



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian by Zheng Zhenman; Michael Szonyi

Jerry Dennerline

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as physically fit, sons. These games may have proven more effective in ensuring the health of children than praying to child-protecting deities.

Finally, I have some reservations regarding the authenticity of the painting shown in fig. 3.16. Stylistically it points to a much later date than the Song period—probably the Ming period.

SCARLETT JANG
Williams College

Family Lineage Organization and Social Change in Ming and Qing Fujian. By ZHENG ZHENMAN. Translated by MICHAEL SZONYI. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. xii, 373 pp. \$47.00 (cloth).

Michael Szonyi has done a great service to the field by translating into English this monumental work by Zheng Zhenman of Xiamen University. Originally published in Chinese in 1992, this work expands on the seminal studies of local social history in Fujian by Fu Yiling and Wang Guozhen. But Zheng breaks with the dominant paradigm of twentieth-century Chinese historiography and advances a new one for the historical development of lineage organization. Szonyi's preface is helpful in juxtaposing the work with recent anthropological and historical studies of Chinese lineages by non-Chinese scholars. The appearance of this translation makes it much easier for scholars writing in English to respond to this important work and, perhaps, to integrate the analysis into their own frameworks.

Firmly grounding his analysis on empirical research into genealogical records, including manuscripts that are only accessible to local researchers, Zheng has distinguished among three general types of lineage organization. He begins not with traditional descent group ideology, but with the many complex ways in which the legal constraints of partible inheritance influenced the creation of estates intended for the support of surviving parents and for the maintenance of their graves. Where such estates survived the next generation, general principles of organization involving the rotation of management duties as well as ritual duties characterized what Zheng calls an "inheritance lineage" (*jichengshi zongzu*). Where households sharing descent from a common ancestor were residentially concentrated, there was an active "gentry" presence, and there was a need or an opportunity for considerable corporate property, a different type of organization might develop. This type, which Zheng calls a control-subordination (*yifushi*) lineage, assigned management duties to designated persons or branches of common descent groups on whom subordinate members of the lineage were dependent for protection or welfare or for managing local duties imposed by the state. Where conditions did not favor this type of organization, relatively wealthy and influential persons might form a third type, which Zheng calls contractual (*hetongshi*), based on the ownership of shares. In this type of lineage, management and ritual duties as well as the distribution of income from corporate property depended on shares, which could be inherited or sold according to certain rules. This type was common where members were residentially dispersed, where gentry members were rare, or where shareholders had a use for corporate property in a new or centrally located place.

The first half of the book develops this typology and demonstrates a variety of ways in which each type of organization was limited and tended to disintegrate or be replaced by another. The analysis is supported by ample evidence, including many

well-translated documents from lineages in the northwestern mountainous region, the coastal region, and Taiwan. The analysis includes tantalizing but scattered references to historical events and institutions that influenced these localized developments. Historical influences receive fuller treatment in the second half of the book, in which Zheng shows how his organizational analysis is relevant to the study of political history and social change in Fujian and, perhaps, other parts of China. Abandoning the tired idea that society develops through progressive stages from the dominance of kinship relations to territorial relations to property relations, Zheng observes three parallel developments based on the evidence in his research. First, lineage organizers popularized lineage ideology in a manner that made neo-Confucian “descent-line theory” irrelevant. Second, there was a shift from relative autocracy to relative local autonomy in the relations between state and society. Third, the flexible application of principles of lineage organization to an ever increasing array of public functions led to the corporatization of property relations in general.

Key political influences in these developments include local defenses against massive pirate incursions in the mid-sixteenth century, subsequent interlineage and intervillage feuding, the reform of the Ming *lijia* tax system over the course of the seventeenth century, and the removal and resettlement of the coastal village population in the early Qing period. In each case, local lineage organization or, more accurately, the principles of organization that obtained in corporate lineages, were central to the response. For example, control-subordination lineages took on the functions of tax registration, collection, and delivery for reconstituted *lijia* units as part of a reform process that I have argued influenced the methods of tax reform in southern Jiangsu. Contractual lineages managed the resettlement of the coastal villages, spawning in turn the inheritance lineages that remained basic there, while the same principles produced temple and native place associations that reproduced themselves in far off Malacca, as in nearby Taiwan.

No matter what one thinks about the new analytical concepts and distinctions that Zheng applies, no scholar of Ming and Qing society will fail to find this excellent translation of value for both teaching and research.

JERRY DENNERLINE
Amherst College

INNER ASIA

China's Tibet Policy. By DAWA NORBU. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. xiii, 470 pp. \$75.00 (cloth).

This is one of the most refreshing books about Tibet's political status in recent years. Dawa Norbu explains that the purpose of his book is “to analyze the patterns of the past in order to shed light on the present and help shape the future” (p. 264). He sets out to avoid the pitfalls of polemics—the extremes of Chinese nationalists, whose sole concern is to establish their claim to Tibet, and of Tibetan nationalists, whose sole concern is to establish Tibet's independence—in the hope of encouraging