

# Chinese Bannermen in the Late Qing: The Shang Family

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## Preamble

In order to shed light on the political structure of the Qing 清 dynasty, in which the Manchus assumed the reins of government, I have been examining the vicissitudes of the Han Chinese general Shang Kexi 尚可喜, who allied himself with the Qing, and his family. Other Chinese generals who switched their allegiance from the Ming 明 to the Qing around the same time as Shang Kexi include Kong Youde 孔有德, Geng Zhongming 耿仲明 and Wu Sangui 吳三桂. Upon submitting to the Qing, they were granted the status of prince (*wang* 王), and while the Qing court ruled over China proper, South-Pacifying Prince (*Pingnan wang* 平南王) Shang Kexi was enfeoffed in Guangdong 廣東, South-Stabilizing Prince (*Dingnan wang* 定南王) Kong Youde was enfeoffed in Guangxi 廣西, South-Placating Prince (*Jingnan wang* 靖南王) Geng Zhongming was enfeoffed in Fujian 福建, and West-Pacifying Prince (*Pingxi wang* 平西王) Wu Sangui was enfeoffed in Guizhou 貴州 and Yunnan 雲南, where they each wielded power as feudatory princes. In the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, which began with an uprising by Wu Sangui in Kangxi 康熙 12 (1673), the feudatories of Shang Kexi, Geng Zhongming and Kong Youde were considered to have taken part in the rebellion either directly or indirectly, and once prospects for quelling the rebellion improved, Shang Zhixin 尚之信, who had inherited the Shang feudatory, Sun Yanling 孫延齡, who had married into the Kong family and was heir to Kong Yuode's feudatory, and Geng Jingzhong 耿精忠, who was heir to Geng Zhongming's feudatory, were put to death and the three feudatories of Guangdong, Guangxi and Fujian were dissolved. The above events are well-known, but what has not been made clear in the past is that, apart from the family of Wu Sangui, which was annihilated on account of his having been the leader of the rebellion, after the dissolution of their feudatories the Shang, Kong and Geng fam-

ilies, together with their followers, were incorporated into the Chinese Eight Banners (*baqi hanjun* 八旗漢軍) and served as Chinese bannermen (*hanjun qiren* 漢軍旗人) until the end of the Qing dynasty.

In this article, basing myself on the “Shangshi xiupu shugao” 尚氏修譜疏稿, the draft of a letter written in Guangxu 光緒 2 (1876), I shall clarify the circumstances in the late Qing of the Shang family, whose members had after the quelling of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories become Chinese bannermen. Since this letter was addressed to members of the Shang family living in Beijing 北京 by a member of the Shang family residing in Haicheng 海城, I shall begin by describing how the Shang family, descendants of Shang Kexi, came to live separately in Haicheng and Beijing after the end of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories.

### I. The Shang Family after the Suppression of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories

When Shang Kexi submitted to Taizong 太宗, he was granted land in Haizhou 海州 (Haicheng) in Liaodong 遼東,<sup>1)</sup> but with the relocation of the Qing capital he moved to Beijing and from Shunzhi 順治 6 (1649) was based in Guangdong. Thus, members of the Shang family came to settle separately in Beijing and Haicheng after the end of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories.

Does this mean, then, that at the time the Shang family, that is, Shang Kexi’s children, was divided into several branches? According to the *Shangshi zongpu* 尚氏宗譜, a genealogy of the Shang family,<sup>2)</sup> Shang Kexi had thirty-two sons, among whom Shang Zhixin (1st or main branch), Shang Zhijie 尚之節 (4th branch), Shang Zhihuang 尚之璜 (12th branch), and Shang Zhiying 尚之瑛 (14th branch) were put to death on the grounds that they had been involved in the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, and their branch families were reduced to the status of slaves and removed from the register of the Shang family. But in Kangxi 41 (1702) the Kangxi emperor pardoned them and authorized their reinstatement in the Shang family,<sup>3)</sup> and consequently Shang Kexi’s thirty-two sons each became the progenitor of a branch family, thereby forming the thirty-two branches of the Shang family, which survived to the end of the Qing. The Shang family, divided into thirty-two branches, resided in Beijing and Haicheng, and according to the *Shangshi zongpu* all members of the four branches founded by Shang Zhixin, Shang Zhijie, Shang Zhihuang and Shang Zhiying, who had been rehabilitated in Kangxi 41, lived in Beijing,

all members of the two branches founded by Shang Zhisheng 尙之盛 (5th branch) and Shang Zhidian 尙之典 (6th branch) lived in Haicheng, and members of the other twenty-six branches were divided between Beijing and Haicheng. The circumstances that led to the Shang family's having bases in Beijing and Haicheng were as follows.

### The Shang Family of Haicheng

Shang Kexi conveyed his wish to submit to the Manchus in the tenth month of Tiancong 天聰 7 (1633), and after he had submitted in the first month of the following year Taizong granted him land in Haicheng, which he subsequently came to regard as his home district.<sup>4)</sup> Shang Kexi, who rose to the position of South-Pacifying Imperial Prince (*Pingnan qinwang* 平南親王), died in Guangzhou 廣州 in Kangxi 15 (1676) at the height of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, and according to the *Xu Yuangong chuifan* 續元功垂範 (Kangxi 15/10/29), "He died saying, 'After I die, be sure to send the coffin back to Haicheng. Then my soul will be able to serve the previous emperor.'" His dying wish was thus to be buried in Haicheng, close to the mausoleum of Taizong.

The Kangxi emperor, who was grieved at Shang Kexi's death, dispatched Icangga (Yichang'a 宜昌阿), Chancellor of the Directorate of Education (*guozijian jijiu* 國子監祭酒), and Fan Chengxun 范承勳, Director of the Board of Rites (*libu langzhong* 禮部郎中), to Guangdong in the seventh month of Kangxi 16 (1677), still during the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, and granted him a special funeral service and the posthumous character Jing 敬. Then in the intercalary eighth month of Kangxi 19 (1680), when fighting was drawing to an end, he sent Shang Kexi's son Shang Zhilong 尙之隆 to Guangdong to take the coffin back to Haicheng.

As for the tomb of Shang Kexi, who was thus buried in Haicheng, the Kangxi emperor granted 8,000 taels of silver for the funeral and an epitaph,<sup>5)</sup> as well as sending some able-bodied men to look after the tomb. They were given land and houses, and authorization was granted for the organization of these men into two companies (*niru / niulu* 牛录) of "idle" or unassigned bannermen (*sula / xiansan* 閒散), modelled on the Eight Banners, and the appointment of two company captains (*nirui janggan / zuoling* 佐領), known as "grave-keeping unassigned bannermen" (*shoumu xiansan* 守墓閒散), or bannermen with no duties other than looking after the tombs (*Xu Yuangong chuifan*, Kangxi 20/12). These two company captains, also known as "empty-titled" (*kongxian* 空銜) or "tomb-guarding"

(*kanfen* 看墳) company captains (hereafter referred to as “tomb-guarding company captains”),<sup>6)</sup> were unassigned company captains in charge of the two companies (hereafter referred to as “tomb-guarding companies”) into which the able-bodied men had been organized to look after the tomb of the South-Pacifying Imperial Prince Shang Kexi, and they were, in other words, company captains without any official duties other than the supervision of their respective companies. Since Shang Kexi was the only person apart from members of the imperial family to gain the position of imperial prince (*qinwang* 親王),<sup>7)</sup> there is no other example outside the Shang family of the appointment of tomb-guarding companies and company captains.

These two tomb-guarding companies, made up of men who looked after Shang Kexi’s tomb, and the tomb-guarding company captains, whose duty it was to supervise these companies, did not belong to any specific banner among the Eight Banners, and they were special companies and company captains entrusted to the Shang family. But at the same time, as is indicated by the fact that the commander-in-chief of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner submitted a request that the position of tomb-guarding company captain be made hereditary, which was then sanctioned by the emperor, these were companies and company captains of the Eight Banners even though they had been entrusted to the Shang family. This means that the members of the Shang family and their subordinates who had been organized into tomb-guarding companies had the status of bannermen even though they were exempted from the official duties of bannermen, and therefore the men belonging to the tomb-guarding companies were granted banner lands in the same way as ordinary bannermen were. Thus in the ninth month of Kangxi 19, Shang Zhilong requested permission to distribute land formerly owned by Shang Kexi in Haicheng among the men organized into the two tomb-guarding companies, and permission was granted.<sup>8)</sup>

It was as a result of the above circumstances that not only was Shang Kexi’s tomb established in Haicheng, but two tomb-guarding companies were organized and members of the Shang family and their subordinates making up these companies were allocated banner lands. It was in this manner that the Shang family residing in Haicheng evolved.

### **The Shang Family of Beijing**

In the third month of Kangxi 19 (1680), when the Rebellion of the

Three Feudatories was almost over, Zhang Yongxiang 張永祥, a commandant under Shang Zhixin, went with some other subordinates of Shang Zhixin to Beijing to report to the authorities of Shang Zhixin's revolt. This resulted in the launching of an investigation into Shang Zhixin, and in the eighth month it was decided to "grant him the privilege of taking his own life."<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the Deliberative Council (*Yizhengwang dachen huiyi* 議政王大臣會議) decided to incorporate the troops belonging to the fifteen companies of the Shang feudatory, which had been under the command of Shang Zhixin, into the Three Upper Banners under the direct command of the emperor and have them stationed in Guangdong.<sup>10</sup> But once the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories had been quashed, the Shang family's subordinates who had been ordered to be stationed in Guangdong and the Geng family's subordinates who had been stationed in Fujian and Hangzhou 杭州 were sent to Beijing,<sup>11</sup> and the men who had been under the command of both feudatories were organized into companies and attached to the Chinese Banners. In the case of the troops under the command of the Shang family, "the able-bodied men under the command of Shang Zhixiao 尚之孝 and Shang Zhilong were organized into five companies and attached to the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner" (*Shilu* 實錄 113, Kangxi 22/12/*guichou* 癸丑).<sup>12</sup>

The accounts cited above are the only records referring to the incorporation of the Shang family into the Chinese Banners, but there have survived more detailed records concerning the Geng family, which was incorporated into the Chinese Banners in similar circumstances to the Shang family. In the ninth month of Kangxi 20 (1681), prior to the above treatment of Shang Zhixiao and Shang Zhilong, the troops under the command of Geng Zhaozhong 耿昭忠 were organized into five companies and incorporated into the Chinese Plain Yellow Banner, and, as was the case with other companies in the Chinese Banners, their complement was fixed at seventy-two men, ranging from lieutenants to private soldiers, and the able-bodied men were taken on as soldiers and provided with army rations to support them (*Shilu* 97, Kangxi 20/9/*dingchou* 丁丑).

One reason that those associated with the Shang and Geng families were organized into five companies and attached to the Chinese Three Upper Banners was that Shang Zhilong, Geng Zhaozhong, and so on were the consorts (*efu* / *efu* 額駙) of imperial princesses. The Shunzhi emperor had given imperial princesses in marriage to the sons of Wu Sangui, Kong Youde, Geng Zhongming and Shang Kexi, and in the case of the Shang family the daughter of the Shunzhi emperor's older brother, Imperial

Prince Chengze 承澤, married Shang Zhilong, who thus became the consort of an imperial princess (*hošoi efu* / *heshuo efu* 和碩額駙), with his status remaining unchanged even after the death of Shang Zhixin.<sup>13)</sup>

That the five companies of the Shang family were organized around the *hošoi efu* Shang Zhilong is evident from the *Xianglanqi hanjun chengzao shizhi genyuan tiaoli jiapu ce* 鑲藍旗漢軍呈造世職根源條例家譜冊.<sup>14)</sup> The origins of Company 5 of Regiment 1 in the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner are described in the following manner.

When this file of documents was prepared, the origins of the formation of Company 5 of Regiment 1 in the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner led by Company Captain Shang Zhengming 尙政名, a company made up of kin groups and other people related in special ways (*da kadalara niru* / *yuan guan niulu* 原管牛录), were as follows. It is, namely, one of the five companies granted as a special favour by the Kangxi emperor in Kangxi 22 (1683) in order to support the *hošoi efu* Shang Zhilong and other sons of the South-Pacifying Imperial Prince Shang Kexi. Among the five companies granted to the Shang family, three companies were formed of members of the branch founded by Shang Zhilong, one company was formed of members of the branch founded by Zhilong's older brother Shang Zhixiao, and the remaining company was formed of members of the remaining branches apart from the branches of Zhilong and Zhixiao (i.e., the twenty-four branches excluding the four branches of Shang Zhixin, etc., who had been put to death and the two branches residing in Haicheng). Along with members of the Shang family, each company was also composed of men who had followed Shang Kexi in submitting to the Qing dynasty and men who had accompanied the imperial princess who had married Shang Zhilong.

On the basis of the above, it should be evident that the companies of the Shang family in Beijing originated when members of the Shang family and men under their command who had been ordered to withdraw from Guangdong in Kangxi 22 were organized into a total of five companies, centred on the three companies of Shang Zhilong's family, and were attached to the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner (and later transferred to the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner).

### Banner Lands of the Shang Family in Haicheng and Beijing

As has been shown in the above, the members of the Shang family and able-bodied men under their command were, after having withdrawn from Guangdong, organized into two companies in Haicheng and five companies in Beijing, and as well as being organized into companies, those belonging to these companies were provided with banner lands in their capacity as bannermen. The banner lands owned by the Shang family in Haicheng and Beijing have been examined by Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之 and have subsequently also been touched on by Li Yanguang 李燕光,<sup>15)</sup> and here I wish to present a summary based on Sudō's findings. With regard to the Shang family's banner lands in Haicheng, it is shown in Sudō (1) and (3) that in Kangxi 20 (1681) eleven farms of 120 *ri* 日<sup>16)</sup> each were provided, while 150 underlings (*baitangga*) were granted five *ri* each and 68 *heshang* 和尚 were granted 3 *ri* each.<sup>17)</sup> These figures are set out in Table 1.

**Table 1. Banner Lands of the Shang Family of Haicheng (1 *ri* = 6 *mu*)**

Type	Size of Grant	Total
11 farms	120 <i>ri</i> each	1,320 <i>ri</i>
150 <i>baitangga</i>	5 <i>ri</i> each	750 <i>ri</i>
68 <i>heshang</i>	3 <i>ri</i> each	204 <i>ri</i>
		2,274 <i>ri</i> (136 <i>qing</i> 頃 44 <i>mu</i> 畝)

Meanwhile, according to Sudō (2), which examines the banner lands of the Shang family of Beijing, each of the five companies of the Shang family was composed of just over 500 men on average, with the five companies consisting of 2,524 men in total, each of whom was granted 30 *mu* of land, which means that the banner lands of the five companies came to 757 *qing* 20 *mu* in total. These figures are set out in Table 2.

**Table 2. Banner Lands of the Shang Family of Beijing**

Company and Regiment in Chinese Bordered Blue Banner	Commander	Makeup of Company	Number of Men	Total Land Holdings

Company 6, Regiment 1	Shang Zhengming	Shang Zhixiao's main branch	191	57 <i>qing</i> 30 <i>mu</i>
Company 5, Regiment 2	Shang Yucheng	Shang Zhilong's 7th branch	583	174 <i>qing</i> 90 <i>mu</i>
Company 5, Regiment 3	Shang Yude	Shang Zhilong's 7th branch	628	188 <i>qing</i> 40 <i>mu</i>
Company 6, Regiment 4	Shang Chongji	Branches of other uncles	550	165 <i>qing</i>
Company 5, Regiment 5	Shang Weibang	Shang Zhilong's 7th branch	572	171 <i>qing</i> 60 <i>mu</i>
Total			2,524	757 <i>qing</i> 20 <i>mu</i>

As is evident from the above, the Shang family that withdrew from Guangdong was divided into two groups, one made up of those who in Kangxi 20 were organized into two tomb-guarding companies in Haicheng centred on Shang Kexi's tomb and were given land formerly in the possession of Shang Kexi, and the other consisting of those who in Kangxi 22 were organized into five companies in Beijing centred on the *hosoi efu* Shang Zhilong and were granted banner lands. The "Shangshi xiupu shugao" to be taken up next is the draft of a letter that was sent from the Shang family in Haicheng to the Shang family in Beijing.

## II. An Overview of the "Shangshi Xiupu Shugao"

The "Shangshi xiupu shugao" is held by the Harvard-Yenching Library, and it is included together with the *Yuangong chuífan* 元功垂範 and three other printed books in a case bearing the title *Yuangong chuífan*.<sup>18)</sup> The library card (call number: T2763/1033) reads as follows:

元功垂範二卷 續一卷 清乾隆三十年（一七六五）序刊本 九行二〇  
字五册一函  
第四~五册 尚氏名諱錄 尚氏家則 尚崇璧（清）編  
尚氏修譜疏稿 尚宗一（清）撰

*Yuangong chuífan*, 2 fascicles; sequel, 1 fascicle: printed edition with



preface dated Qianlong 30 (1765) of the Qing; 9 lines with 20 characters each [per page], 5 volumes in 1 case. Books 4 & 5: *Shangshi minghui lu* and *Shangshi jiaze*, compiled by Shang Chongbi (Qing). *Shangshi xiupu shugao*: composed by Shang Zongyi (Qing).

The 2-fascicle *Yuangong chuifan*, the *Xu Yuangong chuifan* (its continuation), the *Shangshi minghui lu*, and the *Shangshi jiaze* included together with the “Shangshi xiupu shugao” in this case are all records pertaining to Shang Kexi and the Shang family. The *Yuangong chuifan* and *Xu Yuangong chuifan*, which record the exploits of Shang Kexi, can be found in other libraries around the world, including the Tōyō Bunko, but to the best of my knowledge the *Shangshi minghui lu* and *Shangshi jiaze* are held only by the Harvard-Yenching Library, and therefore I wish to give a brief summary of their content.

The title *Shangshi jiaze* is the title given on the library card, but the title slip has “Qianqiu ruzai xu” 千秋如在續, and *Shangshi jiaze* is presumably the title assigned by the library. Since the title slip has “Qianqiu ruzai xu,” it is to be surmised that there was a “main” volume which preceded this “continuation” (*xu*), but there are no references in the text to this putative preceding volume, and it is not known whether it actually exists. In content, this work sets out seven rules for managing the ancestral temple written in Qianlong 18 (1753) by Shang Chongbi, but these rules differ markedly from the “Rules in Thirteen Articles Established by the Ancestors,” referring to the management of the ancestral temple, which are included in the *Shangshi zongpu*.

The title *Shangshi minghui lu* also appears on the title slip of the said work. It was published in Qianlong 54 (1789), but its author is not known. It lists the characters that ought to be avoided when naming members of the Shang family. Ranking characters used for indicating seniority among brothers or sisters and characters previously used in names ought not to be used, and the author, viewing with concern the present situation, when these rules are not being observed, and concerned about the future, lists by seniority ranking characters and characters previously used, urging people to avoid using these characters in the future.

Whereas the above four works are all printed works, the “Shangshi xiupu shugao” is the draft of a letter written by Shang Zongyi, whose name appears on the library card, and it has no title or title slip. As will become clear below, the letter covers a wide range of subjects, including Shang Kexi’s tomb, repairs to the ancestral temple, the management of sacrifi-

cial fields (*jitian* 祭田: fields that provided the funds for the upkeep of the ancestral temple), wrongdoings concerning land, and the compilation of the Shang family's genealogy. The librarian probably focused on the section urging the compilation of a revised edition of the family's genealogy, and so named it "Shangshi xiupu shugao" (hereafter: "Shangshi shugao"), but judging from its content, this can hardly be described as an appropriate title. It should be mentioned that neither the circumstances whereby these four printed works and draft letter came into the possession of the Harvard-Yenching Library, nor the circumstances whereby the "Shangshi shugao" came to be placed in between the *Yuangong chuifan* are known.

As for the format of the "Shangshi shugao," it is written on a sheet of paper measuring just over 22 cm in height and over 1 metre in length, folded accordion-style every 9 cm, with 14 folds in all; each section between folds consists of 6 lines, with 81 lines in total, and as a rule each line has 35 characters. Because there are also characters that were inserted later, characters that have been crossed out and rewritten, and instances in which only the final character of the names of people of the same generation have been written horizontally side by side, it is difficult to give an accurate estimate of the total number of characters, but the letter consists in total of over 2,930 characters.

The letter is written in regular, non-cursive script, intermingled with some variant and abbreviated characters.<sup>19)</sup> The practice of raising certain characters above the margin as a mark of respect (*taitou* 擡頭) is not followed, but the term *xianwang* 先王, referring to ancestors, the term *zhuxiong* 諸兄, referring to members of the Shang family in Beijing to whom the letter is addressed, the names of the five company captains in Beijing, and so on are preceded by a one- or two-character space as a mark of respect (*kong tai* 空擡). In contrast, the character *Yi* 一, used by Shang Zongyi, the writer of the letter, as an abbreviation for his own name, and the word *di* 弟, used to refer to himself and his associates in Haicheng in contrast to the "older brothers" in Beijing, are written towards the right so as to show humility.

### III. The Content of the "Shangshi Shugao"

The "Shangshi shugao" is the draft of a letter sent on the 17th of the eighth month of Guangxu 2 (1876) by Shang Zongyi, who had been chosen as the head of the family representatives responsible for the upkeep and management of Shang Kexi's tomb and the ancestral temple in Hai-

cheng, to the five company captains attached to the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner who represented the members of the Shang family residing in Beijing. In order to get across to the Shang family in Beijing the present circumstances of the Shang family in Haicheng, who were looking after the ancestral temple, Shang Zongyi describes in twenty-nine sections the repairs made to the tomb and ancestral temple during the previous five years from Tongzhi 同治 10 (1871) to Guangxu 1 (1875), the management of the sacrificial fields, and so on. The entire text of the letter can be divided into (A) the events that led Shang Zongyi to write the letter, (B) matters dealt with from Tongzhi 10 to Guangxu 1, and (C) future plans and proposals. The letter is written in a style that includes many expressions mixed with everyday words that are difficult to comprehend, and therefore I shall divide it into three parts, (A), (B) and (C), and present the original text with a provisional translation or summary. When citing the original text, I have used the following conventions.

Forward slash /: indicates the start of a new line.

Triangle  $\triangle$  : indicates a 1-character space.

Braces { } : indicate a later interpolation.

【 】 : indicates that a character has been crossed out.

【州→眾】 : indicates that, for example, the character 州 has been crossed out and replaced with 眾.

Square brackets [ ]: indicate that the characters enclosed by square brackets have been written horizontally side by side.

《一》 : refers to Shang Zongyi, with the character 一 having been written towards the right.

<?>: indicates that the character preceding the question mark is difficult to make out or is assumed to have been used in place of another homophonous character.

### (A) The events that led Shang Zongyi to write the letter

The opening section of the letter describes how Shang Zongyi came to find himself in the position of supervising the management of the Shang family's ancestral temple in Haicheng, and he also puts his case to the Shang family in Beijing.

(A-1) According to this opening section, Shang Zongyi assumed the position of representative in charge of overseeing the ancestral tem-

ple in the following circumstances. Shang Zongke 尙宗可 (courtesy name [zi 字] Yiting 怡亭, graduate of National University, 13th branch of the family)<sup>20)</sup> called a family conference on three occasions, and ten people, starting with Shang Zhengyuan 尙政遠 (32nd branch) and also including Shang Zongyi (graduate of National University, 13th branch), were chosen to cooperate with the two tomb-guarding company captains in matters concerning the Shang family as a whole.<sup>21)</sup> But some of the ten people who had been chosen had to be replaced because of retirement, death through illness, and pressure of family affairs, and in the end six people, headed by Shang Zhengyuan's replacement Shang Zongyi and consisting in addition of the initially selected Shang Changkui 尙昌魁 (13th branch), Shang Changguo 尙昌國 (13th branch) and Shang Changhou 尙昌後 (32nd branch) and the subsequently added Shang Changhe 尙昌和 (13th branch) and Shang Changshou 尙昌壽 (32nd branch), had been managing the family's public affairs for the past five years.

《一》不<本?>不才、事多愚 [莽。謬] 蒙怡亭·尙宗可五兄大人邀集、族人三次議妥、從此停訟、挑派十人、協同二位／佐領、操辦公中事件。尙政遠·尙宗 [一·彭·聚] ·尙昌 [魁·國·後] ·尙昌 [隆·藩·海]。每位佐領、每年不論值班、均取養贍錢兩／千吊。餘則上納國課、下充功<工?>程靡費。不意正在次第舉行間、遠十太爺恬退、宗彭病故、宗／聚、昌 [藩·海·隆] 均有家務、不能分身、僅剩《一》等四人、又續昌 [和·壽]、任勞任怨、至今五年。又蒙族眾推《一》爲家／長。雖無一善可稱、諒覺堪告慰。

Shang Zongyi, who had been made “family head,” the family representative responsible for the management of the ancestral temple,<sup>22)</sup> did not claim to have any especially outstanding qualities but thought that he would be able to bring comfort to the ancestors, and after having thus described his current position, in A-2 he takes issue with the content of a letter that had arrived from the Shang family living in Beijing.

(A-2) In this section Shang Zongyi rebuts the assertion in the letter from the five company captains in Beijing that “Were one to ask what everyone thinks, you would be very uneasy,” and asserts that the family members in Haicheng have nothing to feel uneasy about, and he suggests that it is rather those in Beijing who ought to examine their conscience for having failed to show any interest in the poor state of

the tombs, ancestral temple, and so on in Haicheng.

至於捧讀來飭、內云問之眾心、甚有不安。以弟等問心／未必不安。五載經營、宗祠【全】行翻蓋、王墳煥然一新。栽種松樹四五千株。整理山場、查辦地／土等事、凡有廢者舉之、偏者正之。似乎可以枚稟、有何不安。△如諸兄每年來信、只知衡水／△先營<瑩?>爲重、催逼祭銀。想三代贈王<sup>23</sup>) 竝△先王弟 {兄} 牌位、墳墓俱在海城、祭饗不敢一次有缺。何信內竝／無一字問及墳廟山場祭田等項。關東廟倒墳塌、樹盡產絕、△【諸】兄等五六年前、已經熟悉情形、{竟} 而不聞不問。不知△諸兄五【位→夜】捫心、安乎不安。

Having thus refuted the insinuations of the Shang family in Beijing, Shang Zongyi goes on in A-3 to describe the present situation in Haicheng and makes some proposals, thereby bringing the opening section of the letter to an end.

(A-3) The income for managing the ancestral temple had all been spent on the allowance of 1,000 taels given to the two tomb-guarding company captains, state taxes, and repairs to the ancestral temple and so on, mentioned in A-1, and Shang Zongyi and his associates were making do with inadequate operating funds on account of the fact that there were many members of the Shang family in Haicheng and they set a high value on honour. Shang Zongyi adds that there has been no falsification of the accounts since the accounts for the temple construction work and so on were settled in accordance with the ancestors' instructions, and he asks for the understanding of the five company captains in Beijing regarding this state of affairs in Haicheng. He further raises the question of whether it is appropriate for ancestral services to be held separately in Haicheng and Beijing.

《一》等非敢抗諉、實係心與力違。不但經費不足、年年虧欠。總賴人多而面重、方可籌辦。俟工程完竣後、《一》等必遵△祖訓辦理、隨年／清交。望△諸兄從此諸凡原宥。何也、關東京都、同是爲△祖宗公事、何分彼此、不知是否。《一》等寔係冒昧、謹將五年所辦事件、臚列於左。

Next, in order to acquaint the Shang family of Beijing with the situation in Haicheng, he enumerates twenty-nine matters that had been dealt with during the five years from Tongzhi 10 to Guangxu 1 and how they

were funded.

### (B) Matters dealt with from Tongzhi 10 to Guangxu 1

In this section Shang Zongyi provides an itemized list of what was done regarding repairs to the ancestral temple, management of the sacrificial fields, the exposing of wrongdoings, and so on during each of the five years from Tongzhi 10 to Guangxu 1. Serial numbers have been added to the items in the original text given below, and the content of these items will be later summarized under three headings.

#### Matters dealt with in Tongzhi 10 (同治十年所辦事件)

(1) Company captain Shang Zongji illegally pawned 3 *sheng* (18 *mu*) of sacrificial fields in the cemetery of the Liu family, lying to the west of the Yang family's garden, to the bannerman Zhong Derun at 500 strings<sup>24</sup> of cash per *sheng*. As he has already been made to repay it by having it deducted from his allowance, it will be disregarded for the time being. There is a contract to prove this.

一、佐領尚宗稷、將楊家園子【?→家】西、坐落劉家墳處祭田三繩。盜典與旂人鍾德潤五百吊錢一繩。／已經扣其養贍、勒令回贖、姑置不論。有契可証。

(2) Company captain Shang Changyu, using the sacrificial fields in the village of Boluo as security, borrowed 2,000 strings of cash from Shang Changjin. In addition, using the sacrificial fields at Xiaomatou as security, he borrowed more than 1,000 strings of market cash from the brothers Wang Hengshi and Wang Hengfu and also borrowed no less than 20 piculs of sorghum, equivalent to seven or eight hundred strings of cash, from his own tenant farmer Ning Shuying. Again, since the allowance in his name was deducted equally over three years, it has been repaid and he is not in debt. There are written accounts that can be checked.

一、佐領尚昌玉、暗指波羅堡子祭田、借／得尚昌金市錢兩千吊。又暗指小馬頭祭田、借得汪恒〔市、福〕市錢一千餘吊、又擡地戶寧樹英高糧／不足二十谷、合錢七八百吊。亦由伊名下養贍、均三年扣留、業已還清、再無拖欠。有賬／可查。

(3) The large west gate, the dining hall to the north, the kitchen to the south, and the gate tower had all collapsed, and so ten of us contributed various amounts and on the 23rd day of the 7th month of Tongzhi 10 we were able to raise the collapsed buildings. This was the start of the construction work.

一、由同治十年七月二十三日一等操辦公事。西大門、北飯房、南廚房、竝門樓均皆坍塌。《一》等十名、多寡均行墊辦、方能搬倒扶起、共成功<工?>程之始。

(4) In the “Family Instructions of the Ancestors” in thirteen articles it says that it is forbidden for company captains to involve themselves in land rent so as to prevent them from profiteering. We are respectfully following the ancestral rules in our dealings, and each tenant farmer is made to go in person to the ancestral temple to deliver the land rent. There is an account book to prove all of this, and it is not just empty talk.

一、△先王家訓十三條內云。所有／租項不准佐領經手、以免侵漁。《一》等謹遵△祖訓操辦、敢不量入爲出、所以均令各佃戶親赴宗祠／交租。均有出入帳目可証、竝非虛語。

#### **Matters dealt with in Tongzhi 11 (同治十一年所辦事件)**

(5) Shortly before the new year we prepared a small quantity of materials to renovate three halls [in the tomb grounds], but unfortunately we were short of both workers and building materials. We thought about it over and over again, and the kinsmen in the north and south hamlets, their amounts differing, together provided more than 5,000 strings of cash, while we too bore some of the expenses, and only then were we able to completely renew [the halls].

一、年前多少雖然備【科→料】、翻蓋寢殿三楹、無如人工物料、均屬不足。《一》等再四思維、南北屯爺們多少不同、共佃市錢五千餘吊。《一》／方能燦然一新。

(6) One plot of 13 *mu* of sacrificial fields at Shijingpu was illegally pawned by the tenant farmer Wang Dezhong to the bannerman Xu Sidunzi, and he gained 700 strings of cash in return. We devised a

means to cancel the pawning contract, and we have recovered the land and leased it to another tenant farmer.

一、石景舖祭田地內有一段十三畝。被惡奴王得忠盜典與旂人徐四園子典價錢七百吊。《一》等設法籌辦逼將典契交回、已經另佃取租。

(7) Shang Changlian, the son of the late company captain Shang Zongyin, sold 10 *sheng* of sacrificial fields in Xiajiahe to [the pawnshop] Baoyuhao and pawned 13 *sheng* to Baoyuhao for a combined sum of 6,000 strings of cash, which he allocated to [the repayment of] his private debts. Using the prestige of Shang Kexi, we recovered all of the land from Baoyuhao, and we have not yet become involved in a lawsuit [with Baoyuhao]. I do not know how he (i.e., Shang Changlian) has repaid his debts [to Baoyuhao].

一、已故佐領尙宗因之子昌聯、將下夾河祭田地兌與寶與號／十繩、  
{典與寶與號十三繩}、共價六千吊、以抵私債。《一》等籍先王威靈、寶與號將地如數交回、並未涉訟。伊等之債不／知如何補還。

(8) The buildings surrounding the ancestral temple on the east side have collapsed and are shabby-looking. Unable to put up with this deterioration, we borrowed here and there at 30% or 20% interest, and although nothing has yet been done about the surrounding walls, the shingles and beams have all been replaced. It now looks magnificent, and as a result the vitality of the ancestral temple has been invigorated. Consequently we have many debts and many worries, and we find it difficult to pay the fees for sacrificial rites at two localities (i.e., Hengshui and Haicheng) yearly. We beg your understanding.

一、東抱廈已經坍塌、難 {壯} 觀瞻。《一》等不忍減色、到處挪借、三分行息二分納利、／雖然回壁未動、望板方椽全換、方能金碧輝煌、以壯祠堂之聲氣。從此多債【少→多】愁、礙難按／年交納兩處祭銀。望祈原諒。

(9) It is absolutely forbidden to fell trees on the hills at Toudaogou, but there are still [Shang] family members and poor people of other families who are illegally felling trees daily. Not hesitating to incur enmity, we once severely punished Shang Changzhu and also once sent Shang Zongman to the authorities for punishment. Consequently it



has now become possible for the grave keepers to prevent the illegal felling of trees.

一、頭道溝山場總然【禁→禁】止樵採、仍有族人竝外姓窮民旦々偷行／砍撻。《一》等不辭招怨、也曾重罰昌珠、也曾送官究治宗滿。至今墳達方能看守得住。

### Matters dealt with in Tongzhi 12 (同治十二年所辦事件)

(10) Although the four walls of the shrine sacred to Shang Kexi were not yet falling down, the shingles and beams were all rotten, and should it happen to rain, the portrait of Prince [Shang Kexi] could not be kept safe from getting wet. Since there was no way that we could dither, we asked relatives, sought out friends, and borrowed money from many people so that we were able to carry out repairs and prevent the problem of [the portrait] getting wet.

一、先王亨殿四壁雖未傾頽、望板方椽全行朽爛。一遇陰雨、王影不保潤／濕。《一》等躊躇無法、又託親覓友、告貸多人、方能重修、以免潤濕之患。

(11) The portrait of the former Prince [Shang Kexi] has, since I do not know when, been torn in one place at the top, but the company captain does not do anything about remounting it, nor does he do anything about repainting the ancestral tablets, spirit caskets, and spirit niches in the halls. Right now they have been covered with gold and scattered with powder. We find it difficult not to fall into debt to relatives and friends, but it is only for the purpose of tidying up the ancestral temple.

一、先王影像、不知何年／月、業以撕扯上邊一處。該佐領不知揭裱裝潢、寢殿牌位·神盒·神龕、又不知從新彩畫。刻下俱／已堆金摠粉。《一》等碍難不拖欠親友帳目、以整理宗祠之事耳。

(12) As regards the 264 *sheng* of sacrificial fields at Shijingpu, apart from the 30 *sheng* for supporting the able-bodied men and 25 *sheng* leased and cultivated by the main family, there are still just over 211 *sheng*. Shang Zongqi, the son of the late company captain Shang Zhengshu, had been arbitrarily collecting the land rent for ten years.

He has now been made to repay it, and we have decided to advertise for tenant farmers and collect land rent. This is what great-grandfather Shang Chongbi meant when he said, “One cannot bring losses to everyone for the sake of public benefit, but neither should one deceive the ancestors and give people a free hand.”

一、石景舖祭田二百六十四繩、除養／丁三十繩竝本家租種二十五繩外、尚有二百一十繩零。被已故佐領尚政樞之子宗啓霸收租項十年。／今已勒令交回、任憑公中招佃取租。如△璧老祖云、既不能虧眾以益公、亦不敢蒙祖以容眾者／此也。

(13) Everywhere from the gate of the ancestral temple right along the side-rooms on both sides was leaking and needed to be repaired. I and my nephews deliberated over and over again, and we had no choice whatsoever but to replace the roof of the gate and repair the side-rooms. It is not that we are ignorant and have acted foolishly as we please out of a desire for achievements.

一、宗祠宮門以及兩旁配房、均行滲漏碍難待理。《一》與姪等再三斟酌、萬不得已、方將／宮門上蓋換新、配房重蓋。竝非《一》等無知妄作、任意要功之事也。

### **Matters dealt with in Tongzhi 13 (同治十三年所辦事件)**

(14) There is a screen wall inside the courtyard of the ancestral temple and one outside the courtyard. They are both over a hundred years old, and having been exposed to the sun, beaten by the rain, and blasted by the wind, they were certainly not sturdy. Therefore, we purchased bases of granite from Baishizhai, placed the two screen walls on them, and laid bricks on top. We spent over 2,000 strings of Liaodong copper coins, but it turned out that it was best to have restored them to their former state.

一、宗祠院內影壁一坐、院外影壁一坐、均係百有餘年、日晒雨打風吹、實不能堅壯。所以《一》等另由白石寨、買得犀角石頭坐兩坐、上砌磚瓦。使費東錢兩千餘吊、可知仍舊之說、寔屬至論。

(15) The crossbeams, rafters and decorative animals on the roof ridge of the gate to Shang Kexi's tomb had all rotted and could not be re-

paired with plaster. The walls had fallen down in sixteen places, and no more than ten or twenty percent of the houses for the grave keepers were still habitable. We were unable to let this pass, and therefore we renovated the gate, relaid the walls, and replaced all the tiles of the houses for the able-bodied men [who guard the tomb]. It again cost some money, and creditors ended up forming lines in front of the gate.

一、王墳宮門檁椽脊獸、均皆朽爛、概不容沾補。泥抹群牆傾倒十六處。看墳房間拾無一二、尚可存／棲。《一》等不忍、所以翻蓋宮門、重砌牆垣。壯丁房間瓦簿皆已重換。又費若干。門前債主、不能不雁行／立矣。

(16) Although Shang Kexi's tomb had been repaired, there was not a single pine tree or any other trees, and its appearance needed to be embellished. It is not that we were not worried about financial difficulties, but unfortunately it was a pressing situation, and around this time we planted 1,200 pine trees and sowed seeds for more than 4,000 pine trees. I do not know whether they will grow in the future, but it was only done for our descendants.

一、王墳雖經修整、奈松樹雜樹寔無一株、可以壯人之觀瞻。《一》等非不愁錢力維【難→艱】、無如寔／偪處此。又由前後栽得松樹一千二百株、種得松樹四千餘株。不知將來可能活否、不過聊盡子孫／之心耳。

(17) The administrative register left by great-grandfather Shang Chongbi was assuredly something to which he devoted all his energies. But it was a long time ago, and the boundaries and ridges no longer tally. Successive company captains have merely collected the land rent and failed to make detailed surveys of the villages' locations, the area of the land, what had been washed away by rivers, and so on. It is not that we have ventured to display our abilities, and we have merely walked in the footsteps of our ancestors. Apart from Changxingdao, which we have not yet managed to survey, we respectfully present a report on the surveys of eight localities in Haicheng as follows.

一、璧老祖遺造事務冊、固屬費盡心血。但代遠年湮、四至壟段、碍難符合。歷任佐領不過催租而已、安肯詳細查其村之【事→東】西、壟之

長短、竝河道冲趕等事。《一》等非敢展才、寔步祖／宗後塵。除長興島未能查丈外、謹將海城八屯查丈清白如左。

(18) Sacrificial fields at Shijingpu: The register records 264 *sheng*, but if one measures it now, one gets 238 *sheng* 0.74 *mu*, resulting in a shortfall of 26 *sheng*. Some of it was of course washed away by the river, but even so it should not be this much. If one asks family members, no one knows anything about it, and there have been no irregularities such as illegal pawning or illegal selling. We do not have the ability to investigate further, and so we have shown only that some land is missing and await further inquiries.

一、石景舖祭田冊載二百六十四繩。今丈量得二百三十八繩零七分四。竟虧少地二十六繩、固屬有河冲兌、然而未必如此之多。訊／之族人竝無知者。亦無盜典盜賣之弊。《一》等實無才能查。出只可缺以待考。

(19) Sacrificial fields at Xiaomatou: [The register records] 204 *sheng*, but if one measures it now, one gets 177 *sheng* 4.37 *mu*, with a shortfall of exactly 26 *sheng* 0.57 *mu*. The amount washed away by the river would not come to this. It includes a thatched hut built clandestinely by Wang Hengfu, and we have made him sign a note saying that he arbitrarily built it, on the basis of which he is paying land rent in compensation. It is not possible to check which land is missing. Even if there are suspicious circumstances surrounding the missing land, it is included in land sold by the Shang family in Beijing, and if one wanted to get to the root of the matter, it would be impossible to do so without hurting the feelings of kinsmen. Who could come forward to do this?

一、小馬頭祭田二百零／四繩。今丈量得一百七十七繩零四畝三分七。淨虧少地二十六繩零五分七。總有河兌量、不至此。內有汪恒福私蓋草房一所、已經令其自立擅蓋字據。照依上 {地} 賠償交租。所少地段、碍難查考。總有影／像、亦係裏在京旂出賣地畝之內、倘欲根究、非大傷骨肉 [之情] 不可。誰能出首爲此。

(20) Sacrificial fields along the Sha River: The register records 81 *sheng*, but if one measures it now, one gets 86 *sheng* 3.97 *mu*. This includes two grave sites clandestinely constructed by the tenant farm-

ers Wang and Liu. Notes saying that this will not be permitted again have already been prepared. They had also built five thatched huts clandestinely, but we have made them sign notes saying that they arbitrarily built them, and they are paying land rent in compensation. We beg you to give us a clear indication of whether or not our handling of the matter has been appropriate.

一、沙河 {沿} 祭田冊載八十一繩。今丈量得八十六繩三畝九分七。內有佃戶王劉私葬墳塋兩處。業已立字不准再／葬。又有私蓋草房五所、亦令其自立擅蓋字據、倍<賠?>價交租。不知《一》等所辦事否、敢祈明示。

(21) Sacrificial fields in Xiajiahe: [The register records] 206 *sheng*, but if one measures it now, one gets just over 219 *sheng*. Judging from the register, it would seem to be extra land, but what is one to do? This locality also includes tenant land equivalent to 31 *sheng* bestowed by the emperor, but only the land rent is recorded, and the whereabouts of the land is unknown. I do not know how it was dealt with in earlier years, and it has only now come to light for the first time. There are many grave sites that have been illegally pawned and a great deal of land that has been illegally sold and illegally swapped by family members. Once we have clarified matters and dealt with them appropriately, we will promptly report to you again.

一、下夾河祭田二百零六繩。今丈量得二百一十九繩零。照冊似乎浮多無奈。此屯尙有一領御租地／三十一繩錢糧。此乃有錢糧無地。不知早年如何辦法、今始查出。被族人盜典墳塋、盜賣盜換極／多。俟《一》等訪明辦妥、再行馳稟。

(22) Sacrificial fields in the village of Boluo: The register records 127 *sheng*, and 6 *sheng* were missing from the start. If one measures it now, one gets just over 113 *sheng*, and exactly 8 *sheng* are missing. It is not because of landslides or flooding [that the land has been lost]. We do not have the ability to look for it and are quite helpless in this matter. We beg for your understanding.

一、波羅堡子祭田冊載一百二十七繩。原虛六繩。今丈量得一百／一十三繩零。淨虧少地八繩。又不靠山又不靠河。《一》等寔無才能查找。只可付之無可奈何。望祈／恕諒。

(23) Sacrificial fields in the area around Yushu: The register records 18 *sheng*, but if one measures it now, one gets 13 *sheng* 1.82 *mu*, and exactly 4 *sheng* 4.18 *mu* are missing. The register originally notes that there were no more than three plots. Other details are not known, and we are unable to investigate.

一、榆樹圈子祭田冊載十八繩。今丈量得十三繩一畝八分二。淨虧少地四繩四畝一分八。冊內／原註不過【二→三】段。餘俱未詳、寔屬無從查考。

(24) Sacrificial fields at Toudaogou: The register records 16 *sheng* 1.6 *mu*. Family members in Beijing later bought just over 36 *sheng*, making just over 52 *sheng* all together, but if one measures it now, one gets just over 78 *sheng*. Although there is a great deal of extra land, unfortunately it is all hill slopes and steep cliff faces, unsuitable for cultivation, and it is not worth the family's celebrating.

一、頭道溝祭田冊載十六繩一畝六分。竝後買／京旂地三十六繩零。共五十二繩有畸。今丈量得七十八繩零。雖有浮多、無如均係山坡險崖、不堪耕／種。不足爲族中之慶。

(25) Sacrificial fields on Mt. Wen'an: The register records 97 *sheng* 2.9 *mu*, but if one measures it now, one gets just over 28 *sheng* 4 *mu* within the mountain precincts and just over 47 *sheng* outside the mountain precincts, and exactly 22 *sheng* are missing. [When compared with the register,] there is 10 *sheng* 5.39 *mu* more land on the mountain slopes and 32 *sheng* 8.2 *mu* less flat land outside the mountain precincts. This is all leased and cultivated by family members. Even if we follow the [ancestral] instruction that it is difficult to satisfy two parties, it is still difficult to deal with.

文安山祭田冊載九十七繩二畝九。今丈量得山內二十八繩四畝零。山外四十七繩零。淨虧少地二十二繩。山坡地多出十繩零五畝三分九。山外平地少了三十二繩八畝二分。俱係族人租種。《一》等／總違時【?→勢】。不能兩全之訓、亦屬碍難辦理。

(26) Although the original register records for the above eight localities the length, breadth and location [of the land], it does not note the number of long and short ridges in each plot or the length from

east to west. We are now carefully investigating the sacrificial fields in each locality, and for every plot we have clearly noted [the above details], clearly recording its location to the north or south of which locality and to the east or west of which road, its length and orientation, and its boundaries on four sides. We do not venture to claim that it is detailed, and it is no more than a limited view, but we have managed to clarify at least one part.

以上八屯原冊、雖有弓長尺丈段落、並未註明某／段內 {其→共} {計} 長短壟若干、東長西長、東短西短。今《一》等查清各屯祭田、凡有地段均註明、何屯之南北、何路之東／西、壟之長短、東西竝四至、一々寫明。不敢稱爲詳細、無非管窺之見。亦可聊見一斑耳。

(27) We have already investigated the above eight localities and shown how currently family members and other people have clandestinely made graves and have arbitrarily built houses. The eight localities recorded in the administrative register kept by great-grandfather Shang Chongbi all had dwellings and gardens, but time has moved on and things have changed, and we are unable to investigate [the current state of affairs] on the basis of the original register. We can only wait for a future opportunity.

一、以上八屯、現在族人外人、私葬墳塋、擅蓋房間、雖然俱已查明。而△璧老祖創修事務冊內所載八屯、均有房間園欄。時移事改、《一》等寔係不能依冊查清。以俟將來可耳。

### Matters dealt with in Guangxu 1 (光緒元年所辦事件)

(28) There were no one to lease the low-roofed building with a frontage of 11 *jian* on the west side of the road in front of the temple Jie-yinsi, and neither the crossbeams nor the pillars were useable. What was more, the plot of 1 *zhang* 2-3 *chi* behind the buildings was extremely small, and if nothing were built, I feared that we would invite the ridicule of others. We have accordingly purchased a tile-roofed house of four *jian* and foundations from Wang Hu and have newly erected a building of twenty-one *jian*, with the walls and steps all done in stonework, and these are now being rented out. I do not know whether or not you approve, but we did it at our own discretion.

一、接引寺門前路西市房十一間、竝偏廈無人租賃。櫨 {樑} 椽柱無一可用。況後院一丈三二尺地房甚屬／狹窄。不蓋恐貽人笑。因此又買王瑚瓦 {房} 四間、地基一段。從新翻蓋二十一間、院牆臺堦均行壘砌。現／今俱已出租。不知△諸兄。以為可否、寔擅專矣。

(29) The passageways inside the ancestral temple and the steps of the side-rooms on both sides of the temple gate are laid with bricks, but unfortunately many years have elapsed and now they are all uneven. We purchased greenstone from Baishizhai and redid the brickwork. We did not spend any money out of our own pockets and paid with earnings left by our ancestors. Should this be considered wasteful?

一、祠堂內甬路竝宮門配房臺堦、雖屬磚鋪、無／奈年久、今俱崎嶇不平。《一》等又買白石寨條石搯邊、從新另砌。《一》等寔係未費已囊一文。仍是／△祖宗留項、可謂浪費。

(30) The twenty-nine items listed above each differ in the scale of what was done, but money was absolutely necessary. Although there is some house rent, the company captains collect it themselves to use for the four seasons and eight services.<sup>25)</sup> As for the land rent, it is managed by the family as a whole, but I fear that it is insufficient. There are some payments that have fallen in arrears, but the most urgent can be met with the more than 4,000 strings of cash gained from the sale of mountain firewood<sup>26)</sup> from Toudaogou. Whether we will be in the black or in the red in the future is not something that we can foretell.

一、以上二十九條、功成大小、非錢不可。房租雖有、均【? →係】佐領自收、以備四辰八祭／之用。至於地租、雖由公中徵出、恐不足用。尚有拖累帳目若干。因將頭道溝之山柴出賣四千餘吊、以濟／燃眉。至於後來成敗利鈍、非《一》等所逆料也。

Next, I shall divide the items listed above into repairs to the ancestral temple and their payment, surveys of sacrificial fields and their present state, and the exposure of wrongdoing and tomb-guarding company captains, and I shall examine them, referring to the above items by the corresponding section numbers.



*Repairs to the ancestral temple and their payment*

The ancestral temple appears to have been in a very poor state of repair, and reconstruction work and repairs were carried out every year after the first repairs in Tongzhi 10. The main buildings that were rebuilt were the large west gate, the dining hall to the north, the kitchen to the south, and the gate tower (§3), three halls behind (§5), and the grave keepers' houses (§15), and eleven buildings in front of the gate of the temple Jieyinsi were rebuilt to create twenty-one buildings (§28). Major repairs included replacing the shingles on the roofs of buildings surrounding the main hall (§8), the four walls, shingles and beams of the ancestors' sacrificial hall (§10), the leaking roofs of the gate and side-rooms (§13), the screen walls inside and outside the courtyard (§14), the cross rafters, beams and decorative animals on the roof ridge of the gate to Shang Kexi's tomb (§15), and replacing the brickwork along the passageways and on the steps (§29). In addition, Shang Kexi's portrait was repaired and the ancestral tablets, spirit caskets, and spirit niches were repainted (§11). As well, 1,200 pine trees were planted to replace trees that had been illegally felled, and seeds for more than 4,000 trees were sown (§16).

The costs for these repairs and so on seem to have been borne largely by individuals, the only exceptions being the screen walls repaired at the cost of over 2,000 strings of cash (§14) and the brickwork paid for with money left by ancestors (§29). All other work appears to have been carried out in various forms at the expense of family members, starting with Shang Zongyi and his associates. The construction costs for the large west gate, the dining hall to the north, and so on were met by ten family members, including Shang Zongyi (§3); the cost of rebuilding the three halls behind was met partially by kinsmen in the north and south hamlets, who paid more than 5,000 strings of cash, with the remainder being covered by Shang Zongyi, etc. (§5); and the repairs to the temple gate also seem to have been paid for by Shang Zongyi, etc. (§13). The money to pay for the repairs to the ancestors' sacrificial hall was borrowed from relatives and friends (§10), the buildings surrounding the main hall on the east side were repaired by borrowing money at 20% or 30% interest (§8), and creditors ended up forming lines in front of the gate (§15), but the ancestral temple had to be tidied up even if it meant falling into debt to relatives and friends (§11). Because of these many debts, members of the Shang family in Beijing were asked to be understanding of the fact that it was not possible to send the fees for the sacrificial rites which they had

requested (§8).

In his summary of the twenty-nine items (§30), Shang Zongyi states that it had been absolutely necessary to carry out the repairs. One of the sources of revenue was house rent, but this was appropriated by the tomb-guarding company captains for religious services performed during the course of the year and known as “four seasons and eight services (*siji baji* 四季八祭),” and the land rent paid by tenant farmers on the sacrificial fields was insufficient, resulting in unpaid bills. These arrears could currently be met with the sale of mountain firewood from Toudaogou, but it was difficult to know what might happen in the future.

In order to secure a source of operational revenue for repairs to the ancestral temple and so on, it was necessary to manage the land rent collected from the sacrificial fields, and Shang Zongyi and his associates accordingly conducted surveys of sacrificial fields and exposed numerous instances of wrongdoing.

### *Surveys of sacrificial fields and their present state*

Shang Zongyi’s surveys of sacrificial lands were based on an “administrative register left by great-grandfather Shang Chongbi” (§17), which had been compiled by the tomb-guarding company captain Shang Chongbi (16th branch) over a period of thirty-five years, starting in Qianlong 25 (1760).<sup>27)</sup> A comparison of the sizes of the plots of sacrificial fields at the time of Shang Chongbi’s surveys with those at the time of Shang Zongyi’s surveys, conducted about one hundred years later around Tongzhi 10, is presented in Table 3.

**Table 3. Eight Localities with Sacrificial Fields (1 *sheng* = 6 *mu*)**

Name of Locality	Qianlong Surveys		Tongzhi Surveys		Increases and Decreases	
	<i>Sheng</i>	<i>Mu</i>	<i>Sheng</i>	<i>Mu</i>	<i>Sheng</i>	<i>Mu</i>
(§18) Shijingpu	264		238	0.74	-25	5.26
(§19) Xiaomatou	204		177	4.37	-26	1.63
(§20) Along Sha River	81		86	3.97	+5	3.97
(§21) Xiajiahe	206		219		+13	0.00
(§22) Boluo Village	127		113		-14	0.00
(§23) Area around Yushu	18		13	1.82	-4	4.82

(§24) Toudaogou	52		78		26	0.00
(§25) Mt. Wen'an	97	2.9	75		-22	
Total	1,049 <i>sheng</i> 2.9 <i>mu</i>		1,000 <i>sheng</i> 4.9 <i>mu</i>		Shortfall of 49 <i>sheng</i> 2 <i>mu</i>	

According to Shang Zongyi (§26), the administrative register left by great-grandfather Shang Chongbi recorded the size of the plots and their length and breadth, but the length of the ridges, the breadth of the plots from east to west, and their boundaries were unclear, and so he conducted surveys and recorded the results. As is evident from Table 3, the sacrificial fields that had amounted to just over 1,049 *sheng* 2 *mu* (62 *qing* 96 *mu*) at the time of the surveys carried out during the Qianlong era came to just over 1,000 *sheng* 4 *mu* (60 *qing* 4 *mu*) in Tongzhi 10, which means that more than 95 percent of the land recorded in the original register had been preserved. This would suggest that the land had been well managed, but the actual situation was quite complicated.

In some cases the reason for the reduction in the size of the plots was that land had been washed away by flood waters (§18), but in many cases the reasons were unclear (§§18, 19, 22, 23). In one instance, some land had been sold by members of the Shang family in Beijing (§19), and in another instance the location of the land was unknown and only the land rent remained (§21). In cases where the amount of land had increased (§§20, 21, 24), it was either due to oddities in the configuration of the land or else had been purchased, but in some cases the additional land was hilly and unuseable. There were also instances of wrongful use of land, with grave sites having been created and buildings erected without permission (§27), and the perpetrators were not just tenant farmers (§§19, 20), but also members of the Shang family (§§21, 22). In addition, there were cases in which people had clandestinely swapped their poor land for better sacrificial fields (§§21, 25).

### *Exposure of wrongdoing and tomb-guarding company captains*

Although Shang Zongyi lamented that it was impossible to investigate the wrongdoings of family members because it would hurt the feelings of kinsmen (§19), he did nonetheless expose their wrongdoings. For example, Shang Changzhu (25th branch), who had been illegally felling trees together with poor people within the grounds of Shang Kexi's tomb at Toudaogou, where it was forbidden to fell trees,<sup>28)</sup> was severely pun-

ished and Shang Zongman (branch unknown) was sent to the authorities for punishment (§9). The exposure of wrongdoing also extended to two tomb-guarding company captains. It was revealed that company captain Shang Zongji (32nd branch) had illegally pawned 3 *sheng* of sacrificial fields near the Yang family's garden to the bannerman Zhong Derun for 1,500 strings of cash (§1), and that company captain Shang Changyu (2nd branch), using sacrificial fields in the village of Boluo as security, had borrowed 2,000 strings of cash from Shang Changjin and, using sacrificial fields at Xiaomatou as security, had borrowed more than 1,000 strings of cash from the Wang brothers, as well as borrowing a quantity of sorghum, equivalent to seven or eight hundred strings of cash, from his tenant farmer Ning Shuying, making a total of about 3,800 strings of cash (§2). Shang Zongji, who had illegally pawned sacrificial fields, was made to repay the money by having it deducted from his annual allowance of 1,000 strings of cash. These two incidents are examples of wrongdoing by serving company captains, but it was also revealed that former company captains had been involved in wrongdoing together with their children. For example, Shang Changlian, the son of the previous company captain Shang Zongyin (13th branch), sold 10 *sheng* of sacrificial fields at Xiajiahe to the pawnshop Baoxinghao and pawned a further 13 *sheng* for a combined sum of 6,000 strings of cash (§7), while Shang Zongqi, the son of the other previous company captain Shang Zhengshu (13th branch) had for ten years been appropriating the land rent from just over 210 *sheng* of the 264 *sheng* of sacrificial fields at Shijingpu (§12).<sup>29</sup>

Over a period of five years, Shang Zongyi exposed five cases of illegal selling or pawning of land. With the exception of the case involving Wang Dezhong, who obtained 700 strings of cash through the illegal pawning of sacrificial fields at Shijingpu (§6), all these cases involved tomb-guarding company captains, and family members were troubled by the wrongdoings of these company captains who exploited their authority (§21). Wrongdoing by tomb-guarding company captains appears to have been a problem for some time, and the "Family Instructions of the Ancestors" included an article forbidding company captains from involvement in the collection of land rent so as to prevent them from gaining personal profit; involvement by company captains and potential wrongdoing were forestalled by having tenant farmers come to the ancestral temple to pay their rent in person (§4).<sup>30</sup> In addition, Shang Zongyi openly expressed his mistrust of tomb-guarding company captains, who had failed to repair the damaged portrait of Shang Kexi and repaint the flaking ancestral tab-

lets (§11).

After having described the current situation with reference to twenty-nine items, Shang Zongyi ends his letter by making some proposals for the future.

### (C) Future Plans and Proposals

The foregoing sections are followed by some proposals and the closing words of the letter.

The family genealogy has not been revised for more than eighty years, from the 56th year of the Qianlong era to the present day.<sup>31)</sup> Not only does this not accord with the dictum that it is to be revised once every thirty years, but there are a great many people of the generation with the character *wei* whose year of birth, year of death, grave site, and facing direction of their grave have not been noted in the genealogy, not to mention those following the *wei* generation. Of the sixteen characters used as generation characters,<sup>32)</sup> fourteen characters have already been used in Guandong (Haicheng). In the future [after the sixteenth generation] there will not be enough generation characters. Will those in Guandong [from the seventeenth generation onwards] establish on their own ranking characters separately, and will those in the capital establish ranking characters separately? Although we are not smart, next year, following earlier methods, we intend to employ someone to make a hand copy and revision of the family genealogy. I do not know what you think about this, but why not clearly inform us of whether or not you approve?

Our having written in great detail may seem presumptuous. Although we live far away, we cannot but feel in our hearts affection for those related by blood. Our words may be trifling, but the meaning is earnest. Therefore, we respectfully tender this crude letter to our older brothers, the five company captains Shang Zongguang, Shang Zongyu, Shang Zongzhen, Shang Zongli and Shang Zonglian.<sup>33)</sup> Wishing you peace, and good fortune for all your families and homes. You may infer our other good wishes. That is all.

Your younger brother Shang Zongyi and your nephews Shang Changkui, Shang Changguo, Shang Changhou, Shang Changhe and Shang Changshou make sincere obeisance. If you do not believe this letter, there is nothing to stop you from making inquiries of your

own.

一、宗譜由乾隆五十六年至今八十餘年未能修理。於三十年一／修之說不但不符。竝且維字輩生年·卒月·墳地·山向未註譜內者極多。況等【伊→而】下乎。竝且十六字之輩行、／關東已經十四輩矣。將來排完維時無幾。可是關東自己另起輩行、可是京都另【非→起】輩行。

《一》等雖然不敏、意在明年照伊前式、雇人繕寫續修宗譜、不知△諸兄以爲如何。愿與不愿、何妨明以教我。

鬮縷細陳／似乎瀆褻。但居地雖隔雲山、而骨肉之情、不能不感觸五內。言總瑣碎、義寔肝胆。因而肅此燕甬／敬請△△五佐領△△ [光·煜·楨·立·濂] 諸兄大人。閣下金安、竝諸 [弟·侄] 潭府均吉。餘希△鈞鑑、不另。／

《弟》尚宗一·姪昌 [魁·國·後·和·壽]、頓首懇具。如不見信何妨密查。／

[Changkui, Changguo, Changhou, Changhe and Changshou] saw this letter inside the ancestral temple on the 15th day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of the Guangxu era, and a fair copy was completed on the 17th day of the 8th month.

光緒二年八月十五日在△祠堂內看、于八月十七日抄完。／

The final line with the date is written in characters larger than those of the rest of the letter, and it is presumably a note added by Shang Zongyi. It indicates that the letter's content was checked by the other five men responsible for the management of the ancestral temple together with Shang Zongyi before a fair copy was made and sent to Beijing.

### Concluding Remarks

After the end of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, Shang Kexi's descendants settled in Haicheng and Beijing as Chinese bannermen organized into tomb-guarding companies in Haicheng and companies of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner in Beijing. In the above, I have described the circumstances of the Shang family in Haicheng on the basis of the "Shangshi shugao," a letter written by Shang Zongyi in Haicheng to the five company captains in Beijing, but there still remain some issues that will need to be further considered in the future. It ought to have become clear, however, that in Guangxu 2, more than two hundred years after

Kangxi 20, Shang Kexi's descendants continued to look after his tomb, the ancestral temple and sacrificial fields under the supervision of the tomb-guarding company captains and family heads.

The first point that merits attention is the relationship between the Shang family in Beijing and the Shang family in Haicheng. In response to a demand for money to pay for services at the Shang family's ancestral temple at Hengshui, which prompted him to write the letter in the first place, Shang Zongyi accused the five company captains in Beijing of feigning ignorance of the dilapidated state of the ancestral temple in Haicheng, and he ended his letter by suggesting that if they doubted the veracity of the letter's content, they should come and conduct their own investigations. It would thus appear that there were feelings of antipathy between the Shang family in Haicheng and the Shang family in Beijing.

Secondly, there was hostility within the Shang family in Haicheng between the tomb-guarding company captains and other family members. Although the institution of tomb-guarding company captains had been established for the maintenance of Shang Kexi's tomb and the Shangs' ancestral temple, Shang Zongyi had been chosen by family members to manage the ancestral temple separately from the tomb-guarding company captains. The fact that he writes that "it was decided...to cooperate with the two tomb-guarding company captains" would suggest that until then the relationship between the two parties had not been cooperative. Furthermore, it is to be inferred from the fact that the "Family Instructions of the Ancestors" forbade tomb-guarding company captains from becoming involved in the collection of rent from the tenants of sacrificial fields that tomb-guarding company captains had been engaged in wrongdoing, and Shang Zongyi did in fact expose examples of their wrongdoing. He also points out that they had failed to repair the portrait of Shang Kexi when it became damaged, and he makes clear his mistrust of the tomb-guarding company captains, who were negligent in their maintenance of the ancestral temple. The ill feeling towards the tomb-guarding company captains may have been related to the fact that it was only members of Shang Zhixiao's second branch of the family that held official power in both Haicheng—as tomb-guarding company captains—and Beijing—as captain of Company 6, Regiment 1 of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner—but details are not known.

The above examination has focused on the Shang family, but this situation would not have been confined to the Shang family, and presumably it would have been much the same in the case of the Geng family,

who had received similar treatment. It is also to be surmised that there were similar cases among members of the imperial family and illustrious officials who possessed estates and banner lands in both Liaodong and Beijing around the time of the Manchu conquest of China proper in Shunzhi 1 (1644).

In the course of my visits to the Shang family in Haicheng, I have been shown a number of items, including a seal said to have been the official seal of the tomb-guarding company captains, which is inscribed with the words “*Shiguan zuoling gongyong tuji*” 世管佐領公用圖記; the “*Shang zongci tianyuan fenmushan changfangchan shiji zongce*” 尚宗祠田園墳墓山廠房產事蹟總冊 in two fascicles, thought to be a record of the surveys of sacrificial fields carried out by Shang Zongyi; and a letter bearing the title “*Shang Qiyong zhun ci*” 尚其瀛准此, dating from the Republican period, in which the five company captains in Beijing ordered the Shang family in Haicheng to conduct a survey of the sacrificial fields of the ancestral temple.<sup>34)</sup> Using sources such as these, in the future I hope to shed further light on the actual circumstances of Chinese bannermen who affiliated themselves to the Manchu Qing dynasty, with a focus on the trajectory of the Shang family, who have survived from the mid-seventeenth century down to the present day.<sup>35)</sup>

## Notes

- 1) On the course of events leading to Shang Kexi's submission to Taizong, see Hosoya Yoshio 細谷良夫, “Minchō no bushō Shō Kaki—Kōkinkoku e kijun shita keii—” 明朝の武將尚可喜—後金國へ歸順した経緯— [The Ming general Shang Kexi: The process of his submission to the Later Jin], *Tōyōshi Ronshū* 東洋史論集 [The Bulletin of Oriental Researches, Tohoku University] 11 (2007).
- 2) The *Shangshi zongpu* 尚氏宗譜 has recently been published: Liuxiu Lishihui 六修理事會, ed., *Diliuci xuxiu Shangshi zongpu* 第六次續修尚氏宗譜 (Shenyang 瀋陽, 1994). In this article I have based myself chiefly on this edition and the *Shangshi zongpu* compiled in Kangde 康德 6 (1939), with supplementary reference to the *Shangshi zongpu* compiled in Qianlong 乾隆 56 (1791). On the compilation of the *Shangshi zongpu*, see Hosoya Yoshio, “Shō Kaki ichizoku no dōkō o tsutaeru shoshiryō” 尚可喜一族の動向を伝える諸史料 [Historical sources recording movements of members of Shang Kexi's family], in *Diyi-jie Zhongguo Yuwai Hanji Guoji Xueshu Huiyi lunwenji* 第一屆中國域外漢籍國際學術會議論文集 [Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Overseas Chinese Literature] (Taipei: Taiwan Lianhebao Wenhua Jijin Guoxue Wenxianguan 臺灣聯合報文化基金國學文獻館, 1988); Hosoya Yoshio and Liu Xiaoweng 劉小萌, “Shō Kaki o meguru shiseki: Jinzhou, Guanglu dao,



Haicheng” 尚可喜をめぐる史跡：金州、廣鹿島、海城 [Historical sites related to Shang Kexi], *Manzokushi Kenkyū* 滿族史研究 [Journal of Manchu and Qing Studies] 4 (2005).

- 3) In the “Pingnan Jing qinwang Shang Kexi shishi ce” 平南敬親王尚可喜事實冊 (included in the *Shiliao congkan chubian* 史料叢刊初編) it is written as follows about Shang Zhixin: “He was granted the privilege of taking his own life, and his wife and children lost their status as bannermen and were made slaves. But in the cyclic year *renwu* of the Kangxi era (1702), they were favoured by the emperor’s kind thought that they were the descendants of a meritorious vassal and were granted a special dispensation, and Shang Zhixin’s descendants were reinstated as bannermen and once again became members of the Shang family.” (賜以自盡、妻子籍沒入官。康熙壬午年蒙聖恩念功臣之裔、特沛恩綸、子孫回歸宗完聚) The treatment of those other than Shang Zhixin is not recorded, but it is clear that they too were rehabilitated since the *Shangshi zongpu* of Qianlong 56 records the names of the four who were put to death along with the names of their descendants, and Shang Yuxing 尚玉興, a grandson of Shang Zhixin, and Shang Chongyu 尚崇昱, a grandson of Shang Zhihuang, became company captains of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner. On the “Pingnan Jing qinwang Shang Kexi shishi ce,” see Hosoya Yoshio, “‘Heinan Kei shinnō Shō Kaki jijitsu satsu’ no genpon ni tsuite” 「平南敬親王尚可喜事實冊」の原本について [On the original copy of the “Pingnan Jing qinwang Shang Kexi shishi ce”], *Manzokushi Kenkyū Tsūshin* 滿族史研究通信 7 (1997).
- 4) According to the *Shangshi zongpu*, Shang Kexi’s great-grandfather Shang Sheng 尚生 was born in Hengshui 衡水 county in Zhending 真定 prefecture, Hebei 河北 province, and his grandfather Shang Jiguan 尚繼官 moved to Liaodong together with Shang Kexi’s father Shang Xueli 尚學禮, making Haicheng their home, while Shang Xueli’s older brother Shang Xueshu 尚學書 continued the Shang family line in Hengshui.
- 5) In view of the fact that a Chancellor of the Directorate of Education was sent as a messenger of condolence and the 8,000 taels granted for the funeral corresponded to the 5,000 taels for construction of a tomb and 3,000 taels for a stele that were bestowed on the occasion of obsequies for an imperial prince (*Guangxu huidian shili* 光緒會典事例 949, “Gongbu: Fenying guize” 工部 墳塋規則), it is to be surmised that at his funeral Shang Kexi was accorded the treatment due to an imperial prince.
- 6) The archives of the Great Treasury of the Grand Secretariat include three documents relating to succession to the position of tomb-guarding company captain, and the designation of the company captain is not fixed in either Manchu or Chinese, being given as *xiansan zuoling* 閒散佐領 (*sula nirui jangg-in*) (docs. 002378 & 076361) or *kongxian zuoling* 空銜佐領 (*untuhun jergi nirui jangg-in*) (doc. 048487).
- 7) Those apart from members of the imperial family to be appointed imperial princes included, in addition to Shang Kexi, Wu Sangui and Shang Kexi’s son Shang Zhixin, but they were divested of their rank as imperial princes on account of their involvement in the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories.

- 8) "...Shang Zhilong, consort of an imperial princess, had requested that ... the estate of South-Pacifying Prince Shang Kexi heretofore held in Haizhou be granted with due deliberation [for the upkeep of Shang Kexi's tomb] and that two unassigned company captains be bestowed to supervise the able-bodied men. His request is granted." (*Shilu* 實錄 92, Kangxi 19/9/*bingyin* 丙寅: ...和碩額駙尙之隆疏言。...海州向有平南王尙可喜莊地、應酌量撥給、并賜閒散佐領二員管轄家口。從之) The land grant was authorized in the second month of the following year (*Shilu* 94, Kangxi 20/2/*bingshen* 丙申).
- 9) An account of Shang Zhixin's interrogation can be found in *Shilu* 89 (Kangxi 19/3/*yiwei* 乙未), and a reference to his suicide in *Shilu* 91 (Kangxi 19/8/*jia-shen* 甲申). On the circumstances leading to Shang Zhixin's death, see Hosoya Yoshio, "Sanpan no ran no saikentō—Shō Kaki ichizoku no dōkō o chūshin ni—" 三藩の亂の再検討—尙可喜一族の動向を中心に— [A reexamination of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories: With a focus on the movements of Shang Kexi and his family], *Tōyōshi Ronshū* 1 (1984).
- 10) *Shilu* 91, Kangxi 19/8/*wuxu* 戊戌.
- 11) "The princes and grand ministers of the Deliberative Council received an imperial edict: 'Currently, the rebels [of the Three Feudatories] have been annihilated and the region [where the rebellion broke out] is gradually being pacified... [Therefore] the troops under Geng Jingzhong in Fujian and stationed in Hangzhou and the troops under Shang Zhixin in Guangdong are all to be made to come to the capital.'" (*Shilu* 98, Kangxi 20/10/*renchen* 壬辰: 諭議政王大臣等。今逆賊殄滅、疆宇以次平定。...其在福建及移駐杭州耿精忠屬下官員、在廣東尙之信屬下官員、悉令來京)
- 12) Various biographies, starting with the "Xianglanqi hanjun shizhi dachen" 鑲藍旗漢軍世職大臣 1 in *Baqi tongzhi chuji* 八旗通志初集 183, "Mingchen liezhuan" 名臣列傳 43, state that Shang Kexi and members of his family belonged to the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner. But from the time of his submission to the Qing until his stationing in Guangdong he formed his own independent army corps called the Shang Feudatory, which did not form part of the Eight Banners, and it was only in Kangxi 22, when he moved from Guangdong to Beijing, that he and his followers were incorporated into the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner. Later, as a result of the policy of equalizing the number of companies belonging to the Chinese banners during the reign of Yongzheng 雍正, the Shang family transferred from the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner to the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner, thereby becoming bannermen of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner. In the present article, disregarding these differences in banner colour at different times, I give the Shang family's banner as the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner. On this move from the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner to the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner, see Hosoya Yoshio, "Shinchō chūki no hakki kangun no saihensei" 清朝中期の八旗漢軍の再編成 [The reorganization of the Chinese Eight Banners during the mid-Qing], in Ishibashi Hideo 石橋秀雄, ed., *Shindai Chūgoku no shomondai* 清代中國の諸問題 [Various questions concerning Qing China] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 1995).
- 13) "The second daughter of Shisai, Imperial Prince Chengze, the older brother

of the [Shunzhi] emperor: ... She was later raised in the palace. At the age of thirteen, in the 6th month of the cyclic year *gengzi*, the 17th year [of Shunzhi's reign], she was enfeoffed as an imperial princess and was married to Shang Zhilong, the seventh son of Shang Kexi, South-Pacifying Prince Jing.” (*Qing huangshi sipu* 清皇室四譜 4, “Heshuo heshun gongzhu” 和碩和順公主: 世祖兄承澤親王碩塞第二女。...後撫養宮中。十七年庚子年十三、六月封和碩公主、下嫁平南敬王尙可喜第七子之隆) See also *Shilu* 136, Shunzhi 17/6/*yiwei*.

- 14) Manuscript held by the Tōyō Bunko. The corresponding Manchu text also exists, and I wish to take this up on another occasion.
- 15) Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之 (1), “Shinchō chūki ni okeru kichi no kosaku kankei” 清朝中期に於ける旗地の小作關係 [Relations with tenant farmers on banner lands in the mid-Qing], *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 [Journal of Oriental Studies] (Tokyo) 12-1 (1940); id. (2), “Shinsho ni okeru kiho kichi no seiritsu katei” 清初に於ける畿輔旗地の成立過程 [The establishment of banner lands in the metropolitan area in the early Qing], *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Tokyo) 15-1/2 (1944); id. (3), *Shindai Manshū tochi seisaku no kenkyū* 清代滿洲土地政策の研究 [A study of land policy in Manchuria during the Qing] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō 河出書房, 1944), chap. 2, “Shindai ni okeru Hōten no kichi seisaku” 清代に於ける奉天の旗地政策 [Banner-land policy in Fengtian during the Qing]. Articles (1) and (2) have been reprinted in id., *Shindai Higashi Ajia shi kenkyū* 清代東アジア史研究 [Studies in East Asian history during the Qing] (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 日本學術振興會, 1972). Li Yanguang 李燕光 and Guan Jie 關捷, *Manzu tongshi* 滿族通史 [A complete history of the Manchus], vol. 2, *Fengjian shehui shiqi* 封建社會時期 [The period of feudal society] (Shenyang: Liaoning Minzu Chubanshe 遼寧民族出版社 1991), chap. 5, “Shehui jingji huodong” 社會經濟活動 [Socio-economic activities], §2 “Shangjia wangzhuang” 尙家王莊 [The estate of the Shang family]. I am preparing a separate study of landownership by the Shang family in Haicheng and Beijing with reference to the manuscript *Hubu dimu dangce* 戶部地畝檔冊 mentioned in Sudō's articles.
- 16) The *ri* is a land unit used in northeastern China and is equivalent to 6 *mu*. The land unit *sheng* 繩 appearing below in references to sacrificial fields is also a unit used in northeastern China and, like the *ri*, corresponds to 6 *mu*.
- 17) Sudō shows that, as a result of surveys of Shang banner lands in Haicheng conducted in Kangxi 32 (1693) and Yongzheng 4 (1726), the land area had increased to 8,554 *ri* and that there had been lawsuits about ownership of the land between the Shang family, who owned the land, and estate managers.
- 18) In March 1993, when I examined the Manchu works in the Harvard-Yenching Library together with the late Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫 (emeritus professor, Meiji University) and Katō Naoto 加藤直人 (professor, Nihon University), we found the “Shangshi shugao” placed in between the *Yuangong chui fan* 元功垂範. This *Yuangong chui fan* is not listed in *An Annotated Catalog of Chinese Rare Books in the Harvard-Yenching Library* (*Meiguo Hafo Daxue Hafo Yanjing Tushuguan zhongwen shanben shuzhi* 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館中文

善本書志；Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe 上海辭書出版社, 1999). I wish to thank Katō Naoto and Hua Li 華立 (professor, Osaka University of Economics and Law) for their assistance in acquiring a photocopy of the “Shangshi shugao.”

- 19) Variant forms are used for characters such as 辦, 出, 虧, 段, 靈, 式 and 懇.
- 20) When necessary, the family branch, status, dates, etc., of people mentioned have been added on the basis of the *Shangshi zongpu*.
- 21) The tomb-guarding company captains at the time were Shang Zongji 尚宗稷 (32nd branch) and Shang Changyu 尚昌玉 (2nd branch). The fifth version of the *Shangshi zongpu* includes a list of successive tomb-guarding company captains (in “Shoumu zuoling huizhang zuzhang mingci” 守墓佐領會長族長名次), but there are discrepancies between the names in this list and those in the main text of the *Shangshi zongpu*, and the genealogy of the tomb-guarding company captains will need to be examined separately.
- 22) According to the “Rules in Thirteen Articles Established by the Ancestors” (“Xianwang dingxun shisan tiao” 先王定訓十三條) in the *Shangshi zongpu*, “Two regular family heads and two deputy family heads are to be installed at the ancestral temple, and they are to manage the ritual implements used at the ancestral temple and the incomings and outgoings of the sacrificial fields. Whenever there is a receipt or a disbursement, the four regular and deputy family heads must be present to check it, and only then do they order the secretary to record it in the ledger in order to provide for future investigations and the balancing of accounts so as to prevent embezzlement.” (塋廟設立正家長二名、副家長二名。經管塋廟祭器祭田出入賬目。凡遇收放正副四人到齋、始命書記登寫簿內、以便稽查銷算、庶免浸漁) It is thus evident that two regular and two deputy family heads (*jiazhang* 家長) were in charge of managing the ancestral temple. In addition, in the section on Shang Zongyi in the *Shangshi zongpu* he is described as the “clan head of the ancestral temple” (*zongsi zuzhang* 宗祠族長), indicating that the family heads were the representatives of those in charge of managing the ancestral temple.
- 23) These were Shang Kexi’s great-grandfather Shang Sheng, who established his residence at Hengshui, Shang Kexi’s grandfather Shang Jiguan, who moved to Haicheng with Shang Kexi’s father Shang Xueli, and Shang Xueli, and all three were conferred the title of South-Pacifying Prince on account of Shang Kexi’s achievements.
- 24) The type of money is not specified here, but *shiqian* 市錢 (“market cash”) is mentioned in B-2 and *dongqian* 東錢 (“eastern cash,” which circulated in Liaodong) in B-14. The relationship between *shiqian* and copper coins of standard content (*zhiqian* 制錢) is not known, but whereas 1,000 *wen* 文 in standard copper coins = 1 *diao* 吊 (string) = 1 *liang* 兩 (tael), in the case of *dongqian* 160 *wen* in standard copper coins = 1,000 *wen* of *dongqian* = 1 *diao* = 1 *liang*. Therefore, if the allowance of 1,000 strings were converted into standard copper coins, it would be equivalent to 1,000 taels, and if it were converted into *dongqian*, it would be equivalent to 160 taels. See Yamamoto Susumu 山本進, “Shindai tōsen kō” 清代東錢考 [Local currency systems during the Qing period: *Dongqian*], *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 114-3 (2002).

- 25) The “eight services” are not defined in the *Shangshi zongpu*. When I visited members of the Shang family in Haicheng in August 1986, I was informed by Shang Jiuling 尙九齡 and Shang Shibai 尙世白 that the religious ceremonies of the Shang family were divided into “major services” (*daji* 大祭) and “minor services” (*xiaoji* 小祭), of which there were eight in all during the course of a year, and it is probably to these that the term “eight services” refers. The eight services mentioned on that occasion were as follows:

Major services

- 15 January: First service (*chuji* 初祭)
- 15 February: National service (*guoji* 國祭) (spring service)
- 15 August: National service (autumn service)
- 25 December: Final service (*zhongji* 終祭)

Minor services

- 25 March: Anniversary of Shang Xueli’s death
- 1 August: Shang Kexi’s birthday
- 28 November: Anniversary of death of Shang Kexi’s wife at Lüshun 旅順
- 16 December: Anniversary of death of Shang Kexi’s mother (née Liu 劉)

Details of my investigations on this occasion may be found in Hosoya, “Shō Kaki ichizoku no dōkō o tsaeru shoshiryō” (see n. 2).

- 26) *Shanchai* 山柴, also called *dachai* 大柴, which refers to firewood consisting of scrub. According to Sudō (1), one cartload of such firewood was collected from men who cultivated sacrificial fields.
- 27) According to the *Shangshi zongpu*, Shang Chongbi was a descendant of Shang Zhiyan 尙之琰 (16th branch), and after having served as a clerk in the Imperial Diary Office, he was appointed captain of Company 6 in Regiment 4 of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner and in Yongzheng 10 (1732) became vice commander-in-chief of the Chinese Plain Yellow Banner. In Qianlong 2 (1737) he resigned from his official posts because of a failure to exercise proper oversight, and in Qianlong 25 (1760) he took up the post of tomb-guarding company captain on the recommendation of family members and moved to Haicheng. In Qianlong 35 (1770) he resigned on the grounds that he was no longer able to kneel in obeisance at the ancestral temple and returned to Beijing. During his term as tomb-guarding company captain, he conducted surveys of the sacrificial fields and banner lands of the Shang family in Haicheng and reported his findings to the Office of the Eight Banners, the Ministry of Revenue in Shengjing 盛京, the General of Shengjing, the Assistant Commandant of Niuzhuang 牛莊, and Haicheng County. The *Hubu dimu dangce* mentioned in n. 15 constitutes part of his findings and records the land area at the time of the establishment of the eight lots of sacrificial fields and details of their cultivation.
- 28) It was forbidden to fell trees in the grounds of graveyards, as can be seen in the following regulation: “Prescribed in Daoguang 27: Any descendants who cut down and illegally sell trees in their ancestors’ graveyards are to be punished according to the Law of transgressing.” (*Guangxu Qing huidian shili* 光緒清會典事例 780, “Tou yuanling shumu” 盜園陵樹木：道光二十七年定。凡子孫將祖父墳園樹木。砍伐盜賣者。照違令律治罪)

- 29) Shang Zongyin was the predecessor of Shang Changyu, and Shang Zhengshu was the predecessor of Shang Zongji. Since it is stated that Shang Zongqi's wrongdoing had been going on for ten years until its exposure in Tongzhi 12 (1873), it must have begun when his father Shang Zhengshu was company captain.
- 30) There is no reference to the "Family Instructions of the Ancestors" ("Xianwang jiaxun" 先王家訓) in the *Shangshi zongpu*, but as was mentioned in n. 22, the "Rules in Thirteen Articles Established by the Ancestors," of similar content, stipulates that the four regular and deputy family heads must be present when entering accounts to prevent errors and wrongdoing, and it is evident that income and expenses were administered by the regular and deputy family heads.
- 31) The fourth version of the *Shangshi zongpu* had been compiled in Qianlong 56 (1791), and eighty-five years had elapsed by the time the "Shangshi shugao" was written in Guangxu 2 (1876).
- 32) The sixteen generation characters are 繼, 學, 可, 之, 崇, 玉, 維, 政, 宗, 昌, 其, 久, 世, 德, 爾 and 祖. It is being suggested by Shang Zongyi that characters to follow the final character 祖 should be chosen, but this proposal does not appear to have been acted on, and in the fifth version of the *Shangshi zongpu* the generation characters still number only sixteen.
- 33) It is extremely difficult to identify the five company captains of the Chinese Bordered Blue Banner whose names ended with the characters 光, 煜, 檠, 立 and 濂. The "Qifen zhi" 旗分志 of the *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志, which records holders of the post of company captain, covers the period until only the final year of the Qianlong era, and for information on later company captains it is necessary to carefully examine the genealogies of families who hereditarily held the post of company captain, such as the "Zuoling shizhi jiapu ce" 佐領世職家譜冊 alluded to in n. 14. To the best of my knowledge, the only such genealogy covering the period down to the Guangxu era is the Manchu "Manzhou qi shixi zuoling jiapu" 滿洲旗世襲佐領家譜, held by Tōyō Bunko. It is written entirely in Manchu, and it is difficult to differentiate between homophonous characters used in names. Meanwhile, the *Shangshi zongpu* compiled in Kangde 6 and the subsequent sixth version concentrate on the Shang family in Haicheng and make almost no mention of the Shang family in Beijing and the five company captains. A careful examination of documents relating to the Eight Banners and so on held by the First Historical Archives of China would probably resolve the matter, but for the time being the tentative results of a comparison of the "Zuoling shizhi jiapu ce," "Manzhou qi shixi zuoling jiapu" and *Shangshi zongpu* are given below.

光 *guang* = Zongguang 宗光 (Dzung guwan)

17th company captain of Company 5, Regiment 5

煜 *yu* = ?

It is impossible to identify the corresponding person in Regiment 3

檠 *zhen* = Zongzhen 宗檠 (Dzung ciowan)

10th company captain of Company 5, Regiment 2

立 *li* = Zongli 宗立 (Dzung lii)

11th company captain of Company 6, Regiment 1

濂 *lian* = Weilun 維綸 (Wei luwen)

9th company captain of Company 6, Regiment 4

- 34) For further details on these sources, see Hosoya, “Shō Kaki o meguru shise-ki” (n. 2).
- 35) According to Nie Lili 聶莉莉, who has conducted investigations in a village in the vicinity of Haicheng, Shang Kexi is regarded as the pride of the region; see Nie Lili, *Ryūho: Chūgoku tōhoku chihō no sōzoku to sono hen'yō* 劉堡：中國東北地方の宗族とその變容 [Liu village: Lineage and its change in Northeast China] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大學出版會, 1992).

Currently, the Shang family in Haicheng is engaged in a variety of activities, including the publication of the sixth version of the *Shangshi zongpu* (*Diliuci xuxiu Shangshi zongpu*), the collection of materials relating to the Shang family, and the launching of a Web site.