五人。民间私社研究

傅晓静◎著



经济科学出版社 Economic Science Press



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经济科学出版社 Economic Science Press 责任编辑: 吕 萍 张 辉

责任校对: 张长松 版式设计: 代小卫 技术编辑: 邱 天

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

唐五代民间私社研究/傅晓静著. 一北京: 经济科学出版社, 2008.8

ISBN 978 -7 -5058 -7451 -0

I. 唐··· II. 傅··· III. ①乡村 - 社会团体 - 研究 - 中国 - 唐代②乡村 - 社会团体 - 研究 - 中国 - 五代(907 ~ 960) IV. D691.7

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2008) 第 120141 号

唐五代民间私社研究

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经济科学出版社出版、发行 新华书店经销 社址:北京市海淀区阜成路甲28号 邮编:100142 总编室电话:88191217 发行部电话:88191540

> 网址: www. esp. com. cn 电子邮件: esp@ esp. com. cn 北京汉德鼎印刷厂印刷

永胜装订厂装订

787×1092 16 开 7.75 印张 90000 字

2008年8月第1版 2008年8月第1次印刷

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5058 - 7451 - 0/F・6702 定价: 15.00 元

(图书出现印装问题,本社负责调换)

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关于中国古代乡村社会的研究近年来方 兴未艾,这是由于乡村社会是中国传统社会 的基点, 也是中国当代社会的基点, 不论是 中国的传统经济、传统政治还是传统文化, 都带着深深的乡村社会的烙印。在唐史研究 领域、关于乡村社会的研究也有了一定的进 展,到目前为止,较为综合的著作有齐涛 《魏晋隋唐乡村社会研究》(山东人民出版社 1995年版),杨际平、郭锋、张和平《五— 十世纪敦煌的家庭与家族关系》(岳麓书社 1997年版)等若干种,有代表性的论文主要 有以下若干种:何汝泉《关于唐代乡的两点 商榷》(《中国史研究》1986年第4期). 赵 吕甫《从敦煌、吐鲁番文书看唐代乡的职权 地位》(《中国史研究》1989年第2期)、孔 祥星《唐代里正》(《中国历史博物馆馆刊》 1979年第1期)等。

值得注意的是, 近二十年来, 关于民间

结社的专题研究取得了不少进展, 出现了一批有代表性的 成果,主要有:郭锋《敦煌的社及其活动》(《敦煌学辑 刊》总第4期1983年)、宁可《述"社邑"》(《北京师范 学院学报》1985年第1期),郝春文《敦煌私社的"义 聚"》(《中国社会经济史研究》1989年第4期),《敦煌遗 书中的"春秋座局席"考》(《北京师范学院学报》1989 年第4期),《敦煌的渠人与渠社》(《北京师范学院学报》 1990年第1期),宁可、郝春文《敦煌社邑的丧葬互助》 (《首都师范大学学报》1995年第6期),《北朝至隋唐五 代的女人结社》(《北京师范学院学报》1990年第5期) 等。不过,上述民间结社的研究中缺少对整个乡村社会的 把握与认识, 多是地域性研究, 而且多局限于敦煌文献进 行研究, 较少使用大量的正史、野史、诗词、笔记中的史 料;缺少有分析、有论证的综合研究,多是针对某一方面 的专题研究。但民间结社在唐五代乡村社会中又是一种十 分重要的社会组织,数量多,分布广,类型多,涉及到乡 村社会的经济活动、宗教活动、社会生活以及政治活动. 是与乡里组织、宗族组织并存的三大社会组织体系之一, 在乡村社会起着重要作用。研究唐五代乡村社会中的民间 结社对于全面把握与认识唐五代乡村社会,解剖中国古代 社会的民间结社都具有重要的学术价值。因此, 必须将其 置于乡村社会的大背景中进行研究,才能真正认识与把握 民间结社的基本内核与基本功能,在一定意义上可以说, 研究唐五代乡村社会,不能缺少民间结社这一内容,而研 究唐五代民间结社, 又离不开对乡村社会的整体研究。我 在这一课题的研究中即试图做到两者的结合。在史料上,

除继续立足于敦煌文书等出土文书资料外,再广泛收集新旧《唐书》、《太平广记》、《全唐诗》、《全唐文》以及野史、笔记中的有关资料,对整个唐五代乡村社会中的结社进行全面系统综合的研究。在研究方法上,借鉴与使用社会学、民俗学、宗教学以及社会组织学等相关学科的理论,大量使用敦煌学与考古学的有关成就进行多学科综合研究,将实证与比较史学相结合,首先是运用各种史料,考辨推究,正本清源,理清乡村结社的基本状况,然后,再运用比较史学的方法,将唐五代的乡村结社与乡村中的宗族与乡里组织相比较,将其置于乡村社会的大环境中去考察,从而全面深入地把握唐五代乡村结社的功能、作用、地位与影响。

本书由唐五代民间私社之兴盛、唐五代民间私社的组织、唐五代民间私社的活动方式、唐五代民间私社的基本组成,居面代民间私社的共和党,是间私社会中的地位与影方面上,是间私社会中的为一章,重点研究唐五代民间私社的类型以及私社兴盛的原本书的第一章,重点研究中,深入探讨了社的历史传承、社社会的研究中,深入探讨了,揭示民间私社的人,对官社以及半官半民的结社进行了最大的分别。并且是张阳、对官社以及半官半民的结社进行了最大的人,对官社以及半官半民的结社进行了最大的人,对官社以及来官半民的结社进行了最大的人,对官社以及来官半民的结社进行了最大的人,对官社以及来官半民的结社进行了最大的第一、人,分析了民间私社兴盛的现实原因。第二方面基本的第一、一部分研究中,我借鉴了社会学与社会组织学等相关

唐五代民间私社研究

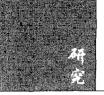
学科的方法,首先理清民间私社的组织体系,从社规性质 的社条入手,对社条的内容、认可以及效力进行研究,再 对社内的组织人员及首领进行分析,最后,以翔实的资料 统计为基础,对社人进行了全面分析,较为清晰地给出了 民间私社的组织体系与社人组成状况。组织体系与社人状 况既明,又对私社的活动方式进行了探讨,从活动的发 起、活动的通知到活动的组织系统梳理,对私社活动的两 大特性即公共性与集体性进行了深入揭示, 然后, 又深入 到私社活动的经济基础,探讨了其开支及财物管理方式。 在此基础上,全面探讨了民间私社的基本功能,在这一部 分研究中,没有局限于社条的规定,而是将社条与社的实 际活动结合,对其丧葬互助、宗教组合、亲情关怀、经济 合作与救助、经营功能等进行了全面归纳, 为进一步认识 民间私社在唐五代乡村社会中的意义提供了较好的基础。 第三方面的内容即本书的第五章。在上述各部分研究的基 础上,逐一讨论了民间私社与乡里的关系、与宗族的关 系、与寺院的关系,揭示了民间私社在唐五代乡村社会中 的地位与作用,探讨了其发展趋势。

本书共分五章,对唐五代乡村社会中的民间结社活动进行了系统研究。

唐五代乡村社会组织共由四个系统组成,即乡里邻保系统、村落系统、宗法血缘系统与民间私系统。前两者属于官方社会组织织组在乡村社会组织。在乡村社会组织实在乡村区域,官方的乡里邻保以及村落组织是是大时,官方的主导性力量,宗法血缘与时之会秩序运转与社会活动的主导性力量,同样起着不可替代的作用。长期以来,世学界多注重于自为社会还有的重视,本书即试图弥补这一缺失。

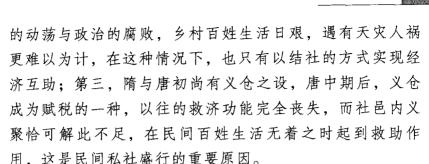
本书的第一章是"唐五代民间私社之兴盛"。

社的祭祀与社神崇拜由来已久,它源自原始社会末期的土地崇拜,早在红山文化与良渚文化中,就有了封土为坛或立石为坛的社神崇



拜,此后,绵延数千年而不衰,并形成了固定的春社与秋社两大社日。与之同时,在社祭活动中,又逐渐追加上了民间宴饮游乐以及经济合作等内容,由此也形成了一些自发的民间社会组合——社。至唐五代,社日与社祭之风更盛,社日与社祭成为举国上下盛大的节日,在民间社会尤其如此。为了社日与社祭活动,为了经济互助与合作等,唐初乡村社会出现了较多的民间社会组合,被称作"社"、"社邑"或"义邑"。

唐五代民间私社的兴盛有着深刻的社会原因,择要而言,主要有以下几点:第一,因受田不均及租赋的沉重、高利贷的剥削,农民的经济力量极为薄弱,即使在平时也难以维计,必须互相救助;第二,唐中期以后,随着局势



本书的第二章是"唐五代民间私社的组织"。

唐五代的民间私社具有很强的契约性,社条在私社组织中起着重要的基础作用,社条形成后,要全体社众签押,然后封印保存,非遇大事不得开启,如有需要增加,修改的内容则应补充社条。此外,若遇有重大变故或新社人增多,社众们可以重立社条。社条一旦确立,社众必须遵守,若有违犯,都有相应的处罚措施。

社的首领是三官与有关执事人员,三官即社长、社官、录事,他们是社邑的总负责人,由社众协议推举产生,有的社只设社长与社官中的一员,但录事均设,社内具体运转多由录事负责。另外,还有席录、虞候、月值等人员,协助处理社内事务。

私社成员称社人或社众,从社条表面看,社人之间关系平等,"如兄如弟","贵贱一般",但在社内的实际关系中,却含有相当多的不平等内容。各社社条基本都规定,社众要服从社条、服从社官,对社内事务不得说东道西,三官可对社众行使处罚权。更为重要的是,一经入社,社人不可随意退出,若要退社,不仅要递"退社状",而且要接受相应的经济处罚。社人外出,也要由三官同意,还要有人为他代行社事、履行义务。

本书的第三章是"唐五代民间私社的活动方式"。

唐五代私社活动通过因事而异的转帖进行通知,转帖包括活动内容、时间、地点、纳赠数目、送达地点以及处罚办法。凡被通知参加活动的人,名字都列于转帖之上,由当值人逐户传递,社众们要在自己名下签押,转帖遍示众人后,要交回三官处,有违犯者依帖处罚。

公共性与集体性是唐五代民间私社活动的重要特色, 所有社人在本社之内都享有较为充分的参与权,也负有十 分严明的责任与义务。

社的活动开支有二,一是临事缴纳;一是公共积累。 各社在立社之初,就在社条中定下遇事需由社人缴纳物品的数量,多是布帛油米等实物。另外,社内还设有义聚, 其来源是社人入社时一次性的交纳、临事缴纳的未开支完的剩余部分、对社人财物处罚所得。一旦进入义聚,就成为全社的公共积累,用于救助、赈贷、日常活动,是私社活动的重要物质基础。

社的活动开支有严格的管理制度,敦煌文书中众多的 纳赠历与破历就是社内活动开支的专门记录,纳赠历中, 对收纳状况有详细记录,破历则是开支状况的记录。

本书的第四章是"唐五代民间私社的基本功能"。

要而言之, 唐五代民间私社主要有六大功能, 即社日与社祭功能、丧葬互助功能、宗教功能、亲情关怀功能、 经济合作与救助功能、经营发展功能。

社日与社祭功能已见前述,这是唐五代各类私社的立社之本,也是各类私社都具备的功能。其他五项功能则因社而异,有些社可能兼而有之,但更多的社只具备其中的



部分功能。

唐人厚葬之风颇盛,家有丧事是乡村百姓生活中莫大一关,因此,绝大部分私社都具备丧葬互助这一功能。具体方法是,社人遇有丧事,须立即通知社司,然后,由社司转帖通知社人交纳助葬物品,有的社还要组织送葬。

宗教功能主要是指社内成员在宗教活动中的组织与参与。在唐五代民间私社中,以宗教功能为主要功能的社为数颇多,在一般性结社中,也多具有这一功能,从敦煌卷子所见西北地区的民间私社看,它们与寺庙都有着或多水少的关系,寺庙举行的各种佛事活动,诸如盂兰盆、浴佛节、印沙佛、行像以及日常的佛寺燃灯、造窟,附近民众的参与多以社为单位进行。一社之内也常常举办民间私社的参与多以社为单位进行。一社之内也常常举办民间私社的崇扬,僧人们甚至还直接加入到社中,成为民间私社的宗教与多次都体现了当时民间私社的宗教色彩。

亲情关怀主要表现在三个方面,一是集体宴乐;二是祭吊亡人;三是送往迎来。集体宴乐是民间亲情关怀的重要方式,除春秋两社及固定的三斋外,还有社人们轮流坐庄,举行全社的宴饮活动。祭吊亡人是全社成员的共同活动,助葬送葬固然是重要的帮助,但与之同时的祭吊则体现了社内成员间的亲情关怀。送往迎来存在于部分社邑中,也是一项富有特色的亲情关怀。

经济合作与救助功能主要是指社内成员在经济活动中的合作与互助,在唐五代民间私社中,有以生产协调功能为主要功能的社,比如渠社、牛社等。渠社是社人们为兴修水利、农田灌溉的协作而形成的民间结社,牛社则是社人们轮



流集资买牛而形成的民间结社。在其他各类社中,也较为普遍地存在着经济合作功能,比如,有的社兼管社人婚嫁、立 庄造舍等事宜,常规的赈济、救助也较为多见。

经营发展功能是指私社对公共积累的经营。在唐五代民间私社中,义聚不仅仅是对社内公共积累的收支仓储,社司们还利用这一积累进行营利性的经营,其具体体现便是以义聚财物的放贷。从敦煌文书的记载看,以义聚赈济的确存在,但也有大量的以义聚高息放贷的记录,利息率可达 50% ~100%以上,丝毫不亚于地主富商的高利贷,这也使得义聚可以不断扩充,实现一定的经济收益。

本书的第五章是"民间私社在唐五代乡村社会中的地位与影响"。

如前所述,唐五代乡村社会存在着乡里邻保、村落、宗法血缘、社四大社会组织系统。官方乡里组织的地下宗族作用自不待言,在民间两大社会组织系统中,由于宗族特色,在民间两大社会组织系统中,由于实缘中的作用受到较大声,在多时社会中的作用受到较大声。而的组会,不少时,在乡村社会生活中可以起到较宗障社社会组织,在乡村社会生活中可以起到较宗障社社会生活中,其主要作用是维系村坊安全,保护的组合,其主要作用是维系村坊安全,保护的现代,有不好的现代,有不好的现代,对方以制裁。渠社、马社也有明确的社会管理职者,社可要予以制裁。渠社、马社也有明确的社会管理职者,为外,在一些社中,还实行三人一团制,类似中的保,负责社会治安与社内秩序的维护。因此,其地位也就十分重要,这是宋以后中国古代社会所不具备的。

ABSTRACT

This book includes five chapters, eighteen sections. It makes a systematic research on the activity of **She** in rural areas in the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai.

The social organization of rural areas in the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai consisted of four systems: the Lin-Bao system, the village system, the clan system and She. The Lin-Bao system and the village system were official organizations and played a leading role in the domination of the dynasty, while the clan system and She belonged to nongovernmental communities and were the fundamental force of maintaining public order and organizing social activities, which were indispensable as well. For a long time, the historical study has been focused on the official organizations of rural areas and neglected the study of clans and She. This paper tries to make up the defect.

The first chapter is "the thriving of *She* in the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai".

Sacrificing to the god of land originated from the worship of land in the end of primitive society. It lasted for





thousands of years and formed two regular festivals in its development: Chunshe and Qiushe. At the same time, the festivities and economic mutual aid constituted the parts of it. In the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai, it became a grand festival throughout the nation, especially for common people, which resulted in the appearance of a large number of non-governmental communities that were called *She*.

With the changes and developments of rural areas, *She* developed continuously and was in full flourish in the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai, which was showed in three aspects: first, the increasing in quantity. *She* existed in almost every village so that the imperial edict of the Tang Dynasty that placed restrictions and prohibition on it acknowledged the fact; second, more and more people took part in *She*. Not only common people in rural areas but also monks, officers, officials joined in, which provided *She* with more extensive social foundation; third, there were different kinds of *She* at that time, including Mashe, Niushe, Qushe and the like was named after its activity, Xiongdishe, Nvrenshe and the like was named after its component of personnel. In general, the neighbourhood was a basic unit on the basis of which the majority of *She* was organized.

Three social factors led to the thriving of *She*. First, because of unfair distribution of land, heavy taxes and exploitation of usurers, the economic capability of people was so weak that people could not support themselves at ordinary times. They had to seek mutual aid. Second, under the turbulent circumstance and political corruption since the mid-term of the Tang Dynasty, people in rural areas lived a hard life, especially when meeting with natural and man-made calamities. People had no choice but to organize for mutual aid. Third, in the Sui Dynasty and the early time of the Tang Dynasty, the government carried out a relief poli-



cy, the system of Yicang. But it was a mere formality after the mid-term of the Tang Dynasty when Yicang came into the category of taxes. Yiju just could make the relief function well under the circumstance that people's basic necessities of life were not guaranteed. That is an important reason for the thriving of **She**.

The second chapter is "the organization of She".

She possessed the contractual characteristics in the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai. Shetiao played an important role in the organization of She. Once Shetiao was worked out, everyone should affix his name to it, then it was sealed and conserved. Only when great events happened could it be opened. Supplementary terms were made if there was something to be added or amended. Shetiao also could be renewed when an unforeseen event took place or the number of new members increased. Everyone must comply with Shetiao, otherwise he would deserve punishment.

She had tri-official, namely Shezhang, Sheguan, Lushi, who assumed positions of leadership and were chosen by the public. Lushi, as a permanent position, was in charge of daily business. Xilu, Yuhou and Yuezhi hold subordinate positions to assist in the settlement of affairs.

Shetiao claimed that all members enjoyed equal status and had fraternal affection for each other, but it did not tally with the fact. Everyone should comply with Shetiao and was not allowed to make irresponsible remarks on the affairs. Most importantly, once being a member, he could not casually withdraw from it. Otherwise, not only did he has to hand in the application, but also he accepted relevant economic punishments. Anybody could not go out without tri-official's approvement, and moreover, other people had to fulfill the obligation for him when he was out.

The third chapter is "the way of activity of She".

The members of She were informed by Zhuantie to participate in ac-





tivities. The content, the time, the spot, the mount of paying and punishment measures about the activity were detailed in it. The names of those who would be informed were also listed on it. Everyone should sign his signature under his name when he received it. Zhuantie was passed door-to-door. Finally, it was handed back to the tri-official as a proof of punishment.

In the Tang Dynasty and Wu Dai, the activities of *She* displayed two essential features: public nature and collective nature. All the members could enjoy relatively full democracy; they were also demanded to fulfil their duties strictly.

The expenditure on activities stemmed from temporary paying and public accumulation. Shetiao stipulated the required amount of the articles for activities, including cloth, silk, oil and rice. Yiju was the accumulation of lump-sum paying which was paid when people joined in, the surplus of temporary paying and the income from the punishment of personal property. As public belongings, Yiju was an important material basis of *She*. It was used for helping the needy, practicing usury and other daily activities.

The expenditure on activities was under a strict management. There are a lot of unearthed documents that recorded the income and expenses of **She**.

The fourth chapter is "the function of She".

To be brief, **She** had six functions: the function of sacrificing to the god of land; the function of mutual aid in funeral; religious function; the function of people's mutual solicitude regardless of close or distant relationship; the function of economic cooperation; management function.

As mentioned above, the function of sacrificing to the god of land was indispensable for **She** of every sort. As for other five functions, **She**

