

晚清民国时期的徽州宗族与地方社会 ——黟县碧山河氏之《族事汇要》研究

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世纪之交, 以安徽黟县西递和宏村为代表的“皖南古村落”, 被联合国教科文组织列入“世界文化遗产保护名录”。在此背景下, 如何进一步发掘传统徽州的文化内涵, 愈益受到学界内外的重视。黟县原是徽州一府六县中的荒僻小县, 直到清初, 经商风气方才蔚然成风。改革开放以后, 随着公路的拓展, 黟县才逐渐与外界有了密切的沟通, 境内的各类民间文献也开始逐渐为世人所知。不过, 就目前所见, 与徽州的其它县份相比, 黟县的史料远非丰富, 因此, 应加强收集的力度, 以期透过民间文献的发掘和研究, 复苏久远的历史记忆。

笔者收藏的《族事汇要》二册, 民国十七年(1928年)冬安徽屯溪科学书馆石印本【1】。编者何宗愈字卫侯, 黟县三都碧山(何村)人, 自号惜抱居士, 其人自称: “余贾人也。”【2】是位曾在苏州从业的徽商。民国《黟县四志》卷5《选举志》载, 其人为五品蓝翎布政司理问, 这一官衔显然是由捐纳而来。1925年, 何宗愈曾在黟县渔亭经理鼎太典务, 兼司渔(亭)商会分所所长, 【3】应是二十世纪前期在黟县颇有身份的商人。1928出版《族事汇要》时, 何宗愈已六十九岁。他指出: “从来为善莫大于报本, 报本必期于睦族, 然报本、睦族, 原非易事, 非有力、有才者莫能为也。”显然, 他本人就属于族中的“有力、有才者”。何宗愈曾独捐洋钱30元, 作为村中登津桥的维修费用【4】。宣统元年(1909年)春季, 他还经手宗祠新置杉木椅棹; 1918年春季, 又独捐宗祠后厅杉木椅十六把、杂木八仙棹六张和杉木茶凳四个。在该书收录的许多契约上, 也都有何卫侯(宗愈)的署名, 这从一个侧面显示其人在乡村社会中的地位。

从《族事汇要》来看, 何宗愈负责何氏宗祠的管理, 对于宗祠建设颇多贡献。当时, 他有感于宗族凌夷之势, 孳孳于族事, 从宣统初元迄至1928年, “此二十年中经纬万端, 不胜枚举”。【5】有鉴于此, 1928年, 何宗愈花了数月精力, 将历年所办族事以及有关族中紧要事略, 编成两册, 名为《族事汇要》, 付之石印, “以诏族人, 所冀族人之阅是编者奋然兴起, 由救宗族以救国家”。【6】

Clans and Local Society of Huizhou in the Period from Late Qing to Republic of China: A Study on *Collected Record of the Events of the Clan of He's family of Bishan of Yixian*

Wang Zhen-zhong

At the turn of the last century, the two “traditional villages of southern Anhui province,” Xidi and Hongcun, were inscribed on the World Heritage List. Against this background, academics have been increasingly concerned about ways to further investigate the cultural content of traditional Huizhou. Based on a document of the clan of Yixian, *Collected Record of the Events of the Clan*, this essay looks at diverse aspects of the clan and local society of Huizhou in the period from late Qing and Republic of China.

1. Clan Management of He's family as seen from *Collected Record of the Events of the Clan*
 1. *Operation of Clan Economics*
 2. *Worship*
2. *Clan and Local Society of He's family*
3. *Conclusion*

The evolutionary theory of “survival of the fittest” infiltrates into the heart and mind of people in late Qing dynasty. For one single region, the habitation of a clan was akin to the international environment which was dominated by the powers and where the principle of “survival of the fittest” ruled. Therefore, viewpoints built on evolutionary theory conveniently aroused strong echo in regional society. Thereafter, Sun Yat-sen's idea about clan theory was geared to transforming theory of clan into nationalistic theory, to unify his fellow people to combat the numerous foreign powers. His slogan “Unifying the powers of every clan into a national clan, to

defend against foreign nations” means “ to use the small-scale foundation of a clan to develop the expansion of the national clan.” This should be the social background for the emergence of *Collected Record of the Events of the Clan* and related documents.

Also, since mid-Ming dynasty, with the development of commerce of Hui Zhou, the awareness of contract had infiltrated into every aspect of ordinary society. In Hui Zhou, in each type of social activities and public enterprises (including official duties, God receiving festivals, etc.) emerged share-holding running and commercialized operation. We can read from *Collected Record of the Events of the Clan* that such share-holding running and commercialized operation were running on in Hui Zhou society, resulting in well organization of commercial development as well as social order, a reflection of the self-governing power of traditional local society. In this sense, the ability of Hui Zhou society to handle natural disaster and social turmoil was enhanced.

【1】关于碧山何氏，除《族事汇要》刊本外，笔者尚收集到书信汇编《墨雁留迹》抄本一册，内收录黟县何敦睦堂何氏书信，如民国二十八年（1939年）前后的《为碧山成教堂烈位事去鸿留迹》等。

【2】《族事汇要》第二册，民国十一年（1922年）何宗愈撰《感化新社庙会序（旧名茶庵）》。

【3】《族事汇要》第二册，《本村兵差过境派伏照七保半雇人否则摊费》。

【4】《族事汇要》第二册，民国九年（1920年）何宗愈《登津桥序》。

【5】从《族事汇要》第二册中，亦可看到何宗愈的这方面的行动。

【6】何闰生：《族事汇要序》。