

近世 家族與政治 比較歷史 論文集（上冊）

中央研究院近代史研究所・戴維斯加州大學歷史系 合辦
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中央研究院近代史研究所編

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序

歷史研究的範圍，早期偏重於政治、軍事、外交、人物、思想等方面；近百年來，則趨向於社會、經濟、文化各方面的研究。人類文化原為一綜合體，歷史研究趨向以人類文化的總體面為研究對象，亦為學術發展的必然趨勢。在此一趨勢下，家族的歷史，涉及政治、經濟、社會、文化各方面，自然成為重要的研究課題之一。中國家族制度，源遠流長，無疑的在中國幾千年的歷史中，有極大的影響，其長處是維繫中國社會的家族羣體，鞏固社會的基層組織；其短處則是養成個人偏重對家族的責任，而忽略了個人對國家的公民義務。中國家族在近代社會中究竟扮演何樣角色？對中國政治又有何種影響？已成為歷史家亟欲探討的課題。美國戴維斯加州大學（U. C. Davis）歷史系和中央研究院近代史研究所鑒及此，乃共同籌劃舉辦一次國際性的研討會，此一研討會並獲得蔣經國國際學術交流基金會的贊助。

研究歷史要用比較的眼光，才能看清問題的特點及其意義。談比較，在時間上，可從前後發展的不同作比較；在空間上，可從不同的地區加以比較。故籌劃此次會議時，在涵蓋的時間上推至宋代；在地區比較方面，籌辦單位曾於民國八十年四月，先在戴維斯校區比較研究中心，舉行一次小型的研討會（work-shop），邀請十餘位有意撰寫論文的學者提出初步的論文架構，再請研究歐洲、中南美洲及中東的學者，從比較社會學理論、異文化研究等角度，對論文架構及相關問題，加以評論，提供學者一個比較寬廣的思考角度，擴增中國研究的深度。

民國八十一年一月三日至五日，「近世家族與政治比較歷史國際學術研討會」在臺北市南港區中央研究院近代史研究所舉行，共有三十四位國內外學者在會上宣讀論文，另外邀請百餘位學者參加討論。這三十四篇論文，計分成十二個小組（panel），即：一、家庭生活與人際關係；二、宋明回顧；三、家族與政治文化；四、世系與家譜；五、明清女性問題；六、婦女與家庭；七、臺灣家族；八、家族與地方政治；九、家族傳統；十、家族組織與

政治；十一、家族與革命；十二、當代觀察。綜觀這三十四篇論文，近乎一半的論文在討論家族的家務問題，包括家世、家譜、婚姻、家庭生活、親子關係、出生秩序、人際關係、婦女問題，以及分家析產等。這些家務問題，在近代史學研究中，已蔚為風氣，表面上看來是私人問題，實際上與社會、政治有着密不可分的關係。另一半的論文，則偏重於家族與社會、政治的直接而明顯的關係，包括家族與法律、道德、紳權、政風、黨爭、革命、地方政治、社會救濟、家庭政策等，從家族的角度去探討這些問題。這兩方面的探討，使人有一新耳目之感。這三十四篇論文，若以學者現居地來分，計國外學者十九篇，國內學者十五篇；若以學者原籍來分，中國學者二十篇，外國學者十四篇，可見這是一次相當平衡的國際會議，會中討論至為熱烈，稱得上是中外學者一次研究心得的真正交換。討論雖然不一定有結論，但透過意見的交流，論據的切磋，觀念的釐清，對家族問題，自然有了更深一層的認識。此外尚引發許多相關問題的討論，亦可供日後研究的參考。

本論文集即為此次研討會論文的合刊，唯黃富三教授的論文《從霧峰林家的財富擴張看清代臺灣的紳權性格》，因已收入其專刊中，故不再列入。本論文集得以順利出版，除象徵研討會的具體成果外，實應歸功於三十四位作者的充分合作，當然，參與討論學者的踴躍發言，及籌備同仁的長期辛勞，功不可沒。蔣經國國際學術交流基金會的贊助，使此次大規模之國際研討會，得以實現，在此一併敬申謝忱。

中央研究院近代史研究所 謹識
戴維斯加州大學歷史系

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Politics, Examinations and the Chinese Society, 1000–1500: Reflections on the Rise of the Local Elite and the Civil Society in Late Imperial China

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The possibility that the administrative system might open a compromise path between competing claims that would allow a sufficient amount of organizational rationality cannot be excluded from the start on logical grounds.

— — Habermas — —

Introduction:

Although Confucian ideal of a “big family” is generally regarded as seldom put into practice, the ideal has remained through Chinese history a governing principle with regards to how to organize a kinship group and to exercise its power. This is especially evident in the area of the intertwined state vis-a-vis family relations; important as this topic is as an aspect of mid-period Chinese social history and although much has been written on the issues involved, it has not been treated in a comprehensive manner.

The modern conception of “family” in China can be said to have begun in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the so-called “aristocratic families” declined¹. One of the major factors that led to the change in the conception of “family” was the increased use of the civil service examinations in recruiting government officials².

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1 Patricia Ebrey: “The Early Stages in the Development of Decent Group Organization”, in Ebrey & James Watson, ed.: *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 16-60.

2 Ch'en Yen-ko was the first person to put forth this argument, though it is now challenged by many T'ang historians. For Ch'en's famous theory, see his *T'ang*

Such change in the dynamics of social advancement inevitably resulted in the need to restructure family organizations so as better to prepare members of the family to meet with new qualification requirements. In general, entry to service and a position in officialdom remained throughout the ninth and tenth centuries (and thereafter) the main route to power, wealth and privilege. This is to say that, although the elite membership changed, the means for acquiring the status remained unchanged. In Vilfredo Pareto's terms, the "equilibrium" dictated that the residue remained the same, except that the derivations had been redesigned³.

New families did replace the traditional aristocratic families, in terms of elite membership. Historical circumstances and environmental factors determined the way new families were actually organized; even though office-holding remained essential, the channels these families could rely on to enter the power centers were undergoing significant changes.

A lot of new "families" rose in the late T'ang and Five Dynasties period, but they obviously regarded themselves as merely continuing the practice of the early aristocracy. Natural and human ecologies dictated that the method for structuring the families be modified⁴, but men's perception about their position in a society only changed slowly. The end of the changes was the rise of localized elite families which continued to seek to send their sons to pass the

Sung chih-tu shih k'ai-lun (Hong kong: Shang-wu, 1987 reprint of earlier edition). For criticisms on Ch'en, see Denis Twitchett: "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class", in Arthur F. Wright & Denis Twitchett ed.: *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 47-85; David Johnson: *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder: Westview, 1978), pp. 149-150 (arguing that the examinations' effect was long term, but indirect), and Denis Twitchett ed.: *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 8-12.

3 See Raymond Aron: *Main Currents in Sociological Thought* (new York: Doubleday, 1970), vol. II, pp. 119-217. See esp. pp. 139-166.

4 See note 1.

government examinations so as to maintain their social status and influence on both the national and local levels. The new ways of family organization and the exercise of family power in local affairs came to dominate Chinese concerns on the subject over the centuries to come. They also affected the methods for solving problems related to (local) family vs. state tension in later dynasties.

I would suggest that the rise of a visible local society, which some scholars now consider to be approximating the ideals of a “civil society”⁵, was completed in the critical period of the Mongol invasion, during which a somewhat precarious equilibrium rose in between the state and the local elite families. Together they provided for the general stability of the empire: a more or less effective “linkage” was fashioned to provide a ground of dialogue in the so-called “middle space”⁶. Undoubtedly, Neo-Confucian thinkers also were articulating on how to effect a good linkage to overcome this “middle space” cleavage. It is my belief that this equilibrium had only broken down in the late nineteenth century, in response to the needs of and calls for a stronger and more centralized government to manage the dynastic crises and external threats⁷. The implications of the breakdown of this equilibrium have been an issue much talked about by modern Chinese intellectuals concerned with the problems of modernization and the future of China⁸.

5 Peter Bol: “Sung Civil Culture and the Examination System”, draft paper presented to American-European Symposium on State and Society in East Asian Traditions, May, 1991.

6 For a discussion on this so-called “middle space”, see Robert Hymes: “Lu Chiu-yuan, Academies, and the Problem of the Local community”, in Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee ed.: *Neo-Confucian Education, The formative Stage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 432-456.

7 And perhaps also as a result of the accumulated weight of its own self-serving interests which resisted change. See also Gilbert Rozman’s *The Modernization of China* (New York: Free Press, 1981), pp. 481-505, for an interesting, but different formulation of the same observation.

8 See, for example, Yü Ying-shih: “Chung-kuo hsien-tai chih-shih fen-tzu te pien-yuan-hua”, in *Erh-shih-i shih-chi*, no. 7 (1991), pp. 15-25. Yu argues the

In this paper, I will first present a brief study of a peculiar "family" which lasted for about two hundred years, of how it had remained powerful in the Lu Mountain area in present Chiang-hsi and how the entire "family" managed to survive without dividing the communal property until when Emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1023-1063) ordered its break-up in 1062, evidently for fear that it might overgrow in strength, creating troubles to the exercise of state power in the local affairs. The history of this Ch'en "family" reflected an unique combination of the ideals of a Confucian "family" and an aristocratic "big family"⁹. The paradox of the exceptional history of this Ch'en family is that it remained an ideal, informing many later lineage organizations, and at the same time also remained questionable in its practicality. I will then offer personal reflections on the significance of this particular family's history in the context of a "state-family" equilibrium to see how Chinese "civil society" worked within the context of imperial control and stability.

To Live as a *tsu*:

The eighth and ninth centuries were an important period for the rise of *chia-tsu* organization that was to dominate China in the coming few centuries. Many scholars are now arguing that there was perhaps a continuity between T'ang and Sung social structures¹⁰;

"alienation" or "marginalization" of modern Chinese intellectuals, who were forced out of playing a role in the partnership with the government.

9 John Dardess, I believe, is the first one to call this type of "family" as communal family. An educated Chinese will most likely call it *tsu* or *chia-tsu*. In this paper, I shall use all these terms to denote this special type of organization and will also use "clan" to name it, knowing that the term, clan, is only relatively approximate to what we are talking here. For definitions of the different terms, including "communal family", see Ebrey's article cited in n. 1 above. It will be useful to stress here that in this article, I shall give a slightly greater emphasis on the "communalness" aspect of this type of "family" organization.

10 See Patricia Ebrey: "The Dynamics of Elite Domination in Sung China", in

one of their reasons is that members of the early Sung elite often bore the last names of T'ang aristocrats and often compiled genealogies to show that they were descendants of the old nobles. But such genealogies are often untrustworthy; contemporaries also remarked on their lack of reliability¹¹. What is important is that the earlier idea of pedigree based on proven genealogical connection continued to play a role in people's consciousness about what made an elite, and the new elite did seek to use aristocratic genealogies to prove their qualification.

The Ch'en family was not exceptional. Pronouncing that they were the descendants of the last ruler (r. 573–589) of the Ch'en Dynasty (557–589) of the Period of Disunion, the family could claim the pedigree of an aristocratic origin¹². But the claim of descent line between the monarch and the primogenitor, Ch'en Po-hsuan (fl. mid-ninth century) is ambiguous at best, even if it had been supported by an independent scholar invited to write a ceremonial "Record" (*chi*) for the family's school. In any case, from the viewpoint of pure line of descent, it would not be impossible for many Ch'ens to trace

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 48 (1989), pp. 493-519. See also her review on Richard L. Davis's *Court and Family in Sung China* in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 47 (1988), pp.

11 Thomas H. C. Lee: "The Social Significance of the Quota System in Sung China", in *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong*, v. 13 (1980), pp. 287-318. See also David Johnson: *Oligarchy*, pp. 144-152.

12 A lot of Ch'en genealogies include information about the family's origin. I have been using the 1840 edition (published by Te-hsing T'ang of I-ch'un, Chiang-hsi), 1824 edition (published by Ying-ch'uan T'ang of P'ing-chiang, Chiang-hsi), 1936 edition (also by Te-hsing T'ang of I-ch'un, Chiang-hsi), and 1891 edition (published by Te-hsing T'ang of I-ch'un, Chiang-hsi). Please also see Juan Chih-kao, Ling Feng-chang and Sun Chia-hua, ed.: *Chiang-chou Ch'en-shih Jung chia Shu-t'ang yen-chiu* (Nan-ch'ang: Chiang-hsi chiao-yü hsüeh-yuan, 1990) for a collection of relevant materials. In addition, this family has been an subject of study by Satake Yasuhiko: "ToSo henkakuki ni okeru Konan tozairo no tochi shoyu to tochi seikaku - yimon no seicho o te ga karini", in *Toyoshi kenkyu*, vol. 31 (1973), pp. 503-536. See also Richard von Glahn: *The Country of Streams and Grottoes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 164.

their common origin to a renown aristocrat or, as in this case, even an emperor¹³.

Ch'en Po-hsuan apparently did not hold any prominent office. He was, instead, known as a scholar who compiled a commentary on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*. He moved the family to Mountain Lu and started the tradition of having family members live in one place, practicing undivided household and communal property. It is also said that he handed down a thirty-three clause "family rule". He also ordered building a granary, and a "library" (*shu-lou*). Although the set of "family rules" might not have been actually completed as early as Ch'en's own time, and in any case, the exact content of them varies, some kind of "family rules" in thirty-three clauses must have already been in existence by the mid-eleventh century, just on the eve of the forced disperse of the "family". A lengthy memorial recapitulating the history of the family, presented by a prominent family member, Ch'en T'ai, to the Emperor Jen-tsung in 1026, already mentioned a "thirty-three clause family regulation"¹⁴.

A comparison of the several versions of the "family rules" shows that the existence of a "family school" is an indisputable fact. It is also corroborated by other external evidences¹⁵. All the "family rules" that I have examined contain more or less these two clauses:

A library is to be built in the Tung-chia Village (*chuang*), and those among the sons, grandsons and cousins who have the will and intelligence for learning should be

13 It is claimed that there are more than 300,000 people in Kwangsi province alone who could trace their lines of descent to Chu Hsi, the eleventh century Neo-Confucian master.

14 See Juan Chih-kao, et al. ed.: *Chiang-chou Ch'en-shih Tung-chia Shut'ang*, pp. 11-14.

15 Most relevant sources are already compiled in the work edited by Juan Chih-kao, et al. cited above.

admitted to study there. Once they are advanced in their learning and are qualified to take the examinations....¹⁶. If there is any need for additional books, then money should be put aside to purchase them. One student should be elected to be in charge of the lending and returning of books, so that they do not disappear. (Guests seeking for admission to study should be admitted to this [library] school).

A separate school house should also be erected in the west side of Tung-chia Village, to instruct the young children. The teaching period of the school should begin with an auspicious day in the third month and last to the ninth month in the fall. Children of seventh year to the fifteenth year in age should study in this school. (Each year, outstanding ones would be promoted to the [library] school and) each year two students would be selected from among those in the [library] school to return to the [elementary] school to teach: one serving as a teacher, and the other as his assistant. The communal treasurer will be in charge of dispensing stationery for the pupils of this [elementary] school¹⁷.

Education and taking the government examinations were unmistakably integrated parts of the “family” activities. The 1026

16 A sentence like “These students should then be sent to take the examinations” seems to have been missing here.

17 A regulation as concrete and detailed as this one would suggest that it was almost indisputably of Northern Sung provenance: the distinction of two schools and the carefully articulated qualification (in terms of age requirements) for admission show that the schools were equipped for hundreds of students and pupils. The size of family must have grown to such an extent as capable of supplying so many male children to study in two separate schools in the eleventh century. For studies on the Northern Sung elementary schools, see Thomas H. C. Lee: “Education before Chu Hsi” in Wm. Theodore de Bary & John W. Chaffee ed.: *Neo-Confucian Education*, pp. 105-137; see also Edward A. Kracke: “The Expansion of Educational Opportunities in the Reign of Hui-tsung of the Sung and Its Implications”, in *Sung Studies Newsletter*, no. 13 (1977), pp. 6-30.

memorial relates the growth in the size of "family" members: Po-hsuan had six sons and nineteen grandsons; all of them lived together and this was in the mid-ninth century¹⁸. The size quickly grew to about 200. The next record shows that it had more than 3,700 people; the time was 976. The number, however, declined rapidly to barely more than 1,200 in 990, and even about 740 only, until it began to rise again to 1,478 at the turn of A. D. 1,000. The number increased steadily thereafter and reached 3,000 in 1026. This was the time when Emperor Jen-tsung was reported of the family's conditions and awarded it with imperial gift. In 1062, when the family was forced to break up, the number stood at more than 3,900. In short, the family had more or less reached its optimal size in about slightly more than one hundred years, and although its size fluctuated from time to time, an optimal number quickly appeared: with natural attrition limiting its growth and with political pressures also serving as a controlling factor inhibiting its demographic strength¹⁹.

The story of this community deserves careful study because it was quite a model for many Sung "families", especially in the Lower Yangtze Valley region. I have chosen "*tsu*" to describe it, because the politico-economic function and organizing principle of this community are somewhat different from what we now have known very well as "*chia*"²⁰. Although Fan Chung-yen, Ou-yang

18 Later genealogies would date the beginning of the "family" (in terms of practicing undivided household) back to 731, or simply to the very beginning of Ch'en as a last name (The *Tso-chuan* gives an account on how the Ch'ens acquired its last name, and this has served as the canonical base to many Ch'en genealogical compilations), but for the first recorders of this particular family's history, the primogenitor was unmistakably Ch'en Po-hsuen of the midninth century.

19 For the information on the sizes of the "family", see Chen Tai's memorial cited in n. 14 above. See also n. 35 below. It would be useful to compare the pattern of growth (if not absolute numbers) with the model developed by John Fei and Liu Ts'ui-jung in "The Growth and Decline of the Chinese Family Clan", in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. XII, no. 3, pp. 375-408.

20 See Patricia Ebrey: "Concepts of the Family in the Sung Dynasty", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 43, pp. 219-245.

Hsiu and Su Hsun, the leading advocates of “clan” or “lineage” organizations in the eleventh century, all did not mention this family (for obvious reasons), the way it was organized can not fail to have served as an inspiration. It would be most incredible for Fan Chung-yen not to have been aware of the 1026 memorial referred to above which detailed the family’s history; it would be even more incredible if Fan Chung-yen was unaware of the rise in strength of this family in the 1040’s and 1050’s, when Fan was setting up his own “charitable estate” project²¹. In point of fact, it would be useful to note a yet less known history of the forced break-up of a local “big family” by Emperor T’ai-tsung in 987. The Li family of Ch’ing-chou (in present Shensi), which had grown in wealth and power by producing successful candidates in the examinations and hence positions in officialdom and by engaging in pawnshop and wine-brewing businesses, was forced to breakup in a more cruel manner, with the head of the family put to death²². Although the precise history of the decline of this locally prominent family is not very clear, its pattern seemed to have been similar to that for the Ch’en Family. The decline of the Ch’en and the Li families in the face of imperial power notwithstanding, the idea of having as many people of common genealogy who resided in one area to live together with properties undivided remained very attractive in the Sung times, and in fact, the ideal was such that it would lead to strengthened local identity, thus discourage moving away from one’s home village or

21 Denis Twitchett has written on the Buddhist influences on Fan’s “charitable estate” in his “The Fan Clan’s Charitable Estate, 1050-1760”, in David S. Nivison & Arthur F. Wright ed.: *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 97-132. The Buddhist influences were obvious in the area of financial managements, one aspect that managers of a “communal family” would find difficult, but in terms of “clan” organization and the ideal of its cohesiveness, Fan certainly was influenced by the then prevalent *zu* organizations.

22 See Li T’ao: *Hsü Tzu-chih t’ung-chien ch’ang-pien* (Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1966 reprint of 1882 Chekiang shu-chü ed.), abbreviated as *Hsü ch’ang-pien* hereafter, 28/6b-7a.

town. The practice of a “corporate property”, which was essential to one school of definition of a Chinese lineage, was not there²³; one could perhaps argue that the practice of undivided household and its property is the corporateness per se. That is to say that in the ninth and tenth centuries, the ideal for kinship organization was a much more comprehensive one, certainly going beyond what modern scholars have identified as “lineage” in late Imperial China, found, importantly, more in the South than the North. It has also been shown that this type of *tsu* had survived pretty well into the thirteenth century²⁴. The *tsu* principle is important for us in two ways: firstly, from a residual aristocratic organization of choronym there sprang this *tsu* way of kinship organization which most probably had the pretensions of an aristocratic “clan”, but lacked the network that characterized the aristocratic “big families” to enable them to acquire true national prominence²⁵. The communal *chia-tsu* organization was to remain attractive during the three or four centuries from the end of the T’ang to the end of the Yuan²⁶. Suffice it to say that it most likely served as a “residual” model for those seeking to expand the influence of their newly prominent elite

23 Maurice Freedman’s definition of “lineage” is useful, but should not lead us to think that it could be applied to the Sung; few Sung historians can identify “lineage” organization in the Sung. For its limitation for the pre-Sung aristocratic China, see David Johnson: *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder: Westview, 1977), pp. 89-91. For difficulty in identifying a “lineage” in Sung Ming-chou, see Linda Walton: “Kinship, Marriage and Status in Song China: A Study of the Lou Lineage of Ningpo, c. 1050-1250”, *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1984), pp. 35-77. For a more recent discussion on “lineage”, see Myron Cohen: “Lineage Organization in Northern China”, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1988), pp. 509-534.

24 See Ebrey’s article cited in n. 1 above, pp. 29-34. See also n. 56.

25 See my “Social Significance” (cited in n. 11 above) for one interesting example of a Sung family in the Five Dynasties Period. This family certainly achieved some “prominence”, but not of national scale.

26 This clearly was an expensive and laborious way of organizing kinship communities. I will discuss this later.