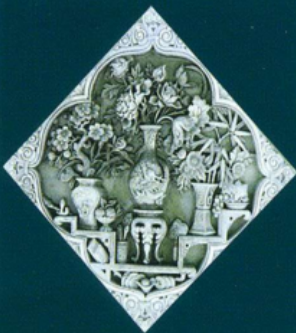


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婺源
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(上册)

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John Lagerwey & Puk Wing-kin

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鸣 谢

劳格文 卜永坚

2008年11月,我和卜永坚博士首次探访婺源,向婺源县文化广播电视局介绍我们“传统徽州的宗教、社会与经济”研究项目。局长立即表示大力支持,并委派婺源县文联的毕新丁先生组织起一支当地作者队伍,与我们合作执行该项目。这本书能够面世,要归功于婺源县文化广播电视局的全程支持和毕新丁先生的不懈努力。毕新丁先生协调各章作者、安排实地考察,不仅极有效率,而且慷慨大方,诙谐幽默,举重若轻,每于谈笑间解决难题。我们因此衷心感谢婺源县政府,感谢婺源县文联,感谢我们探访过的村镇的干部与民众,他们善意地接受我们的访问;我们更要感谢本书各章作者,他们和我们一同考察各个村镇,并不厌其烦地因应我们的意见而修改各章内容;我们也同样要感谢婺源县博物馆馆长詹祥生先生。

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Ethnographic Introduction

John Lagerwey

We have divided the essays on Wuyuan into three parts: the first includes all essays written according to our request that each author treat of local lineages, the economy, and religion; the second is composed of two more general essays on customs and temples; and the third introduces Daoism in Wuyuan. The first part of this introduction will be organized around issues that are common to all fifteen essays in these volumes. It will be followed by sections on temples and Daoism.

Lineage

In the sections on lineages, we sought information on local lineage founders, the history of genealogy-production and ancestor hall-foundation, relationships with small lineages, and the geomancy of graves and halls. This information is best presented in the form of tables:

Table 1 Lineage Founders

place	founder	arrival date	reason
2. Tuochuan	Yu Daoqian <i>jinshi</i> 1118	1120	escaped unrest
3. Qingyuan	Zhan Sheng	763 - 764	
4. Fengshan	Zha Wenzheng	963	fled disorder
5. Qinghua	Hu Xue <i>erpin</i>	late Tang	good place to retire
	Dai Dai	Song	quiet, beautiful place

Continued

	place	founder	arrival date	reason
6.	Sixi	Yu Ruosheng	1199	Yus fled HC to HD ^①
	Yancun	Cheng Desheng	ca. 1325	Jin-era ancestor settled in HD
7.	Xiaxi	Cheng Hu	early Song ^②	1 ancestor to HD, another vs HC
8.	Longwei	Jiang Misi	late Yuan	ancestor fought vs HC
9.	Jiangwan	Jiang Di	1079	ancestor fought vs HC ^③
10.	Kengtou	Pan Fengchen	880	ancestor fled HC to HD
11.	Chongtian	Qi Zhiyou <i>jinsi</i> 1153	late 12 th	official in Wuyuan
12.	Youshan	Dong Zhiren	ca. 984	
13.	Wangkou	Yu Gao (1048 - 1132)	1106 - 1110	ancestor fled HC to HD

By comparison with Hakka myth-history, which typically claims late Yuan arrival, we see here that early dates are widely claimed in Wuyuan and that no fewer than five ancestors are linked to the

① In other words, the first Yu fled from the Huang Chao (HC) rebellion to Huangdun (HD), in Shexian. Ruosheng, said to be the 15th generation in Huizhou, is the local founder.

② The ancestor who helped fight Huang Chao, Cheng Xiang (862-943), is said to be the 28th generation in Huizhou. Cheng Hu, the local founder, is counted as the 33rd generation—whence the date early Song.

③ Jiang Misi of Longwei and Jiang Di of Jiangwan had the same ancestor.

Huang Chao/Huangdun tale^① (Huangdun, in Huizhou, plays the role in lineage myth history of Dahuaishu in North China, Shibi for the Hakka, and Zhujixiang for the Cantonese). In addition to the two founders said to have been *jinshi*, three—Cha Wenzheng of Fengshan, Hu Xue of Qinghua, and Yu Gao of Wangkou—are said to have been high officials. The Chengs of Yancun and Xiayi claim descent from the famous Cheng Lingxi (514–568). This means that claimed presence in the Huizhou region is often far longer than presence in the villages described. As the Dongs of Youshan are said to have come from nearby Dexing county in Jiangxi, that would leave only the Dais of Qinghua who do not think of themselves as having arrived in the general area before the Song.

Table 2 Genealogies^②

place	surname	first	last	# of editions	clan	
1. Rancheng ^③	Wang	1408	1946	4 Ming	till 1814	
	Zhu	1183	1920	8	1369–Minguo	
2.	Huangcun	Yu	1185	ca. 1900	5	1568–1906
	Liyuan ^④	Yu	1382	ca. 1870	14	

Continued

① For the Longwei/Jiangwan Jiangs, in addition to the ancestor who fought Huang Chao, another common ancestor, Jiang Zhen, after failing to restore the Tang, is said to have come south, changed his name from Xiao to Jiang, and hid in Huangdun. His son Jiang Dong then came to Wuyuan, and both the Jiangwan and Longwei Jiangs trace their ancestry back to him. The Chengs of Yancun, Xiayi, and the county seat all claim descent from the Jin-era official Cheng Yuantan, who first settled in Huangdun.

② Genealogies listed in the “first” and “last” columns are, as far as can be determined, those of lineage segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness; some are manuscript “family genealogies” (*jiapu*), others printed genealogies of all local lineages. The column “clan” refers to genealogies which either include all local segments (*zongpu* 宗谱) or trans-local lineages (*zong* 总, or *tong* 统 *pu* 谱).

③ I. e. the county seat.

④ The four villages on this table are the main Yu-lineage villages in Tuochuan. The information here is based on prefaces collected in the 1906 edition of the clan genealogy. Most but not all of these prefaces are dated and are ascribed to members of specific lineage segments.

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	place	surname	first	last	# of editions	clan
2.	Zhangcun	Yu	1517	?	2	
	Yanshan	+ Yu	1445	ca. 1908	8	
3.	Qingyuan	Zhan				1548 ^①
4.	Fengshan	Cha				1483 – 1892 ^②
5.	Qinghua	Hu	1452	1917		1760 – 1915
		Dai	1467	1745		
6.	Sixi	Yu	1801	p. 15		1921
	Yancun	Cheng	1783	1901		
7.	Xiayi	Cheng				1533 – 1683
8.	Longwei	Jiang			manuscripts	
10.	Kengtou	Pan	1265	1868	7	1374 – 1868
11.	Chongtian	Qi	1522	1886	7	
12.	Youshan	Dong	1441	1931	9	
13.	Wangkou	Yu				ca. 1580

The information behind this table is too fragmentary to allow for clear-cut conclusions. What, for example, did early genealogies look like? According to Hu Zhaobao, all genealogies of the Qinghua Hus were manuscript until that of the generation 17 brothers Shangren and Shangde, in 1452. Hong Zhongpei lists a Kengtou Pan

① A 1785 preface states that the last time a clan genealogy had been done together with the Zhans of Luyuan was in 1548. But then, in the Wanli era, according to another 1785 preface, the Zhans of Luyuan reversed the order of two brothers, and then persisted in this error in a 1735 edition. In 1782, the Luyuan Zhans invited the Qingyuan Zhans to participate anew in a joint edition, for which the 1785 prefaces were written.

② An 1822 preface states explicitly that the 1483 genealogy was a *tongpu* and gives the impression that such clan genealogies continued regularly to be produced. A 1726 postface says the author of the 1483 genealogy was of the 23rd generation and that generations 16, 19, and 20 also produced genealogies. These documents also confirm that lineage segmentation began in earnest only in the 20th generation (early Ming).

genealogy from the late fourteenth century, but the 1374 preface says the Pans were not clear about who their local lineage founder was until they returned to their place of putative origin, Fuzhou in Fujian, and found the answer in the Fuzhou genealogy: “Alas! The Fujian genealogy did not survive, and our own genealogy was burned during the war.” So in the early Ming the Pans had to piece together the fragments to produce the 1374 genealogy. According to Hong Xuanfa, genealogies were compiled in Chongtian by generations 2–10, but an 1836 preface states: “What was recorded before the Ming has all disappeared. The genealogy of Yongzheng was prolix and full of errors; that of Qianlong was succinct and vulgar. None can be considered good.” The first dated Chongtian genealogy is that of 1522. In Youshan the first printed genealogy dates to 1595.

A more precise account is provided in a 1541 preface by Yu Ao (1492–1563) of Liyuan: The first “genealogy”, of Yu Daoqian himself, was in fact a nine-generation chart. This style was continued by Yu Cheng (generation 2, 1149–1208, Huangcun), Yuanfu, and Jingyang (generation 10, 1337–1408),^① “my ancestor five generations removed” (meaning Yu Ao himself is generation 15), “but all of these were just genealogical charts. It was my great-grandfather Zhuyin (1366–1444; of Liyuan, preface dated 1424) who first had the idea of providing details of the history and activities of each person, but he did not succeed. In the Zhengtong era (1436–1449) my great-uncle Liangshi, inheritor of his ambition, gathered the lineage and invited Wang Jingdong of Sanqu to turn the chart into a book.” This, the first real genealogy, is that of Yu Gongyi, whose preface is dated 1445. Yu Ao continues: “More than one hundred years have now gone by, and mistakes of copying and inadvertence are to be feared. In the Zhengde era (1506–1521), my lineage uncle Yu Tian (1473–1538; of Zhangcun, preface dated 1517)

① This is the Liyuan founder; his preface is dated 1382.

carried on^① and, at the start of the Jiaping era, my grand uncle Juanfu.” This last no doubt refers to the edition of 1528 compiled by Yu Pei (1501–1530) of Huangcun. Further on, Yu Ao says explicitly that he set out to “combine the four lineages into a single book.”

Yu Ao recounts the history of his lineage’s genealogy compilation as though the four villages had always worked together, and perhaps they had. If so, however, this would constitute local—as opposed to trans-local—clan construction. Be that as it may, starting with the genealogy of 1424, each successive editor and preface author is identified as coming from a specific village and lineage segment. Most of these prefaces were from Liyuan, with six authors from the Xiangong 相公 (ca. 1450 [generation 11], 1520 [14], 1546 [15], 1594 [17 and 19], ca. 1870 [23]), one from the Yigong 移公 (1451 [15]), four from the Jiegong 楷公 (1624 [17], ca. 1660 [19], ca. 1720 [20], 1788 [21]), and one from the Nangong 楠公 segments (ca. 1800 [26]). Of these, the only genealogy known to have survived is that of 1594, by Yu Maoxue (1539–1598), and it is a segment genealogy. Yanshan prefaces are divided between the Gongyigong 功艺公 (1445 [10], 1610 [14], Gongdigong 功迪公 (1568 [14], ca. 1640 [17], ca. 1660 [18], 1695 [19], ca. 1890 [23], and Gongxiangong 功先公 segments (1620 [16]). Huangcun produced prefaces from the “upper gate” (1427 [10]) and the Wenzhe (1528 [14]) and Wenchang segments (ca. 1890 [18]). The only dated Zhangcun preface is that of Yu Tian; the only other Zhangcun preface, undated, is attributed to a 17th-generation ancestor. There are also six prefaces whose author’s segment is not identified, three

① In his preface, Yu Tian notes that, as a young man, he had visited Qingyuan and been impressed by the quality of its lineage life. This led him to regret that their own hall and genealogy had been destroyed in war and that, while one of his grand-uncles had rebuilt the hall, there was as yet no genealogy. Unfortunately, he does not tell us when the destruction occurred nor whether the hall and genealogy were those of all Tuochuan Yus or of just those of Zhangcun.

from Yanshan and one each from Liyuan, Huangcun, and Tuoxi. The 1906 clan register was edited by a member of the Xianggong segment of Liyuan, thus confirming their longstanding dominance as local lineage organizers.

The 1906 genealogy explains the history of lineage expansion and articulation that lies behind these prefaces: It was in the fifth generation after Yu Daoqian's arrival in 1120 that a first segmentation occurred, with one sixth-generation ancestor staying in Huangcun and another, Derun, moving to what is now Zhangcun. Derun's grandson (generation 8) in turn moved to Yanshan and his great-great-grandson (generation 10), Jingyang, to Liyuan. By the tenth generation, thus, the "four gates" of the Tuochuan Yus had been established. Huangcun in generation 11 split into five segments (*fang*), Zhangcun in generation 12 into five, Liyuan in generation 13 into 10, and Yanshan in generation 11 into two, and then one of these in generation 12 into five. All major segmentation had thus occurred by the early- to mid-Ming. This, as we will see with the next table, corresponds to the fact that the common hall of the four gates was built in the Yongle era.

The rather special case of the Zhu lineage in the county seat also deserves mention. According to Chen Aizhong, Zhu Xi himself made a genealogy in which he was the ninth generation, descended from one Zhu Huan. His wish that the Zhus of Wuyuan and Jianyang (Fujian) edit a common genealogy was not fulfilled until 1369, and in 1540, the descendants of Zhu Huan's elder brother Ge, origin of the Zhus of Xiuning and Shexian, joined as well. The background for this unusual form of lineage-building was the permission given, in 1334, to build a hall for the worship of Zhu Xi on the site of his grandfather's house. Two years later, Zhu Xi's fifth-generation descendant in Jianyang was ordered back to Wuyuan to take charge of sacrifices, a position that continued to be filled right down to 1949. In 1352 the Wuyuan county seat was destroyed

by bandits and, with it, the Zhu hall. The prefect had it rebuilt in 1368. Three times it burned down, in 1440, 1551, and 1724, and in 1858 it was destroyed by the Taiping. Each time it was rebuilt almost immediately with public funds.

Table 3 Halls^①

place	main hall	location	segment halls	location
1. Rancheng ^②				
2.	Huangcun	ca. 1420 ^③	inside village	
	Liyuan		outside village	5 (2 Ming) near main hall
	Zhangcun		inside village	2 NE corner; inside village
	Yanshan		village edge, facing river and hill	3 (one Jiaying) near main hall; across river
4. Fengshan		1664	NE edge	10 6 on or near busy street at NE edge; 2 <i>houshan</i>
5. Qinghua	Hu			4 (1 1537) Upper Street
	Dai	1549	market street	
6.	Sixi	1299 ^④	in village	2 (1 ca. 1730)
	Yancun	1721	NE part of village	
7. Xiayi		ca. 1590 ^⑤	just inside <i>shuikou</i>	6

Continued

① “Main hall” refers to inclusive local lineage halls, often referred to as *zongci*.

② In the early Republican era there were ten Cheng, nine Wang 汪, five Dong, three Wang 王, and one Zhu halls in the county seat.

③ This is the main lineage hall for all Tuochuan Yus. Each of the three other villages has its own main hall to honor its founder.

④ This surprisingly early date is given in an account of the hall’s founding dated to that year. Without other corroboration, I would consider the document—or at least its date—suspect.

⑤ The main hall is said to have been built by Cheng Yizhong (1533 - 1599), generation 23. It was restored in 1832 by generation 30 Cheng Zhongfu.

place	main hall	location	segment halls	location
8. Longwei	1717	just inside <i>shuikou</i>	4; 1 late Ming	
9. Jiangwan	ca. 1580 ^①			
10. Kengtou	1522 ^②	in countryside		
12. Youshan	1785	mid-village	22	
13. Wangkou	1581	by bridge at river confluence	4 major	placed together inside village

Most Wuyuan halls were composed of three successive halls, the front two having one floor and the back hall two. Ancestor tablets were placed on the second floor of the back hall and brought down to the ground floor for worship. Two halls—that in Tuochuan called “ritual master hall” 法師堂 and that in Longwei “ritual arena” 法坛—merit special attention. In both cases these halls were used for the worship of both a founding ancestor and Xuantian shangdi, and in both cases they involved other lineages—the Chengs in Tuochuan, the Yaos in Longwei—who were called upon whenever the main local lineage required a Daoist ritual. While these lineages were “small” in number, they were not considered “small lineages”. Also, in the Tuochuan case, it was the Cheng ancestor who was worshiped in the hall, while in the Longwei case it was the Jiang lineage founder.

Also worthy of notice is local nomenclature and location. One peculiar local term, also encountered in Shexian, is *zhongwu*,

① It is said to have been built by Jiang Yilin (1520–1580), a *jinshi* who attained high office.

② An earlier hall is said to have been built in 1150, but in 1522, in order to facilitate the participation in worship of villagers who lived in other villages, one Pan Hong built a hall for joint worship five li outside Kengtou, in a large open area at the foot of a hill.

“multitude hall”. This term is only mentioned here in the context of Wangkou, where all four major lineage segment halls were placed together on a “multitude hall terrace” in the middle of the village on a relatively high spot. While the term is not used in Longwei, there was a similar aggregation of four major segment halls in mid-village. In Fengshan, too, a whole series of segment halls, called *tingwu* 厅屋, were strung out along the same village road. But most interesting, comparatively speaking, is the location of main halls: whereas, in Hakka and Cantonese parts of southern China, one expects to find the main hall at the foot of the village *houshan*, in mid-village, it is not uncommon in Wuyuan to find the main hall at the village edge, or even outside the village, as in Kengtou.

In Tuochuan, when one looks out from the second floor of the Yus' main hall in Huangcun, located not far from the village entry, one sees Brushrack Hill in the distance, across from the village. Right near the hall there is a tall red cedar which looks like a brush. Between hall and hill, on the village edge, there is a semi-circular pond called Inkstone Pond, next to which there once stood a Wenchang pavilion.^① It is recounted locally that the village founder, Yu Daoqian, chose the site because of its “literary artery” (*wenmai*). The main hall of Liyuan village was exceptionally large, with four successive halls and a back hall with three floors. It was outside the village, with a special stone slab road and staircases leading to it. The two Ming sub-segment halls were both near this main hall. The main Yanshan hall was on the edge of the village, facing a stream and, across it, a hill. All Yanshan segment halls were surrounded by the houses of the members of the lineage segment. In the case of one such segment hall in Zhangshan, the hall is called *laowu*, “old house”, that is, the house of the segment

① Cf. Longwei, where a Moon Pond was dug in mid-village in front of the village compact building (*xiangyuesuo*), which also faces a Brushrack Hill.

founder. With the exception of Liyuan, whose main hall was probably built much later, the impression given is that all Tuochuan “main halls” were originally *laowu*, on sites no doubt selected with geomancy in mind but determined by lineage history prior to the existence of the highly organized lineages of the post-Jiajing era. This interpretation is confirmed by local reports of conflict between the Yus of Huangcun and the other three “gates” (Liyuan, Zhangcun, Yanshan): the latter, while they did apparently pay a visit to Huangcun on 1/15 with Wangdi, did not go to Huangcun for ancestor worship.

In Fengshan, according to the Republican-era Wuyuan gazetteer, there was no hall for the worship of the founder Cha Wenzheng before the rich merchant Cha Gongyi (generation 27) built one in 1664. After it was destroyed by the Taiping in 1854, together with the wealthy Chas of Haining in Zhejiang, it was rebuilt and vastly expanded in the year 1864 (this would seem to be the first truly trans-local clan hall). Locally, it was called Upper Hall, in order to distinguish it from Lower Hall, built in 1668 by another wealthy merchant whose desire to participate in the building of Upper Hall was spurned by Cha Gongyi. The focus of worship in Lower Hall was Tingchun (generation 17), a great-grandson of Anding. The many segment halls were all focused on ancestors of the 14th generation (late Southern Song) or their descendants. Here again the implication is that local society was in fact built around its lineage segments. When “main halls” came to be built, it was already too late to overcome the reality of segmentation.

In Wangkou the main hall was built on the east side of the village, near a bridge at the confluence of two streams. With a front wall 15.7 and a back wall 16.2 meters wide, the hall “had the form of a pocket, the better to amass wealth.” The location is thus not unlike that of Xiayi and Longwei, where the main hall was just inside the water exit, standard site for earth god altars in Wuyuan as

in Hakka areas. Water exits, moreover, are often situated at the confluence of two (or more) streams.

Table 4 Small lineages

place	name	role	relationship
2. Tuochuan	Xi, Wang	carriers, cooks , musicians	brought back by ancestor
3. Qingyuan	Zhan	corpse handlers, Mulian , musicians	false Zhans
4. Fengshan			marriage between cousins
7. Xiayi	4 groups	could not own land	brought back by founder
8. Longwei	many	farming, maintenance , etc.	
10. Kengtou	4 groups	lion dance, Nuo	brought back by founder
12. Youshan		lion dance, Nuo , musicians	daughters had to marry small lineage sons
13. Wangkou	5 groups	musicians, New Year's cleaning	brought back by official; live in same village

The most surprising element on this table is the frequent reference to traditions claiming the serfs were brought back by the founder or some other ancestor. In most cases, small lineages lived in separate villages. In Longwei, for example, a village called Bridge (Qiaotou) was inhabited by the surname group responsible for bridge maintenance. It goes without saying that marriage with the children of small lineages was forbidden, in some cases on pain of excommunication from the lineage. In the case of Youshan, this

was expressed as a taboo on marriage with actors, musicians, and the daughters of small lineages. The fact two accounts mention that small lineage children had to marry other children in the same group gives perhaps the best glimpse into how total was the power of the large lineages. That is no doubt why, after 1949, according to Jiang Mingliang, the inhabitants of ten Longwei satellite villages attacked the Jiangs, paraded them about, and seized their property.

Unlike Shexian, where ritual specialists, especially Daoists, were often purchased by large lineages and were in effect small lineages in their service, we have encountered no such clear-cut cases in Wuyuan. What we have found are the two cases mentioned above in which satellite lineages—the Yaos in Longwei and the Chengs in Tuochuan—controlled “ritual master halls” in their own villages while providing for all ritual needs of the Jiangs and the Yus respectively. In the case of Longwei, it is said that the Yaos were invited to settle near Longwei in the early Ming. In 1492, a Yao healed Jiang Zhen after a daughter had died of smallpox. He then attracted many disciples, each of whom was put in charge of a nearby village. The chief god in their ritual hall was Xuantian shangdi, and all major rituals, from Jiao to prayers for rain, were done there by the Yaos. Many famous Daoists were associated with the hall, and the Yaos led a yearly procession in the ninth month to Qiyunshan, then back to the hall to do a Jiao. But what was most remarkable was that worship of the founding ancestor of the Jiangs took place in this ritual master hall, which the Jiangs saw as their own ancestor hall. In short, the situation was comparable to that of a hall of merit (*gongdetang*) serviced by Buddhist monks, and the long term result was also similar: the Yaos came to look on the hall as their own and nearly excluded the Jiangs from it. When their own houses burned down, however, and they were stricken by an epidemic, the Yaos built a high building in front of the hall to block its view, and the Jiangs responded by rebuilding the hall as a two-

story building in 1602. They rebuilt it again in 1864, this time with a three-floor back hall for the worship of Shangdi in the middle, Jiang Misi to his left, and Wenchang beneath Shangdi.

Economy

Information on the economy in these volumes is sparse but interesting. Several authors mention the centrality of tea and lumber (cedar and pine) in the local economy. Wuyuan green tea was a tribute item in the Ming. In 1934, there were 178 tea producers, 243 in 1941. In Xiayi, writes Cheng Jianfeng, there were 60 days of fog and 250 without frost but with abundant rain and 83% humidity—all good for growing tea. Local tea, called Liyuan, was planted together with a tree whose flowers affected the tea's taste and made it one of Wuyuan's four famous teas. Tuochuan's tea, plus rice and limestone from Qinghua and pigs and fish from Leping, were carried to Tunxi, its lumber to Xiuning. From Tunxi merchandise went on to Hangzhou by boat. Tuochuan, in the distant north, had little traffic with the county seat. In the equally distant west, Youshan had a riverside street with over 50 shops. Tea was bought in the surrounding countryside by eighteen tea merchants, processed, and then carried the fifteen kilometers to Leping, where it was put on boats to Boyang Lake and then shifted to larger boats for the voyage to Jiujiang, with its big warehouses and paddlewheel boats to Shanghai. From Kengtou, by contrast, tea was portered to Jingdezhen and Jiujiang.

According to Chen Aizhong in 1949 there were 391 registered shops in all Wuyuan, with 94 of them in the county seat. Several hundred thousand cedar logs were shipped out in 1930; the number was 200,000 ten years later, as well as a great deal of bamboo. The bamboo was lashed together in small rafts up to the county seat and then into long ones that were floated downstream to Raozhou and Boyang Lake. Much larger rafts were made to cross the lake and go