context "*zhushi*" appears to be a single word, meaning probably "temple keepers." See Legge, *Li Chi*, Vol. 1, 235.

[44] I am not able to find the meaning of Zhanggan.

[45] *LTZ*, cited in *YLDD*, 7894/1b.

China. They reportedly "esteemed ghosts" and "believed in shamans."[46] Even in the later periods, when indigenous culture had intermingled with Han Chinese culture, shamanism still had a relatively strong presence in Tingzhou. A mid-sixteenth century gazetteer of Qingliu mentions that local people were involved in a series of evil customs including "the belief in spirit mediums, licentious cults, and being given over to geomancy" 信巫淫祠溺信風水.[47] Similarly, in Wuping, it is reported that "when [people] get sick they do not take medicine but esteem ghosts" 病不服藥而崇鬼,[48] or local people "serve solely [ritual] masters and spirit mediums and do not trust medicines of doctors" 專事師巫不任醫藥.[49] Although Min Yue people and the She were not the only practitioners of spirit-mediumism,[50] the presence of their cultures in Tingzhou must have made it more difficult to be modified, let alone eliminated.

Before the Ming, several religious centers could be found in Sibao. The most important one was probably the Temple of Vast Blessings (Guangfu Yuan 廣福院) at Pingyuan Shan 平原山 in western Sibao. This temple was established around 945 and was dedicated to the well-known Buddhist monk Tiger-taming Chan Master (Fuhu *chanshi* 伏虎禪師 or Fuhu *zushi* 伏虎祖師). According to the *Linting Gazetteer*, Fuhu was surnamed Ye 葉; his ritual name was Huikuan 惠寬. He was a native of Ninghua. In his youth, "he understood perfectly the creation of good karma." When he grew up, he became a monk at the Kaiyuan 開元 Temple in Tingzhou city. He "wandered throughout the world" and

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[46] Lin Guoping 林國平 and Peng Wenyu 彭文宇, *Fujian minjian xinyang* 福建民間信仰 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1993), 4.

[47] *QLXZ* (1545 edition), 2/20a; *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 1/17a.

[48] *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 6/4b.

[49] *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 6/5a.

[50] Spirit mediumism was popular among Han Chinese in the ancient times. See Kwang-chi Chang, *Art, Myth and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Lin Fushi 林富士, *Handai de wuzhe* 漢代的巫者 (Taibei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1999).

returned to Tingzhou after he achieved enlightenment. When tigers and leopards caused harm in the mountains, he "used the power of liberating compassion to teach and domesticate them." Thereby he gained the title of "Tiger-taming Chan Master." In the year 945, he went to the foot of the Pingyuan Mountain and decided to erect a temple there. With the help of the local people, a temple called Vast Blessings was eventually established for him. In the year 949, when Tingzhou was devastated by a severe drought, he produced a miracle by having it rain. Fuhu died on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of the year 962. His statue was sculpted for the temple, and "responses to prayers came like an echo." A plaque, "hermitage of the long-lived saint" (Shousheng *jingshe* 壽聖精舍), was granted to the temple in 1070. Fuhu received his first imperial title, Great Master of Pure Rules and Compassionate Responses (Jingjie ciying dashi 淨戒慈應大師), in 1137. More characters were added to this title in 1167, 1184, and in the Jiaxi era (1237-1240), so that in the mid-thirteenth century his title included eight characters: Great Master of Mighty Salvation and Divine Responses, of Universal Succor and Marvelous Manifestations (Weiji lingying puhui miaoxian dashi 威濟靈應普惠妙顯大師). The recent plaque of the temple, "vast blessings," was granted in 1167.[51]

The Temple of Vast Blessings was located at the western border of Sibao. Its influence can be readily observed in the nearby mountainous villages of western Sibao. There they were organized into a ten-village rotating worship network of this god.[52] Most of these villages, including Pengfang, Dapu, Longtoufang, Yijia (Weijiafang), Shankeng, Xiaowuling, Nanchai, lay within the boundaries of Sibao sub-canton, Changting.[53] We do

[51] *LTZ*, cited in *YLDD*, 7895/4b-5a. The English translation of the hagiography of Fuhu can be found in Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors," 67-71. The translation given here is Lagerwey's.

[52] For this network, see Zou Lifang, "Changting xian Pingyuan shan Fuhu zushi shi xiang lunsiquan"; Lagerwey, "Of Gods and Ancestors."

[53] The list of villages that belonged to Sibao sub-canton, Changting, can be found in *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 2/3a-3b.

not know when this network appeared, but in all likelihood these villages, or at least some of them, had been involved in the cult of the god from the very time when Fuhu decided to erect a temple there. Outside the environs of Pingyuan Mountain, the influence of Fuhu can be more readily felt to the west of the temple than to the east, namely, in the Sibao Basin. Fuhu had a strong presence in Tingzhou city, but in most of Sibao, its influence was checked by other local patron gods such as Zougong.

Within the Sibao Basin, the Temple of Great Buddha (Dafo An 大佛庵) has probably the longest history. It is reported that it was established in the Northern Song, though no written source supports this point.[54] The major deity of this temple was Maitreya. The Temple of Loyalty and Martial Power (Zhongwu Miao 忠武廟) was also reportedly established in Changxiao in the Song. The cult of the god of the soil began probably in the Song and Yuan periods (see below). The temple on the top of the Peak of the Nobleman (Guiren Feng 貴人峰), the Guiren Temple, to the east of Jiangfang was erected in the Yuan.[55] And the cult of Zougong dated back to no later than the Yuan period. The major concern of the next section is how this god was transformed in the late imperial period.

When a God Became an Ancestor

Zougong was one of the most popular gods of Sibao on the eve of land reform and the majority of villages within the Sibao Basin were involved in the worship of this god. They either dedicated a temple or a section of a temple to this god or participated in the sacrifices to him. These villages, Wuge, Mawu, Shangbao, Shuangquan, Jiantou, Shexiaqian, Huangkeng, Yangbei, Yanwu, Liukeng, Jiangfang, Xikeng, Xiaxie,

[54] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 68.

[55] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/13b-14a.

Changxiao, Huangshikeng, and Daliankeng, included all of the biggest villages and many of the middle-size villages.

The cult of Zougong must have appeared in Sibao sometime before the Yuan, for during the Yuan period this god had achieved a certain level of popularity. Two temples were dedicated to him in Shangbao and Mawu respectively in this period. The first temple was erected in 1341 and was restored or reconstructed in 1467, 1611, 1644, 1732, and 1850.[56] We are not told who established the temple. The reconstruction of 1467 was managed by Zou Deliang 鄒得良, a wealthy Zou of Shangbao of the eighth generation.[57] The temple was reconstructed in 1644 by "three villages," Shangbao, Shuangquan, and Wuge.[58] This indicates that the temple was controlled by these three villages. But the other small villages around Shangbao, such as Jiantou and Shexiaqian, also participated in the worship of the god in the temple.

The second temple of Zougong was also established in the Yuan. The *Ma Family Genealogy* of the Lower Shrine reports that the temple was called the Temple of Responses (Ganying miao 感應廟) and that its foundation was endowed by Chen Youxin 陳有信, a resident of the Left Ward (*zuoxiang* 左廂) of Tingzhou city.[59] Unfortunately, we are not told why this man endowed a plot of land for the erection of a temple far away from his home. It was renovated around 1713 under the management of a book merchant of Mawu with contributions from the Mas of Mawu, the Lais, and the Yans (see the last section).[60] Placed within the temple were four statues of Zougong. The statue of Mawu

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[56] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shuangquan), *juan* 12, "Jingchu gong miao tu" 景初公廟圖, 1b; *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Shangbao Zougong miao tu" 上保鄒公廟圖, 1; *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 13/6a.

[57] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, "Shangbao Zougong miao tu," 1.

[58] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shuangquan), *juan* 12, "Jingchu gong miao tu," 1b.

[59] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 28.

[60] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 28; *YSZP* (1913 edition), *juan* 4, "Xiang sheng tu" 鄉勝圖, 5b.

was placed at the middle left of the temple. That of the Lais, at the middle right. That of the Yans, at the right back of the temple. The statue of a hamlet called Xitou 溪頭 was placed at the left corner of the main hall.[61]

We know little of Zougong's life. A legend that was told by Li Qiusheng 李秋生, a sixty-five year-old villager of Shaping village in Changxiao Township, on April 24, 2002, suggests that Zougong was a Ritual Master from whom Ligong, the founding ancestor of the Lis of Changxiao, studied magical arts. Although this legend is impossible to verify, it does explain why people worshipped Zougong and implies that Zougong was relatively similar to Ligong, Tugong, Laigong, and Chen Mali discussed in the next section. Some evidence suggests that formerly Zougong as a god fell into the category of gods with the title of "*gongwang*" 公王 (prince). When the *Zou Family Genealogy* of Yangzibian, Shangbao, mentions Zougong, the latter is often called "*gongwang*."[62] Even nowadays the Zous of Shangbao usually call Zougong "*gongwang*" as sacrifices are offered to the god. Similarly, in Jiangfang, Zougong is also known as "*gongwang*" or "*fuzhu*" 福主 (lord of blessings).[63] In Tingzhou, *gongwang* and *fuzhu* often belonged to a type of minor god not unlike Tudigong 土地公 (the Earth God) or Bogong 伯公 that had close connection to the god of the soil.[64] As Lagerwey points out, *fuzhu*, which he calls "the Lord of Fortune," among the Hakkas of Tingzhou's neighboring region, Southern Jiangxi,

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[61] *YSZP* (1913 edition), *juan* 4, "Xiang sheng tu," 5b. I have not been able to locate the village Xitou.

[62] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), *juan shou*, 2.

[63] *Jiyang Jiangshi zupu* 濟陽江氏族譜 (Hereafter *JYJSZP*, 1990 edition), 27/4a-4b.

[64] In the year 1643, an altar of the soil (*shetan*) was erected in Xiyang 西洋, Baisha 白沙, in Shanghang County. The god was Minzhu gongwang 民主公王 (the Prince of Commoners). Another altar of the soil erected at the water exit of Foling 佛嶺, Shanghang, was dedicated to Lüshe daguan fuzhu 呂社大官福主 (Lord of Blessings of Great Official of Lüshe). *SHXZ* (1864 edition), 2/16a.

> is a quintessentially local god: an earth god in charge of a territory, not a national or even a regional god. Not surprisingly, he is not infrequently a former Taoist shaman priest: not surprisingly, because during his life the Taoist performs the rituals addressed to these gods and has the bag of magic tricks and roster of spirit-soldiers needed to fend off the very invaders against which the Lord of Fortune stands guard.[65]

Although what Lagerwey talks about here is the case of Southern Jiangxi, it does provide some support to the point I made above: like a group of other gods discussed in this chapter, Zougong had a very close connection to Taoist exorcists, usually known as Ritual Masters, starting to be active in South China in the Song period. The limitations of my sources do not allow me to elaborate the details of this connection. But one thing is clear. Before the process of lineage building started in the mid-Ming, Zougong was basically a god, not an ancestor.

The mid-Ming seemed to be an important period for the cult of Zougong, not only because the Shangbao temple was reconstructed during this period, but also because two new temples were erected at this time. The first temple was established in Tingzhou city. Later evidence shows that this temple was put up by Ma Xun. Legend has it that when he crossed the Yangzi River on his way to Beijing, Ma Xun met with a typhoon and his ship was in the danger of capsizing. He prayed to Zougong and the latter rescued him. To give thanks for the god's protection, he eventually dedicated a temple to him in Tingzhou city in the Jingtai era (1450-1456). It is impossible to know when this legend was created. The first time it appeared in written sources was in 1677, when Zou Jiuyi 鄒九儀, a Government Student of Shuangquan, lodged a petition to Changting government

[65] John Lagerwey, "Introduction," in Liu Jingfeng 劉勁峰, *Gannan zongzu shehui yu daojiao wenhua yanjiu* 贛南宗族社會與道教文化研究 (Hong Kong: International Hakka Studies Association, Overseas Chinese Archives and École Française d'Extrême-Orient), 31-32. Lagerwey is here summarizing the findings of Liu Jingfeng in his study of society and religion in Southern Jiangxi.

to take back the temple from some one who had forcefully occupied it.[66] Now this legend is circulated among many Sibao villages. It is often utilized by the Mas of Mawu to justify why they worship this god. Another temple was erected by the Zous of Huangshikeng in their village in the Hongzhi era (1488-1505).[67]

The process of lineage building was followed by the efforts to transform Zougong from a god to an ancestor (see Chapter IV). Although the transformation has not yet ended even today, its tendency is clear as early as the late Ming, when the Zous of Wuge started the program of lineage building. The attempt was first made to adopt Zougong into the genealogy of the Zous of Sibao. The second step was to make a connection between Zougong and Zou Yinglong, the *zhuangyuan* of Taining. During a process that lasted several centuries, Zougong was appropriated by the Zous to be an ancestor. This process can be called the privatization of public symbolic capital. Zougong was transformed from public symbolic capital into a more or less exclusive symbolic capital. This process involved thus not only the Zous but also all of the other social groups that had participated in the cult of Zougong. The privatization of Zougong, therefore, brought about a series of responses from other villages of Sibao. The privatization and the responses to it reveal the symbolic dimension of Sibao as a meaningful community.

Not surprisingly, the most straightforward response, or responses, emerged in Mawu. In the eighteenth century, when the Mas established a temple to Magong 馬公 (see the last section), an author from Mawu wrote an essay full of contempt for what the Zous did:

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[66] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Shuanquan), 21/3-4.

[67] Li Yujian, *The Record of the Zougong Temple* (Stele dated 1639).

> Recently, sacrifices are offered to gods either for the sake of inducing [blessings] or of paying court. Otherwise [it is meant to] pretend that a god with great title is an ancestor. When asked his name, [they] would answer that [he was] the founding ancestor. When asked in which dynasty he began [to live there] and where [he] was from, [they] do not know anything about [his] origins. A thing such as this is not merely rude treatment to the gods, but also a cheating of [their own] ancestors. This is not the case for our lineage's worship of the Prince of Loyalty and Manifestation (i.e., Magong). The ages are distant and the years lost. There is no way to examine [the facts]. [We] do not dare to think [he] was [our ancestor]. Nor dare [we] to think [he] was not [our ancestor]. Now that [he] is a god, [we] thus treat [him] as a god. Furthermore, the god was worshipped not because [he] produced instant miracles, and not only so that [he] would bring blessings to this area. If so, why do [we] worship him? [We] worship him because [it] enhances teachings of the sages.[68] 邇來祀神之設非邀即媚否則藉神高爵冒為祖宗問其名則曰始祖而問其始自何代遷自何方遂杳不知其所由來若此者豈惟慢神抑亦欺祖吾族之祀忠顯王公不然代遠年湮無所稽考不敢以為是並不敢以為非既曰神則從而神之而又非若祀他神之靈顯僅求福庇於一方也然則何為祀之以其有益名教而祀之也

The author of this passage differentiates two kinds of god worshipping activity. In the first type, the god was worshipped for immediate gains and private purposes. Even worse, the god was worshipped while pretending that he was an ancestor, because an ancestor would provide protection only to his descendants. Although the author did not mention whom he was criticizing, it is clear from our preceding discussion that his target was actually the Zous. The author claims that the Mas' worship of Magong, i.e., the Prince of Loyalty and Manifestation, falls into the second type. The god was worshipped to "enhance teachings of the sages" rather than to obtain immediate gains.

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[68] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 6 *ji*, 154-155.

The author criticizes those who adopted a god to be an ancestor because "they know nothing about" their ancestor's origins. Indeed, genealogies compiled by different descent groups of the Zous and genealogies compiled in different ages include contradictory information about their founding ancestor, Zougong. The Mas called into question the claim that Zougong was the Zous' ancestor not only because different editions of the *Zou Family Genealogy* failed to provide consistent information, but also because the information was different from what was circulated among the Mas. As an anonymous author points out,

> As for Zougong worshipped in the Temple of Responses, some say that [he] was Zou Yinglong of Shaowu [Prefecture], *zhuangyuan* and the academician of Dragon Diagram Hall of the Zhao Song [dynasty], while others say that [he] was Zou Zhonggong of Tang times. When Lord Leqiu returned after retirement, he awarded it [i.e., the temple] by writing the plaque inscribed "Wise and upright" and a couplet: "The mountains and rivers are unified, the present is no longer [ruled by] the Lis; the statue within the temple is still a Zou after one thousand years." [In view of this,] the god is obviously a man living in the Tang.[69] 至于感應廟神祀鄒公或謂趙宋狀元龍圖閣學士邵武鄒應龍或謂為唐時鄒仲恭樂邱公致仕歸來書聰明正直及山河一統今非李廟貌千年尚有鄒聯匾旌之則神為唐人明矣

Here the author quotes the couplet written by Ma Xun and points out that the connection made between Zougong and Zou Yinglong is baseless.

Another response was to accept what the Zous claimed and fabricate a connection between one's ancestors and Zougong to justify the legitimacy of the cult of this god. The legend of Maxun and Zougong discussed above is one example. It was a

[69] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 28.

defensive device to explain why the Mas worshipped "another lineage's" ancestor. Another legend has it that Magong was the husband of Zougong's daughter (in some versions, Magong was the husband of Zougong's sister). Similar legends can also be found in Changxiao. In one legend, the Lis of Changxiao worshipped Zougong because their founding ancestor, Ligong 李公, was the husband of Zougong's daughter. Another legend explains that this is because Ligong studied magical arts (*fashu* 法術) with Zougong and it is natural for a disciple to worship his master.

The Zous' appropriation of a god did not stop here. To legitimize their claims, they needed to put their version of Zougong into official records such as gazetteers. This was an effort that lasted over two centuries. In the mid-Ming, when the Zous had not begun lineage building, the gazetteers of Tingzhou did not mention Zougong.[70] In the year 1612, Prefect Chen Yide 陳以德 went through Sibao and paid a visit to the Zougong Temple in Shangbao. He "claimed that [Zougong] was a well-known official and should be listed in the Register of Sacrifices together with Fangong of Qingliu" 稱為名臣當與清流樊公並列祀典. He also ordered a stele record be written for the temple.[71] Although this source does not tell us how Prefect Chen learned the hagiography of Zougong, it is not unlikely that he learned it from the Zous he met in Sibao. Anyway, it was probably at this time that the early version of Zougong legend was known to local officials of Tingzhou. Thus when the *Tingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer* was updated in 1637, the legend of Zougong may have already appeared in the gazetteer. The information on the Zougong Temple in Shangbao in the 1684 edition of the *Fujian General Gazetteer* (*Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志) must have been taken from this edition of the *Tingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*.

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[70] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), the earliest extant gazetteer of Tingzhou, does not have any record of Zougong or Zou Yinglong.

[71] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 13/6a. The text of the stele is, unfortunately, not extant.

According to this gazetteer, "the Zougong Temple is located in Shangbao village to the east of the county seat [of Changting]. [It] was established in the Tang under imperial order" 鄒公廟在縣東上堡鄉唐敕建.[72] The information of Zougong translated below in the 1752 edition of Tingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer should have been taken from the 1637 edition of this gazetteer without further modification.

> The Zougong Temple is located in Shangbao village to the east of the county seat [of Changting]. The god's name was Yinglong. [He] passed the metropolitan examination in the year *renchen* of the Yuanhe era of the Tang (812) and was granted the title of Marquis of the state of Lu. He was buried here after [he] deceased. The villagers erected a temple to worship him. [When] prayed to, [he] immediately responded. During the Shaoxing era (1131-1162) and Shaoding era (1228-1233) of the Song, [when there were] warfare and military conflicts, Lord [Zou] secretly helped [the Song troops] with spirit soldiers. The victories in Jingxiang, Hongxian, Lianghuai, Nanjing, Lingbi, and Jiangzhou were all reported [to the throne]. [He was thus] granted the title of the Saintly Prince of Manifested Benevolence, Expressed Brightness, Majestic Relief, and Broad Protection.[73] 鄒公廟在縣東上保鄉神名應龍唐元和壬辰及第封魯國侯卒葬於此鄉人立廟祀之祈禱輒應宋紹興紹定間戎馬衝突公神兵默助荊襄虹縣兩淮南京靈璧江州皆以捷聞封昭仁顯烈威濟廣祐聖王

According to this passage, Zougong was a *jinshi* of the Tang. He was granted the imperial title because of his divine intervention starting from the early Southern Song. Clearly, this passage is very similar to the record written by Li Yujian over a century ago. The similarities between these texts can be explained by the fact that both were based upon the early version of the Zougong temple legend, though by different means of

[72] *Fujian tongzhi* (1684 edition. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988, reprint), 11/11a.

[73] *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 13/3a-3b.

transmission. The record of Li Yujian was most likely based on oral tradition and written sources of the Zous of Huangshikeng. The information in the 1752 edition of the *Tingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer*, on the other hand, may have been based originally on the oral tradition of the Zous of Shangbao and then probably the record written on Chen Yide's order, which provided the basic information for later editions of Tingzhou gazetteers. This means that the similarities were attributed to the fact that both had their origins from early oral traditions that circulated in the Sibao area.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the transformation of Zougong was well under way in Sibao. A new version of Zougong's legend had emerged after over a century's elaboration. A connection had already been made between Zougong and Zou Yinglong of Taining. Zougong became a *zhuangyuan* of the Southern Song rather than the Tang. But, surprisingly, the information of Zougong in the gazetteers did not change. Why? At least part of the reason lies in the fact that none of the Zous participated in the updating of the prefectural gazetteer, while at least two members of the Mas of Mawu were involved in the program.[74] It was not surprising that the Mas did not want to make a change to the information of Zougong given their attitude to Zougong mentioned above. Similarly, when the *Changting County Gazetteer* was updated in 1782, no dramatic change had been made to the information on Zougong, except that the connection between Zougong and the Zous of Sibao was established.

> The Zougong Temple is located in Shangbao village, a hundred *li* to the east of the county seat [of Changting]. [It] was established in the Tang on imperial order. [The temple was] dedicated to Zougong. [His] name was Yinglong. He was born in the Tang. In the year *renchen* of the Yuanhe era, at the age of twenty-four, [he] ranked first in the metropolitan

[74] *TZFZ* (1752 edtion), *juan zhi shou*, 4a. The two members of the Mas were Ma Zaiguan 馬在觀 and Ma Lüduan 馬履端. Both were government students.

examination. He had been appointed to fifteen positions and was granted the title of Marquis of the state of Lu. [He] died at the age of seventy-five. [He] was buried at Longziwei on imperial orders. A temple was erected and a statue was sculpted. Sacrifices were ordered to be offered. When villagers prayed [to him], [they] got responses like an echo. In general, whenever there was a drought, flood, plague, or pestilence, [villagers] all relied on Lord [Zou] to prevent disasters and ward off calamities. During the period that lasted over a hundred years from the Shaoxing era to the Shaoding era, rebellious troops attacked [those who] obeyed [Heaven] (i.e., the Southern Song). Lord [Zou] secretly helped [the Song troops] with spirit soldiers. The victories in Jingxiang, Hongxian, Lianghuai, Nanjing, Lingbi, and Jiangzhou were all reported [to the throne]. In the Shaoding era, [he] was granted the title of the Saintly Prince of Manifested Benevolence, Expressed Brightness, Majestic Relief, and Broad Protection.... Lord [Zou] had three sons. Qilang settled in Shangbao village. Liulang settled in Longzu village. And Balang settled in Shuangquan village. [His] descendants are numerous and now there are a thousand [members]. [His] wives, Woman Chen and Woman Li, were granted the title of Ladies of Sincerity and Benevolence. [They] shared the temple sacrifices [with Zougong].[75] 鄒公廟縣東一百里上保鄉唐時敕建祀鄒公諱應龍生於唐元和之壬辰廿四齡中狀元及第歷官十五任封魯國侯年七十五卒敕葬龍子圍建廟塑像賜俎豆鄉人祈禱有響應凡一切旱澇疫癘禦災捍患咸公是賴宋紹興歷紹定百有餘年逆兵犯順公神兵默助荊襄虹縣兩淮南京靈璧江州間皆以捷奏紹定間敕贈昭仁顯烈威濟廣佑聖王... 公三子七郎家上保鄉六郎家龍足鄉八郎家雙井鄉雲礽蕃衍今以千計配陳氏李氏敕封孚惠夫人同享廟祀

Here Zougong remained a man of the Tang. He was granted imperial titles because of his divine interventions starting from the early Southern Song. The major difference between this account and earlier ones is that here it is explicitly claimed that Zougong was the ancestor of the Zous of Sibao. Again, no dramatic change was made to the information on

[75] *CTXZ* (1782 edition. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001, reprint), 12/61b-62a.

Zougong probably because none of the Zous (and the Mas) participated in the updating of the gazetteer.[76] Yet the name of Zou Yinglong was included in the section of "Fengyin" 封蔭 (title-holders) and that of "Renwu" 人物 (biographies of local worthies), though in both sections he was still a historical figure of the Tang.[77]

It was not until in the 1879, when the *Changting County Gazetteer* was once more updated, that a new version of the Zougong legend was eventually enshrined in the gazetteer.

> The Zougong Temple is located in Shangbao village, a hundred *li* to the east of the county seat [of Changting]. [It] was dedicated to Lord Zou named Yinglong. Lord [Zou] ranked first in the metropolitan examination in the Qingyuan era (1195-1200). He had been appointed to fifteen positions and was granted the title of Marquis of the state of Lu. [He] died at the age of seventy-two. Villagers erected a temple in Longziwei. A statue was sculpted and sacrifices were offered there. When prayed to, responses immediately came. In former times, it was said that when rebellious troops attacked Jingxiang, Hongxian, Lianghuai, Nanjing, Lingbi, and Jiangzhou, Lord secretly helped [the Song troops] with spirit soldiers. Victories were reported in all regions. [He was thus] granted the title of the Saintly Prince of Manifested Benevolence, Expressed Brightness, Majestic Relief, and Broad Protection.... In the earlier editions of the gazetteer, Zougong was [said to be] a man of the Tang. [This is] a mistake.[78] 鄒公廟在縣東一百里上保鄉祀鄒公諱應龍公登慶元進士第一歷官十五任封魯國侯年七十二卒里人立廟於龍子圍塑像薦馨焉祈禱輒應昔傳逆寇犯荊襄虹縣兩淮南京靈璧江州間公神兵默助皆以捷聞封昭仁顯烈威濟廣佑聖王舊誌鄒公為唐時人誤

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[76] *CTXZ* (1782 edition), *juan zhi shou*, "Changting xianzhi xuxiu xianming" 長汀縣誌續修銜名, 1a-2b.

[77] *CTXZ* (1782 edition), 1749b, 18/2a.

[78] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 13/6a.

In this edition, Zougong was no longer a man of the Tang. Instead, he became Zou Yinglong, a *zhuangyuan* of the Southern Song. Although his divine intervention was still kept intact, the time when it took place was eliminated for it contradicted the claim that he was Zou Yinglong of the Southern Song. What is more, once a connection was made between Zougong and Zou Yinglong in the gazetteer, Zou Yinglong was no longer a man of the Tang, but became a *zhuangyuan* and "well-known official" of Changting.[79] Not surprisingly, a Zou of Sibao is found in the list of those who participated in the updating of the gazetteer. He was Zou Licheng 鄒勵成, a *juren* from Shangbao.[80]

Recent studies of the relationship between the state and popular cults have developed two lines of analysis. James Watson maintains that the "genius" of pre-modern Chinese government's approach to cultural integration consisted of the way in which the state imposed a structure but not the content. By promoting symbols and orthopraxy rather than beliefs and orthodoxy, the government created a system that was "flexible enough to allow people at all levels of the social hierarchy to construct their own representations of state-approved deities." The legitimacy of the state was established simply through the process of representation.[81] Prasenjit Duara pushes this presumption further, arguing that the imperial Chinese state not only promoted key symbols, but also established its legitimacy by "superscribing" its own version of interpretation upon the symbols.[82] On the other hand, Michael Szonyi challenges Watson's hypothesis, arguing

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[79] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 21/7b; 24/1b-2a.

[80] *CTXZ* (1879 edition), *juan zhi shou*, "Xianming" 銜名, 4b.

[81] James L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') Along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, 323; Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in Watson and Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, 3-19.

[82] Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47.4 (Nov. 1988), 778-795. See also Rawski, "A Historian's Approach to Chinese Death Ritual," in Watson and Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, 20-34.

instead that the imperial state often failed to control structure or symbols and that sometimes the state's efforts to standardize gods turned out to be an "illusion."[83] Thus, while Watson and Duara emphasize the "genius" of the imperial state, Szonyi stresses the agency of local society. The case of Zougong provides an example different from both cases. Here the god was neither a state-approved deity nor a deity with a close, though fabricated, relation to a state-approved deity. In the case of Zougong, at the initiative of local elite, a local patron god was transformed into a god/ancestor, was connected then to a famous official, and was finally listed in official gazetteers. Seen from the perspective of the gazetteers, this appears to be an example of the imperial state promoting a popular cult. Scrutinized closely, although both the state and the lineage benefited from their interlocking claims to the god/ancestor, this is a case in which local society pushed its symbols and inserted its interpretation of those symbols into the official records.

The Transformation of *She* and *Li*

The God of the Soil in Pre-Ming Tingzhou

Compared with Zougong, the god of the soil (*she* 社) was an empire-wide deity that had a close relationship to the imperial court. The cult of *she* dated back to as early as the Western Zhou dynasty (1050-770 BC).[84] In the Tang and Song periods, the cult of *she* not

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[83] Michael Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing of Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.1 (1997): 113-135.

[84] Kanai Noriyuki 金井德幸, "Sheshen he Daojiao" 社神和道教, in Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, Yamasaki Kō 山崎宏, Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, and Sakai Tatao 酒井忠夫, eds., *Daojiao* 道教, Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 129. See also Kanai Noriyuki, "Sōdai Sekisei sonsha to dojin-Sōdai kyōson shakai no shūkyō Kōzō" 宋代浙西村社と土神-宋代郷村社会の宗教構造, in *Sōdai no shakai to shūkyō* 宋代の社会と宗教, Sōdaishi Kenkyūkai kenkyū hōkoku 宋代史研究会研究報告 2 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1985), 81-118; Kanai Noriyuki, "Nansō ni okeru shashokudan to shabyō ni tsuite-Ki no shinkō o chūshin to shite" 南宋における社稷壇と社廟について-鬼の信仰を中心として, in Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅, ed., *Taiwan no shūkyō to Chūgoku bunka* 台灣宗教と中國文化 (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 1992), 187-209.

only became an integral part of official religion, but also became a popular deity. In the spring and fall, peasants offered foods and liquor to the deity, often represented by a tiny statue or an image rather than a plaque, and prayed as well as gave thanks for good harvests. Music was played and shamans were hired to dance before the deity. This practice seemed to have continued well in the Yuan period.[85]

In Song Tingzhou, an altar of the soil and grain (*sheji tan* 社稷壇) was established in every county. The *sheji* altar of Tingzhou Prefecture was located one *li* to the west of Tingzhou city, next to the altar of the Masters of Wind, Rain, and Thunder (*feng yu lei shi tan* 風雨雷師壇). In the Southern Song a hall was established in front of the altar and a wall was constructed around the altar. The *sheji* altar of Changting County was formerly erected in southern Tingzhou city. It was moved to the west of the city later. The altar fell into disuse and remained so before it was reconstructed in the Jiatai era 嘉泰 (1201-1204) and again in the Baoqing 寶慶 era (1225-1227). The *sheji* altar of Wuping had also fall into disrepair in the Southern Song to the extent that the spring and fall sacrifices to the god of the soil and grain had to be performed in a nearby Buddhist temple.[86] We do not know whether or how peasants worshipped the god of the soil during this period.

Hu Bingwen 胡炳文 (1250-1333), a scholar of Huizhou, provided some interesting information on how the god of the soil was worshipped in Yuan Tingzhou when he wrote an essay praising his friend Zhang Taiyu for the latter's accomplishments there.

> The altar of the soil is part of the ancient *li* (e.g., official rites). It consists of an [earthen] altar with no building over it. The tablet [of the god of the

[85] Kanai Noriyuki, "Sheshen he Daojiao," 134-136, 140.

[86] *LTZ*, cited in *YLDD*, 7892/12b-13a.

soil] is made of wood that grows in the place concerned. Nowadays, in the *she* altars of the common people, they usually paint things inside the rooms of a house and do not set up [outdoor] altars. [This] is not the ancient way. They paint an old white haired man with long eyebrows, and reverently refer to him as the Lord of the She Altar of the Soil. Moreover, they provided him with an old wife. All this is absolutely not in accordance with ancient ways. Because Zhang Taiyu, who came to Tingzhou [as an official], had read the Duke of Letters' (i.e., Zhu Xi) *Zhenghe liyi* (Rites Composed in the Zhenghe era (1111-1117)),[87] [he] seized the statues that were painted formerly and burned them. Thereupon, at Yindun in Tingzhou, he built an [outdoor] altar facing north, furnished with a tablet made of stone, and surrounded by fine trees. In front he built a four pillar shelter in case of wind and rain. He bequeathed two *mu* of a forest to cover the costs of sacrificial wine. Then ancient regulations of the altar of the soil could thus still be seen in this day.[88] 社古禮也壇而不屋因地所宜木為主今庶民之社往往多繪事於家屋而不壇非古繪一皓首龐目者尊稱之曰社公而以老媼媲之寢非古矣游汀張公泰宇因見文公所述政和禮儀取舊所繪焚之于是就汀中印墩筑壇北向以石為主環植嘉樹前為屋四楹備風雨捐秣田二畝共祭酒社制之古略見於今

This source reveals the fact that in Tingzhou in the Yuan, even the official altar of the soil had transformed from an outdoor altar installed with a wooden tablet into an indoor altar furnished with anthropomorphic statues.

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[87] *Zhenghe liyi* 政和禮儀 is probably *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 (New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe era), the first government manual to include liturgies for commoners for cappings, weddings, and funerals issued in 1113. Zhu Xi had made use of this manual when he wrote *Family Rituals*. See Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*, 102, 105-107; Ebrey, "Education Through Ritual: Efforts to Formulate Family Rituals During the Sung Period," in Wm Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education*, 2293-296.

[88] Hu Bingwen, *Yunfeng ji* 雲峰集 (*Siku quanshu zhenben* edition), 2/4b-5a. The English translation is based on Kenneth Dean, "Transformations of the She (Altars of the Soil) in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998), 25-26. I am not able to locate Zhang Taiyu because the list of officials of Tingzhou in the Yuan was lost sometime before the mid-Ming.

Lishe Altars and *Xiangli* Altars Since the Ming

As mentioned earlier, in the early Ming, each sub-canton constituted by one hundred households was ordered to erect an altar of the soil and grain and an altar of orphan souls. The first was called *lishe tan* 里社壇 (altar of the soil of sub-canton) and the second *xiangli tan* 鄉厲壇 (altar of orphan souls of villages). Yet in the Ming Tingzhou, the unit constituted by one hundred households was not the sub-canton, but the plot (*tu* 圖), and each sub-canton included several plots (see Chapter II). The number of the *lishe* altars and the *xiangli* altars was close to the number of sub-cantons rather than the plots, though they were sometimes not the identical (see Table 6.2). This means that, unlike in other regions such as Putian County in coastal Fujian, the basic unit that offered sacrifice to the god of the soil and orphan souls was the sub-canton rather than the plot, even though the sub-canton included several hundred households.[89] Since Sibao belonged to four different sub-cantons of four different counties in the Ming, villagers were involved in sacrifices to four different altars of the soil and altars of orphan souls. At least two altars of the soil and altars of orphan souls, those of Sibao sub-canton of Changting and Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu, lay in the Sibao area.

Like the *lijia* system, the altars of the soil and the altars of orphan souls changed dramatically starting from the mid-Ming. In some areas, they were even abandoned and were replaced by other local patron gods.[90] In Sibao, the altars of the soil were not completely abandoned. Only in some unusual cases were they completely abandoned and replaced by other gods. In most cases, they were divided into a number of village-level

[89] In the early Ming Putian, each *tu* had a *lishe*. See Dean, "Transformations of the *She*," 33.

[90] For example, the *Xinghua Prefecture Gazetteer* edited in 1503 lamented that the rites of the *lishe* of Putian "have long been abandoned." See Dean, "Transformations of the *She*," 34. The same thing happened in Changle, Hui'an, and Fuzhou, too. See Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 175-176.

altars of the soil. The history of the altars of the orphan souls is less clear. Some evidence shows that they did not experience dramatic transformations until the mid-Qing.

Table 6.2 *Lishe* Altars and *Xiangli* Altars in the Ming Tingzhou

County	Number of Sub-canton in the Early Ming	Number of Sub-canton in 1473	Number of *Tu* in the Early Ming	Number of *Tu* in 1473	Number of *Lishe* and *Xiangli* in 1472
Changting	10	10	51	51	10
Ninghua	12	12	51	51	14
Qingliu	9	7	79	56	6
Shanghang	10	7	92	40	9
Wuping	7	7	23	19	6
Liancheng	6	6	32	32	6
Guihua	-	7	-	45	7 (a)
Yongding	-	5	-	19	5

Sources: Huang Zhongzhao 黃仲昭, *Bamin tongzhi* 八閩通志 (1491 edition. Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, n. d., reprint), 16/9a-11b, 58/8a-9b; *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 3/8b-10b.

Note: The number of *lishe* altars and *xiangli* altars of Guihua County given in the *Bamin tongzhi* is forty-five, while the *Tingzhou fuzhi* gives the figure of seven.

The first evidence of change can be found in Mawu. An old altar of the soil still lies on the hill at the back of this village. The altar is similar to a tomb and is represented by a stele. In the middle of the stele, we find this inscription: "The god of the soil and grain of Fufeng" (*Fufeng sheji zhi shen* 扶風社稷之神). Since Fufeng is the choronym of the Mas of Mawu, this is clearly the *sheji* altar of Mawu. On the left part of the stele, we find "the Zhengtong era (1436-1449) of the Great Ming, Ma Hetu, the tenth generation, Prefect of Cizhou; ..., the eleventh generation, Governor of Huxiang 湖湘 (i.e., Hunan and Hubei)." Obviously, the missing part is the name of Ma Xun. On the right part of the stele is written "established by Ma Qilang, founding ancestor, ... of the Great Song;

Qianwu, Qianliu, and Qianqi with imperial title of General of Military Strategies, the sixth generation of the Zhizhi era (1321-1323) of the Great Yuan."[91] It appears that this *sheji* altar was established by Ma Hetu and Ma Xun or their sons in the name of their founding ancestor, Qilang, and their sixth generation ancestors, Qianwu, Qianliu, and Qianqi. The Zhengtong era on the stele is the time Ma Hetu was appointed to the position of Prefect of Cizhou rather than the date this altar was established. Ma Xun was appointed to the position of Governor of Huxiang/Huguang in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. The altar should have been erected during this period or a little later. Next to this stele lies another, which is a little smaller and has no inscription. We do not know when this stele was erected, though it appears to be an older *sheji* altar. From the above discussion we can say that the sub-canton-level *lishe* altar began to be replaced by village-level altars in Sibao probably no later than the end of the fifteenth century.

Another piece of evidence comes from Jiangfang. According to the *Jiyang Jiang Family Genealogy* of this village, the altar of the soil of this village was known as "the altar of the soil of Jiyang Prefecture" (*Jiyang jun shetan* 濟陽郡社壇), Jiyang being the choronym of the Jiangs. The genealogy tells us that this altar was restored in 1638. This implies that the altar must have been constructed in the late sixteenth century or earlier.

More village-level altars of the soil were constructed during the Qing period. Shangbao has two altars of the soil, the old altar and the new altar. The former is located at a place called Hebeipai 河背排 that lies to the southwest of the village, besides a stream. The stele of the altar claims that "The god of the soil of this area, erected corporately by the descendants of Qilang in the twenty-first year of the Daoguang era (1841)" 本境社公神道光二十一年七郎公眾立.[92] The latter lies at the water exit of the village, just under the Datong Bridge. We do not know when it was erected. The Zous of Shangbao had

[91] The stele of the *sheji* altar of Mawu (established in the hill at the back of Mawu village).

[92] The stele of the altar of the soil of Shangbao (erected in 1841).

corporate land for bi-annual sacrifices to both altars.[93] The altar of the soil of Yanwu was "erected in the *jiaxu* 甲戌 year of the Great Qing,"[94] that is to say, before 1874. By the end of Qing, the altar of the soil became a familiar part of the landscape of Sibao. Even today, the altars of the soil can be readily found in villages of Sibao and many villages have more than one such altar.

As for the evolution of the altar of orphan souls, our knowledge is confined to the Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu. The sub-canton-level altar of the orphan souls seems to have been erected at the water exit of Changxiao village[95] and, at least to some villages, the village-level altar of the orphan souls had not been built until as late as the mid-Qing. A source from Jiangfang village claims that formerly the villages of Sibao sub-canton presented sacrifices to the altar of orphan souls, located at the water exit of Changxiao, by rotation. Probably starting at the end of the eighteenth century, the Jiangs began to build the altars of orphan souls in the village.[96] Another source dated 1838 from the mountain village Huangshikeng also claims that formerly villagers went to the water exit of Changxiao to present sacrifices to the altar of orphan souls but this practice was discontinued many years ago.[97] When I visited this village, I found this village's earliest altar of orphan souls, which was erected in 1801.[98]

By the end of the Qing, the establishment of the altars of orphan souls, like that of the soil, became a Sibao common practice. The worship of the altar was organized in two ways. It could be organized on the basis of, on the one hand, a village or its sections

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[93] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 19, "Shetian pian" 社田片, 2b.

[94] The *she* altar of Yanwu (erected in 1874 or earlier).

[95] This location is not surprising for in the early Ming both the Pavilion for Extending Illumination and the Pavilion for Revering Goodness of Sibao sub-canton, Qingliu County, were established in Changxiao. See *QLXZ* (1545 edition), 3/19a.

[96] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), *juan shou*, 5.

[97] *GCZSZP*, 1/21a.

[98] The stele of the altar was located at the back of the village.

or a lineage or its branches and, on the other hand, a voluntary association. Thus one of the altars of orphan souls of Mawu, erected in 1817, seems to have been erected in the name of the whole village, because the stele claims that it was worshipped by the whole village.[99] There were two altars of orphan souls in Shankeng. One was erected by the whole village in 1817. The other was erected by the Qius of this village in 1946.[100] The altar of orphan souls of Xikeng was also erected by the whole village.[101] There were at least five altars of orphan souls in Jiangfang. Four of them were erected by neighborhoods of this village no later than 1802.[102] The altar of orphan souls erected at the back of Shangbao was constructed by the descendants of a man called Zou Guozhu 鄒國柱, Shangbao, in 1872.[103] Similarly, the altar of orphan souls of Jiantou was erected by the descendants of Wu Qihua 吳其化, a seventeenth generation ancestor, in 1843.[104]

The altar of orphan souls erected on voluntary basis was also widespread in Sibao. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Ma Lüzhi 馬履智 (1724-1788), a book merchant, organized an association of orphan souls (*wusi shenhui* 無祀神會). His biography tells us why this association was established.

> In Xufang of Liancheng, those who died of drowning frequently caused calamities. All people were terrified and told this to my late father. My late father said: "This is [because] orphan souls do not receive sacrifices." Therefore, [he] contributed funds and gathered people together to establish an association of orphan souls. On the fourteenth day of the seventh month of every year, [the association] presented

[99] The stele can still be found at the back of Mawu.

[100] The steles of the both altars are located at the water exit of Shankeng.

[101] The stele of the altar is located at the back of the family temple of the Wangs.

[102] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/5b.

[103] The altar was erected at the back of Shangbao village.

[104] The stele of the altar is located at the back of Jiantou.

sacrifice on the bank of the river. Thereafter, peace was restored.[105] 連轄許坊屢有溺水死者時出為祟群相驚怖以告府君府君曰此孤魂無祀也因捐金糾眾立無祀神會每年七月十四日設祭江邊嗣後遂安

Xufang was a village that lies on the way from Sibao to the county seat of Liancheng. That is why Ma Lüzhi established such an association to present sacrifice to orphan souls at a place several tens of *li* south of Mawu. This association is the earliest one I have found in Sibao so far. More such associations were established in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The altar of orphan souls of Yijiafang was erected by a group of villagers in 1876.[106] One of Jiangfang's altars of orphan souls was erected by thirteen villagers in 1885.[107] The similar altar of Yunfeng was erected by ten villagers in 1929.[108] Lastly, one altar of orphan souls of Mawu was erected by eight villagers in 1939.[109]

Altars of orphan souls erected from the mid-Qing were usually established at the back of a village or a village's water exit. In the early Ming, the court ordered that villagers present sacrifices to the altar of orphan souls three times a year: Qingming, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, and the first day of the tenth month. But in the late Qing, Sibao villagers presented sacrifice to the altar once a year, around *lixia* 立夏 (literally "beginning of summer," about May 5-18). It was a common practice for some villagers to organize a society, usually called "the society of orphan souls" (*wusi hui* 無祀會), to perform this presentation every year. An account book from Mawu shows that one of these organizations, known simply as "the *lixia* god celebration society" (*lixia qingshen she* 立夏慶神社), presented sacrifices to the altar continuously for over a

[105] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 83.

[106] The stele is located at the water exit of Yijiafang.

[107] The stele of the altar can be found to the north of Jiangfang.

[108] The stele is located at the water exit of Yunfeng.

[109] The stele is located at the water exit of Mawu.

century. The society was established in 1826 by about ten villagers. They were divided into three rotating groups, each of which was responsible for presenting sacrifices to the altar once every three years. The society purchased land and the rent was used to cover the expenses for performing the rite. The society still existed in 1930. At this point the account book ended.[110] After the Cultural Revolution, old altars of orphan souls were recovered and new ones were erected in Sibao. It is said that people who present sacrifices to the altar will receive blessings from the spirits since this is tantamount to doing good deeds. Again, this shows that the villagers did not treat orphan souls as merely undesirable spirits to be propitiated, but, more importantly, as spirits who could bring about desirable results.

Legends of Shegong and Ritual Masters

So far I have discussed how the early Ming sub-canton level altar of the soil and grain and the altar of orphan souls were transformed during the Ming and Qing periods. In this process, the sub-canton level altars were separated into many village-level altars. This process is not unlike the division of incense.[111] But unlike the latter, after the "branch" altars were established, the "root" altar itself was relegated to an ordinary altar in the sense that no branch altar needed to renew its magical power from the former root altar. On the other hand, a group of legends about the god of the soil that circulated in Changting, Qingliu, and Wuping reveals another kind of transformation. In these legends, the god of the soil was replaced by local gods/ancestors and was never worshipped by villagers any more. An analysis of these legends will reveal the complex relationships between official religion, Taoist religion, and local religion.

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[110] *Lixia qingshen she bu* 立夏慶神社簿 (Manuscript, 1826-1930, Mawu).

[111] For the division of incense, see Kristofer M Schipper, "The Cult of Pao-sheng Ta-ti and Its Spreading to Taiwan: A Case Study of *Fen-hsiang*," in E. B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 397-416.

Legend I: Lord Tu and Lord Lai

According to the legend told in Tufang 涂坊, Changting, the founding ancestor of the Tus, Nengshi 能十, together with his brothers, moved to Changting from Fuzhou, Jiangxi. There used to be a god of the soil living in the village (in one version he was an incarnation of a demon). Every year the villagers had to offer special sacrifices, a virgin boy and girl, to him. Villagers rotated the responsibility among themselves.

Some time after the Tu brothers moved to Tufang, three families of the village, the Wus, the Lius, and the Zhengs, had finished their rotation. It was the turn for the Tus and the Lais to offer the special sacrifices. At this juncture, Lord Lai had a son and Lord Tu had a daughter. And the daughter of Lord Tu had been engaged to the son of Lord Lai. They decided to drive away the god of the soil. But they did not know the magical arts to fight against him. So they made a vow before Ancestral Master of Three Buddhas (Sanfo zushi 三佛祖師): If the Ancestral Master gave divine protection to them so that they could study magical arts, they would thank him with "one thousand years of theater and ten thousand years of decorated lanterns" 千年故事萬年花燈.[112] Then they set out to find a master.

After a day and a night, they met an old man, who was transplanting rice seedlings. "Where are you going?" asked the old man. "We are going to Lüshan 閭山 to study magical arts," they replied. "Would you please lead the way?" "I am transplanting rice seedlings. I am busy. If you could help me finish transplanting rice seedlings, I would go with you." The old man said. When they finished the work, the old man said to

[112] The term "*gushi*" 故事, as Lagerwey points out, actually refers to "young boys and girls who are made up to represent historical or divine personages and are carried around on small platforms during the parades associated with the lantern festivals." See Lagerwey, "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," in *Proceedings of the Popular Belief and Chinese Culture International Conference* (Taibei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1994), 744.

them: "There is a pustule on my back. It is painful. If you could suck it out, I would go with you." Lord Lai was a peasant, while Lord Tu was a literatus. So the former sucked it out. "Do not suck everything out. You have to leave some for him." The old man said to Lord Lai. So Lord Lai spitted some pus into the month of Lord Tu. Interestingly, although Lord Tu was a literatus while Lord Lai was illiterate, the latter became more powerful than the former since he sucked more pus than the former. The old man told them that he had no time, but they could follow his ducks, which would lead the way. He also gave them a bamboo lash and a chicken egg. "If you hear that the chicken is coming out of the egg, flog it with bamboo lash," he added before they left.

Lord Tu and Lord Lai followed the ducks and then they found they were in front of a pond with a bad odor. The ducks jumped into the pond, and so did they. Suddenly they found they were at home. The next day they went to the altar of the soil. The day was about to break and the cock crowed. Lord Lai flogged the cock when it had just crowed once. He missed, so the god of the soil ran away. They ran after him until to Jingkou 徑口 village, where they said to him: "You are not allowed to accept sacrifices within thirty *li* around Tufang. You have to go to a place with a crooked tree over thirty *li* from Tufang."

The god of the soil went to Changkongkeng 長空坑 village in Zhuotian 濯田 in southern Changting, and found a crooked tree there. He said: "I will stay here." Lord Tu and Lord Lai said to him: "All right. But you are not permitted to eat human flesh and can only eat fish and shrimps." Thereafter, when the people of the Tus and the Lais passed the altar of that village, they may urinate and defecate. But they should not burn

incense, otherwise they would have a stomach ache. This is why Tufang has no the god of the soil.[113]

This legend is notable for several reasons. First of all, Lord Tu and Lord Lai seem to have had close connections to the new Taoist lineages that started to be active in South and particularly South China in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries concerned principally with therapeutic and exorcistic practices.[114] Lüshan mentioned in the legend was more than a place name. It was actually one of these lineages and continues to be widely practiced in western Fujian today.[115] Secondly, some details of this legend can also be found in a late Ming novel, *Journey to the Sea* (*Haiyou ji* 海遊記), published in Jianyang in northwestern Fujian between the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century and reprinted in 1753.[116] A most obvious example is pus-sucking, which also appears in the section "Jinggu studied magical arts and rescued Fatong" (*Jinggu xue fa jiu Fatong* 靖姑學法救法通) in the first volume of the *Journey to the Sea*.[117] And the protagonist of this novel, Chen Jinggu or Linshui furen 臨水夫人, is the most important goddess of the Lüshan lineage.[118] Therefore it is not co-incidental that

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[113] Lao Gewen 勞格文 (John Lagerwey) and Zhang Hongxiang 張鴻祥, "Tufang de jingji, zongzu yu jieqing" 涂坊的經濟宗族與節慶, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu, jingji yu minsu*, 606-608.

[114] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 21.

[115] Ye Mingsheng, *Fujian sheng Longyan shi Dongxiao zhen Lüshan jiao Guangji tan keyiben huibian* 福建省龍巖市東肖鎮閭山教廣濟壇科儀本彙編 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1996), 302-306; Lao Gewen 勞格文 (John Lagerwey), "Fujian Kejia ren de daojiao xinyang" 福建客家人的道教信仰, in Luo Yong 羅勇 and Lao Gewen, eds., *Gannan diqu de miaohui yu zongzu* 贛南地區的廟會與宗族 (Hong Kong: École Française d'Extrême-Orient and the Overseas Chinese Archives, 1997), 229-258. In another version, the term "Lüshan" is replaced by the term "Lishan" 驪山. See Lagerwey, "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," 743.

[116] Piet van der Loon, "Preface," in Wugengzi 無根子, *Haiyou ji* (Ed. Ye Mingsheng. Taibei: Shi Hezheng jijinhui, 2000), 3-4.

[117] *Haiyou ji*, 72.

[118] For Chen Jinggu, see Brigitte Baptandier, "The Lady Linshui: How a Woman Became a Goddess," in Meir Shahar and Robert P. Weller, eds., *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in*

Lord Tu and Lord Lai decided to study magical arts in Lüshan in the legend. The lash in the legend is also an important weapon of Chen Jinggu, who with her two sworn sisters received from their master a "golden lash" (*jinbian* 金鞭) before they left to rescue Jinggu's brother.[119] The practice of human sacrifice mentioned in the legend is an integral episode of the Lüshan Taoist liturgical drama, "jumping Haiqing" (*tiao Haiqing* 跳海青), that is still performed in present day Changting. As in the legend, a pair of boy and girl were sacrificed to the demonic white snake every year in this episode.[120] The thematic similarities between this legend and the story of Chen Jinggu convince John Lagerwey that this legend is clearly "a variant of the story of Chen Jinggu and her fight with the white serpent of Gutian."[121] Finally, I should mention that Lord Tu and Lord Lai are currently two important local gods/ancestors of Tufang, probably because of their exorcistic arts.[122] In view of this, the legend is thus essentially the fight between the god of the soil and two gods/ancestors.

Legend II: Chen Mali

A similar legend is circulated among residents of Sidu 四都, Changting. In this legend, the protagonist is Chen Mali 陳麻哩, the founding ancestor of the Chens of this town who was capable of "bringing ghosts and gods under his control by talismans."[123] Again, the god of the soil of this community ordered that a virgin boy and girl be offered to him, otherwise he would do harm to the villagers. At this time Chen Mali was studying

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China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 105-149; Lin Guoping and Peng Wenyu, *Fujian minjian xinyang* 福建民間信仰 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1993), 162-180.

[119] *Haiyou ji*, 75.

[120] Liu Jingfeng 劉勁峰, "Hetian zhen shegong jiaoyi shu lue" 河田鎮社公醮儀述略, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu, jingji yu minsu*, 880.

[121] Lagerwey, "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," 744.

[122] Lao Gewen and Zhang Hongxiang, "Tufang de jingji, zongzu yu jieqing," 220.

[123] Lai Guangyao, "Sidu zhen de zongzu yu miaohui," 452.

magical arts in Lishan 驪山. After he came back and learned what the god of the soil had done to the villagers, he was very angry and decided to kill him. So he rode on an earthen horse to Sidu with his disciple. Before the fight, he ordered his disciple to immerse his "lash for driving away mountains" (*ganshanbian* 趕山鞭) in water for six hours.

Having heard of this order, the god of the soil turned himself into an old man, standing in the disciple's way and inviting the latter to play chess with him. So they played chess and continued doing it until six hours had almost passed. Suddenly, the disciple heard the voice of his master. He remembered that he had failed to follow his master's order. The god of the soil suggested that he urinate on the lash. Having no other choice, the disciple followed his suggestion.

The lash of Chen Mali could formerly flog three times. With one lash he drove away the god of the soil. He lashed the second time at the mountains, attempting to "drive" the mountains away and make Sidu into a flat place. But the lash broke into two. His disciple flew away before his master realized what he had done to the lash and tried to find him.[124] As a result, villagers of Sidu did not worship the god of the soil.

Again, the hero of the legend used a lash as his weapon. His capacity to "bring ghosts and gods under his control by talismans" suggests that he may have belonged to the lay Taoist exorcists, the "Ritual Masters," discussed by Edward Davis.[125]

Legend III: Xiao Bida

A third legend is told by the Xiaos of Dongshan village, Sibao. The hero of the legend was an ancestor of the Xiaos known as Xiao Bida 蕭必達. Once Bida peddled rice and soybeans to Tingzhou with several of his kinsmen. On their way to Tingzhou, they found a mountain opening its gate. Bida was surprised. So he laid down the loads, and walked

[124] Lai Guangyao, "Sidu zhen de zongzu yu miaohui," 468-169.

[125] Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 7-8.

toward the gate. All of a sudden he was sucked into the mountain. His fellow kinsmen waited for a long time, but he did not come out. Then they cried: "Bida! Bida!" They heard a voice from heaven: "I am here. I will be back in three months." They could do nothing, so in dismay they went home. They told Bida's wife that he would "be back in three months." Three months passed, but Bida did not return. Bida's wife thought he must have died and thus put on mourning dress.

Three years later, Bida returned, telling his wife that he had been studying magical arts on Maoshan 茅山 over the past three years and now he was able to go up to heaven and enter into earth. The news of Bida spread among the villagers rapidly. Even the god of the soil of this village knew about it.

On the fifth day of the fifth month, Bida carried rice seedlings to his fields. The god of the soil turned into a big snake and blocked the way, telling him that he wanted to have a fight with him. "I have to transplant rice seedlings. Leave me alone." This said, Bida went to another road, attempting to bypass the snake. But once more he found a big snake that blocked the way. He counted out the cosmic correlations on his fingers and was aware that it was the god of the soil. He had heard of this "human-eating spirit" (*chirenjing* 吃人精) and knew that he had done much harm to villagers. He decided to kill him. So he cried to all those who worked in the fields, "Uncles and brothers, please drain the water away from the fields. There will be heavy rains." Then he turned to the god of the soil and swore. "If I win, I will kill you by Five Thunder (*wulei* 五雷) Rites and take your place. If I lose, you can eat me." With the help of Five Thunder Rites, Bida killed the god of the soil eventually. After he died, villagers buried him in the former altar of the soil.[126]

[126] Tong Jingen, "Qingliu xian Dongshan Xiao shi de zongzu chuanshuo ji qi miaohui," 212-213.

The Five Thunder or the Rites of Five Thunder Gods (*wulei fa* 五雷法) mentioned in this legend was closely related to the Ritual Masters. In the rites, Thunder Gods were summoned to bring rain and to exorcise demons.[127] Maoshan as represented in Tingzhou and other parts of South China was less a center of esoteric Taoist meditation than a center where many Taoist exorcists allegedly received their training in magical arts. This information again testifies to the relationship between this legend's protagonist and new Taoist lineages active in this region. The end of the legend is also noteworthy. The altar of the soil was occupied by an exorcist who drove away its former incumbent.

Legend IV: Lord Li

The last legend is circulated in Changxiao, Sibao. This legend is similar to the first legend, especially its first half. The legend also begins with the man-eating god of the soil. His altar was once besides the river surrounding the village. Every year he ordered villagers to present a virgin boy and girl to him, otherwise he would bring disasters upon them. Many years passed. One year it was the turn of Li Wulang, the founding ancestor of the Lis, to present a virgin boy and girl to the god of the soil. Wulang had only a son and a daughter. He loved them very much, to the point that he would rather die than give up his children. So he kowtowed and prayed all the time. Sometimes he walked on the bridge of his village aimlessly.

One day he met an old man with white whiskers, who asked him: "Young brother, why are you so unhappy?" Wulang looked at the man. He appeared to be a good man, so he told his story to the man. "This is really unreasonable," commented the old man after he learned of Wulang's miserable situation, "He is simply a man-eating spirit. We really

[127] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 24-44. See also Lowell Skar, "Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-Century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996-1997), 159-202.

need to find a way to kill him." "But how can we kill him?" Wulang asked. "That depends on whether you have resolution or not," replied the old man. "If I can eliminate this man-eating god of the soil," said Wulang, "I would go up a mountain of knives and go down a sea of fire." The old man nodded with admiration. He took a pearl out of his sleeve and gave it a puff. It turned into a cloud and he flew away with Wulang. Shortly after, they came to a temple in a cave with thick clouds. The old man shook his body and turned into a big and tall Ritual Master. He told Wulang: "This is the magical hall (*fating* 法廳) of Maoshan. From now on you study martial arts with me." This said, he punched a rock and made a hole in it. "You may go home to fight the god of the soil," he said, "when you can break the rock." Wulang followed the man's instruction and practiced arts everyday. Months passed and the date of the presentation of sacrifices was approaching, yet he could not break the rock. Wulang became worried, so he said to the rock: "Rock, let's see whether you are harder than my bones. If I cannot break you, I would rather die." With all his strength he kicked the rock. The rock was broken.

Excited, Wulang thanked his master and went home. He heard the sound of gunpowder exploding as he arrived the entrance of the village. "Stop!" he cried, quickly crossing the river and kicking at the god of the soil. The latter dropped into the river. He cried "Help! Help!" but nobody offered help. So the river brought him down to Shaping 沙坪 village. Again he cried "Help!" but the villagers said, "Man-eating god of the soil! Nobody will help you." "Help me! I do not need a virgin boy and girl any longer. It is all right to present me a pig and a sheep," said the god of the soil. "It is difficult to raise a pig and a sheep. We will not present them to you. You deserve to see the Dragon King of the Sea (*Hailongwang* 海龍王)," replied the villagers. The river thus brought the god further downstream, to the village of Tiankou 田口. Once more, the god of the soil cried to those who stood on the bank of the river: "Help! Help!" He promised that he would no

longer ask for a virgin boy and girl. What he needed was only a chicken and a duck. "We do not even have a chicken and a duck. You go to see the Dragon King of the Sea," the villagers replied.

At this juncture, a carpenter walked past the riverbank. He heard some voices and found somebody in the river. "Are you man or a ghost?" he asked. "I am the god of the soil of Changxiao. Help me," relied the god of the soil. The carpenter had heard about what this god had done in Changxiao. He shook his head while saying: "Don't you ask for a virgin boy and girl for sacrifice?" The god of the soil told him he would not ask for that any longer but would need a fish and shrimp. "Even a fish and shrimp are living creatures," the carpenter said. "No. I will carve only a wooden fish." "A wooden fish is all right if only you will rescue me." The god of the soil replied. Thus the carpenter rescued him from the river and erected a small temple to him. Upon the offering table he placed a wooden fish. Since nobody comes here to present incense and candles, the god is known as "the wooden fish god of the soil."[128]

Another version of this legend mentions that the god was not the god of the soil actually, but was, like the god of the soil of Tufang, an incarnation of a demon.[129] Again, the man who drove away the god of the soil was a Ritual Master who later became a god/ancestor. And like Xiao Bida in the third legend, he studied magical arts on Maoshan.

In addition, John Lagerwey mentions a similar legend told in Anjie 庵傑, Changting, a township to the northeast of Sibao. The story is called "Mister Li Fights the God of the Soil" (Ligong dou shegong 李公鬥社公). Similarly, the god of the soil asked for a virgin boy and girl every year. If they were not presented to him, he would send

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[128] Li Shengbao, "Qingliu xian Changxiao cun de zongzu chuantong diaocha," 280-281; Li Shengbao, ed., *Kejia Xieying: Changxiao shizong* 客家擷英: 長校史蹤 (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi daxue chubanshe, 1996), 160-161.

[129] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Wulang zu chu yao lingyi ji" 伍郎祖除妖靈異記, 1a-1b.

epidemics. So the ancestor Li went to Lishan 梨山 to learn from the "Old Mother of the Lishan" (Lishan laomu 梨山老母) the exorcistic methods necessary to drive away a god of the soil.[130] Yang Yanjie also mentions a legend of the god of the soil circulated among Yongping 永平 Township in northern Wuping. This legend is similar to the second half of the legend of Changxiao. It explains how a god of the soil was accepted by a community. The god of the soil was from Sanbei 三背 village of Yongping. The legend does not elaborate on why the god was removed from Sanbei. At the beginning of the legend, the incense burner of the god was brought down the river from Sanbei to Maocun 帽村 village, ten *li* to the north of the Sanbei. A fisherman of Maocun cast his net and found the burner in it. He asked where it was from. The burner replied that it was the god of the soil of Sanbei and promised that if he was worshipped he would protect the whole village. When asked what he needed, he replied that the villagers should present a virgin boy and girl. This was refused and he was dropped in the river. But again the fisherman found the burner in his net. This time the god said it was all right to present a whole pig and a whole sheep. The villagers dropped the burner again in the river because they thought it still cost them too much. When the third time the burner was found in the net, the god lowered his requirements still further, claiming that villagers needed only to present him with "fried egg with shrimp" (*xiagong jian dan* 蝦公煎蛋) and rice cakes. Villagers found this acceptable. But they doubted the efficacy of the god. They promised that they would worship the god if he could make a tree planted upside down live. When the god made this happen, villagers worshipped him and presented the offerings they promised to him in the second month of every year.[131]

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[130] *Zhongguo minjian gushi jicheng, Fujian juan, Changting xian fenjuan* 中國民間故事集成, 福建卷, 長汀縣分卷 (Changting, 1991), 133-137. Cited in John Lagerwey, "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," 743-744.

[131] Yang Yanjie, "Fangping Maocun de Fang shi zongzu" 方平帽村的方氏宗族, in Yang Yanjie, *Minxi Kejia zongzu shehui yanjiu*, 109.

The motifs of the legends mentioned above have many similarities. In all of the legends, there is an evil god of the soil. This god asks for human sacrifices and when they were not satisfied they create disasters. In two cases the god was an incarnation of a demon. All of the men fighting against the god of the soil were those who knew Taoist exorcistic methods to kill or drive away the god of the soil. They fell into the category of Ritual Masters and had close relations to the new lineages of lay Taoist religion that emerged in the twelfth century and which were active in Southeast China thereafter. The places they learned the exorcistic methods ranged from Lishan 驪山, Lishan 梨山, Lüshan 閭山, to Maoshan 茅山. These men were either the founding gods/ancestors (the legend of Tufang, the legend of Sidu, and the legend of Changxiao) or an ancestor who later replaced the god of the soil (the legend of Dongshan). At the end of the story, these gods/ancestors either killed the god of the soil of the community concerned (the legend of Dongshan) or drove him away (the other three legends). To sum up, the basic plot of the legends is how the god of the soil (sometimes the incarnation of a demon) was replaced by a specific god/ancestor cum Ritual Master.

How should we interpret this group of legends? Basing his reading principally on the legend of Tufang, Lagerwey argues that this "constitutes a symbolic account of a very physical fact, to wit, the displacement of the She by the Hakkas."[132] Essentially speaking, Lagerwey has made here two rather than one inter-related arguments. The first concerns the change of self-identity of the local residents based on evidence from genealogies. As Lagerwey points out, ordination names incorporating the *fa* and *lang* characters and numerals including ten, hundred, thousand, or ten thousand can be found in the upper reaches of the genealogy of the Tus. However, since the fifteenth century, they disappeared altogether. This evidence, from Lagerwey's point of view, suggests that the

[132] Lagerwey, "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," 748-749.

Tus, formerly closely connected to the She as seen from the fact that they practiced ordination names, rejected their former ethnic identity and took a new identity, the Han Chinese. This point is closely related to the second, a religious one. For Lagerwey, the legend tells the story of how the god of a group of people, presumably the She, was demonized and exorcised by another group, presumably the Han Chinese among whom the Taoist religion was practiced. When he asks "What better way to subdue a people than to exorcise-demonize-their gods?" Lagerwey clearly implies that the two events, the change of ethnic identity and the exorcising of a former god, are actually two aspects of a same process: the sinification of non-Chinese through Taoist religion.

The point that the spread of the Taoist religion was at the same time a process sinification is nothing new. Michel Strickmann put forward this thesis over twenty years ago.[133] The problem with this argument is, I think, not so much that it is wrong as that it is inadequate when it comes to exhausting the meanings of this group of legends. These legends may have showed how an ethnic group changed its identity and the gods of the "aborigines" were demonized and exorcised by Han Chinese. But this interpretation misses an important fact in the legend: the god that was demonized and exorcised was the *shegong*, the god of the soil.

The god of the soil, as we have seen, had close connections to the court. On the one hand, he was one of the most ancient and most important gods of the official religion. The god of the soil, as we know, was an important deity in official religion. He was one of a few deities who were worshipped by emperors, officials, and the commoner people in the Ming and Qing periods. He was a guardian of the welfare of villagers. The term

[133] Michel Strickmann, "The Tao Amongst the Yao: Taoism and the Sinification of South China," *Rekishi ni okeru minshu to bunka: Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen ronshū* 歴史における民衆と文化: 酒井忠夫先生古稀祝賀紀念論集 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1982), 22-30. See also Judith Magee Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in the Battles with the Supernatural," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 271-272.

"*sheji*" (the god of the soil and grain) has the meaning of "the court" or "the empire" in Chinese. On the other hand, the god of the soil, usually known as the earth god (*tudi gong*), is represented as an agent of the supernatural bureaucracy. Although his status in the bureaucratic hierarchy is not high, he is nevertheless an integral part of it.[134] The meaning of the god of the soil may vary with respect to class and location, but his role in official religion and the supernatural bureaucracy seems to be a commonplace. In view of this, it is important to know why the god of the soil rather than other gods, particularly the gods of the "aborigine," was singled out as a target. To answer this question, a historical analysis is in order. I think that these legends were closely related to the transformation of sub-canton-level altar of the soil starting from the mid-Ming and that they reveal the process within which the god of the soil was replaced by other spirits, especially gods/ancestors. This point will become clear as we examine the case of Changxiao.

As we have seen, the legend tells the story of Ligong and the god of the soil. Ligong was the founding ancestor of the Lis of Changxiao. Before the establishment of the Ming, Ligong seems to have been a local god, not unlike Zougong. It is reported that in the late Yuan, when bandits and rebels rose in revolt, they often harassed Changxiao. The Lis "burned incense and prayed." Suddenly soldiers were seen in the mountains in four directions. The sounds of the beating of gongs and drums were also heard. Some even saw that Ligong, in full attire and with a dagger-axe in his hand, rode on horseback and ran after the bandits and rebels. The bandits and rebels seem to have fled away without meeting any enemy. So it was said that they "feared only the god of Sibao" (*zhi wei Sibao shen* 只畏四保神).[135] There was a temple dedicated to General Li Cheng 李晟

[134] See Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in Arthur P. Wolf, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 138-139.

[135] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Wulang zu chu yao lingyi ji," 1a-1b.

(727-793), a famous general in the mid-Tang, in Changxiao and the statue of Ligong was placed in the temple. The temple was established probably in the Yuan period and reconstructed in 1380 and 1584.[136] This means that Ligong became a local god before the Ming dynasty was established and the official-style altar of the soil was erected in Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu county.

The altar of the soil and grain, like the altar of orphan souls, was expected to be erected in every sub-canton in the early Ming and we have no reason to think that Sibao sub-canton was an exception. Furthermore, given Changxiao's central place in the Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu, the altar may have been erected in or near this village. Indeed, as I pointed out earlier, the altar of orphan souls of this sub-canton seemed to have been erected in Changxiao. If this is the case, we still have to find out when the legend appeared. Judging from the sources I collected in Changxiao, the legend first appeared in written sources probably in 1589. This year the temple mentioned above was reconstructed and an essay was written to record the event. The essay mentions briefly the legend of Ligong.[137] Another essay, explaining why the Lis were justified in expelling the god of the soil, was written in 1601 (see below).[138] A third essay, recounting the legend in detail, does not give a date.[139] This essay may not have been written earlier than the Ming period judging from some details in the essay. It gives, for example, an account of how Ligong protected Changxiao from banditry and rebellion in the late Yuan. To be sure, the legend must have circulated orally for some time before it was recorded in written sources. But given the evidence mentioned above, it is unlikely that it was

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[136] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Chongxiu zumiao xin jian yuelong qiao ji" 重修祖廟新建躍龍橋記, 1a-2a.

[137] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Chongxiu zumiao xin jian yuelong qiao ji," 1a-2a.

[138] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Lingyi ji" 靈異記, 2a-2b.

[139] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Wulang zu chu yao lingyi ji," 1a-2a.

produced before the Ming. That is to say, what the legend tells us is not simply, as Lagerwey suggests, how the She identity was replaced by the Hakka identity, but how the altar of the soil and grain established in the early Ming was abandoned and how local gods rose to replace him,[140] which was a process we observe not only in Sibao, but also in Putian, Fuzhou, and other coastal areas. Given the fact that this process started in the mid-Ming, the legend may have appeared in this period. Interestingly, the disappearance of ordination names in the case studied by Lagerwey took place roughly in the same period, the fifteenth century, rather than in the Song. This is perhaps not co-incidental.

As an important god in official religion and the supernatural bureaucracy, the god of the soil in these legends was nevertheless represented as an evil god asking for human sacrifices and was thus driven away or killed. Then other gods/ancestors, with close connection to Taoist religion, were enshrined to replace him. This really tells us much about the peasants' representation of a key official symbol. It indicates that while many Sibao peasants adopted the god of the soil as one of their patron gods, other villagers replaced this god with other gods, especially those gods/ancestors that had probably long been embedded in village life.

Probably because the god of the soil was an orthodox deity in official religion, some versions of the legend of Tufang claim that the supernatural being who occupied the altar of the soil was actually not the god of the soil, but a demon. A version of the legend of Changxiao makes a similar claim. In that version, when he was worried that he had to present his children to the god of the soil, Ligong met an old man with yellow hair. The old man told him:

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[140] Interesting enough, the 1491 edition of *Fujian General Gazetter* shows that while around 1472 there were seven sub-cantons in Qingliu, this county only contained six altars of the soil and grain. See Table 6.2. It is not unlikely that Sibao was the one sub-canton without the altar. Unfortunately, lack of sources prevents us from knowing the situation of the early Ming.

> The god of the soil is in charge of the five soils [i.e., the soil in all directions] and [responsible for] raising the five grains. [His] responsibility is to rear people. It never happens that the one who rears people does harm to people. It must a demon who extorts food in the name of the god of the soil.[141] 夫社也者掌五土育五穀職以生民為務何嘗以養人者害人此必假社之名以需食耳

With the help of the old man, Ligong pulled down the altar of the soil, just as an official "threw a shaman [and drowned him/her in the river] or destroyed licentious [cults] (*tou wu hui yin* 投巫燬淫)."[142] Li Chengzhou 李承周, a literati of the Lis, also elaborated this point. In the essay he wrote in 1601, Li points out that the reason that "only" Changxiao did not have an altar of the soil while the god of the soil was worshipped throughout the empire is that the god of the soil in Changxiao was a demon. When he expelled this spirit, Ligong was just following the example of Ximen Bao 西門豹 and Di Renjie 狄仁傑 (607-700). The former, a famous official of Wei in the Warring States period (475-221 BC), threw shamans into the river and drowned them, while the latter, an eminent official of the Tang, ordered hundreds of licentious temples to be pulled down.[143] But he did not explain why a new altar of the soil was not erected to replace the old one. His claim that Changxiao was the "only" place without an altar of the soil is, as we have seen, not correct. Actually, the existence of the group of considerably similar legends in several counties of Tingzhou suggests that this case may not have been exceptional.

Temples, Markets, and Village Identity

[141] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Wulang zu chu yao lingyi ji," 1a-1b.

[142] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Wulang zu chu yao lingyi ji," 1a-1b.

[143] *CXLSZP* (1909 edition, Shiyilang Branch), *juan zhi shou*, "Lingyi ji," 2a-2b.

Temple Building and Village Identity

The mid-Ming saw not only the erection of village-level altars of the soil, but also the establishment of a few temples. I have mentioned the establishment of the Fengrao Temple in the mid-Ming in Chapter IV. The temple, located outside the village of Chitugang 赤土岡 to the north of Mawu, seemed to have been put up by several nearby villages such as Liukeng, Mawu, and Jiangfang. As mentioned in the third chapter, at least two members of the gentry were involved in the establishment of the temple.[144] The Zhonglie 忠烈 (literally "loyal till death") Temple was reportedly established in Jiangfang in the Hongzhi era (1488-1505) and was dedicated to a god/ancestor of the Jiangs, Jianggong 江公, and Zougong.[145] The Zougong Temple in Huangshikeng was, as I mentioned, erected in the same era. Another temple established in this village, the Hall of Awakening to the Truth (Wuzhen Tang 悟真堂) dedicated to Immortal Ouyang, Immortal Luo, Immortal Lai, and Ancestor Master Zhenwu (Zhenwu zushi 真武祖師), was probably set up around 1474.[146] The Convent of Accumulating Blessings (Jifu An) to the east of Shangbao was erected in the Hongzhi era.[147] Wuge did not seem to have its own village temple until the late Ming, when an abandoned academy on the hill to the east of the village was converted into a Buddhist temple in the late Ming.[148]

Some of these temples seem to have been close to an aggregate of temple sections and statues that belonged to different villages or lineages or their segments. The arrangement was not unlike a business partnership. Thus a statue of Puxian 普賢 in the Fengrao Temple was erected by Jiang Guanzheng 江觀政 of Jiangfang and later became

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[144] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/1a.

[145] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/26a.

[146] A tablet of Immortal Ouyang still exists in the temple.

[147] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Lower Gate Branch), 1/4b.

[148] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/7b.

the property of his descendants, who also took care of repairing the statue. A statue of Dizangwang 地藏王 and those of the Golden Lad and Jade Maiden were donated by Jiang Wentong 江文通 and later also became the property of his descendants.[149] This arrangement is similar to the Zougong Temple in Mawu, where the four statues of Zougong, as I mentioned, belonged to four descent groups respectively. The Convent of Accumulating Blessings was another example. The major Buddhist statues, Immortal Ouyang, Immortal Luo, and Immortal Lai in the temple were erected by the Zous of Shangbao. The Old Lady Great Buddha (Tai fo gu po 太佛姑婆) was erected by the descendants of Zou Wenxue 鄒文學 of Shangbao.[150] The three statues of the Three Great Ancestor Masters (San da zushi 三大祖師) were erected by the Wus of Jiantou.[151] A Shangbao genealogy reports that the statues of the Wus used to be placed in the temple of their own village. But after two fires, the temple was burnt to ashes. So they placed the statues in the Temple of Accumulating Blessings at the consent of the Zous.[152] Since the statues belonged to different villages or lineages or their segments, offerings presented to specific deities and the maintenance of the statues were the responsibility of the groups that had them erected. The latter were also responsible for donating estates to the convents so that monks there could take care of the temples. In some rare cases, owners of statues even took back their statues. Three statues, those of Primordial Emperor Ancestor Master (Yuandi zuzhi 元帝祖師), General Zhao 趙, and General Yin 殷, in the Fengrao Temple, belonged to a branch of the Jiangs. Then the branch took back the

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[149] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/1a.

[150] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), 15/4.

[151] *WSZP* (1899 edition, Lower Gate Branch), 1/4b. The Three Great Ancestor Masters were a group of gods of some popularity in Changting. Their major temple is located in Chifengzhang 赤峰嶂 to the west of Sibao. See Lai Jian, "Changting San tai zuzhi shenming xinyang" 長汀三太祖師神明信仰, in Yang Yanjie, ed., *Changting xian de zongzu, jingji yu minsu*, 741-778.

[152] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), 15/4.

statues and worshipped them in a public hall in their own village. Later the branch erected another three statues in the temple.[153]

Furthermore, in return for the economic support from villagers, monks in these temples were responsible for providing religious services to villagers. Their responsibility included the watching of temple properties, burning incense and candles to deities, writing "auspicious contracts" of adoption (*jiqi* 吉契),[154] performing rituals at the funerals of villagers and the *jiao* communal offering festivals, and sometimes taking care of the tablets of villagers' early ancestors.[155] The monks of the Temple of Accumulating Blessings, for example, were responsible for taking care of the tablets of the seven third generation ancestors, Shelang, Fulang, Zhenlang, Xianglang, Lilang, Youlang, and Lulang of the Zous of Shangbao.[156] The monks of the Fengrao Temple were also responsible for providing religious services to those villages that helped establish the temple. According to the *Ma Family Genealogy* of the Lower Shrine,

> Two or three *li* from the village there is the Fengrao Temple. Its location belonged to Qingliu. But the temple was established by our lineage together [with other villages]. Formerly Lord Ziren 子仁, styled Fushou 福壽, donated such-and-such *mu* of land [to the temple] to cover his everyday living expenses [in the temple].... The temple has several tens of monks. All of them [belong to] the Order of Fragrant Flowers (*xianghua jiao* 香花教). Frequently [they] rendered services to our village. Formerly Master Zhu (i.e., Zhu Xi) said that "Today's monks are like the spirit mediums in ancient times." If so, they who pray gods and expel

[153] *JYJSZP* (1990 edition), 27/2a-2b.

[154] It used to be a common practice to "give" one's child to the god as an adopted child in Sibao. A contract needed to be drafted for this purpose and it was usually put up on walls of the temple. It is said that the child would be protected by the god in this way. But this practice does not turn him into a monk.

[155] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), 15/4; *WSZP* (1899 edition, Lower Gate Branch), 1/4b.

[156] *ZSZP* (1994 edition, Yangzibian), 15/4.

> plague for us are indispensable for our village.[157] 去鄉二三里有豐饒寺地隸清流寺則吾族所共建者也昔子仁公字福壽者曾施田若干畝以為常住資... 寺僧數十皆香花教也往往供吾鄉應狀昔朱子曰今之僧古之巫也然則彼為吾禱神驅疫是亦吾鄉中所不可缺者哉

In all likelihood, monks in the temple provided services not only to villagers of Mawu, but also to those of Liukeng, Jiangfang, and other villages that helped construct the temple. In rare cases, monks also needed to hold banquets for the villagers. The monks of the Temple of Accumulating Blessings, for example, were asked to hold banquets for the villagers of Shangbao three times a year.[158]

How were these temples related to villages? Did they have connection to commercialization? For those temples erected by one single village, the relationship is clear. The Zougong Temple of Huangshikeng and the Zhonglie Temple of Jiangfang, for example, were undoubtedly village temples. As for the temples established by several villages such as the Fengrao Temple, the situation is more complicated. They were not village temples in the strictest sense of the word. But village identity was generated by the temples of this kind. Villages were closely connected to the specific gods they erected in the temples. The statues were a temple's property in so far as they were placed in the temple. But the village or lineage or its segments were entitled to take back their statues. This suggests that the temples of this kind not only accommodated co-operation between villages, but also, like the village-level altar of the soil, fostered village identity. However, it seems that a clear sense of village identity as expressed in the establishment of village temples did not emerge until the late Ming, when Guandi cult was introduced to Sibao. The answer to the second question, that is, the relationship between the construction of temples and the commercialization of the rural economy, is less clear. As I mentioned in

[157] *MSZP* (1994 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 28.

[158] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), 1/105.

the second chapter, Sibao people started to be involved in commercial activities probably from the early seventeenth century onward. The printing industry seemed to have been introduced to Wuge and Mawu around the Ming-Qing transition, if not later. From evidence from the mid-Ming, no strong connection is observed between temple building and commerce in this period.

Guandi and Village Identity

If temples constructed in and prior to the mid-Ming were principally dedicated to locally created deities, such as Zougong, Jianggong, the Three Great Ancestral Masters, and gods with strong Buddhist and Taoist affiliations, such as Puxian and Dizang, starting from the late Ming, a group of popular deities of empire-wide or regional popularity was introduced into Sibao. Guandi and Tianhou were two examples of these gods. Their introduction into Sibao was the result of complicated interplay between imperial, regional, and local factors and shows the subtle relationship between openness and closeness of the village community in an increasingly commercialized age.

Guandi 關帝, or the Chinese God of War, was one of the most popular gods in the late imperial China. His statue could be probably found in every corner of the empire.[159] Guandi was formerly a famous general, Guan Yu 關羽 (?-219), of Liu Bei 劉備, the founder of the Shu 蜀 state, in the Three Kingdoms period (220-280). As one of the most important generals of Liu Bei, Guan Yu played an important role in the establishment of the Shu state. Guan met his end in 219. He was captured and beheaded

[159] For the cult of Guan Yu in the late imperial period, see Masami Harada 原田正巳, "Kanu shiko no nisan yoso ni tsuite" 關羽信仰の二三の要素について, *Tōhō shūkyō*, 8-9 (March 1955), 29-40; Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols," 778-795; Guo Songyi 郭松義, "Lun Ming-Qing shiqi de Guan Yu chongbai" 論明清時期的關羽崇拜, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 3 (1990).

by a rival of Liu Bei.[160] The violent death seemed to have made him a vengeful ghost. According to evidence from the Tang, Guan Yu and his ghost soldiers were a cause of pain and fear among common people.[161] Guan Yu was adopted into the official Military Temple (Wumiao 武廟) probably in the eighth century. In the beginning, not only did he have only a minor importance in the temple, but also the state's adoption of him as a god was not without hesitation. In the early Northern Song, he was even removed from the temple on the ground that he had been seized by an enemy state. On the other hand, Buddhism and then Taoist religion adopted Guan as their guardian god around the eighth century and probably because of their promotion, the state reestablished Guan Yu's status in the Military Temple in the mid-Northern Song. In 1123, Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135, reigned 1100-1126) ordered Guan Yu to be included in the temple as an assistant god. Guan Yu was promoted slowly in the hierarchy of official religion in the Southern Song and the Yuan period. But his golden days did not come until the mid-Ming onwards, and his rise to prominence must be connected to the wide circulation of the popular novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義), which Confucianized Guan Yu and molded him into a symbol of loyalty. Ming Taizu ordered the establishment of a temple to Guan Yu in the imperial capital, Jinling 金陵 (Nanjing), in 1394. When Ming Chenzu moved the capital to Beijing, he ordered the erection of another temple to him there. Guan Yu was promoted to the level of emperor in 1590. The Manchus started to worship Guan Yu before they conquered China proper. After they seized Beijing, they granted the title "Guan the Saint, the Great Emperor of Loyalty and Righteousness, Divinity and Firmness" (Zhongyi shenwu Guan sheng dadi 忠義神武關聖大帝) to him in 1652. In the eighteenth century, Guan was promoted to be the main god of the Military

[160] For Guan Yu, see Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), j. 36, "Shushu, 6" 蜀書六, 939-942.

[161] See Liu Yonghua, "Guan Yu chongbai de sucheng yu minjian wenhua chuantong," 78-79.

Temple and enjoyed a status similar to that of Confucius in official religion.[162] Through the promotion of the imperial state, institutional religions, and the spread of plays adapted from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Guan also became a popular deity of local religion.

The cult of Guan Yu was first introduced to Sibao probably in the late Ming. The first statue of him was installed on the Wanshou 萬壽 Bridge of Mawu in 1557. It is reported that Ma Liangju 馬良擧 (1517-1608), a government student usually known by his literary name Liequan 冽泉, dreamt that Guan Yu appeared on the bridge on the lunar New Year's Eve of 1556. He thus advocated the construction of a roof over the bridge and the installation of the god there. In the Wanli era, the statue of Guan was moved to a pavilion in the village and a statue of Beidi 北帝 (North Emperor) was installed there instead.[163] A few comments need to be made on the location of Guan Yu's statue. In Sibao, the bridge was not only a means of communication, but also a means of non-communication. The bridge was constructed at a strategic point usually in order to overcome certain geomantic disadvantages, preventing the outflow of a village's "treasure" and preventing undesirable spirits from entering the village. The installation of a god on the bridge reinforces this function of the bridge. In this sense, the bridge and the god enshrined on it marked the boundaries of the village.

More temples were dedicated to Guandi in the Qing. The Guandi Temple of Shuangquan, the largest temple of this village, was constructed in the early eighteenth century. Installed in the main hall of the temple were statues of Guandi and two of his subordinates: Guan Ping 關平 and Zhou Cang 周倉. The statues of Liu Bei and Zhang Fei 張飛, another important general of Liu Bei, were placed on the right and left sides of the

[162] The preceding account is based on Liu Yonghua, "Guan Yu chongbai de sucheng yu minjian wenhua chuantong," 79-82.

[163] *MSZP* (1994 edition, Mawu), 2 *ji*, 27. A brief biography of Ma Liangju can be found in *MSZP* (1994 edition, Mawu), 1/55-56.

temple respectively. A stage was erected in front of the main hall. The annual *jiao* communal offering ceremony was performed in the temple and the birthday of Zougong was also celebrated there around the twenty-third day of the sixth month.[164] This temple was constructed under the management of Zou Guoyi 鄒國儀. Guoyi was a merchant with a relatively strong localistic orientation. He was born into an ordinary family. His father died when Guoyi was eight years old. When he grew up, Guoyi did business and made a large amount of money. His biography mentions that he managed the establishment not only of the Zougong Temple in Shangbao and the Convent of Heart Field (Xintian An 心田庵), but also of the compact office of the village, the Pagoda of the Netted Starring, and the Military Temple (usually known as the Guandi Temple).[165] The biography pointed out that the Military Temple and the tower functioned as a northern "key" to the village. These last two buildings were reportedly constructed for geomantic considerations. To the north of the village there is no "protecting" hill, thus making the village vulnerable to spiritual attack. The construction of the two buildings, therefore, was meant to overcome this geomantic disadvantage.

The Guandi Temple of Wuge was probably established in the eighteenth century, too.[166] The temple still exists. It is only a small building. The gods of this temple include Guandi, Guan Ping, Zhou Cang, Tianhou, and Guanyin. The *jiao* communal offering festival of Wuge, which used to be performed in ancestral halls or the Tianhou Temple, is nowadays performed in the temple around the seventh day of the seventh month each year. This temple was also constructed for geomantic reasons. It was erected to the

[164] Chunyou, *Shuangquan cun shi*, 177.

[165] *ZSZP* (1900 edition, Shuangquan), *juan shou*, *zeng wen*, 9a-9b.

[166] The recently compiled *Zou Family Genealogy* of the Upper Shrine claims that the Guandi Temple was established in 1592 and restored in 1632. See *ZSZP* (1996 edition, Wuge), 3/100-101. This seems to be baseless. No written sources and legends I collected mention the date of construction. The only early dated written source is a picture of the temple drawn in 1765. This means that the temple was erected no later than this date. See *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), *juan shou*, "Guandi Miao tu" 關帝廟圖, 1a.

southwest of the village, besides a stream surrounding the village in the south. A dam was constructed across the stream to prevent the outflow of village "treasure." A bridge was constructed several paces away from the dam. The temple is located besides the bridge. The bridge seems to have been constructed recently. But the dam was reportedly constructed before the temple was built. Clearly, the construction of the dam and the temple marked the boundaries of the village.

In addition, Yangzibian and Zhenbian each had one Guandi Temple. The Guandi Temple of Zhenbian still exists. It has only a single room. Inside the temple were placed the statues of Guandi, Guan Ping, and Zhou Cang. We do not know when they were placed there. The *Zou Family Genealogy* of Yangzibian mentions that the Guandi Temple of this village was restored under the management of Zou Longdian 鄒隆殿 (1789-1863), a villager without title or degree, probably in the first half of the nineteenth century.[167] This means that the temple may have been set up in the eighteenth century. Every year, on the birthday of Guandi, that is, the second day of the second month, the Zous of Yangzibian organize a procession in honor of Guandi. The rites of sacrifice are also performed by a sacrifier under the guidance of two *lisheng* within their ancestral hall.[168] The procession is followed by puppet shows. I do not know whether both temples mentioned above were also constructed for geomantic reasons. The fact that each of the two major hamlets of Shangbao established its own temple dedicated to the same deity, implies that if the temples were not constructed for geomantic purposes, they may have been constructed to mark the hamlets off from one another. That is to say, they functioned as the foci of village identity.

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[167] *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), *juan* 15, "Shijiu shi Jiren gong zhuan" 十九世繼仁公傳, 1a-1b. The genealogical information of Jiren, the style of Longdian, can be found in *ZSZP* (1946 edition, Yangzibian), 5/13a-14a.

[168] This is based on a poster pasted on the wall of the ancestral hall of the Zous of Yangzibian.

What is remarkable about the Guandi Temples mentioned above? First of all, several of them were constructed for geomantic purposes. At least three of them were established to overcome the shortcoming of the villages' geomantic location. It is noteworthy that Guandi (and Beidi in the case of Mawu) rather than other gods was selected to perform this function. This is probably because Guandi was not only a symbol of loyalty, but also a deity closely related to the military and to bravery, which were indispensable requirements as a guardian of the welfare of villagers. Furthermore, by performing the function of guarding the villages, the god also drew the boundaries of inside and outside of the village and thus marked the village off from other villages. To conclude, the god and the temples were the symbols of village identity.

Construction of the Tianhou Temple at Laijiaxu Market

In the eighteenth century, two Tianhou Temples were constructed in Sibao. Both of them were erected in market places. This phenomenon should not be seen as a coincidence. Rather, their location and their introduction to Sibao were historical events that call for an historical explanation. Here I want to bring out the relationship between this god, merchants, and commercial activities.

Tianhou, or the Empress of Heaven, was said to be formerly a person living in the early Northern Song on Island Meizhou 湄州 in Putian, Fujian.[169] The person, known as Lin Moniang 林默娘, was reported to have "worked as a shaman" and "was able to know disasters and blessings in advance." After she died, a temple was dedicated to her in her native village in the fourth quarter of the tenth century. Local people believed that

[169] For the cult of Tianhou in the late imperial China, see Watson, "Standardizing the Gods;" Lin Guoping and Peng Wenyu, *Fujian minjian xinyang*, 146-162. *Fujian zongjiao shi* (A history of Fujian religions) gives a brief description of the relationship between Tianhou and Fujian merchants and emigrants. See Chen Zhiping, ed., *Fujian zongjiao shi* 福建宗教史 (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 496-497.

she could guide seafarers safely home through storms. In the year 1123, Huizong granted a plaque to a temple dedicated to her in mainland Putian. The first title, "the Lady of Efficacy and Benevolence" (Linghui furen 靈惠夫人), was granted to her in 1156. The deity was promoted to the rank of "imperial concubine" (*fei* 妃) in 1190. At this point, she had become one of the most important gods for seafarers. The cult of the deity was promoted in the Yuan. The Yuan court granted titles to her five times and ordered that temples dedicated to her be erected in all coastal prefectures. Sacrifices were also ordered to be presented to her at these temples on fixed days every year. Similarly, the Ming court granted titles to the deity five times. The first took place in 1372, when Ming Taizu granted her the title "the Sagely Imperial Concubine" (Shengfei 聖妃). The promotion of Tianhou reached its climax in the Qing period. The state granted titles to the deity seven times during the dynasty. In the year 1680, at the request of General Shi Lang 施琅 (1621-1696), a native of Quanzhou, the deity was promoted to the rank of empress for the first time.[170] James Watson argues that the transformation of the deity from a god of local importance into the nationally prominent "Empress of Heaven" is principally the result of "the intervention of the state."[171] I agree that while the important role of the state was undeniable, we also need to pay attention to the efforts of Fujian officials to promote the god. As in the case of Xu Zhenjun 許真君 (Perfected Master Xu) for Jiangxi people and Liuzu 六祖 (Sixth Patriarch) for Guangdong people, Tianhou became the symbol of Fujian merchants and migrants in the late imperial period. The *huiguan* erected by Fujian merchants and migrants, such as those in Beijing, Chaozhou, Shanghai, and Sichuan had a section dedicated to this deity almost without exception.[172]

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[170] The preceding account is based on Lin Guoping and Peng Wenyu, *Fujian minjian xinyang*, 146-162.

[171] Watson, "Standardizing the Gods," 295.

[172] See Chen Zhiping, ed., *Fujian zongjiao shi*, 496-497.

Judging from the sources I collected from Sibao, no temple was dedicated to Tianhou in Sibao during the Ming. The first temple dedicated to Tianhou was probably the one that was established at Laijiaxu market in the mid-eighteenth century. This was one of the largest temples in Mawu. The temple was one *mu* in area. It was composed of a main hall and a bedchamber. The hall was about 250 square meters. The statue of Tianhou was placed in the hall. In front of the hall was a stage about 40 meters square. On the birthday of Tianhou (the twenty-third day of the third month) and on *jiao* communal offering festivals, theatrical troupes were hired to perform plays in the temple. Sometimes the performances lasted over one month.[173]

The construction of the temple was managed by Ma Long 馬龍 (1702-1781) of the Mas of the Lower Shrine. Ma Long, styled Sijian 斯見 and with the literary name of Wentian 文田, belonged to a family with close connections to the printing industry. His grandfather, Ma Quanheng, was one of the earliest Sibao residents involved in the printing industry (see Chapter II). His father, Ma Dingbang 馬定邦 (1672-1743), usually known by his literary name Yi'an 怡庵, was an outstanding book merchant in the early Qing. In his childhood, the printing shop of Dingbang's family hired a group of people to carve woodblocks and Dingbang helped his family by bringing foodstuffs from his home to the workshop. When Dingbang was fourteen years old, his family was divided. All woodblocks were inherited by one of his uncles. Quanheng received three *mu* of land and twenty taels of silver. He carved the *Commentaries to the Four Books* (*Sishu zhu* 四書注), *Commentaries to the Book of Odes* (*Shijing zhu* 詩經注), *Essential Allusions for Beginners*, *Enlarged and Broadened Maxims of Ancient Worthies* (*Zeng guang xian wen* 增廣賢文), and so on, and then sold books elsewhere. At this point Dingbang was sixteen years old. Before his father left, he gave Dingbang two sheaves of paper. Dingbang

[173] Ma Chuanyong, "Liancheng xian Sibao xiang Mawu cun minjian xisu," 328.

printed books with the paper and then sold the books he printed. With the money he purchased more paper and printed more books, until the profits from the book business were sufficient to support the whole family. In the meantime, Dingbang was also involved in an unsuccessful lumber business with one of his mother's brothers. Dingbang does not seem to have made much money from the printing industry until he was thirty-six. In 1707, he carved the *Complete Collection of the Four Books with Commentary* (*Sishuzhu daquan* 四書註大全). This book became very popular. Dingbang was able to make money from it and thus his family became well-to-do. When he was sixty, Dingbang was selected as the Great Guest (*dabin* 大賓) of the prefecture-level community wine drinking ceremony and granted a plaque from the state.[174]

Dingbang had two sons, Ma Long and his younger brother, Ma Jiu 馬就. According to his arrangement, the former studied for the civil service examination, while the latter continued the book business. Probably in compensation for the latter's contribution to the family, he purchased a title of National University Student for him. Ma Jiu transported books published in Sibao to Guangdong every year and brought book money back in the winter. His biography reports that he made considerable profits from the business.[175] Ma Long was a Government Student and later became a Tribute Student. He was not appointed to any government position, though he received the title of Gentleman for Good Service (*xiuzhilang* 修職郎). With money his father and brother made from the book business, he not only did not have to worry about his livelihood (their family did not divide until later in their lives), but also could donate money to construct public works.

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[174] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 55-58. A brief biography of Ma Dingbang can be found in *TZFZ* (1752 edition), 32/14a.

[175] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 68-69.

Dingbang himself seems to have been involved in the management of the construction of some public buildings. When he was forty-two, he contributed funds to reconstruct the Zougong Temple in Mawu. Six years later, the ancestral hall of the Lower Shrine was restored on his urging. Dingbang was also one of the managers for the reconstruction of two bridges that linked Mawu to Ninghua and Changting.[176] Like Dingbang, Ma Long also played an active role in local society. He advocated the construction of two temples in Mawu. As his biography written by one of his grandsons tells us,

> Many of our lineage members went to Guangxi to sell books. [They] found that the temples dedicated to Lord Ma, General Fubo, were erected in every place. [They] presented sacrifices on [the appropriate] times and seasons and it was claimed that [he was] efficacious and responsive by the masses. So [our lineage members] also prayed to the Lord to protect [them] secretly. Some years passed, and [they had] peace by land and water. [After] returning [to Mawu], [they] immediately put up a spirit tablet for the Lord, and performed *jiao* communal offering ceremonies to thank [his] favor. Later [they] also sculpted a small statue of the Lord, brought [it] home, and worshipped [it]. My grandfather saw it and said: "This is a hero of the Han dynasty and our patrilineal kinsman." Gladly he consulted with [lineage] members and established a temple [to him] next to the Laijiaxu market. The form [of the temple] was spacious. The golden statue was sculpted splendidly and [this] cost about a thousand [taels of silver]. Half [of the cost] was contributed by [lineage] members and half was donated by my grandfather. On every sixteenth day of the third month, the whole of our lineage went to the Lord's temple to present sacrifices.
>
> [Lineage] members discussed the construction of a temple to Tianhou. [They] searched for a place and [found that] only a field of my

[176] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 55-58.

grandfather was suitable. [They] thus talked it over with my grandfather, seeking to negotiate [with him]. My Grandfather said: "Lady Tianhou the Saintly Mother defends the country and protects the people. Her mercy is tantamount to Heaven and Earth. The successive dynasties granted titles to her almost without exception. She is reverently worshipped from the court down to prefectures and counties, from mountain villages to the edges of the sea. Now this undertaking of our village is really great and important. [You may] decide how much field you need in order to establish [the temple]. How could I accept payment?" Now the temple stands to the right side of the Temple of Fubo, the Prince of Loyalty and Manifestation.[177] 我族屢有往廣西售書者見各地方立伏波馬公廟歲時致祭群謂靈應因亦禱公默佑歷年以來水陸平安歸輒設公神位建醮酬恩後並塑公小像回鄉奉祀大父見之曰此漢之忠臣也余之宗室也欣然商於眾而建廟於賴家墟側規模宏敞大塑金身所費殆以千計眾捐半而大父所捐亦半每至三月十六日合族詣公廟致祭眾議建天后宮擇其地惟大父田內為佳因商於大父而請讓大父曰天后聖母娘娘護國庇民恩同天地歷朝加封無或有異上至朝廷下及郡邑山陬海隅無不崇奉今吾鄉此舉誠美且重也田需多寡任裁起建焉用價為今宮在伏波忠顯王廟右畔

Although Ma Long himself was not a merchant, the relationship between book merchants and the two temples mentioned above is obvious. The cult of General Fubo, for example, was introduced by book merchants. This source does not tell us who initiated the construction of the Tianhou Temple. But can we say that the response of Ma Long to the request was only a rhetorical improvisation? Remember that several of his ancestors and his brother were book merchants. In addition, the location of the two temples is also noteworthy. Why were the temples established in a market place? The construction of the temples in the market place, especially the Tianhou Temple, would not only protect book merchants, but also was meant to provide a overall platform for people from different areas to exchange goods with each other. The significance of the Tianhou Temple for the

[177] *MSZP* (1993 edition, Mawu), 5 *ji*, 80-81.

market place can be more clearly seen in the case of the market of Wuge. But before turning to this problem, we have to examine an important local event, the opening of a new market, and then interpret the problem mentioned above from that perspective.

Opening a Market in the Eighteenth Century

In the year 1778, the Zous of Wuge opened a new market in front of their village. This event is unusual for several reasons. On the one hand, the village of Wuge is next to Mawu. It took at most half an hour to walk from this village to Laijiaxu market. Why was a market was opened in a place so close to another market? On the other hand, the new market adopted a completely similar marketing schedule as the Laijiaxu market. This is even more difficult to understand. It is contrary to what we could expect from a rational economic perspective. To interpret this event, we need to bring into consideration not only rational calculation, but also the social dynamism of Sibao. Only when we interpret this event from the perspective of local politics can we achieve a sound understanding.

As mentioned in the fifth chapter, there was perhaps only one market in the Sibao area in the mid-Ming. Laijiaxu market was the only market probably because of its strategic location. It was located on the Changting-Qinglu border and in the middle of the Sibao basin. As the name of the market, "the market of the Lai family," shows, the market was probably opened by the Lais who used to live in the place. But it gradually found its way into the hands of the Mas of Mawu as the latter became one or rather two dominant lineages. This took place probably in the mid-Ming. In the lineage rules he drafted, Ma Xun prohibited his fellow kinsmen from several wrongdoings. According to the last injunction, the kinsmen were not allowed to bully villagers, trade forcefully, and use fake silver in the market place (see Chapter IV). The inclusion of this injunction in lineage rules not only indicates that this kind of wrongdoing may have existed in Laijiaxu

market, but also implies that the Mas may have dominated the market by the end of the fifteenth century.

Two markets may have appeared in and around Changxiao village in the early sixteenth century. The 1545 edition of the *Qingliu County Gazetteer* mentions a market in Changxiao and a fair about four *li* to the north of this village. The former, called Changxiao Market (Changxiao shi 長校市), was probably a small market with a few stores that did business everyday. The latter, known as the Fair of Turning Water (*zhuanshui hui* 轉水會), was the same as a temple fair, though there was probably no temple in the place. The fair took place around the Double Ninth festival every year, right after the Fangong Fair of the county seat of Qingliu concluded (see Chapter II).[178]

In addition to these three markets, those who lived in western Sibao could trade in Guiren 歸仁 market of Changting, while those who lived in southern Sibao could trade in Beituan market. These two markets did not lie within the Sibao area, but both of them were not far away from Sibao and had existed since the mid-Ming.[179] This situation did not change until the Zous of Wuge opened a new market.

The investment for the opening of this market came from the Upper Shrine and the Lower Shrine of the Zous, with each branch paying half of the expenses. The investment of the Upper Shrine was drawn from four of its sub-branches: the Lichong, Xiong, Ximeng, and Yongsheng branches. As I mentioned in the fourth chapter, Lichong (G11) was one of the great-grandsons of Dingfu (G8). Xiong (G12) was the first son of Lichong. Ximeng (14) was one of Xiong's grandsons. Yongsheng 永生 (G19) was one of the descendants of Jun (G 12), one of Xiong's younger brothers. The rental income of the market was thus divided equally first between the Upper Shrine and the Lower Shrine. Then the income due to the Upper Shrine was further divided equally among the four

[178] *QLXZ* (1545 edition), 1/12b.

[179] *TZFZ* (1527 edition), 3/5b, 25b.

sub-branches. In 1792, when the Tianhou Temple was established, the branch of Liheng (G11), one of the younger brothers of Lichong, joined the investment. The share of the Upper Shrine was thus re-divided into five shares.[180]

As to the considerations behind the opening of this new market, an essay collected in the *Zou Family Genealogy* of the Lower Shrine of Wuge gives a brief explanation. According to this essay,

> Our village, Longzu, has a thousand households [literally, "fireplaces"]. [It] can be called a large lineage. Early on our forefathers considered opening a new market every time they thought that the old one is relatively distant. But the suitable time did not come and [their idea] was not put into practice. This time the undertaking [of opening a new market] began to be discussed on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of [the year] *wuxu* (1778). Then on the nineteenth day a market was opened immediately. When one starts singing, all the others harmonize. Men's hearts thus are unified.[181] 吾鄉龍足戶口千煙可謂巨族矣前人早有以舊墟稍遠每思自開一區第時未至而竟不果行茲於戊戌之十一月十八日始議此舉而十九日即起墟場一唱百和人心齊一

This essay claims that the new market was opened on the ground that the old one was "relatively distant." This is, as I pointed out, not true, because the Laijiaxu market was only a half an hour walk from Wuge. What is more, even if we accept this explanation, why should the new market adopt the same marketing schedule as the Laijiaxu market? Obviously, the real considerations lay elsewhere. A legend circulated among the villagers of Wuge seems to provide a more reasonable explanation. It has it that the new market was opened because the Mas traded forcefully. The members of the Mas, as the legend

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[180] *ZSZP* (1911 edition), *juan shou*, "Gongping xu" 公平墟, 2a. See also Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, 124-127.

[181] *ZSZP* (1911 edition), *juan shou*, "Gongping xu," 2a.

goes, often went to the market and told peddlers: "I want to buy your goods." Then they would go away and not show up again until later in the evening. The peddlers, fearful of the Zous, did not dare to sell what they brought to the market. When the Mas came back, it was in the evening and most of traders had already left the market. The remaining peddlers did not want to bring back their goods and had to sell them at considerably lower prices to the Mas. The truth of this legend is difficult to verify. It is not impossible that the Zous may have utilized it as a pretext for their undertaking. The new market was called "Gongping xu" or the Fair Market probably for this reason.

Still, we have to explain why the Zous adopted the same marketing schedule. This action must be considered against the background of the Zou-Ma relationship. As discussed in the fourth chapter, when the Mas became a prominent descent group in the mid-Ming, the Zous were only a weak agnatic group with probably only very low-level integration. The involvement of the Zous in the printing industry and the effort of lineage building may not have changed this situation considerably, but made it possible for them to challenge the power of the Mas. This was especially true by the mid-eighteenth century. The opening of a new market, just like the compilation of a genealogy, the construction of an ancestral hall, and the transformation of a god into an ancestor, was one of the important strategies the Zous adopted to compete in local power with the Mas. By opening a new market, the Zous not only meant to cripple the Mas economically, but also to expand their own influence to other villages in the Sibao area. After the new market was opened, many villages in southern Sibao no longer went to Laijiaxu market.

The importance of local politics for understanding this action can be further shown by the case of the Longguang 龍光 market (literally, "the market of dragon light"). The Longguang market was located outside the village of Jiangfang, roughly in the middle between Mawu and Changxiao. That is to say, it was about 15 *li* away from Mawu to the south and Changxiao to the north. This market was probably opened by the

Jiangs in the 1930s.[182] What was remarkable about this market was that it adopted the same marketing schedule as the Laijiaxu market and the Gongping market of Wuge. Again, this decision should be interpreted from the perspective of community relations and local politics. This market was opened under the direction of Jiang Ruisheng 江瑞聲 (1899-1947) and his brother, Jiang Xiongsheng 江雄生 (1916-1951) of the Jiangs of Jiangfang, which, as I mentioned in the second chapter, was one of the most important lineages in Sibao. The father of the Jiang brothers, Jiang Letian 江樂天, had been a high official of Guo Jintang 郭錦堂, a local warlord of western Fujian, and Magistrate of Yong'an 永安 County. Ruisheng also held some important positions in the army of Guo Jintang before the latter was wiped out by the Red Army in 1934. After hiding in Fuzhou for three years, Ruisheng went back to Jiangfang in 1937. With the help of Xiongsheng, he gradually built up his own troops. In the last decade of his life he was not only active in Sibao, but also in the county politics of Qingliu. His brother, Xiongsheng, was appointed the head of Baoli 堡里 Township (the former Sibao sub-canton of Qingliu) in 1940. He continued to expand the troops his brother helped build. It is reported that at the height of his power his troops had over four hundred guns.[183] Clearly, the opening of Longguang market was meant to diminish the influence of the Mas and the Zous and to expand the influence of the Jiangs.

In the case of the Changxiao market, the reconstruction of an old market led to a lineage conflict. The market used to be located at a place called Niulanli 牛欄里 in Changxiao. In 1928, it was moved to a place called Laogangshang 老崗上 on the ground that the former location was too narrow. The marketing days of the market were also shifted from the fourths and eighths to the thirds and the eighths. The undertaking was

[182] *QLXZ* (1947 edition), 3/7b.

[183] Li Shengbao, ed., *Qingliu xianzhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 748-749, 756-757.

managed by Li Darong 李大榮 of the Lis of Changxiao, who was elected to be the head of the market (*xuzhang* 墟長) after the reconstruction of the market was completed. The new market reportedly drew a lot of outside villagers, to the point that the prosperity of Laijiaxu market was affected. The head of Laijiaxu market, Ma Xiankang 馬賢康, became angry and wanted to take some action against Li Darong, who was forced to leave his hometown.[184] Unlike the cases of the Gongping market of Wuge and the Longguang market of Jiangfang, the Changxiao market was not reconstructed specifically to challenge the power of the Mas, though it did undermine the prosperity of the Laijiaxu market. However, it led to the intervention of the Mas.

Historians of the late imperial Chinese economy have long regarded the increase of markets as evidence for the degree of commercialization of Chinese rural economy.[185] In some senses, this is justifiable. Clearly, if peasants had nothing to sell and nothing to buy, a rural market was not necessary. And the increase of markets may have been the result of relative increase in volume and frequency of trade. But the cases discussed above show that the increase of markets may not always mean the commercialization of the rural economy, but may have been the result of local politics. From the point of view of local society, the market was not only a place to trade, but also a means of challenging, contesting, and expanding the influence of the local groups concerned. This means that when examining the increase of markets, we should not explain it only in terms of economic logic. Rather, it is important to bring into consideration the social context and historical background within which markets were opened.

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[184] *CXLSZP* (1992 edition), 2/48b-49a.

[185] See, for example, Sibo Yixin 斯波義信 (Shiba Yoshinobu), *Songdai shangye shi yanjiu* 宋代商業史研究 (Trans. Zhuang Jinghui 莊景輝. Taibei: Daohe chubanshe, 1997), 338-380; Evelyn S. Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 8-9, 69-71.

Let us return to Gongping market of Wuge. In 1792, fifteen years after Gongping market was opened, a temple dedicated to Tianhou was established in the market. This largest temple of Wuge was put up corporately by the Zous (*hezu* 闔族) of this village. The temple was reportedly constructed under the direction of Danxuan 淡軒, a printing shop manager.[186] A stage was constructed in front of the temple. On the birthday of Tianhou, theatrical troupes were hired to perform plays to entertain the god and villagers. This annual celebration was organized by an association called the Soaring Dragon Society (*longxiang hui* 龍翔會). This society was composed of forty-eight portions occupied by forty-six members (one member, Yuanchao, held three portions, see Table 6.3) and was divided into four groups, who took charge of organizing the annual celebration in rotation. It was set up shortly after the temple was erected. The members contributed two silver dollars when they joined the society. They next loaned out the money to accumulate interest. By 1812, the capital had grown to 506 silver dollars. The society then spent 495 silver dollars to purchase three plots of land. The rent from the land was used to cover the cost for sacrifices to Tianhou and a banquet.[187] Of the forty-six members of the society, I am able to determine the social background of twenty-three members (see Table 6.3). All of them were surnamed Zou.

Table 6.3 The Social Background of the Members of the Soaring Dragon Society

Name	Group	Social Background	Sources
Shiyun 時運	A	Merchant	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/44a-44b
Ziren 子仁	A	Merchant, National University Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/60a-60b
Zirong 子榮	A	Merchant	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/61b-62a

[186] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/65b.

[187] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 29/3a-4b; Zheng Zhenman, *Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian*, 127.

Renkuan 仁寬	A	Tribute Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/35a-35b
Yuanxuan 元暄	A	National University Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), *juan mo* 卷末, "Guanshen gongzhi lei" 官紳公職類, 11a
Rensheng 仁盛	A	Military Government Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/37a-37b
Yuanchao 元超	A, C, D	Merchant, National University Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/69b-70a
Guanhui 觀輝	B	Guest of Community Wine Drinking Ceremony	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), *juan mo*, "Enchong lei" 恩寵類, 1b
Shouguan 壽官	B	National University Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/61a-61b
Chengguan 成官	B	Military Provincial Graduate	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/61b-62a
Diangeng 殿賡	B	Merchant, National University Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/84a-84b
Xinshun 新順	B	Merchant	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/51a
Xiongyan 雄彥	C	National University Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), *juan mo*, "Guanshen gongzhi lei," 4b
Benguan 本官	C	Military Provincial Graduate	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/68a-68b
Liguang 禮光	C	Peasant (?)	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/65a-66a
Dianshi 殿試	D	National University Student	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), *juan mo*, "Guanshen gongzhi lei," 12a
Xiandeng 顯登	D	Manager of Lineage Estates	*ZSZP* (1947 edition), 33/72a-73a; 34/20b-21a
Langguan 郎官	D	Merchant, Government Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 8.2/1a
Qingguan 清官	D	National University Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/55b-56a
Yunguan 運官	D	Merchant, National University Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/56a-56b

Zhenguan 振官	D	Provincial Military Graduate	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/57b-58a
Zongguan 宗官	D	Government Student	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/57a-57b
Qiguan 琪官	D	Peasant (?)	*ZSZP* (1911 edition), 20/67a-67b

Sources: *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge); *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge).

From Table 6.3 we learn that merchants played an important role in the society. Of twenty-three members in the table, at least eight members were merchants and most of them were book merchants. The other members were Provincial Graduates, Government Students, National University Students, managers of lineage estates, Great Guests of community wine drinking ceremony, and peasants. Although they were not involved in the commerce, many of them had close connections to it. Renkuan and Rensheng, for example, belonged to a family some of whose members were involved in commercial activities.[188] Yuanxuan (1795-1857) belonged to an agnatic group that was deeply involved in the book business. His great-grandfather, Shuwen 述文 (1692-1756), was a book merchant. He opened a bookstore in Zhangshu 樟樹 Town, Jiangxi, and sold books there for several decades.[189] Yuanxuan's grandfather, Hongyou 鋐猷 (1723-1772), and the latter's brothers, Hongqi 鋐起 (1726-1762) and Hongxing 鋐興 (Shiyun in Group A, 1732-1816), managed the bookstore in Zhangshu and sold books in Jiangxia 江夏 and Hanchuan 漢川 of Hubei, Chong'an 崇安 of Fujian, Suzhou, and Hangzhou.[190] Yuanxuan's father, Kongchang 孔昌 (1770-1834), and his uncle, Kong'ai 孔愛 (1755-1827), were also involved in the book business. They published books and sold them in Jiangxia of Hubei, Ganzhou, Zhangshu, and Wucheng 吳城 of Jiangxi, and Yunnan.[191]

[188] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/35b.

[189] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/30b-31a.

[190] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/43a-43b, 44a-44b, 45a-45b.

[191] *ZSZP* (1947 edition, Wuge), 33/60a-60b, 61a-61b.

Similarly, Qingguan, Zhenguan, and Zongguan were the brothers of Yunguan, who was a book merchant.[192] Another noteworthy phenomenon is that nine of the members listed in the table gained their titles through purchase. Four or half of merchants in the table gained their titles in this way.

The fact that the temple was dedicated to Tianhou may not surprise us. As I pointed out earlier, Tianhou was the deity most Fujian merchants worshipped and her statues were installed in most of the *huiguan* established by Fujian merchants. Tianhou's close relation to commercial activity and the inclusiveness of her worshippers made her one of the best choices for a temple erected in a market place. Like the stage in Datong Bridge market, the stage in Gongping market was also constructed probably to "make the marketplace look more splendid." The performance of plays in the market could draw the attention of villagers from villages other than Wuge.

The Tianhou Temple of Shangbao

A third temple dedicated to Tianhou was established in Shangbao in 1844. The temple, located to the northwest of the village and close to Datong Bridge market, was constructed by the three major branches of the Zous of Shangbao. According to an essay written by Zou Wenxuan 鄒文軒, a Government Student from Shangbao, the Zous decided to construct the temple after some of their members watched the plays performed at the Temple of Lord Wu (Wugong Miao 吳公廟). The Wugong Temple, the only village temple of Jiantou, was probably erected around 1827 by the Wus. It was dedicated to Wu Tao 吳夲 or Baosheng dadi 保生大帝 (the Great Emperor Who Protects Life), a well-known popular cult in southern Fujian.[193] It was constructed under the direction of Wu

[192] *ZSZP* (1911 edition, Wuge), 20/56a-56b.

[193] For the cult of Baosheng dadi, see Krisofer M. Schipper, "The Cult of Pao-sheng Ta-ti and Its Spreading to Taiwan: A Case Study of *Fen-hsiang*," in E. B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and*

Yuanwang 吳源旺 (1766-1840), a book merchant of Jiantou. It is reported that Yuanwang worked as a hired laborer for a printing shop in his youth. With the salary he received, he sold books with his brothers in Jiangxi and Guangdong and made considerable profits. He managed the construction of the temple when he was sixty-one years old, that is, in 1827.[194] We do not know who introduced the cult to Jiantou, though it is possible that it was introduced by merchants who did business in southern Fujian. But it is not difficult to understand the reason for constructing a temple dedicated to this god. The Wus worshipped Wugong in the way not unlike the Zous worshipped Zougong, or the Mas worshipped Magong, or the Lis worshipped Ligong. All of the gods were represented in a certain sense as gods/ancestors.

The several Zous who watched the plays were probably impressed by the Wugong Temple and the plays performed there. Thus after leaving the temple, four of them, Mingzhang 明章, Hualin 華林, Shiben 世本, and Chaomei 朝梅, had a discussion. The descendants of Zou Qilang, they said, were not poor. They displayed their reverence to gods and ancestors by constructing the Temple of Accumulating Blessings and the Zougong Temple.

> The only temple [we] do not yet have is the Tianhou Temple. Is it that the efficacy and manifestations of the Saintly Mother do not match [those of] other gods and Buddhas? It is actually (only) because no one has yet come out to advocate it. [So they] talked to Yusheng, Jiyuan, Jiren, Yuru, Longxuan, and Huayou after returning [to their village]. All [of them] said: "Although the Saintly Mother was born in Fujian, there is no place where temples have not been constructed and dedicated to her- from great places such as Beijing, provincial capitals, and prefectural and

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Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 397-416; Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of South-East China*, 61-93.

[194] *WSZP* (1899 edition), *juan* 8, "Wangsheng zongweng lao xiansheng daren zhuan," 1a.

county cities, down to small places such as market towns, countryside villages, mountain hamlets, and distant places. Although [the god] is a woman, there are no people who do not burn incense and worship [her]- from the son of Heaven, Marquises, and great and low officials, down to gentry, commoners, and so forth. Furthermore, all of us receive the protection of the Saintly Mother. Whenever there are dangers as [we] travel by water, we call out [the name] either of [our] great ancestor [i.e., Zougong] or of the Saintly Mother. And the Saintly Mother is extremely efficacious. Whenever [she] is called [she] will go [to provide protection]."[195] 獨於天后宮未之有焉豈聖母靈顯之不如諸神佛哉實未有人焉出而倡之耳歸而與玉生繼院繼仁裕和隆選華楠諸人言僉曰聖母雖誕於閩大而京師會城郡邑小而市鎮鄉村山陬野僻無不建宮奉祀雖是女流上而天子諸侯大小官吏下而紳士庶民人等莫不焚香拜禮且我等叨蒙聖母庇佑或舟行布水凡有徼險傾危之際非呼太祖即呼聖母而聖母靈顯非常有呼必赴

So they decided to construct a temple to Tianhou and contributed funds to set up the temple. The essay has made it clear that the Tianhou Temple was erected in Shangbao for two reasons. On the one hand, it was because the god was worshipped by people of different strata in a variety of different places. This stresses the popularity of the god. On the other hand, it was because the god provided help to "all of us," probably those who had ever traveled outside Sibao, especially merchants. This indicates the relationship between the god and travel, especially long-distance trade. Therefore, although this temple was not established in the market place, its connection to commercial activities is undeniable.

The construction of the Tianhou Temple of Shangbao seemed to have continued in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The arch of the temple was built in 1906. A stele recording the contributors to this construction is still extant. What is noteworthy about the stele is the variety of different associations involved. At least

[195] *ZSZP* (1995 edition, Zhenbian), 1/98.

eleven associations contributed to the construction. They were the Association of Offering Reverence (Fengjing she 奉敬社), Association of Unified Reverence (Tongjing she 同敬社), Association of Peaceful Waves (Botian she 波恬社), Association of Perpetual Celebration (Yongqing she 永慶社), Association of Pure Waves (Qinglan she 清瀾社), Association of Sincere Reverence (Chengjing she 誠敬社), Association of Tranquility (Shengping she 昇平社), Association of Perpetual Purity (Yongqing she 永清社), Association of Luxuriant Spring (Senchun she 森春社), Association of Birthday Celebration (Nuanshou she 暖壽社), and a association whose name is not clear.[196] The stele does not tell us what these societies were. Judging from their names, they were god-worshipping societies. Many of them, for example, the Association of Peaceful Waves and the Association of Pure Waves, were centered around the worship of Tianhou. The existence of a number of these societies should not be surprising. Sources from other villages of Sibao also testify that associations of this nature were widespread in the late Qing and the Republican Sibao. A document of family division dated 1909 collected in Changxiao shows that the family had shares in nineteenth associations. About half of these associations, including the Ligong Association (Ligong hui 李公會), Tianhou Association (Tianhou hui 天后會), Guandi Association (Guandi hui 關帝會), New Lixia Association (Xin lixia hui 新立夏會), Zhenwu Association (Zhenwu hui 鎮武會), the Altar of Orphan Souls Association (Litan hui 厲壇會), Immortals Association (Xiangong hui 仙公會), Association of the Eighth Day of the Fourth Month (Siyue ba hui 四月八會), and Taibao Association (Taibao hui 太保會), were clearly god-worshipping associations.[197] A survey of corporate land in Huangshikeng carried out in 1952 points out that there were over twenty god-worshipping societies in this small mountain

[196] "Zao Tianhou gong menlou bei" 造天后宮門樓碑 (Erected in 1906, Shangbao).

[197] Fenguan #15 (Changxiao, 1909).

village.[198] Our evidence can be multiplied. But the evidence mentioned above has made it clear that voluntary associations were extremely popular in the late Qing and Republican Sibao. Although we do not know when these associations started to spread across Sibao, evidence from the late eighteenth century suggests that this kind of association had come into existence by this period. For example, the Soaring Dragon Association of Wuge mentioned above was organized in the 1790s. The widespread existence of these associations implies that lineage organization was not the only choice for social grouping and that the voluntary associations based on non-kin relationship may have provided an important alternative for gentry, merchants, and peasants of Sibao.[199]

I have discussed the third layer of temples constructed after the mid-Ming, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Several gods such as Guandi, Tianhou, and Wugong were introduced to Sibao during this period. I have suggested that these temples had close connections both to village identity and to the commercialization of the rural economy. On the one hand, the Guandi Temples were constructed to mark villages off from other villages. They functioned principally as the foci of village identity. On the other hand, the construction of the Tianhou Temples had close connections to merchants and commercial activities. As one of the most important gods of Fujian, Tianhou was not only closely related to Sibao merchants, her cult's inclusiveness also made it one of the best choices for a deity enshrined in the temples established in market

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[198] "Huangshikeng xiang gongtian qingkuang diaocha baogao" 黃石坑鄉公田情況調查報告 (March 23, 1952), in *Qingliu tugai dang'an*, 15-71/13.

[199] Another interesting fact of these associations is that the shares of them could be bought and sold. This reminds us of what Myron L. Cohen calls the "commoditization" of late imperial Chinese economy and society. See Cohen, "Shared Beliefs: Corporations, Community and Religion among the South Taiwan Hakka during the Ch'ing," *Late Imperial China* 14.1 (1993), 1-33; Cohen, "Commodity Creation in Late Imperial China: Corporations, Shares, and Contracts in One Rural Community," in David Nugent, ed., *Locating Capitalism in Time and Space: Global Restructurings, Polities, and Identity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 80-112.

places. The case of Tianhou Temples in Sibao also indicates the close relationship between temples and market places. An informant in Anyuan 安遠 county of Southern Jiangxi once mentioned a saying to Liu Jingfeng that "a market without a temple cannot last" 墟上無廟墟場會倒.[200] While this saying does not exist in Sibao, the development of temples in the market places of Sibao does show that temples seem to be an integral part of the market place.

Recently, historians working on South Chinese history have developed several competing models of societal transformations in the Ming and Qing periods. Based on their research in the Pearl River Delta, David Faure and Liu Zhiwei argue that the social transformation in the region was principally a process of how the official-style lineage was introduced to south China and how this process shaped the configuration of the whole society. The introduction of ancestral halls and the compilation of genealogies in that region not only modified the principle of social organization, but also had a great impact upon that region's temple networks. As a result, the temple networks, which used to be "the foci of local organization," were competed against, suppressed, relegated to a lesser role, and sometimes even eliminated by the ancestral halls. They were placed under "the shadow of the dominant lineages" and had only "second place" in the local society.[201]

Kenneth Dean, on the other hand, calls the argument of Faure and Liu into question based on his own research in Putian history. While he acknowledges that lineages in Putian, though declining in the waves of pirate invasions and forced coastal evacuations in the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, "continued to transform

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[200] Liu Jingfeng, *Gannan zongzu shehui yu daojiao wenhua yanjiu*, 168.

[201] Faure, "Lineage as Cultural Invention;" Faure, "The Emperor in the Village," 279-298; Liu Zhiwei, "Da zu yinying xia de minjian shen jisi: Shawan de Beidi chongbai" 大族陰影下的民間神祭祀: 沙灣的北帝崇拜, in *Simiao yu minjian wenhua* 寺廟與民間文化 (Taibei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1994), 707-722; Ke Dawei and Liu Zhiwei, "Zongzu yu difang shehui de guojia rentong."

and mutate throughout the Qing and Republican periods" and "continue to play powerful roles today in local society," Dean found in the Ming and Qing periods a process in which "the *she*-altar and the local temple system gradually replaced lineage centered domination of local space."[202]

The case of Sibao provides an alternative developmental process of social transformation different from both the Pearl River Delta and the Putian Plain. The process of lineage building did not lead to the suppression of the temple system, relegating it to the second place. Nor did the development of the temple system challenge and replace the dominating role of lineage in local society. Rather, the spread of lineages in Sibao took place almost at the same time that more temples were being constructed in villages. The eighteenth century, for example, not only saw the spread of lineages, but also witnessed the introduction of several important local cults. The spread of lineage organization and the expansion of the temple system are, therefore, not two exclusive processes. This mode of development is in a certain sense not unlike what Michael Szonyi observed in Fuzhou, where "the history of lineage organization remained inseparable from that of local cult organization."[203] At a first glance, the similarities appear to be unlikely. Unlike Tingzhou, Fuzhou was an economic, political and cultural center. However, Szonyi shows that like Tingzhou, the Fuzhou region "was a place where ethnicities were fluid" and the presence of Dan and She could be observed even until recently.[204] In view of this, the similarities between Tingzhou and Fuzhou were thus not surprising.

Why did Sibao society experience a historical process different from the Pearl River Delta and Putian? To answer this question, we need to return to the history of

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[202] Dean, "Transformation of the *She*," 70-71.

[203] Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 196.

[204] Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship*, 200.

Tingzhou and Sibao. First of all, the imperial court's presence in Tingzhou, a peripheral region, may have been less direct and less strong than other regions. This created more room for the survival and development of local religion and other institutional religions. On the other hand, Tingzhou society experienced social disorder from the mid-Ming to the early Qing, but, unlike Putian, it recovered from the late seventeenth century onward. The commercialization of the rural economy not only provided a sufficient economic basis for lineage building, but also stimulated the intensification of village temples. Furthermore, the lineage organization and the temple system may have provided different functions. It is true that, as shown in the case of Zougong, gods and ancestors in Sibao were not easily differentiated. But from the villagers' point of view, these gods/ancestors may have been different from such gods as Guandi and Tianhou. Why did they establish the Guandi Temples at the water exits of their villages? Why did they establish the temples to Tianhou when they had temples to their gods/ancestors? This suggests that once a god was transformed into an ancestor, it may have served a different function. This in turn explains why deities from different religious traditions and related to different historical agendas were and are able to co-exist in such a small area as Sibao.

The case of Sibao also illustrates how the temple system evolved in the late imperial period. The evolution of the temple system of Sibao is not so much a process of the suppression and replacement of the early gods as that of a process of accumulation. On the one hand, the early cults, such as Zougong and god of the soil, were transformed rather than eliminated in the Ming and Qing periods. On the other hand, new cults were added on alongside early cults rather than replacing them. In the end, what we have is a group of deities that are related to different historical processes. These processes are parallel to the development of lineage organizations and territorial cults discussed above.

Both suggest that the cultural history of Sibao is characterized more often than not by accumulation and transformation rather than displacement and suppression.[205]

[205] I have here in mind the doubt that Marshall Sahlins sheds upon the idea of the "death" of culture in his, "What Is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999), *i-xxiii.*

Chapter VII

Locating Rituals in Time and Space

The Genealogy of a Grand Narrative

In 1916, Lu Xun 魯迅, one of the most famous modern Chinese writers, published the story "Diary of a Madman" (Kuangren riji 狂人日記). The central message of this story is by now well known: that four thousand years of Chinese civilization was simply the unfolding of a cannibalistic culture. "This daring accusation by the Madman," Leo Ou-fan Lee comments, "is of course quite in line with the prevailing anti-traditionalism of the May Fourth intellectual stance."[1] For Lu Xun and many other radical intellectuals, Chinese traditional culture was no more than long-established rituals and moral tenets that had the effect of cannibalizing the Chinese people. Like other polemicists for the New Culture cause, Lu Xun helped popularize the notion "*lijiao chiren*" 禮教吃人 (rituals and teachings devour men). This message "signals the first stance of Lu Xun's radical epistemology - a kind of purposeful reversal of values: what had been viewed in official history as civilized could, in fact, be barbaric; and what had been disdained or ignored would prove, on the contrary, to be of more enduring value."[2]

What is interesting in this "radical epistemology" is not the anti-traditionalist stance itself, but the fact that in reifying Chinese cultural heritage as such, Lu Xun actually took a position that was, in a certain sense, and contrary to appearances, quite

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[1] Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 54.

[2] Lee, *Voices from the Iron House*, 54.

close to the very cultural heritage he was attacking, namely, the Neo-Confucianism of the scholar-officials. By reifying Chinese cultural heritage as a world of rituals and moral tenets, he was actually repeating a grand narrative that had been proclaimed by Neo-Confucian scholar-officials time and again: Chinese civilization is the unfolding of the transformation or, more exactly, the civilizing (*hua* 化 or *jiaohua* 教化) of Chinese people through Neo-Confucian rituals and moral tenets (*lijiao* 禮教). A grand narrative that is driven out the front door thus returns via the back door. There are perhaps only two major differences between these narratives. Firstly, while Lu Xun reified traditional Chinese culture in order to destroy it, the Neo-Confucian scholar-officials reified it in the process of creating it. Secondly, in Lu Xun's accusations against "tradition," Chinese culture heritage changes from a verb into a noun, from a process of becoming (civilizing or cannibalizing) to a state of being (civilization or cannibalization).

The attempt to civilize Chinese people and the narrative that was related to it are, of course, nothing new. They date back to the age of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), who took pains to reorient a world in which "rituals are ruined and music destroyed" (*li beng yue huai* 禮崩樂壞),[3] or to the age of Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), who desperately attempted to "save Confucianism from its possible annihilation by Taoism and Buddhism."[4] But it was not until in the Song period that the intellectuals we now call Neo-Confucians took a more radical step. Lü Dajun's *Community Compact*, Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, orthodox rites to approach divinities as prescribed in the Ledger of Sacrifices, and other Neo-Confucian devices that scholar-officials and the imperial courts promoted, all aimed at civilizing the Chinese people. Responding to Neo-Confucians' emphasis on "correct"

[3] Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius-The Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972).

[4] Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 450.

ways of performing rituals, the late imperial court also maintained a more vigilant regard for the way the common people behaved than had their predecessors. While the ritual manuals such as the *Rituals of the Kaiyuan Era* (*Kaiyuan li* 開元禮) of the Tang and the *New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era* (*Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀) of the Northern Song included few ritual prescriptions for the common people, the *Collected Statutes of the Great Ming* prescribed systematic ritual formats for the latter.[5] During the Ming and Qing periods, more and more scholar-officials practiced and ordered the practice of the *Family Rituals* and initiated community compacts to promote orthodox ways of social intercourse.[6] Some of them, such as Ling Tingkan 凌廷堪 (1757-1809), even claimed that "The Way of the sages is only ritual propriety" and thus proposed to replace "principle" (*li* 理) with "ritual" (*li* 禮).[7] If the expression "*Li* (ritual propriety) is not applicable (lit. doesn't reach down) to the common people" (*li bu xia shuren* 禮不下庶人) was more or less the case in pre-Song societies,[8] it no longer held true since the Song, because the common people became increasingly involved in and were expected to behave in accordance with *li*. The history of "*lijiao chiren*" that Lu Xun condemned began in the Song period, if not earlier.

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[5] Patricia Ebrey, "Education Through Ritual: Efforts to Formulate Family Rituals During the Sung Period," in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, 277-306; Daniel Overmyer, "Attitudes toward Popular Religion in Ritual Texts of the Chinese State," 213-214.

[6] Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Ritual in Imperial China*; Brook, "Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China;" Hung-lan Chu, *The Community Compact in Late Imperial China: Notes on Its Nature, Effictiveness, and Modern Relevance*; Allen Chun, "The Practice of Tradition in the Writing of Custom, or Chinese Marriage from *Li* to *Su*," *Late Imperial China* 13.2 (Dec. 1992), 82-125.

[7] Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China*, 191-197; Zhang Shou'an 張壽安, *Yi li dai li: Ling Tingkan yu Qing zhongye ruxue sixiang zhi zhuanbian* 以禮代理: 凌廷堪與清中葉儒學思想之轉變 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 32-34.

[8] "Li bu xia shuren" first appears in the *Book of Rites*. See Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, j. 4, "qu li shang, 1" 曲禮上, 一, 81-82. For a brief discussion of its meaning, see T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris: Mouton, 1961), 172.

Essentially speaking, the increasing interest in ritual is the result of social transformations and economic commercialization that began in the Song and accelerated in the sixteenth century. The hypothesis of a Tang-Song transition has by now become universally accepted. And some of its features, such as the decay and disappearance of the aristocracy and the rise of despotism at court, the changes in the commoner's position, and changes in the economy, are relatively well-established historical facts.[9] For our purpose, it is important to understand the influences of these changes upon attitudes towards ritual. If in the earlier periods the status of scholar-officials could be maintained by their relatively exclusive aristocratic culture, with the decay of the aristocracy and the commercialization of the economy in the Song, it became more and more difficult for them to maintain such a lifestyle.[10] From the scholar-officials' point of view, new means of power were thus in order. "It was in this context," as Timothy Brook points out, "that ritual was taken up as a way of redressing the decline of paternalism in social relations." The scholar-officials, therefore, "looked to ritualized rules of conduct to bolster a world they feared was being lost."[11] But ritual was not only a means that scholar-officials resorted to when their status was threatened, but also was it a strategy that newly emerged elites, especially those who benefited from commercialization, utilized to advance their own status and the welfare of their communities. In the contest over local power, it was always "politically correct" and essentially important for all these individuals and social

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[9] For an outline of this hypothesis, see Hisayuki Miyakawa, "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and Its Effects on Japanese Studies of China," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14.4 (Aug. 1955), 533-552. For a detailed study of this hypothesis and its major advocate, see Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan* (1866-1934) (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984).

[10] Robert Hymes and Hilary Beattie show the strategies that scholar-officials took to maintain their social status in respectively the Song and the Ming and Qing periods. See Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*; Beattie, *Land and Lineage in China: A Study of T'ung-ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[11] Brook, "Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," 470-471.

groups to claim to have followed orthodox ways of rituals, *li*. *Li* was less often imposed by the court than appropriated by its subjects.

If such an explanation is plausible, we still have to explain why Neo-Confucians, along with the court, took an increasing interest in promoting ritual prescriptions to the commoners. In addition to the self-interest of these Neo-Confucians, were there any other reasons that lay behind their interest in ritual? Remember that the notion of "statecraft" (*jingshi* 經世) was one of the core ideas of Confucianism and that many Neo-Confucians made attempts to reorder the world.[12] This is especially true when the self-interest of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials coincided with that of the imperial court. Starting in the Song, changes in political structure and the composition of political elites provided probably the major incentive to develop new ways of maintaining social order in what Edward L. Davis calls the "agrarian bureaucratic empire." *Li*, which used to be prescribed only for scholar-officials and above, was now prescribed for the common people, in order to model more compliant and obedient son-subjects (*zimin* 子民). In this sense, the increasing interest in ritual was also closely related to the changing state formation in the late imperial period. Whatever the reasons behind the tendency, the fact is that the Chinese people were more and more involved in the *li* that used to be prescribed only for upper classes, such as aristocrats and scholar-officials. More and more people were increasingly expected to follow these ritual prescriptions, though often the ritual prescriptions were not followed as had been expected. In its broadness and influence, this process is perhaps comparable to what Norbert Elias calls the "civilizing process."[13]

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[12] Zhang Hao 張灝, "Song Ming yilai rujia jingshi sixiang shixi" 宋明以來儒家經世思想試釋, in Zhang Hao, *Zhang Hao zi xuanji* 張灝自選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 58-81.

[13] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

The grand narrative of the process of transformation of the Chinese people through *li* is everywhere and nowhere. More often than not it existed between the lines and was thus elusive and difficult to pin down. The grand narrative often existed primarily at a formal level (at the stylistic or rhetorical level of the recounting of the narrative) rather than in its contents, although in such cases the form itself was at the same time the content. For example, in the genealogies of Sibao (the same can be said of similar sources from other areas), we often fail to find biographies that include messages about what men and women actually did and said in the past and how the past society worked-those very concrete historical facts that historical writing would seem to depend upon. What we find instead is that the lineage genealogy biographies use stereotypical words to tell basically identical stories: they recount how men or women spoke and acted in accordance with *li*. These stylistic similarities in the way of writing biographies and representing life histories were probably the most noteworthy characteristic of these texts. This way of representing life histories was probably one of the most important ways that the Neo-Confucian grand narrative realized and reproduced itself.

This grand narrative has yet another way of realizing and revealing itself. In the biographies of scholar-officials with Neo-Confucian orientations, we find another kind of story whose form and content are again very similar. The scholar-officials in such biographies were usually disciples or followers of Neo-Confucianism. Not only did they practice Neo-Confucian rituals, but they also attempted to transform their fellow villagers or the population under their governance by destroying licentious cults, practicing the *Family Rituals*, initiating community compacts, or promoting orthodox cults. Often the biographer would end the biography with the comment that evil customs were transformed. Thus in the biography of the Song Tingzhou Prefect, Chen Ye, after Chen

torn town licentious temples in Ninghua, "the prevalent customs changed dramatically."[14] Similarly, it is reported that after Guangdong Assistant Education Intendant (*ti xue fu shi* 提學副使), Wei Xiao 魏校 (1483-1543), ordered that Buddhist and licentious temples be torn down or converted into academies and public offices in 1522, "spirit-mediums and ghosts were eliminated" (*wu gui dun ge* 巫鬼頓革) and "customs were thus transformed" (*fengsu wei zhi pi bian* 風俗為之丕變).[15]

It is this generic account/content of the Neo-Confucian grand narrative that Lu Xun perhaps unconsciously accepted as he undertook his radical action against the Chinese cultural heritage. Like Lu Xun, scholars of gentry studies also accepted the grand narrative. This is, of course, not surprising given their major theoretical orientations. Proceeding from the standpoint of the imperial court and its agents, these scholars interpreted late imperial Chinese society essentially in terms of economic, social, and ideological control. For them, late imperial Chinese society was the outcome of the interaction between society and the imperial court that attempted to draw resources from the rural population and at the same time maintained security and social order within the agrarian bureaucratic empire.[16] Given the limits of pre-modern technology and infrastructure, they maintained, the reach of the court was limited. This created considerable room for scholar-officials, who played a key role in the functioning of both the society and the court. Although these elites may have had economic and social conflicts with the court from whom they received titles and degrees, they were usually nevertheless in line with it ideologically. Indeed, when the social order was in crisis, it

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[14] *LTZ*, cited in *YLDD*, 7894/1b.

[15] Ke Dawei (David Faure), "Ming Jiajing chunian Guangdong tixue Wei Xiao hui 'yinci' zhi qianyin houguo ji qi dui Zhujiang sanjiaozhou de yingxiang" 明嘉靖初年廣東提學魏校毀'淫祠' 之前因後果及其對珠江三角洲的影響, in Zhou Tianyou, ed., *Diyu shehui yu chuantong Zhongguo*, 129. For more examples, see Timothy Brook, "Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49.2 (Dec. 1989), 469.

[16] See especially Hsiao, *Rural China*.

was scholar-officials who often attempted to maintain the social and ritual orders, sometimes even taking actions more radical than those of the court. However, as they assess the effect of rural control, scholars of gentry studies often have to admit the failure of the imperial court and scholar-officials' attempts to maintain social order, let alone to civilize the rural population. Hsiao Kung-chuan once pointed out that the success of rural control depended upon "the existence of a fairly reliable and efficient officialdom to direct and supervise its operation, and a generally stable rural environment in which the bulk of the inhabitants could eke out an undisturbed though none too ample livelihood."[17] But these "favorable circumstances, however, did not continue indefinitely." Starting from the end of the eighteenth century, the entire rural system of administration was rapidly breaking down. By the second half of the nineteenth century, "the whole structure of rural control had become little more than a skeleton."[18]

In recent years, a more optimistic assessment of the effect of rural control seems to have become popular. By investigating a key Chinese symbol, namely, Tianhou, James L. Watson claims to have found the "genius" of the late imperial Chinese government's attempts to integrate the empire. The secret lies in the promotion of structure or orthopraxy rather than content or orthodoxy.[19] Similarly, David Faure approaches the problem of cultural integration by examining the process of the spread of free-standing ancestral halls and written genealogies in the Pearl River Delta in the Ming and Qing periods. The process was, Faure argues, not only the spread of Neo-Confucian ideology, but also a transformation of the overall social structure and local culture. Faure seems to have polarized two forms of social organizations: lineage organization and territorial cults. While the former was more or less the outcome of the installation of Neo-

[17] Hsiao, *Rural China*, 502.

[18] Hsiao, *Rural China*, 503.

[19] Watson, "Standardizing the God;" Watson, "The Structures of Chinese Funeral Rites."

Confucian rituals, the latter had, for him, been closely related to the indigenous culture and were thus more often than not the objects of suppression. What he calls the "gentrification" of South Chinese society is principally a process of the installation of Neo-Confucian rituals and the suppression of rituals of other religious traditions.[20]

To be sure, these views are much more refined than those of earlier studies. Watson's view actually opens an important way to approach popular culture in the late imperial period, while Faure's view is built upon overall understanding of the history of an important region in China. Both have contributed much to our understanding of late imperial society and culture. However, in their eagerness to emphasize the aspect of cultural integration, they have reproduced the Neo-Confucian grand narrative mentioned above and overlooked the complexity of the processes they discuss.[21] For example, when he discusses Chinese funerary ritual, Watson attempts to analytically separate it into two parts: funeral rites and rites of disposal. The former "involve actions undertaken from the moment of death to the formal expulsion of the deceased (in a sealed coffin) from the community," while the latter "are distinct from funeral rites in that the procedures of burial, cremation, or coffin storage are not governed by universally accepted norms."[22] Why is it necessary to make such a distinction? Because this definition supports his emphasis that "there *was* such a high level of uniformity in beliefs, attitudes, and conceptions regarding the dead."[23] The cultural uniformity and integration are thus emphasized at the expense of variations and hybridization and splitting what was a single ritual event. Similarly, in his emphasis on the spread of key symbols of gentry culture

[20] Faure, "The Emperor in the Village."

[21] Strictly speaking, the structural analysis of Watson on Chinese cultural integration does not take the form of narrative. But his quasi-historical reading of Chinese culture does imply the grand narrative mentioned here.

[22] Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites," 12.

[23] Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites," 11.

across the Pearl River Delta, Faure overlooks the different ways to appropriate, interpret, and contest the meanings of these symbols and the warning made by Michael Szonyi that the seeming cultural integration was often merely an "illusion."[24]

Cultural Hybridization as a Historical Process

Instead of seeing the late imperial cultural process principally in terms of gentrification or cultural integration, this process can be more properly understood as cultural hybridization.[25] The main characteristic of this process is not how cultural, and often local, traditions were suppressed by another cultural tradition, whether the latter was Neo-Confucianism or Taoist religion, but how elements from different ritual traditions were incorporated or synthesized into a new, constantly changing, and not necessarily coherent cultural mosaic. Gentrification and cultural integration represent two important aspects of this process, but neither exhausts the complexity that this process involved, because both imply that cultural process is bi-layered and unidirectional. To properly address the interplay between cultural traditions, I propose to replace these approaches with the term "cultural hybridization" to express the kind of process that is, to quote French historian Jean-Claude Schmitt's words, "multipolar (and not dual), interactional (and not subordinate to univocal currents), and attentive to both mediations and

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[24] Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods," 113-135.

[25] "Hybridity" as a conceptual tool is utilized by Homi K. Bhabha and Robert J. C. Young to describe the creative and destabilizing situation of post-colonial culture. See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). The author thinks that this concept can also be utilized to analyze local cultures in late imperial China. However, anticipating the objection that the term "hibridity" may imply a static "thing," I replace it with the term "hybridization" in order to emphasize the sense of fluidity, flexibility, and on-going transformation, which is the nature of the major cultural processes explored in this thesis.

mediators."[26] Rather than implying a bi-layered cultural process, cultural hybridization is "multipolar," involving not merely high and low cultures, but, say, court rituals, Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoist religion, and other cultural corpuses we usually call "local" or "indigenous." Rather than imply that each of these cultures was itself a coherent system, it allows that they could be dissonant and even contradictory.

The process of cultural hybridization in Sibao started perhaps before Tingzhou was incorporated into the Chinese empire. Chinese immigration was almost always at the same time an encounter of different cultures, and this encounter facilitated cultural hybridization. However, the pace of cultural hybridization did not accelerate until during the Ming and Qing periods. The establishment of more direct political and military control over Tingzhou, the more radical steps taken to "civilize" local people, and the increasingly commercialized economy, all facilitated the encounters between Sibao cultural traditions and other regional and transregional cultures. I studied three of the most important encounters, namely the ancestral cult, the community compact, and god worship, in Ming and Qing Sibao in the preceding chapters. All of these encounters were related to *li*, i.e., each negotiated the proper ways to worship one's ancestors, to communicate with gods, and to behave in different social circumstances. This study shows how cultural hybridization took place in these three fields.

The new ways of worshipping ancestors were introduced in the process of lineage building, which can be divided into three phases. Starting from the mid-fifteenth century, a few scholar-officials with a Neo-Confucian orientation began to build lineage organizations in Sibao through the compilation of genealogies and the erection of ancestral halls. They were followed by a second wave of low officials, Government

[26] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Religion, Folklore, and Society in the Medieval West," in Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 382.

Students, and local elites without degrees and titles from the end of the sixteenth century to the seventeenth century, who continued their program of lineage building. The third wave of lineage building did not come until the end of the eighteenth century, when a group of small descent groups eventually built their ancestral halls and had their genealogies compiled. During this process, new ways of performing ancestral rites were introduced and local society was greatly transformed. But lineage building also had its limits. It is true that ancestral halls were erected by almost every descent groups in Sibao by the end of the eighteenth century. However, the lineage was perceived in ways different from those intended by Neo-Confucian officials. The establishment of ancestral halls and the setting-aside of corporate land, for example, implied the consideration of the welfare of one's own small group rather than that of the overall organization. While Neo-Confucian officials emphasized going beyond one's immediate kinsmen and taking a more inclusive definition of the kinship group, sometimes even Government Students failed to follow these practices.

If the history of lineage building in Sibao indicates the limits of a Neo-Confucian "civilizing" program, the history of the Shangbao community compact shows how far a Neo-Confucian device had evolved away from the conception of its original designers and initiators. As an important Neo-Confucian institution, the community compact was designed to promote desirable ethics and morality among Chinese peasants. Established in the late sixteenth century or the early seventeenth century when social order was in danger, Shangbao compacts was transformed into a village alliance that played important roles in the maintenance of the local irrigation system, the sponsoring of religious festivals, the organization of local defense, and the opening of new markets. It had taken a form a far cry from that conceived by its initiators. This was thus a case in which a Neo-Confucian program was appropriated by a rural population to serve the latter's own purposes.

The cult of local deities perhaps shows the complexity of the relationship between different cultures to the greatest extent. Local deities in late imperial Sibao, as I showed, were related to different religious traditions and had different historical agendas. Through careful examination, we can still find traces of their earlier forms before they were recoded by Neo-Confucian scholar-officials or the imperial court. Zougong, the first of the three layers of local deities in Sibao, was probably a Ritual Master who was later transformed into a patron god. In this transformed form, he became the most important patron god in Sibao. The gods of the soil and the uncared for spirits were introduced before the Ming but were regulated and standardized in the early Ming, leading to considerable symbolic conflict and distortion at the local level. Guandi and Tianhou represented the gods introduced in the late imperial period and were closely related to village identity and commerce respectively. The development of local deities as such suggests that cultural process did not take the form of replacement and suppression. Rather, more often than not, new elements were added on to earlier elements at the same time the earlier elements were transformed. As the case of Zougong shows, not only were earlier elements not eliminated, but also they eventually became the most important element, that is a symbol that differentiated an area from other areas.

Nor did the new ways of performing rituals and organizing society replace the old ones. In his study of lineage building in the late imperial Pearl River Delta, Faure implies that lineage organization developed at the expense of temple networks. This argument does not seem to be applicable to Sibao. The cultural process in late imperial Sibao suggests that cultural change was not a zero-sum game in which the rise of one institution means the decline of another. Rather, they were elements in a complex process in which both were interlinked and transformed. The development of ancestral halls took place at the same time the temple networks grew. Zougong maintained his status as a god, but he also became an ancestor. What is more, *lisheng*, the ritual specialists discussed in

this thesis, not only performed rituals dedicated to ancestors, but also to different kinds of local deities.

Another aspect of cultural hybridization must also be underscored: the necessity to address the late imperial cultural process as the interaction of cultures, from what Russian medievalist Aron Gurevich calls "dialogue-conflict" of multi-layered forms of consciousness, instead of as a one-way transformation.[27] Rather than focusing on the "center" of culture, this study emphasizes the importance of turning towards marginality and boundaries, to boundary making and boundary crossing. This relational approach calls our attention to mediations and mediators. The cultural hybridization "made sense" only in interactions and through mediators. It is at the level of mediations and mediators, that elements of different cultural traditions become a more or less meaningfully coherent, if ever-changing whole.[28] In view of this, this thesis is a study of cultural mediations and mediators. It studied, on the one hand, how rituals mediated social and cultural transformations while this means of mediation itself was transformed when it was introduced into a rural world in the late imperial period, and, on the other, how cultural mediators-*lisheng* in this study-were created while they introduced new ritual elements. In the process of mediations, new ritual elements, such as new way of practicing ancestor worship, direct contact with the words of the emperors, and "correct" ways of approaching divinity, were added into a ritual corpus composed of other ritual traditions, such as utilitarian modes of ancestor worship and "unorthodox" ways of representation of

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[27] Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Trans. Janos M Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), *xx*. George Duby, though doubting the existence of the so-called "popular" culture, admits nevertheless that "cross-fertilization" did take place between different layers of cultures. See Duby, "Problems and Methods in Cultural History," in Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Trans. Jane Dunnett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 134-135.

[28] I have in mind what Fredrik Barth calls the "construction"-"read as a verb, not as a substantive"- of cultural knowledge. See Barth, *Balinese Worlds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 7.

imperial symbols. In other words, mediations were at the same time the process of cultural hybridization.

What is more, mediators were themselves the products of cultural hybridization. This can be clearly seen in the ritual corpuses they drew upon and performed. Although different from other ritual specialists, *lisheng* performed rituals that were closely related to, say, those of Taoist priests. And often they performed the rites of sacrifice along with ritual specialists from other ritual traditions, such as Taoist priests and Buddhist monks. The fact that *lisheng* themselves became the embodiment of cultural hybridization is not surprising. Obtaining their titles through purchase, these *lisheng* cum National University Students showed great interest in rituals of Neo-Confucian style as well as in rituals of other religious traditions. However, without much training in and deep understanding of Neo-Confucianism, they seem to have taken a syncretic rather than purist or fundamentalist approach to Chinese religious culture. In this sense, did they not interpret Confucianism in the same way as the miller Menocchio studied by Carlo Ginzburg interpreted Christian doctrines?[29] Lacking religious professionals that were comparable to the clerics in the West, and lacking a central and trans-regional ecclesiastical institution to "rule on the interpretation of canonical texts, to enforce adherence to Confucian liturgical schedules, or to provide trained experts to officiate,"[30] how could we expect that these local elites would have received Neo-Confucianist rituals and beliefs in totality?

It needs to be said that the process of cultural hybridization took place in no other place than the syncretic field. Lineage organizations, community compacts, and territorial cults were parts of the field and constituted more or less meaningful wholes in the field. *Lisheng* cum National University Students appeared recurrently in different aspects of the

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[29] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982).

[30] This point has by now become a sinological truism. See, for example, Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Ritual in Imperial China*, 7.

field because they were key actors within this field. The interactions between different religious traditions and the interplay between different social factors helped to shape the field and were at the same time shaped by the field. The field is, essentially speaking, nothing other than the interactions or mediations themselves. The cultural hybridization can be thus properly seen as a function of this field.

Appendix I Villages and Surnames in Sibao

A=Changting; B= Qingliu; C=Liancheng; D=Ninghua

Villages	County	Surnames	Villages	County	Surnames
Dapu 大埔	A	Liu 劉; Zeng 曾; Tang 唐	Xiayangbei 下洋背	A	Lin 林
Songfang 宋坊	A	Song 宋	Linwu 林屋	A	Lin 林?
Jingtou (a) 井頭	A	Wu 吳	Shexia 社下	A	Yang 楊
Xiaowuling 蕭屋嶺	A	Xiao 蕭	Zhenbian 圳邊	A	Zou 鄒
Maluowei 馬羅圍	A	Ma 馬	Dapingtou 大坪頭	A	Zou 鄒
Pengfang 彭坊	A	Peng 彭; Wei 魏	Huangkeng 黃坑	A	Lai 賴; Zou 鄒
Zhangfang 張坊	A	Zhang 張	Shuangjing 雙井	A	Zou 鄒
Pingyuanshan 平原山	A	?	Longzuxiang (e) 龍足鄉	A	Zou 鄒
Geping 葛坪	A	Qiu 丘	Shangbao 上保	A	Zou 鄒
Huangkeng (b) 黃坑	A	?	Zhuweiyao 竹圍窯	B	?
Yikou 噫口	A	Huang 黃	Tiantou 田頭	B	?
Zengfang 曾坊	A	Zeng 曾	Caowu 曹屋	B	?
Longtoufang 龍頭坊	A	Zhang 張; Zou 鄒; Ma 馬	Yangfang 楊坊	B	?
Nanchakeng (c) 南茶坑	A	Ma 馬; Lai 賴	Litian 李[里]田	B	Luo 羅
Huangjingkeng 黃頸坑	A	Li 李	Yangbei 洋背	B	Liao 廖?
Xukeng 虛坑	A	?	Tongfang 童坊	B	Tong 童?
Yuantou 員頭	A	?	Shendu 深渡	B	?

Weijiafang 魏家坊	A	Ma 馬; Wang 王; Xiao 蕭	Datiankeng (f) 大田坑	B	Zou 鄒
Shisunkeng 石筍坑	A	Qiu 丘	Hepai 河排	B	Lai 賴
Zhuangxia 莊下	A	Lai 賴; Huang 黃; Ma 馬; Li 李	Tongjiakeng 童家坑	B	Ye 葉
Guikoujing 桂口井	A	Qiu	Huangshikeng 黃石坑	B	Zou
Dongkengbei 東坑背	A	Ma 馬	Changxiao 長校	B	Li 李
Zhaixia 砦下	A	Ma 馬	Xiaxie 下謝	B	Xie 謝
Nankeng 南坑	A	Lai 賴	Jiangfang 江坊	B	Jiang 江
Qiufang 邱坊	A	Qiu 邱	Chitugang 赤土岡	B	Xie 謝
Liaofang 廖坊	A	Liao 廖	Liukeng 劉坑	B	Xie 謝; Tong 童
Zhaitou 砦頭	A	Chen 陳?	Hengkeng 橫坑	B	?
Shankeng (d) 山坑	A	Qiu 丘	Lijialiao 李家寮	B	Li 李
Kuangfeng 狂風	A	Ma 馬; Lai 賴; Xiao 蕭	Xikeng 茜坑	B	Wang 王
Jingkou 井口	A	Xiao 蕭	Fengrao 豐饒	B	?
Shibei 石背	A	Xiao 蕭	Zhangxia 樟下	B	Li 李
Mawu 馬屋	A	Ma 馬	Jiaokeng 焦坑	C	?
Zhangkeng 張坑	A	Li 李	Daohu 到湖	C	?
Yangtou 洋頭	A	Lai 賴	Dakengyuan 大坑源	C	Zou 鄒
Yangbei 洋背	A	Bao 包	Zhubeiling 助背嶺	D	?

Source: *CTXZ* (1879 edition), 2/3a-3b; *QLXZ* (1829 edition), 36; the author's field notes.

Notes: (a) Jingtou is usually written as Jiantou.

(b) This Huangkeng should not be confused with the Huangkeng mentioned below.

(c) Nanchakeng is usually known as Nanchaikeng.

(d) Shankeng 山坑 is now usually written as Shankeng 珊坑.

(e) Longzuxiang is another name of Wuge.

(f) Datiankeng is usually known as Daliankeng.

Appendix II Temples and Gods in the Sibao Basin

Temple Name	Location	Gods	Date of Construction
Zougong Temple	Shangbao	Zougong	1341
Jifu Convent 積福庵	Shangbao	Ouyang zhenxian, Luo xiangong, Lai xiangong, San da zushi, Guanyin, Mile	1488-1505
Guandi Temple	Shangbao	Guandi, Guan Ping 關平, Zhou Cang 周倉	18th Century?
Altar of the Soil	Shangbao	God of the Soil (*shegong*)	1841
Altar of the Soil	Shangbao	God of the Soil	?
Tianhou Temple	Shangbao	Tianhou	1844
Altar of Orphan Souls	Shangbao	Orphan Souls (*li*)	1872
Guandi Temple*	Shangbao	Guandi	?
Laixian Temple	Shangbao	Ouyang zhenxian, Luo xiangong, Lai xiangong	?
Bogong Convent	Shangbao	Bogong 伯公	?
Wugu Temple	Shangbao	Wugu zhenxian 五穀真仙	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Shangbao	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Shangbao	Orphan Souls	?
Wugong Temple	Jiantou	Wugong/Baosheng dadi 吳公/保生大帝	1827
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiantou	Orphan Souls	1843
Altar of the Soil	Jiantou	God of the Soil	?
Bogong Shrine	Jiantou	Bogong	?
Sizhou Shrine	Jiantou	Sizhou pusa 泗洲菩薩	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiantou	Orphan Souls	?
Xuefeng Temple 雪峰寺	Huangkeng	Sanbo, Guanyin, Si da tianwang 四大天王, Mile, Weituo 韋陀, Dizangwang 地藏王	1980s
?	Shexiaqian	Guanyin	?

?*	Yangbei	Zougong?, Baogong?	?
Guandi Temple*	Yangbei	Guandi	?
Altar of the Soil	Yangbei	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Yangbei	Orphan Souls	?
Guandi Temple*	Shuangquan	Guandi, Guan Ping, Zhou Cang, Liu Bei 劉備, Zhangfei 張飛	Early 18th Century
Xintian Convent 心田庵*	Shuangquan	?	1718
Zhenwu Temple*	Shuangquan	Zhenwu 真武	?
Altar of the Soil	Shuangquan	God of the Soil	?
Puzhu Temple 蒲竹寺	Zhangkeng	Longshen zunzhe 龍神尊者	1524?
Bogong Shrine	Zhangkeng	Bogong	2001
Bogong Shrine	Zhangkeng	Bogong	?
Bogong Shrine	Zhangkeng	Bogong	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Zhangkeng	Orphan Souls	?
Shengong Convent 神宮庵	Wuge	Sanbo, Dizangwang, Guanyin, Mile, Mulian 目蓮	Late Ming
Guandi Temple	Wuge	Guandi, Guan Ping, Zhou Cang, Tianhou, Guanyin, Wugu xian	18th Century
Tianhou Temple*	Wuge	Tianhou	1792
Altar of Orphan Souls	Wuge	Orphan Souls	1806
Altar of Orphan Souls	Wuge	Orphan Souls	1826
Longsheng Temple 龍勝寺	Wuge	Sanbo, Guanyin, Mile, etc	1990s
Altar of Orphan Souls	Wuge	Orphan Souls	1997
Ruilong Pavilion 瑞龍亭	Wuge	Fude changsheng tudi 福德長生土地	1998
Dianfeng Cave 巔峰巖	Wuge	Guanyin	?

Bogong Shrine	Wuge	Shiyong jiangjun 石勇將軍	?
Bogong Shrine	Wuge	Lingying shishen 靈應石神	?
Bogong Shrine	Wuge	Dongya canjiang 東衙參將	?
Bogong Shrine	Wuge	Liguang jiangjun 李廣將軍	?
Gongwang Shrine	Wuge	Sansheng gongwang 三聖公王	?
Gongwang Shrine	Wuge	Bajiang gongwang 八將公王	?
Fude Shrine	Wuge	Fude zhengshen 福德正神	?
Jingshen Shrine	Wuge	Jingshen 井神	?
Tianhou Temple*	Yanwu	Tianhou	?
Altar of the Soil	Yanwu	God of the Soil	?
Altar of the Soil	Yanwu	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Yanwu	Orphan Souls	?
Dafo Convent 大佛庵	Mawu	Mile, Sanbo, Dizangwang 地藏王, Guanyin, Amitoba	Song Period?
Ganying Temple*	Mawu	Zougong	Yuan Period
Kangguo hou Shrine*	Mawu	Kangguo hou 康國侯	1436-1449
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	1439-1449?
Guandi Shrine	Mawu	Guandi, Zougong	1557
Beidi Shrine*	Mawu	Beidi 北帝	Late 16th Century
Magong Temple*	Mawu	Magong/Fubo jiangjun 馬公/伏波將軍	Mid-18th Century
Tianhou Temple*	Mawu	Tianhou	Mid-18th Century
Altar of Orphan Souls	Mawu	Orphan Souls	1807
Liuzu Temple*	Mawu	Liuzu 六祖	1795-1850
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	1939
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	1981
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	1981
Altar of Orphan Souls	Mawu	Orphan Souls	1999
Kuixing Tower*	Mawu	Kuixing 魁星	?

Dongyue Temple*	Mawu	Dongyue 東嶽	?
Guanyin Pavilion*	Mawu	Guanyin	?
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	?
Altar of the Soil	Mawu	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Mawu	Orphan Souls	?
Fengrao Temple 豐饒寺*	Chitugang	Dizangwang, Puxian 普賢, Yuandi zuzhi 元帝祖師, Zhao Yin er jiang 趙殷二將, Guanyin	Mid-15th Century
Zougong Temple*	Chitugang	Zougong	?
Altar of the Soil	Chitugang	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Chitugang	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Chitugang	Orphan Souls	?
Bogong Altar	Liukeng	Bogong	1709
Zhenwu Temple*	Liukeng	Zhenwu	Qing Period
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	1983
Zougong Temple*	Liukeng	Zougong	?
Altar of the Soil	Liukeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of the Soil	Liukeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Liukeng	Orphan Souls	?
Guiren Temple 貴人寺	Jiangfang	Jianggong 江公, Shijia 釋迦, Dizangwang, Mile, Guanyin	Yuan Period?
Zhonglie Temple 忠烈廟	Jiangfang	Jianggong, Zougong, Guandi, Guan Ping, Zhou Cang	1488-1505

Altar of the Soil	Jiangfang	God of the Soil	Late 16th Century
Huilong Bridge 會龍橋*	Jiangfang	Guanyin, Zhenwu zushi	1664
Altar of Houtu	Jiangfang	Houtu 后土	1674
Wangjiang Pavilion 望江亭*	Jiangfang	Guanyin	1786
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiangfang	Orphan Souls	1885
Yunfeng Temple 雲峰寺*	Jiangfang	Shijia, Guanyin, Wenshu 文殊, Puxian, Ouyang zhenxian, Zhaogong 趙公, Leigong 雷公, Dianmu 電母	1934
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiangfang	Orphan Souls	1943
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiangfang	Orphan Souls	1940s
Huilong Temple 會龍寺	Jiangfang	Sanbao, Guanyin, Wenshu, Puxian, etc.	1990s
Dishui Cave 滴水巖	Jiangfang	Dingguang 定光, Fuhu 伏虎	?
Guandi Temple*	Jiangfang	Guandi	?
Wugu Temple*	Jiangfang	Wugu zhenxian	?
Altar of the Soil	Jiangfang	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Jiangfang	Orphan Souls	?
Fuzhu Temple 福主廟	Xikeng	Zougong, Wangong 王公, Wansilang gong 萬四郎公	?
Altar of the Soil	Xikeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Xikeng	Orphan Souls	?
Shishi Temple 獅石廟	Xiaxie	Zougong, Wugong	1614
Guanyin Convent	Xiaxie	Guanyin	1990s
Tudi Temple	Xiaxie	Tudi gong 土地公	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Xiaxie	Orphan Souls	?

Altar of Orphan Souls	Xiaxie	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Xiaxie	Orphan Souls	?
Ligong Temple	Changxiao	Ligong, Li Cheng, Zougong	Yuan Period?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Changxiao	Orphan Souls	Early Ming?
Song dafu Shrine	Changxiao	Song dafu 松大夫	1998
Altar of Orphan Souls	Changxiao	Orphan Souls	1998
Yongle Temple	Changxiao	Guanyin, Qielan, Dizang	1990s
Taibo Temple	Changxiao	Taibo 太保	?
Tudi Shrine	Changxiao	Changsheng tudi	?
Fuyuan Temple 福源寺	Shaping	?	Yuan Period?
Cuifeng Temple 翠峰寺	Shaping	Sanbo, Guanyin, Wugu zhenxian, Ouyang zhenxian	1473?
Yuantong Temple 圓通寺	Shaping	?	1991
Altar of Orphan Souls	Shaping	Orphan Souls	1997
Zuifeng Temple 醉峰寺	Shaping	Sanbo, Luohan 羅漢, Dizang	?
?	Shaping	Ouyang zhenxian, Luo xiangong, Lai xiangong, Wugu zhenxian	?
Bogong Shrine	Shaping	Bogong	?
Taibo Temple	Tongjiakeng	Taibo	?
Altar of the Soil	Tongjiakeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Tongjiakeng	Orphan Souls	?
Shanzui Convent 山嘴庵*	Hepai	Buddas	Qing?
Hepai Temple*	Hepai	Dingguang, Fuhu, Guanyin	?
Sanxing zushi Temple*	Hepai	Sanxing zushi 三姓祖師?	?

Altar of the Soil	Hepai	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Hepai	Orphan Souls	?
Zougong Temple	Daliankeng	Zougong	?
Xiaogong Temple	Daliankeng	Xiaogong 蕭公	?
Altar of the Soil	Daliankeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Daliankeng	Orphan Souls	?
Longmen Convent 龍門庵	Hekeng	Shijia, Guanyin, Yaowang pusa, Mile, Weituo, Hufa, Wugu	Ming Period
Taibo Temple	Hekeng	Li taibo 李太保, Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝, Tudi gong	?
Furen Temple	Hekeng	Chen furen 陳夫人, Lin furen 林夫人, Lifuren 李夫人	?
Altar of the Soil	Hekeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of the Soil	Hekeng	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Hekeng	Orphan Souls	?
Altar of Orphan Souls	Hekeng	Orphan Souls	?
Xiaogong Temple	Dongshan	Xiaogong	1406?
Baiyun Temple 白雲寺	Dongshan	Sanbao, Guanyin, Jixiangzi 吉祥子, Tudi	?
Wuguxian Temple	Dongshan	Wugu zhenxian	?
Altar of the Soil*	Dongshan	God of the Soil	?
Altar of Orphan Souls*	Dongshan	Orphan Souls	?
Wuzhen Hall	Huangshikeng	Ouyang zhenxian, Luo xiangong, Lai xiangong, Zhenwu zushi	1474?
Zougong Temple	Huangshikeng	Zougong	1639
Altar of Orphan Souls	Huangshikeng	Orphan Souls	1801
Wugu Temple	Huangshikeng	Wugu zhenxian	?
Altar of the Soil	Huangshikeng	God of the Soil	?
Bogong Altar	Huangshikeng	Bogong	?

Dingkeng Convent 靛坑庵	Fuwei	Guanyin, Wugu, Ouyang zhenxian	Late Qing
Altar of the Soil	Fuwei	Minzhu zunwang	1980s
Zougong Temple	Fuwei	Zougong, Chen furen, Li furen	1991
Zougong Temple	Jixia	Zougong	Early Repu-blican Period
Wugu Temple	Jixia	Wugu zhenxian	1982
Altar of the Soil	Jixia	God of the Soil	?

Source: Based on the author's fieldwork.

Note: The symbol * means the temples, altars, and shrines that do not exist any longer.

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