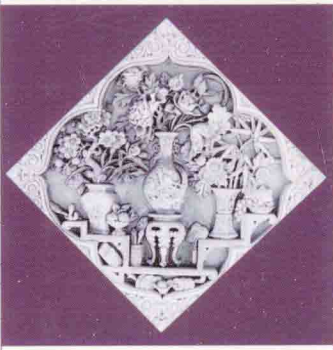
徽州传统社会丛书
〔法〕劳格文　王振忠◎主编



歙县里东乡传统农村社会

柯灵权◎著

复旦大学出版社
www.fudanpress.com.cn

徽州传统社会丛书
〔法〕劳格文　王振忠◎主编

柯灵权◎ 著

歙县
里东乡传统农村社会

复旦大学出版社
www.fudanpress.com.cn

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

歙县里东乡传统农村社会/柯灵权著. —上海：复旦大学出版社，2014.8
(徽州传统社会丛书)
ISBN 978-7-309-10761-6

Ⅰ. 歙… Ⅱ. 柯… Ⅲ. 乡村-概况-歙县 Ⅳ. K925.45

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2014)第 129137 号

歙县里东乡传统农村社会
柯灵权 著
责任编辑/史立丽

复旦大学出版社有限公司出版发行
上海市国权路 579 号 邮编：200433
网址：fupnet@fudanpress.com http://www.fudanpress.com
门市零售：86-21-65642857 团体订购：86-21-65118853
外埠邮购：86-21-65109143
江苏省句容市排印厂

开本 890×1240 1/32 印张 14.25 字数 416 千
2014 年 8 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷

ISBN 978-7-309-10761-6/K·482
定价：36.50 元

Acknowledgements

I wish once again to express our heartfelt thanks to Hu Wulin, Director of the Local Monograph Office, whose regular help on all fronts has enabled us to work efficiently with our Shexian authors. I wish also to thank the CCK Foundation, whose generosity in supporting the project "Religion, Society, and the Economy in Huizhou" has made the fieldwork that lies behind these volumes possible. I am especially grateful for publication support from the Chinese University of Hong Kong — CCK Foundation Asia-Pacific Centre for Chinese Studies. Finally, the work for this volume has been undertaken in the context of and with the support of the Hong Kong SAR University Grants Committee Areas of Excellence (Fifth Round): "The Historical Anthropology of Chinese Society."

致　谢

值此出版之际，谨向歙县地方志办公室胡武林主任表达衷心的感谢，由于他的帮助，使得我们与当地作者的合作得以顺利开展。

"徽州的宗教、社会与经济"项目，也得到一些基金会的慷慨资助，这使得我们的田野调查以及丛书的出版成为可能。我特别要感谢香港中文大学亚太汉学中心赞助了本书的出版经费。此外，香港特别行政区大学教育资助委员会第五轮卓越学科领域计划"中国社会的历史人类学研究"亦鼎力支持，在此谨申谢忱！

Ethnographic Introduction

John Lagerwey

Ke Lingquan was an author already well known to specialists of Huizhou before Wang Zhenzhong and I invited him to participate in our project. As at the end of his text he himself gives an excellent account of the process involved in our collaboration, I will only recount here a single incident: when we went to the port town of Shendu in search of an author, Ke Lingquan accompanied us. After a good hour spent interviewing a local cadre involved in cultural affairs, Ke intervened to explain to him that "their requirements are not what we are used to. They want you to do field research and uncover new and original materials, not just copy what has already been written." Wang Zhenzhong then added that "oral history was just as important as written." That Ke followed not only his own advice but that of Wang Zhenzhong, the readers of this book will soon discover.

As with previous authors in this series, Ke Lingquan is a native son, from Xitou, one of the many villages he covers in this book. This means that everything he writes about he has also experienced, whether personally or through hearsay. In the opening pages, for example, we learn that, while many children in the area were adopted out to Guanyin or to the Buddha, he was adopted out to Lingguan (Numinous Official): because he was an only son who was often sick before the age of five, his father prayed to the Numinous Official and gave him the name Numinous Power. As his health took a turn for the better, his father enjoined him to keep the new name his whole life long. Who is the Numinous Official? The spontaneous

response of specialists would be: the gate guardian of Daoist monasteries. But, according to Ke, this fierce-looking god is placed in a separate hall outside Buddhist temples. A tale says he was sent to keep a secret watch on Hai Rui for three years, with the aim of finding something to accuse him of. When he failed, he was condemned to live on the corridor outside the main halls of Buddhist temples. Once, when he had to leave the village, Ke's father taught him the Lingguan mudra: "You have already been adopted out to him, so if you do his 'knot', evil spirits won't be able to approach you." As elsewhere in Huizhou, the Numinous Official was also an exorcist in Mulian performances. ①

Ke's mother used to tell him terror tales of the dangers of night travels and of setting up Buddha pillars where people had been attacked by evil spirits. That is why, says Ke, there were such pillars everywhere, wherever "perverse energies were heavy". Elsewhere, we learn that Ke's grandfather, Ke Wanyi, was a famous lumber merchant who negotiated the purchase of the trees of whole hills and then had the cut trunks piled up on a river bank to await the spring floods to float them to market.

Before examining more closely the three sections on lineages, the economy, and customs, we do well to take note of one other salient fact, and that is the frequency with which Taiping depredations are mentioned. Already in 1853, militias were organized locally to defend against the Taiping armies. In the village of Wangcha, from the beginning of the twelfth month in 1861 to the twelfth day of the third month in 1862, everyone hid wherever he could find shelter from the Taiping, and Ke tells the story of one Ye

---

① "Wuchang exorcisms: an ethno-historical interpretation," Paul R. Katz & Shufen Liu, eds., *Belief, Practice and Cultural Adaptation: Papers from the Religion Section of the Fourth International Conference on Sinology* (Nankang: Academia Sinica Press, 2013);康豹、刘淑芬主编:《信仰、实践与文化调适:第四届汉学会议论文集·宗教篇》,台北:中研院、联经出版事业股份有限公司,第469—524页。

Changxuan, who had been in charge of a local bank with many short-term deposits. When people came back and demanded their money, he could not produce it and so fled to a friend's house, fell ill, and committed suicide. His host then demanded reparation from his family for such an unlucky event happening in his house. After the Taiping devastation left many lands "outside the hills" (*shanwai*) untended, people from the hilly region (*shanli*) bordering on Jixi county to the east — this is the primary focus of his book — moved down into the plains, where many of them lived in grass huts. The effects of the sharp drop in the population caused by the Taiping in 1863 was compounded in the early Republican era, as in neighboring Jixi, by an epidemic caused by a blood-sucking parasite.

Lineages

Ke begins by classifying the various lineages according to the reasons traditionally given for their move to Xitou: for a geomantic site, for land or marriage, to guard a grave or to flee from chaos, or after having been driven from a former home. The geomancy tale is associated with one of the earliest and most numerous local lineages, the Yes, whose first ancestor is said to have been the military chief of Xin'an during the Liu-Song, but which did not actually settle in Lantian until the early Tang. Ye Meng, a high official, saw that "the five planets were all present, anchoring their sectors, while the nine-buckled streams flowed into the Hall of Light and the lion and elephant guarded the water exit." The importance of the last feature is that the lion-like hill on the east side of the water exit opens wide its mouth and the elephant-like hill across from it on the west sucks with its trunk to swallow the water (= wealth) that would otherwise flow out of the village. There were also two hills identified as Bell and Drum mountains, with a nunnery on the former, so that daily life took place in a kind of ritual time marked by the "morning bell

and evening drum".

The first Wang of Wangmantian, Wang Nu, came as an indentured servant preparing corpses for burial and living in a grass hut. One New Year's Eve, he took in a geomancer and gave him tea and a place to sleep. For supper, Wang Nu killed his only hen but, as always happens in this story, gave him the less attractive parts to eat and put the all the meat — especially the drumsticks and the breasts — in a package for the geomancer to take along on his journey home to Jixi. When at noon he had reached the pass to Jixi, the geomancer discovered the chicken meat and, realizing he had misjudged his host, wept and went back to reveal to him there was a "precious site" — a tiger shape — just behind his hut. He told Wang Nu first to build a home there and later to turn it into a gravesite. Soon the local Chengs and other Wangs went into decline, with many deaths and much business for Wang the undertaker. The rumor spread that his house was on a tiger head that every day opened the door to eat people.

Ke also makes a close study of marriage relations in Xitou. He concludes that 55% of marriages were made within a range of 20 li, 30% within 60 li, 5% beyond 60 li, and the remaining 10% in other provinces (merchants living away from home). Locally, it is said that "one can take in a daughter-in-law who is not the equal of our family, but when marrying out a daughter, it must be to a family that is better than ours." As it was out of the question to marry a daughter out as a concubine — the punishment was exclusion from the ancestral hall — most concubines came from more than 60 li away. In most cases, the reason for taking a concubine — which only the wealthy could afford because it cost 400 - 1,000 *yuan* — was the lack of a son. A concubine married for this reason who failed to have a son could not have a tablet in the main room of the ancestor hall. Often, the first wife would stay behind in the village, while the second went with her husband. Ke tells the life story of

one Ms Wu, concubine of Cheng Ganchen: the daughter of a sedan chair carrier in Zhejiang, she was brought by her father to the Chengs at age 11 on the pretext of going to visit relatives. Very quickly she understood she had been sold as a servant. Aged 17, she understood she had been purchased because the first wife had given no sons and, one night on the 24th day of the twelfth month, after sacrifices to ancestors, she found *laoye* in her bed: "We're married." One segment of the Lantian Yes did not allow concubines, preferring secret trysts and "borrowing a belly" to get a descendant. One informant explained he was lucky because his great-grandfather had managed to borrow a belly and have a child. Four generations later, the lineage did not want to allow the informant into the hall but relented when he gave a lot of money: "I guess money still talks louder than lineage rules."

Lineages in Huizhou are typically divided into "gates" (*men*) and "segments" (*fen*), and Xitou is no exception. Equally intriguing, as Xu Ji also found this to be the case in Xucun, joint lineage halls and genealogies, where they exist, are often late. The Chengs of Taoling, for example, founded a common hall (*tong zongci*) only around the year 1875. Two Wangcha Ye brothers did not get along and so left the joint hall to fall into disuse after separately founding an Eastern and a Western hall. The Xitou Yes created segment halls in the Zhengde era (1506 - 1521) and a joint hall in Yongzheng (1723 - 1735). The Kes of Daguyun, who arrived in 1350, divided into three gates in 1407. Middlegate disappeared in the ninth generation, while Front- and Backgate built separate halls in the late Ming/early Qing and in turn divided into segments (*fen*), Frontgate five, Backgate two. Frontgate's eldest segment built its own hall, while segments two-to-five had only "incense halls" (*xianghuo tang*): "Alas, there are many segment halls but still no joint lineage hall." The Frontgate hall had statues of an earth god on the east side

of the main altar and of Wang Hua and his eighth son on the west. In the middle, there was also a statue of Zhenwu, as did the Backgate hall. Three of the incense halls had painted images of Zhenwu. Ke Lingquan was told that Zhenwu was thus placed in halls in order to prevent fires.

The Lantian Yes claim to have produced a *zhuangyuan* in the Shenzong era (r. 1068 - 1085), and its three "gates" are traced to him. But documents from a 1609 lawsuit show that Upper- and Middlegate Yes refused Lowergate's right to worship on the grave of the founder, saying they were "alien" (*yilei*), originally of the surname Jin. Moreover, current lineage divisions would seem to derive, rather, from the four sons of Ye Nianjiu, a wealthy tea merchant in the early Yuan. The sons were given number names — Ke Lingquan cites a Qing-era text that claims the Ming founder reversed a Yuan policy that imposed number names and created the practice of giving generational names (*beifen*)① — but by the mid-Ming, when a joint hall was built, only the descendants of sons one and four were involved. Over the last half of the Ming, the especially numerous descendants of son four divided first into twelve, then into 24 shares, and finally, in the Yongzheng era into 27 *fen*. They compiled their own genealogy in the year 1765. In 1708, Uppergate had the wherewithal to increase the size of the back room of its hall (where the tablets are kept) but did not have the means to pay for sacrifices, so it broke up into smaller units called "pillars" (*zhu*) that were more efficient in collecting money. Midgate meat distribution was very particular: in 1807, they divided their three segments into five pillars and 24 shares. The second and third segments, which sacrificed together, divided their 16 shares

① This is an interesting claim, as we have encountered it as well in a genealogy in Yongding county, Fujian. See "Gods and ancestors: cases of crossover," *Essays on Chinese local religious rituals*, ed. Tam Wai Lun (Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, CUHK, 2011), 371 - 410.

into four pillars, each of which recommended four persons as heads to collect land rents and organize the rituals by rotation.

The Yous, said to be the earliest surname in Xitou, became serfs of the Yes but still had their own hall. Later, serfs with other surnames began to also place their tablets in this hall, whose name was changed to "You family earth god association" (*Youjia she*). In 1691, the twelve Jiangs of Songkeng joined to create a *she*, with four teams that rotated responsibility. The Daguyun Kes had a *she* divided into six "households" (*hu*), with two from one hall, one each from two other halls (*fen* 1 and 4), 1½ from one hall (*fen* 3), and ½ from *fen* 2. Here, the concept of "household" clearly refers to a group of descendants of a single ancestor. In general, when enough land and people had been gathered under the name of a single ancestor, a "grave meat" association was created. Its sacrificial lands could then be divided up by shares, just like "dividing the stove."

Women who remarried, adopted sons of a different surname, monks, and those who had been excommunicated for bad behavior could not have their tablets in a hall. Rules cited from various genealogies exclude the same groups from the genealogy. A woman who remarries after having had a son is simply referred to as "so-and-so" (*mou*). The same term is used to refer to an adopted son, and his own sons may not be recorded. When tablets were too numerous, the names were transferred to large tablets, and the small tablets were then buried. The founder and those with special honors had larger, permanent tablets.

Economy

A 1649 land survey from Wangcha divides land into paddy and dry land. Collective land, registered under halls and earth gods, represented 13.73% of the land, privately held land the rest. Xitou archives show a Buddhist temple with 24 *mu* of land in 1965. The

physical size of a *mu* depended on the quality of the land: first-rate, middling, and low quality paddy corresponded to 190, 220, and 300 steps/*mu*; for dry land, the figures were 200, 250, and 500. A pond *mu* had sides 260 steps long. In the year 1890, a magistrate tried to redo the land tax registries, totally chaotic after Taiping. He offered an amnesty to those who had been hiding their real holdings, and people were given one month to report. Documents from the village of Hongcunkou show major changes in landholding between 1892 and 1940, with a tendency toward concentration.

Among agricultural products described by Ke are rice, canola, tea, tobacco, indigo, and hemp. He then turns to milling and oil presses. Large water mills were frequently joint ventures. An early Qing document for one in Wangcha built in the mid-Ming shows the Yes with five shares and wives named Hu and Cheng with one share each. Doufu, wine-making, ceramics, and limestone were also an integral part of the local economy. Limestone, when put in a kiln using firewood, came out fine and white, good for building and to kill weeds in the fields. When fired with coal, the limestone was mainly for weed-killer. The village of Hucha had a Ming kiln with 28 shares. In general, after the mid-autumn festival, those with capital would start looking for this year's partners. In the ninth and tenth months, they gathered workers in the hills, repaired their huts (*peng*), cleaned out the kiln, and worshiped the earth god of the hills, with three sticks of incense as well for Laolang (Old Boy). Only then did they engage "little workers". A small kiln required around 80 workers, large ones up to 200. Those carrying in coal and limestone were paid per load. Every first and 15th of the month, workers were given pork meat and when, on 12/24, a whole pig was killed to thank the gods, all got pork and noodles. On the same day, all shareholders gathered to settle accounts and decide on daily salaries. One of those involved, Cheng Wanli of Hucha, went prospecting for sales in the eleventh month and collected down

payments so as to be able to pay salaries on 12/24. Deliveries of the limestone were made after the New Year, and the kilns would continue to operate until the fourth month, when they were shut down and the profits divided.

Ke also describes artisans: wood- and metalworkers, brick and tile makers, stonemasons, smithies, makers of bamboo items, tailors, makers of hemp bags and coir rope, varnish, and papier-mache items. These last, when making items for sacrifices to the gods, began with a ritual: an earth god association set up a *peng* in an open village space, surrounded it with rice drying mats, and invited a master to live there so as to avoid daily pollution from disturbing these divine objects. For major events like the Double Loyalty (Shuangzhong) festival for Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan, the master had four to five months of work. An account book for the reconstruction of the Wenchang Pavilion in Lantian details stone items bought in Hangzhou, shipping costs to Pukou and on to Lantian, beam-raising, and the banquet to celebrate completion. Originally built by a famous salt merchant in 1757, it was revarnished in 1805 and rebuilt in 1934. The biggest amount was given by the banker Ye Shiheng in the name of his father's grave association. Another account book, from Yecha, lists the day by day costs in 1934 for the building of a house.

Ke now moves on to merchants, starting with legends of the late-Song tea merchant Ye Nianjiu of Lantian. In the late Qing into the Republican era, there were some 58 shops altogether, with 24 of them, all listed, concentrated in Xitou. Most shops had very little capital. Outsiders came in to buy tea at harvest time, but relied on local merchants to do the purchasing. One such was Ke Caizhi (1838–1914), who put up his own money to buy tea for people like Jiang Yaohua (1848–1925), a famous tea merchant from Fangkeng with an entrepôt in Tunxi and shares in a Shanghai tea house. Jiang Yidong (d. 2011), great-grandson of Yaohua, showed Ke Lingquan

a series of letters from the year 1900 between Yaohua and Caizhi. Ranging over a period of six weeks (4/8 to 5/22), Caizhi describes that year's limited tea supply, sends him a sample, and inquires of Yaohua how much he wants. In the eighth month, Caizhi writes to Yaohua in Shanghai, inquires about export conditions, and asks to be paid. A receipt is dated 9/5.

In the year 1912, at his father's behest, Ye Zhonglin of Qitou stopped studying medicine in Hangzhou and was sent to learn the tea business with one Fang Guansan. His father told him that, on the first day, when he entered the shop, he should have incense, candles, and paper money ready to worship the wealth god, and then offer cakes to the master who would be in charge of his apprenticeship. Also from Xitou, Ye Ruichang was 13 years old when he began his apprenticeship in a cotton cloth shop. Among the many shop rules he learned on the very first day was that he was not allowed to gamble, to stay the night outside the shop, or to speak badly to a client. Up at dawn, he started the day by emptying out his master's night pot, sweeping up, practicing 50 characters, and learning a page of a letter book. He had constantly to observe how his master did business, burn the midnight oil to practice the abacus and accounting, learn how to recognize false silver coins and measure cloth. He had to sleep on the counter so as to be able to open the door late at night to the owner. Another former apprentice, Ye Shiqiao of Zikeng, said he had to put up with being cursed and beaten. Money was left lying around for the first six weeks in order to test him.

In 1895, Ke Zhenting of Daguyun, Ye Shouting of Xitou, and Xie Shengbo of the county seat created a joint venture for the sale of tea in Suzhou and Shanghai. They held three indivisible shares of a total of eleven. When Ye died in the year 1903, Xie took charge of the Suzhou shop and Ye's second son of the Shanghai shop. In 1906, the accountant embezzled funds from the Shanghai shop to pay the

debts of a younger brother in a rice shop in Shanghai, then went home and committed suicide. The joint venture collapsed as a result, but Xie and Ke then went on to found two new companies in Suzhou, one for tea and one for cloth. By 1910 the tea shop was doing well enough to lend 2,000 *yuan* to two friends of Ke for their shop in Jiangsu. A letter to Ke late that year from Ye Zhenyuan, son of Ye Shouting's younger brother, describes tea market difficulties and refers to banks collapsing. At that time, Zhenyuan's daughter was betrothed to Ke's second son, Zhusan. A 1912 letter refers to the revolution affecting business. One Wang Jinji wrote a letter on 1/5, 1915, describing for Ke Zhenting the past year's business. Ten years later Wang, who had earlier asked to withdraw as chief accountant, is still giving his reports. Referring to recent army disturbances in Suzhou, he writes that he had feared for the safety of both the shop and his person. But on 1/5 the army had entered the city and things had settled down, so on 1/7 he was able to do the spring accounting. Basing himself on these materials, Ke Lingquan provides a table of the accounts of the cloth shop for 1916 and 1925. Ke Zhenting died in the year 1922 but still received payments for the entire year as a member of the firm's board. On 1/28, 1923, Xie Shengbo's son Ziyin, now in charge, writes to Ke Zhusan. Later, Zhusan, who was building a house in Xitou while the Daguyun Kes were editing a genealogy, tried to get the money he needed from what his father had left, but a letter from Ziyin to Zhusan dated 1/14, 1926, simply laments the difficulty of doing business under present circumstances.

Ke Lingquan cites the Ke genealogy to the effect that Ke Zhenting's father died before he was born and he was raised by his mother. Aged 28, he went to Suzhou and soon began to sell tea to the Northeast. With the money made there, he opened a cloth shop in Shendu and another joint venture in Huizhou. Among charitable undertakings, Zhenting took care of family graves and paved the

road from Xitou to Taokeng in Jixi, with the result that business between the two counties thrived. On his deathbed, he tells Zhusan that a large portion of his money is for ongoing charity: "Do not disappoint me." That fall there was a disastrous flood, and Zhusan gave to the stricken areas "in order to realize his father's wish." He then created a trust, with the rent proceeds going to pay for an orphanage in Tunxi.

From the 83-year old son of the merchant Ye Zhonglin (1896 - 1938), Ye Shunchang, Ke Lingquan collected account books covering the years 1913 - 1938. Aged 14, Ye Zhonglin went to Hangzhou to study medicine with one Chen Shoutian, but in the year 1913, at the urging of his grandfather Ye Dayou in Suzhou, he shifted to an apprenticeship in the tea business. At the outset, because his family was poor, he spent no money whatsoever other than for haircuts and letters home. Soon his two brothers joined him in the firm, and he began to send money home. By the last decade of his life he was a tea examiner and could see and smell at a glance the origin and quality of the tea. In 1928, he purchased a concubine in Hangzhou for 90 *yuan*, but when his wife learned of it, she came to Hangzhou with their three sons on 2/2 in the year 1929, and Zhonglin had to shift to another firm so as to be able to pay for two households. An entry on 8/30 of that year shows that the concubine's rent was half that of his wife's, and after 1929 all costs for the concubine disappear. The account books cover everything: the costs of giving birth, dividing the family, a funeral, a village earth god "salvation of the solitary" (*dugu*) ritual. In 1923 (217) he repaid money borrowed in 1912 for his marriage. The purchase of a house in 1927 cost less than medicine for his father. His wife received more small change than his mother (because she had many social costs like worship of the gods. Costs after the move to Hangzhou included worship of the former house owner's earth god (*dizhu*). In 1934, Ye Zhonglin created a joint venture for sale of

tea in the Northeast. Unfortunately, the Japanese attacked just after his arrival in Dalian, all the tea was lost, and the firm went bankrupt. His partners took him to court, and Zhonglin ended up spending six months in jail. Then his partners forced the sale of his house and lands in Xitou in order to pay the debts. He returned to his home area and, with a loan from a friend, set up a pharmacy. The same friend paid for his burial in 1939.

Customs

Ke Lingquan begins with an overview of annual observances. Preparations for the New Year began at the very start of the twelfth month for maternal families with a new bride or grandson: they made 100 cakes for distribution to the paternal side, which passed many of them on to relatives and neighbors who, on 12/30, sent a red envelope back as a return gift, for placement by the maternal stove. On 12/8, houses were swept out to prevent dust falling in the coming year. On 12/24, the family ancestors were worshiped, shopowners thanked the god of wealth and gave their accountants a banquet, and rich and poor alike burned straw for the stove god's horse. On 12/30, ancestor portraits were hung up and children's mouths wiped. This was called "wiping the buttocks," meaning that any bad words said on New Year's Day should be considered like uncontrollable farts. After midnight, heads of the halls set off firecrackers and opened the hall gates. All followed suit at home, set out offerings in the courtyard, and welcomed Heaven and Earth, then led all inside the house in bowing before the portraits of the ancestors, then the stove god, and then the earth gods of pig- and cowpens and the gate gods. At the sound of a gong, the men went to their ancestral hall to bow before the portraits of the ancestors, then parade through the village, saluting the gods of each temple passed. This was done in utter silence as this, it was said, would bring riches. Back at the hall, the head read out the names of the main