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主編 勞格文

吉安市的宗族、經濟與文化(上)

劉勁峰 耿艷鵬 主編



國際客家學會
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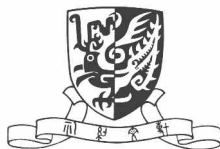
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VOLUME ONE

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目 錄

上 冊

總論	勞格文 (1)
----------	---------

吉安市的歷史和客家分佈	耿艷鵬 (42)
-------------------	----------

吉安中部與東部

吉安市的傳統交通與商貿經濟	高立人 梁芳苓 (47)
---------------------	--------------

吉安縣梅塘鄉醪村的李氏宗族與村落文化	李夢星 (75)
--------------------------	----------

漢陂的梁氏宗族與村落文化	劉宗彬 梁必炫 (129)
--------------------	---------------

富田村的商業經濟與民間文化	李建蘭 (179)
---------------------	-----------

富田橫坑村的村落文化	錢其昭 (193)
------------------	-----------

東固畚族鄉西城村的劉氏宗族與民間信仰	劉宗沛 (214)
--------------------------	-----------

吉安南部

萬安縣城的傳統經濟與民間風俗	耿艷鵬 (229)
----------------------	-----------

萬安良口墟的商貿經濟與民俗文化	謝芳桂 (254)
-----------------------	-----------

萬安百嘉鎮的墟市經濟與民間風俗	郭敬華 (300)
-----------------------	-----------

萬安潞田村的袁氏家族與村落文化	耿艷鵬 (325)
-----------------------	-----------

下 冊

萬安沙塘村的宗族與民俗	溫發鍍 (349)
遂川縣城鄉的傳統經濟	郭贛生 (369)
遂川城廂的婚喪習俗與遺風雜俗	郭贛生 (430)
遂川大汾的墟市經濟與民俗文化	李星聯 (515)

吉安西部與西南部

安福武功山的林區風俗	姚義興 (533)
永新白鷺村的宗族社會與傳統經濟	陳時霞 (594)
永新騶崗村的宗族、民俗與傳統工藝	陳時霞 (627)
湘贛邊界的土籍與客籍	許春華 許文峰 (650)
後 記	劉勁峰 (684)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Introduction John Lagerwey (1)

Ji'an history and the Hakka in Ji'an Geng Yanpeng (42)

The center and east

The routes, rivers, and commerce of Ji'an
..... Gao Liren, Liang Fangling (47)

The Li lineage of Liaocun and its village culture
..... Li Mengxing (75)

The Liang lineage of Meibi and its village culture
..... Liu Zongbin, Liang Bixuan (129)

The commerce and popular culture of Futian Li Jianlan (179)

Hengkeng village culture Qian Qizhao (193)

The Liu lineage and popular religion in the village of Xicheng
..... Liu Zongpei (214)

The south

The economy and popular culture of the Wan'an county seat
..... Geng Yanpeng (229)

Commerce and customary culture in Liangkou, Wan'an
..... Xie Fanggui (254)

The market and customs of Baijia, Wan'an Guo Jinghua (300)

The Zhong lineage and the village culture of Lutian, Wan'an
..... Geng Yanpeng (325)

VOLUME TWO

Lineages and customs in Shatang, Wan'an	Wen Fadu (349)
The economy of the Suichuan county seat area	Guo Gansheng (369)
Marriages, funerals, and other customs in Suichuan	Guo Gansheng (430)
The market and customs of Dafen, Suichuan	Li Xinglian (515)

The west and northwest

Customs in the wooded hills of Wugongshan, Anfu	Yao Yixing (533)
The lineage society and economy of Bailu, Yongxin	Chen Shixia (594)
Lineage, customs, and crafts in Zougang, Yongxin	Chen Shixia (627)
The Hakka and the natives along the Human/Jiangxi border	Xu chunhua, xu Wenfeng (650)
Postface	Liu Jinfeng (684)

INTRODUCTION

John Lagerwey

This book on the Ji'an region is focused on the economy and customs of what is now called "Luling" culture, with a secondary focus on the Hakka. As such, it is part of an ongoing attempt, begun in volume 11 of the present series on the northern part of west-central Fujian, to see what, if anything, distinguishes the Hakka from their closest neighbors. The case of Ji'an is, however, very different from that of west-central Fujian, where the three southern counties treated were solidly and traditionally Hakka and the three northern counties essentially non-Hakka. In Ji'an, only the counties of Jinggangshan, Suichuan, and Wan'an have significant Hakka populations. Throughout the area, moreover, the Hakka are recent – late Ming/early Qing – arrivals, many of whom came as migrant laborers to work in the mountain economy of the Western border region for local landlords.^① Not surprisingly, class conflict is an important part of their history, as described in the last essay in this book, which is also the only essay to address directly the question of cultural differences between the native and immigrant populations. Other essays, such as those on the market towns of Liangkou and Dafen in Wan'an, also deal with the question, but indirectly, and we shall therefore begin by examining the lineages, economy, and customs of the Luling majority before returning to questions of comparative culture.

Luling lineages

^① On the history of this immigration, see the essays by Sow-theng Leong in *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and Their Neighbors*, ed. Tim Wright (Stanford, 1997).

The first characteristic of the lineages mentioned in this book are claimed early origins: both the Lis of Liaocun (31 generations) and the Liangs of Meibi (34) date their arrival to the early Southern Song, the Qians of Hengkeng (27) to the Yuan, the Lius of Donggu (31) to the Southern Song, the Zhongs of Lutian to the late Tang, the Wens of Shatang to the early Song, the Chens of Bailu (26) to the early Yuan. While none of the generation counts are compatible with the claimed arrival times, the history of hall – founding and lineage register production, where provided, does confirm a picture of relatively early lineage formation:

surname	earliest hall	early registers
Li		1407
Liang	1519 (rebuilt)	1146, 1274, 1579
Qian	1471	1538
Liu		
Zhong		1395, 1415, 1498, 1526
Wen		1397, 1413, 1429, 1493
Chen	1515	

The number of halls reported for some of these lineages implies a degree of articulation also suggestive of lineage maturity.

The importance of register editing is reflected in various customs. In Meibi village, for example, no one wished to be chief editor because the “nefarious energies” activated by the editorial process represented a mortal danger for him. Before beginning work in the ancestral hall, a special tablet was set up for all the ancestors so that daily offerings could be made; women were strictly forbidden to enter the hall throughout the pro-

cess. When printing time came, the printer first invited his master, the god Wenchang, pronounced a series of wishes, killed a cock, sprinkled the tablet with its blood, threw rice and tea to control the nefarious energies, and then printed a diagram of origins which, before pasting it up, he also sprinkled with blood. Before distributing sets to the lineage branches, one set was carried to music throughout the village by an “inverse lineage head,” a selected male of the youngest generation. Servants who had been granted the Liang surname were not only assigned menial tasks like palanquin – carrying^① and oboe – playing, they were also obliged to edit their own register after the lineage was done and had then to print it under the hall drum.

In Shatang, the hall’s big drum was hung in the front courtyard and could be struck on only four occasions: for the winter solstice sacrifice, a major festivity, the lineage head’s funeral procession, and the punishment of a bad son. When done editing a register, the ancestor tablets of all lineage halls had to be taken outside the village to be burned and a Taoist invited to do a ritual to chase away the spirits of the underworld. It is said that, “if the underworld register is not done away with, the spirits of the underworld will not go away; if he offends them, the chief editor will be in for trouble.”

Lineage villages, some of them quite large, are said by Xu Chunhua and Xu Wenfeng to be characteristic of local lineages in Jinggangshan. The Hakka, by contrast, had an extremely dispersed settlement pattern. The vital importance of having a lineage hall, if only to have a place to do “red and white rituals,” led some small Hakka surname groups to found a hall jointly. The three surname groups reported by Li Xinglian to have

① Yao Yixing reports the same practice in Anfu County, and adds coffin – bearing to the menial tasks imposed. He also states explicitly that these were hereditary servants.

done so in Dafen in 1660 to this day do not intermarry.

But far and away the most interesting feature of the lineage halls reported on in this book is the place reserved in them for the gods. Typically, as in Lutian (Wan'an), Suichuan, and Anfu, these gods were represented by paintings brought out for the exorcistic ritual called "boat hollering." In the county seat of Suichuan, according to Guo Gansheng, the four main lineages all had special boat rooms for this New Year's ritual. In places like Donggu, the local gods were first fetched from their temples and brought to the halls before beginning the hollering. But in Meibi, the gods had permanent altars in the lower corners of the main hall: that on the left hand was for the "eighth month Pusa" (Zhaogong, the god of wealth), who was worshiped on a rotating basis by eight different surname and locality groups in the eighth month; the second was for the Liang's "great god" worshiped during the Meibi boat hollering ritual in the first month. Yet another variant is reported by Chen Shixia in Bailu, where the main village temple, called Pure Source Hall, was right next to the main lineage hall, in the center of the village. Dedicated to Grandpa Pure Source – "grandpa" (*laoye*) is a common epithet for these central gods and Pure Source is said to be the Tang emperor Minghuang – this hall – temple was the locus of joint worship by the large Chen (2190 individuals) and small Wu (132) lineages which live together in Bailu. How did the Wus survive, asks the author? – by intermarriage from the beginning; by occupying the heart of the village, right next to the Pure Source Hall; and by referring, thanks to homophony, to "netting fish" (Chen in local dialect is pronounced *zeng*, which can mean "net," and Wu is pronounced *yu*, "fish").

The Economy

Gao Liren's succinct introduction to Ji'an reveals it to have been a

truly major economic central place, with 21 docks, 24 provincial merchant associations, and 15 county or regional Jiangxi shipping syndicates. Shipment of tax grain was one of the major components of river traffic. Gao also introduces the portering networks and main local products of each county. An 1872 inscription for the construction of the temple that would house the Guangdong guild, provided as an appendix, lists a total of no fewer than 659 merchant entities which contributed to the construction of the temple. A comparable inscription in Meibi, for the 1799 construction of a wall around the Wanshougong, lists 35 contributors. By the latter half of the nineteenth century there were some 18 docks in Meibi and over 130 shops, half of which were owned by four brothers who traded throughout southeastern China.

Several authors mention the dangerous rapids on the Gan River between Ganzhou and Wan'an. According to Geng Yanpeng, boat traffic was greatly improved by the prefect of Qianzhou (Ganzhou) in the year 1061, in part by the elimination of six of the originally 24 rapids. The creation of Wan'an County in 1072 was no doubt one of the results of this improvement. In 1936, there were 167 shops in the Wan'an county seat. To the south, in the town of Liangkou hard by the ninth and most dangerous of the 18 rapids, there were 230 shops, 30 of which were owned by one of the oldest local lineages, the Lus. The influx of the Hakka at the end of the Ming contributed to the development of the paper and tea oil industries, and the cheap local paper money made for burning, bought by Nanchang entrepreneurs, was prized all along the Yangtse River valley for the whiteness and lightness of its ashes, thought to be indicative of a positive response from the gods. By adapting the small boats from their home areas, the Hakka were instrumental in opening the Huangtang River! to water transport. In his rich account of the customs of the boatmen, Xie

Fanggui mentions that, in order to qualify as a first class boatsman, one had to know the names of all the gods along the Gan River so as to be able to remind the boat's owner to burn incense. Before his boat was loaded, the owner had to stand at the prow and pray to Grandpa Xiaogong for protection. On the ninth and tenth of the first month, the syndicates of the boatsmen plying the small and large rivers respectively paid for the festivities on those days and paraded with Xiaogong and his wife through the streets of Liangkou.

What Liangkou was to southern, Baijia was to northern Wan'an. Fish, lumber, and bamboo were among its chief exports, and grain tribute, some of it from southern Taihe County, was collected in Baijia for shipment to Nanjing. The development of Baijia led to jealousy in Shaokou, just across the Gan River, and to their creation of a rival market on the same days as Baijia in the late Kangxi era. The rivalry between the two markets found expression in annual dragon boat races not only, but also in the creation in Baijia of a temple to the same god Shanlang as was worshiped across the river, lest the Shaokou Shanlang, mouth facing Baijia, devour it.

The article by Guo Gansheng on traditional commerce in Suichuan County is one of the best pieces of reporting in this volume, relying on extensive written and oral sources. One 85-year old informant who began a decades-long portering career at the age of 18 recalled going as far away as Meizhou and Xingning. He carried up to 80 *jin*, walked some forty kilometers a day, and took eight to nine days to get to Xingning. Once he had sold his goods, he brought eating salt, salted fish, and other items back. On a 20-day round trip, if all went well, he could earn twelve dollars. An 84-year old who began at 16 spoke of buying protection from mafiosi so as not to be attacked enroute; baskets were tied to the

carrying pole with knots that could be released instantly so as to convert the pole into a weapon. According to an 87 – year old, Grandpa Kang was worshiped by merchants because he was considered fair, and weighing of merchandise was therefore done under his watchful eye in the Huangtian Temple. A cheater was once punished by the god with a sore foot that did not heal until he had prayed to King Kang and had a Taoist perform a Jiao of confession.

There were four famous markets in the Hunan – Guangdong – Jiangxi triangle, all of them served by porters throughout the year. The largest was Tangjiang (today's Nankang), 90 kilometers or two and one – half days away, where Suichuan traders sold tea oil, kumquats, and medicinal plants and bought salt, local cloth, and miscellaneous goods. Porters also went on from there to Xingning and Meizhou. To Yingqian in Shangyou County^① was a trip of 60 kilometers that took a day and a half. Caolin and Dafen were both in Suichuan along the way to Hunan. The most important product in Dafen, according to Li Xinglian, was fans, a product it took some 100 separate steps to make and which involved a manufacturing chain that led from family to family and village to village. They were then portered to the county seat and sold as far away as Guangzhou and Hangzhou. Caolin, 20 kilometers from the county seat, had 110 shops in 1949, 16 of them with considerable capital. There were also 30 sellers of tea oil, of which there was a massive production in Suichuan, with 329 presses in 1942, each producing an average of 615 *jīn*. Most selling was in the hands of three large firms in the county seat, from where it was shipped in huge vats containing up to 500 *jīn* north to Ji'an and beyond and south to Ganzhou. To Guangdong and Hunan it was portered.

① In volume 7 of the present series, there are three articles on the lineages, customs, and beliefs of Yingqian, two by Zhang Shengjun and Zhang Shenghong, and one by Luo Yong.