Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China

David Faure

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Any errors here, of course, are my own.

A Note for the Nonspecialist Reader

During most of the period this book deals with, China was administratively divided into provinces, under which prefectures and counties were placed. The word *yamen* refers to the physical building housing the office in which provincial officials, prefects, and county magistrates worked.

The Pearl River Delta fitted broadly into the Guangzhou prefecture, located in Guangdong province, which was ruled by a provincial governor under both the Ming and the Qing dynasties. Under the Ming dynasty, the governor of Guangdong answered directly to the central government in Beijing. Under the Qing dynasty, while he still answered to Beijing, he fell under the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi. As should be clear from the text, the governor-general's post had evolved from that of the Guangdong-Guangxi supreme commander, created in the fifteenth century.

Household registration in the Ming dynasty left its mark on administrative divisions within the county. The term *lijia* stands for the division of the county into household groupings known as *jia* and groupings of *jia* known as *li*. Each *li* was probably designated by a map, known as the *tu*, and for that reason, the word *tu* sometimes substitutes for the word *li*.

All males of registered households could sit for the imperial examination. Candidates who succeeded at the higher level, that is, the metropolitan examination, were awarded the title of *jinshi*. At provincial and county levels, candidates were awarded the *juren* and *xiucai* titles.

Units can be messy. Age is reckoned by *sui*, reckoned from the beginning of the year. Age 10 *sui* is, therefore, 9 years of age by Western reckoning. Grain is measured by volume. A *shi* measures approximately 103 liters. A *shi* of grain (unhusked rice) weighs approximately 132 pounds, or 100 catties. Land is measured in *mu*, approximately one-sixth of an acre. Money circulated in silver ingots valued in teal (1.33 ounces), or as coinage denominated in yuan. One silver yuan was worth approximately .72 tael.

Emperor and Ancestor

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In South China, it has often been observed, single-surname villages were not only common but were the predominant order of rural society. Maurice Freedman who made famous the word "lineage" as a description of this order, was in a long tradition. The Qing dynasty government in the eighteenth century, no less, contributed to this belief when it took note of the likelihood that groups of people claiming a common descent and living in one place, referred to as a *zu*, might well be engaged in intervillage warfare. Based on a survey in the 1930s, the social scientist Chen Hanseng depicted them as corporate landlords. The Japanese historian Shimizu Morimitsu, Hui-chen Wang Liu, and Olga Lang described lineage rules. By the 1950s, lineages were singled out as special cases in the land reform.[1]

Maurice Freedman's two volumes on the lineage, published in 1958 and 1966, were a turning point in this substantial literature.[2] To sum up Freedman's impact, it may be said that until his two books appeared, the literature dealt with rules, but from then on, it dealt with the communities in which the rules were invoked. The idea that the lineage might be a community predated Freedman in the Japanese sinological literature, where under a functionalist approach, it was assumed that the community was founded on the "natural village." Nevertheless, it was Freedman who specifically made the tracing of descent to a common ancestor, rather than the functions of village rules, the basis of territorial definition. He did this by introducing into the literature the notion that the lineage was essentially a corporation, that is to say, a body that had a clear idea of membership and was able to hold property. In South China, therefore, the lineage came to be defined as the corporation in which common descent was an essential feature of membership. As such, membership had

to be demonstrated through participation in sacrifice and the active tracing of genealogy. Descent from a common ancestor alone did not justify egalitarian access to properties held by the lineage: ancestral properties were held in the names of specific ancestors, and, therefore, as descent lines divided, living members of the lineage would have found themselves members of multiple but not identical lineage "trusts." Linking incorporation to a territorial base, Freedman argued that villages and village alliances resulted from interlineage contracts. The history of rural South China could therefore be written from the point of view of dealings among lineages and between them and the government. Freedman's argument influenced the very important works on the history of rural China by Frederic Wakeman and Philip Kuhn, which were very much a revision of Hsiao Kung-chuan's center stage argument in the early 1960s.[3]

My own work has been to set Freedman's argument into historical context. I started on this twenty years ago, under the influence of Barbara Ward, when I wrote a book about the history of the villages in the New Territories of Hong Kong entitled *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*.[4] In that book, I argued that because the territorial representation of society did not depend on ideas of the lineage, the lineage, with its use of written genealogies, claim to a common ancestry, and all the trappings of sacrifice to ancestors in ancestral halls, had been introduced into the New Territories as a means of relating the village to the state. That is to say, lineage institutions spread only as government ideology permeated village society. In the New Territories, this process took place between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, and as the lineage emerged as an institution that might provide for protection against outside threats, including the threat of intervention by officialdom, it came to be thought of as the dominant institutional form by which village society was organized.

Towards the end of *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*, I pondered whether the same argument might apply to parts of China outside the New Territories. Based on the material that was then available to me, I argued that the prima facie evidence suggested that it might. This book is meant to take that argument further and seeks to find out how, in a setting outside the New Territories of Hong Kong, the history of the lineage as an institution progressed and what that meant to the communities that adopted this form of organization.

Accident as much as design accounts for the choice of the Pearl River Delta for my further research but, ultimately, the choice was justifiable because the delta was a major cultural, social, economic, and political region. From a research point of view, the Pearl River Delta offers the distinct advantage of a record of vigorous economic activities, successful integration

into the Chinese empire, and, within that framework, the continuation of a strong sense of local cultural identity. Anyone who has read the records of the Opium War would have seen at least some of these qualities at work, in the combination of mercantile skill and devotion to, if not fear of, officialdom. One detects some of these elements as much in the cultivated manners of the Co-hong merchants as in the enthusiasm of the villagers who, almost of their own accord, turned on the British and Indian troops who stumbled into their territories. Five hundred years before the Opium War, in the mid fourteenth century, this area was sparsely populated; few of the village communities that existed then would have had the slightest notion of how to interact with the government, and many would not even have counted themselves loyal subjects of the emperor.

It was my good fortune that I was able to begin my research in the Guangdong Provincial Library in Guangzhou. Under the expert and generous guidance of the friends I soon made among the historians there, and working my way through the excellent collection of genealogies of the delta, I quickly came to the conclusion that the commercial and industrial town of Foshan, 30 kilometers to the west of Guangzhou, should be the focus of my study. Unlike the New Territories, Foshan had been rich, but unlike Guangzhou city, it had never been dominated by officialdom. By the sixteenth century, it was run by the leading families. It was also there and from about that time that lineages were founded by senior members of officialdom, although as I soon learnt, they were also founded elsewhere. Lineage building, when it first appeared, was a rural phenomenon, and Foshan, in which it appeared, was as yet more a collection of villages than a town. From some time in the fifteenth century on, the villages had conducted collective sacrifice at a common temple, and, as Foshan grew, the principles of lineage organization were established side by side with the worship of the deities. The corporation of Foshan, when it could be so recognized, would not have been possible if the lineages of the city fathers had not been firmly entrenched.[5]

Any attempt to classify the status of Foshan raises intricate questions about the implications of terms such as *xiang* (rural district) and *zhen* (town), both of which were frequently used in relation to this place from the sixteenth century on. Insofar as we approach the issue with preconceived ideas derived from Western practices, it also raises questions about the comparative context of the use of such terms as village, town, or city. Population size has something to do with it (towards 1911, Foshan had a population of 300,000, while Guangzhou had over 1,000,000). Nonetheless, defining a town in terms of population has the shortcoming of leaving out of consideration the complexity of social life that grew up in that context. Although

Foshan was a commercial center, commerce was located, not in the town as such, but at the *shi* (markets), of which there were quite a few located within the town. It was not a city as one might think of the term in the context of Western history: no emperor ever recognized Foshan's functional independence, let alone granted it a charter. It was not a "city" (*cheng*) in the Chinese context either, for it was not the seat of government. Whatever it was, too, Foshan was not a village, for it allowed outsiders to settle in it. The number of outsiders grew, to the benefit of the incumbents, and the villages that were located near the iron foundries and the markets of Foshan merged. Out of this, Foshan arrived at a formula enabling private business to coexist with government demands. This formula was thought of in lineage terms, and, as this book will show, the same formula applied to the whole of the Pearl River Delta.

Reference to incumbents and outsiders presupposes a distinction created by settlement rights, a concept I discuss in *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*. Briefly, settlement rights were rights to exploit common resources defined within a territory. They included the right to open up land that was not privately claimed for cultivation, the right to build houses on wasteland, the right to gather fuel from hillsides, to collect fish and mollusks in small quantities from streams or the seaside to supplement one's diet, to go to market, and to be buried on land near the village. Not everyone who lived in a village enjoyed these rights. Villagers made clear demarcations between those who did and those who did not. They justified their possession of these rights by reference to descent from ancestors who had acquired them. The ancestors might, by legend, have been given the rights by the emperor, or have brought into cultivation the land on which they settled, or built the houses in which they lived, or bought the land, or married into incumbent families, or driven the incumbents out. By virtue of this historical experience, their descendants were entitled to the land, and they continued to hold these rights until they renounced them by the act of moving away. These ideas of history were essential to the organization of the village, for by virtue of tracking the history of the ancestors, villagers decided who did or did not have settlement rights and who was or was not a member of the village.

Whether a community evolved into a town or a village depended on the ease with which newcomers could be admitted, given settlement rights, and allowed to propagate. Communities that chose the more open strategy for growth evolved into towns, and those that restricted settlement rights to incumbents remained villages. In the New Territories, not even market towns granted settlement rights easily to outsiders. A clue as to why some communities may have chosen one or the other strategy with regard to the

sharing of common resources lies precisely in the importance and the nature of trade. Villages were the arena for competition over common land, but a town such as Foshan had to induce outsiders to settle there in order to trade. Moreover, Foshan itself offered no opportunity for creating landed estates after the middle of the Ming dynasty (say the mid sixteenth century), and lineages that chose to accumulate farmland therefore had to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Towns nearby that were strategically located near land reclamations, such as Xiaolan, became the sites for the establishment of landholding lineages. In the course of development, many of these also went into commerce, opening their bounds to newcomers.[6]

The relationships that resulted from the admission of outsiders into the towns and the constant stream of upstart families that might win their way into positions of power and attempt to keep a foothold on nearby land development were inevitably complicated. Suffice it to say that a cursory examination of the genealogical records makes these problems obvious and gripping, and it was clear when I started on my research that a history of Foshan and its surroundings would provide a lead into the complications of social development in the whole of the Pearl River Delta. It should also be obvious that, if this account is to be meaningful, the analysis must not be restricted only to Foshan, but constant comparisons must be made with other parts of the Pearl River Delta and the city of Guangzhou itself. In other words, it has to be more than local history; it has to be a history of the institutions that made up Pearl River Delta society.

As background, it should be noted that trade increased enormously from the sixteenth century on. Numerous factors contributed to this development, some of which are already well known to historians. By the sixteenth century, the impact of political stability on the economy was beginning to show. The urban economy was beginning to give signs of what historians of China have for some time referred to as the "sprouts of capitalism." They included an expanded urban market for food crops as well as consumer goods (such as silk and cotton products), rapid growth in overseas trade, which brought an inflow of silver into China from Japan and the Americas, and vigorous handicraft industries, some undertaken in the countryside, but a considerable portion confined to the towns. Guangzhou city was one of the major centers of overseas trade, and Foshan undoubtedly shared in the prosperity. This prosperity was interrupted briefly in the mid seventeenth century at the time of the collapse of the Ming dynasty, and again in the mid nineteenth during the Taiping Rebellion. Other than these interruptions, it continued until the Great Depression in 1929. The economic opportunities that were available for most of the four centuries from the mid sixteenth to the early twentieth are important reasons for the formation of lineages.[7]

Some comparison with western Europe is useful at this point for a perspective on trade increase and some of the impact it might have on social institutions. When western Europe went through a cycle of development from approximately the same time on, achieving a level of prosperity that was surpassed only by the Industrial Revolution in the mid nineteenth century, trade was actively promoted by advances in commercial law, the establishment of legal procedures, and the growth of institutions that together constituted what Karl Polanyi called a self-regulating market.[8] This market had roots that went further back than the sixteenth century; the process whereby European governments, as they began to take shape from the twelfth century on, came to terms with the institutions that were needed for trade and for the control of property took centuries to evolve. Nowhere does one see the combination of state making, trade, and the evolution of property rights as clearly as in the history of the business company. The partnerships that were founded upon private contracts came eventually in the nineteenth century to be recognized as legal entities by the state. They came to be bodies that could hold and transfer property and were held liable for tax. They came to be managed by a class of managers, rather than their proprietors. They provided continuity beyond an individual's, or even a family's, lifetime, and they provided a presence that was more extensive than any individual could provide. In China, although partnerships were formed, no company law ever granted them the independence or maneuverability that was inherent in the Western trading company. No system of accounting was merged into production practices (Chinese accounts being used in household expenditures and in commerce) to permit the employment of managers beyond the immediate, watchful eyes of the owners of the businesses. It was not the company, but the lineage and the family that would last or that would extend beyond the presence of the individual. In the West, a social ideology came about that recognized private and individual ownership of property and made it an unashamed corner of business ethics and political stability. In China, because the lineage ultimately was not justified in terms of business activities, private ownership of property was not an end but a means to furthering the focus of the lineage, which was the sustenance of its deceased ancestors and the continuation of its progeny. Zhu Xi, the neo-Confucian who popularized the lineage ideal, was, therefore, China's Mandeville: private gains by the lineage were compatible with public benefits that might accrue to state and society from its activities. It was putting this ideology into practice that allowed territorial communities such as Foshan and its surrounding villages to become not only engines of economic growth but also integral components of the Ming state.[9]

It is well known that neo-Confucian ideology was put into practice along

with the building of schools, the institutionalization of the official examinations, and the production of a class of people who sat for the examinations, held office, retired, and continued to be engaged in public affairs in their own communities. The growth of an ideology that posited education and scholarship as its center also promoted a body of go-betweens that brokered the relationships between government and local society, be they the degree-holding gentry or the clerks and secretaries who held office only by official appointment. The extension of the ideology that promoted the scholars and their lifestyle in time permeated the rest of society, even as elements of local culture worked their way into official practices. Such is the impression one might have obtained looking at the Chinese imperial state as a whole and describing it from the metropolis. Viewed from local society as represented by village clusters or towns such as Foshan, however, the extension of the state, of literacy, scholarly ideals, and rituals provided the local elite with the means for upward mobility and a framework whereby communal interests could be expressed in language acceptable to the state. At different times in Chinese history, the interface between local society and the imperial state was characterized by different modes of verbal expression, manners, and administrative styles and beliefs, the combination of which is summed up in the shorthand that serves as a name given to an institution. The "lineage" of South China was such a shorthand. In the emergence of the lineage and its becoming acceptable within the state ideology, we see the interface that defined local interests in terms of the interests of the state.

The Ming state of the mid fourteenth century produced the statutes that set the standards by which government was assessed in future centuries, but the institutions on which most of those statutes rested fell apart in the fifteenth century and were replaced in the sixteenth by reforms instituted by provincial officials, who were Confucians by training and practical administrators by profession. As a result, government underwent monumental changes. For one thing, the monetization of the economy and the conversion of tax from kind to silver allowed county governments to maintain their own staffs. For another, the extension of literacy and of county government gave written documents an increasingly important role in administration. Along with the use of records was their compilation, not only in government offices, but also in households. For many households in the Pearl River Delta, and certainly also in many other parts of China, the use of written documents in the government process and the household in the sixteenth century was the first step towards literacy.[10] For a smaller number of households, it also represented an opportunity to win recognition through the official examinations or involvement in the county bureaucracy through appointment. This is why so many written genealogies of Pearl

River Delta lineages begin with the household registration record of the early Ming and continue with the record of examination successes in subsequent centuries. The inroad of written records and government awarded honors signposted the transformation of the registered household into the lineage. As the lineage internalized state institutions, it also put behind it, as much as it could, status and ethnic distinctions that had kept lineage members outside the state.

Yet the cultural milieu in which the lineage emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would not be complete without a reference to land. In the early Ming period, household registration was tied to landholding, as it was to corvée service. Registration was abused as soon as it became the law, for no household that could find an alternative means for providing service wished to retain the obligation. Yet registration also had some advantages. The registered household was regarded as a rightful member of the state apparatus and, as such, not only were its documents of registration instruments that could be brought to the county magistrate in the event of litigation, recognition by the magistrate, as would have been implied in the act of registration, was also a vital delineation of political loyalty in times of turmoil. By the sixteenth century, therefore, households that had shed their service obligations might, nevertheless, have wished to preserve their registered statuses. By then, because registration had not kept up with changes in the population, the registered household no longer conformed to a co-residential familial unit. It had become a tax account as well as a property-holding entity, the co-residential familial units defining their own boundaries by the neo-Confucian rituals that the state had advocated when it produced the statutes that required household registration in the first place. This property-holding institution, with rules of membership defined by descent and acted out in periodic rituals, became the corporation that Maurice Freedman refers to. It is true, as has been pointed out, that the wide use of written contracts promoted business, but the fact that the parties that entered into a contract might be a deceased ancestor, and by default, a lineage, suggests that incorporation provided the continuity beyond the individual contracting party's lifetime that the business company as defined in law might provide in the West. Rituals, as much as the codified law, informed the imperial magistrate of contractual rights and obligations where parties to a contract were lineages rather than individual persons. Prasenjit Duara is exactly right to refer to the combination of connections, hierarchy, and authority in the county as the "cultural nexus of power."[11]

The household, therefore, was a creation of law, but the lineage became its successor in ritual. Nevertheless, it was not only under the Ming dynasty that entities defined by ritual were able to hold property. Under the Song

dynasty and earlier, Buddhist monasteries were major holders of property in many parts of China, and prior to that, aristocratic families had certainly held substantial properties. At different times in Chinese history, the manner by which incorporation had been permitted by the state had varied, producing significant differences in consequence. Property held by a temple devoted to the gods, as was the common practice in some parts of South China under the Song dynasty, propagated a multi-surname society bound together in temple alliances. Recognition of the powers and privileges obtained by those alliances was granted through honors bestowed by the state on the deities. The award of honors to Tianhou, the Empress of Heaven, was as much an assertion of her propitiousness as of the state's recognition of Putian, her place of origin, as a valued part of the realm. Recognition granted the territorial community through recognition of an ancestor, however, bred single-surnamed communities, an obvious consequence of the relation of ancestors to descendants through common surnames. Common sacrifice alone, therefore, did not make a lineage; one had to be a member by descent before one could sacrifice to an ancestor as ancestor, and such membership had to be tracked by memory, by ritual performance, as well as by written record. The lineage, therefore, lacked the openness of the territorial alliance at the deity's shrine. Even then, insofar as common descent could always be forged, if necessary, lineages were never totally closed to outsiders.

To fully appreciate the lineage as this product of the integration of local society into the state, it is important to see that the form of the lineage that was advocated in state ideology was not the lineage that was popularized in territorial communities before the Ming period, or that continued to be popular among poorer and less powerful territorial communities until the middle of the Qing dynasty (that is to say, the late eighteenth century). The lineage as practiced in earlier days and among the poorer and less powerful was a lineage that granted settlement rights in the village. In other words, knowledge of membership of the lineage served as enough justification for a household to lay claim to access to hillsides or house plots on unclaimed land. It was popularized with two practices hitherto unknown among the majority of the people who came to accept the lineage in the scholarly mode, that is, the written genealogy and the ancestral hall in an official style known as the "family temple" (*jiamiao*). Although long permissible to aristocrats, the family temple was an institution popularized only from the time of the court battle known in Ming history as the Great Rituals controversy, c. 1520 to 1530. The controversy had arisen from the fact that the Jiajing Emperor, who ascended the throne in 1520, was not the son of the previous emperor, Zhengde, by birth or by adoption, and he chose to

regard sacrifice to his own birth parents as his prime filial duty. The majority of his court officials believed, however, that it was imperative to keep the imperial line unbroken, and they urged him to abandon his filial view and to regard himself as Zhengde's adopted son. The issue of filial piety came to the fore in this controversy, for it was on that and no other ground on which the emperor rested his decision. When the minority of court officials who supported the emperor returned home and built sacrificial halls in the style of the "family temple" for their own lineages, they were, therefore, making a political point. Yet the new style caught on, for the law was changed to accommodate the popular interest in adopting the scholarly style. The sacrificial halls known as "family temples" proliferated. Where commoners would in previous centuries have sacrificed to their ancestors at their graves and at domestic shrines, ancestral halls in the "family temple" style were built to indicate the connection of the lineage with officialdom, and, as imitation began with the rich before it became commonplace even for the poor, land was to be held in the name of the ancestor so that an income could be generated to pay for sacrifice.[12]

The ritual transformation that began in the sixteenth century took three centuries to complete. The lineage villages built around their ancestral halls that Maurice Freedman wrote about were few and far between in the early Ming era. Had Freedman visited the Pearl River Delta in that period, he would have seen the remnants of the Buddhist monasteries that had served as focal points of local organization in an earlier age, ancestral graves and sacrifices at those locations, isolated communities living on boats and wooden sheds on the coast and on the rivers, and innumerable shrines, representing a much wider range of deities than are found today or were found even in the 1950s and 1960s, when Freedman wrote. The administrative transformation of county government and the ritual reforms that ushered in the family temple together promoted the lineage society that lasted from the sixteenth century until the nineteenth. Lineage society, tentative in the sixteenth century, withstood dynastic change in the seventeenth. In fact, when lineage institutions were revived in the eighteenth century, the lineage was regarded as an ancient tradition, its origin in the sixteenth century having been forgotten. When the lineage came to seem "feudal" to the new literati of the twentieth century, it had long been forgotten that the same institution had been instrumental in cultivating loyalty to the state, creating trust among neighbors, and, building the corporate structure that allowed property to be held, investments to be made, and, therefore, economic growth.

The neo-Confucian state theory popularized from the sixteenth century on thus recognized the centrality of ancestral sacrifice as the linchpin connecting state authority and local communities. The latter, by adopting neo-

Confucian rituals, drew upon the authority of the state in positing common descent as the foundation of territorial relationship. Local communities thus colluded with the state in treating lineages as the building blocks of orderly society. Lineage society was a convenient construct for both state and local community. It represented a belief, at best an approximation of reality, and in most places, most of the time, merely an aspiration.

The attack on the lineage in the twentieth century is understandable. The lineage came to seem restrictive because the ideology on which it was founded did not give recognition to individual achievement, except insofar as it contributed to the good of the lineage as a corporate entity. Filial piety did not provide a basis for equality or justice but stressed a strict order of respect and duty. Natural justice resided not in lineage theory, but in folk religion, in the world of the spirits, who might be come to terms with by the performance of rituals and the observation of a moral code, both of which came to be written down and were incorporated into the new social theory. The absorption of folk practices into the state ideology was, therefore, a necessary advance for the stability of the state. However, the process was never complete, for at times, new deities could be created and existing deities reinterpreted, and there were roots in folk practices that did not yield readily to a stable interpretation. For scholars who were satisfied with neither the blunt possessiveness of the state-lineage orientation nor the ad hoc and often naive practices of folk religion, the ready solution was personal cultivation of mental peace. This was individualism of a sort, but it was no basis for political or economic individualism. To say that the lineage was feudal, as some historians do, is to miss the point. The lineage was a product of China's commercial revolution from the sixteenth century on, and one finds it in the most commercialized areas of China. It appears more often as a rural rather than an urban institution, because more of China was rural than urban. In a commercial and industrial town such as Foshan, as will be seen, it rose to the needs of commercialism with grace and ease, stressing civic welfare, peace and stability, and loyalty to the state.

My own venture into this complicated realm was helped by the appearance of numerous works in the 1980s and 1990s. Some of the most important came from scholars with whom I came to work very closely: Zheng Zhenman published his doctoral dissertation on the lineages of Fujian in 1992, positing a contractual element to the formation of lineages and thus demolishing the traditional argument, still often held by Chinese historians until then, that the lineage was the product of descent and inheritance.[13] The work that he has continued in close association with Kenneth Dean and Dean's own study of Fujianese religion have provided a parallel for a

dynamic ritual representation of local society that I aspire to in my own work. Michael Szonyi followed on from there, much under Zheng's influence, in the reconstruction of a similar history for Luozhou, near Fuzhou city in Fujian province. Liang Hongsheng and Shao Hong, working in great detail in the village of Liukeng, which they single-handedly introduced into academic discussion, recreated an instance of a village very much in the mode of a lineage in Jiangxi province. Helen Siu, in seeking the historical background to post-1949 social changes in China, produced a study of the Huancheng area in Xinhui county, very much a part of the Pearl River Delta, which goes beyond the historical period I deal with in this book. Chen Chunsheng, in his various papers, has ventured from the town of Zhanglin, in Chaozhou prefecture in Guangdong, but close to the Fujian border, into the cult of the Sanshan *guowang*, related to the religious practices of all of the Chaozhou community, in China or abroad. Choi Chi-cheung, having worked on Zhongshan county for his doctoral dissertation, continued with the operations of Chaozhou merchant networks. All of these works gave my own thinking on the Pearl River Delta a comparative framework.[14]

I have also benefited enormously from various studies, in China or the West, that provide the background for the institutions that I have been concerned with. Liu Zhiwei's studies of the *lijia*, Tanaka Issei's study of the role of the opera, Joseph McDermott's of Ming dynasty land tenancy in Huizhou prefecture in Anhui province and his more recent writings on the history of books and publishing, Patricia Ebrey's study of lineages under the Song dynasty and the transmission of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* have been the most influential on my own understanding on the subject. Highly relevant to this literature on the sixteenth-century transformation towards a lineage-focused ideology is the literature on early Ming status-bound household registration, out of which it emerged. The principal writers in that area who had an impact on this book are Xiao Qiqing, Liang Fangzhong, Fu Yiling, Wei Qingyuan, and John Dardess.

Studies of Daoism and Chinese religion have, likewise, been of central importance. When I took an interest in religious rituals in the New Territories of Hong Kong for what they might have to teach about changes in power and social structure, I began with the simple belief that ritual practices had preserved views of the social world even as many social practices themselves changed over the ages. In hindsight, this turned out to lead on to a more productive research program than I had realized until I was well into my research. In imperial China, society negotiated with the state through religious rituals, and even though the process of negotiation is not always apparent in the scholarly literature, the writings of Henri Maspero, Kristoffer Schipper, Arthur Wolf, John Lagerwey, Hamashima Atutoshi, James L.

Watson, Stephan Feuchtwang, Kenneth Dean, Paul Katz, Valerie Hansen, Michel Strickman, Stephen Teiser, Terry Kleeman, and David Johnson have pointed to the wealth of material to be found in the history of deities and the rituals associated with sacrifice with them. In the background, G. William Skinner's insights into rural marketing provided the turning point for the likes of myself as graduate students for a shift towards a territorial focus in Chinese social history.[15] The more recent concern of Evelyn Rawski and Pamela Crossley with Manchu ethnicity under the Qing dynasty has also been most inspiring.[16]

Less engaging, I have found, are the recent attempts in the West at integration into a broad framework. I have found the debate on civil society in China to be essentially wrong-headed, and the description of law without any reference to ritual, sterile.[17] Both the civil society debate and the recent discussion on civil law have been too Eurocentric for my taste. If one sees religion and ritual as having played a central role in relating the Chinese imperial state to local society, it becomes true by definition that a secular version of civil society had to reach China from the West. If the question to be asked is the one Jürgen Habermas asked of eighteenth-century Europe—namely, how did the intelligentsia construct a basis for holding their monarchs to account?—and if the answer is that they created the idea of "society," then it may be observed that China went through a similar process in the sixteenth century, when scholar-officials argued that even emperors should respect rituals that arose from the natural order.[18] The Ming dynasty village gained its autonomy from the state under the ritual umbrella. It may even be possible to push the chronology back further: ritual as a platform had to be preceded by the court's conversion to a form of Daoism that persuaded it to be involved in local communities, and by Buddhist institutions that gave communities the practice of tracing lines of descent in writing and voluntary associations for pooling their capital. The building blocks of a civil society that drew its strength from rituals would necessarily be focused on temples and ancestral halls, places of sacrifice to gods and ancestors, and its law would not have been defined only in the statute books. As Shuzo Shiga has argued so succinctly, the magistrate in the Ming and Qing eras, holding court in the ritual-legal order, would have given weight to human feelings and the social order as much as to statutory law.[19]

Let me summarize. In setting the history of the lineage in its local and political context, I think we have improved our understanding of Chinese society in several ways. First, it has been possible to pinpoint quite precisely the period in which transformation took place to the Jiajing period, say from the 1520s to the 1550s. Second, this argument makes the role of ritual in linking local society and the state central in this transformation.

Third, it relates this transformation also to monetization in the market, especially insofar as taxation changed from corvée service and collection in kind to standardized rates and collection in money. Fourth, incorporation via the ritual process tied the lineage closely with the growth of business and the pooling of capital for investment purposes. Fifth, implied in all this, despite the central role of the city in imperial administration, imperial ideology sought to relate the state to rural society and peripheralized the cities.

The lineage society of the Pearl River Delta, set on a firm footing over three hundred years, was undone in the nineteenth century. It was undone ideologically before it was undone in practice. In the nineteenth century, the lineages, buoyed by their success in organizing militias, enjoyed much greater power than they had in earlier centuries. The imperial administration, weakened by the loss of revenue during the Taiping rebellion, reacted in vain to regain a handle on the land tax. The net result, however, was that lineages and their operations came to be looked upon as sources of backwardness by the rising intelligentsia, nurtured on Western ideas imported via the city. The new institution of favor that gathered capital for financial investment was the business company. In any case, after the Qing dynasty was overthrown in 1911, ancestor without emperor was no longer a viable formula for the integration of local society into the state, and the intelligentsia's inclination to law rather than ritual as a basis for modernization coincided with the new statist view that leaned towards commerce and industry, rather than land, as the sources of growth for a strong China. The sequel to the rise of the lineage, therefore, would be the history of the replacement of ritual by a legal basis for incorporation. That, however, is the story of twentieth-century China and will have to be the subject of another book.

Historical Geography

CHAPTER TWO

Exotic Guangzhou

In this day and age of plate tectonics, it is convenient to think of the Pearl River Delta as the refilled basin of an uplifted landscape. The hills used to stand as islands on the coastal shelf. At their feet, human settlements sprang up. The three principal rivers flowing from the east, north, and west poured 80 million tons of sediment annually into this sunken basin.[1] The natural process of sedimentation was spurred on by human need for land: the more mouths to feed, the higher the price of the produce of the soil, and the more the need for it. Dikes were erected to channel the raging water away from the human habitations founded on its debris, and the water, refusing to be disciplined, welled up behind the embankments barring its outlets and every now and then burst into the flood plain, devastating the crops but leaving more debris. The taming of a mighty river is paid for in blood, sweat, and human lives.

For centuries, the city of Guangzhou arose in this unruly landscape as a metropolis in the middle of nowhere. It was founded on the principal inlet of the river that flowed from the west, on the lower slope of a hill. When the Qin armies penetrated the region (c. 221 B.C.E.), if they ever did, this was where one of their number set up his local kingdom. A relief on a bronze vessel found in the tomb of the last of the Nan Yue kings in the city well illustrates that they were not northerners. This southern population were known to the Qin government and its predecessors as the Baiyue, and the bronze relief of a warrior in a feather headdress standing on a crescent-shaped canoe and holding out a human head in one hand evokes anything but the ethnic image of the northern Chinese. These people were perhaps Thai, or closer to the present-day Malays, but as a Chinese seal that was found in the tomb attests, they were nonetheless sinicized. Chinese writing

had reached the area, and the many Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) tombs that soon followed bear evidence to a sedentary agriculture that succumbed easily to the great civilization from the north, supported by its written texts.[2] Appointment of officials to the south, from the Jin dynasty (266–419 C.E.) on, was supplemented by the incorporation of the Guangzhou area into an integrated political geography. Legend has it that one of the earliest deities to be awarded imperial recognition was the Dragon Mother of Yuecheng. By the Jin dynasty the legend of the elixir hunter Ge Hong on Luofu Mountain to the east of Guangzhou was added.[3] When Buddhism made its way north from Southeast Asia, it left its traces in the monasteries of Guangzhou. Guangzhou had, since the Qin, been a part of the civilized world of China, even if its inhabitants did not all fall within its pale.

Exotic Guangzhou

Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.) Guangzhou was a port of call for Arab traders coming along the sea route across the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. Their settlement had grown up by the river well before the eighth century.[4] "The barbarians lived among and intermingled with our people, intermarried, and occupied land and houses," according to the *New Tang History* biography of Lu Jun, prefect of Guangzhou towards the end of the century.[5] Lu banned these practices, although with what success we do not know.

To the east of the foreign community was the walled city. Compared to the area enclosed by the walls later built under the Song dynasty, the Tang walled city was tiny. It is not clear what the walls enclosed, perhaps the offices of the prefect but not necessarily also those of the maritime trade commissioner (*shibo si*, established in 763), which would with good reason have been located nearer the port, outside. Much else seems to have been located outside the Tang city walls, notably the great Buddhist monasteries, which came to be known as the Guangxiao *si*, the Liurong *si*, and the Hualin *si*. Legend has it that Guangxiao was first built as a princely residence in the time of the Nan Yue kingdom. On its site taught the scholar Yu Fan (174–241), banished from the court of Wu in the Three Kingdoms period, upon whose death the Buddhist monastery was founded.[6] The main hall, a magnificent wooden structure that is still standing, was built in 401 by the Indian monk Dharmayasas. Through the fifth and the sixth centuries, the Guangxiao, like other monasteries in Guangzhou, provided accommodation for Indian monks, and the Hualin *si* was located at the spot known popularly as the "first landing from the West" (*xilai chudi*), which was where the most famous of them all, the monk Bodhidharma, landed in 527.

Bodhidharma became the acknowledged first patriarch of the Chan tradition in Buddhism. Here in Guangzhou, Buddhist sutras were translated and chanted. The records of the Guangxiao Monastery claim that the sixth Chan patriarch, Huineng (638–713), took tonsure there in 676 and lived at the Liurong *si*, even though his body was preserved at the Nanhua *si* in Qujiang county in the north of Guangdong.[7]

Huineng's life is shrouded in legend. He went as an illiterate youth to the monastery at Huangmei Mountain in Hubei province, succeeded the fifth patriarch, and returned to Guangdong. Soon after his death, his body became a relic at the Nanhua Monastery in Shaozhou to the north of Guangdong, and, thereafter, the Nanhua Monastery became a pilgrimage center. Bernard Faure has shown in this development how some of the legends associated with Huineng may simply be a reflection of the contest for attention between Nanhua and Songshan, the historic Chan stronghold.[8] However, quite apart from this north-south contest, it would seem that the Guangxiao Monastery in Guangzhou may have asserted its own position by maintaining a stupa, below which was buried the hair from Huineng's tonsure.[9] The prevalence of legends and relics associated with Huineng in the Nanhua and Guangxiao monasteries easily gives the impression that the early Tang saw very active proselytizing by Buddhist monks in Guangdong. Yet a comparison with neighboring Jiangxi province shows that such an impression is not entirely justified. Unlike Jiangxi, which responded to imperial allegiance to Buddhism in this period by building monasteries in large numbers, in Guangdong, except for the fringe around Jiangxi, that is to say, up in the north near Shaozhou, and various spots between this fringe and the southern coast (as in Qingyuan county), Buddhist monasteries were founded primarily in the coastal cities, such as Guangzhou and Chaozhou.[10] Outside the cities, there were few signs that Buddhism made much of an impact on the indigenous population during the Tang period.

The Tang empire dispatched a prefect to the city. It was well known that posting in Guangzhou led immediately to great wealth. However, the prefect's reputation seems to have rested on his ability to quell the barbarian tribes that inhabited the vast unknown beyond the city. Taxes from Guangzhou probably were insufficient to pay the troops, but that does not seem to have mattered, as long as the rarities of the south were dispatched north to the imperial court. Guangzhou was an outpost where Arabs traded with aborigines under the military protection of the Chinese imperial state.[11]

Understandably, this land south of the mountains (Lingnan, *ling* meaning "mountain range," a reference to the ranges north of Guangdong and Guangxi) was exotic. The stereotype of Lingnan products had been formed

long before the Tang dynasty conquest. Subsequent publications frequently cite an *Account of Strange Things* (*Yiwu zhi*) that appeared under the Han dynasty, ascribed to the authorship of one Yang Fu, as a source with respect to the strange things that came from the south, including rice that ripened twice a year, birds that moved their nests lower down the tree as their eggs were hatched, peacocks, the delicious lichee fruit, the *lingyu* fish, the taste of which was comparable to what was obtainable in the north, betel nuts, coconuts, and human beings whose ears stuck to their faces before dividing into several pieces drooping down to their shoulders.[12] The Tang dynasty *Records of Strange Things Beyond the Mountains* (*Lingbiao luyi*) by Liu Xun added to the corpus of exotic things from south of the ranges. It noted the deadly mist (*zhang*) that gathered beyond the mountains, the damages caused by high tide during typhoons, which it accorded with the fact that Guangzhou was only 200 *li* (115 km) from the open sea; it noted the bronze drums that were found in the houses of barbarian (*man*) headmen, probably more a reference to Guangxi than to the area around Guangzhou, and the *luting* people, followers of the rebel Lu Xun, who escaped into the sea, living on shellfish and in houses made of their shells.[13] Another Tang dynasty text, the *Strange Things of Guangzhou* by Dai Fu, speaks of semi-humans, the *shanxiao*, squatting in trees and demanding payments from passers-by.[14]

The exotic image of the frontier marginalized the imagined subject. These strange beings of the south believed in strange things, and nowhere is that seen more obviously than in the descriptions of their religious practices. It was frequently observed that these southerners of Lingnan, along with other southerners (such as those who lived on the banks of the Yangzi and on its delta), practiced rather crass (*yin*) religious rites:

> It is the custom of Lingnan, when someone in the family falls ill, to first kill chickens and geese in beseeching blessings [from the deities]. If that does not make a difference, then immediately pigs or dogs are killed in prayer. If that still does not make a difference, then a cow is killed in supplication. When even that does not make a difference, it is fate. No more prayers are offered.[15]

However, distinct from meat offerings to the spirits was bringing them to order by invoking imperial authority. The earliest account of it as a means of control over local spirits is the story of Di Renjie:

> In the time of the Gaozong emperor [650–83 C.E.], Di Renjie was investigating censor, and he destroyed many temples devoted to deities in the south. When he arrived at Duanzhou, there was a barbarous deity [*manshen*] whose temple Renjie wanted to burn down, but who immediately killed anyone he sent to the temple. Renjie offered a hundred strings of cash to anyone who could burn it down, and two men then came to answer his recruitment call. Renjie asked them what they needed for going

to the temple. The men said they wished to receive an imperial edict. Renjie gave them the edict. The men went with it to the temple. When they arrived at the temple, they let it be known that they had an edict. Because they opened and announced the edict when they entered the temple, the deity could not move. They then burnt down the temple. After that, Renjie was sent to Bianzhou [Kaifeng], where he came across a ghost-seer, who said to him, "Behind [you], Attendant Censor, is a barbarous deity who says his house has been burnt down and seeks revenge." Renjie asked what the matter was. The ghost-seer said, "Now that Attendant Censor has reached the rank of a prominent official of the realm, there are over twenty ghosts and deities following you. There is little he can do." In time, the deity returned to the south.[16]

Di Renjie was posted not to Lingnan but to the lower Yangzi, and so the ascription of the story to Duanzhou (Zhaoqing) amounts to no more than corruption by hearsay.[17] Significant here, however, is the description of vanquished deities following behind their conquerors, which is corroborated by descriptions of Lüshan Daoist traditions that emerged in later years in Fujian province and spread from there to Guangdong. Authentic or not, the quelling of local spirits by the application of imperial authority made sense to those who told stories about southern exoticism.

Another story relates that the Dragon Mother of Yuecheng, up river from Guangzhou, was summoned as a consort for the First Emperor of Qin, the conqueror of Lingnan, for more common than outright suppression was the integration of local deities into the wider realm of religious beliefs.[18] As David McMullen has noted, "when compared with Neo-Confucians [of the Song], Tang scholars had a pluralistic approach to beliefs and were not preoccupied with a sense of orthodoxy."[19] Or even if they were, there was not much that they could do to stem local beliefs in Lingnan. Pacification attempts were few and far between. More often, the northerners came to terms with southern practices, all the while believing in their northern superiority. The government, therefore, adopted the long-worshipped shrine at the mouth of the Pearl in the town of Fuxu (present-day Huangbu) as that of the deity of the southern seas (*nanhai shen*) and instituted periodic sacrifice there.[20] Tang literature also knew the Zhuming grotto at Mount Luofu, which counted as one of the ten major grottoes of the universe. The Zhuming grotto, more a hill slope bounded by boulders than a cavern, would have been the sort of terrain with which a local cult might have been associated.[21] Significantly, the stories that have survived are those of the Daoist Ge Hong in the Jin dynasty, who made elixir on Mount Luofu, and his wife Madam Bao, whose connections to Guangzhou were tenuous, but who was known there, as illustrated in a recorded Tang story and subsequent legends, for her skill in moxibustion. Her shrine may still be found in the Sanyuan *guan* monastery on a small hill in Guangzhou within the

confines of city walls that were built in the Song dynasty.[22] Stories about Luofu were regarded with more than passing interest. The presence in a literature that was predominantly produced in the north of figures who, like Ge Hong, moved between north and south is significant: the integration of local beliefs amounted to an alternative geography, one that was not defined by military expansion or the lines of authority of the central regime, a geography in which the south became, like the rest of China, subject to the central authority of the emperor and the separate authorities of local deities.

There were people from the south who became scholars, but they were few in number. Huang Zuo (1490–1566), the first Pearl River Delta native to compile a biographical history of the region, included in the compilation twelve entries from the earliest recorded times until the end of the Tang dynasty (907) who might have been associated with the Guangzhou region. With few exceptions, these people who are now known by name were involved with the established government. Three names were obtained when officials posted to Guangzhou sought out local worthies. Four others served the realm, three of them being local chieftains who submitted to imperial tutelage even when they continued to maintain their local armies. Only three made what Huang Zuo considered significant scholarly contributions: Dong Zheng, who at the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 to 192 advocated reforming customs; Wang Fan, who was nominated for local office in the early Jin and in 287 wrote what Huang Zuo considered to be the first well-documented text on Guangzhou; and Yang Huan, who won the *jinshi* degree towards the end of the ninth century and then became a hermit. No names are given for the translators of the Buddhist scriptures in the monasteries of Guangzhou or the scribes of the Arab community.[23]

Of the social organization in these early days, we know very little. Local chieftains are alluded to, sometimes by name, in the Tang literature, among whom were no doubt "creoles" as described by Edward Schafer. However, the use of the term "chieftain" (*zhang*) to describe these local men and women should hide neither the ethnic bias nor the ignorance that these terms conveyed. Guangzhou city demonstrated a government presence that had strong links with the imperial tradition in the north, but outside Guangzhou was a no-man's land dominated by local powers that few in Guangzhou understood or wanted to understand.

The Nan Han Interlude

The military might of the Tang empire in Lingnan was shattered by the uprising of Huang Chao, who went on a rampage along the southern coast

when he was routed in the north. Guangzhou fell and was looted in 878, and the Arab traveler Abu Zaid Hassan records a massacre of 120,000 people in the city around this time.[24] Armed bands began to appear, including one that was made up of the remnant of men brought by Huang into Guangdong, now unrestrained by any imperial troops. Order returned only when one of these bands took Guangzhou and set it up as a new kingdom. The ruling family were of the Liu surname, and it called itself the Han.

The Nan Han (Southern Han), as historians have come to call this kingdom, lasted from 907 to 960, and a dramatic change came over Guangzhou during those decades.[25] The kings of Nan Han governed in style. The maritime trade resumed and pearl fishing was once again developed, apparently as a royal monopoly. In imitation of the Chinese emperor, the Nan Han kings adopted reign titles, appointed their own officialdom, and developed their own military forces, including an elephant cavalry. Edward Schafer thought that they surrounded themselves with northern advisers. On closer scrutiny, the senior officials of the Nan Han court would seem to have sprung from an indigenous gentry that originated in the south, though not necessarily in the Pearl River Delta or even Guangzhou. Quite a few claimed descent from the north, but acknowledged that their families had settled in the south for two or three generations—northern Guangdong, Guangxi, or Fujian (where the Min kingdom had been established). A market for talent developed based upon the ability to read and write Chinese characters. Ni Shu, a *jinshi* degree holder of 877, returned to his native Fuzhou at the time of the Huang Chao uprising, served a prince in the Min kingdom, went to Guangzhou, and was retained by the Nan Han king Liu Yan. Zhong Yunzhang, who was executed on false treason charges in 959, was awarded a *jinshi* degree at the time of Liu Yan and came to be known for his literary talents.[26] Setting themselves up on the imperial model, the Nan Han kings reproduced the recruitment of the literati as senior officials.[27]

The Nan Han kings came to be known for their cruelty; however, they were extraordinarily wealthy. One indication of their wealth was the large number of buildings that they built. Liu Yan, the founder of the dynasty, built palaces ornately adorned with pearls, gold, and silver. His son Liu Sheng was said to have built over a thousand villas away from Guangzhou, where he might stay on his hunting trips. The last of the line, Liu Chang, presented his conqueror, the Song (961–1279) emperor Taizu, with a saddle studded with pearls, in return for which Taizu awarded him 1.5 million cash.

Apart from building palaces, Liu Chang was a benefactor of Buddhist monasteries in and near Guangzhou. However, the rise of Buddhism has to be read, not as a conquest, but as another step towards indigenization

in the short history of the Nan Han. The Nan Han kings were as Daoist as they were Buddhist. By 914, Liu Yan had established his own grotto and moved into it the stone statues of Ge Hong and a certain Daoist Master Yuchen from Guangxi province.[28] In 925, he saw a white rainbow in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones and, advised by his officials that this indicated the presence of a white dragon, changed his reign title to White Dragon.[29] In 941, when he was ill, he was advised by "foreign monks" (*husang*) that his name boded ill fortune, and so he changed the Chinese character designating it to one incorporating the two components "dragon" and "heaven," taking his reference from the line "the dragon flies in the heavens" from the Confucian *Book of Change*.[30] His son and successor, Sheng, was offered a holy pill (*shendan*) by a "wild man" (*yeren*) in Yingzhou, which Sheng then kept in the Yunhua Stone Grotto, probably the same grotto that Yan had established.[31] Even Liu Chang, in whose reign most of the benefactions to the Buddhist monasteries came about, had in his court the shaman Fan Huzi (perhaps meaning "Fan the foreigner"), who sat on a throne built for the Jade Emperor deity and spoke on his behalf. The comment of the *Nan Han History* on his building of Buddhist monasteries is revealing in itself: "He believed firmly the Buddhist teaching, and so on the four sides of the city he built twenty-eight monasteries, each to correspond to a constellation."[32]

The building of Buddhist monasteries in response to the locations of stellar constellations may be compared to another instance where Buddhist deities were appealed to totally out of context: Zhang Yuxian, who rebelled against the Nan Han in 942, was guided by a deity (*shen*) who told him that in a previous incarnation he had been one of the sixteen Buddhist arhats (*luohan*).[33] These reports, like those about Liu Chang's monasteries, indicate that knowledge of Buddhism was spreading, but Buddhist rites and teachings were just another force to draw upon, like the powers of indigenous deities.

Nevertheless, monastic communities were being established and strengthened with royal support. The abbot Wenyan, founder of the Yunmen Monastery, also near Shaozhou, preached to Liu Sheng. After his death, his mummified body was sent into the palace to be venerated and then returned to Yunmen.[34] Abbot Da'an (918–78), who received his tonsure from Wenyan, had paid his respects to Huineng's portrait at Caoxi, and resided at the Faxing Monastery (the future Guangxiao Monastery), founded the Baoguang Monastery and had so many followers that there were not enough houses for them and huts had to be built in nearby fields.[35] One of the royal princesses, having broken Huineng's begging bowl deposited at Caoxi, granted that monastery 3,000 *mu* of land.[36] Another daughter became a nun at the Baozhuangyan Monastery (later popularly known as the

Liurong Monastery), to which Liu Chang donated a bronze bell in 964.[37] The iron pagoda that Liu Chang had cast to be deposited at the Guangxiao Monastery may still be seen there. Another iron pagoda cast by his eunuch and minister for the Kaiyuan Monastery is now also located there.[38] The Kaiyuan Monastery, built in the Tang, is itself an example of the persistence of the Buddhist sangha even when the king himself might have turned against it. Nan Han records refer to the Kaiyuan *si* as the Tianqing *guan*, the two designations indicating, respectively, Buddhist and Daoist affiliations. Towards the end of his reign, Liu Chang wanted to place statues of himself and his sons in a side hall there. Yet the donation of the iron pagoda with engravings of Buddhas on it would indicate a continued Buddhist presence, despite the change in name.[39] Another of Liu Chang's ministers established the Zifu Monastery, near Luofu Mountain, where Chang had wanted to build another palace.[40] The general pattern would seem to be that the Nan Han king himself was more polytheist than Buddhist, while members of his court might individually be devoted to particular Buddhist monastic communities.

Nan Han fell to an invading Song army in 971, without a great deal of destruction. The palace in Guangzhou was set on fire, but many Nan Han buildings survived into the Song. Liu Chang, the Nan Han king, surrendered. He was taken with his principal officials to the Song capital at Kaifeng, where they were decapitated and he was pensioned.

The Northern Song

Possibly the most important consequence of the conquest of the Nan Han kingdom by the Song was a century of peace from 971 until the uprising of the indigenous chieftain Nong Zhigao in 1050. However, in this first century of Song rule, Guangzhou remained very much frontier territory. The Song government set up the same administrative arrangement that was taking over in the north in the Guangzhou area, but there is no sign that land taxation was a major portion of government income, as in the north. Instead, although the Song government put an end to the Nan Han royal monopoly on pearl fishing, its attention was focused on the salt administration, itself managed as a monopoly, and commercial taxes, a substantial amount of which were derived from maritime trade and from the export of minerals, notably iron. While Guangzhou was not necessarily a center of trading in salt or iron, there seems little question that it remained wealthy. In 1007, when a military uprising on the West River appeared to threaten Guangzhou, it was reported that the emperor himself told his officials that he was concerned that its treasures might make it a desired prize and a

source of much harm if captured by the rebels.[41] For the city, it was the seaborne trade that was the source of wealth, and reports of merchants who came from southeast Asia are again more common.[42]

Although subsequent records give the appearance that the Song administration of Guangzhou was more systematic than those of the Nan Han and certainly the Tang, on closer reading, it would appear that much really followed on from Nan Han practices in imitation of the imperial regime in the north. Until well past the Nong Zhigao uprising, no signs are apparent of the submagisterial administration for which the Song government (chiefly the Southern Song in the lower Yangzi, it must be pointed out) has become famous in the secondary literature.[43] There is no sign that the local population was registered in the Northern Song era. The euphemisms "bowmen" and "spearmen" used of the Song militia in Guangdong simply indicate that, as in earlier times, local groups looked after their own interests by force of arms. Nevertheless, noticeable change did occur, from early on in the Northern Song period, in the inculcation of a new ritual order and in the recruitment of local men as officials via the imperial examination. In 985, a decree was promulgated on the need to observe the correct ceremonial dress at weddings and funerals and to prevent human sacrifice to spirits and monks marrying. In 990, human sacrifice to spirits was banned, and an award was offered for information about the continuation of such practices. In 1023, government also banned the use of magic by shamans (*wu* or *xi*) for the purpose of causing harm to people.[44] In the area of official recruitment, the statistics are revealing. Throughout the 289 years of the Tang, 35 people in the whole of Guangdong were awarded the *jinshi* degree (5 in the minister Zhang Jiuling's family alone), of whom 8 came from around Guangzhou. In the 53 years in between the Tang and the Song, of 8 *jinshi* degrees awarded in Guangdong, only 2 went to people from this area. However, in the 155 years of the Northern Song, 189 *jinshi* degrees were awarded in Guangdong, and 31 went to people from the Guangzhou area.[45] The figures do not indicate that Guangzhou was the focus of scholarly activity: that was actually up to the north of Guangdong, around Shaozhou and Lianzhou. However, the increase in numbers created a "gentry" (*xiangshen*) class of literati, who legitimized their status and identified their interests with the imperial regime. It was during the Northern Song period that this gentry, as a class, began to emerge.

CHAPTER THREE

Confucian Incursions

Most of the administrative changes for which the Song came to be famous unfolded slowly, and more so around Guangzhou than along the lower Yangzi or the Fujian coast. There are few signs of the extension of imperial law in the Guangzhou area under the Northern Song, although it is obvious in some other places in China. Under the Song dynasty, the Pearl River Delta was divided into five counties: Nanhai, Dongguan, Zengcheng, Xinhui, and Xiangshan (established in 1135).[1] Although a senior official was always posted to Guangzhou, it was not until the time of Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068–85) that magistrates were appointed to the counties.[2] Not even the Nong Zhigao uprising (1050-51) produced any major administrative change in Guangzhou. The rebels from Guangxi, described like all southern non-Han ethnic groups as *man*, besieged Shaozhou and Guangzhou. The defense of Shaozhou was celebrated in the status awarded to Yu Jing, the local literatus who mounted it.[3] However, a massive award of 691 *juren* degrees in Guangdong and Guangxi in the aftermath of the uprising would have boosted the status of many a family.[4] If any change was occurring in the way Guangzhou and its surroundings were being governed, it came because a class of literati was slowly forming. Huang Zuo records the story of Ding Lian, who won his *jinshi* degree in 1079, impressing the newly appointed Guangzhou prefect Jiang Zhiqi, who was known for slighting the gentry officials from the south.[5] In another generation, the Guangzhou literati began to set themselves up in the name of neo-Confucian teaching. Up to the end of the Northern Song period, however, the educated elite of Guangzhou led a subdued existence in the shadow of a thin northern presence in the provincial seat.

When the cultural scene changed, the change came suddenly, the timing being determined by the abandonment of the north of China by the Song

court, which moved its capital to Hangzhou in c. 1138. The southern move of the imperial center provided a sharp divide in the history of South China because, for the first time in history, the imperial court ceased to look upon Guangzhou as an emporium of exotics and began to take seriously the need to integrate the Guangzhou elite into the empire. But history is never quite unilinear, and the process of political incorporation took place in the context of economic and ritual changes that together not only transformed South China but turned the region into a driving force that made an impact on the rest of China as well.

Confucian Schools

In 1087, Prefect Jiang Zhiqi, newly posted to Guangzhou, noted that the local school in which he conducted the statutory sacrifice to Confucius (the *shidian* ceremony) was a bare, narrow hall, and, feeling rather ashamed of it, he wanted it rebuilt. Even Buddhists and Daoists, he said, respected their teachers; how could Confucians (*ru*) not do so?[6] The point was probably not merely rhetorical. In the Northern Song era, Guangzhou had some fine Buddhist and Daoist monasteries; the Buddhist monasteries, in particular Guangxiao, held considerable landed estates on the coastal mud flats of the Pearl River. Jiang's description of Guangzhou was by no means unique; in most parts of China under the Northern Song, Buddhist monasteries would have stood out more prominently than Confucian schools.

Jiang Zhiqi arrived in Guangzhou less than twenty years after the siege of the city by the southern native Nong Zhigao. The two decades proved to be a busy time for the city, for which the records are quite informative. There is no need to go into detail here; suffice it to note that in these early days, not only did a body of scholars not exist, but many officials were local men whose control over the geographic area under their purview was often dubious. The barren literary scene in Guangzhou is attested to in an essay of 1096 by Zhang Jie, another prefect of Guangzhou, on the history of the Confucian school. According to Zhang, in the 1040s, when the emperor decreed that schools be encouraged in the realm, Guangzhou set up its school in a master's temple located in the quarter of the foreigners (*fanfang*) on the western side of the city. It was relocated in 1050, and relocated again in 1068 when it was encroached upon by the city walls built in the aftermath of the Nong Zhigao disturbance. In the following year, a local man of wealth named Liu Fu (Liu the Rich) proceeded to build the hall and the side rooms for it, but his buildings were found unworthy, and Deputy Fiscal Commissioner Chen Andao

(appointed 1069) persuaded Liu to contribute money instead. In another year, Prefect Cheng Simeng (appointed 1071) added to the compound, and when Jiang Zhiqi conducted his *shidian* ceremony, the hall that he felt ashamed of would have been the product of these various efforts.[7] When his successor, Zhang Jie, rebuilt it, he "first built the temple hall [*dian*], then the hall [*tang*] for discussing propriety, the two corridors and the doors, all in its proper order, and then, finally, the lecture hall, only because the beams for it had not been found [before]."[8]

Much of what Zhang Jie says can be corroborated in Song official sources, such as the *Song huiyao*. A comment appended to a record of the establishment of a school at Yingzhou (Anhui province) in 1038 notes that schools had been set up in many places since the decrees had gone forth in the Mingdao (1032–33) and the Jingyou periods (1034–37) in the Renzong reign authorizing the establishment of schools in the counties and subprefectures, with land set aside for their upkeep.[9] In 1044, it was decreed that schools be set up in all prefectures and subprefectures, and also in counties where more than two hundred students might gather, responsibility for the appointment of teachers resting in the hands of the fiscal commissioner (*zhuanyun shi*).[10] A decree in 1094 forbade further building of county schools and made collecting money for the repair of their old school buildings an offense punishable by a beating of 100 strokes. The Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng*) had apparently noticed that in the circuits, schools were being built in violation of the requirements decreed.[11] The building of the Confucian school in the Pearl River Delta and its surroundings in the middle of the eleventh century has to be understood in the light of the extension of formalized teaching under state regulations.[12]

One should not exaggerate the impact of schools in the incorporation of the locale into the state. Zhang Jie's essay, nevertheless, noted the cultural gulf between commercialized Guangzhou and the expectations of a rising Confucian:

> [Guangzhou] can be reached by routes on land and water from all directions, and it is the gathering point of foreign merchants and seagoing ships. Collected there are herds of elephants, pearls and jade, special incense and potent medicines, fabulous and strange creatures. People from all directions live together in the marketplaces. They treat their persons lightly in the pursuit of profit. They go among the waves and face unpredictable dangers. And if they die, they do not regret it. The trade they engage in is vast, and it is conducted with speed; for this reason, their feelings for justice do not overcome their desire for profit. Is this not as one should expect from the situation? Moreover, by custom, they are fond of pleasure and are not ashamed of fighting among themselves. Their women bring suits on behalf of their husbands, and they tramp up to the magistrate's court as

if it were their home. They distort arguments and make skillful defenses; they are noisy and disrespectful. Not one day passes without some of them being whipped or beaten. In the large houses, fathers and sons live apart; brothers who should be flesh and bone to one another do not offer help even in distress. They do not consider it wrong for junior people to offend their seniors or for the elderly to bully the young. Some marry without a go-between, and their parents do not stop them. Funerals and related ceremonies are overdone and hardly regulated. They are often rich in the morning and poor by evening, and they find that acceptable. Are these not signs that long-established customs have not been changed by the teachings of the imperial court?[13]

Descriptions of this sort paved the way to the civilizing project to be introduced by school building.

Song dynasty Guangzhou was peculiar in that the foreign population was not only prominent but probably also quite dominant. Anecdotal evidence, of course, is all we have to go by.[14] The foreign quarter came under the authority of a foreign headman (*fanzhang*), who was responsible for inviting foreign traders to take part in the tributary trade. Some of these foreign merchants had lived there for generations. Zhu Yu, who had lived in Guangzhou in the Yuanfeng period (1078–85), noted the story of a man of the Liu surname (compare Liu the Rich who lived near the foreign quarter cited above) in the foreign quarter who had married a woman from the imperial family and been awarded an official title after the marriage. Only when the woman died without issue and a dispute broke out over the legacy did the imperial court realize that the woman had married into the foreign community (*yibu*). Significantly, Zhu observed, not that such interracial marriages were forbidden, but that marriages between people who had not achieved official status in the three generations preceding and women of the imperial clan were forbidden.[15] Another eyewitness account, this one from the twelfth century, noted the grandeur of the household of the Pu surname who had settled in Guangzhou.[16] The 1561 Guangdong gazetteer notes the story of the assistant magistrate (*zhubu*) Su Jian, who punished a wealthy foreign merchant who sought to sit next to him at a feast. The moral of that story was that when the merchant complained to higher authorities, Su held his own by claiming that despite his relatively junior position, he considered himself above the merchant in status.[17] The location of schools in the foreign quarter was no accident. The history of schools and city-wall building indicates how the foreign community dominated the social and economic life of Guangzhou at least up to the eleventh century. A contemporary essay notes that the Arab headman in Guangzhou, Zuyatuoluo, also contributed land to Prefect Cheng Simeng's school-building effort,

offering a house to be used as a school for the foreign community. Aside from extending the school, Cheng Simeng was responsible for building the Guangzhou city walls, and Zuyatuoluo had also offered to contribute to that prior to his departure from Guangzhou, even though the Song court turned down the offer.[18]

The foreign quarter of Guangzhou was possibly also the most commercialized part of the city. Although there had been a temple dedicated to Confucius in the same area, foreign merchants were not necessarily becoming Confucian; the records are clear that wealthy Guangzhou families lived, if not in the area inhabited by the foreigners, then at least in the immediate vicinity.[19] However, shortly after the founding of the Confucian school, foreigners also sought to be admitted to it. It would probably not be far-fetched to think that the foreigners did not so much set themselves apart as they were set apart by practices such as their religion—the foreign quarter being located in exactly the same area in Guangzhou today in which the Islamic community congregates, and where a mosque originally built in the eighth century is to be found.

The siege of Guangzhou in the eleventh century is also an aspect of the background to school building. The regular military forces were defeated, but Guangzhou held out, thanks to the involvement of the local citizenry and the local troops that had been brought in from surrounding counties.[20] The wall building in the wake of the siege brought the foreign quarter within the outer city walls, and it is hardly possible that the merchants had not at least paid for the construction. If to this picture of activities in Guangzhou is added school building elsewhere in Guangdong, often conducted by local notables who had distinguished themselves in the suppression of the Nong Zhigao uprising, the records indicate a demonstrable resurgence of loyalty being expressed to the orthodoxy that emanated from the center, associated with the extension into the region of an officialdom committed to its intellectual roots, which were increasingly seen as linked with Confucian tradition.

The ritual elements in the school-building effort strengthen this view. Jiang Zhiqi, who rebuilt the Confucian school in Guangzhou, also petitioned the emperor for recognition of ten officials posted to the city. His biography gives the names of four of them, all of whom were known for their probity as officials.[21] Probity had always been appropriate for officials, of course, but probity in Guangzhou took on special significance at least from the time of the Southern dynasties (fifth century).[22] Guangzhou was known as a source of wealth: it was said that the city was so wealthy from its seagoing trade that the moment an official entered it, he would instantly become wealthy. Honest officials in Guangzhou, contrary to

custom, refused to return north with any "southern goods." Heading Jiang Zhiqi's list was Wu Yinzhi in the Jin dynasty, the first man known for such honesty, who upon discovery that his wife had brought with her a catty of incense, threw it into the river.[23]

Sacrifice to the honest officials installed by Jiang Zhiqi did not survive for long, for by the Yuan dynasty, it was noted that the hall was no longer extant.[24] The school survived little better. The Yuan dynasty Guangzhou gazetteer, the *Dade Nanhai zhi*, notes that in 1276, when the Mongols took Guangzhou and troops camped at the Confucian school, much of it was destroyed.[25]

The Regional Elite

Yet despite the enthusiasm of the officialdom for the promotion of ritual and education in the eleventh century, even into the twelfth century, the records do not yield many signs of a conscious gentry tradition that had been created. The biographic sections of the 1561 Guangdong provincial gazetteer include accounts of some scholars who provided companionship for officials posted in Guangzhou, but no sign of the kind of master-disciple relationship that characterizes the emergence of a class of literati. By the end of the Song, the regional notables celebrated in the temples were not the ones installed by Prefect Jiang Zhiqi but another lot, familiar to all students of Guangdong history from the Ming dynasty on. The new lot of regional notables were headed by Zhang Jiuling, who built the road across the Dayu Mountain that linked the region with Jiangxi, and Cui Yuzhi (1159–1239), a minister awarded the noble title of "dynasty-founding duke" (*kaiguo gong*) and given a fiefdom in Nanhai county. Symbolic of the ascendance of the tradition that built its sacrifice around the two ministers to the realm was the building of the hall for sacrifice to both of them by Guangzhou Prefect Fang Dacong some time in the 1250s.[26]

Regular sacrifice offered to Zhang Jiuling came much earlier than that offered to Cui Yuzhi, and it was brought about by a series of events that took place not in Guangzhou but in Shaozhou in the northernmost parts of Guangdong. Zhang Jiuling's reputation was noted early. Jiang Zhiqi writing in the 1080s observed that he was one of two reputable scholars from the area. Some time in the 1010s, he was commemorated at Shaozhou by the construction of the Fengdu Lou (Archway of Composure) and a sacrificial hall, both built by order of the prefect. Imperial recognition was granted some time during the reign of Renzong (1023–63) and it was possibly in connection with the honor accorded that his descendants

sacrificed annually at his grave from some time in the eleventh century.[27] In the aftermath of the Nong Zhigao rising, however, sacrifice to Zhang Jiuling was combined with that offered to Yu Jing (1000–1064), known for his defense of Shaozhou. In the year or two after Yu Jing died, a sacrificial hall was built where he had lived. In 1137, the imperial court officially accorded Yu Jing the rites of sacrifice; and by 1181, when Yang Wanli wrote an essay to commemorate the sacrificial halls dedicated to Zhang Jiuling and Yu Jing, the two had come to be known as honored officials from Shaozhou.[28]

A gap of about fifty years is apparent in the record of rituals accorded to celebrated officials between the death of Yu Jing and the emergence of Cui Yuzhi. During this period, an ideological change came about in Shaozhou. It has to be said that in the Tang and Song periods, Shaozhou, beyond the southern slopes of the Dayu Mountain, which separated the Pearl River tributaries and the Yangzi tributaries, was much more prosperous than it seems to have been in later periods. But the only reason relative prosperity made any difference was that by the twelfth century, with neo-Confucian scholarship in ascendance, Shaozhou came to be the regional center from which intellectual revolution was propagated. The first sign of the change was the building of the Xiangjiang Academy in 1170 under the aegis of the Shaozhou prefect, which included a shrine built for sacrifice to the neo-Confucian scholar Zhou Dunyi, who had been intendant for punishment and prisons in Guangdong. The sacrificial hall was commemorated in an essay written by Zhang Shi in 1175, and when the building was added to in 1183, none other than Zhu Xi wrote the commemorative essay recording the event. Zhu Xi notes that in this hall, the neo-Confucian masters Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao shared the sacrifice offered to Zhou Dunyi. When the hall was repaired and extended in 1246, the impact of the intellectual change introduced by Zhou Dunyi was fully realized, imperial recognition for Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi having been granted in 1241. The commemorative essay notes that Zhou Dunyi's writings had been recognized through the teachings of Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao and elucidated by Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi. In 1254, a name plaque (*e*) was granted to the academy by imperial favor.[29]

It would appear from this brief record of the commemoration of Zhou Dunyi that neo-Confucian scholarship, represented by the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, and Zhang Shi, made an impact on Guangdong relatively earlier than it did in most other parts of China. The introduction of the intellectual tradition can be quite precisely dated. It began no earlier than the posting of Zhang Jun, Zhang Shi's father, to Lianzhou in 1146 to

1150, where he built the first academy in Guangdong, and by the time of the founding of the Xiangjiang Academy in Shaozhou, the succession of master and disciples within this tradition had become firmly established.[30] Zhang Jun was a minister at the Song court and noted not only for his hard-line views against the Jin but also for his involvement in the relocation of the court to the south. The *Song History* notes that he claimed to be a descendant of Zhang Jiuling's younger brother Jiu'ao.[31] Until the end of the twelfth century, Shaozhou remained the center of action.

Yet, a class of literati was obviously growing in Guangzhou, and its focus was strongly neo-Confucian. Some continuity is provided by the biography of one Jian Kesi, with whom Cui Yuzhi assumed the ritual position of student. Jian Kesi was a student of Zhang Shi's who was in his old age venerated by Liao Deming, Zhu Xi's avowed disciple, when Liao was prefect of Guangdong c. 1208.[32] There was also Huang Zhiju, a student of Zhang Shi's and of Zhang's teacher Hu Yan.[33] Another indication of the extension of the gentry community was the increase in the quota of nominees for office (*gongshi*) from Guangdong in 1210 from fifteen to twenty-five.[34] By the 1230s, the obvious leader of the intellectual circle in Guangzhou, heavily dominated by officials and aspirants to official status, was Cui Yuzhi. One of those with whom he associated was Xu Juchuan, a *jinshi* of 1214 and a follower of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi. While magistrate of Dongguan county near Guangzhou, Xu Juchuan rebuilt the county school, and an essay by Li Maoying (*jinshi* of 1225, d. 1257) records that in 1237, he set aside for it 183 *mu* of confiscated land and over 500,000 cash.[35] These figures would make the Dongguan county school one of the first few institutions in the whole of the Pearl River Delta to have a substantial estate, aside from Buddhist monasteries.[36] Cui Yuzhi, despite his stature, however, does not seem to have been a prolific writer or expounder of neo-Confucian doctrine. Rather, after his retirement to Guangzhou in 1232, his very senior official position guaranteed him his high status, which he put to good use in 1235 when Guangzhou was besieged by rebel troops and he was able to call on loyal troops from nearby counties for its relief. He died in 1239 and periodic sacrifice was provided for him, together with Zhang Jiuling, in the Guangzhou Confucian school in 1244, by the then prefect, Fang Dacong.[37]

Evidence of Cui Yuzhi's connections with neo-Confucian teaching is tenuous; it is limited to a letter written to him by Zhu Xi, included in his collected works. However, there can be no doubt of the connection between the coterie around him and neo-Confucian teachings. By 1211 or 1212, Liao Deming, who was instructor at Shaozhou in 1183 when the

Xiangjiang Academy was expanded, published Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, and, while serving as Guangzhou prefect c. 1208, published works by the Cheng brothers there. Patricia Ebrey indicates that Liao's edition of the *Family Rituals* was among the first editions to appear in what she refers to as the "rediscovery" of Zhu Xi after his death.[38] Central to the neo-Confucian supporters in Guangzhou, especially after the death of Cui Yuzhi, was Li Maoying, who, having stood by Cui in confronting the rebels of 1235, departed shortly from Guangdong for service at court and only returned to Guangzhou in 1252. Li Maoying wrote of Cui Yuzhi in his capacity as Cui's "student."[39] In 1226, Li Maoying wrote a preface for the first edition of Chen Chun's *Beixi ziyi*, a neo-Confucian textual compendium, Chen's text having been brought to Shaozhou by Zhuge Jue, who was assistant prefect of Shaozhou at the time and had formerly been magistrate of Panyu county (in which half of Guangzhou city was located).[40] Prefect Fang Dacong, himself a neo-Confucian, wrote a preface in 1242 for the *Family Rituals*.[41] Among other establishments, Fang also built the pavilion in the Confucian school that was established by Zhuge Jue in Panyu county.[42] Li Maoying's petition for a posthumous award on Fang's behalf emphasizes his efforts in the revival of county ceremonies, both the *shidian* sacrifice to Confucius and the community drinking ceremony (*xiang yinjiu*).[43] Such an interest would be perfectly consistent with the school-building tradition from the eleventh century on and the neo-Confucian impact.

The drinking ceremony had been held sporadically in the past, but the liturgy had not been settled. Therefore, it was very much an issue that might fit into the neo-Confucian quest for ritual propriety. In Li Maoying's detailed account of the institution of the community drinking ceremony in 1244 in Guangzhou, he notes that a meeting was held at the Confucian school prior to the gathering, which Prefect Fang Dacong attended. The discussion centered on the rituals that might be used, and Fang had his way by claiming the version he supported had been derived from practices in the Zhou dynasty. At the drinking ceremony, held on the twelfth day of the second month, 230 people attended as officiants and another 230 people waited in the audience, all formally attired. Separate notices had been issued to both officiants and audience to require their undivided attention to details of dress and poise. The ceremony went on for most of the day in great solemnity. Sacrificial vessels were laid out in style and ancient music was played. Several elders were invited whose biographies have survived, and built into the rituals, towards the conclusion, was the local official's lecture to the participants on a theme elaborating the importance of the rites (*li*). No record exists of the holding of a

subsequent drinking ceremony (even though the statement refers to one held a hundred years earlier, of which no records were available even in 1244) and it should not be assumed that any was.[44]

The next ceremonial occasion of note came in the Yuan dynasty. Guangzhou had fallen in 1276, and almost thirty years after that, in 1304, the city's literati came together to make offerings to Cui Yuzhi on the occasion of the restoration of his sacrificial hall. It should be noted that there was a private character to the hall, it having been his residence while he was alive. As was fitting for a lineage sacrifice, the sacrifice to Cui Yuzhi on this occasion was led by a male descendant. But the sacrifice was far from private in nature. It had ostensibly been held with the approval of the Yuan government, for in the same year as this ceremony was held, local sacrifice was revived by imperial order. Recorded in an essay that accompanied the offering, apart from the names of Cui's descendants, were those of the "Confucian officials" (*ruguan*) of Guangzhou circuit.[45] It so happens that we still have the Nanhai gazetteer of the Dade period, during which this ceremony was held, and the names of all Song examiner degree holders are listed in it. The Confucian officials, it would seem, included the survivors, and perhaps their descendants, in this list. The last date by which an examination degree was awarded as recorded on its list was 1274.[46]

One of the 1274 degree holders wrote a preface to a poem commemorating the restoration, which indicates some of the objectives that motivated it:

> Scholars [*shi*] should follow the example of the sages of the land in which they were born. Just as scholars of Qujiang admire Wenxian [Zhang Jiuling] for his determined will, those of Nanhai admire Qingxian [Cui Yuzhi] for the breadth of his determination.[47] Thus are the true examples set them. In three thousand years, in all of Lingnan, only these two gentlemen had become ministers. . . . Knowledgeable people say it is not easy for [a place] to produce a minister; it is particularly difficult to produce a good minister. As the fortunes of the Tang dynasty declined at the midpoint of its history, Heaven gave birth to Wenxian to aid it when it could not be aided. As the Song dynasty was to decline, Heaven gave birth to Qingxian to aid it, again at a time when no aid could be offered. These two gentlemen were known for the uprightness of their nature, but the times that Qingxian witnessed were different from [the greatness] of the Kaiyuan era [of the Tang]. As change came about during the Duanping period [1234–36], and the imperial court ruled in vain, the edicts [of his appointment] came to his door, brought by emissaries from thousands of *li* away. The venerable gentleman declined the offer more than ten times. Such behavior indicates that in his heart, he knew the propriety that governed advancement, retreat, survival, and death, and he modeled himself on Qujiang [Zhang Jiuling]. He surely did not allow

wealth and profit to move his heart, to glorify his descendants, or to adorn his home village and district. I, Chengzi [the writer], have been born too late to be able to benefit from the venerable gentleman's deportment. His grandson of the senior line, Mr. Cui Jizu, has renovated his former residence and converted it into the gentleman's sacrificial hall, [and] I have brought with me people of like mind to write poetry in celebration. For this purpose, I have written to demonstrate my respect in the manner described above. On this day in the first decade of the fifth month, in the summer of Yisi, ninth year of Dade [1305], former *jinshi* He Chengzi.[48]

The purpose of the celebration was barely veiled. At a time when the Yuan dynasty reigned, the offer of sacrifice to Cui Yuzhi symbolized the pledge being made by the literati that they would, like Cui Yuzhi, understand "the propriety that governed advancement, retreat, survival, and death." The example that Cui Yuzhi had shown them was the spurning of public office, and it was this that would glorify their home and country.

CHAPTER FOUR

We and They

Li Maoying's writings were collected for publication in 1294 by Li Chunsou of Dongguan.[1] Li Chunsou's father, Li Yong, had written a commentary on the *Confucian Analects* along neo-Confucianist lines, and his books had been presented to the imperial court by Li Maoying. Chunsou, who passed the provincial examination in 1256, had received minor appointments near Guangzhou. He was, however, caught up in the turmoil at the end of the Song period. In the fighting of 1276, Xiong Fei, of Dongguan county, had taken his troops to relieve Guangzhou, but upon his defeat, had fallen back on Dongguan county city. There, Xiong Fei had demanded that all who fled should return upon threat that he would otherwise raze their home villages. Li Chunsou was known to have persuaded Xiong Fei to withdraw this threat. Moreover, in 1277, when Yuan troops appeared in Dongguan, Li Chunsou "went in a single boat" to see the commander on behalf of the county. The people of Dongguan were so grateful for his courage that within his lifetime, they added his portrait in his father's sacrificial hall, and in 1310, the scholars of the county sacrificed there.[2]

Quite a few other biographies illustrate the devotions and dilemmas faced by members of the literati such as Li Chunsou. Zhao Bizhuan, also of Dongguan, paid Xiong Fei 3,000 strings of cash and 500 *shi* of rice to persuade him to spare the county.[3] Zhang Yuanji, likewise of Dongguan, surrendered to the Yuan, sided with the Song loyalists, and bargained with Yuan troops, first for the city to be spared and then for taxes not to be raised.[4] In Panyu county, Zhang Zhensun who had passed the *jinshi* examination with honor, lost Guangzhou after holding it for a short while. Wang Daofu, another *jinshi*, joined the exiled court that rallied around the boy emperor Bing. Daofu's teacher, Chen Dazhen, turned

down the offer of a post at the court in exile. He survived to write the Nanhai gazetteer of the Dade period, in which the list of *jinshi* up to the end of the Song appeared.[5] As Huang Zuo, compiler of the 1561 Guangdong province gazetteer noted, there were very few *jinshi* from Guangdong during the Yuan period; none, in fact, from Guangzhou or its surrounding counties.[6]

The literati tradition of the Southern Song (twelfth century) obviously continued into the early years of the Yuan (thirteenth century). The intellectual lines of descent, however, disappeared by the next generation, and it was not until the early Ming in the fourteenth century that we see efforts to retrace them, again under neo-Confucian influence. The founding of schools under the state aegis, the concern for ritual propriety, the imperial examination and the avenues of social advancement it provided, the availability of land for development, and the neo-Confucian identity that was built around access to teaching provided not only by the masters themselves but by the publication of their books gave rise to a sense of tradition. Between the Southern Song and the end of the Qing dynasty (1127 to 1911), that is to say, the period often referred to as "late imperial" Chinese history, "tradition" was created and recreated three times, in the twelfth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries. The end product of this process were literati conscious of their oneness within the imperial literary tradition, whatever their personal political aims.

In time, the neo-Confucian tradition was so successful that it totally changed the shape of Chinese society. By the sixteenth century, the literati in the Pearl River Delta, as in other parts of the Ming imperial realm, construed themselves to be the guardians of the tradition of propriety (*li*) as defined by neo-Confucian teachings and set themselves up as the model for the rest of society to emulate. How the neo-Confucian model came to be the main driving force of social changes under the Ming dynasty is a story that the rest of this book relates. The more successful the new ideology became, the more earlier traditions recede in the historical record. By the time of the Ming dynasty, it was already quite difficult to gain a sense even of the main features of society outside the tiny but growing neo-Confucian circles. The emergence of a dominant social theory reduced social practices that were not considered orthodox to its ideological opposites. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for historians dependent upon written sources to extricate themselves from the oversimplified view of the cultured "we" versus the uncultured "they." The written record necessarily highlights the cultural markers employed by the literati, who had control of writing. Aside from the markers, it only every now and then gives us a glimmering of pre-Confucian society.

We: The Administrative Community

From the early days of state building, local society related to the imperial state through an administrative community. However, officialdom had to reach out beyond itself: the concept of government, the need to collect taxes, and the demand on officialdom to maintain order required it to do so. Song law provided for household registration for tax and corvée purposes, and the corvée embodied involvement at the local yamen. Without a staff, the magistrate had no chance whatsoever of arriving at any serious household registration record. Instead, members of the local community held themselves responsible for a number of households that went onto the books, in a way that would be familiar to any student of tax-farming practices. The Northern Song *Universal Geography of the Taiping xingguo Period* (that is, 976–83) was thus able to record that Guangzhou had within its jurisdiction 16,059 native households (*zhuhu*) and an unknown number of guest households (*kehu*). These numbers varied in subsequent ages; by 1304, the total of all households registered amounted to 180,873.[7]

Historians of the Song have had to take these numbers as indications of population sizes. This book is less concerned with population size than with the growth of community, and so it matters less that the figures are imprecise and more that the increase in the Southern Song reflected a serious effort on the part of the officialdom to increase the base for tax and corvée purposes. A systematic reading of the biographies of officials in the gazetteers would show that there was a shift in emphasis in government finances between the Northern and the Southern Song. The Northern Song officials who were commemorated in the gazetteer for having contributed to state finance had been responsible for taxing imported goods; the Southern Song officials who were commemorated for achievement in taxation were known for their leniency towards the local population. The initiation of taxation only in the Song is corroborated by the lineage genealogies: few genealogies record tax-paying statuses then, but they do for the Ming.[8] An example of the web of connections that made up the administrative community, bypassing household registration as such, is the Cheng surname of Xiangshan county, who traced their descent from none other than Cheng Simeng, who was prefect of Guangzhou in 1071 and responsible for rebuilding the city walls after the Nong Zhigao uprising. A genealogy preface written in 1322 records that while Simeng held office in Guangzhou, his son took up an official posting in Dongguan. Song practice allowed the son, Baifeng, to occupy the position without holding an examination title. The genealogy notes

that before that appointment, he had been put in charge of the salt fields of Xiangshan, no doubt a fairly lucrative arrangement. His three sons (Simeng's grandsons) continued to live at Xiangshan, and as late as the early Ming, at least one member of the lineage continued to be in control of the salt fields.[9]

The desire to tax and the willingness to be taxed met in the politics of the county magistracies. Choi Chi-cheung has demonstrated how such politics might have lain at the heart of the founding of Xiangshan county in 1152, by describing the clash between two powerful lineage groups on that occasion.[10] Scouring the genealogies, we can reconstruct the history of several more families in the Pearl River Delta who had a foothold in officialdom as they amassed their landed wealth. When the neo-Confucians taught that local society had to be ritually reformed, they were enmeshed within a rising social class of landowners and possibly registered households who defined their interests in relation to a conception of the normal working of the state.[11]

They: The Dan, the Yao, and the Hakka

The administrative community per se had no name; it was made up of people and households. The people outside it were categorized to give it a definition by exclusion. The two notable categories of people who were outside the pale of the administrative community and who needed a name so that they could be set apart were the Dan and the Yao. Both terms had been borrowed from outside the Pearl River Delta at a time when an administration community with Guangzhou as its center came into contact with a broad area that it thought of as being on its periphery.

The use of the name "Dan" as an ethnic term dates easily from the fifth century, but it was used then of people found in Sichuan province, inland. By the Song, while retaining its ethnic connotations, the word was used to describe a people found also in Guangxi who lived on boats. By extension, the late tenth-century *Universal Geography of the Taiping xingguo Period* described as Dan households people in Xinhui county who "came under the purview of the magistrate, who lived by the rivers or the sea, who lived on boats, who came and went with the tide, who made their living from fishing, and who would die if they lived ashore."[12] This is possibly the earliest reference to the Dan in Guangdong. In the eleventh century, the writer Chen Shidao divided the marginal population of Guangdong and Guangxi into three ethnic groups, the Dan, the Yao, and the Li, the Dan being boat-dwellers, the Yao being land-dwellers in

the mountains who did not come under the purview of the magistrates, and the Li being land-dwellers on islands, a classification that was essentially retained into the Ming and Qing periods.[13] By the next century, however, the Dan of Guangdong were known as expert pearl divers, primarily in Hepu county, facing Hainan Island. There might be different categories of Dan people: those who lived by fishing, those who dived for pearls, and those who were woodcutters. Zhou Qufei, who arrived at this classification, described how children on Dan boats had ropes tied round their waists to prevent them from drowning and remarked that Dan children, playing on the beaches stark naked, were akin to sea otters.[14] Even then, it is far from clear that the comments of either Chen or Zhou apply to the Pearl River Delta. Zhou's experience was that of a magistrate in Guangxi, and Chen does not seem to have lived in the south at all.[15]

One of the earliest references to the Dan in the vicinity of the Pearl River by a local man was made in a petition by one Zhang Weiyin requesting the suspension of pearl diving shortly before 1319 in an area in Dongguan county that is now the New Territories of Hong Kong. Zhang referred to them as the "Danman" (savage Dan). He noted that they were poor, and that they came under local headmen (*shoumu*), who, until the delivery of pearls was suspended, were responsible for rounding up a sufficient number of divers. The activity was potentially dangerous, and so Zhang described the need to pray to the deities for protection, casting meat offerings into the sea for the purpose. They were shabbily dressed, some went about naked like sea otters, a description that possibly originated with Zhou Qufei a hundred years earlier. Not all Dan lived by diving for pearls; there were yet other Danman who lived on islands off the coast, who looked like animals.[16]

Huang Zuo, the learned compiler of the 1561 Guangdong provincial gazetteer, understood the tenuousness of the argument by analogy in his description of the Dan. The Dan "households" (*hu*) lived by fishing, on boats, or under awnings set up by the water. They believed in dragons and were, therefore, referred to as the "Dragon households" (*longhu*). However, he continued to say, "when listed among the people [*qimin*], they were regarded as the Danjia." "Listing among the people" refers to the process of registration: "register the household and be listed as the emperor's subject" (*bianhu qimin*) was a long-standing term, and this was obviously what Huang Zuo had in mind, for he explained that in the early years of the Ming dynasty, these boat-dwellers were registered under the *lijia* regulations with the Office of River Moorings (*hebo suo*) and were subject to the levy of a fishermen's tax. However, these people were unlike other subjects of the emperor, for they permitted men and

women of the same surname to marry, they wore no hats or shoes, and they were foolish and illiterate to the extent that they had no record of their own ages. Yet the difference was not absolute, for Huang said that in recent years, scholarship had become more common among these people, some Dan people had settled on shore and registered with the "common people" (*liangmin*), and there were even those who sat for the imperial examination and succeeded in obtaining a title. Huang realized that the division between the "common people" and the Dan rested on a difference of power, for the mooring inlets (*zengmen*) were owned and controlled by powerful land-dwelling families. The Dan were the people who, therefore, did not enjoy the right of moving on shore. Some of them were known to have become bandits.[17]

Legends about the Dan caught the attention of writers about the Pearl River Delta. Popular legends about them grew up, and by the seventeenth century, descriptions of them stressed their difference from the house-dwellers. Qu Dajun's *New Happenings in Guangdong* (Guangdong *xinyu*) in the seventeenth century noted that it was popularly thought that they were nearer animals than human beings, but sought to dismiss that description by linking it to their way of life. Nevertheless, his description would demonstrate how the Dan were set apart: they sang "savage" (*man*) songs for their weddings, and when the men won a singing contest, they grabbed the bride onto their boat. Like the men, their women also swam and liked to eat raw fish. However, he acknowledged that the Dan were registered as households inhabiting the foreshore, and that some of them were taking to scholarship and moving on shore. He could name some of the villages that had their origin as Dan and noted that good families (*liangjia*) would not intermarry with them. By Qu Dajun's time, however, the Dan were a powerful force on the coast. They owned fleets of hundreds of ships and were aligned under red and white banners. They were pirates; they stole from the farmers on the reclaimed "sands" and charged protection fees.[18]

Legal provisions for fairer treatment of the Dan came only in the eighteenth century. In 1729, the Yongzheng Emperor ordered that in Guangdong, Dan boat people were to be allowed to move ashore without harassment from powerful indigenous land communities. The edict is sometimes compared with the emperor's other pronouncements to limit status prejudices, such as his edicts on the "fallen" people of Shaoxing prefecture (in Zhejiang province) or the musician households in Shanxi province. In the face of the persistence of the Dan's pariah status, it is worth looking more carefully at what the edict says. In his edict, the emperor took note of the taboo maintained by the land population against

the boat people settling on shore, and he ordered that the provincial administration issue notices to the effect that those Dan households who did not have the means to do otherwise be allowed to continue to live on their boats as they might wish to, but that those who had the means to build houses or sheds be allowed to do that and be included in household registration and encouraged to cultivate waste land. In subsequent years, the edict was supplemented by provincial decisions, in 1737, to provide for Dan mooring at inlets to have control of mooring rights, unless claims made on them by other people were supported by deeds of sale and tax payment receipts, and in 1746, to forbid treating as bond servants those Dan who had "put themselves under the protection of powerful people" in the Ming dynasty. It is possible to detect in these rulings attempts by government to mitigate the land population's prejudices against the Dan, but likewise, it may equally have been an attempt to enforce land registration on the population, regardless of any possible Dan origin, and, in this way, to rationalize property rights. An unequivocal effort to allow the Dan to assume equal status as commoners had to wait until an edict of 1771 that ruled that menial people such as the Dan of Guangdong, the fishermen of nine surnames in Zhejiang, and other people of such statuses might sit for examinations four generations after reporting their change in occupation to the local government.[19] The persistence of the low statuses is beyond question: we know about them from written records as well as from ethnography. The best description of their status is possibly the single line at the end of a 1785 donation tablet at a small temple outside Taipo Market in the New Territories of Hong Kong saying, "The descendants of people whose names are not on this stele are not to study here." The observer may be forgiven for missing the ethnic undertone until he or she realizes that the temple holds another stele, likewise dated 1785, on which the boatmen's donations are recorded. Quite a few among the boatmen had donated two silver dollars, more than most of those on the indigenous villagers' home list. The amount of the donation was beside the point; the boatmen might donate, but if lessons were to be provided at the temple, their children were not to be taught.[20]

Away from the coast, the threat to the land communities that were emerging from the Song came from people known as the Yao. The history of the Yao is complicated, and once again, the complication arises partly because, like the term "Dan," the term "Yao" predated the Song when used outside Guangdong, but within Guangdong, it was only from approximately the Southern Song era that the word was used. As Li Mo has noted, the word succeeded the term "Liliao," which replaced an ear-

lier term "Yue" as a name for indigenous southern peoples, the people in Guangdong included.[21] Under the Northern Song dynasty, it was used of people found on the northern side of the Lingnan ranges who posed a threat to the lowland populations settled near Lake Dongting in Hunan province, that is to say, in the vicinity of the city of Changsha. It was then borrowed, often without clear justification, to describe indigenous groups in Guangxi and Guangdong to the south of the ranges, and by extension, to other parts of these provinces. Behind the history of the borrowing of terms is trade advance and, with it, extension of and increasing knowledge about the frontier. Although by the sixteenth century, officials in Guangdong had clear geographical ideas of the distribution of Yao settlements, prior to that time, the further back the records went, the less clear it became how the geographical distribution of Yao settlements might be described.

The people to the south of Lake Dongting in Hunan were known as the *moyao*. The implications of the term were not clear to contemporaries, but the description of a local justification for it in the *History of the Sui Dynasty*, which was that the people to whom the term applied had been exempted from corvée service in recognition of their ancestors' contributions, came to be recognized in later sources. The area around Lake Dongting had long been associated with legends told by the Yao people (that is, the people to whom the name is applied today). Meishan mountain, named in their legends as their original abode, is located there, and a continuous history can be traced of the groups occupying the area, which indicates connections between them and groups that later came to be known as Yao.[22]

The shift in focus in the official records was triggered by several changes related to the withdrawal of the imperial court to south of the Yangzi in 1126. One of these changes was the expansion in the salt trade from Guangdong and Guangxi into Jiangxi and Hunan when, for several years, supply from the Lower Yangzi was interrupted. This was followed by imperial permission for merchants to purchase salt in Guangdong for sale in Guangxi, which went on unabated at least until 1174.[23] Another source of change was the trade in horses from the Guangxi-Yunan border. Having lost the north, which had been a supplier of war horses, by 1131, the Song court turned to Guangxi as a supplier. The town of Hengshan to the south of the province became a center of this trade, and horses sold by indigenous tribesmen from as far away as Yunnan were transported from there north to Guilin, and sent from there via the Lingqu Canal up to the Yangzi.[24] Also beginning in the Southern Song are reports of rice being exported from Guangxi into Guangdong. Zhou

Qufei writing about the situation in the twelfth century commented that export from Guangxi was possible not because yield was high but because the population was sparse, and he noted that the price of rice in Guangxi was low, possibly relative to what it fetched in Guangzhou.[25] Quan Hansheng, summarizing reports in the Southern Song, noted that a substantial portion of this export was shipped out of Guangzhou up the coast to Fujian and Zhejiang. Guangdong and Guangxi, the evidence he cites shows clearly, were known as rice-surplus regions in this period.[26] Other reports show that Jiangxi sold cattle to Guangdong and Guangxi: every year in winter, groups of Jiangxi natives driving their cattle to the south caused considerable law-and-order problems for local officials.[27]

Only by the Southern Song, therefore, could a thriving trade up and down the Pearl's tributary West River be described. Increased contact between the larger cities and all this area, and hence, greater knowledge about the indigenous population among the literati, gave rise to numerous terms that were used of them. For the most part, however, they were known as the savages of the rivers and the valleys (*xidong man*). The term was broadly used in most hill areas in Guangdong and Guangxi, but over time, it was applied more specifically to the several commanderies (*zhou*) on the Hunan-Guangxi-Guangdong border, that is, the two sides of the Lingnan ranges, and a classification was introduced that gave the word a functional meaning. In 1193, for instance, it was decreed that in the commanderies of Bin, Gui, Heng, and Dao (Hunan and Guangxi), the Yao households of the "rivers and valleys" who were not "people of the province" (*shengmin*) were exempted from military service charges. The term was explained in a memorial of 1214, "people of the province" and "tamed households" (*shuhu*) were people who lived "within" (*neidi*), while the Yao of the hills (*shanyao*) and the men of the *dong* (*dongding*) were people considered to be living without (*juwai*).[28]

Fan Chengda, who served as a prefect in Guangxi from 1173 to 1175, left a succinct description that shows the connection between this terminology and administrative arrangements.[29] The west of the province, stretching in the form of an arch from the Guizhou border down to Hainan Island, was inhabited by people he referred to as people of the subordinate prefectures and valleys (*jimi zhoudong*), or Dong people for short. These were people who for some centuries were governed by chieftains who paid tribute to and were recognized by the imperial administration. The Yao were people who inhabited the area deep in the mountains in the vicinity of Guilin. They paid no tax and were liable for no service. It should be noted that Guilin was a regular and not a "subordinated" prefecture, so that Guilin officials had to deal with disputes that arose be-

tween these people of the deep mountains and the tax-paying inhabitants of the administrative community. Fan Chengda's description shows that the Yao were not isolated from the tax-paying households: they intermarried and traded, the Yao selling stone slabs and hill products in return for rice and salt. While he was prefect of Jingjiang and stationed at Guilin, Fan enrolled 7,000 local inhabitants in militia garrisons and, with their help, succeeded in making the Yao chiefs take an oath to restrain their people from troublemaking. The Yao of Guilin were a continuation of the Yao of Hunan, that is to say, the principal trade route from Guangxi to Hunan via the Ling Canal went through Yao territory. To the east of the Yao and outside the arch defined for the Dong, the mountains were inhabited by the Liao. These people "lived in the mountains and had neither chiefs nor registration records."[30] Elsewhere, into Yunnan and Guizhou, there were people described as the Man. The Dong, he admitted, were Man of sorts. The difference between the two was that the Dong paid a tax and were closer to the provincial administration than the Man. The Man were, therefore, genuinely "outside the pale of teaching" (*huawai*).[31]

By the Yuan period, the terms "Yao" and "Liao" were loosely used well beyond the northern Guangxi mountains and adjacent parts of Guangdong, often without any distinction being drawn between the two. At the fall of the Song, unrest from the Yao was reported along the West River and in the mountains to the north of it. The skirmishes directed by government forces against them in 1289 took place as near the Guangzhou surroundings as Zhaoqing prefecture and Qingyuan county, beyond the northernmost tip of the Pearl River Delta.[32] A late Yuan source refers to half of the population of Guangdong being Yao and Liao, a loose statement that should be taken not as an indication of the ethnic composition of Guangdong people but of how readily the term might have been applied within Guangdong itself in the fourteenth century.[33] The idea that the Yao inhabited the upper reaches of the three tributaries of the Pearl, that is, the West, North, and East, held firm into the Ming, for not only did the *Ming History* report the periodic surrender of Yao chieftains from these areas throughout the first century of its rule, but the 1561 Guangdong province gazetteer could include a detailed list of all Yao settlements (described as Yao *shan*, literally, Yao mountains) in the province, and that included 106 at Qingyuan, 35 at Conghua, and 1 in Xinhui, all of them in Guangzhou prefecture itself. Like the Dan, the Yao were known for their animal qualities. The Guangdong gazetteer essentially inherited the description from Fan Chengda in the Song: they were ferocious, they had strange customs, and yet they had the saving

characteristic of singing songs at their funerals.[34] They were obviously a category of people to be kept apart from the administrative community.

Into the Qing, the records speak increasingly less of Yao uprisings than of armed feuds involving the Hakka. In recent years, S. T. Leong has reconstructed movement of the Hakka from their homeland in the northeastern uplands of Guangdong down the East River to found colonies in the Pearl River Delta and its surroundings. He dates the first wave of migration to the decades immediately after the pacification of the She people in the upland area in the sixteenth century. He traces their movement into Huiyang and Boluo, and from there to the southern coast at Haifeng. The second wave of the Hakka came after the coastal evacuation of 1661–69 (more on this in chapter 13). Again, the Hakkas went down the East River into Huizhou prefecture but also beyond that, probably in the eighteenth century, into Zengcheng, Dongguan, and Xin'an. Another route on both waves of migration took the Hakkas across the hills to the north of Guangdong into Guangxi, and, skirting the West River, to the Gaozhou peninsular, and from there to the western edge of the Pearl River Delta in Enping, Xinning, and Heshan counties.

More so than earlier writers on the subject, Leong carefully distinguishes the question of Hakka ethnicity from this history of migration. He fully acknowledges the ethnic complexity of the upland areas to the north of Guangdong, the Hakka homeland included, inhabited by people known variously as Yao, She, and by numerous other names. The proximity of the language spoken by the Hakka and the She in recent years has been noted by numerous other writers, and, to complicate the situation further, as Chen Yonghai has pointed out, the earlier records do not distinguish the Hakka from the She. Leong himself has contributed to the argument by pointing out that the "Hakka ethos" emerged only in the early years of the nineteenth century after the disturbances in 1802 to 1808 in which the Hakkas were involved. That is to say, the myth of their origin in central China and the awareness of Jiaying subprefecture in the Guangdong northeastern upland as the "homeland" from which they had migrated, began around this time. Significantly, and no doubt correctly, Leong also attributes the importance of Jiaying to its success in the imperial examinations towards the end of the eighteenth century. More needs to be said about examination success, an issue Leong notes for Hakkas in Ganzhou in Jiangxi but leaves out of his discussion of the migration in Guangdong. Candidates had to sit for the examination where their households were registered, and Hakka status, bearing all the implications of the migrant, thus became a tool of exclusion in the counties were the Hakkas settled, even if they came to be registered there. In

the Pearl River Delta, as in Ganzhou, special quotas had to be set up for the Hakkas. In Dongguan, that did not come until 1801, and in Xin'an, 1802.[35]

Leong's account, therefore, argues that migration led to settlement away from the Hakka homeland, and, in time, to the recognition of that history and the construction of an ethnicity based upon it. Yet the onset of migration towards the very end of the sixteenth century, when the migrants were recognizably outsiders to the indigenous communities, is too neat an argument to pass over without comment. It should also be pointed out that fifteenth-century records do speak of movements from one part of the Guangdong uplands to another.[36] If, as Leong also argues, it was not until the 1580s when the community covenant was introduced into the northeastern Guangdong uplands, so that the migrants' descent into the Pearl River Delta or its borders came, in the main, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they would have arrived at a time when the wealthier indigenous villages were built around ancestral halls and held properties in their names. That possibility precisely fits the description of the Hakka incursion reconstructed from nineteenth-century records.[37] Yet, if the record for the constructing of the history of Hakka migration is predicated upon the indigenous population having built up a symbolic presence as a settled population practicing the correct rituals as defined by the state, it has to be observed that the same cultural markers that gave the indigenous communities their indigenous status would also have served to define the migrants as outsiders. When, by the early years of the nineteenth century, the migrants had adopted the same political ideology and ritual as their indigenous neighbors and built a moral high ground with their origin myth, they distinguished themselves not only from the indigenous people but also from the She, whom they considered to be their ethnic inferiors. This argument implies that the status structure of the Ming dynasty, for all its imbalances, was highly porous, and that in the Qing, it was less so. This was not because of any ethnic "policy" implemented by the government but because, in the Ming era, household registration (*lijia*, to be further discussed in chapter 6) extended gradually throughout the Pearl River Delta, and the registration of household status froze the difference between indigenes and outsiders in the context of the territorial community.

By the Song and increasingly into the Yuan and the early years of the Ming, Guangzhou was becoming better defined as the center of the administrative community, and the land outside its walls was no longer thought of as being inhabited by strange creatures. The idea was gaining ground that these half-animal humans might be converted by teaching:

one of the earliest references that specifically considered the Yao as the object of such a cultural program dates from 1333 and would have followed closely upon the neo-Confucian teachings being propagated.[38] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the program was implemented so successfully that, on the one hand, many Dan and Yao people were integrated into the administrative community without leaving any trace of their origin, while, on the other hand, the two ethnic categories were so reified that they came to designate pariahs. These seemingly contradictory trends will have to be traced in lineage and state strategies. They were often so successful that they totally reshaped the historical memory. The history of the Hakka status is very much the extension of this same story into the Qing dynasty, and it has to be read with its counterpart, the transformation of the dwellers of the Pearl River Delta, especially those around Guangzhou, into the Cantonese. Thanks to Leong, we can comfortably date the crucial events of that story to the eighteenth century.[39]

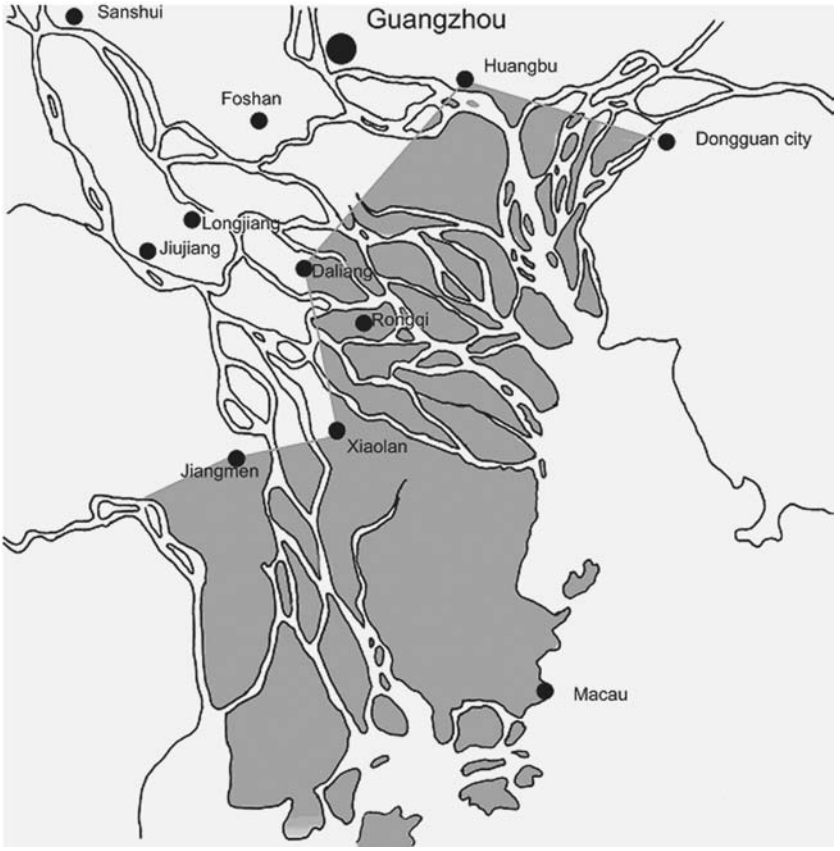
CHAPTER FIVE

The Land

Until the Song dynasty, most of what is now the Pearl River Delta was submerged. Over the millennium from the Southern Song to the twentieth century, agricultural land was gradually reclaimed from the sediments that had gathered. Working meticulously through the archaeological and written record, historical geographers in Guangzhou have pieced together the chronology of reclamation. The Song coastline cuts diagonally across the low-lying stretches of the delta from Xinhui in the southwest to Shilou in the northeast. It then continues on the other side of the Pearl River, along a line that runs almost north-south at the delta of the East River. This continuous line is highly significant for an understanding of the social evolution of the delta. Today, it corresponds closely to the principal motor road in the delta, and the road has been located where it is because it links up the most important towns and cities in this area: Shilou, Shiqiao, Shawan, Daliang, Rongqi, Guizhou, Xiaolan, Waihai, Jiangmen, and Xinhui city. To the south of this line is land that is known as the "sands" (*shatian*). To its north lie the "dikes" (*waitian*). The differentiation of the "sands" from the "dikes" had important implications for social changes in the Pearl River Delta.

Dikes and Sands

The entire area was developed in response to the expanding market for grain, which had come about from as early as the relocation of the Southern Song capital to Hangzhou in Zhejiang province in the twelfth century. The relocation of the capital had brought about a chain of events that led to increasing trade between the Pearl River Delta, Guangxi province, and the Yangzi region. The cities of the lower Yangzi created a rice



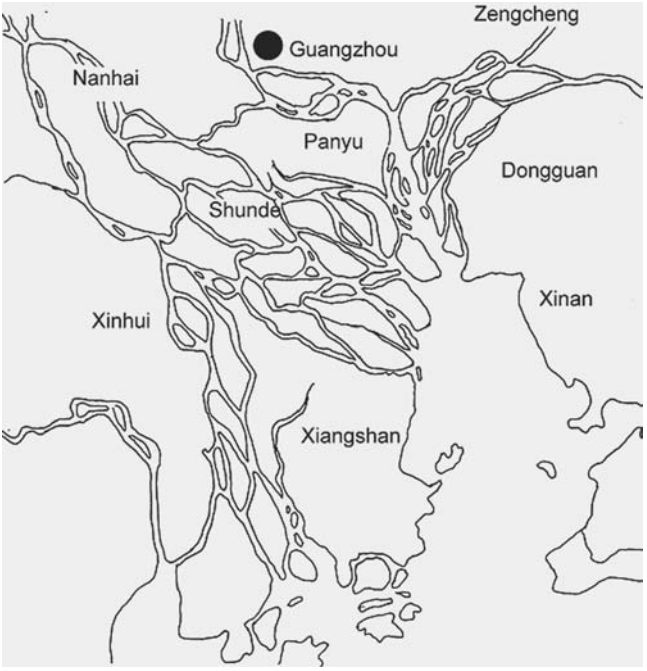
MAP 1. The Pearl River Delta, the shaded area indicating reclamation on the sands known as *shatian*

market, drawing rice from as far south as Guangxi. While rice was sent down the West River for export up the coast, salt was shipped up-river from Guangzhou, and this exchange would have provided a stable trading pattern except for changes that would be introduced by cost advantages arising from proximity to market. The growth of Guangzhou itself as a market for grain thus provided the impetus for the diking of the river banks in the Southern Song.

Dikes were built where the West, North, and East Rivers emptied into the Pearl estuary. Unlike some other parts of China, where a central dominating project for controlling the river had been an essential ingredient in land development, in the Pearl River Delta, land was brought into cultivation by innumerable small projects undertaken independently

by innumerable groups of people. The history of these efforts has been made more comprehensible by the monumental historical geography of the Pearl River Delta reconstructed by Zeng Chaoxuan and others in Guangzhou. Fundamental to Zeng's reconstruction is that in the several centuries leading up to the Song, when most of the delta area remained unreclaimed, the West and the North Rivers splintered into the familiar dendritic pattern of estuary waterways some distance before where the Pearl River Delta now begins. The West River diverged into two principal tributaries, one of which flowed into the sea near Guangzhou, while the other turned south beyond the Lingyang Gorge. The North River would, in those days, have drained into the West River near present-day Sanshui county. Silt brought down by the North and West Rivers created a sandbar that blocked the flow of the West River towards Guangzhou, and, some time before the tenth century, the flow of the West River was forced into a southerly direction, while the North River captured the channel that led up to Guangzhou. This shift in the rivers brought about changes in navigation and agriculture that were to affect land development from the Song era on: the southern channel of the North River created the principal trade route from northern Guangdong to Guangzhou, giving rise to important towns such as Foshan on its banks. Prior to the creation of this channel, the North River diverged near Lubao, a channel of which led directly to Guangzhou. As dikes were needed essentially where human habitation was established and where land was low-lying, the earliest dikes were built precisely in the areas towards which the changed river courses directed their discharge. On the West River, this was the stretch beyond the Lingyang Gorge, and on the North River, the eastern bank at Lubao. As Zeng Zhaoxuan has argued, it should be assumed that the courses of the North and West Rivers changed rather frequently until the Song era, and that it was the building of dikes to hold back the rivers that stabilized their flow.[1]

Not a great deal is known about the building of these dikes. With the exception of the East River dike, none of the gazetteer sources on which Zeng relies cites contemporary reports concerning their construction.[2] The lack of early contemporary references once again reflects the impact of government on record keeping: a written record of the construction of a dike was likely in those early years only where local government was drawn into the building effort. This was precisely the case in the record of the East River dike, an essay recording the event being written in 1241, in commemoration of an effort to rebuild the dike in that year, and an earlier effort in the eleventh century was noted as an oral report by an elder.[3] All the other dikes of which a record survives were built by private



MAP 2. Guangzhou and the administrative counties of the Pearl River Delta

efforts and apparently without official recognition, undoubtedly a tiny portion of private constructions.[4] As obviously many dikes were built in stages and repaired and added on to when circumstances required or permitted, the absence of records in the Song is itself a reflection of the small scale of these early operations. These small dikes would have been easily washed away. This does not mean that they were totally ineffective, but it does mean that given the regularity of the annual flooding in early summer on the West River, crops would have had to be planted in full expectation that the growing season might be interrupted.[5]

Into the Yuan and especially the Ming, more dikes were built. The few sources available link dike building to the collaboration of government and local efforts. The 1561 Guangdong provincial gazetteer cites edicts of 1394 and 1441 to demonstrate that the emperor had ruled that local officials were to help residents in river control projects, if necessary, by opposing local bullies (*haoqiang*) who claimed control over water sources or drainage outlets.[6] Actual examples of such in the Song and Yuan are surprisingly few. We know from the genealogies of the Xian

and the Kong surnames in the Luoge district in Nanhai county that their ancestors were responsible for building the Luoge dike in the early Ming. Such claims to an early Ming origin are common, but only one account in this area might be thought of as a contemporary record. The record, no doubt originally inscribed as a stone stele, but reprinted in numerous texts, describes the efforts of one Chen Bowen of Jiujiang district, who in 1376 went to the capital to petition the emperor for permission to build, and who obtained the personal encouragement of the Hongwu Emperor for doing so.[7] The story was widely accepted, as evidenced by its frequent citation in local gazetteers as the origin of the Mulberry Garden Dike, a massive undertaking that throughout the next few centuries protected one of the most productive and hence wealthiest parts of the Pearl River Delta. This single isolated instance of imperial approval for a local project nevertheless raises more questions than it answers, for the lack of imitation suggests, not that imperial approval was looked upon as necessary, but that it was the result of the prevalence of the incorporation of the statist ideal into local society that began in the Southern Song and was taken to extremes in the Ming. The story provides a precedent for later dike building in the vicinity of the Mulberry Garden Dike, separately by the Zhu, Chen, and Huang surnames, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[8] In all these instances, the indications are that claims were made for official approval of, if not direct support for, the project.

From the Southern Song into the Ming dynasty, as the number of dikes built substantially increased, the idea must have emerged that the area behind the dikes was substantially different from the areas being reclaimed known as the "sands." Most of the areas that by the later years of the Ming were known as the "sands" were in the counties of Xiangshan, Dongguan, and Panyu. The northern portions of Dongguan and Panyu, as has already been noted, were protected by dikes; the sands, therefore, occupied the southern reaches of these two counties. Few dikes are recorded for Xiangshan.[9] Yet the record of the reclaiming of the sands in all this area is quite substantial. From the fifteenth century on, reclamation was driven by profit. Among the family admonitions left by one Liu Ying of Fengjian district in Shunde county in 1524 is a precise description of how investing in the sands might have been thought of:

> When my descendants buy land, they should ensure that it is land that does not flood easily. I witnessed the floods in 1466, 1482, and 1485, all during the fourth and fifth months. The flood water tore down the dikes at Haizhou [*bao*] and submerged Maning. Of ten fields, none reaped a harvest. Only the fields at Dongyong and Xiangshan could be harvested. If you are not rich enough to buy the large plots [*dazhang*] of Xiangshan, I allow you to buy at Dongyong, Maqi,

Gufen, Beishui, and Oucun. It is also better to choose land planted under early ripening rice. However, it is important not to buy with a mortgage. When it is known that the interest is accumulating, it is disgraceful. Newly accumulated silted sands are the most attractive to people. Many people reclaim [such land] for cultivation, to the extent that they go hungry in order to pay the tax. However, when the rivers change their courses, or when [the area] is so low-lying that land does not form, or when officials or powerful people occupy it, or when someone is wounded or arrested and you have to escape from criminal responsibility, even if you are prepared to carve out your liver to make up for it, your hands are stuck and nothing can be done. At times like these, you should stay quiet. If you move, you make a mistake. Think about this carefully.[10]

A descendant in the early Qing appended to this paragraph a brief description of the disasters that befell some investors in land reclamation. The uncle of a friend had over 100 *mu*, which was planted to grass for five years before it became taxable for six, but most of it was still not cultivable. The wife of another man committed suicide when the 700 or 800 *mu* that he registered did not become cultivable but he was still held liable for its tax. In both cases, the holdings were substantial and so were the risks.

The high risks and high profits of sands development drove intense competition among land developers. By the Ming dynasty, ownership consisted not of occupation but of the manipulation of registration, which obviously would have followed only when government influence had extended into the areas being reclaimed. In the sixteenth century, a senior official, Huo Tao, whose family was engaged in reclamations on the sands, advised magistrates to ask claimants in litigation in which year they had reported the reclaimed land for tax as a definitive criterion of ownership.[11] Qu Dajun, writing in the mid seventeenth century, describes the sands as being cultivated by tenants, who staked out their rights in fortified "mounds." He recalled a time when the tenants had not lived on the reclaimed land but had gone out seasonally with hired laborers to plant and harvest. By the seventeenth century, that pattern changed, for the "mounds" had to be fortified, and so tenant chiefs known as "sand heads" (*shatou*) contracted the land from landlords, subleased to their own tenants, and paid the tax.[12] Into the twentieth century, multiple tenancy survived in this area, where tenants leased to subtenants, who then leased to cultivators.[13]

Helen Siu has drawn attention to the cultivators' lack of settlement rights.[14] As Siu argues strongly for a later period—and the argument would apply to the entire Ming and Qing period as well—such claims rested on concepts of legitimacy. The strongmen who adopted the sym-

bols and manners that passed for gentry status moved away from the pariah status of the occupants of the sands; the people who remained on boats and in sheds continued to do so as Dan, embedded in the fiction that settlement was not allowed. The extension of neo-Confucian ideas and government came to be very convenient in this process; it created the administrative community and its diametric opposite, the outcaste.

Markers of Tradition: Houses, Relics, and Benefaction

Until twentieth-century archaeology discovered stone tools and potsherds, there were no relics on the ground that gave so much as a reminder of an indigenous origin of culture in the Pearl River Delta. Yet the gazetteers record material relics aplenty, which are described not as the remnants of an indigenous culture but as extensions of the imperial connection. Gazetteer writers assume that local and state practices blended through a process of conversion, the local subject to the state's. Their interpretation was very much helped by the fact that the use of bricks and tiles was introduced into South China with the establishment of county administration and eventually replaced the earlier custom of building in wood, which was much less durable.

The use of bricks and tiles was itself part of the conversion process. Zhou Qufei, Fan Chengda's contemporary in the twelfth century, noticed that the people of Guangxi lived in two-storey huts, with the upper storey used for human habitation and the lower one for animals.[15] The Tang history records that one Song Jing, appointed to Guangzhou as governor (*dudu*) in the eighth century, taught the people of Guangzhou to use tiles to roof their houses so that they might be spared the frequent fires fueled by bamboo and reeds used as building material.[16] Only from then on, the author said, did the people of the south know the value of buildings (*dongyu*). Whatever the authenticity of the story, it was repeated by eleventh-century Jiang Zhiqi in his commemoration of Song Jing. All that followed, meaning presumably all the buildings of Guangzhou, had begun with Song Jing's introduction, so said Jiang.[17] Details of a much later occurrence are to be found in an essay written by Lin Dachun, who served in Wuzhou (in Guangxi but bordering on Guangdong) briefly c. 1572. Lin's essay notes that even in this important provincial seat, aside from a few government buildings, houses were built with bamboo. Hundreds were consumed in an instant when one of them caught fire, and after serious fires in two successive years in 1565 and 1566, he not only banned the building of bamboo houses but provided a thousand men to work in kilns to make bricks, which were distributed to the poor.[18]

The import of these stories is not that tiles abruptly came to be used some time in the Tang. Quite the contrary, bricks and tiles were used in the Guangzhou area at least from the Han, that is to say, as early as Guangzhou was designated as part of the Chinese state. However, for a story on the introduction of tiles to have been meaningful, tiled buildings must have stood out from the ordinary. The ordinary is not difficult to discover, even though precise descriptions of it are rare. One has only to travel among the villages of the Pearl River Delta to see that there are few relics of *residential buildings* from before the Ming. The gazetteer of Suixi county gave a description of the houses that probably applied to many parts of the delta: "The houses are crude. Located by the sea, [the county experiences] much wind and moist earth. Where there is much wind, houses wobble; where the earth is moist, [wood] easily rots. Only in the city do government offices begin to use bricks and stones, and they last much longer. In the streets, [the houses] have undecorated earthen walls. They are good only as a shelter against the wind."[19] By the seventeenth century, and in all likelihood much earlier, stone was widely used as a building material. Qu Dajun, writing in the early Qing dynasty, noted the varieties of stones from Xiqiao mountain that could be used for building purposes. He also noted that "tall buildings" (*gaolou*) were common in the villages near Guangzhou. These "tall buildings" were built on stone foundations, and the walls were made of brick or seashells.[20]

Certainly, the commemoration of house building was among the most common literary genres handed down to posterity. In the Pearl River Delta, Guangzhou City included, few extant essays predate the Song, and they all relate to relics that denote particular features of the natural landscape. The bend in the West River at Deqing gave rise to the grave and the temple of the Dragon Mother, whose sons, the dragons, were none other than the river gods. The mouth of the Pearl River had its own protector god, who was awarded the title Hongsheng by the Tang emperors and was known locally by the name Fuxu. To the east of Guangzhou was Mount Luofu, the barren boulders jutting out from which suggested the idea of a "grotto." It is essential to remember that such survivals of the ancient past are buried under layers of custom and memories. Many an earth god represented by an outcrop of rock or an open-air shrine may have had an ancient origin and might have continued to be sacrificed to for centuries, even when the origin itself had long been forgotten. Zeng Chaoxuan cites the very interesting example of the recognition given to the earth god of the long-abandoned city of Xianning in Shunde into the Qing, and yet rich Tang archaeological finds indicate that the city was no

mere legend but a county seat established by the Nan Han.[21] Examples abound of many other local deities to whom human names were given, from which they acquired a new character. Deities and cults competed intensely for recognition: the mouth of the Pearl River itself was the scene of such rivalry between Tianhou and Hongsheng. Worship of Tianhou, the Empress of Heaven, began in Fujian in the Song dynasty, and the two principal temples dedicated to Tianhou at the mouth of the Pearl River were built no earlier than the seventeenth century. It can, therefore, be quite safely conjectured that until the two temples were built, the center of religious worship for the boatmen entering and leaving the Pearl River would have been the temple of the Hongsheng deity at Huangbu and that the pattern of religious sacrifice changed when the coastal trade from Fujian introduced the new deity to the region.[22]

The blending of local deities into the imperial regime has by now been well noted. James Watson's example of the redefinition of the local earth god at Ha Tsuen in the New Territories of Hong Kong as a Tianhou would have been replicated in many a Pearl River Delta location. Michael Szonyi has warned that the change in name would not necessarily imply the abandonment of the earlier cults, and examples of that tendency might also be found in the Pearl River Delta.[23] The point that has to be made about these examples, however, is not that they are valid but that they apply only to relatively recent experience of religious transformations. When one stretches the historical time frame to beyond a millennium, as one must in considering the state of the Pearl River Delta and its surroundings before the Song, the evidence is strong that imperial recognition added to the prominence of local deities, that because imperial recognition granted legitimation, it was manipulated, not only by the imperial bureaucracy, but by a host of religious traditions, and that the local cult was redefined not once, by the intrusion of an imperial tradition, but time and time again. Documentation is difficult, because all that we have access to nowadays are the remnants left of the traditions that made use of writing, and, even for these, only if the texts have survived.

The temple of the Dragon Mother at Yuecheng, therefore, stands out as a very interesting example of the transformation of a local cult. Religious cults in which snakes were kept at shrines are reported throughout South China, and legends of human control over serpents have survived as a dominant theme.[24] The famous story of the Lüshan tradition from Fujian of the Lady by the River (Linshui furen) destroying a serpent to whom children had to be offered in sacrifice is a variant of such a legend.[25] The Dragon Mother, far from destroying the serpents, raised them. The serpents—in this case, five dragons found on the West River—were in-

timately connected with rivers and prayers for rain, no doubt from well before the Tang dynasty. Nevertheless, by the earliest written record of the temple, from the Tang dynasty *Nanyue zhi*, connection with the state had been established in the belief that the First Emperor had sought the Dragon Mother as a consort, even though with the divine help of her sons, repeated attempts to take her north on the river had been foiled. The record refers to her grave, which may still be seen at the site of the temple, bearing a grave tablet dating Qianlong 47 (1782).[26] During the Nan Han, in 965, Liu Chang granted the title "Dragon Mother" to the deity, but the next record of an imperial award dates from 1376, when the newly established Ming dynasty recognized the help given by the Dragon Mother in its conquest of Guangdong.[27] The edict records an imperial title granted in the Han, which subsequent sources then cite. A gazetteer of the temple compiled in 1710 notes that imperial titles were also awarded the Dragon Mother in the Song, in recognition for her help with military transport in the war against Jiaozi (Vietnam) in 1076. Among the titles was that of Filial Evocation, with particular reference to the feelings the dragons had for their adopted mother. The same gazetteer notes that more than 300 localities in Deqing prefecture, where Yuecheng was located, had temples in her honor, and that a set of fortune-telling poems was already extant, ascribed to the Tang dynasty poet Luo Yin.[28] Into the twentieth century, five snakes were still left on the altar, and every year at the well-attended festival, women of the Liang surname from a village in Teng county in Guangxi, upriver from Yuecheng, were invited to dress the Dragon Mother, on the strength of the statement, included in the 1710 gazetteer, that the Mother had come originally from that county.[29] There is no simple demarcation in the legends of the Dragon Mother indicating the absorption of local legend into state ideology. Sacrifice to serpents, recognition of the cult via the honoring of the heroine who brought the serpents under control, and the integration of popular morality into the legend by appeal to filial piety suggest that the merging of religious traditions took place on many levels.

The other ancient temple in the Pearl River Delta was that of the Hongsheng at Huangbu. The temple was built well before the Tang, for by then, the deity therein had been accorded imperial recognition and granted the name by which he came to be known. In Tang sources, Huangbu was known as Fuxu, a name that has been linked to Thai. It was also known as the Boluo temple, clearly suggesting a Buddhist connotation. Decayed wood that might have been the stilts supporting a jetty at the temple has been carbon-dated to 1,110 +/– 80 years, but the village nearby now known as Temple Head Village (Miaotou *cun*) could

not have originated much earlier than the Song. Not only do the inhabitants themselves claim no more than a Song origin, but also, as Zeng Chaoxuan has pointed out, until dikes were built in the Song, the area would have been flooded annually. Nevertheless, because in the Tang and the Song, the channel leading up to Guangzhou would have been too shallow for the draught required by seagoing junks, they loaded and unloaded at Fuxu. The image that can be conjectured from this bare outline, therefore, is that boat-dwellers and seafarers would have congregated at the temple. The market that they bought and sold in would have consisted of bamboo-and-reed houses, regarded very much as temporary structures, with perhaps a few more permanent ones of brick and tiles on the outcrop on which the temple was located.[30]

There are signs of indigenous connections at the temple, notably, the presence of a bronze drum in the characteristic style of such drums found in South China, especially Guangxi, and the statue of an obvious foreigner, referred to as Da Xi. However, over the centuries, the deity had been integrated into the imperial realm. From 594 in the Sui dynasty, the deity at this location was designated the Southern Sea God and was accorded regular sacrifice by imperial decree. The Tang and Song emperors granted him official titles, as did Liu Chang in the Nan Han kingdom. In the Song, in particular, the deity was regarded as having helped Guangzhou's defense against Nong Zhigao in 1052, and in 1054, the Song emperor also granted a title to his wife, on the occasion when he awarded another title to the deity for his propitiousness. The earliest recorded land donation to the temple was made by Chen Dazhen, the Song loyalist who compiled the first Nanhai gazetteer to commemorate the last generation of degree holders in the dynasty. As early as the Tang dynasty, a Buddhist monastery, the Haiguang *si*, was set up near the temple. In later years, the monks at the monastery were responsible also for sacrifice to the ancestors of the Qu surname, whose ancestral hall was located near the temple, along with Daoist priests, who were also connected with the management of the temple. However, it is not clear when this connection began.[31]

Despite the official recognition accorded the Dragon Mother and the Hongsheng, it was in the Buddhist Guangxiao Monastery that the most marked changes came about. From the early eleventh century in the Northern Song, the Guangxiao had been able to preserve a fairly continuous record of its abbots.[32] The change seems to have come about because of a determined effort by the sangha to build up the community: the then abbot Shourong, who presided over a community of more than a hundred monks, gathered a collection of 5,048 volumes of sutras

and built a hall to house them.[33] At just the same time, a lay benefactor repaired the hall dedicated to the Sixth Patriarch. By the end of the century, Jiang Zhiqi, the Guangzhou prefect who built the Guangzhou prefectural school, built a hall to commemorate the translation of sutras at the Guangxiao Monastery in the Tang dynasty. By the twelfth century, the monastery was expanding in ways that obviously tied it in with Guangzhou social life: it expanded the main halls, established a treasury, repaired the ordination platform and the Breeze and Banner Hall—where the Sixth Patriarch issued his famous lines at the Guangxiao Monastery on the peace of mind, installed three gold-plated statues (including that of Guanyin) made in Hangzhou in its Western Hall, and built the monastery gates. The establishment of a Treasury for Longevity in 1256 would seem to be a continuation of the promise of blessing in return for offerings.[34]

Communal involvement resulted in an expanding monastic estate. The 1769 gazetteer of the monastery notes the names of twenty-eight substantial donors in the Song dynasty, of whom eleven were men and seventeen were women. For most of these, only the name of the benefactor is recorded. Nevertheless, the two cases in which some details of the benefaction are available show that the monastery was involved in providing regular sacrifice for the benefactor in return for the benefaction, and in both cases, the arrangement required the monastery to maintain branch halls far away from Guangzhou. Madam Huang of Xinhui county donated tens of thousands of *mu* to several Guangzhou monasteries, and when she died in 1131, the Guangxiao set up a sacrificial hall at her grave in a village in Xinhui. Into the Yuan dynasty, a monk was resident at the grave to take care of sacrifice. In the case of Madam Wu of what was to become Shunde county, whose husband drowned the day before her wedding, the monastery received land in 1273 that had been provided by the family for her dowry in return for offering blessings to the deceased husband.[35] A donation to the monastery in 1287 left the earliest land deed in the Pearl River Delta, which states: "Woman disciple Twenty-Eight, née Zheng, of the southern district of Guangzhou City, together with her husband, the lay Buddhist Lin Baizhang, spent 1,000 strings of cash to purchase from Cai Tianxing of Longgang Neighborhood a plot of land bearing the local name Stony Field totaling 87 *mu*, and four plots at Cai Fragrant Field, to donate to the Great Breeze and Banner Monastery, so that the rent received annually may be used as provision for Buddha and the monks."[36]

Until the very end of the Song, temples devoted to indigenous deities, such as the Dragon Mother's or the Hongsheng's, show no sign of hav-

ing accumulated landed estates. The ability of the Buddhist monasteries to do so, with the approval of local officials and support of lay believers, attests to their integration into the state and the local community. In the Buddhist monasteries, the history of land reclamation and that of landed estates begin to converge. In the chapters to follow, it will be seen that the history of the lineage had a great deal to do with symbolically significant buildings and their landholdings. The lineage, it will be seen, succeeded into the tradition first set up in the Pearl River Delta by the Buddhist monasteries.

From Registered Households to Lineages

CHAPTER SIX

Early Ming Society

HISTORIANS HAVE TO BE content with a dark age of Pearl River Delta history lasting for just over half a century, from the start of the fourteenth century until a decade or so before the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. The gap in the written record testifies to the very sharp social changes introduced by the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The few records we have for the early Yuan were left by the last generation of the Southern Song literati, and the records of the last years of the Yuan were created by the new ruling class that came into existence with the Ming. The records of the early Ming speak of a society very different from the image historians might have of the Pearl River Delta when lineages had been established all over and lineage rituals in the style advocated by the Song neo-Confucians had been put into place. Pearl River Delta society, in those early days, was dominated by warlords, who commanded the personal loyalty of their followers and dealt with one another through alliances or outright war. Onto this society, the Ming government imposed *lijia* household registration. It must not be expected, therefore, that registration was imposed without the interference of a lopsided distribution of power and wealth. It would have been impossible, in any case, for registration to have been conducted over the entire Pearl River Delta. By force of circumstances and not design, registration was introduced in stages. It ended with the registered households becoming lineages. No simple statement can summarize this process; it is a complex story, which included many twists and turns, but an understanding of the process is essential for an interpretation of the emergence of lineage society.

Lijia Registration and Other Claims to Lineage Incorporation

When the written sources open on the late Yuan and early Ming, they deal with internecine warfare among local warlords, many of whom had accepted official positions from the Yuan government. The victor was He Zhen (c. 1324–88), who surrendered to the Ming government in 1368 and was immediately awarded high office. Subsequently, in 1387, He Zhen received the aristocratic title of *bo* (loosely translated as "earl") and a fiefdom in Dongguan. However, he was obliged to live out his life, not in his native village in the Pearl River Delta, but at the imperial capital in Nanjing. He returned home on two occasions, in 1371 and 1383, with the specific imperial commission of recruiting his former military colleagues and protégés for the imperial armies. On his first return from the north, he set up his ancestral hall and the family estate. His regulations refer to the practice established by Fan Zhongyan of the Northern Song wherein the family estate provided for orphans and the needy as well as maintenance of ancestral sacrifice.[1] Although it is clear that descent was being traced from at least five generations back, He Zhen and his younger brother seem to have laid claim to the control of the entire estate, and He Zhen's descendants were considered the senior branch of the family even though his own father was the third of seven sons.

The family's fortune did not last. Disaster befell it in 1393, when five years after He Zhen's death, two of his sons were implicated in the notorious treason of Lan Yu and the emperor decreed that the entire family—along with many others—were to be decapitated. The family records note the history of a son who escaped and succeeded in continuing the line after the decapitation order was rescinded in 1398, but the title was lost and the family estate all but destroyed. A branch of the family stayed on in Dongguan, but without the trappings of senior officialdom or aristocratic status.[2]

He Zhen's family records show that rigid status categories defined the relationships between territorial magnates and their subordinates. The magnates not only had tenants working for them, but also loyal servants and soldiers in the form of semi-servile "family men" (*jiading*). The personal loyalty expected of bond servants (*nu*) is well illustrated by the story of the treatment of one who betrayed his master, which is repeated in numerous Ming dynasty sources. While internecine warfare continued, He Zhen had offered 1,000 taels of silver for anyone who succeeded in capturing his arch opponent in 1366, He Cheng. However, when one of He Cheng's own bond servants tied him up and presented him to

He Zhen, the latter magnanimously released his opponent but had the servant bound above a cauldron of hot water and paraded in a cart, followed by a procession of drummers. The servant's wife was made to light the fire, and each time he screamed, the crowd jeered: "In all four quarters, nothing is as heinous as a bond servant arresting his master."[3]

He Zhen's exploits and success were exceptional in the Pearl River Delta, but it was a story that was repeated in many parts of China in the early Ming. The brief aristocratic interlude created legends, by which local people claimed their pedigrees. A well-documented case is that of the magnates of the Deng surname in the very area where He Zhen founded his power base, that is, in the eastern parts of the New Territories of Hong Kong. The Deng genealogies claim descent from a princess of the Song dynasty, which reason was given for their very extensive landholdings under the Ming dynasty. Similar claims of descent from Song princesses were made by at least four other lineages and might merely reflect the marriage of an ancestor to a woman of the Song imperial Zhao surname from one of various places such as Sanjing village in nearby Xinhui county.[4] The genealogies of the Deng surname record that in the early Ming era, their land had been lost to a powerful surname and then reclaimed when that surname lost its power, a description that must indicate the rise and decline of He Zhen's lineage.[5] The claim to imperial descent by the Deng surname, therefore, followed close on a tradition clearly exemplified in He Zhen's lineage building, even though the Deng surname did not ever produce a descendant who achieved a status close to He Zhen's.

The Deng surname, it must be understood, had settled in Dongguan from at least the Southern Song. By the early Ming, different groups of people of this surname might be found scattered in half a dozen districts. Claims to a common ancestry were fundamental in the establishment of rituals that kept alive their relationships as segments of the same lineage, and in the early Ming, these rituals were centered around the graves of the princess and her husband. Until the sixteenth century, none of these segments possessed an ancestral hall, and until the Qing dynasty, there was no central ancestral hall of sacrifice for all segments. The lineage building efforts of the early Ming consisted more of the establishment of a lineage estate that was controlled by a territorial group for the use of members of the group than of supraterritorial alliances of common-surname groups founded upon the holding of common property. All the while, written genealogies were being compiled, which, by integrating surname-group linkages into the reconstructed history of the lineage, were producing legends of common origins. The common pattern of all genealogies would

have described a founding ancestor settling down somewhere in the Pearl River Delta and his descendants then branching off to other districts, while one or more segments remained at the original settlement.[6]

Aside from the *bo* He Zhen, claims to imperial, aristocratic, or gentry origin in the early Ming are only at best historical and more often legendary. The claims were made often enough, although it is not always clear that they were necessarily substantiated. The Cui surname at Shatou and elsewhere traced their ancestry from the brother of Cui Yuzhi of the Southern Song, although Cui Yuzhi had come from Zengcheng and his grave was located there. The Li surname at Shawan traced descent from Li Maoying, but the point of that was, like the Deng legend of origin, to present Li's dubious aristocratic title of dynasty-founding baron (*kaiguo nan*) as justification for their landholdings on the coast. The Mo surname of the relatively small village of Dalao claimed descent from a Tang dynasty ancestor who had achieved the highest honor in the imperial examination.[7] The claims to a pedigree as demonstrated in these legends contrast sharply with the very popular origin legend of migration from Zhuji *xiang*. The legend, recording the exodus of a group of people from Zhuji *xiang* in the Nanxiong subprefecture of northern Guangdong, made no claim to any high status, and was commonly found among lineage groups settled in Nanhai and Shunde, even though a Zhuji *xiang* origin was not claimed exclusively by people from this area.

In the main, the Zhuji *xiang* legend records migration and settlement. The most popular version of the legend relates how, in the Song dynasty, a concubine of the emperor had eloped with a merchant of Zhuji *xiang*, and that as a result, to escape from the wrath of the emperor, the residents of the Zhuji *xiang* left their homes to migrate downriver to the south of the province and settled there. In order to leave Zhuji *xiang* and to make their homes elsewhere, the migrants petitioned the Nanxiong subprefect for a departure permit prior to leaving, and, upon arrival, they registered with the magistrates in the counties they settled in. Where the legend is given in full, an important component of the account consists of full reproduction of the petitions sent to the officials and permits given both at Nanxiong and the counties where they settled. The magistrate of Gang *zhou* (Xinhui county) was purported to have issued a notice saying:

> All land under heaven is the emperor's land and all the people within these shores are the emperor's people. As the tribute student [*gongsheng*] Luo Gui and others, all ninety-seven, have committed no offense, they are permitted to move to and settle in such places as Guangzhou, Gang *zhou*, and Daliang, and then, according to regulations, to add to the *tujia* register so that they might have their household

registration firmly affixed. Now that they have opened land to build sheds on and to farm for food, they should be held liable for tax and corvée service without fail. They are hereby [required] to present at Gang *zhou* their petition, joint guarantee and departure permit.[8]

The registration that the legend purports to account for is, therefore, clearly the household registration of the Ming, of which more will be said below, and the Ming, rather than Song origin of the legend is corroborated by the fact that we have no instance of the legend that can be dated earlier than the Ming.[9]

Studies of the subject often say that *lijia* registration was imposed by the Ming government in 1370, but this should be interpreted to mean no more than that a law requiring registration in *lijia* was promulgated in that year. It would be quite misleading to assume that by the promulgation of the law, *lijia* registration was immediately implemented over all parts of the empire. The idea of millions of households voluntarily registering with the county governments simply as a result of a law promulgated at the capital is too improbable to be taken seriously. It is much more reasonable to assume that only a small segment of the population would have registered in the early Ming, and that they would have done so, not because they wanted to be held liable for tax and labor service, but because circumstances were such that registration was impossible to dodge and that, for a minority, there might be advantages to it. He Zhen's family records are helpful for an understanding of how *lijia* registration might have been introduced, and what registration in these early days may have entailed. A crucial description of the registration records comes in a single line in the family records that describes He Zhen's surrender to the Ming government in 1368. He Zhen presented his seal and the registration records of the households and armed men under his control to the new imperial authorities. A tax record had been compiled in Dongguan in 1347, and He's household records may possibly have overlapped with records that the county government had compiled.[10] Household registration had also been imposed on 10,000 Dan households in 1382 in the coastal waterborne forces (*shuijun*).[11] He Zhen's two tours in Guangzhou, with the explicit mission of recruiting local men for military service, also assumed that those households were, at least, partially registered. Moreover, in 1394, only a year after He Zhen's family were to be beheaded, the military commander of Guangzhou, Hua Mao, petitioned for all Dan households in Dongguan and Xiangshan counties who had escaped arrest to be registered as military households. As a result of his petition, twenty-four garrisons (*weisuo*) were created in coastal parts of Guangzhou area.[12] It is remarkable, nonetheless, that

despite all this attention being paid to the Dan, He Zhen's family history makes no reference to them.[13] The government may have looked upon the boat-dwelling Dan as a potential threat, but the family history does not give the sense that the boatmen, or their overlord, were people of a different status or character from He Zhen's allies or opponents.

The uneven experience of the established lineages in the Pearl River Delta in registration is borne out by the genealogies. The Deng surname of different parts of Dongguan who claimed descent from the Song dynasty princess were never registered in the *lijia*, even though their relatives in nearby Pingshan village were from the first year of the Ming dynasty.[14] Not even the substantial estate that was held in the name of the Song princess at her grave site was registered as such. Likewise, there is no indication that Cui Yuzhi's descendants were registered in the *lijia*. Li Maoying's descendants do not seem to have registered, except for a single branch that was given military household status in 1394. The Mo family is in a more dubious position. The litigation document dated 1700 recorded in the genealogy cites a *lijia* reference for land donated to a Buddhist monastery in the Song and makes it quite clear that the registration predated the land measurement of 1581, which was conducted in Guangdong on a large scale.[15] The Zhao surname of Sanjiang village, self-acclaimed descendants of the Song emperors, accepted registration early: they had abandoned their surname during the Yuan, resumed it only in the early Ming, and registered in the *lijia* at various times also in the early Ming. The genealogy notes common descent from an ancestor of the twelfth generation who died in the early years of the Ming dynasty. Of his four sons, the eldest registered in 1381 as a tidal-dwelling (*chaoju*) household under the name Zhao Liancheng at the third *tu* seventh *jia*, and held responsibility for providing men to serve in one of the garrisons stationed on the edge of the Pearl River Delta. A name such as Zhao Liancheng ("Zhao adjacent to the city") is an obvious pseudonym that had been employed to set up a tax account. The second son was a partner with his elder brother in the first *tu* ninth *jia* from 1368, the year the Ming dynasty was founded, and set up his own registration account in the third *tu* seventh *jia* in 1381. In 1391, he was called up for military service, and to meet that liability, he dispatched a "purchased son" (*yu'nan*) to serve in a garrison at the capital in Nanjing. The genealogy notes that service at Nanjing was commuted in 1468 to service in nearby Xinhui county. It also notes a lineage dispute between the eldest son and the third and fourth sons over claims on newly reclaimed land. The third son, who had had to provide military service since 1376 in Beijing, was given tax liability for 2,200 *mu* in 1387. These liabilities were entered into the official

records in 1391. However, as the genealogy notes, because he had no son, the liabilities fell upon his younger brother. For reasons not disclosed in the genealogy, the younger brother sued his nephew (son of the eldest son) for the tax liabilities that had been enforced upon him, whereupon the nephew, Zhongjian, assigned coastal mudflats to him in compensation, which he then sold in lots. The story does not have a happy ending: he was poisoned by the purchaser, a man who was possibly related to the son-in-law of his second elder brother and who is noted as "having come from the north."[16] The tragic conclusion carries a ring of truth in the imposition of *lijia*, for registration had to do with land and with service. Far from being a mere census exercise, household registration has to be read in the light of acute conflicts of interest.

It was well known to contemporaries that tax could be avoided by sheltering landholdings under the protection of powerful families, and that the resultant tax liabilities were often transferred to the weak. To read the tax avoidance issue in a purely political context, however, is to miss the very important ritual-legal elements that were often employed in bringing it about. It cannot be overemphasized that *lijia* registration was implemented, not because the Ming government had a sufficient staff to impose it on its population, but, as the genealogies of the Pearl River Delta show, because, once *lijia* was created, it could be manipulated by local groups in the ritual-legal context to establish or avoid claims as they saw fit.

A very clear and intriguing case in point are the records of the Guan surname of Nanhai county, a group that was formed around the landed benefits that resulted from a hero figure among them in the Yuan-Ming transition. Young Guan Min (b. 1349) died as one of the local warlords who had come over to He Zhen's side in support of the Ming dynasty. For that reason, a temple was built in his honor in his home district in the early years of the Ming and land was allotted by the county government to provide for his sacrifice. Clever manipulation of *lijia* registration and lineage succession rules provided the precise rubric for control of the landed estate, and, as a result, created a lineage. Min being an only son, adoption of a nephew was arranged to continue his line, and a simplistic institutional interpretation of the genealogical record would have it that as the lineage developed, it divided into three segments traced from Min's father and his two uncles (his father's brothers). To adopt this view, however, would be to read the records with the eyes of the sixteenth century, when the lineage with the segmental control over sacrificial estates was coming into full strength, and to miss the essential ritual-legal background of the early Ming.

It should be obvious that in the early Ming, a father and three sons, even with their grandsons, did not add up to a lineage. In Guan Min's case, the family had settled in the village for only two generations: Guan Min's grandfather had moved there in the Yuan. Moreover, although the genealogy claims that the family was registered as a civilian household (*minji*), the grandfather's eldest son, who had a son and a daughter by birth, also had two adopted sons (*yinan*) who were responsible for military service. The second son had two sons and a daughter. The first of the two sons died without issue, while the second son also had two sons, one of whom was adopted posthumously by Guan Min. Guan Min's adopted son had six sons, one of whom was adopted by his uncle, who died without issue.[17]

The essential question to ask about this small group of roughly a dozen men is just who was in control of the landed estate and how. Obviously, descendants of the second segment were the winners. Military service was taken care of by the principal line, and by providing a son to succeed Guan Min and accepting sacrificial duties towards him, the second line effectively managed possibly the only sacrificial temple devoted to any member of the entire descent group. The principal line of descent, that is, the first son in the third generation, was effectively sidelined by the focus on sacrifice to Guan Min. The anomalous inclusion of the senior line in the genealogy would, therefore, probably have arisen with *lijia* registration in the Ming, and it served the purpose of passing military service onto a line of the family, while someone else laid claim to the sacrificial property.

When the details of descent arrangements in the early Ming are examined and related to sacrifice and, therefore, to landholding, the imperial government does not appear as an overarching authority imposing its will on local society, as is often claimed in studies of the *lijia*. Instead, the image emerges that administrative arrangements gave legal implications to ritual rules, such as the rules of descent. Household registration would, therefore, have been a means that granted titles to landholding. The imposition of a legal definition on a household had implications for inheritance, because it allowed the manipulation of adoption to become a factor in controlling landed property. Yet, because inheritance carried with it the obligations of sacrifice, this legal complex could be and often was discussed in ritual terms. Periodic sacrifice for a relative built into the genealogical context, as we can see in the example of Guan Min's temple, had broad implications for state-village relationships that went far beyond symbols.

The delegation of military service to a lineage segment so that another,

and, most likely, more powerful segment could concentrate on amassing a landed estate must have been a common occurrence in the early Ming, and examples of such practices are quite commonly recorded in the genealogies. In those troubled times, acquisition of properties had much to do with political alignment, as might be imagined. The He surname of Xiaolan records that its ancestor Hanming (1358–1412) went as far as to petition directly to the metropolitan capital against the atrocities committed in his village by the local bully, whose property was confiscated as a result. How a villager of Xiaolan could have directly petitioned the capital is left unclear in the record, but the friendship he developed with an unnamed Guangdong provincial administration commissioner is noted, as well as his registration in 1381 and his appointment as a headman of the *lijia* in the military garrisons of Xiaolan. Moreover, it was his father who was first registered in the *lijia*, as early as 1371, as a civilian household. By 1383, Hanming was required to serve in the garrisons at Nanjing, and claiming the limitation of old age, he dispatched a son to take his place. The He surname eventually became one of the most notable lineages of Xiaolan, and it is obvious from this account that the foundations of its estate were laid down in these early days.[18]

The Establishment of Lineage Rituals

The connection of landholding to provision for sacrifice raises the question of whether the tradition had continued from the neo-Confucian beginnings in the Southern Song. The answer to this question varies. For most parts of the Pearl River Delta, where land development took place primarily in the Ming, the Yuan-Ming transition led to a period of slow economic revival, and the provision of imperial awards, first by ad hoc imperial favor, and soon by the imperial examination, extended the literary aspirations embodied in neo-Confucian teachings. Yet, in those parts of the delta and nearby areas, such as in Dongguan county, where a neo-Confucian tradition had been firmly established in the Southern Song, the establishment of the lineage tradition took on the character of a revival, whether real or imaginary. The circumstances by which a common-surname group might adopt a lineage structure, and whether that necessarily implied the adoption of collective ancestral sacrifice in the style advocated by neo-Confucian writers, cannot readily be settled by the skimpy documentary evidence available in most genealogies. However, rare examples, such as the following, show that the adoption of a lineage structure was closely related to the adoption of Neo-Confucian rituals in the early Ming.

The following passage taken from the genealogy of the Rong surname of Xiangshan county indicates that the establishment of a lineage structure depended not only on descent but also on the creation of an ancestral sacrificial estate to provide an income for regular sacrifice. The lineage structure was put in place in decisions reached in 1386 even before the lineage built itself an ancestral hall:

> I was orphaned early in life. When I was young, I lived in the village, where the rites connected with the holding of an ancestral trust by reputable lineages were not found. All that we knew was that in the families of our friends and relatives, on the occasions of the festivals or the days commemorating the birth or death of the ancestors, each family provided for sacrifice according to its means. This was the local custom of Xiangshan county of honoring the ancestors at all times. In my family, our great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather had left us just over 30 *mu* of salt fields, from which a rent of over 100 *shi* was collected. Each segment in the lineage took turns to manage the estate and to provide for sacrifice. Later on, we lost our sincerity, and sometimes even on the birthdays of great-great-grandfather or great-grandfather, we did not sacrifice. At the time, I was too young to speak my mind, but all this time I harbored the thought in my heart. When I was 18 *sui*, I became a stipendiary student, and by the light of my windows, every spring my heart was stirred as the dew gathered, and every winter it felt wounded as the frost came. . . . In the nineteenth year of Hongwu [1386], on the first day of the first month, when old and young met in our ancestral house [*zongshe*], I told them what was on my mind. When my brothers heard what I said, they were all taken aback and quite ashamed of themselves. We therefore set up sacrifice for spring and autumn for all male and female ancestors of all segments in the lineage. . . . It was a pity that we did not decide on a senior segment. However, we compiled a record of all those who should be held responsible for offering sacrifice, and wrote down [their names] on a wooden plaque, so that they might perform sacrifice in rotation. Those brothers and nephews of ours who were not entered into the record on this occasion might be included later. Alas! Life consists only of the four qualities of benevolence, righteousness, rites, and music. . . . Even poor families must provide for benevolence, righteousness, rites, and music, for otherwise they are hardly worthy of being referred to as human beings.[19]

The Rong surname genealogy indicates that the writer was the first member of the lineage to have acquired an official title, if only as a stipendiary student. It is also significant that adoption of a lineage structure required the registration in writing of members of the lineage who might take turns in providing for sacrifice. Reference to the ancestors as "great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather" suggests that the estate had been kept among descendants defined within the five grades of mourning. Beyond the five grades, the common-surname group might have regarded itself as having moved beyond the immediate family. The adoption of a

common ritual in ancestral sacrifice would therefore have catered to the lineage as it expanded through descent, even though its property-management structure was inherent in the family group.

A more elaborate tradition of ancestral sacrifice would have been adopted by lineages that had been established from an earlier time, which in some cases included the performance of rituals in an ancestral hall. The following stele inscription found at the entrance to the Li surname ancestral hall at Hengyong village in Dongguan county indicates that this lineage had continued to trace a descent structure from the Southern Song and through the Yuan dynasty, and that the early Ming attempts to build an ancestral hall were regarded as a revival of earlier traditions. Tracing descent to the first ancestor to settle in the village, a man by the name Su, it says:

> Much of the history of the generations after Su is known. There was [a descendant] who carved the flesh from his own buttocks to serve to his parents, and who was awarded an imperial inscription to hang over his door when this deed became known to the imperial court. This [grant] allowed the village [in which he lived] to be known as the "foundations of virtue." For this reason, a hall was built to the east of the village where his ancestors were sacrificed to. Some hundreds of *mu* were set aside to supply the plentiful food used at the hall. A communal school was also built to the west of the hall, where teachers were hired to teach members of the lineage. Towards the end of the Song, these places were all destroyed by the troops. In the Guisi year of the Zhiyuan period [1293], the entire lineage joined forces to repair the hall to its former state. In the Yiwei year of Zhizheng [1355], it was once again destroyed by the troops, and little of it was left. After the Great Ming [dynasty] was founded, in the third year of Hongwu [1370], the Li lineage again restored the communal school. They were just about to construct a sacrificial hall, but were incapable of doing it and so set up a sacrificial estate instead. Every year the head of the lineage [*zuchang*] led his sons and grandsons to conduct sacrifice at the school. It was only in the Jimao [1375] year that an ancestral hall was completed and sacrifice could be held in spring and autumn, as willed by our ancestors. For the hundred years from the Yuan dynasty until now, several people had started as scholars at home and achieved the posts of teachers or officials, and some even as magistrates. Tenth-generation descendant Guang was the first to be so appointed, as an imperial censor.[20]

Descendant Guang held the degree of *juren* by recommendation, awarded in 1372.[21] It is possible, therefore, to read this record as another account of the establishment of lineage rituals upon the acquisition of an official degree by a member of the lineage. The record nevertheless states clearly that a ritual tradition had continued from the end of the Song. The surname group had in the Song received an imperial award in recognition of an act of filial piety, as the result of which a hall had been built where

sacrifice to the ancestors might be held and a sacrificial estate was maintained. The attempt to revive the hall through collective effort suggests that a lineage structure had survived. Yet, in those early days in the Ming dynasty, not all lineages could legitimately lay claim to an ancestral hall. An inscription written in the same year on the reverse side of the same stele says (with omissions in original):

> The formality of the sacrificial hall is not ancient. In the old days, ministers were accorded three temples, and this compared with [omission] had two temples, and this arrangement allowed them one temple less than that permitted ministers. Ordinary officials had one temple, and compared to ministers [omission]. In later times, the lords had no walled cities and the ministers had no fiefdom, and so it was inevitable that the formality became. . . .
>
> Those who respected their ancestors were lax in their practice. Those who sought to serve their parents found it tedious and lacked respect. . . . The rituals of lineage temples as required by the early kings were as good as having been abolished. Scholars and commoners who were not allowed [to build these temples] called them sacrificial halls, so that they might carry on the sincerity of repaying their progenitors and paying respect to the ancestors. This was why the Guangdong Li surname lineage sacrificial hall was built.[22]

The omissions recorded in the translation reflect the present state of the stele inscriptions and can be quite fully filled in from Ming ritual texts. Early Ming law made it quite clear that the number of generations to whom sacrifice might be offered was regulated: ranked officials sacrificed to ancestors of four generations, and commoners could sacrifice only to their parents and grandparents. It also specified that only ranked officials could sacrifice to these ancestors in a building that was built in a structure known as a "family temple" (*jiamiao*). Yet the law did not forbid the building of sacrificial halls near the graves, as was the custom in the Song dynasty. Unlike He Zhen, who was given the rank of a minister and who, therefore, could sacrifice to his ancestors in a family temple, the Li surname of Dongguan did not qualify for sacrifice to their ancestors in a building of this style. Instead, therefore, the Li surname referred to the building in which they sacrificed to their ancestors as the "sacrificial hall" (*citang*), and, at times during the Yuan and early Ming, the charity school building had also doubled for this purpose. As the Ming dynasty unfolded, changes were to be introduced to the style of the buildings in which ancestral sacrifice was to be conducted. In the early years of the Ming dynasty, it should be noted, the status differentiation as required by law and reified in the *lijia* was closely observed.[23]

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Recession of Labor Service

Comprehensive registration in the *lijia* was introduced in the mid fifteenth century, when the character of *lijia* itself was gradually changing from rigid requirement of service provision to substitution by payment in silver, and from an emphasis on the registration of households to registration of landholdings. This was a slow process, which took most of the hundred years from the mid fifteenth century to the mid sixteenth, and it began in earnest in the parts of the delta that were most closely involved with the Huang Xiaoyang uprising in 1449. Crucial to the introduction of comprehensive registration in this area was the possibility of a change in status. In this region, where many registered households would have been regarded as Dan, the events of the uprising and declaration of loyalty during it provided an opportunity whereby their Dan status could be renounced through registration as civilian households. The Huang Xiaoyang uprising, therefore, became the marker by which registered communities came to be recognized. The areas affected by the uprising were not the only ones in which commoner registration was to take over, but the beginning of commoner registration in these areas marked the change of a trend that extended to all of the Pearl River Delta.

The Huang Xiaoyang Uprising, 1449

Little is known about Huang Xiaoyang. A near-contemporary account of the uprising, dated 1451, describes him as "a small commoner" (*xiaomin*) from a poor family who had worked as a hired laborer. After being imprisoned because he had killed a man in a land dispute, he was pardoned and released. He then became a "bandit on the sea" (*haimian*

wei dao). On being rearrested, he was charged with the crime of being a sea bandit (*haiyang qiangdao*). The description is not really adequate to allow Huang to be placed precisely in Pearl River Delta society, but the combination of poverty, being a hired laborer, contesting for land, and then taking to sea rather easily suggests that he might have been close to those low-status dwellers on reclaimed land known popularly as Dan.

Huang broke out of prison in 1449, released the other prisoners, took weapons from the arsenal where he had been imprisoned, seized several "houseboats" (*zhujia teng*), and returned to piracy. At this point, government troops went after him, but the twenty-three boats that were sent to fight him were defeated. As Huang had more boats built for himself back at his village, local villagers came over to his side, and his following grew to over 10,000 men.

In a matter of months, Huang launched his attack on nearby settlements. With no opposition, he quickly established his authority in Guizhou, Fengjian, Daliang, and Maqi, that is to say, in the part of Nanhai county that was to become Shunde county after the rebellion. According to the account of 1451, only the elders of Longjiang township, led by one Xiao Bi, stood up to him. The precise arrangement recorded is significant for an appreciation of Pearl River Delta society in those years. In the belief that "if they acted without petitioning for authority from the officials, the people could not act with one will, and if they did not swear by the spirit of the deities, the covenant would not be effective," the people of Longjiang obtained from the Guangdong governor a yellow flag and a notice to be posted in the village, established themselves into ten divisions under the leadership of ten *jiazhang* (headmen of the *jia*), slaughtered pigs and chickens on a nearby hill, sipped blood, and drew up a covenant declaring their unwavering opposition to Huang Xiaoyang, which was read out as incense was burnt to heaven. Aside from mounting a defense at Longjiang, they also entered into alliance with the villages in the districts of Beicun, Shatou, Longshan, Jiujiang, and Datong. When the bandits came, they successfully resisted the onslaught.[1]

The division of the communities in the area that became the border of Nanhai and Shunde counties into two camps is likewise significant. Guizhou, Fengjian, Daliang, and Maqi lie to the south of the area, while Shatou, Longshan, Jiujiang, and Longjiang lie more to the north. The south comes within the border of the reclamation. The point to be made is not that the uprising necessarily represented conflict between land developers and their low-status tenants and laborers, but that through the affiliation the settlements adopted, they came to acquire a status within the imperial structure. After all, there was no sharp physical divide be-

tween the northern and the southern settlements, and until land was registered, there was no clear division between tenant and landlord.

The division into government and rebel factions is corroborated in an account in the Guangdong provincial gazetteer of the imperial appointment as provincial governor of Yang Xinmin, who came to the relief of Guangzhou in 1450:

> Yang Xinmin . . . who was promoted to Guangdong assistant administration commissioner in Zhengtong 11 [1446] . . . was arrested and dispatched to Beijing in Zhengtong *jisi* [1449] on account of his petition against a case of corruption. The people of Guangdong did not want him to leave, and so over 14,000 people from military, civilian, sojourning, Yao, Man, and salt-producing households approached the native official [*tusi*] to ask for his retention [in Guangdong], and He Ning and other elders petitioned and vouched for him. He was, therefore, reinstated and given an appointment as the commanding officer of White Goat Pass. Ning and others then petitioned, saying that with the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, they wished that Xinmin might be reappointed to Guangdong, and that they believed that if that could be done, the bandits might be put down. The emperor approved the request, summoned him for a audience, awarded him a banquet fitting for a senior official, and appointed him governor of Guangdong and assistant censor-in-chief. When Yang Xinmin arrived in Guangzhou, there were tens of thousands of bandits. [At this time,] a civilian had been arrested and put in jail on suspicion of being one of the bandits when he entered the city to present a petition. Yang Xinmin ordered that he be released and *issued for distribution in all directions several ten thousand leaflets bearing his seal, saying, "Even if it is someone who has been a bandit and guilty of killing, if he holds one of these leaflets, he is pardoned for his crimes. All who wish to enter the city are allowed to do so"* [emphasis added]. When this command was issued, because Xinmin had always had the trust of the people, people rushed to the city. Many came to the foot of his official platform and wept. Xinmin wept with them and sent them home, giving them grain for relief. At the time, some officials and common people asked who should be held responsible if the bandits, encouraged to enter the city, brought about untoward incidents. Xinmin said, "I shall myself be responsible." In another month, there were only a few hundred bandits left.[2]

This account is consistent not only with the alignment of loyalty in Longjiang already cited but also with the record from the genealogy of the Liu surname of Fengjian of its ancestor Songxi who died at the hands of government troops because his name had been included on a roll kept by Huang Xiaoyang. It is also vividly corroborated in the genealogical biography of one He Honglu (1421–49) of Xiaolan, which says, "The gentleman was serving as village head [*xiangzheng*], and when the imperial commissioner issued a notice to pacify the people, he grabbed the notice and led the people against the bandits."[3] Similar defensive alliances were set up at Jiujiang and Foshan.[4] The Foshan alliance is so well docu-

mented that it is worth examining it in some detail in order to unravel the social changes that came about as a result of the rebellion.[5]

The Foshan covenant was made at a temple in the town devoted to the Northern Deity (Beidi), an apparition of whom had appeared in support of Foshan's defenders. After the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, this temple was granted the name Temple of Efficacious Response (Lingying *ci*) by imperial award, and spirit tablets for the twenty-two leaders of the defense of Foshan were subsequently installed in a side hall, the Temple of Flowing Fragrance (Liufang *ci*), to be regularly sacrificed to.[6] The definitive account of the drawing up of this covenant is given by Chen Zhi, in a report written in 1450. Chen was an official serving under the assistant administration commissioner of Guangdong, Jie Ji, who inspected the Foshan area after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising and personally saw some of the defense that was mounted there. He reported:

> The rebels made it known that they wanted to attack Foshan. The elders went to the ancestral temple [i.e., the Northern Deity's temple] to ask the deity by divination if they would come. The deity said it was certain that they would. The elders therefore gathered together the people of their *xiang*. They selected the strong and the brave, prepared their weapons, dug ditches, set up wooden barricades on a circumference of more than ten *li*, and along it set up thirty-five *pu*, each *pu* establishing a leader who was in charge of over three hundred men. They slaughtered animals, drank of their blood, and swore an oath to the deity, asking him to smite those who were not of one heart and who would withdraw when the enemies appeared.[7]

The similarity with Longjiang's covenant is to be expected; there, the word *pu* was also used to stand for contracting parties. The word was sufficiently puzzling to the learned editor of the 1752 Foshan gazetteer for him to include a commentary on it. He noted that it would normally stand for a cluster of shops, but that it might, by corruption, be taken to refer to a location where troops where positioned. For him, therefore, in the Foshan context, the word simply stood for the places at which resistance to Huang Xiaoyang was organized. He knew all the names of the *pu*, of which he thought there were twenty-four, all of which he marked clearly on a map of Foshan included in the gazetteer.[8]

It should be quite understandable that with the expansion of the town over time, the number of *pu* in Foshan would have varied between the fifteenth century and the eighteenth. Eighteenth-century records recall, nevertheless, that Foshan had been divided into nine *she*, the word that in eighteenth-century reports stood for the earth-god shrines at which local village communities sacrificed. Although the word does not appear

in contemporary records of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, there is no doubt that the shrines were rallying points for the neighborhoods even in the early Ming. The Guluo *she*, reputed to be one of the very oldest in Foshan, was an open-air earth-god shrine adjacent to the Northern Deity's temple. The Zumiao *pu*, which could possibly have been translated as the Northern Deity's temple ward, designated the area in Foshan in which the Northern Deity's temple was located. The Northern Deity's temple itself, it is recorded in two essays that were written before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, served as a rallying point at the end of the Yuan dynasty when bandits attacked the villages. Eighteenth-century commemorative accounts of the *she* of Foshan recall the tradition that Foshan was marked out by the nine *she*. One account notes that at the Fuli *she*, an honorific board dated 1488 was seen. Another records that one of the defenders of Foshan in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising was sacrificed to at the *she* and not at the side hall of the Northern Deity's temple, where after the rebellion the spirit tablets of the surviving leaders of the Foshan defense were installed. The 1752 Foshan gazetteer understood that the *she*, in contrast to the *pu*, were foci of local sacrifice and religious festivities (*sai*).[9]

Aside from the nine *she* and twenty-four *pu*, eighteenth-century Foshan also recalled the eight *tu*. This last term stood for the administrative arrangement that took into account local establishment within *lijia* household registration, the history of which, like that of the *pu* and the *she*, had much to do with the Huang Xiaoyang uprising.

The implementation of *lijia* required the establishment of registration groupings known in Ming law as *li*, into which the household (*jia*) was entered. In Guangdong, the *li* district was often referred to as the *tu*, and *lijia* as *tujia*. An explanation for the use of the word is available from the earliest edition of the Guangdong provincial gazetteer, compiled in 1535. There, Governor Dai Jing, the editor, commented: "The law of our state is such that under the *lijia* arrangement, every 110 households form a *li*, and those falling within the same square [*geyan*] are known as a *tu*." The comment would suggest that by 1535, registration tables had been prepared for the area covered by the *lijia*, and one of the reasons that Governor Dai Jing had made his comments on the tax arrangement was precisely that he was drawing up regulations for the compilation of those tax tables in one of a series of reforms that in Ming tax history was known as the "equalization of service" (*junyao*).[10] There is, however, no need to assume that "equalization of service" began with Governor Dai in 1535: the same Assistant Administration Commissioner Jie Ji, who

held office in Guangdong immediately after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, eighty years before the governor, was credited with having introduced the reform.[11]

The evidence does not point to the absence of *lijia* registration in the Foshan area before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, but rather to much greater systematization of the records afterwards. A complete listing of the households registered in the eight *tu* of Foshan was recorded in the town's gazetteer compiled in 1666, together with the tax grain for which each *tu* was responsible.[12] It is unlikely that the listing was made before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising.

In the early Ming, Foshan was an industrial town inhabited by iron smelters. The foundries were located near the Northern Deity's temple, and as prosperity grew, in 1429, the wealthier among the iron smelters purchased the land in front of the temple and installed a lotus pond there as an indication of their devotion to the deity. The commemorative essay notes that the tax to be paid on the land so purchased was assumed by the elders Liang Wenwei and Huo Fo'er.[13] Huo Fo'er lived to become one of the defenders of Foshan in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, indicating the continuation of the generation of the early fifteenth century in the Foshan leadership. The donation is the earliest reference to any land tax being paid in Foshan, and it is thus instructive to relate it to the social background of the donors. According to his genealogy, Huo Fo'er was the ninth-generation descendant of the first ancestor who had settled in Foshan. The number of generations cited in such contexts has, however, to be taken with great caution: the genealogical naming suggests total ignorance of early ancestral names, and when it is compared with the number of generations for which grave sites are cited, Fo'er would have offered sacrifice to ancestors no earlier than his great-grandfather. The same lack of genealogical depth is evident in the cases of two relatives of his who became defenders of Foshan. These were not people who had been registered in the early Ming but owners and workmen in household industry, some of whom became wealthy. The recognition given them at the end of the uprising was the first indication of recognized status. Well before that, they would have been members of village alliances at local earth-god shrines, donors to the Northern Deity's temple, and, for that reason, members of the defensive arrangement known as the *pu*, but until Foshan was registered as the eight *tu*, they would not have been members of a *lijia* unit.[14]

Anecdotal evidence from Foshan genealogies indicates the wide variety of arrangements whereby Foshan resident households related to the

state in the days before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising and the change thereafter. The clearest indication of a household registered in *lijia* was the Chen surname of the Foshan Heyuan district, whose genealogies record not only the *lijia* registration name and address (in the household of Chen Jin in the fifth *jia* of the twentieth *tu*) but also the Zhuji *xiang* legend of migration to account for settlement in Foshan, a feature that would be consistent with many other surnames of the Pearl River Delta who were registered in the *lijia* in the fifteenth century.[15] In contrast, the Li family, which in the seventeenth century produced Li Daiwen, one of the most distinguished of Foshan's literati, records the story that the bones of the fourth ancestor and his son, who had lived in the fifteenth century, were sold by some of their descendants and were recovered only in the sixteenth century.[16] Nor does the genealogy of Liang Zhuo (d. 1528), another Foshan literatus who rose to senior officialdom, contain any reference to *lijia* registration, for, like some other lineages that did not register under the *lijia* in the early Ming, this lineage traced descent from a Song princess.[17]

From the mid fifteenth century on, the landholding population's reception of *lijia* changed. The genealogy of the Xian surname at Dongtou in Foshan, descendants of one of the defenders of the town during the uprising, notes that the family registered under five household names in two separate *tu*, one of them under military household status holding garrison land (*tuntian*). As was the practice in genealogical entries, registration was backdated to the first ancestor who had settled in Foshan towards the end of the Song dynasty, and so it is not clear when it occurred, but the following line is indicative of the timing: "From the first to the third generations in this branch, there was only a single heir. The fourth-generation ancestor had three sons, and the fifth generation rose to official honors. By the sixth generation, the family's wealth was increasing. It held plot after plot of land by the footpaths, and its wealth dominated the town. Having acquired land and houses, it set up many households so that taxes might be paid."[18]

Six generations after the end of the Song dynasty, allowing for the rule-of-the-thumb thirty years for each generation, would date the acquisition of land and registration for tax towards the end of the fifteenth century. In other words, in the several decades since the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, *lijia* was much more widely practiced than it had been, but it was no longer implemented as a registration of households—as had been the official intention—but rather as a tax register in relation to the holding of land.

Lijia Registration and Landholding: The Case of the Luo Surname of Shunde

It has to be recognized that the implementation of *lijia* involved much more than the mechanical application of an administrative procedure. It was a complicated undertaking with implications for the distribution of power in the areas in which it was implemented. It involved, at very least, imputing to the state a role in the allocation of status. Closely related to that would have been official recognition of, and therefore protection for, the amassing of land. The entire Pearl River Delta was being transformed by land registration under the terms of the *lijia* by the mid fifteenth century, but, the change was probably more obvious in the areas where intense land reclamation was going on, such as in Nanhai and Shunde, than in the parts of the delta that had been long settled, such as in much of Dongguan. The residents of the newly reclaimed portions of the delta, that is to say, the sands, would in the early years of the Ming have been registered as low-caste Dan. The Huang Xiaoyang uprising provided the opportunity for the prominent households among these people to reregister as commoners and, in this way, eventually to transform themselves into some of the most powerful local landed lineages. The history of this transformation in Nanhai and Shunde thus illustrates the power politics of local government in the Ming.

Shunde county was established, in 1451, as a result of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. The part of the delta that became this county was, in the early Ming, part of Nanhai. Its county seat was created at the town of Daliang, which from the founding days of the county was dominated by people of the Luo surname, one of whom was credited with having petitioned Guangdong Assistant Administration Commissioner Jie Ji for the establishment of Shunde in the immediate aftermath of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising.[19] There is no question that the Luo surname was powerful. A preface written for the genealogy in 1610 describes the position of the lineage in the county thus: "The Luo surname are a big surname [*daxing*] in Shunde. They live just outside the northern wall of the city, [and they are so numerous] that the elders cannot recognize the children by name. In terms of population, they count as one-tenth in the county. In terms of scholars, they count as two-tenths. In terms of members of the gentry, they count as three-tenths."[20]

Not only did the Luo surname petition for the founding of the county, they also donated the land on which the county seat was built. The magistrate of Shunde county in 1721 wrote that the donation included 571

mu of land, on which stood all the public buildings—the city walls, the yamen, granaries, kitchens, parade ground, meeting houses [*gongguan*], shrines, altar to wandering spirits, monasteries, and temples. He also noted that the ninety households grouped within the nine *tu* of the city were registered by Luo Zhong.[21]

The early history of the Luo surname in Daliang is not well recorded. There were people of this surname who were descended from strongmen who defected to the Ming government at the end of the Yuan. One sixteenth-century account recalled that when He Zhen came recruiting armed men in 1383, the Luo surname came to an agreement with him that they would bear arms as long as they were not posted away from Guangdong, and, as a result, came to be posted in nearby garrisons.[22] Nearer the time of Luo Zhong's petition, an essay written by the magistrate Qian Pu (magistrate of Shunde from 1464–67) to record some of his own achievements gives the impression that the locality was for the most part undeveloped until then. He sums up the geography of Daliang in two lines: to its east, south, and north, it borders the river, and to the west, it rises into the Jinbang Hills.[23] The description agrees with Luo Zhong's summary of the geography of Daliang in his petition on the founding of the county: marshland (*zeguo*) in the midst of which were several hills. However, located in the Jinbang Hills, as can be ascertained from the Luo surname genealogy, was also the symbolic grave of the Luo surname's pivotal second ancestor, which would have stood out as a marker for a territorial claim. As will be clear from a detailed examination of the written record, it was no accident that the land grant from the Luo family was located by the ancestral grave, for by making the grant and establishing the county, the nature of the landholding was totally transformed.

Magistrate Qian Pu left an account of the genealogy of the lineage as described by Zhong in an essay commemorating the writing of a plaque to be hung at the entrance of an ancestral hall. This important document needs translation and examination in full for a grasp of the social transformation that followed the area's administrative change:

> Gentleman for Managing Affairs [*chengshi lang*] of the Seventh Rank by Imperial Award Luo Zhong, styled Tingzhi and also known as Cangzhou and Yulue, is a resident of Zhoutou in Gongbei *fang*, outside Shunde city. When in the third year after I assumed office as Shunde magistrate, I was by imperial decree summoned to return to my former position, and Zhong came to pay his respects to me and said:
>
> "I have as my founding ancestor Huizhi, a man of Nanxiong [prefecture]. At the end of the Song, he moved to Feng Hill at Daliang *bao* in Nanhai [county]

and made his home there. Huizhi was the father of Baozhen, who late in his life practiced personal cultivation at the Purple Cloud Garden on the east of the hill, which today is known as the Xuanzhen Monastery. Baozhen was the father of Yanrong. Yanrong was the father of Yan. Yan was the father of Yuanzhong. Only then was an ancestral sacrificial estate set up to provide for sacrifice at the graves. Yuanzhong was the father of Jingren. Jingren studied, was not successful in becoming an official, but added to the estate. Jingren was the father of Defeng. Defeng was the father of the four men, Yinglong, Yingquan, Ziren, and Jingpu. Jingpu was my direct ancestor.

Jingpu was the father of three: my father, Shengbao, and my uncles Ding and Yong. Shengbao was the father of the four: Zhuo, Lu, Mai, and myself. Ding had no heir and so adopted me as heir. Yong was the father of Xiu and Chang. Shengbao lived on the Lower Lane and was known by the name the Gentleman of the Shabby Lane. In the Xuande period [1426–35], he built a lineage branch ancestral hall [*xiao zong citang*] to the east of his house for sacrifice to the ancestors of four generations. Since the Zhengtong period [1436–49], my father and elder brothers had died one after the other, and our houses and ancestral hall were all destroyed in the military turmoil, to my despair. In the early years of the Jingtai period [1450–56], the imperial court having quelled the bandits, I consulted the elders and was told that three districts of Nanhai would be set aside to create Shunde county, with its county seat at Daliang. I donated funds of my own [for this purpose] and rebuilt the ancestral hall at its former location.

However, between the founding ancestor and myself, there have been numerous generations. The descendants are numerous, exceeding a thousand. Some of them have been outstanding and able to gain a place in the county school. At times when the imperial court was in need in Guangdong and Guangxi, it had allowed the common people to contribute grain towards military supplies in order to gain awards of status. [On those occasions,] I did not avoid hardship and danger and contributed 300 *shi* of grain, which I transported by sea to Yangjiang. I was honored by award of the cap and sash and an official title. All this has been achieved with the help of the merit passed on by our ancestors. However, for fear that our descendants might momentarily forget the causes of all this and be ignorant of it when asked . . . I beg that you grant us the words in which it may be remembered, so that we might carve [them] into stone to remain forever."

When I heard this, I sighed and said, "Zhong knows of his origins! For this reason, his heart will be shared by his kinsmen, and a hundred generations from now they will still be of one body. Is this lineage not virtuous? As Mencius said of old, 'The merits of people who value loyalty and long remember [their] ancestors are great indeed.' I have been magistrate here for more than a year and not been able to impart virtue fully, and yet towards the end [of my term], there are people who know their origins to such an extent. This is also a sign of virtue. I record for them [these words] to be used at the head [of the hall, i.e., above the front entrance] and look with virtue on the people of this county.[24]

A name plaque written by the magistrate to be hung over the entrance of the ancestral hall, complete with a commemorative account, was, of

course, meant to grant recognition and status. The first line of the account makes this clear, in that it begins by referring to Zhong's official position, and the status of the lineage in the entire county was left beyond doubt by the magistrate saying in the last paragraph, in effect, that he shared the pride of the lineage in its status. Nevertheless, as the account also makes clear, gentry status, as defined by the acquisition of an official title, had come only by Zhong's generation: his great-great-grandfather Jingren had been the only scholar, and he had failed the examination. Zhong's degree had been awarded in return for public service rather than scholarship. Some descendants might have been enrolled in the county school, but none had merited mention by name. This was a family only rising into gentry status.

However, it is the oral history that is made the center of attention in this account, and it should be first noted that none of this was supported by the production of any documentary evidence, an indication—as might be expected of a family that was only beginning to reach gentry status—that this was the first time the genealogy had been recorded. Moreover, it should also be noted that the account essentially relates the establishment of ancestral sacrifice by Luo Zhong to a tradition reputedly predating the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. Crucial to this development was the lineage branch ancestral hall that had been established by Zhong's father, Shengbao, alias the Gentleman of the Shabby Lane, which had been destroyed during the uprising and then rebuilt by Zhong. Two comments in the account pinpoint the nature of the hall: first, that it had offered sacrifice only for four generations, and second, that it was known as the "lineage branch ancestral hall." Implicit in the use of the term "lineage branch ancestral hall" is that there might be a "main branch ancestral hall" (*da zongci*) located elsewhere at which sacrifice was offered to the lineage's founding ancestor and his immediate descendants. These comments suggest, in effect, that Zhong's lineage branch recognized that it was only a portion of the lineage, and that their hall served as a focus only for descendants of a branch ancestor.

Reference to the genealogy makes very clear that prior to Luo Zhong's repair of his branch ancestral hall, no main branch ancestral hall as such had been built. The closest of what might have appeared to Luo Zhong as a main branch ancestral hall would have been the Xuanzhen Monastery, at which the second ancestor Baozhen had sought enlightenment. In 1549, when Baozhen's grave was repaired, a commemorative essay written by the Shunde literatus He Lie recorded: "In his later life, he [i.e., Baozhen] practiced personal cultivation at the Immortal Welcoming Loft, which is the Xuanzhen Monastery today. The Cinnabar Well and the Purple

Cloud Garden were his land. On his land, the people of the village have carved a statue bearing his features, and they sacrifice to him there at the beginning and the end of the year. This has been the custom since the Song dynasty."[25] Significantly, therefore, the shrine at which sacrifice was made to a pivotal ancestor was maintained not as a lineage shrine but as a village one. Significantly, also, in the same commemorative account, the author, He Lie, writes that although Baozhen lived to be a hundred and twenty, an age that would have established him as an immortal, "I say that the gentleman has survived undiminished because of his virtue and not his age."[26] The defense is highly significant, because it indicates that sacrifice to Baozhen had previously been offered in recognition of his powers as an immortal, and that in the process of lineage building, he had been turned into an ancestor.

The story does not end there, however. An essay written in 1519 to commemorate the Daoist Yue Yuan of the Xuanzhen Monastery adds complication to this institution:

> There are few ancient relics in the city wards of Shunde, except for a building standing about half a *li* to the south of the city. When you look at it, it is dark and mysterious. This is the building known as the Hall of the Three Sages. . . . [omission] cultivated Daoism here, and to this day, the Cinnabar Well remains. In the first hundred years of this the Ming dynasty, the district in which it is located, Daliang, was governed under Nanhai. At the time, the building was overgrown with vines, lost in the midst of mysterious clouds, and seldom visited by people. By 1452, when Daliang was put under Shunde, to the west of the hall . . . [omission] was built, and a plaque was set up under the name Xuanzhen Monastery. [This building] and . . . [omission] stood side by side on the east and west. Magistrate Zhou gave the monastery land that belonged to sacrificial halls that had been abandoned. When the records were prepared, the gentleman [Yue Yuan] had died, and so the property was not handed over. For this reason, [the monastery] was burdened by bogus tax liabilities and for several decades, sacrifice at the monastery was suspended.[27]

It should be clearly stated that the omissions in this passage consisted of characters that had been effaced from the stele on which the inscription had been carved, as noted by the writers of the gazetteer that recorded the stele. The name of a person who was said to have cultivated Daoism at the Hall of the Three Sages was struck out, and so was the name of the building adjacent to the hall. What was this hall, and why were its name and that of its devotee deleted?

The answers to these questions are not hard to find. The Qing dynasty editions of the Shunde gazetteer note that next to the Xuanzhen Monastery was a Buddhist monastery built in the Five Dynasties period,

the Baolin Monastery. A 1677 account notes that prior to its revival around that time, the 200 *mu* of land that the monastery had owned had all been sold, and that the monastery was all but abandoned.[28] More might be learned of these lost landholdings in the Luo surname genealogy, for in 1632, members of the lineage brought a lawsuit at the yamen over them. In their accusation, the Luo surname plaintiff cited the registration records of the landholdings in detail. As was the practice by the seventeenth century, the *lijia* registration no longer bore any relationship to labor service but served merely to provide an account by which tax was charged. The monastery in which Baozhen had sought enlightenment was, therefore, not a Daoist monastery at all, but a Buddhist monastery. In the sixteenth century, Buddhist monasteries were persecuted, and it was then that its name was erased from the stele, along with Baozhen's name. The defense, in fact, corroborates this possibility. The defendants claimed that they lived on land that had been owned by the monastery since the Hongzhi period (1488–1504), and that during the Jiajing period (1522–66), the yamen had permitted them to register the land on the understanding that ancestral sacrificial land might continue to be held by the monastery. The claim of lineage ownership was made only in the seventeenth century, on the basis that it had been donated by an ancestor to the monastery. The two accounts would agree in that by the seventeenth century, the anti-Buddhist movement had dissipated, and the lineage, having lost its holdings when the monastic land was claimed by incumbents, reasserted its claim under *lijia* titles. The land that the Luo surname held prior to the Huang Xiaoyang uprising was held, therefore, through its connections with a Buddhist monastery. Its accession to gentry status and the registration of land tax under *lijia* titles, opened a new era for lineage status and advancement.[29]

A final observation from Luo Zhong's petition to Guangdong Assistant Administration Commissioner Jie Ji should lend credence to the transformation in land registration after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. In his petition, in justification of his proposal that the county be set up, Zhong had explained the administrative measures that might be introduced: "On this plot of land, a county might be established and made a part of the realm, defended by a city, administered by an official, united through household [registration], and ordered through education. In this way, even when there is an uprising such as the bandit Huang Xiaoyang's, it would be unable [to bring about disruption]."[30] The passage has to be read with the biography of Jie Ji as recorded in the provincial gazetteer: "When Jie came, he saw the difficulties of the people and he implemented the policy of service equalization. According to the heaviness of tax and

the magnitude of labor service, he divided [the households] into three classes and equalized the required labor service. The people found that convenient."[31]

The result of Jie Ji's equalization of service was the adoption of household registration in the *lijia* such as practiced by the Luo surname of Daliang. It takes little imagination to see that the households were recorded under fictitious names, such as Luo Prosperous Descendants, Luo Respectful, Luo Group Harmony, Luo Perpetual Abundance, and Luo Common Taxation. Jie Ji might have equalized service, but more important than that, he allowed *lijia* service to be rendered as a monetary payment according to tax account names. The successful founding of the county allowed these account names to be set up, and the landed households to register, not only as landowners, but as account name owners. For many, the reform provided the opportunity for social mobility. Moreover, it also implied a new relationship between the village and the state.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Yao Wars and Ritual Orthodoxy

The reform in tax registration freed many households of the Pearl River Delta from having to provide tax services, but a concomitant reform in ritual was required before the lineage was recognized as the dominant mode of social organization. Again, the process had not been planned. No one saw it coming. In the Pearl River Delta, these very momentous changes arose from the combination of numerous apparently unconnected events, beginning with the Yao wars of the 1460s. In the several decades of the Yao wars, lasting from the 1460s to the 1520s, momentous changes were taking place in the Pearl River Delta, which left indelible marks on the ritual and political life of the region, and, therefore, on the relationship between local society and the imperial state.

The Yao Wars, Tao Lu, and Chen Baisha

The menace posed by marauding bands of Yao people on the borders of the Pearl River Delta was very much a sixteenth-century problem. As late as 1565, the traveler Ye Quan (1522–78) left the following disturbing account of his journey down the North River to Guangzhou city:

> On my return, when I reached Yuliang banks, I saw men and women crying, naked, and crossing the river to the west. I quickly asked them what the matter was. They said the savages had come in the night at a place 20 *li* away, had looted, and were now dispersed. When I reached Pingbu, men and women were running even more desperately, thinking that the savages were only a few feet away, and my traveling companions wanted to return to Shaozhou in a hurry. I said, "This is a long way from Shaozhou. We may as well go north and hide somewhere deep within the west bank. It will not be too late to leave if we see the savages.

Moreover, when the savages come out [on these skirmishes], they head for the villages first before coming to the river bank. There is nothing to be very fearful of yet."[1]

Ye describes fortification on the hillsides, constant lookout for the Yao savages, and even greater fear of passing troops. The Nanxiong vicinity described in this passage was two weeks' travel by boat from Foshan. The Yao threat in the 1500s was never quite serious enough to disturb the delta area, but it was always hovering on its edges.

The Yao threat had built up from before the Huang Xiaoyang rising. An impression of the buildup of tension may be found in the writings of Ye Sheng (1420–74), Guangdong governor in 1458. Citing a report by his military commander in 1462, Ye argued:

In former years, only the Yao and the Zhuang peoples of Guangxi were a constant source of trouble in Guangdong and Guangxi. After the posting to this area of a barbarian suppression general [*zhengman jiangjun*] in the Xuande years [1426–35], officials and common people in Guangdong recruited the Zhuang savages from Guangxi to come across the provincial borders to lease and farm land that had lain fallow, without regard for future problems. From that time on, marauding bandits have appeared. In recent years, because of the rampage of Huang Xiaoyang, an assistant commander has been posted there. I have found that in the past twenty years, the savage Yao and Zhuang bandits succeeded in taking more than twenty cities in Guangdong and Guangxi. Although they retreated and dispersed afterwards, and although the cities were subsequently repaired, both troops and the common people suffered greatly. Last year, in Guangxi, they took the counties of Beiliu and Teng, and in Guangdong, they looted the pearl fishery grounds and Guanyao. The situation was desperate, and only because by your imperial orders the troops decapitated over 10,000 people has the first half of this year been more peaceful.[2]

The reference to Guanyao, located on the main route from the North River to Guangzhou, would have implied serious danger to Guangzhou itself.[3] And the danger that was posed was taken cognizance of by the Board of War, for in 1463, Wang Hong, the minister, memorialized, citing predominantly Ye Sheng's arguments, to plead for sending a massive army into Guangxi. The army was soon to be led to victory by Han Yong, Guangdong-Guangxi supreme commander. The post had been created in 1452 for the primary purpose of putting down the Yao.[4]

It was said that until the Yao settlements at Great Vine Gorge in Guangxi province were destroyed in 1465, there was no peace from the Yao. The story of the battle of Great Vine Gorge, which counted as one of Han Yong's victories, is a fascinating account of Ming politics, but it would be too much of a detour to tell it here. Suffice it to note that the

center of action in these campaigns was not Guangdong but Guangxi, and that these were not wars against murderous intruders, but massacres of the native population, whose misfortune it was to be settled at a point on the West River at which tolls might be collected from passing boats, a lucrative undertaking indeed, because salt was one of the principal commodities sent up the river. Nor had the imperial government gone into Guangxi with a decided policy of border control, for it was drawn in by local politics, much of which was initiated by the native chiefs (*tusi*) of Guangxi, whose private disputes and greedy ambitions made war inevitable. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that in the early 1460s, the whole of the Pearl River Delta was in a state of considerable tension. As the suppression of the Yao went on in Guangxi, Yao bands wandering into Guangdong posed a considerable threat to the local population. Within the Pearl River area, Xinhui county was closest to these scenes of action and alarmingly affected. The military buildup in that county became the backdrop against which administrative philosophy was reformulated in Guangdong for the first time since the foundation of the Ming dynasty.[5]

The change in administrative philosophy must, however, be related to Tao Lu, a local man who was noted in one of Ye Sheng's memorials in 1463, in which he recorded a petition signed by 748 local people from Shunde, Xiangshan, and Xinhui, asking for the retention of Tao's service. At the time, Tao Lu was an assistant magistrate of Xinhui county. In the year the memorial was written, he had distinguished himself defending Xinhui county city against first bandits and then against a Yao onslaught. He had rallied the local families to his support and built a local militia by recruiting from among them.[6] Huang Zuo, a prolific writer on Guangdong in the early sixteenth century, argued that when Tao did all this, the employment of militia was still an innovation.[7] Taking into consideration the recruitment done by He Zhen and the defense against Huang Xiaoyang in the previous century, this assertion would seem questionable, and that it was made by Huang Zuo must indicate that the Xinhui militia of the 1460s was looked upon differently. The men who followed He Zhen were enrolled in the Ming regular army, supplied by the military households of the *lijia*, and granted military land. The militia of the 1460s was based on the entire population, not only military households, and militiamen remained civilians even when they followed commanders such as Tao Lu and fought away from home. Tao Lu must have been considered a distinguished leader for these new forces, because he was first retained as Xinhui magistrate and then ultimately promoted to surveillance vice-commissioner in Guangdong. By 1474, when Han Yong was removed from office and Tao Lu became the linchpin of the

anti-Yao efforts in Guangdong and Guangxi, the two had restored peace, which was to last several decades.

Han Yong and Tao Lu complemented each other. Han Yong led the armies that had been assembled against the Yao as an outside appointee, and Tao was the trusted local subordinate who both fought the Yao and implemented a cultural policy aimed at assimilating them. In the same way as Han's patronage made Tao, Tao's patronage created an entire Guangdong gentry tradition, founded on the reputation of the philosopher Chen Baisha (1428–1500).

When Han Yong was removed in 1474, Chen Baisha was already 47 *sui*. He was known for having spurned public office, but he was a noted teacher preparing students for the official examination, and he maintained close contacts with officials in office as well as in retirement in Xinhui. He was soon also to become very close friends with a new magistrate in Xinhui, Ding Ji (1446–86), appointed in 1479, and it is not difficult to see that what Chen and others wrote in praise of Tao Lu was bound up with events that were taking place in Xinhui while Ding was magistrate. Chen noted that Han Yong was not popular in Guangdong. In the obituary he wrote for Zhu Ying, who succeeded as Guangdong and Guangxi military commander, he said:

> In former times, Guangdong and Guangxi were infested with bandits coming from the west to the east. The Venerable Han brought his troops to attack their hideout to keep them at bay. Because of the righteousness of the cause, his troops won, but because of these bandits, the people had become poor. When the venerable gentleman [Zhu Ying] succeeded him [Han Yong], he adopted a defensive rather than offensive approach. While [the offensive approach] had caused suffering, the [defensive approach] was soothing. The one complemented the other.[8]

Although he was a soldier, Tao Lu is credited by his biographers Huo Tao and Huang Zuo with having promoted the gentry tradition. In particular, Huo Tao notes that Tao Lu himself had made it a policy that, in order to remove the bandits, the first task was to civilize them, and for this reason, wherever he conquered, that is, in the counties of Yangjiang, Enping, and Dianbai, he set up schools, and that he was also responsible for building a temple at Aimen in Xinhui in honor of the three Song officials who had died with the last Song emperor.[9] All this occurred after 1474, and Chen Baisha was closely involved at least in part of it.

School building as a measure to pacify a local population and to enable local officials to claim that they had supported scholarship and the imperial tradition was a well-tried policy in the fifteenth century. Building a temple in honor of late Song loyalist officials and to the last emperor's

mother was a measure aimed at exploiting local sentiments in Xinhui. The legend that the last Song boy emperor, Bing, had come with his entourage to Aimen, only to meet his death at sea there, was one that had been incorporated into the history of numerous lineages even by then, and the arousal of the concept of loyalty in relation to these late Song officials would have touched a harmonious chord in local sentiments in the fifteenth century.[10] That appeal, however, was not something that could have been readily exported beyond the county. The transformation of this ideology by Ding Ji and Chen Baisha was crucial in the process of lineage building.

Ding Ji was noted by Chen Baisha for having regularized payment of cash by leaders of the *lijia* in lieu of corvée in Xinhui county. The reform was said to have been instrumental in alleviating arbitrary demands by yamen clerks. Chen's description of the reform indicates the extent to which *lijia* corvée service had eroded by the end of the fifteenth century. However, he was also noted for putting into practice in the county the official rituals promulgated by the Hongwu Emperor in the early years of the Ming. This apparently conservative maintenance of early Ming rituals should not be regarded as contradicting the progressiveness of tax reform. Rather, the reaffirmation of early Ming statutory rituals became the means whereby local society bonded with the state in response to the heightened tension of the Yao disturbances.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the Ming local officials who sought to uphold the state rituals of the Ming were continuing closely in the footsteps of their Southern Song equivalents. Like the Southern Song followers of Zhu Xi, Ming officials who advocated the adoption of a standardized ritual as a means to educate and assimilate (*jiaohua*) were popularizers. Magistrate Ding's regulations on the rituals of capping (performed on young men reaching maturity), wedding, burial, and sacrifice are written in the style of a simple step-by-step manual and published under the title *The Format of Rituals* (*Lishi*). Aside from publishing these regulations, Ding also regularly sacrificed to the deities himself in the presence of the elders of the county. He led the prayer for rain during the drought of 1482, he stationed attendants at graves and temples and provided land so that there might be an income to contribute to regular sacrifices there, and he provided, in particular, 200 *mu* for sacrifice at the Hall of the Great Loyalists (Dazhong *ci*), the temple dedicated to the three officials who had defended the last Song emperor to the end, and 160 *mu* for sacrifice at the graves of two virtuous women in the county. "As for the worship that was practiced by the common people, he restricted his efforts only to the repair of the single *she* shrine; and he

destroyed all the temples, big and small, that were not recorded in the ritual records," Chen Baisha notes in his biography of Ding. This, according to Chen, was "one of his major achievements."[11]

Chen Baisha notes in Ding Ji's biography that the regulations he published were modeled on regulations promulgated by Zhu Xi. This was not, by any means, a first attempt to turn Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* into practical step-by-step procedures to be followed: some decades earlier, before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, Tang Yu, a Nanhai native, had drawn up a set of village regulations covering some of the same subjects, which were popularized by his son Tang Bi, whose adherence to ritual propriety came to be recognized during his sojourn in Foshan at the time of the uprising. *Tang's Village Pact* (*Tangshi xiangyue*), nevertheless, shows clear indications of an earlier stage of ritual revision, for it included only a selection of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, and the layout of its ten regulations was far less systematic than Ding Ji's. Aside from Zhu Xi's concern for capping and the avoidance of luxurious feasting in funerals, *Tang's Village Pact* also stressed the need to pay taxes and provide military service, even though it included some major ritual reforms in accordance with Zhu Xi's dictates, such as the father, and not the groom, taking the place of honor in a wedding ceremony.[12] Moreover, as Chu Hung-lam has pointed out, such publications were part of a continuous effort by fifteenth-century officialdom to implement practical solutions drawn from the writings of Zhu Xi, which eventually became the foundations of a concern for "statecraft." Not very much earlier than Ding Ji, the very senior official and notable scholar Qiu Jun, who was from Hainan Island, had published a version of Zhu Xi's *Family Regulations* with his own comments.[13] Ding Ji's regulations were part of a long line of publications that aimed to popularize what officialdom believed to be an acceptable ritual tradition. A direct consequence of these publications was the *Taiquan xiangli* (Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals) written by Huang Zuo, which formalized and added to such measures of county government as concerned the rituals that were put into practice by Ding Ji. As corroboration of the impact of the Yao wars on the interest in rituals in fifteenth-century Xinhui, it may be noted that in quite a few places, it made the conversion of the Yao a principal aim of the text.[14]

Notwithstanding their concern with rites practiced in the family context, the significance of these publications, as Chen Baisha's biography of Ding Ji and the title of Huang's book were to suggest, lay in their attempt to standardize village practices by making them conform with the Hongwu regulations that established orthodoxy along the lines of an imperial state ruling over registered households. The movement had

lasting consequences, but not quite in the manner envisioned by its gentry participants, as, shocked by the ritual disputes they were soon to find in the imperial court, they were to learn.

Chen Baisha died in 1500, leaving behind a distinguished line of students, many of whom by then were holding high office. Among them, Liang Chu and Zhan Ruoshui were senior officials, and Huang Zuo, besides being a senior official himself, compiled the 1561 Guangdong provincial gazetteer. The 1609 edition of the Xinhui county gazetteer devotes an entire chapter to his disciples, many of whom had succeeded in the official examination and some of whom would become intellectual masters in their own right.[15] There should be no mistake about this: Chen provided the focus for an intellectual lineage. He himself had cultivated it consciously, finding for himself an intellectual forebear in the Jiangxi province philosopher Wu Yubi, known for having shunned public office.[16] The times had also changed. The issue of imperial succession created by the Tumu incident (1449)—in which the reigning emperor was defeated in battle and captured by the Mongols—had blown over, and Confucian orthodoxy had set in, symbolized in the according of recognition to Fang Xiaoru, who had been decapitated, along with all his family of nine-generation connections, for his condemnation of the Yongle Emperor's earlier usurpation. Fang Xiaoru had written prefaces that were included in many Pearl River Delta genealogies, and the indications are that these movements at court sent ripples all the way down into the gentry world of Guangdong. Moreover, the age was also symbolized by the rising popularity of Wang Yangming, in whom Chen Baisha's intellectual descendants saw an equal to Zhan Ruoshui, Chen's intellectual successor in Guangdong.[17] In a sense, it is an anomaly that a personal philosophy of self-awareness, as taught by Chen Baisha, should have merged so readily with an administrative philosophy that demanded ritual regulation. Nonetheless, the two were not necessarily considered incompatible, as long as the rituals demanded were self-evident. In filial piety vis-à-vis ancestors and loyalty to the emperor they were.

Standardizing Rituals

The merging of these values cannot be divorced from a political movement set in motion by the three most important scholar-officials from the Pearl River Delta in the generation after the death of Chen Baisha, namely, Zhan Ruoshui, Fang Xianfu, and Huo Tao. Of the three, Fang and Huo had come from villages in Nanhai county, near Xiqiao mountain, and Zhan, though a native of Zengcheng, had come eventually to

be attached to Xiqiao mountain and built his school there. (Perhaps in return, Huo Tao's grave was eventually located in Zengcheng.) Fang Xianfu considered himself more a follower of Wang Yangming than of Chen Baisha, and while Huo Tao did not claim to be a disciple of either, his son, Yuxia, a senior official and scholar in his own right, was Zhan Ruoshui's student. Zhan was easily the most distinguished of the three as a writer and a proponent of Chen Baisha's philosophy. Despite initial ambition to deviate from an official career, Zhan nevertheless passed the *jinshi* examination in 1505 and rose rapidly in Beijing officialdom in the 1510s. He befriended Wang Yangming, and as elaboration of the neo-Confucian tradition, his writings were to be second only to those of Wang and Chen. Fang and Huo were the younger men, and both would have followed more orthodox careers but for the Great Rituals controversy breaking out in the 1520s. Few incidents could have blended the imperial will with popular sentiments as closely as this incident, and it is necessary to diverge somewhat to specify the circumstances.

The Great Rituals controversy had its origin in the fact that the Jiajing Emperor, who ascended the throne in 1522, was the cousin of the previous emperor, Zhengde, who had died without an heir. The majority of court officials maintained that the imperial line of succession was of paramount importance, and so they advocated that the emperor should sacrifice to the previous emperor as if he were his predecessor's adopted son. The Jiajing Emperor, however, in the name of filial piety, asserted the necessity of honoring his birth parents. The matter came to a head on various occasions when ancestral halls were to be built for the repose of his parents' spirits. The majority of court officials, on pain of physical punishment, knelt in front of the audience hall to beg him to reconsider, but five officials supported the emperor in his decision. Of those five, three came from the Pearl River Delta. They were none other than Huo Tao, Fang Xianfu, and Zhan Ruoshui. Among their opponents were Pearl River Delta men who were remembered for their righteousness in opposition. All five supporters of the emperor rose to prominence at court, and, as if in remonstrance to the injustice being done, when young Zhang Jie in the opposition majority died from his wounds, the iron bell in his native Shunde village temple cracked.[18]

In Huo, Fang, and Zhan, therefore, local and court traditions merged. Huo Tao, who served as minister of rites, came to be known for his defense of Confucian orthodoxy, and in the context of Guangdong, this has to be viewed in relation to the assertion of orthodox rituals since the time of Tao Lu, Chen Baisha, and Ding Ji. One assertion of orthodoxy involved

attacking "illegal temples" (*yinci*), prominent among them temples dedicated to deities for which statutory provision of sacrifice had not been made. The earlier documentation is patchy. Prominent among the earlier efforts directed against "illegal temples" was the destruction of several hundred of them by Wu Tingju, magistrate of Shunde in 1489. The official reception of his efforts, however, was far from favorable, for Wu was thrown into prison for his trouble, on the excuse that he had embezzled the wooden beams from the demolished temple buildings.[19] Some time around 1520, an anti-Buddhist element had crept in. The personality and creed of the Jiaqing Emperor must have mattered, but an anti-Buddhist tendency can be detected from a date earlier than his ascension to the throne. In 1517, an imperial commissioner suppressed a Buddhist sectarian gathering at the Baiyun Mountain north of Guangzhou, a group that traced its connections to sectarian practices in this area since the mid fifteenth century. Huang Yu, Huang Zuo's grandfather, who recorded the earlier incident in his published notes, connected the spread of Buddhist practices to support given them by eunuchs, and quoted no less an authority as Wu Yubi as saying that the proper way of the world (*shidao*) would be restored only when eunuchs and Buddhists were removed. Wu Yubi was Chen Baisha's acknowledged teacher.[20]

However, it was in 1521 that a comprehensive order for closing illegal monasteries was issued by Guangdong Assistant Surveillance Commissioner Wei Xiao. It reads:

> It has been noticed that in Guangzhou city, illegal temples abound, leading astray the people's customs, wasting the people's wealth. Community schools [*shexue*], the [foundation of which] is the most important task in educating [the people], have been left in disrepair, and have not been cultivating talent and correcting the customs. I have, in this post, taken these matters to heart, and I intend to leave this record with the prefect of Guangzhou, authorizing the official to personally visit all districts and streets, to demolish all temples and Buddhist monasteries [*shenci foyu*] that are not recorded in the statutes, that are not related to education, and that do not possess a plaque awarded by imperial favor. The official is to choose the spacious ones to locate seven community schools in the north, south, east, west, central, southeastern, and southwestern districts.[21]

The stress on closing temples and monasteries that were not recorded in the statutes and that did not possess a plaque to indicate imperial sanction agrees with the requirements of Ming dynasty law. Early in the Ming, it had been decreed that all monasteries that were not properly authorized were to be demolished and similar decrees had been issued by numerous emperors. The law also required strict registration of all

monks and nuns, and their regulation by the Office of Monastic Affairs (*senggangsi*). Such law could not have been enforceable, but it provided the basis for the reaffirmation of Confucian orthodoxy.

There is no doubt that when Wei Xiao banned "immoral temples," he included Buddhist monasteries. In his "Essay of Admonishment to the People" (*Yumin wen*), issued in 1521, he was as opposed to cremation as he was to sorcerers and magical practices. He not only required sorcerers to return to their native villages but also that the people of Guangdong install in their homes only ancestral tablets, and no figures of other deities. In another order issued in 1522, in demanding that land be confiscated from temples and monasteries for the use of community schools, he repeated the standard belief that "the land that is held by the supernumerary monasteries and illegal temples has not been purchased by the monks or priests themselves, but has been donated by the common people so that these persons who acknowledge no father and no monarch [*wufu wujun*] may eat without having to farm and bring about unending disaster."[22]

The anti-Buddhist sentiments in Guangdong were to spread to other parts of the country. Huo Tao himself memorialized on the "rectification of custom" (*zheng fengsu shu*) as minister of rites in 1537, repeating the arguments made earlier by Wei Xiao, and led the attack on monasteries in Beijing.[23] His connections with Wei had begun much earlier: in 1527, Huo had visited Wei and expressed a high opinion of his scholarship. Moreover, it was no accident that Huo Tao and Zhan Ruoshui were involved in the religious cleansing of the Pearl River Delta, for it was also said that Wei was closely associated with Zhang Zong and Gui E, Huo Tao's associates at court, who were the two non-Guangdong supporters of the emperor in the Great Rituals controversy.

Some of the monasteries that were closed down had a long history. In Xinhui county, where Wei Xiao ordered the destruction of the monasteries in 1523, the bronze Buddha of the Wuliang Monastery was destroyed along with the monastery, and in 1533, the estate of the Jubao Cloister was taken over by the magistrate and set aside to commemorate Chen Baisha. Both monasteries had been founded before the twelfth century.[24] In Nanhai county, the Fuqing monastery, which had a considerable estate, was turned into a cemetery.[25] Land was very much a factor in the anti-Buddhist movement, and both Huo Tao and Zhan Ruoshui benefited privately from it. Huo's ancestral hall recorded that it bought land from a closed monastery, while Zhan, as was well known, turned one of the three monasteries at which sectarian beliefs were practiced on Baiyun Mountain to the north of Guangzhou, into the Ganquan Academy. "The

immortal had changed into Buddha, and Buddha into a Confucian," Qu Dajun, the seventeenth-century writer of Guangdong miscellanies, observed, alluding to the Ganquan Academy's Daoist origin, its subsequent transformation into a Buddhist monastery, and the monastery being taken over for an academy.[26]

Powerful as Wei Xiao's impact was on Buddhist monasteries in the Pearl River Delta, his orders were directed not only at them but at all "illegal temples," that is to say, including those dedicated to popular local deities. The fundamentalist attack, however, has to be interpreted in perspective. Village religion was deeply rooted in established practices, and no amount of legal prohibition was ever able to eradicate them. The clearest evidence of some impact from Wei Xiao's efforts may be found in reports on the temple of Madam Golden Flower (Jinhua *furen*), known as a pretty young woman who had drowned at the nearby Fairy Pond, to whom local people prayed for sons. She came to be the personification of sorceresses, whom Qu Dajun in the seventeenth century described in the following terms:

> In the south, sorceresses are no longer common, but they are found in Yangchun county. However, even there, they are sorceresses by their own volition, and they do not become sorceresses for the sake of other people. What happens is that when women are ill, they dance before the deities, and when cured, they offer their bodies in recompense. They lower their hair at the back of their heads, dress it colorfully, and tie many knots [in it]. On their heads, they wear feather hats, which they decorate with tassels, and they dance, sing, move back and forth, and turn in circles.[27]

The sexual connotations of sorceresses using their physical beauty to entice the deities in pursuit of sons would not have been lost on contemporaries. Although the temple had received some official approval when it was rebuilt in 1469, it was destroyed on Wei Xiao's orders. As Qu made clear, sorceresses had become less common, but they had not completely disappeared.[28]

It should also be clearly understood that the examination-orientated literati were not the only advocates of ritual purity; practitioners of village religion, likewise, successfully integrated the newly advocated neo-Confucian orthodoxy into their creeds. From as early as there is information on the priestly traditions in this region, and much of it comes from areas outside the Pearl River Delta, priests took on the role of officials in the court of the Jade Emperor, and prayers directed at the deities were therefore imitations of official petitions in the earthly court. Following Wei Xiao's persecution of village priests and sorceresses, the examination-oriented literati advocated the institution of village covenants. Oaths

were sworn in the presence of local deities, but the content of such oaths, dictated by the statutes, incorporated elements of filial piety and recognition of bureaucratic authority represented by officials. Huang Zuo's *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals*, published in 1535 after Wei Xiao's reforms, was explicit about the implications of the change:

> In the sacrifices of spring and autumn, the rituals of the ancients at the earth-god shrine [*she*] for praying [for protection] in the coming year and offering thanks [to the deities] for the previous year are to be followed. It is important that they be simple and sincere. Pretending to be a god or to be possessed by spirits of the dead so that grand celebrations are held at which men and women mingle is not allowed. Officials are to take note of all offenders and punish them.

Further:

> Although the monasteries and illegal temples have been destroyed, it is not possible to put away all the practitioners of vegetarian [i.e., Buddhist] ceremonies, prayer chanting, charm water, talisman writing and shamanism. Moreover, one feels reluctant to displace them from their homes. They should be sent to the villages to serve as keepers of the earth-god shrines under the supervision of the village master of ritual [*shezhu*]. At times when people suffer from floods, droughts, or epidemics, they should be made to conduct the exorcism ritual.[29]

These two very significant passages indicate that Huang Zuo anticipated that the shamanistic practices would not disappear, but would, instead, merge into the village covenant rituals. Although Huang Zuo's text goes on to justify dragon dances and the appeal to spirit exorcism in terms of the classical tradition, the door has been left open for many village practices to continue.[30]

Huang Zuo repeats the Ming *Statutes of Ritual* (*sidian*) in recommending that each one hundred households establish an open-air territorial shrine (*she*) in which two stones represented the gods of the earth and of the five grains. At the shrine, offerings were to be made to request blessings and to deliver thanks for blessings given. Ceremonies were to be held at the shrines consisting of six components: reporting, praying, swearing the oath of allegiance, punishment for wrongdoing, exorcising spirits that caused misfortune, and gathering for a feast. The ceremonies were to be organized according to annual rotation by members of the villages who together had set up a covenant at the shrine.[31]

The annual rotation of ritual heads for the gathering at the earth-god shrine would closely duplicate the annual rotation of tax collection duties at the *lijia*. It is no accident, therefore, that the Ming statutes allowed for the coincidence of the ritual community and the tax-and-corvée service community of villages. It should not be missed that in the Pearl River

Delta (and for most of Ming China), *lijia* was as much the Ming government's recognition of the local power structure as it was a means of enforcing tax and labor service. In the Pearl River Delta, by the time *lijia* was popularized in the fifteenth century, labor service was rapidly giving way to payment in silver. When the communal pact was advocated as a rationalization of sacrifices at earth-god shrines, no earlier than Ding Ji's ritual reforms in Xinhui county in the early 1480s and no later than Wei Xiao's persecution of Buddhist monasteries and village shamans in the 1520s, the village shrine became, for many, the center of the collective village presence as recognized by law. The failure to recognize the coincidence of the village covenant, the sacrifice to the earth god, and the *lijia* in the Chinese social history literature has, therefore, put a legalistic slant on *lijia* registration that quite misreads this very important Ming dynasty institution. Much as Ming writers might oppose popular religious practices, they accepted the centrality of earth-god shrines in the village. By the sixteenth century, there was simply no *lijia* institution outside the lineage and the management groups at the shrines.[32]

Amid the uproar of fighting illegal temples in the province and maintaining the emperor's rights to sacrifice properly to his father, Huo Tao built an ancestral hall in honor of the founding ancestor of his own lineage in his village, at Shitou *xiang*, in Nanhai county, in 1525. This was controversial, although it is not altogether clear exactly why it should have been. That a hall should be built to house ancestral tablets should not, in itself, have been a matter of controversy. Zhu Xi's *Family Regulations* advise that even commoners should maintain a "bedchamber" in which the ancestral tablets of four generations were kept. The architectural style permitted for this building, however, was another matter. The subject was not broached by Zhu Xi or his commentator, and in the Ming statutes, the "family temple" (*jiamiao*), a distinctive design incorporating a flight of steps up the central entrance behind a colonnade of four pillars resting on a platform, distinctive arched ridges on the rooftops, three chambers incorporating the bedchamber as their inner sanctum, was permitted but not commonly built even by ranked officials. Even then, the timing of sacrifice and the number of ancestors that might be sacrificed to was yet again another matter regulated by law. The depth of ancestral sacrifice (the number of ascending generations incorporated) was closely tied to status: only the emperor sacrificed to all his ancestors at the winter solstice. The law was changed in 1529 to allow ranked officials to build ancestral halls in the style of family temples, and in 1535 to sacrifice to their ancestors at the winter solstice.[33] Until the law was changed, the building known as the family temple was not commonly

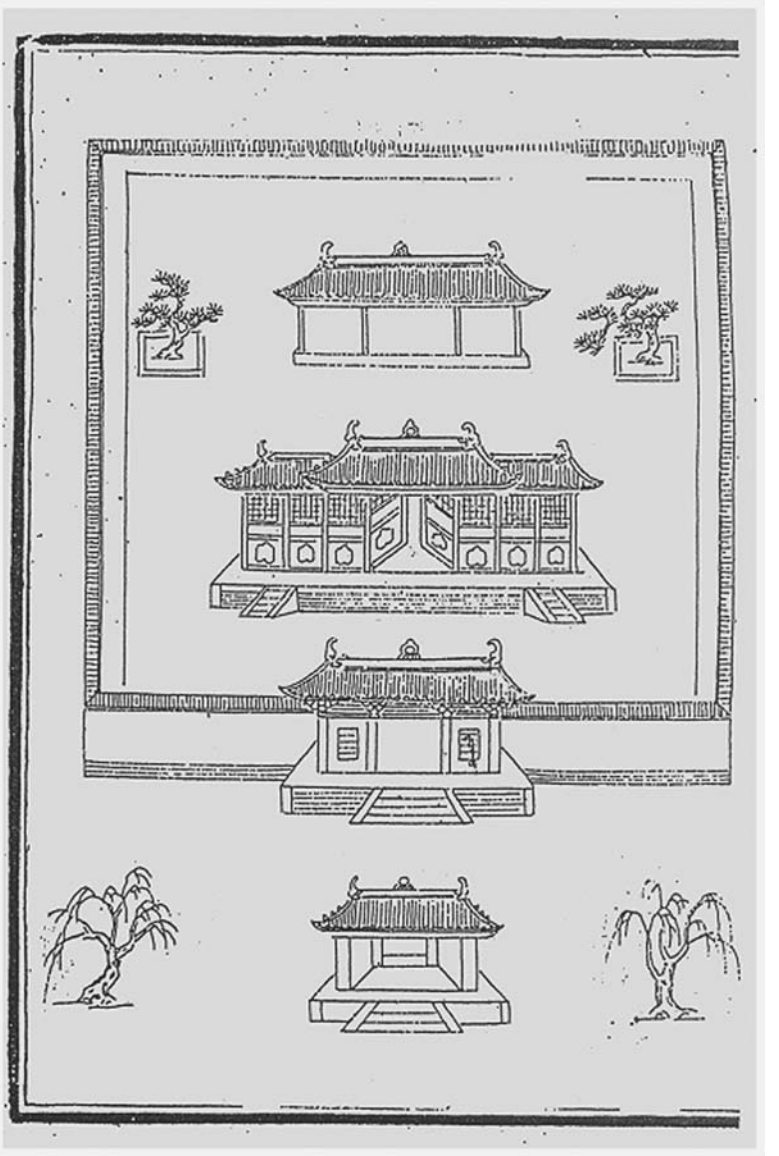


FIG. 1. The "family temple" as defined by Ming dynasty statutes. *Ming Jili* 1369, *j.* 66.

found in the villages of the Pearl River Delta, and the few lineages that possessed them knew that they were violating the law and downplayed the ritual significance of the style.[34]

However, there was more to ancestral hall building than social prestige. The ancestral hall was the holder of an ancestral trust, and Huo Tao's ancestral trust acquired its land from a Buddhist monastery that had been closed by Wei Xiao's order on the Xiqiao mountain in Nanhai county.[35] Similar records of the requisition of monastic land for use by cemeteries, temples for officially recognized notables, and schools abound, just as temples not prescribed by law were changed into community schoolrooms.[36] The taking over of land from condemned institutions was not considered improper. Back in the fifteenth century, Chen Baisha himself had acquired land for the temple he advocated building for the last Song emperor's mother from land similarly confiscated. Lin Fu, Guangdong and Guangxi supreme commander from 1529 to 1532, found so much feuding among the powerful households over land that had belonged to disbanded monasteries that he confiscated it all and used the proceeds for military expenditures.[37]

The Sixteenth-Century Social Revolution

Writing in the Wanli period (1573–1620), Xie Kuang of Dongguan county recalled the story told him by his grandfather that his great-grandfather, then aged 19 *sui*, had served as a witness for a family accused by the *lijia* headman of abandoning its military registration and assuming civilian status.[38] By 1565, as the result of a memorial by a very capable official from Nanhai county, Peng Shangpeng, imperial sanction was given to allow descendants of military households to register separately.[39] By then, registered household names had little bearing on residential households: they were, in the words of Liu Zhiwei, the names of tax-registered accounts. The events of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising in Nanhai and Shunde illustrate numerous strands that pervade the literature on the social history just about a century before the imperial government acquiesced in this common practice. The change obviously addresses the question of the continuation of *lijia*, and the history of *lijia* registration in the Pearl River Delta shows that the administrative view of its imposition in the early Ming and perpetual decline from the fifteenth century on is wide of the mark. *Lijia* did not decline. In an area such as the Pearl River Delta, it was never imposed as intended in the early Ming, and when it was, it had departed from the original intent to impose labor service on the basis of household registration and had become an account with the county

by means of which tax could be charged. The fifteenth century saw the beginning of the commutation of land and labor service into monetary payments. The county magistrate was not as yet enabled by newfound funds to recruit his own staff. In this context, Huang Xiaoyang's uprising became the shortcut that forced local communities to declare their allegiance and bonded them with officialdom, in return for which they were granted tax-registered status. Barely had their allegiance been declared, first because of the Yao wars and then because of the commotion of the Great Rituals controversy, and a ritual revolution was put into motion into which rising households were drawn. The acquisition of recognition by the state through registration and ritual reform allowed the transformation of identity that in the sixteenth century saw the rich and the powerful acting as literati. It would be the misuse of the word to describe any of this development as an increase of centralized "control," but a power structure was being formalized on ritual terms that bonded local society to the state, while a social class rose from the rabble in the process.

The social, cultural, and political developments of the fifteenth century were fundamental to the formation the imperial state of the Ming and Qing, and it would not have been possible but for various features that were embedded in the inefficacy of *lijia* in the early years of the Ming. *Lijia* was effective precisely because it was not enforced as administratively conceived. The allocation of labor service allowed many loopholes, and so society was never ever as rigidly defined or as equal as implied by the rules of labor service. Commentators on the *lijia*, from Ming contemporaries to present-day historians, have looked upon the inefficacy of government to carry out its intention as a failure, but in so doing, they have overlooked the very important building blocks that were created by the bonding of local society to the state. However, just as important, by the sixteenth century, when it was clear that labor service was giving way to tax accounts, a new political ideology was gaining ground that made ritual central and lineage the means of promoting state-society relationships. It was this ideology that ultimately defined Ming and Qing society.[40]

CHAPTER NINE

Administrative Transition

In the eighty years after the establishment of the Ming dynasty, the Pearl River Delta produced only 33 *jinshi*. In the next two centuries, it produced 390, or, on average, 6 *jinshi* in every one of the triennial examinations. The same pattern is revealed in the award of other official degrees. Simple arithmetic should reveal the implications of these numbers. In the early Ming, with few examination degree holders, honor was achieved by serving in the *lijia*, or as an invited guest in the community drinking ceremony. From the sixteenth century, as fictitious ancestry and registration recede into the background in the genealogical record, degree-holding became a focus in the compilation of genealogies. Degree holders led worship at the ancestral halls and sponsored lineage activities. Lineages worked at producing them. Those who succeeded in doing so boasted of having succeeded. Those who did not succeed claimed degree-holding status by association, or aspired to it in full knowledge that their failure accounted for their low status. This development did not come overnight: it took most of the three centuries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth for the presence of the literati to be felt across a broad spectrum of society.[1]

The growth of degree-holding lineages, to which the word "gentry" (*xiangshen*) came to be applied, came with the administrative transformation of local government. The county government, strengthened by the decline of military service, was transforming itself into a tax agency. Payment of tax in silver allowed government to recruit its own staff, and thereby gave it a stronger hand in dealing with local communities.[2] Standard rituals, which by the rulings of the early Ming were meant to be the platform on which central government and local society might deal with each other, were now being enforced in earnest, not only because

officials wanted to assert their powers but also because they genuinely believed that they were right. Into the sixteenth century, the county governments instituted land measurement to provide the backbone of the single-whip method of taxation reform (*yitiaobian fa*) that was being gradually introduced, the term denoting the integration of myriad varieties of fees and taxes into totals paid in silver. The reforms expanded the county's administrative community. In the upward mobility that the booming economy and the new administrative style provided for, the rituals of the state percolated down the social hierarchy. The lineage as an institution became the vehicle of gentrification.

Administrative Transition

The best record available of the sixteenth-century administrative transition in Guangdong is the first edition of the provincial gazetteer, compiled by Guangdong Regional Inspector Dai Jing in 1535. Dai included in the gazetteer many of the regulations he drew up in administrative reforms. Later editions excluded most of them to conform with a style of gazetteer compilation more in favor with the literati. However. even Dai Jing was not the first senior scholar to produce comprehensive regulations on administrative affairs in Guangdong. An earlier compilation had been made by Zhu Jian, Dai's predecessor in 1440, whose "Regulations on His Tours [of the province]" in twenty-four items were noted by Huang Zuo, who compiled the next edition of the Guangdong gazetteer published in 1561, as being "still read aloud by the people of Guangdong."[3] Most of these items dealt with practical affairs of government, such as the need to maintain military garrisons (*weisuo*), build schools, keep up sacrifice to the deities, manage relief houses, appoint respectable members of the community as elders (*laoren*), enforce the keeping of order through police offices (*xunjian si*), and run prisons in an orderly manner. A noticeable emphasis, moreover, is obviously placed on matters concerning tax and tax services. The more written regulations, the more service at the local *yamen* had to depend on the literate. "Commoner farmers or students of the local academy fill the positions of orderlies [*lidian*] at the yamen," Regional Inspector Zhu wrote.[4] The yamen, which was in Zhu Jian and Dai Jing's days staffed by *lijia* service, was fast reaching the stage when it required professional service.

Yet, the difficulty with *lijia* service, as Ming officials knew well, was that its arbitrariness was unacceptable. As Regional Inspector Zhu wrote:

It is necessary that tax and labor service be put on an equal footing. For example, in arranging a roll for messenger service, people should be placed according to the amount of tax they pay, and in serving as heads [for various tax collection or delivery duties], labor service should be assigned according to the number of registered males. If these steps are followed, matters would be handled fairly and the people would accept them. Nowadays, in the area within my purview, people who are held liable for more tax are assigned to serve less often on the roll, while those who are held liable for less tax are assigned to serve more often. Those who have registered a larger number of males get to do labor service nearby, while those with fewer males are made to serve far away. For these reasons, there is inequality, which has led to disputes. From now on, responsible officials are to determine the tax liability and the number of males from the registered record in order to assign labor service by the correct standard. It is important to be fair and equal and that the rich are not advantaged to the detriment of the poor. All acts of dishonesty and fraud are to be investigated without excuse.[5]

In writing this paragraph, Zhu Jian was attracted, like many officials, by the idea that *lijia* might be rescued by fair distribution (*junping*). This became a technical term in the history of Ming taxation, for in order to produce fairness, the local government offices had to be harnessed. In the first place, it was necessary not only to reduce the services that might be imposed but to itemize them. In the second place, it was soon possible to substitute money for some of these itemized services. In the face of the massive complexity of Ming taxation, equalization has often appeared to later historians to be the creation of another tax category, but it was really another step on the way to monetarizing and routinizing labor service into what soon came to be known as the single-whip method of taxation, which by the late Ming and early Qing dynasties (seventeenth century) came to be recorded in the *Complete Book of Land and Labor Services* (*Fuyi quanshu*).

If Zhu Jian's regulations show that provincial administration was still struggling with principles, it is clear that by Dai Jing's term of office, equalization had become a set of rules. He says as much himself in the preface he wrote for the provincial gazetteer, where he notes that he was concerned with revising the records of tax and labor service when the opportunity for compiling the gazetteer arose, and his compilation included copious coverage of the regulations that he drew up for the sake of equalization. Nevertheless, distribution of labor service no longer occupied a central place in the equalization regulations. Instead, equalization had become a matter of charges in money—silver or copper—that were levied by county governments for specific services, such as payments for the congratulatory forms that were submitted to the magistrates, travel

subsidies for stipendiary students, reception of successful examination candidates, the magistrate's travel to the metropolitan capital for audience with the emperor, sacrifices to Confucius, deities, and wandering spirits, the distribution of the almanac, and stationery used at the yamen. Some items for which equalization taxes were collected suggest commutation of some labor services into money, such as payments for the hiring of men and renting of boats at the yamen, or the building of mat sheds for "the surrender of barbarians and the award of honors to persons concerned." Entries on the imposition of equalization taxes in Panyu and Nanhai counties illustrate quite clearly the sense in which these payments were considered to have been fairly imposed, for those additional taxes amounted to expenses earmarked for the county government, which were distributed evenly over all registered males. The net result was not necessarily any equalization of *lijia* imposition, but, rather, a shift from the provision of service to the payment of tax in money regardless of the household status that was an essential part of labor imposition in the *lijia*.

The enforcement of common rituals has, therefore, to be understood in terms of the extension of the authority of the yamen. Rituals provided the common language by which the extension of the yamen could be justified. Regional Inspector Dai Jing, therefore, also had regulations for promoting correct customs (*zheng fengsu*), but the variance between his regulations and those that were proposed by the local Pearl River Delta literati, under the rubric of village or family rituals, doomed his compilation of the provincial gazetteer. None of his regulations demonstrates this variance more obviously than those on customs, which dealt not only with the standard rituals of capping, weddings, funerals, and sacrifice, but also with abiding by the law, forbidding gambling, disputes over inheritance, fighting over geomantically favorable grave sites, private control of marketplaces, false demands made on the village drinking ceremony, and tenancy disputes. Regulations on these practical matters were supported by litigation that Dai Jing himself had examined, but to pass them off as regulations on local customs was to show that he was out of step with the Pearl River Delta literati of his time, whose own writings in support of standard rituals sought to narrow the difference between practices in the delta and the broad tenets of neo-Confucianism that had become widely acceptable in the Ming realm. Even his regulation on marriage, which sought to reduce the likelihood that poor families might lose their betrothed daughters-in-law to richer families, and also opposed the use of betel nut as a betrothal present, seems oddly out of touch. The standard Pearl River Delta rituals wanted the entire corpus

of the wedding ceremony as laid down in the ritual texts, and although betel nut was alluded to, any regulation of its employment was relegated to a secondary position.

Regional Inspector Dai Jing's provincial gazetteer was replaced by Huang Zuo's in 1561. It should be considered odd that a full-scale revision of the provincial gazetteer should have occurred in just about a generation's time, and the explanation may be found in the major difference between the two editions: Huang Zuo, a local man who came from a notable Guangzhou family, purged practically all of Dai Jing's regulations from his compilation. Huang Zuo's compilation rested fully on provincial history and culture, and if he indicated that indigenous Guangdong customs were crass, he also demonstrated—by a much strengthened biographical section—that a fine cultural tradition dating from the Southern Song had been inherited by Chen Baisha and his students and exhibited in the activities of local men who became officials and in their primary ancestors in Guangdong. Huang Zuo's compilation, preceded by his editions of Guangdong biographies, was the first full-scale attempt by a local Guangdong man to record the history of Guangdong. It showed that Guangdong was no longer exotic, but a true integral part of the imperial realm. This compilation became the model that later Guangdong provincial gazetteers emulated.

Lineage Regulations: Propriety and Record Keeping

The compilation of written regulations at government offices was paralleled by the compilation of regulations in villages. In later years, a profusion of lineage regulations is incorporated into the genealogies, and it is important not to extrapolate from them on lineage practices in the sixteenth century. However, three contemporary texts dealing with lineage regulations are extant to illustrate the transition in lineage management. The first is Huang Zuo's *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals*, published in 1549, which belongs more to the village manuals of the fifteenth century than the lineage regulations of the sixteenth. The others are Huo Tao's *The Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya,* published in 1524, and Pang Shangpeng's *The Family Admonitions of the Pang Surname*, published in 1571.[6]

Huang Zuo's *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals* has been much noticed in the literature on the diffusion of neo-Confucian practices, and it suffices to point out the essentials here. The book consists of regulations written and published while Huang Zuo served in the Guangxi province education intendant circuit in 1528–30. Huang's target readership, as he makes clear in the book, included the people of Guangxi left outside *lijia* registration and

were still referred to as Yao or Man.[7] The book was reprinted in Huang's home county of Xiangshan in 1549, partly, no doubt, because of his prestige as a scholar and official and partly because the ideas it contained were still current. It focuses, however, on village rather than family rituals. As such, it argues for the proper observation of the four rituals of capping, weddings, funerals, and sacrifice, and more so than earlier texts on village regulations, it describes at length how village shrines, schools, and granaries should be maintained and the rituals relevant to these institutions, in particular, the village pact. The nuances *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals* brought to some of these practices might have resonated among the Pearl River Delta literati. Huang Zuo's ancestral rituals followed the legal changes of the 1520s: all families (*jia*) were to set up temples (*miao*) in which spirit tablets (*zhu*) were installed, and while different ancestors were to be sacrificed to at different times of the year, he advocated sacrificing to the founding ancestor (*shizu*) at the winter solstice, a practice that until the legal changes were made was the preserve of the aristocracy.[8] Like any good neo-Confucian, Huang believed in maintaining the ritual priority of the principal line, that is to say, the line that consisted of the eldest sons of the eldest son of the first ancestor, and that "however noble and rich, other sons might not dare [sacrifice to them]."[9] Along the same lines, he believed that only ancestral tablets could be installed in domestic shrines, and that sacrifice to deities that might provide illicit powers (*xieshu*) should be banned.[10] He also believed, naturally, in the maintenance of filial piety, the practice of which, according to him, required the formal expression of respect in daily behavior, bowing to one's parents in the morning, seating them in the places of honor, serving them rather than eating with them at meals, bowing to them upon departure from and entry to the house, and treating their spirit tablets in like manner after their deaths. Taken to their logical conclusion, the neo-Confucian rules demanded the total submission of the entire household to its head, who would have been the father.[11]

The family admonitions literature was different from the village rituals in at least one major respect: where the village ritual handbooks specified the step-by-step managerial skills needed in village affairs, the family admonitions literature did so for lineage institutions. Like *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals*, the family admonitions literature aspired to a perfection in social relationships that was quite unattainable. However, insofar as it also provides practical details of lineage management, it acknowledges that advancement of the family, very much founded on conjugal relationships, was the reality of village life.

The *Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya*, for instance, includes a map of the village inhabited by the undivided household epitomized by the

regulations of the Zheng family, well known since the Song dynasty for having been awarded the title "righteous family" (*yimen*) by the emperor. The map places the ancestral hall squarely in the middle, flanked by three rows of houses, giving clear indications of where meals were to be served, where the women were to be quartered, and where the kitchen might be located.[12] However, the text provides practical details of lineage management, dealing with field plots; granaries; production; taxes; spinning and weaving; wine and vinegar; meals; capping; weddings, funerals, and sacrifices; household implements; and the behavior of young people in the lineage. It provides prayers said in ancestral sacrifice and regulations on education in the ancestral hall, the lineage primary school, and the lineage academy, a converted monastery. The plan remains valuable as a confirmation that the village plan as seen in recent times has descended from the Ming, but the text shows that in actual fact, undivided households on the scale indicated by this plan could not have been common.

The text of the *Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya* assumes that households were divided and that meals were cooked and served apart. Because the households were separate entities, the lineage had to be maintained on a collective basis, arrangements having to be made for the collective management of the estate and enforcement of discipline. Land was given out to members of the lineage at age 25 *sui*, which had to be returned to the lineage at age 50 *sui*. Each member of the lineage looking after the allotted amount of land was required to store a fixed amount of seed and was given a fixed amount of manure, or its equivalent in cash, and a grain allotment that provided for hired labor. Land might also be rented out. Rent paid by tenants in kind was to be stored in a granary so that taxes could be met, 20 percent was to be set aside in preparation for poor harvests, and the remainder was to be sold. Payment in grain was made to members of the lineage on a per capita basis, but household heads were given an extra allotment to provide for a servant. Extra payments in grain were made to officeholders: those who looked after land on behalf of the lineage were given two servants, one being in charge of the grain measures and the other of the apportionment of manure and seed, while the lineage storekeeper was given the assistance of an accountant and a runner.[13]

A key focus in these lineage regulations was propriety. Nevertheless, by the 1500s, the centrality of capping, weddings, funerals, and sacrifices in the standard rituals was taken for granted, and even in matters that related to propriety, the manuals had moved on to practical management. In the *Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya*, strict regulations governed dress styles: except for those who became officials, no man under 40 *sui* was to

wear gauze or silk, and at the collective meal at the ancestral hall, only ranked officials and people older than 50 *sui* were to be served meat—those who did not satisfy these criteria and provided meat for themselves were to be reported in public so that the wrongdoing might be noted.[14] Women were set apart in these regulations. They were allowed to attend the collective meals but were seated in different parts of the hall. At every turn of the regulations where an outer-inner distinction might be made, women were to be confined to the inner chambers. Not only was this reflected in the design of the living quarters as noted, but when merits and misdemeanors were reported to the ancestral hall, reports on men were made in the presence of all, while those on women were reported in the "inner chambers," a term that probably indicates that only women would be present when the reports were made. The status of the woman was determined by the status of her husband: a commoner's daughter married to a ranked official adopted the dress styles of officials, but an official's daughter married to a commoner adopted the commoners' dress style. Nevertheless, the property of a woman was respected: that is to say, where her property consisted of movables, such as fabric, she could bequeath it to her daughters, but where the property consisted of land, she might choose to bequeath it to the ancestral trust. If she did, her tablet was to be installed in a separate chamber to be venerated for future generations.[15] The *Family Admonitions of the Pang Surname* does not include similar details on the position of women but relies in this respect on the *Admonitions for Women*, a short rhymed essay spelling out the responsibilities of women to husband and children that essentially tied their social role to the family.[16]

Among the advice that the manuals offered in lineage management, estate management was given a prominent place. The *Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya* requires annual reports of incomes and expenditures, just as it also requires records to be kept of the merits and demerits of lineage members.[17] However, the auditing of achievement has to be understood in the context of a ceremony conducted at the ancestral hall in which male descendants reported the success or otherwise of the lineage property entrusted to them by the spirits of the ancestors who were invited to be present on the occasion. Not only was it assumed that the ancestor would be present to receive the report but also that he would mete out awards and punishments according to regulations drawn up for assessing such achievements. This ceremony of the "reporting of merits" (*bao gongzui*) is also documented for Huizhou prefecture in Anhui province in the sixteenth century; at least in the Pearl River Delta, it seems to have dropped out of practice in future years, and it is absent in the *Family*

Admonitions of the Pang Surname.[18] Instead of the ceremony, the *Family Admonitions of the Pang Surname* is much more explicit in advising the use of written accounts. It includes clauses on the need to provide for food for members of the lineage, to pay the tax and to retain a portion in preparation for poor harvests, but advises also the following:

> Ascertain the local place-names of each plot of land by yourself personally on the spot. Work out carefully the amount of grain due every year and the demand of tax grain and labor service. If you are afraid of trouble and depend on other people to be your eyes and ears to such an extent that you cannot tell millet from wheat, you will be made a fool of by other people. If this happens, I do not believe it is possible for you not to go under.
>
> Keep the rent books for the fields. Write down at the start that such-and-such a tenant rents a plot known by such-and-such a local name of such-and-such size, paying so much in grain for the early and the late harvests. Where payment is made or is held in arrears, the amount should be written down. If there is a famine or a poor harvest, it is important not to collect in full.
>
> Keep an income book. Enter all payments in money or grain received clearly, item by item, according to the day and month. Balance very two months. For the entire year's expenses, do not exceed the income. It is necessary to leave a balance and not to use [resources] heedlessly.
>
> Keep two expense books. One of these books is the public expense book. Enter all expenses in it. The other book is the ritual payment book for entering expenses arising from celebrations, funerals, sacrifices, and the reception of guests. Balance every month on the left [of the page]. Do not alter or omit.[19]

An element of the development of the know-how of estate management is apparent in these records, blended in with admonitions to lead a frugal lifestyle in order to preserve wealth within the lineage. In this respect, lineage regulations reflect no more than the general trends discernible in land administration in wider society outside the lineage contexts. The use of written records was being popularized in estate management. The local yamen was increasingly reliant on written records, and, so, it was becoming common practice for land titles to be established by the production of written deeds and registration documents. It might be assumed that the same trend furthered specialization in land management practices, hence the reference to the employment of accountants in the *Family Admonitions of Mr. Weiya*. Advances in management were making it possible for the managerial practices to develop, the lineage being an outcome of this development.

In years to come, such family admonitions were a common genre included in genealogies, and many households that set themselves up in the form of lineages likely came to have access to them.[20] It is possible to argue on this basis that a lifestyle was being promoted in which ad-

herence to neo-Confucian prescriptions was the norm, but this would grossly simplify a complicated situation. The popularization of practices introduced along with neo-Confucian teachings was itself a reflection of the increasing numbers admitted into officialdom via the imperial examination and the growing wealth in the Pearl River Delta due to economic development that was closely related to land reclamation. It was, indeed, a self-conscious attempt by members of the gentry to introduce standards that they felt were at variance with local practices. The richer families also being those that succeeded into officialdom and held power within the lineage, the growth of that institution and the ritual practices associated with it meant that collective rituals could be transformed relatively quickly. Yet the changes in manners and lifestyle would have survived in the family setting even when lineage practices were gentrified. Local histories are full of records of the continuation of custom, in marriage ceremonies, in the celebration of festivities through the year and, especially, in the treatment of disease.[21] The changing social position of women might have followed the rise of gentility as a lifestyle among the limited wealthy sector of the population, but we know for a fact that the popularization of family regulations did not put an end to women playing an active part in the instigation of litigation.[22] In any case, few families could have afforded to confine their women to the inner quarters, even though the few records that we have of related changes in the genealogies suggest that as the family—not the lineage—acquired gentry status, over two to three generations, its women came to be removed from heavy manual labor and devoted to activities of the inner chambers such as spinning and weaving or even literary pursuits.[23] Under the veneer of orthodoxy, one should expect variations aplenty, and many an indigenous practice slipped back into the orthodox fold, cleansed as it were, by the new creed.[24]

Land Measurement: Creating the Land Record

Extension of county government authority through written regulations and the employment of written records for the management of lineage estates denoted the new administrative style of the sixteenth century, but in matters of taxation, government authority remained at odds with landowning lineages. It did not win a complete victory in this conflict, but through the sixteenth century, where it persisted, even on the sands, better records meant a stronger tax base.

It was well known that tax was not paid on much land, especially newly cultivated land. In recognition of the problem, in 1581, the chief minister,

Zhang Jucheng, pronounced that every county should resurvey the cultivated land within its purview.[25] In Nanhai county, located on land that had been reclaimed by the building of dikes since the late Song, all that the movement produced was an acknowledgment that substantial cultivated acreage had been lost to yamen records, and that a very unpopular tax supplement (known as the bow adjustment tax after the instrument for measuring land) was to be imposed. There was no negotiation and no remeasurement.[26] In Shunde, likewise, the issue of resurveying became an excuse for raising taxes but without remeasuring the land. This was done in two ways. Like Nanhai, the county imposed a surcharge of 8 percent on the registered acreage in the sands. It also clawed back into the county reclaimed land that had been registered by adjacent Xiangshan. In the biography of the magistrate Ye Chuchun, who served in Shunde from 1581 to 1587, it was noted that when Dai Jing was regional inspector in Guangdong and wanted to tax the newly formed land of Shunde, local people had resisted by claiming that the land was located in Xiangshan. His predecessor's biography notes that all efforts to shift the registration had failed then, but Ye succeeded.[27]

Elsewhere in the Pearl River Delta, reregistration of land was undertaken in earnest. In Dongguan, the magistrate left an account of the process of land remeasurement. During the winter of 1581, he gathered 255 people in the county, trained them in the techniques of land measurement, and, as the county people came with their land records, the land was measured as it was reported (*qiezhang qiebao*), the magistrate himself riding on his own to east and west in the process. The whole process took five months.[28] In Panyu county, an essay of 1582 records, the magistrate went across the county and set up registers, with maps, noting both the grade and the boundaries of each plot of land. The process of registration lasted from the winter of 1581 to the second month of the year in which the commemorative essay was written.[29] In Xinhui county, land measurement was conducted by the magistrate Yuan Gui (magistrate 1580–87), "who trod each *mu* to take charge of the measurement, gather the households, and check the registration records." It was said that after his effort, the "fish-scale registers were related once again to their numbers, so that they could be examined item by item, and tax on more than 10,000 *mu* was classed empty for no land might be held liable for it." The problem was not totally solved by any means, for a decade later, the magistrate Wang Mingjun (magistrate 1605–10) conducted his own investigation and discovered that the land registers for 2,400 *mu* had been corrupted by yamen underlings.[30]

However, it is the Xiangshan county gazetteer that shows why no

amount of remeasurement could ever put the cultivated acreage of the delta fully on record. Regional Inspector Dai Jing had tried it in 1535. Noting that land reclaimed in the vicinity of Xiangshan had been registered in neighboring counties so that no tax was demanded of it, he ordered that tenants be registered and that no further reclamation be allowed.[31] Yet in Xiangshan, it was known that these measures were impracticable. Commenting on them, the writer of the 1548 Xiangshan county gazetteer said:

> It is said that from now on the people of the counties should not purchase land located in Xiangshan. It is feared that they cannot be stopped. It is also said that tenants should register their names in the counties, and this measure seems to be pointless. The sands are located in the sea. They sail over there in spring to farm the land and they return in autumn for the harvest. The tenants have no addresses and no names. How can they register?[32]

The administrative short-cut that was devised for Xiangshan in the 1530s, therefore, did not ask for registration as such, but, in the style of county administration being established in the sixteenth century, it imposed the *lijia* onto the local power structure. As early as 1522, the county magistrate had set up a separate register for people resident in his county but who claimed allegiance to Shunde, Xinhui, or Panyu so that they would become a *li* and arrange their own tax payment. Such was the measure propounded by Dai Jing in 1535, with input from Huo Tao, who disapproved of magnate lineages grabbing land on the sands. Huo arranged for one Huang Zhengse to be appointed magistrate of Xiangshan in 1535 in full knowledge that he was soon to be transferred to Nanhai, and Huang petitioned the provincial government for permission to be granted for tax to be paid at nearby granaries, implying probably that tax might be paid in Xiangshan wherever the tax households were registered. This petition gave rise to Regional Inspector Dai Jing's pronouncement on the need to register the tenants.[33]

The next decade in Xiangshan saw an uneasy truce between the landlords and the yamen. Magistrate Zou Yan (magistrate 1536–40) was dismissed, according to the 1548 gazetteer, because he had been framed by underlings in the yamen. His successor, Luo Qi (magistrate 1542–43), was dismissed for corruption.[34] The next magistrate to arrive was Deng Qian (magistrate 1544–67), who compiled the 1548 county gazetteer and commented on Dai Jing's rulings. Deng discovered that tax was not being paid by the out-of-county households who held land in Xiangshan, and that the Yellow Registers on which the names of registered households should have been recorded were nonexistent. Moreover, he knew that

"the names under which they registered were fictitious," and that whenever the Yellow Registers were compiled, "a household would divide into five or six households, and might change from military to civilian status." He commented, "their trails are as secret and unpredictable as ghosts' or spirits', and they are proud of being protected by the powerful." He also gave up with the exclamation, "How can they be held to be responsible!"[35] That was the last attempt in Xiangshan to raise tax from the sands through household registers.

Yet the Xiangshan magistrate understood land remeasurement. The next edition of the county gazetteer records:

> Magistrate Feng Shengyu [magistrate, 1581–84] personally went to the fields, and on the basis of their being fertile or infertile, accessible or inaccessible, divided them into the three grades, upper, middle, and lower. From then on, taxes on farmland, mulberry land, or salt fields were clearly distinguished. The fields continued into Shunde county, but Magistrate Shengyu was good at delimiting the boundary. The taxes were accurately assessed. Nothing was hidden and nothing was charged in excess. The fields were all registered in the fish-scale record books, and they were to serve the convenience of the people of Xiangshan for generations to come. The record books were kept in the cupboards of the magistracy until 1652, when rebelling bandits broke into the city and destroyed them.[36]

From the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, until the middle of the seventeenth century, the county held land, rather than household, registers, on the basis of which tax was collected. Quite aside from the collection of tax in silver, the land as the basis of tax collection was prominently embodied in measures that came to be known as the single-whip reform of taxation.

The employment of written records in the establishment of land rights is well illustrated in the court trials conducted by Yan Junyan, who was assistant prefect (*tongpan*) in Guangzhou from 1628 on. Few of the cases that Yan dealt with related to land. Nevertheless, in those few cases, litigation practices involved producing the registration record or land deeds, a feature that has become familiar to students of Qing legal history but is less well documented for the Ming. Also, concomitant with land registration, the problem of "empty tax," where tax liability was retained when land was sold, became a major problem that he had to deal with.[37] The records that formed the basis of trial were for the most part compiled in the sixteenth century, and reliance on them could therefore not have been a common feature of earlier court practice.[38] Yet, while this is not by any means conclusive evidence for the first appearance of a documentary basis for the holding of land, it is significant that Yan's cases indicate that the judge drew considerable attention to senior official connections, real

or fictitious, claimed by the parties engaged in the cases that came before him. In one instance, one Chen Tai had purchased 500 *mu* of the foreshore, out of which 800 *mu* of newly reclaimed land had formed. The reclamation bordered on land owned by families of officials by the surnames Liang and Zhong. When the reclamation was registered, servants of the officials' households had dug a channel through Chen's holdings to facilitate their claim that the channel had formed a boundary. When Chen attempted to reclaim land beyond the channel, his neighbors—the officials' household servants—charged that Chen was reclaiming beyond his entitlement. The way the charge was brought was typical of the land disputes that came to officials' notice in the Ming and later in the Qing: for Chen was accused of homicide arising from a feud at harvest time. Yan found the evidence contradictory and referred it to the magistrate for details.[39]

It might be recalled that in the mid seventeenth century, Qu Dajun had described the emergence of subtenancy on the sands. Yan's records complement this description by tying the intense competition on the sands to official patronage. In another instance, Yan describes the crew of a junk as guilty of "impersonating an official, steering a boat to drive away the tenants and gathering the rent." Two of the crew were found to be the ringleaders; five men on the boat were merely hired hands. Two of the men named a senior official by the surname Liang as the instigator, while three of them named a *xiucai* by the name Wang. No attempt was made to investigate Liang's involvement, and Wang was let off lightly.[40] In yet another instance, which Prefect Yan found quite ludicrous, the culprits named the Chief Minister Yan Song's son as instigator of aggression.[41] The tax farmers of the sands were not only powerful, they wielded their powers in the name of officialdom. Political patronage, real or imagined, extended the idea, if not always the authority, of the state.

Lineages Gentrified

CHAPTER TEN

Lineage Building: The Huo Surname of Foshan

By the sixteenth century, examples abound of outbursts of lineage-building activities upon some member of the lineage acquiring a senior degree.[1] In its simplest form, the high status achieved by one member of the local lineage would have been incorporated into the character of the lineage by the compilation of a written genealogy and the building of an ancestral hall. Provision of opportunities for education, possibly personal connections, and the enforcement of a scholastic tradition would have ensured that descendants might acquire degrees. Uneven opportunities within the lineage would have ensured that differentiation would have set in among the lineage branches. Over a matter of a few generations, it was difficult for any lineage group to continue to produce achievers of very senior official status, but once the status of literati was enshrined by the building of an ancestral hall in the official style, it stayed.

High Officialdom: The Huo Surname of Shitou

An example of a lineage that reached high status, almost suddenly, and held on to it for the rest of the Ming dynasty, was Huo Tao's. The Huo lineage of Shitou village, on the edge of Foshan, counted among the most notable of the upstarts of the early sixteenth century, by virtue of Huo Tao's very senior official position and his radical ideas. The lineage began as a relatively small family group: because the dates of birth and death have been recorded in the genealogy, it is possible to tell that during Huo Tao's lifetime, what he considered to be his lineage group could not have included more than forty males over the age of 20 *sui*, their female family members and offspring, possibly living in several households. Huo Tao

was placed in the sixth generation.[2] Because no household registration has been recorded in the biographies of any of Huo Tao's ancestors, it can be assumed that it was not a household of acknowledged pedigree, even though, in order for Huo to sit for the imperial examination, registration must have been established by the year he acquired his first degree in 1513. Huo wrote defiantly in the genealogy preface that his family, unlike other people, did not claim descent from Zhuji *xiang*, that his second-generation ancestor had sold duck eggs in the market, and that his third-generation ancestor had died of drink. In all likelihood, the family was not wealthy. It was probably one of many families making a living from the marketplaces in Foshan in the early Ming, and Huo Tao could acknowledge it all with impunity because he was himself, by the time he wrote the preface to the genealogy, a rising star at the imperial court.[3]

During the fourth-generation ancestor's lifetime, the family had had to escape from the devastation caused by Huang Xiaoyang. When it reestablished itself in the village of Shitou, near Foshan, what became the lineage consisted of, at most, four families, no member of which had ever held a degree. No indication is given that worship was conducted at any common graves, and certainly there was no ancestral hall (even though, like other families, they probably performed ancestral sacrifices at the domestic altar). It was Huo Tao who was instrumental in building an ancestral hall in 1525 and making it the focus of these various families of common descent. Huo was fundamentalist in matters of ritual. His model in lineage building was a Chen family of nearby Jiujiang (Nanhai) in which eight brothers had maintained co-residence for three generations. His own attempt at lineage building included the setting up of a compound for co-residence and a common stove, the sharing of all properties among brothers of the same descent (*tongzu xiongdi*), managed along with other affairs of the family by the descendants of the principal line. It must be noted that sharing a common stove and ancestral property was a vital part of Huo Tao's lineage design. He advocated, in the face of opposition, that spirit tablets of all lines of descent should be included in the ancestral hall, and his justification was precisely that the hall should function as an undivided family. Such a view was contrary to the prevalent belief among neo-Confucians that ancestral sacrifice was to be relegated to descendants of the senior line of descent in accordance with primogeniture.[4] Nevertheless, Huo was emphatic in setting lineage management apart from ritual preeminence. Management came under the family head (*jiazhang*) and ritual preeminence was accorded to the principal-line descendant (*zongzi*). In 1535, when Huo nominated

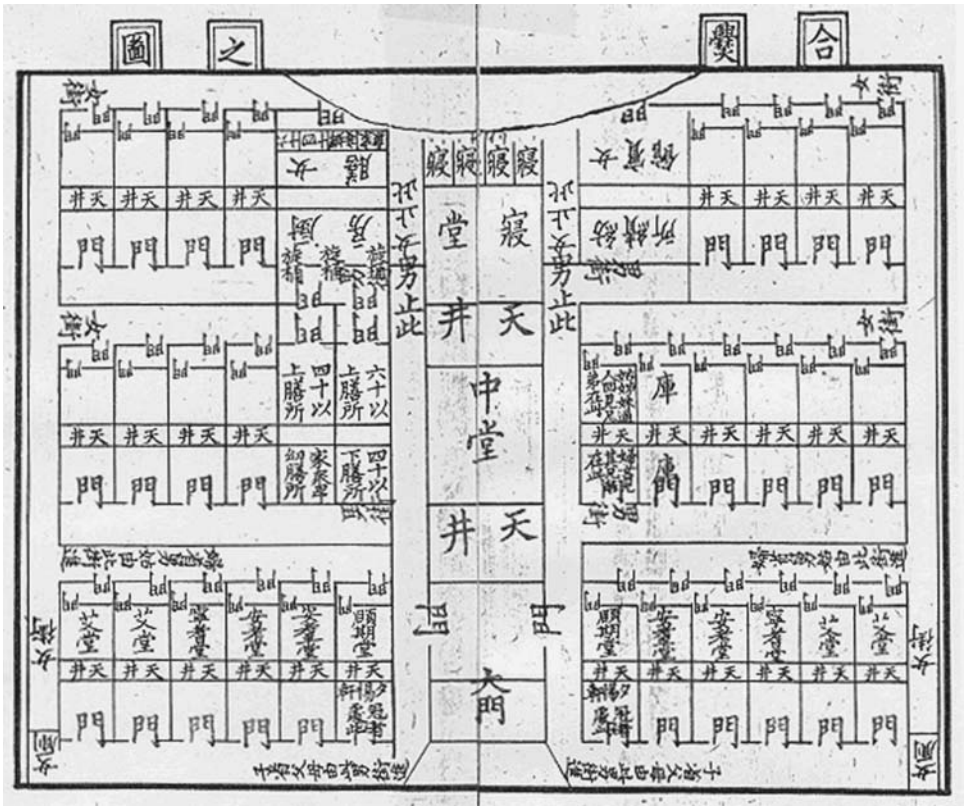


FIG. 2. Huo Tao's representation of the three-compartment ancestral hall amid village buildings

a member of the lineage as a student in the Imperial Academy, it was not ritual succession but ability that he sought, and in the end, he drew lots from the names of his nephews and second cousins in front of the ancestral tablets.[5] All seven of Huo's surviving sons held examination degrees, his second, Yuxia, becoming the most distinguished as a *jinshi*. Away from his immediate descendants, of the twenty-three nephews (his brothers' sons), eleven won examination degrees.

A comment included in Huo Tao's biography indicates that when his sons and nephews sat for the imperial examination, it was feared that his rivals at court might want to fail them because of their relationship to him.[6] However, they all passed, and only a Nanhai man who was erroneously thought to be related to Huo Tao failed. The account illustrates some of the complexities of official patronage. A close reading of the genealogies

shows that such patronage, and the acquisition of official connections that was associated with it, went a long way in furthering the aims of the lineage. Huo Tao himself was very conscious of the pretensions of high office in the village. In one of his letters to his sons, he warned them that in dress, food, and drink, they were to keep within the bounds of ritual. By that he meant that they were not to drink wine before they reached 30 *sui*, they were not to eat finely polished rice or wear fine clothes, and, if presents of food and drink were given them, they were to share them with people of the lineage (referred to as *zu*).[7] In another letter, he warned them not to become involved in the reclamation of land on the sands, going as far as to tell them that he did not want them to increase the family property any further. He noted that his contemporary Xian Guiqi had memorialized on the harm that was being caused by powerful people in Guangdong, and he wanted copies made of that essay for posting on the wall of the lineage school and the ancestral hall.[8] He was concerned that there be harmony with neighbors, especially those listed in his own *lijia* unit. His sons were to work harmoniously with other headmen. They were not to abuse his reputation to embarrass them, owe taxes in arrears, or extort from heads of households in their registration units.[9]

Family members of senior officials certainly needed to be held in check. Only a generation earlier, in 1443, the second son of Liang Chu, one of the very first Guangzhou natives to make his way into senior officialdom, had been tried for murdering three hundred people in his quest for a landed estate. Liang Chu being chief minister, the magistrate in charge of the case sentenced his son to a mere five years in exile. Shen Defu, who published this account in his gossipy collection of anecdotes in 1619, notes that the story had been passed down by word of mouth.[10] Whether the oral tradition prevailed in Beijing or Guangdong, Huo Tao would have known it. High office mattered in the exertion of local power, and the Shitou Huo surname came to own considerable properties in Foshan, which, obviously, few lineages achieved.

The Demonstration Effect: The Huo Surname of Shangyuan

The Huo surname of Shangyuan village, located also on the edge of Foshan and barely thirty miles from Shitou, was a well-established lineage even when Huo Tao's great-grandfather sold duck eggs at the market. The family claimed settlement from the Song, and had risen to some influence in Foshan towards the end of the Yuan dynasty. A dramatic description of the Shangyuan Huos' ninth-generation ancestor

Dongpu (1321–78) in his grave inscription dated 1426 describes his being given an award by the Yuan government for the arrest of a bandit. He retired thereafter to his own village, but paid for and trained a local militia and feuded with the Liang surname at nearby Qishi. The essay also notes, as a sign of his wealth: "Moreover, he built 5,000 *zhang* of embankment, so that they [his lineage members] might farm and yet defend themselves. They had sufficient food and their wealth was abundant. Their village territory [*xiangyi*] extended for a hundred *li*, and their residents, numbering several tens of thousands, were as safe as living behind a wall." On the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368, he was called to the metropolitan capital and given a posting. In 1373, on the death of his father, he returned to the village, and he only then married.[11]

The genealogy records that Dongpu was descended from the senior branch of the lineage, which for eight generations had produced an only son. His grandfather (1244–1306) had been adopted into the line from the junior branch; a grave inscription dated 1320 notes that he had set aside land for sacrifice to the ancestors. The inscription, impossibly, is ascribed to the authorship of Li Maoying, thereby claiming neo-Confucian orthodoxy.[12]

Dongpu had three sons. The genealogy notes the names of the two older sons but not their descendants, a clear indication that they dropped out of the lineage. And if there is any doubt of that, it should be set to rest by the fact that Dongpu's grave inscription bore only the names of four grandsons, all of whom were produced by his third son. The third son, Donggu (1360–1425), married a woman from the He surname of Shawan, known to be land developers of the sands, who came into the family with a dowry of 200 *mu* of land. He is extolled in an essay dated 1386 for aspiring to the life of a hermit, preferring the pleasures of mountain quietness to the trappings of power. The next biography included in the genealogy is contained in a 1542 grave inscription for the Shangyuan Huo's thirteenth-generation ancestor Xianxuan (1449–1529), the first document to lay out a five-generation genealogy for the lineage and hence very important indeed.

The 1542 grave inscription was written by Rongchuan (1478–1551), Xianxuan's son and the first man in the lineage to obtain an official degree, in 1504. His biography records the story of his being asked why he was attending the official examination, and his reply that he was soon due for household service.[13] The implication of the line should be clear to all readers: degree holders were exempt from labor service, and so it reflects his desire to protect his family rather than his ambition to

wield power. Indeed, he was appointed magistrate to a county in Jiangxi province, a post he occupied for less than two years. However, the line must also mean that the family was, by then, registered in the *lijia*, and it is also significant, given the close proximity of the home village to Foshan, that the history of the family up to this point makes no reference to the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. Rongchuan's description of his father nevertheless helps to place him in the Foshan hierarchy. Xianxuan was born in 1449, the year of the uprising. He was a student of Tang Bi, whose father, Tang Yu, wrote the first village covenant regulations in use in Foshan. He was known for his knowledge of classical essays, especially the Confucian *Book of Rites*; his judgments in disputes were respected; he had been praised by the county magistrate; he taught the younger generation, using as reference points affairs of daily life; and he treated his elders by following his natural instincts. Xianxuan was not quite one of the literati; he was a fairly wealthy man with some standing in the *lijia*, and, living outside Foshan itself, he was not considered a member of the town community.[14]

Rongchuan compiled the genealogy and left a preface written in 1534. By then, his neighbor Huo Tao had already become a minister at court and built an ancestral hall at Shitou. A passage from the preface reflects the social situation:

> A lineage requires a genealogy to record lines of descent and to distinguish those of their own from others that do not belong. However, there are people who . . . of their own accord climb [on other people] in aid of themselves, in order to make themselves appear noble, and in order to show off to the ordinary. . . . Our genealogy of the Huo surname from Taiyuan was passed down to us from early generations. It has been fourteen generations from the time of our founding ancestor, the venerable Zizhong, who came from Zhuji *xiang* in Nanxiong at the time of Xining [1068–77], to my generation. In all this time, although our family has not produced great names or glorious deeds, we have passed on our cloak and hat [that is, full dress, a sign of status] from generation to generation, and have maintained our lasting properties intact without fail to the present. Is there not a reason for all this?[15]

In other words, the Huo surname at Shangyuan might not be as prestigious as the Huo surname as Shitou, but they, rather than the Shitou Huo, certainly had history behind them. Shitou was the upstart; Shangyuan was old money.

Nonetheless, Shangyuan also built an ancestral hall, in 1588, in which year the genealogy was again compiled. The hall building as well as genealogy compilation was carried out by people in the seventeenth generation. Donggu's spirit tablet was given central place in the hall. The

spirit tablets from the first ancestor to settle in Foshan up to the ninth generation, that is, to Donggu's father, were placed in the hall as his antecedents, and those from the eleventh and twelfth generations were placed there to "accompany" sacrifice. The five-generation principle was obviously at work, for the eleventh and twelfth generations would have been exactly five generations removed from the living at the time the hall was built.[16] The lineage did not achieve great eminence, even though Huo Huapeng (1570–c. 1635) passed the examination in 1603 and rose to a senior position.

The Demonstration Effect: The Huo Surname Groups in the Market

The commoner neighbors of the Huo surname groups at Shitou and Shangyuan, consisting of many small groups of people of the Huo surname and living in the town of Foshan itself, built their lineage through a devious route.[17] They claimed no relation to people with their common surname at Shangyuan, but, like them, had claimed migration from Zhuji *xiang* since at least the fourteenth century. A commemorative essay on the founding ancestor, Mr. One Proper (Zhengyi *lang*), which could not have been written very much later than 1400, gives the claim an interesting twist: the ancestor arrived in Foshan from Zhuji *xiang* with his four sons more than a hundred years before the exodus caused by the mythical incident of the emperor's consort's elopement usually associated with migration from there. It is almost as if the genealogist both wanted to claim the Zhuji *xiang* origin and to deny the affiliation with most other lineages that did. Mr. One Proper had four sons, Messrs. Second-one, Second-five, Second-six, and Second-ten. They had eleven children, one of whom was Mr. Twenty-four, who was the father of Mr. Twenty-seven, the subject of a fifteenth-century biography. The pattern of naming adopted in these early texts is significant: Mr. Proper, Mr. Second-ten, Mr. Twenty-four, and Mr. Twenty-seven. The next biography, written for seventh-generation ancestor Yidao by his grandson Yongkuan, has moved over to reference by character names. Yongkuan was Zongli's father, and Zongli was one of the elders who defended Foshan in 1449. From there on, the genealogical line recorded names in characters, a pattern discernible not only in this line but in all lines of the genealogy.[18] Numeral names are not uncommon in early Pearl River Delta genealogies. The conversion from numerical to character names probably represented a major ritual shift in the lineage, and in this case, it may be possible to surmise what the shift might have consisted of.

Because the genealogy contains few biographical essays of the early generations, it has to be assumed that the compilers had relied on other sources of information, such as names recorded on spirit tablets and gravestones, or recalled in legends. With few exceptions, numeral name ancestors do not have recorded grave sites; only the character name ancestors do, and most of them are buried in family groups. All names, however, cluster around residence. Thus, the descendants of Mr. Twenty, eldest son of Small Mr. Eight, elder of the two sons of Mr. Second-one, son of Mr. One Proper, lived at the head of the main road in Heyuan ward in Foshan, and the descendants of his cousin, Mr. Thirty-three, son of Mr. Twenty-one, younger of the two sons of Small Mr. Eight, lived in the ward known as the Huo Neighborhood ward, and so on. When records were compiled of these Huo surname people in Foshan, the compilers had found the names of early ancestors by recording residential clusters. At the time, only two of them were also noted at grave sites. Thereafter, character names came to replace numeral names and the grave sites multiplied.[19]

The scattered communities of the Huo surname can be corroborated by the marked locations of their ancestral halls on the map of Foshan included in the 1926 gazetteer, some of which can be matched with place-names recorded in the genealogy. Altogether, the genealogy notes that by the fifth generation, the people of the Huo surname were scattered in about a dozen different locations in Foshan.

In incorporating the residential groups into the genealogy, the genealogists left prefaces recording their major efforts, in 1641, 1686, 1698, and 1703–5. By 1686, the lineage ancestral hall had been built, and so it may be presumed that, by then, lineage connections had been established across the residential clusters.[20] The preface of 1641, therefore, is especially significant for an interpretation of the history of lineage building in the Ming. Prominent in that effort was the sixth branch, so named because they claimed descent from Mr. One Proper's sixth grandson, who resided in Foshan. A gentry tradition can be traced in that branch from after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising all to the way to the early Qing dynasty. Thirteenth-generation Wenmu, while not a student of the famous Pang Song, had been praised by the master, and Wenmu's son, Weicheng (1543–1605) won a *xiucai* degree in 1576 and was appointed magistrate in Guangxi province. Weicheng's five sons all received junior degrees and so did some of his grandsons. Weicheng must have had some property, but the family was not rich. His eldest son, Tingdong, followed the teachings of Wang Yangming and thought of his own progress in officialdom as having been thwarted by Huo Tao's colleague and rival

at court Gui E. According to his youngest brother Dezhi (1592–1670), a *juren* degree holder of 1624, the biographer and writer of the 1641 preface, after his father's death, two of his elder brothers had sold off the family's land and houses and even the ancestral trust. The next in the family to achieve a degree was Junwei (1628–1703), whose official career was cut short by the end of the Ming dynasty.[21]

The fourth branch also produced some of the earlier scholars in the lineage: Jueshan, Qingfen, and Yang, all of whom had claims to connection with the small coterie associated with Huo Tao. Jueshan was a *juren* in 1507, becoming a magistrate after his examination success. Jueshan's nephew and student, Qingfen, studied with Zhan Ruoshui, befriended Xian Guiqi, Huo Tao's near contemporary and a leader in Foshan, and attended the academy founded by Huo and Zhan for neo-Confucian training. Yang had claims to being a student of the anti-Buddhist Assistant Surveillance Commissioner Wei Xiao, from whom he had been able to obtain an honorific archway to commemorate the virtues of an aunt in his wife's lineage. Yang himself was commended to the court (along with others) by Huo Tao, thereby gaining a rank beyond that of stipendiary student and finally obtaining a posting as a magistrate. The genealogist of the sixth branch, Dezhi, was most likely affiliated with this group: he wrote Yang's biography and also that of his father, Jueshan.[22]

Yet the first branch was the most numerous in the lineage, and, immediately after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, probably the most prestigious. It included two of the twenty-two defenders of Foshan whose spirit tablets were installed in the Temple of Flowering Fragrance. One of these two, Fo'er, probably an iron-foundry owner, had, in 1429, allowed himself to be held responsible for tax on land donated to the temple. The family group around Congxian, to whom Dezhi devoted a biographical essay, combined running the foundry with supernumerary offices in government administration and junior degree titles from the examinations. Congxian's grandfather, Tao, operated a foundry. Congxian's father, Quanyi (1560–1635), whose sons intermarried with the cousins of Li Daiwen, *jinshi* and senior official in the seventeenth century, inherited the business. Quanyi's obituary was written by Li. Of Quanyi's five sons, one acquired stipendiary student status, one inherited the family foundry, and two, one of whom was Congxian, the eldest, may have intended to build their careers as private secretaries to officials in the provincial government. According to Dezhi's biography, Congxian's ambitions were cut short by the fall of the Ming dynasty, and he turned instead to commerce. He must have been extremely successful, for he went on to contribute to the building of the lineage ancestral hall and

a lineage school. His son, Guoruo (1622–57), had taken an interest in politics and gone as far as to try his fortune at the Chongzhen Emperor's court at the end of the Ming. He returned when he saw that all was not well and led the life of a detached scholar, playing host to officials who came to Guangdong, possibly after the collapse of the Ming. His active though short life saw him participating in local affairs, and he donated to famine relief in 1648 and 1652.[23]

The fifth branch might have occupied a place in the lineage similar to the first. In this branch, Youliang, of whom a biography has been written by Wenmu, does not seem to have obtained a title and lived out his life as a clerk, but he was the great grandson of Zongli, one of the twenty-two elders of Foshan during the Huang Xiaoyang uprising and a direct descendant of one Yidao who made his fortune as a merchant trading with Jiangxi province.[24]

Until the early Qing, none of the branches seems to have had an ancestral hall. Until then, communal life would seem to have centered on residence in the same locality, the maintenance of earth-god shrines, temples, common graves, and the occasional genealogical compilation. This combination of activities helped to track relationships, and the territorial nexus is reflected in the structure employed for the presentation of the genealogical record. For each five-generation chart in the genealogy, the line of descent, residential location of the persons recorded, surnames of their wives, and locations of their graves are clearly stated. Significantly, a note appended to the entry of the single person whose line died out specifies that the house belonging to this line was sold and the money raised enabled his tablet to be deposited in the hall of his elder brother so that sacrifice might be held for the three generations buried at the site. Because the grave site is noted only in the entries for two generations, it would seem to be implied in the statement that, rather than an ancestral hall existing, this person for whom no descendant remained to provide sacrifice was actually buried at the ancestral grave site and thereby partook of the sacrifice offered. This surmise may be corroborated by another comment made elsewhere in the genealogy, noting precisely that this hall was not built until 1603.[25] Only five persons bearing character names in the early generations were not buried at common grave sites; significantly, two of these died away from home on military service, one being none other than Fo'er, the noted elder of Foshan at the time of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising and registered taxpayer for some land donated to the main Foshan temple.

An ancestral hall for the entire lineage embracing all six branches is found only in the early Qing (seventeenth century). The circumstances of

the hall's building are not recorded in any part of the genealogy: a single essay introducing the hall is couched in general philosophical terms, yielding no information whatsoever about the participants in the hall-building effort or its date. Yet, by then, the broad structure of the lineage embodying the Huo surname residential clusters in Foshan was complete. It had been produced by the scholars with the cooperation of the groups who had long performed their own sacrifices.[26]

The numbering of branches in the genealogy raises the question of when primogeniture was recognized as a component of the lineage ideology. In the early history of the Huo lineage, before collective sacrifice was established, before there was an ancestral hall, before there was a common genealogy, primogeniture could not have provided any recognition for lineage status. In the Shangyuan lineage, therefore, where sacrifice was established in the late Song, signs of a single line of descent in the senior branch of the lineage, maintained by adoption as well as birth, could have been indicative of a role assigned primogeniture. In the Foshan lineage, primogeniture appears as an avowed genealogical principle only in the rules of compilation set up in the seventeenth century, the compiler of the rules himself citing neo-Confucian doctrine for intellectual support.[27] It cannot be ruled out that primogeniture might well have been adopted by individual descent groups before it was generalized to the entire lineage. Yet, in a society where property division had habitually been partible, it would be more reasonable to assume that primogeniture was adopted along with neo-Confucian beliefs.

All in all, the Huo lineage of Foshan gives the impression that it was not a tightly knit community. If there was any organization, it took place privately between branches and subbranches. It should be surprising that the genealogy gives no record of a collective estate or arrangements for the distribution of sacrificial meat. Why motley groups of tradesmen, clerks, of varying standards of education and different social statuses, should have wished to appear as a unified lineage can only be a subject of speculation, but somewhere within the assemblage, some must have believed in the importance of common ancestry and the gentry association that emerges relatively clearly from the effort.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Magnates on the Sands

HOLDERS OF REGISTERED tax accounts on the sands were known commonly as *daxing*, or "great surname."[1] It is quite clear what the term means. The "great surname," to use Maurice Freedman's term, was a localized lineage, but it was one that characterized its social status by the building of an ancestral hall in the style of the family temple, thereby making a claim to gentry status. A magnate lineage, which a "great surname" would have been, made its presence felt by its architecture, and for this reason, the immediate impact would have been visual. Many a village depicted in genealogies illustrates quite precisely what is meant. The village is made up of one or several clusters of houses, and in the center of the front row of these houses, facing the open space where at harvest time paddy would have been left out to dry, is the focal ancestral hall—the temple containing the tablets of the ancestors from whom all members of the village of the same surname could claim descent. It was often only one of numerous ancestral halls, because lineage branches would have built them in honor of their own ancestors. Beyond the center of the village, scattered about, but often found on the perimeter, were earth-god shrines and temples dedicated to deities. The delta being cut into pieces by waterways, the village clusters were surrounded by streams, the ferry points on which were visibly marked out by their own temples.[2]

Magnate Lineages Gentrified

The magnate lineages varied in wealth and power, but greater or smaller, they became the foci of surviving records. They account for practically all the extant printed Pearl River Delta genealogies, many of which list

the ancestral halls that had been built and the landholdings that were set aside for sacrifice. Nevertheless, because most of these records are not dated, it is not really possible, most of the time, to discover when and under what circumstances the lineage added to its landed estate. The general impression still holds, nevertheless, that claims were made on large tracts of land primarily in the region of the delta known as the sands, and, without implying that landholding was any less important among the dikes, water control projects in the dikes were maintained as collective village and intervillage efforts rather than commercial developments. The single written contract on dike rebuilding extant in a genealogy from the late Ming, dated 1618, shows that it was a multi-surnamed effort led by the headmen of the *lijia*.[3] The magnate lineages in this region that rose beyond the influence of their own villages gathered wealth and influence by controlling the markets and investing in the sands.

Liu Zhiwei has described at some length one of the most reputable lineages that built its fortune on the sands, that is, the He surname of Shawan in Panyu county. Their ancestral hall, the Liugang *tang* at the town of Shawan, was well known at least in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for its huge landholdings on the sands. Their claim of a Song acquisition of land title is presented in an essay written by the late Song Guangzhou literatus Li Maoying. Liu argues from a Qing dynasty Kangxi (1662–1722) source that a common lineage estate under the Liugang *tang* grew substantially only by the sixteenth century. By the early Qing, a lineage estate management roll was clearly established. The He surname of Shawan, however, was distinguished from the very early years of the Ming, one of their members at the time having acquired the *jinshi* title. Shawan, moreover, was home also to Li Maoying's own lineage, which, into the Ming and the Qing, came under the protection of the He surname there. A base located at Shawan for the exploitation of the sands, in which one family, the He surname of Liugeng *tang*, clearly rose above the others in wealth and prestige, therefore goes back to the last decades of the Song dynasty.[4]

Another example of a landed magnate on the sands is the Zhao surname of Sanjiang township in Xinhui county. The Zhao surname genealogy provides a map, perhaps dating from no earlier than 1912, that shows the land reclamation extending from the village, and the biography of Ruying in the eighteenth generation notes:

> Ruying . . . born in 1492, whose father died when he was at a tender age and who went with his mother to be raised in his stepfather's house, returned to the lineage when he attained maturity with his fortune all squandered. Because tax registered on empty land [*xushui*] under the registered household [*hu*] of Ancestor Yun'ai

was not remitted, the government gave permission for waste land to be found in lieu. The honorable gentleman knew that the foreshore at Sanjiang might pile up into land far above the water, and so he registered for the tax that was to be derived "while fish swam and cranes stood [in the water]," or in other words, before land was fully formed. Subsequently, he died while imprisoned as the result of a lawsuit. Nowadays, the sands are high above the water and contribute substantially to the ancestral trust. All this comes from the venerable gentleman's efforts. For this reason, future generations should remember his pains and repay him with righteousness. Thus, his ancestral tablet is installed in the hall of Ancestor Yun'ai so that he may partake of sacrifice forever. He died in 1551 at the age of 60 *sui* and was buried at a place with the local name Little Hill at Horse Gong Grave Lower Island in Sanjiang Valley.[5]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, members of the Zhao surname at Sanjiang were engaged in quite a few contests for land, some of which involved litigation and others murder. Ruying belonged to a branch that was active in litigation with another lineage branch on the issue of nonexistent land having been registered for tax. It would seem from this report that his fate followed from that dispute. Reading between the lines, moreover, one detects the sinister underlying plot in these disputes, for, in full awareness that a dispute might well follow, land was registered in the name of an adopted son (thought of as someone having "returned" to the lineage in this case), who was to go to prison on behalf of the lineage if it came to the worst. The facts that his wife is recorded in the genealogy as being "wedded to another" (*biejiao*) and that his only son moved out of the village strongly corroborate this interpretation of the unfortunate man's fate.

The Luo surname of Shunde was likewise a "great surname." The genealogical record of the ancestral estate notes numerous holdings which were entered into fish-scale registers of the Wanli (1573–1619) and Tianqi (1621–27) periods in the Ming dynasty, and also records a dispute at the magistrate's yamen in 1613 in which some holdings belonging to one of the Luo surname ancestral trusts were contested. The documents are worth describing in some detail for an understanding of the workings of the lineage in land reclamation.[6]

As described in Chapter 7, the Luo surname at the Shunde county administrative seat of Daliang had come together after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising in 1449 to petition for the establishment of the county. They were registered in the *lijia* in all likelihood after the uprising, hence the predominance of the surname in the nine *tu* of Daliang. In 1592, they built an ancestral hall in the style of a family temple in honor of their principal ancestor, who had moved to the Pearl River Delta during the Song dynasty.[7] The dispute in 1613 arose when an application was made

in the name of ancestor Luo Hui to register various properties with the Guangdong provincial administration commissioner. A county official had been sent to measure the land, and he reported that these properties were described as being made up of sandbanks under grass (*caotan*), sandbanks without cultivation (*baitan*), and sandbanks under water (*shuitan*), indicating clearly the state of the foreshore before reclamation. However, the magistrate discovered, possibly from his official's report, that part of the property had been claimed by one Ou Wujin ("Ou and Wu who had entered," obviously a pseudonym) to whom permission for reclamation had been granted, but who had not yet paid the military dues (*xiang*) required of the undertaking. Ou was prepared to compromise by paying the military dues in conjunction with the Luo surname. The arrangement was permitted, and in 1613, 21 taels of silver was paid at the county yamen. In the following year, the Guangdong provincial administration commissioner issued five certificates for the estate. In 1622, military dues were paid again, and a receipt was issued. Finally, in 1632, the property was registered under the household of Luo Zhang in the tenth *jia* of the thirty-sixth *tu* of Daliang.[8]

The details are a useful illustration, not only of the land registration system that was emerging by the seventeenth century, but also of the haphazardness with which tax was collected. Certainly, land was registered and money had to be paid to the county magistracy, but until the property was filed under a tax household, it was not paid regularly. However, there is another, hidden agenda that should be explained. The registered name of Luo Zhang, of the tenth *jia* of the thirty-sixth *tu* of Daliang, is noted in the genealogy as being held by the descendants of Huiyu (1562-1601). Huiyu's spirit tablet, moreover, was placed on the altar at the commemorative hall of the ancestors of the Luo surname who founded Shunde county after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. His descendants bore no connection to Luo Hui, in whose name the application to register the land had been made. In effect, therefore, while the existence of the ancestral hall of the entire lineage provided a focus for all branches, reclamation was conducted, not by the lineage as a whole, but by groups of people within the lineage in the names of ancestors. The record confirms this. In 1627, another petition for land reclamation was made in the name of the same Luo Hui. When the land had been measured, a map had been drawn, and the claim investigated, a certificate was issued to him, but the tax was now placed under the household name of Luo Sichang of the second *jia* in the fourth *tu*, another of the registered household names associated with a branch descended from an ancestors sacrificed to at the commemorative hall.[9] The collective presence of the

lineage must have been an advantage in land registration at the yamen, while the land registered belonged to groups within the lineage rather than the lineage as a whole.

Mention must also be made of the estate of He Xiongxiang (1567–1642), a native of Xinhui county and *jinshi* of 1592, who rose to become minister of works in 1621. In the land reform of the early 1950s, the ancestral estate held in his name, consisting of a substantial portion of the sands known as the Nine Offspring Sands (Jiuzisha), came to be looked upon as a test case for recompense to be sought from landlords. It was claimed then that before the establishment of the People's Republic, the He Wenyi Trust (Wenyi being He Xiongxiang's posthumous name) had held 6,000 *mu* at the Nine Offspring Sands. A map of the holdings prepared in 1866 and a listing of the properties contained in the printed genealogy corroborate the figure. It was claimed in 1951 that an annual rent amounting to 300,000 catties of grain had been collected. An early Qing essay notes that the family had suffered in the turmoil of 1569, when part of Xinhui county was attacked by pirates and then ravaged by troops suppressing them. He Xiongxiang's own preface in the lineage genealogy, dated 1609, refers to more than 100 *mu* of land set aside for ancestral sacrifice to members of the lineage who had attained official status or had died virtuous. He himself contributed communal land (*yitian*) that was meant to provide for times of shortages. He Xiongxiang himself wrote an account in commemoration of the magistrate who reinstated order in 1569, which can be taken as an indication that family fortunes were recovering—if they had ever declined—around 1600.[10]

Another lineage known for its reclamation of the sands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Zhang surname of Dongguan county, has left as scanty a record of its Ming dynasty holdings as the He Wenyi trust. The genealogy gives clear indications that not only was the lineage settled in Dongguan in the Song dynasty, but also that by the end of the Song and through the Yuan, it was organized as a territorial community in which a leading member accepted government office but local defense was tightly organized. A written genealogy had already been compiled c. 1312. The ancestral hall was built for sacrifice to the focal ancestor of the entire lineage in 1416, and repaired in 1430, 1511, and 1523. Land was donated to a lineage estate in 1404, the rental proceeds of which provided funds for the building of the ancestral hall. An essay dated 1446 on the management of the estate notes that the landholding had expanded. The same document also provides possibly the earliest reference in the Pearl River Delta to the rotation of the lineage branches in the management of the ancestral estate. As a clear indication that the ancestral hall

had grown beyond the immediate territorial community, estate records were to be kept in duplicate, one copy of which was deposited in each of the two principal villages occupied by members of the lineage.[11]

Other examples of magnate lineages are to be found in the histories of towns such as Xiaolan, located on the border of the sands and the dikes. As house building was denied the dwellers of the sands, the ownership of a house in the border area was itself highly symbolic of social status. The communal character of Xiaolan, described by Helen Siu with reference to the Chrysanthemum Festival, first held in the eighteenth century, dates only from the seventeenth century. The 1548 edition of the Xiangshan county gazetteer describes Xiaolan, together with Dalan in its immediate neighborhood, as two villages by the sea. The village of Dalan was the former Xiangshan garrison; a police guard post had been established there, and land had been set aside to provide for a ferry to the county seat, Shiqi.[12] The bridge linking Xiaolan to its neighbor was built in the Hongwu period in the early Ming, and the most notable award, even then, was an honorific archway granted by imperial sanction to one He Tuyuan for donating 1,000 *shi* of grain in 1443. As some people from Xiaolan were implicated in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, and the town was remembered as a scene of devastation resulting from the clashes of loyal and rebel troops, the award to He Tuyuan, which included remission of corvée service for three years, seems to resemble the common experience of families in this area who, having backed the government in the crisis, came to be registered as civilian households. The town grew on the side of the river where He Tuyuan's archway was set up, away from Dalan.[13]

Since there were garrisons at Xiaolan and Dalan, a substantial portion of the sands in their vicinity was designated as military land in the early Ming period. The garrison populations were made up of military households who had been recruited elsewhere, as well as members of local families who were required to provide military service to make up for recruitment shortfalls. A distinction between civilian and military households thus pervades Xiaolan's history. Dai Jing's provincial gazetteer of 1535 records a lengthy pronouncement by the military land controller (*tuntian qianshi*) in 1529 lamenting the loss of military land to civilian households and making known to all and sundry, but, in particular, to commanders of garrisons and *lijia* headmen, that strict regulations applied regarding the delivery of tax grain from military land. Dai Jing himself, with his usual penchant for written regulations, made provision to account for all military dues, while acknowledging that it was undesirable for military service to give way to the use of mercenaries ("fighters,"

or *dashou*), commonly acknowledged to have happened on the sands by the seventeenth century.[14] The social structure of a settlement such as Xiaolan, mingling the coastal Dan population, immigrant military households, local households liable for military service, civilian households, and many more unregistered households, was necessarily complex. Yet although two of the three most distinguished surnames in the town, He, Li, and Mai, made some claim to a military household origin, none of them seems to have arisen from immigrant military households. The richest were undoubtedly the two lineages of the He surname, known respectively as the descendants of the Ninth Gentleman (Jiulang), who owed military service but were not immigrants, and of the Tenth Gentleman (Shilang), who do not seem to have owed any military service and who claimed among their early ancestors He Tuyuan, whose act of generosity in 1443 (see above) had effectively acquired civilian household registration status for his descendants. Of the other two surnames, the Li surname were military households by attachment, the genealogy noting that some military land had been granted an early ancestor as a result. Of the Mai surname's early history, little is known, even though the genealogy claims—as many lineages of this surname were wont to do in the Ming—that it originated with Mai the Iron Staff, who was sacrificed to in a temple in Nanxiong.[15] Despite the claim of settlement under the Song dynasty in all four cases, the earliest ancestral estates noted date only from the Jiajing period, that is to say, from the first half of the sixteenth century.

The genealogy records that the descendants of the Tenth Gentlemen first built their main-line ancestral hall (*da zongci*) in 1522. The circumstances recorded suggest that a sacrificial hall had, by then, been built at He Tuyuan's archway, for it was there that it was decided, on the occasion of sacrifice to Tuyuan's father, Yuexi, that the four lines of descent from Yuexi would jointly build the main-line ancestral hall. It was recalled that Qingzhou in the ninth generation had died without issue but left a house. His widow having moved back to her natal family, the house was sold by his nephew to an outsider. Thereupon, Qingzhou's widow complained to members of the lineage who had gathered at Yuexi's sacrifice, and the head of the lineage (*zuzhang*) decided that he would appeal to the magistrate for the return of house. However, the widow was asked to donate land on which to build the main-line ancestral hall. She also donated farmland to provide for her husband's sacrifice in the hall. The hall was renovated in 1617, at which time a member of the lineage, Wuzou, had attained senior office and was involved in the renovation. The account describing the renovation efforts refers to management of the estate by

rota, the posting of accounts on the wall of the building, which became common practice in later centuries, and the implementation of sacrifice according to the early Ming legal requirements. The genealogy also records that in 1582, between the two building efforts, the lineage took advantage of the very important government land-measurement exercise to reclaim land it owned that had been concealed by tenants. The responsibility for land measurement on this occasion was entrusted by popular consent to one Richan, who "took a small boat, not fearing wind and waves, along each plot and each *mu*, waited for the official to appear and to clarify the measurement." The passage recalls that in the following year, when the county fish-scale registers were completed, a copy was made of the holdings of the ancestral hall and given to the senior branch of the lineage to be shown to all members of the lineage. The land record thus compiled was incorporated into the genealogy in 1618.[16]

The direct measurement of land for the purpose of registration (as seen in Chapter 9) was an important episode in the establishment of lineage properties in the 1580s. Prior to this, land claims were made without direct measurement and record at the county government, but through registration in the *lijia*. The history of the Ninth Gentleman's descendants shows that while land was held through registration in the *lijia*, registration in government records as the householder was regarded as vital for control of lineage properties. The fifth-generation ancestor Shiyan (d. 1373) was said to be the first to have registered in the *lijia* in 1371. He registered as a civilian household. His son, the sixth-generation ancestor Hanming (1358–1412) registered in 1381 but was assigned military service in 1383.[17] One of the sons in the seventh generation served on the famous long-distance voyages to Southeast Asia under the eunuch Zheng He. In every decade, when the household registers were compiled, a member of the lineage is noted in the genealogy as being "held responsible for the household" (*chenghu*); in other words, he was registered as the householder in the *lijia*. As the *lijia* household, in this case, would have come under Hanming's name, responsibility for tax obligations would have implied the privilege of controlling the estate. Significantly, the genealogy notes that in the aftermath of the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, when the ninth-generation Hongyan (1423–1509) controlled the estate, he was also registered householder in 1472 and 1482. It was not an altogether satisfactory situation. Dispute over land undoubtedly resulted in litigation. The genealogy notes that Hongyan returned the landed estate and that his son (Yingjin 1460–1518) "bullied the lineage" and died in jail. Upon Hongyan's demise, the privilege of serving as the registered household was passed to Yuguang, whose father had died fighting the

rebels in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising in 1449. The ancestral hall was built in the ninth generation by Yushun (1468–1542), all four lines of descent from Hanming taking part in the effort. The transition from *lijia* household to lineage, was, in this instance, fraught with misfortunes, but the ancestral hall signified the end of the dispute and victory for at least one of the branches.[18]

The Li surname of Xiaolan, known as the Taining Lis, has left a genealogy that makes it quite clear that the lineage held land in the sands. A biography written in 1528 notes that its sixth-generation ancestor Cheng (1424–1513), one of the earliest to amass a landed estate, forbade his tenants to take a Shunde man who was stealing from his crop to court. Read in the context of the perpetual feuds over land rights between holders of the sands registered at Xiangshan and Shunde, this bland statement evidently refers, not to a case of petty theft, but to a boundary dispute. Cheng therefore reasoned with his adversary, wined and dined him, and contributed capital to help him farm.[19] In an obituary written in 1569 of Cheng's ninth-generation great-grandson Yiye (1512–54), reclamation is quite clearly described: "His family had good land by the sea, most of which had been reclaimed, and so he supervised groups of laborers in building embankments and planting them with grass so that [it] might become fertile land usable for gardens, trees, vegetables, and bamboo." This may seem to evoke a gentleman farmer at work, but the essence of the obituary was to portray Yiye as one who sat in the shade while such work went on and did not concern himself with worldly affairs.[20] In another instance, Yixing (1514–1601), of the ninth generation, proposed to members of his lineage branch that the sedimentary extension from an area owned by the lineage might be reclaimed for an ancestral estate to be set up for sacrifice to the fourth-generation ancestor (Cheng's grandfather, Genglue, 1365–1425). To make the project possible, he provided 8 *mu* of his own land to compensate people of other surnames who had claims in the area and successfully completed the reclamation.[21]

The landowners among the Taining Li surname had emerged from military status. A focal ancestor in the third generation had registered under military status in 1394.[22] The biographies of two ancestors who died in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising also suggest that the surname had a shady background: one implies that the deceased had surrendered to the rebels, and the other says that his widow had had to beg for mercy from the troops.[23] When by the sixteenth century, estate building is noted in the genealogy, no reference is as yet made to any ancestral hall. Nevertheless, the estate-builders of that time were winning official recognition: Cheng and a younger brother were guests at the village drinking ceremony and

awarded cap and sash, while no fewer than six of their sons and grandsons were awarded titles of one sort or other. Two of them were honored for donating grain to charity during the famine years of 1535 and 1536.[24] The family won little scholarly recognition until the end of the sixteenth century, although one of Cheng's nephews (Qiao, 1465–1536) obtained a stipendiary scholarship.[25] The situation changed by the eleventh generation, when Sunchen (1576–1634) obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1613 and rose quickly to prominence as a minister.[26] No record is kept of ancestral hall building in the genealogy, but it can be quite safely concluded that by the end of the Ming, whatever the origin of the family, some branches were included among those of high status in Xiaolan, and that, although the land record as indicated in the genealogy dates from the early Qing, the lineage was active in reclamation at least from the sixteenth century.

The Mai surname has left a genealogy that spells out the history of lineage building quite clearly. The pivotal ancestral hall dedicated to the founding ancestor in Xiaolan and three branch ancestral halls were built probably within a decade in the Wanli period, c. 1580 to 1590. The genealogy records contemporary experience of the introduction of sacrifice in the ancestral hall in the biography of eighth-generation Wen'e (1511–84):

> Originally, there was no sacrificial hall built in honor of the branch ancestor [*xianzu*]. However, the hall for the primal ancestor [*shizu*] had just been completed. Wen'e, rubbing his hands, said with a sigh, "By ritual [*li*], at winter solstice, the primal ancestor [*shizu*] is sacrificed to; at the spring equinox, the branch ancestor is sacrificed to, and in the autumn, father is sacrificed to. These are the principles of the *di* and *xia* ceremonies [of imperial sacrifice]. I dare not override [these practices]. Yet the memory of our origin inspires awe. Where can the wooden spirit tablets [of the branch ancestor] be installed?" Upon that, he installed them to the left of the ancestral hall. To requite his ancestor in this manner, he took [propriety] to its extreme.[27]

Wen'e was a person of some standing in the town but not a holder of any senior official position: he held only cap and sash as a guest of the community drinking ceremony and was awarded an honorary position in the county school. The hall he built was named after his father and housed his father's tablet. At the time the primal ancestor's hall was completed, another branch had just built its hall. Three ancestral halls were therefore completed at about the same time. Hall building was obviously catching on, not only among senior officials, but also among the nouveaux riches.[28]

The Mai surname genealogy makes no reference to holdings on the sands during the Ming dynasty, but the lineage obviously had collec-

tive holdings by the early Qing. The genealogy notes that some fifty or sixty people claimed to be descendants of an ancestor in the late Yuan or early Ming who had been kidnapped out on the sands and who, for that reason, had become Dan.[29] The claim is reminiscent of a legend Helen Siu found among people of the Chen surname in Tianma village in Xinhui—also, like Xiaolan, located on the edge of the sands—of their ancestor hiding among the Dan at a time of crisis in the early Ming. It is important to note, as Siu found, that such legends reflected widespread belief in the Chens' Dan origin on the part of their neighbors.[30] While it is not possible to locate the beginning of these legends in time, they are a useful reminder that just as the economic exploitation of the sands would have brought about social mobility, the adoption of lineage rituals would have legitimized the status of the upwardly mobile.

Conclusion: The Gentrification of Society

By 1600, lineages and lineage rituals were well entrenched. That meant that the influence of the literati had taken hold, not only in officialdom, but in manners and styles in all spheres of society. The gazetteer of Longjiang township contains a description of the gatherings of the caps and gowns (*guanchang hui*) in the seventeenth century that illustrates the conscious pursuit of tradition by the literati. The commemorative essay notes that these gatherings of the caps and gowns had been conducted in Longjiang since 1613. At these gatherings, "people who were on the list of the caps and gowns, and those who donated money, all had their names recorded in the books." This was different from what the writer learnt from the elders, who compared these gatherings to the meetings of poets where "the superiority or inferiority of office was not questioned and age governed the ordering [of status]." The gathering must have been a fairly regular affair, which was suspended towards the years of turmoil at the end of the Ming. In the early Qing, the poet Kuang Lu noted: "On the fifteenth day of the third month in the second year of Yongli [1648], Guangdong resumed the caps and gowns [gatherings]."[31] Yongli was the reign title of the exiled Ming emperor Gui, who had set up his capital in Guilin (Guangxi province) after escaping from the Manchus. The cap-and-gown meetings were well known, therefore, and were a symbol of late Ming loyalty.

The gathering was held at a shrine of the god of literary achievement (Wenchang), of which there were three in Longjiang *xiang*. The invitation letter included in the gazetteer indicates that the ceremony might be held at any of them. On the day of sacrifice, members of the *xiang*

gentry, whether resident in the *xiang* or living away from it, were to present themselves at the shrine at daybreak, and their names and donations received from them were to appear on notices posted there. As the ritual memorials indicate, offerings of pigs, goats, fruit, and wine were made, not only to Wenchang, but also to the martial god Guandi, as well as to their entourages, which, in the case of Wenchang, included the heavenly deities in charge of wealth and office. Thus, although the commemorative essay claims an ancestry for the ceremony in the poetry societies of earlier times, the religious character indicates more an outgrowth of the sacrifice to deities prescribed by Ming administrative law. The absence of the magistrate would have been a major difference with the administrative tradition, but that would have been more than adequately supplied by the attendance of degree holders, some of whom in Longjiang were senior officials.

The sacrifice to Wenchang was one of the institutions that were gradually gentrified in the Ming.[32] In Nanhai, record has remained of the transition from the distribution of sacrificial pork to a proper sit-down meal at his shrine in the early seventeenth century. From the early Ming dynasty, it was said, in the year the imperial examinations were held, the provincial government provided funds for a ceremony at which sacrifice was offered to Confucius and successful candidates at the examination were ceremonially received by the provincial governor and the provincial administration commissioner (*buzheng shi*), after which a meal was served. In Nanhai county, before this ceremony, candidates to be awarded the five commended degrees assigned by the county would gather at the county's literary temple, where they offered sacrifice to Confucius and to Wenchang and received a portion of the distributed pork. The sight of over a hundred candidates fighting over each shred of pork distributed was considered so crass that a Nanhai man promised the deity that if his son were successful at the examination, he would donate land so that a proper meal might be served. His son, Pang Jingzhong, who was to pen numerous commemorative essays of note, succeeded in the examination and the land donation was made in 1606. When the funds ran out in 1636, fresh donations were raised.[33]

The first formal community drinking ceremony in Guangzhou attended by the Guangzhou literati was held in 1244. Rituals in those days focused on sacrifice to Confucius, and Zhu Xi's writings were being circulated for the first time. Four hundred years on, the drinking ceremony, reproduced and altered beyond recognition at the earth-god shrines, had become an event for rustics. The literati performed their own ceremony at the shrine of the Wenchang deity. Rituals were now focused on ances-

tral halls built in the style of the family temple. The estates of the wealthy Buddhist monasteries were gone, and some of the temples that had been the sites of seemingly crass practices had been banned from the most prominent locations in the cities. The new society that was being ushered in during the sixteenth century was beginning to look like the gentry-led society that students of nineteenth-century China have long taken to be China's unquestioned "tradition."

From Ming to Qing

CHAPTER TWELVE

Gentry Leadership in Local Society

Gentry leadership was shattered by the fall of the Ming dynasty, but the Longjiang gazetteer notes that when the Chongzhen Emperor committed suicide on Coal Hill outside the palace in Beijing in the third month of 1644, people in Longjiang were enjoying the opera, usually staged only when festivities were going on.[1] The Pearl River Delta was 1,500 miles from Beijing, and how news of the emperor's suicide might have come to be known and what effect that might have had on local society are important questions of which the historian knows very little. An indication of how the news might have been received there, however, may be found in the biography of Zhou Qizeng, newly appointed magistrate of Shunde county, who heard the news while on his way to the county to assume office. Despite his deep sorrow, he proceeded to Shunde and, once there, took up the cause of the Shunde cultivators of the sands in their long-standing battle with the reputable families of Xiangshan county on landownership and the right to collect rent. Zhou sent his yamen runners and village headmen to search out bullies who had been named in complaints, and when they were found, they were thrown into the sea and allowed to drown. The survivors among the Xiangshan claimants complained to higher authorities about this unusual judicial procedure, and Zhou was removed from office. The gates of Shunde county city were closed and the markets went on strike for days in protest against his removal. Zhou accepted his fate, however, gave up his family, shaved his head, and became a monk in the hills. His whereabouts after that are not known.[2]

Very little can be what it seems in this extraordinary account of Zhou's experience. Yet the fact that Zhou, who arrived in the county knowing that the emperor had committed suicide and that Beijing had fallen, was

nonetheless drawn into local disputes over land says much about the persistence of magisterial authority even in those final days of the Ming empire. The Ming dynasty had not collapsed with the fall of Beijing. The senior officialdom in Nanjing declared its allegiance in a matter of days after Chongzhen's death and by the fifth month had installed his cousin on the throne. When within a year, Nanjing fell to the Manchus, the surviving Ming officials withdrew to Fujian and rallied around Prince Tang, the Longwu Emperor. The Southern Ming government, as the remnants of the Ming regime have come to be known to historians, shored up its prestige by awarding honors to local leaders, and it was thus that the young Qu Dajun, aged 16 *sui* in 1645, and still studying for the imperial examination, was made a student at the county school. The outspoken Jiujiang township gazetteer of 1657 records degrees awarded in 1645, 1646, and 1648.[3]

Turmoil raged on a scale unknown since the end of the Yuan dynasty, and yet, throughout it all, like the gentry of many other parts of China, the gentry of the Pearl River Delta remained loyal to the Ming emperors. This entrenchment of loyalty to the state was bound up with the very nature of gentry leadership in local society. By the Qing dynasty, gentry leadership became part and parcel of the imperial ideology, so much so that it went from there into the historian's characterization of "traditional" China. Yet, society had to be gentrified before the gentry as a class might hold its own. The common villager had to internalize the transformation of his village into a lineage before he or she became part and parcel of a wider society, created in ideology before it was realized in fact, that was led by the gentry. In the Pearl River Delta, that process began in the sixteenth century, but, even there, it was not until the last decades of the Ming dynasty that members of the gentry saw themselves as a class championing local issues.

Senior Officials at Home

In the Pearl River Delta, the tradition of senior officials resident in their home villages using their connections and clout to defend local community interests dates from no earlier than the sixteenth century. Until the village had declared its allegiance to officialdom, there was little point asking for official support in the face of an armed attack, and until labor service gave way to taxation in money, there was little point in bargaining for tax remission on account of poor harvests.[4] In Foshan, the first reference to a senior official making a contribution in town affairs was noted in 1553, when, during a year of famine, Xian Guiqi, a senior

degree holder from one of Foshan's oldest families, provided grain for congee (rice porridge) to be distributed to the famished, and seeing his example, "property owners in the twenty-four wards [*pu*] made congee for their neighbours."[5] Also in Foshan, the next attempt to build some common organization for defense came in 1614, under the leadership of a senior degree holder, Li Daiwen, also descended from an early Ming Foshan family. Li not only organized Foshan's Battalion of Loyalty and Righteousness, the local defense corps for the town as a whole, which existed, on and off, until the mid nineteenth century, but he was also given credit by the local gazetteer for taking action that resulted in the unpopular bow adjustment tax being removed, for compiling the local tax records, and, over the years, also for contributing actively to public projects, such as repairing the Bridge of General Welfare in 1623, the main road to Guangzhou in 1634, the feng shui wall of the Northern Deity temple in 1641, and the Wenchang Academy in 1642, in which his own portrait was installed in 1645, shortly after his death.[6]

Certainly, donations of grain in times of famine were no new development in the sixteenth century. What was new was that a retired senior official was engaged in management at a time of subsistence crisis and taking a position on what caused it. Xian Guiqi's donation of grain in 1553 was occasioned by food riots following several years of drought.[7] A vivid account of riots in Xinhui county in 1553 describes how the magistrate posted a placard reading: "Dying of starvation is no big deal; being beheaded is a big deal." This is said to have pacified some of the rioters, but commotion continued among the boat population, who were probably Dan, and the magistrate had to distribute food and money in relief, mobilize village elders to chide their fellow villagers about the enormity of an uprising, and put together a force of 1,600 men to put the uprising down.[8] When Xian Guiqi provided grain for relief in Foshan in 1553, he was responding to a similar law-and-order crisis. A contemporary record of the crisis describes hundreds of people who had gathered to get hold of the small amount of grain that officials had made available for distribution prior to Xian's donation. When Xian Guiqi organized relief, he therefore also "dispatched people to protect the grain boats and the rice market so that trade might proceed."[9] The subsistence crisis hit the trading towns hard long before the farming communities would feel the impact of rising prices.

In the sixteenth century, subsistence crises were brought about not only by the weather but also by increasing market fluctuations, which had come with the coastal trade.[10] The coastal trade, it must be understood, was closely entwined with the overseas trade with Southeast Asia.

Dependence on the monsoon meant that it would not have been economical to fit out an oceangoing junk to ply only between Guangzhou and Xiamen, the up-and-coming Fujianese seaport in the sixteenth century. Instead, large junks capable of sailing the South and East China Seas depended on the carrying trade between numerous coastal cities, so that if a junk started its journey in Southeast Asia, it might end up in Guangzhou or Xiamen, and if it had come down from Zhejiang, it might go on to Hainan Island. When the Portuguese appeared on the scene after 1517, they slotted into the carrying trade. The Portuguese trade had a noticeable impact as soon as it arrived on the China coast. By 1529, Commander of Guangdong and Guangxi Lin Fu petitioned that it be regularized, and by approximately 1550, a regular trading post was set up in Macau, by which time the Portuguese carrying trade extended as far as Japan and had become an essential intermediary between Japan and China, while direct trade with Japan was banned under imperial sanction. As is now well known, the onset of Portuguese trade in East Asia coincided with the discovery of silver mines in Japan, and Japanese silver came to be exported to China in such substantial quantities that it paved the way for the monetization of the Chinese market by the second half of the sixteenth century.[11]

Once the initial opposition to trading with the Portuguese had worn off, contemporaries profusely recorded the profitability of the trade brought by the Portuguese. Ye Quan, who visited Guangzhou in 1565, wrote:

> In Guangzhou city, all the households, big and small, have a business. Things are cheap. Not only are local products such as copper and tin sent beyond the province and made into utensils, but also unlike the lower Yangzi, where goods are not sold unless the profit received is as great as the capital [investment], in Guangzhou city, business is done when a profit of 10 to 20 percent is reached. For this reason, merchants gather there. Moreover, there is a foreign market, where goods are stacked in heaps and people bump shoulders. Even small lanes are noisy, not unlike the Chang Gate at Suzhou or the Qinghe district in Hangzhou.[12]

Commander Lin Fu well understood that the foreign trade was likely to create wealth when, in 1529, he petitioned that the Portuguese be allowed to trade in Guangzhou, saying: "By the former rules of commerce, the official picked out virtuous people and gave them the full price [for their goods]. The rest was sold by the people among themselves. For this reason, the small people [*xiaomin*] who had only goods worth a copper might still obtain spices for trade and in this way make themselves wealthy. In the old days, it was for this reason that Guangdong was known as a prosperous place."[13] Huo Tao's son, Yuxia, writing pos-

sibly in the 1560s or 1570s, argued that the Portuguese had moved their base to Guangzhou because of the disturbance of Japanese pirates on the Zhejiang and Fujian coast, noting: "Guangdong is no more than 5 *li* from the sea, and at the sandbanks nearby, the people sail in ships with multiple masts to trade in foreign goods. When the foreign ships arrive, along with wealthy merchants from other provinces, they move full loads of porcelain, silk, cotton, copper cash, and contraband such as gunpowder back and forth throughout the night. This they do habitually."[14] Huo Yuxia did not approve of the business, his father having taken the side that wanted to ban the Portuguese from Guangzhou. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that some of the new wealth spread to the established families of the Pearl River Delta.

Increasing wealth from the overseas trade must be seen as a backdrop to any description of the sixteenth-century Pearl River Delta, but complications arising from it were never far off. Increasing prosperity meant not only larger towns and cities, but also more money to be spent on the food of choice, namely, rice. The traveler Wang Shixing, who published his work in 1597, noted that Guangdong was by then importing rice from Guangxi province, and by 1624, Guangdong Provincial Administration Commissioner Wang Qifeng, in a year of famine, ordered that passes be issued to the rice merchants of Guangxi so that grain might be sent into Guangdong without having to pay transit tax. This immediately brought down the price of rice.[15] Increased importation of rice from Guangxi was part of the reason for the growth of Foshan as a center of the rice trade, and the rising price of rice stimulated the reclamation of land in the Pearl River Delta in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, as the supply of rice increased, Guangdong was also exporting rice along the coast to Fujian. The earliest reference to the coastal trade driving up the price of rice was recorded in the building of a community granary in Longshan township in 1591, where a commemorative account noted that "in recent years, the Fujian merchants have pushed up prices and each grain of rice is worth as much as a pearl."[16] Popular commotion arising out of rice export came in 1593 when a riot took place in the rice market in the western district of Guangzhou city and, in response, Guangdong's governor, Wang Yougong, banned Fujian rice boats from Guangzhou.[17] In 1624, Guangzhou demonstrated again when it was suspected that the Guangdong regional inspector, Chen Baotai, himself a Fujianese native, had turned a blind eye at Fujianese boats purchasing rice in Guangzhou. Crowds gathered at his office from morning to night and were dispersed only by the intervention of the Panyu magistrate.[18] Only two years later, in 1626, when "merchants from afar" (*yuanshang*) went to Dongguan

county to purchase rice, "the people in a crowd burned their boat." This was a year of famine, and wealthy families in the county city reported having had their hoards of rice looted.[19] These food protests were not only an indication of food shortage; they also show that in the midst of trade expansion, an urban population were increasingly asserting their stake through political action.

In short, the periodic subsistence crisis had as much to do with the commercialization and the monetization of the market as with the weather. It was part and parcel of the same phenomenon that fed into the institutional development of county government. However, it did not stop there; it affected the financing of the provincial military. Sources of finance for the provincial military, however, were an issue that brought contenders from well beyond the province, for funding the military on the northern border was a sinecure of the emperor's private bureaucracy—the eunuchs. Ming senior officials were never able to focus solely on local affairs. Taking a position on a complicated issue such as funding the military required them to choose between protecting local interests and toeing the line high-handedly set by the state.

The Military Beyond *lijia* and the Militia

To understand the bureaucratic impasse of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to return to the days when Tao Lu fought the Yao as Huo Tao and Huang Zuo sang his praises. As Regional Inspector Dai Jing in the same age moved the provincial administration onto a monetary budget, a similar administrative revolution was taking place in the regional military. The overall picture, again, is an important guide. The crux of the matter is that, by the mid fifteenth century, the army founded on the *lijia* had proved inadequate, but to replace it, instead of abandoning *lijia*, the empire merely registered more households, which were now free from military service. Yet the very same households defended the empire against the rebels and then evolved into the lineages of the Pearl River Delta. When the Yao wars called for an army to be raised from Guangdong and Guangxi, the post of military commander of Guangdong and Guangxi was created. Initially set up to serve a temporary political end, the post was stabilized by Han Yong, the third commander to be appointed, and he turned for support to local people such as Tao Lu. Tao rose to high office, and in return, provided both the men and the military expertise to establish a military presence. By the seventeenth century, the post of military commander of Guangdong and Guangxi evolved into the governor-generalship of the two provinces. In Han Yong's days, the com-

mander concentrated his attention on Guangxi, but in order to raise an army under his command, he depended on tax revenue from Guangdong, and that remained true even when, in the sixteenth century, he also had to provide for coastal defenses in Guangdong itself.

The *History of the Military Command of Cangwu* (*Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*), compiled in 1553 from official records and revised in 1581, presents in detail the organization, exploits, and finances of the military commander. From the time the command was set up, the military commander had had to pay for a mercenary army, which until the 1580s was regularly recruited from among the Zhuang local chiefdoms deep inside Guangxi, although by the 1560s, with an increasing focus on pirates, men were also recruited from the well-tried coastal forces of Zhejiang. It was for this reason that Commander Lin Fu needed imperial sanction to reopen the Portuguese trade at Macau in 1529, although shortly after the Macau trade was established, port dues were collected, and probably kept, by the county and prefectural governments rather than the military command, whose principal income came from the salt trade.[20] A military due was levied on salt purchased from the salt fields, on the brokers who were engaged in the salt trade, and on the boats that transported salt. As was true of the salt trade all over Ming China, not only in Guangdong and Guangxi, these increases in official levies added to the cost of salt, which was traded under the government salt monopoly, and made it more attractive for the smugglers to continue their clandestine trade. Unlike in some other parts of China, where the sale of salt was a major source of government income, the military command in Guangdong and Guangxi decided to tax salt in transit, whether or not it had been purchased under the government monopoly in the first place. Military Commander Chen Jin in 1520 summarized the situation:

> The military forces of Guangdong and Guangxi depend entirely on the profit in salt. The profit in salt comes from the merchants and the saltern households. All the salt produced by the saltern households is drawn upon by the merchants and no charge was levied on them. The expenses of the military commander are met by the merchants. However, the amount of salt under the official monopoly is limited, while there is much more salt being smuggled. The profit derived from salt smuggling is greater by several times than that derived from the monopoly. From the time of Tianshun, Chenghua, and Hongzhi [i.e., from the 1450s] . . . every year there was war and the taxes to meet their expenses were not found. Because it was known that smuggled salt was a substantial portion of the salt that was traded, that it was difficult to put an end to it or to implement the law fully, a levy was imposed on profit from salt, sometimes by petition to the emperor and sometimes summarily through local actions. The implementation of this levy is as follows: in districts where salt is sold, customs stations are set up. In Guangxi,

these stations are set up in Wuzhou, and in Guangdong, in Chaozhou, Nanxiong, Zhaoqing, and Qingyuan. Merchants who pay levies there are allowed to carry 6 *yin* of "additional" salt (*yuyan*) for every *yin* of properly taxed salt (*zhengyan*). A levy of .05 tael is collected for every *yin* of taxed salt, and .1 tael for each *yin* of "additional" salt. Beyond "additional" salt, there is the category of "further additional" *yin* salt, which merchants may declare of their own accord, and which will not be confiscated. They pay .2 tael for each *yin* of this category. This is, in brief, the practice of salt levies.[21]

With its vested interest in the salt trade, the military command saw to it that the trading area of Guangdong salt was extended. Commander Wu Guifang (in office 1563 to 1566), who bore the brunt of the attack of the "Japanese pirates" on Chaozhou in 1564, obtained permission to extend the sale of Guangdong salt into Hengyang and Yongzhou in Hunan province, and in 1570, the governor of Guangxi, Yin Zhengmao, instituted an arrangement whereby salt would be transported by troops under the military command, sharply curtailing the amount of salt that merchants had previously carried from Guangdong into Guangxi.[22] The ability of the military command to supplement its finances in the sixteenth century was an important reason for the maintenance of stability in the Pearl River Delta, because trade increased and the economy prospered.

The various memorials dealing with changes in the salt administration in Guangdong during the period from the 1560s to the 1580s preserve some very succinct descriptions of an aspect of society that emphasizes the growth of ritual among a land-based population might bypass. Yang Yinqiu, who in 1581 as magistrate of Dongguan county was responsible for organizing land measurement, and who by the late 1580s had been promoted to assistant commissioner (*fushi*) in Guangxi province, noted in a memorial while posted to Guangxi that although Governor Yin Zhengmao had stressed keeping the transport of salt within the military command, he had actually contracted out the provision of military junks to households settled on the Pearl River Delta, households that contracted for the provision of salt carriers also being responsible for the provision of junks to patrol the coast. In return for providing the junks, these households were given an initial capital loan of 600 taels, to be repaid by the profit on the transport of salt. This clearly shows how the monetization of the economy was providing the means whereby contractual transactions were taking the place of corvée service, which in this particular instance provided for considerable capital outlay, because the military command had to build up coastal defenses at short notice. According to Yang, the coastal population were initially incredulous about the arrangement but were persuaded by cast-iron placards, which were posted

in many places. Nevertheless, those who rose to the occasion were soon trapped by debt, because the wave of piracy on the Guangdong coast in the 1560s and 1570s meant that patrolling costs increased and many lost boats that were also used for salt transport. Yang describes the commotion when demands were made for the capital loans to be repaid, which died down only when approval was given by the Board of War for offsetting the loans against salt tax paid.[23]

Widespread bankruptcy among boat owners is corroborated by a memorial written in 1586 by one Chen Yijiao, himself a salt merchant based in Dongguan county. Chen took the unusual step of submitting a memorial from outside the bureaucracy to lament Governor Yin Zhengmao's direct involvement in the salt trade, pointing out that salt transported by the troops competed with that sold by the merchants. He estimated that several thousand boats and tens of thousands of boatmen were engaged in the salt trade and observed that many had "become bankrupt building boats, raising loans for capital, risking death for a small profit so that military dues might be paid." Yang Yinqiu's memorial noting the involvement of merchants in the provision of military transport should indicate that government competition might not have been the cause of misery. Rather, as Chen Yijiao's memorial reported, salt was imported from the Huainan area—coming from the lower Yangzi—and that had added to competition across the border in Hunan and Jiangxi. Despite the discrepancy about the competition provided by military transport, in broad outline, Yang and Chen would agree that by the 1580s, economic hardship was setting in for the population engaged in the salt transport. Chen pointed out that idle boats and boatmen might easily become a source of social disorder.[24]

Impounding sources of revenue and contracting out defense duties in return for the right to farm some of the revenue were typical of Ming military administration, at least in the south. It was entirely in line with the administrative reforms that Governor Dai Jing was carrying out in the 1530s. Since the days of the Yao wars, only a few decades before Dai Jing's governorship of Guangdong, upon agreement with the military commander of Guangdong and Guangxi, the civil administration had taken over part of the responsibility for local defense and raised taxes for that purpose. The men so recruited, known as fighters (*dashou*) or able-bodied men (*minzhuang*), were viewed with great suspicion by no less a writer than Huang Zuo, who lamented that the military commander had skimped on local defense ever since the counties had paid for these mercenaries, and that the recruits, often former bandits, were quite ungovernable.[25] Such comments gathered momentum after 1599,

when unimpeded financial acquisitions for the military command were disrupted by the appointment of eunuchs to Guangdong to raise funds for the imperial coffers to pay for much-needed military expenditures in North China. Appointment of eunuchs to the province for the purpose of raising a tax income for the central government was not confined to Guangdong: in the late 1590s, such appointments were made to all economically well-off provinces, and they competed everywhere with the provincial civil government and the military command for tax revenue. The impositions they introduced came to be known as the "taxes on mines," even though in Guangdong at least, these exactions had little connection with any mining operation. According to provincial officials, in Guangdong, the eunuchs demanded that the long-defunct pearl fishing industry be resumed, impounded annual dues of at least 20,000 taels paid by the Portuguese for their occupation of Macau, and extracted 200,000 taels from the province in the three years from 1599 to 1601, most of which was derived from regular taxes on land and on trade. In response, the provincial government raised taxes, but even then, it claimed, it could not make up the total budgeted for military expenditures.[26]

The gazetteers published in the last decades of the Ming dynasty regarded mercenary troops as little better than the bandits they were deployed to put down. The Xinhui gazetteer of 1609 reports that since the county had paid for mercenaries, troops were not seen any more. The mercenaries colluded with bandits and excelled in extorting payments from the coastal population, particularly the more wealthy among the Dan boat people.[27] The Dongguan gazetteer of 1639 distinguishes between mercenaries hired to guard the cities and the militia of the villages. In the villages, the militia were recruited from among the tenants of "major surnames," while the cities had no tradition of military service. It went without saying that "the fun-loving rabble of the cities, mostly people with nothing to do, despite days and months of training, could not match [the militia] of the villages."[28]

The towns rose in military importance in the midst of such changes in local defense, for they could afford to pay for a credible militia and, by appealing to territorial or lineage connections, retain their loyalty to the community. The Foshan gazetteer of 1752, which was based on a late Ming draft that is now lost, notes that the militia was established by the retired senior degree holder Li Daiwen in 1614, to be maintained by a sum of 170 taels per year drawn on the ironworks of Foshan. The measure led to rioting by the ironworkers in 1621, which was quickly put down. The literati continued to build bridges and repair the communal school and in 1628 established the militia known as "village men"

(*xiangfu*) in Foshan's wards, a cousin of Li Daiwen being placed in overall command.[29]

Another example of a market paying for the militia is to be found in Longshan. There, in 1591, a granary had been built at the Dagang Market by the elders of the *lijia* under the leadership of a degree holder, Ke Shaomao. The circumstances surrounding the founding of the granary suggest that different factions in the area had been competing for the right to collect rent at the market. In accordance with established practice, Ke, the founder, was awarded sash and cap by the magistrate, and a spirit tablet was installed at the temple in the market so that it might be sacrificed to in spring and autumn. In effect, therefore, the building of the granary was a means whereby the households in the *lijia* took over the market. The regulations of the granary, and therefore of the market, did not provide for the recruitment of mercenaries. On the contrary, they stipulated a method of rotation whereby all the resident households took turns to mount guard, even though weapons and gongs were paid for out of common funds.[30] Nevertheless, regulations set up either towards the end of the Ming or during the late Ming and early Qing disorders in Guangdong stipulated the collection of market dues and a tax imposed on land in the district of Longshan to provide for a small guard force based at the market, and, in 1649, 116 leaders of the community gathered at the market temple to sacrifice to the god in the name of the force.[31]

In Jiujiang, a local armed force was possibly also in place, for the 1657 edition of the Jiujiang township gazetteer includes a set of regulations compiled to facilitate watch keeping. The regulations reiterate the need for drills and provision of equipment, but no provision is made for leadership by the literati. Instead, they advocate that "all parties meet to nominate a hero [*yingxiong*] to take overall command, and during the *shangyuan* festival at New Year, all who have families take their weapons, prepare a feast and provide a monetary contribution to pay their respect and to swear allegiance, so that all the men of the community [*she*] obey his command."[32] Despite the similarity to Foshan and Longshan up to the 1640s, this clause in what must be a compilation of the 1650s illustrates succinctly how the intercession of the literati changed the character of local defense. Leadership by the literati provided the necessary linkage with the imperial realm, which, in the Pearl River Delta, had been thrown into confusion after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Without the literati, the township guard force answered only to itself, that is, to whoever it was who by common recognition was designated "commander."

The need for defense, the common recognition that it was created by

impositions brought to Guangdong by the eunuchs, and the gradual coagulation of a regional leadership through the rising position of senior officials staying at home, came together in the early seventeenth century. It was apparent in numerous *recorded* instances, emphasis having to be placed on the recording of the incidents as much as on the incidents themselves, because it was precisely the provision of a written record, in published form, that set the aspirations of the literati apart from the common people's. In Xinhui county in 1600, the eunuchs arrested several dozen wealthy people and, in a scene that must have been regarded with horror by the local residents, had them hung upside down at the city gates. The local people petitioned the magistrate for their release, but the magistrate, far from sympathizing with their plight, had the petitioners driven out of his yamen with such ferocity that fifty people either died or were wounded in the stampede. The eunuchs secured support from the imperial court for the arrest of the ringleaders among the petitioners, among whom were five persons holding the *juren* degree. The Xinhui literati then petitioned the imperial government in Beijing and secured their release by an imperial edict in 1604. It is significant that the petitioning and lobbying were carried out by degree holders at home and not by the most senior Xinhui degree holders, such as He Xiongxiang (see Chapter 11). The men's release was celebrated in Xinhui in various ways. In 1610, the county literati built the Sacrificial Hall of the Virtuous Three for sacrifice to Wu Gui, the magistrate who had carried out land measurement in the 1580s; Chen Jiyu, who had been instrumental in securing the release of the arrested men, although only private secretary to a magistrate; and Wang Mingjun, the ruling magistrate in 1610. Those who built the hall also compiled the Xinhui gazetteer of 1609, which recorded the incident in full detail.[33]

It was in these troubled times that the literati's influence as a body, as distinct from the very senior officials' clout exhibited by mighty men like Huo Tao, extended beyond their own county. The land measurement of magistrate Wu Gui was carried out at the time when imperial approval was given for sacrifice to Chen Baisha and Wang Yangming in the Confucian temples all over the realm, an event that was greeted with excitement in Xinhui county, but that was not brought about by Xinhui gentry lobbying. The literati who lobbied to free their colleagues from jail in 1610 had a clear sense of intellectual pedigree that had won imperial sanction.[34] A clear instance of the literati in ascendance may also be illustrated in the Nanhai road-building project of 1634. The road linked Foshan and Guangzhou and was served by sixteen bridges and eight ferries. It was built for the given reason of providing a land route for the

transport of goods so that they might not fall into the hands of the pirates who abounded on the waterways. The project was put under the charge of Li Daiwen, who was supported by the retired official Pang Jingzhong and Zhu Bailian of Jiujiang, who seems to have been a wealthy man.[35] Pang Jingzhong, who wrote a eulogy for Xian Guiqi's efforts in providing famine relief in Foshan and compiled the 1642 Nanhai gazetteer, was also instrumental in providing funds for the ceremony held by the literati in Nanhai county.[36] He typifies the up-and-coming Pearl River Delta literati, holding a fairly junior official rank, but active in the affairs of the county. Yet, the local literati had not written off the Ming military. For all its ineffectiveness, the military commander since the 1560s had assumed responsibility for coastal defense. Nevertheless, inasmuch as his funds failed to match his military needs, the commander turned increasingly to "pacification" (z*haofu*) as a measure against coastal pirates. In other words, instead of fighting them, he attempted to recruit them into his service. In 1634, when the pirate Liu Xiang took his boats up to Guangzhou city, plundering all the way, it was said in Xinhui that the pirate had been encouraged by being "recruited" into government service. The commander, Xiong Wencan, brought the forces of another "recruit," Zheng Zhilong—father of Zheng Chenggong, the future Koxinga who held out in Taiwan as a Ming loyalist—to bear on Liu Xiang, finally defeating him in 1635.[37] As late as 1642, He Wuzou of Xiangshan summoned the help of the military when local feuding occurred along the sands outside Xiaolan in Zhongshan.[38] In retrospect, historians prognosticated the end of the Ming dynasty from what came to be thought of as a rising wave of violence, but it was by learning to flex its muscles that the gentry-literati survived as a class even as the curtains of an age came down.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The End of Empire

THE HISTORY OF the Southern Ming in Guangdong in the last few months of 1646 is complicated by the appearance of two separate Ming regimes. One of these, established by agreement among the military commander of Guangdong and Guangxi, and the governors of Guangdong and Guangxi, centered on a grandson of the Wanli Emperor, who ascended the throne as the Yongli Emperor in the tenth month of 1646 in Zhaoqing, where the military commander's office was located. The imperial prince had been resident in Guangxi, and was, therefore, under the protection of the military commander from the time of the fall of Beijing in 1644. The other Ming regime was centered around Prince Tang, the deceased Longwu Emperor's younger brother, who had arrived in Guangzhou by sea late in 1646. Prince Tang was supported by Ming loyalist forces that had retreated to Guangzhou from Jiangxi, and he ascended the throne as the Shaowu Emperor in the eleventh month of 1646. The very brief reign of Shaowu was brought to an end in the twelfth month of 1646 when General Li Chengdong, formerly of the Ming, but who had surrendered to the Qing, took Guangzhou by surprise. Shaowu was beheaded in the city, without popular commotion, along with some of the Ming princes. An account that quite likely drew on a contemporary source noted that "the people shaved their hair back and surrendered, the markets were not closed, and people did not know that troops were among them, while notices were dispatched to the counties."[1] Having taken Guangzhou, Li Chengdong in 1647 turned his attention to the Yongli court. He was almost invincible. The military command of Guangdong and Guangxi was immediately defeated and the commander put to death. The Pearl River Delta resistance began then. The three local

men who led the resistance and died in its cause, Chen Zizhuang, Zhang Jiayu, and Chen Bangyan, came to be regarded as martyrs.[2]

The resistance mounted in the Pearl River Delta against Li Chengdong's army in 1647 became a symbol of courage and loyalty in the Guangdong written history. The records survived despite censorship imposed during most of the Qing dynasty and, as references in the genealogies would attest, an oral tradition was passed down within the lineages of people who died in its cause. Elevating the devoted dead to martyrdom, however, belies the easy sway of loyalty among the majority or the force of circumstances under which hard decisions were made. The Guangdong debate centered on the role of He Wuzou, who since the death of Li Daiwen in 1643 had become the doyen of the Pearl River Delta literati. He attended the court of the Longwu Emperor in Fuzhou in 1646, but returned to his native Xiangshan county when the emperor escaped into Jiangxi and was killed by the advancing Manchus. As the leader of the Guangzhou literati, however, he was drawn into the circle that supported the Shaowu Emperor during his very brief reign. One version of events, citing contemporary Guangzhou ditties jeering his defection, recorded his leading the gentry in surrender to Li Chengdong when Guangzhou fell. In opposition, it has been pointed out in recent scholarship, citing accounts ranging from his obituary to references in his genealogy, that far from having surrendered, he was actively plotting with Chen Zizhuang to fight a rearguard action against the invading forces.[3]

The calm that followed Li Chengdong's entry into Guangzhou in 1646 was deceptive. Qu Dajun recalled that in that year, when he was 17 *sui* of age, his father brought him from Guangzhou city, where he had been studying under the loyalist and martyr-to-be Chen Bangyan, back to his home village of Shating, near present-day Huangbu on the city outskirts, and said to him, "From now on, you work in the fields as you would on your books." The autobiography of one Fang Zhuankai, whose father was awarded a degree in 1645, recalled that in 1646, after the death of the Shaowu Emperor in Guangzhou, his family went into hiding, without food, for three days. By 1647, when he was 11 *sui* and the family was living in Guangzhou city, he recalled that during the fourth month, many people had been killed. Li Chengdong, he said, had been informed of the presence of rebel groups in the city, who cut the underfold of their dresses short as a sign of Ming allegiance. Li's troops stopped and searched men on the street and killed the ones found wearing gowns with short underfolds. On one occasion, his father escaped over a wall to avoid being searched. The rumor of the underfold search coincided with the uprisings

of the loyalists outside Guangzhou city, and so the intense suspicion reflected in it is quite credible.[4]

Young Qu Dajun and two of his brothers joined the rebel forces. By the seventh month of 1647, Chen Zizhuang besieged Guangzhou, and, as Qu Dajun and others recalled, the Qing dynasty–appointed governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, Dong Yangjia, mounted a defense in the city and arrested and put to death hundreds of people thought to be siding with Chen, himself personally executing Chen Zizhuang's brother-in-law to demonstrate his determination. By the ninth month, the Ming loyalist forces had all been defeated. Zhang Jiayu died from his wounds in battle, Chen Bangyan was arrested in Qingyuan city and executed either there or in Guangzou, and Chen Zizhuang, arrested in the tenth month, was executed outside Guangzhou City, along with eleven followers, most of whom held junior official degrees. Dramatic stories remained of the incident, where Chen first witnessed his followers being put to death and was then himself beheaded, it being remembered that he had been hacked, possibly indicating that he did not die from a clean cut.[5]

Fang Zhuankai recalled that 1648 was a year in which grain prices were high, and this report is confirmed in all the gazetteers of the Pearl River Delta.[6] Politics took a curious turn, however, for Li Chengdong, falling out with Governor-General Dong Yangjia, surrendered to the Southern Ming court of the Yongli Emperor in the fourth month. The reversion of Guangzhou to Ming rule was noted in the revival of gentry ceremonies and costumes. This was when Kuang Lu noted that the cap-and-gown ceremonies had resumed.[7] Fang Zhuankai recalled that when his father was appointed to an office in the Hanlin Academy, fearing for his safety, he urged him to stay home. The Southern Ming historian Ji Liuqi, citing what would seem to be a contemporary record in Guangdong, noted the excitement in the Yongli court at the news of the surrender of Li Chengdong: officials who had backed away were now appearing at court. The imperial court, which had withdrawn to Nanning in Guangxi, was pondering moving to Guangzhou, although it finally settled in Zhaoqing. A decree was issued in that year for the holding of an imperial examination. Young Zhuankai passed the county examination then, but the contemporary Guangdong record cited by Ji Liuqi has probably more subtly captured the consequences of imperial recognition:

> All village shamens and priests, all who could hold a pen and write, sent in petitions, signing themselves "student of such-and-such county or prefecture from Shandong or Shanxi." They gave the names of far-off places because they thought there would be no evidence found against them [that way]. Dragging their robes

and standing by the road, they were as numerous as ants. Those who had held office said that they were "welcoming the emperor," and loiterers claimed that they had "remained in office."[8]

Qu Dajun was among those who attended court at Zhaoqing. He presented a petition on his ideas for the revival of the empire, which, no doubt, aroused no interest whatsoever among officials. He returned before the year's end to attend to his terminally ill father. Some of the notables of the delta, including He Wuzou, were called up to serve in the Southern Ming court.

However, the euphoria at the Ming court was short-lived. After going over to the Ming, Li Chengdong took responsibility for war in Jiangxi, where by the third month of 1649, he died after a major defeat. Guangzhou survived the rest of the year under the Southern Ming regime. He Wuzou was ousted from court politics and then subsequently recalled when Manchu forces coming from Jiangxi threatened. The Qing government had by then put together a substantial army for the southern campaigns under Prince Shang Kexi and Prince Geng Zhongming, and when the imperial court moved once again from Zhaoqing, this time to Guilin in Guangxi, in the first month of 1650, the Pearl River men withdrew once again from court politics. By the second month, Qing forces had reached Guangzhou. The siege lasted ten months, and Guangzhou fell to Qing forces for the second time, in the eleventh month of 1650. A massacre followed, which lasted five days. It was then that the men of Guangdong were required to shave their foreheads and wear a queue. After he surrendered to the Qing and shaved his forehead as required, the 82-year-old loyalist Huang Shijun was ridiculed in Guangzhou ditties.[9] In the same year, Qu Dajun shaved his head to become a Buddhist monk, but as yet unaccustomed to going about in a monk's cap, he continued to wear a black headcloth in the style of a Ming scholar.[10] Fang Zhuankai's father, who had escaped from Guangzhou City on his own in the later stages of the siege, returned to see his family after the end of the massacre. He found his name on a poster that required him to donate 2,000 taels to military expenses, which sum he paid by selling land back in the village and pawning his clothes.[11] In Jiujiang *xiang*, the gazetteer records that the village heads, "just as in other places, surrendered with [offerings of] pigs and wine."[12] He Wuzou had returned to his home in Xiangshan, where he died in 1651.

Fang Zhuankai remembered that in 1651, degree holders were required to register with the government. Several hundred of them did not register, and a notice was issued to remove them from degree-holding sta-

tus.[13] Huang Shijun, who wrote the eulogy of the Guangdong-Guangxi governor-general, Li Shuaitai, upon Li's transfer from office in 1657, recalled that before his appointment in 1654, "the clerks chewed into the people as they would preserved meat, and the soldiers, proud of their victory, bullied the little people and whipped them as they might their captives." Li put an end to these oppressive practices.[14] The Manchu garrison in Guangzhou was quartered in the western parts of the city, taking over a third of the area within the city walls. The signs of victory were quite noticeable. Prince Shang built a victory temple (Desheng *miao*) outside the northern walls in 1652, and Prince Geng built another of the same name to its west.[15] The sacrificial hall of Fang Xianfu, the notable Nanhai literatus of the Jiajing period, was taken over and rebuilt as a monastery.[16] The Guangxiao Monastery, the leading Buddhist institution in Guangzhou, was the site of the 1651 examination, the examination hall having been destroyed. Even at the Guangxiao Monastery, 1651 may well have been an uneasy year. Abbot Tianran, who had befriended the leading members of the Guangzhou gentry shortly before the fall of the Ming, had moved to the Haiyun Monastery in Panyu county in 1644 and had returned to resume his position as abbot of Guangxiao in 1650 upon the invitation of the Southern Ming regime.[17] His biography in the history of the Guangxiao Monastery notes that he had departed from Guangxiao by the time the Manchu garrison entered the city, and although invited by Prince Shang to return, he did not accept the invitation. It is not clear who was in charge at the monastery in those critical years. The monastery was located within the part of city now taken over by Manchu bannermen, who occupied the northern cloisters, and even the ordination altar was separated from the main monastic compound.[18] The two princes and their families nonetheless patronized the monastery, and in 1654, donations were received both from the princes and from others to replenish its landholdings and rebuild both the main hall and the ordination altar.[19] Communal sacrifices, too, must have been held for the many who had died in the turmoil: we know of one mass grave at which communal sacrifice was held, and there must have been more.[20]

By the time Li Chengdong was routed, the Ming threat to Guangdong was over. Its influence was felt for one last time in 1657 when Li Dingguo, an adopted son of the rebel Zhang Xianzhong, whose influence centered principally in Sichuan province, offered his service to the Southern Ming emperor. Li's forces went through Guangxi into Guangdong, besieging Xinhui for eight months, so closely that cannibalism was recorded in the county city. Xinhui did not fall, however, and Li Dingguo withdrew. The

two decades in which Guangzhou was ruled by the princes were difficult times, but the new government remained in control.[21]

The harsh rule of the princes in Guangzhou led to many popular stories, some of which were collected by Niu Xiu, who served as a magistrate in Guangdong in 1700. He recorded that the princes made heavy demands on the officials and local people for the mansions that they built for themselves. Niu also recorded the atrocities of Shang Zhixin, Prince Shang's eldest son, which included whipping his female servants and casting the flesh of his eunuch to his dogs.[22] It is difficult to tell whether the stories came about in the first few years when the Qing government was establishing its rule in Guangzhou or towards the end of Prince Shang's life in 1676. Prince Geng having been transferred out of Guangdong in 1660, for most of two decades, Prince Shang dominated Guangzhou. He was known to have amassed an impressive personal fortune controlling Guangzhou's commerce. Popular references to his son's depravity could well have originated in his petition to deprive him of the right of succession to his title in 1674. Shang Zhixin rebelled in 1676, throwing his lot together with Prince Wu Sangui in Yunnan, contributing to the crisis throughout South China known to historians as the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories. Prince Shang died in the same year, and although Shang Zhixin surrendered to the throne in 1677 and, in fact, succeeded to his father's title, in 1680, he was ordered to commit suicide, thus bringing an end to the extrabureaucratic government of Guangdong.[23]

In the counties of the Pearl River Delta, the initial fall of Guangzhou in 1646 triggered considerable turmoil. The abundant records show that members of respectable families who were known to have been associated with the Ming loyalist resistance had to go into hiding, that the looting that had preceded the fall of Guangzhou, arising partly from the weakening of the military in the last years of the Ming, continued unabated, and that bond servants—a loose term which would have been applied to people of subservient statuses—were rebelling against their masters. None of these terms should be taken as objective indicators of intent. He Dazuo describes some of the rebels of these years, as well as a Dan pirate family in 1649. The father operated a fishing boat, with which he robbed other boats, but in order to survive, he had to be a part of a protection alliance. His wife and concubine lived in the market, and he hid the silver that he accumulated from his exploits on shore. The law caught up with him, however, because He Dazuo recounts his arrest and the discovery of his treasure trove by the Xiaolan rabble. He Dazuo's account of events in 1651 depicts the power contests between the head of a protective alliance

and the local police chief. The local Houwang temple staged an annual procession of the god to the villages, during which the faithful donated money and incense for his worship. In this year, because of the turmoil on the coast, the god's attendants did not want to escort his statue from the villages back to the town without an armed guard. They turned to the police chief for help, but when they arrived and had taken the statue off the boat, the police chief sailed away with all the offerings to the gods and even the clothes of his attendants. They informed the alliance headman, whose fleet caught up with the police chief, and his men bound him and threw him into the sea. This headman was killed later in the year by seekers of revenge for other people he and his followers had killed.[24]

The gazetteer of Waihai *xiang* in Xinhui county presents conflicting tales of the skirmishes of the 1640s: according to one account, Waihai had been described as a bandit lair and was spared destruction only because a member of the gentry there succeeded in persuading the provincial administration commissioner that it was not one, and another ascribes the dispatch of troops against the pirates to the petition of one of its own citizens. In 1646, the "white banner bandits" (*baiqi zei*) ravaged the county city and such towns as Jiangmen. In 1647, bond servants in Waihai, joined by other people in the area, set up rebellious associations (*she*). By 1650, some of them had established the militias, and they demanded a surcharge of .8 tael for each *mu* of land and .2 tael for each fishpond from the owners. The bond servant revolts, the gazetteer says, began in Shunde county and spread to Xinhui from there.[25]

A detailed account of some of these events in Xinhui county is preserved in the genealogy of the Zhao surname of Sanjiang *xiang*. The revolt of the bond servants in 1646 was preceded by the appearance of bandits or pirates, who had come with the tide from the islands off the coast. When the bond servants joined them, rebels were everywhere in the county city. They extorted money and grain from the wealthy households, and villagers were required to raise flags on their houses to give a misleading impression of their strength. All this preceded the fall of Guangzhou and for a little while, local troops succeeded in putting them down. By the time Guangzhou fell, the rebels were besieging the county city and looting homes in its suburbs. Even at that stage, however, the city people succeeded in putting up a defense and bringing some of the rebels to justice. By the end of the year, the bond servants were again in revolt. According to the writer of the account, Sanjiang was a target for them, for no bond servants from Sanjiang took part in the rebel associations. The writer's own house was named by the rebels as the first one to be looted, he says, and some of his relatives were murdered at the ferry

and their heads were stuck on pikes in the marketplace. The terrorism struck fear into members of the Zhao lineage, and as some prepared for war, others escaped into hiding among their relatives. The village was attacked at some time soon after these developments, and the attackers were driven off by cannon fire. More attacks followed, but a curious turn of events ensued. Some members of the lineage were arrested and imprisoned by the magistrate and were not released despite a petition from other lineage members. Yet they were released when the lineage arrested various bandit chiefs—not of their own surname—and surrendered to the magistrate. The writer of this account thereupon led an expedition against the bond servants, killed their leaders, razed their village, and drove some of them into exile. Thereafter, the village enjoyed peace until Xinhui county was attacked by Ming loyalist forces in 1654.[26]

To the southwest, in Xinning county, an unknown writer who claims that he negotiated peace when Li Chengdong defeated Ming forces near his home village of Langmei, left a lengthy account of contemporary events in his genealogy. In 1646, before Li Chengdong took Guangzhou, Ming forces were besieged by groups led by one Wang Xing, soon to be known as the leading bandit Embroidery Needle. After settling with Li Chengdong, the writer, with the support of his lineage elders, instituted an arrangement whereby a tax was levied on rental grain for use in the building of village walls and the relief of the poor in the village. They turned on some of the people who had been rebelling, beheading them at the ancestral hall. This brought retaliation from both "renegades" of the lineage and bond servants, in particular, one You Peilong, who successfully rallied a following from six villages. They "set up an association on the hill behind, known as Youma Ling, drew blood to swear an oath, and thereafter, attacked their masters, looted their houses, tore down weighing scales, and sawed apart wooden grain measures." In the next year, which was 1648, when grain prices reached famine level, You Peilong and his followers capped the price at 130 cash per *shi* and looted all those households that attempted to sell at a higher price. The writer comments that as a result of this measure, tens of thousands of *shi* of grain that belonged to his village were carried off by You and his gang.

Reference to fixing grain prices and attacking the scales used for measuring grain corroborates the status difference that the writer invokes by referring to the rebels as bond servants. These were precisely the people who had purchased imperial awards from the Southern Ming Emperor Yongli later in 1648 when Li Chengdong rebelled against the Qing and joined the Ming, according this writer. The writer himself departed from the village with some of his relatives for their safety in these few months,

but they were impressed with the Qing forces sent to the south to pacify local bandits and so petitioned the magistrate appointed by the Manchu commanders in Guangzhou for action to be taken against You Peilong. The object of the petition was clearly an effort to ensure that the action they were to take would fall on the right side of the law, for the magistrate sent them a reinforcement of only a dozen men when the Chen surname themselves recruited more than three hundred. The force entered the village where they expected to find You, who had escaped, and told his followers that they were to be pardoned for their crime.

You Peilong did not thereupon give up his resistance. Instead, in a petition to the commander of the nearby Guanghai garrison, he and his accomplices charged the writer with harboring bandits. A settlement was reached whereby You agreed to abandon his claims to land in the area and return. Upon his return, according to the writer, You attempted to raise a following but failed. He went back to Guanghai, where he was jailed, and died there in 1653.

That was yet not all. In 1651, the village was attacked once again by bandits. These were driven off, but after years of warfare, the village had lost considerable population, so the writer recruited soldiers serving in the Guanghai garrison and gave them land and houses in return for defense duties. Nothing in his description of the incident suggests a status difference, but the provision of houses might well be a hint of it. The price of grain continued to be a point of contention, for in 1653, "lineage renegades" gathered at the ancestral hall threatening to loot. In response, the lineage appointed a dozen or so "alliance headmen" (*yuezhang*) and a force of sixty "righteous braves" (*yiyong*). The headmen met for a day every month at the ancestral hall to mete out punishment to all offenders. Even then, the writer reported grain prices reaching famine level and demand being made for cutting them. Agreement was reached, with difficulty, and limits were imposed on prices. Such were the disorders reported among the villages.[27]

In 1661, to quarantine Zheng Chenggong's forces on Taiwan, the Qing government ordered the evacuation of the entire coast in the southern provinces from Zhejiang to Guangdong. For most of this area, the order was in force until 1684, but, in Guangdong, it was rescinded in 1669. As far as it concerned the Pearl River Delta, this order affected Dongguan, Xin'an, Shunde, Xinhui, Xiangshan, and Xinning, that is to say, the counties in which land was rapidly being reclaimed from the sea. The town of Xiaolan on the edge of the sands was within the line of demarcation, as were Sanjiang, the home village of the Zhao surname in

Xinhui, and all of the sands to the south of Xiaolan. There can be no estimate of the population affected. It would have run into the millions.[28]

An unknown writer in Xinning county gives an invaluable account of the impact of this coastal evacuation, which must have been written at the time, for it describes the departure but not the return. He says the villages by the sea were evacuated in two stages: in 1662, all villages located within 10 *li* from the coastline were evacuated, and in 1663, the limit was expanded to 30 *li*. In 1663, the governor-general and military commander (*tidu*) came themselves to the village to demarcate the border of the evacuated region, their entourage passing by his village.[29] He recalled what he saw three days later when he took his family to the county city in phrases reminiscent of major disasters: "People led their cows and carried their seed on their shoulder poles, carrying their elderly on their backs and their young in their arms. There was wailing everywhere. The sight was too painful to watch." Along the way, hill bandits looted. The roads were not passable, and he took his family by boat. Two months later, the Guanghai garrison went through the entire evacuated region to destroy all houses. His family lived in the county city through the turmoil, including the famine of 1665.[30] In Xiaolan, which was also evacuated, a similar eyewitness account recorded in a genealogy notes:

> In the third year of Kangxi [1664] . . . on twenty-fourth day of [the fifth month], a notice was issued to all villages to be evacuated. I returned from Guangzhou. The next day, I took my family across the river. At the time, villagers were running away in disorder. Many robbers looted. It was difficult to travel. I went to Hengjiang Village and stayed temporarily with the Wu family. The women slept on the floor at night and the men in the street. It was not possible to stay there for long. On fifteenth of the sixth month, I took my family to Guangzhou and lived near the Long Bridge outside the West Gate. On twenty-third of the tenth month, the magistrate and the county military commander went personally to the evacuated villages. At the time, Magistrate Yao took the villagers to the county city to settle them down and pacified the bandits all around to bring about some peace. . . . In 1665, . . . from the third month to the fifth month, there was disease. Many evacuees living temporarily in the county or the provincial city were taken ill and died.[31]

The Zhang surname of Shafu village in Xinhui county noted in their genealogy that when the flags went up demarcating the boundary for evacuation in the fifth month of 1662, all sea transport between this part of Xinhui (that is to say, near Sanjiang) to Guangzhou ceased. "Even heavy goods had to be carried on the shoulder. The evacuees filled the cities. They were starved to the bone; it was too painful for words." In the tenth month, the troops arrived to supervise the evacuation. They

arrested all those who remained on the rivers, and the lineage lost a hundred people this way. In 1665, several dozen more died in an epidemic. There was no food, and so the survivors performed service for the troops or sold their wives. Every lineage suffered the same fate, according to the passage.[32]

Of the exploits of the military, the Dongguan gazetteer notes: "In spring, the third month of 1664, there were some among the people who were set to move but had adopted a wait-and-see attitude and not yet moved inside the boundary. Captain [*fujiang*] Cao Zhi arrested them all and executed them."[33] Niu Xiu also noted, no doubt only from hearsay, that when in the spring of 1665, the evacuation was enforced in Panyu, Shunde, Xinhui, Dongguan, and Xiangshan: "A border was marked out by a rope pulled tight. Along it, many houses were split in two and abandoned."[34]

There can be no question that the evacuation decree resulted in a human disaster of the highest order for residents of many settled communities on the coast. Yet the records of the evacuation do not point to the coast being entirely emptied of people, but rather to an increased military presence at various strategic places. One of these was Dapeng in Xin'an county, long a naval station in the Ming period, held by one Li Wanrong until he was suppressed by the Qing in 1661. Li was known variously as a subordinate of the Southern Ming martyr Zhang Jiayu, a supporter of the Yongli Emperor, a bandit and pirate who terrorized the villages in what are now the New Territories of Hong Kong, and a charger of local dues on one of the main routes in the area.[35] Another point of military presence was Shunde, where the county city fell to the "pirates" Zhou Yu and Li Rong in 1663. Zhou and Li, according to Niu Xiu, were Dan boatmen who controlled several hundred fishing boats, some of which had watchtowers and armaments. Prince Shang had incorporated them into his coastal forces, and when the evacuation order was imposed, he wanted their fleet moored in coastal inlets. Zhou and Rong rebelled and were put down. Shunde was strengthened by a garrison of 5,000 men as a result.[36] These troops obviously had to be supplied, and so a memorial in 1664 from the Guangdong-Guangxi governor-general requested that several routes be kept open for transport of food for the military garrison. In the Pearl River Delta, three were proposed, in Shunde, Xinhui, and Xin'an, which were approved.[37] Significantly, in the years after the coastal evacuation, when Prince Shang had died and the provincial government was restored, the prince was accused of allowing his personal servants and troops to control trade at all the major ports, at the salt fields, at the

points where fishing boats moored and where overseas trade, that is, with the Portuguese in Macau, was conducted.[38] Not even the sands were left uncultivated. A petition was sent by the *lijia* headmen of Xiaolan to the governor-general in 1664 offering to renounce their ownership of land on the sands so that it might be assigned to their tenants. They had been attacked by Dan pirates and bandits after the evacuation decree was issued. The Dan had sailed away when the troops arrived, and they had been accused by the troops of siding with the Dan. Finally, the Dan had returned for more looting upon the departure of the troops. It was not the evacuation but the constant looting that had destroyed their oxen, their grain, and their farm tools.[39] As Wang Lairen, Guangdong governor in 1669, put it in his famous petition asking for the permission to allow the evacuees to return home, "In the two years in which I have been governor of Guangdong, I have not heard of attacks by pirates and major bandits. I have only heard of people escaping evacuation gathering as bandits."[40] A state of siege had been imposed, resulting in the desolation of the sands and the dislocation of many villages bordering it.

The governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi and the governor of Guangdong were removed from office for incompetence in 1669. Legends in Guangdong recall that Governor Wang then committed suicide. The rescinding of the evacuation order was taken up by the succeeding governor-general, however, and it was lifted for Guangdong in the same year.[41]

Taiwan surrendered in 1683, and the coastal evacuation order applying to all the southern provinces was rescinded in 1684. In the same year that the evacuation order was rescinded, the Kangxi Emperor sent the very reputable poetry commentator and senior official Wang Shizhen to Guangdong to offer sacrifice to the southern sea god at his temple at Huangbu. This innocuous incident was in fact highly political. It signaled the end of the war with the Ming dynasty loyalists in Guangdong.[42]

Xie Qijiao of Longjiang *xiang*, *gongsheng* of the Southern Ming in 1648, who recorded the cap-and-gown ceremony of that year, captured in an essay included in the 1687 Longjiang gazetteer the change in dress style in the area between the fall of the Ming and the years immediately after the evacuation. It used to be, he recalled, that even senior officials living at home had dressed simply. When someone was awarded a title upon his son's success in the bureaucracy, until they were presented to the magistrate and informed of the appointment, they did not address the magistrate standing up. That, he said, was what he himself had witnessed towards the end of the Ming. Fifty years on, it was very different. All

those who had had official appointments, irrespective of whether they might have been stripped of their titles by imperial order for crime or corruption, wore official hats and embroidered gowns at festivals.[43] Xie did not approve of the glaring display of wealth and status. However, as in other parts of China, the change of dynasty had also changed society.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Proliferation of Lineage Institutions

By the 1680s, life had returned to normal. The literati produced offspring who sat for the imperial examinations. Land reclamation on the sands continued in earnest. People who were successful in one or the other compiled genealogies and built themselves ancestral halls. Yet, one difference with the late Ming is noticeable: members of the senior officialdom who at various times under the Ming dynasty had dominated public affairs in Guangzhou had disappeared. The lineages of Huo Tao, Fang Xianfu, Li Daiwan, He Hongxiang, and the like no longer carried weight in provincial politics. Instead, the number of ancestral halls proliferated, families holding official titles having been swelled, not only by the accumulation of examination success through the Ming era, but also by the many awards granted by the Southern Ming emperors. Political turmoil broke the class barrier established in the sixteenth century by senior officialdom. By the early Qing (mid seventeenth century), it was commonplace for territorial communities to appear as local lineages in which sacrifice to ancestors was centered on an ancestral hall.

Lineage Building from Ming to Qing

Lineage building had not waited until the 1680s to get started again. In fact, it never stopped. The Cai surname at Shencun of Nanhai county, near Foshan, built its all-lineage family temple in 1626, and branch ancestral halls in 1633, 1659, 1675, 1681, and 1702. The genealogy includes a later comment warning that many titles assigned to ancestors on spirit tablets were bogus.[1] In the case of the Liang surname of Panxi, near Guangzhou city, an essay of 1657 details the effort that went into

restoring lineage properties after the considerable disruption of the previous decade.[2] The Chen surname of Shajiao in Shunde county, which had built an ancestral hall in 1531, repaired it in 1652 and again in 1661.[3] The building record reflects the destruction of buildings, loss of property documents, and the usurpation of ancestral holdings by members of the lineage, including bond servants.[4]

In the case of the Xie surname at Nanshe village in Dongguan county, lineage building had come together with organization for defense in the first years of the Qing dynasty. The family lived in a multi-surname village. It must have become quite wealthy, because by 1555, it had built an ancestral hall for its principal lineage. The hall was then rebuilt in 1613, with donations of almost 350 taels from members of the lineage. There were few degree holders in the principal lineage, but a branch that produced several county students by the second half of the sixteenth century compiled the genealogy and built its own branch ancestral hall. A commemorative essay written by no less a personage than the late Ming stalwart Chen Zizhuang notes that family property within this group was not divided, that the brothers managed the estate as a group, and that two halls were built, dedicated only to ancestors within five generations of descent. Lineage management was extended in later years.

The village was attacked by bandits in 1643. It was unprepared for the onslaught. A detailed contemporary account of the incident describes how in the early days of the bandits' approach, a small force of twenty mercenaries was hired while the men of the village escaped into the hills or moved with their families out of the village to Guangzhou city. The village was overrun, men and women were held for ransom, and fruitless appeals were made to neighboring villages to rescue them. When the bandits withdrew, village defense was organized. A defensive wall around the village with watchtowers was begun in 1644 and completed in 1650 at a cost of 700 taels, donated by a member of the lineage, weapons were prepared, watches were kept. The wall was built none too soon, for in 1648, the bandits appeared again, and this time, the village succeeded in defending itself. The genealogy also includes a defense notice issued in 1676 calling on the village's mercenaries to abide by the law and assuring them that if the village gates were closed, their ration would be guaranteed, presumably by the Xie surname as the dominant surname group in the village. These extraordinary times, therefore, imposed heavy responsibilities on groups such as the Xie surname, and the experience sheds light on some of clauses of the editorial regulations set up for compiling the genealogy, possibly in 1671, the year in which one of the prefaces was written. The regulations reassert the continuation of sacrifice at the ancestral halls

and the need to provide relief for the needy. They appeal to members of the lineage who had left the village to return, and noted that since the defensive wall had been built, outsiders had entered the village seeking protection. Protection was needed not only from bandits. A petition to Prince Shang Kexi detailed an attempt at extortion from a member of the village on the pretext that he was required to pay for cannon being cast in Guangzhou. The petition shows that in these volatile times, survival depended as much on not being defined as bandits by government as on being able to fight off actual bandits. A preface in 1650 bears the Yongli reign title, indicating loyalty to the Southern Ming until Guangzhou fell to the Qing. Evidence of loyalty was provided in the biographies of members of the lineage who accepted positions of responsibility with the new government.[5]

One might think those lineages in which known Ming loyalists had been sought as rebels would have wanted to play down lineage connections to avoid complicity by association. That does not seem to have been the case. The political relaxation of the 1680s had its effects. Qu Dajun, who had become a monk and left Guangdong altogether in 1657, after participating in the resistance against the Qing, returned in 1669 to Guangzhou. He served Wu Sangui briefly in Guangxi in 1674, but resigned from office and returned to Guangzhou again. He had married in exile in Shanxi province and remarried upon his wife's death soon after that, but he did not return to his home village at Shating until after the Kangxi Emperor's envoy Wang Shizhen visited Guangzhou in 1684. A tremendous change came over his activities. By then, he was aged 56 *sui*, well known for his poetry and scholarship, and, despite his protests otherwise, was possibly fairly wealthy. In 1686, upon the death of one of his wives and his beloved teenage daughter, he settled down at Shating and bought 37 *mu* of land on the sands, which, he says, he farmed himself. That meant, in effect, that he farmed it with hired labor. He left a succinct description of the harvest scene in 1687. Agreement had to be reached with neighboring farmers on when to harvest the rice. He went to his field plots in three boats, each carrying ten laborers. They went past seven stretches of reclamation before they reached his. They cut the rice and took it, stalks and all, back to the drying ground 2 *li* from his village. It took more than a full day of labor by a man to harvest half a *mu*, and he was pleased with the yield of 3 *shi* for each *mu*. He used the stalks for fuel and the ashes as fertilizer. As a "poor family," he had no servants. He thought that if he had had two servants to make salt, two to look after his ducks, and two more to gather shellfish, shrimp, and crabs by the river, he would have had everything he needed in the way of food.

The grain harvested had to be put under millstones turned by three oxen to remove the husks, and the husked rice was brought home in baskets. Hundreds of Dan women came to glean the leftovers. The whole process of harvesting, the busiest part of rice farming, took fourteen days.[6]

Qu Dajun's presence in the village of Shating brought about the lineage-building efforts there. It would seem that no ancestral hall had existed at Shating until then, the several house clusters of the Qu surname there making their regular sacrifice, not to an ancestor, but to the Houwang deity, whose image had been brought to the village in the Song dynasty by the founding ancestor. The precise location of the temple was closely connected to the establishment of settlement; it was said that when the founding ancestor had come to this area as an official, his boat carrying the deity's image had stopped where the temple was finally built. The village attributed its good fortune to the protection of the deity, and "whenever any serious event occurred, our lineage [*zong*] went to him to cast the resounding fortune-telling blocks." It was known to the women and children as "our ancestral temple [*zumiao*]." The family also sacrificed at the nearby temple of the god of the southern sea—for centuries, the main temple of that god—where Wang Shizhen had offered sacrifice in 1684. The Qu surname claimed close connection with the temple by maintaining a sacrificial hall there in honor of some of their ancestors who had lived in the fifteenth century. Some 668 *mu* of land had been donated to the temple in order for sacrifices to be kept up; Qu Dajun's elder brother, a man who was much more active than Dajun himself in the Southern Ming resistance, had written an essay to record the event. The Qu surname's donation provided the temple with rent and the much needed income to pay the tax, but it was by no means the only surname in the area to make a claim on the temple. A Cen surname nearby had claimed connection by virtue of the fact that the deity's wife had borne their surname, and a Chen surname had, like the Qu surname, donated land to the temple in return for a sacrificial hall there in honor of one of its ancestors. Nevertheless, Qu Dajun notes that because their lineage had sacrificial land at the temple, and because of Shating's proximity to it, they regarded the temple also as their "family temple" (*jiamiao*). Since the early Ming, the deity had been invited to preside at a smaller temple at Shating, so that the he might be sacrificed to at all times.[7]

Qu Dajun was conscious of the close connections between his lineage and the two temples nearby, and he was himself active in putting up lineage buildings. He was a firm believer in the descent of the lineage from Qu Yuan, a loyal minister of the Warring Kingdoms period who is said to have thrown himself into the river and drowned when his advice to the

king of Chu was rejected—a legend that may have had political appeal for Qu Dajun. In any case, he converted his house, located on the hill facing Shating, into a sacrificial hall for Qu Yuan, behind which he built a hall to sacrifice to Qu Yuan's sister, who had consoled Qu Yuan in his despair, according to ancient texts. He also had a pavilion erected by the river in memory of Qu Yuan's drowning.

Qu Dajun furthermore bought land to build an ancestral hall to sacrifice to four early ancestors of his own line. He also converted his father's house into a sacrificial hall for the spirits of all those who had died without heirs, and put on record for display at the hall the responsibility of himself and his descendants for annual sacrifice.[8] Qu Dajun's famous description of the abundance of ancestral halls in the Guangzhou area states:

> The land is fertile and the population dense. In some villages, there is only one surname. In others, there are two to three surnames. From the Tang and Song dynasties, they have lived side by side peacefully and contentedly; few move away. The major and minor lines of descent all have ancestral halls. They compete with one another for the grandeur of these buildings. A lineage having a thousand people would have a few score ancestral halls. Even small surnames of fewer than a hundred members would have several halls. The ones known as "main-line ancestral halls" [*dazong ci*] are the temples of the founding ancestors. Commoners dedicate temples to founding ancestors in order to remember their ancestry and to gather together their own kin. Remembering their ancestry is an act of filial piety; gathering one's kin together is an act of benevolence. They do not violate [propriety].[9]

The *New Happenings in Guangdong*, in which this passage is recorded, was completed in 1678.[10] By then, the proliferation of ancestral halls was an observable fact. Ancestral halls had not always been as common. Only a century earlier, commoners' ancestral halls had been novelties.

By the early Qing, there was no better way of reaffirming the lineage ideal than by building an ancestral hall. The genealogical records are, therefore, abundant; the prosperous lineages built, not only a hall for the principal ancestor of the entire lineage, known as the hall of the principal line of descent (*dazong ci*), but also subsidiary line ancestral halls (*xiao zongci*) where segment ancestral tablets were deposited. The terminology could be confusing, for as long as the general belief was held that common ancestors gave rise to common lines of descent, what counted as the principal line in one village could well be the subsidiary line in a wider geographic context. In ritual terms, however, the coexistence of principal and subsidiary line ancestral halls had been solved by Pang Song in the Ming. The altar in the main hall of the building would house

the tablets of the founding ancestor (*shizu*), of ancestors who together with the founding ancestors were to be sacrificed to in perpetuity (*buqian zu*), by the principal line of descent (*zongzi*), and beyond these, only those of the four generations preceding the present one, which would be superseded as generations of descendants multiplied. To the two sides of these tablets establishing the principal line of descent in the lineage would be placed, respectively, tablets of persons of virtue such as degree holders within the branch and contributors to the building or rebuilding of the hall. These tablets, like some of the tablets in the middle section of the altar, were to be sacrificed to in perpetuity.[11] Qu Dajun, who recorded Pang Song's regulations, also recorded his intellectual pedigree. Pang had been a notable teacher at Tianguan Academy in Guangzhou, founded by Zhan Ruoshui, and he had sacrificed to Zhan the way Zhan had sacrificed to Chen Baisha. Qu Dajun also recorded meeting Pang's great-grandson, who had set up an academy at his native Bitang village in the style of the Tianguan. Qu Dajun lamented that with the fall of the Ming, the academies in Guangzhou had been destroyed, and Buddhist monasteries had been revived in their place. Qu Dajun's support for Pang's sixteenth-century systematization of the ancestral hall layout may be read as part and parcel of his enthusiasm for a Confucian's response to the Buddhist ascendance. Although he had himself been tonsured in his youth, Qu identified more with the Confucian intellectual tradition than with Buddhism.[12]

In practice, ancestral hall building within the lineage came to formalize the incorporation of lineage segments. The Zheng surname at Xiangshan had been wealthy and powerful since the Yuan dynasty. During the early Ming dynasty, genealogies were compiled and a genealogical connection was made to the famous Zheng lineage in Zhejiang province, who had been awarded the title *yimen* (righteous household).[13] Moreover, some segments of the lineage had become wealthy during the sixteenth century through their connections with Macau.[14] Lineage regulations were compiled in 1671, in which a very strong administrative element was apparent. They specified the authority of the head of the lineage (*zuzhang*) and the manager (*zuzheng*), the one being designated by age and the other by managerial abilities. They ruled against members of the lineage engaging in litigation, specifying, on the authority of Huo Tao's family regulations, that disputes were to be settled within the lineage by the lineage head and manager, who had the authority to punish delinquents, with the support of the lineage at the ancestral hall. They asserted the need to distinguish between lineage and personal properties, reflecting the contemporary practice of assuming that ancestral property was registered within the

lijia as the "old household" (*laohu*), and private property in the lineage under "branch households" (*zhaohu*).[15]

Hall building began in 1617 with a hall dedicated to the eighth-generation ancestor Tingshi, said to have lived at the end of the Yuan dynasty in Pangtou village. He had three sons, the eldest of whom, Zongrong, moved to Qianshan village. Zongrong also had three sons, the older two moving to another village by the name Haotou, and the third remaining in Qianshan. This branch in the lineage built three other ancestral halls before 1700: in 1624 in dedication to Zongrong's two older sons, and in 1666 and 1699 respectively to two of his great-grandsons. As ancestral halls proliferated within the line, moreover, lineage building also extended to their relatives, for in 1672, a hall was built dedicated to the first ancestor to settle in the county, during the Song dynasty. The proximity of this effort to the lineage regulations of 1671 suggests that only then was the entire co-surname population of the village (or surrounding villages) brought under a single lineage framework. By the time the 1889 edition of the genealogy was compiled, the lineage had forty-four ancestral halls, of which only five had been built before 1700.[16] The record makes it quite clear, therefore, that the tracing of descent had not necessarily been connected with the building of branch ancestral halls under the Ming dynasty, and that it was only in the Qing period that the building of branch ancestral halls became widespread.

It can be imagined how, over time, a sizable lineage would have had in its midst numerous ancestral halls devoted to different common or branch ancestors. When properties that provided for sacrifice and the welfare of descendants were associated with these halls, what might appear to be a single lineage could well incorporate within itself nests of relationships built around property ownership and sacrifice, which were referred to by the name of the hall. Maurice Freedman refers to this phenomenon within the lineage as segmentation, and Ruby Watson, working on the same idea, points out in her study of Ha Tsuen village in the New Territories of Hong Kong how segmentation led to inequality within the lineage.[17] Nevertheless, inasmuch as the grouping of households under the names of ancestors was not always conducted within a family context, where arguably, proof of descent would have been ludicrous, the search for ancestors and the inclusion or exclusion of households from lines of descent always involved the reconstruction of lineage history. Zheng Zhenman is thus more accurate in arguing that the lineage would have resulted from different strategies, that is to say, from alliances among households as much as from segmentation.[18] Increase in numbers, more ancestral trusts, more segmentation, more nesting of lineage groups within the embrace

of the overarching founding ancestor's hall characterize the history of the ancestral hall building of successful lineages. All this implies, of course, that it was far from uncommon for an individual to belong to more than one ancestral hall. By the early twentieth century, there were 393 ancestral halls in the town of Xiaolan alone.[19]

Lineage-building efforts were also accompanied by the brief revival of *lijia* registration in the late seventeenth century. The most detailed description of this connection is to be found in the rather complicated records of the Huo surname at Shiwan and Da'an. Shiwan was a famous pottery town on the outskirts of Foshan and these records included in the genealogy point to the common holding of property as the main motive for lineage building.

Among the documents included are numerous contracts and regulations drawn up in 1655 associated with the position of the Da'an branch within the *lijia*. The point at issue was organization for tax. As the principal contract states:

> The signatories reside in adjoining localities, and their household registration [*huji*] has been appended to [*jifu*] existing *tu* registration groupings. In their original registration, the service that they had had to provide was proportional to the amount of grain tax for which they were held responsible, and no distinction was made [among the households]. After the passing of many years, the neighborhood had expanded and collection had varied from the beginning. Moreover, in the recent military turmoil, additional payments demanded and public service to be rendered had become quite cumbersome. These demands were met respectfully, for [the signatories] dared not leave matters inconclusive. While these duties were met, however, the *lizhang* [headmen of the *li* neighborhood] took advantage of the situation and created indescribable complications. In the same way as changes come about when things are exhausted, and solutions become easy when the situation is urgent, when, because of the difficulties ahead, [the signatories] were pondering changing their affiliation, they saw that precedents had been established by Xian Er'jin and others in such districts as Dengyun, Dangui, and Jiancuan for paying their [military] levies and founding their own *tu*. They have, therefore, met to take the same step, devoting the same thought and effort to joining together as ten *jia* within a single *tu*, being listed as the twenty-second *tu* of Yunjin.[20]

Part of the arrangement here is well known. Prior to the new arrangement, the segment at Da'an had been appended onto an existing *lijia* (of which the *tu* was equivalent to the *li*), which meant that they accepted tax responsibilities in return for communal membership. Less well known is that in the early Qing, it was worthwhile for some such affiliated households to set themselves up as independent households to be directly registered for tax. As the regulations drawn up to supplement this contract

make clear, the signatories were well aware of the costs and benefits of direct registration. They would take turns in the management of matters relating to officialdom, but their liabilities were clearly spelt out (provision for the meal at the beginning of the year was limited to fifteen catties of pork and one jar of wine, providing for only four to five people from each *jia*). The benefit, again stressed in the regulations, was that they would free themselves from arbitrary impositions from what they referred to as "bullies" (*haoheng*), who added impositions on them by castigating them as "offspring" households.[21]

In one sense, therefore, the formation of the *lijia* was a repetition of the early Ming experience for many landowners in the Pearl River Delta, that is, the award of status in return for direct registration for tax. In another sense, however, the situation had changed. Terms such as *li* and *jia* were no longer used to designate status, even though they remained on the books as administrative groupings. As the regulations state:

> We set up this *tu* for the common good. Although in the *tu*, it does occur that sometimes two to three families are included in a single *jia* grouping, and although the name at the head [of the list] has to be known as the *lipai* [headman of the *li* grouping], while others [following] are known as *jia* headmen [*jiashou*], this is only a format in imitation of the Yellow Registers. In reality, we are of one mind to found [this *tu*]. Tax is paid and delivered according to the grain levied, and service is provided according to the grain levied. There is no distinction made on the basis of *li* and *jia*.[22]

Following the implementation of the single-whip method of taxation in the seventeenth century, land tax was based essentially on the amount of land held. The *lijia* that had remained was an institution required for tax delivery rather than tax accounting. It goes without saying, that households that registered to deliver tax must have wielded some influence. The alliance based on the *lijia* seems to have continued. In 1697 and 1712, further regulations were agreed upon in response to changes in tax collection procedure.

Supra-lineages

Maurice Freedman, in his focus on lineage in South China as a property-holding institution, has drawn attention to the difference between the local lineage and the higher-order lineage, the one referring to the lineage as a village institution, the other as a genealogical claim to common origin beyond the village, sometimes represented by membership of an ancestral trust in the county city or provincial capital. The distinction is useful, but it should be pointed out that although membership rights in

these respective types of lineage institutions differed, they rested on the same foundation of belief in common origin and the application of rules of management that were introduced with the administrative transformation of the sixteenth century. Implied in the belief of common origin and the application of management rules was the continuation of ritual as part of a common regime acceptable to both the local community and the state. It has always been widely known that lineage property was needed to provide an income for regular sacrifice. What a history of these practices adds to this view is that as these practices evolved over time, they added features to lineage practices that would have been unthinkable in an earlier age.

The Mai surname of Xiaolan and elsewhere, which has already appeared in chapter 11, provides an interesting example of the institution-building that came from blending belief in common origin with estate management practices. The Mai surname believed they were among the indigenous settlers of Guangdong, being descended from Mai the Iron Staff, who had lived under the Sui dynasty (589–617). The earliest reference to Mai the Iron Staff was a commemorative essay written on the occasion of the completion of an archway in his honor outside Nanxiong city in northern Guangdong in 1478. The story of Mai the Iron Staff had been noted in the *Sui History*, and the commemorative essay, building on that story, describes his loyalty to the Sui realm when he died fighting in North China. It was noted that he had been born in Shixing county in Nanxiong prefecture, which was reason enough to commemorate his loyalty in Nanxiong. No reference is made in the essay to indicate that collective sacrifice by the Mai surname was instituted at the archway, even though it would be reasonable to accept the interpretation of the Xiaolan genealogy that it would have enabled some line of descent of the Mai surname to carry on annual sacrifice. Nevertheless, the essay indicates that the effort was directed by local officials in response to an imperial rescript, and sacrificial land was provided by official command. When the story was added to in subsequent centuries, Mai the Iron Staff was remembered as having served Madam Xian, the southern indigenous chieftain who surrendered to and became loyal to the imperial regime. At a time in the fifteenth century when the imperial court lay in fear of Mongol invasions along the northern borders, and as the Yao war was beginning in Guangdong and Guangxi, the story of loyalty in the face of tribal incursions amounted to the political propaganda of the day.[23]

An ancestral hall was built in the name of Mai the Iron Staff on Guixiang Street in Guangzhou city in 1686, and it was very different from what remained of Iron Staff's archway in Nanxiong by this time.

This is known because a member of the lineage in Longjiang *xiang*, Shunde county, visited Iron Staff's native Baishun village in Shixing county, Nanxiong, in 1685, and left an account of Iron Staff's grave and an ancestral hall built there in 1611. The trip was needed because a sketch of Iron Staff's features had to be made for use in sculpting his statue to be installed in the hall in Guangzhou. The account says that there was a sacrificial hall at Baishun village. On the altar in it were deposited two statues of the ancestor, one old and one new, and a "dragon tablet" (*longpai*), that is to say, a tablet awarded by imperial favor, bearing the characters written in gold paint, "By imperial award, Sacrificial Hall for Mai the Iron Staff." On the two sides of the hall stood the statues of two military officials, one holding Iron Staff's staff and the other his seal. The hall fits the role of a temple dedicated to a god more than that of an ancestral hall dedicated to an ancestor, for Mai the Iron Staff was sacrificed to regularly, not only by his descendants, but also the local police chief and people of other surnames.

The visitor noted the names of eight members of the lineage he met at Baishun village and learnt that only a dozen descendants or so lived there. He visited the village of Yong'an *tang*, inhabited by a branch also of about a dozen people who had moved out from Baishun village, and noted the names of five people he met. He was told of branches in the famous Shashui village at Zhuji *xiang* from which the legendary migrants from Nanxiong went to the vicinity of Guangzhou in the Song dynasty. He learnt that there had used to be a sacrificial hall for Mai the Iron Staff at Shashui village, and because it had collapsed, Iron Staff's statue there had been moved to the hall at Baishun village. This accounts for the presence of two statues in the Baishun hall. He asked to be allowed to move one of the two statues back to Guangzhou to be sacrificed to, but the local people refused to let him do so. Thereupon, he hired a local artist to make him a sketch of Iron Staff's appearance. He then asked that one of the two staffs kept at the hall be given him to take to Guangzhou, and upon the local people's refusal of that request as well, asked the ancestor to show his favor by casting the fortune-telling blocks. The ancestor acceded to the request, and one of the two staffs was taken back to Guangzhou.[24]

The Guangzhou ancestral hall was completed in 1686. It was a sizable three-room structure of the customary type. Unlike in other family temples, a statue of Iron Staff was placed at the centre of the altar, but in front of it were three rows of ancestral tablets. A record of 1694 shows that thirty-nine tablets altogether were deposited on the altar, hosting the spirits of thirty-six pre-Ming and three Ming ancestors, the earliest being

Mai the Iron Staff. These were progenitors of thirty-three branches scattered in different counties in the Pearl River Delta. In 1716, a descendant in Xiaolan donated a plot of land to the hall in return for the privilege of depositing his progenitor's spirit tablet on the altar. Some time after that, 1,520 taels was raised towards the ancestral trust, and the participating lineages, in groups of three or four branches, sacrificed in rotation by decade. The first year was recorded as 1800, so the substantial donation in silver might have been received in that year. The donor of the land did not, thereby, get on the roll, and his exclusion must indicate very clear ideas about restriction of management rights to the founding members of the hall. Nor were the branches that continued to reside in Nanxiong included on the roll, even though it is recorded that in 1690, a lineage member from Baishun village visited the Guangzhou ancestral hall with a "tablet" (*pai*). He told interesting stories about the statue of Mai the Iron Staff's statue carved in 1609 and referred to the gilt tablet recording the imperial award, which he said had been carved from the same piece of wood. It is not clear from the record if the "tablet" he came with was the gilt imperial-award tablet.[25]

Unlike lineage legends of common origin, which all who made claims to descent might share by telling, membership in an ancestral hall had to do with the holding and management of property, which came under restrictive rules. However rich, an ancestral hall established on behalf of a lineage that spread over thirty localities would have had little to offer in the way of land and money for most individual members of the lineage living in the villages. Nevertheless, however trivial the financial offerings from the ancestral hall averaged out on a per capita basis, ownership of property provided the income for common ritual observances and the occasions for delineation of membership.

At a minimum, the supra-lineage ancestral trust implied formality. The Ninth and Tenth Gentlemen of the He surname, progenitors of two lines of descent at Xiaolan, had been buried on Fengshan hill at Xiaolan in separate graves without registration, but in 1695, the descendant lineages had joined together to register the grave site and eight *mu* of third-grade land (most likely, hill land). The property was registered first in the name of a sixteenth-century descendant, He Yanti. Subsequently, in 1760, Yanti's son, "in the ancestral hall, in the presence of the managers of the two ancestors' estates, and all the nephews, brothers and uncles," assigned the grave site to the names of the two deceased ancestors in return for a payment of 10 taels in compensation for the land tax he had paid on the ancestors' behalf. The wording in the deed of covenant, which is extant, is significant: the registration had been carried out "in accordance with the

regulations" (*zunli*). Only eight years before, the cultivated land in this area had been measured (*qingchang*) for tax purposes, and so it would be reasonable to assume that the signatories of the covenant might have had that recent exercise in mind. Moreover, at about the same time as the grave sites were first registered, an arrangement was reached between the descendants of both lineages for building a common ancestral hall near the graves. The Tenth Gentleman's descendants, being richer, paid 60 percent of the cost of building the hall, while the Ninth Gentleman's descendants paid only 40 percent. An ancestral trust was to be set up, consisting of registered land held under the tax household names of the two branches. In order to set up the lineage regulations, they borrowed its regulations from the Xiangshan county Zheng surname, which were presented to the magistrate to be stamped with the official seal. The official approval possibly had to do with requiring lineage members to sell to the ancestral trust as the last resort all land offered for sale for which another purchaser was not found within the lineage. It was said, "If other surnames had obtained the land, the tax might be left [to us as a burden], or it might exert pressure on neighbors on all four sides." The alleged pressure on the neighbors, of course, was a euphemism for pressure from them in the event that land rights had not been established within the law. Fengshan, the hill on which the graves were located, was in the midst of Xiaolan township, which had been growing in population and economic importance since the coastal evacuation order had been lifted. In the atmosphere of land competition and the aftermath of a drive by the county government to register land, it must have seemed precarious to leave a substantial estate within the township unregistered.[26]

If there is still any doubt that membership in supra-lineages supported by ancestral halls and trusts had to be built on a formal partnership relationship, it should be settled by the following document, drawn up between two branches of the Guan surname in Jiujiang *xiang* of Nanhai county in 1719:

> Parties to this contract are Guan Feicun of Loucun village and Guan Bingzhong of the Hengji branch in Jiujiang. The origin of this lineage may be found in the branch descended from ancestor Chigang, and descent was continued from Ziyuan to the Venerable Yueming. After that, people moved away to settle down far and near, to the glory of the ancestors and the fortune of their descendants. Sixth-generation ancestor Zuyou registered a household under the name Guan Sheng in the first *jia* of the thirty-fourth *tu*, and generation after generation succeeded into it. Descent may be traced to our brothers and nephews, such as Yanqi and Bingzhong. Because of local disorder, their ancestor moved as far away as Hengji to settle down. They originally set up tax households under the two names Guan Shang and Guan Yueming [Yueming here written differently from

Ancestor Yueming], which have remained, for which they are held liable for a tax of over 2 *shi* of rice. Although they have moved away, they have long intended to follow the regulation and return to the lineage [*guizong*]. In the fifty-seventh year of Kangxi [1718], they were fortunate to learn that Provincial Governor Fa [Hai] had arrived and set up the regulation whereby tax-paying households might return to their lineages and be attached to the *tu* and *jia* as they wished. Their brother and nephew at Hengji, Bingzhong, and others petitioned Magistrate Qiu of Nanhai for permission to do so, and, in recognition of their origin, they were permitted to return to the household of Guan Sheng for the purpose of paying their tax. He gave them a permit in perpetuity. The registration record had originally come from one source, and the return to the lineage as permitted by regulations was undertaken as a result of common pleasure. However, as matters of tax span long periods of time, for fear that as customs change, peoples' hearts will not remain as of old, and that no record will remain for reference, hereby we together make this contract so that our descendants will perpetually retain our relationship as a single line, without distinction of early or late [membership of the lineage], blemishes, or advantages. It has been found that the Guan Sheng household had incorporated tax in the names of Huang Liu and Feng Yingyuan, which was unsupported by landholdings. This tax has been removed. Guan Yongyu has set up another head in the account, and having removed all other charges, any tax not provided for by landholdings or service to be performed within the year are to be paid as a portion of the land tax. No distinction is made for early or late [registration], wealth or poverty. It is hoped that descendants of all branches will pay their tax early, each paying the share due. Any delay that will result in a burden on other people [within the lineage] will be made good by members of their family. There must be no opposition to this. Any betrayal [of trust] or forgetfulness will be reported to the government and taken into account. Two copies of this contract are drawn up, to be held separately by the two parties in perpetuity as evidence. May their households prosper.

Loucun branch, Kepei, Feicun, and others
Hengji branch, Yanqi and Bingzhong
Signed on this Kangxi fifty-eighth year, second month, thirteenth day[27]

The records of the Nanhai magistrate, probably from the early nineteenth century, list the Guan Sheng household as being registered in the first *jia* of the thirty-fourth *tu* in Rulin *xiang*. It, together with the Guan Shixing household of the eighth *jia* in the thirty-fifth *tu*, was descended from Ancestor Guan Chigang. These households comprised 3,380 males and were liable for 101.4 taels in tax. The composition of the *jia* is given in a genealogy. It included Guan Sheng as the "main household" (*zonghu*) and twenty-one "offspring households" (*zihu*), including Guan Shang and Guan Yueming, who were entered into the *jia* in 1719, and Huang Liu and Feng Yingyuan, the names representing tax burdens that had to be spread within the *jia*. The genealogical account, therefore, shows that some time around 1719, the provincial government encouraged the at-

tachment of small households to the lineage in tax registration, and, as a result, households that were not co-residential came to be registered in the same tax grouping. The supra-lineage structure was, therefore, a feature of tax registration from the early Qing on. This was not the only reason for the prevalence of the supra-lineage, but it would have been one important reason, among others.[28]

A noticeable development arising from the growing interest in constructing supra-lineages was the convergence of supra-lineage ancestral halls in Guangzhou city. These were ancestral halls that were built jointly by lineage groups scattered in different parts of the Pearl River Delta. Located in Guangzhou city and away from the places where these groups resided, these buildings served as hostels for lineage members in Guangzhou, especially when they came as candidates for the imperial examinations, and also to provide a locus for sacrifice to the overarching primal ancestor. The earliest claim to such an ancestral hall was made by the Xian surname, which built one in 1622. This exception notwithstanding, the trend began in the Qing shortly after the lifting of the coastal evacuation. The Jian surname built its hall in 1683, followed by the Mai surname's hall in honor of Iron Staff in 1686, by the renovation of the Xian surname's hall in 1690, the building of the Kong surname's c. 1694, the Liang surname's in 1699, the Liu surname's in 1705, the Feng surname's in 1719, the Lin surname's in the Yongzheng period (1723–35), the Gan surname's in 1733, the Lu surname's in 1739, and the Su surname's in 1756. The building of supra-ancestral halls in Guangzhou continued into the nineteenth century.[29]

The Jian surname made it quite clear that the building effort was made when Governor Li Shizhen had demarcated the area in the city that was to be taken over for yamen buildings, releasing considerable building land and houses, which could be sold. The hall was budgeted for 208 taels, to be funded by the collection of 30 taels from each lineage branch, and the fund-raising effort fell short of the budget by 91 taels. The Kong surname's building efforts corroborate this claim, although their building was completed with considerable government support and recognition, they being descendants of Confucius.[30] The Liang surname's hall, known as the Ancestral Hall of the Lord of One Thousand Carriages, was preceded by two centuries of genealogical linkages among lineage branches: among the branches in Dongguan county in 1559 and 1601, with branches in Jinjiang county, Fujian province, from which the progenitor had come, in 1611, and between the branches in Dongguan and those in Shunde in 1695. The building of the ancestral hall, which began in 1699, was led by various members of the lineage upon success in the imperial

examinations. On the opening of the hall in 1701, lineage sacrifice was attended by 7,000 members of the lineage. Close to a hundred branches from nine counties donated. The hall owned shop spaces in its immediate vicinity, which it rented to a grocery store, a stationer's, a teahouse, and a restaurant.[31]

Donations were received for the building of these supra-lineage ancestral halls from far and wide, the farther and wider, the longer the history of lineage building. The Lu surname in 1739 claimed 27 branches residing in the counties of Guangzhou, Zhaoqing, and other places, and the Su surname in 1756, 123 branches in five prefectures.[32] By then, the respectability of supra-lineages with ancestral halls in Guangzhou was taken for granted. When the Gan surname built its hall in Guangzhou, its commemoration stele read: "Guangdong controls the five ranges and spreads astride three cities. Noble lineages here build main-line ancestral halls. The Gan surname is a great family [*jujia*], [so] why does it not have its own temple?"[33] Between the early Qing and the mid eighteenth century, lineage organization rose from humble beginnings to its zenith. Possessing a showy ancestral hall in the provincial capital had become a widely accepted sign of status.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Ordering of Community in Ritual Life

THE ADMINISTRATIVE transition of the sixteenth century necessarily reduces village religion to the indigenous and posits the influence of the educated as the civilizing process. A glaring instance of this repositioning of the representation of local society vis-à-vis the state comes in the very precise description of Zhangcun Market in Dongguan county by the iconoclastic magistrate Ye Chunji some time in the sixteenth century. Zhangcun Market had been founded on land purchased from a Ma surname, where forty-nine stalls were set up between wood and stone pillars on market days, which were the first, fourth, and seventh of each ten days. A regular rent was paid for occupying a stall, but charges for sellers who hawked their wares in the streets were not fixed. The people who gathered at the market read the statutes, Ye Chunji notes, presumably a reference to the drinking ceremony in which prayers as dictated in the statutes were read aloud. When they held temple festivals in the spring and autumn, they honored the elderly. The owners' entire annual income came from the market rent. When the officials sent their messengers to the market, a man was hired to look after them, so that ordinary people did not have to come into contact with officialdom. In the land survey of 1581, the magistrate said that Zhangcun was able to promote the Son of Heaven's efforts in transforming society by teaching (*jiaohua*). No mention is made in this account of any shrine or temple.[1] However, the absence of religion in Ye Chunji's account belies the operation of the market. Without the rich ritual life that fed into its management structure, the market would not have been possible.

The Ritual Year in Longshan

Longshan township provides a fine example of the ritual life of the marketplace. The town was built on land donated by a woman to the Guangxiao Monastery in Guangzhou during the Song dynasty.[2] Buddhism had since lost its influence in territorial government, and so the annual festivals had more to do with celebrations at shrines, temples, and ancestral halls. At New Year, friends and relatives visited one another; on the second day of the second month, the earth gods had to be sacrificed to; in the third month came Qingming, when graves were visited; on the eighth day of the fourth month, the statues of Buddha in the monasteries had to be bathed; on the seventeenth day of the same month, her birthday, women prayed to Madam Golden Flower for sons; on the fifth day of the fifth month came the Dragon Boat Festival with its characteristic dragon boat race;[3] in the seventh month came various activities related to feeding wandering ghosts, including the Yulan sacrifices; mid autumn fell in the eighth month and was an occasion for wine, cake, cooked taro, pomelo, and admiring the full moon; the ninth day of the ninth month was the double-ninth, an occasion for flying kites or visiting graves; and in the eleventh month, there was the winter solstice, the most important occasion for ancestral sacrifice. The Longshan local history notes all these festivals and briefly describes the very full ritual life associated with each.

Much of what went on in the festival took place at home and was taken part in by women as well as men. However, an element of public display was necessarily built into festive activities, if only because they were conducted in full knowledge that similar activities were being carried out by other individuals or households on the same days and sometimes at the same places. From the first to the tenth day of the new year, men and women went to pray at the Huaguang temple at Ao Peak, often kneeling from dawn to dusk, because it was known that the temple could tell fortunes accurately, and no doubt, because at the beginning of the year, it was customary to find out what fate had in store. On the fourth day of the new year, the market, which went into recess at the end of the year, resumed. On the eighth day, the gentry sacrificed to the god of literature. It was the custom in Longshan, as elsewhere in the Pearl River Delta, for families who had been graced with a son during the year to declare the birth at the lantern festival on the fifteenth of the first month. Young boys went around to perform lion dances, while women stole the decorations on the lanterns as a propitious sign that another son might be born in the new year. On twenty-fifth of the first month, the Golden Azure Monastery on top of the mount at Longshan opened its doors, and

on this day, thousands of women went up the mount to pray and sacrifice. The monastery housed the Guanyin deity and in a side temple was Madam Golden Flower, both having powers to protect the family and children. The presence of the worshippers attracted hawkers of vegetables, for these were eagerly taken home as a sign of good fortune. As at Longjiang, the gentry participated in the cap-and-gown ceremony, which was held on the third day of the second month, that is to say, the day after the feast at the shrines of the gods of earth and grain. On this occasion, the gentry went up Golden Azure Peak for the sacrifice and stayed there for the day.[4]

It is obvious from this brief description of some of the activities that went on in the first month that places of worship mattered in the schema of festive activities. It might even be said, given the large number of temples and shrines in a village cluster such as Longshan, that they had to compete quite actively for their clienteles. On the first ten days of the year, the Huaguang temple provided opera. The local history does not go into the rationale for this, but it was generally known that these operas were presented as thanksgiving to the gods, even though they were equally a source of entertainment for worshippers.[5] On a particular day of the second month, sacrifice was offered to the gods of earth and grain. This was an occasion for the communal slaughtering of a pig and for wine to be drunk in a communal meal at the open-air shrine, not by all villagers of Longshan, but for those who lived within the territory guarded by the individual gods. On this occasion, "those who did not attend might come with a ticket to collect sacrificial meat to take home for their old and young, such meat being known as the meat of the god of earth and grain." On the same occasion, villagers painted dragons on pieces of cloth tens of yards long and made noisy fun all night. A clear sense of territorial difference was maintained in sacrifices on these occasions: the Huaguang temple at Ao Peak drew a clientele from all over Longshan, but the celebration at the shrine of the gods of earth and grain was confined to residents of the local village in which the shrine was located.

These ceremonies are clearly recognizable as being very similar to ones observed in recent years in the New Territories of Hong Kong. The Huagang temple, we learn from the 1930 edition of the Longshan local history, was built in 1450, the year the Huang Xiaoyang uprising was put down. When Wei Xiao had wanted to destroy it, it was saved by the elders on the grounds that it was an ancient temple. In 1727, two side temples were built, one of which housed the god of medicine and the other a deity referred to as Immortal Zhang (Zhang *xian*) and the Master of the Lüshan Daoists (Lushan *daozu*). In 1732, it was rebuilt,

and a landed estate was created. In 1734, it was repaired. In 1757, as an epidemic raged, Master of Medicine Hua Tuo was invited to take his place beside Immortal Zhang and a signboard was added to the entrance bearing the characters "ancient temple of Hua Tuo." The long history of rebuilding and repair suggests a temple known for its efficaciousness, in this case, probably in curing disease. Beyond that, because Lushan is probably a corruption of Lüshan, the use of these terms suggests a Daoist tradition originating from Fujian in the Song dynasty, the ceremonies of which Qu Dajun recorded in Dongguan in the mid seventeenth century and which were still to be found in the New Territories of Hong Kong in the 1980s. The side hall for its master suggests that attached to the temple were also specialist exorcists, whose skills were much needed in dispelling evil spirits who caused disease and other calamities.[6]

While a successful temple such as the Huaguang temple at Ao Peak could draw a clientele from all over the village clusters, shrines devoted to gods of earth and grain were much more restrictive. Earth gods had long been sacrificed to in the villages, and some came to be subsumed under the category of "gods of earth and grain" when sacrifice to those was made a central tenet of the Statutes of Rituals in the early Ming. The 1805 Longshan local history lists 132 of them in the twenty-three villages that it counted in the four *lijia* groupings known as the *tu*.[7] Theatrical performances were also offered during the year at the celebration of the birthday of the Northern Deity in the third month, at the birthday of the Guandi on the thirteenth day of the fifth month, and at exorcistic *jiao* celebrations in the eleventh month. The *jiao*, which revolved around ceremonies officiated at by Daoist priests, was offered as thanksgiving to the deities, usually in honor of a pledge made on behalf of one or more villages. The 1930 local history, commenting on the practice, noted that the scale might vary a great deal from temple to temple; it generally consisted of no more than a troupe of musicians and the display of several pots of flowers. However, when the birthday of the deity fell in an intercalary month, or to celebrate the building of a new temple, operas were often provided. The 1805 local history recalled that a decennial *jiao* had formerly been held for the entire Longshan *xiang,* which was conducted with a sense of grandeur:

> The streets made use of silk and brocade to put up temples. In the middle was a great hall. The side halls were adorned with emeralds framed in glass. A vermilion balustrade was placed in front of the seat for the gods that was kept at the back. Wonderful objects were placed all over, dragons and phoenixes flying one among the other. Buddhists and Daoists were hired to conduct their ceremonies, lasting six to seven days and nights. The village people offered incense to the gods,

running [from one altar to another] ceaselessly. Outside the shrine, performers gathered and musical instruments were heard. Men and women from the four quarters thronged the streets. Tens of thousands [of taels] were spent.[8]

The *jiao* for the entire *xiang* had not been held for forty years, the local history notes. At the time of writing, *jiao* celebrations were held separately by the fishing ports (*bu*).

Reference to the workings of Buddhists and Daoists at the *jiao* opens up the world of the religious specialists in the context of the village. Many of these were not adherents of a monastic tradition but villagers who had been ordained into religious orders and who continued to live in their villages. The 1930 local history explains:

In this *xiang*, there are no shamans [*wu*], and their rolls are taken by Daoists living at home [*huoju daoshi*]. They are called upon for all matters related to good and evil fortune, and [such ceremonies] as blessings from the stars, release from fate, and praying to the Northern Bushel [star]. Where the Daoists live, they put a placard on the wall outside the door giving their surnames and their address as such-and-such Daoist cloister. Or they might attach themselves to the temples and serve as temple keepers. Women ask the gods to bless their beloved children, calling them [the god's] adopted sons and daughters. They may even sell them as slaves to the gods. When their weddings draw near, they come to the temples to redeem themselves. They do this even though the temple keepers demand a lot of money.

These priests performed a wide variety of ceremonies. They were said to "throw powder into the fire, [and] carry spear and shield" to cleanse building sites for houses. They performed the ceremony known as seeing off the god of fire in the twelfth month, which required the priest, "carrying a torch and a sword, to go with several dozen children in the village from door to door, waving the torch and sword, and collect chicken feathers, oil, salt, rice, beans, incense, and candles, and a set of sacrificial papers in a paper boat, which he burns in a ceremony called 'dispatching on' [*xiacheng*], leaving the ashes in the river."[9] Qu Dajun recorded as much in the seventeenth century, and the same practices were noted in the New Territories in the 1980s.[10]

Aside from the Huaguang temple on Ao Peak, the Guandi temple at Dagang Market and the temple complex at Golden Azure Peak stand out in the description of the ritual year in Longshan. Dagang Market was said to have been set up in as early as 1396, and the temple at the market became the focus of the *lijia* organization of the *xiang*. Insofar as the *lijia* embodied a territorial arrangement, the religious organization of which it was the center would have adopted a territorial framework. Thus, the local history's description suggests that in some celebrations,

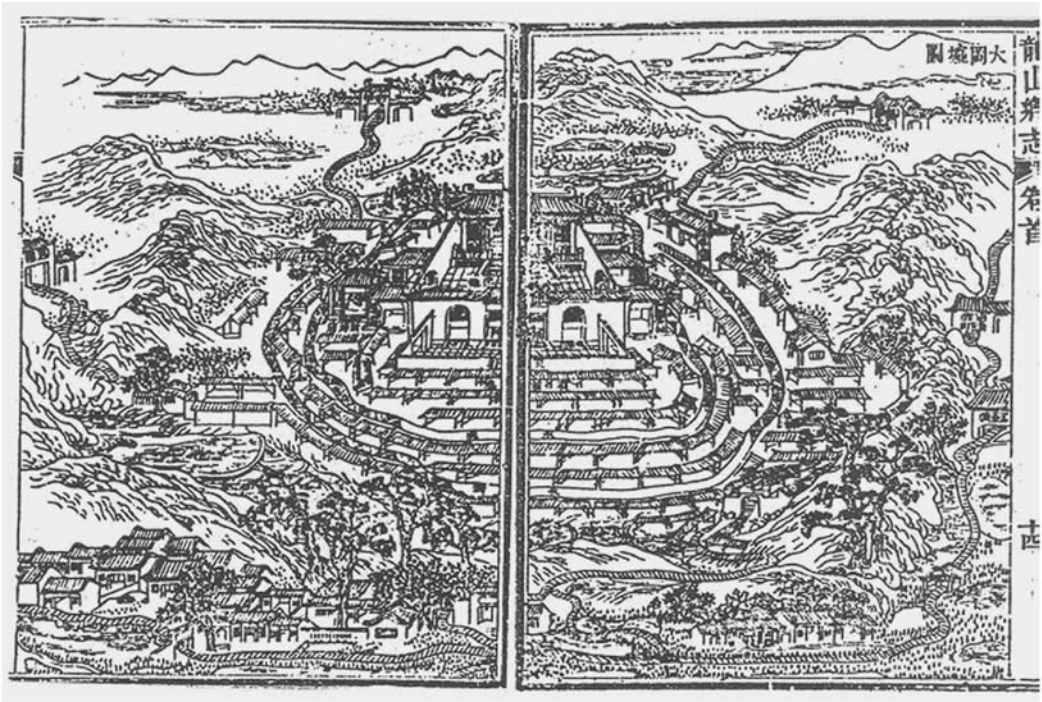


FIG. 3. Dagang Market, Longshan *xiang*, Shunde county, showing the temple at the centre of the market complex, encircled by market stalls. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 1/14b–15a.

such as the exorcistic *jiao*, contributions were made by neighborhoods (*fang*). However, at other celebrations, such as on the occasion of Madam Golden Flower's birthday, where the *lijia* was not at the center of organization, voluntary associations were formed that gathered at the shrines for sacrifice. The Yulan celebration in the seventh month was, like the *jiao*, performed by neighborhoods. The 1805 local history notes: "Every neighborhood [*fang*] contributed money to hold ceremonies to save from eternal hell the souls of people who died on land and in water." In contrast, on the occasion of the warrior deity's birthday, "the people of the *xiang* formed associations to sacrifice to the deity, the most [elaborate] being that at the Great Market [that is, Dagang Market]."[11] The ceremonies to save the souls of the dead from the underworld were officiated at by Buddhist and Daoist priests, while setting up a worshippers' association to sacrifice to the deities put the villagers in control of management in village celebrations. Village religion was a blend of the specialist skills of monks and priests and the voluntary participation of the lay public.

Golden Azure Peak was, in all likelihood, a pilgrimage site for centuries even before the Ming, standing as it would have above the waterline in the days when the surrounding area was submerged and the population at its foot lived on boats. By the time the local histories describe religious sacrifice there, a Guanyin temple occupied the central position and was flanked on two sides by the Hall of the Three Primordial Elements (Sanyuan *gong*—comprising heaven, earth, and water) and the temple of the Goddess of Heaven, popularized in the Pearl River Delta probably no earlier than the Ming. Other deities might have been added subsequently, including the god of medicine (Yiling), Kitisara (Dizang—king of the underworld), the god of literature (Wenchang), the Northern Deity, the warrior deity (Guandi), and Madam Golden Flower. A stele inscription written shortly after substantial rebuilding and alignment of these temples in 1799 traces the building of the temples for the god of literature and the warrior deity to the Wanli period (1573–1619); this is likely, but there is no other contemporary evidence. The alignment of these various buildings had been the subject of much discussion in Longshan, and in 1640 and 1683, they had been rebuilt. In 1737, it was decided that a pavilion housing Buddha next to the god of literature was inappropriate, and a pagoda dedicated to the Kuixing (literary star) was substituted. A pagoda for the Kuixing must already have been built by that stage, for the space vacated was to be occupied by the god of wealth, and because the god of war had been moved into the building that had housed the god of literature, the southern sea god (Nanhai *shen*) was moved into that building. The god of wealth was subscribed to primarily by merchants in the market, and so in 1794, he was moved to Dagang Market. It would be safe to assume that the god of wealth had occupied a place there before he was moved to the top of Golden Azure Peak, and his subsequent return to the market was possibly necessitated by deteriorating fortunes since the move. In these temple building efforts, therefore, literary and mercantile interests were over the years imposed upon a local cult that had centered on the hill.

The juxtaposition of the many different groups conducting sacrifice at different shrines illustrates the complexities of social life: women ascending Golden Azure Peak at new year, while the gentry held their sacrifice for the god of literature; commoners drinking at the shrines of the gods of earth and grain in the second month, and the gentry holding the cap-and-gown ceremony at the god of literature's temple on Golden Azure Peak a day later. Ceremonies obviously had to be conducted at the peak, a practice that had persisted from days of old. Yet the gentry, women, and commoner men interpreted what the ceremony might be differently. They made sense of their practices guided by a culture that had slowly

but surely made its way into local custom. The cumulation of improvisation was, in brief, the essence of local religion, and the local practices that resulted from it, closely tied to places and sectional interests, were packaged as "tradition" when the local history was written. No doubt, trade and its impact on land development created the Longshan community, but these improvisations that coagulated around long-recognized sacred sites and propitious rituals, drawn from a repertoire that had been evolving for centuries over many parts of China, gave it the local culture.

Foshan: The Northern Deity and His Parades

Like Longshan, Foshan society evolved around earth-god shrines, temples, and ancestral halls. Also as at Longshan, a Buddhist monastery had stood in the center of the town until the Yuan dynasty and gave way to temples devoted to deities in the Ming. A *lijia* structure emerged after the Huang Xiaoyang uprising in 1450, and out of that, by the sixteenth century, a gentry leadership arose. More so than Longshan, Foshan attracted newcomers. Again more so than at Longshan, religious centrality was located very clearly at one geographic point: the temple of the Northern Deity. Sharp conflict arose there between the gentry and the *lijia* leadership, becoming evident in the seventeenth century and settled only by the eighteenth.

Some impression may be had of gentry-*lijia* conflict even at the earth-god shrines. Xian Guiqi (1509–54), one of the most important members of the gentry of Foshan in the sixteenth century, left an account of the Guluo *she*, where he lived, which shows that it was being gentrified: "To the west of Guluo is a *she* from days of old. After sacrifice [there] at the festivals of the seasons, the gentry and elders of the *li* swear the *she* covenant and hold the poetry meeting. For this reason, a pavilion known as the Great and Elegant Pavilion [Daya *ting*] was built in front of it."[12] Even the pledging of the covenant, of course, was part of the gentrification process. The public pronouncement at the community covenant (*xiangyue*) ceremony was required by Ming dynasty statute, and a modified version of it was included in Huang Zuo's *Mr. Taiquan's Village Rituals*, which was published and reprinted during Xian Guiqi's lifetime. The statutory version of the pronouncement stresses mutual support in times of need and obedience to the rituals and the law, while *Mr. Taiquan's* version specifies adherence to filial piety and the four rituals (of capping, marriage, funeral, and sacrifice), the centerpiece of the Chen Baisha–Ding Ji reform of the 1480s.[13] The poetry club did not survive, but the *she* did, and it was repaired in 1725 and then 1764.[14] An eighteenth-century es-

say in the genealogy of the Huo surname of Foshan, a branch of which was settled at Ancestral Temple Ward (*Zumiao pu*), notes that it held the prime place among the nine ancient *she* of Foshan, adding: "Every year, the parade of the deity of the Temple of Efficacious Response to the various *she* begins here."[15] The Guluo *she* was located at the opening of the street leading up to the Temple of Efficacious Response, that of the deity of the territory in which the temple was located, hence its primary position among the *she*.

The competition for defining activities at the shrines was conducted even more intensely at the parades of the Northern Deity than at the earth-god shrines. According to the 1752 Foshan local history, these parades were held annually on the sixth day of the first month, on the fifteenth day of the second month, on the third day of the third month, on the eighth day of the seventh month, and on the ninth day of the ninth month. The occasions for parade in the second and the seventh months were provided by imperial edict. In other words, these were the occasions on which the emperor, having acknowledged the contribution to his rule of the Northern Deity at the Temple of Efficacious Response, had made it a statutory requirement that local officials sacrifice to him. On these occasions:

> The day before [the sacrifice], the gentry and elders array the insignia and adorn children in colorful clothes to receive the deity at the Chen surname ancestral hall at Jinyutang, and at the second drum, they escort [the deity] on his return to the Temple of Efficacious Response. At the *zi* hour [approximately midnight], the two officials of the local garrisons approach the temple to pay their respects. The gentry and elders gather. After sacrifice, the deity again comes out of the temple.[16]

By the Qing dynasty, a police intendant (*xunjian*, from the 1640s) and an assistant magistrate (*tongzhi*, from 1733) were posted at Foshan. The ceremony could, therefore, have been conducted with some involvement from them, perhaps giving the parades an official character, setting them apart from other parades.

For other parades, on the sixth of the first month in the new year, and the deity's birthday on the third day of the third month, not only does the local history of 1752 seek to distance itself from the commotion that was created, but it distinctly indicates that the gentry tradition was at odds with the common people's elaborate practices. At the New Year parade, the local history notes:

> On the sixth day [of the month], the Northern Deity of the Temple of Efficacious Response comes out of the temple for a parade. The insignia are prepared, en-

thusiastic drums and brass lead his sedan chair, and many people watch. Foolish people say that if they put their hands on the carrying bars of his sedan chair, they receive good fortune. So they crowd forward to such an extent that the sedan chair cannot move. This is very stupid.[17]

On the deity's birthday, the local history continues:

The people of the *xiang* go to the Temple of Efficacious Response solemnly to pay their respects. Every street neighborhood [*fang*] is decorated and stages the opera. This is known as the Festival of the Double Third, and several tens of teams of people beat [drums] and blow [the wind instrument known as the *suo'na*], making a noise that can be heard more than ten *li* away. Day and night, the deity is paraded, without there being a moment of peace. The deity's sedan chair is even carried into narrow lanes and humble houses. Knowledgeable people say this is sacrilege, and an inappropriate way to worship the deity. However, the practice has been pursued for a long time, and the deity is comfortable with it and does not consider it wrong. The deity is the most elevated among heavenly deities, but in Foshan, he is no less than close [*qin*, that is, like a relative]. The local people look upon the Temple of Efficacious Response as their ancestral hall. That is to say, they look upon the deity as their grandfather and grandmother. It is human nature that when a man sees a grandchild jump disrespectfully, he not only does not lose his temper, but in fact shows how pleased he is. . . . The deity looks upon the people of this place in the same way.[18]

In contrast to the respect that the gentry displayed in the officially sanctioned ceremonies, these descriptions simmer with disdain for the common people's superstition. The rustics might parade the deities on the sixth day of the first month and believe that the mere act of touching them would improve their fortunes, but on the same day, the gentry from the indigenous households—those who were descended from the households registered in the *lijia* in the fifteenth century—gathered at the communal school to sacrifice to the god of literature, while on the eleventh of the same month, members of the gentry from immigrant households celebrated their sacrifice at another school. Similarly, on the ninth of the ninth month, the gentry held their own sacrifice to the god of literature when the Northern Deity "ascended into heaven." It is obvious in all that the gentry maintained a thin line between proper sacrifice to the deity informed by education and superstitious practices that foolish people were wont to accept.[19]

Yet the contrast simplifies. Luo Yixing, combining a good grasp of the historical record with interviews in Foshan, has reconstructed the order of events that occurred between the sixth of the first month and the end of the third month. His reconstruction shows a much closer interweaving of territorial relationships among the households registered in the

lijia, cutting across the educated-superstitious distinction.[20] During this 83-day period, the statue of the Northern Deity was deposited for a day at each of the ancestral halls of the eighty households within the eight *tu*, that is, the wards, of Foshan. The process began with the parade described, in which the eighty households of the *lijia* provided two elders each to take part, and, as the deity was brought to rest for the night at the meeting hall known as the Ancestral Hall of the Eight Wards (*batu zuci*), these elders were given their meals. On the following day, the deity was taken back to the temple, from where he was taken out again by one of the eighty households in the *lijia* to be deposited in its ancestral hall for one night, from where he would be invited to another ancestral hall for the next day, and so on. The only two days that departed from this pattern were the fifteenth day of the second month, when he was sacrificed to at his own temple by the officials and the third day of the third month, his birthday, when a celebration was also held at the temple. The Chen surname of Heyuan in Foshan, one of the households within the *lijia*, left a record of his reception in the lineage: "On the seventeenth day of the first month, the venerable deity arrives at the ancestral hall to be put on display. Cakes and fruit are to be distributed to the entire lineage. The elders and the new males are to prepare sacrifices to receive the deity. On the same day, there will be a feast." On the thirteenth day of the second month, the deity was deposited at the ancestral hall of the Chen surname at Jinyutang in the town, and that is why the local history notes that on the fourteenth, members of the *lijia* went to that ancestral hall to escort the deity back to the temple, in preparation for the official sacrifice the next day. Having spent the night of the fourteenth at the temple, after sacrifice on the fifteenth, he was escorted to the Liang surname's ancestral hall at the Pig Market in Foshan, whose turn it was on the sixteenth to have the deity deposited with them. For an account of what happened that day, the Liang surname's genealogy states:

> On the fifteenth day of the second month, all our uncles and brothers attend at the ancestral hall in formal attire, and led by a gong, they go to the ancestral temple [that is, the Temple of Efficacious Response] to receive the Northern Deity for his attendance at the ancestral hall to supervise the *jiao*. At noon on the sixteenth, they make arrangements for a sumptuous gathering and firecrackers are let off. At the ancestral hall, they see off the deity and distribute cakes. That night, they supervise the sumptuous gathering, put on firework displays, and suppress fighting, so that there will be no trouble.

This arrangement in the sacrifice to the Northern Deity, quite apart from providing a sense of collective festivity, also demarcated clearly which households were descended from the *lijia* of the fifteenth century and

which were not. Coupled with the precise definition of the route to be taken by the deity in processions, it should be clear that these annual activities gave rise to a very clear sense of membership in the town.[21]

The processions were held at least until the end of the Qing dynasty and the early republic, and Luo Yixing's description would have drawn quite heavily on the memory of his interview subjects. Yet some rotation for keeping the deity must have been in place even in the eighteenth century, for it is noted in the 1752 Foshan local history that, on the fifteenth day of the second month, "on the occasion of the sacrifice to the Northern Deity as required by imperial edict, the day before, the gentry and elders array the insignia and adorn children in colorful clothes to receive the deity at the Chen surname ancestral halls at Jinyutang," and, after the day's festivity, "the deity would again come out of the temple."[22] It is important to see that at least some of the lineages receiving the Northern Deity had produced eminent scholars and officials; the Chen surname of Jinyutang produced Chen Yanzong, the compiler of the 1752 Foshan local history, himself a defender of gentry values. The rotation of the deity in the ancestral halls was, therefore, among the rituals accepted by the educated.

Earlier than these accounts, Qu Dajun has left a description of the fireworks at the Temple of Efficacious Response in the celebrations of the third month shortly after the establishment of the Qing dynasty in the mid seventeenth century. This display of fireworks was combined with considerable acrobatics and papier-mâché decoration: the firecrackers, packaged in paper or coconut shell, were housed in carts four to five feet wide and ten feet high, decorated with flowers and figurines, and were set off with fuses thirty feet long, and dragged along by a hundred children aged eight to nine. After the firecrackers were let off, the crowds collected fragments of them to take home as tokens of good fortune for the year. Those who succeeded in picking up what was considered the "head" of the firecracker were obliged to thank the deity in the following year by providing firecrackers, which might cost up to 100 taels. These activities went on for three to four days and nights. Qu Dajun being the scholar and a Ming loyalist, he expressed his dismay at this display of ignorant ostentation so soon after the collapse of the dynasty.[23]

No Ming dynasty description of the parade of the Northern Deity is extant, and so there is no way of knowing if celebrations then took place on the principle, even if not the scale, described for the eighteenth century and later. However, there can be no doubt about the involvement of the *lijia* in the management of the Temple of Efficacious Response, which was a subject of much contention, beginning in the seventeenth century,

and illustrates yet another aspect of the gentry-rustic divide, which has much to do with the holding of property.

It may be recalled that since 1513, a hall in commemoration of the heroes who had held Foshan against Huang Xiaoyang's attack had been built alongside the Temple of Efficacious Response. This temple had close connections with the *lijia*, because the households opposed to Huang Xiaoyang were precisely those who became party to the *lijia*. Moreover, in the fifteenth century, before ancestral halls were popularized, sacrifice would have taken place at household shrines and at this temple, whether or not a separate arrangement was made in the name of the *lijia*. During the sixteenth century, when a gentry leadership emerged in Foshan, members of the gentry met at the Temple of Efficacious Response. Some among this gentry, such as Huo Tao's family, were not indigenous to Foshan, and, so, the Temple of Efficacious Response must, at the time, have served at least two clienteles: the *lijia* families who had ancestors among the heroes of Foshan and the latecomers, who might have sacrificed regularly to the Northern Deity at the temple, but who could have exerted little claim on the heroes in the way that the *lijia* might.

Until Wei Xiao closed it as an "illegal temple" in 1522, on the other side of the Temple of Efficacious Response stood a Guanyin Temple. Wei had converted it into a community school (*shexue*). In 1624, some people had raised money to rebuild the school, and in 1627, the same people raised money to build a meeting hall (*huiguan*) at the site of the school that they called the Hall of Gracious Meetings. The close association of the Hall of Gracious Meetings and the school would suggest that the gentry, with its interest in examination honor, and hence education, was now also acquiring a hold on the school's estate, which included the land donated to the temple two centuries earlier when foundries nearby were evicted. By the end of the Ming dynasty and in the early Qing, therefore, the *lijia* and the gentry exercised management rights as two separate groups of people at the temple.[24]

The gentry became more active in organizing repairs at the temple, notably in 1641 and 1685. In 1720, they petitioned the Nanhai county magistrate to demand the return to the temple of various properties that, according to them, had been misappropriated by the property manager. The real substance of the issue becomes clear when after the magistrate decided in favor of the gentry, in 1728, a man petitioned the magistrate for a shop that had been returned to the temple to be set aside to provide for sacrifice for the defenders of Foshan in the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, from one of whom he was descended. After a meeting with the gentry, the magistrate acceded to his request. In 1738, the *lijia* households were

charged with misappropriation of temple funds, by which it was meant that the funds had been spent on feasting. In 1739, the *lijia* moved out of the building adjacent to the temple and set up the Ancestral Hall of the Eight Wards (also known as Zanyi *tang*) across the road. The final blow came in 1757, when the police intendant at Wudoukou—the post was created in 1664 and had authority over Foshan—ruled that the funds of the temple were not to be used for the distribution of sacrificial meat to the *lijia* households, saying: "If sacrificial meat is to be distributed, of all members of the gentry, elders, scholars, and merchants from far and near, who is not entitled to it? When you households of the *lijia* are alone benefiting from the sacrificial meat as an indication of the god's blessing, you besmirch the reputation and propitiousness of the Northern Deity." The message was clear: by the eighteenth century, the legitimacy of the *lijia*'s management of the Temple of Efficacious Response could no longer be taken for granted, and the involvement of the gentry was being acknowledged.[25]

It was probably from around this time that the gentry's meeting hall on the side the Temple of Efficacious Response came to be known as the Dakui *tang*, or Hall of the Examination Notables, a name highlighting the gentry's connection with examination success.[26] Throughout the eighteenth century, too, the gentry at the temple also played an increasingly pivotal role in representing the interests of Foshan to the government.[27] Moreover, the gentry's centrality in the town's leadership was to be formalized in the Foshan Charity Granary, founded and managed by the gentry of the Dakui *tang* in 1795.[28]

As Mary Rankin has pointed out, the charity granary was founded as part of a process of "extra-bureaucratic" management. In other words, local elite institutions implemented social programs that fitted in with state policy, under the cooperative supervision of local officials. Chen Chunsheng has, moreover, documented the slow uptake of state granary policies in Guangdong: despite repeated edicts demanding the construction of community granaries in 1679, 1689, 1704, and 1715, it was not until 1724 that they were built.[29] Foshan's community granary was built by none other than the police intendant who ruled in favor of the gentry and against the *lijia* headmen, and in 1757, that is to say, the year in which the ruling was made. However, despite the ownership of the granary and its stores by the local government, on the various occasions when grain was distributed in the second half of the eighteenth century, it had been done under the management of the gentry. Lao Tong, one of their leaders, writing about these efforts at the time the charity granary was founded, noted specifically that the government was responsible only

for the maintenance of order and had not asked to see the accounts or to have them audited. Inasmuch as the gentry-managed charity granary had little grain in store in its early years, when relief had to be distributed, it was considered usual for the charity granary to apply to draw upon the government's communal granary, and so it would seem that the smooth beginning of the charity granary might be put down to an extension of ongoing practices.

It is important to remember that the sale of grain, even at a time of famine, provided an income for the granary. In 1812, therefore, charges of corruption resulted in new regulations that took the appointment of managers of the granary out of the hands of the Dakui *tang* and rotated the task among the wards of the town of Foshan. By 1830, charges were made that the grain stock had been depleted by the managers, while the managers countercharged that the protesters were stirring up people who had no right to claim relief, which was meant to be provided only for the town's own needy. The context of Foshan's ever-expanding rice trade is important here. Subsistence crises did not result from bad weather at Foshan, but because prices were inflated when trade demand periodically surged. The government had been keen to prevent speculation on these occasions by prohibiting rice merchants from hoarding more than 200 *shi*, a ruling that simply opened the door to extortion by yamen clerks. The charity granary, therefore, was focused firmly on the well-being of the town's population, which included many craftsmen and haulers, whose income did not come directly from farming. Unlike schools and foundling homes, but like defense (which the town was not allowed to manage until after 1800), the charity granary put the gentry back into crisis management. It is possible to see in this development another step in the growth of secularized communal organization, but it would be quite wrong to think that the gentry could have run the schools and the granary without also being on the temple committee that oversaw ritual in the town, notwithstanding their prestige.[30]

A Town Corporation by Any Name: Monastery, Temple, and Academy in Jiujiang

The local history of Jiujiang records that, like Longshan and Foshan, the town had been the site of a wealthy monastery that was destroyed on Wei Xiao's orders in 1522. The local people countered, however, by setting up another Buddhist monastery, the Zhengjue *si*, with a land endowment of 30 *mu*, which was placed under the management of a single monk. As if to demonstrate their allegiance, the gentry of the *xiang* do-

nated money to purchase an additional 10 *mu*. Although the land was registered separately under a *lijia* household, an unnamed powerful family (*hao*) had always wanted to take it over. When, in 1600, the gentry petitioned the county magistrate for permission to appoint one Yuanjiao as abbot, the powerful family sued at the yamen and defeated their claim, thereby taking over the endowment estate and reducing the abbot's income to alms. Fortunately for the villages, the monk's self-cultivation won support, and donors subscribed towards what amounted to a major building program, consisting of a temple each dedicated to Guanyin, the Northern Deity, and the god of literature, Wenchang. Every year on the third day of the second month, the gentry of the entire *xiang* (and, by 1600, the *xiang* boasted quite a few senior degree holders) held a literary gathering there to sacrifice to the god of literature. The temple complex grew. By early Qing, a Guandi temple was added, and when the local history was compiled in 1657, a meeting hall was mooted.[31] Even without the meeting hall, in 1651, it was in the Zhengjue Monastery that the people of the *xiang* (*tongxiang shimin*) met to discuss the important matter of dredging the surrounding rivers.[32]

This nutshell history of Buddhism in Jiujiang says much about local politics. The local history was obviously written from the point of view of the people who were, by the seventeenth century, considered members of the Jiujiang gentry. No indication is given of the powerful family that contested their claim, but a satire left in the local history records how a monk found the funds to pay for digging a well at the monastery by persuading a rich man (*fumin*), Guan Zongwei, that gold might be hidden in the ground.[33] Whether or not Guan had blocked the attempt to appoint the abbot, the fact that the powerful family could win a lawsuit in such a proceeding almost definitely suggests that the monastery came under its patronage, rather than the village gentry's. Until 1600, therefore, the leaders of the villages of Jiujiang had not yet reached agreement on their respective rights at any place of worship representing the entire *xiang*. Religious purges might have brought about this lack of unity, for the gods of some other temple, long gone from the local history, were seen as having protected Jiujiang during the Huang Xiaoyang uprising. It was said that when the local people stood in defense, they saw five gods in their regalia standing in front of the hills, whose sleeves shielded them from the bandits' arrows. The local history gave the temple they might have been associated with the unlikely name of Great King Zhao, but added that legend had it that the temple had been built to commemorate five merchants who had drowned together and were buried there.[34] It may be recalled that in 1489, the Shunde magistrate Wu Tingju was

stamping out sacrifice to "deities of the five mountains" all over Shunde. The legend would suggest that this was another such temple, not one dedicated to the more benign General Zhao.

It was probably a new industry—pond-fish culture—and its related tax changes that gave Jiujiang its separate identity. The industry must have developed during the Ming dynasty, for by the time it was recorded in the 1657 local history, 80 percent of the land of Jiujiang was devoted to fishponds and only 20 percent to crops. According to the local history, fry were caught by Dan boatmen in the tributaries of the West River in Guangxi shortly after the Qingming festival, that is to say, in late spring. The fry were raised in the ponds for a year, and the following spring, the fish were sold in many parts of Guangdong, as far away as Longchuan county on the upper reaches of the East River, and also in Hubei, Jiangxi, and Fujian. In exchange, Jiujiang imported rice. The trade in fish was taxed quite heavily. Following the pattern of Ming dynasty trade, sellers of fish from Jiujiang were obliged to trade with government-appointed brokers in the places where fish were sold. In Longchuan, the boats coming from Jiujiang were taxed according to their size and the amount of fish sold based on the number of carrying poles used. Extortion at Longchuan was considered so harsh that the people of Jiujiang petitioned the Guangdong governor and provincial administration commissioner to prohibit it and to have this prohibition inscribed on a stone stele.[35]

Quite apart from the taxes and levies that were charged on the sale of farmed fish, a military tax (*xiang*) was imposed on the sale of fry. The tax had been imposed from the early Ming dynasty on the Dan boatmen and provided for the military garrisons stationed at Zhaoqing, upriver from Jiujiang. However, it had been impossible to collect, and in 1488, it was abolished by the Zhaoqing prefect. In the last years of the fifteenth century, Guangdong Regional Inspector Deng Tingzhuan (in office 1496–1500) memorialized for the tax to be transferred to the people of Jiujiang, and for Jiujiang to be recognized as a fishing port (*yubu*). The memorial was supported by his successor Liu Daxia (in office 1500–1502) and approved. A flat rate was charged households of fry raisers, varying from .05 to .025 tael, the boat licenses being issued by the prefect of Zhaoqing. Once implemented, license charges were imposed well beyond the fee, until around 1600, they amounted to three times the official rate.[36]

The first market set up by the leaders of the *lijia*, known as the *lipai*, was ascribed in the 1657 local history to 1506.[37] The designation of an officially recognized market at which the fish tax holders could moor would be a natural consequence of the fish tax allocation to Jiujiang, even though no reference is made to this in the records. This close match

of the timing of the two events would suggest that, in any case, a local leadership structure with purview over the cluster of villages was coming into existence. Significantly, too, the Chen family, one of the parties that received permission from the magistrate to set up the market, maintained a temple there dedicated to the Guandi deity. As the Chen surname of Jiujiang produced some of the most prominent members of the gentry, the relationship between it, the Guandi temple, and the Zhengjue Monastery was bound to be quite complicated. Whether the Chen surname could have been the "powerful family" that preempted the monastic estate remains an open question.[38]

It is also safe to assume that by the time provincial governors recognized that taxes owed by Dan boatmen might be transferred to the pond-fish farmers in Jiujiang, the industry was already established. Economic change did not stop there. The 1657 local history also notes that cotton spinning and silkworm raising were major farm activities, the former possibly taking root earlier and being succeeded by the latter towards the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth. In the Jiajing reign, in the mid sixteenth century: "Poor women in the *xiang* took cotton yarn across the river to sell. The boat capsized in the wind. Subprefect Zeng wrote a prayer to tell the sea god of this event and set up a yarn market there, meeting every third, sixth, and ninth day. Women with yarn gathered at cockcrow. At each market meeting, there were hundreds of them. That lasted for several decades, although it has now ceased."[39]

Around the time the 1657 local history was compiled, mulberry growing was rapidly developing in place of cotton spinning, and growing mulberry trees and raising silkworms ushered in an agrarian revolution: "Recently, no land at the foot of the walls is wasted. Women's work is especially prospering in this place. . . . The longan used to grow wild and provided a means of living. Now, 70 to 80 percent has been removed by random felling, road building, and the replacement of old trees by mulberry and hemp. . . . Jiujiang's profit depends on fry. Next to this are silkworms and mulberry, then paddy, then longan, and then yams."[40]

By the Qing era, the combination of mulberry growing and pond-fish raising produced the land-use pattern known as "mulberry dikes and fishponds." In this arrangement, mulberry trees were grown on the dikes supporting the ponds, and silkworm waste was used as fish feed, while fish waste provided fertilizer for the mulberry trees. As Qu Dajun summarized it at about the time the Jiujiang local history was published: "In the ponds they raise fish, and on the embankments they grow mulberry. The men sell young fry and the women feed their silkworms. There is no

plot of land left empty, and no one loiters. This is because the customs are good. Most of the wealthy people trade in grain or fry."[41] Later in the century, the combination of mulberry growing and fish farming spread from Jiujiang into Shunde. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Jiujiang was in transition to this new economy.

By the seventeenth century, the 1657 local history notes, Jiujiang produced many scholars. Over a thousand of its natives made a living teaching outside the villages, not to mention that quite a few families produced senior officials. In the early years of the Ming dynasty, the situation was very different. Like many parts of the Pearl River Delta, the groups that became the more prominent lineages in Jiujiang in the sixteenth century were descended from households that registered in the *lijia* in the early Ming. A person with the Guan surname had served in a local administrative role in the Yuan, and people with the Zhu and Cen surnames were tax captains who delivered tax grain to the government. The Chen surname must have had an influence even beyond Jiujiang, for their ancestor, Chen Bowen, led the effort to build the Mulberry Garden Dike in 1385. In the slow process of reclamation and settlement in the fifteenth century, however, these groups had not lost their connections with the rivers, hence the advance of the pond-fish industry. Significant, therefore, is the biography of Cen Yuerui, who served as tax captain at the young age of 14 *sui* at the time of the war against Vietnam in 1407, contributed 1,000 *shi* of grain for relief in the famine year of 1440 on the agreement that his deceased father might be honored posthumously and have his corvée service remitted for three years, and in 1449 contributed another 1,100 *shi* of grain for local defense against Huang Xiaoyang. He was then appointed "guide [*xiangdao*] in Panyu and Dongguan to search for and pacify bandits on the sea."[42] Not only was this man well on the way to setting up a lineage—for the tax remission granted his father would accrue to his household—but he was obviously very much in charge among the coastal populations of the river inlets on the sands.

Land registration in Jiujiang in the seventeenth century, therefore, took place in much the same way as it did elsewhere in the Pearl River Delta. The biography of Zeng Shishen put the important qualities of the practical man in these times quite well: "he got rid of empty taxes and was adept at writing, arithmetic, and the law."[43] In 1582, the Nanhai magistrate came personally to Jiujiang to measure the cultivated acreage, but the fishponds made measurement impossible, and the surcharge known as the bow-adjustment tax was imposed. While there, he also helped to settle a dispute over the building of a sluice gate at a river inlet that had been a source of contention among neighboring villages.[44] The

local gentry took part in the countywide opposition to the tax surcharge, and it was removed in 1617.[45] At about this time, a community covenant was compiled, which was read at annual religious celebrations.[46] Meanwhile, reclamation continued, for in 1611, the people of Jiujiang gathered money to raise the dikes surrounding one of the islands in the area by three *chi* (about four feet), protecting 800 *mu* and more. In 1641, one of the dikes collapsed, and a member of the gentry negotiated a relief arrangement with the county government whereby money was gathered on the basis of land held and labor was provided by householders. In 1642, the Tianhou temple at the market that had been set up in 1506 was repaired. The market had been moved to a different part of the inlet, and possibly for this reason, a new temple was needed.[47] In two years time, the government was to fall, but there certainly was no indication of any impending cataclysm.

In 1689, the temple complex was renovated. An essay that year commemorating the renovation of the two-storey building (*ge*) that housed the god of literature Wenchang noted, in particular, that "every year, the gentry of the entire *xiang* conducted the spring sacrifice there." As part of the renovation, a school was built on one side of the temple and a pavilion to house commemoration steles on the other. In 1702, the school was converted into a sacrificial hall in memory of Guangdong-Guangxi Governor-General Shi Lin (appointed in 1689), Guangdong Provincial Military Commander Yin Huaxing (appointed 1698), and various other military commanders, in recognition of their achievement when they routed bandit gangs in the area in 1700. The commemorative essay noted the involvement of the Jiujiang gentry in the campaign: the commanders had consulted them on where to find the "bandits," and on whether the ones captured should be executed. In 1786, when the complex was again renovated, the Jiujiang gentry confidently renamed the pavilion housing the steles—made famous by its being used for the meeting hall of the Foshan gentry by the Qing dynasty—"The Notables' Pavilion" (*dakui ge*), recognizing their success in the imperial examinations. An assistant magistrate was appointed to Jiujiang in the same year, and he took over the renovated memorial temple for the governor-general and provincial military commander to use as his office, naming it once again as a school in the process.[48] By the late eighteenth century, Jiujiang was a very wealthy town. The market set up in the sixteenth century was enhanced by the growth of the rice and silk trade. It was located, as the gazetteer says, "at the place where the boundaries of the four wards meet." The four wards had grown as clusters of villages, some of which had probably become quite wealthy themselves during the seventeenth century. The silk

market, set up in 1799, in particular, provided an income for the gentry, for from 1802 on, its control was formally granted to the gentry's literary society by the county magistrate.[49]

The assistant magistrate had an uneasy relationship with the Jiujiang gentry. Nevertheless, whatever members of the gentry said in their petition to the Guangdong governor-general in later years, the appointment served the gentry's interest. The assistant magistrate was actively involved in local construction, in particular that of the Mulberry Garden Dike, which took decades to build but protected Jiujiang's agricultural land from frequent floods. The Jiujiang gentry were also closely involved in negotiation with the Guangdong provincial government for protection of its very lucrative trade in fish fry. It has already been noted that not only were Jiujiang people engaged in the pond-fish industry, but they had also held the tax monopoly on selling fry since the end of the fifteenth century, and they needed the protection of the provincial government against competition by illegal traders and extortion by local military commanders. The 1883 Jiujiang gazetteer records pronouncements from senior Guangdong officials in these matters in 1773, 1774, 1779, and 1789. Yet there is no doubt that the relationship between the assistant magistrate and the gentry was strained by 1826. Matters came to a head when the gentry wanted to rebuild the school that year. The gentry had sought official sanction by beginning their building project with an appeal to the scholarly governor-general, Ruan Yuan, for the revival of the reading of the sacred edicts. They had successfully obtained from him a name board bearing the name of the school in his own calligraphy. Yet when the building was under way, the Jiujiang gentry addressed a petition to Governor-General Li Hongbin, Ruan's successor, exonerating themselves from charges by the assistant magistrate that the school had been built on land appropriated from the local people and that the gentry had levied charges on the fish-raising households. In reply to the charges, the gentry said they could produce the deed by which land had been acquired, and that the terms for taxing the fish-raising households were merely deposited at the school and not imposed by them. The rare open clash between the assistant magistrate and the gentry corroborates the involvement of the gentry in interceding between government and local businesses, in much the same way as the Foshan gentry was doing by the eighteenth century. The school that was set up was very well endowed. It was founded on a contribution of 13,000 taels, out of which an annual rental income of more than 1,000 taels might be collected. In 1826, these were no mean sums.[50]

The lineage society launched in the sixteenth century had advanced

another step with the blossoming of gentry alliances coagulating around temples and schools in the eighteenth century. Lineages were everywhere in the Pearl River Delta by the eighteenth century, and by being everywhere, they were no longer the novelty that had been introduced by a few powerful persons through their connections to the senior levels of officialdom. Without the grandees intervening between local society and bureaucracy, gentry leadership was taking over, but it was a nameless leadership that hid under the corporations established through religion, contracts, business investments, and civil administration. The local lineage, that is to say, the communities of people who applied common ancestry as a principle of community, was now being subsumed in local administration under the interlineage alliance. This was the lineage society that was frozen in the New Territories of Hong Kong by the twentieth century, from which Maurice Freedman learned about South China. It had not always been like that, and it did not remain that way for very long in most of the Pearl River Delta.

Enacting Collective Memory: Integrating Community into the State

As state administration expanded, as examinations provided opportunities for social mobility, and as state-sanctioned architecture made it possible to demonstrate status in new ways, the village community adopted and then internalized state rituals. All this took place without the community necessarily abandoning its claim to a unique identity. Hence, it was frequently claimed that each village had its own customs. An excellent example of the preservation of identity in the imitation of state rituals is Helen F. Siu's description of the Chrysanthemum Festival of Xiaolan.[51] The festival, held once every sixty years, as a contest among the established families of the town of Xiaolan for a display of chrysanthemum flowers, was conducted in imitation of the imperial examinations, awards for the flowers being named after examination degrees. Siu rightly points out the recreation of the town community and its social hierarchy in the process. The lineage ancestral halls were adorned with flowers, the gentry wrote poetry in commemoration of the occasion, and everyone, gentry and commoners alike, partook in the public celebrations of the *jiao* and in the entertainment. The Chrysanthemum Festival was only a make-believe imperial examination, but Xiaolan's successful portrayal of the examinations through its flower displays blended the town into the state culture even as it maintained its own aloofness.

Nevertheless, temple festivals did not have to be exceptional to make

the point of uniqueness. In all temple festivals, uniqueness accrued from the unique relationships established between deities and their supplicants, and for this reason, legends grew with the rituals so that exclusive claims might be made on the deities. The enactment of rituals common to the wider repertoire of the Chinese state extended to all and sundry, irrespective of social class. Until the nineteenth century, Jun'an township was located on newly reclaimed "sands" (*shatian*), and the inhabitants were regarded as among the Dan outcasts who were not allowed settlement rights. There, the temple festivals at Jiangmei *xiang*, of which only a recent observation report is available, consisted of the same rituals as found in other temple festivals. Every year in the ninth month, the two temple deities, Guandi (the martial deity) and the Venerable Yan (the legendary boatman who had saved the first emperor of the Ming dynasty when he was fighting his opponents for the throne), were paraded in full regalia for nine days in the villages. The procession was held under a ritual military command, accompanied by a professional band of musicians playing drums and the woodwind instrument known as the *suo'na*, and, as was done all over the Pearl River Delta, the deities were carried in sedan chairs under parasols, in this case, provided and carried by wealthy members of the community. Only villages that held a share in the temple might take part in the procession, although on the last day, upon the deities' return to the temple, they were sacrificed to by all and sundry. Although imperial ceremony was adopted by the lowliest villagers, it must not be thought that a sense of equality must necessarily have been achieved. Participation in the festivals was riddled with inclusions and exclusions. By the time a group of villages such as that found in Jiangmei *xiang* were able to found their own temple and stage their own land-based parade, the point was probably made *among themselves* that they had moved beyond pariah status. If their god proved propitious and the rural population came and paid homage, recognition of full status was probably not far off.[52]

In the longer term, the inroad of official ritual into the village was only the last of a number of external pressures powered by the use of written texts, the extension of government, the recognition of village autonomy in ritual terms, upward mobility of the village elite facilitated by the imperial examinations, and, in a broad sense, the integration of local society into the state. These changes can be traced to the ritual revolution of the sixteenth century, but it is also important to see that even that ritual revolution was itself only the last of a series of ritual revolutions that stretched across the ages. The Buddhist monasteries of the sixth century probably brought the first signs of written texts, gov-

ernment, and so on, to the Pearl River Delta. Backed by their landed estates, they became virtual governments where their landed estates were set up. At some point, however, the village religion that was being infiltrated by Buddhism confronted the written texts of Lüshan and then Zhengyi Daoism, the one perhaps in the twelfth or thirteenth century and the other in the sixteenth or seventeenth.[53] By the early Ming, too, the state imposed the requirements of the Statutes of Rituals, a term that was widely used in the sixteenth century and that referred to state sacrifices offered by imperial sanction to specific local deities. The Statutes of Rituals became the tool by which sixteenth-century purgers of local religion demarcated what they considered to be "illegal temples." In this process, how ancestral sacrifice might be conducted in the ancestral hall was regularized. None of these movements was ever successful enough to totally replace its predecessor. More likely than not, land belonging to an "illegal temple"—often a Buddhist monastery—was confiscated, the temple building destroyed, and yet the deity resurfaced in a different locality or context. By the sixteenth century, religion was a mixed bag; no practitioner of any creed held a monopoly on it, and the struggle for orthodox status was a battleground fought over as rituals evolved.

It has been noted by numerous writers in recent years that village religion in China mimics the imperial tradition.[54] Deities are dealt with as if they were emperors and officials, and the priests behave like courtiers. Although a distinction may justifiably be drawn between sacrifice to deities and sacrifice to ancestors, "religion" in China, in the broad sense, must include belief in ancestors and ancestral sacrifice. The integration of villages into the state through the ages in a part of China such as the Pearl River Delta therefore depended on the rich choreography of accumulated experience involving the building of temples and shrines, the establishment of control over them by one or another interested party, periodic sacrifice and associated parades of the deities, stories of sightings and efficaciousness, geomancy, and the exercise of authority over the heavenly realm in the name of emperors temporal or heavenly by Daoist masters, Buddhist monks, local seers, and Confucian scholars. Maurice Freedman was right to argue that little in all this represented a "little tradition" of the village to be distinguished from the "greater tradition" of the Chinese state.[55] The same political ideology permeated villages and cities. Villagers sacrificed to the same deities as the imperial court and its officials, who performed the same rituals, albeit with a great deal more elaboration. When ancestral halls had spread and the rituals of the written manuals had been popularized, personal identity was to rest, not on occupation or creed, but on membership in lineages possessing ancestral

halls and genealogies conducting sacrifice in some manner thought to be consistent with the texts. When only a single standard of propriety was enshrined, there was no room for a "little tradition," only the difference between people "in here" and people "out there." Anyone who counted would have been included in the greater tradition, and if they did not count, why bother with them anyway?

Chen Zisheng, whose brother Chen Zizhuang died a martyr defending the Ming state against the Qing in 1648, noted the difference between Jiujiang and Foshan in the last years of the Ming. Foshan was dominated by two or three big lineages (*juzu*), but it was also inhabited by many outside merchants. Jiujiang was crisscrossed by fishponds and easily penetrated by bandits moving between Nanhai and Xinhui counties. He advocated leaving Foshan to its own rule, but stationing an official in Jiujiang. Why? "The people of Foshan are accustomed to the city, but Jiujiang lies outside the city; the people of Jiujiang belong to villages [*xianglue*], but Foshan disdains being a village."[56] Of course, the Pearl River Delta settlement network included villages, towns, and cities, and their inhabitants were aware of how the one differed from the other. Yet the same rituals that represented them all, were shaped by the same written culture, the same focus on state and government, and recognized independence afforded by local gods and ancestors.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Incorporation: The Power of an Idea

If the ritual reforms initiated in the sixteenth century brought fundamental changes to Pearl River Delta society, it was not only because they taught villagers to sacrifice to ancestors in ancestral halls, rather than at their graves, but also because by introducing the ancestral hall and the need to amass landed wealth to provide for perpetual sacrifice to the ancestors, they allowed for the incorporation of the lineage groups. The idea was ahead of its time in the sixteenth century. Even as the building of ancestral halls expanded in the sixteenth century, large-scale development projects would have been cornered by a handful of powerful families with connections to senior officialdom. The Ming-Qing turmoil reduced the Pearl River Delta's grandees, and as the Qing government built up its local administration, the tools of incorporation created the means for broadly based lineage groups to pool their resources. The economic growth of the eighteenth century provided the momentum and, with the tools of incorporation, Pearl River Delta lineages launched into commercialism.[1]

Corporate Properties

Corporate holding of property was not a new phenomenon of the eighteenth century. Back in the fourteenth century, even before *lijia* registration was introduced into the Pearl River Delta, some family groups had held property in the name of Buddhist monasteries. The novelty of the sixteenth-century ritual reforms rested on the belief that ancestral sacrifice in prescribed sacrificial halls was accessible to commoners, and, as commoners, they might hold properties in the names of their ancestors. The practice would have agreed with the demands of tax registra-

tion, and, because *lijia* was popularized as taxes were increasingly paid in silver on the basis of land held, rather than through labor service, ancestral names might also have designated tax accounts, lending legitimacy to the continuation of ownership.

The ideal that ancestral land should be held in perpetuity was propagated in written genealogies and in lineage regulations. An essay dated 1752 by one Zhan Shangji of Shabei *xiang*, Zengcheng county, relates how, even at a time when drought had led to a grain shortage, he had stood up to his lineage relatives in the ancestral hall opposing their attempt to sell ancestral property. The essay lays out the purposes to which an income from ancestral property might be put, the manner in which the property might be managed, and pledges made before the ancestral tablets that no seller of ancestral property was to be tolerated. It condemned the seller of ancestral property to peer sanction, public prosecution, and his eventual banishment from the company of his relatives. That the essay was reprinted in genealogies of other surnames testifies to the collective sentiments in support of maintaining ancestral properties intact.[2]

Donations to the lineage and maintenance of lineage trusts are commonly in evidence among genealogical biographies. The penal code also gave ancestral property some protection by demanding the agreement of all descendants to its sale, failing which the seller might be charged with larceny. This particular provision in the code resulted in the standard format in land deeds specifying lineage members' right of preemption, depending on whether the property to be sold had been purchased or inherited by the vendor.[3] It cannot be stressed often enough that Maurice Freedman's discovery of the corporate character of South China lineages notwithstanding, the lineage's corporate character, contrary to his description, did not depend on the ongoing ownership of alienable properties. The rules of inheritance provided for the allotment of equity, so that the establishment of the focus of ancestral sacrifice, be it at a grave or in an ancestral hall, and continued ritual observance, would in themselves provide the opportunities for the definition of a sense of corporate membership. A contractual element is therefore inherent in agreement over ancestral history. The power of the lineage community and its ability to keep alive its markers, and the power of the written word in providing for a sense of historical continuity, involved lineages in a constant process of creation and recreation, all the while keeping intact the sense that the process followed from "tradition."

Landownership therefore did not create the lineage. Rather, as literacy spread, as the use of land deeds became ever more popular, along with the image of government as the final arbitrator of land disputes, as reg-

istration for tax devolved from the living person to the corporation, and as written genealogies kept track of descent in increasing detail to give a sense of reality to lineage branching, lineage groups could, by the use of written contracts, turn themselves into sacrificial corporations with or without their also being members of the same territorial community.

The following contract of 1763 in Nanhai county, by setting up a common grave site for four lineage groups, also turned them into subbranches of an overarching lineage:

> Agreement [*heyue*]
>
> A contract established among the lineage segment [*fang*] heads Yihao, Tianzhang, Yarong, and Yangxing of the segments under the names of Lin, Feng, Long, and Hu concerning the agreement to set up burial sites near the ancestors' graves and to accumulate lineage property. Ancestor Chongzhen is buried at [location given]. The hill and grounds [at the site] are extensive. Because it is feared that [other people] may scheme to take the left and right of the land in front of the hill by force to found a village, a meeting has been held at the ancestral hall and it has been agreed that thirteen lucky spots be opened on the left and right sides of the ancestral hall for the burial of descendants, [such spots being distributed] by drawing lots. In this way, there will be no future danger. The silver so collected will be spent on purchasing land for rent collection, and when a substantial saving has been accumulated, an ancestral hall for Chongzhen will be built, perhaps in Gangzhou [Xinhui county]. In this way, it will be possible for descendants to come to repay fully the virtue of the ancestors above. [Our] four segment lineages belong to the same pulse, and the longer [this bond] continues, the less slack [it becomes]. For this purpose, four copies of this agreement have been drawn up, a copy to be held by each [segment] as evidence.

The contract is included in the genealogy of a single line of descent from the signatories. The compilation includes a list of the thirteen grave sites and the parties they were allotted to; the history of the lineage and its division into four branches; a set of regulations specifying the importance of harmony within the lineage; the Zhuji *xiang* legend, which provides the background for a common origin; and a substantial section on the branch by which the manuscript copy of this genealogy was compiled. A note in the genealogy claims that the progenitor of the lineage had been sacrificed to in the Ming in an ancestral hall that had all but collapsed by the time of the Qing dynasty. The historical authenticity of this claim cannot be verified from the record, but when the temple was rebuilt in 1827, ancestral property was provided by the contribution of twenty parties, each one having paid from one to one-fifth of a share, denominated at fifty taels. Money so collected was invested in land.[4]

Sacrifice at ancestral graves could lapse when ancestral properties were dissipated, and yet focal grave sites could continue to be nodes at which

lineages grouped and regrouped when sacrificial practices revived. The following account from a genealogy of the Deng surname at Longshan *xiang*, dated 1683, found in the main lineage genealogy by the compilers of a branch genealogy, and recorded not for any contractual relevance but because it seemed to be significant to lineage history, can, therefore, be read at different levels of interpretation:

> Since our progenitor came from Nanxiong, the genealogy notes that [the lineage] was prosperous, and, branching like a tree, descendants had been abundant and distinguished. By the third-generation division, each branch set up its own household. From the fourth generation, ancestors were all buried together at Golden Azure Peak, at a place locally called Back Garden Mount. In relation to the dragon force, it was located with its back to the *hai* direction and facing the *si* direction. . . . The "four stone calves" were the foundation of the four branches and eight generations.
>
> However, the fortunes of heaven changed. The government demanded pine trees, and, paying no regard to our feng shui, cut all the trees both in front and behind [the grave site]. We also experienced famine-causing drought several times. Although this branch had more than a hundred members, most of them made their living by their handicraft. They had little property or savings. Without other means and under the pressure of circumstances, they had no choice but to sell the ancestral property in order to tide them over the present. This could not last. Alas, as their numbers and their wealth dwindled, the written documents preserved for years were lost [and passed] into unknown hands. For this reason, not even the whereabouts of their mortgages are known. Those difficult times could not be coped with. Sacrifice had to this day not failed, and the day would come for our revival. In this year of *jiazi* [the first year of the sixty-year cycle], we met by good fortune a geomancer, who pointed out that the "four stone calves" were unfavorable to descendants of all branches. After discussion, it was agreed by all that a change of fortune was needed, as a result of which [agreement], the entire branch jumped for joy. It was found by divination that on the sixth day of the second month of the *yichou* year, the "four stone calves" should be moved. Two earth mounds will be made. That would be the time for the ancestors to celebrate, and their descendants to come into their fortune. People observing noted that the reputation of the family would henceforth advance.[5]

In 1602, descendants of three of the six branches of this lineage had donated money to set up an ancestral trust, and in 1615, a genealogy had been compiled. The three donating branches had, either then or earlier, been registered in the *lijia*. When, at the end of the Ming or the early years of the Qing, the ancestral property was sold, ancestral sacrifice had continued. The lineage dwindled in size, and, when a geomancer advised that the location of the grave was not conducive to good fortune, it was moved by common assent in the lineage. The lineage continued, therefore, to act as a body, even after having lost its land. When the third

branch of the lineage compiled its own genealogy, it incorporated this historical account into it. It can be assumed that the branch attended regular sacrifice at the grave site, for which reason the passage was thought significant. Despite the sale of the land, the moving of the grave site, and the passage of several generations between the establishment of the trust and the compilation of the third branch's genealogy, historical continuity was maintained in the lineage. A vital element in making continuity possible and relevant was the perception, not only of the duty of descendants to sacrifice to ancestors, but also of the grave site being directly related to the fortune of the lineage. The grave site, therefore, defined the living community, even though it was, no doubt, only one of many factors that defined it.

Corporation was defined, therefore, not only by the holding of property and the distribution of a dividend therefrom, but by the many and varied aspects of communal activities that property holding fed into. The world that could be interrupted by the whims of gods and ancestors had to be maintained through the active observance of rituals. Thus, tools of management evolved to cope with the rhythm of the daily, seasonal, and life cycles. Rituals, having been cleansed by the sixteenth-century reforms, became the vehicle whereby legal and administrative demands blended with local interests. Gods and ancestors, whom the rituals served, provided the permanence upon which corporation rested.

Zhan Shangji's essay on the preservation of ancestral property notes the two principles by which management could be organized:

> There are two sorts of ancestral properties. One is known as "rotation" [*luolun*] and the other "by the chest" [*guixiang*]. Where properties are managed by rotation, the branches of the lineage take turns managing [them]. When a cycle is completed, the rota returns to its beginning. It goes on and on. Where it is managed by the chest, virtuous people are selected to take care of the accounts. Every year, rents and interests received are deposited in the common chest, and expenses are carefully made.[6]

The two methods of management are commonly demonstrated in lineage records. The rotation method closely follows the practice of partible inheritance, universally accepted in the Pearl River Delta, examples of which are found in family division documents (*fendan*) in both the Ming and the Qing. The appointment of managers, as indicated in some lineage rules, might also reflect branch representation. The regulations of the Liao Weize *tang* of Nanhai, for instance, state:

> A manager [*zongli*] is to be nominated to keep the ancestral property chest [*changxiang*]. Every year, four supervisors [*duli*] are appointed. The first and sec-

ond branches each nominate one person, and the third branch two persons. They serve for one year. On the tenth day of the first month of the following year, they are to post all incomes and expenditures for the entire year [for public display] and hand over the accounts. There is to be no negligence or omission.[7]

Uneven representation, in all likelihood, indicates uneven numbers or contributions to the ancestral estate. Although the genealogy claims that the Liao Weize *tang* ancestral hall was built in the Qianlong period, the essay entries recorded in the genealogy on the hall building date from its rebuilding in 1808 and the regulations probably date from that period as well. Money was collected for the building on a per capita basis from the entire male membership of the lineage, and donations were demanded of wealthy members. A clause in the donation regulations asking for a tael out of every 100 taels of private capital owned, including "businesses far and near, land, shops, and mortgages in this or another county," was probably more of a guideline than a rigid but unenforceable demand. Inducement for further donations was provided in extra sacrificial pork being given to donors at ancestral sacrifices. In all likelihood, a management structure centering on the principal organizers of the building would have resulted and would have been carried on after the completion of the hall. The accounts they managed, as noted in the regulations, would have been posted annually. Neither Huo Tao's nor Pang Shangpeng's sixteenth-century regulations refer to the practice, but the posting of the annual accounts on the wall of the ancestral hall at a celebration shortly after New Year is well documented, and it continues to this day, as any visitor to the countryside around Guangzhou or the New Territories of Hong Kong can see.[8]

The genealogy of a Huang surname in Nanhai county has preserved the essential documents that were drawn up in the process of establishing an ancestral hall and estate. In 1744, an appeal was made for donations for a branch ancestral hall. A summary of the project gives the names of twenty donors and the amounts donated, sets out a plan to lend out the 350 taels collected at 12 percent compound interest annually prior to building, and notes the sale of an ancestral house for 349.70 taels. The donor of the largest sum was put in charge of the fund, and he was assisted by three persons, the head of the lineage (*zongzhu*) and two of the largest donors.

A plot of land was bought for the ancestral hall in 1749 to which a mooring place was attached, as was common practice in many villages of the Pearl River Delta. Money was handed over, but the vendors, persons of the Jian surname and so totally unrelated to the Huang lineage, were accused by their own kinsmen of selling ancestral property without

authority. The charge resulted in four consecutive suits at the county yamen in 1750 and 1751, but each time the magistrate ruled in favor of the Huang surname. Documents prepared for the lawsuit by the vendors are included in the genealogy, and so is a statement describing the incident.

The branch ancestral hall was built in 1759. Installed in it were spirit tablets principally of the five most recent generations of the donors' ancestors. The celebratory announcement of the building of the ancestral hall states that it was built in honor of their eighth-generation ancestor, but that tablets from the tenth to the fifteenth generations would be installed on the side altar. The donors themselves were primarily of the thirteenth and fourteenth generations. Surplus funds from the project were spent on the purchase of one of four shares (*gu*) in a mooring and two shops in the village. The share had been sold by the manager in charge of the funds, who himself had bought it in 1749. The announcement indicates that those who had been managing the fund since 1744 carried on doing so. The efforts of the manager in charge of the funds were recognized by the presentation of an extra basin of sacrificial meat at the ancestral sacrifices.[9]

Reference to the purchase of a share without as much as an explanatory note in the genealogical literature suggests that by the mid eighteenth century, shareholding was a common and widely known practice. The practice could be related to the prevalence of business partnership, but, just as likely, to the prevalence of money associations, sometimes referred to in the genealogical literature as hundred-sons associations (*baizi hui*) or Jiangnan associations (Jiangnan *hui*).[10] A record of the contributory association set up by a Pan surname lineage in Panyu in the 1780s shows that the raising of capital and management of funds in such an association was very similar to the Huang surname's ancestral hall building. In this case, shares were offered on three occasions in 1786 and 1787. In 1786, sixty-two shares were offered at 5 taels each, and the branch in whose genealogy the document is recorded took thirty-three. In the first offer of 1787, sixty-two shares were offered at 10 taels each, the branch taking forty shares, and in the second offer, thirty shares were offered at 6 taels each, the branch taking three. The money so raised was spent on the purchase of land and a mooring. The document of 1790 included in the genealogy provides an account of the event, the names of all managers (*shoushi*), the funds raised on each occasion, the precise locations of the properties purchased, and the taxes accrued thereon.[11]

The money association (*yinhui*), long known as a common village money-lending institution, was a variant on the contributory association. Members met and made payments to the association at regular intervals,

and the proceeds went to whoever offered the highest discount. Those who had not previously drawn on the association paid the discount rate, while those who had done so paid the full rate, so late bidders in effect lent their contributions to early bidders.[12] This arrangement was resorted to by lineage branches of the Weng surname of Shunde county. The genealogy refers to numerous money associations in ancestral hall building. In one case, however, it notes that two money associations were set up in 1777, but that in 1783, "before the association had completed its course [*man*]," the organizer "suggested that those who had not yet taken out their contributory shares [*wei shiguo hui zhe*] forfeit the capital sunk into the association [*bu quhui huiben*]" and donate it all to the building of the hall.[13] An account book from a Shunde family shows that between 1799 and 1814, the ancestral estate took part in eight such money associations. In 1799, for instance, it held two shares each in a "sacrifice-to-notables" association and a "shop-building association." The "shop-building association" was made up of ten members, each paying 20 yuan in full.[14]

The Lineage in Business

The common use of credit instruments in the village, in association with the ancestral estate or otherwise, has to be seen in perspective. The conclusion is too often drawn that since many of these business skills had been employed under the Song dynasty, their subsequent appearance was no novelty. An argument that appeals to institutional origin in any study of Chinese society, as this one does, misses the point. In the Pearl River Delta, these institutions are conspicuous by their absence in earlier records, and only from the eighteenth century on do they begin to appear quite regularly. Increasing business opportunities must have been one reason for their greater prevalence, but relevant also would have been the spread of literacy and the extension of government practices in wider society. It is true that contracts could be signed by the illiterate with a cross or a thumbprint, but accounts could hardly have been drawn up and posted in villages without scribes. Literati aspirations, the use of writing in rituals and government, and the promotion of lineage schools, which went on continuously from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, ensured that literacy was widespread, even if the proportion of literate people was not necessarily high.

What really allowed the lineage institution to make an impact on the economy was, however, not only the widespread use of contract, but also the widespread adoption of shareholding. The possibility of raising share capital in the lineage, like the possibility of raising share capital

anywhere, expanded investment and increased capitalization. The few grandees of the late Ming, no doubt, had both the clout and the capital to control markets, but under the Qing, investors without nearly as much clout or capital could do so by pooling resources. The following contract, also from Nanhai county, attests to the practice:

The makers of this contract, Guan Jishan [thirteen other names given, all of the Guan surname] and others, are uncles, brothers, and nephews within the *zu* who have lived separately at the *xiang* of Lianbiao, Tangchong, and Heyuan, all [registered] within the households of Guan Zhaolong and Guan Richang of the ninth *tu* second *jia* and ninth *jia* at Shannan.

The founding ancestor of our *zu* settled at Tanya in the Song dynasty and moved to Shannan in the fourth generation. The fourth-generation ancestor gave birth to five sons, who were divided into five *fang*. Because they lived separately at various places, they could not sacrifice together on any occasion.

Shan and others [signatories of this contract] are descendants of the venerable Liangzuo of the third *fang*. In the ninth generation, our ancestor gave birth to four sons. One [of them] died without heirs and one moved to Sichuan province. Of the other two, one was the ancestor Huaichuan and the other Jichuan. Huaichuan's descendants live at Lianbiao and are divided into an eastern branch and a western branch. Jichuan's descendants live at Tangchong and at Heyuan to the north. They are divided into a northern branch and a southern branch. Hence, they are referred to as the eastern, western, southern, and northern branches.

Because a lineage trust has not been established, they have [in common] only a plot of burial land at the grave of the fifth-generation ancestor, known as the Pit of the Venerable Wei. Some years ago, some burial land was sold, and the silver [received] was loaned out at interest, the annual receipts [from the loans] being used for sacrifice at the grave. No arrangements have, therefore, been made for building an ancestral hall. In the *renshen* year of the Chongzhen reign [1632], in consideration of their origins, the four *fang* came to an agreement to donate on a per capita [*ding*] basis towards an ancestral trust, to put out capital [*ben*] to seek a profit [*li*]. From the eastern branch, 69 donors were found, and from the northern branch 42 donors, adding up to 212 donors [from the four branches]. Sacrifice was held for several years, and as there was no disagreement, in the *dingchou* year [1637], the silver donated individually and the amounts left over after paying for sacrifices, in all over 80 taels, were used for the purchase of a shop in Songgang Market (*xu*), including spare land on all sides and trees thereon, a total of 9.25 *mu*, from the three households of [five names all of the Chen surname given]. The boundaries of the plot are listed in the deeds from the Chen households and they are not repeated here. The deeds are separately drawn up with the three Chen households, all on registration paper collected at the county yamen.

Subsequently, a plot of land by the market for planting rice seedlings was purchased from Guan Zhenzhao, head of the street [*jieshou*], payment for which was made from the same ancestral estate. The land so purchased will be rented out to tenants and the rent collected is to be used for sacrifice. Sums of money left over

after paying for sacrifice are to be saved in preparation for the building of the ancestral hall and used in connection with sacrifice at the winter solstice.

The property, for which 212 persons' names are listed, has not been purchased in the name of their *fang* and is of no concern to those whose names are not included in the winter solstice sacrifice. Nevertheless, any person who, in future, pays .38 tael according to our regulations may have his name listed in the book of the ancestral estate.

All land purchased from funds in the ancestral estate will be registered, in years when the tax records are compiled, under two households, respectively in the second *jia* and the ninth *jia*. Taxes and dues will be paid from the ancestral estate. Silver spent by the four *fang* for the purchase of the pond and the market will be calculated item by item and repaid so that no dispute will arise in future.

For this purpose, four copies of this contract have been written, to be held by the four fang. [Names follow.] In the thirteenth year of Chongzhen [1640], etc.[15]

Two hundred and twelve donors subscribing less than 80 taels in total imply that most of them gave less than .38 taels each. The entry of the name into the winter solstice list entitled the donor and, no doubt, his descendants, to participate in sacrifice and to partake in any distribution of sacrificial meat. By 1800, Songgang market had in it twenty-three shops, twelve of which were owned by people of the Guan surname, and a periodic market, which was attended by hawkers. As the representative of the owners of the market, a person of the Guan surname served as an authorized headman (*dibao*). It was, by then, a substantial business operation under the Guan lineage's control.

This contract is notable for its early date. Nevertheless, it was produced only in 1800 as litigation evidence when owners of the shops in the market were charged with not having registered for tax, a suit the lineage won, and so it was probably evidence for the practicality of joint-stock business ventures towards the end of the eighteenth century rather than earlier. By the nineteenth century, the pooling of capital by the sale of small-denomination shares was widely practiced. The rice market of Jiujiang was set up in 1843 with contributions from 233 shares, valued at least at a total of 25,000 taels, which accounted for the cost of the land purchase on which the market was built.[16]

For another example, in 1763, a shareholding arrangement provided for the founding of a cloth market in Chashan *xiang* in Dongguan county. The market was built at a time when a trade in hand-woven linen was booming in Dongguan. The arrangement raised 300 taels for the building of a "pavilion"—possibly a covered structure under which tradesmen might set up shops—and the clearing of certain plots of land for open-air markets. In return for providing the land, the landlord claimed a quarter

of the rent receivable from the shops and the hawkers, and special rights to the renting of one of the three open-air market plots; but contributions for the financial outlay were received from "*a lineage or a person*" in the form of 150 shares of 2 taels each. The landlord was responsible for tax and an annual contribution for repairs. The contract was inscribed on a stone stele erected at the market.[17]

Lineages invested in land. What land could be put to, naturally, depended on local conditions. In the pottery town of Shiwan, lineages owned kilns.[18] The genealogy of the Huo surname of Shiwan has preserved an example of this in great detail. The kiln, which like most Shiwan kilns, would have been a substantial structure extending easily 200 to 300 yards up a hill slope, had been inherited from an ancestor and was, therefore, commonly owned by two branches of the lineage, one of which had moved out of Shiwan during the Ming dynasty. The earliest written reference to the common holding of the kiln, from which a rent was received, came in a contract of 1720 dealing in the main with the allocation of grave sites. The location of grave sites had more to do with kiln ownership than would at first sight appear: the graves were located on one of the many small hills of Shiwan on which kilns were built, and the genealogy includes a petition entered at an unspecified government office dated 1666 to prevent a neighboring group from building a kiln up the hill and destroying the ancestral graves. The events of 1666, whatever their true nature, were highly important in the establishment of the contractual relations between the two separately located lineage groups and the property rights over the grave site and hence the kiln. The petition claimed, as would have been standard practice, that the grave site had been registered for tax under the Ming dynasty and that it had been sacrificed at for centuries. The claim notwithstanding, in the same year, the genealogy recorded the collection of money on a per capita basis among the lineage branches to conduct sacrifices. It also produced for the purpose of the petition a contract dated 1637 between the two branches on the initial establishment of common ownership of land at the grave: "Because there is no ancestral property, by common consent, the two segments will provide 2 taels of silver each, making a total of 4 taels of silver, to be deposited for interest so that each year the graves may be kept clean and sacrifices offered. This money is to be kept by the Shiwan segment, so that on the day after Qingming, the descendants may gather to clean the grave, to offer sacrifice, and to pay the tax." It was made clear that the money collected was kept by the Shiwan branch, under which tax was also registered. However, as indicative of the share arrangement, two copies of the contract were written, to be kept separately by the

two branches. The rest of the genealogy makes clear that this kiln was far from being the only property commonly held; ancestral halls were separately built, however, and the two branches in this contract were not the only groups that claimed common descent from the ancestors buried on the hill. By virtue of occupation, registration, or contract, the impression to be had would be that groups with different membership might singly or collectively be involved in different pieces of property. The manuscript pages now referred to as a genealogy were, therefore, an archive of the collective contracts on land and tax entered into by one of these groups.[19]

It is significant that where markets and kilns were owned by the lineage, the genealogy recorded the deeds by which the *land* they were sited on was held, rather than the operation of these places as businesses. Historians of China who describe the interest in land as an antithesis to an interest in commerce and industry reveal their insensitivity to the practices of business in late imperial and even Republican China. Since land deeds were recognized in courts of law, derived from registration for tax—whether or not the sale was, in fact, registered—it was possible to litigate over landholding rights. The only other comparable commodity would have been people, who by the use of deeds, were bought and sold, married or adopted in and out. The magistrate, being also registrar of land and people, would have understood these deeds as he would no other. No partnership contract that related to trade or industry carried as much weight, unless it related to a grant of trading rights from the state, which into the Qing was observed more in their violation than acceptance. Pearl River Delta lineages, therefore, prized their ownership of marketplaces. Whether or not the locations of rural markets were determined by geography, lineages vied with one another to set them up, the heated competition often resulting in dispute, litigation, feuds, and then the waxing and waning of the markets themselves.

Successful lineages in such competition for resources would have to be the ones that could draw upon the loyalty of the majority of their members, and the connections built up with officialdom through the careers of a minority of them as scholars and officials. The Wang surname of Houjie *xiang* in Dongguan county, which was busy repairing village temples in the second half of the eighteenth century, and which claimed "several hundred" members trading in one of the markets in the town, was sued by the incumbent owners of the market, people of the Fang surname, when, in 1789, they sought to start their own market operating on the same market days. The genealogy includes an account of the dispute and a summary of the magistrate's ruling, which went in their favor, for it

acknowledged that "the dates for buying and selling follow the people's convenience," clear declaration that he wanted no intervention in the choice of market dates.[20] The Longshan gazetteer includes a stele recording a magisterial decision dated 1816 recording terms of a dispute settlement reached by the magistrate which are all but too complicated for the uninvolved to understand in full. In brief, it seems that the dispute had been taken to court because the 38th *tu* was not allowed to build a market on land purchased, and for that reason, it was allowed to return the land to the vendor and to acquire, as compensation, from the 40th *pai* certain market land that the latter had purchased. For reasons unknown, that decision had to do with deeds over a shop purchased by the 38th *tu*, which the magistrate ruled should be given to the 40th *pai* for safekeeping. The magistrate ruled that it should not seek repayment of some 300 taels, possibly from the 40th *pai*, for building works, but that, instead, the 40th *pai* would pay to it 532 taels, that sum being savings from remuneration for the market guards. The ruling, which included other payments and compensations, would seem to be the result of considerable arbitration. It was standard practice that the terms so dictated should be carved in stone and deposited at the central temple of the locality.[21] The Chen surname, owners of the Pujun Market in the town of Foshan, took one of their tenants to court in 1849 on the charge that he had sublet his shop space to another tenant.[22] Reliance on magisterial authority to bar subletting must have been quite rare. Much more often, owners of the market maintained their own enforcers in the marketplace.

It is all but impossible that the lineage could be the vehicle of joint-stock ownership unless there was general agreement on the principles of accounting. The subject is too complex to enter into here, but it can be pointed out that these principles embraced, essentially, the four-column method commonly employed in Chinese trading accounts. Assets are recorded outside the four columns: sometimes by a listing of the properties, but often only by the safekeeping of land deeds. The four columns, consisting of the balance carried forward, incomes, expenditures, and the new balance, provide a cash-flow statement for the year, and not a capital summary.[23] Takeshi Hamashita has come closer to describing their character than most analysts of these accounts by noting that they emphasize, not profit and loss, but the maintenance of relationships.[24] Although lineages served principally as holding operations, rather than trading or production, because funds were distributed according to earmarked items such as sacrifice and provision for local welfare and no dividend was declared, the lineage estate was managed on the acknowledged principle that it would continue in perpetuity.[25] It was, therefore, as important an

accounting principle that ownership should be correctly designated as that expenses and balances be entered under the correct column. Interleaved pages and marginal notes in the manuscript Longshan *xiang* gazetteer indicate that this principle was clearly acknowledged, the word *xiang* (chest) denoting precisely the accounting unit by which ownership was designated.[26] The Shunde family account book recording shares held in contributory money societies listed properties acquired, the share structures of the money societies, and the *lijia* organization's tax collection arrangements.[27] By the eighteenth century, knowledge of accounting must have been widespread, and, with that, clear notions of property rights.

By the eighteenth century, share subscriptions must have become so common that the establishment of the market in 1745 outside Lord Jinshun's temple in Longshan *xiang* is recorded without comment in the gazetteer. The contract by which the market was established was reproduced in full, together with a sketch map showing the shops set up. The contract reads:

> In the tenth year of Qianlong, the *yichou* year [of the sixty-year cycle], the gentry and *lijia* households agree to donate money to purchase the fishpond outside the temple of Lord Jinshun to build a central passageway. Those who respond enthusiastically and take part number fifty-five families [*jia*]. Each family donates 55 taels to build or repair the geomantic wall, the passageway, the Ten Thousand *Li* Bridge, the gateways to the left and the right bearing the name District of Loyalty and Righteousness, and the ferry pier, and to construct thirty-eight new shops to the left and the right of the temple. From now on, they will partake in the bountiful benefit provided by the Lord.
>
> In this project, Xiao Zhanheng, Kang Jiagnwan, Zhang Yupeng, Huang Huansi, Chen Qingshi, and Peng Zuowei supervised the construction, and Cai Jiezhi, Xiao Junwu, and Peng Xingqi were in charge of managing the accounts. The project took four years to complete.
>
> The thirty-eight shops are now divided into eleven lots [*gu*], and numbered. "The Master says: Is it not a pleasure to constantly practice what is learnt?" Every five families will receive one lot, and they are free to lease [the shop spaces] to tenants.

The contractual terms are followed by a list of eleven lots, specifying the number of shop spaces included in each, the names of the shareholders, and the registered household under which tax was to be paid. All but one of the registered tax household names may be found in the *lijia* list that precedes the contract in the gazetteer. The *lijia* list shows that in the same year this contract was drawn up, a new *lijia* unit, referred to as the 25th *tu*, was added to the *lijia* register. It would seem, therefore, that, by the eighteenth century, markets might be founded by a well-established procedure, involving shareholders, landowners, and the government.[28]

The close involvement of lineages in business activities makes nonsense of any hard distinction between "merchants" and "gentry" (or "literati"). The fault lines of late imperial China's social structure were drawn, not between the scholar, farmer, artisan, and merchant, as the occupational orientations of the imperial subject might instruct the historian, but across territorial groups, defined by settlement rights, lineage and territorial affiliations, incumbents, and outsiders. Towns such as Foshan, too large to have been dominated by any single lineage, would have come under the management of alliances of headmen at some focal temple or a charity institution, such as the Northern Deity's temple or the granary. The tools for incorporation in these towns were no different from the tools of incorporation found in the villages and lineages. Rotation of duties, implied in ceremonies at village earth-god shrines, codified into the law in the enforcement of *lijia* registration, integrated with the principles of partible inheritance in the management of ancestral estates, was applied, in much the same way, in the Foshan granary as in many other business or public institutions in which corporate principles might have to be applied to property rights.[29]

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

A Note on Prosperity

By the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Pearl River Delta was prosperous. The restriction of Western trade to Guangzhou by the 1750s almost guaranteed that it should be. Yet the history of this prosperity is obscure. There is little in the records that allows sufficient quantification to give an impression of what the destruction of the 1640s to 1670s might have done to the economy. One takes it on faith that with the state of siege imposed by the coastal evacuation from 1661 to 1670, agriculture must have been interrupted and trade must have declined. Yet when order was restored, the fisheries of Jiujiang, the silkworm and mulberry industry of vast areas of Nanhai and Shunde, the manufacture of the palm fans of Xinhui and the woks and pottery of Foshan, trade with Macau via Xiangshan, and the perpetual reclamation of the sands all went on much as they had in the sixteenth century. An indication of the impact of trade on village life may be found in the spread of silver dollars. Chen Chunsheng, summarizing references to the use of silver dollars in Guangdong, notes a gap of more than half a century from the time of the coastal evacuation until the early Qianlong years in the 1730s. However, by the 1750s, silver dollars must have been quite commonly used, because land deeds in Foshan speak of "purity of silver as in the dollar" (*huaqian se sima*).[1] References to silver dollars appear in temple donation records towards the 1780s. There must also have been considerable revival of luxury in Guangzhou from some time in the mid eighteenth century on. The record of the influx of Fujianese merchants is quite clear, and the splendor of their lifestyle became legendary according to Western sources. By the early nineteenth century, export paintings—the equivalent of present-day postcards—record the thriving street life.

Numbers

Numbers are needed for a sense of scale, but they are hard to come by. The 1753 Foshan local history records that the town had a population of several hundred thousand and, in support, cites the figure of several thousand *shi* of grain that came by boat on the West River every day to feed its population.[2] Rice shortage was noted in the official records in the first half of the eighteenth century, and one consequence was official sanctioning of rice imports from Thailand by the 1750s.[3] The tax-registered population of Guangzhou prefecture, which would have included the Pearl River Delta in the broadest sense, amounted to 5.8 million in 1820.[4] There can be no precise description of the overall urban population. Adding together the population of Guangzhou, the county cities, and the larger market towns, Gilbert Rozman estimated that the urban population of the whole of Guangdong province was 7 percent.[5] When the populations of Guangzhou and Foshan are taken into account, that for the Pearl River Delta alone would have been considerably higher. Increasing prosperity was also reflected in increasing consumption of meat. By the 1840s, too, 5,000 pigs were slaughtered every day in Guangzhou.[6] Peace, prosperity, and a more abundant diet would have been reason enough for a rising population in the eighteenth century. If James Lee is correct, some of that increase also has to be attributed to the control of disease, but there is little evidence of that from the Pearl River Delta record.[7]

The broad trend of population increase in the eighteenth century was accompanied by rising grain prices until the 1780s. Chen Chunsheng's careful research in the Qing archives shows that the price of rice rose from .882 taels per shi in 1736 to, at its peak, 1.659 tael per shi in 1789, before declining to 1.376 tael per shi in 1800. The pattern of inflation is apparent also in the price of silk, which went from a low 132 taels per picul in 1702 to a high of 310 in 1784.[8] Moreover, during the same period, the exchange rate between copper cash and silver moved in favor of copper, and, as cash circulated in increasing volume, the price received by farmers would have increased even more than the silver price figures indicate. No direct indication of farm prices received is available in the record, but the slow and steady inflation would have provided an increasing income for farmers. Increasing land prices possibly reflected this trend.

Increase in coastal trade in the eighteenth century accounts for rising prosperity. Although the maritime ban in 1656 did not put a stop to overseas trade, shipping increased when it was brought to an end. Dutch

East India Company records note that annual Portuguese and Chinese shipping from Macau reaching Batavia (Jakarta) rose from 600 to 2,100 tons between 1716 and 1730, yielding in quantity thereafter to Fujianese shipping.[9] The records of the Chinese Customs show that shipping from the West increased from eighteen ships per year in 1749 to just under fifty ships per year by the end of the century.[10] Although Guangzhou was designated the sole port at which Western merchants might trade in 1757, the change in its status was not accompanied by any immediate change in the shipping statistics: the increase came slowly, and there was a marked upturn only in the 1770s. The upturn coincided, in fact, with the rising importance of tea exports, in return for which, until opium became a substitute in the 1830s, English merchants brought an increasing amount of silver to Guangzhou. Imports from British merchants in Guangzhou rose from 470,000 taels per annum from the early 1760s to 5,373,000 taels by the end of the 1790s, as exports increased from 980,000 taels to 5,720,000 over the same period.[11] The takings of the Chinese Customs in Guangzhou rose from 216,000 taels in 1735 to close to 1,000,000 taels by 1800.[12] Yet, Guangzhou's direct link to the ocean trade conducted by Western ships should not distract us from the very important coastal and indigenous trade carried in traditional junks. Citing the Fujianese local histories, Ng Chin-keong argues that Guangzhou was among the Fujianese merchants' outposts, some 1,000 of them having settled there by the 1730s, while the family histories of the *hong* merchants who dealt with Western traders show that many of them were of Fujian origin. Not to be forgotten in the picture of Pearl River Delta trade in the eighteenth century, of course, is the population of Portuguese Macau itself, a settlement of 13,000, including some 5,000 foreigners.[13]

The trade figures translate into some very wealthy people in Guangzhou—the Co-hong merchants to begin with, but the salt merchants as well. When the guild known as the Co-hong was set up in 1720, it had among its members sixteen merchant houses, including prominent merchants from Fujian and Guangdong. Most of them traded on credit provided by British merchants, and by 1779, the British claimed that they owed 3.8 million taels. The debt notwithstanding, the leading merchants were, at times, very wealthy. Pan Qi (1714–88), a Fujianese junk trade merchant operating between Manila and Xiamen who became the leading merchant in the Co-hong at various times after 1750, was owed 270,000 taels by the British East India Company in 1786. Wu Bingjian (1769–1843), the legendary Howqua II, succeeded into the family business built up from the 1780s. H. B. Morse, the historian of the British East India Company, estimated that Wu had assets worth 26

million taels in 1834.[14] Europeans living in Guangzhou reminisced about these merchants' splendid gardens. William Hunter, writing after the first Opium War (1840–42) about a visit to the garden of the Pan family (of the late Pan Qi), recalled "the gravel-paved walks, the granite bridges across small lakes or running waters, the deer, peacock, storks, and the mandarin duck with its beautiful plumage," apart from the flowers and the trees.[15]

Government Administration

It is often said that the Qing government inherited the practices of the Ming. The statement is only partly true, for the Ming practices that it inherited were the ones that had been shaped by the administrative reforms of the sixteenth century, and even there, it should be added, it adopted the civil administrative arrangements and not the military. The Qing government adopted the collection of land tax in silver; the recruitment of a paid staff by the county magistrate; the ritual arrangements whereby members of the gentry built ancestral halls in the style of the "family temple" and declared filial piety for the ancestors and the ancestors' loyalty to the emperor; and rejected both military service and the recruitment of mercenaries by local commanders, relying instead on small but effective Manchu garrisons. In Guangdong, these arrangements meant that the governor-general took on many civil administrative functions. He was no longer a military commander. Instead, he was the chief official of the two provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi, to whom the provincial governors were answerable. It would, on balance, be more accurate to say, not that the Qing had inherited Ming institutions, but that the administrative changes of the sixteenth century were taken much further in the eighteenth century, once the dust had settled.

One of the most obvious continuations of sixteenth-century practices came in taxation. The long period of systematization by the seventeenth century produced the *Complete Book of Taxes and Labor Services* (*Fuyi quanshu*), in which the standard rates of taxation for every province and on all types of land were laid out in full. In 1657, the emperor Shunzhi decreed that the *Complete Book* was to be recompiled on the basis of the entries of the Wanli period (1573–1619), and the gazetteers of the Pearl River Delta counties indicate that this was done.[16] The compilation of the *Complete Book* was another step in the series of fiscal reforms known as the single-whip method of tax collection, which had been proceeding in stages throughout the last half of the Ming dynasty. The reforms consisted not only of the conversion of tax payment in kind to payment

in silver, completed during the Ming dynasty, but also the simplifying of tax charges by relating them to the tax-registered land acreage and the integration of all forms of labor service into the land tax, as clearly demonstrated by Liang Fangzhong and Liu Zhiwei.[17] *Lijia* household registration remained on the books, but the "households" so registered no longer conformed to actual household but were now fully tax accounts.[18] The combination of the head tax in silver with the registered land tax was to be achieved by the Kangxi Emperor's famous edict on freezing the head tax in 1716, but, as Liu Zhiwei points out, its immediate impact on Guangdong was slight, because in Guangdong, such reforms had been carried out as a continuous process.

The *Complete Book of Land Taxes and Labor Services* was, therefore, a remarkable achievement for the state. It solved, once and for all, the problem of central government control of taxation, which had vexed the second half of the Ming dynasty and may have brought about its fall. It is true, as critics of the Qing bureaucracy have been quick to point out, that the standards of the *Complete Book* were constantly breached, and provincial and county governments might be accused of overcharging and corruption. Notwithstanding that criticism, the *Complete Book* set a standard for unifying the taxation records, in particular, in central government fiscal management. For the first time since the foundation of the Ming dynasty in the fourteenth century, there was now a centralized record that clearly stated the fiscal obligations of the provinces to the center, expressed primarily in terms of silver and not in kind. Its weakness lay not in systematizing taxes charged all over the realm, but in underproviding for county government administration. As a result, county governments imposed extrastatutory fees, returning once again to the unbridled local standards of the sixteenth century. That drawback was not dealt with until the Kangxi Emperor's successor, the Yongzheng Emperor, introduced his fiscal reforms to streamline extrastatutory charges and brought them within the formal income of the provincial government as "payment for the promotion of probity" (*yanglian*). Household registration was henceforth divorced from tax collection. When it was imposed periodically, the purpose of registration was the imposition of collective neighborhood responsibility in matters of law and order, a practice referred to as *baojia* (the "guaranteed" *jia*), rather than *lijia*. Those measures strengthened county government administration and brought about a century of stability, even as lineage power was growing.[19]

In a rare and revealing memorial, the Guangdong provincial administration commissioner, Chang Lai, reported in 1727 that the measures spelled out in the *Complete Book* meant that his office was obliged to re-

ject 30,000 taels annually in the form of gifts. In the place of that income, he now had a one-third share with the governor-general and the governor of a 3 percent charge on the 850,000 taels remitted to him by the county magistrates, and a similar share in the payment received for certificates issued to people who were appointed yamen runners. The income he derived from the former amounted to 8,300 taels and from the latter 2,200 taels, together reaching a total, he reckoned, of 11,000 taels.[20] Whereas it is quite true that compared to the 2,177 taels the provincial administration commissioner was allowed under the 1657 *Complete Book of Taxes and Labor Services*, his revised formal income was considerably increased, this particular report indicates that if his formal income was really to replace his nonstatutory income, he suffered a two-third decline in real income. The shortage is confirmed by one of Chang's successors as Guangdong provincial administration commissioner, Wang Shijun, in 1729. According to Wang, until he became provincial administration commissioner, the governor and governor-general had received only 6,000 of the 8,300 taels due; his predecessors had held back the difference. However, even though he now handed over 9,000 taels annually, the income for these senior officials was still insufficient to meet their expenses. Taking himself as an example, he found that even with his frugal lifestyle, payments for his personal staff and travel expenses to Beijing cost him 7,200 taels a year, and the balance of 1,800 taels was insufficient to pay for the donations he had to make for the repair of temples, clothing for the Li people on Hainan Island, and the building of dikes and roads. Fortunately, he had identified the remainder of an unbudgeted 4,000 taels out of former unbudgeted income from market taxes, most of which had now been earmarked for probity payment for magistrates and the building of war junks, and he asked permission to use this for his personal expenses.[21]

The finances of some provinces seem to have improved after the Yongzheng reforms. However, in Guangdong, the two memorials by successive Guangdong administration commissioners indicate that they did not have the same impact. When the economy was expanding, new funds were always to be had. Some of the yamen's work might be farmed out, the tax farmer, no doubt, raking in his own fees, and "remainders" within the budgets, that is to say, excess unbudgeted income, could always be found. The Yongzheng reforms highlighted imperial legitimization of the streamlining of taxation, and, following on from Kangxi's efforts, might even have limited the imposition of extrastatutory charges by county governments somewhat. They did not go against the fundamentals of tax farming and even the celebrated payments for probity remained very

far from any division of the official's personal from his official expenses. In these circumstances, extrastatutory charges remained endemic, as evidenced by the frequent outcries in subsequent years against overcharging.

The management of the Guangzhou Customs is a case in point of the conflict between central government concerns for an income for itself, balanced finely with an avowed interest in maintaining the standards of statutory charges, and local officials' interest in raising an income from a very lucrative source. The case is all the more interesting in that the Yongzheng Emperor understood perfectly that the lifting of arbitrary demands was at issue in standardizing the rates of taxation. Citing Mencius, his edict of 1729 asserted: "The first principle in rulership is to have rules regarding what is taken from the people. Having rules means specifying definite tax exactions. If tax exactions are not defined obviously, officials would make exorbitant demands and the common people would not know what to follow."[22] The emperor noted that under these circumstances, a vicious circle would set in whereby subordinates might charge as much as their greed led them to, while their superiors would, in turn, demand an ever-increasing share from them.

Nevertheless, as the foreigners who traded in Guangzhou in the later half of the eighteenth century knew, the Guangzhou Customs was riddled with what they described as "bribes." The same was reported to the Qianlong Emperor in the first year of his reign in 1736 by the Ministry of Revenue. Many extrastatutory charges were levied on foreign merchantmen, so many, in fact, that another reform was afoot to standardize them: 30,000 taels a year would come from the abolition of charges on registration, the keel, opening the cabin, releasing the permit, checking the certificates, and presents known as "small packets"; 3,000 taels would come from payments in rice, wheat, beans, and fish; 30,000 to 40,000 from gift money; another 10,000 from gift money charged on ships arriving or departing, altogether 80,000 to 90,000 taels per year, amounting to over 30 percent of the statutory income from Yongzheng's time. This reform did not succeed in doing away with "squeeze," any more than the earlier effort had.[23]

Statutory tax receipts would have increased through the eighteenth century as a result of the tax reforms, but given the persistent prevalence of extrastatutory charges, the assumption that officialdom might have been better financed as a result of tax reforms is not really warranted. Rather, the repeated tax reforms reflected the increasing power of senior officials, that is to say, of the Ministry of Revenue over provincial finances and of the governor-general and governor over prefects and magistrates. When

the economy was expanding, as it was in the eighteenth century, higher rates of taxation were quite easily absorbed, but the moral high ground that the central government gained by its insistence on unenforceable tax standardization became a highly dangerous political platform during any downturn of the economy. In eighteenth-century China, the upswing and the downturn were both related to the price of silver as converted to copper coins, the use of which expanded tremendously throughout the same period. A strong export economy meant the import of silver and hence a decline in the price of silver relative to copper, but an increase in commodity prices as cited in silver. The reverse would have led to an increase in the price of silver relative to copper and a decline in commodity prices as quoted in silver. As taxation was now valued in silver, while daily life for much of China was tied to copper coins, an increase in the exchange rate of silver relative to copper cash amounted to an increase in tax. Elsewhere in China, especially in central China, these increases led to anti-tax uprisings by the 1820s, but such resistance is not noted in the Pearl River Delta records. It is debatable whether Guangzhou would have suffered from depression in the export doldrums, given its active participation in the very lucrative opium trade. The silver dollar had also probably displaced the copper cash to a substantial extent, so an appreciation in the silver-copper cash exchange did not have the same impact there as it did in the rest of China.[24]

Scholarship and Lifestyles

Far less is known of any likely change in lifestyle in the eighteenth century than in earlier or later times. Our knowledge of daily life has to be related to the history of publishing, the source of what we know. By the early nineteenth century, there was a thriving publishing industry in Guangzhou, but until then, existing catalogues show few titles bearing a Guangdong publisher's imprint. The records on the eighteenth-century "literary inquisition"—the Qianlong Emperor's efforts to ban all writings of a seditious nature—reveal some of the publishing activities in the province. In 1774, Qu Dajun's descendants were implicated when the Panyu and Nanhai magistrates discovered twenty-three copies of his poetry collection, one copy of *New Happenings in Guangdong*, and one copy of his *Three Poets of Lingnan* in the bookshops. The governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, and the governor of Guangdong, in their joint memorial to the throne, noted, "If the bookshops in the provincial capital offer copies for sale, it is hard to guarantee that gentry families have not been buying them." They sent a clerk to Qu Dajun's descendants,

and succeeded in purchasing three copies of his collected essays at a cost of three silver dollars.[25] In 1777, the bookshops of Guangzhou were again investigated, in connection with a different case. The poetry critic Shen Deqian had edited a voluminous *Special Selection of the Poetry of the Present Dynasty* and presented a printed copy to the throne. The Qianlong Emperor ruled it seditious for including the poetry of the late Ming–early Qing Qian Qianyi and ordered it banned. It transpired that wooden blocks for a reprint had been made in Guangzhou, and the governor of Guangdong was ordered to investigate. The governor's runners reported that they spoke to booksellers in Guangzhou as well as in "the cities and countryside." They were told there was no Guangdong reprint, and to enquire further of book dealers who went to Guangdong from Nanjing and stayed at the Nanjing guild house (Jinling *huiguan*). At the guild, they were told that there were no copies of the work on hand and no reprint was known, but that in 1760, a Nanjing bookseller had discovered that woodblocks could be carved more cheaply in Guangdong and had had the woodblocks made there to be taken back to Nanjing. It was suspected that the woodblocks destroyed on the emperor's orders included these blocks carved in Guangdong.[26] These anecdotes indicate the existence of a reading public, a woodblock-carving industry, and bookshops, but few publishers, in Guangzhou in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, the number of publishers, not only in Guangzhou, but in nearby Foshan and Dongguan, had increased substantially.[27] The boom had probably come with the increase in prosperity in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Gu Xixie, compiling his notes on Xinhui county in 1710, found 120 titles written by natives of the county since the founding of the Ming dynasty. Most of them were incorporated into genealogies, worm-eaten, or scribbled in small print.[28] The upsurge in publishing had a strong impact on the spread of cheaply produced literature for the mass market, including religious texts, novels, songs, and scripts, which by the nineteenth century were associated with what would come to be known as Cantonese opera. Such literature, characterized by the incorporation of dialect terms into the classical style, ushered in a self-conscious vernacular brought to fruition in the hands of Zhao Ziyong and his companions in the 1820s.[29] The practice of hand-copying and circulating manuscripts never fell out of fashion, even as some literary works were printed. Primers, ritual manuals, religious texts, song texts, medical treatises, and genealogies existed for the most part in the form of hand-copied manuscripts, as evidenced in the private library recovered from Hoi Ha Village in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

Ching May-bo has argued that the emergence of the vernacular, coupled with an intellectual movement among the literati, created the Cantonese identity in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[30] The rise of a view of the region from within is traced by the intellectual thread running from Huang Zuo's biographies of people of Guangzhou to the compilation of gazetteers, to collections of essays by natives of the Pearl River Delta, and finally to the adaptation of the vernacular to a literary style. The account is complete, as Ching also argues, when the tradition is seen in the broader setting of developments elsewhere. Intellectually, under the influence of Chen Baisha in the fifteenth century, Pearl River Delta scholarship had its proud moments among the literati nationwide for three centuries. Toward the end of the Ming dynasty, Guangdong produced distinguished scholars, who conducted some of the most notable reforms: Pang Shangpeng with regard to the salt trade and the single-whip method of taxation, and Chen Zizhuang, who brought the Fu *she* style of political clubbing into Guangzhou society. Guangzhou intellectual life, however, evolved not around these neo-Confucians but among the poets. As Qu Dajun put it: "Poetry in Guangzhou . . . was revived by Huang Wenyu [Huang Zuo]. . . . [Ou] Zhenbai, Liang Lanting, Li Qingxia, and Li Yaoshi were all Zuo's students. Their poetry is proper and elegant, the fullness of their style having come from the teaching of their master."[31] Those named were marked for a reputation beyond Guangzhou and, locally, for being followers of the prolific sixteenth-century writer Huang Zuo, whose works included the handbook *Mr. Taiquan's Community Rituals* and the Guangdong provincial gazetteer. To cut a long story short, it may be said that Huang Zuo was moderate in his attitude towards Buddhism as compared to his contemporaries Wei Xiao and Huo Tao, and there may have been a hint of a Buddhist revival in the poetry gatherings around him. The poets Qu refers to came to be known as the Early Five Gentlemen of the Southern Garden, a concoction of the eighteenth century, as much a creation of the publishing world as the effort of Guangzhou scholars to find themselves an intellectual tradition.[32] In 1588, when a small group of literati formed the Helin Pure Land Association at the Guangxiao Monastery in Guangzhou, poetry writing remained a central activity. By then, Guangxiao was regaining a position of prestige in Guangzhou city affairs, as evidenced by the role it played in offering prayers for rain in 1576, when the preserved body of the monk Da'an was brought into the monastery. Thereafter, Buddhism was revived by the great monk Hanshan Deqing, and Guangxiao was the center of gentry activities in Guangzhou. Towards the last decades of the Ming dynasty, the meetings at the Guangxiao were graced by the

presence of some quite powerful people who held senior degrees, including Chen Zhizhuang and He Wuzou. Guangzhou's reputation for poetry continued into the first generation after the Qing conquest, but it ended with Qu Dajun and other southern Ming loyalists. Wang Shizhen's poetry meetings in 1684 were the last recognition Guangzhou poets gained for the whole of the next century.[33]

There were good political reasons, therefore, for a sharp rift to appear in the history of Guangdong scholarship from the 1730s—so sharp, in fact, that the up-and-coming generation traced themselves to the discipleship of Guangdong Education Intendant Hui Shiqi (in office 1721–25), rather than the Ming loyalists. Hui Shiqi came to be known in subsequent years as the linchpin of classical textual research in the Changzhou school of thought, which came to be entrenched in the lower Yangzi. However, there is little sign that his Guangdong disciples gathered much from this new line of scholarship. In any case, any attempt to link Hui Shiqi to textual research in Guangdong has to be guilty of anachronism. Hui Shiqi's son, Hui Dong (1697–1758), produced some of the most important studies on the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of History* and established Han learning as a pedigree of scholarship, but much of that must have come after Shiqi's term in Guangdong, not before. The Guangdong disciples of Hui Shiqi continued with their opponent Song learning, based on Zhu Xi's teachings and the central place of rituals in human affairs. As noted in Zeng Zhao's biography in the Nanhai county local history, Guangzhou scholarship in the second half of the eighteenth century was passed down from Feng Chengxiu to Feng Jing and Lao Tong, and they propagated the teachings of the Song masters, such as Zhu Xi. The same trend is borne out by Lao Tong's biography. Lao Tong, who has already been introduced in an earlier chapter as the initiator of the Foshan charity granary, was descended from Lao Chong, who not only accepted appointment from the Qing government as a county education intendant in 1682 but also reprinted the imperial sacred edicts for distribution. Tong's father was Lao Xiaoyu, who, together with Luo Tianchi, was one of Hui Dong's principal Guangdong disciples. Lao Xiaoyu and Luo Tianchi were, no doubt, both renowned for their scholarship, for as young men both served as editors of the *Da Qing Yitong zhi*, a comprehensive imperial geography, in Beijing in 1730. Lao Xiaoyu's Beijing experience, no doubt, provided the contacts with reputable scholars and senior officials whom Lao Tong could later count among his teachers, such as Weng Fanggang and Lu Wenchao. Yet, even though Zeng Zhao's biographer notes in describing the Guangdong scholarly tradition that until Weng Fanggang and Hui Shiqi served as education intendant in Guangdong,

Guangzhou scholars had concentrated on the Four Books to the neglect of the Five Classics, Feng Chengxiu, Lao Tong, and Feng Jing's master could not be linked to classical textual research. There can be no fudging of the records, for Feng Chengxiu's year-by-year biography was written by Lao Tong, and Feng's credentials came, not from his writings—among which the only commentary he wrote dealt, not with the Five Classics, but with the Doctrine of the Means, one of the Four Books—but from his service in Guangzhou's most prestigious academy of the eighteenth century, the Yuexiu. In 1755, the year in which he was appointed director of the Yuexiu Academy, Feng Chengxiu drafted regulations to make Song scholarship the center of its teachings.[34]

It is therefore not correct to think there was any decline in Guangdong scholarship after the generation of Qu Dajun. Rather, it might be more appropriately said, as it was by the early years of the nineteenth century, that the rising trend of textual research passed Guangdong by. Moreover, while it is also true that the academies were concerned with their students achieving success in the official examinations, and the recognition accorded the academies for providing places for successful students was amply demonstrated at the founding of the Yangcheng Academy in 1820, it is not correct to portray the academic community at the academies as examination crammers who took an instrumental rather than intellectual interest in their scholarship. The teachings of the academies had come from a conscious, centuries-long tradition linking Guangdong scholarship to Song learning, and from there, the odd individual scholar had branched off into specialized studies in subjects such as medicine or mathematics, as exemplified by Lao Xiaoyu and He Mengyao. As Steven Miles has described in vivid detail, towards the end of the eighteenth century, with increasing wealth in Guangzhou, publishing there was thriving and book collectors had built up good collections. One gets the impression that Guangzhou was a thriving intellectual community.[35]

Yet, beyond Guangdong, Guangzhou's scholars were not famous. Through the eighteenth century, Guangzhou had produced no scholar to compare to Hui Dong, not to speak of other giants such as Dai Zhen. As Benjamin Elman's study of eighteenth-century scholarship has also made clear, textual research on the classics was, by the later years of the eighteenth century, fast establishing itself as the yardstick of scholarship, and no amount of Song scholarship would have placed a scholar at the top of the national hierarchy.[36] When Governor Ruan Yuan, himself a noted scholar of the textual research tradition, founded the Xuehai *tang* Academy in 1824 with his sights set on promoting scholarship that would make its mark at the national level, he offered native Guangzhou

scholars the chance to jump on an academic bandwagon. The resultant intellectual life at the Xuehai *tang* was schizophrenic. Under Ruan's direction, the *Imperial Qing Dynasty Exegesis on the Classics*, a collection of works of which hardly any were by Guangzhou men, made its mark on scholarship. The Xuehai *tang* gave the collection its imprimatur primarily as its compiler and publisher, but it far outweighed the academy's own productions, published periodically under the title *Collected Essays of the Xuehai tang*, and, at least until Chen Li distinguished himself, individual works written by its members. Meanwhile, parallel with this line of publication, the Xuehai *tang* leadership was closely involved with compilations and its own research, the object of which was to salvage Guangdong's history. An important contribution with this object in mind was the *Surviving Works of the Lingnan*, compiled by Tan Ying, with help from his friends at the Xuehai *tang*, and financed by Wu Congyao, the son of Howqua, who underwrote the Mulberry Garden Dike and negotiated with the British during the Opium War (more on which in later chapters). Another line of scholarship conducted by members of the Xuehai *tang* looked into historical texts related to Guangdong history. Books written about Guangdong, like most early Chinese books, had often been preserved in fragmentary form in collections of prose passages. Scouring these collections, Liang Tingnan, whose diary provides an eyewitness account of the siege of Guangzhou during the Opium War, was able to reconstruct the history of the Nan Han kingdom and the biographies of the kings of Nan Yue, the two periods in the history of Guangzhou in which the city became the emblem of the region. Steven Miles, who has examined these works at length, draws attention to the "localist" interest presented, and he stresses that the project went on to define the place for Xuehai *tang* scholarship within Guangdong history. In this sense, the Xuehai *tang* scholars' compilation of Guangdong works continued Huang Zuo's sixteenth-century history of the known historical personages from Guangdong.[37]

It is interesting that Qu Dajun did not appear in any of this compilation. This is as one might expect from the brief description of Guangdong scholastic history recorded in Zeng Zhao's biography already referred to. The main line of discourse had come down from the ritual reformers of the sixteenth century, followers of Chen Baisha, and the Song philosophers. A secondary line had been introduced by the Han learning tendency of Hui Shiqi. Zeng Zhao himself, a bibliophile and prolific writer on the classics, was recruited by Ruan Yuan into the Xuehai *tang* as an example of a Guangzhou scholar who, on his own, had been able to advance evidential research.

Was it a coincidence that the Xuehai *tang* leadership should have been advisers to the governor-general, and staunch supporters of the imperial commissioner dispatched from Beijing to suppress opium use in 1839? Perhaps the two halves of the schizophrenic mind did come together, after all, in that confidence in a unique Guangdong past could be catapulted into nationwide prominence through participation in the evidential research project. In the 1830s, they rallied to advocate banning opium. During the Opium War, they helped with the defense of Guangzhou. Zeng Zhao was given the responsibility of rebuilding some of the batteries, but then was charged with embezzlement. He also wrote to defend Governor Qi Gong and to glorify the skirmish conducted at Sanyuanli. There was confidence, too, not only in Guangdong's past, but also in the superiority of the Chinese state to the Western invaders.[38]

For an impression of daily life in the eighteenth century, a useful source is Zhang Qu's *Seen and Heard in Guangdong* (*Yuedong wenjian lu*), published in 1738. Zhang served as provincial surveillance commissioner in Guangzhou from 1732 to 1735 and he blends eyewitness accounts with, as always, passages taken from Qu Dajun. He notes that most women in Guangdong did not have bound feet, and that even girls of good families bound their feet only from the age of eleven or twelve *sui*. Men wore shoes, but most women went barefoot. Shoes were included in women's wedding dowries, but they were kept in the sleeves of their gowns and worn only when they went into somebody's house. Even in the city, servant girls went barefoot to the market. Houses in Guangzhou were built of mud, without wooden supports. The roof beams rested on the adobe walls. The outer walls were adorned with mural paintings, probably only near the lintels. The poor had houses constructed of mud-coated bamboo mats held together by wooden frames, "no different from the sheds of the Zhuang people" in which cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens mingled with the human inhabitants. Like Qu Dajun, Zhang Qu wrote about the lepers. Unlike in Qu's description, however, Zhang's lepers were beggars who made a nuisance of themselves at celebrations or were hired to collect tax and refused to leave until it was paid. A leprosarium, headed by a leper, had been built by the Guangzhou authorities to house them. Zhang noted lineage villages and their ancestral halls. Large lineages had several dozens of them, even small ones had a few, and every village had an earth-god shrine; the large lineages had shrines of their own.[39]

Magistrate Lu Ying of Panyu county in 1731 to 1735, which claimed jurisdiction over half of Guangzhou city as well as a considerable part of the sands, reported to his superiors that *baojia* was not effectively implemented when it was imposed in Guangzhou city in 1731, because

"more than half of the houses in the provincial capital were rented out." Magistrate Lu seems to have had some concern for the lower ranks in society. Comb makers in Guangzhou were members of a guild that allowed the master serving his turn in organizing the feast of the deity every second and sixteenth day of the month to charge newly hired workmen 6 *qian* (.06 tael). Lu noted that this amounted to two to three times their monthly wages and banned the practice. Thugs in the city had taken over the ferries in the Guangzhou surroundings in the names of the temples. Magistrate Lu found it unacceptable that the ferryboats run by these protection rackets started late in the day and stopped running early, so that they were always overcrowded when in service. He wanted the protection networks banned when an overcrowded ferry boat capsized leaving two people drowned. He was quite concerned about the selling of people. In 1729, the then magistrate of Panyu, together with the magistrate of Nanhai (his counterpart in running the western half of Guangzhou city), had received permission to require go-betweens to investigate all young women who were sold and to stamp the deed of sale with a seal issued by the magistrate's office. The measure had been imposed because kidnapping of young women had been commonly reported. Magistrate Lu sought to take it seriously, even though it had not so far been effective. He was particularly concerned with middlemen who cornered the market, whether they were people who bought fish wholesale from Dan boatmen or tax brokers who collected payment from taxpayers for delivery to the government. He was worried about pimps and organizers of gambling capitalizing on examination candidates when they came for the examination in the provincial capital. Among the cases that appeared before him, the parent of a boy sold at age 3 *sui* demanded to purchase his freedom after he had died, the father of a young woman who had been duped into marriage in the belief that she was the principal wife demanded justice, and two brothers whose deceased father had owned a share in a 40-share ancestral trust demanded their right returned after they had lost it when their mother remarried. Eighteenth-century Guangzhou was a varied society, not dominated by any big family, in which the magistrates made key decisions about the city's well-being. There was a middle class there in the eighteenth century, which, although not quite equal to the magnate households, obviously lived neither in servitude, pariah status, as outsiders, or destitute.[40]

The middle class would have been the tradespeople, farmers having access to land and rivers, even some artisans, some scholars, people affiliated with the yamen (read: lawyers), and more often than not, a mixture of these. The painter Li Jian (1747–99) probably fitted into this lot.

Born into a gentry family (a grandfather and great-grandfather had both had junior degrees), the son of an importer of rice from Guangxi into Guangzhou, Li seems to have grown up in Guangxi but traveled frequently to Guangdong in his youth. He married at 20 *sui*, his wife being the same age. She bore him two daughters and died in 1784. The next year, he remarried, his second wife being only 18 *sui*. She bore him a son, who became their second, because Li had already adopted one of his elder brother's sons as his own.[41]

Although Li's family claimed a Shunde county origin, and Li built a house there in a village in 1789, for most of his life, he did not live in any one place for more than a few years. Li Jian was a city man; he lived in Guangzhou in the late 1760s, moved for a few years to Guangxi, where his family was still living—his father lived there until 1780, when he moved back to Guangzhou—and then lived in Guangzhou again from the mid 1770s until 1784, when his wife died. He wrote a very emotional piece upon her death, moved to Foshan, remarried, lived in the countryside on and off, and then moved back to Guangzhou in 1788, living in the heart of the city at the Double Gate (Shuangmen di). In 1789, he was awarded the degree of tributary student, and in 1790, he would have gone to Beijing for the examination but for his father's death. The next five years were very productive years of his life, and he traveled often in the Pearl River Delta, living sometimes in the village and sometimes in Guangzhou. He seems to have enjoyed a comfortable living from midlife, possibly from selling his paintings. He obviously acquired a reputation. The maverick Nanjing litterateur Yuan Mei called on him in 1780, and Li refused to see him.

Even for Li Jian, the eighteenth century was interspersed with hard times, described as "famine." He pawned his clothes for rice while living in Guangzhou in the spring of 1778, and for a while went back to Shunde. According to one of several lively descriptions of the famine that he left, moving back to the countryside was little help. Grain relief was being given in the city, and despite the ferocity of the government clerks who controlled it, prices were lower in the city than in the countryside, and famine victims were descending on the city. His family would seem to have stayed in Shunde when he lived in Guangzhou, for he mentions receiving a letter from his wife asking that rice be sent to her. In 1787, he experienced the Foshan famine, which in a few years' time led to the founding of the Foshan Charity Granary. He sold his beloved inkstone to buy rice and retrieved it in 1790. In a colophon to a painting titled *Admonition to Farmers* (*Quannong tu*) of that year, he describes his anxiety at seeing the fields unplowed by the fourth month because of drought:

"The scholar has no land, but his eagerness for rain is even greater [than the farmer's]."[42]

Li Jian refers around this time to the "medicinal smoke pavilion" (*yaoyan ge*). His biographer, Su Wenzhuo, has lovingly given this the most favorable interpretation. It is true, Su said, that in another generation's time, the Guangzhou literati were certain that this meant that Li Jian was an opium addict. The scholar Zhang Weiping was known to have reported that Li Jian himself said, "I have no way of making a living but by selling paintings, and if I do not smoke, I do not have the spirit to paint." Su thought that Li Jian and his first wife had smoked for the sake of their health, both being wrecked for years by disease, and that the pavilion was so named only after his wife's death, as an invocation of her memory. Whether or not Li Jian personally smoked, or might even have invented the opium pipe, as another legend had it, opium smoking was only slowly gaining ground. By the end of the century, after Li Jian's death, it was to become an epidemic.[43]

By the early years of the nineteenth century, the culture of consumption had set in. One of the most lively records of this prosperity is a slim Foshan street guide published in 1830 and now held by the British Library. This pamphlet of thirteen pages gives a street-by-street description of the goods available in Foshan, providing a record not only of economic life there but also of the consumerism that sprang from it.

Down Odd Street (Qiling jie), for instance, one found the medicinal herbs guild, which sold medicines from Sichuan and Hunan-Hubei. To its west, one passed into Ever-Prosperous Street (Changxing jie), where yarn, lamps, soap, boots, cups, and various musical instruments such as the lute and the flute were sold, and to its south, there was Woolen Yarn Street, which sold gold thread, flattened, gold-leafed sacrificial paper, used formal gentry dress, and miscellaneous books. Odd Street was not yet a major business center in Foshan. The main street would seem to have been Prosperity and Office Lane, where there were three hundred shops selling goods from the capital and other provinces; these included jewelers, sellers of books from the lower Yangzi, and sellers of winter hats and furs, sewing needles, and paper items of all sorts, including invitation cards. For the local products for which Foshan was famous, one went to the Yellow Umbrella Main Street, which had shops selling incense, iron wire, and laced hats. This led to High Ground, which sold local silk. Next to the "longevity tablets guildhall"—undoubtedly a local temple at which spirit tablets were deposited—at Wealthy Ward and Morning Market, there were shops selling medicinal pills and rouge. On Prosperity and Peace Street, there were iron foundries and more shops selling pills.

These were only some of the retail shops, for the wholesalers were to be found beyond the stretch leading from the Fen River pier to the Temple of Efficacious Response: high-grade rice shops on White Rice Street, but coarse rice on Gui County Street; palm-leaf fan shops on Peace Street, tobacco shops on North Street, mat dealers on Old Betel Nut Street, cotton dealers on Bean Paste Street, Fujian paper stores on Prosperity Street, chopsticks, brass water pipes, objects made from buffalo horn, and imported knives on Straight Chopstick Street, and cast-iron woks in North Victory Ward. Near the part of Foshan known as Danjia Sands, one found the trades that went with the lower status suggested by the name of the place: coffin shops, timber shops, and shops for wooden grinders. Wooden statuettes of deities could be obtained from the shops behind the Tianhou temple on the road from the Fenshui pier leading east, where there were also shops selling coarse rice and cast-iron incense burners. The fish and pig markets were there too, and located there as well were the Red Flower Guild—*the* theatrical companies guild for the whole of the Pearl River Delta—and, possibly because of its presence, shops selling theatrical costumes. Many other guilds were located in Foshan too: the Jiangxi Guild was on Bean Paste Street, the Fujian Paper Guild and the Southern Hubei Guild on Peace Street, the Northern Hubei Guild on Forward Street, the Shaanxi Guild at West End, the Zhejiang Guild at the Solemn Gate, and the Frying Pan Guild at Strange Bird Temple.[44]

This summarizes only one section of the guide. From rice to coffins—Li Jian's father bought his from Guangxi well in advance of his death—the description begins to resemble the drawings of daily life in the streets of Guangzhou that became the equivalent of the tourist postcard to come. The militarization to follow in the Pearl River Delta in the nineteenth century has to be seen in this context. Certainly, the region was militarized in the late Yuan, as it was in the late Ming. However, the times had changed, in scale and in style. As the next few chapters will show, the presence of incorporated lineages would make all the difference to the political balance between state and local society.

The Nineteenth-Century Transformation

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The Mulberry Garden Dike

Jiujiang, longjiang, and longshan are located on what would appear on a map to be an island. The Pearl River Delta was made up of numerous such islands of sedimentary deposits clinging to the edges of hilly outcrops. Since the fourteenth century, mud embankments had been built all along the island coastline to stem floodwater. Such embankments were built and maintained separately by villagers, one or several villages taking care of the embankment protecting their own fields. Since the legendary Chen Bowen built the first of the embankments to the south of the island in 1376, embankment building and repair had never stopped, and, at some unknown date, the series of embankments that together protected the entire island from flooding came to be known as the Mulberry Garden Dike. The mud embankment did not always stand up to the torrents that came down the West River every year in early summer, aggravated over the years by embankments built all over the Pearl River Delta, blocking the access of the floodwater to the sea. Flooding strong enough to erode sections of the dike was reported on five occasions during the Ming dynasty, and after the Qing dynasty took over, in 1647, 1692, 1694, 1743, 1779, 1784, and 1794. By the last years of the eighteenth century, it was becoming obvious to some local people that a coordinated program of action was needed. The combination of incorporation, small-denomination subscription, accounting, partible inheritance, and government acquiescence to, if not always open support for, these practices meant that by the eighteenth century, the scale of public projects was poised to increase. The Mulberry Garden Dike in Nanhai county is a fine example of joint efforts by the lineages and the government enabled by this process.[1]



FIG. 4. The Mulberry Garden Dike, page from Wen Rushi 1870 showing the dike and villages protected by it near Jiujiang, Longshan, and Longjiang. The righthand edge of the page faces southeast.

The Flood of 1794

In 1794, the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi and the governor of Guangdong jointly memorialized the throne concerning the West River flood of that year. The governor-general had shortly earlier himself witnessed its consequences in Gaoyao county up the West River on his trip to inspect the troops in Guangxi province. The fields were flooded, and many houses had collapsed, but because warning had been issued by the magistrate as the water was rising, there were no casualties and 70 to 80 percent of the crop was saved. He did not think the people would suffer from a food shortage, for given the mild climate in Guangdong, it was possible to grow supplementary crops (meaning sweet potatoes) and vegetables, and in another month's time, when the floodwater had drained away, there was still time to grow a late crop of paddy. They petitioned for permission to lend the county a month's food supply for relief and to postpone land-tax collection until the autumn. The emperor acceded to this request and, when told in a subsequent petition that relief had been given to flood victims, expressed his pleasure that it had been done.[2]

The West River joined with the North River near the county city of Sanshui, and the flood at Gaoyao had been caused by the high level of both rivers at this time of the year. The island on which Jiujiang was located, and which was protected by the Mulberry Garden Dike, was located directly to the south of Sanshui, and so it was this dike, as well as other dikes, that prevented the rapid drainage of the water, contributing to the frequent flooding in the upper courses. Nevertheless, the active interest of the governor-general in relieving flood victims, and the approval of the emperor for such relief, was opportunity enough for Wen Rushi, a Longshan man, *jinshi* of 1794 who held the rank of compiler (*bianxiu*) of the Hanlin Academy, to



MAP 3. Enclosure within Mulberry Garden Dike

propose repair of the entire dike. According to Wen, the governor-general was receptive to his proposal but had told him that officialdom's role in the undertaking was "advisory" (*dongquan*). He suggested that the local people reach an understanding, especially with regard to financial contributions.[3]

In the ninth month of 1794, shortly after Wen Rushi's meeting with the governor-general, a meeting of some local leaders of the wards located along the Mulberry Garden Dike was called in Guangzhou. Broad consent was reached, but it was thought representatives of all the wards had to meet to come to an agreement, and so Wen Rushi's own brother drafted a notice and personally went to the villages along the dike to call for a meeting. The meeting was held at Li village where the river had a month earlier breached the embankment. Only half the villages sent representatives, but Wen presented his proposal. A further meeting was arranged for the next month.[4]

In the meantime, the wards of Nanhai had prepared their own program. There, according to the account written by the program drafter, He Yuanshan of Zhenrong ward of Nanhai county, on their return from Guangzhou, the gentry met in the Wenlan Academy in Mai village and decided that on top of donations, a levy be imposed on tax-registered land. It was at this point that Wen Rushi arrived in the meeting, and soon agreement was reached that the repair budget be set at 50,000 taels, and that the Nanhai wards pay 70 percent and the Shunde wards 30 percent. It was the Nanhai magistrate who ordered that a local office be set up at Li village, where the breach had to be repaired. Li Changyao of Haizhou ward was nominated to be in charge and each ward was to appoint three to four people at the local office to assist the effort.[5] The dates of the meetings become hazy at this point. It is clear that by the eleventh month, donation appeals had been issued, a pronouncement from the provincial administration commissioner and a donation in the name of his mother leading the effort. It is also clear that although the levy imposed on land was paid quite quickly, the Shunde wards had to be slightly pressured into paying, for in the second month of 1795, the magistrate had to summon the representatives of the three Shunde wards to the local office to obtain their agreement to payment of 15,000 taels. Government also performed an obvious supervisory role. The provincial administration commissioner appointed a clerk who would report to him on the progress of the work, the prefect and the county magistrates went personally to inspect it, and the Nanhai magistrate stationed his "family servants" (*jiading*) at the office, while the Jiujiang submagistrate and the Jiangpu district police chief (both stationed in Nanhai) also "assisted."[6]

The regulations dealt with people as well as with finances. The management group was made up of forty-seven persons drawn from all the wards. A register was to be kept of workmen hired. They were grouped into teams of twenty men each, under the charge of a contractor (*lantou*), who was guaranteed by the representatives of the ward from which he came. The workmen were paid a daily wage, but they provided their own meals and tools. Sheds were built for their accommodation at the construction site, each team was numbered and every man on the team was given a card for identification. The accounts were to be drawn up and posted on a daily basis. All incomes and expenditures were to be recorded. As the regulations included prices and wages, it should be expected that budgets were prepared. Work commenced on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month in 1794.[7]

Of course, ritual was integrated into the work schedule. A five-day *jiao* was held from the tenth day of the eleventh month, and sacrifices were offered to the deities for the laying of foundations on the last day of the *jiao*. The submagistrate of Jiujiang and the police chief of Jiangpu officiated at the ceremony, and an essential element of the occasion was the installing of four iron buffaloes at the site, two of which were submerged in the river. Some time in the next year, in gratitude for the provincial officials' support, the people of the Mulberry Garden Dike presented to them six *dou* of early-ripened grain and six casks of spring water from the Xiqiao mountain, the high point of the island protected by the dike. The governor-general, governor, and provincial administration commissioner expressed their pleasure, kept a *dou* and a cask each, and returned the rest.[8] By the seventh month of 1795, the repairs had been completed. It must have been decided earlier that a temple be built at Li village for the protection of the dike, and, in any case, the temple of the river god [Heshen *miao*] was completed by then and a petition was sent to the provincial administration commissioner to ask that he grace the installation of the dragon god's statue in the temple with his presence.[9]

The provincial administration commissioner personally attended the ceremony. He left Guangzhou on the fourteenth day of the seventh month and offered incense at the temple on the next day. With him were the Guangzhou prefect, the Foshan subprefectural magistrate, and the magistrates of Nanhai, Shunde, and Sanshui. The presence of so many officials at a ceremony must have been a memorable sight and indicative of high honors being bestowed on the local leaders. However, the presence of the provincial administration commissioner also provided an opportunity for negotiation. Upon his return to Guangzhou, he pronounced that while he was satisfied with most of the work inspected, he found that

the embankments at numerous points, all of which he precisely named, needed stone reinforcement, and upon his order, the Jiujiang submagistrate and the Jiangpu police chief prepared a budget of 9,600 taels for further work. He ordered that the sum be raised by donations and an extra 20 percent levy on the land tax. In the eleventh month, the magistrate of Nanhai personally went to the Mulberry Garden Dike office and drew up a plan of action for the extra work. Longshan county demurred, and asked that its share be cut by half, on the ground that it was not the practice to demand payment for repair from wards that were not located near the site of the repair. The official response, recorded in a report written by the clerk stationed at the site from the provincial administration commissioner's office, allowed the request, but ruled against the reasoning. It pointed out the difficulty in maintaining the dike had been that it was not regarded as a single financial project, and made it very clear that there was now to be a departure from the former piecemeal approach. The additional work was completed in the second month of 1797, as a report from the gentry managers of the project to the provincial administration commissioner shows.[10]

Clear financial statements were, indeed, prepared. A total of 60,417 taels had been received, made up of levies on land (54,492 taels), donations (774 taels from officials and 4,690 taels from salt merchants and pawnshops in the diked area), and money from the sale of cows and other goods (459 taels). The total expenditure amounted to 60,414 taels, consisting of 53,505 taels spent on the building works, 2,059 taels spent on the celebration attended by the provincial administration commissioner, and expenses for food and entertainment in the maintenance of the local office. A separate list details sums paid by each ward and disbursements handled by their representatives.[11] Katayama Tsuyoshi has noticed that the representatives are referred to as "property owners' managers in charge" (*yehu jingli shoushi*), implying that landowning households rather than their tenants were overwhelmingly represented in the management of the project, and no doubt the observation is correct.[12] The building cost of the temple of the river god was separately donated. Donations, nevertheless, amounted to only 1,186.57 taels and expenditures to 3,567.64 taels. The deficit was, as acknowledged in the official report, made up from the budget allotted to embankment works. A map of the temple attached to the report shows that a side hall had been prepared for the installation of the senior officials' spirit tablets. The provincial administration commissioner granted the temple 100 *mu* of newly reclaimed sedimentary land to provide an annual rental income of 140 taels to be spent on sacrifices to the deity. Worth noticing also is

that the management committee from now on referred to itself as the Mulberry Garden Dike Head Office (*zongju*). Loose neighborhood alliances had formed around the dike-repair project.[13]

Repairs in 1817

The river breached the Mulberry Garden Dike again at the Sanya Embankment in Haizhou ward to the west of the island in 1817. Wen Rushi, writing a year later, recalled that the flood had come after twenty years of relative calm on the river, and that it had been brought about by the Haizhou people cutting down and selling several hundred trees on the embankment some years earlier when they needed funds to repair it. Without the trees, the embankment had weakened, despite the repair. Emergency measures were put in place at once. The governor-general, Jiang Youxian, required the Haizhou people to build a temporary embankment, and, to make that possible at short notice, he granted them a loan of 5,000 taels. When the flood had retreated, the dike was to be repaired, and for that, as in 1794, a levy was to be charged on tax-registered land.[14]

Unlike in 1794, however, discussion between the governor-general and the gentry representatives focused on the loan of government funds for annual maintenance. The arrangement was explained clearly in a memorial by Jiang's successor, Governor-General Ruan Yuan, to the throne in the eleventh month of 1817. There is little reason to doubt that, as the governor-general reported, the initiative was provided by a petition from the gentry of the Mulberry Garden Dike after the flood of the fifth month in the year. Ruan noted the loan granted the Haizhou ward for dike repair in the current year and requested approval for granting a loan of a similar order to be used for annual maintenance. The arrangement consisted of the provincial government depositing a sum of 80,000 taels with the pawnshop merchants of Nanhai and Shunde counties at a monthly interest rate of 1 percent. Out of the interest payment of 9,600 taels received, 5,000 taels would be returned to the provincial treasuries and 4,600 taels could be spent on maintenance. Ruan reckoned that in sixteen years, the loan would be repaid in full, and thereafter, the entire interest payment could be devoted to dike maintenance. Obviously, the arrangement did not come without a cost to the provincial treasury. By lending the sum to the gentry of the Mulberry Garden Dike and collecting only the principal in sixteen years, the provincial government, in effect, provided a subsidy equivalent to the interest lost.[15]

Despite the pledge of an annual income to be spent on maintenance,

the gentry's Mulberry Garden Dike Office was hard pressed for funds to meet the repairs of 1817. The accounts of the office show that the levy on land gave it 27,000 taels, of which 13,000 went into repairs at the Sanya dike. The gentry managers of the dike office distributed the remainder to the wards to be spent on local repairs. These disbursements were probably not pro forma admission of local power. A report to the county magistrate did note that some wards were slow to make the necessary payments, but within a month, 80 percent of the dues were paid. Fully aware of their control over the funds, the managers surveyed the entire length of the dike before they gave approval for the disbursement of funds. At the dike office, maps were prepared of areas requiring reconstruction; a special feature of the reports drawn up by the office lies, in fact, in the frequent use of maps and the clear sense of geography conveyed by the text. Neither did very much of the funds go into private emoluments: staffing, food, and entertainment amounted to 2,500 taels, repairs to the temple and sacrifice to the deity, a little over 200 taels. In all, the dike office received 24,650 taels and disbursed 24,683 taels from 1817 to 1818.[16]

The urgency of repairing a breach in the dike, the governor-general's personal attention, and the injection of large sums of money into construction, in 1794 as in 1817, brought a flurry of administrative activities around a gentry leadership under the umbrella of the dike office. In between the emergencies, the wards fell back on their own resources in maintaining the dikes located in their own territory, and the dike office leadership would have been reduced to the management of regular sacrifice at the temple of the river god and the land endowment that provided an income for the purpose. The continuity of the leadership for two decades is evident in the membership of the office in 1794 and 1817. In the years immediately following 1817, the substantial investment income from the loan that was provided by the governor-general expanded the office's routine maintenance duties. Signs were soon evident that the office became more assertive than it had been in 1794.

Some of the assertiveness is apparent in the regulations that were drafted. The immediate regulations drafted by the office to be implemented in 1817 essentially followed the regulations of 1794.[17] Some time in 1818, in preparation for future maintenance, and the management of the governor-general's loan, a set of regulations was published that addressed management for the loan. In return for money invested, the pawnshop merchants of Nanhai and Shunde were to pay 5,000 taels directly into the provincial treasury for repayment of capital, and 4,600 taels was

to be collected by the dike office on the production of the magistrate's proclamation and stamped record book. The wards were to remain responsible for the dikes falling within their territory, but where a major repair was needed, the ward would be given funds for repair after the gentry managers of the dike office, together with the nominated representatives of the ward, had taken measurements of the work required and prepared an estimate. The fourteen wards were to nominate four persons to serve as managers of the dike office, while on the tenth day of the second month, three days before the River God's birthday, the wards were to nominate representatives who would be responsible for collecting rent on the temple's landed endowment. An emolument was paid the representatives, whose term of office was restricted to three years. The accounts were posted annually at the temple and reported to the county magistrate.[18]

Imperial approval was given for the loan on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of 1818. Money was invested with the pawnshops on the first day of the fourth month. The chief manager, He Yuling, was appointed at about this time. He had been the chief manager of the dike office in 1817 and was responsible for the repairs of that year. He refused to serve on the excuse of illness. Towards the end of the year, the magistrate ordered that the gentry of the wards meet and, within ten days, report on the appointment. On the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month, the gentry met. He and his deputy Pan Qingjiang accepted appointment. On the twenty-ninth, He called on the magistrate in Guangzhou. By the fifth day of the first month, he was back at the Mulberry Garden Dike. On the ninth and tenth days, he visited all the villages along the dike and came to various decisions on the locations at which repairs had to be undertaken by the dike office. Some time after that, he must have gone to Guangzhou again to collect the interest payment on the deposits with the pawnshops, for he was back again in the village on the twenty-fourth day of the first month. By the twenty-ninth day of the month, he had set up the office at the river god temple again, and arranged to meet the labor contractors and suppliers of the stone slabs needed for the repair works. On the fifth day of the second month, work began at the Sanya dike, where the breach was repaired in 1794. On the tenth day of the same month, the Nanhai magistrate himself went to Jiujiang ward, where he met with the Jiujiang submagistrate, the gentry managers He and Pan, and other gentlemen and elders. The repairs that had to be conducted that year were reported to him. The gentry reported that work had begun at the Sanya dike, but it was urgently needed also at the Hecha dike to its south. The Hecha

dike, they reported, had been poorly planned, and a portion of it was exposed to the rapid current. The spot at which it was located was too deep for routine repair, and they suggested that an outer dam be constructed on the foundation of four old boats, to be purchased, filled with stone, and sunk. Such details available on the management of the repairs show that there was no lack of leadership in the Mulberry Garden Dike office. The project was expertly managed: budgeted, planned, and implemented with consultation at both the local level and with the provincial government.[19]

It was, of course, vital that the dike office had the backing of the provincial government. Official sanction was needed at every stage in the project. The personal attention of the governor-general and the provincial administration commissioner had made the county magistrates alert to details at the dike. The governor-general himself issued the order, in the twelfth month of 1817 (in effect, early 1818) that banned the cutting of trees, burials, and the sinking of ponds at the dike.[20] When work resumed on the dike in 1818, it was an order issued by the Nanhai county magistrate that laid down the ground rules distinguishing the responsibility of the dike office for the upkeep of the Mulberry Garden Dike from that of the wards, which remained responsible for other, smaller dikes. The same order also stated, in no uncertain terms, that unless the shortfalls of the land-tax levy of the previous year were made up for in full, he would arrest the persons responsible. As the principal laggards in payment were the Shunde wards of Longjiang and Ganzhu, he threatened to send his runners into Shunde and enlist the help of the Shunde magistrate.[21] These shortfalls were paid rapidly. Government assistance was not limited to local coordination. Stone slabs and shingles were required in large quantities in order to strengthen the dike and the stone supply came, for the most part, from Jiulong (Kowloon) in Xin'an county. Quarrying for stone in Jiulong had been strictly regulated by the county government, and permission was needed for it. The granting of permission, however, was just as likely to create a black market as to satisfy the Mulberry Garden Dike's needs, for once permission was given for the supply of stone to the Mulberry Garden Dike repair, contractors for quarrymen would be inclined to sell the stone so quarried for ordinary building works. As gentry manager He said in a report, "Artisans hear about the quarrying and have come to the dike office. Some offer to pay the office 7,000 taels, others offer to provide 3,300,000 [catties of stone] free of charge."[22] In order to secure a regular supply of stone, He wanted the quarry contractors he dealt with to put up a surety of 1,000 taels,

and to guarantee the delivery of 3,000,000 catties per month, on the pain of losing the quarrying license and the surety in the event of failure to deliver. He also wanted the senior officialdom to issue an order to the counties through which the stone supply must pass to prevent extortion by troops and yamen runners.

Not least, the provincial government guaranteed the dike office its financial income. The 4,600 taels provided out of pawnshop interest on the provincial loan was inadequate, as the gentry managers soon discovered. They requested approval for raising funds on another land-tax levy, saying that Jiujiang had already agreed to 1,000 taels.[23] The provincial government, however, had better ideas. Some time towards the ninth month of 1819, they were told that three Co-hong merchants, Lu Wenjin, Wu Yuanlan, and Wu Yuanzhi, had promised a donation of 100,000 taels.[24]

Exactly how the Co-hong merchants might have been persuaded to donate such a substantial sum of money to the Mulberry Garden Dike project must be a matter of speculation. Governor-General Ruan Yuan, reporting the completion of the project to the throne in 1821, noted that of the three Co-hong merchants, Lu Wenjin was a native of Xinhui, and the two brothers, Wu Yuanlan and Yuanzhi, claimed Nanhai county affiliation but were not residents at the Mulberry Garden Dike.[25] The connection may be surmised, at least for Lu Wenjin, better known to Western merchants as Mowqua. In 1821, Lu Wenjin must still have been recovering from a court case in 1816 in which he was badly mauled, both physically and socially. In that year, Governor-General Jiang Youxian, in response to a communication from the Board of Punishment, ruled that Lu's father's spirit tablet be removed from the Hall of the Virtuous People (Xiangxian ci) in Guangzhou, and that, in consideration of the circumstances, Lu himself and his accuser were both to be punished by 100 blows of the cane and be stripped of their official titles. The governor-general held that incompetence and corruption had been involved in the installing of Lu's father's spirit tablet in 1814, and recommended demotion for both the Guangzhou prefect and the provincial administration commissioner who had been responsible.

The case is a curious reflection of Qing dynasty official involvement in local disputes and illustrates the enormous influence of the governor-general in the provinces. In 1814, two years after the death of the Co-hong merchant Lu Guanheng, over a hundred members of the gentry of Xinhui county petitioned that his spirit tablet be allowed to be installed in the Hall of the County Virtuous People. They rested their argument

on Guanheng's philanthropy, for he had donated land from his family estate for the establishment of a charity granary, set up a charity school in the county, published a commentary on the *Book of Change*, and donated funds towards the building of roads, dikes, and drainage ditches. In 1815, imperial permission was granted, and the son, Wenjin, accordingly, sent his father's tablet to the hall amidst gong beating and setting off of firecrackers. Wenjin, in a display of his wealth, also staged theatrical performances for three days outside the hall, hung congratulatory messages in the county school, and gave a feast outside the office of the education commissioner. After these events, a holder of the *juren* degree from Panyu county by the name Liu Huadong petitioned Governor-General Jiang objecting to the honor paid Lu Guanheng. He had two grounds: Lu Guanheng had been totally illiterate (*mu bu shiding*), and more than twenty years earlier, he had been found guilty of assaulting his elder brother in a dispute over family property. Aside from his petition, Liu Donghua had published these allegations, and for that reason, he was subsequently punished, along with his publisher, by the governor-general. However, Liu's petition was signed by more than two hundred people and supported by the Xinhui county magistrate. The governor-general suspected that only by bribery could an illiterate man with a record of conviction have come to be honored by having his spirit tablet placed in the Hall of the Virtuous People, and so he took the case very seriously. Lu Wenjin denied that he had bribed official or gentry, and countercharged that Liu Huadong bore a grudge because he had been turned down for a loan. However, he admitted that when the petition on honoring his father succeeded, he had presented the signatories of the petition with clothing material. The governor-general interrogated many involved, including seventy of the signatories on Liu Huadong's petition. He also found that some of the signatures on the petition in favor of honoring Lu Guanheng were those of signatories' friends and relatives. The governor-general did not find evidence of bribery, but he found many of these related events highly unsatisfactory, including, of course, the staging of opera and a feast at the Confucian school. Lu Wenjin was punished, therefore, but the dispute leading to it tore apart county-level gentry society.[26]

Lu Wenjin was related by marriage to the brothers Wu Yuanlan and Wu Yuanzhi, son and nephew the merchant Wu Tunyuan (1769–1843), known as Howqua to Westerners and the wealthiest of the Co-hong merchants in the decades before the Opium War. He had inherited the family business from his elder brother, the Wu family becoming official merchants in Guangzhou only in 1793. However, by 1813, Wu Tunyuan had been nominated as one of the two head merchants in the Co-hong, the

other being Lu Wenjin. Wu was known, not only for his wealth, but also for his generosity. It has been estimated that between 1806 and 1843, when he died, he had donated 1.6 million taels to public projects, not including 1 million taels as contribution towards the indemnity imposed on Guangzhou after the Opium War.[27] An indication from Governor-General Ruan Yuan was possibly reason enough for the Wu brothers' contribution, but it might also be relevant that the family was served loyally by Pan Jin, of Baijiao ward at the Mulberry Garden Dike. Pan, who shunned holding an official degree or a formal posting at a government office, begs the textbook description of a member of the gentry. As a capable middleman between local communities and men of status and power, Pan was deeply involved in administrative policies at every level of the provincial administration, from the village to the provincial governor. His closeness to the Wu family is demonstrated by the fact that in 1826, he drafted the family division document on behalf of Wu Tunyuan, so that the latter's branch of the family took over the trading under the reputable name of Yihe.[28] In any case, in recognition of their generosity, with the emperor's approval and the governor-general's active support, the Wu family's benefaction was to be noted on a stone stele at the dike and a pavilion was to be built in their honor outside the river god's temple. In one of Governor-General Ruan's reports to the throne, mention was also made that the land surrounded by the Mulberry Garden Dike was devoted to mulberry growing and silkworm rearing, and it would not be far-fetched to conclude that the Co-hong merchants, whose business it was to export silk, might also have had a vested interest in the protection of this area from floods.

With the donation, the scale of the project escalated. The gentry managers of the dike office wrote: "When [the people of] the wards learnt that a donation of 100,000 taels had been made, each wanted to double the construction on the dike under its control. Some people had even planned to overstate their expenses to enrich themselves by exaggerating the measurements of the construction to be undertaken. Without 400,000 to 500,000 taels, these desires cannot be met."[29] The gentry managers ruled that only vital sections of the dike would be repaired, but this time, the repair work consisted of paving the embankment slope in stone slabs on top of a foundation of loose stones. In anticipation of disputes over which part of the dike should be given this treatment, they presented a list of all the repairs to be conducted, in the name of all the gentry leaders of the wards, to the Nanhai magistrate, so that a final notice might be issued in his name.[30]

The amount of stone needed was enormous: half the budgeted cost of

75,000 taels went into its purchase. The sudden demand for stone was not easy to satisfy. Aside from Jiulong, permission was given to quarry stone from two other areas nearby. Two hundred boats were mobilized for regular deliveries over nine months, a contract was signed with a supplier, and when in the early months he failed to supply stone as agreed, a naval captain was dispatched to Jiulong to investigate and the gentry managers asked that workmen suspected of selling stone elsewhere at the quarry be punished with the cangue. The threat seems to have worked, stone was supplied, and the project was completed by 1821. Of the donation of 100,000 taels, 25,000 remained, the return of which the benefactors gracefully declined. Since the entire sum had been kept by the provincial government and paid to the gentry managers of the dike office as expenses were incurred, the governor-general earmarked the balance for future dike projects.[31]

Repairs in 1829 and 1833

Regular outside funding introduced subtle changes in dike management involving the triangular relationship between the provincial administration, the dike office and its gentry managers, and the wards. A pattern was being set: flooding was reported, the wards found it beyond their means to handle repairs, funds were found through help from outside the diked area, regulations were drafted, repairs were carried out, and the needed reports, including a financial statement, were submitted. A bureaucratic process was creeping in, as is apparent in the records of 1829 and 1833.

Yet there were subtle differences. The reports of 1794 and 1817 repairs were printed, and so was that for 1833, but not the one for 1829, which was appended to the 1833 report. It was a strange anomaly that in 1829, it was another of Howqua's sons, Wu Yuanwei, who petitioned for permission to donate 20,000 taels for the repair of the dike, and, later in the same year, for permission to increase his donation by 9,500 taels.[32] In the end, he paid even more than that, for when in 1830, Governor-General Li Hongbin petitioned for his benefaction to be recognized by an imperial award, he cited the figure of 33,000 taels as the total donation. Wu Yuanwei was awarded a *juren* title as a result of the memorial. The award of a degree in return for donation was becoming acceptable practice. Governor-General Li, in his petition, cited as precedents, the provision of relief in Zhili province in 1813 and donation for the river control project at the Mulan dike in Putian county, Fujian province, in 1828.[33]

It is also strange that the report of the 1833 repairs included a lengthy

document in the preamble to the regulations detailing the decisions of the Guangzhou prefect in 1745 concerning the repairs on 1743. The flood of 1743 was recalled when relief was requested in 1794, but until the repairs of 1833, this very interesting document, and the decision of the magistrate, had not been cited in the published reports of the dike office. It was produced at the meeting of the Nanhai magistrate and the gentry of the dike office in 1834 as a precedent for appropriate action. In 1794, no precedent was cited, and in 1817, the only precedents cited were previous loans and land-tax surcharges for repairs. The selective citing of precedents in favor of administrative decisions suggests a legal turn of mind taking shape at the Mulberry Garden Dike office, the precedents themselves, of course, feeding into the collective memory which, recorded, becomes its history.[34]

The prefectural decision of 1745 had to do with the responsibility of the ward for repairs of the section of the Mulberry Garden Dike under its charge, and, by extension, for repaying loans contracted for such. In 1743, the households at the Sanya embankment, the same embankment breached in 1817, petitioned for and were granted a loan of 1,140 taels for repair. In 1745, it was asked that the loan be repaid by a levy on taxable land within the Mulberry Garden Dike. The Jiangpu police chief was delegated the responsibility of meeting with the elders and landowners on this matter, and he reported after the meeting that since the improbable forty-first year of the emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty (c. 1142), it had been ruled by a surveillance commissioner that with the exception of the embankment at Jizan, any breach of which would allow flooding over the entire island, embankment repair had been the responsibility of neighboring landowners. An exception had been made for Jizan because earth for the Jizan embankment was taken from nearby fields, and inhabitants nearby had the responsibility of sounding the gong and notifying all the wards within the Mulberry Garden Dike should flooding be detected. The meeting argued, moreover, that landowners had the advantage of charging rent on fishing stations and newly formed sediments near their holdings, pointing out that the Haizhou ward, in which the Sanya embankment was located, collected over 300 taels per year from these sources. The households of Sanya had not taken the accusations lying down. They retorted that no income was derived from the fishing stations because any rent went to the Dan living there and that the newly formed land was owned by the entire ward, and not by the twelve households at Sanya. The other wards, coming back in a further petition, challenged Sanya's accounts. According to them, newly formed land amounted to 400 *mu*, from which the rent received, after tax was paid,

was 300 taels, and, although it was true that Dan people occupied the fishing station, that did not prevent the Sanya households from receiving 5,000 taels annually as rent. In any case, the embankment at Sanya was recorded as being under the control of the twelve households. This last argument was investigated by the prefect, who found that the land within the Sanya embankment was registered under the twelve households. For that reason, he held the twelve households responsible, stating that, as a general rule, all registered households were to be held responsible for the embankments located on their holdings.[35]

The case was cited because a situation comparable to that of 1829 was developing in 1833. In 1829, although subsidies to the amount of 3,682 taels had been accorded to Xianlai *gang*, one of two locations identified for relief in Wu Yuanwei's petition for donation, the governor-general had ordered that the shortfall, amounting to over 762 taels by the claim of Xianlai *gang* and 500 taels by all other reports, was to be made up by the local people. Even though Wu Yuanwei's generous donation resulted in a surplus of funds, the governor-general made it totally unambiguous that the local people "were forbidden to draw on the gentleman Wu's donation for the entire amount, and forbidden to spread it among [the tax-paying households] of the entire diked area."[36] The consequence is recorded by Pan Jin in his personal papers. When the embankment was breached and it was known that the households in its vicinity were to be responsible for repairs, the local people had considered abandoning their land. At that point, Wu Yuanwei made known that he would donate, and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that Pan Jin had a hand in guiding his attention in the direction of Xianlai *gang*.[37] Moreover, the provincial government, considering the poverty of the households at Xianlai *gang*, put reliable people from Baijiao and Yunjin wards in charge of the repairs. Pan Jin being settled at Baijiao, again, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that he gained recognition for supervision from this arrangement. Pan made it very clear that it was Xianlai *gang* that was given the subsidy and that the discharge of funds was handled by its own gentry. It would seem, therefore, that holding Xianlai *gang* to its budget was a means of financial control. Yet what could be done when Xianlai *gang* could not meet its commitments? In this case, Pan Jin arranged for the purchase of 15 *mu* of land, from 12 of which earth had been removed for the embankment, by the Baijiao ward Promoting Virtue Literary Association (Xingxian *wenhui*) for 490 taels. The land would be turned into fishponds, and tenants were to be found for fish-raising and mulberry growing. The rent would provide a regular income for the liter-

ary association, and Xianlai *gang* was to keep possession of the embankment.[38] All parties seem to have gained from this arrangement, but it was no doubt made possible by the sizable donation from Wu Yuanwei.

In the fifth month of 1833, when the embankment at Sanya was again breached, the gentry who had charge of it borrowed 10,000 taels from the provincial treasury for repairs. A total of 4,884 taels was spent, and the balance of 5,116 taels was returned to the treasury.[39] The repair work was not successful, however, and, so, later in the year, when the flooding had receded, the provincial government ordered that the entire Mulberry Garden Dike be repaired and permitted a levy on land tax to provide funds. A total of 13,600 taels was raised in this manner. In addition to this amount, a loan was made towards repair by the provincial treasury. Inclusive of the amount already loaned to the gentry at the Sanya embankment, the provincial government provided 49,884 taels. As a gesture of relief, by imperial permission, the governor-general drew on the reserve held by the provincial treasury for repair work at the Mulberry Garden Dike, consisting of surplus funds left over from tax and donations in previous years, and remitted 39,269 taels from the loan. The residents at the Mulberry Garden Dike, therefore, were required to return the balance of 10,615 taels in the five years beginning with 1834, along with the land tax.[40]

The gentry who petitioned the provincial government, however, pointed out that of this balance of 10,615 taels, 4,884 taels had been loaned to the gentry at the Sanya embankment. Claiming that their liability was limited to the difference between the two sums, they petitioned that the difference be repaid through a land-tax surcharge, along the distribution that had applied in 1794 of 70 percent to be paid by the Nanhai wards and 30 percent by the Shunde wards within the Mulberry Garden Dike. The governor-general concurred with this view and reported to the imperial court accordingly, only to have his judgement challenged by an imperial query as to whether he knew that the twelve households of the Sanya embankment were sufficiently wealthy to repay the loan. In reply, he could merely point out that whether or not these households were wealthy, it had been the established practice for the wards to pay for repair of dikes located within their boundaries. The matter did not rest there, for by 1835, the gentry of Sanya had petitioned the Guangdong governor. Clearly aware of the question posed by the governor-general about their ability to pay, the Sanya gentry pleaded poverty. Of 5,500 *mu* of registered cultivable land, 4,100 *mu* was submerged in floodwater. Sixty percent of their houses had collapsed, and what land there was

had been dug into for earth to fill the embankment. They claimed that the ruling on paying for embankment repair within their own ward applied only when the repair was small, and that were it to exceed 1,000 taels, the entire population within the Mulberry Garden Dike should be required to pay the land-tax surcharge to make it up. The provincial governor, by then, was losing patience, and he demanded that the gentry of the Mulberry Garden Dike come to their own agreement over the loan repayment. The gentry of the Mulberry Garden Dike maintained their position, the Nanhai county magistrate reported that all was arranged as had been the practice, and the provincial government insisted that the Sanya gentry should pay its debt. The debt remained unpaid. In 1837, as funds were needed for another round of repairs to the dike, the Mulberry Garden Dike gentry tried to pressure Sanya into paying. Their report to the provincial government shows that some small settlement was reached, but the outstanding loan of 1833 was to be shared by all land-tax paying households within the dike.[41]

Behind the issue of loan repayment by the wards is probably the biggest difference between the 1829 and 1833 repairs and the earlier efforts: in 1793 and 1817, a gentry manager and a deputy took responsibility for negotiating with the provincial government and for disbursing funds, even though, ultimately, in some wards, payments were then made to the ward gentry leadership, but in 1829 and 1833, subsidies were given directly to the ward, and the dike office was little in evidence. A collective leadership, no doubt, existed, which drafted the regulations. It was more aware of the overarching influence of the provincial government than previous committees, hence the concern, not only that the dike repair reports be published, but that they had the approval of the provincial government. It was concerned also that the woodblocks for printing the report be stored at the temple of the river god, by now known as the temple of the southern sea god.[42] However, very likely, Pan Jin's comments in a private letter best capture the change in mood. Writing to someone who must have been quite central in the dike leadership, he noted that being dunned for a debt was little different from being dunned for tax in arrears and lamented that the efforts made to recover unpaid debts had been popularly interpreted, not as an administrative measure imposed by the provincial government, but as the dike leadership abusing its authority.[43] No doubt, the injection of funds from the outside magnified the role of government as well as of the gentry leadership, which now interceded between government and the villages.[44]

Scale of Operation and Local Management

Again, the numbers must be interpreted if the pattern of local management as it was unfolding is to be made apparent. The monetary subsidies provided for the repairs of the Mulberry Garden Dike from the 1790s to the 1830s were unprecedented: 60,000 taels from the land-tax levy in 1793, an 80,000 taels endowment promised, 25,000 taels from land-tax levy and 100,000 taels from donation in 1817; 33,000 taels from donation in 1829; and close to 50,000 taels from a loan-cum-government subsidy in 1833. These were enormous sums by any standard to be spent on public projects. However, these figures have to be seen in context. The very incomplete records available from government archives show that from 1769, the provincial treasury had lent 230,000 taels to merchants for interest, receiving 41,000 taels in interest every year. In 1825, it lent a surplus of 100,000 taels to the pawnshops of Nanhai and Panyu counties, bringing it interest of 10,000 taels per year. The floods of 1833 brought on famine prices, and as a result, the provincial government sought donations to purchase rice for famine relief. It received a total of 370,000 taels, donated separately by officials, gentry, Co-hong merchants, salt merchants, tea merchants, pawnshop merchants, the guilds, and the shopkeepers of Guangzhou. It paid Wu Yuanwei 245,000 taels for purchase of 150,000 *shi* of rice to be distributed in famine relief. These figures indicate the wealth of Guangzhou and the solvency of the Guangdong provincial government, a sharp contrast with the tight rein required in the last decades of the Ming dynasty, the resistance to impositions from the central government, and the search for funds for the military. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Guangzhou and its surroundings were wealthy, and the efforts at the Mulberry Garden Dike indicate one way whereby this wealth overflowed beyond the city into the countryside.[45]

These vast sums of money, it must be realized, were spent among villages with uneven resources. The records of the Mulberry Garden Dike repairs give the impression that locations at which breaches in the dike were frequent, especially in Haizhou ward in the north of the enclosed area, tended to be adjacent to the poorer communities, while the wealthier villages were located some way away from the breaches, at Jiujiang, Shatou, Longjiang, and Longshan. The disbursement of funds collected from the wealthier villages, or, through their influence, from donors in Guangzhou or provincial government subsidies, did not, therefore, increase the power of government at the expense of the gentry among the wealthier villages. Rather, as long as funds were abundant, the gentry in

the wealthier villages extended their influence beyond their own villages, serving local as well as provincial interests. The Mulberry Garden Dike projects, therefore, advanced the interests of the gentry as power brokers. The realm of action in which, as power brokers, the gentry might operate, had yet to be defined. By the mid nineteenth century, however, it certainly extended well beyond the village.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

From Paramilitary to Militia

THE VERY ACTIVE Mulberry Garden Dike entrepreneur Pan Jin, who wrote the Co-hong merchant Howqua's will, negotiated donations from his sons, ran the literary association, oversaw public works in his own village, and advised the Guangdong government on measures against bandits, but shunned the award of an official degree so that he would not have to count among the gentry, was privately engaged in land reclamation. Three of his private letters illustrate some of the mechanics of these operations: the land was claimed while it was still under water, reed and grass had to be grown, at the cost of 1,200 taels for 1,200 *mu* of land, tenants had to be found, and then the dikes had to be built, for which considerable negotiation was needed with neighbors. In one letter, he suggested dividing the dike-building cost of 600 taels into four shares, to be split between himself and a neighboring owner. His correspondent must have been an investor in his enterprise, for he assured him that in return for funds remitted, the annual accounts would be dispatched. There must have been many more entrepreneurs like Pan Jin and the dike builder he refers to as Chen Kunshan (perhaps meaning Chen from Kunshan in Jiangsu province, which was more advanced than Guangdong in water control projects), who made land reclamation possible. Land reclamation was a hands-on activity, which required connections, skill, and, above all, coordination.[1]

Pan Jin's contemporary Long Tinghuai (1749–1827), who hailed from Shunde county, to the south of the Mulberry Garden Dike, possessed many of the same abilities but was wealthier and came from an older lineage. Long's lineage was among the magnates on the sands. He was a senior degree holder, a *jinshi* of 1787, who had served in various capacities requiring mastery of the classical scholarship and protocol in Beijing.

He was probably not there for very long, for by the 1790s, he had retired to his home town of Daliang, the county seat of Shunde, and there concentrated on local affairs, which included the policing of the sands.[2]

Long Tinghuai's letter of 1800 to the governor of Guangdong, Hutuli, is the only extant account of reclamation of the sands in this period comparable to Qu Dajun's description of it in the early years of the Qing dynasty. For this reason alone, it merits careful examination. More than Qu Dajun, Long Tinghuai was instrumental in negotiating policing arrangements with the provincial administration. His letter, therefore, had a bearing on the militarization of the sands, which dominated the history of the region in the nineteenth century.

In 1800, the Guangdong provincial administration commissioner proposed that reclaimed land on the sands be regarded as upper- and medium-grade farmland for purposes of taxation, and Long's letter sought to point out why it should be treated differently. The arrangement for reclamation at the point in time when the letter was written began with reclamation households registering their claim in full understanding that tax would be charged after three years. The tax that was charged was substantially below that on upper- and medium-grade farmland because reclamation was a risky and capital-intensive process, which took many more than three years. The process began with rocks being sunk into the stretch of the claimed foreshore when it was still under water. It would take years, if not decades, for sediments to gather around this rocky foundation, and only when a muddy surface began to appear could reeds and then grass be planted. The embankment had to be regularly repaired in its formative stages, or it might be washed away. Assuming it stayed in place, grain could be planted on the sedimentary land that accumulated behind it only after years or even decades under grass. And that was only the first stage of reclamation on the sands.

When land began to appear, litigation followed, which, according to Long Tinghuai, arose from three sources. One reason for litigation was that it was difficult to control the amount of land that could actually be reclaimed under any given reclamation license, and, because licenses were continually being issued and new reclamations were made all the time, a later reclamation household could lay claim to an earlier reclamation by charging that it had exceeded its boundary. Another reason for litigation arose from the discrepant uses to which land being reclaimed might be put at different stages of the reclamation process. An unscrupulous reclamation household might find it very attractive to lay claim to land being put to grain when its own holdings were still put to grass. The third reason had to do with tax. When a dike was destroyed and land was washed

away, the reclamation household might still be liable for tax. Likewise, when a landholding had been encroached on by neighbors, the tax liability on it was not reduced. When land was sold, such "empty tax" (*xushui*), that is to say, tax liability for which no land was held, might either be transferred to the purchaser or retained by the seller. Litigation arose, therefore, over how much tax was attached to which registered tract of land, and decisions over these issues could be overturned and overturned again.

The sands were, therefore, anything but peaceful. They provided opportunities in plenty for the ruthless. Reclamation households would buy up water channels near their holdings so that they could lay claim to new reclamations, rather than risk such being taken over by ruthless operators. However, those whom Long Tinghuai referred to as the "sands sticks" (*shagun*) recruited fighters, or might even arrange for one of them to drown so that they could take their opponents to court for homicide. One consequence of the fear of litigation was that when the reclamation had been formed and successfully planted, law-abiding reclamation households would not underreport their acreages, for fear that any underreporting would be discovered by ruthless operators. According to Long Tinghuai, there was, therefore, no need for government to resurvey holdings on the sands. Nor was it practical to do so—there was too much land, the holdings were far too complicated, and the clerks who had to be entrusted with the measuring were too difficult to supervise, unless the supervising officials, like tenants, took off their official robes and their shoes and walked along the mud. He cited a ruling in Xiangshan county in a case in which two parties had litigated over ownership. The magistrate had confiscated the holding and ruled that it be given to the poor in parcels of 5 *mu*. The net result of the ruling was that the clerks, in league with wealthy households, found obliging poor people to apply for these parcels of land, who then immediately resold them to the wealthy.[3]

None of this should be surprising in any way. Since the sixteenth century, it had been well known that sands reclamation was a high-risk venture, not only because building dikes was expensive, but also because litigation and feuding were rife. However, the rising price of rice and the low rate of land tax made reclamation of the sands profitable. At the fall of the Ming, it was precisely in these areas that piracy and tenant rioting was rife. Ownership on the sands would also have been affected by the coastal evacuation. The evidence suggests that some of the larger magnate lineages moved away, but not the Dan boat people, and when the evacuation order was rescinded in 1669, lineages were reestablished within decades.[4] Throughout the eighteenth century, land acquisition and

reclamation never ceased. As in the late Ming, temporary workers were hired who came by boat from the market towns to harvest the crops, protected by guards paid for by the reclamation households. In the fierce contest for land and crops, communities on the sands must always have been armed.[5]

The development of a policing arrangement on the sands that was run not by the gentry but by a police agency over which Long Tinghuai himself had some control was the subject of a proposal written by Long at an unknown date, possibly in the 1810s. The area of the sands the policing arrangement was to cover consisted of land to the east of Xiangshan county and to the south of Shunde and Dongguan that was being actively claimed and developed in the eighteenth century. The Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Seas, as the area came to be called, was registered for 120,000 *mu* at the time when Long wrote. The area had been policed by private guards known as sandsmen (*shafu*). Since the sandsmen imposed a per acreage levy on the cultivators for their services, the arrangement had no doubt grown out of strong-arm protection rackets current at the end of the Ming dynasty and under the early Qing. For this reason, when Long Tinghuai said that in the Kangxi period, perhaps in the early eighteenth century, the large reclamation households obtained stamped licenses (*yinpai*) from the magistrate to recruit sandsmen, he was undoubtedly referring to the regularization of the practice after the coastal evacuation. A fee had to be paid the Xiangshan magistrate for each stamped license issued, which was used by the magistrate to provide the tribute of tobacco that he was obliged to send to the imperial court. At some stage in the evolution of the practice, tax farming took over. In the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Seas, the gentry of the towns of Rongqi and Guizhou in Shunde county contracted the right to collect the protection fee on the payment of an agreed-upon amount of tax.

This arrangement using income from the sands to finance local policing was typical of eighteenth-century subcontractual management, not only in Guangdong, but throughout China. The gentry of Rongqi and Guizhou paid a third of the tax in advance. They then calculated their total outlay, with interest, and imposed a levy on the reclamations. The sandsmen contracted for the right of policing by paying the allocated quota fee. The Rongqi and Guizhou gentry kept what they considered the interest from the overall outlay and paid the balance to the magistrate. Upon payment of the full amount, the magistrate issued the stamped licenses, which were then distributed to the sandsmen. The sandsmen, in turn, collected from the cultivators. It must be remembered that for most parts of the year, the cultivators did not live on the sands. They

went out in convoys, protected by sandsmen, to plant in the middle of the second month, to weed in the fifth month, and to harvest the early crop in the seventh and eighth months, and the later crop in the ninth or the tenth month. The sandsmen levied a charge of husked rice on a per capita basis for the convoys, and 10 to 12 catties of grain for each *mu* at the end of the harvest. The sandsmen, moreover, claimed rights to a good deal more of the sands than these charges. They had claim to grain that had been blown by wind or fallen of its own accord into the water, and this claim they turned to good use by charging duck raisers a fee for the privilege of driving ducks into harvested fields to feed on the gleanings. This gleaning right aside, Long Tinghuai reckoned that cultivators paid .27 tael for each *mu* of policing by sandsmen. Taking 2 shi of grain per *mu* as an average harvest and the price of a shi as 1.2 taels, an eighth of the cultivator's income went into policing.

Such, according to Long Tinghuai, was the arrangement at the Sixteen Sands until 1803. In that year, bandit gangs "several hundred" strong appeared on the sands at the time of the autumn harvest and blackmailed cultivators, while the sandsmen just stood by. The gentry had therefore petitioned the magistrate for permission to hire 220 guards and fit out patrol boats under a "communal covenant" (*gongyue*) financed by a levy of .1 tael per *mu*, to be collected by the sandsmen and delivered to the covenant. The covenant would also take over the duty of applying to the magistrate for stamped licenses, which meant that it would henceforth contract the tax payment with the magistrate. From 1805, the covenant paid the magistrate 6,000 yuan for the licenses, 1,000 *yuan* for patrol boats, and a fee of several thousand *yuan*. As in the pre-1803 arrangement, except for the fee paid by the gentry, the total was collected from subcontracting sandsmen. The transition had not been smooth. The gentry managers who had up to now farmed the levy on the sands refused to give up their privilege, and the dispute had to be referred to the provincial government. The latter entrusted the policing arrangement to the covenant, but even then, in 1805, the incumbent managers continued to apply to the county for the stamped licenses and so further litigation followed. Long Tinghuai also pointed out the corruption that went on behind the scenes among the gentry managers, who competed to farm the levy, and collusion between them and the sandsmen for policing rights. The result had been the bidding up of the price of tax farming, so that a gentry manager might pay the government as much as 10,000 yuan to be on the management of the covenant, while a sandsman might pay him as much as 15,000 or 16,000 yuan for the policing rights. The difference was made up by extortion from cultivators, sometimes even involving

collusion between sandsmen and bandits. Long said that cultivators were abandoning their land and asked the magistrate, possibly of Xiangshan county, to call a meeting of the gentry and elders of the five counties of Shunde, Xinhui, Panyu, Nanhai, and Xiangshan to reaffirm the covenant of 1803. It is not clear whether any meeting was held, but events took a sudden turn when the pirate Zhang Bao attacked the area and the balance of power was interrupted.[6]

Piracy, the Need for Defense, and Escalation in Scale

Between 1700, when troops routed the local bandits with the help of the Jiujiang gentry, and 1809, when the pirate Zhang Bao struck fear into the Pearl River Delta villages, the gazetteers of Nanhai, Shunde, Dongguan, Xinhui, and Xiangshan recorded few incidents of banditry or piracy. The imposition of *baojia* by Governor Li Hu in 1780, on the argument that banditry was rife, referred to incidents that were essentially small-scale.[7] If a reason has to be found for the relative peace of the region, it rested in the strength of local defense, well supported by economic prosperity. Longshan *xiang*, whose local history was compiled in 1809, gives a near-contemporary account of the defenses *before* Zhang Bao struck.

According to its local history, Longshan's defenses consisted of twenty-two watchtowers, twenty-four guardhouses, teams of watchmen, and the village covenant (*xiangyue*). Some of these watchtowers attached to village houses have survived to the present day and can still be seen. Rising a floor or two above most rooftops, a watchtower not only facilitated defense but also indicated preparedness. The guardhouses held firearms—muskets and cannon—under license from the county magistrate. The small window slits that can be seen in surviving watchtowers suggest that the use of firearms was anticipated in defending against bandit attacks. The market was, at an earlier time, protected by a team of forty guards, reduced to twelve by this time, whose wages were paid for out of rent received from the market. The men were commanded by four captains. The villages had teams of four to five watchmen, who were paid by the villages themselves. In the first half of the eighteenth century, defensive measures had probably lapsed, and a smaller force of better-paid men was recruited in the market to maintain order only when the covenant was established in 1774. The local history recalls that the covenant was set up on the model of Jiujiang. This may have meant no more than that the covenant was led by the gentry and sanctioned by the magistrate, for Jiujiang's covenant was only nominal; its defense was

conducted by the assistant magistrate, who took over the Jiujiang village covenant building as his office. Unlike at Jiujiang, no official was stationed in Longshan, and the *xiang* looked after its own defense. It was altogether not unlike the arrangement Long Tinghuai outlined for the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Seas, that is to say, local service was to be provided by a village alliance and members of the degree-holding gentry interceded between the alliance and the magistrate to lend it respectability. As long as it was only respectability that the degree holders provided, the alliance itself had little other than moral suasion among the villages; relief, defense, education, and other local services were provided by individuals, families, and lineages. This is why the 1803 alliance at the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Seas was such a remarkable evolution, for by putting 220 men under its command, the degree-holding gentry, people such as Long Tinghuai, were asking for more than moral suasion. They were seeking no less than a militia (*tuanlian*), and once again, the needs for defense in the midst of political disorder allowed the village to spring back from its eighteenth-century slumber.[8]

When Zhang Bao's pirate confederation burst upon the scene, it was a total surprise to local communities and government alike. Diane Murray, who collated all the written sources in evidence and reconstructed the rise and ultimate destruction of the confederation in detail, relates its origin to political turmoil in Vietnam in 1785. The Nguyen family of Tay-son, contesting for power with incumbent dynasties in Hanoi and Hue, had drawn into its service the pirates of the South China Sea. For some years, the Nguyen family was successful in its exploits and were recognized by the Chinese imperial government as the rightful rulers of Vietnam. The pirate chiefs, who were awarded military titles by the Nguyen family, served as a self-financed navy, which drew its resources from fighting for the Nguyen family as well as from piracy on the South China coast, raiding villages and capturing merchant shipping. Allying with the Tay-son regime gave the pirates the advantage of a land base, which allowed them to operate in the Gulf of Tonkin between Vietnam and Hainan Island. The regime also provided them with the money and possibly the means for building ships, with guns, including cannon, and with a market for their plunder. A network of patronage relationships grew up among the pirates, with those on whom titles had been bestowed by the Tay-son regime, in turn, giving titles to their clients. Yet the success of the Nguyen family was short-lived. They were defeated in 1799, and the pirates' base in Jiangping on Beibuwan Bay (north of the Gulf of Tonkin) was destroyed. In 1800, Guangdong officials reported increasing numbers of pirates surrendering to them, whom they had to settle on shore. It was

mooted that some be settled on stretches of the sands which came under government control. The decision, which if carried out on a major scale, would have quite disturbed the magnate lineages of sands reclamation.[9]

Surrender and settlement must have been the exception rather than the rule in 1800, however, for in 1805, the remnants of the Tay-son pirates regrouped under oath into a confederation of six fleets, designated by the colors red, black, white, green, blue, and yellow. Each fleet was commanded by what the pirates called a *laoban* (boss), officially known as a *daoshou* (pirate chief). Zheng Yi, *laoban* of the red fleet, which operated in the mouth of the Pearl River Delta, had 200 junks under him in 1805, which Murray estimates might have been served by 20,000 to 40,000 men, and his fleet had grown to 600 junks by the time he died in 1807. Whether 200 or 600, this would have been a very sizable fleet for the coastal communities and the provincial government to deal with if the junks acted in unison. It would seem, however, that squadrons of between 10 and 40 junks went into action together, rather than the entire fleet. Squadrons of these pirate junks, plundering up and down river at the mouth of the Pearl River, kidnapping women for ransom from the villages, targeting boats carrying salt from Hainan Island and Beibuwan Bay to Guangzhou, and charging protection money from all traders, were a fearsome menace by 1805. This could have been a strong reason behind the 1803 alliance at the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Seas. It was probably no coincidence that the first record of a defensive arrangement in the Xiangshan and Shunde county coastal villages dates from 1804. In Shunde county, Chen Liaocai of Daliang was said to have recruited 200 men to work with government troops in defending the region.[10]

The writers of the Shunde county local history made it quite clear that the 1803 alliance had something to do with the heightened excitement of the time. Its organization was credited by the local history to Hu Mingluan of Guizhou township, a *jinshi* of 1801, and various other people close to him. The fact that Long Tinghuai made no mention of him at all in his writings, but instead, wrote about corruption at the time the alliance was formed, suggests that Long and Hu were not on friendly terms, at least in the undertaking of the alliance. As the threat from the pirates mounted in the years to follow, the 1803 alliance at the Sixteen Sands became an important element in local defense. Hu's biography notes that in 1809, when Zhang Bao attacked the land communities in the Pearl River Delta, Hu donated money to build a battery in the defense of the area, and a cannon was purchased from some Western ship for the purpose. As the pirates attacked the salt boats that plied between the Beibuwan Bay coastline and Guangzhou, Hu also petitioned that

north-bound salt be sent overland up the West River rather than along the coast. He was also credited with advocating the policy of blocking supplies to the pirates, arguing that the pirates would only advance up the inland riverways if they had had help from villagers. When by 1812, after Zhang Bao's surrender, Hu left the area for an appointment as magistrate, his successor, Guan Rujun, from Rongqi—the town cited as the support of the 1803 alliance together with Guizhou—was proud of telling people that he had become so hated fighting bandits in the area that when he went to Guangzhou, he was carried in a "cabinet" to the ferry pier so that his movement would not be detected. Another one of Hu and Guan's associates, Wu Ji, of the town of Chen Cun, a *juren* of 1783, warned Governor-General Bailing, who brought Zhang Bao to surrender in 1810, that starved of supplies, Zhang would attack the land villages of Xiangshan and Shunde. Although by no means the only defensive alliance in the delta, Hu Mingluan and his associates were portrayed in the local history as stalwarts of local defense.[11]

Local defense in the early 1800s suited the provincial governors, and, for that reason, the county magistrates. In the 1790s and early 1800s, the imperial court had its hands full dealing with the White Lotus rebellion in Sichuan and Hubei, compared to which pirate raids in Guangdong seemed like a sideshow. Resources were being diverted from Guangdong, because funds were needed in interior China, even as pressure was stepped up to require the provincial governor-general and governor to stamp out disorder. Governor-General Jiqing, removed from office in disgrace for mishandling secret society instigated unrest in Boluo county, committed suicide in 1803. His successor by one remove, Nayancheng, was appointed in 1804 with specific imperial instructions to put down the pirates and the Triad secret societies. While he refurbished the Guangdong navy for the task, one of his most important measures was to order the coastal villages to organize for defense. Significantly, the very important pronouncement that he issued in 1805 read:

> In the village, people not of the same family [*jia*] or surname [*xing*] are by nature all different. If rewards and punishments are not provided, orders are not carried out. It is necessary to lay down regulations stating clearly how controls are to be implemented. It is necessary for scholarly and knowledgeable members of the gentry, as well as just and respected elders, to instruct the common people so that they may know that I worry and plan day and night for their home and neighborhood.[12]

These few lines from this lengthy pronouncement in effect required that a common defense be mounted. The implementation of communal defense was applied, in particular, to interlineage arrangements. It authorized the

gentry and the elders to organize defense across lineage boundaries, precisely the sort of arrangement being made in the alliance at the Sixteen Sands. In noting that large towns might well become the pirates' targets, Nayancheng cited, in the Pearl River Delta, Foshan, Jiangmen, Rongqi, Guizhou, and Chen Cun. Reference to the last three and the omission of obvious ones such as Longjiang, Longshan, Jiujiang, and Daliang indicates the relative prominence of the alliance on the Sixteen Sands. The appointment of Nayancheng, therefore, ushered in a sharp change in imperial policy regarding the militia. Little wonder, therefore, that Long Tinghuai of Daliang describes a tussle for control.

Many other militia groups were shaping up for defense in the early 1800s. It was obvious why they had to be. Nayancheng's policies called for arresting people who supplied the pirates with food and gunpowder, and the summary manner by which arrests were made and dealt with meant that local communities, especially ones that were armed, had to demonstrate their allegiance or be condemned. The power alignments in Shunde became quite clear in 1809 when Zhang Bao struck. In 1809, the gentry of Daliang donated money to build a battery on a stone foundation to the east of the city, and money for another such battery at the bend of the river leading up to the city was donated by the villages of Wuzhou and Dazhou, together with the villages of Panyu county across the waterway (including Shating village where Qu Dajun built his ancestral hall).[13] The local history names fifteen other localities where smaller batteries were built. Most of these were probably no more than guns mounted on village watchtowers, but that of Longshan was, unlike the others, marked on the county map, and was probably of a grander scale than most. The gazetteer biography of Liang Shouchang of Huanglian village in Shunde illustrates the hardening of local powers promoted by militarization. The Liang surname at Huanglian became part of an alliance with the towns of Lelou and Longshan, and so Liang Shouchang, *juren* of 1808, who "had for long been a close friend of Long Tinghuai's, was trusted by the officials and given bamboo clubs and wooden cangues so that he might control the small lineages in his *xiang*."[14] The stronger militias tended to be associated with the cities and the major towns. As Huang Yonghao notes in his study of the Sixteen Sands, the sands were controlled by the market towns, not only because the landowners' ancestral houses were located there, but also because the produce from the sands had to be sold there. Controlling the markets meant controlling resources for the militia, but also supplies for the pirates, which was very much Nayancheng's policy.[15]

The militias of Shunde were, therefore, put together in haste in the

years between 1805 and 1810, and it would seem from the local histories that not all the counties of the delta succeeded in instituting local defensive organizations of the scale achieved in Shunde. Even then, sanction for a militia was meant to be only a temporary measure. As Philip Kuhn has noted in his study of the militia of the nineteenth century, the experience of working with a militia in suppressing the White Lotus Rebellion left the imperial court highly suspicious of its long-term consequences. Defense, according to the imperial court and even the Jiaqing Emperor himself, was properly the duty of the garrisons, whose provisions were clearly budgeted for. A militia had to be paid out of extrabudgetary revenue, and the expenses county magistrates incurred for the purpose could not be controlled. Moreover, after the rebellion had been put down, the militia's disbandment was itself socially unsettling. The use of a militia for local defense, therefore, did not become policy.[16] Yet, although some of the guns mounted in 1810 were surrendered to the provincial government after Zhang Bao's surrender, it is most unlikely that village alliances that had been successfully formed and supported by earmarked local revenue disappeared from the scene. The silence in the records, therefore, in all likelihood, reflects superficial acceptance of imperial policy. When the empire required the militias again, in preparation for the Opium War over two decades later, they were ready.

The imperial government was right to be concerned about local militarization, of course. The same local leaders who donated funds to the government's coffers for defense would also represent their communities in bargaining for tax reductions. In Shunde, tax reduction took the form of reining in county yamen runners who, following practices established back in the sixteenth century, demanded payment from the long-settled Shunde lineages in lieu of corvée service. The fees had been abolished in 1763 but continued to be collected, and so, around the time defenses were being organized, Luo Lizong, along with Long Tinghuai, brought suit against the yamen runners, produced a rubbing of the stone inscription recording the magisterial decision abolishing the fees, and won.[17] This was a small beginning, and there was more to come.

The Militia During the Opium War

The militia was called out again during the Opium War. Owing to the incident at Sanyuanli in 1841, in which British troops who had landed to the north of Guangzhou city clashed with villagers for two days, the existence of a militia at the time of the Opium War is well known. In this episode, a British landing party had taken over the batteries overlooking

Guangzhou city, and the likelihood that the city might be bombarded after British ships had demonstrated their firepower, struck fear into the Guangzhou officialdom and gentry. The city was prepared to accede to the demand for a payment of 6 million yuan. White flags flew on the city wall. However, the small force of British troops stationed on the mount to the north of the city must have appeared vulnerable. When a village house was attacked and gongs were sounded, by all reports, thousands of villagers gathered. They neither attacked the British position nor succeeded in wreaking great damage on the British landing parties. The events of the two days, in which torrential rain at times rendered British small arms inoperable, consisted of a small patrol being stranded and coming under attack, while the main landing party at the forts sought to rescue them. The conflict ended not because either side won, but because the ransom for Guangzhou was settled and the Guangzhou prefect reined in the villagers so that the troops could pull out.[18]

A temple still stands at Sanyuanli. On its wall, an 1822 stele records that repairs had been conducted in that year and, earlier, in 1784. Also on its wall, a second stele, dated 1861, records repairs carried out in that year. The 1861 stele notes that there was another temple at Sanyuanli, located at the southern end of the village. The surviving temple was the northern temple.

A study of the temple and the oral history and religious processions in this village by Chen Yuhuan, of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Guangzhou City, notes that both temples were devoted to the Northern Deity, but two different sets of rituals were conducted at the temples by different families during the main festival of the year around the first full moon after the lunar New Year. At the southern temple, festivities began on the ninth day of the first month, and on this day, the Northern Deity statue was taken out of the temple and deposited at an ancestral hall in the western ward of the village. For the next eight days, the statue was moved to a different ancestral hall in the village each day. Villagers living near the ancestral hall made their offerings to the deity when the statue was deposited there. At the northern temple, the statue of the deity was taken out on the tenth or eleventh day of the month and deposited for the following week at the Li surname ancestral hall in the village. During the period when the deities had been invited out of their temples, the villagers feasted. On the eighteenth day of the month, to complete the festivities, the deity of the northern temple was taken to the southern temple, and from there, the two deities were joined by other deities at the temple and the lot was paraded in the village and beyond. As is common in village processions, the route taken was clearly defined and would have marked

out a territory of significance to the villagers. It did not go as far as Shijing, where the communal school was established after the Sanyuanli incident. On the night of the procession, villagers of Sanyuanli separated into the four wards of the village for their feasts.

Chen Yuhuan's observation that the Li surname was the largest and most powerful in the village is significant, as is the fact that although by the twentieth century, the southern temple and its procession had become the more prominent, the northern temple was known as the "old temple" and no reference was made of the southern temple on the 1822 stele. The donors' list of the 1822 stele includes temple festival associations of the northern ward and the southern ward, and so a precursor of the northern and southern temple processions could well have been in place even then.[19]

The ritual arrangements at Sanyuanli suggest that in 1822, Sanyuanli was a multi-surname village in which one surname was particularly prominent. Yet the Li surname was not really of the stature that could mobilize the surrounding villages. When the commotion of the passing British troops, said to be caused by the attempted rape of a village woman, brought out thousands of villagers in the defense of the area, there was no gentry leadership to speak of at Sanyuanli. A contemporary account by a certain Lin Fuxiang, who had brought his own recruits among the boatmen to the assistance of the prefectural government, claimed that after he attacked the British position at the captured battery, he had arranged with the local village alliances to prepare banners inscribed with their names and to sound gongs should the service of his men be required.[20] There might be an attempt of self-glorification in the statement, but only a day after the gongs sounded at Sanyuanli, the British stragglers, lost in heavy rain, were struggling towards the north, where several community schools had been founded, at which there would have been a gentry leadership. Men from outside these villages continued to arrive, including migrant workers who had not yet been able to make Guangzhou and its surroundings their home villages. When in another contemporary account of the events of these few days, Liang Tingnan noted that the Panyu and Nanhai magistrates, on orders from the provincial governor to restrain the crowd, were shunned by the gentry, he was not speaking of the withdrawal of a gentry leadership from the scene, but merely of the fact that the magistrates would have expected to be received by the gentry when they went into the villages and that they were nowhere to be found.[21]

It is necessary to be as precise as possible about these events to come to an understanding of what gentry leadership could possibly mean.

Frederic Wakeman is probably right in thinking that there were different sorts of militias: there were mercenaries recruited by individual members or would-be members of the gentry; there were gentry-sponsored militias that mounted a defense in cooperation with the prefectural or county government, and who were often in close touch with provincial, prefectural, and county officials; and then there were village militias, that is to say, local men defending their own villages, which Wakeman calls the "genuine" militia.[22] However, it would be quite mistaken to think that there were very clear-cut divisions between one type of militia, so described, and another. The rustic crowd who were immediately roused at Sanyuanli could not but have been the militia of villages; they were simply local people reacting to the foreign troops. The crowds that gathered over the next day were under no apparent gentry leadership. The men from Shijing and Foliang, who fought the British stragglers had the communal school behind them, hence a gentry establishment, but it is debatable if they were stirred up by the gentry leadership. Yet, to crown it all, even as Sanyuanli was launched on its road to fame as a symbol of heroic resistance to foreign invasion, a few days after the British troops had withdrawn, the prefect of Guangzhou and the magistrates of Panyu and Nanhai feasted the leaders of the militia at their liaison office in the Great Buddha Monastery, and in the places of honor were the degree holders of the towns of Shijing and Foling, who produced only the propaganda literature that they had circulated to the villages as examples of their efforts, and no dazzling act of bravery in any skirmish.[23]

The gentry leadership at Shijing and Foliang did not lead a militia, and certainly, its presence was not why thousands had gathered to face the British. The incident at Sanyuanli elevated that leadership, for immediately after the British withdrawal, Sanyuanli and the military alliances to the north of Guangzhou became the means whereby the provincial officials in Guangzhou sought to redeem themselves from the depths of humiliation to which they had been subjected.[24] It is important to set the incident in the perspective of the heightened tension of two weeks beginning with the landing of the British and coming to an end with the celebration of victory at the Great Buddha Monastery. Guangzhou had closed its gates when the British troops arrived. The governor-general was known to be at loggerheads with the commanding general, the one having directed the misguided campaign against the British that reopened hostilities and the other having been unwilling or unable to make any military move. The regular troops, having joined in the looting of the foreign factories during the campaign, were deserting, taking their loot with them. Troops who had been recently brought in from Hunan province to help defend

Guangzhou had not faced the British. It was rumored, moreover, that they were smitten with the women lepers at the city's east gate, and that to protect themselves from catching leprosy, they were snatching young children, whose flesh they thought might be an antidote. The chief Cohong merchant, Wu Tunyuan, had been sent to negotiate with the British and acceded to a 6 million yuan ransom. The villagers who besieged the British to the north of the city afterwards claimed that they had been on the verge of annihilating them but were prevented from doing so by order of the prefect. Extant flyers and private letters charge the officials with incompetence.[25]

A condition of the withdrawal of British troops, aside from ceding Hong Kong Island to Britain, the opening of Guangzhou to trade, and an indemnity of 6 million yuan, was the departure of the bulk of imperial troops from Guangzhou city. In the immediate aftermath of the incident, therefore, Guangdong officialdom had to reorganize for defense, and in this context, it requested imperial permission both for funds for hiring troops of its own and for permission to retain the militia. The governor-general therefore found it useful to appeal to Beijing for approval on the grounds that local men had requested permission to organize a militia supervised by community schools.[26] The Shijing leader He Yucheng, long billed as the leader of the Sanyuanwei militia, was given an official appointment and, throughout 1842, the Shengping Communal School at Shijing remained an oft-cited example in his memorials.[27] Several other communal schools followed, including the Dongping Communal School, affiliated to the Shengping, which consisted of a substantial body of Hakka men, possibly the stonemasons said to have responded to the call at Sanyuanli.[28] However, imperial policy on the propriety of the militia as a measure of regular defense had finally changed. Throughout the two years of the Opium War, from 1840 to 1842, not knowing where the British fleet might strike, the imperial government had called upon the provincial administrations to organize militias for the entire coast from Guangzhou to Beijing. By mid 1843, the issue of the continuation of the militias was debated at court, and a consensus was growing as to their expediency. In response to a memorial from the Guangdong Guangxi governor-general, an imperial edict conceded that "the organization of the rural people into militias suited the conditions of Guangdong." Nevertheless, the court knew of few of these institutions, citing as examples only the Shengping Communal School and its affiliate, the Dongping Communal School.[29]

The prominence the imperial court gave the Shengping Communal School, understandable as it was in the context of the reports it had re-

ceived from Guangdong, quite missed the geopolitics of the Pearl River Delta. In terms of prestige, the gentry leaders of Shijing and Foliang who built their reputation on the Sanyuanli incident fell far short of the gentry leaders who were close advisers to the provincial government, men such as the Co-hong merchant Wu Tungyuan, or Huang Peifang (1777–1859), eighth-generation descendant of Huang Zuo, *jinshi* of 1804, reputable scholar and consultant to Governor-General Ruan Yuan as well as Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu. The prestige of the village scholars and retired scholars at Shijing market did not even come close to that of the Guangzhou gentry who participated in Lin Zexu's confiscation of opium from Western merchants in 1840. Significantly, while He Yucheng did not merit as much as a biographic mention in the Panyu local history, Huang Peifang's biography in the local history of Xiangshan, his native county, noted that it was on Huang's advice that Governor-General Qi Gong called for mobilizing the militia by dividing the "native people" (*tuzhu min*) into seven territorial groups (*she*). The reference to natives would have been opposed to the "guest people," the Hakka, who were precisely the support for He Yucheng.[30]

Well-financed and well-armed local defense corps that were regarded as legitimate were not to be found in the hills to the north of Guangzhou, but among the wealthy landowners of the sands. Reclaiming the sands was, as ever, a ready source of income for any local power that could gain bureaucratic support. That was why the same edict granting permission for the militia in Guangdong also granted permission to reclaim the sands near the forts at the mouth of the Pearl River, in the estuary known in Western records as the Boca Tigris, so that an income might be found to finance their manning and maintenance.[31] Such people as the leaders of Shijing or Foliang had no chance in reclaiming the sands. The manner by which sands reclamation might contribute to the military expenditure took the form of a military levy to be paid to the government, and again, nothing being simple on the sands, the levy was imposed in the midst of local disputes over ownership so that the patronage built up by the imposition once again helped tip the balance of local power.

The reclamation which the governor-general relied on for financing the batteries at the Boca Tigris was registered under Dongguan county, amounting to 13,765 *mu*. While the documentation for the whereabouts of this substantial amount of land is not absolutely definite, the only area that might have yielded at least a substantial portion of it would have to be the reclamation of some 670,000 *mu* known as the Ten Thousand *mu* Sands (Wanqing *sha*). The Dongguan local history dates its reclamation

to 1838, but prior to this date, parts of it were claimed by developers from Panyu county. Members of the Dongguan gentry, on the instigation of persons settled on a nearby reclamation, the Southern Sands (Nan *sha*), petitioned the county magistrate with plans of the area for permission to reclaim. The proposal is a curious one: the land reclaimed would be donated to the schools of Dongguan county, but the tax liability would be registered under an existing tax account of a Shi surname located in Dongguan. The land in question was surveyed by the magistrate in the presence of elders and neighbors in 1839, but the reclamation was contested by people of the Guo surname of Shawan village in Panyu, said to be Dan boatmen. According to the people of the Southern Sands, their challengers from Shawan, numbering three to four hundred, were well armed. With the magistrate's approval, the Southern Sands developers accused the Shawan people of illegal extension in 1840, and the two sides clashed. According to the Southern Sands people, when they went, with members of the Dongguan gentry, to collect the promised donations to the Minglun tang, namely, the Dongguan county Confucian school, they were met with gunfire from two boats carrying some forty or fifty people, while three members of the gentry in their company were snatched by the attackers into their boats. The attackers took their hostages to the Panyu magistrate, charging them with "using bandit boats, burning sheds, robbing, and kidnapping laborers." The Dongguan magistrate came to the support of his constituents, but they admitted that they had burnt the sheds found on the sands, and, upon investigation, it was found that the land had been leased to people from Nanhai and Xiangshan by a developer of Shunde. The case was reported to the provincial government for judgment, and the Guangdong surveillance commissioner called for documents from the Shunde owners. Its progress through the administration must have been interrupted by the Opium War, for the records come to a close from that point on, and when they recommence, in 1845, a judgment had been reached. The northeastern end of the development was to be allocated to Dongguan tenants, on the condition that the 40,000 *mu* in question would be subject to military dues (*xiang*). The rest of the development would be allocated to tenants from Xiangshan. The various parties acquiesced to this arrangement. Yet there should be no illusion that an administrative decision, on its own, could have achieved this compromise. In the same year, the provincial government also ruled that the garrison at Boca Tigris was to perform policing duties all the way from the battery to as far as Shawan, from where the Xiangshan tenants, reportedly Dan, had come. The award of the land grant was backed by a

military force, financed out of dues charged on the grant, and the military presence was needed because the subject population was no less armed than the government.[32]

The provincial government was well aware of the danger of militia organization playing into the hands of the unscrupulous. The very strange case of a Zhejiang man named Qian Jiang who announced his intention to raise a militia to fight the British in 1843 under the aegis of the provincial Confucian school illustrates an extreme form of the danger. In this case, the gentry dissociated themselves from Qian altogether and the provincial government stripped him of his junior official title on the grounds that he was raising money on the pretext of organizing the militia. The militia was to be organized by the gentry, a fact recognized by Qian, the provincial government, and the gentry itself. The provincial government said as much when it acted against Qian, and Qian obviously understood this when he made his announcement by means of a poster on the walls of the provincial school. Without the gentry's support, the organizer of the militia looked much like an opportunist or imposter.[33]

Charging a fee in support of a body of armed men, of course, was precisely what many wealthy families were doing on the sands. The excitement over the defense of Guangzhou city had, in effect, not only created intervillage alliances among the poorer villages to the north of the city, but also legitimized the armed policing that had gone on in the sands. Into the 1840s, the turmoil in Guangzhou that resulted from the British plenipotentiary attempting to enforce his right of residence obtained by the Treaty of Nanjing, continued to focus attention on the provincial city. In 1847, when tension over the question of residence reached its height, the whole of Guangzhou city came out in its defense. The merchants boycotted British trade, and the people of Guangzhou not only organized a watch, which they would have done in any case, but also listed all the street associations in charge of the watch, and the headmen responsible for each, under the leadership of the city gentry.[34] This was possibly the first time the entire body of Guangzhou residents had recorded their street-by-street watch-keeping arrangement in writing. The historian has to be very careful in judging what was new in this development. Certainly, watch-keeping at the street level was no novelty; it was conducted in the city as in towns and villages. The novelty consisted of bringing the watches within the state under the titular leadership of the gentry in the excitement of the moment. The esprit de corps exhibited in a moment of frenzy could dissipate as easily as it formed, but, into the 1850s and 1860s, another Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion kept it alive.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Local Power in the Taiping Rebellion

NOT SINCE THE END of the Ming dynasty had the Pearl River Delta seen the militia organized on the scale it assumed during the 1850s. It was not the first time the imperial state had reversed the eighteenth-century policy of discouraging local militarization: the militia had been required for local protection during the pirate raids of the 1800s and the British attack on Guangzhou in the 1840s. At the outbreak of the Triad uprisings in 1853, many village alliances had been formed and were organizing their own militias.[1] As always, distinction between bandits and militia was blurred, and for that reason, promoters of the militia understood the need to gain official recognition. This was done by placing the militia under the leadership of the recognized militia bureau (*ju*), headed by degree holders. It was widely recognized that the fighting men recruited into the militia were no longer village watchmen, but mercenaries. There was only a tinge of localism to their recruitment and no indication of their operating near their home villages.[2]

Government forces gained the initiative after the Triads were driven out of Foshan. However, the backlash of the Taiping victory down the Yangzi river led to more local uprisings, and then the overall political situation was undermined in 1857 by the fall of Guangzhou to British and French troops during the second Opium War. From the very last days of that year until 1861, Guangzhou city was occupied by foreign troops. Inasmuch as Guangzhou was incapacitated in the efforts to mobilize men for war, the imperial government relied on senior members of the gentry. The net result of this heavy reliance on loyalty from the villages was the promotion of local alliances and the encouragement of lineage power embodied in them.

There should be no mistake that the foreigners reveled in their victory

in gaining entrance into the city. A Chinese account of the ceremony of the occasion recalled the assumption of the conqueror as master. A band played music at the head of the procession, the barbarian chiefs were carried in sedan chairs, followed behind by the governor of Guangdong, Bo Gui. At the governor's yamen, the barbarian chiefs entered ahead of the governor, and they came down the steps at the entrance to welcome him into his own yamen. They sat in the head positions, and invited the governor to take the place of the guest of honor. The governor was the highest-ranking official in Guangzhou at the time, the governor-general having been arrested by the foreigners and imprisoned on a ship.[3] Another report noted that the foreigners took away the 227,000 taels of silver from the provincial treasury to their ships, camped in the principal halls of the governor's yamen, leaving the less important halls for the governor to use. It was also noticed that they forbade the use of the term "devil" as a reference for themselves, knowing that the word was demeaning. Of practical importance, they also disarmed the Guangzhou militia. The governor of Guangdong and the county magistrates of Nanhai and Panyu remained in Guangzhou with the permission of the foreigners and were obliged to take orders from them. A notice issued by the governor only days after the foreigners' entry into Guangzhou urged Chinese employees in foreign establishments to return to their posts.[4]

Governor Bo Gui died of illness in April 1859. He was clearly aware that by staying in Guangzhou and working with the British consul, Harry Parkes, his position was severely compromised. Despite his caution, he was directed by the consul to order the militia outside Guangzhou to abandon resistance, which order was ignored by them. Interceding between him and the consul were the leading Co-hong merchants, who like him, were known now publicly for having compromised their integrity and who, moreover, faced the personal wrath of the insolent British consul. These events of the three brief years of the British and French occupation of Guangzhou demolished whatever prestige the Guangzhou gentry leadership might have built up since 1800 through donations to water projects and contributions to the reputation of Guangdong scholarship. With the occupation, the locus of power obviously reverted to the countryside, that is to say, to intervillage alliances among lineage-dominated villages.

Imperial authority rested not with the officialdom held under duress in Guangzhou but with the senior members of the gentry who had received imperial commissions to organize the militia. The imperial court did not know about the fall of Guangzhou until two weeks after the event. In a matter of days after the news reached it, it removed the governor-general

from office (who had, in any case, been taken prisoner by the British), appointed a new governor-general, and placed the governor, Bo Gui, in charge in the interim. By the second day of the new year in 1858, that is, a month and a half after the fall of Guangzhou, it ordered that the militia be organized in the Guangzhou suburbs. Very significantly, one copy of the edict was sent to the governor of Hunan for transmission in secret to the members of the senior gentry organizing the militia and another copy was sent to the governor in Guangzhou. The edict stated in unambiguous terms that the governor was not to prevent the militia from carrying out its duties, anticipating the notices that Bo Gui had to issue under duress. The militia in the Guangzhou suburbs, therefore, received their orders directly from the imperial court. Not even the provincial government could stand in its way.

The Hunan governor, Luo Bingzhang, himself a Guangdong man, who kept close watch on developments in Guangzhou, summed up the power-sharing with the senior gentry that had been put in place very neatly in a memorial in the second month of 1858. He observed that it had long been the practice that gentry officials were not allowed to interfere in local government affairs while they resided in their home counties. The practice had been changed by recent edicts authorizing the gentry to organize militias. Yet, even then, the provincial governors and governors-general were given the charge of raising funds for them and they retained the authority for their employment. Now that the governor was held by the enemy and the newly appointed governor-general was still on his way to his new office, members of the gentry who were in charge of the militia were answerable to no local authority.[5] Luo did not draw a conclusion from this observation other than that the use of the right talent was paramount in such a situation. However, the court's response over the next month indicates what he was proposing. By the third month, shortly after the court would have received the Hunan governor's memorial, it decreed that the Guangdong militia might use its own wooden seal and, until the governor-general arrived in office, memorialize the court independently, forwarding its memorials via the Hunan governor. The governor-general arrived and set up office in Huizhou, outside Guangzhou, in the fourth month, but, even after his arrival, the gentry leaders of the militia continued to memorialize the court independently.[6]

The gentry leadership appointed to oversee the militia effort consisted of three men: Luo Chunyan (c. 1814–74), Long Yuanxi (1810–84), and Su Tingkui (d. 1878). Luo and Long were Shunde men, both coming from reputable surnames in the county city of Daliang. The Luo surname of Daliang claimed to be descended from various people who in 1452

petitioned the government for the establishment of Shunde county, but Chunyan was not a member of the most well established and populous branch at the Northern Gate, which claimed descent from the leader of that initiative. He seems to have sprung, at best, from a moderately well-off family belonging to a weaker branch of the lineage. His father was director of the Yuexiu Academy in 1849 when the academy led the militia effort in Guangzhou city to oppose the British entry. By then, Chunyan was serving as an official in Beijing, and he distinguished himself there in 1853 preparing for Beijing's defense after Nanjing had fallen to the Taipings. He returned to Guangdong in 1854 upon his father's death and stayed there until 1862.[7] If Luo headed the three members of the gentry who were commissioned to organize the militia, it was because of his senior official status and impeccable family credentials rather than personal wealth or lineage resources in Shunde. Personal clout in the Pearl River Delta was readily exercised by Long Yuanxi. Yuanxi's father was Long Tinghuai's younger brother, and his leadership signaled the continuation of the Shunde militia set up under Tinghuai in the 1810s. Like Luo Chunyan, Long Yuanxi had spent a considerable part of his early career in imperial service in Beijing. He returned to Guangdong in 1853 just in time to witness the fall of Shunde county city to the rebels, and he provided the gentry leadership at the time of the resumption of imperial authority in the city in 1855. Unlike Chunyan's, his close family was rich and intimately involved in the affairs of the lineage branch at the county city. The authority of his father, Tingzi (1786–1863), a known philanthropist and capable manager of local organizations who was still alive and active, would have been of tremendous assistance to him in establishing his own. An obvious contribution of the family group to his authority was the donation of 100,000 taels to the county coffers upon the recovery of the county city, the sum having been paid, not by himself or his father, but by a cousin (his father's brother's grandson).[8] The biography of the third member of the triumvirate, Su Tingkui, notes that he was an unsuccessful junior court official who had lost his official appointment for boldly criticizing imperial policies. In 1854, when the Triad groups revolted in the Guangzhou area and it was suggested that foreigners might be recruited to fight them, Su was known for his objection. He was very much a hands-on organizer of the militia, but it does not seem from his biographical background that he had many family connections in the region.[9]

The militia headquarters was set up in Hua county, near Sanyuanli. Under the triumvirate, it worked more as a fund-raising agency than a centralized military command. It is necessary to return to the recovery

of Shunde county city in early 1855 to understand the true magnitude of the revamping of local order in these turbulent times. When the county city was occupied by the bandit Chen Ji, Long Yuanxi, who headed the Shunde militia efforts, had set up office in the Great Buddha Monastery in Guangzhou, exactly where the success of the Sanyuanli repulsion of British forces was celebrated in 1841. He had received a formal commission for the Shunde militia from the Guangdong Guangxi governor-general and the Guangdong governor just about a month before the county city was recovered. The militia office worked under strange revenue sharing rules with the Guangdong provincial government: donations of 10,000 taels or more were remitted in their entirety to the province, and the donor was credited with the whole amount, while for payments under 10,000 taels, half went to the province and the donor was credited with that portion, while the remainder was devoted to the Shunde militia, not remitted to the provincial authorities. On this basis, Long collected over 220,000 taels for the county militia, a very substantial sum indeed.[10]

This war chest must have strengthened Long Yuanxi's hand considerably in the recovery of Shunde. The precise circumstances are worth noting: the bandit Chen Ji left the county city on the third day of the second month of 1855, which would have been very close to the time Long received his commission for the organization of the militia. Imperial troops were sent to the city only a month and a half later, arriving on the nineteenth day of the third month. The troops, coming down the river, cleared out opposing boatmen, but under an agreement reached between the magistrate and Long Yuanxi, did not land at the county city. As compensation for not landing, they were given a bounty of 3,000 taels by the Rehabilitation Bureau (Shanhou ju), as the militia office was known at this time. On the nineteenth, the acting magistrate, with some members of the gentry involved in the militia office and accompanied by the militia, entered the county city, the gentry setting up camp at one of the Long surname ancestral halls. Long Yuanxi himself arrived from Guangzhou on the twenty-second, formally setting up the Shunde Militia Head Bureau (Shunde tuanlian zongju) at the designated ancestral hall. The bureau incorporated the militia of the county city and set up the Daliang Public Bureau in its command.[11]

Bloodbaths followed in villages that were said to have been in league with the bandits. According to the records of the militia bureau, in the next two to three years, thousands of people were arrested as bandits; 25,491 persons between the end of the third month and the ninth month of 1855 alone, of whom 23,457 were executed and 1,230 "died of illness." Few people were spared after arrest.[12] The militia's record notes:

"At the time, the bandits were so fearful of the might of the officials that they had lost all nerve. Once arrested, they put their hands together to be tied. When bandits from the villages were sent to the city, they were tied with a straw rope, and it was never heard that any escaped. They looked upon death as their fate. How disgusting, and really, how pitiful!"[13] This was not a scene of active resistance, but of score settling and, once again, not of the law but of representation of allegiance deciding between life and death.

A deed prepared for the sale of a fishpond in 1857, not in Shunde but in nearby Heshan county, illustrates the horrendous extortion unleashed by the empowering of the militia. The deed records that the gentlemen of the charity school of the Shengping Bureau, in demanding 100 taels owed by "rebel" Huang Yongfeng, who had gone into hiding, designated as donation for "military needs" (*junxu*), put up for sale the rent-collection rights on the pond that were exercised by his wife and his concubine.[14] The deed is a stark reminder of the extortion conducted under cover of the arrest of rebels and demands for donations. A loose sheet found among the archives of the Guangdong Guangxi governor-general records that 110,000 taels was received by the Guangzhou prefect from confiscated properties at an unknown date around this time, consisting mostly of sums collected in Nanhai county.[15] In addition, the militia were also given a subsidy from government funds. At this time of need, and, therefore high grain prices, the Shunde magistrate sold the remainder of the rice stock in the granaries to the militia bureaus at the below-market rate of .85 tael per 100 catties. Being able to deal with the distributed stock as they pleased, the militia bureaus would have made a profit on its retail sale. It seems likely that the Shunde Militia Bureau was given 700,000 catties of rice in this distribution, some of which it used in relief in 1857. On record, the magistrate withdrew 10,000 taels from grain sale receipts for the building of batteries in 1857, which were manned by the Shunde militia.[16] The Shunde Militia Bureau must have been a very well financed body. In effect, it was given a license to run the county and to raise its own tax.

When Luo Chunyan returned to Guangdong in 1856, the Shunde Militia Bureau was well established. As holder of the most senior title in the triumvirate leadership, it was in Luo's name that memorials were submitted to the imperial government. He stayed only until 1860, when he was appointed to the Board of Revenue and returned to Beijing.

The outbreak of war in 1857 heightened the tension, and elevated even further the strategic role of the Shunde Militia Bureau. To understand this development, it is important to recall the subtle rift between the militia

groups promoted actively by the government in Guangzhou from the time of the First Opium War, and the much better financed and more powerful militia, such as the Shunde bureau, which were based on the sands. The pattern continued down to the fall of Guangzhou, for even as Guangzhou fell, the call for assistance from Guangzhou was sent, not to the militia bureaus of the sands, but to the Anliang Bureau of Shijing, set up at the time of the Sanyuanli incident in 1841, and the Dali Bureau, consisting of the village alliances to the west of Guangzhou, but stopping short of Foshan.[17] For this reason, in the early days of the foreign occupation of Guangzhou, British sources looked upon Shijing as the nerve center of the militia organization, an impression helped by Luo Chunyan and Long Yuanxi setting up the headquarters of their Guangdong Militia Bureau in Hua county to its north. It was from Hua county that Luo Chunyan had to escape abruptly in December 1858 from a British punitive expedition in retaliation for the Shijing militia's threat to British troops. However, as the British also learnt, throughout 1858, important meetings between officialdom and the militia were held in Foshan. Indeed, in 1857, a meeting of the gentry leaders at Foshan raised 180,000 taels from the shops and government taxes. These funds were to be spent on the militia raised outside Shunde, that is to say, from Sanyuanli, Shijing, and the ninety-six villages of Dali near Foshan, organized since the taking of Foshan by rebels, and the counties of Dongguan, Xiangshan, and Xin'an.[18] These were the forces sent against Guangzhou in 1858 that drew British retaliation. Aside from raiding the headquarters in Hua county, the British also put pressure on the imperial government to rein in the Guangdong militia. The threat and the excuse of the likelihood of a peace treaty looming in Tianjin prompted Luo Chunyan to petition the imperial government to order the disbandment of the Guangdong militia and allow the existing forces to be regrouped within the Shunde militia. The request was not granted, and the Guangdong Militia Bureau continued until the Treaty of Beijing was signed in 1860. During its brief existence, the Guangdong Militia Bureau recorded that it had found pledges for 980,000 taels for use against the Taipings in Guangxi, as well as in opposition to the foreigners in Guangzhou. It noted that 560,000 taels was remitted by imperial approval and the balance was presented to the Guangdong governor in 1860. Records from the imperial government show that of the 400,000 taels, only 100,000 was paid up, and the balance in excess of 200,000 was to be collected by the governor.[19]

The Guangdong Militia Bureau, therefore, served as a fund-raising office for various militia groups in the Pearl River Delta, excluding the Shunde militia. As always, fund-raising was a contentious issue. A case in

point was the collection of tax by the Guangdong Militia Bureau from silk markets in the four counties of Nanhai, Shunde, Xiangshan, and Sanshui, imposed from 1859. The tax was charged by imperial permission, on the understanding that a Joint Protection Bureau of the Silk Markets (Sixu lianfang ju) would be set up to fund a fleet of eleven well-armed boats for the policing of the waterways linking the silk markets. The tax was to be charged on people who served as brokers (*jingji*) in these places. It was imposed with the approval of the local gentry, given at a meeting in 1859, for the tax to be charged from 1860. In return for their approval, the local gentry were to keep 30 percent of the receipts. The tax was not successful. By its own admission, the record of the militia bureau noted that the 30 percent due the local gentry was not always put to good use, and the local gentry, thus empowered, frequently demanded extra payments from the brokers.[20] Moreover, it should be realized that essentially, the silk markets were set up by local lineages, and unless the increase was absorbed by the owners of the market, the imposition of a tax meant an extra burden on the middlemen. The biography of the militia organizer Kang Guoqi in the Nanhai gazetteer comes closer to describing the commotion caused by the levy than the Guangdong Militia Bureau's account. The biography notes that in 1858, after the tax was imposed, it was thought that most of the local militia bureaus were hiding their income from the markets, and representatives of the provincial bureau were sent to the local bureaus to investigate. Kang Guoqi, a man from Dangui district in Nanhai, arrested the man who was sent to the silk market of his hometown, on the excuse that he had acted without authority. The triumvirate leadership of the provincial bureau, in retaliation, asked the provincial government to put Kang in jail. The elders of the three counties (presumably Nanhai, Xiangshan, and Sanshui) petitioned the governor-general on his behalf for his release. There can be little doubt that the imposition of the silk market tax was regarded as intervention in local affairs.[21]

Militia Bureaus and Land Reclamation

In years to come, impositions on the silk markets came to be rationalized under the *lijin* tax, a tax that was generally thought to be imposed on goods in internal transit. The *lijin* tax had been proposed in 1856 to finance the imperial forces confronting the Taipings in the lower Yangzi, and it was extended to Guangdong as soon as it was adopted as imperial policy.[22] Like all tax measures, it did not lead to clearly regimented tax regimes but to the gradual legitimization of local practices, many of which

became clear only years after the Taipings were put down. The immediate impact of a new tax measure was to redefine what constituted proper revenue and to allow local governments to assign tax-farming rights. Such matters, as always, bred infighting among the members of the ruling regime, and the provincial governor and governor-general themselves, unable to deliver Guangdong's dues since the outbreak of war in the province in 1858, became suspected of corruption and inefficiency under the imperial gaze. Luo Chunyan's reappointment to the Ministry of Revenue in 1860 gave the Shunde men an edge over the Guangdong administration itself. Between 1860 and 1862, Luo Chunyan was instrumental in memorializing the imperial government in an attack on Guangdong's governor Lao Chongguang (governor-general 1859–61) on taxation matters, which led ultimately to the governor-general's removal and investigation by his successor.[23]

Legitimacy was closely bound up with recognition by the county and provincial administration and the respectability of the supporting gentry leadership.[24] Between the recovery of Daliang, the Shunde county seat, in 1855, and the disbandment of the Guangdong Militia Bureau in 1862, the Shunde Militia Bureau put its legitimacy well beyond any possible question. The gentry leadership of the Shunde Militia Bureau did this by associating themselves closely with the county gentry's annual sacrifice at the historic temples of four Ming dynasty officials. It replenished the public coffers of the Azure Cloud Literary Society, removing its control from four ancestral trusts (of the Luo, Long, and Li surnames) and placed it under the management of a group of eight members of the gentry, four being selected from households in the county city and four from outside the city. The literary society provided funds for candidates who sat for the imperial examination and for officials from the county who served in Beijing. It also provided funds for manning four of the batteries in the county and for the annual sacrifice at the temple built in 1855 dedicated to people who had died defending Shunde. In 1863, the gentry leadership held a countywide gathering of the gentry in an essay contest. A substantial gathering must have resulted, for the ancestral halls along the Bijian river leading from the county city, on the banks of which the lineage branch of the Long surname to which Long Yuanxi belonged would have been located, were requisitioned as meeting halls, and lunch of two moon cakes was provided for all attending. Amidst the ritual authority so established, the records of the militia bureau indicate that power was being centralized in the hands of a core faction at the county city, probably around Long Yuanxi. This was achieved by the setting up of a Daliang Public Convenant (Daliang gongyue) in 1860, incorporating the

militia alliances that had by then been established at the four gates of the county city, and in 1864, by demanding that the gentry leaders of these alliances surrender the official seals they had been given by the magistrate for the purpose of organizing the militia. The Shunde Militia Bureau did not, therefore, take over all militia organization in the county, for militia bureaus continued to thrive in some of the villages, but by closely linking the gentry organization and the militia groups at the county city, with the authority to represent the militia of the county, it became the biggest and most powerful militia body in the Pearl River Delta.[25]

The Azure Cloud Literary Society held considerable properties. Upon its foundation, it received a subsidy of 6,000 taels from the magistrate and two lots of landed properties on the sands. A record of its holdings acquired between 1859 and 1870 shows that its holdings on the sands expanded by 5,500 *mu* of registered land, and given the reclamation on such sands holdings, the actual cultivated acreage must have surpassed this figure considerably.[26] Nevertheless, this figure paled beside what was to become the major source of wealth for the Shunde militia, which arose from its control over the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Sea Bureau established in 1859, the same year in which the literary society was reorganized.

The Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Sea Bureau had its origin in the protection arrangement on the sands set up by Long Yuanxi's uncle, Long Tinghuai, back in 1803 just before the disturbance caused by the pirate Zhang Bao. It will be remembered that protection for proprietors on the sands in the area known as the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Sea was provided by the Rong-Gui Covenant, set up in 1803. The Covenant operated a fleet of eighteen boats and 208 men and levied a charge on the land over which it offered protection, but it had fared poorly in the 1850s. At the time Shunde county city was recovered from the bandits in 1855, its force was reduced to nine boats and 108 men. With the establishment of the Shunde militia, the militia had gradually shared the right to police the area, and in 1858, the militia triumvirate leadership, Luo, Long, and Su, petitioned the Guangdong governor for permission to incorporate the Rong-Gui Covenant into the Gaungdong Militia Bureau. In effect, incorporation implied that members of the gentry who held shares within the Covenant had their payment for shares reimbursed, and that areas on the sands that had hitherto not been subject to the Rong-Gui Covenant's protection were now brought into it. However, more than the Rong-Gui Covenant, the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Sea Bureau was able to intercede between the magistrate of Xiangshan, in whose county the land tax on the sands in this area had been paid, and the heads of the sands-

men, the groups that contracted with the bureau for the right to offer protection. Where the headmen had, formerly, negotiated on their own the tax they had to pay in order to run the protection organization, the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Bureau came to an understanding with the magistrate for a flat rate to be paid. The headmen were made liable for collecting the protection levy from landowners and delivering it to the bureau. The heads of the sandsmen, therefore, applied to the bureau for the certificates that granted them the right to run the protection agency and the bureau granted the right to cultivate a small amount of land for its sustenance. When the Guangdong Militia Bureau was disbanded in 1862, its properties and rights devolved to the Sixteen Sands of the Eastern Sea Bureau. The authority of the militia bureau was now complete: it owned land on the sands via the Azure Cloud Literary Society, it collected a tax from the silk spinners, it had a body of armed men in the form of the militia, and the authority to use them on the sands.[27] A great deal of income was derived from the control exercised on these organizations, and the wealth created is reflected in the increase in the Long surname's landholdings, especially those of Long Yuanxi's branch, as evidenced by its genealogy.[28]

Developments similar to Shunde's may be traced in the other counties. Few matched the scale of organization achieved in Shunde, but quite close to it would have been the Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties (Minglun tang) of Dongguan. The name Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties in Dongguan, like those of halls that went by this name in all counties, designated the building in the county academy in which sacrifice was annually made to Confucius. It was therefore the arch-symbol of gentry organization and values, and the group who managed the hall were the county's de facto top gentry elite.

The meteoric rise of the few lineage groups that rose with the involvement of the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties in the management of reclaimed land on the sands can be traced directly to their involvement in the militia movement from the 1840s. The first substantial grants received by the hall consisted of land reclamation granted in recognition of the need to maintain the batteries at the Boca Tigris estuary in the immediate aftermath of the First Opium War. The grant not only established the authority of the hall over the stretch of the sands known as the Southern Sands, but also made possible its extension into adjacent Ten Thousand Qing Sands. The land grants bordered on Xiangshan county, and so, initially, disputes arose between the gentry leadership of Dongguan and that of Xiangshan over land reclamation rights. The dispute was settled by a compromise in 1845, and thereafter, the Dongguan

hall expanded its holdings in the area through purchase and registration at the county magistracy. The leadership of the Dongguan hall was as formidable as its land reclamation was successful. It was led not by any single leader but by a group, all of whom came from long-established lineages, and built up considerable connections and official recognition through the 1850s. Significantly, the small gentry leadership had shown itself quite capable of challenging the county magistrate in 1851, when in protest against the magistrate's handling of the tax remission on the accession of the Xianfeng Emperor to the throne, they called for a boycott of the imperial examination of that year. The leaders among the candidates who boycotted the examination were banned by the governor-general from taking part in further examinations. Among these were He Kun, his son Renshan, and Zhang Duan. He Kun was one of the founders of the Northwestern Suburb School (*Xibei yu shexue*) at the county city, and Renshan was to become one of the leaders of the Dongguan militia, which was located at the school when the rebel He the Sixth of Shilong took the county city in 1854. Thanks to the guarantee offered by a distant cousin, Zhang Jingxiu, the ban on Zhang Duan was revoked by imperial authority to enable him to sit for the examination in 1862 and to obtain a *juren* degree. While Zhang Duan does not seem to have been involved in the militia, Zhang Jingxiu, who came from Duan's village and was party to a common ancestral trust (the Zhang Rujian *tang*), had distinguished himself as a militia commander. Jingxiu had served as a magistrate in Guangxi province in the 1840s, and upon the outbreak of the Taiping uprising in 1851, he had raised a small force from Dongguan to fight in Guangxi. By 1854, already well known as an anti-Taiping warrior, he was retained by the Guangdong-Guangxi governor-general, Ye Mingchen, to fight in the West River area, and he was defeated only in 1856 by the Foshan rebel Li Wenmao. At that point, Jingxiu returned to Dongguan, where in 1850 he had built his famous Ke Garden as his residence, but upon the fall of Guangzhou to the British and the French, he was called upon by Governor-General Huang Zonghan to assist in the defense of the East River area. Upon Huang Zonghan's removal in 1859, Zhang Jingxiu was appointed Jiangxi province surveillance commissioner. He retired later in the year and died in 1864. Zhang Duan's biography in his genealogy notes that he was given charge of local affairs on Zhang Jingxiu's recommendation, accurately designating the locus of power in the lineage in the 1850s.[29]

By 1864, the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties became the de facto militia organization of Dongguan county. The Anliang covenant alliance office, which governed the militia, was staffed by the

senior county gentry and located in the county city. No contemporary record describes its judicial functions, but reminiscences describe the alliance office as a virtual yamen, where senior members of the gentry took turns to adjudicate disputes brought to them.[30] Closely associated with the militia organization was the management of the reclaimed land that was brought under its ownership. Again, no contemporary document is extant on its management, but later surveys have made the multitiered ownership of its holdings famous. In other words, the hall leased the right to farm to its tenants, and its tenants, many of whom were lineages of substantial means, committed control to secondary tenants.[31] To stress the salaries drawn by the gentry managers of the hall, as sociological studies from the 1920s on often did, is to miss the point. The tenants who succeeded in leasing land from the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties were vouched for personally by the gentry managers, and the patronage so established gave an edge to their own families and lineages in the acquisition of land. As Huang Yonghao has shown, in his study based on the genealogies of the Zhang surname of Dongguan and land deeds drawn up towards the end of the nineteenth century, the same gentry managers in the hall were parties to large reclamation projects entered into on a shareholding basis.[32] The authoritative backing of the hall that they obtained by participation in its management was a guarantee for their ability to stand up to official attempts of interference. It has to be realized that the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties was as rich as it was locally powerful. By one of its own reports, its annual rental income in 1888 from sands reclamation amounted to 40,000 taels. Although comparable figures are not available for the 1860s, its holdings even then must have been extremely substantial.[33]

No other county in the Pearl River Delta succeeded in placing its militia under the nominal leadership of single bodies of the county gentry; but gentry alliances on a smaller scale abounded. In Xinhui, internal dissent prevented an overall organization from being built to encompass the three separate militia bureaus created during the siege of 1854 to raise funds for the militia, all of them founded upon existing gentry establishments. The Gangzhou Bureau, the Northeastern Bureau, and the Southwestern Bureau were each made up of sizable intervillage alliances and fronted by an academy. Nishikawa Kikuko has related active participants in these organizations to their genealogies and documented their vested interests in reclamations on the sands.[34] Evidence is available in the Northeastern Bureau that illustrates the tension that must have existed within these village alliances arising from competition for scarce resources. The town of Jiangmen, included within the Northeastern Bureau, had for years been

represented by the gentry managers of six temples, and it was this gentry leadership that rose in opposition to the county government as its military sought to remove the cannon that guarded the river inlet leading past Jiangmen to the county city in 1854. The three districts of Chaolian, Hetang, and Waihai had, again for years, been cooperating in the policing of the portions of the sands owned by their own members, and in the early 1860s, they clashed with the Northeastern Bureau over its rights to police the sands.[35] Other townships had had their wings clipped by the outbreak of disorder in 1854. Xiaolan's militia tradition, dating from the days of fighting the pirate Zhang Bao in 1809, was interrupted by the fall of the town to the rebels in 1854. The records hint that a substantial portion of the Xiaolan population might have gone over to the rebels while the town was held by them. These men were gathered at Governor Wang's temple and were sworn to loyalty under the leadership of members of the Xiaolan gentry when imperial troops reentered the town.[36] Not only was 300,000 taels expended for the reconquest, but by 1857, when the Guangdong Militia Bureau was started, Xiaolan was subject to a tax contribution without concomitant leadership in the bureau.[37] Foshan, likewise devastated by war in 1854, failed to put together its own militia. In 1854, it was recovered from the occupying rebels by a force that was financed locally and put under the leadership of local officials, in combination with the militia of the ninety-six villages of the Dali district in its vicinity. A militia bureau was established only after the recovery of Foshan. This militia bureau, divided into sixteen subbureaus to take account of the ward structure of the town, became integrated into the Guangdong Militia Bureau during the Second Opium War. Foshan returned rapidly to prosperity during the war, as business normally conducted at Guangzhou was relocated there, but it would not have had the free hand of either the Shunde or the Dongguan militias in subsequent land grabbing.[38]

Long-term Consequences

As government officials well knew, the state paid the price of local militarization in the land tax. The evidence is confusing, for amidst the resurgence of registration records are indications aplenty that the government's efforts to raise tax from land constantly ran into difficulty. Although tax rates were well publicized, Qing dynasty taxation was not imposed uniformly on land held, actual tax paid having more to do with the amounts of land registered and customary dues added on by yamen

runners. Not surprisingly, the net result of a resurgence of local power consisted of the renegotiation of customary dues.

The restriction of customary dues by yamen runners focused attention on the tax records. For this reason, the Nanhai and Shunde gazetteers both contain detailed records of *lijia* registration obtained from the magistrates' offices, and Tan Dihua's study of the registration records of the sands notes the attempts to reregister newly reclaimed land in 1866. Nevertheless, the test of whether registration took effect has to be conducted on records of local reaction.[39] The circumstances for a local interest in the magistrate's records are noted in the Foshan gazetteer. In 1866, the Nanhai magistrate had put pressure on the *lijia*-registered households of Foshan to deliver tax. Members of the *lijia* met at their own Zanyi *tang*, paid the magistrate's runners for a copy of the yamen's tax collection registers, and established a tax-paying alliance among themselves so that each tax-registered household might be held liable for the exact portion of its tax, no more and no less. The issue at stake was the age-old burden of collective tax responsibility, whereby the head of the rotation unit known as the *jia* had to make up for shortfalls in tax. The duty was burdensome in the best of circumstances, and debilitating when tax-paying households did not have as much as the tax records to resort to. As in previous efforts to put *lijia* into effect, the Foshan experiment called on peer-imposed punishment of delinquents and awards for the law-abiding, but the focus was placed on knowledge of the tax-registration records.[40] In 1878, the gentry and elders of Longshan *xiang* in Shunde county petitioned for a similar arrangement, demanding that the fees charged by the magistrate's runners be restricted to a fixed amount of 20 silver dollars.[41] In 1882, the households of the military garrison of Xiaolan in Zhongshan county, that is to say, the *lijia*-registered households dating from the Ming dynasty, set up an association that included, ex officio, eighteen managers responsible for tax collection for the militia bureau. The association's membership, set up by contributions from 310 parties for annual sacrifice to the Pole Star, the god of examination success, would have delineated remnants of the Ming military households.[42] In all three instances, a fresh interest was manifested in the *lijia* by households long established in the locality, and in the first two instances, it should be clear that the interest had much to do with restricting customary tax demands that might be imposed by yamen runners.

However, the most blatant standoff over taxation is recorded in the diary of Guangdong Governor Guo Songtao (governor 1863–66), who had to deal, not with village alliances but with none other than his brother of-

ficial Long Yuanxi of the Shunde Militia Bureau. The governor was hard pressed to produce the financial contribution required of Guangdong in support of military operations elsewhere in the country, and he found Long Yuanxi annoyingly sheltering local strongmen in Shunde and backing Chencun Market for reduction in internal transit tax. Yet it was precisely on these issues that Governor Guo was attacked at court. Long Yuanxi's associate in the Militia Bureau, Luo Chunyan, now an imperial censor, had been taking his subordinate staff to task for corruption, and Pan Silian of Nanhai, whose father, Pan Jin, had promoted the Mulberry Garden Dike, now also a censor at court, memorialized on the slackness of law and order in Guangdong and the governor's inability to return to the Mulberry Garden Dike funds that had been diverted from it in previous years. The governor, who must have been in utter desperation, tendered his resignation, which was turned down.[43]

Governor Guo Songtao supported the collection of internal transit dues. It is hard to see where else he could have raised the funds needed of him. The shift in the source of revenue from land tax to commercial taxes, such as this tax on goods in transit, had important ramifications for institutional change. Susan Mann, in her study of the role of official brokers under the Qing dynasty, cites the example of Xinhui's Palm Fan Guild to illustrate the fierce independence of merchants and their ability to ward off tax impositions. From 1859, Xinhui had been required to collect an internal transit due from the merchants, and this by farming the transit tax to the Xinhui's Palm Fan Guild, that is to say, tacitly permitting the guild to charge a fee on merchants in return for its delivery of the tax.[44] The Palm Fan Guild initially resisted the imposition but finally yielded, in circumstances that illustrate how demand for contributions from government might be converted into a right exercised by the eventual donor. The regulations of the Jiujing Hall, established as a corporate member of the Palm Fan Guild in 1861, note that the demand of 1,000 taels in contribution by government in 1856 was met by personal subscription of 4 taels each from 238 members, who forfeited their repayment because the guild took over the collection of transit dues to create this corporation. Land was purchased with the reimbursement due so that an annual celebration might be held on the occasion of the Guandi deity's birthday. Complete with a management, accounting, and 238 printed copies of the regulations—one each for the founding members—the donors towards the 1856 contribution converted themselves into a corporate group within the guild, whose interests, no doubt, went beyond the holding of an annual feast. The Palm Fan Guild represented the interests of different groups within the palm fan trade, and its man-

agement was annually nominated. Aside from three groups closely tied to palm fan manufacturers and traders involved in different parts of the manufacturing and trading process, documents drawn up by the land reform movement in the 1950s found eleven contributory corporations under the Palm Fan Guild, most of which were established in the 1860s and 1870s.[45] The result of the state turning to the trade guilds for financial contribution, therefore, was not only that merchants stood up to the state, but that engagement with the state strengthened the guild's internal organization. As the Ming and Qing state got its way more by the award of honors than by the successful imposition of punishment, this was what might be expected.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The Foreign Element in Pearl River Delta Society

Foreigners were a factor to be reckoned with throughout Guangzhou's history, especially after the Portuguese established their entrepôt at Macau on the Guangdong coast in 1553.[1] The Portuguese presence was recognized immediately for what it represented: exotica, trade, and guns. In the centuries to follow, trade led to prosperity and the guns were kept at bay, while exotica instilled distance in cultural contact. The Opium Wars changed all that: foreign victory signified superiority, which was at least technological if not fundamental. Yet, even as Guangzhou stood stunned by Western firepower, Western technology had moved on, from the steam engine to the steamer and the railway, the electric telegraph, more and deadlier guns, standards of hygiene and knowledge of disease, the factory, banks and financial services, the postal service, the internal combustion engine, and aniline dyes. A consequence of Western contact in China was the call for reform by the younger generation of the 1890s, leading to a series of legal, administrative, and constitutional reforms by the Qing government from 1904 on, and then its own demise by revolution in 1911. It is a challenging undertaking to tease out of this rich fabric of unceasing change the threads of reason that might relate to the history of the lineage as an institution. Nevertheless, the starting point can be located simply: nothing in the Western contact made a direct impact on how the lineage was to be managed. Yet, the lineage as an institution was to change, and the reason it had to do so would test the fundamental thesis of this book that the lineage as an institution was no more and no less than the result of negotiation for the integration of local society into the state. With the Western impact, local society was to be integrated into the state in ways fundamentally different from the premises of ritual reform in the sixteenth century.

Beyond Exotica

The Portuguese settlement at Macau remained the museum of Western exotica in Guangdong. Western life there was more unfettered than in the foreign "factories" of Guangzhou, and written about with less inhibition.[2] The popular *Brief Account of Macau*, first published c. 1751, described Macau's churches and their annual processions, noting: "At the temple of the northern corner, barbarian men and women fond of one another pledged before their god and the monks foretold their fortune to complete the ceremony." Their marriages were not made through go-betweens, and they knew of no relatives who shared their surnames. They used a calendar of 365 days, divided into twelve months. Of their curiosities, the *Account* mentions clocks and watches, guns, especially handguns that could be hidden in one's clothes, spectacles, and telescopes.[3] The *Account* betrays no sense that much in Macau might deserve imitation.

Popular writings had less to say about Western life in the "factories" of Guangzhou than about Macau. Most of what historians have written about the subject is derived from Western-language sources and official documents. The Nanhai gazetteer has hardly a word about the foreigners, even though it noted the importance of foreign trade. The "factories" were meant to be a ghetto. Foreigners who lived in Guangzhou before the Opium War escaped to Macau for social life.[4] Nevertheless, a community of pidgin speakers must have come into being. Hong merchants and the commercial artists who soon came to excel in paintings for export may have been among these.[5] Others may have learned from the booklet William Hunter calls "Devil's Talk," which provided Chinese character homophones for English words.[6] Xian Yuqing successfully tracked down the life and times of Bao Peng, an English speaker from early age, who was in the service of British merchants in Guangzhou. Some time in the 1830s, Bao had left Guangzhou and was living in Shandong province. In 1840, he went into Commissioner Qi Shan's service as interpreter and was awarded the junior official rank of eighth grade on Qi's recommendation for the purpose. When Qi Shan was appointed to Guangdong to negotiate the terms of surrender, he took along Bao. In years to come, many more were to make careers by reason of some fluency in English. Bao was a generation ahead of them.[7]

The sense of the other was expressed in the well-known term "foreign devil" (*fangui*). Derogation was closely related in the use of the term, but it was probably no less derogatory than terms used by the Cantonese of all non-Cantonese, whether they were Dan or people from "outside the river" (*waijiang*, a reference to people who had come to Guangzhou from

north of Guangdong). Figurines of British troops used as props for house pillars, and thus condemned to perpetual labor in holding up the temple, can still be seen at Foshan. None of this is to say that Western novelties were not accepted quite readily, once their utility was demonstrated. The most successful case of nineteenth-century technological transmission in Guangzhou was possibly smallpox vaccination. One has to wonder at the taboo that had to be overcome when cowpox was used on the human body, but it was found to be effective in Guangzhou and was then introduced by Cantonese merchants, through their guilds, to other coastal cities.[8] The English-language newspaper provides some very vivid descriptions of the signs of prosperity in Guangzhou, of which the following report in 1879 is a sample:

> Foreign Arts and Sciences are gradually working their way into society, and among all classes. Kerosene lamps and oil, as well as fancy chandeliers of various descriptions and mirrors of all sizes and dimensions, are very generally used throughout the city; the use of foreign coins has entirely superseded native sycee, and schools have been established for the education of women, thus following the example of the missionary schools which have been established for that purpose, under European or Native teachers. Steam engines of all sizes and descriptions are being placed on board native built crafts of grotesque forms, and much attention appears to have been spent in that direction, as little steamers are puffing and snorting past at all hours of the day, bound on various missions, some towing junks full of native officials going to their homes in the country, and others towing junks full of foreign merchandise, or war material of some kind.[9]

Obviously, it took time for the novelties to spread. Silver dollars took the place of silver "shoes" (*sycee*) well before the Opium War, and girls' schools were few and far between even in the 1870s. At the same time, the steam engine was still confined to the city, chiefly in the dockyards, but the steam launch towing wooden junks up and down the Pearl River had become a common sight. One of the fastest-growing imports was matches, soon to leave behind the use of flint for making fire.[10] Not to be forgotten, also, was the continued import of opium, whose use was rapidly becoming a social habit among men.

The best record of the prosperity of the Pearl River Delta region after the Taiping decade is found in the reports of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service. Year after year, the reports speak of increases in export, primarily of silk. In reading these reports one needs to realize that improvement in transport and credit facilities translated into sharp increases in world trade from the 1870s on. Some technological change reached China in the process, but not a great deal penetrated the countryside. Nevertheless, the reeling of silk by the steam filature, a process

whereby a steamer fitted to manually operated reelers unwound the silk thread from the silk cocoon, was adopted in the Nanhai-Shunde region well ahead of the lower Yangzi delta. Some initial opposition from hand-reelers, who resorted to the breaking of the steam filatures, had to be overcome. However, filatured silk was so successfully exported that by 1900 Guangzhou exported more silk than Shanghai, and two-thirds of its exports consisted of the filatured variety.

Silk was Guangzhou's major export, but it was not the only rural product that brought cash income to the producers. Until Java sugar took over the export market, no earlier than the 1890s, Dongguan was a major sugar producer. Xinhui remained China's sole producer of palm-leaf fans. And all of the Pearl River Delta produced rice, no less a commodity than other crops. Half a million piculs of rice was exported to North America annually from Guangdong with the Qing government's permission and more, no doubt, without it. Guangzhou imported huge quantities of cheaper machine-milled rice from Indochina, much of which was sent into the countryside, while unknown quantities from there supplied the city and the bustling export centers. The import of rice into Guangzhou has been interpreted as Guangdong's "food shortage." The reverse was true: commentators who spoke of a "food shortage" forgot the obvious, namely, that imported rice had to be paid for. Rice was preferred in the diet to the sweet potato, and growing wealth in the Pearl River Delta and elsewhere in Guangdong had led to increased rice consumption.[11]

Yet another export from the Pearl River Delta was labor. Emigration from the area had a long history, and although highly controversial, the export of indentured laborers was regarded as a trade from early on.[12] In 1859, when the British consul in Guangzhou allowed the advertising of a prospectus for the recruitment of labor for the West Indies, he did so in the belief that this would reduce the incidence of kidnapping, or "crimping," of Chinese laborers at nearby Huangbu by Macau "emigration depots," a subject on which he had received a petition from the city's thirty-two trade guilds.[13] The numbers were quite substantial, even when incomplete: 40,000 in the five years from 1856 to 1861 from Macau alone, most of whom (33,000) were sent to Havana.[14] Subsequent reports show that emigrants to Cuba and Peru worked under conditions of near slavery, but not all emigrants met the same fate. Those who went to the Malay Peninsula worked the tin mines, and were protected by their own "secret societies" to the point where these came to be seen as a menace to social order. Those who went to North America worked on the railways and were subject to discriminatory laws in the 1870s, but many prospered running small businesses, including laundries and

grocery stores. Investors in silk filatures of Shunde and Nanhai included returned migrants, Chen Qiyuan who founded the first steam filature being one of them. Chen learnt about the power of steam in Vietnam in the 1850s; his steam filature was founded in his home village in Nanhai county upon his return in 1872.[15]

Nearer home was the Western city at Hong Kong, whose drawing power the census reports indicate clearly enough. The census of 1901 recorded a Chinese landed population of 230,000 of whom 179,000 claimed counties in the Pearl River Delta as their origin.[16] The same origin is also writ large in the Hong Kong guilds, some of which were affiliated with guilds in Guangzhou.[17] Perhaps one of the most significant statistics is the proportion of men who claimed to be married compared to the women: in 1911, of all people married, 71 percent were men and 29 percent were women. That is to say half the married men in Hong Kong had left their families in China, their income providing a regular source of remittances back to their home villages.[18] The proportion of men living with their wives in Hong Kong beyond 1911 might actually have increased. The newspapers noted that the pull of Hong Kong was so great that houses were being left empty in Guangzhou.[19]

Over the years, paper money came to play an increasing role in the silk trade, but from the 1870s until the end of the Qing dynasty, shiploads of silver were transported into the villages as the silk made its way towards Guangzhou. Reports of piracy, robbery, and kidnapping were quite common, all the more reason why villages had to be armed.[20]

Guns

Some of the most sudden and devastating changes were introduced by the spread of firearms. The basic facts are not as clear as they might be, for in their concern with establishing the chronology for the beginnings of the cannon in China, historians of technology have quite neglected its subsequent history. Much is known, therefore, of the sporadic manner in which the Ming government imported guns, but little work has been done on the control of firearms in the first half of the Qing dynasty. Controls on cannon making and the keeping of cannon by the civilian population were, so it seems, quite strictly maintained. In the Pearl River Delta, Foshan seems to have quite lost the skill of casting workable cannon by the time of the Opium War, as evidenced in the poor quality of the iron used, which led to their cracking. The possession of small arms, however, would seem to have continued despite the ban. Qu Dajun, writing at the time of the Ming-Qing transition, notes that muskets known as

"bird guns" (*niaoqiang*) were commonly found in Guangdong. In the hill areas, men learned to use them from the age of ten, and Xinhui county was known for making them.[21] In 1778, attempting to enforce the ban on firearms, the Guangdong provincial authorities confiscated 11,251 "bird guns" and 449 iron "cannon barrels." Its treatment of these confiscated armaments is highly indicative of the abundance of firearms: the "bird guns" were returned, as were 477 "cannon barrels" that were shorter than one Chinese foot (1 foot and three inches), on the understanding that they were used only for ritual purposes at temple sacrifices. Although the numbers do not tally, "bird guns" were evidently common, while few actual cannon were found, if any.[22]

Until more research has been done on the use of firearms in the eighteenth century, any conclusion about the turning point in its impact must be tentative. In the Pearl River Delta, the turmoil created by the pirates under the leadership of Zhang Bao was decisive. The pirates had obtained their cannon and gunpowder from Vietnam. When government troops failed to contain them and permission was given to organize the militia, the villages found that they needed to be similarly armed to mount a defense. The 500-catty guns mounted on the walls of Guangzhou could not be used, because the area outside the city had been totally built up. New batteries were therefore needed to stop the pirates before they reached the city's suburbs. Long Tinghuai has left an account of the sense of crisis with which his men removed cannon from boats and from the city wall in order to arm hastily built batteries. What were obviously needed, however, were not the small cannon that could be obtained from those places, but the larger pieces, weighing 500 catties or more, that had been buried in the ground from the time of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Long describes the explosion of gunpowder stores hit by the pirates' gunfire and a futile attempt to persuade the magistrate to allow his men to take charge of a 1,000-catty cannon that had been dug up and was lying in the yamen. Finally, according to his account, a dream guided him to another hidden cannon, and this god-given 500-catty gun, cast in 1650, was installed in a battery at Bijian outside the Shunde county city and near his own home village.[23]

Guns were widespread by 1800. Governor-General Nayancheng, in 1805 in Guangdong to deal with the secret societies, discovered how guns were related to lineage feuding. Lineage groups used income from their estates to buy arms, including guns, and when people were killed in feuds, the lineages paid for someone to accept responsibility. The nominal culprits who were executed for the killing would be given sacrificial tablets in the ancestral halls, and their families would be taken care of by

the ancestral estates.[24] Governor-General Bailing, who defeated the pirate Zhang Bao, argued in an 1809 memorial that the pirates needed supplies of gunpowder as much as food, and that while they obtained the food from the regular coastal trade, the gunpowder must have been leaked from tightly controlled government workshops.[25] This was not necessarily the case, however. Recently published documents show that since the 1790s, saltpeter and sulfur had been regularly imported into Macau from Japan and the Philippines, which was partly sold to merchants purchasing on behalf of the imperial gunpowder workshops in Foshan and partly smuggled into the Pearl River Delta. One of those documents shows that only months after his memorial, Governor-General Bailing had grasped the importance of Macau as a source of armament. He directed the Aomen subprefectural magistrate, the official in direct contact with the Portuguese government authorities at Macau, to ask where the guns that had been sold had originated from. He wanted to know where the iron had been purchased, if the guns were locally cast, and, if the iron was not locally purchased, whether the guns had been imported from abroad for sale. He was prepared to let bygones be bygones, but he warned the barbarian chiefs that the trade had to end.[26]

By the time of the Opium Wars, the use of guns in battle was well established in China. Commissioner Lin Zexu understood the importance of stopping the British fleet from approaching Guangzhou, even though his efforts failed miserably, but he totally underestimated the firepower of small arms. The imperial court obtained samples of small arms towards late 1841, but failed to appreciate the technology involved.[27] By the rebellions of the 1850s, it was small arms and the lighter cannon that took center stage. The Macau connection was obviously still in place, for Long Yuanxi spent time there in 1854 planning the recovering of Shunde county city, and when he did, his ships went well equipped with guns, gunpowder, and food.[28] The contemporary account of the defense of Xinhui, *Gangcheng zhenge ji* (Laying war to rest in Xinhui), gave the supply of guns from Macau as a contributing factor in the rise of secret societies.[29] The connection with Macau, and soon Hong Kong, made a great difference to firepower, not only in quality but also in quantity. By the mid nineteenth century, small arms technology in the West was advancing by leaps and bounds, and the Macau and Hong Kong opening provided access to it. The first wars in which imported technology drawing on a "fast gun" (*kuaiqiang*) were fought in South China probably took place to the west of the Pearl River Delta, where indigenous people from Xinning and Xinhui were fighting the Hakkas. In 1857, they were joined by a Hong Kong man, who not only supplied guns, but in 1859

persuaded the British navy to attack the Hakkas in what was soon to become Chixi county.[30] Hong Kong newspapers and Guangdong Governor Guo Songtao's diary show that into the 1880s, guns were freely sold in Hong Kong until the outbreak of the Sino-French war, when local Chinese protests contributed to the fear that arms in Chinese hands might be detrimental to the colonial government's interests.[31] Writing about armed feuds in Guangdong in 1885, Governor-General Zhang Zhidong lamented, "Weapons from abroad can be bought anywhere, and so Western guns, banners, and knives are available in every village."[32] By then, firearms were widely used.

The published records of lineages do not, as a rule, advertise their military prowess. The occasional reference is valuable, therefore, to demonstrate that the spread of firearms at every stage was embraced by lineage groups sufficiently wealthy to do so. In Chaolian *xiang* of Xinhui county, a biographic entry in the genealogy of the Lu surname notes that when the major surnames came together to set up the militia c. 1810, permission was given by Governor-General Bailing for civilians to own cannon, and several heavy guns were cast. These cannon, along with smaller pieces, were mounted on earth ramparts along the river leading up to the ancestral hall.[33] The Xie surname of Nanshe in Dongguan county notes in its genealogy that in 1901, 300 "fast guns" were used in its armed feud with a neighboring multi-surname alliance that threatened its control of the local market. The war cost the Xie surname more than 10,000 taels, which had to be raised on two occasions by mandatory subscription by all members.[34] The genealogy of the He surname of Shuiteng *xiang* in Shunde notes that a "machine gun" (*jiguan qiang*) was purchased from the government c. 1908 out of common funds, referring either to funds held in the name of the prime ancestor or to money collected in the name of the "eight wards" of Shuiteng occupied by the He surname. The gun was kept at the house of the local headman, the *dibao*. The charge was then made against the lineage, it is not clear by whom, that a gun had been privately acquired. In 1915, the charge brought the local garrison to the village, which confiscated the gun in return for four small cannon. The incident led to the building of gun turrets in the village and the promulgation of regulations on the control of guns by the local militia. The record was obviously written to indicate that guns were now held by the village in common, as distinct from their being held privately.[35]

Guns raised the stakes of defense. It is in this light that the close association between the profitability of the sands reclamation, the strength of the watch-keeping forces of the Shunde and Panyu militia, and the wealth of the corporations that controlled them, might begin to be under-

stood. They became the superpowers towards whom their neighbors and even the provincial government had to defer. Guns also made war more destructive and paved the way for the large-scale intervillage wars that characterized quite a few parts of the Pearl River Delta into the 1910s.

The Lack of Institutional Change

With one exception, that is, the steam filature referred to, contact with the West brought no institutional change to the Pearl River Delta. Even the steam filature made itself felt only insofar as it provided work for women living outside the family in conditions similar to the modern factory, and not in any direct way on the organization of the lineage.[36] No successful merchant in the mid nineteenth century aspired to anything less than a scholarly family house with an ancestral hall at its center. Turn where one may, one sees the wealthy compiling genealogies, setting up lineage regulations, maintaining sacrificial estates and building ancestral halls. The Zhu surname of Jiujiang, who championed the organization of militia at the Mulberry Garden Dike and whose villages were located on the edge of Jiujiang market, compiled their comprehensive genealogy in 1868 and listed all their ancestral halls: of fifty-two occasions for which first building or repair of the halls is noted between 1550 and 1868, thirty-six took place between 1750 and 1849 and seven between 1850 and 1868.[37] The Luo surname of the Northern Gate at Shunde also built in earnest from the mid eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century, as reflected by the generations of ancestors whose spirit tablets were deposited in their ancestral halls.[38] The most detailed record, however, is that of the family group around Long Tinghuai in Shunde, who were closely engaged in land reclamation on the sands.

Long Tinghuai belonged to the smaller of two lineage branches, both of which had been settled in Shunde from before the Ming dynasty. With one exception, the surname's very sizable genealogy compiled in 1922 gives no indication that ancestral halls had been built in the Ming, or that lineage trusts had been set up from that time. The exception related directly to a hall within Tinghuai's branch, and so it points, not to the absence of halls and trusts among these people, but to the genealogy having been compiled to centralize the position of Long Tinghuai's family group to the detriment of donation records outside the group.[39] It is clear, nevertheless, that until Tinghuai's father, Yingshi (1716–1800), took an interest in setting one up, no ancestral hall existed to provide for common sacrifice by both branches. Instead, the practice had been established of common sacrifice at the primogenitor's grave site, the management of

which alternated annually between the two branches. In 1744, Yingshi championed the setting up of two money trusts to raise an endowment for a hall. Altogether, eight money trusts were set up before the hall was built some thirty years later. The endowment of 15,000 taels went into the building as well as purchase of land, and the structure was completed with a further investment of 10,300 taels to build the front gateway, the architectural feature characteristic of the family-temple style.[40] While effort was directed towards the common ancestral hall, others in the lineage branch had been setting up a money society for sacrifice to the branch focal ancestor. A 1742 document records that 139 people responded by donating money; as a reward, they were to be given larger shares of the sacrificial meat after the winter sacrifice.[41]

The focal ancestor of the less populous branch, Lanxuan (1447–1527), was twelve generations removed from the primogenitor of the two branches, and four generations from the first ancestor who had moved to where the branch was now settled. The ordering of ancestry, therefore, presupposes the presence of people of the same surname who were not his descendants. Stories of the finding of graves and the establishment of grave sacrifice are important in this context for the implementation of inclusion and exclusion to the lineage. The accidental discovery of the ninth-generation ancestor's grave in the Jiaqing era (1796–1820) indicates how late this process was taking place in this Long surname branch. A commentary on this discovery notes: "In front of the grave is a stone stele set up by the four brothers [i.e., the ancestor's sons]. If the adopted branch of Gengyu look upon Hanchang as their ancestor and make a false claim to his grave, would that not be ridiculous?"[42]

Long Yingshi, Tinghuai's father, was a *jinshi*, apparently the first in his lineage branch. Tinghuai's grandfather had also accepted appointment as a magistrate, and so for two generations, official status had run in the family. Inasmuch as it was Tinghuai's generation that had built the branch ancestral halls, this family group was comparatively slow in adopting the official style, and much of it was conducted after Tinghuai's death by Tingzi (1786–1863), Tinghuai's brother and the youngest of Yingshi's four sons. Once started, nevertheless, the building was conducted on a grand scale. In 1834, a hall was built in honor of the ancestor five removes from Yingshi. Shortly afterwards, Yingshi's ancestral hall was completed, and in 1838, Yingshi's father's.[43] From the 1830s to the early 1850s, the records also show Tingzi stretching his influence beyond his own lineage branch. In 1836, when a group within the lineage branch that had its own ancestral hall quarreled over the need to sell ancestral property, he purchased the estate from them. His described his interven-

tion as having been quite altruistic, for while he personally kept the deeds of the estate upon purchase, in 1853, he gave them to the Wenming hall, that is to say, the estate set up in the name of Lanxuan, focal ancestor of his lineage branch, recorded his act on a stone stele and noted the group's properties in the name of its own ancestral hall in the genealogy he compiled. Possibly in the 1840s, he donated 1,400 taels to the other lineage branch to purchase properties for its ancestral trust, which sum the other branch returned in full when, in 1851, a formal statement was drawn up signed by the managers of the trust and included in the genealogy. In 1849, when sacrifice for the primogenitors of the lineage segments was held in earnest, and people came from nearby Gaoming county claiming to be descendants and asking for their share of the sacrificial meat, it was again Tingzi who put a stop to them. In 1853, he compiled the lineage genealogy, including both segments in it.[44]

The circumstances whereby the Gaoming people had to be barred from collecting sacrificial meat is quite revealing of the workings of a large lineage and why, once embarked upon, lineage building had to be accompanied by the exertion of authority. They started coming during years of food shortage in 1824 and 1833 when the ancestral trust of the entire lineage (that is to say, combining the two lineage segments) distributed relief grain to lineage members. Someone in the more populous branch of the lineage had invited them over—and it was noticed that these people spent the night at his house—so that this person might claim an extra share. In time, the Gaoming people came for sacrificial meat. The story is quite revealing also in showing that the collection of money in 1744 did succeed in establishing a lineage institution. The same institution then turned towards the drive for tax reform in the 1860s.

In the 1860s, the lineage magnate was Long Yuanxi, Tingzi's son, who was closely involved in the Shunde militia. He did not in any sense create the lineage institutions back home, for even in 1838, his father Tingzi referred to the Dunhou hall of the entire lineage and the Wenming Hall of his own branch as places where litigation might be settled. Yet he must have been an architect of the arrangement made with the provincial government that formally recognized the rights of the lineages to collect taxes, in effect, to farm them. For the arrangement to work, it was necessary, not only to demand greater transparency of government records to curb the private impositions of government runners, but also for the lineages to adopt the self-government regulations that ensured that taxes were produced. The regulations established for his lineage branch in 1869 explain that the practice of hiring "wealthy men" (*yinding*) to enforce tax payment had been implemented from 1836 on as an alterna-

tive to the rotation of households instituted by the *lijia* registration. The change had been called for because, over the years, many households had left the roll, and the Long and the Luo surnames, being the only parties remaining, had to make up all taxes unpaid. The regulations stipulated that these "wealthy men" hired to enforce payment of taxes were to be of a surname other than Long. They established the general principle that sacrificial meat and awards of money due to members of the lineage who were found to be guilty of not paying their taxes might be withheld by the lineage. Enforcement rested on the requirement of tax-paying households in the lineage submitting their tax receipts for examination by members of the gentry in the lineage and the hired "wealthy men" annually ten days before the winter sacrifice. Only when it was established that tax payment had been cleared would sacrificial meat be given.[45]

The problem with these regulations is that they are too simple, taking into account the complexities of landholding in Shunde county. The genealogy record of lineage estates makes it abundantly clear that members of the Long surname, individually or collectively, owned substantial holdings on the sands reclamation. It is also clear from the records relating to sands policing that ownership was held in tiers, so that the households registered for tax leased the land held to long-term tenants, who subleased to secondary tenants, and so on. In this complicated situation, who might the "wealthy men" have been who could enforce tax payment on behalf of the lineage? In this context, it is interesting that the tax-collection regulations of the more populous branch of the lineage refer to them not as "wealthy men" but as "heads of the *jia*" (*jiazhang*), precisely the position that would have been occupied by the lineage when it was its turn to deliver tax on behalf of the entire rotation unit.[46] The implication of the hired tax collectors being "wealthy" men, that is to say, property owners, was that they might be held liable for tax uncollected. If these "wealthy men" were hired tax managers whose business it was to see to it that lineage members had paid their tax, it would have been necessary to have an army of them to audit the tax collection records. Much more likely it was that they were to take over tax responsibility in return for inclusion in the patronage network of the Long surname. Far from being a means of tax enforcement, the tax arrangement, therefore, was a euphemism for the lineage not paying tax on most of its properties.

The lineage establishment therefore remained a very important device for tax management in the last decades of the Qing dynasty, and it must have done so, not because it was cynically regarded as such, but because the belief was still generally held that ancestors had to be sacrificed to and properties had to be held for the purpose. The lineage genealogy

records the ancestral halls that continued to be built and the spirit tablets added to their altars, Tinghuai himself being sacrificed to in a hall built in 1885 along with many of his sons and grandsons, and Tingmo (1767–1800), his younger brother, in whose name 100,000 taels was donated for the defense of Shunde in 1855, had a hall built in his honor in 1915. Lineage regulations were amended in 1855 to ostracize members of the lineage who took part in rebellions. The Long lineage estates being very wealthy, the lineage were also by 1862 able to build what they described as "charity granaries" and set aside land in 1894 and 1895 for their management. Numerous charity establishments were also set up in the lineage branch, in 1801, 1881, 1883, and 1908 to provide for the elderly, widows, and scholars. Yet, as the sacrificial regulations were continuously revised, a change came about that heralded the beginnings of a new age. Regulations for sacrifice at the lineage primogenitor's grave drawn up in 1917 show that the lineage now paid for three steam launches to pull the ferryboats rented by the lineage branches to transport people to the grave site. Honor at sacrifice was also accorded, not only to degree holders of old, but, now that official examination had been abolished in 1905, also to successful achievers in the new education system. None of this says that confidence in the lineage was waning. By all appearance, the Long surname's lineage structure in the early twentieth century was alive and well.[47]

For another example of a family revived by leadership in the militia, the experience of the Xian surname of Heyuan district in Foshan may be cited. The lineage produced Xian Fengzhao, who led the government's successful attack on the Foshan rebels in 1854. This was an old Foshan lineage, dating from before the Huang Xiaoyang uprising of 1449, who counted Xian Guiqi, who led Foshan community work in the mid sixteenth century, among their forebears. Guiqi built the lineage ancestral hall and the senior branch ancestral hall in the name of his father, and shortly afterwards, the junior branch also built a hall. By the eighteenth century, the halls were poorly kept up, and attempts had been made to sell them. Fengzhao, in the nineteenth generation since the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, in all likelihood came from a wealthy family: the grandfather was a successful cloth merchant and his father kept the accounts of the Foshan granary in the early nineteenth century. The family's halls were built by his sons, in honor of his great-grandfather and his grandfather, respectively, in 1904 and 1910. His younger son, Baogan, a magistrate, compiler of the genealogy and of the Republican edition of the Foshan gazetteer, was a learned man. He wrote an interesting essay defending

the architecture of the hall built in 1910. It was converted from an existing building, and it did not have separate compartments for the middle chamber and the "bedchamber," that is, the room in which the spirit tablets were deposited. However, quoting his elder brother Baozhen, Baogan said that in order to maintain the graves, there must be property, and in order to maintain property, there must be a receptacle for the spirit tablets. Only the senior branch hall could maintain the style, he said. It was the thought that counted; not the architecture.[48]

The connection between property, grave, and hall can be sought in the rules of inheritance, which made provision for a portion of the estate to be held back for sacrifice to various persons in the lineage or family. A pamphlet dated 1896 held in the Guangdong Provincial Library under the simple title *Important Words of Family Regulations* (*Jiagui yaoyan*) summarizes the arrangement made by a man who rose from poverty to riches by running a general store somewhere in North America. He had left the village poor, first for Guangzhou, where he hatched duck eggs, then for employment in Hong Kong. From there, he went with his elder brother to the United States, where he was later joined by another brother. When the family became richer, they bought land on the sands reclamation and built houses and shops. The father died in 1881, and the mother in 1885, whereupon a distribution was made from the family funds of 10,000 taels each for the four brothers and 5,000 taels each for their six sons, in addition to their houses. The family business was continued as common property. The arrangement must have continued to at least 1896 when the document was published, for only then, as the writer was feeling the weight of his age, and his brothers had all died, did he think it necessary to record the history of the family fund for their descendants.[49]

Another record held in the Gurangdong Provincial Library, under the title of *Family Genealogy of the Wu surname* (*Wushi jiapu*), dated 1899, gives no genealogical record but only the brief history of a family and its property divisions. The family rose to riches in the period, holding properties in the village and in Guangzhou city. The writer's father (1825–98) had left home in his teens with 250 taels of ancestral inheritance and had founded various shops in Guangzhou selling timber and silk. In 1869, he was sufficiently wealthy to purchase an official title, and in 1887, he built the ancestral hall in the home village. He left money and property valued at 45,000 taels. He made arrangements for payments to his widows and various members of his family. After providing for these payments, he left 39,000 taels, to be divided among twelve grandsons, the most senior of whom was given two shares of the estate and the others a single share.

Landed properties, primarily houses and farmland in the village, were left to an ancestral trust, thereby achieving a lineage structure around an endowment and a hall.[50]

Not only the wealthy, but also quite ordinary village families would have had written genealogies. Most of these would have been slim and hand-copied, not necessarily in the elegant hand of the literati. A reference in a 1901 preface of a Mai surname genealogy in Qingyuan county says, when the writer's ancestors met with a hired worker who had come from Xiaolan township of Xiangshan county, they asked him to bring his genealogy.[51] This could range from bound volumes to single sheets, or even a small portable genealogy, a long strip folded into pages of 10.5 cm by 6 cm, no bigger than a packet of cigarettes, with a cardboard cover.[52]

Not only were ancestral halls maintained in rural areas, they were also built in Guangzhou city to represent the supra-lineages of people of the same surname, whether or not they were co-residential. It is unclear if these supra-ancestral halls served more as exclusive clubs or as convenient depositories of spirit tablets. The Chen surname academy, now preserved by the municipal government of Guangzhou, shows that these institutions occupied tasteful buildings on extensive grounds. They radiate literary pretensions, complete with the architectural styles of the "family temple" and honorific tablets announcing successes in the official examinations. A note preserved in the Chen surname genealogy of Qingping *xiang* in Qingyuan county, some distance to the north of Guangzhou city, incorporates a receipt given the lineage in 1891 by the Chen surname academy, which shows that 20 taels was paid for the privilege of entering the spirit tablet of an ancestor, together with his two wives. In 1896, the family contributed another 1.8 taels towards a "genealogy associating births," presumably a record of the names of all persons entered.[53] The supra-lineage ancestral hall allocates to each contributing branch an identifiable chamber and in so doing reinforces the local identity of the lineage as well as integrating it symbolically into the provincial whole. The Ye family supra-lineage ancestral hall in Guangzhou consisted of an academy and a private school room, which together had forty chambers of this nature, and the Lin family supra-lineage ancestral hall recorded upwards of 600 spirit tablets.[54] In 1890, the He surname of Shuiteng *xiang* in Shunde county donated 300 taels to the Lujiang Academy in Guangzhou, the surname's supra-lineage ancestral hall, to be assigned one such chamber.[55] If the cost of installing the tablets of the Chen surname is anything to go by, servicing tablets could be quite lucrative. Until at least 1852, the provincial government of Guangdong remained opposed to the building of supra-lineage ancestral halls in Guangzhou. It

found their tracing of common descent artificial, the practice of charging money for depositing spirit tablets discriminatory, and the gathering of people in a hostel-like environment rowdy.[56]

Comparable to these supra-lineage ancestral halls would be supra-genealogies, compiled to link lineage branches from a wide area. The most ambitious of these was probably that of the Zeng surname, with impetus given by powerful family of Zeng Guofan, governor-general of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui, and, through his successful mobilization of the militia of his native Hunan province, one of the rescuers of the government from the Taipings.[57]

Conversion to Christianity could conceivably have made an impact on the style of management. The Christian families who moved into Chung Him Tong (Chongqian *tang*) village in the New Territories of Hong Kong from nearby Xin'an county just after 1900 kept no ancestral spirit tablets.[58] Over time, the Western influence also appears in the genealogies, more often through the experience of lineage members than through institutional change. Four brothers within the Ouyang surname lineage of Xinhui worked in Hong Kong from c. 1860. The oldest probably began the trend as a grain merchant between China and Hong Kong, the second (1832–1908) sold opium, the third ran a small currency exchange shop, and so, probably also some remittance business, and the youngest was a machinist, who learnt English. The genealogy records that by the mid 1880s, the second of these siblings quite regretted having been an opium merchant and came to embrace the radical ideology of the day. He was disgusted with the eight-legged essay styles of the official examination, and associating the employment of traditional ideology with ideas of ethnic oppression that formed the backbone of late Qing revolutionary ideology, he requested in his will that he not be buried in a Qing dynasty official robe, as was the current style. A nephew also became a machinist, and his son (b. 1898) was a graduate from Columbia University.[59]

The Xu family of Gaodi Street in the heart of Guangzhou also illustrates the same process. The Xu family compound, built in 1849, consisting of a complex of houses and gardens, had as its center the ancestral hall. This was not a long-established Guangzhou family. The compound was built by Xu Xiangguang (1799–1854), a second-generation settler in Guangzhou. His father had arrived poor from Chaozhou but made a fortune in the salt trade. Xiangguang embarked on an official career, gaining his *jinshi* degree in 1842. He was active in opposing the British entry into Guangzhou in the 1840s. The family grew quickly: Xiangguang was one of nine sons, he had eight of his own and fifteen nephews, among whom was a prominent governor-general. In one more generation's time, they

were caught up in the revolution. Xu Chongzhi (1886–1965) became a follower of Sun Yatsen after taking the lead in rebellion in Fuzhou. Xu Chongqing (1888–1969) received higher education in Japan and became president of the Sun Yatsen University (Zhongshan *daxue*) in Guangzhou in the 1930s and 1950s. Xu Guangping (1898–1968) grew up in Guangzhou and Macau, was a student leader in Tianjin, and married the most famous of all writers in modern China, Lu Xun.[60]

Yet, the lineage ideology was about to be phased out. When that came, it was not because of any sudden halt in building lineages, but because social reality external to the lineage was changing.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Contradictions of the Nation-State: The Backwardness of Lineages

THE MILITIA MOVEMENT and the rapid spread of firearms finally tipped the delicate balance of power between imperial government and local society in favor of the latter. The lineage, it might be thought, enjoyed powers unfettered by imperial control as never before. Yet the militia organizations of the 1850s and 1860s were not lineage institutions as such, but *alliances* of lineages with a territorial base. The locus of their activities was not the village but the town. As long as the imperial government could maintain a semblance of control, the awarding of titles to members of the lineages and the ease of adopting the lineage paraphernalia ensured the continuation of the lineage ideology as the cornerstone of state ideology. However, the state ideology gave way to representative government in the early 1900s in a last-ditch effort to save itself, not only from foreign military threats, but also from a standoff between senior provincial governor-generals, and interlineage alliances became the basis on which the new representative government was to be founded.

How much the shift in ideology had come from the very new institution of the newspaper or, in the Guangdong context, from demonstration impact of the government of colonial Hong Kong, are subjects of surmise.[1] What is clear is that from the end of the Taiping Rebellion in the late 1860s to the crisis of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the ritual representation of the state remained closely aligned with administrative structure as it had evolved from the Ming dynasty, but from 1904 on, while local rituals continued with all their religious fervor, the state had begun to evolve into a different form. All the while, lineages as bodies of men conducting these rituals, holding land, and asserting their control through the increasing use of firearms continued, while a new political ideology ever more loudly blamed the imperial state's weakness on its

traditional practices. The lineage was, therefore, at the height of its power just when its utility in the new society was questioned by a generation of intellectuals brought up on newspapers and, soon, a new curriculum through studies abroad or at the post-imperial-examination new schools. The sixteenth-century vehicle that extended the privileges accorded to officialdom to a broad social base had, by the early twentieth century, become the dinosaur on the way to extinction.[2]

Lineages began to suffer from bad press by the early eighteenth century. Although the Qing government recognized that the avowed lineage ideology contributed to stability, it saw that the desire to expand lineage estates often led to disputes both within the lineage and between lineages. In 1750, as the result of cases that came to the attention of the provincial surveillance commissioner, the governor of Guangdong advised lineages to appoint headmen to take charge of lineage estates. Lineages with members who had acquired student status should appoint them as their headmen. The names of headmen should be registered at the yamen, and the annual accounts of the estate, including income from landed properties and expenses for sacrifice and other lineage activities, should be presented to the yamen. The headmen should have the authority to settle disputes within the lineage or to do so in combination with the headmen of other lineages, even across lineages. Should their authority in these matters not be respected, they could petition the county magistrate. They would receive a bonus if the lineage stayed free from dispute for a year, but would be held liable if its accounts were unclear or if members of the lineage committed serious crimes. The proclamation was idealistic, and there is no indication that it went very far.[3]

Yet the lineage continued to be recognized as a source of local feuding, and another attempt was made to rein in its authority in 1766. The governor of Guangdong, recognizing that the pronouncement of 1750 had not stemmed the tide of armed feuds, petitioned that lineage estates of more than 100 *mu* be broken up. He suggested that a portion of their landholdings be retained under the management of lineage headmen, and that the remainder be distributed to lineage members. He pointed out that lineages holding substantial properties had been able to engage in armed feuds because they provided medical treatment for the wounded, deposited the spirit tablets of those killed in action in the ancestral halls, offered relief for their widows, and even found stand-ins for punishment should the lineage be held liable for homicide. An imperial edict was promulgated in response to his petition, recognizing the connection between killing in armed feuds and the use of stand-in culprits. Nevertheless, the edict did not accept that restriction on the size of holdings was a vi-

able solution; ancestral estates did provide positive support for weak and needy in the lineage and, in any case, any attempt to investigate into lineage holdings all over the province would only provide another opportunity for extortion by yamen runners. The edict opted for a compromise. If a lineage was engaged in an armed feud, the provincial governor was to investigate carefully if it had attempted to provide substitutes for the culprits on the promise of payment, and if it had, the governor was empowered to divide the entire estate among its members.[4]

There is no indication in the records that any lineage estate was broken up as a result of this imperial edict. The only tangible effect from these rulings (aside from the occasional reference to the term "lineage head" in some genealogies) is that armed village feuds in Guangdong came to be associated with the prevalence of the lineage organization.[5] That was more the consequence of the peculiarity of Qing legislative practices than of the frequency of feuding in Guangdong. The Qing Code, essentially a penal code, included general penal principles and particular manifestations in specific parts of the country. Armed feuds were not restricted to the Pearl River Delta, but the imperial ruling had drawn attention to them in the context of the lineage organizations of the Pearl River Delta, and as the law was repeatedly applied, armed feuds came to be viewed in the popular imagination as a spin-off from lineage building.

Taxation and Shifting State Legitimacy

The lineages were suspect in matters related to tax collection, in the late nineteenth century as in the eighteenth. One of the great reformers of the late Qing, Zhang Zhidong, learnt that to his distress while governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi from 1884 to 1889. The governor-general had to face pressing financial demands. Apart from regular transfers to Beijing, he faced increased expenditures for maintaining law and order and mounting additional defense during the Sino-French War in 1884. To compound his difficulties, for the first time in the history of the Qing dynasty, in 1882, 1883, and 1885, provincial governments had to submit annual accounts, and so any shortfall would have to be immediately acknowledged. Despite an annual income of 4.5 million taels from transit dues and other taxes on trade and houses, he reckoned his deficit amounted to 3 million taels. He needed new sources of tax income, and one of those was reclamation on the sands.

Matters came to a head in 1886 when the governor-general was ordered by edict to suspend demands for donations from the people on the sands. "Donation" was euphemism for nonstatutory charges. In this

case, the charges had been imposed on the sands in 1884 for the revival of the Shunde Militia Bureau, which had been disbanded in 1872. Whether the revival of the militia made any difference to local militarization is an open question, for even after its disbandment, the Eastern Sands Protection Bureau continued to function, and upon news of war, the bureau had immediately proceeded to add a few more batteries on the rivers. The revival of the bureau would appear to have been largely a fund-raising exercise. The governor-general appointed none other than Long Yuanxi, who was to die of illness in a few months' time, to raise funds for equitable division between the province, the county, and local leaders: .2 taels was charged for each *mu* of land, and 7 percent of all income raised was to go towards administration, split 2:5 between the province and the county, while of the remaining 93 percent, 70 percent was to be handed over to officialdom and 30 percent retained by civilian leaders. The county was divided into ten militia districts, a framework suited to fund-raising as much as to the demonstration of military strength.[6]

If funds were not to be raised by "donations," they had to be raised through tax. Given the prevalence of underreporting on the sands, that meant the government had to resurvey the land. This line of thought is evident in the imperial edict, and permission was granted for Governor-General Zhang Zhidong to put it into action in 1886. The governor-general's ambitious plan called for the reissuing of registration certificates for all land on the sands. Whereas land had formerly been registered by the county or the province, the new registration certificates were to be issued by the Ministry of Revenue. Land that had already been surveyed would be entered on the new certificates in the amounts for which it had been already registered, and all unregistered land was to be surveyed and treated as newly reclaimed land. It is not known how much success this ambitious plan achieved. Unlike previous attempts at registration—references to the preceding one, in 1866, can be found in gazetteers and even on land deeds—Zhang Zhidong's registration effort seems to have left no trace in administrative documents.[7]

Whether or not Zhang Zhidong was successful in land registration, he discovered the anomalous landholdings of the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties at Southern Sands and at the Ten Thousand Qing Sands. He might have stumbled upon them in 1886 while adjudicating a dispute between some people of the Hu surname in Shunde county and a member of the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties. Like all disputes on the sands, the casus belli masked underlying hostilities. The Shunde man had teamed up with other people to

reclaim a stretch at the Greater Southern Sands, ignoring the warnings of the Eastern Sands Protection Bureau, and the He surname, associated with the bureau, took the law into their own hands and attempted to destroy the dikes that were being built. One version of the dispute is quite interesting as illustration of the symbolic authority of the lineages: at one stage, men from the He surname were caught by the Eastern Sands Protection Bureau with iron picks gathering oysters, an activity that had been banned by order of the Shunde magistrate. Taken to the bureau office, they were rescued by their gentry leaders, an elderly Dongguan gentleman being wounded in the process. The gentleman complained to the Donggaun Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties, his wounds were examined by the Shunde magistrate, and his complaint was supported by more than 80 gentlemen from Dongguan. When charged, the He surname sought protection behind the senior official titles of members of the lineage, inserting their petition to the magistrate in the notice announcing the official promotion of one of their numbers. The governor-general ruled firmly against them and demanded punishment by the magistrate of those members of the He lineage who were found guilty of extortion. Significantly, he also punished the gentlemen of the Dongguan party for charging the households that had joined together to build the dike for a fee, ruling that the 13,000 taels collected be confiscated. The governor-general was clearly not accepting the fundamentals of multiple tenancy on the sands; his legalistic stand led him straight into a clash with the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties.[8]

It may be recalled that the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties ventured into reclamation on the sands with a grant of land associated with the building of the batteries at the Boca Tigris. By the strict terms of the grant, that parcel of land counted as military land (*tuntian*), as distinct from civilian land (*mintian*). Military land was considered official land (*guantian*) and was taxed at a different rate from civilian land. Whether or not the holdings of the Dongguan Hall were so taxed was beside the point. The governor-general noted that for military land to be converted to civilian land, a fee had to be paid by the landlord, and the Dongguan Hall had not paid it. In 1886, he therefore demanded payment of 140,000 taels. The Dongguan Hall tried negotiation, but the governor-general ruled with a strong hand. He began with an attempt to locate the Dongguan Hall's tenants, so that they might be made to produce their land certificates. When the tenants were not found, he decided to confiscate the portion of the Dongguan Hall's estate for which payment was being demanded, amounting to 12,000 *mu*. As a political gesture, the property would be assigned to the ownership of the Guangya Academy,

which the governor-general had founded in Guangzhou in 1887 with imperial approval. In response, 138 members of the Dongguan gentry petitioned the Guangdong governor for leniency, a sign that they were not giving up. Losing patience with them, the governor-general then petitioned the imperial court demanding that the leaders of the "evil gentry" of Dongguan be stripped of their titles. He had, by then, already been appointed to the governor-generalship of Hunan and Hubei, but he announced in his memorial that he was not leaving Guangdong until the issue was settled. Only then did the gentlemen of Dongguan back down. It was not total defeat for the Dongguan Hall. They lost title to the land in question and were obliged to pay rent to the Guangya Academy, but they became its principal tenants. Zhang Zhidong left, but it was clear that no one, not even a powerful governor-general, could squeeze much tax out of the reclamations.[9]

The weakness of the provincial government in dealing with the gentry in matters related to land had consequences far beyond issues of land taxation. In the absence of any possibility of raising tax from land, the government turned its attention to raising tax with the help of the trade guilds and city charity organizations. The shift in policy, in turn, empowered these city institutions. In the city, as in the villages, tax farming made powerful people wealthy. Moreover, in order to do that, tax farming had to undergo a process of legitimization, with all its ritual trappings, which very often reflected upon the government. In the case of the Pearl River Delta in the late nineteenth century, the process was soon taken over by fundamental constitutional reforms and then revolution.

A word of caution is needed in any discussion of the history of guilds in China. Just as the word "guild" in English includes a wide variety of organizational forms, in China, guilds combined elements of eating together on the protective deity's feast day with price fixing, rules on craftsmanship, apprenticeship, welfare for members, and commercial and taxation practices.[10] The trade guilds had a long history: they seem to have been founded by merchants living away from home before they were organized by workmen. One of the earliest guild establishments from Guangdong must have been the Lingnan Association Hostel (Lingnan *huiguan*) in Suzhou, said to have been built in the Wanli period (1573–1619) under the Ming dynasty and was repaired in 1666, which was followed closely by the Xiangtan hostel, built c. 1690.[11] The workmen's guilds came later, but some must have been in existence in the eighteenth century if not earlier.[12] There must have been connections between the starting of the guilds and the decline of official brokers (*yaren*) by the eighteenth century. The official brokers were persons who had been given

monopolistic rights by official command at marketplaces in respect to specified trades.[13] It is possible to speculate that in the eighteenth century, as their authority declined, a long and shady period followed in which the right to trade in the larger markets was dominated by self-regulating groups bordering between protection rackets and traders' combinations. Hence, the most successful of the ironsmiths of Foshan were not known as brokers but as members of well-established lineages. It is just possible that the absence of records on the Foshan guilds before the Taiping Rebellion itself reflects political realities: their interests were represented by the literati and their lineages, especially as some of their practices, such as charging money for protection or fixing prices, might be construed as being illegal under the Qing Code.

The open recognition of the guilds as key players in Guangzhou and the major towns, such as Foshan, came gradually between the 1850s and the 1890s, and this process was closely connected with the imposition of *lijin* tax, first charged on trade in internal transit. Statistics compiled by Luo Yudong, a historian of the *lijin* receipts, indicate that their collection began in Guangdong in 1858, and by 1861, 436,000 taels per annum was collected. Over the next decade, receipts increased substantially, to approximately 1 million taels per annum, and by 1895, they had reached almost 2 million taels. In geographic coverage, from 1861, *lijin* stations were established in Guangzhou city, Foshan, Jiangmen, and Chencun (Shunde county), and when more stations were established in time, transit dues accrued to the new stations were not collected directly by the government but farmed out to merchants.[14]

The policy might have evolved from the time the tax was imposed, when it was reported to the emperor that it had been cornered by various persons who had connections to the Guangdong Guangxi governor-general at the time. The matter was investigated, and the governor-general was removed from his post.[15] After this incident, it seems that the transit tax was collected either directly by the government or separately in different trades by merchants engaged in the trade. The Imperial Maritime Customs decennial report on Lappa (near Macau) for 1882 to 1891 cites a memorial of Governor-General Zhang Zhidong noting that the tax was farmed by eighty-five firms. It refers also to a representation of the piece goods guild of Guangzhou petitioning the Maritime Customs for the right to farm the tax, noting in the petition that the tea and silk guilds were already engaged as farmers.[16]

A transformation of the public role of the trade guilds came about in 1899, when, faced with added expenditures imposed by indemnity payments from the Sino-Japanese War, the imperial government sent to

Guangzhou its special envoy, Imperial Commissioner Gang Yi, to negotiate Guangdong's share in tax deliveries to Beijing.[17] Gang Yi, who had served in Guangdong and who had just come from similar negotiations in Jiangsu province, well understood that additional income would have to come from commercial taxation and not the land tax. He advocated doubling the *lijin* charges and farming all of them to merchants, which it was surmised would bring the central government the handsome sum of 4 million taels per annum. The policy did not succeed, but in the process of negotiation, the provincial government called for an arrangement whereby the tax might be farmed to the guilds, referring to them as "the seventy-two guilds." It is far from clear that the guilds of Guangzhou numbered exactly seventy-two. In a few years time, when the chamber of commerce was mooted, a newspaper source in 1903 asserted that of this number, over thirty were stationed in Guangzhou, twenty in Foshan, and the remainder in other towns and cities. The Panyu county gazetteer of 1911 listed all seventy-two by name and included some, such as the imported coal guild, the transit tax reporting guild, the insurance guild, and the Golden Mountain (North American trade) guild, which must have come into existence after the Taiping Rebellion.[18] As Michael Tsin has noted, no indication can be found in the records that the guilds, seventy-two or otherwise, had any centralized framework, but the term "the seventy-two guilds" stuck.[19]

Although the central government did not succeed in raising as much out of internal transit tax in Guangdong as it wished, the sums involved were not to be scoffed at. A myriad organizations paid what would have been quite modest fees, the oil guild at Shilong market in Dongguan county paid 850 taels per annum, the new nail and imported iron goods guild paid 650 taels, and even the palm-fan guild of Xinhui paid only 1,900 taels in 1901. Yet, the payments from some guilds were quite substantial: the Guangzhou theatrical guild paid an extra 10,000 taels towards the founding of primary schools in 1902, while an offer to farm *lijin* charged to goods sold by the 700 pawnshops of the counties of Nanhai and Panyu, in which Guangzhou city was located, was costed at 60,000 dollars, that is, 43,000 taels.[20] The most lucrative receipts came from organized gambling. Gambling of various sorts, held in marketplaces, had long been banned and long thrived. A public lottery based on the correct prediction of the surnames of top successes in the official examination was, for many years, run from Macau. These various sorts of gambling were legalized in 1900, when the Huitai company, which was given the right to run the *fantan* dice game in Guangdong province, paid 2 million taels towards the official tax and 800,000 in "presents," and the

Hongfeng company paid 425,000 taels per annum for running the lottery.[21]

At the same time as government sought to raise tax from commerce, the charity institutions of the towns and cities became increasingly prominent in the administration of local affairs. From the continuous reporting in the newspapers of local affairs in Guangzhou, the evidence is quite clear that by the late 1890s, nine of the charity institutions, known as the nine charity halls (*jiu shantang*) had emerged as the representatives of the population of Guangzhou in dealing with the government, together with the seventy-two guilds. As the earliest of the nine halls, the Aiyu Charity Hall, was only founded as late as 1871, the impression might be given that their emergence coincided with the appearance of "civil society" in Guangzhou. There is some truth in this, and certainly, their prominence signified a sharp change in methods by which government interacted with the governed. Yet, because the local militia and their gentry leaders, or the lineage alliances and the lineages preceding those, were no less elements of "civil society" than the charity halls, coupling the reliance of government on city-based charity societies with any notion of the rise of "civil society" merely reifies the urban bias that was introduced by the tax reforms of the last half of the nineteenth century. Charity was not, by any means, a novelty of the late nineteenth century. The novelty of Guangzhou's charity halls rested in the recognition given merchants and their guilds by the government, and their living up to the representative mold by the adoption of new practices and the demonstration of loyalty.

The model was adopted from Shanghai. Chen Ciren, credited by the Nanhai county gazetteer as the founder of the Aiyu Charity Hall, was a failed examination candidate who worked his way up in Hankou City (Hubei province) in the 1860s, just when Hankou was opened by treaty to become the main middle Yangzi trading port. He returned to Guangzhou in the early 1870s, where he founded the Aiyu Charity Hall with eleven other men, three of whom at least were merchants like himself. Any doubt about the merchant background on the Aiyu Charity Hall can also be settled by the comments of none other than Governor-General Zhang Zhidong in 1886. The governor-general wanted to found a police office, and in his memorial to the throne describing his attempts to enlist the Aiyu's support in the effort, he described it as the gathering place of merchants of all trades in Guangzhou.[22]

The Aiyu was engaged in flood relief, the provision of medicine and coffins for the poor and needy, and the running of charity schools.[23] The biography of Chen Ciren in the county gazetteer, which describes the

activities of the hall, states that regulations had been set up on the model of the Puyu Charity Hall of Shanghai. If the regulations of the Liang-Yue Guangren Charity Hall, established in 1890, and of the Fangbian Hospital, established in 1894, are anything to go by, they would have dealt with the separation of the directorship and the managers, defined the body electorate from which the directors might be elected, specified limited terms for directorship, required the public posting of accounts, and indicated the recognition of their philanthropic activities by the government. The Liang-Yue Guangren Charity Hall defines its membership as consisting of donors who contribute 10 *yuan*. All members (*tongren*) are eligible for election to directorship, limited to a single year's term. Retired directors maintain their connection to the directorship as assistant directors. All moneys received are to be devoted to the work of the charity hall and not to be given out as loans to members. The directors are not paid, not even for food while in service. A manager is hired to look after the hall's affairs, who keeps daily accounts, which are summarized, presented to the directors for audit, and posted for public display on the first day of each month. Quite apart from provision of relief rice during famine in Guangdong and Guangxi, and the service of two vaccinators, the Liang-Yue Guangren Charity Hall also hired lecturers, who gave daily lectures on the Sacred Edicts and the Penal Code, and told moral stories between midday and 4.00 P.M., wearing their long gowns.[24] Unlike the Liang-Yue Guangren, the Fangbian Hospital was founded by the trade guilds. Although the terms of reference drawn up by the hospital describe them as "the seventy-two guilds," only sixty-three are named on the list of directors. Its regulations provided for two guilds to nominate the directors and two to nominate the assistant directors every year to serve for one year. No more than twelve directors or assistant directors could be nominated by each guild, and no fewer than eight. The hospital and cemetery maintained by the charity were to be run by a manager, who answered to the directors and assistant directors. Cash at hand was to be kept at no more than 200 taels; any cash in excess was to be invested. The directors, assistant directors, and founding directors had authority to examine the accounts at any time. Every year, the accounts were to be compiled before the change of the directorship, and a team of four auditors were nominated to examine the accounts. The accounts were published, along with a record of the donations of the current year, and distributed to all the guilds. As an indication of government approval, the Fangbian Hospital was established by proclamation from the Nanhai county magistrate.[25]

These charity halls must have been extremely wealthy institutions.

In 1910, the Liang-Yue Guangren listed among its directors and assistant directors 952 names in Guangzhou, 66 shops, 85 charity halls in the cities and towns of Guangdong, 99 directors located in Macau, Shanghai, Shilong (in Dongguan), Zhaoqing, Xinan (in Sanshui county), and Kaiping county (from where the Taishan people, well represented among overseas merchants, came), and another 87 directors in Guangxi province. The Fangbian Hospital listed about 1,400 names among its directors, including many shops, and, in addition, 32 names from the "big cities of Annan" (that is, Vietnam), indicating its connections among the overseas Chinese.[26] Similar institutions formed in the county cities and towns in the Pearl River Delta also drew heavily on donations from their fellow countrymen living in Hong Kong and Guangzhou.[27] The mushrooming of these wealthy philanthropic institutions in the last decades of the nineteenth century amounted to a new phenomenon in social organization in China, and the question has to be asked how that was made possible.

The combination of fixed terms for the directors' service, government patronage, and transparency of accounts added together implies a significant departure from previous philanthropic traditions. Studies of the rise of civil society in Shanghai in this period, concentrating on the "merchant" origin of philanthropists, have probably missed the point. There is little doubt that, as argued by Mary Backus Rankin, the organizational change was accompanied by the emergence of newspapers as shapers of public opinion and the subsequent broadening of the philanthropists' horizons beyond their immediate fellow townsmen. Moreover, it has also to be recognized, as is argued here, that since the Taiping Rebellion, and more so since the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, government had shifted its attention to the cities as sources of revenue.[28] Yet the argument is not complete without an explanation of the novelty of administrative governance implied in the separation of directorship and management, vital if the finances of these institutions were to substantially expand. The explanation has to be sought, not in Shanghai, but in Hong Kong, where in 1870 the Tung Wah (Donghua) Hospital was set up under an ordinance enacted by the Hong Kong government. The Tung Wah Hospital, very interestingly, embodied the administrative principles later built into the regulations of the Liang-Yue Guangren and the Fangbian Hospital. The ordinance recognized donors as members of "the corporation" and stipulated that the directors be elected in Hong Kong from among them by majority vote on a one-person-one-vote basis. Descriptions of the elections held by the Tung Wah Hospital in later years indicate that nominees for directorship were proposed by the guilds and invited by the existing

directorship to stand for election, even though they had to be formally elected. Elizabeth Sinn, who studied the Tung Wah Hospital in detail from its archival records, concluded that the nominees were always elected. If these regulations were the origin of the regulations absorbed by the philanthropic institutions of Guangzhou, then they were founded, not on practices common to the guilds, but practices introduced from Western law.[29]

Describing the emergence of the Tung Wah as a hybrid of a "Western form with Chinese content," Sinn relates it to hospitals founded in a similar mode among overseas Chinese communities: the Jinghu Hospital in Macau in 1871, the Thong Chai (Tongji) Hospital in Singapore in 1885, the Donghua Hospital of San Francisco in 1888, the Fushan and the Guang-Zhao Hospital in Cholon respectively in 1901 and 1907, and the Tianhua Hospital of Bangkok in 1907. To the list may be added the Tongshan *tang* of Macau, founded in 1892. The Tongshan *tang* is worth special mention because, being still extant, it has preserved the spirit tablets of the original founders. It would not be surprising at all that this early institution of the installation of spirit tablets remained a style if not an inducement in the establishment of these charity institutions, retaining, in this way, a ritualistic and very traditional feature despite changes in the financial and managerial rules.[30]

The Lineage in a State Transformed

The incorporation of local representation into the government of the cities and towns, the ground for which was prepared by the activities of the trade guilds and the charity halls, was hastened by events occurring between 1904 and 1911. Just as in the early Ming era, the reorientation of the state created a new definition of the local, which was seized upon by a minority before the definition was extended. Unlike the early Ming, which sought its new orientation in relation to household registration, creating the lineage in the process, the experiment of the last years of the Qing sought to enlist the support of the local leadership in relationship to commerce, and the sought-after status became, not the gentleman, but the merchant. The sequence of events to follow was triggered by a series of imperial decisions in 1904 and 1905, which included the abolition of the imperial examination. In its place, the central government enacted legislation recognizing merchants' status, allowed the registration of business companies, and encouraged, and might even have required, all towns and cities to organize chambers of commerce.[31] The Guangdong Chamber of Commerce was established in 1905. From 1906, it was clear

that local self-government (*zizhi*) was soon to follow, beginning with elected assemblies and leading, eventually, to a national parliament. In the best of circumstances, the constitutional change would have created a period of leadership fluidity that would only settle down when the spoils and labors of the new politics were brought into line with the new rituals, but the power shifts were to take place in the early 1900s with a sense of crisis hovering, not only over the Pearl River Delta, but over the legitimacy of the central government. The introduction of elections, which were based in the towns and cities, further shifted the government's reliance on urban support. In 1905, the Guangzhou literati—no distinction is possible here between the gentry and merchants—led a boycott of American goods in protest of the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Treaty, and in 1906, patriotism was combined with profit when the Guangdong leadership, in which again it is impossible to distinguish the gentry from merchant financiers, protested against the Guangdong Guangxi governor-general's proposal to finance the Guangdong section of the recently redeemed Hankou-Guangzhou Railway by taxation. On both occasions, meetings attended by several thousand people were held in the charity halls, and because both occasions led to clashes between the Guangzhou leadership and the provincial government, senior members of the gentry went to jail for speaking out against the government.[32]

By late 1906 and early 1907, the imperial edict on self-government took the involvement of local people in administration to yet another and irreversible turn. Riding on the crest of popular support, the few leaders of the popular gatherings in Guangzhou formalized their positions in the Guangzhou Merchants' Self-government Association (Yueshang zizhi hui). Numerous studies have referred to the radicalism of Chen Huipu, who emerged as its leader. Not a great deal seems to be known about his personal background. Commemorative publications of the association describe him as starting out as a native bank employee, but it would be hard to square that claim with his involvement in founding two of the nine Guangzhou charity halls unless he was also personally wealthy. He was engaged in the anti-American boycott and, almost at the same time, in a movement to stamp out opium smoking. The association was initiated when the British government announced its decision to patrol the West River on behalf of the Qing government in 1907. The news brought protests from, again, gentry and merchants in Guangzhou, but Chen Huipu demonstrated his political acumen by reacting quickly to these events in founding the Self-government Association. Over the next year, the association was engaged in other protests: a boycott of Japanese goods in retaliation against Japanese demands over Chinese seizure of the

Japanese freighter *Tatsu Maru II* for importing firearms; the boycotting of the Hong Kong–Guangzhou ferryboat *Fatshan*, owned by the British company Butterfield & Swire, over compensation for the killing of a Chinese man by one of its ticket collectors; and agitation partly directed at the provincial government over delimitation of the Macau boundary in 1909.

Standing very much on the same lines in these issues but reacting less radically to them as an institution was the Guangdong Association for the Study of Self-government (Guangdong zizhi yanjiu she) founded at almost the same time as the Guangzhou Merchants' Self-government Association. Writers on these two organizations have pointed out the dominance of persons holding examination degrees in the Guangdong Association for the Study of Self-government and the higher status enjoyed by its leading members. Edward J. M. Rhoads is probably correct in underlining the "unauthorized" nature of the Merchants' Self-government Association. Although some of them had clashed with the provincial government over the railway issue, unlike the leaders of the Merchants' Association, the leaders of the Guangdong Association for the Study of Self-government had held senior appointments in the Qing government and were, for this reason, in good standing with the imperial court. The 161 early members of the association included 14 holders of *jinshi* titles, 49 *juren*, 27 *gongsheng*, and 44 persons holding active appointments. One of them, Deng Huaxi, was a former provincial governor, and another, Yi Xueqing, was a secretary at the Board of Revenue.[33] Holding official titles, however, should not be construed as indicative of any lack of interest in financial investment of a commercial nature. New opportunities were opening up in Guangzhou with the reforms and the financial needs of the provincial government. Investments in railway shares, port facilities, gambling syndicates, and the salt trade were all fair game. Historians seeking to classify the active players in Guangzhou politics in the early 1900s should realize that they know very little of the shady world of Guangzhou commercial financing. Share funds for the Hankou-Guangzhou Railway were collected at the charity halls, an indication of their creditworthiness, and public meetings held to voice concern over the railway's fate consistently drew representation from the guilds, the charity halls, and both the Merchants' Self-government Association and the Guangdong Association for the Study of Self-government.[34]

Political platforms of sorts appeared from 1907 to 1909. It was clear that the provincial government favored working with the Guangdong Association and its degree-holding leaders, as well as with the chambers of commerce and the charity halls, for most of which it had provided pa-

tronage. It probably found the Merchants' Association too radical, and for that reason, the advisory group set up to prepare for local elections in 1909 excluded its leading members. The provision of tax revenue, however, continued to prove the principal political cleavage. Owners of sands reclamation property continued to resist any tax imposition, and they were assisted by persons who were closely involved in Guangzhou politics. Yet when the provincial assembly met in October 1909, assemblymen championed banning organized gambling, by now a mainstay of provincial income. The provincial government was prepared to give way when an offer was made by a syndicate for the right to deal in salt, the additional premium on offer reflecting a substantial increase over the current premium to make up for losses in gambling tax. Nevertheless, the threat of an increase in the price of salt as a result of that brought opposition once again from assemblymen. A moral issue was also raised when it was charged that the new syndicate making the offer had connections to the organizers of gambling. Meetings and negotiations followed, and Zhang Mingqi, the new and last provincial governor general of Guangdong and Guangxi, acceded to the popular demand. Gambling was banned from March 30, 1911, and the event was celebrated by a procession in Guangzhou. As the Shanghai English-language *North China Herald* reported it: "The streets were literally packed for miles, and everybody in the best of spirits and good-will. Never has anything like it been seen in Canton."[35]

In its aftermath, the revolution of 1911 was recalled as a long-planned effort to overthrow despotic rule and substitute parliamentary government. The very short-lived parliament of 1912 to 1913 and the superficiality of support for electoral politics belie that argument. The politics of the assemblies in the provinces in the few years before 1911 might be more accurately construed as the devolution of patronage, where with the abandonment of the official examination, the shift to the cities and the appearance of new avenues of investment, patronage networks had to be reshuffled. If local associations and assemblies were now legally allowed and politically encouraged, they became the hardware with which new allegiances were to be worked out. However, this reading of events passes over another feature of the changes coming over the entire country in the early 1900s, the emergence of militarism as an integral element of society. Whereas up to the end of the Taiping Rebellion, the militias of the rural communities were buffered from national politics by the presence of the lineages, and the multi-lineage and market alliances, the New Army, which was to become the backbone of national defense after the Boxer Uprising of 1900, was firmly based in the cities and financed by the

central and the provincial governments. The new officer corps, trained in newly founded military academies, were a new breed, which saw respectability in the military career. The role of the military in politics was also exacerbated by the terrorism of the revolutionaries. In April 1911, they assassinated the Manchu general of Guangzhou (known in Western texts as the Tartar general). In the same month, they instigated an uprising by a portion of the New Army in Guangzhou, and when the army itself was used to conduct house-to-house searches in the city to hunt down revolutionaries, the revolutionaries wounded their commander, Li Zhun, in yet another assassination attempt. A state of panic resulted in Guangzhou during these few months, and by August, it was said that as many 40,000 people had fled to Hong Kong and 10,000 to Macau, these people being either the wealthy or family members of officials.

When the revolution broke out in Hankou, the government in Guangdong had been worn down, both financially and in morale, but until the end of October, it held its ground. The governor-general's allies in this effort were the degree holders. The many-sided Jiang Kongyin, a wealthy dilettante degree holder who supported the merchants in their radicalism, buried the revolutionary martyrs of the abortive April 1911 uprising and led the provincial assembly, became the governor-general's emissary to urge the Hong Kong press to tone down reports on political events. Guangzhou was further shaken by another successful assassination, that of the recently arrived Manchu general Fengshan, on October 25, when the senior gentry under the chairmanship of Deng Huaxi, held a public meeting to discuss current events. Provincial independence was proposed, and when the meeting was hijacked by unnamed radicals, who paraded the streets to celebrate Guangdong's independence, the governor-general declared, with the support of the senior Gunagzhou leadership, that independence meant a great deal less than secession from the Qing empire. In effect, he would offer no support to the government, in troops or taxation, a formula closer to the declaration of independence by the lower Yangzi governor-generals during the Boxer Uprising than the political strategy vaunted in the revolutionary press. By November, however, revolutionary groups in the name of the "people's army" had been founded in the counties, while the British government in Hong Kong declared that it might take independent action against the "pirates" on the West River if anarchy continued. Guangzhou was being deserted, and the merchant associations and guilds leaned towards more radical solutions. It might have been a compromise on November 8 for the governor-general to agree to allow the revolutionaries to form their

government in Guangzhou while he remained provisional governor and his commander, Long Jiguang, lieutenant governor. However, that night, he fled Guangzhou, and the next day, the revolutionary government took over. In Guangdong at least, the empire and the emperor were no more.

It has to be stressed that throughout these breathtaking events of the early 1900s, the lineage as an institution was not in any sense in a state of decline. In the early 1900s, quite a few lineages embraced self-government and turned the lineage leadership into a "lineage self-government association."[36] However, the lineage had become irrelevant to the definition of the local to the center. Whereas from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the extension of neo-Confucian state theories built on the values of the lineage to create a bond between local society and the state, by the twentieth century, local society had to redefine itself when nationalism became the dominant state theory, with its focus on the centralized state. The centralized state had not proceeded beyond a poorly thought-out experimental design. The redefinition of local society, therefore, did not move substantially away from the lineage. Rather, lineages incorporated the new language of constitutionalism and republicanism, even as the perception of the lineage in the city-dominated state theory of republicanism increasingly questioned lineage activities as a contributing element to the new state.[37]

The most penetrating analyses of lineage activities in the early 1900s can be made on the basis of documents that came directly from lineage holdings. Documents studied by Huang Yonghao, including land deeds, contracts, correspondence, genealogies, and accounts connected with the activities of Zhang Qigan of Dongguan county, illustrate how erroneous it would be to think of the old and the new as discrete categories. Zhang won his *jinshi* degree in 1892 and received an appointment as a county magistrate in Shanxi province in 1894. He was a wealthy landowner and land developer on the sands, a director of the Dongguan Hall for the Understanding of Proprieties, and a promoter of the ancestral property trust which bought substantial properties abandoned by the Dongguan Hall when, in 1904, the provincial government pressed the hall to pay for landholdings to be returned by the Guangya Academy. When the revolution succeeded in 1911, he moved to Shanghai, regarding himself as an elder of Qing officialdom. However, he did not let up on reclamation on the sands, collecting 10,000 yuan on 1,000 shares offered to his lineage members for one venture in 1914, and contributing 20,000 yuan to a company with another developer for more reclamation in 1917. The jointly owned Yugan Co. produced annual accounts indicating that most

of its income, in the region of 60,000 yuan per year in 1918 and 1919, came from rent. The earlier operations, however, were conducted in the names of ancestral trusts. In one venture, in 1895, the Tiyun Hall of the Zhang surname, Yinlan Hall of the Deng surname, and Zuijing Hall and Dexiu Hall of the He surnames came together to reclaim land on a shareholding basis. A letter by one of Qigan's relatives suspected of having embezzled the holdings explains the complications. When the provincial officials wanted the sands measured and "rascals on the sands" (*shagun*) made accusations, his partners, the Deng and He surnames, were asked to contribute money to register the holdings. These partners refused to provide the funds, and so Shujie, Qigan's relative, registered the land in the name of the Zhang household and let it out to new tenants, alienating the Deng and He surnames.[38]

Another excellent set of records for this period of transition has been provided by the He surname of Shawan, in Panyu county, who were very substantial land developers. This slim volume of fifty-one manuscript documents bound under the title "Draft Volume of Village and Lineage Management Documents in 1911 and 1912" fully illustrates the governmental framework of a territorial multi-lineage alliance and its concerns. Since the Ming dynasty, Shawan *zhen* had been dominated by five surnames, He, Wang, Li, Li, and Zhao. The Li surname, descendants of Li Maoying in the Song, and still holding onto the ancestral hall, the Li Jiuyuan *tang*, had long been in decline. The He surname were very big landholders: their principal ancestral hall, the He Liugeng *tang,* alone owned 60,000 *mu*. Some of the lineage organizations were obviously maintained at strength, because several documents in the volume issued in the name of one of them detail regulations for the maintenance of the common fund (owed 300,000 taels by members of the lineage). In the mid nineteenth century, when the militia was organized for the area, the lineages of Shawan had set up the Renrang Bureau for the management of village affairs. This volume includes numerous public notices issued in its name. Several of these echoed legal changes in Guangzhou, denouncing gambling and requiring opium dens to register. The bureau held judicial powers, for in its anti-gambling notice, it declared that the houses used for such purposes would be dismantled and sold to pay for the award (to be given to the bureau's guards), while the culprits would be sent to the government for punishment. It also contains various petitions sent by the bureau to the Shawan police office. Such letters were always sent in the names of gentlemen of the bureau, who were people of the various major surnames within its purview. Some of these petitions

dealt with robbers who had been caught, and a particular interesting one requested permission for the hiring of armed guards for peacekeeping. The guards were hired in conjunction with Shawan's local militia bureau, the Luoyang Communal School. They amounted to a sizable force of 130 men on land and 70 on water, in addition to 108 "volunteers" (*yiyong dui*). They were armed with 150 modern guns, mostly Mausers, and 90 muskets. As Liu Zhiwei and Chen Chunsheng point out in their study of these documents, this number would not have included forces maintained by the lineages for patrol on the sands. In these years of crisis, the price of rice had climbed, and so the bureau was engaged in the distribution of relief rice. This was done in the name of a charity hall. Also consistent with the current trend, the bureau was engaged in silk-reeling, and the ancestral trust spoke of founding a handicraft workshop. In all likelihood, this would have been a steam filature; the bureau's notice refers to it as a company and indicates that shares would be raised for the purpose. Towards 1912, the language changes. Two letters of greeting were drafted to be dispatched to the republican "people's army," an essay on "self-government" extolled the importance of embracing public benefit (*gongyi*) and abandoning private interest (*sili*) in the management of village and lineage affairs, a letter dated January 30, first year of the republic, describes the fear of persons "impersonating the people's army" robbing village houses, and a public address was written for the gathering of the volunteers on February 27, first year of the republic, acknowledging the fall of the Qing monarchy and celebrating the establishment of democracy (*minzhu*).[39]

In Foshan, the city museum has salvaged a manuscript volume of letters written in 1914 relating to the nomination of a man to become lineage head, as now required by the magistrate. The person in question had long been active in town affairs. He was a manager of the charity hall in his trade and a manager of the Foshan granary by appointment of the Dakui *tang* of Foshan. He was elected assemblyman for Foshan by the gentry and elders of his township ward (*pu*) and director of his ward by his ward committee. The magistrate wanted a written record of all lineage heads and branch heads in relation to the organization of the militia, and some of the letters relate to requests for their names. Like other local bodies, the lineage office was engaged in fighting gambling, opium smoking, and, in 1914, also the proliferation of small pawnshops. These matters were discussed among lineage members at meetings, which continued to be held at the ancestral hall. Current events might have aroused interest in local affairs for meetings at the hall were now attended by

many, when in the past few people had gone. During the year, one of the dikes in the area collapsed and the lineage succeeded in mobilizing 200 men to help with the repairs.[40]

The land developer on the sands who directed his business from Shanghai, the local militia bureau that, in addition to the managerial role it had always taken, was adopting the new language of the state in its execution, and the lineage headman cum local assemblyman working through the lineage office to fight gambling and opium smoking and repair dikes, conjure up images both of the traditional and of the modern. One way to summarize the change might be to say that it was style and not substance that had been changing: the lineage holding land continued to manage and wield power, but it was beginning to speak a different language. In what sense would the lineage speaking the new language be a continuation of the tradition dating from the sixteenth century?

Lineage Marginalized, Lineage Reborn

Alas, the changes in style underlie changes in the political ideology that now fed into the state. By May 4, 1919, the student magazines would overflow with denunciations of traditional practices, but the undercurrent of that argument was apparent from 1900. The anarchists had introduced the idea of the social revolution. Radical publications spoke of revolution in the family, equality for women, and reducing the authoritarianism of the father. Ancestor worship was described as superstition. But it is not necessary to go to the extremes of the political spectrum to find the argument that was to shake lineage society to the core. It can be found in the concept of citizenship coupled with twentieth-century nationalism. Much as the lineage might seek a place in the electoral process, it was the individual who was to become the citizen, not his or her lineage. The constitutionalist Liang Qichao saw the conflict more clearly than most. His description of citizenship puts it succinctly: hitherto (almost paraphrasing the *Book of Rites*) the teaching of the sages has made it possible to develop the individual, the family, the village, and all heaven and earth. Yet, Liang Qichao points out, missing in this formula are nationhood and citizenship. To create the nation and to inculcate citizenship, Liang says, Chinese people have to acquire "public virtues."[41] The young Liang Qichao did not mince his words. Returning from America in 1904, he included "the shortcomings of Chinese people" in his travel reminiscence. Heading the list, he said, "they are qualified to be people of the lineage, but not citizens." He went on:

Chinese society is organized with the lineage as the unit, not the individual. This follows from the saying, "when the family is put in order, the state is in order." The *zongfa* [descent rule] of the Zhou dynasty may have wasted away, but its spirit remains. I may say, although the Aryans in the West developed their ability to govern themselves earlier, local self-government in China is not weaker than theirs. Why is it they can become a country and we not? The answer is that they have developed the self-government of cities, and we have developed the self-government of lineages. Visit the villages of China, you can see the distinguished order of self-government there. In my village, which has only two to three thousand people, the legislative body and the executive body are separate from each other. Other lineages are likewise. They should become the first foundation of the state. Yet go to the city, and the disorder there is beyond belief. This is clear evidence they can be people of the lineage but not citizens. From my travel in America, I firmly believe this. They have left their villages, they come and go in the freest big cities in their capacities as individuals, and aside from the family, there is nothing they want or create as far as I can see. They depend on that for the maintenance of order in society.[42]

In the political climate of the 1900s, Liang Qichao wrote as a moderate. He had not designed his comments as a criticism of the lineage, and yet, he pinned it with the evolutionary theory introduced from Henry Maine via Yan Fu's translations. The theory of social evolution looked upon kinship as precursor to tribalism, both, of course, within the preindustrial stage of society. It did not matter that Liang Qichao did not think poorly of the lineage: years later, he equated gentry leadership in his home village in Xinhui county to self-government. Yet in 1904, citing Theodore Roosevelt, he argued that ideas of the state must substitute for ideas of the village. China, moving into modernity, would leave the lineage behind. Ideas of the state, progress, and the public good coming together made a powerful argument. Lineages might continue, but in the new political theory, they had ceased to be an essential part of the state.

Into the 1910s, the records of the Tangang Village Association show that the new style had enveloped, not only agreement with Guangzhou politics, but in much broader ways, the entire portrayal of village life. The single-surnamed Tangang Village, also in Xinhui, was razed to the ground in interlineage warfare in 1917. In 1919, the lineage village was revived by donations collected among its relatives living in the cities and abroad. The Tangang Village Association located in Hong Kong appointed a village manager in Tangang, who reported regularly to the Hong Kong association. Through the manager, the village association in Hong Kong enforced restrictions on how the lineage village was to be run.

Among the most radical measures imposed by the association was the

common management of all land. Tangang villagers retained ownership of their land, but all of it was rented out by the manager. The manager also adjudicated disputes, collected fees, provided the village crop-watching guards and, engaged in litigation to stem encroachment on the village's land rights by its neighbors. Some of these functions can be recognized as practices continued from the nineteenth century. However, quite apart from matters related to finance and the economy, the village association was concerned with the introduction of new rituals. The association saw itself as an enforcer of morals. Gambling and opium smoking were forbidden, but so was also the building of temples in the village, or branch ancestral halls. The ritual life of the village revolved around the lineage ancestral hall, a Confucian temple, and an annual village celebration of its revival, a feast at which at designated times, the participants raised their glasses in a toast, sang a song entitled "Our Love for the Village," let off firecrackers, and, in proper order, headed by the directors of the village association, paid their respects to the ancestors at their shrines. Yet, unrecorded in the order of ceremony, on the morning of village revival day, sacrifice was held at the ancestral graves and sacrificial pork was distributed. Nor did the ban on village temples bring an end to village religion. The village did not hold its own *jiao* festival, but on the pretext of improving neighborly feelings, villagers requested permission to pay their respects to the deity of the neighboring villages as it was paraded in its *jiao* celebration. The village association also looked with disfavor on the street organizations associated with earth-god shrines, and into the 1930s, the village manager was writing to the association about instructions to abolish them. There can be no question that the lineage was alive and well in Tangang village in the 1920s and 1930s, despite the changes in style that were attempted.[43]

Beyond the 1930s, villages like Tangang continued to believe in the efficacy of their ancestors. But in time they came to believe in the efficacy of a lot more than the ancestors could possibly provide: post offices, the telegraph, the telephone, railways, steamers, business companies, banks, peasants—rich, middling, and poor—and proletariat, and presidents and party secretaries. Amidst all of this, the ancestor remained the one link with what might still be thought of as tradition. Tradition was only one half of the ritual formula introduced in the sixteenth century: the other half, the emperor, was gone. The village might still look like the lineage, but the lineage could not fit readily into a state where no emperor reigned.

The sixteenth-century revolution in ritual, which provided the imperial state with a theory that related it to local society, had come full circle.

The new theory taught that the working classes were rising in the cities and that the "peasants," people who had formerly been members of lineages and villages, were the remnants of a feudal society. The new society was represented by institutions emerging in the coastal cities. The new elite were to come out of the modern schools. From here on, rural society was to be peripheralized. Not even Beijing was safe, for modernity taught that China was to be looked at from a view adopted in Shanghai.

Epilogue

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Beyond the Pearl River Delta

"Can you now say something about the rest of China?" At the end of every seminar at which he or she speaks to a general audience, the historian who has pored over the records of a part of China faces this frightful question. The short answer, of course, is how? To say that one learns more about China than the locale studied undercuts the very aim of local history itself. The social historian's aim is not to analyze the whole of China based on the experience of any one geographic area but to encourage more local studies. The experiences of different localities can be compared and contrasted, certainly, and generalizations may be drawn that can apply to more comparisons. Yet, as every historian who has worked on the history of any locality knows, the student of history must be prepared for surprises. In drawing conclusions about human experience, he or she pits the researcher's creativity against the collective creativity of the millions of souls whose experience is being studied. What historian in his or her right senses dares think that he or she outwits them all?

"Can you say something about the rest of China" is not, however, an unreasonable question. Local history that does not lead to generalizations is parochial. In fact, local history is not comprehensible except in the light of generalizations, and these have to be tested beyond the confines of the locale. A perceptive local history of one part of China provokes questions to be asked about other parts of China, and, indeed, if well formulated, about other human societies. At the very least, the student who has studied one part of China, when confronted with another part, should be able to say whether he or she finds it similar or dissimilar.

The lineage village of Liukeng in lowland Jiangxi looks familiar. It

is important not to overload the Jiangxi example with the description of this one village. It was settled in the Northern Song, and it produced degree holders from 1014 on. In fact, this one village produced twenty-eight *jinshi* degree holders during the Song, twenty-four of them of the Dong surname, and that should be indication enough that it enjoyed particularly close contact with the government. After the Song, its preeminence declined, and it produced only one *jinshi* in the Yuan, two in the Ming, and one in the Qing.

Despite its preeminence in the Song, it is strange that no historical relics from that age remain in Liukeng. The lineage history reconstructed by Liang Hongsheng and Shao Hong, who studied the village at length from its architectural remains, oral history, and genealogies, shows that ancestral sacrifice was offered up to the early Ming primarily at the ancestors' graves. By the end of the twelfth century, the Dong surname records that sacrifice was offered to the ancestors at a Laozi Palace (Laozi *gong*), the name Laozi possibly referring to the founder of Daoism, but that does not seem to be certain. The palace was burnt down towards the end of the Yuan dynasty, and when it was rebuilt in the early Ming, it was described as a "four-pillar house." The "main-line ancestral hall" (*dazong ci*) characteristic of the "family temple" was built in 1524, that is to say, in the early Jiajing reign, when commoner lineages aspiring to official statuses were permitted by law to sacrifice to their ancestors in this form of structure. Working backward from the Jiajing reign, it becomes quite obvious that the rituals of ancestral sacrifice in Liukeng had evolved in very much the same manner as in the older parts of the Pearl River Delta, that is to say, until a hall was built, sacrifice at the graves held central place, and when halls began to be built, they were modeled on separate shrines being built for four generations until the "family temple" was popularized in the sixteenth century. It also fits the pattern that the earlier hall was recalled in the records as a vague memory rather than as having been seen by an eyewitness. Those halls were much less formalized than the "family temple." The centrality of the graves in early history is confirmed by legends. Although, in time, the legends themselves evolved, Liang Hongsheng has skillfully related the deities considered central to the village to the early ancestral graves.[1]

Missing from the Liukeng record is the wider religious setting in which the lineage was installed. This disadvantage of examining local history from the perspective of a single village is more than made up for by the work of Zheng Zhenman and Kenneth Dean in Putian county, Fujian. There, a clear record may be traced of ancestors being sacrificed to at grave sites in the Song well before the appearance of the ancestral hall.

The hall, when it appeared, was built near the grave site and not in the village. Interestingly, a member of the Huang surname at Shiting village, himself a notable neo-Confucian writer (Huang Zhongyuan, *jinshi* of 1271), writing towards the end of the Song, refers to it as the "family temple" but says in the same breath that it might also be called the "portrait hall." The Ming "family temple," it may be noted, revolted against the use of portraits, and the substitution of portraits by wooden tablets can be documented in the Pearl River Delta for the Liu surname of Fengjian village in Shunde. This ritual difference aside, the Huang surname's hall provided for the repose of ancestors of thirteen generations. According to Zheng Zhenman, citing a contemporary source, the hall remained the focus of lineage sacrifice in the early Ming.[2]

Halls such as the Huang surname's at Putian indicate that a lineage tradition with a focus on ancestral sacrifice within a hall began there earlier than it did in the Pearl River Delta. However, to stress the commonality of the Putian development in the Song, and the Pearl River Delta in the Ming, is to miss the broader trend. The Huang surname ancestral hall in question was located, not only next to the grave, but also in the close vicinity of the Buddhist monastery that looked after the grave, and in the hall today, along with ancestral portraits and spirit tablets, is also the statue of a Buddhist monk who was a Tang dynasty member of the lineage. The connection of the monastery to the grave is well known to Song historians. It was common practice in the Song for monasteries known as "merit cloisters" (*gongde si*) to be located near grave sites. Such monasteries were, no doubt, commonly found in the Pearl River Delta too, and with the decline of monastic institutions in the Ming, much of their property was taken over by lineages.[3] The difference between Shatou *xiang* in Nanhai county in the Pearl River Delta, where a clear instance of such a monastery can be established and the Huang surname hall in Putian lies in the Pearl River Delta monastery having disappeared without a trace, while the Putian example remains burdened with different layers of ritual representations of ancestral sacrifice to this day. It has to be assumed that Putian, being the much richer of the two areas in the Southern Song, had maintained the established tradition even as changes were introduced, while in the Pearl River Delta, the construction of ancestral halls in the sixteenth century began on a fairly clean slate.

In Song-dynasty Putian, as in many other parts of Fujian, Buddhist monasteries and ancestral sacrifice were subsets of the broader belief in spirits. The belief seems to have been as prevalent in Fujian as it was in the Pearl River Delta that the spirit had to be located at a shrine if regular sacrifice was to be offered it, but, unlike the Pearl River Delta, Putian and

many parts of Fujian did not follow the strict division of anthropomorphic representations for temple deities and stones known by their generic names as "lords of the *she*" (*shegong*). Zheng and Dean, therefore, believed that the *she* gods merged with the temple gods. Thus, while the description they give of the temple networks of the Hanjiang flood plain in Putian may accord with many parts of the Pearl River Delta, Putian produced many more named deities with specific territorial followings than in the Pearl River Delta. It must be stressed that the naming mechanism is vital in the spread of cults. James Watson has noted how the Mazu might have taken over local deities by the mere adoption of her name, and then her legends, at the local shrines, and Michael Szonyi has pointed out that the adoption of the name does not have to imply the abandonment of local cultic practices. Both arguments lend support to the ritual colonizing power of deity names.[4] In the Putian case, weight was added to the named deities by the authority of the state. Unlike the Ming, the Southern Song emperors chose to award honorific names to local deities, including many in Putian, as an indication of their recognition of the efficacy of their powers. While efficacy alone would have been reason for the spread of the cult, as can be seen not only in the case of the Mazu, the imperial title proved effective protection against ideological cleansing imposed in the sixteenth century.[5] Thus, in the Pearl River Delta, the efforts of Wei Xiao and Huo Tao both bore down on the practices of "illegal" temples, that is to say, temples that were not accorded imperial favor in the Song and hence were not entered into the statutes of sacrifice in the early Ming, and promoted the sacrifice to ancestors, even by commoners, at ancestral halls in the style of the "family temple." Yet, in Putian, temples dedicated to many local deities would have continued through the persecution, having earlier received imperial recognition and so were not considered illegal, while the "family temple," if it was now to be built, had to be built on the foundation of the monastery or the ancestral hall at the grave.

It was precisely the growing prevalence of local named deities that the neo-Confucians objected to, and in reaction to which they designed the rituals surrounding ancestral sacrifice that was to take place in the specially built ancestral hall. Zheng and Dean, therefore, corroborate and contextualize Patricia Ebrey's description of the transformation of ancestral sacrifice in the Song.[6] Although Ebrey notes the close connections between the Song neo-Confucians and the Jiangxi-Fujian axis, writing in the style of the intellectual historian, Ebrey's efforts to account for changes in time understate the geographic unevenness of the texture of these changes.

In the Song and the Yuan, until approximately the thirteenth century,

the localized influence of the neo-Confucians can be traced in parts of Fujian, Jiangxi, and, from Jiangxi, the area towards the Mei Ranges dividing Jiangxi and Guangdong, into Nanxiong. However, even there, it would be a mistake to stress the extension of their teaching to the exclusion of the broad framework of the popularization of ritual texts. In the Fujian uplands, reaching into the hills on the border of Jiangxi and Guangdong, that is to say, the homeland of the people who came to be known as the Hakkas, the spread of texts by ritual masters ("Daoists") probably preceded the appearance of texts written by the neo-Confucians. Like the spread of names, the spread of texts had a unifying effect on local cultures. On the one hand, masters in control of texts extended their influence, and on the other hand, local practices were redefined and brought into the textual traditions. The Lüshan tradition embodying the story of the Lady by the Water, known as Chen Jinggu, now vividly illustrated by the surveys of this upland area by John Lagerwey and Fang Xuejia, was very much the result of some such process. An almost identical process has been noted by Michel Strickmann in the spread of the Zhengyi Daoist tradition among the Yao people of Guangxi and present-day Thailand. Chen Yonghai, working from the structure of personal names in Hakka genealogies, has been able to demonstrate very convincingly that among these people, genealogy was first recorded in writing as initiation records. Just as the neo-Confucians might have traced orthodoxy through published texts, ritual powers were passed on among the Lüshan and the Zhengyi tradition by a combination of the initiation ceremony and the circulation of ritual texts. Because the initiation rituals came to be held as rites of passage for males, initiates often received their ritual powers from their agnates. When the lineage came to be accorded recognition in writing, the initiation record formed a convenient basis on which to compile the written genealogy.[7]

Someone who has studied the Pearl River Delta, therefore, would also find familiar villages in the Hakka upland of Guangdong, in the present-day Mei *xian*. There, ancestral halls were built in the "family temple" style, although they seem to have blended into the architecture the concern for capturing the geomantic "dragon pulse," as was commonly done in the building of houses for domestic occupation. Yet the student of the Pearl River Delta would also note some very substantial differences and many of these had to do with the wide prevalence of Lüshan Daoist traditions. For example, the close identification of the ancestor with the shaman and the deity, found only occasionally in the Pearl River Delta, is much more commonly reported in the Hakka areas. A report at the ancestral hall of the Zhong surname at Wuhua summarizes the connection thus:

> The Zhong surname of Iron-burner Village revere the Venerable Zhong. . . . The Venerable Zhong they revere is Venerable Zhong Wan [Zhong Ten Thousand]. His temple is built in the middle section of the river embankment and is called the sacrificial hall of the Venerable Zhong Wan. . . . Old Madam Guan, aged over 70 *sui*, says that the Venerable Zhong Wan is an early ancestor [*shangzu*] of the Zhong surname. He learnt his magical powers [*fa*] from Master Snow Mountain [Xueshan]. When he completed his learning, he exorcised evil spirits and cured illnesses among the people. He was ordained as Zhong Wan Shisan Lang [Master Zhong Ten Thousand Thirteen]. This is why his tablet states: the spirit abode of Zhong Wan Shisan Lang. People call him the Venerable Zhong Wan, and the Zhong surname people call him "great-great-uncle" [*shugong tai*]. There are shamans at the Wanggong temple. At the end of the Qing dynasty and in the Republic, both shamans were people of the Zhong surname from this village. One of them was called Zhong Tianyou and the other Zhong Acheng. They both had the ability of having the spirit descend on them so that they might exorcise and cure illnesses.[8]

Another report from western Fujian gives the ancestor-shaman the twist that relates his achievement to the suppression of local serpent spirits as made famous in the origin legend of the Lady by the Water. In Xufang Village, Changting county, it is reported that the two founding ancestors went to Lüshan to learn the magic powers so that they might put an end to the spirit to which a virgin boy and girl had to be sacrificed every year.[9] Along with the legends may also be noted practices that might, in the Pearl River Delta context, have been more closely associated with sacrifice at the shrines of the deities than at the ancestral hall, notably the circulation of spirit tablets among households participating in sacrifice so that a rota is maintained for responsibility of organizing sacrifice.[10] It may be hypothesized that the relative abundance of these practices in Hakka areas and their scarcity in the Pearl River Delta relates to the timing of the onset of the neo-Confucian tradition of ancestral sacrifice, as publicized by the scholars and officials, as distinct from the extension of written texts in rituals associated with Lüshan religious practices. The argument here is not that exorcistic ceremonies predating the use of written texts were absent in the Pearl River Delta, but that, without the previous establishment of the textual tradition, they were more readily replaced by the scholarly version of neo-Confucian rituals. In the Hakka upland, where the textual tradition was established before the onset of the scholarly tradition, it blended into ancestral sacrifice as is now found in oral reports.

Generalizations about the Hakka upland here are made in full awareness of some substantial gaps in present knowledge. The well-known Hakka migrations down the two river systems leading to the east to-

wards the East River and then the Pearl River Delta, and the west, down the Meijiang into the Hanjiang and then Shantou, or further beyond, into the eastern parts of Fujian, would have brought about a considerable amount of mixing of indigenous cultures. Coming within the historical period where many of these people already had access to written genealogies and modes of ancestral sacrifice as established in the Ming, the result should represent a wide degree of local variations even as, in the process of migration, a sense of consciousness of the Hakka homeland in the hills was built up. A possible scenario for which not a great deal of evidence is as yet apparent would suppose that migration into well-established post-Ming communities, as in the Shantou area and the Pearl River Delta, would heighten the otherness of the newcomers. In the Shantou area, it may also be supposed, that the drawing power of migration into the Qing dynasty was not the city itself, but the opening of Taiwan. In both areas, therefore, the Hakkas were moving into essentially agricultural communities in which land rights had been firmly established by resort to ethnic identity and influence with local officialdom. Falling back on their religious and lineage institutions, the Hakka reaction was the strengthening of village connections in self-protection measures, a formula that could readily degenerate into warfare.

Further afield, the merging of ancestors and territorial deities took other forms. The Feng surname of the Gaozhou area, to the west of the Pearl River Delta, trace descent from the consort of the Tang dynasty warrior Madam Xian, while the Xian surnames of Foshan show no sign in their genealogies, compiled from the Ming, of any desire for an association with the legendary lady, despite their acknowledgment of being early settlers of the region. Again, it is history and comparison of local practices that might provide some insights into how the pattern had evolved. The Gaozhou area, it must be remembered, was on the earlier trade route into Hunan long before the West River became a major thoroughfare in the Southern Song (approximately the thirteenth century). In at least two other instances along this route, it is possible to identify one or more major temples devoted to such ancestor-deity: the thunder god temple (Leishen *miao*) on the Leizhou peninsular and the temples of the Venerable Flying Mountain (Feishan *gong*) on the edge of Hunan and Guizhou. Like the temples of the Dragon Mother in Shaoqing and the South Sea God at Huangbu, near Guangzhou, these were well-endowed temples, drawing clienteles from well beyond the immediate vicinity, and the reason for that, of course, was their location at an early date on the major trade routes. Madam Xian's temples, outside of Gaozhou, are found on Hainan Island, along the routes of Song migrations from

Leizhou (as distinct from the coastal route to the south that was linked to Arab and Southeast Asian trade). In both the main Madam Xian temple on Hainan and the thunder god temple of Leizhou may be found stone statues of indigenous people, with their hands bound behind their backs, kneeling in supplication to the deities. The thunder god temple, moreover, holds two separate shrines of the deity, separately representing and appealing to different religious traditions. A side altar holds the semi-human thunder god with the bird's beak, wielding his axe, with which he generates thunder, and the main altar the human figure of Chen Wenyu, who was hatched out of an egg. Donation steles in the temple indicate that Chen has been the common surname of the majority of villages donating since at least the Ming. Venerable Flying Mountain, aka Yang Zaisi of the Tang dynasty, was both ancestor and territorial deity.[11]

In the three centuries since the Jiajing ritual revolution, therefore, intense activities that reshaped the representation of power took place in many parts of south China from Fujian to Hunan. Some evidence may be adduced from existing studies to indicate that this had something to do with the recognition of local authority through *lijia* registration and the evolution of state administration at the local level.

In Fujian, local studies conducted in the past two decades indicate that administrative changes provided the crucial impetus for the ritual changes observed in the Pearl River Delta. Although Zheng Zhenman and Kenneth Dean do not seem to have examined the introduction of *lijia* into Putian, their documentation provides support for the incorporation of the local *she* shrines into a regional grouping of temples under imperial sanction from the twelfth century and then the emergence of ancestral sacrifice in ancestral halls, whatever the style, in the sixteenth century. Their excellent description of post-sixteenth-century development suggests, in fact, great similarities with the Pearl River Delta. A local man cited by Dean, Zheng Ji (1440–1516), provides some contemporary eyewitness accounts of the connection between registration, tax, and lineage towards the end of his life. Zheng came from a long-settled lineage in Xianyou, near Putian, but the fortune of his immediate line of descent was accumulated from around the middle of the fifteenth century, and ancestral halls were built only then. His writings on the halls indicate that their style stopped just short of the novelty of the Jiajing reform (as for example, in their continued use of ancestral portraits), but, as elsewhere, veneration for ancestors provided a reason for creating a landed estate. Zheng Ji's account, therefore, complements observations derived from the Pearl River Delta. However, in addition to all this, Zheng provides unique insights into the *lijia*. In one place, in a letter addressed to a se-

nior official, he summarizes the history of *lijia* in his county. In the early Ming, it was divided into 64 *tu*, registering 6,400 households, of which 1,900 were registered for military service and three times as many for civilian service. In the subsequent Yongle and Xuande reigns (1403–35), when labor service increased and epidemics raged, the registered population dwindled. By the Zhengtong and Jingtai reigns (1436–57) only 12 *li* remained, which may be estimated as 1,200 households. By the Tianshun reign (1457–64), migrants into the county (that is to say, a previously unregistered population) were incorporated into the *lijia* and 14 *li*, or 1,400 households, were registered. The evidence Zheng provides shows clearly that throughout the first half of the Ming period, despite the claim, few people in his county registered, and, as in the Pearl River Delta, a substantial number who did were registered in military households. However, despite the dwindled numbers, Zheng also gives a very rare contemporary account of a *lijia* register and of registration in action. The register he saw can be dated, by the surnames of officials cited, to the Chenghua period (1465–87). He noted that the register was compiled after a meeting was held by 140 households on the instigation of his younger brother in the *lijia* essentially to petition the magistrate for a substantially reduced rate of payment in silver in lieu of service. The document does not show, as Dean suggests, that the *lijia* had collapsed by the fifteenth century. Rather, in the context of Zheng Ji's summary of the *lijia* development up until his time, it indicates the opposite, that the *lijia* was successfully imposed only when service had been converted to silver and the registered household, the *jia*, had been transformed into a corporate structure in the name of the lineage.[12]

The emergence of the lineage tradition in combination with the family temple style of an ancestral hall on the coast of Fujian, Putian included, encountered a great deal more disruption than the Pearl River Delta in the sixteenth century. From mid-century, the Fujian coast was, to a much greater degree than the Pearl River Delta, disturbed by the "Japanese pirates." The timing is all-important, for whereas Zheng Zhenman has stressed that the devastation of the pirates and the need for defense led to the eroding of lineages that had grown by affiliation and the formation of lineages by contract, Kenneth Dean studying the same area has stressed the growth of territorial alliances, to such an extent that he sees "an evolution of forms of local ritual organization away from kin-based, lineage-based forms to territorially defined systems from the mid-Ming onwards." Compared to the Pearl River Delta, the difference may be understood in relation to scope and scale. The "sevenfold sacred territories" into which Putian county was divided, which Dean analyses, would have

been larger than a *xiang* in the Pearl River Delta. Although powerful families did emerge and hold sway through connections with government in the Ming, it was unlikely that a *xiang*, even in that period, could have been dominated by a single surname. The territorial arrangement was, therefore, almost always an interlineage alliance. The component members of the *xiang*, however, would have been settlements (villages), some of which would have been single-surnamed, some of the upwardly mobile among which would have been incorporating the family temple style of the ancestral hall into their architecture. Upward mobility for a sector of the community would not have implied high status for all, for prosperity would have drawn in economically disadvantaged migrants and in any boom and bust cycle, even the upwardly mobile could become bankrupt. Zheng and Dean hence found both multi-surname and single-surname component alliances in the sacred territory, the Huang surname of Shiting village being an example cited of a long-lasting lineage structure adapted into the territorial alliance. In the Pearl River Delta, until the sixteenth century, when crisis began to set in, the interlineage alliance was as yet uncommon outside the larger towns, such as Foshan or Xiaolan. In Putian, it would seem that the alliances had begun at an earlier time, driven by the earlier onset of disorder. In all three areas, militarization continued into the early Qing, and was broken finally only by the coastal evacuation from 1662. The returned population in the 1680s reestablished lineages and *lijia*, but although *lijia* registration continued, its usefulness was very soon superseded by the appearance of centralized records on taxation in the form of the *Complete Book of Land Tax and Labor Services*. Continued into the eighteenth century were the ritual representation of the territorial alliances of an earlier age in the form of processions and temple building, and the corporate character of the lineage as a property-holding institution.[13]

The transformation of the local population by *lijia* from the mid thirteenth to the mid fourteenth century and the succession of the *lijia*-based status structure by lineages focused around a family-temple style of an ancestral hall are noted very clearly in Michael Szonyi's study of Nantai Island, off Fuzhou city, to the north of Putian. Working through lineage legends and the history of the compilation of the written genealogies, Szonyi demonstrates that the reputable lineages of Nantai by the Ming dynasty were very likely to have had a past rooted in the boat-dwelling way of life associated, even in Nantai, with the Dan. The earliest ancestral hall was built, possibly, in the early fourteenth century. But that was not quite built in the style of a family temple. One version cited has it that it was the converted study hall of the two notables whose stature by

the sixteenth century allowed them to be listed among the sages of the county. The next ancestral hall was built after 1507, and from then on, more such halls were built. Szony also noted that not all lineages succeeded in building halls, a very useful reminder for studies that choose to look upon the family temple as the marker of a social transformation, for members of lineages might simply fail to come to agreement on financing.[14]

Yet not all localities would have evolved in the direction of lineage construction. Chen Chunsheng, studying the coastal town of Zhanglin near Shantou, notes in particular that it remained a multi-surname territorial alliance not dominated by large lineages. Zhanglin was founded on official recognition of a local self-defense alliance to facilitate the building of a walled fortification (*zhai*) in the face of the threat of "Japanese pirates" in 1556. Official recognition, again, allowed for the status redefinition of the Dan people. By 1586, the alliance had built its central temple in the walled settlement, and a pattern had emerged of the settlements being grouped into four wards referred to as *she*, consisting of small isolated villages, including villages settled by Dan boatmen. Into the Qing, Zhanglin became a thriving coastal town. Like Foshan, the town did not restrict the settlement of outside surnames. Unlike Foshan, it does not seem to have ever produced very senior officials. Ancestral halls sprang up by the mid Qing period, but were built on the small scale. The ritual life of the community was dominated by the temples.[15]

The agreement in the chronologies of ritual changes in territorial representation in the Pearl River Delta and the Fujian coast, or even Jiangxi, highlights two major trends of development in shaping local society. One line of development relates to local administration, the magistrate's office yielding land rights in return for allegiance from the local magnates in the Ming, and a reversal of this trend briefly in the eighteenth century as the Yongzheng Emperor's tax reforms gave the magistrate considerably more financial independence. The other line of development stems from the imposition of state rituals on local society, not by force, but by the allure of social mobility when the shift to gentry manners was coupled with greater opportunities of advancement through examinations and then higher status by association. In the Pearl River Delta, the impact of the local administrative developments had been sharp, very largely because a considerable amount of land was uncultivated prior to the Ming, and household registration provided the means whereby rights could be exerted over this uncultivated land. In Szonyi's example on Nantai Island, off Fuzhou, a very similar line of development took place, involving the self-redefinition of a substantial portion of the population

from the pariah Dan status. In the Putian area, the similarity had been driven by the imposition of *lijia* and the sixteenth-century ritual reforms. However, because in Putian, much land had been put under cultivation and controlled by groups of people who had developed strong connections with the state, the similarity had been built on an earlier structure that protected the holding powers of the temples within the region. This general summary is, of course, far from conclusive. On the contrary, it raises as many questions as it answers. In particular, because so much of the local definition of power in the Pearl River Delta was related to the holding of land, if Putian had been developed early, one would expect to see the impact of early patterns of landholding on later developments. In the Pearl River Delta, large tracts owned by the monasteries were dispossessed. The same might have happened in Putian, and, if it did, continuity might be traced between the monastic institutions of the Song and the management of water projects by the temples, as discussed in Zheng and Dean.[16]

A very brief review of local studies in Jiangxi and Fujian, therefore, leads to the conclusion that the integration of local society into the state had a considerable impact on status identity and its ritual representation. The integration of Putian into the state in the Song stamped on it the lasting presence of many a named deity, so that by the Ming, when the *lijia*, and then lineage building, came to be sanctioned devices in state-society integration, those measures rested on a culture that had been shaped in the Song. In the Pearl River Delta, the Song left little impact. Most of the Pearl River Delta being integrated into the state in the Ming, ritual began from, so to speak, a clean sheet, on which households were registered and evolved into lineages. The very interesting hypothesis drawn from these studies that may apply to the whole of south China argues that the ritual features of local society had much to do with the timing of the absorption of local society into the state and the practice in vogue to make that possible. The establishment of imperial administration and the assertion of an orthodox ritual both mattered, but so would local society acting out this reality, whether or not administration or an orthodoxy was locally established.

In line with this approach, it becomes possible to examine the more varied practices that may be encountered in the southwest. The Yao and the Zhuang are almost certainly ethnic definitions that arose from Ming local administration. Where *lijia* was implemented, by definition, its constituent members became imperial subjects (*min*). The people who came to be known as the Zhuang were, in the Ming, governed outside this framework by their own native chiefs (*tusi*), and the Yao were the people

who were neither registered in the *lijia* nor governed by native chiefs.[17] Taiwan, which was opened up from the seventeenth century on by immigrants from Fujian and the part of Guangdong bordering it, carried on from the ritual tradition as established in that area. Territorial organization there fully integrated Lüshan rites and took the form of multi-surname alliances set up at temples. Late development, moreover, meant that Taiwan was opened up when the use of written deeds had become very well established. Land was therefore held by the application of deeds from as soon as settlement was established, and one does not find there the gestation period, as in the early Ming Pearl River Delta, when land deeds were practically nonexistent and land rights were asserted through *lijia* registration. A similar situation can be found on the Guizhou mountains, where from the eighteenth century on, commercial logging provided a sudden impetus for economic development. The Miao people living in the area took immediately to the use of land deeds as evidence of land rights, enforced ethnic boundaries between themselves and the immigrants from Hunan who flocked to the region, began building timber houses in the style of Han village houses, and, by the nineteenth century, compiled written genealogies as they distinguished themselves in imperial service by providing men to fight against the Taiping.[18] Into Yunnan, however, the pattern changes, because the Chinese imperial state had to be imposed on an earlier state structure. The kingdoms of Dali and Cuan, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, had not disintegrated before writing had an impact on local society, unlike the coastal kingdoms of Nan-Han and Min from the same period, out of which Fujian and Guangdong local society sprang. The Buddhist kingdoms of the southwest resurfaced as ethnic groupings put under the control of native headmen (*tusi*) in the Ming, from which arrangement some sizable lineages emerged.[19]

In North China, it can now be said quite categorically that it is simply untrue that the lineage as a form of social organization was any less common than in South China, but the historical record has been so little studied that historians should declare near ignorance as to how local society had changed in the area. The literature on the Shanxi bankers describes the lineages, and there is no question that many of these were single-surnamed walled villages.[20] Some of these villages have now been turned into local museums, which can be readily reached, and many more examples of single-surnamed villages may be found along the tourist route if only because some the large lineages left magnificent buildings: the Chen family and the Huangcheng village in Yangcheng county near the Henan border, or Ding Village (Dingcun) with an architectural style that exudes the elegance of the lower Yangzi in Xiangfen county to

the southwest.[21] Both of these were Ming dynasty settlements that continued through the Qing. Or, if one has access to recently compiled village histories, one sees single-surname domination quite obviously. The village history of Huaiyin Village in Wutai county, records the names of all village heads, deputy heads, and secretaries from 1919 to 1952, all the leaders of production brigades from 1959 to 1984, and all chairmen of the village committee from 1985 to 1994. With three exceptions, all had the same surname.[22] Then there is the famous story of the migration from the Great Huai Tree at Hongdong county, the North China version of a diaspora legend that remains largely unexplored.[23]

One of the most impressive descriptions of lineage building may be found in Lutijian Village in Dai county, home of the reputable Yang family generals of the Northern Song, whose exploits became essential content for Chinese opera all over China. In 1556, the Shanxi province educational intendant recorded, on a stone stele that can still be found in the Yang surname ancestral hall (Yangshi *zongci*) in the village, that when he came across this village of over 500 people, they had lived, since the Song, "in the same lineage and shared the same graves" (*gongzu tongying*). They possessed a genealogy and a sacrificial hall, and they claimed to be the descendants of Yang Ye, patriarch of the Yang family generals. He named the Yuan dynasty ancestors they were descended from. He noted that into the Ming dynasty, they "stressed sacrifice at the hall, knew of their genealogy and had set up family regulations [*zhong cisi, ming zongpu, li jiayue*]." They abided by the sacred teaching (*shengjiao*), they had established land in common (*gongtian*), and they possessed a field for shooting practices (*shepu*). Reading this inscription today in the village, the visitor will see, indeed, two steles recording the genealogy, respectively dated 1324 and 1329, and a blurred inscription, perhaps dated 1324, headed "The Ten Virtues of Confucius" (Xuansheng *shide*), under which are listed ten mottoes governing the cultivation of the self and responsibilities to others. Moreover, to complete the observations laid out by the educational commissioner, indeed, there must have been an ancestral hall, now many times rebuilt and repaired, in which the steles have been preserved. A stele dated 1550 shows that only a few years earlier, another essay had been written, by a *jinshi*, to commemorate the lineage's long history. That stele was set up by two men of the Yang surname, signed respectively as the elder and an official at the government courier station. In the early Ming, the Yang surname at Lutijian did not hold high office, but the lineage tradition had certainly been present, a remnant of its glory under the Yuan dynasty—for the genealogy does not

successfully trace them to the Song—during which some members of the family held military titles.[24]

Shanxi is so rich in local records that it is a wonder its local history has still not been carefully examined. David Johnson, using records collected in the Project on Chinese Regional Theatre to reconstruct a village festival in a single village in Lucheng county, describes a social fabric that in many ways resembles southern society. The festival was run by the head of the *she* and the representatives of twelve families ("or lineage" as he says).[25] Working on stele records, I have also reconstructed developments in the Ming in two separate villages. In Xia county at the family graveyard of the illustrious Song scholar and official Sima Guang, not only was it accepted by all that graves should be maintained by the lineage, but also, in this case, when the lineage was known to have scattered for two centuries, the magistrate and local notables found it acceptable to invite their descendants now resident in Zhejiang to return. Return some did, and this amazing history includes an account of the returnees having to produce proof of descent, which consisted not only of a bare-bone genealogy but also a painting by Sima Guang. The returnees claimed filial piety, but the contemporary commentator knew, and said in no uncertain terms, that it was land that attracted their return.[26] In the other instance, in Lu'an subprefecture where a stone stele records the establishment of the subprefectural office in 1533, the history can be traced of the decline of the shift in allegiance of the retainers of the local aristocratic family towards the officialdom that was now put in charge. The retainers now wanted to appear as model lineages within which five generations had lived together without family division, and, in 1524, when the reputable neo-Confucian writer Lu Nan passed through the area, they staged a communal feast attended by two hundred people for his benefit and besought his help in establishing the village covenant.[27]

In all these Shanxi examples, it is evident that in the sixteenth century, attempts were made to conform to the new rituals that put ancestral sacrifice at the center of communal organization, and yet in none was there found an example of a building recognizable as a "family temple."[28] Statues of the ancestors, not tablets, were installed in the hall at Sima Guang's graveyard. Instead of sacrifice at the family temple, the common practice in Shanxi, even in wealthy households, was to sacrifice in front of a drawing of one, showing all the ancestral tablets. This drawing, which has appeared to some observers as a genealogy, as the sum total of the tablets would be, was posted on the wall, and sacrifice was held in front of it. It would seem that in the absence of the family temple in

the sixteenth century, the use of a drawing took over as a surrogate and was not abandoned even if the lineage came into wealth or positions of importance.[29]

No mention has been made so far of the lower Yangzi, which boasted some of the most important cities in the Ming and the Qing. The complicated and changing waterways of this region, and successful land reclamation towards the east, on which cotton was successfully grown with wheat, demands great respect for the varieties presented by its local society. Up along the Xin'an River from Hangzhou, one reaches Huizhou in Anhui province, whose lineages are famous. Back in the 1960s, Ye Xian'en noted the impact of the Jiajing reforms on the building of ancestral halls there.[30] Hilary Beattie, in the single major lineage study in the 1970s, located the founding of lineages in Tongcheng county, likewise in Anhui, in the sixteenth century. She argued that "a nucleus of educated, affluent and leisured men," but not actual possessors of senior examination degrees, was essential to lineage survival, a description that would accord very well with an outside view of ritual maintenance as a focal lineage activity.[31] Jerry Dennerline, writing about the Hua surname at Wuxi from the Yuan into the Ming, arrived at a pattern very similar to that found in the Pearl River Delta: close affinity of *lijia* with local power and lineage structure in the early Ming, succeeded by the holding of property in lineage trusts.[32] On the shore of Lake Tai are found towns that had been commercially successful since the Yuan dynasty, and in some of these, lineage tracing dated from that period, even though in those earlier years, the family temple was unknown and lineage activities were focused on temples, not ancestral halls. Hamashima Atutoshi's study of the social organization surrounding waterworks projects implicitly accepts the presence of lineages in the lower Yangzi, and his later work on deities, particularly the ones referred to as "commander" (*zongguan*), allows the intriguing possibility that they might involve the combination of ancestral and territorial cults. The presence of lineages in the lower Yangzi is, of course, not the question, but the chronology of their development over different parts of the region is. One should always be reminded of Fei Xiaotong's observations in Kaixiangong Village in the 1930s, where he found that the two village temples in this multi-surname village were, in his word, "owned" by the priests, one of whose "important functions" was "to keep the ancestor records [*sic*] for the people." Fei was quite categorical on this point, and said it without as much as an indication of surprise: "Genealogical records of the families are kept in different temples outside. Since the record keeper is rewarded by the family whose ancestor names are kept, the record book becomes in a way the personal property

of the priest."[33] Recent ethnography by Yan Xuecheng has clarified Fei's observation. The record consisted of names within the five generations for which mourning was observed. It was kept by monks who had been hired to officiate at funerals and served as the basis for future periodic sacrifices. Yan refers to these records as being "akin to genealogies," and, from his own study of a village in which such records were kept, came to the conclusion that "it had no lineage organization, and no genealogy."[34]

I think the chronology of lineage building in the Pearl River Delta agrees broadly with Peter Bol's description of the beginnings of neo-Confucianism in Jinhua in the twelfth century and its revival towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth. The interest in "localism" that he stresses and the focus on Wu Yubi, Chen Baisha's mentor, suggests that by the sixteenth century, these movements did not simply emerge in isolation. If, in the twelfth century, it took imperial direction in school building for neo-Confucianism to ground itself in the provinces, by the fifteenth century, intellectuals in many different parts of China not only identified with various core traditions but also influenced one another through their writings, personal exchanges, and political stands.[35]

If anything is to be learnt from a detailed regional study of the central institutions that served as the essential rationale of local organization, as one might suppose in the case of the Pearl River Delta and the lineage, it is that if social history is to make sense, geography has to be brought in. And it has to be a geography that is not constructed by looking at a map of land forms in an armchair, but rather by taking into account how people envisaged those landforms as regions or parts of a region. The argument is not made here to belittle the importance of rivers and mountain ranges on the flow of trade, of people, and therefore of ideas. Rather, it is that much historical spade work is urgently needed for social history to take account of how these movements impacted on the formation of geographical regions. Those very regions were defined as the state extended its reach into existing local society, breaking down barriers that for the most part have now disappeared without a trace. Over the superseded structures was established a cultural context in which power was played out. A study of the Pearl River Delta, or any region in China for that matter, does not make the point that all parts of China must have evolved in similar ways, but it points to questions that may be asked in common about the process by which the imperial state was formed. When and how deities and ancestors were incorporated into the state ideology is one of these questions, and the time scale of administrative advance is another. Yet, beyond the region, something is also said about

the very nature of the state. The state advanced into local society by embracing differences and melting them all into one. Boundaries were set up, to be sure, between the emperor's subjects, known as *min* in the *lijia* context, and people outside, known in the south as Yao or Zhuang. With a centralized ideology, orthodox ritual, a bureaucracy recruited by examination without regard to ethnic origin, and a clear sense of membership in *lijia* registration, the Ming empire was possibly one of the world's first nation-states. Recent scholarship by Evelyn Rawski and Pamela Crossley has described how the Qing differed, for by defining the *min* of the Ming into the Han, the Qing turned citizenship into an ethnic label.[36]

Is the term "armchair" too harsh a criticism for the traditional approach to Chinese social history? Probably not. One has to travel to be impressed by China's vastness and its varied character. One has to travel also to see at firsthand the relics that stand as testimony of the society of a bygone age. And one has to travel even to gather the documentary information that still abides on stone steles or fragments of paper tenderly preserved in private hands. Time is running out for this approach to the writing of Chinese history. Historians of today should consider it their privilege to be able to see the last remains of the great Ming and Qing achievement in social construction, and their duty to seize the opportunity of writing its history.

Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Maurice Freedman 1958, 1966; Chen Han-seng 1936; Shimzu Morimitsu 1949; Hui-chen Wang Liu 1959; Olga Lang 1946.
2. Maurice Freedman 1958, 1966.
3. Frederic Wakeman Jr. 1966; Philip A. Kuhn 1970; Hsiao Kung-Chuan 1960.
4. Barbara E. Ward 1985; David Faure 1986.
5. I wrote about Foshan in David Faure 1990a. Some of the material for that paper has been incorporated into chapters 7, 10 and 15 in this book.
6. Morton H. Fried 1970 and Patricia Ebrey 1983 are relevant to the question of the openness of lineages.
7. For background, see Richard von Glahn 1996.
8. Karl Polanyi 1944.
9. Kenneth Pomeranz 2000 underrates the institutional differences between the business environment of China and the West.
10. In some parts of South China, it was introduced through religious texts. See Michel Strickmann 1982.
11. Prasenjit Duara 1988, 15–41.
12. Carney T. Fisher 1990; Yan Aimin 1991; Thomas A. Wilson 1996.
13. Zheng Zhenman 1992.
14. Helen F. Siu 1989; Choi Chi-cheung 1987; for titles related to areas outside the Pearl River Delta, see Chapter 23.
15. G. William Skinner 1964–65.
16. Joseph McDermott 1999b and 2006; Liu Zhiwei 1997; Kristoffer M. Schipper 1974, 1985; Terry Kleeman 1994; Henri Maspero 1971; Arthur Wolf 1978; John Lagerwey 1987; Stephan Feuchtwang 1991; James L. Watson 1986; Kenneth Dean 1993, 1998; Paul Katz 1993; Hamashima Atutoshi 2001; Valerie Hansen 1990; Michel Strickman 1977, 1980; David Johnson 1985; Stephen Teiser 1988; Evelyn S. Rawski 1996; Pamela Crossley 1990, 1997.

17. My comments on that debate are given in David Faure 2001c.

18. The contrast with the role given "law" in Europe is again striking and relevant. See Harold J. Berman 1983.

19. Shiga Shuzo 1998.

Chapter 2: Exotic Guangzhou

1. Zhou Yuanhe 1980, 86.

2. Xu Songshi 1993; Herold J. Wiens 1954.

3. The earliest reference to the Dragon Mother of Yuecheng may be found in Liu Xun 1936, 7. Liu was an official in Guangzhou in the ninth century. On the inclusion of Luofu among the Daoist caverns, *Luofu shan zhi* 1551 1/6b cites the *Maokun neizhuan*. This text is ascribed a fourth-century origin but is available from subsequent compilations. A systematic description of the caverns is given in a Tang dynasty text, Du Guangting, *Dongtian fudi ji,* c. 900. Michel Strickmann 1977 goes into the history of Lord Mao (Mao *kun*).

4. Zeng Huaman 1973, 55–61; Zeng Zhaoxuan 1989, 344–55. For a useful bibliography, see Lin Tianwei 1988, 63–79. A summary of the Arab-China coastal trade in the eighth and ninth centuries can be found in George F. Hourani 1995, 61–79.

5. *Xin Tangshu*, 5367. I have taken the liberty of translating "Hua" as "our people." The term was a self-referent for people sharing the culture of central China.

6. G. E. Sargent 1967, 167–69.

7. Luo Xianglin 1960, esp. 33–47, 93–129.

8. Bernard Faure 1992, 150–89.

9. Luo Xianglin 1960, 81–83.

10. For an impression of monasteries in Jiangxi, see Han Pu 1995, 12–20, 42–44. Among notable exceptions, the early foundation of the Feilai *si* in Qingyuan (sixth century) can be explained by its location on the North River, on the main route from Jiangxi. The monastery in Xinxing, built in the Tang, is explained by it being Huineng's home village. See Jiang Boqin 1994, 76–89.

11. On military actions taken against indigenous tribes in the Lingnan and the enrichment of officials posted in Guangzhou, see Zeng Huaman 1973, 31–40, 61–67.

12. Yang Fu 1821, 34–35, 40–44.

13. Liu Xun 1936, 1, 4–5.

14. Dai Fu 1927, *Guangyi ji*. The *shanxiao* were apparently not dangerous, unlike some of the other beings that might be encountered in the wild. Ge Hong advised Daoists journeying into Luofu *shan* to carry a mirror on their back, for "old spirits" (*laomei*), who could not transform their mirror images, would keep their distance. However, he also told them they might encounter children standing with their backs to them, who were the *shanxiao*. It was quite harmless to call out to them. Ge Hong, *Paobu zi*, cited in Song Guangye 1716, 8/2a–b.

15. *Taiping guangji* 388/33a, citing the *Chaoye jianzhai*.

16. *Taiping guangji* 298/23b citing *Guangyi zhi*.

17. Du Wenyu 2000, 46–50, 252–64.

18. This story is recorded in Liu Xun 1936, 7. Liu Xun was posted to Guangzhou at the end of the ninth century.

19. David McMullen 1988, 250.

20. Sacrifice to the deity of the southern seas (*nanhai shen*) was instituted by imperial order in the Sui dynasty in 594, which was reiterated in the Tang in 726. The deity of the southern seas was awarded the titles Guangli huang (prince of prolific benefits) in 751 and Hongsheng (great and holy) in 1041. See Zeng Yimin 1991.

21. *Luofu shan zhi* 1551; Song Guangye 1716; Michel Soymie 1956, 104–19.

22. Story of Cui Wei, *Taiping guangji* 34/15a–17b, summarized also in Edward H. Schafer 1967, 97. This very rich story incorporates numerous elements of Tang perception of the south built upon characters that by the Tang were associated with places in Guangzhou and its vicinity.

23. Huang Zuo 1526, 9–12, 26–28, 58–59.

24. Zhang Xinglang 1930, 2: 61–68, in Zhong Yuanxiu et al. 1989, 276–77.

25. On Nan-Han as a symbol of localism, see Steven Bradley Miles 2002.

26. Liang Tingnan 1829, 48, 59–60.

27. Ibid., 47.

28. Ibid., 6.

29. Ibid., 9.

30. Ibid., 13.

31. Ibid., 18, 81.

32. Ibid., 29.

33. Ibid., 103.

34. Ibid., 88, 95–97.

35. Ibid., 98–99; *Guangxiao si zhi* [1769] 1935, 7/2a–3a; and on the Baoguang Monastery, see entry under Datong gusi in Chou Chishi 1806, 3/38a–39a.

36. Liang Tingnan 1829, 43.

37. Ibid., 23, 99.

38. Luo Xianglin 1960, 163–72.

39. Liang Tingnan 1829, 24.

40. *Dongguan xianzhi* [1639] 1994, 941–42; Liang Tingnan [1829] 1981, 69.

41. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 3382.

42. Guan Luquan 1987, 25–28, 66–70.

43. Notably, in English, Brian E. McKnight 1971.

44. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 3380, 3382.

45. Figures from *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 1107–23.

Chapter 3: Confucian Incursions

1. *Guangtong tongzhi* 1822 cites Li Jifu, *Yuanhe junxian tuji* (813); Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji* (976–983); Ouyang Min, *Yudi guangji* (c. 1117); Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng* (c. 1221), and the *Song shi* (1345).

2. *Song huiyao iigao* 1976, 3803–5.
3. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 3383–84.
4. Ibid., 3384.
5. Huang Zuo 1526, 110–11.
6. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 156–60. Jiang Zhiqi's biography is to be found in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561 47/54a–55a, and *Songshi* 1977, 10915–17.
7. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 160–64. Zhang's biography is found in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561 47/55b–57a.
8. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 162.
9. *Song huiyao jigao* 1976, 2174–75.
10. Ibid., 2175.
11. Ibid., 2176.
12. For examples near Guangzhou, the Shaozhou Prefectural Confucian school was built in 1006, but repaired and expanded in 1055, 1074, and 1092; and the Nanxiong Prefectural Confucian school was built in the 1040s and repaired in 1065 and 1108 (*Guangdong tongzhi* 1561 36/40a–b and 51a–b).
13. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 160–61.
14. For a systematic summary, see Chen Xuejun 1997.
15. Zhu Yue [n.d.] 1939, 22.
16. Yue Ke 1981, 125–26; Luo Xianglin 1959, 143–64.
17. *Mingshi* 1974, 13156; *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 47/32b–34b.
18. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 164–66; Chen Xuejun 1997.
19. Huang Foyi 1994, 160–67, and sketch map of this area appended to Zeng Zhaoxuan 1989.
20. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 6/13b–15b, 47/36a–b, 37a, and 39a–b.
21. The names of all ten may be found in Huang Foyi 1994, 102.
22. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 45/6a.
23. Ibid., 44/41b–42b.
24. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 126.
25. Ibid., 56–57.
26. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 30/6a.
27. Ibid., 16/38b, 18/34b, *Song shi j.* 105, 2560.
28. Ibid., 30/23a–b, 23b–24a.
29. Ibid., 30/24a–25a, 38/11a–14b, and for background, Thomas A. Wilson 1995.
30. On Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman 1992, 24–82.
31. *Song shi* 1977, 11297.
32. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 57/21b–22b.
33. Ibid., 57/22b–23a.
34. Ibid., 48/30a–b.
35. Ibid., 48/43b; Li Maoying, "Dongguan xianxue jishi ge ji," in Wu Daorong 1978, 424–25. At some time towards the end of the Song or in the Yuan, a hall was built at the school as a shrine for the six masters of neo-Confucianism, that is, Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao, Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, and Zhang Shi, at which side offerings were made to the spirits of Zhang Jiuling, Yu Jing, and Cui

Yuji. By the Ming, the building was listed as a historic relic. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 19/9a.

36. A school in Xiangshan county was endowed with 226 *mu* in the several years between 1234 and 1236, *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 48/47a–48a.

37. Li Maoying, "Cui Qingxian gong xingzhuang," in Wu Dongrong, *Guangdong wenzheng*, *j.* 68, 5: 406–7.

38. Patricia Buckley Ebrey 1991, 146, notes that this edition "corrected misprints in the earlier Guangzhou edition," implying thereby that editions of Zhu Xi's works had appeared earlier.

39. Li Maoying's biography may be found in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 58/19b–20b, which makes ample reference to his senior official statuses but not to the title of "dynasty-founding baron [*kaiguo* nan] of Panyu county" that was claimed by descendants of his brothers. The earliest reference to title seems to be in the Ming. On this, see Xiao Guojian 1985.

40. Chen Chun was a student of Zhu Xi's. A translation of the text is available in Wing-tsit Chan 1986. The preface may be found on 209–10.

41. Ebrey 1991, 148n13.

42. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 36/16a–b.

43. Li Maoying, "Qing shi Li Shao Fang Dacong zhuang," in Wu Daorong, *Guangdong wenzheng*, *j.* 2, 1: 41.

44. Li Maoying, "Guangshuai Fang youshi xing xiang yinjiu ji," "Yu xiang yinjiu xingli zhe," and "Yu xiang yinjiu guanli zhe," in Wu Daorong, *Guangdong wenzheng*, *j.* 55, 4: 425–26, and *j.* 81, 6: 359. Biography of a guest may be found in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 57/25a–b.

45. "Fengci zhuwen" and "Changzhi zhuwen," in Cui Yuzhi, 1850, *waiji houjuan* 15a–b.

46. *Yuan Dade Nanhai zhi canben* c. 1304, 67–76.

47. Zhang Jiuling was a native of Qujiang and Cui Yizhi of Nanhai.

48. He Chengzi, "Citang shi xu," in Cui Yuzhi 1850, 16a–b.

Chapter 4: We and They

1. Li Chunsou, "Wenxi xiansheng ji xu," in Wu Daorong, *Guangdong wenzheng*, 3: 271–72.

2. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 58/26a–29a.

3. Ibid., 58/29a–30b.

4. Ibid., 58/31b–32a.

5. Ibid., 34b–35a, 35b–38a.

6. Ibid., 11/4b–5a.

7. Yue Shi, *CSJICB*, 157/3b.

8. A revealing example of Song household registration may be found in the biography of Huang Ji, magistrate of Xinxing county in 1150: "Formerly, the poor people of the county were attached to the registered households of the wealthy, many of whom avoided corvée service. Ji issued a notice concerning this practice, and he placed a big box outside the gate [of the yamen] to allow the

people to throw into it their household numbers. He waited until the quota was met before he distributed [corvée service]. For this reason, the households registered were plentiful, the tax and corvée were evenly distributed and the common people were not disturbed." *Zhaoqing fuzhi* 1673, 18/39a–b.

9. "Chuxiu xu," in *Chengshi zupu* 1876.

10. Choi Chi-cheung 1987, 17–18.

11. For other examples, see David Faure 1992, 261–98, and 1999, 267–98.

12. Yue Shi, *Taiping huanyu ji* 157/12b.

13. Chen Shidao n.d., 21/9b.

14. Zhou Qufei 1936, 29.

15. A summary of Song and earlier texts referring to the Dan is to be found in Ho Ke-en 1967, 120–23.

16. *Xin'an xianzhi* 1981, 179–80.

17. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 68/48a–49a. Ye Chunji n.d. 11/49a–b.

18. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 485–86.

19. The 1729 edict and subsequent rulings are translated and discussed in Ye Xianen 1995, 83–88. Ye also translates the case of a Dan who was punished in 1825 for purchasing the title of a licentiate (*jiansheng*). The poor man's great-grandfather had not reported any change of occupation, and his sisters were married to Dan. The 1771 edict is discussed in Jing Junjian 1993, 233–36.

20. On buying and selling of people, see James L. Watson 1980, and for deeds and reference of the sale of servant girls at the market, *Zhongguo renmin daxue Qingshi yanjiu shi* and *Dang'an xi Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidushi jiaoyan shi* 1979, 378–81. The two steles of the New Territories of Hong Kong are recorded in Ke Dawei et al. 1986, 45–47. For comparison with contemporary reforms on other pariah statuses, see Matthew H. Sommer 2000, 260–304.

21. Li Mo 1986, 23: 115–25.

22. See esp. Yu Jing's report of 1042 on the *Man* bandits of Hunan in Yu Jing 1958, *xia* 5b–6a, and the generalization based on this in Li Tao 1986, 3430.

23. Dai Ruixuan 1957 351–57; Guo Zhengzhong 1990, 269–80, 371–422; Zhou Qufei 1936, 50–51.

24. *Song huiyao jigao* [1030–1236] 1976, 7137–39, 7141, 7150–51; Zhou Qufei 1936, 51–54.

25. Zhou Qufei 1936, 46–47.

26. Quan Hansheng 1972, 1976.

27. *Song huiyao jigao* [1030–1236] 1976, 5106–7, report dated 1214. Okada Kôji 2002, 166–245, summarizes recent scholarship on the horse trade from Guangxi.

28. *Song huiyao jigao* [1030–1236] 1976, 7777, 7787.

29. Fan Chengda 1986, 183–97.

30. Ibid., 198.

31. Ibid., 207.

32. Biography of Liu Guojie in Huang Jin 1924, 25/7a–15b.

33. Liu E n.d., 3/2b.

34. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 67/1b–2b, 13a–26b. The list of Yao settlements was reproduced from the *Guangdong tongzhi* 1535.

35. Soe-theng Leong 1997; Chan Wing-hoi 2005; Segawa Masahisa 1995. On the Hakka examination quota in Dongguan and Xin'an, see *Dongguan xianzhi* 1927, 26/5a and *Xin'an xianzhi* 1981, 99.

36. Chan Wing-hoi 2005.

37. Myron L. Cohen 1968.

38. Wei Su 1985, 6/2a–b, records a preface he wrote in 1333 for a book under the title *Ping Yao liuce* (Six ways to pacify the Yao), in which he concludes: "The argument of the Confucian [*ru*] is certainly that of conversion by teaching."

39. See also May-bo Ching 1996, which shows how the Hakka resisted exclusion by the Cantonese and sprang back into center stage in the twentieth century.

Chapter 5: The Land

1. Zeng Zhaoxuan and Huang Shaomin 1987, 131–47.

2. Foshan shi keming weiyuan hui 1976, 1: 10–11, lists the dikes built on the Pearl River and its tributaries under the Song dynasty.

3. Qian Yi, "Zeng zhu Dongjiang ti ji," *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, repr. 1995, 760–61. Qian Yi was a *jinshi* of 1241, ibid., 211.

4. Three dikes are recorded in the *Zhaoqing fuzhi* 1673, 16/3b–5a, two said to have been constructed in 996 and one in 1272. All three were built by local men. One case in 996 at least is open to doubt, for a man who received his *jinshi* degree in 851 is cited as being responsible (on this, see *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 11/8a). The building of another dike, the Luoge *wei* in Nanhai county, is recorded in the *Lingnan Xianshi zupu* 1910, 3/14/1a, and the *Nanhai Luoge Kongshi jiapu*, 1929, 6/20a, 12/7a–8a. Both the Xian and the Luo genealogies agree that it was built with the approval and support of a local official.

5. On regular flooding on the West River, see *Zhaoqing fuzhi*, 1673, 24/33a.

6. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 26/3a–b.

7. Li Zhen, "Gushi ci ji," in Wu Daorong 1978, *j.* 55, 4: 438.

8. *Jiujiang Zhushi zupu* 12/10b–11b, He Bingkun 1915, 12/71a–73a, records a 1618 denoting the claims of the Huang surname in the Huanggong dike, and *Jiujiang Rulin xiang zhi* 1883, 7/11a–13b, records a 1583 tablet on the building of the Huimin sluice gate.

9. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1673, 3/29a–b, notes that two dikes were built respectively in 1404 and 1405 under official approval.

10. *Fengjian Nanxiang Liu Zuiyuan tang zupu*, 48a–b.

11. Huo Tao, 1862, 10 *xia*, 12b–113b.

12. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 51–52.

13. Chen Han-seng 1936.

14. Helen F. Siu 1989 and 1995, 209–22.

15. Zhou Qufei, 1935, 41. Models of similar houses are commonly found in Han graves in South China, including Guangdong. See, e.g., Guangzhou Museum 1996, 43–44.

16. *Xin Tangshu* 1975, 4391. Also *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 4114.

17. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 4107.

18. Lin Dachun, "Zhaozao qunzhen minju beiji," in Ying Jia 1579, 28/17b–21a. Ying Jia 1579 was the official compilation of the records of the office of the military commander of Guangdong and Guangxi. Lin's biography in *Chaozhou fu zhi* 1661, 6/31b, notes that he held the post of *qianshi* in Wuzhou, which probably meant that he was an assistant commissioner in the provincial Surveillance Commission.

19. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 1802.

20. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 186 and 469–70.

21. Zeng Zhaoxuan and Huang Shaomin 1987, 92.

22. That is to say, the Tianhou temples at Macau and in Nantou, just north of Hong Kong's New Territories. For references to foundation dates, see Li Xianzhang 1999, 364–66.

23. James L. Watson 1985; Michael Szonyi 1997.

24. The keeping of snakes at the Dragon Mother's temple at Yuecheng was noted in Meng Guang, *Lingnan yiwu zhi,* of the Tang dynasty, cited in *Taiping guangji,* 458/5b–6a. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 47/28a, records the story of two "village sorcerers" (*cunwu*) taking with them two snakes in a silver container when they went to welcome the magistrate of Zhenyang county in the eleventh century. The magistrate ordered the snakes be chopped into pieces, the sorcerers arrested, and their possessions burnt. Also see Huang Zhigang 1936 for an example from Guangxi that suggests a connection with the immortal Lu Dongbin. Cf. also Wolfram Eberhard 1968, 231–33.

25. Brigitt Baptandier-Berthier 1996.

26. I visited the temple in 1988 and saw the grave tablet bearing this date.

27. Liang Tingnan 1828, 24, and *Yuecheng Longmu miao zhi* 1851, 1/2a–3a.

28. Wu Yucheng 1932.

29. Liang Bochao and Liao Liao 1987.

30. Zeng Zhaoxuan 1991, 245–51.

31. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 205–6; Cui Bi 1797, 3b; and Luo Xianglin 1960, 177–78.

32. *Guangxiao si ji* 1769, 6/6a.

33. Peng Weijie, "Qianming shanyuan dazang jing bei," in *Guangxiao si ji* 1769, rep. 1935, 10/3a–4b. *Guangxiao si ji* 1/3a describes this incident as an imperial grant of the sutras; this claim is not borne out in Peng's commemorative essay.

34. *Guangxiao si ji* 1769, *j.* 2.

35. Ibid., 8/2a–3b.

36. Ibid., 10/7b.

Chapter 6: Early Ming Society

1. Denis Twitchett 1959.

2. He Chongzu 1434. The author was He Zhen's son who survived the decapitation order.

3. Ibid., 37b–38a.

4. *Fangshi jiapu* 1890, 1503 preface by Li Wei/ 1b; *Yimen Zhengshi jiapu* 1889, 7/1b, 27/2a–b; *Lingnan Xianshi zongpu* 1910, 3.2/1a–b; *Dongguan Fangshi zupu* 1965, 24–25.

5. Chen Lian, "Longgang Denggong muzhi ming," in *Dengshi pux*i n.d. The essay records an abortive attempt in the middle Hongwu years by the Deng surname of Lungyuetou village to register land that had been taken over by a powerful family. Chen Lian died in 1454 at the age of 85 *sui*.

6. See also David Faure 1984.

7. *Julu Xiancheng tang chongxiu jiapu* 1873.

8. Cited from Huang Cibo 1957, 13b–14a.

9. David Faure 1989b.

10. He Chongzu 1434, 46b; Chen Ying, "Jun fuyi ji," 1348, recorded in the *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, 702–4.

11. He Chongzu, *Lujiang jun Heshi jiaji* 1434, 66b–67b; *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 7/7b.

12. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 7/8b and 49/16a–17b.

13. At least one reference in the family history makes it very clear that the Dan were closely involved in the local wars at the end of the Yuan. Lu Shushan, described as a native of Longtan, dispatched 700 boats in support of He Zhen's opponent at the Jingkang Salt Fields in 1367. See He Chongzu 1434, 17b.

14. The Deng surname of Pingshan, also of Dongguan, who did not claim descent from the princess, was registered in *lijia* at the Huangtian salt fields. Unlike the princess's descendants, a member of the Pingshan Deng lineage was awarded official recognition by recommendation from as early as 1382. An account written by the award holder, Yantong, "Tianfu ji" (a record of the land tax, *Nanyang Dengshi zupu* n.d., 10a–b), notes that the lineage had registered in *lijia* in response to the edict of 1368 forbidding "fictitious joint households" (*wuxiang hehu*).

15. *Julu Xiancheng tang chongxiu jiapu* 1873, 48b.

16. *Zhaoshi zupu* 1947, 2/12b–15a.

17. The card index at the Guangdong Provincial Library, which holds the genealogy providing the details of these few paragraphs, gives its title as *Lushi zupu*, anon., ms., 1897. There can be no doubt, however, that this is an error, because it contains Guan Min's biography as a member of the lineage. The village of Huanglian was part of Nanhai county until Shunde county was created in 1452.

18. *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925, 24a. Similar experience is recorded in *Nanhai Shannan xiang Lianbiao li Guanshi zupu* 1889, 4/5a, *you* 5b, and *Fengjian Nanxiang Liu Zuiyuan tang zupu* n.d. The Fengjian case is described in David Faure 1992.

19. *Rongshi pudie* 1929, 1/5a–6a.

20. When I visited the Li surname ancestral hall at Fengrong in Dongguan county in the company of Mr. Yang Baolin in 1996, I saw this stele outside the hall, and I had the benefit of a carefully proofread complete transcription prepared by Mr. Yang, for which I am most grateful.

21. *Dongguan xianzhi*, 1639, 511.

22. The same stele was headed by a third document, a brief essay by Li Chun-

sou of the late Song commemorating the cohabitation of the lineage in a single village. A second stele found at the ancestral hall records an essay dated 1309, and another recording the rebuilding of the hall in 1415.

23. Ritual provisions for ancestral sacrifice, including the styles allowed for ancestral halls, are given in the early Ming ritual compendium *Ming Jili*, 6/11a–27a.

Chapter 7: The Recession of Labor Service

1. Deng Aishan, "Pingkou lue," 1451, is the most detailed account of the Huang Xiaoyang rebellion. Xiao Bi and other leaders of Longjiang were subsequently commemorated by having their spirit tablets installed at the temple of General Lei in Longjiang, the general having appeared in an apparition in support of the villages during their resistance. A contemporary account of the commemoration may be found in Xue Fan, "Yiju shiyi gong peisi Lei da xianggong miao wen." Both accounts are reproduced in *Longjiang zhiluei* n.d., 5/56a–58a.

2. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 49/52a–b.

3. *Fengjian Nanxiang Liu Zuiyuan tang zupu* n.d., 25a–26b, 29a–31a; *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925, 25b.

4. *Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/23b and 5/27b.

5. In 1451, in recognition for the contribution of its elders in putting down the Huang Xiaoyang uprising, the emperor awarded Foshan the title the "*xiang* of loyalty" (*zhongyi xiang*). It would seem that a similar award was made to Longjiang.

6. Tang Bi, "Chongjian zumiao ji," *Foshan zongyi xiang ji* 1752, 10/14b–16a.

7. Chen Zhi, "Zumiao lingying ji," *Foshan zongyi xiang ji* 1752, 10/12a. The same essay reproduced in the *Foshan zongyi xiangji* 1830 and 1923 gives the number of *pu* as twenty-five.

8. *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 1/5a–7b.

9. *Nanhai Foshan Huoshi zupu* 1848, 11/32a–b, 32b–33b, and 12a–13a.

10. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1535, 25/1a–7a; the citation is taken from 2a. On the "equalization of service," see Ray Huang 1974, 109–18.

11. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 49/54a.

12. The 1666 edition the *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* is no longer extant, but the list is cited in the 1752 edition, 3/11b–12a.

13. Tang Bi, "Chongjian zumiao ji," and anon., "Qingzhen tang chongxiu ji," *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 10/14b–16a and 16a–19a.

14. Huo Fo-er's genealogy is the *Nanhai Foshan Huoshi zupu* 1703. Liang Wenhui's biography is included in the *Zhuzu chuanlu* 1885, which records the descent line of Liang Zhuo cited in n. 16 below.

15. *Nanhai Heyuan Chenshi zupu* 1917, 4/22a–24a.

16. The "sale of ancestral bones" amounted to recognition of subservient status, because their loss to descendants implied the inability to maintain sacrifice at the graves. On this point, see David Faure 1986, 69. The dates of the fourth ancestor are unknown; but he was the son of a man who was born in 1404 and died in 1466. The fifth ancestor, whose bones were recovered, was born in 1444

and died in 1490. The bones were recovered by Li Daiwen's grandfather, Zhuang (1518–90). *Lishi zupu* 1642, *j.* 1, entries under Xingyi of the fourth generation, Zhong of the fifth generation, and Zhuang of the eighth generation.

17. *Zhuzu chuanlu* 1885. It should be noted that this isolated volume is not the complete genealogy, but it contains numerous biographies and grave epitaphs written in the first half of the Ming dynasty that record the descent line in full from the first ancestor who settled in Foshan. The sacrificial land attached to the grave of the princess's consort, amounting to 7.373 *mu,* was registered for tax under the name of Liang Chengye ("Liang who inherits the property," obviously a pseudonym) and was affiliated to the *jia* under the name of Li Jianjia at the first *jia* in the seventh *tu* at the Zhongcun *bao*. A payment in money was to be made to the head of the household every ten years in recognition of decennial labor service. It is not possible to tell when this tax arrangement was established, but because the princess and her consort are cited in the early Ming epigraphs, it may be assumed that land had been held from then.

18. *Lingnan Xianshi zongpu* 1910, 3.6/1b.

19. Luo Zhong, "Shang silang Jie Ji qing zhi xian shu," Wu Daorong 1978, 2: 192–93.

20. Jiang Menyu, "Wanli Gengxu pu xu," *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 1/*yuanxu*/3b–4a.

21. Lou Yan, "Chongxiu Chongbao ci ji," *Shunde xianzhi* 1750, 15/45b–47a.

22. Luo Yuchen, "Jia Wanlu gong zhuan," in *Guangdong wenzheng* 5: 436–37; Luo Yuchen came from Daliang and counted among his ancestors Luo Xianshao, who appeared before Jie Ji with Luo Zhong. On Xianshao, see *Wu Daorong* 1978 5: 435–36.

23. Qian Pu, "Shunde xian xingzuo ji," *Shunde xianzhi*, 1853, 20/6a–7b.

24. Qian Pu, "Luo shi Zuoguang tang ji," *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 22/6a–7b.

25. *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 22/1a–2b.

26. Ibid., 22/2a.

27. *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 20/26a–b.

28. "Yingtai shutian jilue," *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 16/45a.

29. The litigation record is found in *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 20/15b–17b.

30. Ibid., 21/3a.

31. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 49/54a.

Chapter 8: The Yao Wars and Ritual Orthodoxy

1. Ye Quan 1987, 42.

2. Ye Sheng 1551, 12/12a.

3. Ye Sheng 1551, 13/5a notes that Guanyao was only half a day's travel from Guangzhou.

4. Zhang Xuan 1940, 67/19a; L. Carrington Goodrich and Fang Zhaoying 1976, 498–503.

5. David Faure 2005b.

6. Ye Sheng 1551, 13/6a–8a.

7. Huang Zuo, "Sanguang gong yishi juan," in Wu Daorong 1978, 5: 427–28; *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 2/74b.

8. Chen Baisha 1987, 108; Wang Shizhen c. 1582, 18a, attributes Han Yong's superiority to the deference his post inspired in his colleagues.

9. Huo Tao, "Sanguang gong juan," in Wu Daorong 1978, 5: 419–21.

10. David Faure 1999, 267–98.

11. Chen Baisha 1987, 101–3.

12. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 59/47b–49a.

13. Chu Hung-lam 1989, 1–33.

14. Huang Zuo 1535.

15. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, *j.* 6.

16. *Mingsh* 1974, 7240; Peter Bol 2003a.

17. Huo Yuxia 1857, 16/17a–b, 21/1a–b.

18. Carney T. Fisher 1990; L. Carrington Goodrich and Fang Zhaoying 1976, 36–41; and Ann-ping Chin Woo 1984; *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 23/45a–47b; *Shunde xianzhi* 1929, 15/5a. Zhan Ruoshui jumped on the bandwagon late; see Zhu Honglin 1993.

19. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 50/21a–22b and 69/23b–24a; Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 189; Ye Chunji n.d., 10/18a–19b.

20. Huang Yu 1939, 138–39a.

21. Wei Xiao n.d., 9/6a–b; Sarah Schneewind 1999. For background and experience elsewhere in China, see Susanna Thornton 1996; Tien Ju-k'ang 1990; Timothy Brook 1993.

22. Wei Xiao n.d., 9/15a–b.

23. Thomas Shiyu Li and Susan Naquin 1988.

24. *Guangzhou fuzhi* 1879, 89:11b and 12b.

25. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2:2b.

26. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 465.

27. Ibid., 215.

28. Also *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 69/24a.

29. Huang Zuo 1535, 5/5a, 9a–b.

30. For the village covenant in Nanhai county in 1531, see Pang Song, "Gengding xiangyue lu xu," in Wu Daorong 1978, 4: 381–82, and in a wider context, Joseph McDermott 1999 and Hung-lam Chu 1993.

31. Huang Zuo 1535, *j.* 4.

32. For the continuation of many village religious practices, see the many examples cited in Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 200–219, esp. 210, on the sacrifice to Madam Grain in Xiangshan, whom he regarded as falling outside the acceptable rituals at the earth god, and 214, on the adoption of children by the Queen Mother of the West, which had to be terminated by the priests prior to the wedding ceremony, a practice that continued in the New Territories of Hong Kong until recent years.

33. Wang Qi 1936, 115/22a–27a; Xia Yan n.d., 11/70a–78a; *Ming Jili*, 1369, 11a–27a; Chang Jianhua 2005, 12–22.

34. David Faure 1999.

35. *Shitou Huoshi zupu* 1902, *ciji*/1a–b; the purchase of land from the Buddhist monastery is also recorded on a stele found on the wall of the ancestral hall.

36. For another example of monastic land taken over by a lineage, see the history of the Tiantaixing Monastery in *Xinhui xianzhi* 1690 9/21b–23a.

37. Wang Fengling, "Shengwu Lin gong dachuan," in Lin Fu 1571, 4a–b.

38. *Nanshe Xieshi zupu*, n.d. No dates are given for grandfather or great-grandfather, but a great uncle was born in 1516 and died in 1576. The great-grandfather was possibly aged 16 *sui* some time in the second half of the fifteenth century.

39. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 3/6b.

40. *Fengshi zupu* n.d., biography of tenth-generation ancestor Jiuxiao: "The *lijia* headmen [*lipai*] bullied him, and so the venerable gentleman led the others . . . and with the permission of the provincial governor, set up the first *tu* in Gulao *du*. Our lineage, under the household name of Feng Qi, settled down in the first *jia* of the first *tu*, and that became the place of registration [*ji*] of his descendants" (n.p.). No date is given for Jiuxiao, but a man in the next generation was born in 1555 and died in 1646.

Chapter 9: Administrative Transition

1. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 1145–77; Benjamin A. Elman 2000, 652, 690; Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 282. Elman gives the quota of 40 *juren* awards in Guangdong in each triennial examination in the Yongle period (1403–24). This far understated the number of actual awards made, which in all but one examination far exceeded 100.

2. John R. Watt 1972.

3. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 49/41b–42a.

4. Zhu Jian 1713, *xia* 58a–75a; the quotation is taken from 66b.

5. Ibid., 65b.

6. Pang Shangpeng [1571] 1848.

7. Huang Zuo 1549, 3/30a; for studies of the *Taiquan xiangli*, see Inoue Toru 1986; Hung-lam Chu 1991; Ye Hanming 2000.

8. Huang Zuo 1549, 1/3b–4a. Despite this prescript, the regulations go on to divide households by wealth into three grades: upper households owning 1,000 *mu*, middle households from 500 to 900 *mu*, and lower households from 100 to 400 *mu*. Only upper households were to set up sacrificial halls (*citang*), while middle and lower households were to set up ancestral tablets in the central bedchamber (*zhengqin*). See ibid., 1/8b–9a and 14b.

9. Ibid., 1/5a–b.

10. Ibid., 3/18a.

11. Ibid., 3/26b–29b.

12. On the *yimen* model, see John W. Dardess 1974 and Inoui Toru 1992.

13. Huo Tao 1529, 1/10b. Besides a version of these family regulations, the very interesting *Taiyuan Huoshi zupu* n.d. of Shiwan, includes regulations compiled by various members of the lineage in 1481, 1534, and 1720, which go into

considerable details in matters related to landholding, rent collection, and commerce. References to contemporary events in the area suggest that these records are quite authentic.

14. Ibid., 1/9a–b, 12b.

15. Ibid., 1/11b–12a, 14b–15a.

16. Pang Shangpeng [1571] 1848.

17. Huang Zuo also advocated the keeping of records in the family, but he seems to have found them useful primarily as a budgeting device for sacrificial expenses. Huang Zuo 1549, 1/6b–7a.

18. I have described the ceremony in greater detail in David Faure 2001b. The ceremony in Huizhou is documented in Zhou Shaoquan and Zhao Yaguang 1993, 15–16.

19. Pang Shangpeng [1571] 1848, 2a–3a, 4a.

20. More examples, mostly from the Lower Yangzi area, are to be found in Taga Akigoro 1981–82.

21. For example, *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 20/8b–22b.

22. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 3383–84.

23. David Faure forthcoming. Zhang Xuan 1665, 2/22b–23a, includes a note he wrote in 1559 on women being in control of celebrations in annual festivals in his native Boluo county. This was true even in gentry families, he specifically noted. Some practices, such as cremation, had died out. For a late effort to persuade the locals to abandon the practice, see Zhu Honglin 2000.

24. The custom of staying in the natal home after marriage would be an example of such; see Helen F. Siu 1990a.

25. Hilary Beattie 1979 examines a comparable development in Anhui province. I have not, however, found any evidence from the Pearl River Delta that degree holders enjoyed any reduction in land tax as claimed on 65.

26. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1609 3/15b notes that a 20 percent surcharge was imposed, which was subsequently reduced to 16.4 percent. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 7/7b–12b, provides one of the clearest statements to be found on the tax reform in Guangdong. When the unpopular tax was removed in 1617, the income thus lost to Nanhai county was made up for by transfer of funds from counties in which the sands were being registered.

27. *Shunde xianzhi* 1750, 4/2a11/9a–10b; *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 21/12a–b.

28. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, 708–11.

29. *Panyu xianzhi* 1871, 31/41a–42b.

30. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 2/1b–3b, 4/27b–28b.

31. *Guangdong tongzhi chugao* 1535, 23/19b–20a; *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1673, 3/11b.

32. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1548, 2/7a–b.

33. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1548, 3/15b–19a, and Huo Tao's eulogy of his record in *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1673 8/12a–b. This was the issue that came to be known as "the fields of Xiangshan and the tax of Shunde" (*Xiangtian Shunshui*), which was to drag on for the next two centuries. On this issue, see Luo Tianchi 1986, 147–48.

34. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1673, 4/4a.

35. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1548, 3/15b–19a; quotation from 18b.

36. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1673, 3/11b.
37. Yan Junyan 2002, 491, 553, 585–86.
38. Before written contracts were popularized, lineage legends would have been vital in the establishment of property rights. For this argument, see David Faure 2001c.
39. Yan Junyan 2002, 689–90.
40. Ibid., pt. 1, *yanlue*, *j.* 2/61b–62b.
41. Ibid., *j.* 2/62b–63b.

Chapter 10: Lineage Building: The Huo Surname of Foshan

1. See David Faure 1992 for a summary of the *Fengjian Nanxiang Liu Zhuiyuan tang zupu* n.d., one of the best examples of the development of a lineage in this manner.
2. *Shitou Huoshi zupu* 1902, Huo Tao's genealogy, provides the years of birth and death for 223 of a total 297 men from the founding ancestor at Shitou to Huo Tao's grandchildren's generation. These figures are arrived at by examining Huo Tao's cohorts at ten-year intervals from 1487 to 1537.
3. The preface is undated but the genealogy would have been compiled c. 1525 when the ancestral hall was built and Huo Tao instituted the custom of the lineage eating together.
4. Huo Yuxia [n.d.] 1924, 2/14a–15b, in Huo Tao [1529] 1924; David Faure 2005a.
5. Huo Tao [1529] 1924, 7 *xia* 23a–b, and Huo Yuxia [n.d.] 1924, 6/4a. Huo excluded his own sons from the draw. His reference to the principal line of descent in this instance is also revealing, for by that he meant not the principal branch of the lineage at Shitou, but the principal branch descended from his grandfather. In other words, he was calculating within the five generations of descent as implied in the observance of the mourning grades.
6. Huo Yuxia [n.d.] 1924, 8/11a.
7. Huo Tao 1862, 7 *xia*, 14a.
8. See ibid., 7 *xia*, 26a–27a, also 31a–32a, for examples Huo Tao cites of powerful families coming to grief for abusing their influence.
9. Ibid., 34a. In this document, Huo Tao was setting up a new household registration for two principal lines of descent from the first ancestor to settle in Shitou. It could well mean that his reorganization set the branch descended from his own grandfather apart from other branches in the lineage.
10. Shen Defu 1959, 461–62.
11. *Nanhai Shangyuan Huoshi zupu* 1868, 1/12a.
12. Ibid., 1/10a–11a.
13. Ibid., 1/19a.
14. Ibid., 1/16a–b.
15. Huo Zitong, "Shangyuan Huoshi zupu xu," ibid. 1/1b–3a.
16. Ibid., 1/32a.
17. This section draws from the genealogy *Nanhai Foshan Huoshi zupu* c. 1703.
18. Ibid., 9/7a–10a.

19. Ibid., 2/2b–3a.
20. Ibid., 9/72b–74b.
21. Ibid., *Taibu qing Manqian gong xu* 1a–10a, 9/25a–26b, 35a–37a, 40a–43b, 47a–49a, and 62a–68b.
22. Ibid., 9/17a–18b, 26b–28a, 30b–31b.
23. Ibid., 9/44a–46a, 49a–51b; 11/70a–71b, and 72a–73b.
24. Ibid., 9/15a–18b, 28a–31b.
25. Ibid., 2/14b and 3/25b.
26. Ibid., 1/*sixun*; Youming *xu*/1a–5b, 10/42b–55b.
27. Ibid., *fanli*/1a–b.

Chapter 11: Magnates on the Sands

1. For related studies, see Ye Xianen and Tan Dihua 1985; Tan Dihua 1993; Robert Y. Eng 1986a; Nishikawa Kikuko 1981; Matuda Yoshiro 1981.
2. Examples of such may be found in *Aotai Wangshi zupu* 1915, 1/5b–10b, 16a–b, 3/46a–47a, 5/1b–7a, 26a–27a; *Wengshi zupu* n.d., 7/16b–18a, 9/1a–8a, 13/3a–4a; *Pinggang Songshi Yuanjun fang jiapu* 1943; and *Shunde xian Gufen cun Zhu zu difang zhi* n.d.
3. "Huanggong ti bei," *Huangshi quanpu* 1820, 18a–b.
4. Liu Zhiwei 1995.
5. *Zhaoshi zupu* 1947, 2/100b.
6. Nishikawa Kikuko 1983 and 1984.
7. "Hezu yingjian Benyuan tang yi," Sun Yao, "Chongxiu Benyuan tang ji," Qian Pu, "Luoshi Zuoguang tang ji," and Huang Bingru, "Xiaojiang Luo gong shengci ji" in *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 19/7a–b, 21/9a–10b, 32/6a–7a and 7a–9b.
8. *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 6/23a, 19/16a–18b, 20/1b–2a. More precisely, the magistrate noted that the reclamation to be formed on the stretch of water the Luo surname laid claim to would have overlapped with land growing out of the Ou-Wu claim.
9. Ibid., 20/6a–7a.
10. *Lujiang Heshi jiapu* 1870, 1/6a–7a, 8a; *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 26a–27a; Zhonggong Xinhui xianhui xuanchuanbu c. 1960, *xia*/232–34; Helen F. Siu 1989, 59.
11. *Zhang Rujian tang zupu* 1922, 1/1a–2a, 13/3a, 25/1b–3a, 29/77b–78b, 31/1a–4b, 67a–b, 70a–73a.
12. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1548, 1/7a, 25b, 3/3a.
13. Ibid., 1/23a; He Yanggao n.d., *jishi* (record of events) and 1965, 36–39; and He Dazuo n.d., items under "Donghai laoren," and "Jingyi zu shi." He Tuyuan (literally, He the Origin of the *tu* Registration) shows every characteristic of being a lineage founding ancestor. His father, Yuexi, owned 20,000 *mu* of cultivated land. His mother allowed him to be ritually adopted by a Dan woman, who, by accident, provided for him to build a fortune from a transport business in empty jars. His wife, who married into the family from Xinhui county, be-

friended Dan people, one of whom notified her of impending attack by Huang Xiaoyang's gangs. In honor of the Dan informer, known to the lineage as the Old Man from the Eastern Seas, a spirit tablet was installed in the entrance chamber of the principal ancestral hall (that is to say, in the location normally taken by the earth god).

14. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1535, 25/25b–28b, 29/25b–29a; 32/5a–24b; 33/20a–21a.

15. The genealogies of the various surnames in Xiaolan are *He Xihuan tang chongxiu zupu* 1907; *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925; *Taining Lishi zupu* 1914; and *Lanxi Maishi zupu* 1893.

16. *He Xihuan tang chongxiu zupu* 1907, 1/15a–16a, 19a. See *j.* 12 on He Wuzou as one of the most notable leaders of the Pearl River Delta.

17. Biographies of Hanming and his son, Zeyuan, in *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925, 1/24a–b; Hanming is described as a local man who, by petitioning on behalf of his villagers, overthrew a local strongman's extortions in the early years of the Ming. Zeyuan served in Zheng He's famous long-distance voyages.

18. Biographic entries in *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925, 22b–29a. The ancestral hall that was built was the Liuqing *tang*, the landed estate of which is recorded on 13a.

19. *Taining Li shi zupu* 1914, 3/2a.

20. Ibid., 3/6b–7a.

21. Ibid., 6/13a.

22. *Taining Li shi zupu* 1914, 2/98a–b.

23. Ibid., 2/109a, 8/91a.

24. Ibid., 3/1b, 5b–6a, 6b; 6/1a–b, 2b–3a; 8/1a, 2a–b.

25. Ibid., 8/46a.

26. Ibid., 5/7b–21a.

27. *Lanxi Maishi zupu* 1893, 10/3a.

28. *Lanxi Maishi zupu* 1893, 10/2b–3b. The building of the primogenitor's hall, that is, the focal ancestral hall for the entire lineage, was ascribed to a much earlier member of the lineage (Leyin, 1362–95, ibid., 3/4b–5a). The record of the sixteenth-century building effort as a new attempt to install a focal ancestral hall therefore again signifies a change in building style. For another example, see David Faure 1992.

29. *Lanxi Maishi zupu* 1893, 1/5b, 3/3a–5a, 5/1a–3b.

30. The legend of the Chen surname is cited from "Tianman kaiji shilue," in *Chenshi zupu* 1923. See also Helen F. Siu 1995.

31. *Longjiang zhiluei* n.d. 1/16b–21b and 4/6b, with citations from 1/17a; Kuang Lu 1987, 78.

32. Cf. Terry Kleeman 1994.

33. The ceremony held by the provincial governor is described in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561 39/28a–30b. For the Nanhai ceremony, see Zhu Qinxiang, "Yichuang xuetian ji," and Pang Jingzhong, "Xuzhu binxing ji," *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691 15/40a–41b and 41b–43a. On the biography of Pang Jingzhong and his father, Pang Ru, see *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691 12/51b–53a and 20a–b.

Chapter 12: Gentry Leadership in Local Society

1. *Longjiang zhilue* n.d., 1/25b.
2. Xie Qijiao, "Gangjie Zhou ling yin zhuan," *Longjiang zhilue* n.d., 5/27a–b.
3. Wang Zongyan 1970, 10; *Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 3/170a–18a.
4. See, e.g., Tian Shuangnan n.d., 156a–164b, 220a–248b. Tian served as Guangdong regional inspector from 1612 to 1617.
5. Lu Mengyang, "Shiji zongyi ji," *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1753, 10/19a–23a.
6. Li Daiwen *jinshi* in 1604, rose to be a vice minister in the Ministry of Revenue and director-general of Grain Transport. *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 3/3b–6a and 8/6a–7b.
7. Guangzhou shi difang zhi bianzuan weiyuan hui and Hubei sheng qihou yingyong suo 1993, 38.
8. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 1/30b–32a.
9. *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1753, 10/19a–23a; quotations from 20a–b.
10. Chinese meteorologists who have examined the Guangdong data argue that reports prior to 1550 were too sporadic for an earlier trend to be established. Beyond 1550, they consider that fewer floods were reported between 1660 and 1769 than between 1770 and 1899, and more droughts were concentrated into the two periods from 1620 to 1699 and 1770 to 1859. See Guangzhou shi difang zhi bianzuan weiyuan hui and Hubei sheng qihou yingyong suo 1993.
11. Huang Qichen 1995; C. R. Boxer 1968; Li Longqian 1985, 279–312; Ye Xianen 1989.
12. Ye Quan 1987, 43–44.
13. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1535, 30/18a.
14. Huo Yuxia 1857, 12/29b–30a.
15. Wang Shixing 1597, 378, and *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731, 40/32a–b. Wang Qifang was defended by Li Sunchen of Xiaolan, who was serving at the imperial court (*Taining Lishi zupu* 1914, 5/8a).
16. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 10/38b–39b; quotation from 39a.
17. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1609, 3/16a–b; *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731, 6/82b.
18. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731, 40/90a–b.
19. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1689, rep. 1994, 157b–158a; quotation from 158a. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639 reports this incident differently: "Drought, year of great famine, famished people mistook a military junk as one purchasing grain and gathered in a crowd to burn it. Magistrate Li Mo pacified them."
20. Li Longqian 1982, 3, and 1985; Yu Siwei 1987.
21. Ying Jia 1579, 23/14b–21a; citation from 15a–b.
22. Wu Guifang, "Yifu Heng-Yong xingyan difang shu," and Yin Zhengmao, "Yunyan qianyi shu," in Ying Jia 1579, 25/1a–2b and 26/1a–20a, outline the major policy changes
23. Yang Yinqiu n.d., 1/10b–14a.
24. Chen Yijiao, "Futong yanlu shu," in Wu Daorong 1978, 1: 300–301, and also *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, 691–94, and *Guangdong tongzhi* 1601, 7/72a–

77a, for the 1585 memorials of Guangdong Assistant Surveillance Commissioner Chen Xingxue advising that the price paid for salt should reflect market conditions and that levies on salt merchants be eased. Chen Yijiao's biography may be found in Wu Daorong 1978, 582, and a eulogy on Chen Xingxue's efforts by the salt merchants in *Guangdong tongzhi* 1601, 7/74b–75b.

25. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 32/40a–41b.

26. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1601, 7/83b–94a; Tian Shuangnan n.d., 2/138a–147a; Wang Chuan 1997.

27. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 75b–78a.

28. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, 354.

29. *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 3/4b–5a, 8/74a–b; *Lishi zupu* 1642, 5/10b–11b, 16a–17b.

30. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 2/23a; 8/9b–10b; 10/38b–41a; 11/16a–17b and 39a–50a.

31. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 11/47b–50a, 50a–52a; 13/5a–b. Chen Bangyan, who died a martyr of the Ming dynasty in 1647, had written the regulations.

32. *Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 5/31b–32b; citation from 32a.

33. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 1/69b–80a; 3/43a–46a; 4/30a–b and 88b–90b; ibid. 1690, 12/47b–49b.

34. Chen Baisha had been sacrificed to in Xinhui in a temple dedicated to him from as early as 1512. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1609, 1/37b–51a; 3/30a.

35. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 2/27b–28a, 3/8b, 15/45a–47b; *Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/14a–15a.

36. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 12/51b–53a. See Chapter 9 on Pang Jingzhong's father donating land to the Nanhai county school.

37. *Xinhui xianzhi* 1690, 3/37a–39b; *Dongguan xianzhi* 1689, rep. 1994, 141a, 684b–686b; *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691 3/8b; and a contemporary account of the campaign of 1635 recorded on a stele and reprinted in *Panyu xianzhi* 1871, 31/71a–73a.

38. He Wuzou, "Guhou gong Lun jing Lanxi xu," in *Xinhui xianzhi* 1690, 8/13a–14b.

Chapter 13: The End of Empire

1. Ji Liuqi 1984, 338.

2. For background, see Lynn Struve 1984, 95–138, and Frederic Wakeman Jr. 1985, 758–83.

3. Li Lu'an 1941; Ma Chujian 1981.

4. Qu Dajun 1996, 137–39; Cheng Jiu 1997, 108–9.

5. The description of Chen Bangyan's execution written by his son, Gongyin, in a memorial to the southern Ming court, indicates that he was not only beheaded but also disemboweled. Gongyin went into hiding in Zengcheng county in 1647, protected by his in-laws, who were descendants of Zhan Ruoshui (Chen Gongyin 1988, 774–77, 882–91). Oral accounts of Chen Zizhuang's execution were recorded in the eighteenth century (Huang Foyi 1994, 153). For studies of these martyrs, see Li Lu'an 1941; Yan Xuxin 1941; Mai Shaolin 1941.

6. Cheng Jiu 1997, 109; Qiao Shengxi and Tang Wenya 1993, 524–27.
7. See Chapter 11 above and Kuang Lu 1987, 78.
8. Ji Liuqi 1984, 367.
9. Ibid., 437–38.
10. Qu Dajun 1996, 471–72.
11. Cheng Jiu 1997, 111.
12. *Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/32a.
13. Cheng Jiu 1997, 111–12.
14. Huang Shijun, "Zongdu Li Shuaitai quxi beiji," *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 17/5a–7b; citation from 6a.
15. Chou Chishi 1806, 3/6a–b; Cai Hongsheng 1997b, 33–34.
16. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1691, 2/35b.
17. Prince Shang donated a gilded figure of the Buddha to Tianran's monastery at Leifeng in the same year. Cai Hongsheng 1997b, 34.
18. *Guangxiao si zhi* 1935, 2/10b, 14b
19. Ibid., 2/6b, 8/5a, 10/16–17b, 23b–24a.
20. Niu Xiu [1700] 1986, 148–49, believed that the sacrifice was held for the people who drowned in the moat as they rushed out of the East Gate of Guangzhou city, but a sacrificial prayer written for the occasion, Wang Minglei's "Ji gongzhong wen," in Wu Daorong 1978, *Guangdong wenzheng*, 6: 96, indicates that the scope of the sacrifice was much wider. Niu notes that Wang's prayer was widely circulated.
21. *Xinhui xian xiangtu zhi* 1908, 41–42; *Yunbu Lishi zupu* 1928, *zalu pu*, 48a–b.
22. Niu Xiu [1700] 1986, 152–53.
23. Jiang Boqin 1999; Luo Yixing 1985; *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731, 62/1a–5b.
24. He Dazuo n.d.: entries under *pianshen beini*, *sharen qibao*, *zhitai lin xiang*, and *niudi zhucang shi*. He was a *juren* of 1741 and He Wuzou's great-great-grandson. He Yanggao n.d., entry under He Dazuo in the chapter on examination titles, *keming*.
25. *Waihai Longxi zhilue* 1971, 23–24.
26. *Zhaoshi zupu* 1947, 2/3b–4b.
27. *Chensheng zupu* 1912, 16b–20b. For a gripping account of Sewing Needle, see *Wencun Chenshi Kai weng shishi sun Fuxin zu fang zhi jiapu* 1927.
28. For background on the coastal evacuation, see Xie Guozhen 1967, 290–328, and Luo Xianglin 1959, 141–50.
29. *Qing shilu*, Kangxi 4/10b, 9/20b, 10/2a–b, 33/5b–6a. The gazetteers of the region confirm that the evacuation took place on two occasions in 1661 and 1662. See, e.g., *Xin'an xianzhi* 1819, 120–21.
30. *Chensheng zupu* 1912.
31. Mai Yingrong 1941. The passage cited was written by an ancestor of the author and kept among the family records.
32. *Qinghe zupu* 1880, 1/37a–38b.
33. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1689, rep. 1993, 686A.
34. Niu Xiu [1700] 1986, 141.

35. Luo Xianglin 1959, 146.

36. Niu Xiu [1700] 1986, 140–41; *Guangdong tonzhi* 1731, 7/11a–b, 13a; *Shunde xianzhi* 1750 9/1a–b.

37. *Qing shilu*, Kangxi, 1664, 15/226.

38. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731, 62/1a–5a; Li Shizheng n.d., 1/12a–22b.

39. He Dazuo n.d., entry under "Song tian huanguan bing qi miluan cheng."

40. *Xin'an xianzhi* 1819, 178. For a case in 1662 in Shunde county in which innocent individuals admitted to being "pirates" so that their town might be spared by Prince Shang's troops, see Bao Wei 2003, 85–97.

41. *Qing shilu*, Kangxi 24/338–9, 27/378. Niu Xiu [1700] 1986, 141, records that Wang died of disease in Guangdong.

42. Wang Shizhen's visit to Guangzhou and his liaison with the late Ming loyalists are recorded in his *Guangzhou youlan xiaozhi*, included in his *Yuyang sanshiliu zhong*, 1669–1710.

43. *Longjiang zhilue* 1833, 314.

Chapter 14: The Proliferation of Lineage Institutions

1. *Nanhai Shencun Caishi zupu*, 1875, *j.* 18; the comment on bogus titles is made on 18/2b.

2. *Liang Zhaoji gong zupu* n.d., 8a–9b.

3. *Shunde Shajiao Chenshi zupu* 1848, essay entitled "Chenshi xianci jishi."

4. An essay entitled "Chongxiu jiapu xu" in *Tanshi zupu* 1692 laments the loss of an ancestral hall in the turmoil. *Panyu Wufeng xiang Zhangshi zongpu*, 1897, 1/16a–17a, includes an account of litigation in 1670 over embezzlement by a bond servant of the Zhang family, who were evidently wealthy and involved in the financial affairs of the provincial government.

5. Untitled Wanli 41 (1613) ancestral hall renovation stele; Chen Zizhuang, "Chengyuan Xie gong muzhiming"; "Jiawu benxiang koubian"; "Benwei jiaolou zhi" including *shouwei guitiao* and *luntie* of *bingchen* year (1676); "zupu fanli"; "chongxiu zupu xu"; "Nanshe zupu xu"; and Xie Suoling, "Shang Pingnan wang qi," all included in *Nanshe Xieshi zupu* n.d.

6. Qu Dajun 1996, 116–19,187–88, 428–30; Wang Zongyan 1970.

7. Qu Dajun 1996, 335–37, 339–40; id. [c. 1700] 1974, 205–7; Cui Bi [1797] 1882, 3b–4a.

8. Qu Dajun 1996, 216–17, 319, 329–33. On Qu Dajun's concern for women's scholarship, see his essay on Madam Han, a poetess in the lineage on 82–84.

9. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 464.

10. Wang Zongyan 1970, 118. Steven Miles has pointed out to me, in private correspondence, that the text refers to events after 1678. I think Wang's conclusion still stands, but, because the current reprint is based on the reprint of 1700, there might have been revisions made to the completed text since its completion.

11. *Guangdong xinyu*, 464–65. Note that the Deng surname ancestral hall at Ha Tsuen described by Ruby Watson would conform very closely to this description.

12. Qu Dajun 1996, 86–87.

13. A preface of the *Yimen Zhengshi jiapu* 1889, "Chuxiu jiapu yin," in *j.* 1, written by the eleventh-generation descendant Hongdao (1410–64) notes that the connection was made while Zhengde (1371–1431) of the ninth generation served as an official in Zhejiang. It also notes that someone else in the same generation paid 1 tael to a Zhejiang descendant of the Yimen lineage for the lineage history. Another essay in *Yimen Zhengshi jiapu*, "Zhaixiu jiapu xu," dated 1761, notes that further efforts were made in the eighteenth century to supplement the Xiangshan genealogy with material taken from Zhejiang.

14. Ibid., 27/19a–b.

15. Ibid., 1/ "Xingyang Zhengshi jiagui."

16. Ibid., 18/4a–6b, and biographic entries in 27/1a–10a, 22b–23a, 39b–41b; 28/4a–6b; Choi Chi-cheung 1987, 115–16.

17. Maurice Freedman 1958, 46–50; Rubie S. Watson 1985.

18. Zheng Zhenman 1992, 62–118.

19. He Yanggao n.d.

20. "Kaitu hetong," in *Taiyuan Huoshi zupu* n.d., *j.* 4.

21. Regulations appended to "Kaitu hetong," in *Taiyuan Huoshi zupu* n.d. On the term "offspring household," see Katayama Tsuyoush 1982 and Liu Zhiwei 1997, 261–75.

22. Regulations appended to "Kaitu hetong," in *Taiyuan Huoshi zupu* n.d., *j.* 4.

23. Lu Xiang, "Chongxiu Tiezhang lou ji," in *Maishi zupu ji yutu* 1863.

24. "Kangxi ershi si nian bingyin sui eryue Longjiang fang sun Jifan yin jian Guixiang ci zongyi wangying shizu Suguo gong huixiang hui sheng suxiang chaohui ge kuan fuji yongchuan," in Maishi zupu 1938, n.p. The report also describes Iron Staff's archway seen near Nanxiong city, on the upper floor of which was installed a deity known as "the prince." This description fits perfectly an archway that may still be seen at Zhuji xiang village.

25. *Lanxi Maishi zupu* 1893, 1/49a–53a.

26. "Fengshan shui tie," in *He Xihuan tang chongxiu zupu* 1907, 1/18a–b, and "Chuangjian Bushe ci xu," in *Heshi Jiulang zupu* 1925, 19a–b, by a son of the Xiaolan notable He Wuzou. The Zheng surname referred to here was a branch of the same Zheng lineage of Xiangshan that compiled the *Yimen Zhengshi zupu* 1889.

27. *Guan Tunmu tang muzhi* 1905.

28. *Nanhai shizu*, n.d., 1a, under Jiujiang *bao*; *Nanhai Jiujiang Guanshi zupu* 1897, 15/54b–56b, *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 6/2a. Further examples of the blending of tax registration, contract, and ancestral hall building in the establishment of lineages may be found in *Guangdong Taishan Shangchuan fang Ganshi zupu* 1935, 14a–19b, and *Panyu Xiaolong fang Kongshi jiapu* 1897, 10/20a–21b. The Gan surname genealogy provides a fascinating account of a group regarded as Yao minorities who came to be attached to surnames that were registered for tax in the Ming and established independent tax status in the early Qing. The Kong surname genealogy provides a contract dated 1681 arranging for the transfer of tax liabilities from a small household to a lineage branch.

29. The genealogical records for the foundation of supra-lineage ancestral halls in Guangzhou include *Yuedong Jianshi datong pu* 1928; *Lingnan Xianshi zupu* 1910; *Shuanggui shuyuan jilue* 1883; *Panyu Xiaolong fang Kongshi jiapu* 1897; *Liangshi Chonggui tang zupu* 1815, 4/7a; *Wugong shuyuan zupu* 1929; *Lushi shide ji* 1932; *Ganshi cipu* 1924. Other references are taken from Wang Haiyan 2002. For a description of some of these halls, see Hugh Baker 1977.

30. A disused provincial government building was purchased in 1684 with a donation of 180 taels by eight lineage branches. Building work could not commence until 1694 because the building remained occupied. In between, the surname group had had to send one of its members to the Confucian estate in Shandong province to gain certification that they were descendants of Confucius and paid 102 taels on behalf of each branch for inclusion in the Confucian lineage records. In return, the lineage had corvée charges remitted. *Panyu Xiaolong fang Kongshi jiapu* 1897, *shou*/58a–68b.

31. *Liangshi Chonggui tang zupu* 1815, 4/7a; 16/1a–13b, 18/11b–13b; 12b–15b (pagination duplicated), and *Qiancheng hou ci quanshu* 1920.

32. *Lushi shide ji* 1932, 6/1a–b; *Wugong shuyuan zupu* 1929, 1/*you* 1a–12a.

33. "Ganshi dazongci beiji" (1752) in *Ganshi cipu* 1924, cited in Wang Haiyan 2002.

Chapter 15: The Ordering of Community in Ritual Life

1. Ye Chunji n.d., 15/19b–21a. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1639, 194, says enough to indicate that a Lu surname there had won many imperial honors, and it might be expected that they either owned the market outright or did so in conjunction with other surnames.

2. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1561, 50/21a; *Longjiang xiangzhi* 1833, 5/58b; *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 5/14b–15b.

3. See Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 487–89, for a vivid description of the dragon boat race at nearby Longjiang.

4. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 3/4a–6b.

5. Tanaka Issei 1992.

6. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930, entry under Huaguang *gumiao*, *j.* 5, *miaoyu*. In *j.* 3, *fengsu*, it is noted that the Huaguang temple was the most supported temple in the *xiang*. Longshan *xiangzhi* 1805, 1/4a, notes that Ao Peak was a propitious geomantic position in Longshan for the production of successful examination candidates. For a reference to Lüshan practices, see entry under Luo Ergong in *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930, *j.* 15 *zalu*, and *j.* 5, entry under the Great Master's temple (*da fa xianshi miao*). Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 216–17, 302–3, describes Lushan practices in Dongguan. A similar story of saving a temple from destruction by Wei Xiao was also told of the very important Lord Jinshun temple in Longjiang, in *Longjiang xiangzhi* 1833, 1/10a.

7. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 1/10b–14b.

8. Ibid., 3/6a–b.

9. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930, *j.* 3.

10. David Faure 1986, 70–86, 145–46.
11. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 3/5b.
12. *Heyuan Xianshi jiapu* 1910 4:3/2b.
13. Huang Zuo 1549, 2/17a–b. David Faure 1999.
14. *Nanhai Foshan Huoshi zupu* 1848, 11/32a–b.
15. Ibid., 4/31b–32a.
16. *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 6/3b–4a.
17. Ibid., 6/2b–3a.
18. Ibid., 6/4a–b.
19. On the next day, a kite-flying competition was held in Foshan. See Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 300.
20. Luo Yixing 1991, 428–69, and also Liu Zhiwei 1994.
21. Luo Yixing 1991, 442–45; I have not seen the Liang surname genealogy cited.
22. *Foshan zongyi xiangji* 1752, 6/3b–4a.
23. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 444–45.
24. *Foshan Zongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 10/27b–28b, 10/28b–29b, and 10/41a–42b.
25. *Foshan Zongyi xiangzhi* 1752, 10/45a–46b, 49b–51b, 60a–62a; 11/4a–6a, 8a–12a, and 12a–13a; *Foshan Zongyi xiangzhi* 1830, 13/16b–18a; and Guangdong sheng shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo Zhongguo gudaishi yanjiushi, Zhongshan daxue lishixi Zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi, Guangdong sheng Foshanshi bowuguan 1986, 33–36. The quotation is taken from *Foshan Zongyi xiangzhi* 1830, 13/17b.
26. The term appears in the map of the temple included in *Foshan Zongyi xiangzhi* 1830 and was used in official documents by the nineteenth century.
27. This is documented in David Faure 1990a, 131.
28. Mary Backus Rankin 1994, 1–52.
29. Chen Chunsheng 1990, 308–32.
30. On the police intendant's involvement in building the community granary, see Wang Tang, "Chongxiu Liufang ci ji," in *Foshan Zongyi xiang zhi* 1831, 12b/10b–12a. Lao Tung's account of famine relief organization in the second half of the eighteenth century is recorded in Lao Tong, "Qianlong yimao sanzhen beiji," in *Foshan Zongyi xiang zhi* 1926, 7/2a–b. For the reorganization in 1812, see Luo Yixing 1991, 393–99, citing from *Fozhen yicang zonglu* 1847, 1/37a–44a. The reorganization regulations list not only the twenty-seven districts (*pu*) of Foshan but also sums of money allowed for sacrifice at the temples throughout the year, thus highlighting the importance religious sacrifice retained at the heart of territorial organization. The riots of 1830 are summarized in Mary Backus Rankin 1994. Also relevant are studies of the rice trade in the area around this time; see, e.g., Tan Dihua 1993.
31. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/2b–3a.
32. Ibid., 1/21b.
33. Ibid., 5/21a.
34. Ibid., 5/27b.
35. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/17b–18b, Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 556–58, 566–67.

36. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/20a–b; *Shaoqing fuzhi* 1673, 19/14a–15a; *Jiujiang Rulin xiang zhi* 1883, 5/21a–27b.

37. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/29a.

38. *Jiujiang Rulin xiang zhi* 1883, 4/19a–b.

39. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 1/29a–b. The biography of the founder, Zeng Chu, is to be found on 4/3b–4a, where the name of the market at which yarn was sold across the river is Gulao (in Shunde county).

40. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/18b.

41. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 558.

42. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 4/52b–53a.

43. Ibid., 4/53b.

44. Ibid., 1/27b, 2/19a; Chen Wanyan, "Nanhai Zhou hou chongjian Huimin dou ji," in *Guangdong wenzheng*, 5: 34–35.

45. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 2/19a; Guangzhou Assistant Prefect Yan Junyan, who commented on the petition from the Nanhai county, did not draw attention to any district being more active in the protest. See Yan Junyan [1632] 2002, 640–42.

46. Zhu cishi Lingxiao muzhi ming," *Jiujiang Rulin xiang zhi* 1883, 7/24a–27.

47. *Nanhai Jiujiang xiangzhi* 1657, 1/25b–26a, 2/1b–2a.

48. *Jiujiang Rulin xiang zhi* 1883, 2/34a–35a, 4/6a–8a, 27a–30b.

49. Ibid., 4/15a–35a, 76a–78a; quotations from 4/27a and 76a. The wealth of some of the wards is indicated by contributions received in temple building. The Tianhou temple in the Eastern Ward, located at the river inlet leading to the town built in 1642 possibly by donations from the Dan population, has a particularly intriguing history. It was rebuilt and expanded in 1650 at a cost said to have amounted to three million cash. The location and timing suggest considerable activities at Jiujiang during the early years of the Qing.

50. The petition may be found at ibid., 21/20b–21a; the building of the Rulin academy at 4/6a–8a; and the official pronouncements on Jiujiang's tax monopoly on the fish fry trade, 5/20a–37b.

51. Helen F. Siu 1990b, 765–94.

52. Han Boquan and Chen Sanzhu 1992, 91–111.

53. The evidence is extremely patchy in view of the very few religious documents that have been collected in the Pearl River Delta, and, because as is known from the collections made in the New Territories of Hong Kong, even if they had been collected, they would be impossible to date. The legend of the ancestor Chen Qiaozhen included in the genealogies of various Chen surname groups in Xinning and Xinhui is, therefore, particularly enlightening. Chen Qiaozhen preceded ancestors who gave away ancestral land because members of the family had drowned in the process of rent collection. If my interpretation in David Faure 2001a is correct, these legends were circulated before deeds were popularly employed in land transactions, possibly from the fifteenth century on. Chen Qiaozhen, according to the genealogical account, lived during the Yuan dynasty, defeated and recruited into his service an evil spirit causing an epidemic in Guangzhou using thunder magic, and often appeared riding a horse. He led his descendants to the site that became his grave. The story is repeated in a Zhou

surname genealogy, possibly of Guangzhou, which records that a fifth-generation ancestor of the Dongguan branch died in 1505 as Heavenly Master Zhang appeared to him. After he died, he often appeared in armor, riding a horse, followed by spirit soldiers. Legends of sightings of dead men who became deities and were followed by spirit soldiers must have been quite common. Most have not been passed down in written records. These two have because they became integrated into the genealogy. The two legends are recorded in *Xinhui Chenshi zupu* 1912, 11a–12a; *Duntou Chenshi zupu* 1933, 12a–17b; and *Zhoushi zupu* n.d.

54. James L. Watson 1991, 162–77; Stephan Feuchtwang 1992.

55. Maurice Freedman 1979, 351–69.

56. *Jiujiang Rulin xiangzhi* 1883, 2/27b–28a.

Chapter 16: Incorporation: The Power of an Idea

1. Ye Xianen and Tan Dihua 1985; Tan Dihua 1993; Robert Y. Eng 1986.

2. Zhan Shanji, "Bao zheng shuo," reprinted in *Liangshi chonggui tang zupu* 1815, 14/11a–13b, and *Zhang Rujian tang zupu* 1922, 25/26a–28a.

3. Edward Kroker 1959; H. F. Schurmann 1956; Choi Chi-cheung 1989; Cai Zhixiang 1994; Zhu Yong 1987. For a variation on the loss of lineage property, see the contract of 1841 included in *Nanhai Huang shi zupu* 1899, 3/27a–28b, where the lineage elders pledged to a donor within the lineage not to ask for further donations if he would make up the current losses.

4. *Nanhai Oushi zupu* n.d., also cited in David Faure 1989b, from which the translation is reproduced.

5. *Shunde Longshan xiang Dengshi zupu* n.d., two unnumbered pages between 11b and 12a.

6. *Liangshi Chonggui tang zupu* 1815, 4 /11a.

7. *Liao Weize tang jiapu* 1930, 1/49a–b. Not all ancestral estates required the posting of accounts. In regulations drawn up in 1804, the very wealthy Dongguan county Zhang Rujian *tang* specifies that accounts be examined in public at the winter solstice sacrifice to the ancestors in the ancestral hall and that three account books be kept of all balances brought forward, separately by the lineage head, the main-line descendant, and the keeper of the balance. *Zhang Rujian tang zupu* 1922, 25/14b.

8. Liu Hengping, "Liu shi da zongci ji," in *Liao Weize tang jiapu* 1930, 3/4a–5a, and anon., "Jiaqing shisan nian wuchen chongxiu da zongci quanjuan xu," ibid., 89a–90b. The latter document was found in 1877 in an account book kept in the ancestral hall's chest.

9. *Huangshi Meiyue fang pu* 1879.

10. A 1827 record in the genealogy of the Zhang surname of Dafan xiang in Nanhai county on the establishment of an ancestral estate and a common ancestral hall for three branches of the lineage is, significantly, entitled "The establishment of the Jiangnan association and the change of its name to the Dunmu *tang*" (*cangzao Jiangnan hui gaiming Dunmu tang yuanxu*), indicating that contributing shares for the purpose was known commonly as a Jiangnan association. See *Nanhai Dafan Zhangshi jiapu* 1925, 109b. The term *changtang hui* (long-pond

association) is used in an 1841 document included in the genealogy of the Liang surname at Biwan, Shunde county. This may be found in *Liangshi zupu* 1842, 6a–7b. A 1891 collection for the repair of the ancestral hall by the Li surname of Daluo *xiang* in Shunde describes the contributions as a Jiangnan Jiangxi association (Jiangnan Jiangxi *hui*). A transcription of the commemoration stele is found in the *Shunde Daluo Lishi jiapu* 1910, *zaji* 40a–b. The term *baizi hui* (hundred-sons association) appears in an ancestral hall rebuilding record c. 1755 in the *Huangshi Meiyue fang pu* 1879. This comes under the entry on the Nanquan ancestral hall. The term *qianzi hui* (thousand-sons association) appears in the 1908 donation regulations of the Wei surname of Dongguan, found in *Weishi changyi jianci beilu* 1908.

11. *Xingyang Panshi jiacheng* 1882, 7/12a–13b.

12. James Hayes 1977, 125–27.

13. *Weng shi zupu* c. 1910, incomplete, 7/11b–13b.

14. He Zihong, *Yuze tang jiashi ji*, n.d.

15. "Fulu dongchang maixu hetong," 1a–2b, in *Nanhai Shannan xiang Lianbiao li Guanshi zupu* 1889, also cited in David Faure 1990, 105–34.

16. *Jiujiang Rulin xiangzhi* 1883, 4/79a–81a.

17. *Chashan xiangzhi* 1935, 2/16b–17a.

18. Quite apart from the kilns, lineages also owned sheds near the kilns, as noted in the genealogy of the Liu surname of that town, *Liu shi jiapu* n.d. Ownership of land on the foreshore, quite apart from the possibility of land reclamation, opened opportunities for ferries, mooring by Dan boatmen, and stake-net fishing. On this subject, considerable material is available from Hong Kong. See James Hayes 1984.

19. *Taiyuan Huoshi zupu* n.d., citation from "Dazong gang shan hetong."

20. "Cuihe xu ji," *Aotai Wangshi zupu* 1915, 2/16a–b.

21. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930, *j.* 5, entry on "Dagang *xu*."

22. *Jinyutang Chen shi zupu*, 1897 10 *xia*, 11b–12b. This was the same Chen surname of which Chen Yanzong, compiler of the 1753 Foshan gazetteer, was a member.

23. Robert Gardella 1992, 317–39.

24. Hamashita Takeshi, talk at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, October 29, 1999.

25. See Kentaro Matsubara 2004 for a detailed study of the principles of lineage management and their implications.

26. These are notes inserted into *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930, *j.* 5; an interleaved page records the properties in the "new chest" (*xinxiang*) set up in 1880 to replace the "old chest" (*jiuxiang*) set up in 1810. Another note in the upper margin of an entry on the Guanyin temple in the same *juan* records substantial properties owned in another chest.

27. He Zihong n.d. Few of these written accounts are extant in the Pearl River Delta, but experience in the New Territories and Taiwan indicates that they were very common in the villages. On Taiwan, see Myron L. Cohen 2002.

28. *Longjiang zhiluei* 1925, 1/2b–4a.

29. Wen Runeng, "Cangtian yi," *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 11/53a–54a, ap-

pealed for two money associations on the model of the "hundred sons," "without regard to *tu* and *jia*, and without regard to lineages and surnames," to provide for an endowment for the Longshan granary. Wen was a *juren* of 1788, and the *Longshan xiangzhi* ms. 1930 *j.* 5 dates the reestablishment of the granary to 1810. The essay was probably written in the 1790s. The rota list of the Foshan granary drawn up in 1812 can be found in *Fozhen yicang zonglu* 1847, 1/37b–44a. It is hard not to look upon these institutions as precursors of contemporary "township and village enterprises."

Chapter 17: A Note on Prosperity

1. Guangdong sheng shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo Zhongguo gudaishi yanjiushi et al. 1987, 490.
2. *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1753, 3/28b.
3. Sarasin Viraphol 1977, 98–107. Importation of some 25,000 piculs of rice annually from Thailand would not have been comparable to imports from Guangxi. See Tan Dihua 1993, 296–97.
4. Liang Fangzhong 1980, 277.
5. Gilbert Rozman 1973, 239.
6. The figure is cited in *Guangdong tanbao*, possibly written in 1843 or 1844.
7. James Z. Lee and Wang Feng 1999.
8. Chen Chunsheng 1992, 147 and 149.
9. George Bryan Souza 1986, 143.
10. Liang Tingnan Daoguang period (1821–50), 24/34a–38a.
11. Yan Zhongping et al. 1955, 3, citing Earl H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750–1800* (Pullman, Wash., 1936), 391–96, 401, 402.
12. The annual income of the Guangzhou Customs is cited in Chen Baijian and Huang Qichen 1995, 1: 250–55, from Dai He, "Qingdai qianqi (1685–1840) Yue haiguan de yongren yu shuishou yanjiu" (M.A. thesis, n.d.).
13. Macau figure from C. R. Boxer 1968, 256. Ng Chin-keong 1983, 96.
14. H. B. Morse 1926–29, 4: 348; Liang Jiabin 1999, 259–70, 282–90; Weng Eang Cheong 1997, 128–90.
15. William C. Hunter 1855, 79.
16. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1822, 1/3a–4b.
17. On the importance of early Qing tax reforms and fiscal control, including the use of annual audits, see Liu Zhiwei 1992; Yuan Liangyi 1995, 113–33; Tang Wenji 1991, 184–99. For background, see Liang Fangzhong 1956 and 1989, 398–401. Ray Huang 1974, 175, argues that by the end of the Ming, 80 percent of all land tax had been commuted to silver.
18. Commenting on a memorial from a censor who noted the continuation of "old households" (*laohu*) in the land-tax records of Guangdong in 1725, the Guangdong Guangxi governor general agreed that it was the practice for the counties to keep the names of registered households on the land records, whether or not the land was sold. In other words, "those who bought land held by a

[registered] household would pay land tax in the name of the account of this household." These tax-registered households had continued from earlier times for numerous reasons, among which was the belief that the grouping of many families within a single household might result in lower service demands, now converted to silver but still payable. Another reason was the holding of lineage estates in the tax households established by ancestors. See Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 1989b, 4: 742–43, memorial of Yongzheng 23 fourth month seventh day.

19. Madeleine Zelin 1984; Zhuang Jifa n.d.; Chen Zhiping 1988.

20. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 1989b, 9: 5.

21. Ibid., 17: 189–90.

22. Liang Tingnan Daoguang period (1821–50), 1/7b–8a. It might also be said that in the selection of this edict as one of a few to be included in the first *juan* of the history of the Guangdong Customs, the editor shows that he, too, well understood the importance of enforcing statutory customs rates.

23. Liang Tingnan Daoguang period (1821–50), 14/5a–b; cf. H. B. Morse 1926–29, 1: 247–53.

24. The data on the local impact of the appreciation of silver are derived largely from the lower Yangzi. The Pearl River has yielded little information on the question and so the argument here must be tentative. For the lower Yangzi background, see Yeh-chien Wang 1992 and Kathryn Bernhardt 1992, 46–53. On the broader setting, see Lin Manhong 1991.

25. Gugong bowuyuan wenxian guan 1986, 200–204.

26. Ibid., 704–5.

27. Li Xubo 1992.

28. Gu Sixie 1710, *xu*/1a.

29. Liang Peichi 1988; Xian Yuqing 1995.

30. May-bo Ching 1996. A very interesting supplement to this argument is the failure of attempts to enforce standard speech (Mandarin) among Cantonese-speaking officials in the first half of the nineteenth century, as documented in Yang Wenxin 1994.

31. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 355–56.

32. Brief biographies to these writers may be found in [anon., ed.] 1990, *Nanyuan qian wu xiansheng shi*, *Nanyuan hou wu xiansheng shi*.

33. *Guangxiao si zhi* 1935, 10/20b–23a; Jiang Canteng 1990, 136–72.

34. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 18/7a–9a; *Guangzhou fuzhi* 1879, 128/10a–11a; Lao Tong 1911.

35. Steven Bradley Miles 2000, 114–22.

36. Benjamin A. Elman 1984.

37. Ching May-bo 1996; Steven Bradley Miles 2000.

38. James M. Polachek 1992, 148; *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 18/7a–9a; Zeng Zhao 1885, 20b–30a.

39. Zhang Qu 1738, 49, 52, 58, 64, and 69.

40. Lu Ying 1741, 1/19a–20b; 22a–b, 25a–b, 34a–35b, 69a–b; 3/1a–5a.

41. Su Wenzuo 1973.

42. Ibid., 72.

43. Ibid., 73–74.
44. *Foshan jielue* 1830.

Chapter 18: The Mulberry Garden Dike

1. Morita Akira 1993; Ming Zhigang 1870, 1/26a–30b.
2. Ming Zhigang 1870, 1/5a–10a.
3. Wen Rushi's biography may be found in *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 27/1a–4a.
4. Ibid., 1/14a–18a.
5. Ibid., 1/22a–25b. Li Changyao's biography in the *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 19/16a–17a, portrays his knowledge of water control as being instrumental in the use of stone for lining the embankments.
6. Ming Zhigang 1870, 1/11a–12b, 19a–21b.
7. Ibid., 1/41a–48a.
8. Ibid., 1/45a, 49a–52a.
9. Ibid., 1/51a–52a.
10. Ibid., 1/55a–56b, 59a–60a; the Foshan subprefectural magistrate was appointed from 1733. He held a rank above the county magistrates.
11. Ibid., 2/1a–5b, 9a–28a.
12. Katayama Tsuyoshi 1993.
13. Ming Zhigang 1870, 2/42a–57b.
14. Ibid., 3/7a–10a, 15a–18b.
15. Ibid., 3/28b–31a.
16. Ibid., 3/66a–70a and undated report, probably written in the eleventh month of 1817, 3/50a–51a.
17. Ibid., 3/37a–44b.
18. Ibid., 3/62a–65a.
19. Ibid., 4/2a–3a, 13a–14b, 26a–29a, 32a–35a.
20. Ibid., 3/58a–b.
21. Ibid., 4/11a–12a.
22. Ibid., 4/22a–25a; citation from 22a.
23. Ibid., 4/19a–b.
24. Ibid., 5/14a–16a.
25. Ibid., 5/3a–5b.
26. Zhu Yun 1832, 29/56a–66b.
27. *Panyu henan xiaozhi* 1945, 8/23b–24a; Liang 1999,282–90; Zhang Wenqin 1984.
28. Pan Jin 1880, *Pan Zizheng gong yigao*/77a–79b and *Panshi jiaxun* 3b–6a.
29. Ming Zhigang 1870, 5/30b.
30. Ibid., 5/36a–54b.
31. Ibid., 5/6a–8b, 6/1a–19b.
32. Wu Yuanwei, younger brother of Yuanzhi, was the son of Wu Bingjian. Another elder brother of his, Yuanhua, succeeded into their father's business in 1826, and when Yuanhua died in 1833, Yuanwei took over. Wu Yuanwei petitions ibid., 8/45b–49b.
33. Ibid., 7/2a–4a.

34. Ibid., 9/13a–29b.

35. Ibid., 9/2a–10b. Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty was on the throne for only twenty-five years, and so the forty-first year in his reign was a fictitious claim.

36. Ibid., 9/16b–17a.

37. Pan Jin's biography in the *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 14/27a, confirms that he was instrumental in raising the donation from Wu Yuanwei. In a letter to his son (Pan Jin 1880, *Panshi jiaxun*/29a–b), Pan Jin indicated that the close involvement of Wu Yuanwei as a donor was the reason for Pan's participation in the 1829 project. He was also very active in the repairs, receiving 15,340 taels of provincial government subsidy in total for the several dikes whose repairs he oversaw. On money paid to him, see Ming Zhigang 1870, 8/49b–50a.

38. Pan Jin 1880, *Pan Zizheng gong yigao*/13a–15b.

39. Ibid., 9/27b–32a.

40. Ibid., 8/15b–16a.

41. Ibid., 9/32a–52a.

42. Ibid., 9/25b.

43. Pan Jin 1880, *Pan Zizheng gong yigao*/69a–70b.

44. There might also have been a division in opinion between members of the gentry prepared to take leadership and the provincial government. Zhu Shiqi, soon to become a locus of scholarship in Nanhai, drafted a lengthy proposal on river control in 1829, which argued for a much wider plan of action than was adopted in 1833. He pointed out that the flooding was arising from embankments built both in the upper reaches of the river and outlets to the sea in Xinhui and Xiangshan counties. It would have been in line with a wider plan of action than the repair of the dike in two places that the very substantial donation was raised in that year. Pan Jin, too, was critical of the provincial government's actions, primarily because after 1817, provincial funds earmarked for loans to be spent on dike repairs were withdrawn and, by the flood of 1833, the provincial treasuries had no regular provision for the work. His biography argues that he took the issue up with the provincial government and the loans provided followed from his intercession. His personal papers include a limp letter to a brother of Wu Yuanwei describing the flood of that year, which might be a vague request for aid, and another letter declining further involvement in the project. He remained active in providing relief in his own village, as his biography shows. See *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 14/23b–25a, 25b–29a, and Pan Jin 1880, *Pan Zizheng gong yigao*/51a–b, 71a–72b.

45. Great Britain, FO 931/89, 130, 134.

Chapter 19: From Paramilitary to Militia

1. Pan Jin 1880, *Pan Zizheng gong yigao*/50a–b, 60a–61a, 62a–63b, 64a–65a.

2. Long Tinghuai's biography may be found in the *Shunde xianzhi* 1859, 26/28a–30a.

3. Long Tinghuai 1832, 1/1a–16b.

4. One of these would be the Hu surname of Guizhou *xiang*. Luo Tianchi (1986, 129), the eighteenth-century local historian of Shunde, noted that since 1783, the lineage had won many examination honors, mostly in the military field. Guangdong sheng renmin zhengfu minzu shiwu weiyuan hui 1953, 8 and 14, counts them among the Dan who had settled on shore, built ancestral halls, and lived in large villages, but who were still referred to as Danjia people by their neighbors.

5. He Dazuo n.d., entries under "Xiangbing shoutu zhishi" (the beginning of local troops being placed on guard on home ground), "Chensheng miao" (the Chensheng temple); He Yanggao n.d., entry under Tianhou temple in chapter on temples and monasteries; Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan et al. 1982, 506–11; Luo Tianchi 1986, 164–65; *Shilu*, Qianlong 452/15b–16a and 457/12b–13a; *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 19/changchan/1a–19b; Tan 1993b, 83–84.

6. Long Tinghuai 1832, 12/1a–7b; for comparison, Hugh D. R. Baker 1968, 78–83.

7. *Guangzhou fuzhi* 1879, 108/28b, 128/17a–18a, and *Panyu xianzhi* 1871, 45/1b.

8. *Longshan xiangzhi* 1805, 6/1a–7b; on Jiujiang, see Chapter 16 above.

9. Dian H. Murray 1987; Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan 1989, 19.

10. *Shilu*, Jiaqing, 128/24b–26b, 129/17b–18b; *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 27/17b–19a.

11. *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 27/16a–17b.

12. Nayancheng 1834, 11/40b.

13. *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 4/2b–3b.

14. Ibid., 1853, 26/7a–9a; citation from 9a.

15. Huang Yonghao 2005, 136–37.

16. Philip A. Kuhn 1970, 45–50, traces Nayancheng's militia policy in Guangdong to Yan Ruyi, who had written about setting up the militia in areas fighting the White Lotus and thereby establishes a link between the change in policy under Nayancheng in Guangdong and the change in mood in the realm.

17. *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 5/15b–16b, 26/25a–26a, 28b–30a.

18. Frederic Wakeman 1966, 11–21; James M. Polachek 1992, 164–69.

19. Chen Yuhuan 1999, 165–76.

20. Lin Fuxiang, *Pinghai xinchou*, 1843, reprinted in Guangdong sheng wenshi yanjiu guan 1978, 26–27.

21. Liang Tingnan [c. 1874] 1959, 76.

22. Frederic Wakeman 1966, 36–37.

23. This feast was the subject of posters or flyers that appeared in Guangzhou at the time it was held. For the various versions extant, see Guangdong sheng wenshi yanjiu guan 1978, 77, 78–79, 133–34.

24. James M. Polachek 1992, 169–75.

25. Guangdong sheng wenshi yanjiu guan 1978, 49–64, 71–75, 83–85, 125–35.

26. Ibid., 254–55.

27. Ibid., 204–6, 256–58, 266–67.

28. Ibid., 278–80. The Co-hong merchant Pan Shicheng donated 1,000 yuan and 100 Western guns to it.

29. *Shilu*, Daoguang 392/23a–b, 21a–b, 394/12b–13b and 395/20b–21a.
30. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1879, 15/13b–14b *Shilu*; Daoguang 384/23a–b.
31. *Shilu*, Daoguang 394/13b–14b.
32. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1927, 99/1a–29a; Huang Yonghao 2005, 67–78.
33. Liang Tingnan [c. 1874] 1959, 139–40; Frederic Wakeman 1966, 68–70.
34. Liang Tingnan [c. 1874] 1959, 159–65.

Chapter 20: Local Power in the Taiping Rebellion

1. On the Triads, see David Ownby 1996; Dian Murray 1994; Barend J. Ter Haar 1998; and David Faure 2004. Weng Tongwen 1975 first pointed out its ritual origin in Taiwan pseudo-lineage networks.
2. For background to the Second Opium War, see J. Y. Wong 1998; on the operations of the militia, *Longshan xiangzhi* 1930 *j.* 2; *Xinhui Maishi zupu* n.d., under "Jishi jilue."
3. Qixuan heshang diaoshou (pseud.), "Ying jili Guangdong ru cheng shimo," in Zhongguo shixue hui 1978, 1: 218.
4. Zhongguo shixue hui 1978, 3: 190–99.
5. Ibid., 206–7.
6. Ibid., 239, 390–91.
7. *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 26/27a–b; *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, 17/16b–23b; Liang Tingnan [c. 1874] 1959, 159; Nishikawa Kikuko 1988.
8. *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, 18/2a–3b; *Longshi zupu* 1922, *jj.* 13–15.
9. *Xuantong Gaoyao xianzhi* 1938, 18 *xia*/11a–b; Frederic Wakeman Jr. 1966, 165–66.
10. Long Baoxian 1905, *shang* 4a–5a.
11. Ibid., 3b–4a.
12. Guangdong sheng wenshi yanjiu guan et al. 1992, 292–98.
13. Long Baoxian 1905, *shang* 5b–6a.
14. James Hayes bought this deed from a second-hand bookshop in Hong Kong.
15. Guangdong sheng wenshi yanjiu guan et al. 1992, 260–61.
16. Long Baoxian 1905, 6b.
17. See *Chufan shimo* (first pub. 1885), the diary of the Dongguan magistrate Hua Tingjie, who was in Guangzhou city when it fell, in Zhongguo shixue hui 1978, 1: 180; and Cao Zhanying 1982. Cao claims to have had access to a manuscript account detailing the terror imposed by the Dali militia on fellow villagers. He also relates the ritual reenactment of the war with the rebels in an annual festival known as *sha* held at the lunar New Year until 1949.
18. Zhongguo shixue hui 1978, 3: 203–4; *Nanhai xianzhi* 1910, 14/16a–17a.
19. Long Baoxian 1905, *xia* 9a–b; *Shilu*, Xianfeng, 292/274–75.
20. Ibid., *xia*/8b–9a, 11a–12a.
21. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1869, 17/10a–12a.
22. For background on the *lijin*, see Susan Mann 1987, 94–120.
23. *Shilu*, Tongzhi, 22/16a–43b, 49/34b–36a, 41a–42b.
24. This is not to say that loyalty might not shift quickly and conveniently

when the locus of power changed. The British were amazed to find in 1857 that their military presence was being exploited by their own compradore, the middleman supplying British ships, to impose harvesting charges on the sands. See Laurence Oliphant 1865, 92–96.

25. Long Baoxian 1905, *shang*/5b–6a, 7a–b, 10a–11a, 13b–14b, 17a–b, 22b–23b, *Shunde xianzhi* 1853, 5/14a–b; and *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, 2/34a–38a, 3/13a–b.

26. Long Baoxian 1905, *shang*/9a–b, 11b–12b, 13b–14a; *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, 2/34a–36b.

27. Long Baoxian 1905, *shang*/11a–b, xia/12a–16b.

28. Huang Yonghao 2005, 108–17.

29. *Dongguan xianzhi* 1927, 17/15b, 72/5–7; *Zhang Rujian tang zupu* 1922, 26/71b–72b, 28/31a–33b; Huang Yonghao 2005, 41–52.

30. Ye Shaohua 1964.

31. Chen Han-seng 1936, 47–50; Wu Qingshi 1962.

32. Huang Yonghao 2005, 51–56; Huang Yonghao 1987, 170–86.

33. *Dongguan xianzhi* 100/7a.

34. Nishikawa Kikuko 1994, 1996.

35. Chen Dianlan 1855, 12b–17b; Nie Erkang 1867, unnumbered *juan*, 67a–69a.

36. *Xiangshan xianzhi* 1879, 22/59b; 1923, 11/14b–15a.

37. Ibid., 1879, 22/66b.

38. *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1926, 3/3b–5b, 5/2/2a, 8/1/29a–30a, 14/5/8b–10a, 14/6/2b–3a; *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 5/7b, 5/8a–9a, 17/15a–16b, 26/14a–b; 1911, 18/1b–3b.

39. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1911, *j.* 7; *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, *j.* 5; Tan Dihua 1993b, 37–41.

40. *Foshan zongyi xiangzhi* 1926, 4/2b–5a, 14/6/32a–33b.

41. *Longshan xiang zhi* 1930, *j.* 6.

42. Tan Dihua et al. 2001, 379–83.

43. Guo Songtao 1981, 2: 139, 180, 276–77; *Shilu*, Tongzhi, 54/26b–28a; 152/2a–5a.

44. Susan Mann 1987, 128–32.

45. *Jiujing tang huigui* 1863; He 1964; Xinhui xian chengxiang lianluo weiyuanhui lianluochu 1951; and Helen F. Siu 1989, 62–66.

Chapter 21: The Foreign Element in Pearl River Delta Society

1. Huang Qichen 1995, 39–58.

2. In contrast, the Catholic community of Foshan attracted no more attention in the literature than a single line in the *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 1752 noting its destruction in 1723.

3. *Aomen jilue* 1988.

4. H. B. Morse 1910–18, 63–117.

5. Li Jun (1834, *xia*/26b–27a), who traveled from Beijing in 1828 to serve as examiner in Guangzhou, was entertained one evening while there by the

Guangzhou prefect at the "devils' house" (*guizi lou*), where he saw people with big noses who were very polite to the prefect and books with script written horizontally across the page. He was served the devils' wine, which he found to be rich in color and sweet.

6. William C. Hunter [1882] 1970, 63–64.

7. Xian Yuqing, "Zhao Ziyong yanjiu," in her Xian Yuqing 1995, 138–43.

8. Huang Qichen 1999; *Wei xian zhi gao* 1941, 29/24a.

9. *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, March 14, 1879.

10. China, Imperial Maritime Customs Service, *Decennial Report, 1882–91*, 550.

11. David Faure 1989, 29–34, 52–57; Sucheta Mazumdar 1998, 353–68; Robert Y. Eng 1986b, 137–44.

12. For background, see Victor Purcell 1951 and Adam McKeown 2001.

13. Enclosure in Bruce to Parkes, December 2, 1859, Great Britain, FO 228/268, and FO682/1992/15 for the Chinese petition.

14. S. Wells Williams 1863, 226–27, 236.

15. Robert Y. Eng 1986, 146–57; *Nanhai wenshi ziliao* 10 (1987): 3–75.

16. Hong Kong 1901, 16.

17. A. E. Wood, *Report on the Chinese Guilds of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1912), cited in David Faure 1997, 79.

18. Hong Kong 1921, 163.

19. *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette,* September 2, 1911, 582, "Outport: Canton."

20. *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, July 19, 1881, 113, and August 28, 1897, 356; China, Imperial Maritime Customs Service, *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports*, 1898, 461.

21. Qu Dajun [c. 1700] 1974, 441–42.

22. "Tietong gao zhi yi chi yixiang zhe song ju xiaohui, etc." in "Haifang" section, Guangdong Qingdai dang'an lu n.d. A marginal note on this entry shows that the provincial ruling on this matter was quite in opposition to the terms of the law. A subsequent document in the same source ("Wei jing pianhao niaoqiang xian liangyue nei fu xian cheng qiao," etc.) shows that by 1782, the provincial authorities required mandatory registration of all "bird guns." The use of the "cannon barrel" in religious ceremonies is well known. Iron tubes packed with gunpowder were fired upwards from the ground and were fought over by worshippers upon their fall. Those who succeeded in holding on to a piece of tube could take home a statue of the temple deity for one year.

23. Long Tinghuai 1832, 7/5a–9b.

24. Nayancheng 1834, 10/46a–50b.

25. *Shilu*, Jiaqing, 217/17a–18b.

26. Liu Fang 1999, 160–81, esp. 178–79.

27. *Shilu*, Daoguang 360/18a–b.

28. Long Baoxian 1905, 1/4a–b.

29. Chen Dianlan 1855, 1/31b–32a.

30. Mai Pengnian, "Keluan yuanliu ji," 1908, in *Xinhui Maishi zupu* n.d.;

Lang 1935, 132. On the Hakka Punti wars and the establishment of Chixi county, see Sow-theng Leong 1997, 69–81.

31. Guo Songtao 1981, 170, 332. Hong Kong newspapers carried advertisements for public auctioning of guns and reports of their reckless use. In 1884, the Hong Kong government confiscated "10,000 firearms of various descriptions, 8,000 bayonets and swords, and 30,000 rounds of ammunition" (*China Mail*, October 15, 1884).

32. Zhang Zhidong 1937, 14/9a.

33. *Xinhui Chaolian Lubian Lushi zupu* 1911, 24/13a–14a.

34. *Nanshe Xieshi zupu*, 1942, entry under *jishi* section.

35. *Heshi zupu*, 1923, 31a.

36. For a description of a filature in Shunde, see *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, May 10, 1913, 388–89.

37. The information is given for thirty of fifty-two ancestral halls listed, two of which are included only from reference in the local gazetteer. *Nanhai Jiujiang Zhushi jiapu* 1868, 7/11a–30b.

38. *Shunde Beimen Luoshi zupu* 1882, 19/13a–15b, records ninety-one ancestral halls, of which at least twenty were dedicated to people who lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which could not have been built until two or three generations after their deaths.

39. *Longshi zupu* 1922, 2/6a–7a, biography of ancestor Yingshu, 7/15b–18a, biography of ancestor Lanxuan, 7/80a–81a, and biography of Juegun; *Shunde xianzhi* 1750, 6/8a.

40. *Longshi zupu* 1922, 1/19a–21a.

41. Ibid., 7/29a–31a.

42. Ibid., 7/7a–b.

43. Ibid., 11/28a–b and 13/70b–72a.

44. Ibid., 1/19a–22a, 101a–102a; 2/12a–14a; and 11/23a–b.

45. Ibid., 7/44a–47a.

46. Ibid., 2/27a–29a.

47. Ibid., 1/56a–58a, 59a–60a and 67a–89a, for changes in the twentieth century at grave sacrifice; 1/90a–91a for charity granaries; 1/99a–100b for regulations imposed in 1855; 1/107a–112a, 113a–116b, 117a–118a, and 119a–122a for charity estates; 13/18a–19a for Tinghuai's hall, and *j.* 14 for spirit tablets deposited there and at Yingshi's hall; 15/28a–29a for Tingmo's hall.

48. *Nanhai Heyuan Xianshi jiapu* 1910, 4/1/4a–21b; biography of Xian Yi in *Nanhai xianzhi* 1872, 14/18a–19a; biography of Xian Fengzhao in *Nanhai xianzhi* 1911, 18/3b–4a.

49. *Jiakui yaoyan*, 1896. The fund was kept, as might be expected, in the name of a lineage hall, which in this case was known as the He Desheng *tang*.

50. *Wushi jiapu* 1899.

51. *Maishi zupu* 1938.

52. This is a volume bearing the title *Guo Zhenbo ji ben*, dated 1929, in my possession. I found it in a second-hand bookstore in Hong Kong. The folded sheet includes a reference to a corpse transported back to Guangzhou for burial

and the genealogy associated with the dead man. The family worked for the Jingji Shipyard in Guangzhou. Also included are folded pages of accounts.

53. Guangdong minjian gongyi guan 1993 dates the completion of the compound to 1894, which is corroborated by the record in *Chenshi zupu* 1900 entry under twenty-seventh generation.

54. *Nanyang Yeshi zongpu* 1895; *Shuanggui shuyuan jilue* 1883; Huang Haiyan 2002, chap. 3.

55. *Heshi zupu* 1923, 22b.

56. "Jinzhi shenghui sili zongci ji shuyuan yixue deng xiang," dated 1852, in *Guangdong dang'an*, in volume entitled, "Huyi, tianzhai, shanfen" (household and corvée, land and houses, graves).

57. This is the *Wucheng Zengshi chongxiu zupu* 1879, every page of which is stamped with a seal applied in Shandong province. Members of this supralineage were recognized by the government as descendants of Mencius and their corvée service was remitted.

58. Nicole Constable 1994.

59. *Ouyang Zaibi tang jiapu* 1919.

60. Guangzhou shi Yuexiu qu difangzhi bangongshi 1992.

Chapter 22: Contradictions of the Nation-State

1. Mary Backus Rankin 1986; Rudolf G. Wagner 1995.

2. Chen Hanseng 1936, 31.

3. "Sheli zuzheng fu yuexu zidi zongli zuzu," 1750, in Yuedong li'an, volume entitled *Huyi, tianzhai, shanfen* (Household and Corvée, Land and Houses, Graves). See also Hsiao Kung-chuan 1960, 349–50 and 672–73 nn125–27. Prior to the Guangdong pronouncement, Governor Chen Hongmou had tried appointing lineage headmen in Jiangxi province. See William T. Rowe 2001, 393–404.

4. *Qing Shilu*, Qianlong, 759/9a–10b. This memorial is translated in Hsiao Kung-chuan 1960, 362–63.

5. The law on armed feuding leading to homicide was discussed in the Board of Punishment in 1823 when thirty cases had been reported of lineages paying for culprits to plea guilty on their behalf. The law was amended to incorporate the ruling of 1766. See Jiang Jinzhi 1837, 26/60a–62a, and *Da Qing luli tongzuan jicheng*, 1830, 64b–70a.

6. *Shunde xian xuzhi* 1929, 23/15a–b, and Long Baoxian 1905, *xia* 16b–19a; upon disbandment in mid 1885, the bureau was given an extension of six months so that donations pledged might be collected. The anticipated takings were recorded as 130,000 taels, of which 80,000 taels was actually handed over to the government.

7. Zhang Zhidong 1937, 17/26a–29a, 22/27a–32a, 26/ 16a–18a.

8. Ibid., 18/22b–34b.

9. Huang Yonghao 2005, 78–85.

10. Wang Shixin 1981; Lu Zuoxie 1982.

11. In Xiangtan, the Lingnan hostel was built shortly before 1690; in adjacent

Hubei, the Lingnan hostel in Hankou was built in 1712; and in Beijing, the Fairy City Association Hostel (Xiancheng *huiguan*) was founded by Guangzhou merchants in 1715. Locally in Guangdong, the guild of Shunde merchants trading at Lingshui county on Hainan Island was founded in 1706. On these places, see Gu Lu 1980, 88; Chen Gongyin 1988 824–25; William T. Rowe 1984, 265, and Quan Hansheng 1978, 94–96, both citing Negeshi Tadashi, *Chugoku no girudo* (Tokyo, 1953); and Tan Dihua et al. 2001, 961–73.

12. The earliest documents I have seen with clear statement of a guild structure are the tablets of the Guangzhou theatrical guild (1762, 1766, 1780, and 1791) and the native bankers' guild, the Zhongxin Hall (1769). The native bankers' guild stele claims that an older stele recorded that the hall was first built in 1675, but it seems that may have been a temple devoted to their protective deity. These documents are recorded in Xian Yuqing 1995, 270, and Ou Jiluan and Huang Yinpu 1932, 60–62.

13. Susan Mann 1987.

14. Luo Yudong 1936, 110–11, 340–58, 578–79.

15. *Qing Shilu*, Tongzhi, 13/42a–43b, 22/16a–20a, 30/38a–39b, 39/27b–28b, 49/41a–42a. Among the people implicated was Pan Sinian.

16. China, Imperial Maritime Customs Service, *Decennial Report*, 1882–91, 581–86.

17. He Hanwei 1997, 55–115.

18. *Huazi ribao*, October 19, 1903; *Panyu xian xuzhi* 1911, 12/32a–b.

19. Michael Tsin 1999, 28–29.

20. *Huazi ribao*, August 19 and October 22, 1901, July 18, 1902, and April 8, 1903.

21. He Hanwei 1995, 527–28, and 1996.

22. *Nanhai xianzhi* 1911, 20/11a–14a; Zhang Zhidong 1937, 17/15a–17b.

23. *Huazi ribao* May 27 and June 14, 1895; May 19, 1903.

24. Deng Yusheng 1910, Liang Yue Guangren shantang, 2a–3b.

25. Ibid., Fangbian yiyuan, 2b–4b.

26. Ibid., Liang-Yue Guangren shantang, 5a–10b, and Fangbian yiyuan, 8b–13b.

27. Among many advertisements in the newspapers appealing for donations, see, e.g., the appeal made by the Chongren shantang of Dazhou and Wuzhou *xiang* in Shunde in the *Huazi ribao*, July 19, 1902.

28. Mary Backus Rankin 1986.

29. Elizabeth Sinn 1989, 44–60, 267–71.

30. *Pan Shidian tang zupu* 1924; 6/64a–65b, 66a–67a, 106a–107b, 108a–112b; Elizabeth Sinn 1989 80; Chen Shurong 1992, 6, 94–95.

31. For background, see Philip A. Kuhn 1975 and Roger Thompson 1995.

32. Edward J. M. Rhoads 1975; Michael Tsin 1999; Stephanie Po-yin Chung 1998, 21–44.

33. He Yuefu 1986.

34. The post-1895 investment climate allowed the wealthy to invest far beyond the home county. For an example of the complexities this situation allowed,

see He Hanwei 2002. For a city-bound rich man who became closely associated with the provincial government, see Jiang Kongyin in Jiang Xianzhu 1998.

35. Cited in Edward J. M. Rhoads 1975, 171.

36. Some of these lineage self-government associations were established with approval from the provincial government. Examples are reported in *Yuedong Jianshi datong pu*, 1928, 6/12a–b, and *Shenbao*, September 23, 1907, cited in Guangdong sheng dang'an guan 1995, 7: 37–38,

37. See also Qiu Jie 1996 and Chen Yuhuan 1993.

38. Huang Yonghao 2005, 53–55; Huang Yonghao 1987, 144–229, 199–200.

39. *Xinhai nian jingli xiangzu wenjian caobu*, n.d.; Liu Zhiwei and Chen Chunsheng 1999.

40. *Ehu xiangshi wanghuan chidu* n.d.

41. This is Liang Qichao's argument in his famous *Xinmin shuo* (The New Citizen). See the brilliant analysis of the argument in Joseph R. Levenson 1968, 1: 98–108.

42. Liang Qichao, "Zhongguo ren de quedian," cited from the *Xinmin congbao* in Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi 1979, vol. 1, *xia*, 788.

43. David Faure 1995.

Chapter 23: Beyond the Pearl River Delta

1. Shao Hong 1997, 2001; Liang Hongsheng 1997, 2001; Liu Dan 2001.

2. Zheng Zhenman 1992, 158–59.

3. Chikusa Masaaki 1979; Robert Hymes 1986; Chang Jianhua 2005, 97–101.

4. James L. Watson 1985; Michael Szonyi 1997.

5. Kenneth Dean 1993, 1998; Valerie Hansen 1990.

6. Patricia Buckley Ebrey 1986.

7. Michel Strickmann 1982; Chan Wing-hoi 1995; John Lagerwey 2001.

8. Zhang Quanqing 1996, 19.

9. Yang Yanjie 1996, 193.

10. Wang Xinling 1996, 138.

11. Song Rui 1986; Wang Zengquan 1997; Ming Zegui 1985; Yang Wenji et al. 1988; Wang Xingrui 1984; Fu Yongguang 1998, 29–32.

12. Zheng Ji 9/7b–9b, 10a–13b and 10/10b–13a.

13. Zheng Zhenman 1995; Kenneth Dean 1998, 53.

14. Michael Szonyi 2002.

15. Chen Chunsheng 1994, 1995. Zhanglin is the unnamed Guangdong settlement studied by Chen Da 1940.

16. Very interesting documentation of the holding of properties by "merit cloisters" and the subsequent emergence of ancestral halls is to be found in Zhang Xiaojun and Yu Limin 2003.

17. David Faure 2005b.

18. Some detailed documentation is to be found in *Dongzu shehui lishi diaocha* 1988 and Zhang Yingqiang 2003.

19. For a notable effort to relate the southwestern ethnic groups to the expansion of the Chinese state, see Shiratori Yoshiro 1985. I have benefited enormously from recent work in the area, some of which has not yet been published, including John E. Herman's manuscript study (n.d.) and Lian Ruizhi's Ph.D. dissertation (2003).

20. Zhang Zhengming 1995, 206–46. For a photograph of the ancestral hall (*citang*) of one of the most famous of these single-surname villages, the Qiao Family mansion (Qiaojia *dayuan*), see [anon.] 1995, *Lao fangzi*, 8. Its location at one end of a main passage can be recognized in the photograph on 6. It is obviously integrated into the walled compound and not a free-standing building as is required by law for a "family temple."

21. The steles of Huangcheng, including grave inscriptions, have been published locally in Li Shoutian 1998. I have not seen a genealogy, but a sense of the history of the lineage can be found in Fan Shutang 1998. On my visit to Huangcheng in summer 2000, it was obvious that the village walls had been renewed and quite a few houses were being rebuilt in preparation for the tourist trade. For a photographic record before these repairs, see [anon.] 1995, *Lao fangzi*, 190–203. The same volume contains photographs of other walled villages from the late Ming. At Dizi *cheng*, illustrated on 166–89, I recorded a 1638 stele with a map of the walled city inscribed. A very good account of Ding *cun*, including its genealogy, is to be found in Tao Fuhai 1995.

22. Shanxi sheng shizhi yanjiuyuan 1999, 8–14. The three exceptions would seem to have taken place in rather exceptional times. They consisted of the village head from January 1949 to December 1952; the same person, who served as the leader of the brigade from January 1965 to February 1971; and the chairman of the village committee from January 1992 to December 1994.

23. An industry has sprung up in recent years recording the Hongdong diaspora. For some examples, see Huang Youquan et al. 1993; Pan Yongxiu and Zheng Yuzhuo 1998; Zheng Shoulai and Huang Zeling 1999.

24. I visited Lutijian Village in summer 2001 and recorded these steles' inscriptions. Some of them, including one of the genealogies, have also been published in *Daixian zhi* 1988, 392–98. For more on the Yang family, see Chang Zheng 1980.

25. David Johnson 1994.

26. David Faure 2001.

27. Ke Dawei 2000.

28. Zhang Qu (1738, 49), of Wuqiang county in Hebei province, who served in Guangdong from 1730 to 1735, wrote in his *Yuedong wenjian lu*: "My own village is located in the metropolitan area, and even among ministers, few had lineage ancestral halls. Their respect for the ancestors and friendliness within their lineages does not measure up to what is done in this pestilent coast and barbarous countryside [meaning Guangdong]. That is to be lamented."

29. Examples of these scrolls can be seen in Myron Cohen 1990, 518, and Nakao Kazumi 2000, 221. One such scroll on display in the Qiao family mansion is mentioned in [anon.] 1995, *Lao fangzi*, 15.

30. Ye Xianen 1983.

31. Hilary Beattie 1979, 126.
32. Jerry Dennerline 1986.
33. Fei Hsiao-tung 1962, 105, for the quotation, and 104–5 for discussion.
34. Yan Xuecheng 1998, 95.
35. Peter Bol 2003a and b.
36. Evelyn S. Rawski 1996; Pamela Crossley 1997.

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Glossary

Ai men 厓門
Aiyu 愛育
Anliang 安良
Ao 鼇
Baijiao 百滘
Bailing 百齡
baiqi zei 白旗賊
Baiyue 百越
baizi hui 百子會
bao gongzui 報功最
Bao Peng 鮑鵬
Baogan 寶幹
Baoguang 寶光
baojia 保甲
Baozhen 寶楨
Baozhuang 寶莊
Baozhuangyan 寶莊嚴
Baopu zi 抱朴子
batu zuci 八圖祖祠
Beidi 北帝
Beishui 北水
ben 本
bianhu qimin 編戶齊民
bianxiu 編脩
Bing 炳
Bo Gui 柏貴
Boluo 波羅
bu 埗
bu quhui huiben 不取囲會本
buqian zu 不迁祖
Cai Tianxing 蔡天興
Cen 岑
Cen Yuerui 岑越鋭
changgeng 長耕
changxiang 嘗箱
Chang Lai 常賚
chaoju 潮居
Chaolian 潮連
Chen 陳
Chen Andao 陳安道
Chen Baisha 陳白沙
Chen Bangyan 陳邦彦
Chen Baotai 陳保泰
Chen Bowen 陳博文
Chen Ciren 陳次壬
Chen Cun 陳村
Chen Dazhen 陳大震
Chen Huipu 陳惠普
Chen Ji 陳吉
Chen Jin 陳金
Chen Jinggu 陳靖姑
Chen Jiyu 陳基虞
Chen Kunshan 陳昆山
Chen Li 陳澧
Chen Liaocai 陳寮采
Chen Tai 陳臺
Chen Wenyu 陳文玉
Chen Yanzong 陳炎宗
Chen Yijiao 陳一教
Chen Zhi 陳贄

Chen Zisheng 陳子昇
Chen Zizhuang 陳子壯
cheng 城
Cheng 誠
Cheng Shimeng 程師孟
Cheng Hao 程顥
Cheng Yi 程頤
chengshi lang 承事郎
Chigang 赤崗
Chung Him Tong (Chongqian *tang*) 崇謙堂
Chou 疇
Chufan shimo 觸藩始末
citang 祠堂
Congxian 從賢
Cuan 爨
Cui Jizu 崔繼祖
Cui Yuzhi 崔與之
cunwu 村巫
Da'an 達岸
Da fa xianshi miao 大法先師廟
Da Xi 達奚
Dai Jing 戴璟
dakui tang 大魁堂
dakui ge 大魁閣
Dagang 大岡
Dalao 大老
Dali 大瀝
Dali 大理
Daliang 大良
Daliang bao 大良堡
Daliang *gongyue* 大良公約
Dan 蜑
Danman 蜑蠻
Dangui 丹桂
dashou 打手
daxing 大姓
Dayu Mountain 大庾嶺
Dazhong ci 大忠祠
dazong ci 大宗祠
Dazhou 大洲
Desheng *miao* 得勝廟
Deng 鄧
Deng Huaxi 鄧華熙
Deng Tingzan 鄧廷瓚
Dexiu 德修
dibao 地保
ding 丁
Ding Ji 丁積
Dizang 地藏
Dong 峒
dongding 峒丁
Donghua 東華
Dongping 東平
Dongpu 東浦
dongquan 董勸
Dongtou 東頭
Dongyong 東涌
dongyu 棟宇
dudu 都督
duli 督理
fa 法
Fa hai 法海
Fan Huzi 樊胡子
Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹
fang 坊
fang 房
Fang Dacong 方大琮
Fang Xianfu 方獻夫
Fang Xiaoru 方孝儒
Fang Zhuankai 方顓愷
Fangbian 方便
fantan 番攤
fanzhang 番長
Faxing 法性
Feicun 斐存
Feishan *gong* 飛山公
fendan 分單
Fengdu *lou* 風度樓
Fengjian 逢簡
Fengshan 鳳山
Feng Chengxiu 馮承脩
Feng Jing 馮經
Feng Yingyuan 馮應元
Foshan 佛山
foyu 佛宇
fu 賦
fumin 富民
Fuxu 扶胥
fuyi quanshu 賦役全書
Gang Yi 剛毅
Gang Zhou 岡州

Ganquan 甘泉
Gaodi 高弟
gaolou 高樓
ge 閣
Ge Hong 葛洪
Geng Zhongming 耿仲明
gongde si 功德寺
Gongguan 公館
gongsheng 貢生
gongtian 公田
gongyi 公益
gongyue 公約
gongzu tongying 共祖同塋
Guan Bingzhong 關秉忠
Guan Fei 關斐
Guan Jishan 關繼山
Guan Min 關敏
Guan Richang 關日昌
Guan Shuang 關尚
Guan Sheng 關陞
Guan Yongyu 關永譽
Guan Yueming 關岳明
Guan Zhaolong 關兆隆
Guan zhenzhao 關振昭
Guandi 關帝
guantian 官田
Guangxiao 光孝
Guangxiao *si* 光孝寺
Guangya 廣雅
Guanyao 官窯
Guanyin 觀音
Guanghai 广海
Gufen 古粉
gu 股
guixiang 歸箱
guizong 歸宗
Guizhou 桂州
Guluo *she* 古洛社
Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾
Haiguang *si* 海光寺
haimian wei dao 海面為盜
haiyang qiangdao 海洋強盜
Haiyun 海云
Haizhou 海舟
Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清
Han Yong 韓雍
Hanming 漢溟
hao 豪
He 何
He Cheng 何成
He Chengzi 何成子
He Dazuo 何大佐
He Honglu 何洪祿
He Kun 何鯤
He Lie 何烈
He Wuzou 何吾騶
He Xiongxiang 何熊祥
He Yuanshan 何元善
He Yucheng 何玉成
He Yuling 何毓齡
He Zhen 何真
hebo suo 河泊所
Hecha 河叉
Helin 訶林
Hengji 橫基
Hengshan 橫山
Heshen *miao* 河神廟
Hetang 荷塘
Hengyong 橫涌
Heyuan 鶴園
heyue 合約
Houjie 厚街
Houwang 侯王
Hu Yan 胡宴
Hua Mao 花茂
Hua Tingjie 華廷傑
huawai 化外
Huaichuan 懷川
Huang Liu 黃流
Huang Peifang 黃培芳
Huang Shijun 黃士俊
Huang Wenyu 黃文裕
Huang Xiaoyang 黃蕭養
Huang Zhengse 黃正色
Huang Zhiju 黃執矩
Huang Zhongyuan 黃仲元
Huang Zonghan 黃宗漢
Huang Zuo 黃佐
Huanglian 黃連
huaqian si sima 花錢色司馬
Hui 慧
Hui Dong 惠棟

huiguan 會館
Huineng 惠能
Hui Shiqi 惠士奇
Huizhi 輝之
Huo Fo'er 霍佛兒
Huo Huapeng 霍化鵬
huoju daoshi 火居道士
Huo Tao 霍韜
huseng 胡僧
ji 籍
Ji Liuqi 計六奇
jia 家
jiading 家丁
jiagui yaoyan 家規要言
jiamiao 家廟
Jiang Kongyin 江孔殷
Jiang Youxian 蔣攸銛
Jiang Zhiqi 蔣之奇
Jiangmei *xiang* 江美鄉
Jiangmen 江門
Jiangnan *hui* 江南會
jiao 醮
jiaohua 教化
Jiaozhi 交趾
jiazhang 甲長
Jichan 濟川
Jie Ji 揭稽
jieshou 街首
jiguan qiang 機關槍
jimi fuzhou 羈縻府州
Jinbang 金榜
Jingren 景壬
Jinhua *furen* 金花夫人
Jinling *huiguan* 金陵會館
jinshi 進士
Jiqing 吉庆
jiu shantang 九善堂
Jiujiang 九江
Jiujiang *xiang* 九江鄉
Jiujing 久敬
Jiulong 九龍
Jizan 吉贊
ju 局
Jubao 聚寶
Jun'an 均安
junping 均平
Junwei 儁韡
junxu 軍需
junyao 均徭
juzu 巨族
kaiguo gong 開國公
kaiguo nan 開國男
Kaiyuan 開元
Kang Guoqi 康国器
Ke Shaomao 柯少茂
kehu 客戶
Kepei 克培
Kong 孔
kuaiqiang 快槍
Kuang Lu 鄺露
Kuixing 魁星
Lan Yu 藍玉
lantou 攬頭
Lanxuan 蘭軒
laohu 老戶
laomei 老魅
laoren 老人
Lao Chong 勞翀
Lao Tong 勞潼
Lao Xiaoyu 勞孝與
Leishen *miao* 雷神廟
Lelou 勒樓
li 禮
li 利
Li 黎
Li Changyao 李昌燿
Li Chengdong 李成栋
Li Chunsou 李春叟
Li Daiwen 李待問
Li Dingguo 李定國
Li Hongbin 李鴻賓
Li jiayue 立家約
Li Jiuyuan *tang* 李久遠堂
Li Jian 黎簡
Li Maoying 李昴英
Li Qingxia 李青霞
Li Shuaitai 李率泰
Li Wenmao 李文茂
Li Yaoshi 黎瑤石
Li Yong 李用
Li Zhun 李准
Liang 梁

Liang Chu 梁儲
Liang Lanting 梁蘭汀
Liang Qichao 梁啟超
Liang Shouchang 梁壽昌
Liang-Yue Guangren 兩粵廣仁
liangjia 良家
liangmin 良民
Liangzuo 良佐
Lianbiao 聯鑣
Liang Wenwei 梁文蔚
Liang Zhuo 梁焯
Liao Deming 廖德明
lijia 里甲
Liliao 俚獠
Lin 林
Lin Baizhang 林伯彰
Lin Dachun 林大春
Lin fu 林富
Lin Zexu 林則徐
Lingying *ci* 靈應祠
lingyu 鯪魚
Linshui *furen* 臨水夫人
lidian 吏典
lipai 里排
Liu 劉
Liu Chang 劉鋹
Liu Donghua 劉東華
Liufang *ci* 流芳祠
Liukeng 流坑
Liurong 六榕
Liu Chang 劉鋹
Liu Fu 劉富
Liu Sheng 劉晟
Liu Yan 劉龑
Liu Ying 劉瑛
Long Jiang 龍江
Long Jiguang 龍濟光
Long Tinghuai 龍廷槐
Long Yuanxi 龍元僖
Longgang 龍岡
longhu 龍戶
longpai 龍牌
Longshan 龍山
Longwu 隆武
Lou Yan 樓儼
Loucun 樓村
Lu Guanheng 盧觀恆
Lu Jun 盧鈞
Lu Nan 呂柟
Lu Wenchao 盧文弨
Lu Wenjin 盧文錦
Lu Xun 魯迅
Lujiang 廬江
Luo 羅
Luo Bingzhang 駱秉章
Luo Chunyan 羅惇衍
Luo Ergong 羅二公
Luo Hui 羅輝
Luo Tianchi 羅天尺
Luo Yin 羅隱
Luo Zhang 罗璋
Luo Zhong 羅忠
luohan 羅漢
Luofu 羅浮
Luoge 羅格
luolun 落輪
Luozhou 螺洲
Lutijian 鹿蹄澗
Lushan daozu 廬山道祖
luting 盧亭
Lu Xun 盧循
Lüshan 閭山
man 蠻
man 滿
maohuan jiachuan, zhudian juanzu 冒宦駕船，逐佃捲租
Maqi 馬齊
miao 廟
Miaotou *cun* 廟頭村
Ming Lizhao 明離照
Ming Zhigang 明之綱
ming zongpu 明宗譜
Minglun *tang* 明倫堂
minji 民籍
mintian 民田
minzhu 民主
minzhuang 民壯
Mo 莫
mu bu shiding 目不識丁
Mulan 木蘭
Nan *sha* 南沙
Nan Yue 南越

Nanhai *shen* 南海神
Nanhai *shenmiao* 南海神廟
Nanhua 南華
Nanshe 南社
Nayancheng 那彥成
niaoqiang 鳥槍
neidi 內地
Ni Shu 倪曙
Niu Xiu 紐秀
Nong Zhigao 儂智高
nu 奴
Ou *cun* 區村
Ouyang 歐陽
Ou Zhenbai 歐楨伯
Pan Jin 潘进
Pan Qi 潘啓
Pan Silian 潘斯濂
Pang Song 龐嵩
Pang Shangpeng 龐上鵬
pu 鋪
Pu 蒲
Pujun 普君
Putian 莆田
Puyu 普育
Qi Gong 祁碩
Qi Shan 琦善
Qishi 歧石
Qian Jiang 錢江
Qian Pu 錢溥
Qian Qianyi 錢謙益
qianshi 僉事
qimin 齊民
qin 親
Qionghua *huiguan* 瓊花會館
Qiu 邱
Qiu Jun 丘濬
Qu 屈
Qu Dajun 屈大鈞
quannong tu 勸農圖
Qujiang 曲江
Renrang 仁讓
Renshan 仁山
Rong 容
Rong-Gui 容桂
Rongchuan 溶川
Rongqi 容奇
ru 儒
ruguan 儒官
Ruying 汝英
Ruan Yuan 阮元
Sanjiang 三江
Sansan *guowang* 三山國王
Sanya 三丫
Sanyuan *gong* 三元宮
Sanyuanli 三元里
senggangsi 僧綱司
sha 砂
Shabei *xiang* 沙貝鄉
shafu 沙夫
shagun 沙棍
Shang Kexi 尚可喜
Shang Zhixin 尚之信
shangshu sheng 尚書省
Shangyuan 上園
shangzu 上祖
shanhou ju 善後局
shanxiao 山魈
shanyao 山瑤
Shaowu 紹武
shatian 沙田
Shating 沙亭
shatou 沙頭
Shatou *xiang* 沙頭鄉
Shawan 沙灣
She 畬
she 社
shegong 社公
Shen Defu 沈德符
Shen Deqian 瀋德潛
shenci 神祠
shendan 神丹
Shengbao 勝堡
shengjiao 聖教
shengmin 省民
Shengping 昇平
shepu 射圃
shexue 社學
shi 市
shi 石
Shi Lin 石琳
shibo si 市泊司
shidao 世道

shidian 釋奠
Shijing 石井
Shilong 石龍
Shiting 石亭
Shitou 石頭
Shiwan 石灣
shizu 始祖
shoumu 首目
Shourong 守榮
shoushi 首事
Shuangmen *di* 雙門底
shuhu 熟戶
shugong tai 叔公太
shuijun 水軍
Shuiteng 水騰
Shujie 澍階
Shunde *tuanlian zongju* 順德團練總局
sidian 祀典
sili 私利
Sima Guang 司馬光
sixu lianfang ju 絲墟聯防局
Songgang *xu* 松岡墟
Su Jian 蘇緘
Su Tingkui 蘇廷魁
sui 歲
suona 嗩吶
Tan Ying 譚瑩
Tang 唐
Tangang 潭岡
Tangyong 塘涌
Tangshi *xiangyue* 唐氏鄉約
Tang Yu 唐豫
Tanya 談雅
Tao Lu 陶魯
Tianhou 天后
Tianguan 天關
Tianran 天然
tidu 提督
Tingmo 廷模
Tingzi 廷梓
tixing ancha shi si 提刑按察使司
Tiyun 梯雲
Tong Yangjia 佟養甲
Tongji 同濟
tongren 同仁
Tongshan *tang* 同善堂
tongxiang shimin 通鄉士民
tongzhi 同知
tongzu xiongdi 同祖兄弟
tu 圖
tuanlian 團練
Tufang 涂坊
tujia 圖甲
tuntian 屯田
tusi 土司
tuzhu min 土著民
Waihai *xiang* 外海鄉
waijiang 外江
Wang Daofu 王道夫
Wang Hong 王竑
Wang Mingjun 王命俊
Wang Qifeng 汪起鳳
Wang Shijun 王士俊
Wang Shizhen 王世貞
Wang Shizhen 王士禎
Wang Yangming 王陽明
Wangqing *sha* 萬頃沙
Wei 魏
wei shiguohui zhe 未拾過會者
weisuo 衛所
weitian 圍田
Wei Xiao 魏校
Wen Fanggang 翁方綱
Wen Rushi 溫汝適
Wen'e 文諤
Wenchang 文昌
Wenyan 文偃
wu 巫
Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑑
Wu Dunyuan 伍敦元
Wu Guifang 吳桂芳
Wu Sangui 吳三桂
Wu Tingju 吳廷舉
Wu Yinzhi 吳隱之
Wu Yuanlan 伍元蘭
Wu Yuanwei 伍元薇
Wu Yuanzhi 伍元芝
wufu wujun 無父無君
Wushi jiapu 伍氏家譜
Wuzhou 烏洲
Wuzou 吾駒
xi 覡

Xian 冼
Xian Fengzhao 冼鳳詔
Xian Guiqi 冼桂奇
Xianlai 仙來
Xianlai gang 仙來岡
xiang 鄉
xiang 餉
xiang yinjiu 鄉飲酒
xiangdao 鄉導
xiangfu 鄉夫
Xiangjing 湘江
xiangxian ci 鄉賢祠
xiangyi 鄉邑
xiangyue 鄉約
xiangzheng 鄉正
Xianning 咸寧
Xianxuan 閑軒
xianzu 先祖
Xiaolan 小欖
xiaomin 小民
xiao zongci 小宗祠
Xibei *yu shexue* 西北隅社學
xidong man 溪峒蠻
xieshu 邪术
xilai chudi 西來初地
xing 姓
Xingxian *wenhui* 興賢文薈
Xiong Fei 熊飛
Xiqiao shan 西樵山
Xu 許
Xu Chongqing 許崇清
Xu Guangping 許廣平
Xu Xiangguang 許祥光
Xuansheng shide 宣聖十德
Xuanzhen 宣珍
Xuanzhen 玄真
Xueshan 雪山
xunjian si 巡檢司
yamen 衙門
Yan 晏
Yanqi 衍琦
Yang Wanli 楊萬里
Yang Xinmin 楊信民
Yang Zaisi 楊再思
Yangshi *zongci* 楊氏宗祠
Yao 瑶
Yao *shan* 瑶山
Yaoyan *ge* 藥煙閣
yaren 牙人
Ye 業
Ye Chuchun 葉初春
Ye Mingchen 業名琛
Ye Sheng 葉盛
yehu jingli shoushi 業戶經理首事
yeren 野人
Yi Xueqing 易學清
yibu 夷部
Yidao 以道
Yihe 怡和
Yiling 醫靈
yimen 義門
yin 引
Yin Huaxing 殷化行
Yin Zhengmao 殷正茂
yi'nan 義男
yinci 淫祠
yinding 殷丁
ying 營
Yingshi 應時
yinhui 銀會
Yinlan 蔭蘭
yinpai 印牌
yitiao bianfa 一條鞭法
Yixing 詒性
Yiye 詒業
yiyong 義勇
yiyong dui 義勇隊
Yiwu zhi 異物志
Yongkuan 用寬
Yongli 永曆
You Peilong 游沛龙
Yu Fan 虞翻
Yu Jing 余靖
yu'nan 育男
Yuan Kui 袁奎
yuanshang 遠商
yubu 魚埠
Yuchen 玉宸
Yue Yuan 月困
Yuecheng 悅城
Yueming 月明
Yueshang zizhi hui 粵商自治會

Yuexiu 越秀
yuezhang 約長
yumin wen 喻民文
Yunhua 雲華
Yunjin 云津
Yuxia 與瑕
Zanyi *tang* 赞翼堂
Zeng Guofan 曾国藩
Zeng Shishen 曾仕慎
Zeng Zhao 曾釗
zengmen 罾門
Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水
Zhan Shangji 湛上濟
zhang 長
zhang 丈
Zhang Bao 張保
Zhang *cun* 章村
Zhang Duan 張端
Zhang Jiayu 張家玉
Zhang Jie 章㯳
Zhang Jie 張潔
Zhang Jingxiu 張敬修
Zhang Jiuling 張九齡
Zhang Mingqi 張銘岐
Zhang Qigan 張其淦
Zhang Rujian *tang* 張如見堂
Zhang Shi 張栻
Zhang Weiyin 張惟寅
Zhang Yuanji 張元吉
Zhang Zhensun 張鎮孫
Zhang Zhidong 張之洞
Zhanglin 樟林
Zhao 趙
Zhao Bizhuan 趙必瑔
Zhao Liancheng 趙連城
Zhao Ziyong 招子庸
zhaohu 爪戶
Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功
zheng fengsu shu 正風俗疏
Zheng Ji 鄭紀
Zheng Yilang 正一郎
Zheng Yuxian 張遇賢
Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍
zhengyan 徵鹽
Zhengyi 正一
zhengman jiangjun 征蠻將軍
Zhengjue *si* 正覺寺
Zhong 鍾
Zhong Acheng 鍾阿城
zhong cisi 重祠祀
Zhong Tianyou 鍾添友
Zhong Wan 鍾萬
Zhong Wan Shisan Lang 鍾萬十三郎
Zhong Yunzhang 鍾允章
Zhongshan *daxue* 中山大學
zhou 州
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤
Zhou Qizeng 周齐曾
Zhou Qufei 周去非
Zhu 朱
Zhu Jian 朱鑑
Zhuji *xiang* 珠璣巷
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhu Ying 朱英
zhuanyun shi 轉運使
Zhuang 僮
zhubu 主簿
Zhuge Jue 諸葛玨
zhuhu 主戶
Zifu 資福
Ziyuan 自遠
zizhi 自治
Zizhong 子中
zongfa 宗法
Zongguan 總管
zongju 總局
zongli 總理
Zongli 宗禮
zongzhu 宗主
Zuijing 醉經
Zumiao *pu* 祖廟鋪
Zuyatuoluo 卒押陀羅
Zuyou 祖祐
zuzhang 族長
zuzheng 族正

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