

Genealogy and History: The *Yu* of Yi-mei and Chang-wan in Kwangtung's *Xin-hui xian*

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A number of reasons have been advanced to explain why formal clan and lineage¹ organizations first became widespread in China during the Song dynasty. Among these is the suggestion that the "new" men (many of obscure origins), brought into the bureaucracy by the Song emphasis on the Confucian examination system, desired to strengthen the fabric of society. One means they chose was encouraging the revitalization and extension of clan and lineage organizations. They did this in order to fill the void created by the decline of the aristocratic ("great") families (Twitchett 1959: 100-101). If these assumptions are true, one would expect to find a certain amount of the "ordinary" in the genealogies kept by these groups.

This was, indeed, often the case. A good example is that of the *Yu* 余 lineage that I will introduce in this essay. These *Yus* lived in the villages of Yi-mei 义美 and Chang-wan 長灣 in Kwangtung's *Xin-hui xian* 新会縣. As we shall see, they provide an interesting case study of a lineage that had its brief moment of glory, constructed a genealogy that helped to reflect this moment, and then faded into relative obscurity. In light of what we know about the distribution of wealth and power in the southern Chinese countryside, there must have been thousands of lineages similar to this one. Therein lies its interest to the scholar, for an understanding of its genealogy will give us a greater idea of how "common" families located themselves in the flow of time beginning with the mythic past, and how they used their own history to explain their present conditions. This article will present some of the basic research previously conducted on genealogies, then introduce the *Yu* material against this background. At the close, I

will present a portion of the Yu genealogy in translation so that the reader may experience first hand the dynamics of this particular genealogy.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF YI-MEI / CHANG-WAN'S YUS WITH OTHER LINEAGES

By early Qing, both clan and lineage organizations had become extremely important in China, especially in the south. Indeed, in Kwangtung the average individual considered lineage membership to be almost indispensable. There are several studies of the rules by which clans and lineages regulated their members (see especially Liu 1959b). Maurice Freedman (1958) and others have described the impact of clans and lineages on the social structure and social life of southern China. So far, however, there is only one published English-language study (Eberhard 1962) which examines in detail any of the actual genealogical records. Happily enough for the purposes of comparison, the two genealogies that Eberhard studied were centered in Kwangtung, as were the Yus I am here about to consider.

The genealogical compilations studied by Eberhard both date from the 1930's although they were largely based on much earlier data. Because of their late date they reflect modern influences; for example, one tries to establish a traceable blood tie to all those of the same surname who live in southern China (here meaning Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien).² The Yu genealogy that I shall examine, however, was essentially completed before the 1880's, long before the Western presence made itself felt. As such it can be considered more representative of Chinese genealogies of the late dynastic period.

Eberhard (1962), Fried (1973) and, to a lesser extent, Baker (1977) have emphasized the economic aspect of lineage organizations as exercised through the management of lineage income lands (including *yi-zhuang* 义莊 and *yi-tian* 义田, income from which was often used to help support poorer lineage members). Not all lineages, however, were wealthy enough to own income lands to any significant extent. The Yu lineage of Yi-mei / Chang-wan seems to fall into this latter category. In addition, from Ming times onward, this Yu lineage lacked gentry members. This relative obscurity and lack of wealth surely characterized many Kwangtung lineages of the Ming and Qing.

Lacking wealth and social status, the Yu lineage (a rural one) seems to have been held together almost exclusively by a sense of ritual and social community (the latter cemented by geographic proximity). *Lineage* members worshiped at, and helped maintain, three *clan* temples. Along with the genealogy, clan and lineage temples which honored the group's ancestors were the most important features in most formal

Chinese clan and lineage organizations. The genealogy defined, and the temple reminded, members of their family ties. The temple also encouraged members to feel gratitude for and pride in the fine example of their illustrious ancestors, and gave them a formal, public vehicle through which to express this pride and gratitude on a grand scale (Liu 1959a: 64-65; and Eberhard 1962: 35-50).

This Yu genealogy also illustrates one variation on the size and means of development of southern Chinese lineages. Although by the Qing dynasty, fellow clan members lived in several *xian* of southeastern Kwangtung, only residents of the Xin-hui villages of Yi-mei and Chang-wan were considered members of this Yu lineage, as I shall discuss below. Through the process of geographic dispersal, the Song dynasty Yu lineage from which these Yus originated had split and become many independent, medium-sized lineages; most of the Xin-hui contingent of these were formed during the Ming. As the Xin-hui lineages were organized, they maintained minimal contact with each other through higher-level clan temples, and some form of loose clan organizational structure. However, other researchers have found that geographic dispersal did not necessarily lead to the development of numerous, independent lineages. Eberhard (1962) and Cole (1975) discovered an original lineage organization would often simply grow larger and larger as time passed, and include members from an ever wider geographic area. Lineage organization, in this case, served to bind tightly together those who lived in widely scattered areas.

Finally, this Yu genealogy mirrors many of China's larger population shifts. Its records reconfirm that while the ideal was for a family or lineage to remain permanently in the same location, in fact the push of civil disorder and population pressures (or a bureaucratic career), combined with the pull of open land, led not infrequently to the abandonment of the home region and permanent settlement in a new location.

THE YU LINEAGE'S HOME TERRITORY AND CLAN TEMPLES

Xin-hui *xian* is largely a backwater of Canton. Located just south of that great commercial city, through the nineteenth century it was a predominantly rural region sandwiched between mountains, Pearl River estuaries, and the sea. The only city of note was the walled *xian* capital. Beyond that, there was one town, several hundred mostly single surname villages, and numerous temples.³ Most of the villages were built next to waterways and a large proportion were fishing villages; the others were farming communities (Xin-hui *xian-zhi* 新会縣誌, 1840, v. 1).

Yi-mei and Chang-wan were both single surname villages. Chang-wan was built close to the coast on a spot where a canal met a river.

Yi-meï was several *li* further up the canal, away from the river and behind some mountains. There were three villages, and a temple dedicated to Tian-hou 天后 (Ma-zi 媽祖), situated between Yi-meï and Chang-wan; several other villages were a few *li* to the right or left of the road between Yi-meï and Chang-wan. All of these were also single surname villages, one of them a third Yu village (not, however, mentioned in the genealogy I present here). In the other villages, the surnames Huang 黃 and Liang 梁 predominated (Xin-hui *xian-zhi*, 1840, v. 1).

By mid-Qing,⁴ the Yu lineage of Yi-meï and Chang-wan worshiped at and helped maintain three clan temples. Two of these were in the *xian* capital. The third one was in the countryside, probably near Yi-meï and Chang-wan, or near their preferred burial grounds. By far the most important of these temples was the oldest one, the Ming-xian Zhong-xiang Yu-gong si 名賢忠襄余公祠, established early in the Ming dynasty. Antedating by a few years the establishment of the villages of Yi-meï and Chang-wan, it was located in the heart of the *xian* capital, a few doors down from the public granary and almost directly across from the local military headquarters. The former residence of a Yuan-era county prefect, it consisted of a central hall divided into three sections with eight adjoining rooms.

The second temple, a smaller one, was called the Zheng-weng si 正翁祠. Established in the *xian* capital by Yi-meï and Chang-wan villagers, it was converted from a residence purchased during the early Qing. The third temple, the Tang-lao Yu-gong si 唐老余公祠, was built in the countryside some time during the Ming or early Qing by villagers from Yi-meï and Chang-wan, and was probably a relatively simple structure. In addition to these three temples, the lineage also purchased and maintained several *mu* of land for graves, principally in the Xin-ning 新寧 (not Xin-hui) *xian* capital⁵ and in several locations in Xin-hui.

The two temples located in the Xin-hui *xian* capital were dedicated to the clan progenitor, a Song dynasty notable named Yu Jing 余靖 (994?-1064), who served as a medium high ranking official. In recognition of his services (about which I shall say more below), the throne had granted him the posthumous title of "Loyal and Supporting Gentleman" (Jung-xiang gong 忠襄公). Both of the temples dedicated to him had a fixed day for his worship (one on the twenty-fifth, the other on the twenty-sixth day of the first month). Since neither of these dates was the day of his birth or his death, they must have been chosen for their proximity to the New Year's season.

In addition to honoring Yu Jing, by the mid-Qing the largest temple also included the five male ancestors immediately preceding him

(the prescribed five generations' worship),⁶ and twenty-four others who came later. The twenty-four were officially entitled "elders" (*weng* 翁). One of these was Yu Tang-lao 余唐老, whom we shall shortly encounter again. The smaller of the Xin-hui *xian* capital temples worshiped only three men other than Yu Jing; these three were termed "ancestors" (*zi* 祖), and their wives were included with them. The temple in the countryside did not have a fixed day of worship nor was it dedicated to Yu Jing. Instead, its worship centered on Yu Tang-lao, a fifth generation descendent of Yu Jing. In addition to him, the temple honored the wife of Yu Tang-lao and thirty-nine "ancestors" along with their wives.

It bears remarking that not all of these temples were necessarily just clan temples, pure and simple. The differing titles assigned to those enshrined suggests that the temples included some elements of lineage as well as of clan. The largest temple had, by the late Ming, become a regular clan temple where several Yu lineages worshiped, including that of Yi-mei and Chang-wan. The other two fell somewhere between the categories of clan and lineage since they honored both the ancestors of the larger clan, and several relatively recent "ancestors" along with their wives (but no "elders"). Furthermore, they were established by (and for?) a lineage (the Yi-mei / Chang-wan lineage), and used four means of determining membership (descent from Yu Jing, descent from Yu Tang-lao, and, as I shall discuss below, descent from Yu Nian 余念 and geographic location).

ANCESTRAL RECORDS OF THE YU LINEAGE

The lineage's ancestral records are equally interesting. They follow a formula similar to that employed by many other south China clans, lineages, and surname associations. The records begin with a mythological origin: a direct connection to a pseudo-historical figure of great antiquity, in this case, a son of the Yellow Emperor named Xuan-xiao (玄霄). But why a son of the Yellow Emperor rather than the Yellow Emperor himself? Apparently, a son is more selective. All Chinese are "descendents" of the Yellow Emperor but only one quarter or so (depending upon how many children the Yellow Emperor had) would be the descendents of one specific son or daughter. The Yus of Yi-mei and Chang-wan held furthermore that this son was the grand progenitor of the entire Yu surname, although he himself did not have this surname.

The mythological or semi-mythological ultimate ancestor is not uncommon in Chinese genealogical accounts. Many Li 李 lineages and surname associations from the time of Tang Tai-zong to the present

take the semi-mythological, semi-historical Lao-tze as the originator of their surname (Wright 1973; Mei-guo Li-shi tun-zong zong-gong-so te-kan 美国李氏敦宗總公所特刊). Others choose an even earlier figure, the mythological Emperor Zhuan-xu 顓頊, who allegedly ruled sometime between the Yellow Emperor and the Sage Emperors Yao, Shun and Yu (Long-xi Li-shi shi-shi-biao 隴西李氏世系表 and Long-xi Li-shi liu-yuan-kao 隴西李氏流源考). A multi-surname association for the surnames Lei 雷, Guang 鄭 and Fang 方 that originated in Kwangtung in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century considers that those three surnames were originally one, and takes Duke Lei 雷公, supposedly a high-ranking official under the Yellow Emperor, as its ultimate ancestor (So-yuan ji-kan 遡源季刊, June 1974). Other genealogies, however, point to an historical but very distant figure such as the semi-mythologized Guan Yu 關羽, honored by many Guan 關 lineages (Long-gang ji-kan 龍岡季刊, winter 1977).

Although the Yus of Yi-mei and Chang-wan claimed Xuan-xiao as their ultimate ancestor, their account allows more than thirty generations for the Yu surname to appear. The first fifteen or so of these generations still lie within the realm of mythology (and include figures such as Chi 棄, the Minister of Agriculture to the sage Emperor Shun). By the thirtieth generation, however, we arrive at the historical kingdoms of Chin and Jin of the Warring States period, and the historical personage / ancestor You Yu 由余, a man who was honored, the genealogy tells us and the *Shi-ji* confirms,⁷ by the kings of both states. An unspecified number of generations later, we come to an ancestor actually surnamed Yu; this is Yu Rui 余瑞, also an official of Chin.

The significance to the lineage of this first section of the account is two-fold. It establishes that the surname from which the clan and lineage springs dates from hoary antiquity, and that it contains highly prominent individuals. The account also shows that You Yu (and hence, the clan) moved from the north China plain to the Shantung peninsula, and Yu Rui further took it from Shantung to southeastern Shensi (where it remained until the mid-Tang dynasty). The first part of this geographic movement mirrors the general expansion of Chinese culture and populace eastward and southward from the central plain.

During the Tang, the ancestors of Yi-mei's and Chang-wan's Yu lineage moved once again, and their movement again mirrored a much larger population shift. This time, over a period of six to eight generations, the several ancestors went first to southern Anhwei and then, during the Huang Chao rebellion, into Kiangsu; settling near Shanghai. During the Five Dynasties period, they migrated further south into

Kwangtung. Three generations after the move into Kwangtung, Yu Jing, honored as clan progenitor by the Xin-hui *xian* capital temples, was born.

Both Yu Jing and his father were Confucian literati (Yu Jing was a Song dynasty *jin-shi* of 1024) and both had respectable, although unremarkable, official careers. But Yu Jing was honored as clan progenitor partly because of events which occurred after his retirement. When he was in his sixties, a large scale Man 蠻 tribal uprising broke out in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The Man even laid siege to Canton. The court appointed a high-ranking regular military official, Jai Qing 翟青,⁸ to put down the disturbance. Yu Jing decided to raise his own army to help Jai. In the end, it was Jai and Yu Jing together who managed to put down the rebellion.

Yu Jing's help in the campaign against the Man seems to have been of great importance, either because he was a clever strategist, an unusually courageous man, or simply because he was so influential that sufficient troops could not be raised without his support. According to the genealogy, the court gave him much of the credit for the victory over the Man. He was publicly and conspicuously honored and given financial rewards. (On the books it said he was awarded the rent from 3600 households, but the genealogy explains that this was a euphemism for the rent from 300 households.) As noted above, when he died in Nanking at the age of sixty-five or sixty-eight, Yu Jing was granted the posthumous title of Jung-xiang gong. He was also awarded a posthumous *zi* 字 and *hao* 號, his wife was entitled "Lady" (Fu-ren 夫人), and two groups of convicts were assigned to construct and maintain his grave tumulus and tomb. The court gave his eldest son and, upon this son's early death, his second son, official rank; the wife of the second son was also granted the title of "Lady". Such an illustrious relative seemed a highly appropriate ancestor to honor as clan progenitor, even to his descendents 900 years removed. In addition, Yu Jing was honored because he had traced some of the family genealogy (he may even have started it) and had made some contribution toward a clan estate.

For several generations (five or so—although one part of the account lists it as nine) after Yu Jing, many of the male descendants were officials (usually low to medium level) and most lived in Kwangtung province. The genealogy has now brought us down to the Southern Song dynasty and the generation which included Yu Tang-lao, the "sub-clan progenitor" honored by the Yus of Yi-mei and Chang-wan.

In order to avoid rampant banditry in his home area, Yu Tang-lao's father moved several times with his family and finally settled in

Yu village (Yu zun 余村) in Kwangtung's Xin-ning *xian* (today's Tai-shan *xian*). Upon reaching his majority, Yu Tang-lao (a younger son) moved to Xin-hui *xian*, the first family member to live in that county. Three generations later, Yu Nian, a younger son of a younger son, also moved, finally settling down and founding first the village of Yi-mei and later the village of Chang-wan. Thus, some 200 years after the death of Yu Jing, we first find a family member settled in the "home district." It is at this point that the lineage breaks off from the larger clan.

The rest of the genealogical account is relatively uneventful, showing how the number of members increased over time. In this respect, it is surprising to note that by the Qing Guang-xu period there were only about two hundred living male relatives included in the Yi-mei / Chang-wan genealogical records. There seem to have been several reasons for this. One is that as time passed, certain branches of the lineage were actually dropped from the records: the descendants of Yu Nian's brothers, the descendants of the youngest of Yu Nian's three sons, and later, other branches. I shall discuss the probable reason for these omissions below.

Another reason for the rather small number of descendants, of course, was that no daughters are in any way acknowledged in the genealogy. A final reason is that a large number of those listed in this Yu lineage did not produce more than one son. One whole branch of the lineage (the descendants of two of Yu Nian's grandsons) actually died out between the Kang-xi and Chien-long reigns. The genealogy itself gives no reason for this. Was it poverty, infertility, disease, or some other cause? We do not know.⁹

I mentioned earlier that certain branches of the clan and lineage were, at certain points, dropped from the genealogical record. A related development was that over a period of four generations during the late Yuan and early Ming, the clan / lineage split three times. The first was with Yu Nian. When he founded Yi-mei and Chang-wan, he set up his own household which became a lineage, or branch of the clan (*fang* 房). His brothers' descendants then formed another branch which did not live in Yi-mei or Chang-wan and which is not included in this genealogy.

Next, one of Yu Nian's sons moved out of Yi-mei / Chang-wan and the descendants of this son were subsequently dropped from the genealogy. Finally, two generations later, the remains of the lineage split into six branches. One consisted of two of Yu Nian's grandsons and their descendants. (This branch died out early.) The other five were derived from six of Yu Nian's great-grandsons along with

their descendants. The genealogy only follows three of these six branches. The other three probably left the area.

The practice of forming new lineages when different branches settled in different geographic regions is documented by Liu (1959b). Furthermore, one of Eberhard's (1962) genealogies abandoned members who moved out of Kwangtung's Xiang-shan *xian* 香山縣, present-day Zhong-shan *xian* 中山縣. Finally, a very fecund Li clan of Kwangtung's Xin-ning *xian* (which adjoins Xin-hui *xian*) consisted of numerous lineages, some called *fang* 房, some called *zu* 族, and some referred to in the phrase "gave rise to many branches, each producing a hundred leaves" (kai-zhi bai-ye 開枝百葉).¹⁰ These lineages, most of which began either in the Song or the mid Qing, each kept its own genealogy and each resided in a different part of Xin-ning and neighboring *xian* (*Long-si Li-shi shi-si-biao*). In effect, the lineages became fully independent of the parent clan and of each other when they moved to different geographic regions. The result was to produce lineages of varying sizes embracing varying degrees of consanguinity. Clearly, some of the older and more intricate could actually be called clans, whereas certain of those in the middle ranges could be thought of as sub-clans, or super-lineages. In the case of the Yu genealogy I am discussing, a cursory record is kept of the locations where most of the related Yus settled. The genealogy, for example, notes that "all the Yus of Bo-lo [or Xin-ning, or Kai-ping] come from this ancestor." This informed the Yus of Yi-mei and Chang-wan that they must acknowledge a blood relationship with the Yus of Bo-lo [or Xin-ning, or Kai-ping].

COMPARISON WITH THE GENEALOGIES STUDIED BY EBERHARD

The Yi-mei / Chang-wan Yu genealogy provides some interesting points of comparison with Eberhard's findings (1962). As noted above, the genealogies that Eberhard discussed (one for the Wu surname, one for a Jung clan) were completed significantly later. They also include a far larger number of people. This can in part be ascribed to modern influences: the Wu genealogy virtually ignores verifiable consanguinity and takes various earlier Wu genealogies which it then attempts to tie together so as to link all those of the Wu surname who lived in south China. The Jung genealogy Eberhard studies is large both because its geographic limits were an entire *xian*, and because in what seems to be another modern innovation, it includes many sons-in-law from the recent period.

Eberhard used these genealogies to explain how south Chinese clans and lineages developed a set of manors with outlying farms. Evi-

dently, however, the Yi-mei / Chang-wan Yus did not form any such system. The only relationships that their genealogy suggests between them and other Yu lineages descended from Yu Jing and Yu Tang-lao are a ritual one and a vague consanguineous one. Yi-mei's and Chang-wan's Yus worshiped at the *xian* capital Yu temples dedicated to Yu Jing, and they founded (and worshiped at) the temple to Yu Tang-lao. They also recognized a blood tie with Yus in various other parts of Kwangtung on the basis of a presumed descent from Yu Tang-lao (see above). There is, however, no indication of any property relationship with other parts of the larger Yu clan. Yi-mei and Chang-wan were founded by Yu Nian, and were surely not part of any previously owned Yu property. In founding them, Yu Nian began a new *fang* and maintained a new, separate genealogy, so he would not have added the land from these two villages to any clan or lineage land held by his brothers or father. After Yu Nian, the lineage divided again, suggesting a division of the Yi-mei and Chang-wan territory. Rather than being part of any large manorial system, the lineage seems to have consisted of small, mostly independent, farmers and fishermen.

With respect to marriage ties, the Yu genealogy I have studied is not significantly different from those Eberhard examined. One of the clans Eberhard discusses showed a preference for marriage to women of specific surnames, the other did not. The Yu lineage was like the former, in that it preferred marriages with women surnamed Li, particularly during the Qing dynasty. Interestingly, the Li surname was not prominent in the immediate vicinity of Yi-mei and Chang-wan.

Eberhard also noted that during periods of invasion and dynastic change, branches of clans and lineages were frequently displaced. This shows up in the Yu lineage as well. Members were often forced to move during the Five Dynasties period, when the Song dynasty lost north China, again at the end of the Southern Song, and during the Yuan. By the middle of the Ming, however, matters for this Yu lineage seem to have stabilized; not even the transition from Ming to Qing nor the Taiping Rebellion seem to have caused a significant number of them to move to a new area.

Finally, Eberhard used the genealogies he studied to examine social mobility.¹¹ With respect to the latter, the Yu lineage reached a high point beginning with Yu Jing's father and continuing for three generations after Yu Jing. Several were successful at the exams: there were, for example, two *jin-shi* (counting Yu Jing) and one *gong-sheng*. An even larger number received honorary titles, and quite a few obtained official position. Clearly, at this time it would have qualified as a gentry family.

After this, however, there was a hiatus of several generations. Then, toward the end of the Southern Song, Yu Tang-lao, along with his father and brother, received honorary titles. Although they apparently did not succeed at the exams, they held low official positions. Yu Tang-lao had a fourth generation descendant who, at an advanced age, became a *ju-ren* in the first year of the Ming dynasty. This is the last lineage member recorded as having been successful at the exams.¹² For this reason, it would seem that the lineage lost all gentry status by mid Ming. During the Ming as well, one lineage member went into business, but for the most part, from the time of Yu Nian, the lineage and its progenitors seem to have been farmers and fishermen.

CONCLUSION

By the Qing dynasty, since it had ceased producing examination graduates, this Yu lineage would not have been a source of political power. The lineage's collective economic force was probably also quite small. The Yi-mei / Chang-wan Yus evidently had no extensive lineage lands. That the lineage lacked income lands is to be expected in view of the modest economic situation of lineage members. In the early Ming, before the larger lineage-cum-clan had divided into the Yi-mei / Chang-wan and other lineages, it had been able to raise considerable sums (more than 750 *taels* of silver) to establish the biggest of the *xian* capital temples. This temple was repaired at least three times during the Qing. However, all the Yu lineages associated with the temple would undoubtedly have helped raise the funds. The two temples established later by Yi-mei and Chang-wan Yus were considerably smaller, and underwent no repair work during the Qing.

Like thousands of other lineages in the south China countryside, the Yu lineage of Yi-mei and Chang-wan was a rather poor one whose members were ordinary individuals. Still, its members were convinced that their surname came from great antiquity and was intimately linked with the entire development of the Chinese race, to say nothing of Chinese civilization. They were further comforted by the knowledge that their clan and lineage progenitor was an historical personage of great renown, and that they had one very impressive temple (as well as two smaller ones) to remind people of that fact. This lineage, as thousands of others, was involved in the great eastern population migration of the China to Han periods, and the southern migration of the Tang to Song periods. The very existence of its genealogical account reflected the Song concern with genealogy. The lineage, then, is a mirror: a mirror of ordinary lineages in an ordinary area with an ordinary history and, presumably, ordinary aspirations.

Appendix 1: Translation Sample¹⁴**A NARRATIVE ACCOUNT FROM THE GENEALOGY *HENG-HE-TANG JIA-UP*****恒合堂家譜**

If a family has a genealogical account, then looking back into time one can identify the origins of one's ancestors and lineage and looking into the future, the descendants can understand their inheritance. This is why genealogies are important. As for the saying "a tree cannot grow without roots, water cannot come forth unless it has a source," a man's original nature lies in his ancestors just as a tree has roots and water has its source. If you don't correct and add on to the genealogy then how can you fulfill the sayings about wood, water, and original nature? But supplementing a genealogy is not a matter of beautifying it. Actually, it is the means whereby the ancestors and lineage members are joined to and reckoned with the sons and grandsons. The genealogical record can unify the generations by reconciling the differences and establishing what is important, thereby penetrating far into time.

The Yu surname originated with one of the sons of the Yellow Emperor named Xuan-xiao. Three generations after him we get to Chi 棄. Chi was Minister of Agriculture. He was enfeoffed and given the rank of Duke. Fifteen generations after Chi we come to King Wen 文王, [whose given name was] Chang 昌, then King Wu 武王, [whose given name was] Fa 發, then King Cheng 成王, [whose given name was] Song 誦. [The latter] enfeoffed his younger brother by the same mother, [a man] named Shu-lü 叔虞, and gave him the territory of Jin 晉. [King Cheng] also gave him the surname Ji 姬. Shu-lü was surnamed Ji because he was born on the banks of the Yellow River.¹⁵

Thirty-odd generations later, Shu-lü had a descendant called You Yu. This man was an official in Jin but he wasn't well received. You Yu left Jin to join an army. The army's commander was proud, extravagant, and overly-addicted to wine. You Yu often remonstrated with him, but the latter did not listen so You Yu went to join Qin 秦. When Duke Mu of Qin heard You Yu was coming, he was very pleased and went out of his capital city to meet [You Yu]. He honored You Yu, making him a high-ranking minister (上卿). Subsequently, Duke Mu adopted many of You Yu's policy suggestions. He also made You Yu premier of Qin of the rank of twelfth cleared-land rank (國十二闢地相).

Several generations later there was a direct male descendant [of You Yu] called Yu Rui; because he had taken Yu as his surname. He was sent to Pi 邳¹⁶ to serve as prefect. Ancestor Rui served Qin as a censor (*Zhung-san shi-lang* 中散侍郎). He retired to live in obscurity

near the source of the Lo 洛 river.¹⁷

Later, during the two Han dynasties, the [To-ba] Wei, Jin, Sui and Liang, his [Rui's] descendants continued living there generation after generation without end. When we come to the eighth year of the Kai-yuan 開元 period of the great Tang dynasty,¹⁸ there was a man named Yu Qi 余欽 who was a graduate of the Imperial University and who lived in Xiu-ning 休寧 in Xi 歙 province.¹⁹

Several generations later we come to ancestor [Yu] Yan 演. Because of Huang Chao's rebellion,²⁰ he moved to Fukien. During the Guang-ze 光澤 period of the Shao-wu 邵武 Emperor, he moved to Quan-zhou 泉州, to Mian-gui 里 錦歸里 in the Xin-an 新安 area of Tong-an 同安 district.²¹ He produced three sons. The eldest was called Yu Cong 余從; he fled the disturbances of the Five Seasons Rebellion²² and moved to Kwangtung's Qu River 曲江 area in Shao 韶 prefecture.

The second [son of Yu Yan] was called Yu Xian 余咸. He moved to the Fen-ning 分寧 district of Hong-zhou 洪州 prefecture [in Kiangsi]. The third son was called [Yu] Gun 衮; he moved to the Qian-tang 錢塘 area of Hangchow in Chekiang province.

Cong [the eldest son of Yu Yan] produced [a son] Rong 榮 and Rong produced [a son named Yu] Qing 慶. Qing served the Song dynasty as *tai-chang bo-shih* 太常博士;²³ he was then awarded a post as a censor (*tai-chang shao-ching* 太常少卿). Qing's sons were: Jing 靖, who was the eldest; Yi 翊, who was the middle son; and Duan 端, who was the youngest.

The honorable [Yu] Jing was elevated to the position of Second Year of the Tian-sheng Reign Period's [1024 A.D.] First Ranking Jin-shi Graduate (Tian-sheng er-nian ju-ran jia-zi jin-shi 天聖二年舉人甲子進士). He was [first] given the position of Discussant for the Assembled Worthies Academy (Ji-xian yuan 集賢院), then elevated to a position as Right-speaking Advisor (*zuo-you zeng-yan* 左右正言). When his father became elderly, he [Yu Jing] retired from his official posts to return [home] and care for [his father]. However, the Man²⁴ bandit Ning Zhi-gao 儂智高 rebelled. He plundered the prefectures and districts south of the pass [Kwangtung and Kwangsi] one after another and laid siege to Canton.

The imperial court ordered the Chief Pacifying Official Jai Qing 翟青 to go immediately to attack [Zhi-gao]. The honorable one [Yu Jing] also went to fight Zhi-gao. The honorable one [Yu Jing] raised an army at Lu-zhung 廬中. He met with [Jai] Qing. They combined their soldiers and together attacked Zhi-gao, who was defeated and fled to Jiao-zhi 蛟趾 in the Yong district (邕州). The honorable one thereupon united his soldiers with Jai Ching's and proceeded rapidly

to Jiao-zhi where they captured Zhi-gao in the Yong district. The honorable one was [then] raised to the position of Assistant Secretary of the Board of Public Works, then became the Secretary of that board and a scholar of the Assembled Worthies Academy, and Civil Official for the Army of the Canton Area and Pillar of the State / Strategist for the Chief Pacifying Official [Jai Qing] of the Eastern Route of Guangnan 廣南.

The Shi-xing department 始興縣 was then created [presumably out of the former Zhi-gao and Yong areas]. The honorable one was awarded the rents of 3600 households; which in fact meant he received the rents of 300 households.

In the first year of the Zhi-ping 治平 period [1064 A.D.], on the Gui-yu 癸酉 day of the sixth month, Yu Jing died in Nanking. He was sixty-five years old. In the seventh month of the following year on the yi-hai 乙亥 day, he was taken back to be buried in Lung-gui 龍歸 on the Qu River; [the hill / mountain in which he was buried faced] in the xu 戌 direction. His grave was granted two groups of prisoners sentenced to hard labor [to maintain it]. He was granted the [posthumous] position of Grand Secretary of the Board of Public Works and the Board of Punishments, and given the posthumous title of Duke Xiang (襄公; "the Duke who was of great assistance"), the *zi* An-dao (安道; "Pacifying the Highways"), and the *hao* Wu-xi 武溪; "Fountain of Military Prowess").

Yu Jing had married a woman surnamed Lin 林. She was given the title of Lady of Lu (魯罷夫人). When she died she was buried in Jou-keng 周坑 in Zhi-xing; [the hill / mountain in which she was buried faced] in the bing 丙 direction.

Yu Jing had three sons. The eldest was called Po-Juang 伯莊 with the *zi* of Tang 湯. He was given the official post of *dien-zhung-ji* 殿中丞. He died young. The second son was called Jung-xun 仲荀 with the *zi* of Zhi-min 師珉. He married someone surnamed Su 粟. As an official he reached the position of second-class secretary for the military colony of the imperially-appointed Censor of the thirteenth censorial circuit (朝奉大夫十三道屯田員外郎). After he died he was buried beside the Lady of Lu [his mother] in the Jou-keng area of Zhi-xing.

The third son [of Yu Jing] was named Shu-ying 叔英, with the *zi* of Jing-tsai 景才. He married someone surnamed Zhou 周. His official positions ranged from Discussant Official of the Great Morals Temple (Da-li-si 大理寺), to Censor. He had four sons. The eldest was named Si-li 副立. The second was named Si-jing 副京. The third was named Si-xiang 副襄. The fourth was named Si-zi 副祖.

The eldest son, Si-li, treating his deceased aunt as if she were his mother—his aunt was surnamed Su 粟 and was called Madam Ya-wu (Ya-wu fu-ren 亞五夫人)—moved to Yao-tou 凹头 in Dong-wan 東莞. Madam Ya-wu was finally buried in Wu-yüan (吳園).

Chung-zun [second son of Yu Jing] had four sons. The eldest was named Si-long 嗣隆, with the *zi* of Zhi-sheng 智盛. He was made a gentleman (tai-chang 太常). He followed the orders of an assistant secretary of the Board of Rites and married someone surnamed Wu 伍. He moved to Fu-zhou 撫州 in Kiangsi. Afterwards he moved to Shu-xia 書夏, where he lived. The second son [of Yu Chung-xun] was named Si-chang 嗣昌. He settled in Zi-ni 紫泥 Alley in Dong-wan.

[Yu] Si-jing [brother of Yu Si-li, second son of Yu Shu-ying, grandson of Yu Jing] had the *zi* of Zhi-shu 智述. He had one son, whose name was Yuan-zhen 元禎. [Yuan] then produced [one son named] Qiong 瓊; Qiong produced Gong 鞏; Gong produced Yi 意; and Yi produced Lu-yan 陸岩. Lu-yan produced Zhi-ji 師箕; Zhi-ji produced five [sons]. The eldest was called Han-lao 漢老, the second was called Tang-lao 唐老, the third was called Guo-lao 國老, the fourth was called Chun-lao 椿老, the fifth was called Ji-lao 季老. Because robbers from the areas of Da-luo 大羅 Mountain, and Yun-dong 雲峒, Si-zhi 石碓, Li-dong 礪峒, and so forth, Mountains went everywhere killing and looting, in the first year of the Shao-xing 紹興 period of the [Southern] Song dynasty [1131 A.D.], he [Yu Zhi-ji] took his five sons to the district of Xin-ning 新寧 [today's Tai-shan 台山], Xin-hui 新會, and Kai-ping 開平 to live. [His son Yu] Han-lao, who had the *zi* of Fu-xiu 服休, had four sons. He moved to Yu Village 余村, Shu-xia 書夏, and other villages to live.

[Yu Zhi-ji's son Yu] Tang-lao, whose *zi* was Fu-jun 服俊, had three sons. The eldest was called Meng-bi 夢弼, the second was called Meng-zhen 夢鎮, the third was called Meng-long 夢龍. Father and sons were all government officials. They moved to various places (xiang 鄉) in Xin-hui's He-tang 河塘 area to live.

[Yu] Meng-bi produced four sons. The eldest was called Yuan-keng 元鏗; the second was called Yuan-yu 元玉; the third was called Yuan-bing 元炳, and the fourth was called Yuan-shan 元善. [Yu] Yuan-keng produced one son, named Rui-chi 瑞琦, whose *zi* was Zi-ying 子英. When he [Yuan-keng] died he was buried in He-tang village.

Yuan-yu had two sons. The eldest was Rui-heng 瑞珩; he was also called Yu Si 余思. His *zi* was Zi-sheng 子盛, his *hao* was Wan-bo 萬波. The second son was called Yu Nian 余念; his *zi* was Zi-xiung 子雄, his *hao* was Wan-chi 萬濟. He went with his mother, who was

surnamed Zong 鍾, to live in Xin-hui xian's Huai-ren sub-district 懷仁都 in the areas (xiang 鄉) of Yi-mei 邑美 and Chang-wan 長灣.²⁵ He married someone surnamed Chen 陳 and produced three sons. The eldest was called Bi-xian 必先, the next was called Bi-xian 必賢, and the third was called Bi-jun 必俊. Upon [Yu Nian's] death, the latter was buried in the Xin-hua sub-district 新化都 in ground called Ling-shui village 冷水村 behind Fei-e Mountain 飛鵝山; [the mountain is] in the *jia* 甲 shape and faces toward the *geng* 庚 origin.

[Yu] Bi-xian produced two sons. The eldest was Ke-zuo 克佐 and the youngest was Ke-shao 克昭. [Yu] Bi-xian produced one son called Ke-li 克禮; this latter served the Ming dynasty and was a *ju-ren*. He received the special title of Profusely Literary Gentleman (*wen-lin-lang* 文林郎). He was appointed as an official in Kwangsi's Nan-ning prefecture 南寧府. [Yu] Bi-jun produced one son called Ke-ming 克明.

From the above ages we get the five generations of ancestors. Yu Yi [Yu Jing's brother] was a *gong-shi* 貢士. He was given the post of Chief Scribe of the Guei-shan district 歸善縣 in Hui-zhou prefecture 惠州府. He moved and lived [permanently] in that area and is the original ancestor of the Bo-lo 博羅 branch [of our Yu clan].

When we investigate the genealogical record of these succeeding generations, if there are men of talent during one generation, their talent comes mainly from being descended from Xuan-xiao, the son of the Yellow Emperor, who transmitted it on to You Yu and his myriad descendants. Down to today, several tens of thousands of years later, the family [clan / lineage] has passed through several hundreds of generations, the descendants spreading like melon vines, increasing continuously; and it has now developed into the countless branches [of the genealogy]. As for the saying, "a tree has roots"; this actually refers to ensuring that the branches and descendants are strong and flourishing. If the source of the water is deep then the spring will flow bubbling forth and become a great river. If you don't investigate the generations of the genealogical record how can you recognise the strengths coming from the ancestors?

To be able to trace accurately the lineage descendants from far back and properly distinguish the *zhao* 昭 and *mu* 穆 ancestors²⁶ will make it possible to order the ancestral genealogy correctly so that one can determine who is a distant and who a close relative. And while all can know that they come from a common origin and are of the same blood, and although distant are still part of the same lineage, it will not reach to the point of respecting that which is low or treating as "family" those who are only distant relatives.

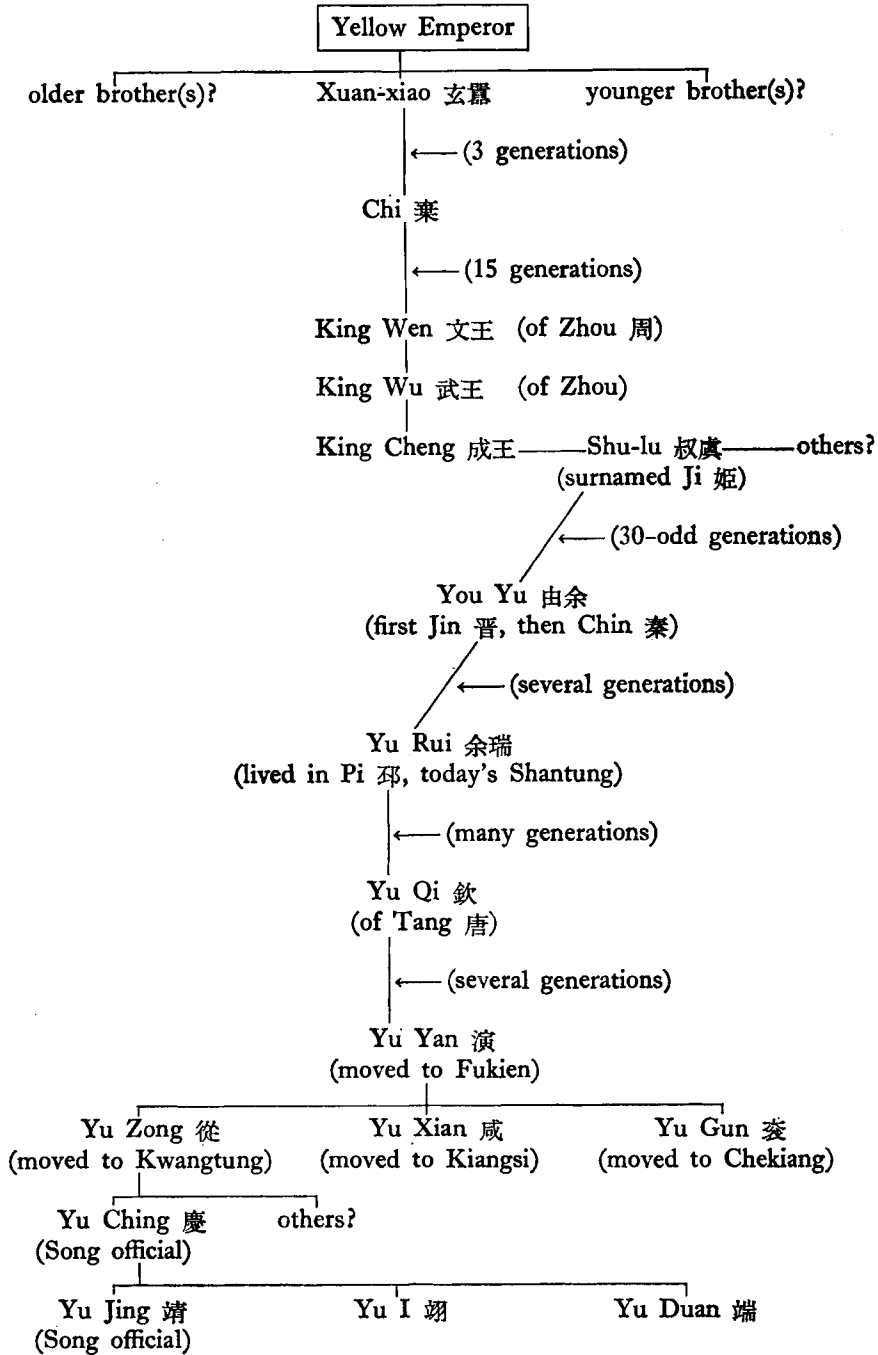


Diagram 1: Partial Family Tree: Yellow Emperor's Son to Yu Jing

后又遷于新化五畝土名大井狗山形

世玉祖	諱智芳	配廖氏	生三子	傳可	傳雅	傳好	守平祖次子也
智華祖	配沈氏	無祀					守平祖四子也
侃世祖	配李氏	生一子	傳泰				守安祖長子也
世桓祖	配林氏	無祀					守安祖次子也
世厚祖	配蔣氏	生一子	傳燦				守樂祖之子也
朝世祖	配李氏	無祀					美吉祖長子也
觀世祖	配呂氏	無祀					美吉祖次子也
積世祖	配氏	生一子	傳光				美吉祖三子也
世錦祖	配李氏	早卒無祀					守賀祖長子也
世澤祖	配李氏	生一子	傳藏				守賀祖次子也
十七世祖 是靖祖二十六世也							
傳葉祖	配梁氏	生一子	隆廣				樂世祖之子也
傳富祖	配呂氏	無祀					廻祥祖之子也

Fig. 1. Sample page from the genealogy showing the detailed genealogical record. This record takes the clan / lineage from Yu Jing down to the end of the Qing.

Just as a country has a history that it can hold up as a mirror to itself²⁷ and observe the strengths and weaknesses of the emperors and kings of countless ages past, so a clan / lineage has its record [genealogy] so that the generations of the future can know their origins from the beginning up to the present day. Today [I] have carefully relied on Duke Xiang's [Yu Jing's] old genealogy to edit and collect a genealogy in order to enlighten the nine hundred [countless] worthy descendants of the future. These descendants should treasure, respect, and rely on this genealogy. They should not lightly cast it aside, and not permit unverified information from people of the same surname who can't be ascertained as being actual relatives to come into the genealogy. This would be to take our lineage and falsely make claim to being of the same lineage and ancestry.

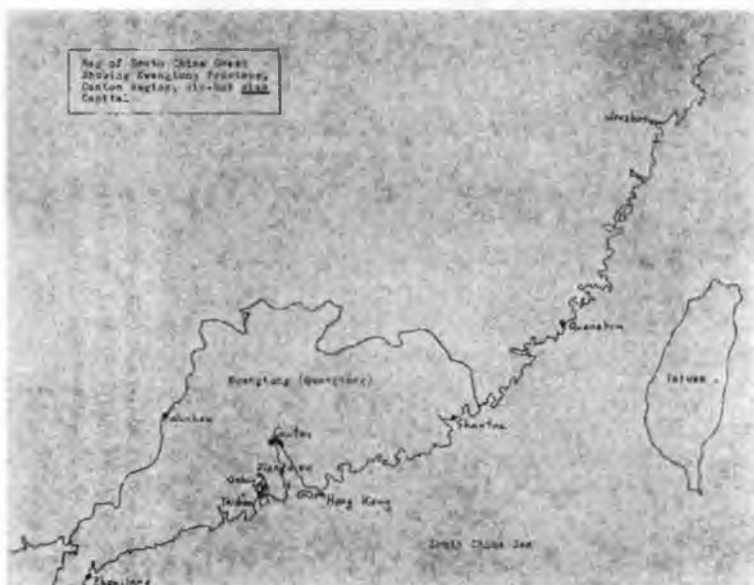
Carefully recorded and submitted.

Dated: first year of the [Ming dynasty] Hung-wu period [1368 A.D.], on the lucky day of Jung-chiu 仲秋.

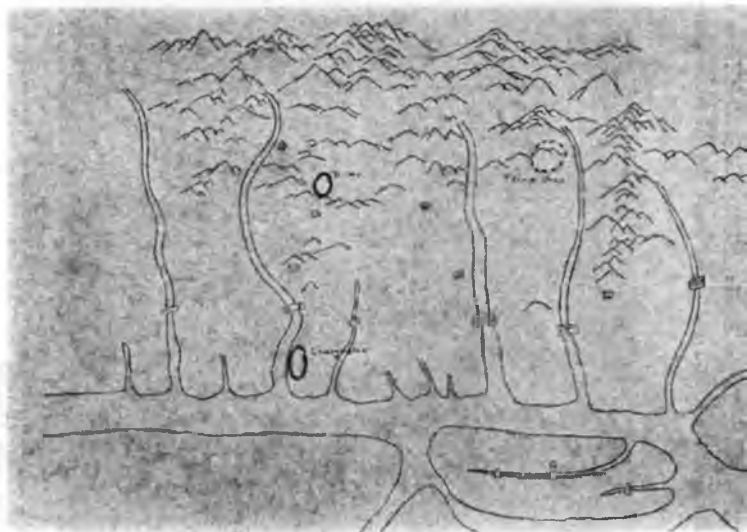
Carefully recorded by descendant Cong-shou 從受; personal restricted name of Ming 銘.

Appendix 2

The first map is derived from one in *The Times Atlas of the World, Comprehensive Edition*, 6th edition (New York: Times Books, 1980); the second from a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map of 1954; and the third from the *Xin-hui xian-zhi* of 1840.



Map of South China Coast Showing Kwangtung Province, Canton Region, Xin-hui *xian* Capital



Derived from a nineteenth map showing part of Xin-hui xian. I have included temples, bridges, the villages of Yi-mei and Chang-wan, and the burial grounds of Fei-e shan.



Twentieth-century map of general vicinity of Xin-hui xian showing major waterways, major population centers, Chang-wan, and small waterways near Chang-wan.

NOTES

1. With respect to "clan" and "lineage," I shall follow Lin (1947) and Baker (1977) in using the term "clan" for the larger unit (*xong* 宗) and "lineage" for the smaller (*xu* 族). Others, however, use the terms interchangeably, or even in the opposite fashion (see Lang 1946; Freedman 1958; and Eberhard 1962). Modern English does not clearly distinguish between the two terms. The Chinese can also be unclear, since the terms are frequently used together, and the like.

Part of the problem lies in the fact that generations pass and units break off. In general, I shall consider a lineage to be the smallest kin group that keeps a genealogy; in most cases, this kin group will have erected a temple to an ancestor / progenitor. Any kin group that has a temple where more than one lineage may worship I shall call a clan. Obviously, this allows for tremendous variation in the size of the units involved and their degree of consanguinity, but this seems unavoidable. (A surname association is any organization which permits all those of the same surname to participate, whether or not there is much evidence of a blood tie.) In general, the clan was the more formal and ritualistically oriented, but the lineage may have played a more important economic role, if the financial circumstances of the lineage's members permitted this (Baker 1977). Within the body of this article, I will have occasion to refer both to an Yu lineage and to the larger Yu clan to which the lineage adhered.

2. In Taiwan (Fried 1973) as well as overseas, the proliferation of surname associations is mostly a modern development. Eberhard (1962) notes that in the case of one of the genealogies he deals with, it was only in the 1930's that the attempt was made to link together all those of the same surname. The other genealogy Eberhard presents does not come from a surname association.

3. These temples were located outside of the villages, in the countryside. I have included several maps of the region.

4. The following account is derived from the genealogy in question, the *Heng-he-tang jia pu* 恒合堂家譜, except as otherwise noted. A partial "family tree" is included at the end of Appendix 1.

5. The burial grounds in Xin-ning *xian* must have been related to the fact that a relatively important lineage ancestor, the father of Yu Tang-lao, had lived there. Several related Yu lineages also resided in the area.

6. In southern China, clan temples ordinarily honored either three or five generations of ancestors prior to the clan progenitor (Freedman 1958: 82). Five generations was not at all uncommon in Kwangtung. See also Long-xi Li-shi shi-si-biao 隴西李氏世系表.

7. Takigawa Karuutarō, *Shiki Kaichū kōshō* 史記會註考証 (I-wen reprint of Tokyo, 1932-34 edition), chūan 5, 32-35.

8. Jai Qing was the "General in Charge of Canton and the Army and Cavalry of the Southeast" (Zhi-Guang-zhou jun-shi jian dong-nan bing-ma du-ling-xia 知廣州軍事兼東南兵馬都鈐轄).

9. There was, of course, tremendous variation in the fecundity of various branches of the same lineage, often reflecting variations in wealth. An extreme example is a Chen 陳 lineage of Taiwan: in the space of six generations, one branch produced a total of 259 male offspring, 127 of whom comprised the sixth generation. During approximately the same period, another branch produced only six male offspring; there were none at all in the sixth generation (Ch'en 1958: 24).

10. With respect to this terminology, the Li lineage in question seemed to con-

sider these various types of sub-lineages to be equal. Hui-chen Wang Liu (1959: 99) agrees with this but Maurice Freedman (1958: 36-37) does not, and has compiled a table showing which he felt to be larger and more important.

11. Eberhard (1962: 60-65; 174-175) also makes the questionable assertion that all Cantonese lineages claim to have lived at one time in "Nan-hsiung" or "Chuchi (Pearl)" village, or "P'u-t'ien" before migrating south and settling in Kwangtung. The Yus of Yi-mei / Chang-wan make no mention of any of these places. To the contrary, they state that the clan from which they derive came into Kwangtung from Anhwei via Fukien's Quan-zhou, then Kwangtung's Long-guei village 龍歸 in the Qu River area 曲江 in Shao-zhou 韶州. After that, various ancestors moved from one place to another in Kwangtung, with Yu Nian finally founding Yi-mei and Chang-wan, where he settled and eventually died.

12. The *Xin-hui xian-zhi* of 1840 does note that two Yu descendants of Yu Jing passed the Confucian exams during the Ming-Qing period (one even became a *jin-shi*) but neither was from Yi-mei or Chang-wan.

13. In the mid-nineteenth century, at least one young man from Yi-mei emigrated to the United States where he became wealthy and prominent, but the immigrant branch of the lineage lost contact with the home area and was never in the formal genealogy.

14. This translation sample is intended to be accurate and readable, but not erudite. I owe special thanks to my husband, Mr. Jeong-Huei Ma, for helping me with some of the more difficult passages. The section I have translated comes from pp. 21-24 of the 100-odd page genealogy, and is one of the narrative accounts of the origins and early development of the lineage. In addition to narrative accounts, the genealogy contains a description of lineage and clan temples, a description of Yu Jing's burial ground, some fifty pages of "family tree," and similar materials.

15. Interestingly, the Yellow Emperor is said to have had the same surname, which was given to him for the same reason.

16. Pi is an area in today's Shantung and northern Kiangsi. It is a department of the ancient state of Lu.

17. The Lo, located in Shensi, is a tributary of the Yellow River.

18. The year would probably be 626 A.D.

19. Hsi is located in the southern part of today's Anhwei.

20. The Huang Chao Rebellion took place in north China near the end of the Tang dynasty, from 874-884 A.D.

21. This is near Shanghai.

22. This is another name for the Five Dynasties Period, 907-959 A.D.

23. This means he was one of the highest ranking graduates of the Song examination system.

24. The Man were a non-Chinese tribe living in south China.

25. Another narrative account in the genealogy explains that Yu Nian founded these two villages.

26. *Zhao* and *mu* ancestors refers to the "even" and "odd" way of arranging ancestral spirit tablets in a clan or lineage temple. *Zhao* ancestors' tablets go to the left of the altar, *mu* go to the right.

27. A country should use its history as a mirror so that it can learn from the past for purposes of current policy.

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