

A DESIRE FOR CONTINUITY:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF FAMILY LIFE
THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF A PRE-MODERN
GENEALOGICAL BOOK IN THE NEW TERRITORIES
OF HONG KONG

BY MASAHISA SEGAWA

CENTER FOR NORTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
TOHOKU UNIVERSITY



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Center for Northeast Asian Studies,
Tohoku University
CNEAS Report Vol. 29

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Printed in Sendai, Japan
ISBN 978-4-908203-25-1

Preface

This is a study on “family.” However, readers will not find any scenes, sounds or smells that are usually associated with family life such as a husband joking with his wife, the shrill voices of children running around the front yard, or the smells of steamed rice coming from kitchen, in any part of this book. Both the males and females described in this book are voiceless folk who lived simply as fathers, sons, wives, or mothers deprived of their vivid expressions in actual life, because the aim of this book is to reconstruct the past status of family relations and underlying kinship values in Chinese society solely through data extracted from the genealogical records of a lineage.

Usually, Chinese written genealogy is considered to be a “book of the dead” in which only the names of deceased ancestors and the dates of their birth and death are recorded one after another. Even for their own descendants, it is sometimes regarded as a tedious text, and usually no one tries to read its details, except for a few lineage elders who while away their long hours every afternoon gathered at an ancestral hall. Its descriptions are so formalized and simplified that it seems almost impossible to extract from it the personality of the individual ancestors and the reality of their family relationship.

I have been interested in Chinese society and conducted research into their families and kinship for many years. Therefore, written genealogies were always objects of interest for me to some extent. However, I used to refer to them only as source materials for investigating other topics, and I had never scrutinized them line by line to understand their total content. That is, I had all but neglected what was written in them, for what purpose the compilers recorded them, and what they tried to leave behind for their descendants through these records. As far as this point is concerned, maybe I am not exceptional, because this tendency seems common to many researchers who have made reference to Chinese written genealogies in their studies.

The purpose of this book is to trace family life in pre-modern China and understand the underlying kinship values through a precise reading of a genealogical record, especially of its main body, which comprises an enumeration of ancestors’ names and their genealogical information and therefore not only researchers but their own descendants often pass over it. I will show in this book what aspects of their family relation comes out from the written genealogy and what significance its compilers found in their efforts to record it through the detailed analysis of a genealogical book compiled by a lineage that has existed for hundreds of years in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

Although I have been hitherto engaged in the anthropological study of contemporary China mainly through field observations, I will try in this book to trace past social conditions based on the analysis of documents written in the past. In this sense, this study may fall within the range of historical anthropology. However, I believe that there is no difference between phenomena in the past and that of our times in their value as source materials for an anthropological investigation into the variety of human activities.

For some readers, it might be difficult to maintain interest in reading repetitions of such matters as the births, marriages, and deaths of persons in a remote past in a remote place. Therefore, I will include a lot of tables and figures that visualize these complicated

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genealogical relationships and various family events in their life courses to facilitate readers' understanding. Diagrams of a family tree drawn with triangles and circles are classic installments of anthropologists often used in their studies on kinship and family when it was one of the main topics of anthropology over a half century ago, but are now rarely seen in recent works in this discipline. I still believe that human relationships within the closest range of an individual including kinship bounds and familial ties remain important topics for anthropologists, even though such bounds and ties seem to be largely transformed and dissolved in our contemporary social conditions. Thus, I am writing this book out of desire for the continuity of kinship and family studies in our discipline.

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Chapter 1 Purpose and Methods

1-1 Purpose of this Study

Zupu, or written genealogical records¹, have been compiled by patrilineal descent groups in China throughout its long history, and similar documents have been produced in adjacent areas of East Asia including Korea, Vietnam, and Japan—especially in Okinawa. It is said that prototypes of these written genealogies had existed in China as early as the Tang dynasty around the 8th to 9th century, but the format widely adopted in later history is said to have been established in the Song dynasty [Taga 1981: 46]. As far as southern China is concerned, especially in Guangdong Province where I have been conducting research, it was after the latter half of the Qing dynasty that *zupu* came to be compiled commonly and in large numbers. After the modern era, although enthusiasm for compiling *zupu* declined from the beginning of the People’s Republic of China to the period of the Cultural Revolution in mainland China, today we can witness again many newly compiled genealogies in various parts of its countryside. In Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and even in Japan, we can witness again that persons or kin groups who are interested in the origin and history of their family have compiled their own genealogical records. In this sense, it is no exaggeration to say that the compilation of written genealogies is one of the long-lasting cultural traditions of East Asia.

The genealogical record that I analyzed in this study was compiled by the “W” lineage² in the New Territories of Hong Kong during the late Qing dynasty (see Photo 1). Copies of the record are preserved in the library of the Chinese University of Hong Kong and in the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo. The genealogy of the “W” lineage is a part of a collection known as the “Sha Tin Documents,” which comprises many written genealogies and other historical records collected in Sha Tin Valley of the New Territories by the staff of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in the late 1970s and early 80s. In the New Territories of Hong Kong, there are many patrilineages that trace their long history back to the beginning of the Qing dynasty or

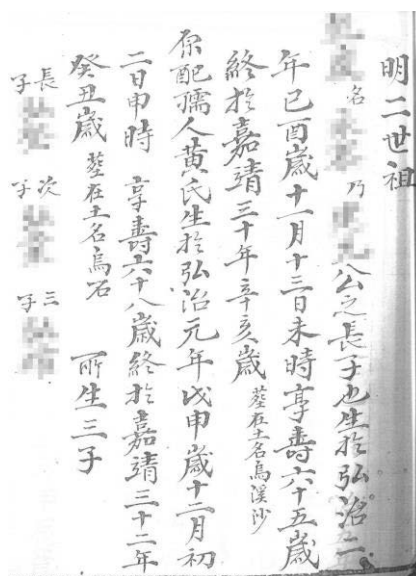


Photo 1. Genealogical record of “W” lineage

¹ They are also called *jiapu*, *zongpu*, or *jiasheng*. I use the term *zupu* here for uniformity.

² In this book, considering the privacy of living descendants, I describe the lineage’s name just as the “W” lineage and substitute all personal names in the genealogy with pseudonym.

even further back, and most of these patrilineages keep their own genealogical records. However, we rarely see such an inclusive collection of genealogical records of lineages living in one area as the “Sha Tin Documents.”

I used the copy preserved in the University of Tokyo to analyze the demography of this lineage over centuries as well as the family trees and life stages of the individual members recorded in the genealogy. I chose this genealogy because it contains more detailed demographic data on past lineage members than other similar examples of genealogy, at least in this area. Analysis of this genealogical record in this study comprises the following three steps. First, I evaluate the data in the genealogical record by checking it for internal consistency or contradictions. Then, I try to reconstruct the demography of this lineage including population, life spans, marital statuses and family compositions and other such matters as precisely as possible. And finally, based on the results of these analyses, I try to understand the motivation of people who continued to record the genealogical information over generations and the values underlying the compilation of genealogical records.

Based on the results of the analysis performed in this study, I discuss matters on the premise that the most important concept for understanding the reason they continued to record such a document through a long history of lineage is *chengji*, or the succession of patrilineal descent and ancestor worship. I show many detailed evidences of people’s efforts to ensure a continuous line of succession in the face of the demographic risks experienced by lineage members. Although many anthropologists interested in Chinese written genealogical records used to discuss matters on the basis that the main purpose of the compilation of genealogies lies in such pragmatic factors as their function of proving rights of common properties or displaying the scholarly success of lineage members (see [Freedman 1966]), the most basic motivation behind their compilation seems to consist of a desire for the continuity of the line of descent and the succession of ancestor worship. Such a desire was closely related to the value system of pre-modern China, which required the flow of life over generations as its ideal. Data recorded in genealogical records suggest that lineage members sought to follow such an ideal flow of life, but were often frustrated by unexpected events such as the early death of members or a failure to have male descendants.

The first step of this study is to evaluate the accuracy and the reliability of this genealogical record. First, I will verify the consistency of the genealogical data included in the record and extract only valuable data from the total document of the genealogy in the first section of Chapter 2. And then, based on these data, I will reconstruct the actual status of this lineage’s demography from the 15th century through to the 19th century in the second section of Chapter 2. And in the third section, I will consider the basic motivation underlying the practice of its compilation, mainly by analyzing the cases of adoption extracted from the genealogical records.

Based on the results of consideration in Chapter 2, I will trace the actual status of the course of the lives of the lineage members in Chapter 3. In the first section of Chapter 3, I will examine the composition of the family to which lineage members belonged in their lifetime, and analyze its change over time by using the data recorded in the genealogy. In

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the second section of Chapter 3, I will extract cases in which women who married into the family became widows after their husbands' death and examine the frequency and duration of widowhood to understand the life courses of the wives of lineage members. In the third section, I will check all the cases of adoptions and trusts of ancestor worship that were practiced for the purpose of maintaining the succession of patrilineal descent when lineage members died without offspring. In the fourth section, I will examine the status of member's remarriages and concubinage in the past, which were thought to be ways of securing male children who were essential for the continuity of patrilineal descent, by checking all related cases in detail.

In Chapter 4, I will analyze another version of the genealogy compiled by a branch of the "W" lineage that originated from the youngest son of the lineage founder. The genealogical record that I analyze in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 is the version compiled by the "W" lineage as a whole, and comprises the total genealogy of the lineage. For its part, the branch genealogy comprises only some members. Both versions are included in the "Sha Tin Documents" and I examine the branch's genealogical record and compare it with the record of the lineage as a whole in this chapter. In the first section of Chapter 4, I will compare these two genealogical records and show the differences between them. Then, in the second section, I will examine their family composition during the period after the record of the lineage's genealogy as a whole had stopped. And in the third section, I will investigate the property holdings and their management by segments that were described only in the branch genealogy.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I will conclude this study by showing what the compilers of the genealogical record seemingly regarded as the most important values that should be maintained over generations and why they needed to keep recording the sequence of demographic events and to compile them into a genealogical record. Although the author has hitherto engaged in the anthropological study of contemporary China mainly through field observations, in this work I have tried to trace past social conditions based on the analysis of written materials. It is indeed a challenge to reconstruct the past status of family and underlying kinship values in pre-modern Chinese society solely through the data extracted from the genealogical record of a South China lineage.

I include a lot of tables and figures on the pages of this book to facilitate a visual understanding of what genealogical records contain.

1-2 Method of this Study

As I have already stated, the main purpose of this study is to understand the demography of a lineage and the forms of its family composition in the past as precisely as possible through an analysis of data recorded in a genealogical record. However, my aim in this book is not only to reconstruct past events in a lineage through its genealogical records. The main point of interest of this study is to gain an understanding of why the compilers of the genealogy felt the need to compile it, the values they found in recording such genealogical data over many generations, and the way in which they conceptualized

the flow of time and the continuity of descent.

In this sense, this study is part of an investigation into the awareness of history and time that ordinary people in pre-modern China held in their daily activities. If we simply wanted to understand the historical awareness of some Chinese scholarly intellectuals, it would be enough for us to read their opinions through their writings in articulated forms. However, these are nothing but the opinion of intellectuals constructed through their interpretation of past events, and they differ from the awareness of history and time as experienced and practiced in the daily activities by ordinary lineage members.

Of course, it is true that we can sometimes find in written genealogies verbalized forms of the compilers' historical consciousnesses. We can say it is a standard style for genealogical books to begin with a preface that states the origins of the family. It was believed that sonorous prefaces enhance the lineages' standing, and therefore compilers often included old prefaces written for former compilations in addition to prefaces newly written by the compilers, or they asked their literati acquaintances to contribute prefaces. Or sometimes they used prefaces attached to the genealogies of other families written by famous scholars as examples and just imitated them.

Because it was the tusk of literate intellectual members of lineages to add such sophisticated prefaces to the genealogy and to record genealogical information in literary language, one can argue that the written genealogies by no means reflected the recognition or consciousness of ordinary people. However, there is no doubt that the demographic events such as births, adoptions, marriages and deaths recorded in genealogical records reflected the train of ordinary lineage members' lives. Therefore, we can trace what they believed to be the successive process of their lives over generations by chasing down the train of their lives through analyses of recorded data in genealogical records. In my study, I aim to understand the norms and values that were never articulated in the discourses of intellectuals of the past. I can safely say that my study clearly differs from former studies on written genealogies in this respect.

Written genealogical records have been utilized as source materials for the study of Chinese history, literature, philosophy, and anthropology. Quite a few research projects were planned and put into practice by many scholars and academic groups both in China and Japan in order to study written genealogical records. Even when the focus of research is not written genealogies, they often use genealogies as supplementary documents to understand the past of specific persons, groups, or regions. One of the most well-known examples of the study of genealogical records is Taga's work titled *A Study on Written Genealogies of China* [Taga 1981]. It is an excellent study in that it referred to genealogies compiled over a wide range of historical periods and it included quite a few examples collected from libraries in various places. Taga tried to analyze in his book various topics including the changing styles of written genealogies over time, their local variations, the control by lineages over their members, the educational functions of lineages and so on. It is no exaggeration to say that it is the most basic study on this topic, because it is cited both in Japan and in China almost without fail by researchers when they refer to Chinese genealogies.

However, most former studies on written genealogies have focused on an analysis

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of the articulated recognitions of compilers described mainly in the prefaces or attached “lineage instructions.” Even in those genealogical records that include the most sonorous of prefaces in their first pages, major parts of the volumes are usually occupied by the genealogical data of lineage members. But there are few researchers who have taken the time to read each line of the main body of these genealogical records. Because the main bodies of genealogical records comprise mere enumerations of such data as birth years, death years, and the grave sites of ancestors, researchers often treated these data as unimportant details and overlooked them except when interested in a search for details of some specific individual’s background.

In my book titled *Zokufu (The Written Genealogical Records)* [Segawa 1996], I tried to extract from written genealogies such information as intermarriages among lineages, their interests in *fengshui* of ancestors’ grave sites, and the migration route of ancestors. But even in that study, I surveyed only superficially the genealogical data in the main body of written genealogies and did not delve into their details. Perhaps, even for the descendants of their compilers, it would be a tedious and almost intolerable task to read each line of the entire text recorded in the main body of a genealogy. However, in this study, I try to see what we can understand by reading the main body of a written genealogy, absorbing in their every detail, without any preoccupations.

However, my understanding would be very limited if I were to merely run my eyes over the monotonous text of a genealogy. Therefore, I used spreadsheet software to input the data and to facilitate their manipulation. I have input all the data in the main body of the “W” lineage’s genealogical record into my personal computer according to a format that I designed for this library work. Then I attached ID numbers to each one of the more than one thousand individuals who were recorded in the genealogy. I show an example of the sheets that I used for inputting data in Table 1-1 and a part of the total data accumulated as the result of this inputting in Table 1-2.

As I stated in the first section of this chapter, the actual process of my analysis in this study consists of three steps. First, I evaluate the accuracy and the reliability of the written genealogy. It is essentially impossible to prove that the recorded matters in the genealogy are accurate because there are no other documents that can be used for a cross-check. Therefore, in this case I can do nothing but check the record for internal consistency or contradictions, and perform an estimation of its reliability by doing so. After checking the reliability of the data, I need extract only the valuable data from the total document of the genealogy for further analysis.

As the second step of analysis, based on the valuable data extracted through the process stated above, I reconstruct the demography of this lineage such as the population, life spans, marital conditions, family compositions and so on of the lineage members as precisely as possible. During the actual procedure of analysis, even data whose reliability have been verified through the evaluation process of step one, sometimes show contradicting demographic data such as births by unnaturally young or old parents or an impossible age difference between parent and son. In these cases, I need to reevaluate the data based on the results of the demographic reconstruction in the second step. Therefore, I have to admit that there tends to be a circular relation between the first and the second

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Table 1-1. Sample of input table

Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year
1	Ting Kei			1	1	Tianyou 1
		Wife's clan name			Spouse's status	Birth year
		Tang			<i>yuanpei</i> /1	Chenghua 14
Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year
2	Kin Kai	Ting Kei	1	2		Hongzhi 2
		Wife's clan name			Spouse's status	Birth year
		Wong			<i>yuanpei</i> /1	Hongzhi 1
Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year
2	Chong Kai	Ting Kei	2	3	0	Hongzhi 5
Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year
2	Yin Kai	Ting Kei	3	4	1	Hongzhi 8
		Wife's clan name			Spouse's status	Birth year
		Wong			<i>yuanpei</i> /1	Hongzhi 10
Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year
2	Tak Kai	Ting Kei	4	5	1	Zhengde 5
		Wife's clan name			Spouse's status	Birth year
		Wong			<i>yuanpei</i> /1	Zhengde 4
Generation	Name	Father's name	Sibling order	Entry number	Number of spouses	Birth year

<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>ding</i>	<i>chou</i>	Jiaging 20	<i>xin</i>	<i>chou</i>	95	4	3	Place of origin was in Nanxiong Fu, from where migrated to Guangzhou Fu at his age of 14 in the sixth year of Chenghua era, and later to Tuen Mun of Dongguan County for some reason..
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>wu</i>	<i>xu</i>	Jiaging 20	<i>xin</i>	<i>chou</i>	74	4	3	
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>ji</i>	<i>you</i>	Jiaging 30	<i>xin</i>	<i>hai</i>	65	3		
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>wu</i>	<i>shen</i>	Jiaging 32	<i>gui</i>	<i>chou</i>	68	3		
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>ren</i>	<i>zi</i>							Not yet married. His branch has already been extinguished.
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>yi</i>	<i>mao</i>	Jiaging 41	<i>ren</i>	<i>xu</i>	68	4		
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>ding</i>	<i>si</i>	Jiaging 41	<i>ren</i>	<i>xu</i>	66	4		
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>geng</i>	<i>wu</i>	Wanli 24	<i>bing</i>	<i>shen</i>	83	2	3	
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note
<i>ji</i>	<i>si</i>	Longqing 2	<i>wu</i>	<i>chen</i>	60	2	3	
<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death year	<i>gan</i>	<i>zhi</i>	Death age	Sons	Daughters	Note

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step of analysis in that way. However, I use the data verified in the first step as far as possible, removing only those data that show apparent contradictions in the second step.

Table 1-2. List of basic data for each ancestor extracted from the written genealogy (sample)

Generation	Name	Birth year		Death year		Death age	
		Era	<i>gan zhi</i>	Era	<i>gan zhi</i>	Age (1)-(2)	
1	Ting Kei	Tianyou 1	<i>ding chou</i> ×	Jiajing 20	<i>xin chou</i> ○	95	326 ×
	wife Tang Shi	Chenghua 14	<i>wu xu</i> ○	Jiajing 20	<i>xin chou</i> ○	74	64 ×
2	Kin Kai	Hongzhi 2	<i>ji you</i> ○	Jiajing 30	<i>xin hai</i> ○	65	63 ×
	wife Wong Shi	Hongzhi 1	<i>wu shen</i> ○	Jiajing 32	<i>gui chou</i> ○	68	66 ×
2	Chong Kai	Hongzhi 5	<i>ren zi</i> ○				
2	Yin Kai	Hongzhi 8	<i>yi mao</i> ○	Jiajing 41	<i>ren xu</i> ○	68	68 ○
	wife Wong Shi	Hongzhi 10	<i>ding si</i> ○	Jiajing 41	<i>ren xu</i> ○	66	66 ○
2	Tak Kai	Zhengde 5	<i>geng wu</i> ○	Wanli 24	<i>bing shen</i> ○	83	87 ×
	wife Wong Shi	Zhengde 4	<i>ji si</i> ○	Longqing 2	<i>wu chen</i> ○	60	60 ○
3	Hou Tang	Zhengde 8	<i>gui you</i> ○	Wanli 9	<i>xin si</i> ○	69	69 ○
	wife Wong Shi	Zhengde 9	<i>jia xu</i> ○	Wanli 11	<i>gui wei</i> ○	70	70 ○
3	Hou Yip	Zhengde 11	<i>bing zi</i> ○	Wanli 5	<i>ding chou</i> ○	62	62 ○
	wife Wong Shi	Zhengde 11	<i>bing zi</i> ○	Wanli 8	<i>geng chen</i> ○	65	65 ○
3	Hou Kok	Zhengde 14	<i>yi mao</i> ×	Wanli 11	<i>gui wei</i> ○	65	65 ○
	wife Lei Shi	Zhengde 13	<i>wu yin</i> ○	Wanli 9	<i>xin si</i> ○	64	64 ○
3	Yan Wai	Jiajing 6	<i>ding hai</i> ○	Wanli 8	<i>geng chen</i> ○	54	54 ○
	wife Lei Shi	Jiajing 9	<i>geng yin</i> ○	Wanli 9	<i>xin si</i> ○	52	52 ○
3	Yan Yi	Jiajing 39	<i>geng shen</i> ○	Tianqi 6	<i>bing yin</i> ○	67	67 ○
	wife Ng Shi	Jiajing 40	<i>xin you</i> ○	Chongzhen 2	<i>ji si</i> ○	69	69 ○
3	Yan Tim	Wanli 20	<i>ren chen</i> ○	Shunzhi 8	<i>ren chen</i> ×	61	60 ×
	wife Yeung Shi	Wanli 22	<i>jia wu</i> ○	Shunzhi 7	<i>xin mao</i> ×	58	57 ×
3	Yan Yuet	Wanli 22	<i>jia wu</i> ○	Shunzhi 12	<i>bing shen</i> ×	63	62 ×
	wife Mok Shi	Wanli 24	<i>bing shen</i> ○	Shunzhi 3	<i>ding hai</i> ×	52	51 ×
3	Tsz Hong	Jiajing 28	<i>ji you</i> ○	Wanli 40	<i>ren zi</i> ○	64	64 ○
	wife Lei Shi	Jiajing 31	<i>ren zi</i> ○	Wanli 42	<i>jia yin</i> ○	63	63 ○
3	Chek Yan	Jiajing 31	<i>ren zi</i> ○	Wanli 42	<i>jia yin</i> ○	63	63 ○
	wife Yuen Shi	Jiajing 34	<i>yi mao</i> ○	Wanli 42	<i>jia yin</i> ○	60	60

Birth year (original)	Death year (original)	Birth year (1)(corrected)	Death year (2)(corrected)	Death age (corrected)	Spouses	Biological sons	Total sons
1216	1541	1447	1541	94	1	4	4
1478	1541	1478	1541	63			
1489	1551	1489	1551	62	1	3	3
1488	1553	1488	1553	65			
1492		1492			0	0	0
1495	1562	1495	1562	67	1	4	4
1497	1562	1497	1562	65			
1510	1596	1510	1596	86	1	2	2
1509	1568	1509	1568	59			
1513	1581	1513	1581	68	1	1	1
1514	1583	1514	1583	69			
1516	1577	1516	1577	61	1	1	1
1516	1580	1516	1580	64			
1519	1583	1519	1583	64	1	1	1
1518	1581	1518	1581	63			
1527	1580	1527	1580	53	1	3	3
1530	1581	1530	1581	51			
1560	1626	1560	1626	66	1	1	1
1561	1629	1561	1629	68			
1592	1651	1592	1651	59	1	1	1
1594	1650	1594	1650	56			
1594	1655	1594	1655	61	1	1	1
1596	1646	1596	1646	50			
1549	1612	1549	1612	63	1	2	2
1552	1614	1552	1614	62			
1552	1614	1552	1614	62	1	1	1
1555	1614	1555	1614	59			

Purpose and Method

Table 1-3. ID numbers and genealogical basic data of ancestors (examples)

Name	Sons	Generation	Entry Number	Father	Sibling order	ID	Father's ID	FF's ID	FFF's ID	FFFF's ID	FFFFF's ID	FFFFFF's ID
Ting Kei	4	1	1		1	1						
Kin Kai	3	2	2	1	1	11	1					
Chong Kai	0	2	3	1	2	12	1					
Yin Kai	4	2	4	1	3	13	1					
Tak Kai	2	2	5	1	4	14	1					
Hou Tang	1	3	6	2	1	111	11	1				
Hou Yip	1	3	7	2	2	112	11	1				
Hou Kok	1	3	8	2	3	113	11	1				
*	0	3	9	3	1	121	12	1				
Yan Wai	3	3	10	4	1	131	13	1				
Yan Yi	1	3	11	4	2	132	13	1				
Yan Tim	1	3	12	4	3	133	13	1				
Yan Yuet	1	3	13	4	4	134	13	1				
Tsz Hong	2	3	14	5	1	141	14	1				
Chek Yan	1	3	15	5	2	142	14	1				
Mau Tat	1	4	16	6	1	1111	111	11	1			
Cheung Tat	1	4	17	7	1	1121	112	11	1			
Sou Tat	1	4	18	8	1	1131	113	11	1			
*	0	4	19	9	1	1211	121	12	1			
Yue Kin	1	4	20	10	1	1311	131	13	1			
Yue Nguk	1	4	21	10	2	1312	131	13	1			
Yue Kwan	1	4	22	10	3	1313	131	13	1			
Yue Sau	2	4	23	11	1	1321	132	13	1			
Yue Fu	1	4	24	12	1	1331	133	13	1			
Yue Fong	1	4	25	13	1	1341	134	13	1			
Tsam Kwong	1	4	26	14	1	1411	141	14	1			
Tsam Tsoi	2	4	27	14	2	1412	141	14	1			
Sz Yan	2	4	28	15	1	1421	142	14	1			
Hau Nim	1	5	29	16	1	11111	1111	111	11	1		
Kwong Nim	1	5	30	17	1	11211	1121	112	11	1		
Yuk Nim	1	5	31	18	1	11311	1131	113	11	1		

* indicates non-existing person representing extinguished segments who are necessary for making a genealogical diagram.

As the third step, from the reconstructed demographic data of the lineage members, I extract those data that inform us of the family composition and the succession of descent lines, and analyze them in detail. Through these analyses, I try to understand the motivation of the people who continued to record genealogical information over generations and the underlying value consciousness in such a compilation of genealogical records.

Just as explained above, this study is not research for the investigation of other items by using written genealogies as source documents, but a research to understand what the written genealogical records were and why people kept recording them. And through it, I also aim to understand the time awareness and the value consciousness of the people who compiled the written genealogy as well as of those whose lives were recorded in it.

Chapter 2 What We Can Learn from Analysis of the Genealogical Record

In this chapter, I evaluate the reliability of the genealogical record of “W” lineage, from Sha Tin, New Territories, Hong Kong, by checking its internal consistency and contradictions. Based on this, I reconstruct as precisely as possible the details of the lineage’s demographic features, such as number of members, lifespans, marital conditions, and family compositions from the mid Ming to the late Qing dynasties. I also try to understand the basic motivation and values underlying the practice of genealogical recording over many generations by analyzing cases of adoption and entrusting of ancestor worship. I chose this genealogical record for my research because it contains more precise data on lineage members’ births and deaths than those of other lineages in the “Sha Tin Documents.”

2-1 The Genealogical Record’s Reality and Reliability

2-1-1. The Genealogical Record of “W” Lineage from Sha Tin, New Territories, Hong Kong

The genealogical record that I analyze in this study was compiled by members of “W” lineage, which lived in settlements in Sha Tin valley, in the eastern part of the New Territories of Hong Kong. The genealogical record is titled “W shi zungzupu” or “total genealogy of ‘W’ lineage.” As Sha Tin is close to Kowloon, along with Tsuen Wan, it became one of the most rapidly urbanized areas in Hong Kong after the 1960s. Today, old villages inhabited by local lineages have already been absorbed among the tall buildings of public estates. Construction of new towns in Sha Tin had just begun when I started my first fieldwork in Hong Kong at the beginning of the 1980s, and I could see the ancestral hall of “W” lineage in K village (see Photo 2). However, by the time I left Hong Kong in 1985 after a 2-year fieldwork project, new towns had been accomplished and the landscape had totally changed.



Photo 2. Ancestral hall of “W” lineage

Today, presumably few inhabitants living in these new towns know that this place was the headquarters of a lineage that had a long history from the founding ancestor in the middle of the Ming dynasty.

Sha Tin is situated at the end of a deep inlet cut into mountainous terrain in the eastern New Territories. Although flat lands are relatively limited there, it seems that the land’s potential was rather high because settlers could develop the fertile wetlands created by the sedimentation of river sands. According to the genealogical record, the place of origin of “W” lineage’s founding ancestor Ting Kei was Nanxiong in northern Guangdong. In the

sixth year of the Chenghua era (1470) in the Ming dynasty, Ting Kei was 15 years old. At this time, he moved to Guangzhou, and then migrated again to Tuen Mun in Xinan county, in the present-day New Territories. After “*jiying*” at that place for years, in the first year of the Hongzhi era (1488) he moved again to Sha Tin to settle down and became the founding ancestor of the local lineage.

Although it is not certain what the term “*jiying*” exactly means here³, because Tuen Mun was said to have a military colony [Siu 1990: 21-22], it is possible that Ting Kei first came to this area as a soldier. More than half of lineages in the New Territories were founded after the beginning of the Qing dynasty and most were Hakka speakers. However, those that were founded in the Ming dynasty or earlier and occupied the majority of the fertile lowlands in this area belonged to the Punti, Cantonese speakers. “W” lineage belongs to the Punti group and is one of the oldest lineage in this area.

The genealogical book of “W” lineage states that the founding ancestor Ting Kei held paddy fields in two locations, which yielded three *shis* and one *dou* of crops, including a tax of two *dous* and 1.5 *shengs*. It also states that the three branches of the lineage should hold equal responsibility for the payment of this tax⁴. This suggests that they were in the position of the so-called land bottom owners⁵. As these lands were described as their property since the founding ancestor settled in Sha Tin, they seem to be the common property of the lineage. However, two *shis* and two *dous* (two *shis* and 8.5 *dous* after the deduction of tax) is a very small amount of grain for the subsistence of the whole lineage, which grew to comprise hundreds of members in its later days⁶.

The genealogical book of “W” lineage, which comprises the genealogical information of all the founding ancestor’s descendants, is a hand-written genealogical record of approximately 290 pages. Many different styles of genealogical record exist, such as genealogical diagrams, those comprising only literary descriptions, those comprising only diagrams, and so on. The genealogical record of “W” lineage has no diagram attached, nor any prefaces. It is not certain whether they were omitted when the genealogical record was photocopied or lost when it was inherited by descendants. As it is otherwise a complete genealogical record written in a uniform style using the same strokes throughout the volume, it is difficult to accept that no preface was initially attached to it. Regardless, the copy of the genealogical book that I used in this study has only the main genealogical record

³ It translates directly as “to stay in a military camp”.

⁴ *Dou*, *shi*, and *sheng* are units of measurement for mass. In Ming- and Qing-dynasty China, one *dou* roughly corresponded 10 liters, one *shi* comprised 10 *dous*, and one *dou* comprised ten *shengs*.

⁵ In some parts of southern China during the Qing dynasty, land ownership was divided into two layers, in which owners of the land bottom were responsible for paying taxes to the county, owners of the land surface paid rents to the land bottom owners, and surface owners collected rents from the actual cultivators of lands. In the New Territories, a lineage with the surname Tang claimed land bottom ownership of the majority of this land before the arrival of the British administration.

⁶ As one *shi* of rice roughly corresponds to the one adult person’s necessary food for one year, this total yields merely covers the amount that could support three adults.

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and lacks any preface and other attached documents.

As shown in Photo 1 on page 1, the genealogical book of “W” lineage includes such information as given name, father’s given name, date and time of birth, year of death, tomb’s location, wife’s name (only her family name), date and time of wife’s birth, year of wife’s death, location of wife’s tomb, number of sons, and sons’ names (male ancestors only). Although these items are also included in many other written genealogical records, they are often recorded only for some important ancestors such as lineage founders or those who achieved scholarly success, and information about ordinary members is largely omitted. Therefore, the genealogical record of “W” lineage has fewer omissions than many other examples. It is remarkable that it contains full descriptions of these items for many lineage members. This is the major reason for choosing the genealogical record of this lineage for my research.

The lineage founder Ting Kei had four sons; three of them (except the second son, who died young) became the first ancestors of three major lineage branches. Each generation of “W” lineage had its own *beizi*, or Chinese character, which was prescribed for use as a part each individual’s personal name,⁷ as in many other Chinese lineages. However, in “W” lineage, only ancestors in the second generation had a common *beizi* across the whole lineage; in subsequent generations, each branch or sub-branch used its

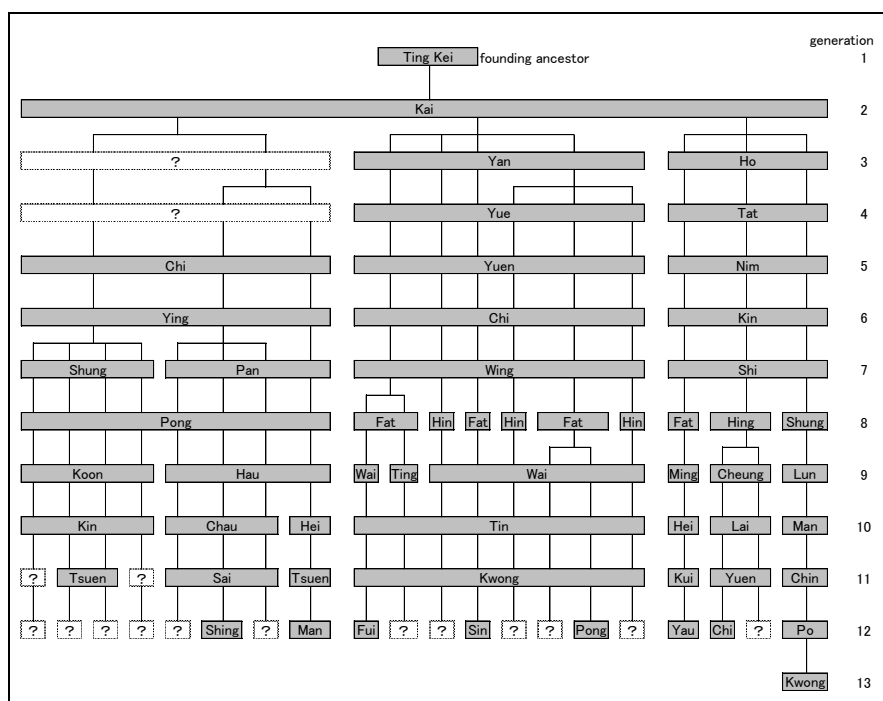


Fig. 2-1. Different *beizi* used by the segments of “W” lineage

⁷ For example, if “Hei” is a generation’s *beizi*, anyone who belongs to that generation carries that name, such as “Hei Tsun”, “Hei Shing”, “Hei Kwai”, and so on. It has a merit in distinguishing the generation order among ancestors, and likely functions to invoke the sentiment of solidarity among the persons who share it.

own *beizi*. The usage of common *beizi* probably means that there was a consensus among these lineage members to follow it and that there was therefore some kind of unity among them. Fig. 2-1 shows the segmental structure of “W” lineage through the usage of different *beizi*. As this figure shows, the three branches originating from sons of the lineage founder basically used different *beizi* for themselves, and subsequent generations tended to use a *beizi* for each smaller segment. Consequently, there were more *beizi* segmentations in later generations, except for the eighth to tenth generations, for which reunification of *beizi* was sought to some extent.

Thus, “W” lineage, which originated from a founding ancestor and his wife living in the mid Ming dynasty, experienced internal segmentations and population increase until it developed into a large descent group comprising hundreds of members by the early 1800s. As there are no descriptions on the actual place of living for each member, we do not know whether these segments lived separately in their own settlements or homesteads. Only the footnote of the lineage founder’s oldest son includes a reference to the settlements where most of his descendants were living⁸.

In this section, I present basic information about “W” lineage, to which the compilers of the genealogical book and those who recorded in it belonged. In the next section, I evaluate the reliability of the data in this genealogical book by checking its internal consistency and contradictions.

2-1-2 Reliability Check: Genealogical Consistency in Father-son Relations

The written genealogies are essentially private documents in which the compilers are not obliged to register members’ births and deaths as soon as they take place, unlike public documents. Data may be sometimes registered in genealogical records after a time lag of more than one generation based on people’s memory or oral tradition, which can easily lead to mistakes or misinterpretations. Similarly, when compilers try to combine two or more genealogical records in a single volume, they may be forced into making strained interpretations, so incorrect data may be entered. Because there are in most cases no other documents on which to depend for the evaluation of its genealogical information, the genealogical book is a kind of black box, and it is therefore essentially impossible to verify its data. If there were other documents in which the precise data of “W” lineage were recorded, we could check the record’s reliability by comparing it with those documents. However, unfortunately, no such documents are available for us. The only way left for us to estimate its reliability is to check its internal consistency and contradictions by comparing its data throughout.

The first step of my analysis is to check the consistency of genealogical relations among lineage members. There is no need to say that the genealogical relations are the most important core of written genealogies and that if there is any contradiction or inaccuracy in that core, we must regard the genealogical record as unreliable. As I explained above, written genealogies include the father’s name, number of sons, and sons’

⁸ It is mentioned that they resided mainly in T village and K village in their village complex in Sha Tin Valley.

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names for each ancestor. We can check possible omissions and errors by comparing these names with later entries. For example, if it is recorded that person A of the sixth generation had two sons and we later find two people in the seventh generation whose father is recorded as person A, we can conclude that the description is consistent. Conversely, if we cannot find consensus in names and numbers among them and there are people whose fathers cannot be identified, we must conclude that the genealogical record is inconsistent.

However, this check is by no means simple because, as I will show in the detailed examples in the third section of Chapter 3, many cases of adoption occurred among the lineage members, so we must therefore make some adjustments for the comparison. For example, if person B adopted one of his brother C's two sons, the number of C's sons is usually still recorded as two, so the total number of sons described under B and C could differ from the actual number of members in their sons' generation. Therefore, we should adjust the number of each ancestor's sons according to the number of adopted sons before comparing them to evaluate genealogical consistency.

After making this sort of adjustment for each individual case, I found just five people whose fathers cannot be identified. Four of these five people were recorded as *yuzi*, or sons adopted from non-agnates. I will refer again to *yuzi* in the third section of this chapter. Although the genealogical record does not mention the real fathers of these *yuzi*, it does state that these people were sons adopted from outside of "W" lineage. Therefore, we can presume that there are no omissions of data or hidden relationships in these cases. In other words, they recorded honestly such deviatory cases from the patrilineal principle as adoptions from outside the range of agnates just as they were. The remaining one case is described as *chengji*, or adoption as a formal successor, but the name of the biological father is not found in the genealogical data. (I will also refer to *chengji* adoptions in detail later in this chapter.) Thus, this last case seems to be the only one case in which missing data are detected. However, the fact that there is only one case of data omission among the 1,099 people included in the genealogical record shows that as far as the description of genealogical relations among lineage members is concerned, this genealogical record is a mostly reliable source for analysis.

Based on the genealogical information obtained through the above process, I created a genealogical diagram of those 1,099 people included in the genealogical record using a PC. Here, I show only a photographed of this diagram printed on a long roll of paper (see Photo 3).

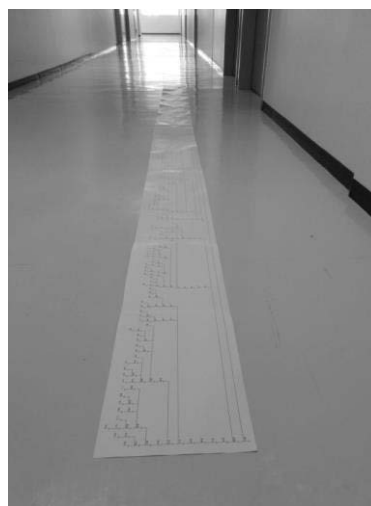


Photo 3. A genealogical diagram

2-1-3 Reliability Check: Accuracy of the Data on Members' Births and Deaths

In the previous section, I checked the reliability of the genealogical information

written in the record of “W” lineage and showed that it was mostly consistent. How about the other information, such as data on lineage members’ lifespans? Data for 1,099 people are reported in the genealogical record, of whom 595 are male members of the lineage and 504 are their spouses. The years of each person’s birth and death are recorded with both the Chinese era and zodiac year. As for the birth, not only the year but also the month, date, and time are included. This is perhaps because one’s accurate birth time as described with the Chinese zodiac term (*bazi*) was thought to be necessary to estimate congeniality when searching for a marriage partner or suitable location for one’s own grave. Besides this information, their age at death is also recorded. Among these data, I identified the following pairs of data: (A) the year of birth as described using the Chinese era and zodiac year, (B) the year of death described in the same way, and (C) the lifespan – obtained as the difference of the years of death and birth – and the recorded age at death. I used these to estimate the data’s accuracy. In principal, these pairs must be consistent for these data to be accurate.

However, these pairs of data are not always available for each case as some lack the necessary data. I omitted cases that lack all three necessary pairs of data as “inevaluable samples” because I cannot check the accuracy of such samples in the way I stated above. Then I checked each pair of data for remaining “valuable” samples whether they were consistent with each other. For example, if some person’s year of birth is recorded as “the 48th year of the Qianlong era of which the zodiac was *guimao*”⁹, and the zodiac of Qianlong’s 48th year was actually *guimao*, the accuracy of this data will be proved, and vice versa. In the same way, if it is reported in the genealogical record that someone was born in the 50th year of Qianlong (1785) and died in the 17th year of Jiaqing (1812) and the age at his death is recorded as 26, because 1812 minus 1785 plus 1¹⁰ is not equal to 26, data inaccuracy will be shown.

I checked all of these 1,099 people’s cases in this manner; through this, I found that the data on the year of birth are accurate in 828 cases, while the data on the year of death are accurate in 391 cases because many entries lack data on deaths. In 345 cases, all three pairs of data are consistent; therefore, I treated these cases as “complete samples.” However, those samples that had three pairs of data, but the data did not match, or partly lack pair data are “incomplete samples.”

I tried to rectify the “incomplete samples” in which three pairs of data were only partly consistent. For example, in the case of a person whose years of birth and death were described as “the 38th year of the Qianlong era of which the zodiac was *guise*” and “the 4th year of the Daoguang era of which the zodiac was *jiaxu*,” respectively, and whose age at death was recorded as 53 years old, I corrected the zodiac year of death to *jiashen* because only that is inconsistent with other data. In the same way, if only the zodiac year of birth is not given and other data are consistent, I calculated the zodiac year of birth and entered the blank. In such a way, I rectified the incomplete data as far as possible. I use these corrected data to analyze lineage’s demography in the next section.

⁹ *Gui* is the last of ten *gan* and *mao* is the fourth of twelve *zhi*. *Guimao* is the 40th year in the 60-year *ganzhi* cycle.

¹⁰ In the Chinese traditional way of counting age, age of a newborn child is counted as “one years old”.

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Because of these checks and restorations, I had 881 samples that could be used for the analysis, including the 345 “complete samples” and 436 rectified “incomplete samples.” Another 218 samples were set aside as “inevaluable samples” because their data were not consistent in any of three pairs of data or they lacked all data. Of 1,099 samples, 80.2 percent are valuable for the analysis of lineage members’ demography and the remaining 19.8 percent are inevaluable. Although the above estimation is based only on the check of the internal consistency of data, the resulting figures show that despite the many errors and omissions, more than 80 percent of data recorded in “W” lineage’s genealogical record can be regarded as accurate.

I already showed part of the original data recorded in the genealogical record of “W” lineage in Table 1-2. Based on the evaluations above, I rearranged the whole data into another table. This table contains data on members’ birth dates, years of death, and ages at their death, which are verified through the above crosschecking process. The table also contains such data as the number of wives and sons, the names of sons and fathers, whether sons were real or adopted, and so on. In the next section, I will analyze the demography of this lineage using the data summarized in this way.

2-2. Lineage Demography Traced through the Genealogical Record

2-2-1. Population and Lifespan

In the previous section, I certified that genealogical relations among members described in the genealogical record of “W” lineage were mostly consistent and that the data on their lifespans were also mostly evaluable by checking their internal consistency. In this section, using the data evaluated through the above process, I reconstruct the demography of the lineage as far as possible.

According to the genealogical record, the founding ancestor of “W” lineage was born in the twelfth year of the Zhengtong era in the Ming dynasty (1447). The last recorded death of a lineage member occurred in the eighteenth year of the Daoguang era in the Qing dynasty (1838). Therefore, we can estimate that this genealogical record was recorded for 391 years from 1447 to 1838. The year of birth of the founding ancestor, Ting Kei, was recorded in the genealogical record as the first year of the Tianyou era in the Song dynasty (1216), but this is impossible because it is more than three hundred years before his death in 1541. As his age at death was recorded as 95 years old, his year of birth is estimated as 1447. I use this rectified figure for his year of birth. Thus, the genealogical book of “W” lineage begins with an unrealistic description on their first ancestor. This suggests that the first part of the genealogical record was written based on the oral tradition a considerable time after the founding ancestor’s death and thus some inaccurate information was inserted.

We can count the number of people who were alive in each year during this 391-year period by using the evaluable data on the lifespans of 881 people mentioned in the genealogical record. Fig. 2-2 shows the population of “W” lineage from 1447 to 1838 calculated in that way. However, we should note that in this calculation, only male

members and their spouses are included because the genealogical record does not mention girls who were born as daughters of lineage members. That is, among the children born under the male lineage members, male children were included but girls were completely omitted from the genealogical record.

The largest population of the lineage was 341, which was achieved in 1816 and comprised 195 male members and 146 spouses. After this peak, the lineage population declined until the genealogical record ended. However, it is unlikely that this reflects an actual population decrease. It is perhaps because more people were not yet mentioned in the genealogical record as they approached the end of the record. Therefore, the trend for the lineage population to decline probably reflected only those members who were born before the 1810s and had already reached adulthood by 1838.

Of the recorded members at the population's peak in 1816, 93 were unmarried male members. As I will mention later in this chapter (in 2-3), age differences between husbands and wives were usually small. If we suppose that there was not so much difference in age at marriage between the male and female members, there should be as many unmarried girls as unmarried boys in the lineage. Therefore, the actual population of the lineage community when it achieved the maximum size is estimated to be around 450, by doubling the 93 unmarried males.

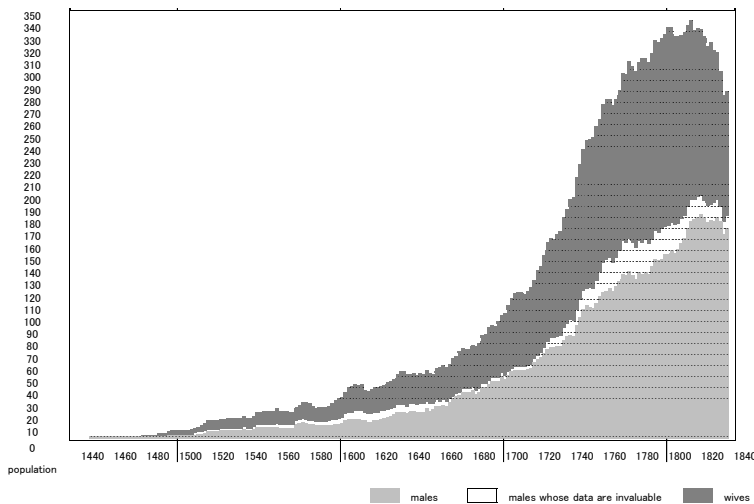


Fig. 2-2. Lineage population estimated from the genealogical data

The numbers of people who belonged to each generation and of people who were born in every half-century are shown in Tables 2-1 and 2-2. As Table 2-1 shows, there was a remarkable population growth from the seventh to the ninth generation. It more than doubled from the seventh to the eighth generations. By observing the population growth in every half-century, we find that it more than doubled from 1701 to 1750. After that period,

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Table 2-1. Lineage population of each generation

Generation	Total	Male members	Wives
1	2	1	1
2	7	4	3
3	18	9	9
4	24	12	12
5	30	15	15
6	31	16	15
7	45	20	25
8	106	47	59
9	183	87	96
10	223	119	104
11	249	140	109
12	151	103	48
13	29	21	8
14	1	1	0

its growth slowed down towards the end of the genealogical record. This is probably not because population growth actually slowed but because many young people had not yet been registered in the genealogical record when it ended.

Table 2-2. Distribution of lineage members' birth years

Birth year	Total	Male members	Wives
—1500	7	4	3
1501—1550	17	9	8
1551—1600	26	13	13
1601—1650	46	24	22
1651—1700	92	46	46
1701—1750	226	107	119
1751—1800	297	164	133
1801—	184	141	43

Now let us turn to lineage members' lifespans. If I simply calculate the average lifespan using the samples that I identified as evaluable by checking their internal consistency, the figure for the total population throughout the period is 55.3; those for males and females are 56.0 and 54.6, respectively (Table 2-3). The numbers for every generation and every half century are shown in Table 2-4. These tables suggest that the average lifespan was longer for earlier generations and shorter for later generations.

Table 2-3. Average life span of "W" lineage's members

	Total	Male members	Wives
Valuable examples	569	295	274
Average life span	55.3	56.0	54.6

years old

Table 2-4-1. Lineage members' average life span by generation

Generation	Total	Male member	Wives
1	78.5	94.0	63.0
2	67.3	71.7	63.0
3	61.1	61.9	60.2
4	61.8	64.2	59.5
5	58.4	59.0	57.8
6	57.5	60.1	54.8
7	60.7	63.4	58.5
8	57.6	61.4	54.4
9	54.1	53.5	54.7
10	54.2	53.6	55.1
11	42.8	46.0	37.7
12	28.4	28.4	28.5

What We Can Learn

Table 2-4-2. Lineage members' average life span by birth year

Birth year	Total
— 1500	94.0
1501—1550	64.8
1551—1600	61.1
1601—1650	59.0
1651—1700	59.3
1701—1750	56.4
1751—1800	49.4
1801—	26.1

However, we cannot take these figures as a reflection of the actual situation for several reasons. First, the average lifespan of people after the eleventh generation or that of those who were born after 1750 was under 50, and that of people born after 1800 was less than 30. This is apparently because many in this age group were still alive when recording ended and therefore only the data of those who had already died at a relatively young age were recorded. Other people in this age group were not yet recorded or were actually recorded but lacked data on their deaths because they were still alive¹¹. As I noted earlier, the final recorded death is that of a person who belonged to the eleventh generation and died in 1838. This suggests that the compilation of this genealogical book was completed this year or a little later. Many other members who belonged to this or younger generations were likely alive at that point in time. Data on deaths were only evaluable for 496 members. The remaining 603 cases lack evaluable data, of which as many as 538 cases do not mention the members' age to death at all. Some of these members likely already died before 1838 because some were born in the 16th century. However, many of the other members were presumably still alive at that time.

Table 2-5. Alive members in 1838 by generation

Generation	Number
1	0
2	0
3	0
4	0
5	0
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	12
10	51
11	139
12	99
13	13
14	1
Total	315

Among these 538 people, if we suppose those who were under 90 years old in 1838 were still alive, it is possible that many of the members who belonged to the 11th

¹¹ In the genealogical record of “W” lineage, young death is often referred to by the term “*yaozu*”. However, it seems that this category excluded those who died in infancy. The youngest recorded death occurred at fifteen years old; people who died aged 15 to 27 were described as *Yaozu*. Therefore, it seems that dead members who had survived to adulthood or were just underage but died unmarried or without offspring were given this term. In other words, it is highly likely that those who died under 15 were not at all recorded, which means that these deaths were not reflected in the average lifespan calculated here.

What We Can Learn

generation or who were born after 1750 were still alive in 1838 (Tables 2-5 and 2-6). Because the lifespans of these surviving members were not included in the calculation, the average lifespan of younger members appears shorter than in reality.

Table 2-6. Alive members in 1838 by birth year

Birth year	Number
— 1500	0
1501—1550	0
1551—1600	0
1601—1650	0
1651—1700	0
1701—1750	3
1751—1800	135
1801—	177
Total	315

Then, given that the average lifespan of younger generations was possibly distorted in this way, can we believe that the estimated lifespans reflect reality? The calculated figures show that the average lifespan of lineage members before the fifth generation, who were mostly born in the Ming Dynasty, exceeded 60 and was longer than that of junior lineage members. However, we must still consider some factors

that could possibly distort the figures.

First, we should pay attention to the fact that the descent line from the third to the sixth generation was succeeded in unilinear form by only one or two male members per generation. In other words, the number of sons born in these generations seemed to be fewer than in other generations and the genealogical tree of these generations looks rather slim compared with that of later generations. Although it is possible that ancestors in these generations actually had fewer children than in successive generations, another possibility is that some members of these early generations, especially those who had no descendants, were not recorded, so the genealogical record took a stem like form. If such young dead were more easily omitted from the genealogical record in older generations, the average lifespan should be distorted towards longer lifespans for those generations.

Table 2-7. Check of age difference between parents and sons (samples)

Generation	Name	Wife	Birth year	Death year	Age at death	Unnatural case	Father's name	Birth year	Death year	Age at son's birth	Out of the range	After death	Father's first wife	Birth year	Death year	Age at son's birth	Out of the range	After death	
1	Ting Kei		1447	1541	94														
		Tang Shi	1478	1541	63														
2	Kin Kai		1489	1551	62	✓	Ting Kei	1447	1541	42			Tang Shi	1478	1541	<i>11</i>	×		
		Wong Shi	1488	1553	65														
2	Yin Kai		1495	1562	67		Ting Kei	1447	1541	48			Tang Shi	1478	1541	17			
		Wong Shi	1497	1562	65														
2	Tak Kai		1510	1596	86	✓	Ting Kei	1447	1541	<i>63</i>	×		Tang Shi	1478	1541	32			
		Wong Shi	1509	1568	59														
3	Ho tang		1513	1581	68		Kin Kai	1489	1551	24			Wong Shi	1488	1553	25			
		Wong Shi	1514	1583	69														
3	Ho Yip		1516	1577	61		Kin Kai	1489	1551	27			Wong Shi	1488	1553	28			
		Wong Shi	1516	1580	64														
3	Ho Kok		1519	1583	64		Kin Kai	1489	1551	30			Wong Shi	1488	1553	31			
		Lei Shi	1518	1581	63														
3	Yan Wai		1527	1580	53		Yin Kai	1495	1562	32			Wong Shi	1497	1562	30			
		Lei Shi	1530	1581	51														
3	Yan Yi		1560	1626	66	✓	Yin Kai	1495	1562	<i>65</i>	×		Wong Shi	1497	1562	<i>63</i>	×		
		Ng Shi	1561	1629	68														
3	Yan Tim		1592	1651	59	✓	Yin Kai	1495	1562	<i>97</i>	×	×	Wong Shi	1497	1562	<i>95</i>	×	×	
		Yeung Sh	1594	1650	56														
3	Yan Yuet		1594	1655	61	✓	Yin Kai	1495	1562	<i>99</i>	×	×	Wong Shi	1497	1562	<i>97</i>	×	×	
		Mok Shi	1596	1646	50														
3	Tsz hong		1549	1612	63		Tak Kai	1510	1596	39			Wong Shi	1509	1568	40			
		Lei Shi	1552	1614	62														
3	Chek Yan		1552	1614	62	✓	Tak Kai	1510	1596	42			Wong Shi	1509	1568	<i>43</i>	×		
		Yuen Shi	1555	1614	59														

figures in *italic* mean unnatural case

By checking the validity in the previous section, I proved that the genealogical relations among recorded lineage members are mostly consistent. Therefore, it seems at first glance that there could not be such omissions or errors in it. However, we still need

more detailed inspection on the individual lineage members' life sequences to know whether such omissions could possibly occur. Now, I check the age differences between parents and sons for all cases in which both the data on the years of their births and deaths are available. Some of the results are shown in Table 2-7. These results show that in some cases, parents were recorded as being as young as under 10 years old, extraordinary old, or even dead when their sons were born. In addition to the cases in which sons were born apparently after their parents died, if I regard those cases in which sons were born when their parents were under 16, the father was over 60 or the mother was over 40 years old as "unnatural cases," there are 87 such "unnatural" cases among the total 881 samples that I previously evaluated as valid.

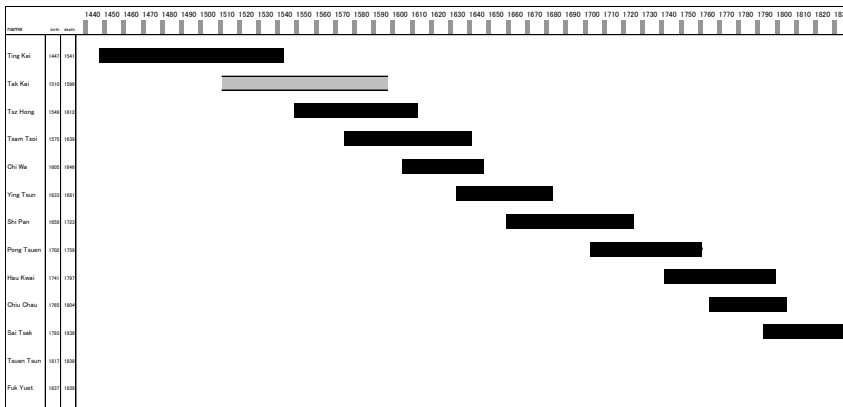


Fig. 2-3. Example of generation sequence (1)

To give a visible image to these results, I show them in bar graphs. Fig. 2-3 shows the cases of 13 male members who belonged to a family line from the founding ancestor to a male born in 1821. Bar graphs show each member's lifespan; gray bars show "unnatural" cases as described above. Bar graphs of nearly 900 samples are too large to show in this book, but I show the printed results on a long roll of paper in Photo 4.

Some of these "unnatural" cases seem to comprise so-called *guoji*, sons adopted after their parents' death. Only two of these "unnatural" cases were mentioned as adoptions, which perhaps suggests that some of these *guoji* adoptions were not recorded as such. However, in several cases in the second, the third, and fourth generations, we find that the age difference between father and son exceeds even 70 years. These cases seem to differ from ordinary *guoji* cases because the age difference between adoptive fathers and adopted sons was usually less than 50 years.

If such cases were not the results of adoption after parents' deaths, this might suggest the possibility that data for one generation are missing. For example, with the data shown in Fig. 2-

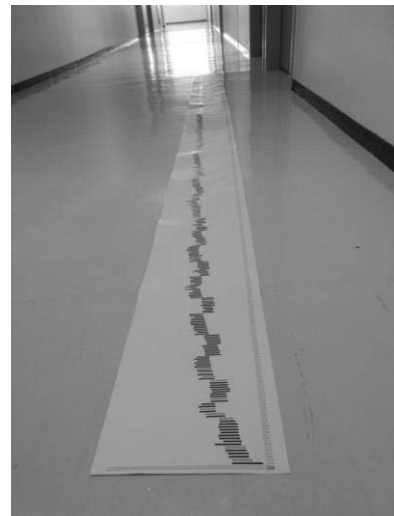


Photo 4. Members' lifespan graph

What We Can Learn

3, we cannot trace a continuous sequence of descent unless we suppose that another member was born around 1560, between the third and the fourth generations. There are other similar cases in the genealogical record; these are concentrated before the fourth generation (seven of ten cases, as shown in Fig. 2-4). Therefore, it is highly possible that there were some major omissions in the early stages of the lineage history. If these omissions caused confusion of the data on the years of birth and death of ancestors in adjacent generations, the lifespans of these older generations were assumed to be prolonged and were recorded as such in the genealogical record, which means that the average lifespan would be stretched longer than in reality. Just like the

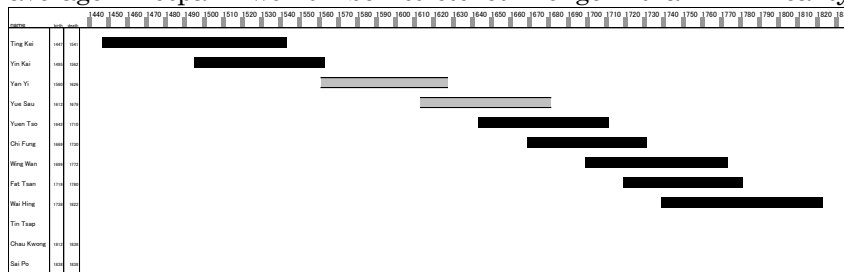


Fig. 2-4-1. Example of generation sequence (2)

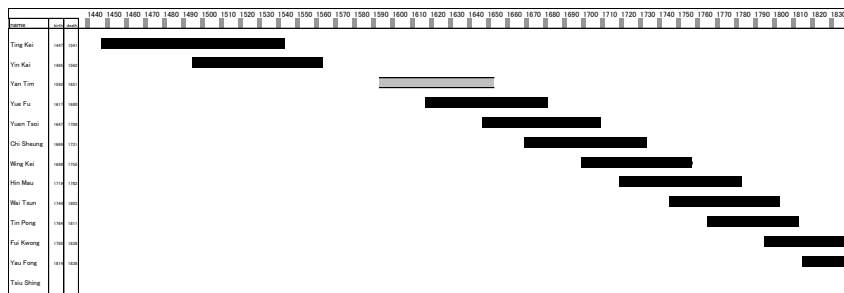


Fig. 2-4-2. Example of generation sequence (3)

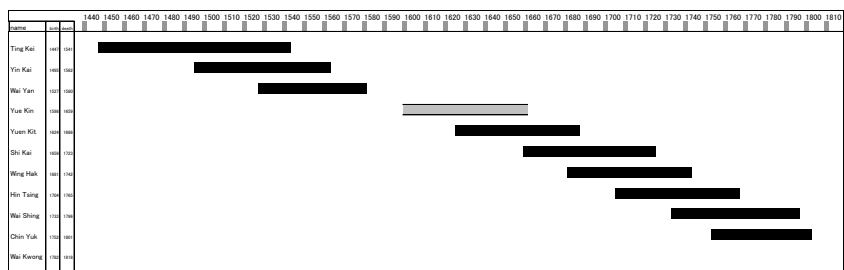


Fig. 2-4-3. Example of generation sequence (4)

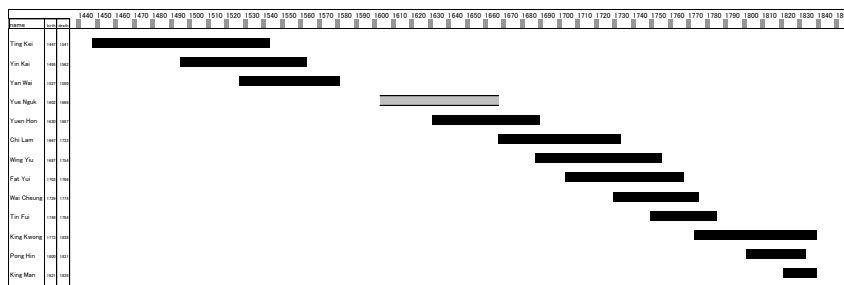


Fig. 2-4-4. Example of generation sequence (5)

What We Can Learn

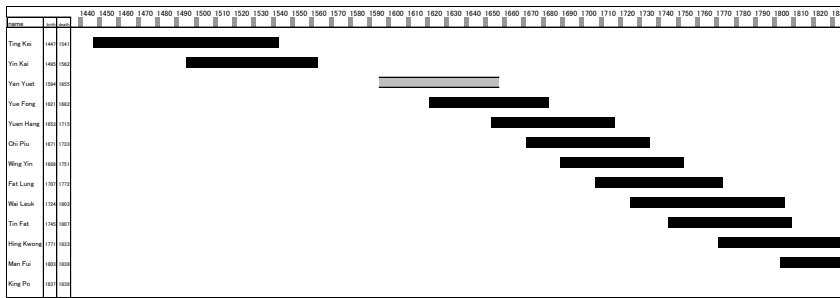


Fig. 2-4-5. Example of generation sequence (6)

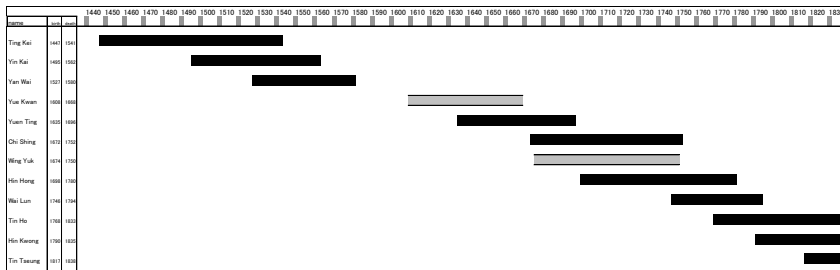


Fig. 2-4-6. Example of generation sequence (7)

wavelength of lights emitted from the remote stars are enlarged by the redshift effect¹², the lifespans of more remote ancestors tend to be recorded as elongated because of possible omissions of data and confusion.

Therefore, we must be careful when we make demographic estimations based on data taken from the earliest part of the genealogical record. It is currently necessary to remove the “unnatural” samples before I calculate the average age difference between parents and sons. Having done this, I obtain the result shown in Table. 2-8. Male members had an average age of 29.9 at their first son’s birth and 36.0 for all subsequent sons’ births. Their wives’ average ages were 26.4 and 30.8, respectively.

Thus, I tried in this section to provide an overview of the population change and average lifespans of lineage members by using the genealogical data on the years of their births and deaths¹³. I also tried to reconstruct all lineage members’ lifespans and found

¹² Because the universe is expanding by itself, it looks for us that remoter stars run away from us in a faster speed. Therefore, wavelength of lights emitted from the remoter stars are prolonged by the Doppler effect and they look red to us. This phenomenon is called the redshift. Here I use the analogy of this physical phenomenon compare ancestors’ lifespans recorded in the genealogical book to the wavelength of stars’ light and explain that the more remote the ancestor, the longer the lifespan seems to be in comparison with more recent ancestors.

¹³ There is no information about the causes of members’ deaths except for two ancestors who died by water accidents and three who were killed in encounters with tigers. It is not certain what “tiger” means here. Although South China was said to be inhabited by Amoy tigers until the mid-Qing period, the risk of encountering tigers was not likely to be so high. According to Ueda [2002: 107], local gazetteers recorded that tigers were witnessed only 50 times in 50 years even at their most frequent time. As we cannot presume that the members of “W” lineage were exceptionally unlucky with tigers, the term “encounter with tigers” probably means some kind of accidental death.

What We Can Learn

possible errors and confusion among the samples that I evaluated as valid by checking their internal consistency.

Table 2-8-1. Average age difference between parents and sons

	Fathers' age		Mothers' age	
	At the birth of first sons	At the birth of younger sons	At the birth of first sons	At the birth of younger sons
Average	29.9	36.0	26.4	30.8
Mode	28	38	25	40
Median	29	36	26	31
Maximum	57	60	40	40
Minimum	16	18	16	17

Table 2-8-2. Distribution of age difference between parents and sons

Age differenc	Fathers and first sons	Fathers and younger sons	Mothers and first sons	Mothers and younger sons
0 - 19	22	7	25	4
20 - 24	53	13	66	21
25 - 29	64	29	61	38
30 - 39	82	73	66	77
40 - 49	29	50	2	12
50 -	6	14	0	0

2-2-2. Generation Cycles and Family Compositions

In this section, I will show the actual status of life cycles and family compositions of lineage members. More precisely, I trace the detail of individual members' life cycles to examine, for example, how many people survived to see their own grandsons or great-grandsons and what family compositions were possible during the period in which the genealogical book was recorded.

Table 2-9. Lineage male members who had grandsons or great grandsons

	Number	Ratio
Members who had grandsons in lifetime	110	22.0%
(Total male members in 1st to 11th generation)	500	
Members who had great grandsons in lifetime	11	3.2%
(Total male members in 1st to 10th generation)	344	

First, 110 male members survived until the births of their own grandsons. This means that 22.0 percent of all male members lived long enough to see their own grandsons before the end of the genealogical record in 1838. The figure for great-grandsons is even lower: I found only 11 cases for the entire period, which equates to 3.2 percent of all male members. Therefore, families that comprised four generations were very rare (Table 2-9). In these 11 cases, 32 great-grandsons were born in total. The great-grandfathers' names and years of the great-grandsons' births are shown in Table 2-10-1, and the great-grandsons' names and durations of the four generation family under each great-grandfather are shown in Table 2-10-2. The family compositions of these 11 four-generation families when each reached their maximum size are shown in Fig. 2-5.

Table 2-10-1. Great grandfathers' names
for each great grandsons

Generation	Name of great grandsons	Name of great grandfathers	Birth year of great grandsons
4	Mau Tat	Ting Kei	1541
8	Fat Tseung	Yuen Hang	1705
8	Fat Lung	Yuen Hang	1707
9	Wai Kui	Chi Lam	1724
9	Wai Cheung	Chi Lam	1729
9	Wai Chung	Chi Lam	1729
9	Wai Nang	Chi Shing	1734
9	Wai Tsoi	Chi Shing	1738
9	Wai Lung	Chi Shing	1740
9	Wai Fung	Chi Shing	1744
9	Wai Lun	Chi Shing	1746
9	Wai Ko	Chi Shing	1749
9	Ting Tseung	Chi Piu	1723
9	Ting Tsak	Chi Piu	1725
9	Ting Chung	Chi Piu	1727
9	Wai Leuk	Chi Piu	1724
9	Wai Kwai	Chi Piu	1726
10	Tin Fui	Wing Yiu	1748
10	Tin Siu	Wing Yiu	1751
10	Tin Kwong	Wing Wan	1759
10	Tin Tsit	Wing Wan	1765
10	Tin Fong	Wing Wan	1753
10	Tin Chan	Wing Wan	1765
10	Tin Fong	Wing Yin	1746
10	Tin Lan	Wing Yin	1749
10	Tin Fui	Wing Yin	1744
10	Tin Fat	Wing Yin	1745
10	Tin Yue	Wing Yin	1751
11	Tai Kwong	Fat Tseung	1764
11	Hing kwong	Fat Lung	1771
12	Pan Fui	Wai Leuk	1793
12	Man Fui	Wai Leuk	1803

Table 2-10-2. Great grandsons' names for each great grandfathers

Generation	Name of great grandfathers	Name of great grandsons	Duration of four generation family
1	Ting Kei	Mau Tat	1541 — 1541
5	Yuen Hang	Fat Tseung, Fat Lung	1705 — 1715
6	Chi Lam	Wai Kui, Wai Cheung, Wai Chung	1724 — 1732
6	Chi Shing	Wai Nang, Wai Tsoi, Wai Lung, Wai Fung, Wai Lun, Wai Ko	1734 — 1752
6	Chi Piu	Ting Tseung, Ting Tsak, Ting Chung, Wai Leuk, Wai Kwai	1723 — 1733
7	Wing Yiu	Tin Fui, Tin Siu	1748 — 1754
7	Wing Wan	Tin Kwong, Tin Tsit, Tin Fong, Tin Chan	1759 — 1772
7	Wing Yin	Tin Fong, Tin Lan, Tin Fu, Tin Fat, Tin Yue	1746 — 1751
8	Fat Tseung	Tai Kwong	1764 — 1765
8	Fat Lung	Hing Kwong	1771 — 1772
9	Wai Leuk	Pan Fui, Man Fui	1793 — 1803

What We Can Learn

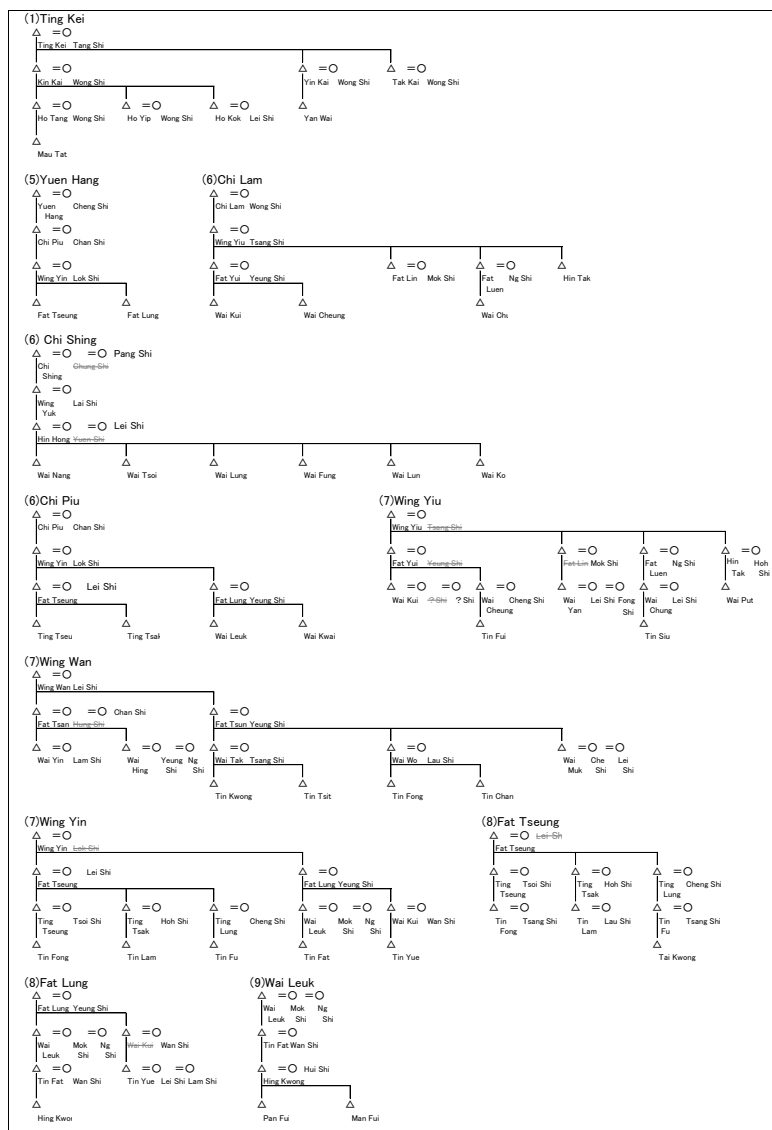


Fig. 2-5. All examples of four generation families under great grandfathers

Table 2-11. Lineage members' wives who had grandsons or great grandsons

	Number	Ratio
Members who had grandsons in lifetime	116	25.9%
(Total wives of members in 1st to 11th generation)	448	
Members who had great grandsons in lifetime	11	3.2%
(Total wives of members in 1st to 10th generation)	339	

What We Can Learn

Table 2-12-1. Great grandmothers' names for each great grandsons

Generation	Name of great grandsons	Name of great grandmothers	Birth year of great grandsons
4	Mau Tat	Ting Kei's wife Tang Shi	1541
8	Fat Tseung	Yuen Hang's wife Cheng Shi	1705
8	Fat Lung	Yuen Hang's wife Cheng Shi	1707
9	Wai Kui	Chi Lam's wife Wong Shi	1724
9	Wai Cheung	Chi Lam's wife Wong Shi	1729
9	Wai Chung	Chi Lam's wife Wong Shi	1729
9	Wai Nang	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1734
9	Wai Tsoi	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1738
9	Wai Lung	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1740
9	Wai Fung	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1744
9	Wai Lun	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1746
9	Wai Ko	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1749
9	Wai Tsin	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	1753
9	Ting Tseung	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	1723
9	Ting Tsak	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	1725
9	Ting Chung	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	1727
9	Wai Leuk	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	1724
9	Wai Kwai	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	1726
10	Tin Kwong	Wing Wan's wife Lei Shi	1759
10	Tin Tsit	Wing Wan's wife Lei Shi	1765
10	Tin Fong	Wing Wan's wife Lei Shi	1753
10	Tin Chan	Wing Wan's wife Lei Shi	1765
10	Tin Pong	Wing Kei's wife Lei Shi	1764
11	Hing kwong	Fat Lung's wife Yeung Shi	1771
12	Yau Fong	Wai Tsun's wife Tsoi Shi	1814
13	King Man	Tin Fui's wife Mok Shi	1821
13	Tsan Man	Tin Fui's wife Mok Shi	1824
13	Shui Man	Tin Fui's wife Mok Shi	1828
13	Yi Yin	Tin Fat's wife Wan Shi	1814

Table 2-12-2. Great grandsons' names for each great grandmothers

Generation	Name of great grandmothers	Name of great grandsons	Duration of four generation family
1	Ting Kei's wife Tang Shi	Mau Tat	1541 — 1541
5	Yuen Hang's wife Cheng Shi	Fat Tseung, Fat Lung	1705 — 1715
6	Chi Lam's wife Wong Shi	Wai Kui, Wai Cheung, Wai Chung	1724 — 1732
6	Chi Shing's wife Pang Shi	Wai Nang, Wai Tsoi, Wai Lung, Wai Fung, Wai Lun, Wai Ko	1734 — 1752
6	Chi Piu's wife Chan Shi	Ting Tseung, Ting Tsak, Ting Chung, Wai Leuk, Wai Kwai	1723 — 1733
7	Wing Wan's wife Lei Shi	Tin Chan	1759 — 1772
7	Wing Kei's wife Lei Shi	Tin Pong	1764 — 1764
8	Fat Lung's wife Yeung Shi	Hing Kwong	1771 — 1772
9	Wai Tsun's wife Tsoi Shi	Yau Fong	1814 — 1816
10	Tin Fui's wife Mok Shi	King Man, Tsan Man, Shui Man	1821 — 1832
10	Tin Fat's wife Wan Shi	Yi Yin	1814 — 1832

Similarly, 116 wives survived until the births of their grandsons. They comprise 25.9 percent of all wives mentioned by the end of the genealogical record in 1838. There were also 11 cases in this period in which wives survived until the births of their great-grandsons, which equates to 3.2 percent of all wives (Table 2-9). These 11 great-grandmothers had 29 great-grandsons in sum. The great-grandmothers' names and years of the great-grandsons' births are shown in Table 2-12-1, and the great-grandsons' names and durations of the four-generation family under each great-grandmother are shown in Table 2-12-2. The family compositions of these 11 four-generation families when each reached their maximum size are shown in Fig. 2-6.

What We Can Learn

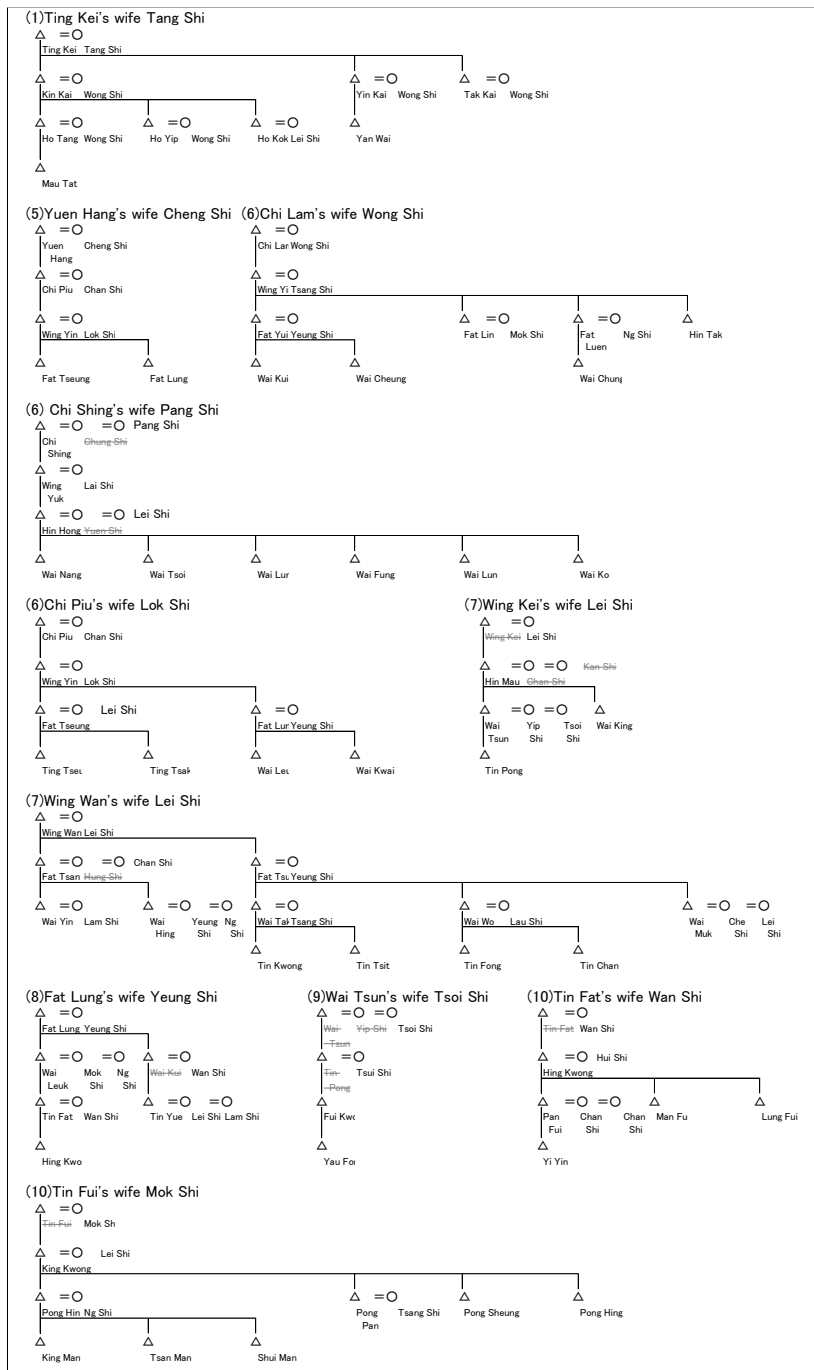


Fig. 2-6. All examples of four generation families under great grandmothers

As I showed above, some male members and their wives experienced the births of their own great-grandsons, though such cases were rather rare. Then, in what kind of family compositions did other ordinary lineage members and their spouses live? The genealogical record does not tell us who was living with whom in their household units. However, we can still trace the overlaps of members' lifespans and their marital status by using 794 samples. These are the cases that I determined as suitable for analysis in the

first section of this chapter and remained after removing “unnatural” samples in this section. In this analysis, although we know nothing about such functional factors as cohabitation and co-budgeting among the lineage members, we can estimate the compositions of their family units through such structural factors as number of sons, whether family members married, whether senior members survived, and so on. In other words, we can estimate the types of family composition through the genealogical relationships among the surviving members at each timepoint by analyzing the data in the genealogical record.

For example, if one member had no lineal kin in the two previous generations or the two succeeding generations, there was no possibility that he or she could compose a stem family of more than three generations. If at any point there were no individual members who had such a condition, we can estimate that there were no stem family type household units in the lineage at that point in time. Similarly, if a male member had married sons, the condition for composing a collateral extended family type¹⁴ household unit existed. Therefore, we can estimate how many households of each type could exist at most at any time, even though we cannot know their actual proportions. However, we can extract “possible household compositions” at each point in time in this manner¹⁵.

The “family” is a culturally defined concept in its essence. It depends heavily on the culturally accepted notion about the range of close kin regarded as the core of one’s in-group. It has been repeatedly argued that the most important and basic tie connecting family members in Chinese society was the tie of patrilineal descent between father and son. As explained by Chen [2006: 172-173], the elementary structure of Chinese families was the extended family called *jiazu*, which comprised the father – as genealogical apex – and his married sons, who composed their own segments called *fang* within it. The culturally defined notion of Chinese family or *jiazu* seems to depend little on the actual functions such as co-living or sharing of food in daily life but is defined mainly through genealogical relationships. From this perspective, we can extract each “family” directly from the descriptions in the genealogical record as a unit that comprises a living male member and his sons, both married and unmarried.

Unlike the stem-type extended family units that were often found in pre-modern and early-modern Japan¹⁶, there was no tradition in China to differentiate the successor of the family line from non-successors among sons borne under the same father. This means that the membership and range of a family was defined only through patrilineal

¹⁴ This is often called the “joint family” or “composite family” in studies on traditional large-scale families. However, because these terms always have some ambiguity, I use the term “collateral extended family” here instead.

¹⁵ But as I have already stated, because of the nature of the data recorded in the genealogical record, all daughters born in the lineage are excluded here. I suppose that all marriages were practiced patrilocally here.

¹⁶ The Japanese term “*katoku*” refers to the child who succeeds the family line among his or her brothers and sisters. Often, most of the family property and non-material resources such as family names or fame were also inherited by only one *katoku*.

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descent and marital relationships, regardless of functional or practical aspects. We can therefore suppose that it is possible to determine the composition of any Chinese family as a *jiazu* at one point in time, only by counting the number of sons and checking their marital status. If we know that a male member had three married sons, we can estimate that his *jiazu* unit at that time was a collateral extended family, to use our anthropological term, regardless their actual living pattern. If only one of the three sons was already married, his *jiazu* unit should belong to the stem family type. If all his sons were still unmarried, his *jiazu* unit should be the elementary family¹⁷ type. In this way, we can classify their family units in each year according to the anthropological typology.

Using the data extracted from the genealogical records, I can check the survival and marriage status of every member of the lineage in each year. As the years of lineage members' marriages were not recorded, I must estimate them from the year of the first sons' births and husbands' and wives' ages. If a wife was over 16 years old and her husband was over 20, I automatically regard them to already be married. Even in cases in which the husband was under 20, I regard him as married if his first son had already born.

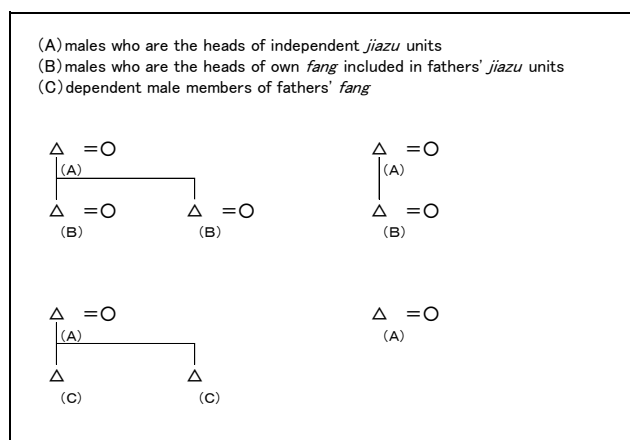


Fig. 2-7. Conceptual models of male members' genealogical statuses

I examine the family unit types using the following process. First, I classify male members according to their genealogical and marital status. If a male member had no living senior members in his lineal kin, he can be regarded as the head of his own *jiazu* unit (A). If any senior members in his lineal kin were still alive and he was already married, he will be regarded as the head of his *fang*, a component part of his father's *jiazu* (B). If any senior members were still alive and he was unmarried, he will be regarded as a subordinate member of his father's *jiazu* (C).

A visual model of these statuses is shown in Fig. 2-7. We can count the number of *jiazu* units in "W" lineage at any point in time by counting the male members who were classified as (A) at that time. Any *jiazu* unit comprising two or more male members who were classified as (B) can be regarded as the collateral extended family type. If a *jiazu* unit contained only one male members who were classified as (B) in each generation, it can be

¹⁷ This is basically equivalent to the term "nuclear family" often used by sociologists.

regarded as the stem family type. Finally, any *jiazu* unit comprising only male members who were classified as (C) but not (B) can be regarded as the elementary (or nuclear) family type.

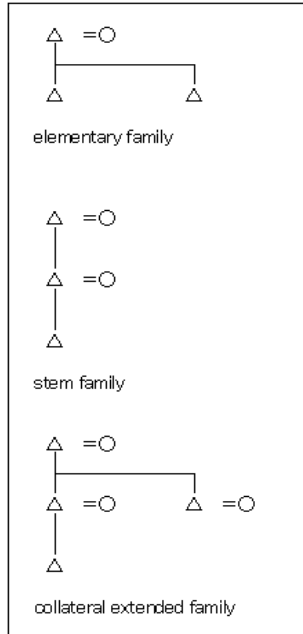


Fig. 2-8. Conceptual models of family composition

One thing that we should consider is the existence of widows who survive their husbands along with their sons. In principle, as soon as a male member died, the *jiazu* unit that he headed should be dissolved and any *fangs* headed by his sons would become independent *jiazu* units. However, many ethnographies have shown that these new independent *jiazu* units tended to maintain cooperation with each other for as long as the father's widow survived. This was especially the case when sons were still young and may have been unmarried when their father died, and intense cooperation would be maintained for a while. Additionally, the widows who remained the most senior person in the family could possibly take some role in leading their sons' *jiazu* units. Therefore, we should regard this stage in the family cycle as a transitional phase that led to the full dissolution of father's *jiazu* unit. I will discuss this point again in Section 3-2 when I examine individual cases of widows.

Following the above process, I checked the compositions of all *jiazu* units in "W" lineage that existed from 1490 to 1830. Fig. 2-9 shows the results of this. The maximum number of family units at any one time is 69, which was reached in 1788, 1812, and 1815. The maximum number of collateral extended family *jiazu* units at any time is 7, which was reached in 1735, 1763, 1764, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1778, 1789, 1790, and 1792. As an example, I show the seven collateral extended family *jiazu* units that existed in 1770 in Fig. 2-10.

Some researchers in the first half of the 20th century argued that the patrilineal collateral extended family was the typical form of pre-modern and early-modern Chinese families. This was perhaps because sons often maintained a common residence and common budget among themselves during their father's lifetime according to the principle that sons were regarded as subordinate members of their father's *jiazu* while he was alive. However, it was also argued that such large scale extended family units were only found among the minority of the population who had enough space to live and resource to use. However, by ignoring such functional factors as economic resources or living space, it is apparent that the possibility of forming a collateral extended family was always limited by structural factors including parents' lifespan, number of sons, and age difference between fathers and sons; therefore, they were always quite rare.

Collateral extended family *jiazu* units comprised just 12.3 percent of all units

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throughout the 340-year period. Its prevalence also varied yearly, mostly within the range of 0 percent to about 20 percent, except for the initial stage of lineage development. In that stage, when the sons of founding ancestor married and their *jiazu* unit developed into the collateral extended family type, 100 percent of the units were that type because there existed no other family units in the lineage at that time. However, throughout the other stages of the lineage's history the most common type was usually the elementary family, which usually comprised more than 60 percent.

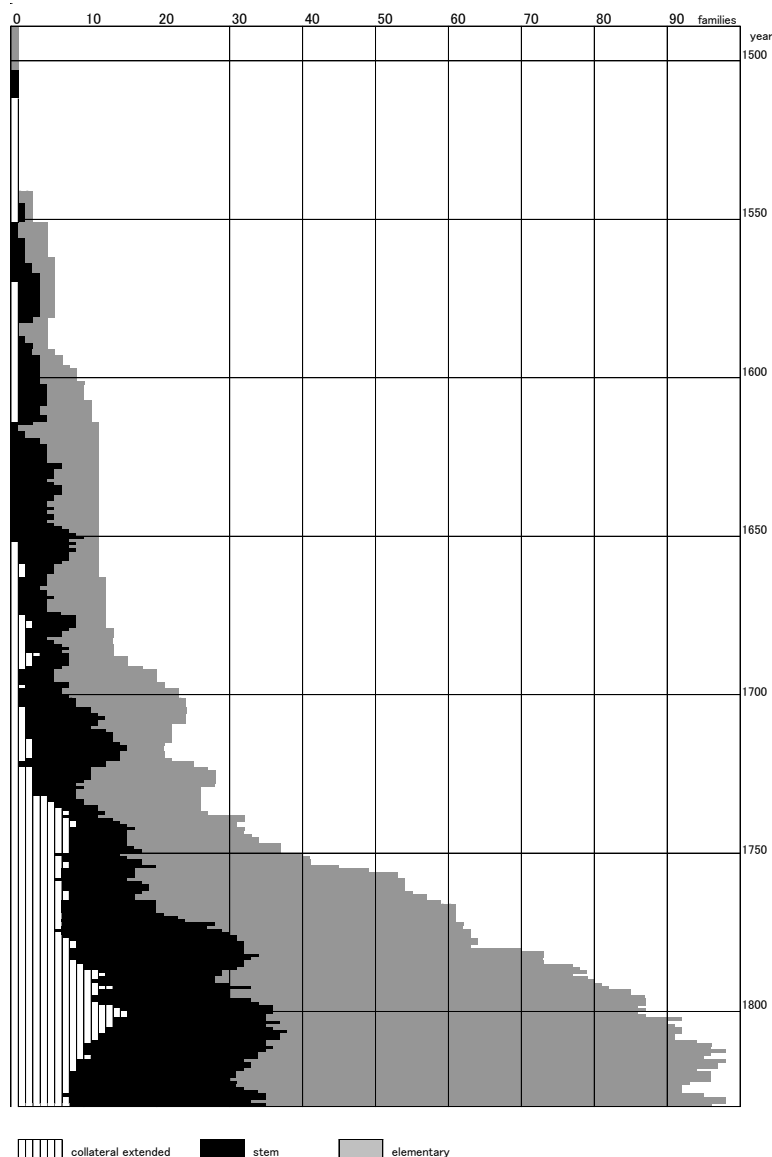


Fig. 2-9. Types of family units in "W" lineage in the period of 1490-1830

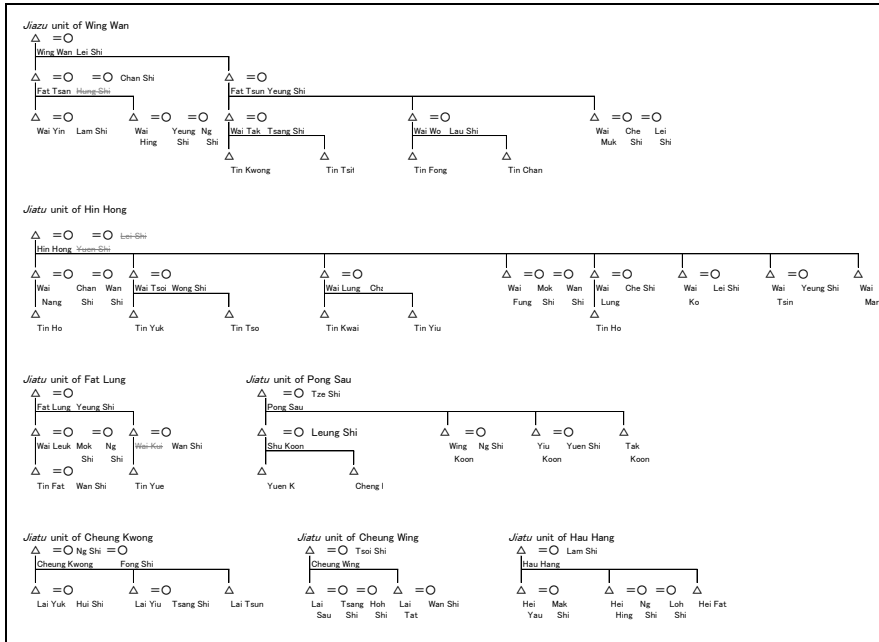


Fig. 2-10. All cases of collateral extended family type *jiazhu* unit in 1770

Thus, even in pre-modern China, it is highly probable that the patrilineal collateral extended family could not hold a statistical majority because such structural factors as parents’ lifespans and the number of sons prevented them from developing into large family structures. However, as I noted earlier in this section, the forms of family seem to depend on the cultural tradition of each society, and they heavily depend on the extent of the close kin or co-resident persons who are habitually regarded as the most closely related members of one’s in-group. It also depends on the customary image that a society holds up as the ideal or preferable form of family. Therefore, even though collateral extended families did not comprise a majority for most of the lineage’s history, we should still consider the importance of this family type for members of “W” lineage from another perspective, which I will do in Section 3-1.

2-2-3. Background of Wives

In the previous section, I examined the family compositions of “W” lineage and showed the types and proportions of the *jiazhu* units to which the lineage members belonged. As I already stated, the genealogical record focused on male members and descriptions on female members are limited. However, some records were left on the women who married in as spouses of lineage members, and especially those who became mothers of the lineage’s male descendants.

First, let us see the number of spouses of every male member of the lineage. I checked 596 total male members; the results are shown in Table 2-13-1. The most frequent cases are male members with only one spouse, which comprise 64 percent of the total. Next, 26 percent of male members did not marry (156 cases). Fifty-two members, or 9 percent, married twice. The highest number of spouses a male member had was three, which

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occurred in only seven cases (about 1 percent). No lineage member had four or more spouses. Among the cases in which a male member had two or more spouses, there were both cases in which husbands remarried after their first wives died or were divorced and

Table 2-13-1. Number of spouses (all lineage members)

Number of spouses	Cases	Ratio
0	156	26.2%
1	380	63.9%
2	52	8.7%
3	7	1.2%
4	0	—
Total	595	

(Average number of spouses = 0.85)

Table 2-13-2. Number of spouses (1st-10th generation only)

Number of spouses	Cases	Ratio
0	31	10.7%
1	219	75.5%
2	35	12.1%
3	5	1.7%
4	0	—
Total	290	

(Average number of spouses = 1.05)

in which members had concubines beside their formal wives. Each male member had an average of 0.85 spouses throughout the period.

Some male members who had no spouses named in the genealogical record were young and unmarried members in 1838 when the recording ended. Because those members who were still young and unmarried in 1838 belonged mostly to the eleventh or later generations, I calculated the average number of spouses only for members of the tenth or earlier generations (Table 2-13-2). As shown in the table, those who had no spouse, one spouse, two spouses, and three spouses accounted for 11, 76, 12, and 2 percent of the total, respectively. The average number of spouses per male member was 1.05 for these generations.

Next, I examine how the spouses of lineage members were described in the genealogical record. Following information on their husband, the genealogical record included information on each spouse including natal clan name, the date and time of birth, age at death, the year of their death, and the location and circumstance of their tomb. Then, the number and names of their sons were added at the end of the description. The information about these spouses was headed by titles that indicated their status. I show these titles in Table 2-14. *Yuanpei*, which literally means “original wife,” was the title for formal wives to whom their husbands married for the first time. The title *zaiqu* or *xuqu*, which means literally “remarried wife,” was given to the formal wives to whom their husbands married after the first wives died or divorced. The status of concubines, who were distinguished from these formal wives, was indicated by the term “*ceshi*,” which means literally “side chamber” or *naqie*, meaning “accepted concubine.”

Although the title *yuanpei* was spelled two ways with different Chinese characters in the record, I cannot find any essential difference between them. As these two *yuanpei* characters are pronounced identically both in Mandarin and Cantonese, compilers of the genealogical record presumably used these two spellings to mean the same thing. The terms *zaiqu*

Table 2-14. Spouses' titles used in the genealogy

Title	Cases	Ratio
<i>yuanpei</i>	317	62.8%
<i>yuanpei*</i>	112	22.2%
<i>zaiqu</i>	35	6.9%
<i>xuqu</i>	10	2.0%
<i>ceshi</i>	4	0.8%
<i>naqie</i>	5	1.0%

*Character *yuan* in this word is spelled differently.

and *xuqu* seem to equally refer to wives who married in through their husbands' remarriage, and they can also be regarded as different expressions of the same status.

Some husbands remarried spouses titled *zaiqu* or *xuqu* while their *yuanpei*'s year of death was not recorded. This probably suggests that the first wives left their husbands not by death but by divorce. The genealogical record contains no direct mentions to divorce, but some cases do suggest it. I will discuss these later.

Concubines were recorded in the genealogical book in an apparently different manner from that of formal wives. They were always recorded after the record of their husbands and formal wives. Although spouses were referred to as concubines in only nine cases (four *ceshi* and five *naqie*) throughout the genealogical book, they were likely in partnerships with their husbands while the formal wives were alive, judging from the data on the years of their births and deaths. There is no evidence of distinguished treatments for the sons borne by these concubines as far as the genealogical record shows. Because the number of sons they had and their names were usually added to the end of the entry about a male member and his spouses, it is difficult to know which woman bore which son if there were no additional descriptions to clarify the biological mother of each son.

Two of the *yuanpei* (first wives) were described as "dead before she passed through the gate of her husband's home" (*weiguomen yaozu*). As I mentioned in footnote 9 of this chapter, it is not always clear what the word *yaozu* means. However, these cases possibly suggest a situation in which an engaged young girl died in her natal family before she moved into her husband's home. As far as the genealogical record shows, these young dead women were registered in the "W" lineage record as the lineage members' wives. They were presumably represented in the ancestral tablets of their husbands for periodical worship in the ancestral hall because deceased wives and concubines recorded in the genealogical record were usually commemorated together with their husbands in ancestral tablets on which their clan names were inscribed beside their husbands' name. We have no way to know whether the worship duties of these two women's tombs were transferred to the husbands' family.

Six lineage members' wives later remarried into other families. Three of these were wives whose husbands died in their twenties or thirties; therefore, they likely remarried after their husbands had died. One of these wives seemed to have no sons. The only son of another died in his youth and her husband's younger brother's son, who was born six years after her husband's death, was adopted as their son to succeed the husband's descent line. In two cases, husbands died in their fifties. In these cases, it is highly likely that the wives remarried while their husbands were still alive after they were divorced by their husbands, because they would be too old if we suppose that they remarried after their husbands' deaths. In both cases, the couples did not have sons and in their later days, perhaps after the husbands' deaths, their brother's sons were adopted to succeed their descent. It is said that widows in pre-modern China were encouraged to stay in the late husbands' family without remarrying because of the concept of virtue. However, these cases suggest that some wives remarried after their husbands died while young or after they were divorced while their husbands were still alive.

I now estimate these spouses' ages at marriage (including the concubines' ages at

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the beginning of their concubinage). There is no information about when male members and their wives married nor about when they started their partnerships with concubines¹⁸. However, we know their ages at the births of their own sons because the years of wives' and their sons' births are reported in the genealogical record (Table 2-8). As we can see in this table, wives' average ages at the birth of their oldest and younger sons are 26.4 and 30.8, respectively. As the genealogical book omits any information about daughters born under the lineage members, these figures reflect only the births of male children. If we could include female children, their ages at the birth of their first child would likely be a few years younger than that figure. Furthermore, because their ages at marriage are likely younger still than their ages at the births of their first child by a few years, we can estimate their average age at marriage as being around 20 years old.

The average age difference between husbands and wives can be calculated using their years of birth (Tables 2-15-1 and 2-15-2). Both tables show that husbands were most commonly 1 to 4 years older than their wives. However, husbands and wives were the same age or husbands were 1 to 4 years younger than their wives in more than 30 percent of cases. This suggests that age differences between husbands and wives were not so large and that the husbands' average age at marriage was about or just over 20.

Table 2-15-1. Age difference between husbands and their spouses

Husbands' age in comparison to spouses'	Cases	Ratio
Junior by more than 10 years	5	1.3%
Junior by 5 to 9 years	0	0.0%
Junior by 1 to 4 years	60	16.0%
same age	57	15.2%
Senior by 1 to 4 years	142	38.0%
Senior by 5 to 9 years	63	16.8%
Senior by 10 to 19 years	40	10.7%
Senior by more than 20 years	7	1.9%
Total	374	

Table 2-15-2. Age difference between husbands and their spouses (first wives only)

Husbands' age in comparison to spouses'	Cases	Ratio
Junior by more than 10 years	4	1.2%
Junior by 5 to 9 years	0	0.0%
Junior by 1 to 4 years	58	17.9%
same age	55	17.0%
Senior by 1 to 4 years	132	40.7%
Senior by 5 to 9 years	45	13.9%
Senior by 10 to 19 years	29	9.0%
Senior by more than 20 years	1	0.3%
Total	324	

I also examine spouses' clan names which are another important attribute reported in the genealogical record. Wives and concubines were not registered with their personal names but with the names of their natal clans as Wong Shi, Chan Shi, and so on. As there is no additional information about their natal village or parents in the

¹⁸ This may be a characteristic feature of Chinese written genealogical records when we compare them with documents such as parish registers in Western societies as the source material for the demographic reconstruction of past social statuses.

genealogical record, we cannot estimate their origins from their clan names alone. However, we still can estimate the general distribution of their natal homes by checking the clan names of other major lineages living in Sha Tin Valley and its adjacent areas. Table 2-16-1 shows the clan names of the 479 wives of “W” lineage’s male members whose clan names are available in the genealogical record. As it shows, the most common clan name was Tsang, to which about one in every ten wives belonged. This was followed by Ng, to which about 9 percent of wives belonged. Then, such clan names as Lei, Chan, Tsoi, Lam, and Wong followed.

Table 2-16-1. Clan names of spouses (total)

Frequency order	Clan names	Cases	Ratio	Frequency order	Clan names	Cases	Ratio
1	Tsang	50	10.4%	29	Tang	3	0.6%
2	Ng	43	9.0%	29	Fong	3	0.6%
3	Lei	42	8.8%	29	Che	3	0.6%
4	Chan	32	6.7%	32	Fung	2	0.4%
5	Tsoi	29	6.1%	32	Pang	2	0.4%
6	Lam	21	4.4%	32	Tong	2	0.4%
7	Wong	20	4.2%	32	Chung	2	0.4%
8	Leung	19	4.0%	32	Kan	2	0.4%
9	Loh	18	3.8%	32	Yung	2	0.4%
10	Cheng	15	3.1%	32	Wong	2	0.4%
11	Lok	13	2.7%	39	Dik	1	0.2%
11	Yuen	13	2.7%	39	Yue	1	0.2%
11	Wan	13	2.7%	39	Tsau	1	0.2%
14	Hoh	12	2.5%	39	Yau	1	0.2%
15	Cheung	11	2.3%	39	Chiu	1	0.2%
15	Hui	11	2.3%	39	Man	1	0.2%
17	Yeung	10	2.1%	39	Lung	1	0.2%
18	Lau	9	1.9%	39	Lai	1	0.2%
18	Mok	9	1.9%	39	Man	1	0.2%
20	Mak	8	1.7%	39	Ma	1	0.2%
21	Tze	7	1.5%	39	Tung	1	0.2%
22	Soh	6	1.3%	39	Tong	1	0.2%
23	Lai	5	1.0%	39	Chau	1	0.2%
23	Liu	5	1.0%	39	Hong	1	0.2%
23	Yip	5	1.0%	39	Kong	1	0.2%
23	Tsui	5	1.0%	39	Wat	1	0.2%
27	Nip	4	0.8%	39	Kwok	1	0.2%
27	Hau	4	0.8%				

Table 2-16-2 shows the statistics of those who belonged only to the first through eighth generations. It shows some differences from the previous table in that the clan name Tsang was only the fifth most common. This suggests that Tsang became the most frequent clan name for wives only later in the lineage’s history. Among the neighboring villages of “W” lineage’s homeland, an old village to the east is inhabited by the Ng lineage, which, as one of the oldest Cantonese lineages in the New Territories, claimed a history as long as that of “W” lineage. Additionally, Lok and Cheng are also Cantonese lineages living on the Sai Kung Peninsula to the east of Sha Tin.

Conversely, Tsang is the clan name of a Hakka lineage living in the neighboring area to “W” lineage’s homeland. Hakka speakers such as the Tsang lineage migrated to this area after the beginning of the Qing dynasty and settled in the hillsides or small valleys in the area. The Tsang lineage is one of these Hakka lineages and their homestead remains today, build in the traditional architectural style by their ancestors in the late Qing period. Today, it is open to tourists. This change in the most common clan names for

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Table 2-16-2. Clan names of spouses (1st – 8th generations only)

Frequency order	Clan names	Cases	Ratio	Frequency order	Clan names	Cases	Ratio
1	Chan	13	10.2%	18	Pang	2	1.6%
2	Ng	12	9.4%	18	Lam	2	1.6%
3	Wong	10	7.9%	18	Lau	2	1.6%
4	Lei	9	7.1%	18	Cheung	2	1.6%
5	Tsang	8	6.3%	18	Soh	2	1.6%
6	Loh	5	3.9%	18	Tsui	2	1.6%
6	Yeung	5	3.9%	18	Kan	2	1.6%
6	Hoh	5	3.9%	18	Yung	2	1.6%
9	Lok	4	3.1%	18	Wang	2	1.6%
9	Yuen	4	3.1%	28	Lai	1	0.8%
9	Tsoi	4	3.1%	28	Nip	1	0.8%
9	Leung	4	3.1%	28	Lai	1	0.8%
9	Cheng	4	3.1%	28	Mak	1	0.8%
14	Yip	3	2.4%	28	Chung	1	0.8%
14	Mok	3	2.4%	28	Hong	1	0.8%
14	Tze	3	2.4%	28	Hau	1	0.8%
14	Hui	3	2.4%	28	Kwok	1	0.8%
18	Tang	2	1.6%				

wives suggests that “W” lineage’s marriage partners came from native Cantonese lineages before the early Qing period and then from Hakka immigrants after the mid-Qing.

It is often exaggerated that Cantonese and Hakka were competing for the dominant position in the local communities of central Guangdong’s coastal regions, to which today’s Hong Kong belonged in the pre-modern era. However, in practice, there was a long history of intermarriage between them, and there were many communities in which both dialects were spoken, as I discussed in my previous book [Segawa 1993]. Wives’ clan names recorded in the genealogical book of “W” lineage are possible proof of this in the latter half of the Qing dynasty.

In this section, I reconstructed the demographic features of “W” lineage in the period in which their genealogical book was recorded by analyzing the extracted data. Of course, there were many limitations because of the nature of the genealogical book such as the lack of data on female members of the lineage and their age at marriage. Still, it is a precious source material that informs us of past lineage member’s lives and enables us to obtain vivid images of the courses of their lives despite its monotonous and flat outlook.

2-3. Desire for Continuity in the Genealogical Record and its Underlying Values

2-3-1. *Chengji* Adoption and Entrusting of Ancestor Worship

As I stated in the preface of this volume, the purpose of this study is not only to reconstruct lineage members’ statuses using the recorded materials in the genealogical book. Although it is part of my purpose to examine how far the genealogical record tells us the reality of past family life, I also aim to understand the motivations of the people who continued to record such genealogical data over the generations and the values underlying the compilation of genealogical books.

At first glance, the genealogical book of “W” lineage seems to offer no clues to understand such things. Written genealogical records usually describe only such matters as the genealogical relationships among male members, the dates of their births and

deaths, the surnames of their wives, numbers of sons, and the locations and environments of their graves. The writers were seldom interested in recording other details. However, if we try to read the record in detail by tracing the life cycles of individual members recorded there, we can see that written genealogical records include very important keys to understand norms and values underlying the long-term practice of recording members' genealogical information.

If they repeated only an ordinary life cycle such as the birth, marriage, birth of the succeeding generation, and death, what we can extract from the genealogical record would be limited. At most, we could learn only the population change or the members' lifespans. However, they often failed to follow such an ordinary sequence because members' lives included many unexpected incidents. Some lineage members died in their youth while unmarried, while others had no sons despite many years of marriage with their wives. It is in their response to these unexpected events that we can understand what they considered an ideal life course or important values to reserve.

The number of sons for all lineage members reported in the genealogical record is shown in Table 2-17-1. Among 596 male members included in the record, 365 (61 percent) had their own sons. The average number of sons per male member is 0.98. However, members of the youngest generations recorded were presumably alive when the genealogical record ended and some of them were still unmarried. Because these younger members would possibly have sons later in their lives, this

Table 2-17-1. Number of sons (biological sons only)

	All generations	1st to 9th generation only
Lineage members who had sons	365	175
Total samples	596	211
Ratio	61.2%	82.9%
Average number of sons	0.98	1.58
Maximum number of sons	8	8

Number of sons	Cases (all generations)	Cases (1st to 9th generation only)
0	273	36
1	153	83
2	87	47
3	48	28
4	25	11
5	8	4
6	1	1
7	0	0
8	1	1

average number should actually be larger in reality. Therefore, of only the sons of male members who belonged to the ninth or previous generations, 175 male members (83 percent) had their own sons, and the average number of sons per male member is 1.6. The highest number of sons is eight, which happened only once. The mode is for only one son, of which there were 87 cases. Then, 47 male members had two sons, 28 had three sons, and 36 (17 percent) had no sons.

As I noted in footnote 9 of this chapter, boys who died by their mid-teens are not included in this analysis of sons because the genealogical record seldom recorded people who died young¹⁹. However, even if we neglect the possibility of such omissions, the figures

¹⁹ Some young members reported in the last parts of the record are exceptions. Records of these young members including infants were added as footnotes to the main body of the record, which seem to be memoranda added

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shown above are by no means the “final” number of sons for the lineage members. According to the genealogical record, there were many cases of adoption among the lineage members, and through such practices, those members who had no biological sons could gain sons through adoption or those who originally had many biological sons would end up with only one or even no sons.

The genealogical record records 46 cases of adoption. Of these 46 cases, 42 were adoptions from within the lineage. These adoptions of agnates were usually referred to in the genealogical record with the following sentence: “because ancestor so-and-so had no sons, he entrusted Mr. so-and-so’s son so-and-so to *chengji*.” “*Chengji*” here means to succeed a descent line. The remaining four cases were referred to as *yuzi*, adoptions of males without patrilineal kinship relations²⁰. As I mentioned in Section 2-2-1, the real fathers of sons who were adopted for *chengji* were specified in the genealogical record except for one case²¹.

Table 2-17-2. Number of sons (including adopted sons)

	All generations	1st to 9th generation only
Lineage members who had sons	406	190
Total samples	596	211
Ratio	68.1%	90.0%
Average number of sons	1.00	1.60
Maximum number of sons	8	8

Number of sons	Cases (all generations)	Cases (1st to 9th generation only)
0	232	21
1	195	96
2	100	56
3	43	25
4	21	9
5	3	2
6	1	1
7	0	0
8	1	1

Many of those who had no biological sons could obtain successors for their descent through adoption. Table 2-17-2 shows the numbers of lineage members’ sons after adoption. If we exclude the members who belonged to the tenth or later generations – many of whom were still alive at the end of the genealogical record – and consider only lineage members from the founding ancestor through

the ninth generation, 15 of 36 members who had no real sons adopted agnates as sons and 21 remained without successors.

The individual genealogical relationships between adoptive fathers and their

after the formal compilation of the genealogical book. Among those who died before the latest compilation of the genealogy, most of those who died in infancy seem to be excluded from the record.

²⁰ This type of adopted son is also referred to with the term “*minglingzi*”. See for example Chen [2006: 208]. In the genealogical record of “W” lineage, there is a description that a male member of the ninth generation who did not have his own sons decided to adopt a *minglingzi* after discussing the issue with his wife.

²¹ In this exceptional case, the real father’s name was not recorded. Because the descendants of this adopted person were entrusted with the worship of his adoptive father’s younger brother, who had no descendants, it is highly possible that the adoptive father’s younger brother was the real father. However, the genealogical record lacks information.

adopted sons are shown in Table 2-18. There were 28 cases in which a adoptive father's brother's son (BS) was adopted, eight in which a paternal uncle's son's son (FBSS) was adopted, two in which a paternal grandfather's brother's great-grandson (FFBSSS) was adopted, and four cases in which a more remote agnate was adopted. However, among these cases are cases in which the adopted sons' real fathers were also adopted and genealogical FBSSs were actually biological BSs. In the same way, there are some cases in which genealogical FFBSSSs were biological FBSSs. Therefore, if we replace these genealogical relationships between adoptive fathers and their adopted sons with the biological relationship, there are 30 cases in which a adoptive father adopted his BS, eight in which a FBSS was adopted, no cases in which an FFBSSS was adopted, and four in which a more remote agnate was adopted. This means that in more than 70 percent of cases, adoptive fathers adopted their real brother's sons or agnatic nephews.

For these cases in which adoptive fathers adopted their agnatic nephews, I also checked the sibling order of the adopted people. As shown in Table 2-18, there is one case in which the male lineage member adopted the oldest son of his older brother, 13 in which they adopted younger sons of older brothers, eight in which the oldest sons of younger brothers were adopted and six in which younger sons of younger brothers were adopted. This means that, although there is a case in which the oldest son of an older brother was adopted, sons of younger brothers were adopted more often. This also suggests that when older brothers' sons were adopted, their younger sons were preferred. Adoptions of more remote agnates include a case in which the adoptive father and the adopted son's real father had a common ancestor nine generations before, a case in which they had a common ancestor eight generations before, and a case in which they have a common ancestor six generations before. In all these cases of *chengji* adoptions, generational order is strictly maintained so that those who adopted sons are senior by one generation to those who were adopted as sons.

As for the age difference between adoptive fathers and adopted sons, there were 12 cases in which adoptive fathers were older than adopted sons by 30 to 39 years and eight in which adoptive fathers were older by 40 to 49 years. As we can see, the age differences tend to be large. Furthermore, though I do not show them in the table, there are several cases in which adopted sons were born apparently after their adoptive fathers died²². I will examine such cases in Section 3-3 in detail. This evidence suggests that adoptions did not necessarily occur when adopted sons were still in boyhood and that fathers did not always reside with their sons for a long period. Rather, it seems that many adoptions were practiced after adoptive fathers reached old age without their own sons, or even after they passed away without successors for their descent lines²³.

²² The case I referred to in Section 2-2-3, in which a wife remarried a member of another lineage is seemingly an example of such an adoption.

²³ It was not unusual that these adoptions for the succession of descent lines were practiced after the adoptive father's death. See Chen [2006: 208]. This form of adoption is often called *guofang* and adopted sons are called *guofangzi* in other materials. However, in the genealogical record of "W" lineage, these terms are not used and

What We Can Learn

Table 2-18. Origins of adopted sons in *chengji* adoptions

Original positions of adopted sons in genealogical relationship	Cases	Ratio
BS	28	66.7%
FBSS	8	19.0%
FBSSS	2	4.8%
Others	4	9.5%

Original positions of adopted sons in blood relationship	Cases	Ratio
BS	30	71.4%
FBSS	8	19.0%
FBSSS	0	0.0%
Others	4	9.5%

Detailed relationship in BS's adoptions	Cases	Ratio
First son of older brother	1	3.6%
Younger son of older brother	13	46.4%
First son of younger brother	8	28.6%
Younger son of younger brother	6	21.4%

Adoptive father – adopted sons age difference	Cases	Ratio
10–19	4	13.3%
20–29	6	20.0%
30–39	12	40.0%
40–49	8	26.7%

However, *yuzi* is another type of adoption that is clearly distinguished from *chengji* adoption. This term means, at least in this genealogical book, adoption from outside the lineage. Only four cases of *yuzi* adoption are recorded. By using the genealogical data to check the age differences between adoptive fathers and their *yuzi*, we obtain Table 2-19. As the table shows, their age difference varies from 2 to 46 years. There are no cases in which adopted sons were born after their adoptive fathers died. In Case 1 in the table, the ages of the adoptive father and son differ by only two years, and the adopted son died 2 years before his adoptive father. Their wives survived for some years after both husbands died. In this case, it is difficult to imagine how these two couples, whose ages were similar, maintained co-operation during their daily lives. Regardless of the daily practicalities, they together comprised a *jiazuo* unit in the genealogical sense. Conversely, in Case 4, the adoptive parents adopted a young *yuzi* after their biological son was adopted by another member of the lineage for *chengji*. In this case, a presumably old couple adopted an infant son and lived together through for the rest of the adoptive parents' lives.

Table 2-19. Adoptive father – adopted sons age difference in *yuzi* cases

Adoptive Father's generation	Case NO.	Birth year of adoptive father	Death year of adoptive father	Birth year of adopted son	Death year of adopted son	Age difference
6	Case 1	1672	1752	1674	1750	2
8	Case 2	1703	1766	1724	1779	21
9	Case 3			1798	1838	
10	Case 4	1725	1778	1771	1832	46

such adoptions are referred to mainly by the term “*chengji*”.

Therefore, we can see that *yuzi* adoptions were not uniform. They could include various practices depending on each family's circumstances. They were probably somewhat irregular because they were necessary to respond to these specific situations. However, even though these *yuzi* adoptions were clearly distinguished from *chengji* adoptions in the genealogical record, descendants of *yuzi* do not seem to have been treated differently, as far as the genealogical record shows. For example, in Case 1, which I mentioned above, the *yuzi* had many descendants and they comprised in later days the most prosperous segment in the third branch of the lineage.

From the above analyses, we can understand that the lineage members sought to adopt agnates to succeed their descent line when they failed to bear biological sons. However, if they lacked conditions to do so, they sometimes tried to adopt non-agnate *yuzi* depending on their specific circumstances. Even in such cases, the lineage accepted descendants from other families as members without excluding them from the genealogical record.

It is also noticeable that all *chengji* cases appear in the eighth or later generations. There is one case of *yuzi* in the sixth generation, but the other three cases occur in the eighth or later generations. This suggests that older cases of adoption may not have been recorded. It is possible that adoptions were not necessary in the early stages of "W" lineage because there were few members with no successors in those days. However, it is more likely that records of adoptions in the earlier part of lineage history were omitted and only information about the continuity of descent line was preserved. Just as I mentioned the possibility of missing generations in the early part of the genealogical record using the "redshift" analogy, the records of adoption also seem to be omitted more easily from the record in earlier stages of the lineage.

Adoption was the first option for lineage members who failed to bear biological sons but wanted to secure successors for their descent line in any other way. However, not all lineage members managed to get successors in this way. As I show in Table 2-17-2, among the 36 lineage members of the ninth or previous generations who did not have their own sons, only 15 secured a successor through adoption of either type and 21 members remained without successors. Therefore, what could be done for these remaining lineage members?

The term "*fuzi*" appears as often as "*chengji*" in the genealogical record. This practice was arranged mainly for members who died young and had no successors for their descent lines. The literal meaning of the term "*fuzi*" is "to entrust the performance of ancestor worship to someone." In the genealogical record of "W" lineage, it is often footnoted that "because ancestor so-and-so died young, his ancestor worship is entrusted to Mr. so-and-so's descendants." There are nearly 30 such descriptions in the genealogical record.

By checking the genealogical relationships between those who entrusted their ancestor worship and those who were entrusted with it, we obtain Table 2-20. Of 29 total cases, brothers' sons (BS) were entrusted in 20, sons of the father's brother's son (FBSS) in three, and sons of the father's brother's son's son (FFBSSS) were entrusted in six. Among cases in which BSs were entrusted, there is one case in which a son who was adopted by his father's brother was entrusted with the worship of his biological father.

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Table 2-20. Origins of trustees in *fujii* entrusting of ancestor worship

Genealogical positions of trustees	Cases	Ratio
BS	20	47.6%
FBSS	3	7.1%
FFBSSS	6	14.3%
Others	0	0.0%

As with *chengji* adoptions, trustees of ancestor worship tended to be chosen from among close agnates. It is unclear from the descriptions in the genealogical record whether *fujii* means the entrustment of only ritual activities or whether it includes succession of other statuses or rights. In other materials, a practice called “*jiantiao*” was sometimes reported. This means “to succeed the descent line of one’s own father and that of deceased close agnates at the same time”²⁴. *Fujii* differs from *jiantiao* because the former concerns only the succession of ancestor worship duty and not that of other factors. However, in actual cases, especially when deceased close agnates left no substantial properties or social status, successors did not seem to take any responsibility except for the duty of ancestor worship. Therefore, in effect *fujii* and *jiantiao* seems to have no essential difference here.

However, *chengji* adoption differs from *fujii* and *jiantiao* because the adopted person was cut off from the descent line of his biological father. However, as far as the genealogical record indicates, both *chengji* adoption and *fujii* entrustment seem to concern only the succession of the descent line or ancestor worship, not other material factors such as property rights or social status. I will discuss this point in the next section.

2-3-2. Desire for Continuity and Fear of Discontinuity

In the previous section, I considered lineage members’ responses to not bearing biological sons by examining records of adoptions and entrusting of ancestor worship. We saw how some of those members who failed to bear their own biological sons managed to secure successors through adoption and how even those who had no chance to adopt sons also found successors for their ancestor worship through entrustment. As shown in Table 2-21, these practices decreased the number of members without any successors. If we omit generations after the ninth to remove members who were still possibly alive when the genealogical record ended, only nine members (about four percent) had no successors of any kind.

Table 2-21. Ancestors without successors

	All generations	1st to 9th generations only
Total samples	596	211
Ancestors without biological sons	273	36
Ancestors without successors of descent	232	21
Ancestors without successors of worship	205	9

This strongly suggests that the writers of the genealogical record, as well as those members whose actions were reported in the genealogical record, were most interested in

²⁴ In typical cases of it, when one of two brother has only one son and another have no sons, the only son of one brother succeed the descent of his own father and his uncle at the same time.

the securing of the genealogical continuity. It also shows that they regarded the continuous fulfillment of ancestor worship duties by descendants as the most important proof of genealogical continuance. In other words, the genealogical continuity recorded in the genealogical book is the result of a wish to appoint responsible persons to enact ritual duties for each ancestor and fulfill those duties in every generation. We can also say that the most basic motivation for continuously recording the genealogy seems to be a wish to use any means to avoid the existence of ancestors with no responsible descendants for their worship.

Wusizhe, or people without successors for their descent line, were cause of worry for the lineage. Lack of descendants meant *juefang*; the extinction of the descent line. Chinan Chen explains as follows. “From the traditional Han Chinese perspective, *juefang* constitutes impiety to one’s own ancestors because it brings a miserable situation in which no one takes care of their afterlives, and therefore some workarounds, including uxori-local marriages and adoptions after the adoptive fathers’ death, are pursued to avoid such a situation in the folk custom” [Chen 2006: 208].

Ancestors without successors were troublesome because they were believed to bring the living lineage members disasters and unhappiness. In another book and article, I reported on the periodic rituals performed to pacify hungry ghosts in the New Territories [Segawa 1985, 1991: 56]. In the cosmology of the old villagers, ancestors who were properly worshiped in annual rituals by their descendants were essentially benevolent and may have brought their descendants luck and happiness. However, ancestors without successors were believed to be “*yougui*,” or hungry ghosts, because they could not be commemorated and served with food and clothes through the usual calendrical rituals. Therefore, they must be pacified or consoled in a special ritual called “*taiping qingjiao*” once in every few decades. Otherwise, they were believed to be a malevolent spirit that might bring lineage members disaster.

This fear seems to come from the belief that life flows continuously through the ancestors to their descendants and therefore the life of an individual person cannot be completed in itself but should rather continue to exist over generations. In this belief, ancestors and descendants belong to the continuous flow of the same life and should continue to do so in the future. *Juefang* caused by a failure in securing successors means that this flow of life is suspended and stands against the natural order of things. That is why lineage members tried to avoid such a status as far as possible. They continued to record who were whose biological sons, who adopted whom, who were whose successors for descent lines, and who were responsible for the duties of whose worship one generation to another. In this sense, it is a desire to secure the continuous flow of life that made the members of “W” lineage continue to record their genealogy.

Of course, much more information is also included in the genealogical record, which is why researchers discuss the social functions of written genealogical records. Above all, western researchers including Maurice Freedman, who focused on the economic and political aspects of Chinese lineages [Freedman 1958, 1966], emphasized the role of written genealogical records as documental proof of rights of common properties or as ethical codes

for controlling the lineage members²⁵. However, the primary purpose of recording lineage members' genealogical information in such books cannot be thought to lie in such functional roles, but rather in their role in specifying the responsible persons for the ritual duty of each ancestor's worship.

At least in the genealogical record of "W" lineage, there are few descriptions on property rights or ethical codes; therefore, it seems impossible to understand the *raison d'être* of the genealogical record as being solely for such functional factors. The only reference to property rights in the genealogical record of "W" lineage is that of the lineage founder's rice fields as I mentioned in Section 1-1. However, the total amount of these lands seems to be too small to support a whole lineage community. There are no other references to the common properties in this genealogical book. Such references are found only in the branch genealogy, which I analyze in Chapter 4.

Although some properties or social rights might be succeeded by the adopted sons or persons entrusted with ancestor worship, it cannot be thought that adoptions and entrusting of ancestor worship were practiced for such pragmatic redistributions. Even if some transfers of property rights and social statuses might occur as the result of adoptions and entrusting of ancestor worship, they must be regarded as the result of such practices rather than their purpose.

As for the control of lineage members' behavior, the main body of the genealogical record contains nothing related to such ethical control, though it remains possible that some family precepts or regulations were attached to the genealogical record but they were not included to the photocopies. Mentions of scholarly success achieved by lineage members do not appear in the genealogical record of "W" lineage.

Although it is not rare to find references to scholarly achievements and literary works are proudly shown off in many genealogical books compiled by famous distinguished families in pre-modern China, this is not true for written genealogical records compiled by small-scale non-famous families that did not produce such successful members. Most ordinary lineages, including "W" lineage, had no relation to such scholarly honors nor to sophisticated literary works. Among the 1,099 members recorded in the genealogical record of "W" lineage, there were no title holders of imperial examinations. Nor were any members related to any literary work or fine art. Although it is not certain whether the members of "W" lineage were actually unfamiliar with such high culture, their genealogical record does not refer at all to any members' cultural achievements.

From the analysis above, we can understand the most essential aim of recording and compiling this genealogical record, or the most profound reason that the members of "W" lineage needed the genealogical record. It seems clear that their purpose was to sustain a continuous flow of life throughout the lineage that comprises all the ancestors who were born and died as its members by securing the fulfilment of their worship duties by descendants.

Chinese lineage, in this sense, must be understood as a ritual community that

²⁵ For example, it is said that the sanction of expelling criminal or ill-mannered members from the lineage was an effective tool of control in pre-modern China where most resources were concentrated in lineages' hands.

shares among its members a desire for the continuity of life through the performance of ancestor worship. The genealogical record is an important tool to sustain that continuity by memorializing the existence of each ancestor and appointing responsible persons to their worship. However, it is also true that this desire for the continuous flow of life often faced the risk of failure. Regardless of lineage members' wishes and efforts, some members died young or bore no male descendants. Such situations easily occurred in lineage members' actual life courses. Therefore, it is inevitable that members experienced deviances from the desired status and consequently some ancestors were left aside as people with no successors. As it were, lineages always have a lot of potential non-performing loans that easily become unrepayable.

Some members actually became unable to repay their debts because of failure to obtain their own successors; in such cases, the member's name is recorded with an index of *shipai* or *shiji*²⁶. "*Shipai*" means the extinction of a branch or failure to have one's own descendants and "*shiji*" means suspension of the ritual duty²⁷.

An example of a member who did not leave offspring in the earliest part of "W" lineage's history is Chong Kai, the second son of the lineage's founding ancestor. As I already explained, the lineage founder Ting Kei had four sons, of whom the first, third, and fourth sons married and obtained male descendants. These became the first ancestors of three major lineage branches, called "*san-fang*." However, Ting Kei's second son died young and unmarried. In the genealogical record, his name was recorded with the sentence "he was unmarried and his branch was lost." Such a record of an ancestor who did not have descendants at such an early point in the lineage's history is retained, perhaps because the ancestors of the second generation are the starting points of the "three branches" that comprise the basic structure of "W" lineage. These three branches comprise 235, 443 and 420 members, respectively, of the total 1,099 lineage members existing in the period from 1541 to 1838.

It is this *san-fang* or "three branches" to which the lineage members referred to distinguish the descendants of lineage founder Ting Kei from more remote kin of the same clan and from members of other clans. For example, such usage is found in the sentence that describes the duty of tax payment on the lands held under the name of the founding

²⁶ Throughout the genealogical record of "W" lineage, only three examples refer to *shipai* (one in each of the second, third and fourth generations). However, there are 32 examples of *shiji* in sum which are found from the third to ninth generations. This means that there some ancestors could not secure successors for their descent and the duty of their ancestor worship, even after they attempted to get successors through adoption and entrustment. Except for these examples, there are many ancestors whose gravesites are not specified in the genealogical record. Although it is possible that their graves' locations were passed on to descendants in other ways, it is still presumable that there are some abandoned graves even among those who were not referred to as *shipai* or *shiji*.

²⁷ There is only one case in which an ancestor is referred to as *buji*, which means literally "not to worship". In this case, the ancestor died in an encounter with tigers (see footnote 11 of this chapter), which probably means an accidental death. This may suggest that ancestors who died in accidents without leaving a body were not worshiped in the usual way of ancestral rituals.

ancestor, which I mentioned in Section 2-2-1. It instructs that the payment of tax on these lands should be shared equally in perpetuity among the “three branches.”

Here, the branches of a lineage are referred to by the term “*fang*,” the same term that indicates the *jiazu* subunits of the Chinese family unit. As I already explained, each son who was borne under the same father composes his own *fang* as a composite part of his father’s *jiazu*²⁸. In principle, there are as many *fangs* as the number of sons in every generation; therefore, there should be many *fangs* in a lineage that has many generations, but these subunits on various levels are equally called *fang*.

However, as is the case with “W” lineage, in the context of each individual lineage or family, “*fang*” is sometimes used as a proper noun. In principle, there should be three *fangs* under all fathers who have three sons, so we cannot specify which three brothers in the entire lineage history the term “*san-fang*” indicates. However, as in the statement on the land tax I cited above, the term “*san-fang*” indicates a specific kin unit distinguished from the wider range of patrilineal kin. In the case of “W” lineage, the term “*san-fang*” is used to indicate all members of “W” lineage who originated from three brothers in the second generation.

Similar examples are found in other ethnographic reports by anthropologists. For example, in the Tang lineage in Ping Shan, which is one of the largest Punti lineages in the western New Territories, the most powerful subgroup is called “six *fangs*” because they are the descendants of six brothers borne under an ancestor in the lineage’s third generation [Potter 1968: 25]. Similarly, James Watson reported that in the Man lineage of San Tin there was a prosperous segment called “eight *fangs*” that derived from eight brothers [Watson 1975: 205].

In the context of “W” lineage, the term “three branches” means all the lineage members who can trace their descent from the lineage founder’s three sons. However, as I already stated, the founding ancestor Ting Kei originally had four sons. As one of these four sons died young and had no descendants, the lineage comprises only three branches throughout its later history. This is why Ting Kei’s descendants are called “three branches” instead of “four branches.” At the same time, lineage members realized that there were four brothers in the second generation according to the information recorded in the genealogical book²⁹.

Thus, the compilers of the genealogical record recognized that the actual lineage structure comprised three branches, although there were four brothers in the second generation and there should be four branches in the genealogical principle. As Chi-nan Chen formulated, the genealogical principle implies that each brother composes his own *fang* and differentiates himself from other brothers. Following this principle, the compilers recognized the number of ancestors in the second generation as four while acknowledging

²⁸ For the basic structure of a Chinese family composed of *jiazu* and *fang*, see Chen [2006].

²⁹ For example, the genealogical record states that Tsuen Pik, who belonged to the eleventh generation, adopted the son of Tsun Kwong, who belonged to the third branch. In this case, Tsun Kwong is the descendant of the founder’s third son and therefore his branch was described as the third branch.

that the lineage's living descendants actually comprised the members of three existing branches.

The usage of "*san-fang*" in the genealogical record suggests that discrepancies between these two kinds of recognition are always possible. As far as the genealogical record preserves the track of the lost second *fang*, lineage members continue to recognize the existence of four *fangs* in the second generation as part of the lineage history. At the same time, they also recognize that the actual structure of the living lineage members comprises three branches, and they call themselves "we the *san-fang*."

If the compilers of the genealogical record can neglect the existence of ancestors with no successors and branches that had already been lost, these two recognitions – about the history of the lineage on the one hand and of the present status on the other – would be reconciled and the discrepancy would be canceled. This did not occur for the second generation because this generation was the most important in the family tree of "W" lineage. However, such omissions are possible in other early generations. The "redshift" in ancestors' lifespans and the stem like characteristic of the family tree in the third to sixth generations, which I mentioned in Section 2-2-1 suggest such possibilities.

In this sense, we must say that written genealogical records are the result of endless interactions between people's desire for continuity and the inevitable weathering of old memories, or those of the genealogical principle and the reality of actual lives. I will return to this subject in the book's conclusion.

In this chapter, I first checked the consistency of the data recorded in the genealogical record of "W" lineage to evaluate its accuracy and reliability. Then, based on the evaluable data extracted from the genealogical record, I reconstructed the actual conditions of this lineage's demography from the 15th to the 19th centuries in Section 2. In Section 3, I considered the basic motivations underlying the compilation by analyzing examples of adoption extracted from the genealogical records.

Through the above analyses, I showed that the writers of the genealogical record were most interested in the genealogical continuity, which is reflected in the continuous fulfillment of the ancestor worship duties by descendants. It seems to be a desire for the continuity of descent lines, which was thought to be necessary for securing the continuous flow of life from ancestors to descendants, which motivated the writers of the genealogical record to continue to record the lineage's genealogical information over generations. I also showed that the succession of patrilineal descent and fulfillment of ancestor worship duty were not always easily achieved and lineage members' desire for continuity sometimes ended in failure. Such a seemingly "dry" and purely fact-based document as genealogical records can provide us deep information.

Chapter 3 Tracing the “Family” through the Written Genealogical Record

In this chapter, I trace the family composition patterns and life stages of “W” lineage’s members from the mid-16th century to the early 19th century as precisely as possible using the data recorded in the written genealogical record. As we know, Chinese written genealogical records were not usually compiled to record the daily affairs of family life, and we can therefore use them to trace families’ past statuses only in a very limited way. Written genealogical records usually describe only such matters as the genealogical relations among male members, the dates of their births and deaths, the surnames of their wives, numbers of sons, and the locations and environments of their graves. The writers were seldom interested in recording other details. However, even though they are limited in such a way as a source of information, we can still use some analytical methods to extract important clues to understand the actual conditions of family life. As a part of such an analytical trial, here I will show examples in which I reconstruct in detail the changing composition of family units, widows’ life stages, the adoption of male successors and the entrusting of ancestor worship, and remarriage and concubinage in a pre-modern Chinese lineage using only the documented materials contained in its genealogical record.

3-1 Family Composition and Chronological Changes

3-1-1 Changing Forms of Family Units over the Centuries in “W” Lineage

At the end of the 15th century, the founding ancestor of “W” lineage and his wife settled in a small village on the southern fringe of former Xin-An County. After that, lineage members experienced various kinds of family structure throughout the lineage’s approximately-340-year history from 1490 to 1830. On this point, I have already extracted valuable data from the written genealogical record and analyzed them in Section 2-2. The demographic data extracted from the genealogy show that collateral extended families were always rarer than other types of family units (see Fig. 2-9). The result of my analyses indicates that collateral extended families were rarely maintained because of such structural factors as parents’ lifespans, the number of sons, and age differences between parents and sons. These units comprised just 12.3 percent of the total family units throughout the period. This means that there was only one collateral extended family in approximately every eight family units.

Collateral extended family units likely comprised more members than the other two types. Therefore, the proportion of the population who lived in a collateral extended family should be larger than this number. If I count the number of people who belonged to each type of family unit in each year during the recording period, I obtain Fig. 3-1 which shows the numbers of lineage members who belonged to each of the three different family unit types in each year from 1490 to 1830. As I noted above, collateral extended family units comprised just 12.3 percent of the total number of family units throughout the period. However, as Table 3-1 shows, as much as 28.5 percent of the total lineage population belonged to this type of family unit.

Tracing the “Family”

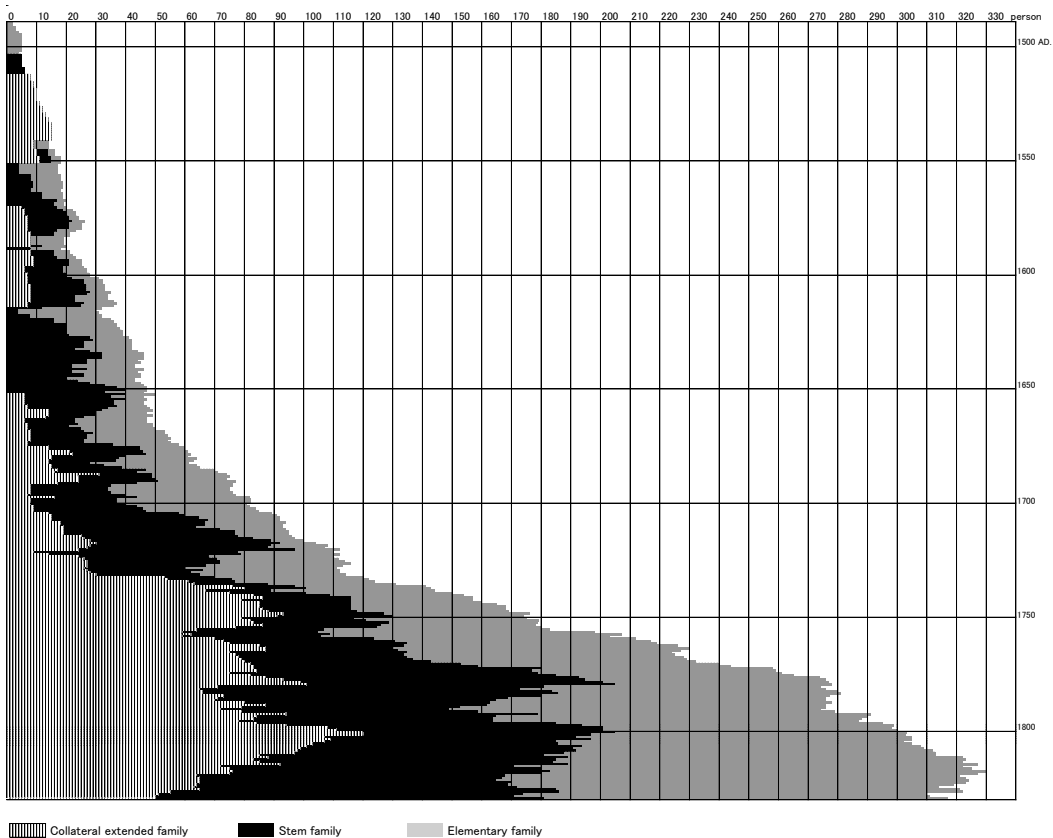


Fig. 3-1. Chronological change of population included in each types of family units

The written genealogical record contains no reference to female lineage members who were born as daughters of male members. Because these girls were supposed to stay in their parents' home until they married, if we regard them as subordinate members of their parents' family units then there were more members in these family units than shown in Table 3-1. Although we do not know the exact number of these daughters, we can

Table 3-1. Types of *jiazu* unit from 1790 to 1830

Types of <i>jiazu</i> unit	Number of <i>jiazu</i> unit		Included family members	
Elementary family	5,357	58.9%	13,822	37.5%
Stem family	2,620	28.8%	12,861	34.9%
Collateral extended family	1,115	12.3%	10,192	27.6%
Total	9,092	100.0%	36,875	100.0%

estimate their approximate number using the data in the written genealogical record. As I stated in Section 2-2, male lineage members can be classified into three categories: (A) those who had no surviving senior members in their lineal kin, (B) those who were already married but had some surviving senior members in their lineal kin, and (C) those who were unmarried and had some surviving senior members in their lineal kin. Because there would likely be a similar number of unmarried daughters as unmarried sons, we can estimate that the number of unmarried daughters was approximately equivalent to the

Tracing the “Family”

number of male members who are classified as (C). If we consider the estimated numbers of unmarried daughters, the size of family units would be 24.7 percent larger for on average³⁰.

Among the three types of family structure (elementary family, stem family, and collateral extended family), we can see that there were always fewer collateral extended families, which are characterized by more than two married couples in the same generation, than the other two types. Collateral extended families comprised around 10 percent of the total number of families each year. Many researchers once thought that the collateral extended family was a characteristic pattern of large-scale families in the pre-modern China, but many other researchers have argued that this type of family was always rare compared with other types, especially in recent years.

As I explained in Chapter 2, the “family types” that I extracted from the written genealogical record differ slightly from the typologies used in usual social surveys and household censuses because the latter define a family in most cases as a unit comprising people who live together and share a house budget. However, genealogical records tell us nothing about the aspects of daily life as they describe only the genealogical relationships among lineage members. We can only reconstruct the patterns of such genealogical relationships among people who were alive at each point in time from the data recorded in written genealogical records.

Therefore, the collateral extended family that I describe here does not necessarily correspond to a household unit comprising a father and his married sons with their wives living in the same compound and sharing domestic affairs; some of their members might be living apart in independent household units. As Chi-nan Chen indicated in the 1980s, the Chinese concept of *jiazu* is basically a simple description of a patrilineal relationship between a father and his sons that does not describe their actual living pattern regarding residence and/or property holding [Chen 2006: 137]. In this sense, we can extract the exact form of each *jiazu* unit of lineage members in each point in time from their genealogical record because it describes precisely the genealogical relations among lineage members and their marriage status.

From this, we can understand that the “family types” shown in Fig. 3-1 are actually the types of *jiazu* unit comprising members of “W” lineage. We can also say that the number of units that are categorized as belonging to the collateral extended family at any point in time is the logical maximum collateral extended family household units that could exist at that time. In other words, if all sons at that point in time resided with their father in a joint family household unit, the number of such joint family households within the total number of households should equal that of collateral extended families. I will discuss the relationship between *jiazu* as defined in the pre-modern Chinese context and the concept of “family” used by western social sciences in Section 3-1-3.

As Fig. 3-1 shows, relatively few *jiazu* units were collateral extended families, comprising around 10 percent or lower of the total family units in most periods. The

³⁰ We still need to take those boys and girls who died in their infant ages into account to make more accurate estimation of lineage population. But the genealogy seldom contains information about those infant dead.

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exception is the period from 1513 to 1541, during which all lineage family units were collateral extended families. This is because there was only one family unit in the lineage during this period (that of the founding ancestor), which developed into a collateral extended family through the sons’ marriages. As there were no other family units in the lineage, the founding ancestor’s collateral extended family occupied 100 percent of the family units in the lineage in this period.

Outside this period, the collateral extended family was almost always a minority. Therefore, it might be easy to conclude that the joint family household in which married brothers resided together with their father and mother was rare even in the pre-modern era and it would likely have been unfamiliar for most ordinary lineage members to live in such a large *jiazu* unit of collateral extended families. However, here, we should note that the family composition constantly changed with the life cycles of individual family members. Myron Cohen’s survey of family composition in a Taiwanese village is suggestive of this. Based on the family censuses from the 1890s to the 1960s, he traced individual members’ life cycles in each family line and found that most villagers belonged at least once to a collateral extended family [Cohen 1976]³¹. His argument suggests that statistical data at a single point in time do not necessarily reflect all the events that each person experienced in their lifetime.

Table 3-2. Percentages of collateral extended family units in 1570, 1620, 1670, 1720, 1770, and 1820

	1570	1620	1670	1720	1770	1820
Number of family units	0.0%	0.0%	7.7%	14.3%	11.5%	8.3%
Included family members	0.0%	0.0%	15.1%	25.2%	34.5%	20.1%

Table 3-3. Percentages of collateral extended family units in 1550, 1600, 1650, 1700, 1750, and 1800

	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	1800
Number of family units	33.3%	11.1%	0.0%	4.2%	19.5%	15.4%
Included family members	61.1%	25.0%	0.0%	10.7%	48.3%	35.4%

This point of view is also relevant for my research. For example, the percentages of family members who belonged to collateral extended family *jiazu* units every 50 years from 1570 to 1820 were 0.0, 0.0, 25.2, 34.5, 19.9, and 20.1 percent, none of which exceeds 35.0 percent (Table 3-2). However, if we take time points every 50 years from 1550 to 1800, these percentages are 61.1, 25.0, 0.0, 9.8, 52.3 and 37.0 percent (Table 3-3). If we were to draw a conclusion from the first sampling, we would likely regard the lineage members’ experience of collateral extended family *jiazu* units as rather rare. Instead, if we use only the second sampling, we would likely conclude that most members experienced life in a

³¹ Cohen used in his book the term “joint family” to indicate a family unit comprising more than two couples in the same generation, which is structurally identical to the term “collateral extended family” that I use in my book. Cohen argued mainly that the family household unit was characterized by cooperative activities in daily life. This differs from my concept of the family unit as a genealogically defined close kin category. However, Cohen’s analytical method remains relevant for my study.

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collateral extended family *jiazu* unit at some point. In this way, the composition of family units was always changing and the ratios of each family type varied greatly over time. Therefore, I should investigate some individual family lines to obtain more precise data on family compositions in which lineage members lived at different points in time.

3-1-2 Case Studies on Changing Family Composition in some Family Lines

Here, I choose five family lines and obtain more detailed information on their family affairs, such as the births of new members, marriages of sons, and deaths of parents. With this information, I try to trace the changing composition of their *jiazu* unit as precisely as possible.

The first example is the case of a family line that started with Tak Kai³², the youngest son of the founding ancestor of the lineage. Chek Yan, the younger son of Tak Kai and his wife Wong Shi, was born in 1552 and grew up alongside his mother and older brother, Tsz Hong, who was 3 years older than him, in an elementary family *jiazu* unit headed by his father. In 1568, his mother, Wong Shi, died aged 57, and his brother Tsz Hong married just before or after that. With this, their *jiazu* unit changed its composition from an elementary family to a stem family. Soon after that, Chek Yan married Yuen Shi, and their *jiazu* changed its structure further to become a collateral extended family. Tsz Hong and his wife had sons in 1572 and 1575 and Chek Yan had his own son, Sz Yan, in

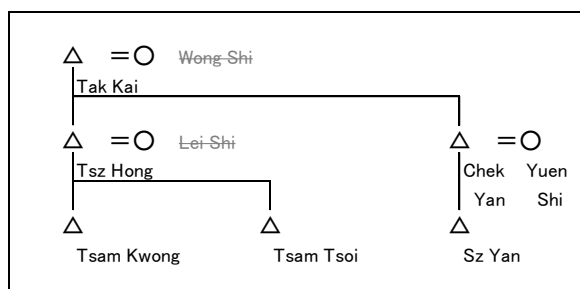


Fig. 3-2-1. Composition of Tak Kai's *jiazu* unit at 3:00 pm of October 31st, 1582

1582. These children belonged to the fourth generation from the founding ancestor of “W” lineage. Fig. 3-2-1. shows the composition of Chek Yan's family³³ at 4:00 pm on October 31st, 1582, when Sz Yan was born³⁴.

The death of Tak Kai in 1596 split their *jiazu* into two units: Chek Yan's and Tsz Hong's. Both were elementary families. In around 1603, Chek Yan's son Sz

Yan married Lok Shi, a woman 5 years his junior. This made Chek Yan's *jiazu* unit change again to become a stem family. Sz Yan and his wife Lok Shi had a son, Chi Yiu, in 1608. At

³² As I already stated in Chapter 2, I use pseudonyms to avoid violating the privacy of the descendants of the individuals named in this book.

³³ Daughters are not included here. As I noted above, the written genealogical record tells us nothing about girls born into the lineage.

³⁴ Not only the date of each member's birth, but also the exact time, was written in the genealogical record because one's accurate birth time described using the Chinese zodiac (*sizhu tuiming*) was thought to be necessary to estimate congeniality when searching for a marriage partner or a grave site for burial.

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4:00 pm on July 21st, 1608, when Chi Yiu was born, their *jiazu* unit comprised Chek Yan and his wife and Sz Yan, his wife and son Chi Yiu (Fig. 3-2-2).

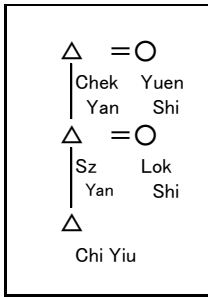


Fig. 3-2-2. Composition of Chek Yan's *jiazu* unit at 4:00 pm of July 21st, 1608

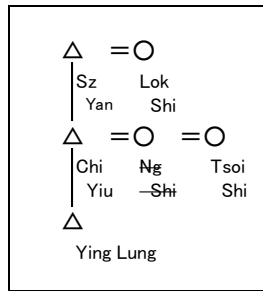


Fig. 3-2-3. Composition of Sz Yan's *jiazu* unit at 12:00 am of October 13th, 1642

his marriage. Chi Yiu married twice in his life; his first wife Ng Shi died or divorced shortly after their marriage and Chi Yiu then married his second wife Tsoi Shi. In 1642, when Chi Yiu was 34 years old, his son Ying Lung was born. On the day of his birth, Sz Yan's *jiazu* unit comprised the members shown in Fig. 3-2-3.

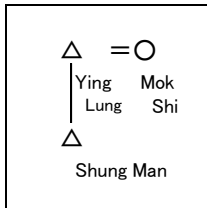


Fig. 3-2-4. Composition of Ying Lung's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 am of March 15th, 1671

The deaths of Sz Yan in 1645 and his wife Lok Shi in 1651 again changed the type of their *jiazu* unit from the stem type to the elementary type, which contained only Chi Yiu, his wife, and their son. However, soon after in 1653, Chi Yiu died at the age of 48, and until Ying Lung married around 1662, their *jiazu* unit seemed to comprise only two people: Chi Yiu's widow Tsoi Shi and their son Ying Lung. After Ying Lung married Mok Shi, they had three sons: Shung Man, born in 1671; Shung Yau, born in 1681; and Shung Yue, born in 1684. At the time of the

birth of the eldest son Shung Man, their *jiazu* unit comprised the members shown in Fig. 3-2-4³⁵.

Ying Lung's three sons married in 1697, 1698, and 1709 to Wong Shi, Yuen Shi, and Hau Shi, respectively. Their marriages changed their *jiazu* unit from an elementary family through a stem family to a collateral extended family. In 1716 and in 1718, sons were born to the eldest brother, Shung Man, and his wife Wong Shi. The second brother, Shung Yau, and his wife had five sons, born in 1718, 1721, 1726, 1729, and 1735. These sons belonged to the eighth generation from the lineage founder. Meanwhile, Ying Lung's wife died in 1714 aged 68 years old and Ying Lung himself in 1721 aged 79. Ying Lung was able to see his own five grandsons in his lifetime. At the moment of the birth of his first grandson Pong Sau at 2:00 pm on August 24th, 1716, their *jiazu* unit comprised the members shown in Fig. 3-2-5.

³⁵ The year of death of Tsoi Shi (Chi Yiu's widow and Ying Lung's mother) is not recorded in the genealogy. I estimated that she had already died at this point in time.

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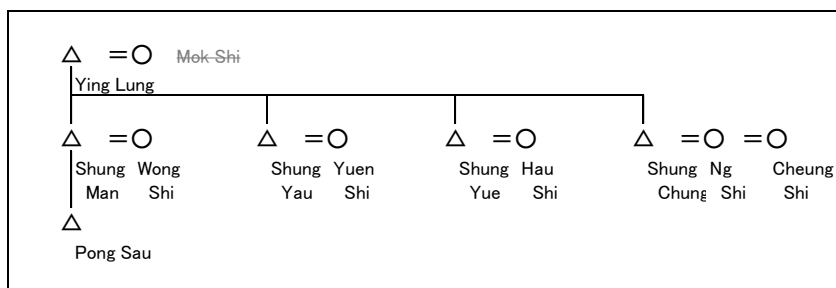


Fig. 3-2-5. Composition of Ying Lung's *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm of August 24th, 1716

Following Ying Lung's death, two elementary family *jiazu* units resulted from the dissolution of the former collateral extended family *jiazu* that he headed: one was Shung Man's and the other was Shung Yau's. The next structural changes experienced by Shung Man's *jiazu* unit occurred when Pong Sau married Tse Shi in 1732 and Shung Man died in the same year. With these changes, their *jiazu* unit became a stem family comprising Shung Man's widow Wong Shi, her son Pong Sau, and his wife Tse Shi. Four years later,

in 1736, Pong Sau and his wife had a son named Shue Koon, who belonged to the ninth generation of their lineage. Just after the birth of Shue Koon at 12:00 pm on September 19th, 1736, the composition of their *jiazu* unit was such as shown in Fig. 3-2-6.

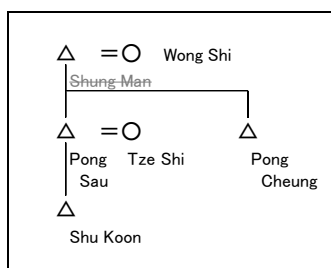


Fig. 3-2-6. Composition of Shung Man's wife Wong Shi's *jiazu* unit at 12:00 am of September 9th, 1736

Pong Sau and his wife Tse Shi were productive; they had another three sons through their lifetime. Wing Koon was born in 1739, Yiu Koon in 1744, and the youngest, Tak Koon, in 1757. Meanwhile, the eldest son Shue Koon married Leung Shi in 1753 and their *jiazu* unit

became a stem family. After the death of Pong Sau's mother Wong Shi in 1756, their *jiazu* unit included Pong Sau and his wife, his son Shue Koon and his wife, and other two unmarried brothers.

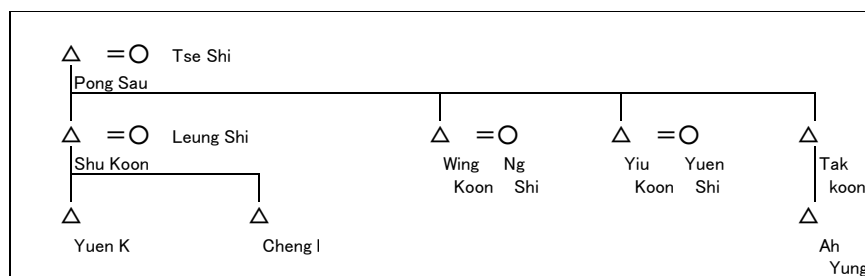


Fig. 3-2-7. Composition of Pong Sau's *jiazu* unit just before his death in 1775

Before Pong Sau's death in 1775, his second son Wing Koon and third son Yiu Koon had married successively, changing his *jiazu* unit to a collateral extended family. As his eldest son Shue Koon and Shue Koon's wife had their first son Yuen Kin in 1760, their

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jiazu unit at that point comprised Pong Sau as a family head, his wife, the eldest son Shue Koon, Shue Koon’s wife, his son Yuen Kin, Pong Sau’s second son Wing Koon, Wing Koon’s wife, Pong Sau’s third son Yiu Koon, and the fourth son Tak Koon. Three years later, in 1763, Shue Koon and his wife had another son, Cheng Kin. Therefore, if we draw out the family composition of Pong Sau’s *jiazu* unit just before his death, we obtain the diagram shown in Fig. 3-2-7. Pong Sau died in 1775 and his wife Tse Shi in 1781, which resulted in the dissolution of their extended family into four individual *jiazu* units headed by each of Pong Sau’s four sons. Finally, in 1790 and in 1791, Shue Koon and his wife Leung Shi died, leaving their sons Yuen Kin and Cheng Kin. Yuen Kin’s and Cheng Kin’s wives were not recorded in the genealogy; therefore, we lack information about their marital status at that point.

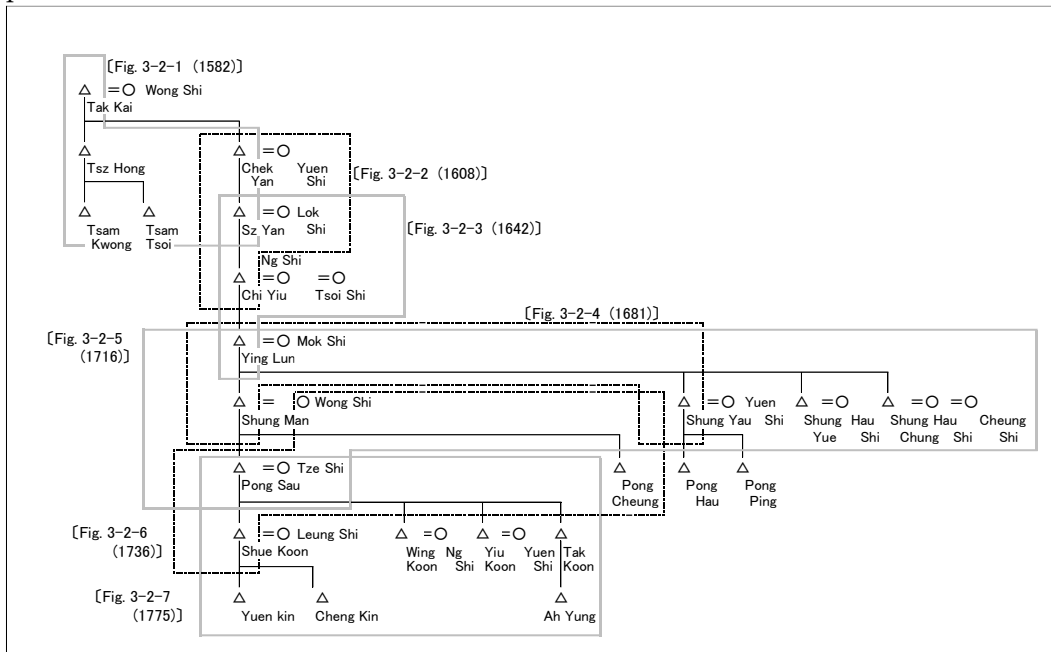


Fig. 3-3. Stages of family development in the family line from Tak Kai to Yuen Kin

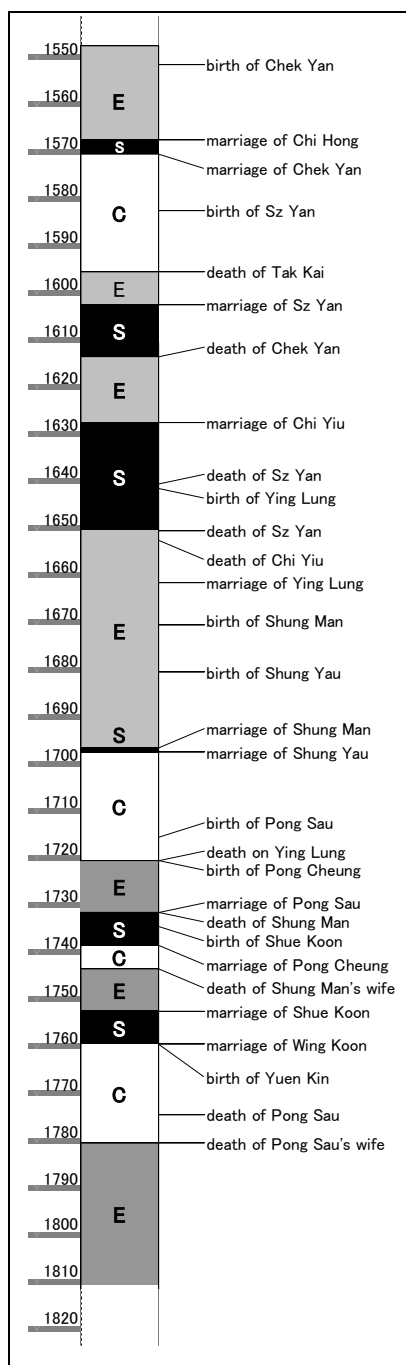
This is the changing family type pattern over 260 years for this family line in “W” lineage, which covered nine generations after the founding ancestor. I show the genealogical relations among all people presented above in Fig. 3-3, in which I also show how Figs. 3-2-1 to 3-2-7 correspond to each stage of this family line. I also summarize the major events that occurred in this family line in Table 3-4. Events that affected the family composition are marked with “*” to the left of each entry. The years in which family members were married are shown in the right column. Years in italic text signify estimated numbers because the genealogical record did not refer to the exact year of marriage³⁶.

Fig. 3-4 is based on these analyses. It shows the changing family pattern for this family line. At the point of Chek Yan’s birth in 1552, their *jiazu* unit was an elementary

³⁶ I estimated these from the year of birth of their first-born sons.

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family.



E: elementary family S: stem family C: collateral extended family

Fig. 3-4. Shifting pattern of the composition of *jiazu* unit in the family line from Tak Kai to Yuen Kin

Table 3-4. Major Events in the Family Line from Chek Yan to Yuen Kin

Major events	Year
birth of Chek-Yan	1552
marriage of Chek-Yan	1571
* death of Chek-Yan	1614
death of Chek-Yan's wife	1614
birth of Sz-Yan	1582
marriage of Sz-Yan	1603
death of Sz-Yan	1645
* death of Sz-Yan's wife	1651
birth of Chi-Yiu	1608
* marriage of Chi-Yiu	1628
death of Chi-Yiu	1653
death of Chi-Yiu's wife	
birth of Ying-Lung	1642
marriage of Ying-Lung	1662
* death of Ying-Lung	1721
death of Ying-Lung's wife	1714
birth of Shung-Man	1671
* marriage of Shung-Man	1697
death of Shung-Man	1732
* death of Shung-Man's wife	1744
birth of Shung-Yau	1681
* marriage of Shung-Yau	1698
death of Shung-Yau	1739
death of Shung-Yau's wife	1756
birth of Pong-Sau	1716
* marriage of Pong-Sau	1732
death of Pong-Sau	1775
* death of Pong-Sau's wife	1781
birth of Pong-Cheung	1721
* marriage of Pong-Cheung	1738
death of Pong-Cheung	1783
death of Pong-Cheung's wife	1781
birth of Shue-Koon	1736
* marriage of Shue-Koon	1753
death of Shue-Koon	1790
death of Shue-Koon's wife	1791
birth of Wing-Koon	1739
* marriage of Wing-Koon	1760
death of Wing-Koon	1786
death of Wing-Koon's wife	1798
birth of Yuen-Kin	1760

* factors leading to the shift of family type years in *Italic* are estimated

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Then, it expanded to become a stem and collateral extended family and dissolved again into elementary units with the deaths of the older generations. With the births and marriages of new members and the deaths of elders, the family alternated among elementary and stem types for some decades, but because the fifth to the seventh generations saw only one son per generation, no collateral extended families were experienced during that period. Conversely, after the eighth generation, more than one son per generation was born, which resulted in a cyclical change from the elementary to the stem, then to the collateral, and back to the elementary family type.

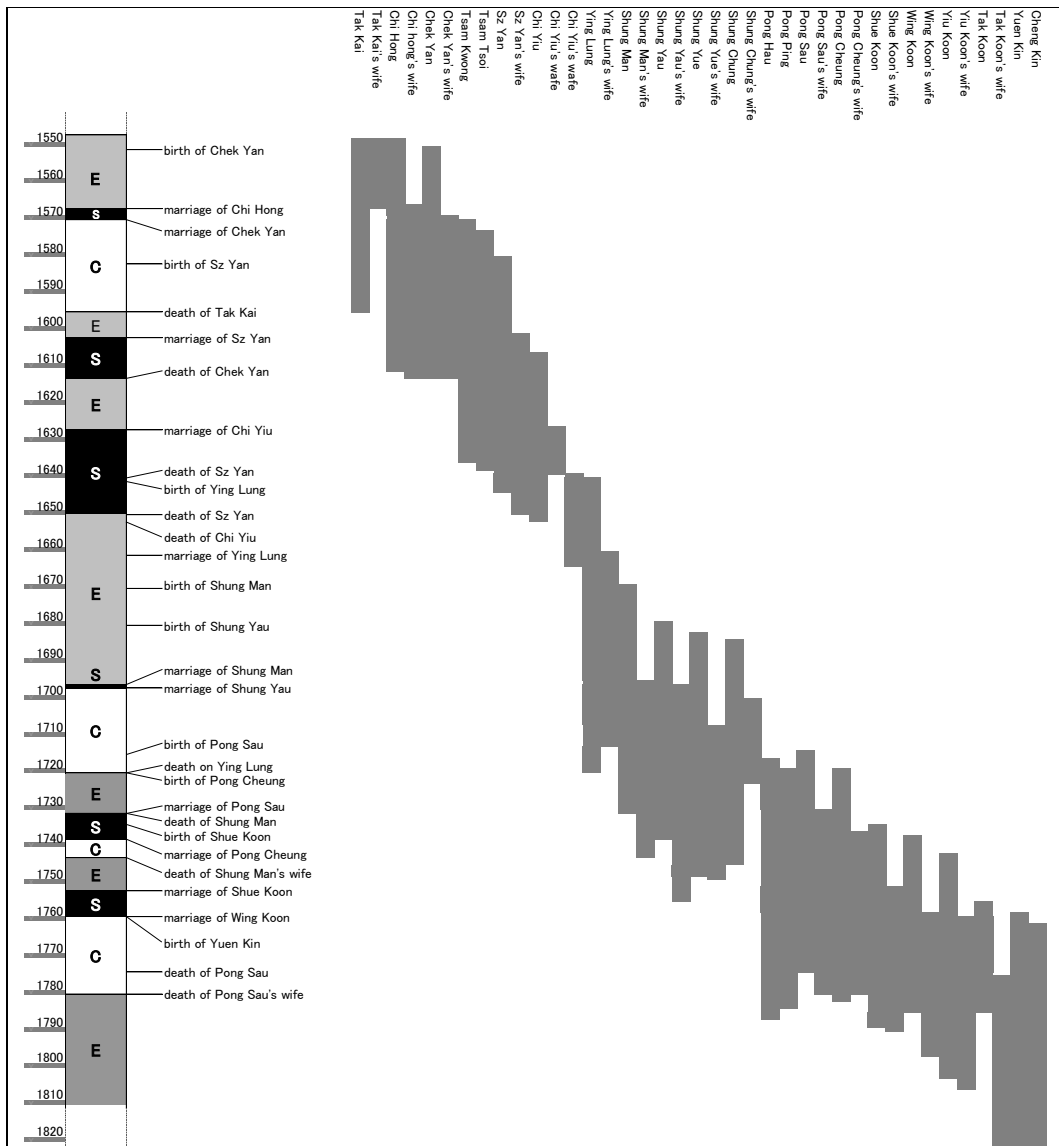


Fig. 3-5. Shift of composition of *jiazu* unit and members' life spans in the family line from Tak Kai to Yuen Kin

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Table 3-5. Duration of each Family type in the family line from Chek-Yan to Yuen-Kin

Type of <i>jiazu</i> unit	Duration (years)	%
Elementary family	134	51.5
Stem family	51	19.6
Collateral extended family	75	28.8

In sum, within the 261-year period, the *jiazu* unit was an elementary family for 134 years, stem family for 51 years, and collateral extended family for 75 years (Table 3-5). It was an elementary family for about half of this period but a collateral extended family – a traditional large Chinese family that comprised two or more married couples in the same generation – for nearly one third of the total period.

Now, I will show more closely the types of *jiazu* by each individual member experienced in their lifetime. Fig. 3-5 shows the durations of each members’ lives in this family line and compares them with the different compositions of the *jiazu* unit shown in Fig. 3-4. By determining whether each individual member belonged to the *jiazu* unit when it was a collateral extended family, I get Table 3-6, which shows that 34 of 39 members in this family line experienced life in a collateral extended family at some stage in their lives. This means that 87.2 percent of individuals in this family line were members of a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit at least once in their life.

Table 3-6. Family members’ experience of collateral extended family type *jiazu* unit in the Tseuk Yin – Yuen Kin family line

Total members	39	
Members experienced the collateral extended family type <i>jiazu</i> units	34	87.2 %

By counting the number of family members in each year of this period, I get Table 3-7. This shows that the first generation following the lineage founder contained three members in an elementary family in 1550 and the family reached its peak size in the 1770s and 1780s. Conversely, in 1650s and 1660s, the family comprised just two members, the widow of Chi Yiu and her son, Ying Lung. As I already noted, numbers extracted from the written genealogical record do not include unmarried daughters. Therefore, actual family size was likely larger than these numbers. I corrected the numbers by doubling the number of unmarried male members in each year and show these updated numbers at the bottom rows of Table 3-7.

Now, to show that the case of the family line analyzed above is not an exceptional example, let me show the case of another family line, that which traced its descent to Ming Po, who belonged to the 12th generation from the founding ancestor. This family line started with Kin Kai, the eldest son of the founding ancestor and traced a patrilineal descent line through the eldest sons in every but the ninth generation down to Ming Po. Figs. 3-6-1 to 3-6-7 show this family line’s *jiazu* units in 1597, 1627, 1646, 1699, 1746, 1786,

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Fig. 3-8 shows the changing family types in this family line over 240 years. After alternating between elementary and stem family forms in the early decades, the *jiazu* unit remained as a collateral extended family for about 10 years throughout the 1680s. It then remained as an elementary type for about 70 years but again became a collateral extended family in later decades. The major events that occurred in this family line are summarized in Table 3-8. In those 240 years, the *jiazu* unit was a collateral extended family for about 50 years, or 20.8 percent of the whole period (Table 3-9).

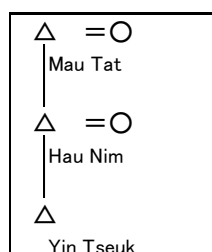


Fig. 3-6-1. Composition of Mau Tat's *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm of July 22th, 1597

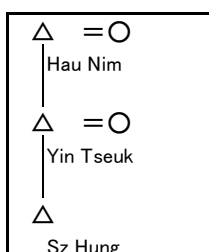


Fig. 3-6-2. Composition of Hau Nim's *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm of August 26th, 1627

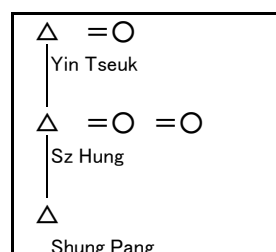


Fig. 3-6-3. Composition of Yin Cheuk's *jiazu* unit at 6:00 am of May 8th, 1646

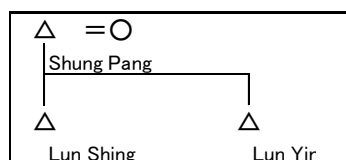


Fig. 3-6-4. Composition of Shung Pang's *jiazu* unit at 6:00 am of August 12th, 1699

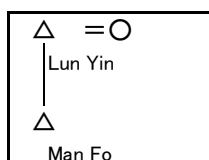


Fig. 3-6-5. Composition of Lun Yin's *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm of February 23th, 1746

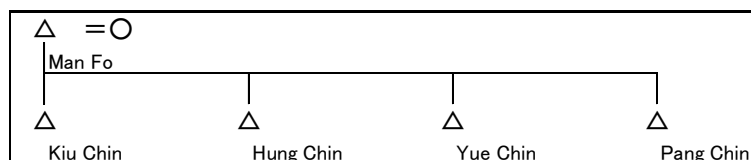


Fig. 3-6-6. Composition of Man Fo's *jiazu* unit at 6:00 am of March 11th, 1786

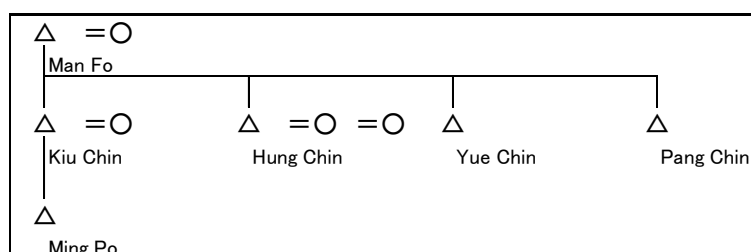


Fig. 3-6-7. Composition of Man Fo's *jiazu* unit at 12:00 am of January 25th, 1794

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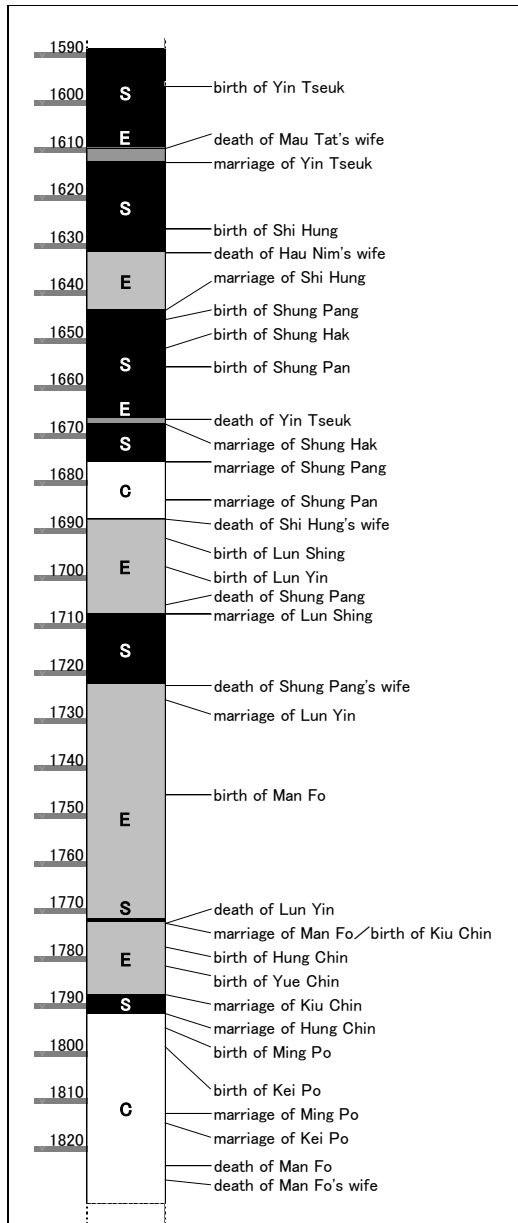


Fig. 3-7. Shifting pattern of the composition of *jiazou* unit in the family line from Mau Tat to Ming Po

Table 3-8. Major Events in the Family Line from Mau Tat to Ming Po

Major events	Year
death of Kin Kai	1551
birth of Mau Tat	1541
marriage of Mau Tat	1557
death of Mau Tat	1608
* death of Mau Tat's wife	1609
birth of Yin Tseuk	1597
* marriage of Yin Tseuk	1613
* death of Yin Tseuk	1667
death of Yin Tseuk's wife	1655
birth of Shi Hung	1627
* marriage of Shi Hung	1644
death of Shi Hung	1686
* death of Shi Hung's wife	1688
birth of Hau Nim	1572
marriage of Hau Nim	1588
death of Hau Nim	1631
* death of Hau Nim's wife	1632
birth of Shung Pang	1646
marriage of Shung Pang	1676
death of Shung Pang	1706
* death of Shung Pang's wife	1723
birth of Shung Hak	1652
* marriage of Shung Hak	1668
death of Shung Hak	1727
death of Shung Hak's wife	1722
birth of Shung Pan	1656
marriage of Shung Pan	1684
death of Shung Pan	1723
death of Shung Pan's wife	1718
birth of Lun Shing	1691
* marriage of Lun Shing	1708
death of Lun Shing	1753
death of Lun Shing's wife	1755
birth of Lun Yin	1698
marriage of Lun Yin	1724
death of Lun Yin	1773
death of Lun Yin's wife	1768
birth of Man Fo	1746
marriage of Man Fo	1773
death of Man Fo	1824
death of Man Fo's wife	1827
birth of Kiu Chin	1773
* marriage of Kiu Chin	1788
death of Kiu Chin	1833
death of Kiu Chin's wife	1830
birth of Hung Chin	1778
* marriage of Hung Chin	1792
death of Hung Chin	1833
death of Hung Chin's wife	1799
birth of Yu Chin	1783
marriage of Yue Chin	1803
death of Yue Chin	
death of Yue Chin's wife	
birth of Ming Po	1793
marriage of Ming Po	1813
death of Ming Po	1833
death of Ming Po's wife	
birth of Kei Po	1797
marriage of Kei Po	1815
death of Kei Po	
death of Kei Po's wife	1827

* factors leading to the shift of family type
figures in *Italic* are estimated

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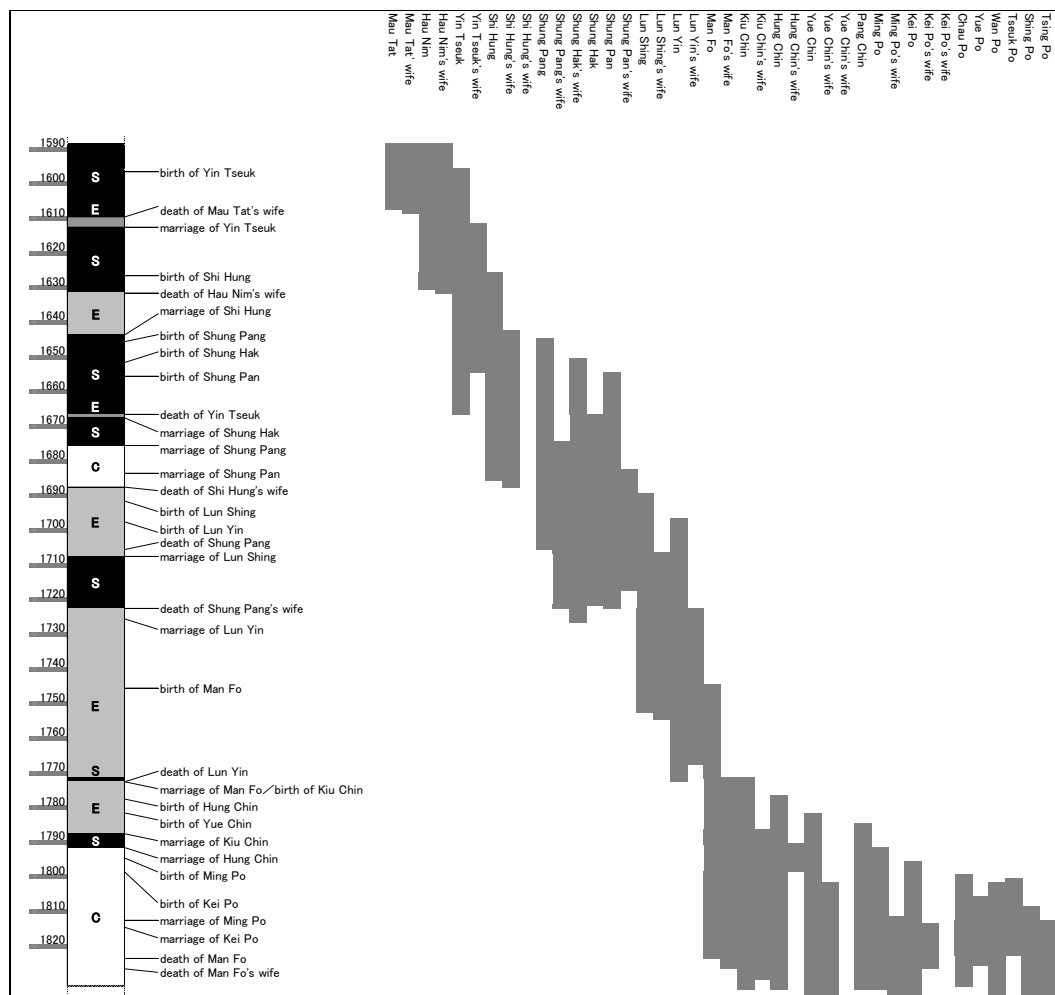


Fig. 3-8. Shift of Composition of *jiazu* unit and members' Life spans in the family line from Mau Tat to Ming Po

The right side of Fig. 3-8 shows the lifespans of each individual in Ming Po's family line. By determining whether each person had lived in a collateral extended family, I get Table 3-10, which shows that 26 of the 41 people (63.4 percent) in this family line who lived during this period belonged to a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit. By counting the number of family members in each year of this period, I get Table 3-11. Its largest size was achieved in 1815, when there were 18 family members: if we include unmarried daughters, this was likely about 26 members.

Table 3-9. Types of Family units in the family line from Mau Tat to Ming Po

Types of family unit	Duration (years)	%
Elementary	102	39.2
Stem	88	33.8
Collateral extended	40	15.4

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-10. Family members’ experience of collateral extended family type *jjazu* unit in the Mau Tat – Ming Po family line

Total members	41	
Members experienced the collateral extended family type <i>jjazu</i> units	26	63.4 %

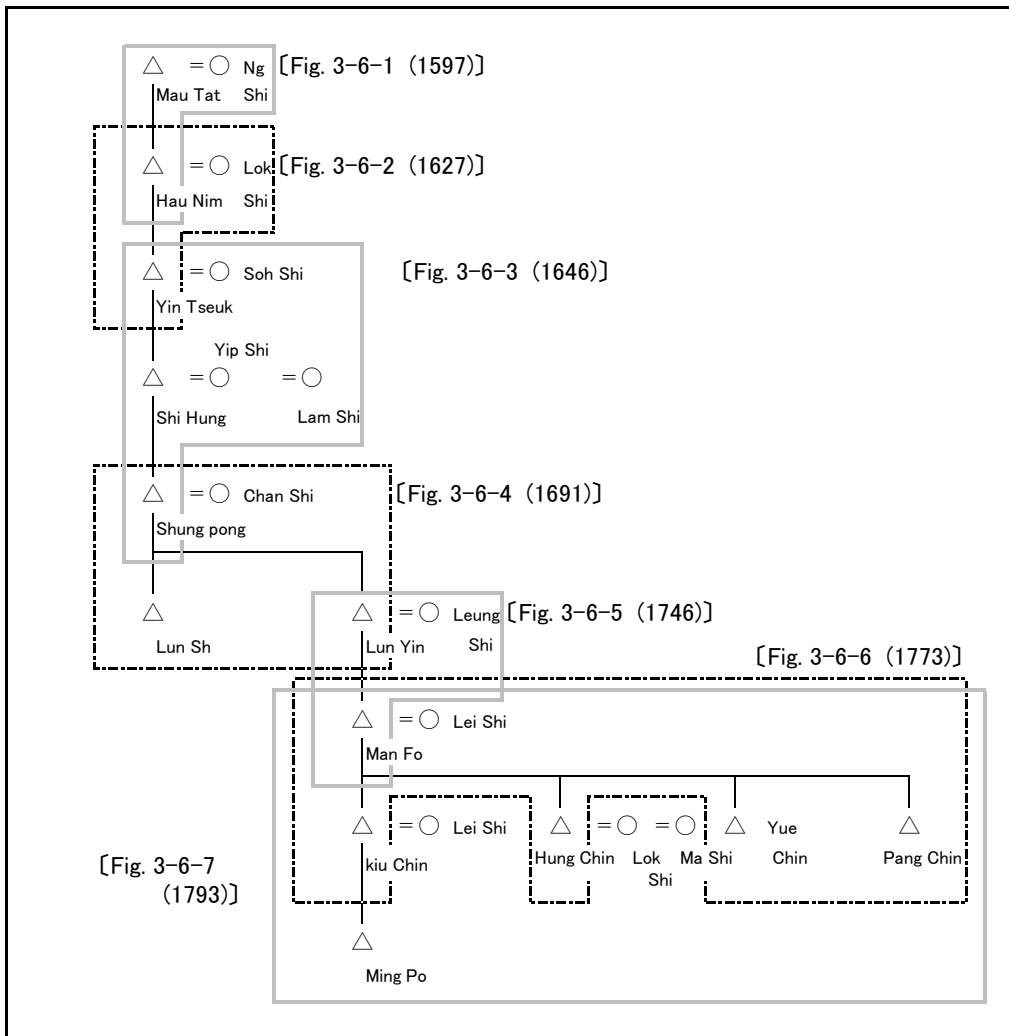


Fig. 3-9. Stages of family development in the family line from Mau Tat to Ming Po

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-11. Number of family members in Mau Tat – Ming Po family line from 1590 to 1830

Year	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	6	6
Year	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615
Number of family members	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	5	4	4
Year	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6
Year	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641
Number of family members	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654
Number of family members	3	3	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	8	8
Year	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667
Number of family members	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Number of family members (corrected)	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Year	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680
Number of family members	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	8	7	7	7	7
Year	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693
Number of family members	7	7	7	8	8	8	7	7	6	6	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	7	7	7	8	8	8	7	7	6	6	8	8	8
Year	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706
Number of family members	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Year	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719
Number of family members	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7
Number of family members (corrected)	9	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8
Year	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732
Number of family members	7	7	7	6	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	7	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758
Number of family members	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	4
Year	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
Number of family members	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
Year	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784
Number of family members	2	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
Number of family members (corrected)	3	6	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	6	8	8
Year	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797
Number of family members	5	6	6	7	7	7	7	8	9	9	9	9	10
Number of family members (corrected)	8	9	9	10	9	9	9	10	11	11	11	11	13
Year	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810
Number of family members	10	10	9	10	11	14	14	14	14	15	15	15	16
Number of family members (corrected)	13	13	12	14	16	21	20	20	20	22	22	22	24
Year	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
Number of family members	16	16	17	17	18	14	15	15	15	15	15	13	13
Number of family members (corrected)	24	24	25	25	26	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
Year	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830						
Number of family members	12	12	11	9	9	8	8						
Number of family members (corrected)	17	16	16	15	13	13	13						

Tracing the "Family"

Table 3-12. Major Events in the Family Line from Yan Yi to Chiu Kwong

Major events	Year
death of Yin Kai	1562
birth of Yan Yi	1560
marriage of Yan Yi	1577
death of Yan Yi	1626
* death of Yan Yi's wife	1629
birth of Yue Sau	1612
* marriage of Yue Sau	1628
* death of Yue Sau	1679
death of Yue Sau's wife	1673
birth of Yuen Tseuk	1639
* marriage of Yuen Tseuk	1655
death of Yuen Tseuk	1706
death of Yuen Tseuk's wife	1709
birth of Yuen Tso	1642
* marriage of Yuen Tso	1660
* death of Yuen Tso	1710
death of Yuen Tso's wife	1707
birth of Chi Fung	1669
* marriage of Chi Fung	1686
* death of Chi Fung	1730
death of Chi Fung's wife	1727
birth of Wing Wan	1699
* marriage of Wing Wan	1717
death of Wing Wan	1772
death of Wing Wan's wife	1771
birth of Fat Tsun	1721
* marriage of Fat Tsun	1735
death of Fat Tsun	1783
death of Fat Tsun's wife	1785
birth of Wai Tak	1737
marriage of Wai Tak	1752
death of Wai Tak	1799
* death of Wai Tak's wife	1810
birth of Tin Tsit	1765
marriage of Tin Tsit	1784
death of Tin Tsit	1838
death of Tin Tsit's wife	1824
birth of Chiu Kwong	1801
* marriage of Chiu Kwong	1819
death of Chiu Kwong	1838
death of Chiu Kwong's wife	1838
birth of Tso Yau	1836

* factors leading to the shift of family type
figures in *italic* are estimated

I now briefly present the cases of other family lines. One is the case of the family line from Yan Yi to Chiu Kwong. This family line belonged to the segment of Yin Kai, the third son of the founding ancestor, and traced its descent to Tso Yau in the 12th generation. The major events in this family line in its 240-year history are summarized in Table 3-12. The compositions of the *jiazu* unit at the birth of each major male member are shown in Figs. 3-9-1 to 3-9-9, and the sequence of these different stages of the family development is illustrated in Fig. 3-10. Fig. 3-11 shows the changing pattern of the *jiazu* unit and each member's lifespan. As Table 3-13 shows, within the 240 years, the *jiazu* unit was an elementary family for 98 years, stem family for 48 years, and collateral extended family for 94 years. By determining whether each member had lived in a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit, I get Table 3-14. We can see that this family line remained as an elementary family in its first decades and was then usually a stem or collateral extended family. It is remarkable that it remained as a collateral extended family for more than 70 years after the mid-1730s. As many as 38 of 42 individuals in this family line lived in this type of *jiazu* unit at least once in their lifetime. This amounts to 90.5 percent of the total number of family members. The numbers of family members in each year of this period are shown in Table 3-15.

Another case is that of the family line from Yan Tim to Ying Fong. The major events in this family line are summarized in Table 3-16. The compositions of the *jiazu* unit at the birth of each major male member are shown in Figs. 3-12-1 to 3-12-8, and the stages of the family development are illustrated in Fig. 3-13. The changing pattern of the *jiazu* unit and each member's life spans are shown in Fig. 3-14. As Table 3-17 shows, within the 238-year period, the *jiazu* unit was collateral extended family for just 7 years. This family line remained as an elementary family or stem family for most of this period. Only 8 of 23

Tracing the “Family”

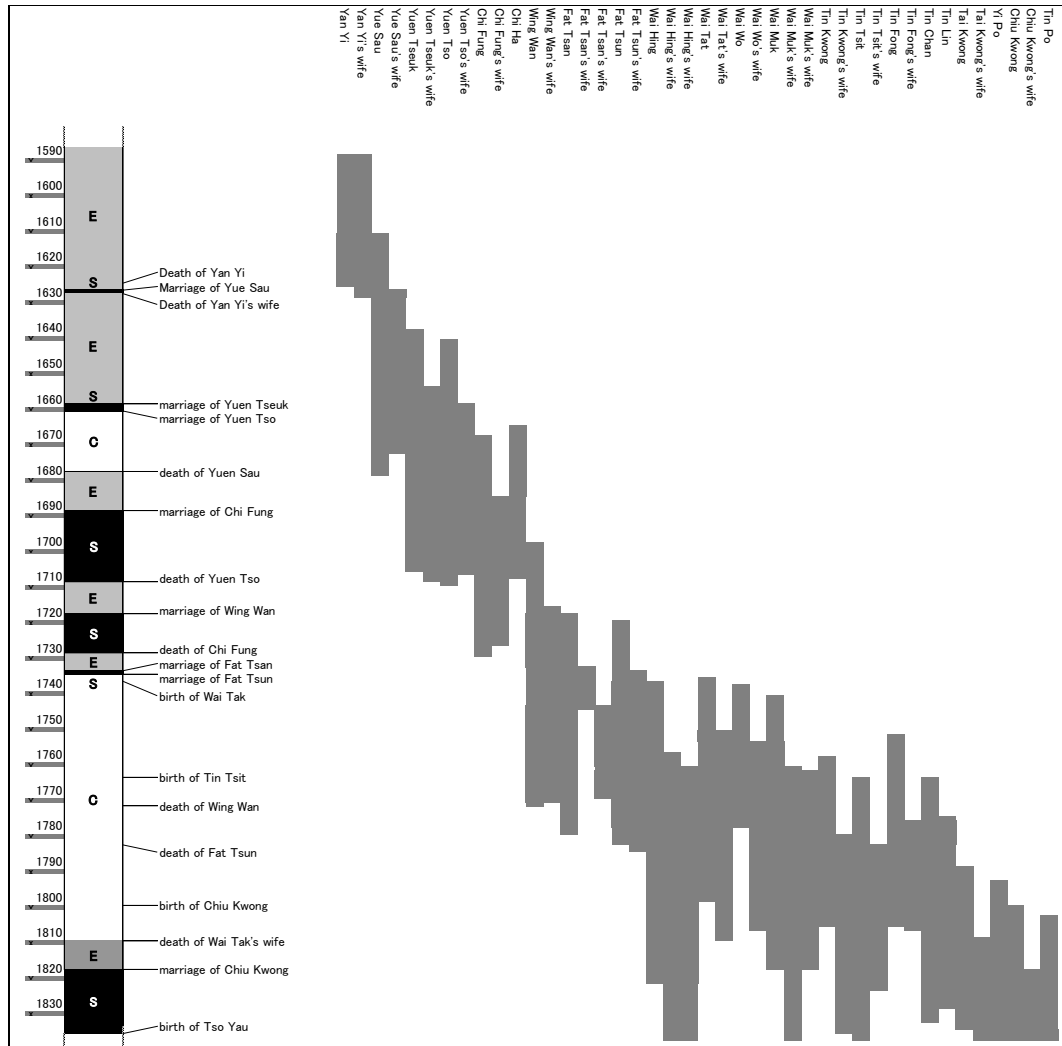
Fig. 3-11. Shift of Composition of *jiazu* unit and members' Life spans in the family line from Yan Yi to Chiu Kwong

Table 3-13. Types of Family units in the family line from Yan Yi to Chiu Kwong

Types of family unit	Duration (years)	%
Elementary	98	40.8
Stem	48	20.0
Collateral extended	94	39.2

Table 3-14. Family members' experience of collateral extended family type *jiazu* unit in the Yan Y - Chiu Kwong family line

Total members	42	
Members experienced the collateral extended family type <i>jiazu</i> units	38	90.5 %

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-15. Number of family members in Yan Yi – Chiu Kwong family line from 1590 to 1830

Year	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602
Number of family members	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Number of family members (corrected)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Year	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615
Number of family members	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4
Year	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628
Number of family members	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Year	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641
Number of family members	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4
Year	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Year	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667
Number of family members	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	7	6	6	6	6	7	6	6	6	6	6	8	8
Year	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680
Number of family members	7	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	6
Number of family members (corrected)	8	10	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	8
Year	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693
Number of family members	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	8	8	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Year	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706
Number of family members	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Year	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719
Number of family members	7	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	5
Number of family members (corrected)	9	8	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	6
Year	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732
Number of family members	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	6	6
Year	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745
Number of family members	4	5	6	6	7	8	9	9	9	10	10	10	11
Number of family members (corrected)	6	7	7	6	8	10	12	12	12	14	14	14	15
Year	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758
Number of family members	10	10	10	10	10	10	11	12	12	13	13	13	14
Number of family members (corrected)	14	14	14	14	14	14	15	16	16	17	16	16	17
Year	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
Number of family members	15	15	15	17	18	18	20	20	20	20	20	20	19
Number of family members (corrected)	18	18	18	20	20	20	24	24	24	24	24	24	23
Year	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784
Number of family members	18	17	17	17	18	19	19	18	18	18	18	18	18
Number of family members (corrected)	22	21	21	21	22	23	22	21	21	21	20	20	20
Year	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797
Number of family members	18	17	17	17	17	18	18	18	18	19	19	19	19
Number of family members (corrected)	19	18	17	17	17	19	19	19	19	21	21	21	21
Year	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810
Number of family members	19	19	18	19	19	19	19	19	19	17	15	15	16
Number of family members (corrected)	21	21	20	22	22	22	23	23	23	21	19	19	20
Year	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
Number of family members	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	13	13	13	13	12
Number of family members (corrected)	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	16	15	15	15	14
Year	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830						
Number of family members	12	11	11	11	11	11	10						
Number of family members (corrected)	12	11	11	11	11	11	10						

Tracing the “Family”

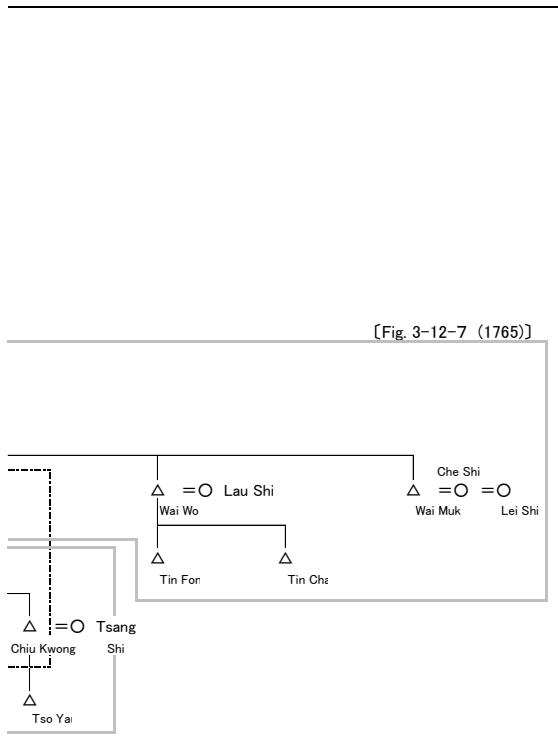
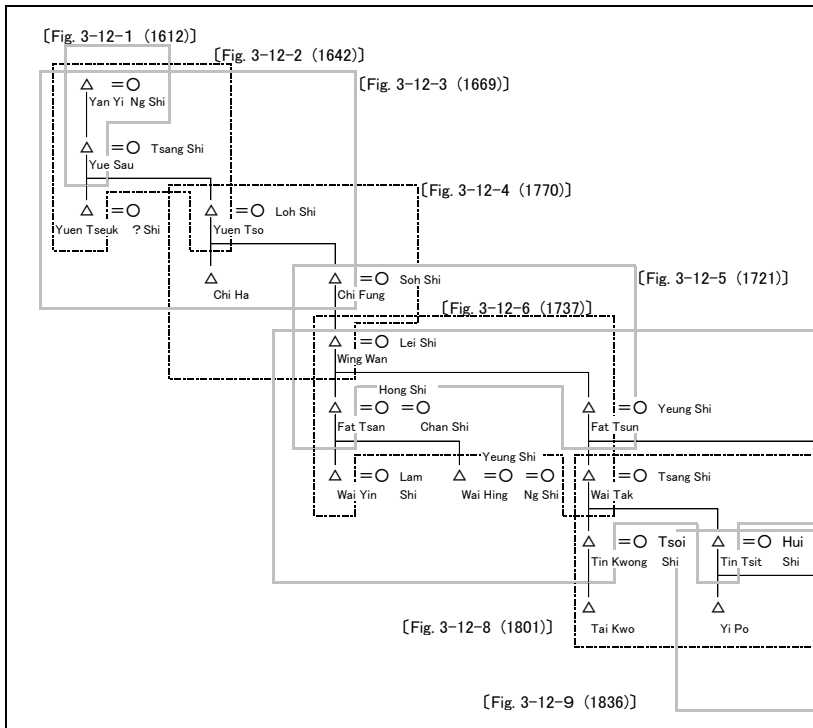


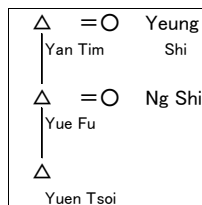
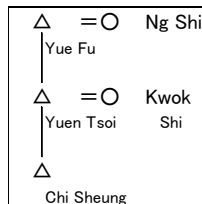
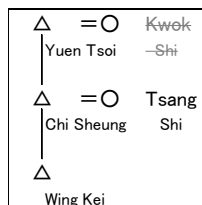
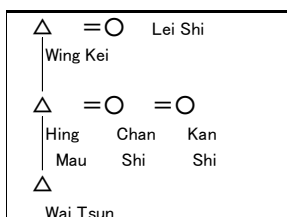
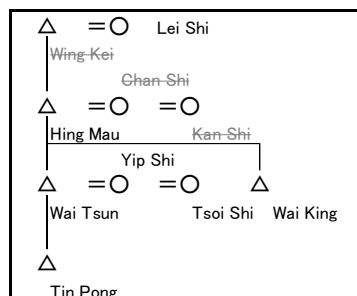
Fig. 3-12. Stages of family development in the family line from Yan Yi to Tso Yau

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-16. Major Events in Yan Tim – Yau Fong family line

Major Events	Year
birth of Yan Tim	1592
marriage of Yan Tim	1610
* death of Yan Tim	1651
death of Yan Tim's wife	1650
birth of Yue Fu	1617
* marriage of Yue Fu	1634
* death of Yue Fu	1680
death of Yue Fu's wife	1669
birth of Yuen Tsoi	1647
* marriage of Yuen Tsoi	1664
* death of Yuen Tsoi	1708
death of Yuen Tsoi's wife	1693
birth of Chi Sheung	1669
* marriage of Chi Sheung	1684
* death of Chi Sheung	1731
death of Chi Sheung's wife	1717
birth of Wing Kei	1698
* marriage of Wing Kei	1716
death of Wing Kei	1755
death of Wing Kei's wife	1764
birth of Hin Mau	1719
* marriage of Hin Mau	1736
death of Hin Mau	1782
* death of Hin Mau's wife	1743
birth of Wai Tsun	1744
marriage of Wai Tsun	1758
death of Wai Tsun	1802
death of Wai Tsun's wife	1765
birth of Wai King	1761
* marriage of Wai King	1778
death of Wai King	1788
death of Wai King's wife	1785
birth of Tin pong	1764
marriage of Tin Pong	1780
death of Tin pong	1811
death of Tin Pong's wife	1832
birth of Yau Fong	1814
marriage of Yau Fong	1831
death of Yau Fong	1838
death of Yau Fong's wife	1838

* factors leading to the shift of family type
figures in *Italic* are estimated

Fig. 3-13-1. Composition of Yan Tim's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 pm of October 29th, 1647Fig. 3-13-2. Composition of Yue Fu's *jiazu* unit at 10:00 am of November 5th, 1669Fig. 3-13-3. Composition of Yuen Tsoi's *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm of June 13th, 1698Fig. 3-13-4. Composition of Chi Sheung's *jiazu* unit at 4:00 pm of May 3rd, 1719Fig. 3-13-5. Composition of Wing Kei's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 pm of November 23rd, 1744Fig. 3-13-6. Composition of Wing Kei's wife Lei Shi's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 am of January 9th, 1765

Tracing the “Family”

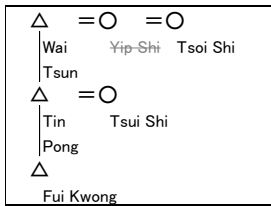


Fig. 3-13-7. Composition of Wai Tsun's *jiazu* unit at 8:00 am of January 31st, 1795

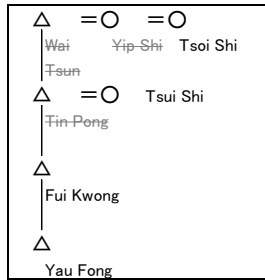


Fig. 3-13-8. Composition of Wai Tsun's wife Tsoi Shi's *jiazu* unit at 8:00 am of October 22nd, 1814

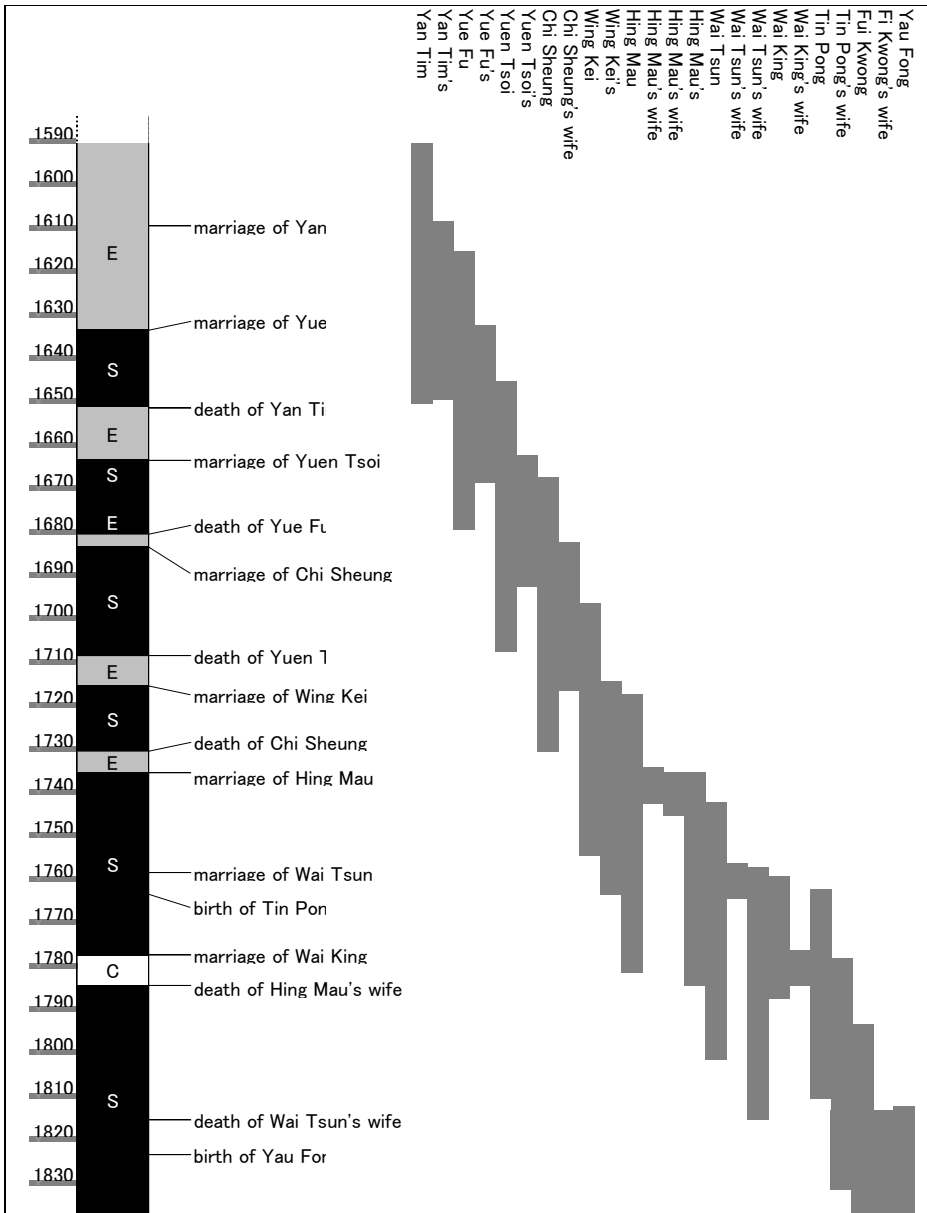


Fig. 3-14. Shift of Composition of *jiazu* unit and members' Life spans in the family line from Yan Tim to Yau Fong

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-17. Types of Family units in the family line from Yan Tim to Yau Fong

Types of family unit	Duration (years)	%
Elementary	69	29.0
Stem	162	68.1
Collateral extended	7	2.9

Table 3-18. Family members' experience of collateral extended family type *jiazu* unit in the Yan Tim – Yau Fong family line

Total members	23	
Members experienced the collateral extended family type <i>jiazu</i> units	8	34.8 %

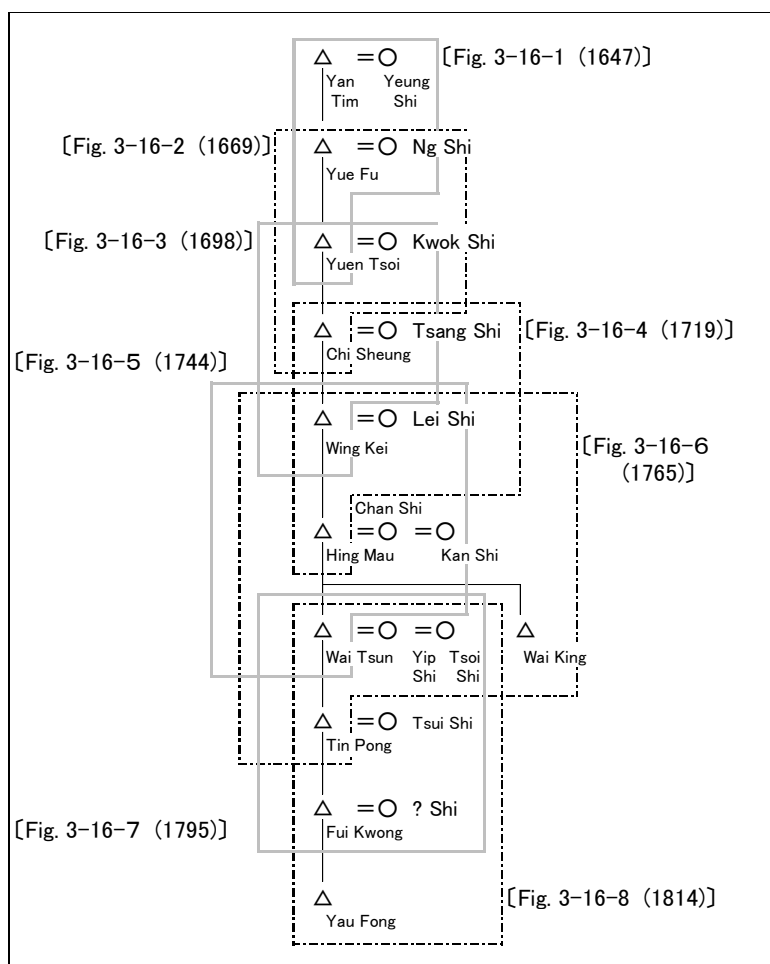


Fig. 3-15. Stages of family development in the family line from Yan Tim to Yau Fong

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-19. Number of family members in Yan Tim – Yau Fong family line from 1590 to 1830

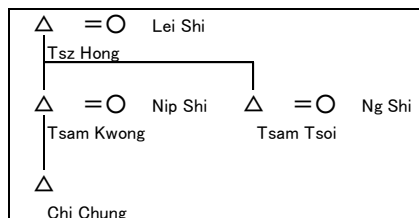
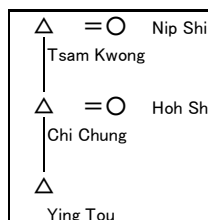
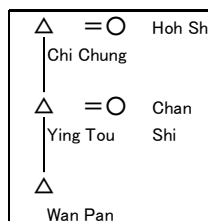
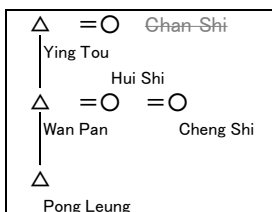
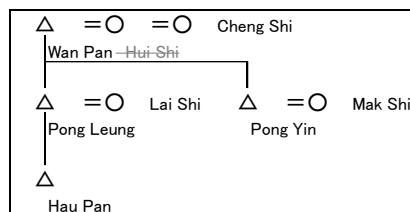
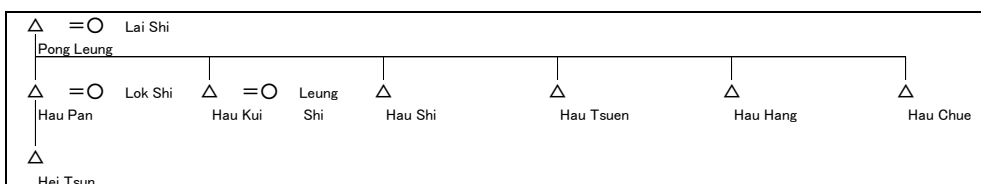
Year	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602
Number of family members	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Number of family members (corrected)	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Year	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615
Number of family members	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Number of family members (corrected)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Year	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628
Number of family members	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641
Number of family members	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654	1655
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	4
Year	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668
Number of family members	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4
Year	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1681
Number of family members	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Number of family members (corrected)	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4
Year	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694
Number of family members	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Year	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707
Number of family members	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Year	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720
Number of family members	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	5	5
Year	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4
Year	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746
Number of family members	3	3	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7
Year	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759
Number of family members	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	6
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	7
Year	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772
Number of family members	6	7	7	7	8	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Number of family members (corrected)	6	8	8	8	10	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Year	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784	1785
Number of family members	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	8	8	8	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	8	8	9	8	9	8	8	7	7	7
Year	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798
Number of family members	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5
Number of family members (corrected)	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6
Year	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811
Number of family members	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Year	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824
Number of family members	3	3	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	6	7	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4
Year	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830							
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4							
Number of family members (corrected)	4	4	4	4	4	4							

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-20. Major Events in the Family Line from Tsam Kwong to Lai Pan

Major events	Year
birth of Tsam Kwong	1572
* marriage of Tsam Kwong	1593
* death of Tsam Kwong	1637
death of Tsam Kwong's wife	1637
birth of Chi Chung	1600
* marriage of Chi chung	1622
death of Chi Chung	1653
* death of Chi Chung's wife	1658
birth of Ying Tou	1629
* marriage of Ying Tou	1648
* death of Ying Tou	1682
death of Ying Tou's wife	1675
birth of Wan Pan	1653
* marriage of Wan Pan	1668
* death of Wan Pan	1718
death of Wan Pan's wife	1689
birth of Pong Leung	1681
* marriage of Pong Leung	1702
* death of Pong Leung	1738
death of Pong Leung's wife	1738
birth of Hau Pan	1706
* marriage of Hau Pan	1721
* death of Hau Pan	1785
death of Hau Pan's wife	1758
birth of Hei Tsun	1725
* marriage of Hei Tsun	1741
death of Hei Tsun	1778
death of Hei Tsun's wife	1754
birth of Tsuen Wak	1771
marriage of Tsuen Wak	1790
death of Tsuen Wak	1832
death of Tsuen Wak's wife	
birth of Lai Pan	1813

* factors leading to the shift of family type figures in *Italic* are estimated

Fig. 3-16-1. Composition of Yan Yi's *jiazu* unit at 10:00 am of December 10th, 1600Fig. 3-16-2. Composition of Tsam Kwong's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 pm of April 5th, 1629Fig. 3-16-3. Composition of Chi Chung's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 am of March 14th, 1653Fig. 3-16-4. Composition of Ying Tou's *jiazu* unit at 6:00 am of May 10th, 1681Fig. 3-16-5. Composition of Wan Pan's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 pm of November 25th, 1706Fig. 3-16-6. Composition of Pong Leung's *jiazu* unit at 0:00 pm of February 15th, 1725

Tracing the “Family”

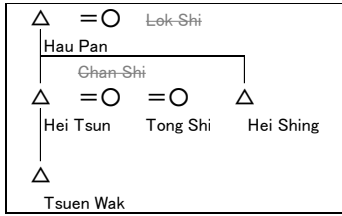


Fig. 3-16-7. Composition of Hau Pan's *jiazou* unit in 1771

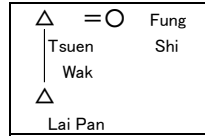


Fig. 3-16-8. Composition of Tsuen Wak's *jiazou* unit in 1813

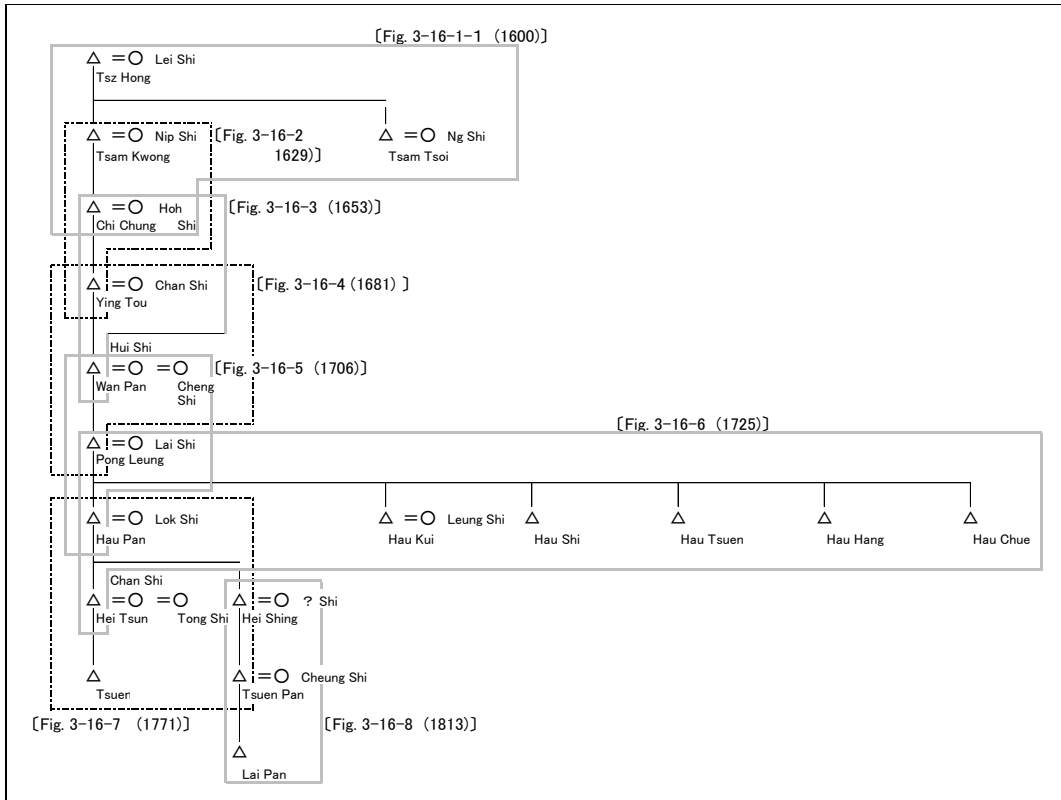


Fig. 3-17. Stages of family development in the family line from Tsz Hong to Lai Pan

Table 3-21. Types of Family units in the family line from Tsam Kwong to Lai Pan

Types of family unit	Duration (years)	%
Elementary	100	41.7
Stem	116	48.3
Collateral extended	24	10.0

Table 3-22. Family members' experience of collateral extended family type *jiazou* unit in the Tsam Kwong – Lai Pan family line

Total members	23	
Members experienced the collateral extended family type <i>jiazou</i> units	11	47.8 %

Tracing the “Family”

Table 3-23. Number of family members in Tsam Kwong – Lai Pan family line from 1590 to 1830

Year	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602
Number of family members	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9
Number of family members (corrected)	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	10	10
Year	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615
Number of family members	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	9	6
Number of family members (corrected)	10	10	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	11	8
Year	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628
Number of family members	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	8	7	7	7	7	7
Year	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641
Number of family members	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	6	6	5	5
Number of family members (corrected)	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	7	7	6	6
Year	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654
Number of family members	5	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	5	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	6	5
Year	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Number of family members (corrected)	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	5	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Year	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693
Number of family members	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	7	7	6	6	6	6
Year	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706
Number of family members	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	6	7
Number of family members (corrected)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	7	8
Year	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719
Number of family members	7	6	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Number of family members (corrected)	8	7	9	9	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	12
Year	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732
Number of family members	8	9	10	10	11	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	15
Number of family members (corrected)	12	13	14	14	15	17	18	18	18	18	18	18	19
Year	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745
Number of family members	15	16	16	17	18	17	15	16	17	17	16	16	17
Number of family members (corrected)	19	19	19	20	21	19	17	18	19	18	17	17	18
Year	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758
Number of family members	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	16	16	16	16
Number of family members (corrected)	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	17	17	17	17
Year	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
Number of family members	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	11	11	12
Number of family members (corrected)	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	12	12	13
Year	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784
Number of family members	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	10	10	10	10	10
Number of family members (corrected)	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	11	11	11	11	11
Year	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797
Number of family members	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	8	8	8
Number of family members (corrected)	11	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	9
Year	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810
Number of family members	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	9	9	9	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Year	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
Number of family members	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Number of family members (corrected)	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Year	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830						
Number of family members	7	7	7	7	7	7	7						
Number of family members (corrected)	7	7	7	7	7	7	7						

Tracing the “Family”

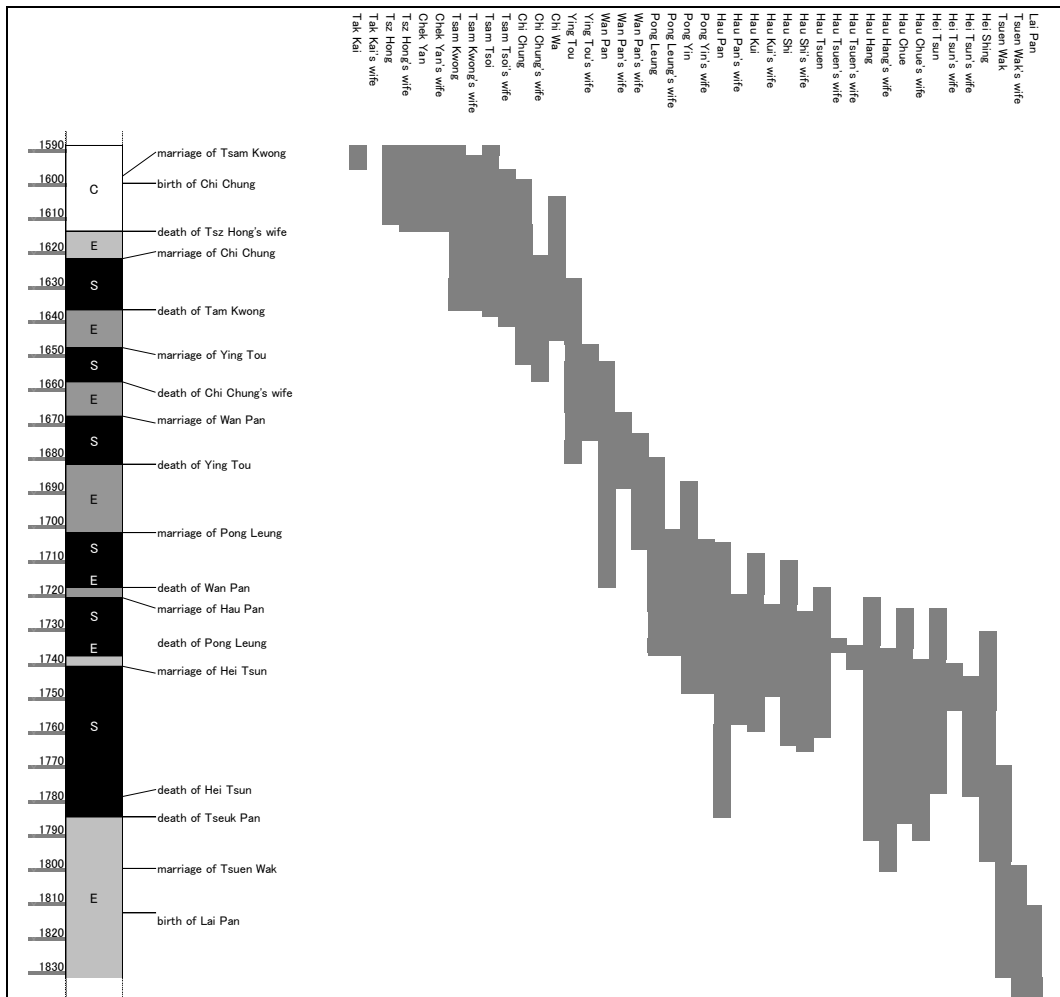


Fig. 3-18. Shift of Composition of *jiazu* unit and members' Life spans in the family line from Tsam Kwong to Lai Pan

I have examined the changes in family composition in five family lines. By calculating the average life spans and number of biological sons for each of these family lines, I obtain Table 3-24. In the three family lines of Chek Yan to Yuen Kin, Yin Tseuk to Ming Po, and Yan Yi to Chiu Kwong, in which collateral extended family *jiazu* units were maintained for longer periods and many members experienced life in this type of family unit, the average lifespan exceeded 60 years and the average number of sons exceeded 2.0. Conversely, in the family lines of Yan Tim to Ying Fong and Tsam Kwong to Lai Pan, in which the collateral extended family *jiazu* units existed only for short periods, the average

Table 3-24. Average life span and average number of sons in five family lines

Family line	Average life span	Average number of sons
Chek Yan – Yuen Kin	61.8	2.4
Mau Tat – Ming Po	61.8	2.0
Yan Yi – Chiu Kwong	66.1	2.0
Yan Tim – Yau Fong	55.0	1.2
Tsam Kwong –Lai Pan	55.9	1.4

Tracing the “Family”

lifespan was approximately 55 years and the average number of sons was below 1.5. In these latter two family lines, the formation of collateral extended family *jiazu* units seems to have been restricted because they had fewer descendants and their lifespans were shorter than in the former three family lines.

3-1-3 The Concept of Family and its Variations

In the analyses above, I traced the changing family compositions over time in “W” lineage by analyzing five individual family lines. I paid special attention to the collateral extended family because it has been a disputed issue for some time in the study of Chinese kinship and family. In previous studies on Chinese kinship, many researchers argued that large-scale families in pre-modern and early-modern Chinese society were far fewer than that had previously been believed³⁷. Those large-scale families, including the collateral extended family, to use our term, were often called “*tongju tongcai*” (meaning “residence and property in common”) in classical works on Chinese family. This was assumed to be the “typical” form of Chinese families because, according to the traditional family ethics, aggregation and cooperation among patrilineal close kin was encouraged, as formulated in the term “*wutai tongtang*”³⁸. However, researchers found that such family units were relatively few compared with other forms, based on actual census surveys. Some researchers also argued that such large-scale extended family units were rather rare and were confined to rich people in the upper social classes [Freedman 1966: 44-45]. Because I have already mentioned these arguments in a previous book [Segawa 2004: 98-116], I will not repeat this here in detail. In short, most of those who took “*tongju tongcai*” families to be a minor or rare occurrence in Chinese society mainly depended on census data on households, which referred to the average size of households and family composition at one point in time. However, arguments on “family” based on this evidence are questionable for two reasons, as described below.

First, there is a technical and methodological problem in that we cannot correctly evaluate the ratio and each individual’s experience of each type of family composition by considering the distribution of the family types in a society only at certain points in time. For example, as we saw in Fig. 3-1, among all the members of “W” lineage, the number of collateral extended families varied from 10 to 30 percent in the period I considered, with an average throughout the period of 12.3 percent. However, as my analysis above shows, by tracing the experiences of each individual throughout their life, I found that there were far more cases than expected in which people lived in a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit. In each of five cases presented in this chapter, the percentages of individuals who had lived in such a family unit were 87.2, 64.3, 90.5, 34.8, and 47.8 percent.

³⁷ See for example Buck 1930: 326-332, Gamble 1954: 26, Freedman 1966: 43, Niida 1952: 17-18.

³⁸ This means “five generations living together in a compound.” The local gazetteers compiled in pre-modern China often showed that the people who realized a family unit on such a scale were given special recognition by the emperor.

Tracing the “Family”

Of course, with only these five cases, one cannot deny the possibility that I have selected by chance cases in which the ratio of people who experienced life in a collateral extended family is exceptionally high. Therefore, I should calculate the number of individuals who had lived in such a family unit at any stage of their lives (or, in the case of wives, after marrying into the lineage) for all the individuals included in the genealogical record, using the same method as that used in the above analyses. Table 3-25 resulted from this

Table 3-25. Lineage Members' experience of the collateral extended family type *jiazu* unit

(A) Male	276
(B) Female	191
(C) Sum (A+B)	467
(D) Total members*	881
ratio (C/D)%	53.0

*members whose data are complete only

calculation. It shows that 53.0 percent of all the individuals in this genealogical record experienced life in a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit at least once in their lifetime. This means that the five cases I discussed in detail in this chapter are not at all exceptional, and the members of “W” lineage who lived for some time in a family unit of that type cannot be taken as minor or exceptional cases.

The second problem in the argument regarding Chinese family structure is a more basic one that is related to the definition of “family.” When making a typology of the family, what is understood as “family” is always culturally influenced. As is clear in G. P. Murdock’s definition³⁹, those various typologies constructed in western social sciences, including cultural anthropology, also depend on western societies’ cultural image of the family. In western societies, co-residence, sharing of food and property, conjugal life, child rearing, and the sharing of the so-called intimacy zone are closely related to the image of the family. Consequently, such functional factors are repeatedly considered when defining the extent of a family unit in regard to other close relatives.

Even though it is usual that the “household” is clearly defined as different from the “family” as an academic term, the definition of “family” still often refers to functional factors such as constructing a household unit or being a unit that performs the major functions of a household, as distinguished from other close kin. However, this tendency seems to be a part of the cultural tradition in Western societies that supposes that the family is something closely related to the sphere of domestic life or the intimacy zone. Following this traditional logic, for example, the family of one’s married brother and that of oneself are considered different units, not a combined single unit, because in a generally accepted notion, they are thought to be independent entities as social units that separately maintain household budgets and rear their children. Here, the membership of a “family” is qualified by one’s sharing of a domestic sphere with its other members, and at the same

³⁹ “The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction.” [Murdock 1949: 1]

Tracing the “Family”

time it is through such sharing of the intimate domestic life that the extent of a family unit is defined. There is a kind of circular reasoning present here.

However, this is true only for the definition of “family” in Western societies. It is not necessarily so in other societies that have different cultural traditions; an in-group that is an individual’s closest social unit may not necessarily be defined in the same way as in Western societies. There is no logical reason to believe that they must be so everywhere. At least in pre-modern and early-modern Chinese society, the “family” seems to have been an apparently different thing from that conceived in Western societies because the fulfillment of social functions such as sharing residences and daily budget or the constituting an intimacy zone has nothing to do with the definition of the extent of the “family” there.

In Western societies, however, collateral extended family and the other family types are divided by the presence of cooperation in the daily dimension among its members. Therefore, if married siblings maintain cooperative relations in their daily living activities, such a social unit will be classified as a collateral extended family. Conversely, even when one has many married brothers and sisters, if they each live separately in their own domestic units and lack such cooperativeness, they can never be thought to compose that kind of family. The key factor that decides whether a family unit can be classified as a collateral extended family exists in daily functional affairs. However, in the pre-modern Chinese context, the defining factor of the “family” does not lie in these functional matters and the presence of cooperation and intimacy among members does not influence whether they can be called a “family,” even though it is sometimes a factor of secondary importance at most.

In the Chinese context, if one has parents and brothers still in one’s life, regardless of their residential pattern or their common budget for living, they are counted as family or *jiazu* members as a matter of course, and the form of the *jiazu* unit comprising these people can be nothing but a collateral extended family. However, if all members in older generations have already died or if parents have only one married son among their children, the unit is an elementary family or stem family. In short, following the definition of *jiazu* or family in the Chinese context, whether the family unit is a collateral extended family depends simply on whether a man has married brothers. The composition of a *jiazu* unit is determined automatically by the number of male siblings and their marital status, not by other functional factors.

It is for this reason that the term “*tongju tongcai*,” used synonymously with “collateral extended family” seems to be quite misleading. Regardless of being “*tongju tongcai*,” meaning “residence or property in common,” or “*fenju fencai*,” meaning “residence and property separated,” or something between these two statuses, the collateral extended family in the Chinese context can exist by itself. This means that if we want to discuss the frequency of this type of family composition, we must consider the forms of *jiazu* units, which were conceived as the closest in-group in the Chinese culturally-constructed grades of relatedness. Therefore, those researchers who tried to discuss the forms of Chinese families only from their functional aspects, such as cooperation or intimacy, actually did not discuss Chinese families.

Based on the consideration above, I can conclude that in my attempt to discuss the family using only materials extracted from the written genealogical records, which are usually believed to be very flat documents lacking any vivid descriptions of actual family life, I can find an important clue for understanding the nature of Chinese families. On a face-value overview, written genealogical records seem to contain only superficial and “too formal” information such as the dates of birth and death of each lineage member, their marital status, and the number of their sons. However, upon closer inspection, they reveal themselves to be documents in which the people who compiled them and who were recorded in them in every generation tried to identify their membership and mutual relationships according to their notion of “family.”

The most important point is that with a written genealogical record in hand, we are inclined to feel that it does not provide us with a clear image of the family unit in which they were living, and therefore we cannot understand the reality of their family life. Now, we have an opportunity to be aware of our tendency to think that genealogical document does not show us the reality of family life. This tendency seems to be a part of reflection of an a priori image of the family that is latent in our mind, in which we suppose a domestic and intimate social sphere to be the very essential factor of the family. We have to notice that this basic image of family might originate from our modern way of thinking, which is strongly influenced by Western values, and that it might therefore not necessarily be proper to use such thinking to interpret the thoughts and behavior of people who were not influenced by those values. Actually, written genealogical records show us a very clear image of families in the past, and through them we can understand their shape and the nature in detail.

Written genealogical records are social maps that show how people were related by patrilineal descent and conjugal ties, but they do not tell us what kind of cooperation existed among them or the affection and antagonism among them. The family, or at least the *jiazu* unit in past Chinese society, mainly comprised these structural ties, and the people who recorded the genealogies were actually living with these social relations. The genealogical or conjugal ties shown in written genealogical records in some occasions might function as guidelines for behavioral norms in real life, but not the reverse. That is, the structural order set by genealogical ties could not be influenced by their functions in real life. They were not conceived as belonging to the same epistemological order.

3-2 Widows in the Genealogy

3-2-1 Life-Stages of Married-in Women traced through the Genealogical Book

In this section, I analyze the lives of the married-in women described in the written genealogy of “W” lineage and reconstruct their life stages. In the previous section, I traced the changing family composition patterns among the members of “W” lineage from their written genealogy. I showed that those members who were fortunate enough to have many sons and grandsons and to enjoy a long life often realized large extended families comprising three or four generations. Among these large-scale families, we can also find

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considerable numbers of widows who survived their husbands and other senior male members of the family. In this section, I will focus on these widows and extract data on the lives of married-in women from the genealogy.

As stated in Chapter 2 (section 2-2-3), in the 390 years in which the genealogical book of “W” lineage was recorded, 438 of the lineage’s 595 male members married and 504 women married in as their wives⁴⁰. The data on the birth date of both wives and their husbands are available for 374 cases. Among these 374, the husband and his wife were born in the same year in 16.0 percent of cases and the husband was 1–4 years older than his wife in 38.0 percent of cases (see Fig. 2-15-1). The average age gap between a husband and his wife for these 374 cases is 1.3 years.

Because the genealogical book does not refer to the exact year of marriage for each couple, we can only estimate the wives’ ages when they married into the lineage. Though I generalized this in the previous section as 16 years old for all wives, we may obtain a slightly older estimate if we consider their average age when they bore their first son. Of the 266 wives whose year of birth was recorded in the genealogy and whose age at the birth of their first son was within the natural range of 16–40 years old, their average age when they bore their first son was 26.6. However, as the birth dates of only male members were recorded in the genealogy, we should estimate the average age of their first childbirth as younger than that because there would likely be as many cases in which the first-born child was a girl. Additionally, as we can suppose that it would usually take a few years to have the first child after marriage, it is reasonable to estimate the average age at marriage as around 20 years old.

Although I had to estimate when they married, we know the exact years of birth and death of most wives through the data recorded in the genealogy. The average age at death was 54.6, as shown in Chapter 2 (see Table 2-3 in section 2-2-1). Therefore, wives who married in at age 20 would have spent 34.6 years on average in “W” lineage as a wife of a male member. As shown in Table 2-3 above, these married-in wives’ average lifespan was shorter than that of the lineage’s male members by about 1.4 years. However, as married-in wives were younger than their husbands by 1.3 years on average, we can estimate that a wife survived her husband as often as a husband survived his wife.

Of the 504 wives who married into “W” lineage, we have complete data on the birth dates of the wives and their husbands for 361 cases. Among these 361, 41 wives were too young or too old at the birth of their first son⁴¹. Therefore, removing these unnatural cases, we obtain 320 cases that can be counted as variable cases for our consideration. Of these 320 wives, 137 (42.8 percent) survived their husbands. The detailed data of these 137 wives are shown in Table 3-26.

Their ages when they became widows are shown in Table 3-27; 35.0 percent

⁴⁰ This figure includes women married in as first wives (*yuanpei*), those who entered the lineage through their husbands’ remarriage (*xupe*), and those who became concubines of lineage members (*ceshi*).

⁴¹ Here, I consider those cases in which genealogical record shows that women gave birth to their first sons outside the age range of 16–40 years old as unnatural, and I detect the possibility of adoption.

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Table 3-26. Basic data on widows

Generation	Name	Age at the beginning of the Widowhood	Period of Widowhood	Duration (years)	Number of Real Sons	Number of Real and Adopted Sons
2	Kin Kai's Wife Wong	63	1551 ~ 1553	2	3	3
3	Ho Tang's Wife Wong	67	1581 ~ 1583	2	1	1
3	Ho Yip's Wife Wong Shi	61	1577 ~ 1580	3	1	1
3	Tsz Hong's Wife Lei	60	1612 ~ 1614	2	2	2
4	Mau Tat's Wife Ng Shi	67	1608 ~ 1609	1	1	1
4	Yue Kwan's Wife Yip	59	1668 ~ 1670	2	1	1
4	Tsam Tsoi's Wife Ng	58	1639 ~ 1642	3	2	2
4	Sz Yan's Wife Lok Shi	58	1645 ~ 1651	6	2	2
5	Hau Nim's Wife Lok Shi	59	1631 ~ 1632	1	1	1
5	Kwong Nim's Wife	62	1636 ~ 1639	3	1	1
5	Yuen Hon's Wife Cheng	56	1687 ~ 1691	4	3	3
5	Yuen Tseuk's Wife ?	67	1706 ~ 1709	3	0	0
5	Yuen Hang's Wife	61	1715 ~ 1717	2	1	1
5	Chi Chung's Wife Ho	47	1653 ~ 1658	5	0	1
5	Chi Wa's Wife Chan Shi	42	1646 ~ 1653	7	1	1
6	Yuk Kin's Wife Ho Shi	58	1660 ~ 1662	2	1	1
6	Chi Piu's Wife Chan	61	1733 ~ 1736	3	1	1
7	Shi Hung's Wife Yip Shi	58	1686 ~ 1688	2	3	3
7	Shi Mau's Wife Tsoi	63	1696 ~ 1698	2	3	3
7	Shi Chak's Wife Tsang	63	1700 ~ 1701	1	2	2
7	Wing Yuk's Wife Lai Shi	76	1750 ~ 1752	2	1	1
7	Wing Ning's Wife Tse	60	1757 ~ 1758	1	2	2
7	Wing Cheung's Wife	52	1753 ~ 1763	10	3	3
7	Wing Kei's Wife Lei Shi	55	1755 ~ 1764	9	1	1
7	Ying Po's Wife Tsoi Shi	52	1711 ~ 1721	10	1	1
7	Leung Pan's Wife Ng	56	1719 ~ 1720	1	2	2
7	Shung Man's Wife	51	1732 ~ 1744	12	2	2
7	Shung Yau's Wife Yuen	57	1739 ~ 1756	17	5	5
7	Shung Yue's Wife Hau	56	1749 ~ 1750	1	4	4
7	Shung Chung's Wife	53	1746 ~ 1755	9	2	2
8	Shung Pang's Wife	46	1706 ~ 1723	17	2	2
8	Hing Lung's Wife Loh	54	1745 ~ 1755	10	4	4
8	Fat Sun's Wife Tsang	67	1727 ~ 1728	1	1	1
8	Fat Leung's Wife Lam	58	1717 ~ 1722	5	0	1
8	Fat Lin's Wife Mok Shi	50	1753 ~ 1762	9	1	1
8	Hin Tak's Wife Ho Shi	55	1770 ~ 1778	8	1	1
8	Hin Ting's Wife Loh Shi	56	1777 ~ 1790	13	2	2
8	Hin Lam's Wife Kan Shi	44	1781 ~ 1816	35	1	1
8	Hin Tsuen's Wife Lau	62	1813 ~ 1820	7	1	1
8	Fat Tsun's Wife Yeung	64	1783 ~ 1785	2	3	3
8	Hin Mau's Wife Ng Shi	61	1782 ~ 1785	3	2	2
8	Fat Lung's Wife Yeung	65	1772 ~ 1774	2	2	2
8	Pong Yan's Wife Leung	60	1749 ~ 1750	1	0	2
8	Pong Shing's Wife	58	1754 ~ 1755	1	1	1
8	Pong Sau's Wife Tse	59	1775 ~ 1781	6	5	4
8	Pong Ping's Wife Yeung	63	1785 ~ 1789	4	3	3
8	Pong Sau's Wife Chan	68	1793 ~ 1800	7	1	1
8	Pong Wai's Wife Lau	51	1775 ~ 1784	9	3	2
8	Pong Tso's Wife Tang	62	1801 ~ 1813	12	0	1
8	Pong Kit's Wife Tsang	70	1797 ~ 1804	7	2	3
9	Lun Shing's Wife ? Shi	61	1753 ~ 1755	2	1	1
9	Lun Lin's Wife Lei Shi	69	1760 ~ 1761	1	1	1
9	Lun Kin's Wife Liu Shi	50	1764 ~ 1777	13	2	2
9	Cheung Kwong's Wife	62	1784 ~ 1793	9	3	3
9	Cheung Wing's Wife	69	1786 ~ 1789	3	2	2
9	Ming Tsun's Wife Ng	41	1765 ~ 1771	6	1	1
9	Wai Tat's Wife Wan Shi	61	1798 ~ 1813	15	0	1
9	Wai Shing's Wife Lok	63	1796 ~ 1803	7	2	1
9	Wai Cheung's Wife	43	1774 ~ 1787	13	1	1
9	Wai Chung's Wife Lei	52	1784 ~ 1793	9	1	1
9	Wai Put's Wife Tsang	61	1805 ~ 1807	2	1	1
9	Wai Fung's Wife Mok	55	1800 ~ 1808	8	3	3
9	Wai Fung's Wife Wan	50	1800 ~ 1838	38	3	3
9	Wai Lun's Wife Che Shi	50	1794 ~ 1815	21	2	2
9	Wai Ko's Wife Lei Shi	40	1788 ~ 1815	27	3	3
9	Wai Man's Wife Lau Shi	31	1789 ~ 1816	27	2	1
9	Wai Kwok's Wife Tsui	56	1823 ~ 1829	6	1	1
9	Wai Tung's Wife Tsang	39	1799 ~ 1800	1	0	0
9	Wai Fei's Wife Chan	49	1834 ~ 1838	4	3	2

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Generation	Name	Age at the beginning of the Widowhood	Period of Widowhood	Duration (years)	Number of Real Sons	Number of Real and Adopted Sons
9	Wai Sun's Wife	30	1802 ~ 1832	30	1	1
9	Wai Sheung's Wife	33	1794 ~ 1838	44	0	0
9	Wai Tak's Wife	63	1799 ~ 1810	11	3	3
9	Wai Tsun's Wife	59	1802 ~ 1816	14	1	1
9	Ting Cheung's	55	1778 ~ 1783	5	1	1
9	Wai Kwai's Wife	40	1766 ~ 1787	21	0	1
9	Hau Hong's Wife	71	1792 ~ 1801	9	4	3
9	Hau Shoon's Wife	40	1775 ~ 1805	30	3	2
9	Hau Cheung's	48	1795 ~ 1813	18	2	1
9	Hau Yue's Wife	55	1806 ~ 1811	5	0	1
9	Hau Chung's Wife	51	1777 ~ 1786	9	2	1
9	Hau Kwai's Wife	56	1797 ~ 1812	15	3	3
9	Hau Sik's Wife	54	1798 ~ 1805	7	2	2
9	Hau Tsoi's Wife	66	1816 ~ 1821	5	3	3
9	Shue Kwoon's	53	1790 ~ 1791	1	2	2
9	Wing Kwoon's	42	1786 ~ 1798	12	1	1
9	Yiu Kwoon's Wife	59	1804 ~ 1807	3	0	0
9	Wai Kwoon's Wife	37	1784 ~ 1804	20	1	1
9	Yan Kwoon's Wife	81	1827 ~ 1830	3	2	2
9	Ah On's Wife Soh	23	1799 ~ 1838	39	0	1
9	Ting Kwoon's Wife	40	1796 ~ 1833	37	1	1
10	Man Yuen's Wife	59	1779 ~ 1782	3	2	2
10	Man Yuen's Wife	54	1779 ~ 1789	10	2	2
10	Man Fo's Wife Lei	67	1824 ~ 1827	3	4	4
10	Man Mo's Wife	59	1788 ~ 1793	5	2	2
10	Lai Chiu's Wife	59	1810 ~ 1830	20	3	3
10	Lai Wai's Wife	60	1820 ~ 1827	7	1	1
10	Lai Tat's Wife	70	1818 ~ 1819	1	3	3
10	Lai Tsoi's Wife	64	1824 ~ 1833	9	0	0
10	Cheung Hei's Wife	27	1780 ~ 1814	34	1	1
10	Hong Hei's Wife	41	1798 ~ 1838	40	0	0
10	Tin Yuk's Wife	46	1801 ~ 1815	14	1	2
10	Tin Kin's Wife	36	1784 ~ 1832	48	1	1
10	Tin Sau's Wife	62	1828 ~ 1838	10	2	2
10	Tin Siu's Wife Ho	63	1814 ~ 1838	24	0	0
10	Tin Ho's Wife Ng	40	1796 ~ 1833	37	1	2
10	Tin Tso's Wife	63	1835 ~ 1838	3	3	2
10	Tin Kwai's Wife	54	1821 ~ 1838	17	2	1
10	Tin Hei's Wife	38	1821 ~ 1838	17	3	3
10	Tin Pat's Wife	52	1829 ~ 1838	9	3	2
10	Tin Kwong's Wife	41	1806 ~ 1836	30	2	1
10	Tin Fong's Wife	45	1806 ~ 1807	1	1	1
10	Tin Pong's Wife	47	1811 ~ 1832	21	2	1
10	Tin Fu's Wife	48	1791 ~ 1804	13	1	1
10	Tin Fat's Wife	60	1807 ~ 1832	25	2	2
10	Hei Hing's Wife	43	1794 ~ 1838	44	1	0
10	Hei Hing's Wife	43	1794 ~ 1817	23	1	0
10	Hei Fat's Wife Ho	29	1791 ~ 1838	47	0	1
10	Hei Fu's Wife	58	1806 ~ 1809	3	1	1
10	King Chau's Wife	53	1825 ~ 1838	13	2	1
10	Siu Chau's Wife	71	1832 ~ 1833	1	1	2
10	Chiu Chau's Wife	36	1804 ~ 1828	24	2	2
10	Tak Chau's Wife	31	1801 ~ 1838	37	2	2
10	Ping Chau's Wife	36	1813 ~ 1838	25	1	1
10	Kam Chau's Wife	47	1813 ~ 1833	20	3	3
10	Tsap Kin's Wife	43	1815 ~ 1838	23	1	1
10	Kwoon Kin's Wife	45	1834 ~ 1838	4	1	1
11	Ting Chin's Wife	50	1800 ~ 1804	4	0	1
11	Yuk Chin's Wife	53	1834 ~ 1835	1	2	2
11	Ying Yuen's Wife	43	1824 ~ 1838	14	1	1
11	Hin Kwong's Wife	42	1835 ~ 1838	3	2	2
11	Tai Kwong's Wife	36	1811 ~ 1828	17	1	1
11	Hing Kwong's Wife	61	1833 ~ 1834	1	4	3
11	Ping Kwong's Wife	32	1814 ~ 1838	24	0	0
11	Tsuen Wak's Wife	48	1832 ~ 1838	6	1	1
11	Tsuen Pan's Wife	53	1837 ~ 1838	1	2	3
11	Sai Cheung's Wife	32	1822 ~ 1838	16	2	2
12	Pong Hin's Wife	31	1831 ~ 1838	7	3	3

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Table 3-27. Age at the beginning of widowhood

Age	Cases	%
under 29	3	2.2
30~39	14	10.2
40~49	28	20.4
50~59	48	35.0
over 60	44	32.1

Table 3-28. Duration of widowhood

Duration (years)	Cases	%
~2	31	29.0
3~4	19	17.8
5~9	31	29.0
10~19	26	24.3
20~29	15	14.0
30~	15	14.0

became widows in their 50s and another 32.1 percent in their 60s. Only three wives entered widowhood under 29 years of age. The women became widows on average aged 53.0. The duration of their widowhood varied from 1 to 48 years and averaged 11.6 years⁴². Thirty-one women lived as widows for less than 2 years, but 56 survived their husbands for more than 10 years (Table 3-28). We can see that many wives survived their husbands for relatively long periods. Of course, this does not mean that all wives lived longer than their husbands because the wives' average lifespan was shorter than that of the lineage's male members, as shown above.

Table 3-29. Age at the beginning of widowerhood

Age at the Beginning	Cases	%
under 29	20	15.5
30~39	16	12.4
40~49	26	20.2
50~59	40	31.0
over 60	27	20.9

Table 3-30. Duration of widowerhood (per wife)

Duration (years)	Cases	%
less than 2	14	10.9
3~4	13	10.1
5~9	30	23.3
10~19	39	30.2
20~29	16	12.4
more than 30	17	13.2

For example, 129 of the 320 wives described previously (40.3 percent) died before their husbands⁴³. Husbands were aged from under 30 to over 60 when their wives died, with an average age of 47.5 (Table 3-29). The durations that they survived their wives were 10 to 19 years for 30.2 percent, 20 to 29 years for 12.4 percent, and over 30 years for 13.2 percent (Table 3-30). The average duration of widowerhood was 14.0 years. More than half of husbands experienced widowerhood.

However, duration of widowerhood measured in this manner does not reflect the real duration of many

husbands' widowerhood because many remarried after their first wife died. Of the 595 male members recorded in the genealogy, 399 records have complete essential data such as their and their wives' years of birth and death. After removing 11 examples that show some unnatural figures regarding age intervals with births of their sons, 388 samples remain as valuable examples for our analysis. Of these 388 male members, 98 husbands

⁴² This is Wei Sheung's wife Ng Shi, who is examined in section 3-2-2. She was possibly alive in 1838, when the recording of the genealogy ended. If that was the case, her widowhood would have lasted more than 44 years.

⁴³ Of the remaining 191 wives, 137 survived their husbands and 54 either died in the same year as their husbands or were still alive in 1838.

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(25.3 percent) remained widowers until their death and 31 remarried after their first wives died and died while their second or third wives were still alive (totaling the 129 husbands shown in Table 3-29)⁴⁴.

Table 3-31. Age at the beginning of widowerhood (per husband)

Age	Cases	%
under 29	6	6.1
30~39	9	9.2
40~49	20	20.4
50~59	37	37.8
over 60	26	26.5

Table 3-32. Duration of widowerhood (per husband)

Duration (years)	Cases	%
less than 2	14	10.9
3~4	13	10.1
5~9	29	22.5
10~19	32	24.8
20~29	8	6.2
more than 30	2	1.6

The ages of these 98 husbands when they became widowers are shown in Table 3-31. As we can see, 37.8 percent became widowers in their 50s, with an average age of 51.6 years. The average widowerhood lasted for 9.7 years (Table 3-32). Table 3-33 shows these 98 widowers' basic information such as their age when their widowerhood began, its duration, and the number of wives and sons they had in their life.

Furthermore, I summarize the major events in their lifetime (years of their birth, marriage, birth of their

first son, becoming the head of their own *jiazu* unit (*jiazhang*), death of their spouses, and their own death) in Tables 3-34 and 3-35. The years of their marriages are estimated because the genealogy does not refer to them, as mentioned previously. Although I estimated here that they married as soon as their wives reached 16 years old, as I already noted, their marriage might have occurred later than this. Therefore, this Table shows the earliest time when their marriage could occur. Other dates are traced directly from the genealogical book.

I classified the lineage's male members into three categories in Chapter 2 (section 2-2-2): A, meaning a head of his own *jiazu* unit, B, meaning a head of his own *fang* unit within his father's *jiazu* unit, and C, meaning an unmarried subordinate member who is not yet the head of his own *fang* unit. The term *jiazhang* corresponds to A as it is the structurally-defined head of the family (this does not depend on his actual ability to control other family members or manage the family budget). Men would achieve the status of *jiazhang* when all older male members had died. He would then become the head of his own *jiazu* unit, which might comprise his wife and children, and sometimes his sons' wives and his grandchildren.

If wives became widows, they were supposed to take the structural position as the oldest member of the *jiazu* unit after their husbands' death if he had achieved the position of *jiazhang* in his lifetime. This happened for 113 of the total 137 widows. Sixteen widows did not take this position because older members of their husbands' *jiazu* unit were still alive when their husbands died. They took this structural position later when the older members died. In the remaining eight cases, the older members remained alive throughout

⁴⁴ Divorces are not mentioned in the genealogical book. However, some widows remarried and left the lineage. Wives whose death was not recorded in the genealogy may have left the lineage through divorce or remarriage.

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their widowhood and they did not take that position (see Tables 3-34 and 3-36).

Of the 137 cases in which husbands were *jiazhang* when they died, 10 wives had no other family members. Eight of them had no sons before their husbands died and two others had a son who left the family through the adoption by other members of the lineage. I will discuss these cases in more detail in section 3-2-2 when discussing adoption and the succession of ancestor worship. Whether we can regard units comprising only a single widow as a *jiazu* depends on our definition of the *jiazu* unit.

Table 3-33. Basic data on widowers

Generation and Name	Age at the beginning of the Widowhood	Period of Widowhood	Duration (years)	Number of Real Sons	Number of Real and Adopted Sons
2 Tak Kai	58	1568 ~ 1596	28	2	2
3 Ho Kok	62	1581 ~ 1583	2	1	1
3 Yan Tim	58	1650 ~ 1651	1	1	1
3 Yan Yuet	52	1646 ~ 1655	9	1	1
4 Cheung Tat	67	1613 ~ 1615	2	1	1
4 So Tat	65	1614 ~ 1615	1	1	1
4 Yue Kin	47	1645 ~ 1659	14	1	1
4 Yue Nguk	58	1660 ~ 1666	6	1	1
4 Yue Sau	61	1673 ~ 1679	6	2	2
4 Yue Fu	52	1669 ~ 1680	11	1	1
4 Yue Fong	51	1672 ~ 1682	10	1	1
5 Yuk Nim	65	1642 ~ 1645	3	1	1
5 Yuen Kat	49	1673 ~ 1686	13	1	1
5 Yuen Ting	56	1691 ~ 1696	5	2	2
5 Yuen Tso	65	1707 ~ 1710	3	2	2
5 Yuen Tsoi	46	1693 ~ 1708	15	1	1
6 Yin Tseuk	58	1655 ~ 1667	12	1	1
6 Yue Kin	60	1662 ~ 1663	1	2	2
6 Chi Kai	62	1721 ~ 1723	2	1	1
6 Chi Lam	63	1730 ~ 1732	2	1	1
6 Chi Tsui	43	1712 ~ 1729	17	0	0
6 Chi Yue	54	1728 ~ 1737	9	2	2
6 Chi Fung	58	1727 ~ 1730	3	1	1
6 Chi Sheung	48	1717 ~ 1731	14	1	1
6 Ying Tou	46	1675 ~ 1682	7	1	1
6 Ying Lung	72	1714 ~ 1721	7	4	4
7 Wing Hak	40	1721 ~ 1742	21	2	2
7 Wing Yiu	59	1746 ~ 1754	8	4	4
7 Wing Wan	72	1771 ~ 1772	1	2	2
7 Wing Yin	40	1729 ~ 1751	22	2	2
7 Wan Pan	54	1707 ~ 1718	11	1	1
7 Tzs Pan	53	1712 ~ 1723	11	2	2
8 Shung Hak	70	1722 ~ 1727	5	1	1
8 Shung Kwai	62	1718 ~ 1723	5	1	1
8 Fat Sin	46	1715 ~ 1729	14	0	0
8 Hin Ying	58	1760 ~ 1764	4	1	1
8 Hin Tsing	56	1760 ~ 1765	5	1	1
8 Fat Yui	50	1753 ~ 1766	13	2	2
8 Fat Lin	52	1759 ~ 1767	8	1	1
8 Hin Hong	67	1765 ~ 1780	15	8	8
8 Hin Yuen	50	1780 ~ 1795	15	4	4
8 Hin Kat	36	1768 ~ 1778	10	0	0
8 Fat Tsan	51	1770 ~ 1780	10	2	2
8 Fat Tseung	58	1763 ~ 1765	2	3	3
8 Pong On	60	1746 ~ 1747	1	4	4
8 Pong Tsuen	50	1752 ~ 1759	7	1	1
8 Pong Mei	61	1758 ~ 1762	4	2	2
8 Png Cheung	60	1781 ~ 1783	2	0	0
8 Pong Sik	59	1785 ~ 1787	2	3	3

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Generation and Name	Age at the beginning of the Widowerhood	Period of Widowerhood	Duration (years)	Number of Real Sons	Number of Real and Adopted Sons
8 Pong Ying	61	1796 ~ 1807	11	2	2
9 Lun Yin	70	1768 ~ 1773	5	1	1
9 Cheung Yuen	48	1758 ~ 1764	6	2	2
9 Ming Kwong	63	1749 ~ 1754	5	2	2
9 Wai Kui	39	1763 ~ 1779	16	0	0
9 Wai Nang	46	1780 ~ 1787	7	2	2
9 Wai Tsoi	52	1790 ~ 1799	9	2	2
9 Wai Lung	59	1799 ~ 1802	3	3	3
9 Wai Tsin	41	1794 ~ 1819	25	1	1
9 Wai Ming	34	1797 ~ 1801	4	0	0
9 Wai Pan	42	1813 ~ 1816	3	1	1
9 Wai King	24	1785 ~ 1788	3	1	1
9 Ting Tsak	56	1781 ~ 1791	10	1	1
9 Ting Chung	59	1786 ~ 1788	2	1	1
9 Wai Leuk	60	1784 ~ 1803	19	2	2
9 Hau Pan	52	1758 ~ 1785	27	1	1
9 Hau Tsuen	23	1742 ~ 1762	20	1	1
9 Hau Cheuk	39	1766 ~ 1779	13	0	0
9 Luk Koon	21	1775 ~ 1788	13	1	1
9 Fei Koon	56	1814 ~ 1821	7	1	1
9 Chi Koon	60	1818 ~ 1821	3	2	2
10 Man Kui	63	1819 ~ 1826	7	3	3
10 Lai Yuk	40	1787 ~ 1803	16	0	0
10 Lai Yiu	63	1812 ~ 1813	1	0	0
10 Lai Ying	43	1789 ~ 1809	20	1	1
10 Shi Hei	49	1805 ~ 1818	13	0	0
10 Tin Shing	59	1814 ~ 1823	9	1	1
10 Tin Yiu	53	1823 ~ 1826	3	2	2
10 Tin Ho	30	1798 ~ 1833	35	1	1
10 Tin Shui	29	1819 ~ 1828	9		
10 Tin Tsit	59	1824 ~ 1838	14	3	3
10 Tin Fong	52	1798 ~ 1803	5	3	3
10 Tin Lan	54	1803 ~ 1812	9	0	0
10 Tin Yue	63	1814 ~ 1826	12	4	4
10 Hei Kwai	51	1800 ~ 1812	12	1	1
10 Hei Cheung	56	1816 ~ 1832	16	1	1
10 Hei Yau	63	1809 ~ 1818	9	0	0
10 Yuk Chau	39	1797 ~ 1813	16	1	1
10 Tsak Chau	58	1830 ~ 1838	8	1	1
10 Tsun Kin	48	1818 ~ 1838	20	4	4
10 Chong Kin	45	1831 ~ 1838	7	0	0
11 Kiu Chin	57	1830 ~ 1833	3	4	4
11 Hung Chin	23	1801 ~ 1833	32	2	2
11 Put Yuen	27	1812 ~ 1817	5	0	0
11 Shi Yuen	42	1824 ~ 1838	14	1	1
11 Wai Kwong	32	1814 ~ 1818	4	0	0
11 King Kwong	48	1832 ~ 1838	6	1	1
11 Tsun Kwong	35	1827 ~ 1838	11	0	0
12 Kei Po	30	1827 ~ 1838	11	2	2

The *jiazu* is a family unit comprising a father and his sons with subordinate members such as wives and unmarried daughters (Chih-nan Chen 2006: 173). According to this definition, a family unit in which only a single widow remains and all other male members have died cannot be regarded as a *jiazu* and the surviving widow cannot be regarded as a *jiazhang* even though she is the last remaining member. The genealogical book does not describe how these widows spent the rest of their lives in their husbands' lineage village, but they seemed to stay in the village until their death without remarrying into other lineages or returning to their natal village because their death dates were

Tracing the “Family”

recorded in the genealogy⁴⁵.

Table 3–34. Summary of widows' life stages

Generation & Name	(a):	(b):	(c):	(d):	(e):	(f):	Family Head at the beginning of Widowhood	Family Head later	Family Head never	Widowhood without Family
	Birth	Marriage*	Birth of First Son	Husband became Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood					
2 Kin Kai's Wife Wong Shi	1488	1504	1513	1542	1551	1553	✓			
3 Ho Tang's Wife Wong Shi	1514	1530	1541	1554	1581	1583	✓			
3 Ho Yip's Wife Wong Shi	1516	1532	1546	1554	1577	1580	✓			
3 Tsz Hong's Wife Lei Shi	1552	1568	1572	1597	1612	1614	✓			
4 Mau Tat's Wife Ng Shi	1541	1557	1572	1584	1608	1609	✓			
4 Yue Kwan's Wife Yip Shi	1609	1625	1635	1608	1668	1670		✓		
4 Tsam Tsoi's Wife Ng Shi	1581	1597	1605	1615	1639	1642	✓			
4 Sz Yan's Wife Lok Shi	1587	1603	1608	1615	1645	1651	✓			
5 Hau Nim's Wife Lok Shi	1572	1588	1597	1610	1631	1632	✓			
5 Kwong Nim's Wife Chan Shi	1574	1590	1602	1616	1636	1639	✓			
5 Yuen Hon's Wife Cheng Shi	1631	1647	1667	1667	1687	1691	✓			
5 Yuen Tseuk's Wife ? Shi	1639	1655		1680	1706	1709			✓	✓
5 Yuen Hang's Wife Cheng Shi	1654	1670	1671	1683	1715	1717	✓			
5 Chi Chung's Wife Ho Shi	1606	1622	1629	1638	1653	1658	✓			
5 Chi Wa's Wife Chan Shi	1604	1620	1633	1643	1646	1653	✓			
6 Yuk Kin's Wife Ho Shi	1602	1618	1634	1640	1660	1662	✓			
6 Chi Piu's Wife Chan Shi	1672	1688	1689	1718	1733	1736	✓			
7 Shi Hung's Wife Yip Shi	1628	1644	1646	1668	1686	1688	✓			
7 Shi Mau's Wife Tsoi Shi	1633	1649	1660	1664	1696	1698	✓			
7 Shi Chak's Wife Tsang Shi	1637	1653	1658	1664	1700	1701	✓			
7 Wing Yuk's Wife Lai Shi	1674	1690	1698		1750	1752	✓			
7 Wing Ning's Wife Tse Shi	1697	1713	1715	1738	1757	1758	✓			
7 Wing Cheung's Wife Tsui Shi	1701	1717	1730	1738	1753	1763	✓			
7 Wing Kei's Wife Lei Shi	1700	1716	1719	1732	1755	1764	✓			
7 Ying Po's Wife Tsoi Shi	1659	1675	1686	1693	1711	1721	✓			
7 Leung Pan's Wife Ng Shi	1663	1679	1693	1693	1719	1720	✓			
7 Shung Man's Wife Wong Shi	1681	1697	1716	1722	1732	1744	✓			
7 Shung Yau's Wife Yuen Shi	1682	1698	1718	1722	1739	1756	✓			
7 Shung Yue's Wife Hau Shi	1693	1709	1718	1722	1749	1750	✓			
7 Shung Chung's Wife Cheung Shi	1693	1709	1727	1722	1746	1755		✓		
8 Shung Pang's Wife Chan Shi	1660	1676	1691	1689	1706	1723		✓		
8 Hing Lung's Wife Loh Shi	1691	1707	1710	1702	1745	1755		✓		
8 Fat Sun's Wife Tsang Shi	1660	1676	1686	1699	1727	1728	✓			
8 Fat Leung's Wife Lam Shi	1659	1675	1696		1717	1722	✓			
8 Fat Lin's Wife Mok Shi	1703	1719	1733	1755	1753	1762	✓			
8 Hin Tak's Wife Ho Shi	1715	1731	1745	1755	1770	1778	✓			
8 Hin Ting's Wife Loh Shi	1721	1737	1759	1759	1777	1790	✓			
8 Hin Lam's Wife Kan Shi	1737	1753	1771	1759	1781	1816		✓		
8 Hin Tsuen's Wife Lau Shi	1751	1767	1787	1764	1813	1820		✓		
8 Fat Tsun's Wife Yeung Shi	1719	1735	1737	1773	1783	1785	✓			
8 Hin Mau's Wife Ng Shi	1721	1737	1744	1765	1782	1785	✓			
8 Fat Lung's Wife Yeung Shi	1707	1723	1724	1752	1772	1774	✓			
8 Pong Yan's Wife Leung Shi	1689	1705	1727	1724	1749	1750		✓		
8 Pong Shing's Wife Wong Shi	1696	1712	1727	1721	1754	1755		✓		
8 Pong Sau's Wife Tse Shi	1716	1732	1736	1745	1775	1781	✓			
8 Pong Ping's Wife Yeung Shi	1722	1738	1744	1757	1785	1789	✓			
8 Pong Sau's Wife Chan Shi	1725	1741	1748	1751	1793	1800	✓			
8 Pong Wai's Wife Lau Shi	1724	1740	1746	1751	1775	1784	✓			
8 Pong Tsoi's Wife Tang Shi	1739	1755	1775	1751	1801	1813		✓		
8 Pong Kit's Wife Tsang Shi	1727	1743	1757	1756	1797	1804		✓		
9 Lun Shing's Wife ? Shi	1692	1708	1719	1724	1753	1755	✓			
9 Lun Lin's Wife Lei Shi	1691	1707	1729	1728	1760	1761		✓		
9 Lun Kin's Wife Liu Shi	1714	1730	1754	1724	1764	1777	✓			
9 Cheung Kwong's Wife Fong Shi	1722	1738	1747	1756	1784	1793	✓			
9 Cheung Wing's Wife Tsoi Shi	1717	1733	1744	1756	1786	1789	✓			
9 Ming Tsun's Wife Ng Shi	1724	1740	1756	1744	1765	1771		✓		
9 Wai Tat's Wife Wan Shi	1737	1753	1759	1765	1798	1813	✓			
9 Wai Shing's Wife Lok Shi	1733	1749	1752	1766	1796	1803	✓			
9 Wai Cheung's Wife Cheng Shi	1731	1747	1748	1767	1774	1787	✓			
9 Wai Chung's Wife Lei Shi	1732	1748	1751	1768	1784	1793	✓			
9 Wai Put's Wife Tsang Shi	1744	1760		1779	1805	1807			✓	
9 Wai Fung's Wife Mok Shi	1745	1761	1773	1781	1800	1808	✓			
9 Wai Fung's Wife Wan Shi	1750	1766	1773	1781	1800	1838	✓			
9 Wai Lun's Wife Che Shi	1744	1760	1768	1781	1794	1815	✓			
9 Wai Ko's Wife Lei Shi	1748	1764	1776	1781	1788	1815	✓			
9 Wai Man's Wife Lau Shi	1758	1774		1781	1789	1816			✓	
9 Wai Kwok's Wife Tsui Shi	1767	1783		1791	1823	1829			✓	
9 Wai Tung's Wife Tsang Shi	1760	1776		1796	1799	1800			✓	✓
9 Wai Fei's Wife Chan Shi	1785	1801		1796	1834	1838			✓	
9 Wai Sun's Wife Chan Shi	1772	1788		1796	1802	1832			✓	
9 Wai Sheung's Wife Ng Shi	1761	1777		1779	1794	1838			✓	✓
9 Wai Tak's Wife Tsang Shi	1736	1752	1759	1786	1799	1810	✓			
9 Wai Tsun's Wife Tsoi Shi	1743	1759	1764	1786	1802	1816	✓			
9 Ting Cheung's Wife Tsoi Shi	1723	1739	1746	1766	1778	1783	✓			

⁴⁵ Among the cases shown below, there was no record of the death of Fei Hing's wife Ng Shi. This is likely because she was still alive in 1838, but it is equally possible that she left the lineage through remarriage.

Tracing the "Family"

Generation & Name	(a): Birth	(b): Marriage*	(c): Birth of First Son	(d): Husband became Family Head	(e): Beginning of Widowhood	(f): Death	Family Head at the beginning of Widowhood	Family Head later	Family Head never	Widowhood without Family
9 Wai Kwai's Wife Wan Shi	1726	1742	1751	1775	1766	1787	✓			
9 Hau Hong's Wife Lam Shi	1721	1737	1746	1739	1792	1801		✓		
9 Hau Shoon's Wife Tsang Shi	1735	1751	1760	1748	1775	1805		✓		
9 Hau Cheung's Wife Tse Shi	1747	1763		1748	1795	1813			✓	
9 Hau Yue's Wife Cheung Shi	1751	1767	1777	1748	1806	1811		✓		
9 Hau Chung's Wife Tse Shi	1726	1742	1758	1751	1777	1786		✓		
9 Hau Kwai's Wife Tse Shi	1741	1757	1765	1760	1797	1812		✓		
9 Hau Sik's Wife Cheung Shi	1744	1760	1763	1763	1798	1805	✓			
9 Hau Tsoi's Wife Ho Shi	1750	1766		1763	1816	1821			✓	
9 Shue Kwoon's Wife Leung Shi	1737	1753	1760	1782	1790	1791	✓			
9 Wing Kwoon's Wife Ng Shi	1744	1760		1782	1786	1798			✓	
9 Yiu Kwoon's Wife Yuen Shi	1745	1761		1782	1804	1807			✓	
9 Wai Kwoon's Wife Mak Shi	1747	1763	1771	1790	1784	1804	✓			✓
9 Yan Kwoon's Wife Lai Shi	1746	1762	1781	1801	1827	1830	✓			
9 Ah On's Wife Soh Shi	1776	1792	1794	1814	1799	1838	✓			
9 Ting Kwoon's Wife Ng Shi	1756	1772	1786	1805	1796	1833	✓			
10 Man Yuen's Wife Wong Shi	1756	1772	1786	1805	1796	1833	✓			
10 Man Yuen's Wife Chan Shi	1720	1736		1756	1779	1782			✓	
10 Man Fo's Wife Lei Shi	1725	1741		1756	1779	1789			✓	
10 Man Mo's Wife Leung Shi	1757	1773	1773	1774	1824	1827	✓			
10 Lai Chiu's Wife Tsoi Shi	1729	1745	1751	1762	1788	1793	✓			
10 Lai Wai's Wife Yuen Shi	1751	1767	1772	1765	1810	1830		✓		
10 Lai Tat's Wife Wan Shi	1760	1776	1796	1787	1820	1827		✓		
10 Lai Tsoi's Wife Tsoi Shi	1748	1764	1772	1790	1818	1819	✓			✓
10 Cheung Hei's Wife Lok Shi	1760	1776		1803	1824	1833			✓	
10 Hong Hei's Wife Tsoi Shi	1753	1769		1755	1780	1814			✓	✓
10 Tin Yuk's Wife Tsoi Shi	1757	1773		1755	1798	1838			✓	
10 Tin Kin's Wife Mok Shi	1755	1771	1782	1804	1801	1815	✓			
10 Tin Sau's Wife Wong Shi	1748	1764	1773	1788	1784	1832	✓			
10 Tin Siu's Wife Ho Shi	1766	1782	1798	1805	1828	1838	✓			✓
10 Tin Ho's Wife Ng Shi	1751	1767		1794	1814	1838			✓	
10 Tin Tso's Wife Loh Shi	1772	1788	1803	1800	1835	1838		✓		
10 Tin Kwai's Wife Lam Shi	1767	1783	1797	1803	1821	1838	✓			
10 Tin Hei's Wife Tsang Shi	1783	1799	1808	1816	1821	1838	✓			
10 Tin Pat's Wife Yeung Shi	1777	1793	1808	1816	1829	1838	✓			
10 Tin Kwong's Wife Tsoi Shi	1765	1781	1790	1811	1806	1836	✓			
10 Tin Fong's Wife Ng Shi	1761	1777	1793		1806	1807	✓			
10 Tin Pong's Wife Tsui Shi	1764	1780	1795	1817	1811	1832	✓			
10 Tin Fu's Wife Tsang Shi	1743	1759	1764	1789	1791	1804	✓			
10 Tin Fat's Wife Wan Shi	1747	1763	1771	1804	1807	1832	✓			
10 Hei Hing's Wife Ng Shi	1751	1767		1802	1794	1838			✓	✓
10 Hei Hing's Wife Loh Shi	1751	1767		1802	1794	1817			✓	✓
10 Hei Fat's Wife Ho Shi	1762	1778	1789	1802	1791	1838	✓			
10 Hei Fu's Wife Chan Shi	1748	1764	1783	1746	1806	1809		✓		
10 King Chau's Wife Ng Shi	1772	1788	1802	1806	1825	1838	✓			
10 Siu Chau's Wife Lam Shi	1761	1777	1791	1787	1832	1833		✓		
10 Chiu Chau's Wife Loh Shi	1768	1784	1793	1813	1804	1828	✓			
10 Tak Chau's Wife Lam Shi	1770	1786	1797	1813	1801	1838	✓			
10 Ping Chau's Wife Ng Shi	1777	1793	1807	1813	1813	1838	✓			
10 Kam Chau's Wife Lei Shi	1766	1782	1792	1806	1813	1833	✓			
10 Tsap Kin's Wife Wong Shi	1772	1788	1805	1805	1815	1838	✓			
10 Kwoon Kin's Wife Yuen Shi	1789	1805			1834	1838	✓		✓	
11 Ting Chin's Wife Wan Shi	1750	1766		1794	1800	1804			✓	
11 Yuk Chin's Wife Leung Shi	1781	1797	1812	1794	1834	1835		✓		
11 Ying Yuen's Wife Leung Shi	1781	1797	1806	1820	1824	1838	✓			
11 Hin Kwong's Wife Loh Shi	1793	1809	1817		1835	1838	✓			
11 Tai Kwong's Wife Lei Shi	1775	1791	1798	1805	1811	1828	✓			
11 Hing Kwong's Wife Hui Shi	1772	1788	1793		1833	1834	✓			
11 Ping Kwong's Wife Lau Shi	1782	1798		1827	1814	1838			✓	✓
11 Tsuen Wak's Wife Fung Shi	1784	1800	1813	1786	1832	1838		✓		
11 Tsuen Pan's Wife Cheung Shi	1784	1800	1812		1837	1838	✓			
11 Sai Cheung's Wife Lei Shi	1790	1806	1810	1814	1822	1838	✓			
12 Pong Hin's Wife Ng Shi	1800	1816	1821		1831	1838	✓			
Total							113	16	8	10

*All wives are supposed to have married in their age of 16 years old here.

Table 3-35. Summary of widowers' life stages

Generation & Name	(a): Birth	(b): Marriage*	(c): Birth of First Son	(d): Family Head	(e): Beginning of Widowhood	(f): Death
2 Tak Kai	1510	1525	1549	1542	1568	1596
3 Ho Kok	1519	1534	1549	1554	1581	1583
3 Yan Tim	1592	1610	1617	1592	1650	1651
3 Yan Yuet	1594	1612	1621	1594	1646	1655
4 Cheung Tat	1546	1563	1573	1581	1613	1615
4 So Tat	1549	1565	1577	1584	1614	1615
4 Yue Kin	1598	1613	1624	1598	1645	1659
4 Yue Nguk	1602	1620	1630	1602	1660	1666
4 Yue Sau	1612	1628	1639	1630	1673	1679
4 Yue Fu	1617	1634	1647	1652	1669	1680

Tracing the "Family"

Generation & Name	(a): Birth	(b): First Marriage*	(c): Birth of First Son	(d): Family Head	(e): Beginning of Widowhood	(f): Death
4 Yue Fong	1621	1635	1653	1656	1672	1682
5 Yuk Nim	1577	1594	1602	1616	1642	1645
5 Yuen Kat	1624	1642	1659	1660	1673	1686
5 Yuen Ting	1635	1651	1672	1671	1691	1696
5 Yuen Tso	1642	1660	1666	1680	1707	1710
5 Yuen Tsoi	1647	1664	1669	1681	1693	1708
6 Yin Tseuk	1597	1613	1627	1633	1655	1667
6 Yue Kin	1602	1620	1632	1646	1662	1663
6 Chi Kai	1659	1676	1681	1687	1721	1723
6 Chi Lam	1667	1685	1687	1692	1730	1732
6 Chi Tsui	1669	1688		1692	1712	1729
6 Chi Yue	1674	1689	1691	1697	1728	1737
6 Chi Fung	1669	1686	1699	1711	1727	1730
6 Chi Sheung	1669	1684	1698	1709	1717	1731
6 Ying Tou	1629	1648	1653	1659	1675	1682
6 Ying Lung	1642	1662	1671	1654	1714	1721
7 Wing Hak	1681	1697	1702	1724	1721	1742
7 Wing Yiu	1687	1701	1703	1733	1746	1754
7 Wing Wan	1699	1717	1719	1731	1771	1772
7 Wing Yin	1689	1703	1705	1737	1729	1751
7 Wan Pan	1653	1668	1681	1683	1707	1718
7 Tzs Pan	1659	1678	1686	1693	1712	1723
8 Shung Hak	1652	1668	1691	1689	1722	1727
8 Shung Kwai	1656	1684	1713	1689	1718	1723
8 Fat Sin	1669	1688		1699	1715	1729
8 Hin Ying	1702	1716	1731	1743	1760	1764
8 Hin Tsing	1704	1721	1733	1743	1760	1765
8 Fat Yui	1703	1718	1724	1755	1753	1766
8 Fat Lin	1707	1723	1729	1755	1759	1767
8 Hin Hong	1698	1725	1734	1757	1765	1780
8 Hin Yuen	1730	1754	1758	1764	1780	1795
8 Hin Kat	1732	1750	1760	1764	1768	1778
8 Fat Tsan	1719	1734	1736	1773	1770	1780
8 Fat Tseung	1705	1718	1723	1752	1763	1765
8 Pong On	1686	1712	1730	1722	1746	1747
8 Pong Tsuen	1702	1723	1741	1724	1752	1759
8 Pong Mei	1697	1719	1736	1721	1758	1762
8 Png Cheung	1721	1738	1754	1745	1781	1783
8 Pong Sik	1726	1741	1740	1757	1785	1787
8 Pong Ying	1735	1753	1758	1757	1796	1807
9 Lun Yin	1698	1724	1746	1724	1768	1773
9 Cheung Yuen	1710	1730	1749	1756	1758	1764
9 Ming Kwong	1686	1705	1737	1729	1749	1754
9 Wai Kui	1724	1743		1767	1763	1779
9 Wai Nang	1734			1781	1780	1787
9 Wai Tsoi	1738	1755	1767	1781	1790	1799
9 Wai Lung	1740	1758	1768	1781	1799	1802
9 Wai Tsin	1753	1768	1789	1781	1794	1819
9 Wai Ming	1763	1779		1791	1797	1801
9 Wai Pan	1771	1789	1790		1813	1816
9 Wai King	1761	1778	1793	1786	1785	1788
9 Ting Tsak	1725	1740	1749	1766	1781	1791
9 Ting Chung	1727	1742	1744	1766	1786	1788
9 Wai Leuk	1724		1745	1775	1784	1803
9 Hau Pan	1706	1721	1725	1739	1758	1785
9 Hau Tsuen	1719	1734	1760	1739	1742	1762
9 Hau Cheuk	1727	1745	1761	1751	1766	1779
9 Luk Koon	1754	1770	1770	1784	1775	1788
9 Fei Koon	1758	1779	1792	1808	1814	1821
9 Chi Koon	1758	1783	1790	1785	1818	1821
10 Man Kui	1756	1773		1778	1819	1826
10 Lai Yuk	1747	1763	1793	1794	1787	1803
10 Lai Yiu	1749	1761		1794	1812	1813
10 Lai Ying	1746	1766	1777	1803	1789	1809
10 Shi Hei	1756	1775		1772	1805	1818
10 Tin Shing	1755	1773		1805	1814	1823
10 Tin Yiu	1770	1785	1804	1803	1823	1826
10 Tin Ho	1768	1773	1790	1816	1798	1833
10 Tin Shui	1790	1807		1817	1819	1828
10 Tin Tsit	1765	1784	1794	1811	1824	1838

Tracing the “Family”

Generation & Name	(a): Birth	(b): First Marriage*	(c): Birth of First Son	(d): Family Head	(e): Beginning of Widowhood	(f): Death
10 Tin Fong	1746	1763		1784	1798	1803
10 Tin Lan	1749	1764	1768	1792	1803	1812
10 Tin Yue	1751	1771	1781	1788	1814	1826
10 Hei Kwai	1749	1773	1792	1761	1800	1812
10 Hei Cheung	1760	1776	1788	1763	1816	1832
10 Hei Yau	1746	1760	1783	1802	1809	1818
10 Yuk Chau	1758	1775	1789	1780	1797	1813
10 Tsak Chau	1772	1789		1803	1830	1838
10 Tsun Kin	1770	1789	1796	1789	1818	1838
10 Chong Kin	1786	1803			1831	1838
11 Kiu Chin	1773	1788	1793	1828	1830	1833
11 Hung Chin	1778	1792	1798	1828	1801	1833
11 Put Yuen	1785	1801			1812	1817
11 Shi Yuen	1782		1813	1820	1824	1838
11 Wai Kwong	1782	1800		1816	1814	1818
11 King Kwong	1784	1797	1815	1827	1832	1838
11 Tsun Kwong	1792	1813		1827	1827	1838
12 Kei Po	1797	1815			1827	1838

*All husbands are supposed to have married when their first wives were 16 years old here.

Table 3-36. Widows in a position of genealogical apex in their family units

Time of its achievement	cases
at the beginning of widowhood (include 10 solitary widows)	113
later in lifetime	16
never in lifetime	8
total	138

In this section, I extracted data from the genealogical book of “W” lineage on widows and widowers to compare them and tried to trace their changing statuses throughout their lives as far as possible. In the next section, I will examine individual cases of such widows’ life stages in detail based on the analysis above.

3-2-2 Case Studies of Widows’ Life Stages

In the previous section, I extracted data on widow’s life stages from the genealogy document of “W” lineage. The writer of the genealogy recorded only such matters as the surname of their natal family, their husbands’ name, their marriage status (wives or concubines), the dates of their birth and death, the number and the names of their sons⁴⁶, and the location of their tombs. It was usual that even those data were incomplete. However, we can reconstruct the outlines of their life stages by combining them with information about their husbands. From this, we can discover the major events in their lives such as their birth, marriage, sons’ births, husbands’ deaths, and so on from the genealogical descriptions. Based on these, I illustrate their life stages in Fig. 3-19. The ◆ symbol marks their births, pale gray bars show the period from their marriages to the births of their first sons, dark gray bars show the stage as mothers until their husbands’ deaths, and black bars show their widowhood. I show here only a selection of the total

⁴⁶ We can only speculate which woman was the real mother of each son if a male member had two or more spouses.

Tracing the “Family”

samples.

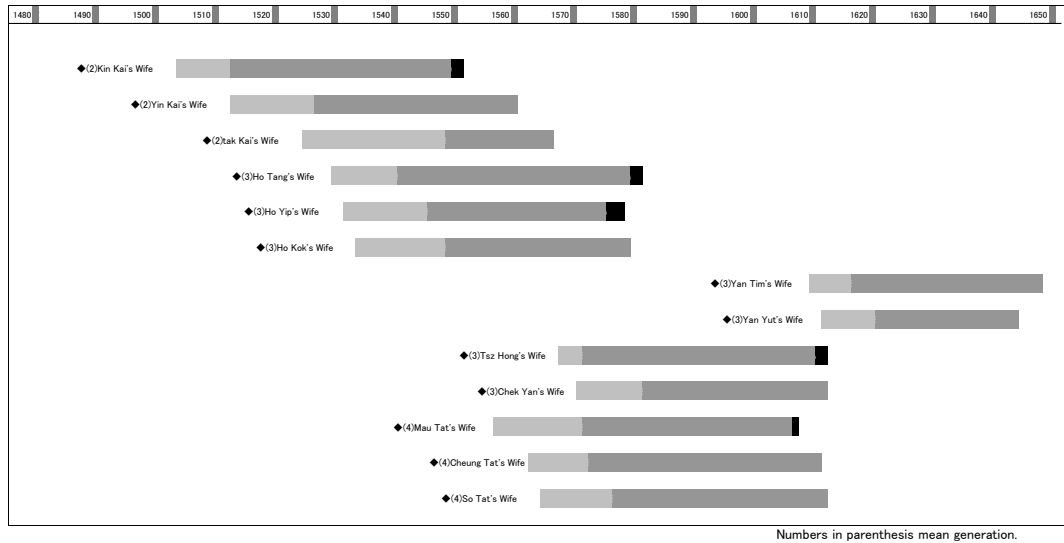


Fig. 3-19. Sample of wives' life stages

One hundred thirty-seven of the wives who married into “W” lineage in the period through which the genealogy was recorded experienced widowhood. I extracted as much data as possible on these women to create Table 3-34. I calculated the average lengths of each of life stage based on these data. Their average ages when they bore their first son, when their husbands became the head of their *jiazu* unit, when their husbands died, and when they died were 26.5, 32.9, 53.0, and 64.6, respectively (Table 3-37).

Table 3-37. Average life stages of widows

Generation & Name	(a):	(b):	(c):	(d):	(e):	(f):	Age at the	Age at the	Age at the	Age at the	Duration of
	Birth	Marriage*	Birth of First Son	Husband became Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	First son's Birth (c) - (a)	Time Husband became the Family Head (d) - (a)	Beginning of Widowhood (e) - (a)	the Death (f) - (a)	Widowhood (f) - (e)
2 Kin Kai's Wife Wong Shi	1488	1504	1513	1542	1551	1553	25	54	63	65	2
3 Ho Tang's Wife Wong Shi	1514	1530	1541	1554	1581	1583	27	40	67	69	2
3 Ho Yip's Wife Wong Shi	1516	1532	1546	1554	1577	1580	30	38	61	64	3
3 Tsz Hong's Wife Lei Shi	1552	1568	1572	1597	1612	1614	20	45	60	62	2
4 Mau Tat's Wife Ng Shi	1541	1557	1572	1584	1608	1609	31	43	67	68	1
4 Yue Kwan's Wife Yip Shi	1609	1625	1635	1608	1668	1670	26	-1	59	61	2
4 Tsam Tsoi's Wife Ng Shi	1581	1597	1605	1615	1639	1642	24	34	58	61	3
4 Sz Yan's Wife Lok Shi	1587	1603	1608	1615	1645	1651	21	28	58	64	6
5 Hau Nim's Wife Lok Shi	1572	1588	1597	1610	1631	1632	25	38	59	60	1
5 Kwong Nim's Wife Chan Shi	1574	1590	1602	1616	1636	1639	28	42	62	65	3
5 Yuen Hon's Wife Cheng Shi	1631	1647	1667	1667	1687	1691	36	36	56	60	4
5 Yuen Tseuk's Wife ? Shi	1639	1655		1680	1706	1709		41	67	70	3
5 Yuen Hang's Wife Cheng Shi	1654	1670	1671	1683	1715	1717	17	29	61	63	2
5 Chi Chung's Wife Ho Shi	1606	1622	1629	1638	1653	1658	23	32	47	52	5
5 Chi Wa's Wife Chan Shi	1604	1620	1633	1643	1646	1653	29	39	42	49	7
6 Yuk Kin's Wife Ho Shi	1602	1618	1634	1640	1660	1662	32	38	58	60	2
6 Chi Piu's Wife Chan Shi	1672	1688	1689	1718	1733	1736	17	46	61	64	3
7 Shi Hung's Wife Yip Shi	1628	1644	1646	1668	1686	1688	18	40	58	60	2
7 Shi Mau's Wife Tsoi Shi	1633	1649	1660	1664	1696	1698	27	31	63	65	2
7 Shi Chak's Wife Tsang Shi	1637	1653	1658	1664	1700	1701	21	27	63	64	1
7 Wing Yuk's Wife Lai Shi	1674	1690	1698		1750	1752	24		76	78	2
7 Wing Ning's Wife Tse Shi	1697	1713	1715	1738	1757	1758	18	41	60	61	1
7 Wing Cheung's Wife Tsui Shi	1701	1717	1730	1738	1753	1763	29	37	52	62	10
7 Wing Kei's Wife Lei Shi	1700	1716	1719	1732	1755	1764	19	32	55	64	9
7 Ying Po's Wife Tsoi Shi	1659	1675	1686	1693	1711	1721	27	34	52	62	10
7 Leung Pan's Wife Ng Shi	1663	1679	1693	1693	1719	1720	30	30	56	57	1
7 Shung Man's Wife Wong Shi	1681	1697	1716	1722	1732	1744	35	41	51	63	12
7 Shung Yau's Wife Yuen Shi	1682	1698	1718	1722	1739	1756	36	40	57	74	17
7 Shung Yue's Wife Hau Shi	1693	1709	1718	1722	1749	1750	25	29	56	57	1
7 Shung Chung's Wife Cheung	1693	1709	1727	1722	1746	1755	34	29	53	62	9
8 Shung Pang's Wife Chan Shi	1660	1676	1691	1689	1706	1723	31	29	46	63	17
8 Hing Lung's Wife Loh Shi	1691	1707	1710	1702	1745	1755	19	11	54	64	10

Tracing the "Family"

Generation & Name	(a): Birth	(b): Marriage*	(c): Birth of First Son	(d): Husband became Family Head	(e): Beginning of Widowhood	(f): Death	Age at the First son's Birth	Age at the Time Husband became the Family Head	Age at the Beginning of Widowhood	Age at the Death	Duration of Widowhood
							(c) - (a)	(d) - (a)	(e) - (a)	(f) - (a)	(f) - (e)
8 Fat Sun's Wife Tsang Shi	1660	1676	1686	1699	1727	1728	26	39	67	68	1
8 Fat Leung's Wife Lam Shi	1659	1675	1696		1717	1722	37		58	63	5
8 Fat Lin's Wife Mok Shi	1703	1719	1733	1755	1753	1762	30	52	50	59	9
8 Hin Tak's Wife Ho Shi	1715	1731	1745	1755	1770	1778	30	40	55	63	8
8 Hin Ting's Wife Loh Shi	1721	1737	1759	1759	1777	1790	38	38	56	69	13
8 Hin Lam's Wife Kan Shi	1737	1753	1771	1759	1781	1816	34	22	44	79	35
8 Hin Tsuen's Wife Lau Shi	1751	1767	1787	1764	1813	1820	36	13	62	69	7
8 Fat Tsun's Wife Yeung Shi	1719	1735	1737	1773	1783	1785	18	54	64	66	2
8 Hin Lau's Wife Ng Shi	1721	1737	1744	1765	1782	1785	23	44	61	64	3
8 Fat Lung's Wife Yeung Shi	1707	1723	1724	1752	1772	1774	17	45	65	67	2
8 Pong Yan's Wife Leung Shi	1689	1705	1727	1724	1749	1750	38	35	60	61	1
8 Pong Shing's Wife Wong Shi	1696	1712	1727	1721	1754	1755	31	25	58	59	1
8 Pong Sau's Wife Tse Shi	1716	1732	1736	1745	1775	1781	20	29	59	65	6
8 Pong Ping's Wife Yeung Shi	1722	1738	1744	1757	1785	1789	22	35	63	67	4
8 Pong Sau's Wife Chan Shi	1725	1741	1748	1751	1793	1800	23	26	68	75	7
8 Pong Wai's Wife Lau Shi	1724	1740	1746	1751	1775	1784	22	27	51	60	9
8 Pong Tso's Wife Tang Shi	1739	1755	1775	1751	1801	1813	36	12	62	74	12
8 Pong Kit's Wife Tsang Shi	1727	1743	1757	1756	1797	1804	30	29	70	77	7
9 Lun Shing's Wife ? Shi	1692	1708	1719	1724	1753	1755	27	32	61	63	2
9 Lun Lin's Wife Lei Shi	1691	1707	1729	1728	1760	1761	38	37	69	70	1
9 Lun Kin's Wife Liu Shi	1714	1730	1754	1724	1764	1777	40	10	50	63	13
9 Cheung Kwong's Wife Fong Shi	1722	1738	1747	1756	1784	1793	25	34	62	71	9
9 Cheung Wing's Wife Tsoi Shi	1717	1733	1744	1756	1786	1789	27	39	69	72	3
9 Ming Tsun's Wife Ng Shi	1724	1740	1756	1744	1765	1771	32	20	41	47	6
9 Wai Tat's Wife Wan Shi	1737	1753	1759	1765	1798	1813	22	28	61	76	15
9 Wai Shing's Wife Lok Shi	1733	1749	1752	1766	1796	1803	19	33	63	70	7
9 Wai Cheung's Wife Cheng Shi	1731	1747	1748	1767	1774	1787	17	36	43	56	13
9 Wai Chung's Wife Lei Shi	1732	1748	1751	1768	1784	1793	19	36	52	61	9
9 Wai Put's Wife Tsang Shi	1744	1760		1779	1805	1807		35	61	63	2
9 Wai Fung's Wife Mok Shi	1745	1761	1773	1781	1800	1808	28	36	55	63	8
9 Wai Fung's Wife Wan Shi	1750	1766	1773	1781	1800	1838	23	31	50	88	38
9 Wai Lun's Wife Che Shi	1744	1760	1768	1781	1794	1815	24	37	50	71	21
9 Wai Ko's Wife Lei Shi	1748	1764	1776	1781	1788	1815	28	33	40	67	27
9 Wai Man's Wife Lau Shi	1758	1774		1781	1789	1816		23	31	58	27
9 Wai Kwok's Wife Tsui Shi	1767	1783		1791	1823	1829		24	56	62	6
9 Wai Tung's Wife Tsang Shi	1760	1776		1796	1799	1800		36	39	40	1
9 Wai Fei's Wife Chan Shi	1785	1801		1796	1834	1838		11	49	53	4
9 Wai Sun's Wife Chan Shi	1772	1788		1796	1802	1832		24	30	60	30
9 Wai Sheung's Wife Ng Shi	1761	1777		1779	1794	1838		18	33	77	44
9 Wai Tak's Wife Tsang Shi	1736	1752	1759	1786	1799	1810	23	50	63	74	11
9 Wai Tsun's Wife Tsoi Shi	1743	1759	1764	1786	1802	1816	21	43	59	73	14
9 Ting Cheung's Wife Tsoi Shi	1723	1739	1746	1766	1778	1783	23	43	55	60	5
9 Wai Kwai's Wife Wan Shi	1726	1742	1751	1775	1766	1787	25	49	40	61	21
9 Hau Hong's Wife Lam Shi	1721	1737	1746	1739	1792	1801	25	18	71	80	9
9 Hau Shoon's Wife Tsang Shi	1735	1751	1760	1748	1775	1805	25	13	40	70	30
9 Hau Cheung's Wife Tse Shi	1747	1763		1748	1795	1813		1	48	66	18
9 Hau Yue's Wife Cheung Shi	1751	1767	1777	1748	1806	1811	26	-3	55	60	5
9 Hau Chung's Wife Tse Shi	1726	1742	1758	1751	1777	1786	32	25	51	60	9
9 Hau Kwai's Wife Tse Shi	1741	1757	1765	1760	1797	1812	24	19	56	71	15
9 Hau Sik's Wife Cheung Shi	1744	1760	1763	1763	1798	1805	19	19	54	61	7
9 Hau Tsoi's Wife Ho Shi	1750	1766		1763	1816	1821		13	66	71	5
9 Shue Kwoon's Wife Leung Shi	1737	1753	1760	1782	1790	1791	23	45	53	54	1
9 Wing Kwoon's Wife Ng Shi	1744	1760		1782	1786	1798		38	42	54	12
9 Yiu Kwoon's Wife Yuen Shi	1745	1761		1782	1804	1807		37	59	62	3
9 Wai Kwoon's Wife Mak Shi	1747	1763	1771	1790	1784	1804	24	43	37	57	20
9 Yan Kwoon's Wife Lai Shi	1746	1762	1781	1801	1827	1830	35	55	81	84	3
9 Ah On's Wife Soh Shi	1776	1792	1794	1814	1799	1838	18	38	23	62	39
9 Ting Kwoon's Wife Ng Shi	1756	1772	1786	1805	1796	1833	30	49	40	77	37
10 Man Yuen's Wife Wong Shi	1756	1772	1786	1805	1796	1833		36	59	62	3
10 Man Yuen's Wife Chan Shi	1720	1736		1756	1779	1782		31	54	64	10
10 Man Fo's Wife Lei Shi	1725	1741		1756	1779	1789	16	17	67	70	3
10 Man Mo's Wife Leung Shi	1757	1773	1773	1774	1824	1827	22	33	59	64	5
10 Lai Chiu's Wife Tsoi Shi	1729	1745	1751	1762	1788	1793	21	14	59	79	20
10 Lai Wai's Wife Yuen Shi	1751	1767	1772	1765	1810	1830	36	27	60	67	7
10 Lai Tat's Wife Wan Shi	1760	1776	1796	1787	1820	1827	24	42	70	71	1
10 Lai Tsoi's Wife Tsoi Shi	1748	1764	1772	1790	1818	1819		43	64	73	9
10 Cheung Hei's Wife Lok Shi	1760	1776		1803	1824	1833		2	27	61	34
10 Hong Hei's Wife Tsoi Shi	1753	1769		1755	1780	1814		-2	41	81	40
10 Tin Yuk's Wife Tsoi Shi	1757	1773		1755	1798	1838	27	49	46	60	14
10 Tin Kin's Wife Mok Shi	1755	1771	1782	1804	1801	1815	25	40	36	84	48
10 Tin Sau's Wife Wong Shi	1748	1764	1773	1788	1784	1832	32	39	62	72	10
10 Tin Siu's Wife Ho Shi	1766	1782	1798	1805	1828	1838		43	63	87	24
10 Tin Ho's Wife Ng Shi	1751	1767		1794	1814	1838	30	49	40	77	37
10 Tin Tso's Wife Loh Shi	1772	1788	1803	1800	1835	1838	31	28	63	66	3
10 Tin Kwai's Wife Lam Shi	1767	1783	1797	1803	1821	1838	30	36	54	71	17
10 Tin Hei's Wife Tsang Shi	1783	1799	1808	1816	1821	1838	25	33	38	55	17
10 Tin Pat's Wife Yeung Shi	1777	1793	1808	1816	1829	1838	31	39	52	61	9
10 Tin Kwong's Wife Tsoi Shi	1765	1781	1790	1811	1806	1836	25	46	41	71	30
10 Tin Fong's Wife Ng Shi	1761	1777	1793		1806	1807	32		45	46	1
10 Tin Pong's Wife Tsui Shi	1764	1780	1795	1817	1811	1832	31	53	47	68	21
10 Tin Fu's Wife Tsang Shi	1743	1759	1764	1789	1791	1804	21	46	48	61	13
10 Tin Fat's Wife Wan Shi	1747	1763	1771	1804	1807	1832	24	57	60	85	25
10 Hei Hing's Wife Ng Shi	1751	1767		1802	1794	1838		51	43	87	44
10 Hei Hing's Wife Loh Shi	1751	1767		1802	1794	1817		51	43	66	23
10 Hei Fat's Wife Ho Shi	1762	1778	1789	1802	1791	1838	27	40	29	76	47
10 Hei Fu's Wife Chan Shi	1748	1764	1783	1746	1806	1809	35	-2	58	61	3
10 King Chau's Wife Ng Shi	1772	1788	1802	1806	1825	1838	30	34	53	66	13
10 Siu Chau's Wife Lam Shi	1761	1777	1791	1787	1832	1833	30	26	71	72	1
10 Chiu Chau's Wife Loh Shi	1768	1784	1793	1813	1804	1828	25	45	36	60	24
10 Tak Chau's Wife Lam Shi	1770	1786	1797	1813	1801	1838	27	43	31	68	37

Tracing the “Family”

Generation & Name	(a):	(b):	(c):	(d):	(e):	(f):	Age at the	Age at the	Age at the	Age at the	Duration of
	Birth	Marriage*	Birth of First Son	Husband became Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	First son's Birth	Time Husband became the Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	the Death	Widowhood
							(c) – (a)	(d) – (a)	(e) – (a)	(f) – (a)	(f) – (e)
10 Ping Chau's Wife Ng Shi	1777	1793	1807	1813	1813	1838	30	36	36	61	25
10 Kam Chau's Wife Lei Shi	1766	1782	1792	1806	1813	1833	26	40	47	67	20
10 Tsap Kin's Wife Wong Shi	1772	1788	1805	1805	1815	1838	33	33	43	66	23
10 Kwoon Kin's Wife Yuen Shi	1789	1805			1834	1838			45	49	4
11 Ting Chin's Wife Wan Shi	1750	1766		1794	1800	1804		44	50	54	4
11 Yuk Chin's Wife Leung Shi	1781	1797	1812	1794	1834	1835	31	13	53	54	1
11 Ying Yuen's Wife Leung Shi	1781	1797	1806	1820	1824	1838	25	39	43	57	14
11 Hin Kwong's Wife Loh Shi	1793	1809	1817		1835	1838	24		42	45	3
11 Tai Kwong's Wife Lei Shi	1775	1791	1798	1805	1811	1828	23	30	36	53	17
11 Hing Kwong's Wife Hui Shi	1772	1788	1793		1833	1834	21		61	62	1
11 Ping Kwong's Wife Lau Shi	1782	1798		1827	1814	1838		45	32	56	24
11 Tsuen Wak's Wife Fung Shi	1784	1800	1813	1786	1832	1838	29	2	48	54	6
11 Tsuen Pan's Wife Cheung Shi	1784	1800	1812		1837	1838	28		53	54	1
11 Sai Cheung's Wife Lei Shi	1790	1806	1810	1814	1822	1838	20	24	32	48	16
12 Pong Hin's Wife Ng Shi	1800	1816	1821		1831	1838	21		31	38	7
Sum							3025	4241	7260	8856	1596
Cases							114	129	137	137	137
Average							26.5	32.9	53.0	64.6	11.6

*All wives are supposed to have married in their age of 16 years old here.

Therefore, we can estimate these wives' typical life course as below. They married when they were 16 to 20 years old and had their first son around 26. Their husbands became the head of an independent *jiazu* unit when the wives were around 33. The wives then spent approximately 20 years with their husbands until the husbands' died. During this time, their sons married and their family structure became an extended family. The wives themselves finally died aged 65 after having been widows for less than 12 years⁴⁷.

I show the average spans of each life stages of 98 widowers included in the genealogy for comparison in Table 3-38. Based on these data, I can estimate the widowers' typical life course in this lineage as below. They married when they were 17 to 29 years old, had their first son at 29, became the head of an independent *jiazu* unit at 34, entered widowhood at 52, and finally died aged 61 after a single life of approximately 9 years.

Table 3-38. Average life stages of widowers

Generation & Name	(a):	(b):	(c):	(d):	(e):	(f):	Age at	Age at the	Age at the	Age at the	Duration of	
	Birth	First Marriage*	Birth of First Son	Becoming Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	the First Marriage (minimum)	First Son's Birth	Time Becoming the Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	Widowhood
							(b) – (a)	(c) – (a)	(d) – (a)	(e) – (a)	(f) – (a)	(f) – (e)
2nd Tak Kai	1510	1525	1549	1542	1568	1596	15	39	32	58	86	28
3rd Ho Kok	1519	1534	1549	1554	1581	1583	15	30	35	62	64	2
3rd Yan Tim	1592	1610	1617	1592	1650	1651	18	25	0	58	59	1
3rd Yan Yuet	1594	1612	1621	1594	1646	1655	18	27	0	52	61	9
4th Cheung Tat	1546	1563	1573	1581	1613	1615	17	27	35	67	69	2
4th So Tat	1549	1565	1577	1584	1614	1615	16	28	35	65	66	1
4th Yue Kin	1598	1613	1624	1598	1645	1659	15	26	0	47	61	14
4th Yue Nguk	1602	1620	1630	1602	1660	1666	18	28	0	58	64	6
4th Yue Sau	1612	1628	1639	1630	1673	1679	16	27	18	61	67	6
4th Yue Fu	1617	1634	1647	1652	1669	1680	17	30	35	52	63	11
4th Yue Fong	1621	1635	1653	1656	1672	1682	14	32	35	51	61	10
5th Yuk Nim	1577	1594	1602	1616	1642	1645	17	25	39	65	68	3
5th Yuen Kat	1624	1642	1659	1660	1673	1686	18	35	36	49	62	13
5th Yuen Ting	1635	1651	1672	1671	1691	1696	16	37	36	56	61	5
5th Yuen Tso	1642	1660	1666	1680	1707	1710	18	24	38	65	68	3
5th Yuen Tsoi	1647	1664	1669	1681	1693	1708	17	22	34	46	61	15
6th Yin Tseuk	1597	1613	1627	1633	1655	1667	16	30	36	58	70	12
6th Yue Kin	1602	1620	1632	1646	1662	1663	18	30	44	60	61	1
6th Chi Kai	1659	1676	1681	1687	1721	1723	17	22	28	62	64	2
6th Chi Lam	1667	1685	1687	1692	1730	1732	18	20	25	63	65	2
6th Chi Tsui	1669	1688		1692	1712	1729	19		23	43	60	17
6th Chi Yue	1674	1689	1691	1697	1728	1737	15	17	23	54	63	9
6th Chi Fung	1669	1686	1699	1711	1727	1730	17	30	42	58	61	3
6th Chi Sheung	1669	1684	1698	1709	1717	1731	15	29	40	48	62	14
6th Ying Tou	1629	1648	1653	1659	1675	1682	19	24	30	46	53	7

⁴⁷ Their average life span is 10 years longer than that of all married-in women because I chose only widows' cases here.

Tracing the "Family"

Generation & Name	(a):	(b):	(c):	(d):	(e):	(f):	Age at	Age at the	Age at	Age at the	Duration of	
	Birth	First Marriage*	Birth of First Son	Becoming of Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	the First Marriage (minimum)	First Son's Birth	the Time Becoming the Family Head	Beginning of Widowhood	Death	Widowhood
							(b)-(a)	(c)-(a)	(d)-(a)	(e)-(a)	(f)-(a)	(f)-(e)
6th Ying Lung	1642	1662	1671	1654	1714	1721	20	29	12	72	79	7
7th Wing Hak	1681	1697	1702	1724	1721	1742	16	21	43	40	61	21
7th Wing Yiu	1687	1701	1703	1733	1746	1754	14	16	46	59	67	8
7th Wing Wan	1699	1717	1719	1731	1771	1772	18	20	32	72	73	1
7th Wing Yin	1689	1703	1705	1737	1729	1751	14	16	48	40	62	22
7th Wan Pan	1653	1668	1681	1683	1707	1718	15	28	30	54	65	11
7th Tzs Pan	1659	1678	1686	1693	1712	1723	19	27	34	53	64	11
8th Shung Hak	1652	1668	1691	1689	1722	1727	16	39	37	70	75	5
8th Shung Kwai	1656	1684	1713	1689	1718	1723	28	57	33	62	67	5
8th Fat Sin	1669	1688		1699	1715	1729	19		30	46	60	14
8th Hin Ying	1702	1716	1731	1743	1760	1764	14	29	41	58	62	4
8th Hin Tsing	1704	1721	1733	1743	1760	1765	17	29	39	56	61	5
8th Fat Yui	1703	1718	1724	1755	1753	1766	15	21	52	50	63	13
8th Fat Lin	1707	1723	1729	1755	1759	1767	16	22	48	52	60	8
8th Hin Hong	1698	1725	1734	1757	1765	1780	27	36	59	67	82	15
8th Hin Yuen	1730	1754	1758	1764	1780	1795	24	28	34	50	65	15
8th Hin Kat	1732	1750	1760	1764	1768	1778	18	28	32	36	46	10
8th Fat Tsan	1719	1734	1736	1773	1770	1780	15	17	54	51	61	10
8th Fat Tseung	1705	1718	1723	1752	1763	1765	13	18	47	58	60	2
8th Pong On	1686	1712	1730	1722	1746	1747	26	44	36	60	61	1
8th Pong Tsuen	1702	1723	1741	1724	1752	1759	21	39	22	50	57	7
8th Pong Mei	1697	1719	1736	1721	1758	1762	22	39	24	61	65	4
8th Png Cheung	1721	1738	1754	1745	1781	1783	17	33	24	60	62	2
8th Pong Sik	1726	1741	1740	1757	1785	1787	15	14	31	59	61	2
8th Pong Ying	1735	1753	1758	1757	1796	1807	18	23	22	61	72	11
9th Lun Yin	1698	1724	1746	1724	1768	1773	26	48	26	70	75	5
9th Cheung Yuei	1710	1730	1749	1756	1758	1764	20	39	46	48	54	6
9th Ming Kwong	1686	1705	1737	1729	1749	1754	19	51	43	63	68	5
9th Wai Kui	1724	1743		1767	1763	1779	19		43	39	55	16
9th Wai Nang	1734			1781	1780	1787			47	46	53	7
9th Wai Tsoi	1738	1755	1767	1781	1790	1799	17	29	43	52	61	9
9th Wai Lung	1740	1758	1768	1781	1799	1802	18	28	41	59	62	3
9th Wai Tsin	1753	1768	1789	1781	1794	1819	15	36	28	41	66	25
9th Wai Ming	1763	1779		1791	1797	1801	16		28	34	38	4
9th Wai Pan	1771	1789	1790		1813	1816	18	19		42	45	3
9th Wai King	1761	1778	1793	1786	1785	1788	17	32	25	24	27	3
9th Ting Tsak	1725	1740		1766	1781	1791	15	24	41	56	66	10
9th Ting Chung	1727	1742	1744	1766	1786	1788	15	17	39	59	61	2
9th Wai Leuk	1724		1745	1775	1784	1803		21	51	60	79	19
9th Hau Pan	1706	1721	1725	1739	1758	1785	15	19	33	52	79	27
9th Hau Tsuen	1719	1734	1760	1739	1742	1762	15	41	20	23	43	20
9th Hau Cheuk	1727	1745	1761	1751	1766	1779	18	34	24	39	52	13
9th Luk Koon	1754	1770	1770	1784	1775	1788	16	16	30	21	34	13
9th Fei Koon	1758	1779	1792	1808	1814	1821	21	34	50	56	63	7
9th Chi Koon	1758	1783	1790	1785	1818	1821	25	32	27	60	63	3
10th Man Kui	1756	1773		1778	1819	1826	17		22	63	70	7
10th Lai Yuk	1747	1763	1793	1794	1787	1803	16	46	47	40	56	16
10th Lai Yiu	1749	1761		1794	1812	1813	12		45	63	64	1
10th Lai Ying	1746	1766	1777	1803	1789	1809	20	31	57	43	63	20
10th Shi Hei	1756	1775		1772	1805	1818	19		16	49	62	13
10th Tin Shing	1755	1773		1805	1814	1823	18		50	59	68	9
10th Tin Yiu	1770	1785	1804	1803	1823	1826	15	34	33	53	56	3
10th Tin Ho	1768	1773	1790	1816	1798	1833	5	22	48	30	65	35
10th Tin Shui	1790	1807		1817	1819	1828	17		27	29	38	9
10th Tin Tsit	1765	1784	1794	1811	1824	1838	19	29	46	59	73	14
10th Tin Fong	1746	1763		1784	1798	1803	17		38	52	57	5
10th Tin Lan	1749	1764	1768	1792	1803	1812	15	19	43	54	63	9
10th Tin Yue	1751	1771	1781	1788	1814	1826	20	30	37	63	75	12
10th Hei Kwaii	1749	1773	1792	1761	1800	1812	24	43	12	51	63	12
10th Hei Cheung	1760	1776	1788	1763	1816	1832	16	28	3	56	72	16
10th Hei Yau	1746	1760	1783	1802	1809	1818	14	37	56	63	72	9
10th Yuk Chau	1758	1775	1789	1780	1797	1813	17	31	22	39	55	16
10th Tsak Chau	1772	1789		1803	1830	1838	17		31	58	66	8
10th Tsun Kin	1770	1789	1796	1789	1818	1838	19	26	19	48	68	20
10th Chong Kin	1786	1803			1831	1838	17			45	52	7
11th Kiu Chin	1773	1788	1793	1828	1830	1833	15	20	55	57	60	3
11th Hung Chin	1778	1792	1798	1828	1801	1833	14	20	50	23	55	32
11th Put Yuen	1785	1801			1812	1817	16			27	32	5
11th Shi Yuen	1782		1813	1820	1824	1838		31	38	42	56	14
11th Wai Kwong	1782	1800		1816	1814	1818	18		34	32	36	4
11th King Kwong	1784	1797	1815	1827	1832	1838	13	31	43	48	54	6
11th Tsun Kwon	1792	1813		1827	1827	1838	21		35	35	46	11
12th Kei Po	1797	1815			1827	1838	18			30	41	11

*All husbands are supposed to have married when their first wife were 16 years old here.

Sum	1650	2335	3201	5056	5993	937
Cases	95	81	94	98	98	98
Average	17.4	28.8	34.1	51.6	61.2	9.6

Tracing the “Family”

As I showed above, we can obtain an outline of the life course of widows and widowers in “W” lineage through the analysis of their written genealogy. Now, I will examine the further details of the life stages of some individual cases. As I noted in previous chapters, the writers of Chinese genealogies were seldom interested in recording the daily affairs of family life. They usually record the genealogical relations among male members, the dates of their birth and death, and the location and environment of their graves, but they do not give much information on their wives. Usually very short descriptions of women who married into the lineage were added to their husbands’ records in the genealogical book. Therefore, it is not easy to imagine their actual lives from these. However, my main purpose here is not to reconstruct the daily scenes of family life in the past, but rather to evaluate the extent to which we can understand the actual status of family life through the limited information in written genealogies. I will next closely examine some typical examples of widows’ life courses.

As the first example, I will examine the case of Tse Shi, the wife of Pong Sau, who belonged to the eighth generation from the founding ancestor. Fig. 3-20 shows several stages of her life reconstructed from the information about her and her husband recorded in the genealogy. A chart on the top of the figure shows her life stages. The white bar represents her childhood from birth to marriage, the pale gray bar shows the period from her marriage to the birth of her first son⁴⁸; the dark-gray bar indicates her motherhood as the mother of male children, and the black bar shows her widowhood after her husband Pong Sau died. Another chart to the bottom of the figure shows the structures of the *jiazu* unit to which she belonged throughout this period.

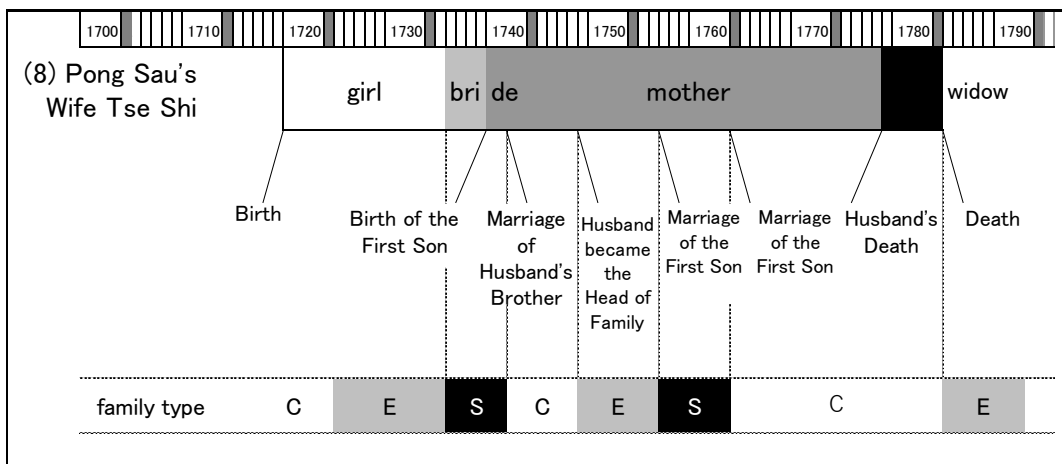


Fig. 3-20. Life stages of Pong Sau's wife Tse Shi

Pong Sau's wife Tse Shi was born in 1716, and married Pong Sau between 1732 and 1736. We cannot identify the exact year when they married because, as noted before, there is no information about the date of members' marriage in the genealogical book.

⁴⁸ As previously noted, there is no information in the genealogy about when they married. I supposed here that all wives married aged 16.

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Because she became 16 years old in 1732 and bore her first son, Shue Koon, aged 20 in 1736, we can presume that she married between these two points. When she married, her husband's mother was still alive and their *jiazu* unit was a stem family comprising herself, her husband, her mother-in-law, and her husband's unmarried younger brother. Their *jiazu* unit became a collateral extended family in 1738 with the marriage of her husband's younger brother. In 1744, her mother-in-law passed away and their *jiazu* became an elementary family headed by her husband Pong Sau. She bore four sons and all of them married by 1777. Her husband died in 1775 and she died in 1781 aged 65 after leading a life as a widow for 6 years. The spans of each of Tse Shi's life stage were as follows. She was an unmarried girl for about 20 years, a bride before bearing a son for 1 to 3 years, a mother of sons for 39 years, and finally a widow for 6 years. Her family unit just before her death is shown in Fig. 3-21.

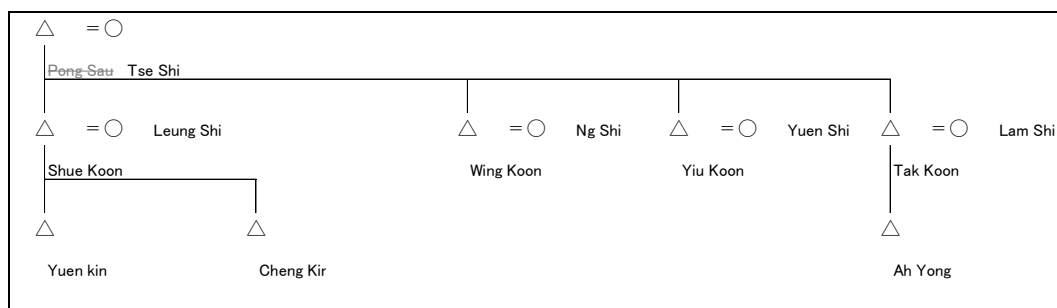


Fig. 3-21. Composition of the family of Pong Sau's Wife in 1781

The second example is the case of Yuen Shi, the wife of Shung Yau, who belonged to the seventh generation. As shown in Fig. 3-22, Yuen Shi was born in 1682, and married Shung Yau at the earliest in 1698. When she married, Shung Yau's parents were still alive and his older brother had already married. Their *jiazu* unit became a collateral extended family when she married into the family. Although we do not know whether she bore girls before the birth of her first son, she had a son rather late, in her mid-30s. It is also possible that she bore male children earlier but they did not survive infancy because, as stated previously, it was usual that children who died in infancy were not recorded in the

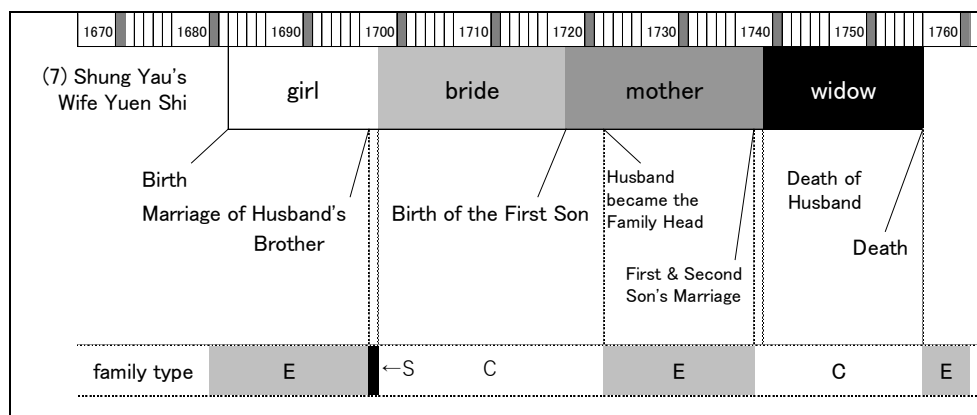


Fig. 3-22. Life stages of Shung Yau's Wife Yuen Shi

Tracing the “Family”

genealogy, even if they were male. Therefore, we must assume that she had her first son in 1718 aged 36 and her second in 1721 aged 39. In the same year, her husband became the head of an independent *jiazu* unit when his mother died.

According to the genealogy, Shung Yau had five sons. Of these, the youngest son, Pong Ying, was born in 1735, when Yuen Shi was 53 years old. Therefore, it is highly probable that the birth mother of some of these five sons, including Pong Ying, was not Yuen Shi. However, no other women were listed as Shung Yau’s wives or concubines. Although these sons’ origin remains uncertain, Yuen Shi had her own son in 1721. Her motherhood lasted for 18 years until her husband’s death in 1739. Meanwhile, both her oldest son and the second son married in 1738 and their *jiazu* unit became a collateral extended family again.

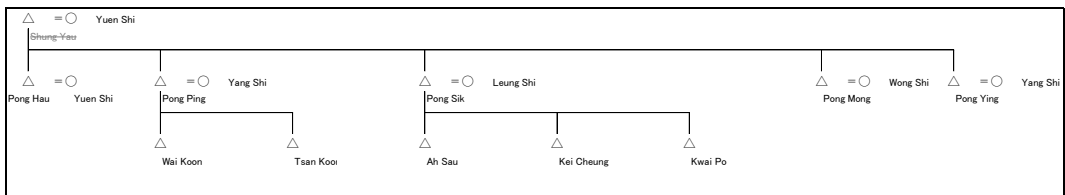


Fig. 3-23. Composition of the family of Shung Yau’s Wife in 1756

After her husband had passed away, Yuen Shi spent the rest of her life as a widow and died in 1756 aged 74. Her widowhood lasted 18 years. In principle, Shung Yau’s *jiazu* unit must have been dissolved into his sons’ independent *jiazu* units after his death. However, while his widow Yuen Shi was still alive and three of his five sons were still unmarried, family relations among the members of Shung Yau’s former *jiazu* unit were probably maintained. In this way, we can suppose that the period for which widows were still alive was a transitional phase in the dissolution process of the husband’s *jiazu* unit. Although widows could not be *jiazhang*, they could possibly still take an important role in managing family affairs in such circumstances. Of course, we know nothing about these widows’ personalities or abilities from the genealogy documents and we can only speculate their actual situation. The composition of Yuen Shi’s family just before her death appears in Fig.3-23.

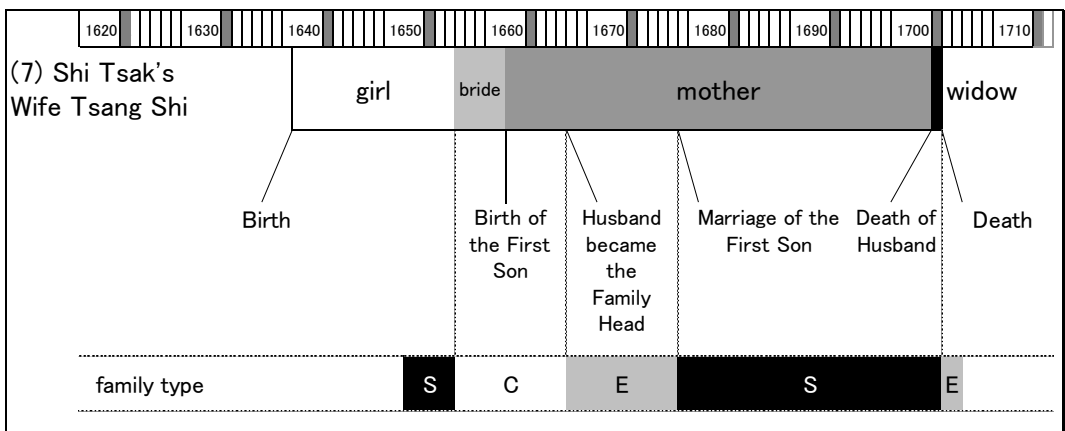


Fig. 3-24. Life stages of Shi Chak’s Wife Tsang Shi

Tracing the “Family”

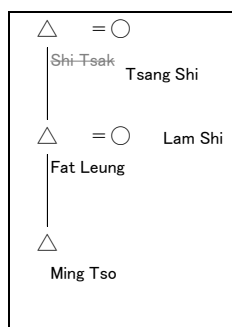


Fig. 3-25. Composition of the family of Shi Chak's Wife in 1701

The third example is Shi Tsak's wife Tsang Shi, whose husband belonged to the seventh generation. As shown in Fig. 3-24, Tsang Shi was born in 1637, and likely married Shi Tsak between 1653 and 1658. She bore her first son, Fat Leung, in 1658 aged 21. As Shi Tsak's mother was still alive when he married, and his older brother had already married, their *jiazu* unit was a collateral extended family after Tsang Shi married in. With his father's death in 1664, Shi Tsak became a head of his own *jiazu* unit comprising Shi Tsak, his wife Tsang Shi, and their oldest son. Then, in 1675, their *jiazu* unit became a stem family with their son's marriage. In 1700, Shi Tsak passed away and Tsang Shi entered widowhood, which lasted only 1 year because she herself died the following year. Their family composition just before Tsang Shi's death was such as shown in Fig. 3-25.

According to the genealogical record, Shi Tsak had a second wife, Tse Shi, who was born in 1671 and died in 1750. He also had another son named Fat Tsan, who was born in 1724, 24 years after Shi Tsak's death. At that time, Tse Shi was 53 years old, if the genealogical records are correct. We have no way to inspect whether these dates are errors in the genealogical book, but judging from the family members' life spans, it is highly probable that Fat Tsan was adopted after the descendants of Shi Tsak's oldest son died out. I will address this in more detail in section 3-3-1.

Next example is Mok Shi, whose husband Tin Fui belonged to the tenth generation in the lineage. After being born in 1748, it was supposed that she married Tin Fui between 1764 and 1773. At the point of her marriage, husband's *jiazu* had a form of the collateral extended family headed by grandfather of Tin Fui. She entered the stage of motherhood with the birth of her son in 1773 at her age 25. She became a widow as her husband Tin Fui passed away in 1784 aged only 36, when she was also 36 years old. At the time of her husband's death, her mother-in-law was still alive, and Mok Shi was the member of a *jiazu* unit comprising her mother-in-law, herself, and her only son King Kwong. With her mother-in-law's death in 1787, only Mok Shi and her son remained in their *jiazu* unit (see Fig. 3-26).

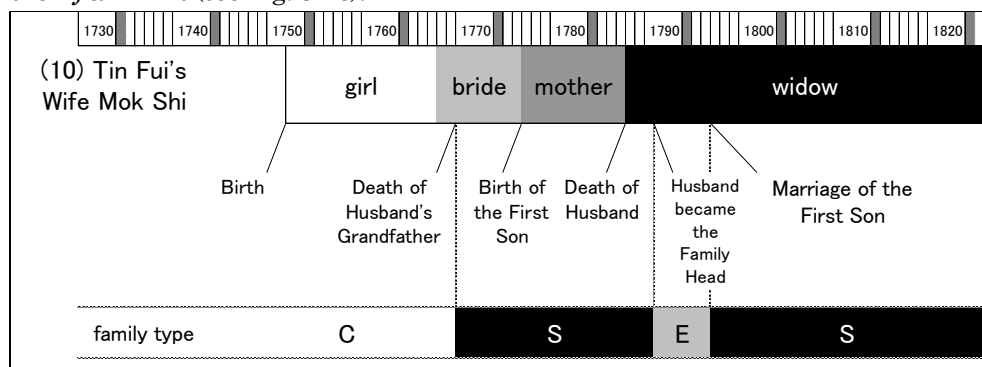


Fig. 3-26. Life stages of Tin Fui's wife Mok Shi

Tracing the “Family”

As already noted, widows were not regarded as *jiashang* after their husbands’ deaths. However, Mok Shi possibly played a major role in managing their family affairs because her son was just 15 years old when her mother-in-law died. We can suppose that she acted as a substitute for her late husband in their family, at least until her son married around 1793. Mok Shi was a widow for 48 years until her death in 1832 aged 84. Meanwhile, her son King Kwong had four sons from 1800 to 1818, which changed their *jiazu* unit to a stem family. The composition of their family unit just before Mok Shi’s death is shown in Fig.3-27.

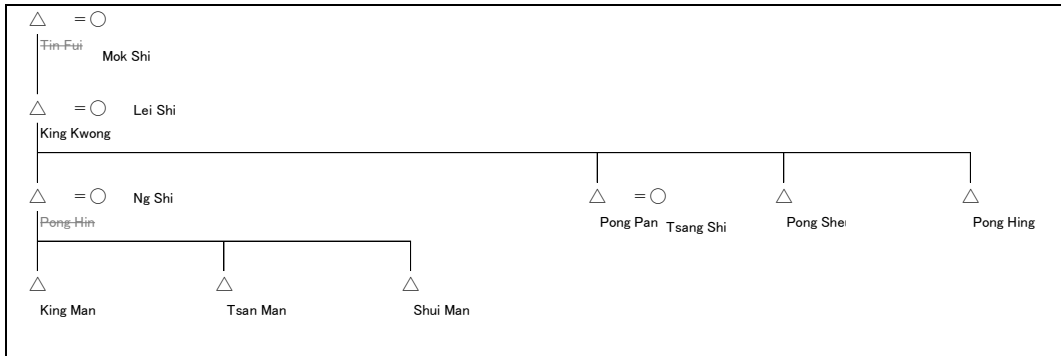


Fig. 3-27. Composition of the family of Tin Fui’s Wife in 1832

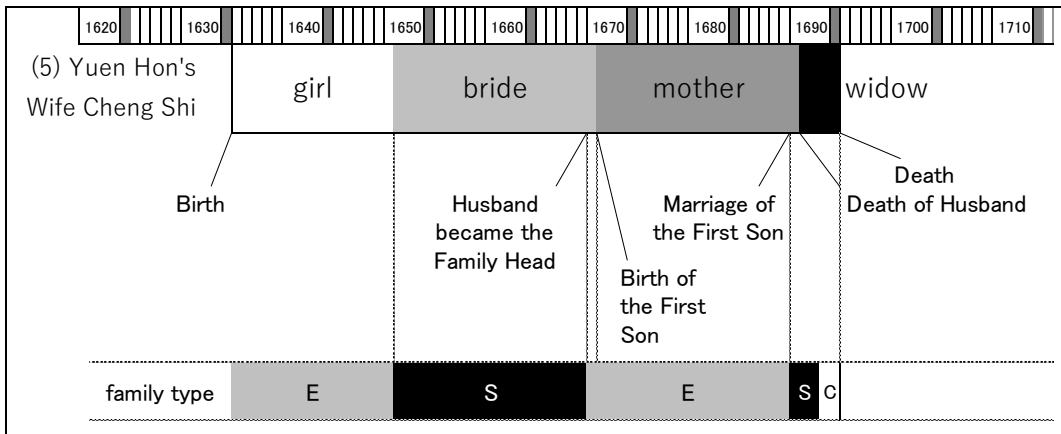


Fig. 3-28. Life stages of Yuen Hon’s wife Cheng Shi

Another example is that of Yuen Hon’s wife Cheng Shi. Her husband belonged to the fifth generation from the lineage founder. As shown in Fig. 3-28, she was born in 1631. The exact year of her marriage cannot be identified, but it must have been taken place between 1647, when she became 16 years old, and 1667, when she bore her first son. At her marriage, her husband’s *jiazu* unit was an elementary family comprising Yuen Hon and his parents. As Cheng Shi married in, the family unit changed became a stem family. In 1667, Cheng Shi’s life stage as a mother of a male child began with the birth of her oldest son Chi Lin. Her second son was born in 1669 and the third in 1675. Meanwhile, Yuen Hon became the head of his independent elementary family *jiazu* unit with his father’s death in 1666. The marriages of the oldest son Chi Lin in 1685 and the second son in 1688 changed their family structure to the stem family and collateral extended family,

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respectively. When her husband Yuen Hon died in 1687 aged 57, Cheng Shi entered widowhood. This lasted just 4 four years as she passed away in 1691 aged 60. Their family composition just before Cheng Shi’s death is shown in Fig. 3-29.

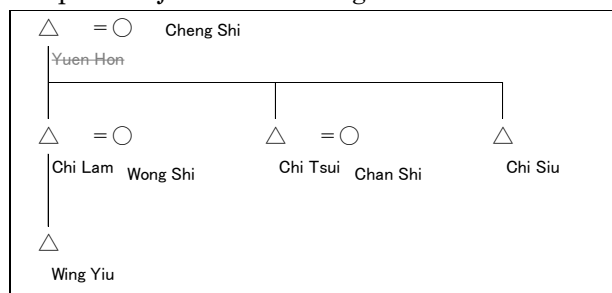


Fig. 3-29. Composition of the family of Yuen Hon’s wife in 1691

The next case is that of Wan Shi, born in 1750, whose husband Wei Fung belonged to the eighth generation. According to the record in the genealogy, Wan Shi was a concubine of Wei Fung. Wei Fung had a formal wife, Mok Shi, who was born in 1745, making her 5 years older than Wan Shi. Although three sons were entered in the genealogy, we cannot determine which woman bore each of these three sons. However, if Wan Shi were the mother of all three sons, her life stages would be as shown in Fig. 3-30. She likely became Wei Fung’s concubine between 1766 and 1773, and then bore her sons in 1773, 1779 and 1793.

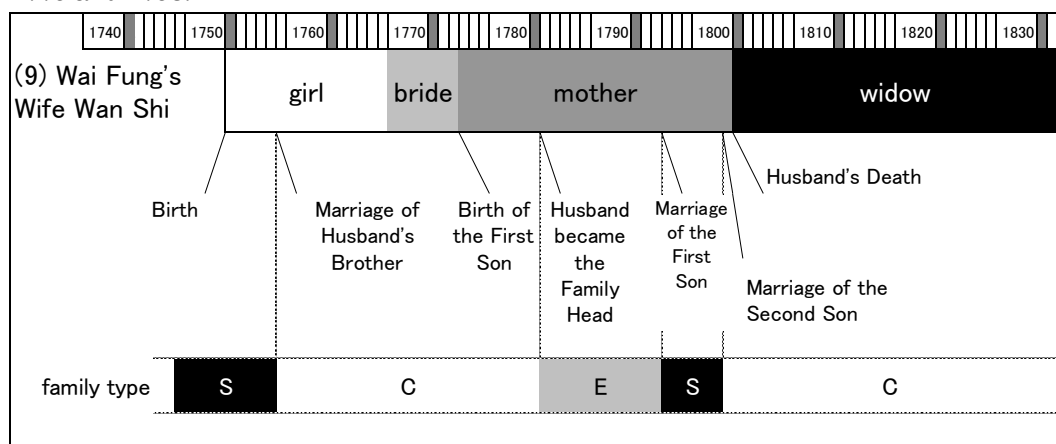


Fig. 3-30. Life stages of Wai Fung’s wife Wan Shi

Wei Fung’s father had eight sons, of whom Wei Fung was the fourth. When Wan Shi became his concubine, his older brothers had already married, and Wan Shi joined the collateral extended family *jiazu* unit comprising her husband, his brothers and their wives. Wei Fung’s father passed away in 1780 and Wei Fung became the *jiazhang* of his own elementary family *jiazu* unit. Their *jiazu* unit became a stem family and then a collateral extended family with the marriages of their sons. With Wei Fung’s death in 1800, Wan Shi became a widow. As she seemed to be still alive in 1838, which marks the end of the period for which their genealogy was recorded, this final life stage lasted more than 38 years. Their family composition in 1838 was such as shown in Fig. 3-31.

All the examples shown above are cases in which wives could have their own sons.

Tracing the “Family”

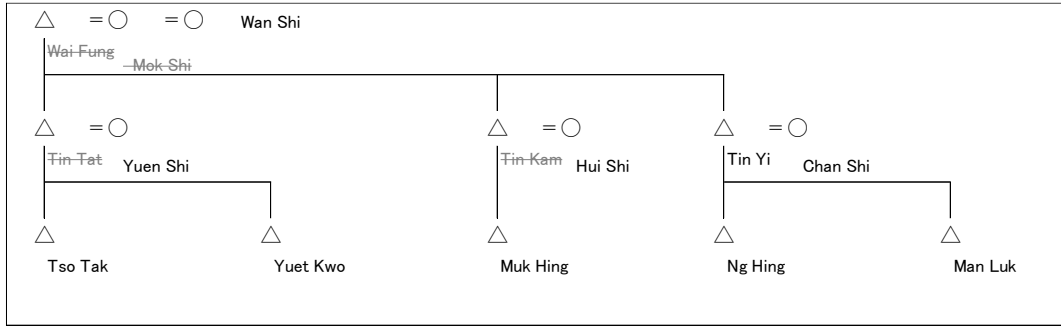


Fig. 3-31. Composition of the family of Wai Fung’s wife in 1838

Now let us turn to the cases in which wives did not bear sons. For the first of such cases, I examine Fat Leung’s wife, Lam Shi, who belonged to the eighth generation in the lineage. Lam Shi was born in 1659 and married Fat Leung between 1675 and 1696. After their marriage, Fat Leung and his Lam Shi were still in a *fang* in his father’s stem family *jiazu* unit. At Fat Leung’s father’s death in 1700, they became an independent *jiazu* unit. However, because Fat Leung’s mother was still alive⁴⁹, Fat Leung’s father’s *jiazu* unit was likely still in the process of dissolution, as discussed above. Fat Leung passed away in 1717 aged 59, but until her husband’s death Lam Shi never had sons. Therefore, a boy named Ming Tso was adopted as their son to further the descent line (see Fig. 3-32).

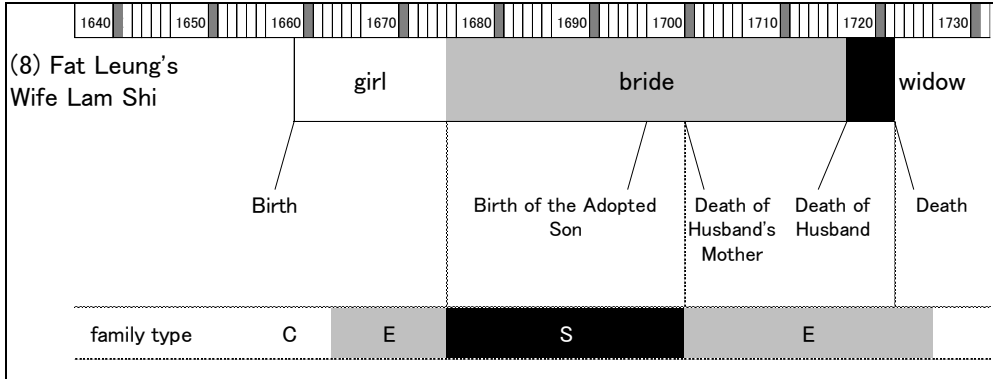


Fig. 3-32. Life stages of Fat Leung’s wife Lam Shi

Although we know that Ming Tso was born in 1696 by the genealogy, it is not clear when Fat Leung adopted him. As we know, adopted sons in pre-modern China were not always adopted in infancy nor did they live together with their adoptive parents while alive, but sometimes they were adopted even after their adoptive parents’ death. It is highly probable that Ming Tso was a *guoji*, a son adopted after his adoptive parents’ death. His origin was also unclear. As mentioned in the second section of Chapter 2, his case was exceptional among those cases of adoption categorized as *chengji* (adoption for the succession) in that his real father’s name was not recorded in the genealogy. However, still

⁴⁹ This is Tse Shi, the second wife of Shi Tsak in the seventh generation, referred to above. She might not be Fat Leung’s real mother, judging from her age at his birth.

Tracing the “Family”

we can suppose that he was originally a member of “W” lineage because he was not described as *yuji*, which means an adopted son who had no blood relations with his adoptive father. He seemed to be adopted from close patrilineal relatives. I will refer to his case again in the next section of this chapter when discussing *chengji* adoption.

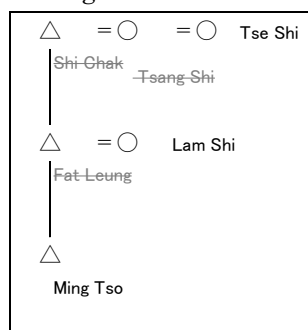


Fig. 3-33. Composition of the family of Fat Leung's wife in 1722

Lam Shi, who did not have real sons through her life, may have had a adopted son who succeeded her husband's descent line after she became a widow. It remains uncertain whether the adoption of Ming Tso granted her the necessary daily support she needed in old age. However, at least we can think that she had someone to take responsibility for caring for her after her death because adopted sons were usually bound to worship not only male ancestors but also their wives. Lam Shi passed away in 1722 aged 63 years old. The family composition of her *jiazu* unit just before her death is shown in Fig. 3-33.

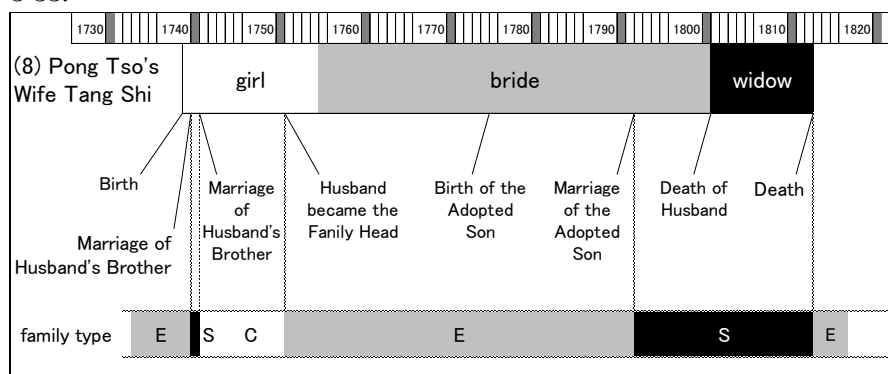


Fig. 3-34. Life stages of Pong Tso's wife Tang Shi

Tang Shi was another widow who had no sons and adopted a son. Her husband, Pong Tso, belonged to the eighth generation from the founding ancestor (see Fig. 3-34). Tang Shi was born in 1739, and married Pong Tso a few years after 1771 as his third wife after his first and second wives died young. Pong Tso had two older brothers who married in the early 1740s. At that time, his family unit was a collateral extended family comprising Pong Tso, his parents, his older brothers, and their wives. Pong Tso had his own independent *jiazu* unit following his father's death in 1749, but at that time he seemed to still be unmarried. Pong Tso likely married his first wife, Tsui Shi, in 1755 or later, but she died in 1758 aged 19. He then married his second wife, Leung Shi, but she also died relatively young in 1771 aged 29. Pong Tso married Tang Shi as his third wife, possibly

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after the second wife Leung Shi had died. Because all these women were described as “wives” in the genealogy, we can suppose that Pong Tso remarried Leung Shi after Tsui Shi died and he remarried Tang Shi after Leung Shi had died. However, none of these three wives bore him a son during his lifetime. Tang Shi had a long life, and she lived with her husband for about 30 years until his death in 1801 at the age of 72. She survived until 1813 and passed away at the age of 74.

As Pong Tso had no son, the third son of his older brother was adopted to succeed his descent line. We know through the genealogy that this adopted son, Ah On, was born in 1775 and married around 1792, but we do not know when his adoption was decided and practiced. Nor we do not know whether Tang Shi lived with her adopted son Ah On after she became a widow. One certainty is that Tang Shi had someone who was responsible for worshiping her and her husband after their deaths, as was the case for Fat Leung and his wife Lam Shi.

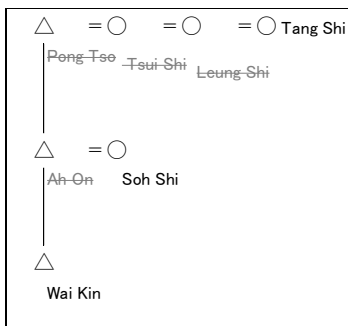


Fig. 3-35. Composition of the family of Pong Tso's wife in 1813

However, unfortunately for them, their adopted son Ah On died in 1799 without leaving sons. I will examine this case again in the next section of this chapter in analyzing the practices of adoption. The composition of Tang Shi's family unit just before her death in 1813 is shown in Fig. 3-35. It comprised an unusual combination of members such as Tang Shi; the widow of her adopted son, Soh Shi; and Soh Shi's adopted son, Wai Kin. As there is no information in the genealogical book about their actual way of living, we do not know whether these three persons led separate lives or lived together.

The two examples shown above were widows who did not bear sons but obtained a successor of their descent line and ancestor worship by adopting a son. However, some widows were unable to have a successor in that manner. The following examples are such cases.

The wife of Yuen Tseuk in the fifth generation was born in 1639. Her natal family name is unknown because the written genealogy lacked this information. She supposedly married Yuen Tseuk between 1655 and 1675. At that time, her husband's *jiazu* unit comprised his parents and a younger brother. It became a stem family and then a collateral extended family with the marriages of Yuen Tseuk and his brother. In 1679, Yuen Tseuk's father died and he became the *jiazhang* of his own *jiazu* unit, which comprised him and his wife. However, they did not have sons. Yuen Tseuk died in 1706 aged 67 and his wife in 1709 aged 70 (see Fig. 3-36).

Although they had no sons to succeed their family line, neither adoption nor the

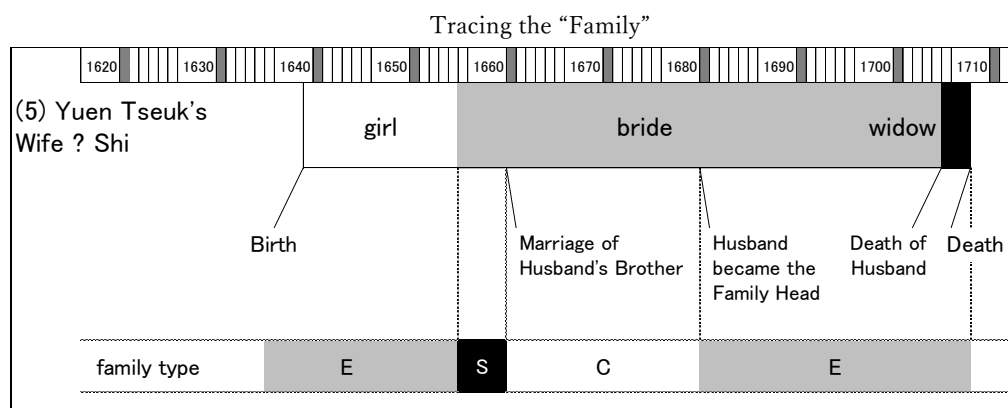


Fig. 3-36. Life stages of Yuen Tseuk's wife ? Shi

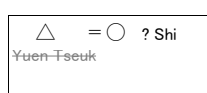


Fig. 3-37. Composition of the family of Yuen Tseuk's wife in 1709

entrusting of worship were practiced for them. Yuen Tseuk's wife's widowhood was as short as three years, but she did not have any other family members for the last three years of her life (see Fig. 3-37). The closest kin to her late husband was her husband's brother Yuen Tso and the members of his *jiazu*, but we have no way to know whether she lived with them or how she led a life as a solitary widow in the lineage.

Another widow who did not have real or adopted sons was Ng Shi, the wife of Wai Sheung in the ninth generation. She was born in 1761 and likely married Wai Sheung between 1777 and 1787. Ng Shi was Wai Sheung's only wife. They had their own *jiazu* unit shortly after marriage when the senior members of Wai Sheung's family died (see Fig. 3-38). However, her husband Wai Sheung died very young in 1794 aged 34, and Ng Shi entered a long widowhood.

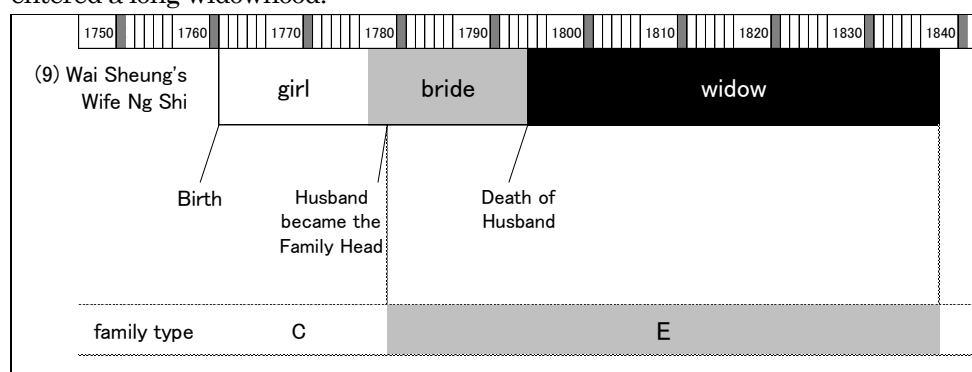


Fig. 3-38. Life stages of Wai Sheung's wife Ng Shi

Because they did not have sons before Wai Sheung's death, Ng Shi was left alone in the lineage as she was the last surviving person in Wai Sheung's *jiazu* unit (see Fig. 3-39). There was no entry of her death in the genealogical book, which may mean that she was still alive in 1838, the end of the period for which the genealogy was recorded. If this is correct, her widowhood lasted over 44 years. Just like Yuen Tseuk's wife, Ng Shi did not bear sons

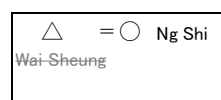


Fig. 3-39. Composition of the family of Wai Sheung's wife in 1838

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or adopt a son to succeed their descent. However, through the genealogy document, we can see that a son of Wai Sheung’s older brother was entrusted with the worship of the couple after Ng Shi’s death. I will touch again on this case in my analysis of *fuyi* practice in section 3-3-2 of this chapter.

The final example of a widow is Loh Shi, the wife of Hei Hing in the 10th generation. She became a widow without having sons just as the two previously-mentioned wives. Loh Shi’s birth was recorded in the genealogy as 1751. We do not know the exact year of her marriage, but it must have been later than 1767 and earlier than 1775. According to the genealogy, Hei Hing had a previous wife, Leung Shi, and Loh Shi was the second. Only Leung Shi’s date of birth was recorded in the genealogical book and it is uncertain when she passed away. However, Loh Shi was described as a “wife”, not a concubine, which suggests that Loh Shi married Hei Hing after Leung Shi died or had been divorced. After Hei Hing married Loh Shi, he was a member of a stem family *jiazu* unit comprising his parents, his older brother, and Loh Shi (see Fig. 3-40).

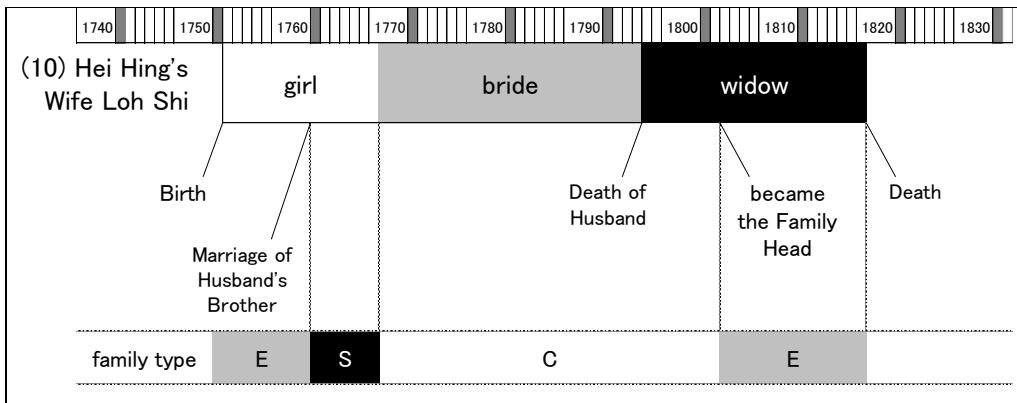


Fig. 3-40. Life stages of Hei hing’s wife Loh Shi

Loh Shi and Hei Hing were married for approximately 20 years, but they did not have sons. Hei Hing passed away in 1794 aged 43. Although her father-in-law had already

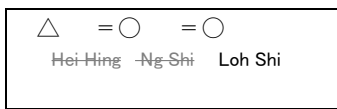


Fig. 3-41. Composition of the family of Hei Hing’s wife in 1817

passed away in 1792, Loh Shi was probably regarded still as a member of the *jiazu* unit comprising her mother-in-law, her husband’s older brother and his wife. However, her mother-in-law’s death in 1801 supposedly led to the final dissolution of the *jiazu* unit, and she became the only survivor of her late husband’s *jiazu* unit. This circumstance lasted for

more than 15 years until her death in 1817 at the age of 66.

As neither the adoption to succeed a descent line (*chengji*) nor the entrusting of worship after death (*fuyi*) was practiced for them, she was, at least genealogically, alone throughout her widowhood. The closest kin of her late husband were the member of his brothers’ *jiazu* units, but as her husband’s younger brother and his older brother’s wife had already died in 1791 and 1809, respectively, these *jiazu* units lacked their chief members. There are no clues regarding how these related *jiazu* units actually cooperated. However, it is certain that Loh Shi was left in a solitary situation as a widow and the only survivor

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of her husband's *jiazu* unit, at least in the genealogical sense, for the rest of her life.

3-2-3 What we can understand from Analysis of the Widows' Lives

Through the above analysis, I have tried to show the outlines of married-in women's lives, although written genealogies usually contain very poor documentation on these. Daughters of the lineage members were rarely mentioned in the genealogy because they were regarded as persons who would leave the lineage through marriage. However, not only those daughters but also women who married in and became wives and mothers of lineage members left very limited traces in the genealogy. It is symbolical that they were always referred to with their natal surnames, such as Yuen Shi, Tang Shi, so on. Therefore, at first glance it might seem impossible to know the reality of their lives through such scarce and indifferent descriptions on them. However, we can trace their lives rather precisely by combining their documentation with their husbands' and sons' records in the genealogical book.

Analytical works of this kind might be thought of as a too rough and ineffective to understand their lives' actual statuses because the written genealogies seldom show us the scenes of daily life or the sounds and smells of human activities. However, my purpose is not to know these conditions, but rather to evaluate the extent to which we can understand them through written genealogy documents. On this point, I can say that my analysis above is fruitful to some extent.

I focused on the widows in this section. In reconstructing the life stages of wives who married into “W” lineage, we can see that there were considerable numbers of women who survived their husbands and lived as widows. The genealogical book tells us nothing about the details of their daily life, but we can at least be sure that there were widows who spent the final stage of their life as the oldest members of the family unit after their husbands' deaths.

If we regard the *jiazu* that comprises a father and his sons as the basic component in the Chinese family structure, the presence of a father, or at least that of a male member, is essential for the existence of the family unit. However, in *jiazu* units that lacked male heads following husbands' deaths, their widows were supposed to play some of their husbands' role as genealogical apexes of their families. In principle, the father's *jiazu* unit was supposed to be dissolved into the independent *jiazu* units headed by each son as soon as the father deceased. However, it was also reported that an extended family unit often maintained cooperation while their mother was still alive (for example, see Freedman 1966:66-67, Uchida 1956: 70-71). The period for which widows were still alive can be regarded as a transitional phase in the dissolution process of the husband's *jiazu* unit.

It has been noted that women, including both the girls born as the daughters of the family members and wives married in as spouses of male members, could not be formal family members (Chen 2006: 173). However, it seems that married-in wives who remained in the family as widows were sometimes exceptions because they sometimes acted as a genealogical apex for the surviving family members after their husbands' deaths. It may be possible to explain this in that the widows represented the *jiazu* unit that had already

been dissolved by the death of their husbands. In effect, they were not completely dissolved while the widows remained alive because the widows reminded other lineage members of the former *jiazu* unit.

Although it has been formulated that the patrilineal relations among male family members formed the basic framework of the Chinese family, it is possible that widows functioned as mediators between this principle and the actual situation of families in which no senior male members could represent them. Focusing on the existence of widows is important not only to reveal women's actual lives, which were usually recorded in a very scattered way in the written genealogy, but also to understand the process by which the patrilineal principle was applied and modified in reality.

3-3 Adoption and the Entrusting of Ancestor Worship

3-3-1 Case Studies on the Adoption of Agnates

In the previous section, I used data in the written genealogy of "W" lineage to examine individual cases of widows and widowers who survived their spouses. Among these cases, there were widows and widowers who had no male descendants and spent the rest of their lives after the death of spouses in solitary situations without family members. In some cases, they tried to avoid such circumstances by adopting sons to succeed their descent. Furthermore, in cases in which they failed to adopt sons for themselves, they sometimes tried to entrust their ancestor worship to close kinsmen.

I previously referred to the practices of *chengji* (continuation of the descent line through adoption of an agnate) and *fuyi* (entrusting of ancestral worship to lateral kin) in section 2-3-1 of Chapter 2. There, I showed that the average number of sons for the male members of "W" lineage who had already died by the end of the genealogical record in 1838 was 1.6. I also showed that 17 percent of them had no sons. The genealogy records 46 cases of adoption, of which 42 were adoptions from within the lineage. These were referred to by the term *chengji*; the remaining four cases were referred to as *yuzi*, adoptions of males without patrilineal kinship relations. In most cases of *chengji* adoption, agnatic nephews (a brother's son, or "BS") were adopted, and even in other cases adoption was usually of sons from patrilineal kinsmen as close as possible. In *chengji* adoption, adopted sons were always selected from male members in the generation following that of the adoptive parents. The age differences between adoptive fathers and their adopted sons were often large; it was not rare that this exceeded 40 years⁵⁰.

I will now examine in detail individual cases of *chengji* adoption from within the lineage. First, I extract and summarize all the cases of that kind of adoption from the genealogy. Table 3-39 presents a list of sentences containing the term *chengji* extracted from the genealogy. Table 3-40 lists the lineage members who engaged in *chengji* adoption. As shown in Table 3-39, the compilers of the genealogy referred to 48 people with the term

⁵⁰ The average age difference between adoptive fathers and their adopted sons was 33.6 years, which is about 3.5 years greater than the age difference between fathers and their oldest biological sons.

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Table 3–39. Sentences in the written genealogy referring to chengji adoptions

Generation	Name of ancestor	Translation of sentences
8	Fat Leung	Succession was entrusted to Ming Tso.
8	Hin Kat	Wai Sheung succeeded him.
8	Pong Cheung	Pong Sau’ s fourth son Luk Koon succeeded him.
8	Pong Mong	Pong Ying’ s second son Ah Yi succeeded him.
8	Pong Tso	Pong Wai’ s third son Ah An succeeded him.
9	Wai Tat	Wai Shing’ s son Tin Yan succeeded him.
9	Wai Tsin	Only son died young. Wai Man’ s second son Tin Wong succeeded him.
9	Wai Hong	Wai Fei’s third son Tin Cheung succeeded him
9	Wai Kwai	No sons. Wai Luet’s second son Tin Yue succeeded him.
9	Hau Kui	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Hau Chue’s second son Hei Kui.
9	Hau Mau	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Hau Hong’s third son Hei Lung.
9	Hau Yeung	Unmarried and no successors. Succession was entrusted to Hau Shuen’s third son Tsak Chau.
9	Hau Yue	Both of two wives had no sons. Succession was entrusted to Hau Cheung’s youngest son Tsun Chau.
9	Hau Tseuk	No sons. Hau Chung’s second son Siu Chau succeeded him.
9	Ah An	He was an adopted. No son. Wai Kin succeeded him.
10	Man Kam	Unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Man Kui’s eldest son Yuk Chin.
10	Lai Yuk	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Lai Tsun’s eldest son Ching Yuen.
10	Lai Yiu	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Lai Tsun’s second son Siu Yuen.
10	<i>Lai Tsun</i>	<i>Two sons. Eldest son Ching Yuen succeeded Lai Yuk, second son Siu Yuen succeeded Lai Yiu. Ching Yuen’s descendants succeeded him later.</i>
10	Tin Yan	He was an adopted. Injured by tiger. No sons. Succession was entrusted to Tin Woon’s third son Pan Kwong..
10	Tin Yuk	Died young and unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Tin Tso’s eldest son Chiu Kwong.
10	Tin Tsan	Unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Tin Yiu’s second son Kung Kwong.
10	Tin Tat	A son named Tso Po died. Succession was entrusted to Tin Yi’s eldest son Yuet Kwong.
10	Tin Kam	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Tin Yi’s second son Muk Hing.
10	<i>Tin Yi</i>	<i>Eldest son Yuet Kwong succeeded to Tin Tat, second son Muk Hing succeeded Tin Kam, third son was named Ng Hing, Fourth son was named Man Hing, and fifth son was named Man Luk.</i>
10	<i>Tin Kit</i>	<i>Two sons. Eldest son San Sau succeeded to Lin Tai, second son was named Tsung Sau.</i>
10	Tin Lan	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Tin Fong’s third son Kin Kwai.
10	Hei Tsun	A son named Tsuen Pan succeeded to Hei Shing. Adopted an <i>yuzi</i> named Tsuen Yik.
10	Hei Shing	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Hei Tsun’s second son Tsuen Pan.
10	Yuet Sau	Unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Hei Wing’s third son Tso Yau.
10	Hei Fat	No sons. Succession was entrusted to Hei Hing’s son Tsuen Lin.
10	Tsek Chau	He was an adopted. No sons. Succession was entrusted to King Chau’s second son Sai Yun.
10	Shui Chau	No sons. Tsak Chau’s son succeeded him.
10	Tsak Chau	A son named Sai Chue succeeded to Shui Chau.
10	King Kin	Eldest son was named Kam Sau. Second son Wah Sau succeeded to Lun Kin.
10	Lun Kin	Died young. King Kin’s second son Wah Sau succeeded him.
11	Ting Chin	No sons. Yik Chin’s eldest son Shue Yau succeeded him.
11	Shuet Kwong	Died young and unmarried. Yuk Kwong’s second son Muk Fuk succeeded him.
11	Kui Kwong	Died young and unmarried. Fan Kwong’s eldest son Shin Long succeeded him.
11	Kin Tsoi	No sons. Kin Kwai’s eldest son Kam Fat succeeded him.
11	Kin Fu	No sons. Kin Kwai’s second son Sei Sau succeeded him.
11	Tseuk Kwong	Died young and unmarried. Fan Kwong’s eldest son Shin Long succeeded him. Hing Kwong’s second son Wan Fui succeeded him.
11	Tsuen Kei	Unmarried and no sons. Tsuen Yue’s eldest son Yam Yau succeeded him.
11	Tsuen Pik	Both wife and concubine had no sons. Adopted the second son of Tsun Kwong, who was the member of our three branches, for the succession.
11	Sai Kwai	Died young and no sons. Sai Fu’s second son Kwan Yau succeeded him.
11	Sai Pan	No sons. Sai Tsak’s second son Tsuen Tsau succeeded him.
12	Hei Po	Unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Tsan Po’s second son King Kwong.
12	Chau Po	Unmarried. Succession was entrusted to Kei Po’s second son Shing Shing.

discriptions on the biological fathers of adopted persons are shown in italic letters.

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Table 3-40. Summary of *chengji* adoptions in the genealogical record

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
generation	name of the adoptive father	origin of the adopted son	adopted son as seen from the adoptive father	name of the adopted son	real father of the adopted son	birth year of the adoptive father	birth year of the adopted son	age difference	death year of the adoptive father	adoptive father still alive in 1839	adopted son's birth after the death of adoptive father	number of adoptive father's wives	number of adoptive father's real sons
8	Fat Leung			Ming Tso		1658	1696	38	1717			1	0
8	Hin Kat	elder brother's second son	BS	Wai Sheung	Hin Yuen	1732	1760	28	1778			1	0
8	Pong Cheung	elder brother's fourth son	BS	Luk Koon	Pong Sau	1721	1754	33	1783			1	0
8	Pong Mong	younger brother's second son	BS	Ah Yi	Pong Ying	1729	1761	32	1789			1	0
8	Pong Tso	elder brother's third son	BS	Ah An	Pong Wai	1729	1775	46	1801			3	0
9	Wai Tat	son of younger brother's son	FBSS	Tin Yan	Wai Shing	1731	1759	28	1798			1	0
9	Wai Tsin	younger brother's second son	BS	Tin Yuk	Wai Man	1753	1789	36	1819			1	1
9	Wai Hong	third son of father's brother's son	FBSS	Tin Cheung	Wai Fei	1787	1823	36		✓		2	0
9	Wai Kwai	elder brother's second son	BS	Tin Yue	Wai Luet	1726	1751	25	1766			1	0
9	Hau Kui	younger brother's second son	BS	Hei Kwai	Hau Chue	1709	1749	40	1760			1	0
9	Hau Mau	third son of the fathers younger brother's son	FBSS	Hei Lung	Hau Hong	1725	1756	31	1759			1	0
9	Hau Yeung	elder brother's third son	BS	Tsek Chau	Hau Shuen	1736	1771	35	1815			0	0
9	Hau Yue	elder brother's second son	BS	Tsun Chau	Hau Cheung	1744	1777	33	1806			2	0
9	Hau Tseuk	younger brother's second son	BS	Siu Chau	Hau Chung	1727	1761	34	1779			1	0
9	Ah An	second son of father's elder brother's son	FBSS	Wai Kin	Chi Koon	1775	1794	19	1799			1	0
10	Man Kam	younger brother's first son	BS	Yuk Chin	Man Kui	1754	1785	31	1793			0	0
10	Lai Yuk	younger brother's first son	BS	Ching Yuen	Lai Tsun	1747	1793	46	1803			1	0
10	Lai Yiu	younger brother's second son	BS	Siu Yuen	Lai Tsun	1749			1813			1	0
10	Tin Yan	descendant of the ancestor seven generation before	FFFFFBSSSS	Pan Kwong	Tin Woon	1759	1807	48	1816			2	0
10	Tin Yuk	younger brother's first son	BS	Chiu Kwong	Tin Tso	1767	1800	33	1790		-10	0	0
10	Tin Tsan	elder brother's second son	BS	Kung Kwong	Tin Yiu	1782	1810	28	1834			0	0
10	Tin Tat	Younger brother's first son	BS	Yuet Kwong	Tin Yi	1773	1817	44	1827			1	1
10	Tin Kam	younger brother's second son	BS	Muk Hing	Tin Yi	1779	1826	47	1832			1	0
10	Tin Lan	third son of father's elder brother's son	FBSS	Kin Kwai	Tin Fong	1749	1768	19	1812			1	0
10	Hei Shing	elder brother's second son	BS	Tsuen Pan	Hei Tsun	1732	1773	41		✓		0	1
10	Yuet Sau	elder brother's third son	BS	Tso Yau	Hei Wing	1765	1802	37		✓		0	0
10	Hei Fat	elder brother's first son	BS	Tsuen Lin	Hei Hing	1762	1789	27	1791			1	0
10	Tsek Cau	second son of father's elder brother's son	FBSS	Sai Yun	King Chau	1771	1814	43		✓		1	0
10	Shui Chau	younger brother's first son	BS	Sai Chue	Tsak Chau	1755			1816			1	0
10	Lun Kin	second son of father's elder brother's son	FBSS	Wah Sau	King Kin	1775	1812		1795		-17	0	0
11	Ting Chin	younger brother's first son	BS	Shue Yau	Yik Chin	1751			1800			1	0
11	Shuet Kwong	elder brother's second son	BS	Muk Fuk	Yuk Kwong	1806	1822	16	1821		-1	0	0
11	Kui Kwong	younger brother's first son	BS	Shin Long	Fan Kwong	1788	1812	24	1803		-9	0	0
11	Kin Tsoi	second son fo grandfather's younger brother's grandson	FBSSS	Kam Fat	King Chau		1806			✓		0	0
11	Kin Fu	first son fo grandfather's younger brother's grandson	FBSSS	Sei Sau	Kin Kwai		1812			✓		0	0
11	Tseuk Kwong	descendant of the ancestor nine generation before	FFFFFBSSSS	Shin Long	Fan Kwong	1775	1812		1795		-17	0	0
11	Tseuk Kwong	elder brother's second son	BS	Wan Fui	Hing Kwong	1775	1798		1795		-3	0	0
11	Tsuen Kei	only one child of younger brother	BS	Yam Yau	Tsuen Yue	1792	1832	40	1835			0	0
11	Tsuen Pik	descendant of other major branch of the lineage	FFFFFBSSSS	Lai Kwong	Tsun Kwong	1783	1829	46		✓		2	0
11	Sai Kwai	elder brother's second son	BS	Kwan Yau	Sai Fu	1795	1817		1815		-2	0	0
11	Sai Pan	second son of father's elder brother's first son	FBSS	Tsuen Tsau	Sai Tsak	1807	1818	11		✓		1	0
12	Hei Po	elder brother's second son	BS	Lai Kwong	Tsan Po					✓		0	0
12	Chau Po	elder brother's second son	BS	Shing Shing	Kei Po	1801			1832			0	0

Years in italic letters are estimated.

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AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI	AJ	AK	AL	AM	AN	AO	AP
adopted son's birth after the death of adoptive father's third wife	number of the adopted son's wives	birth year of adopted son's first wife	birth year of adopted son's second wife	birth year of adopted son's third wife	number of adopted son's real sons	number of adopted son's successors	adopted son	name of the son of adopted son	birth year of the son of adopted son	adoptive father entitled to the head of jiazu unit	note of young death for the adopted son	note of unmarried death for the adopted son	death of the adopted son
	1	1723				1	1	Chau Hei	1757				1758
	1	1761				0	0				1764		1794
	1	1754				1	1	Tsun Kin	1770	1745			1788
	0					1	1	Sam Lung		1757		✓	1822
	1	1776				0	1	✓	Wai Kin	1794	1751		1799
	2		1765			0	1	✓	Pan Kwong	1790	1765		1816
	1	1789				1	1	Hok Kwong	1812	1781			
	0						0				1821		
	2	1755	1754			4	4	Ping Kwong et	1781	1775			1826
	1	1757				1	1	Tsuen Tsan	1792	1739			1812
	2					1	1	Tsuen Woon	1790	1725			
	1	1777				0	1	✓	Sai Yun	1814	1748		
	1					3	3	Sai Lap et als.		1748			
	2	1762	1761			1	2	✓	Sai Fu, Sai Kw	1791	1751		1832
	2		1803			1	1	Tsuen Shui		1814			1834
	1	1781				2	2	Lun Po, Mau P.	1812	1778			1834
	1	1793				2	3	✓	Lin Wing, Yau \		1794		
	1	1799					1	Teo Wing	1830	1794			
	1	1814					0				1814		
	2		1810			1	1	Hing Tok	1804	1800			
	0					0	0			1803			
	0					0	0						
	0					0	0						
	1	1783				3	1	Ting Po	1797	1792			
	1	1784				2	3	✓	Lai Kam, Lai Sh	1812	1786		1837
	0					0	0			1767	✓	✓	
	1	1788				1	1	Lai Leung	1815	1802			
	1					0	0			1816			
	1					2	2	Yun Kwai, Yun	1819	1803			
	1					0	0						
	0		1812	1814			0			1794			
	0					0	0						
	1					0	0						
	1					0	0						
	0					0	0						
	1					0	0			1810			
	1					0	0						
	1	1819				0	0						
	1					0	0						
	0					0	0						

Tracing the “Family”

chengji. Among these 48 cases, six are people who were adopted and 42 were those who performed the adoption. Therefore, removing the overlaps, 42 cases of *chengji* adoption are recorded in the genealogy⁵¹.

As previously stated, the average age difference between adoptive fathers and their adopted sons adopted for *chengji* was 33.6 years. In eight cases, adoptive fathers had already died when their adopted sons were born. These are likely cases of so-called *guofangzi*, sons who were adopted after their adoptive fathers' deaths. However, by definition, *guofangzi* were not necessarily born after their adoptive fathers' deaths. Even if they were born while their adoptive fathers were still alive but their adoption occurred after their adoptive fathers' deaths, they should also be termed *guofangzi*. Therefore, there may be more cases of *guofangzi* than these eight cases. However, as there is no information in the written genealogy about when these adoptions were decided, we can only estimate the dates for each individual case by examining adoptive parents' ages at death and the age differences between adoptive parents and their adopted sons. We can at least exclude those cases in which adoptive fathers were still alive in 1838 (see column “K” in Table 3-40), the endpoint of the genealogical record, from *guofangzi* cases because they imply that their adoptions were decided in their adoptive fathers' lifetimes.

Column “M” in Table 3-40 shows whether these adoptive fathers had wives. Twenty-six adoptive fathers married at least once in their lives, including one case in which an adoptive father married three times and two cases in which they married twice. Seventeen adoptive fathers remained unmarried throughout their lives. Column “N” shows whether adoptive fathers had biological sons besides the adopted sons. We found that in three cases fathers adopted sons even though they had biological sons. Furthermore, I show cases in which adopted sons died young or died while unmarried in columns “P” and “Q,” respectively. As for persons whose death years were not recorded in the genealogy, it is uncertain whether they were still alive at the end of the genealogical record or had already passed away and whose name was still to be entered in the genealogy. However, if their early death or unmarried death is mentioned in the genealogy, we can neglect the possibility that they were still alive in 1838, even if there is no reference to the years of their deaths.

The age differences between the adopted sons and their adoptive mothers are shown in columns “X” to “Z” in Table 3-40. On average, adoptive mothers were 31.9 years older than their adopted sons. As columns “AA” to “AC” show, adopted sons were born after their adoptive mothers' deaths in four cases. Marital conditions of adopted sons are shown in column “AD”. Among 42 adopted sons, 11 sons were unmarried and only 18 adopted sons had their own biological sons. There were only 29 grandsons of these 42 adopted sons.

However, although some of these adopted sons were still young at the end of the genealogical record in 1838, 24 of the 42 adopted sons had no sons of their own. As column “AP” in Table 3-40 shows, there are records on the death years of 12 adopted sons among the 42 recorded in the genealogy. In these cases, three adopted sons did not have their own

⁵¹ Because Shin Long was adopted by Kui Kwong after he cancelled his adoption by Tseuk Kwong, these are counted as two adoptions in the genealogy. There are therefore 43 cases in Table 3-40.

Tracing the “Family”

sons. Another six adopted sons adopted male members of the lineage to secure their successors despite having their own sons (see column “AJ” in Table 3-40). Through analysis of these cases, we can see that it was not always easy to ensure the succession of the descent line through subsequent generations, even with the practice of adoptions.

Tables 3-41-1 and 3-41-2 show the distribution of *chengji* adoptions within “W” lineage. Table 3-41-1 shows how many *chengji* adoptions were practiced in each of the three major branches of the lineage that originated from three of the sons of the founding ancestor Ting Kei. In “W” lineage, 7.3 percent of all male members experienced *chengji* adoption as adoptive fathers, although the rate varies for each of three major branches from 5.6 percent to 8.3 percent. Table 3-41-2 shows the distribution of *chengji* adoptions among the nine sub-branches of the three major branches. Based on this evidence, we can conclude that there is no large difference in the frequency of *chengji* adoption among the different segments of “W” lineage.

Table 3-41-1. *Chengji* adoptions practiced in major branches of “W” lineage

Branches	Number of members	<i>Chengji</i> adoptions	<i>Chengji</i> as percentage
Kin Kai’s Branch	125	7	5.6
Yin Kai’s Branch	239	17	7.1
Tak Kai’s Branch	229	19	8.3
total	593	43	7.3

Table 3-41-2. *Chengji* adoptions practiced in major sub-branches of “W” lineage

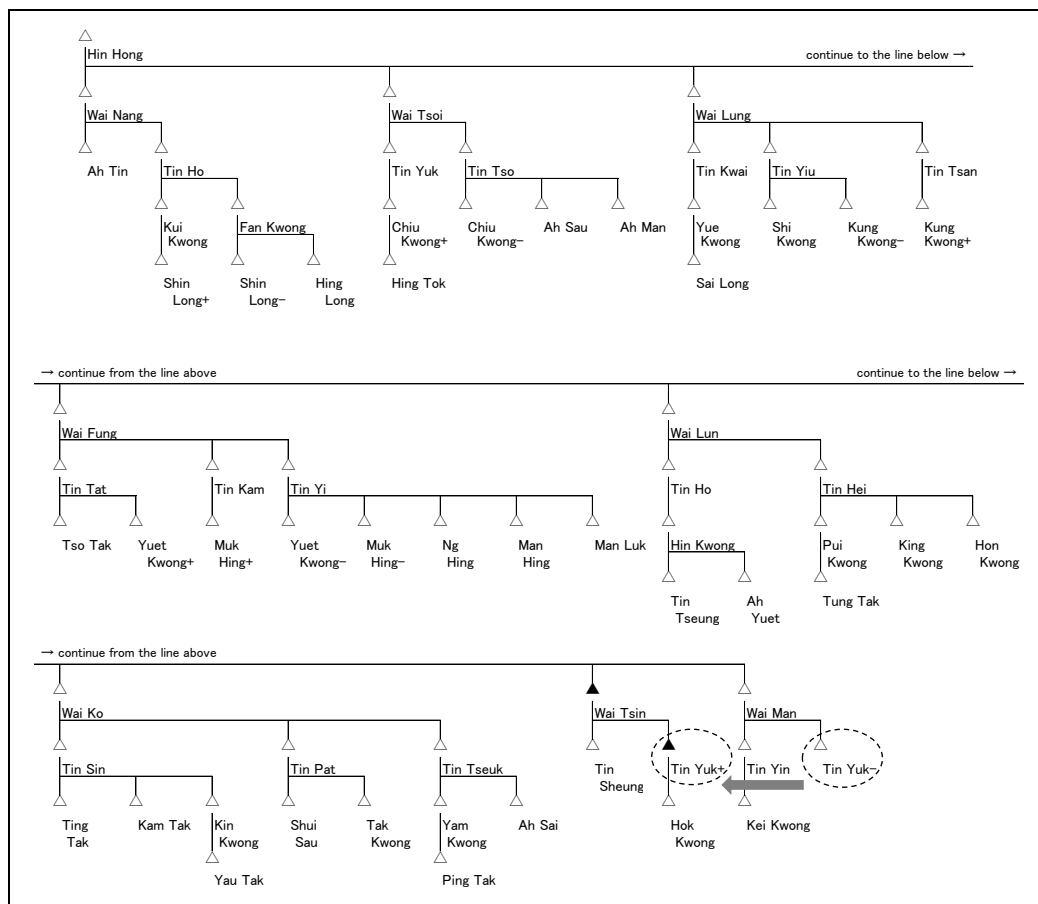
Major branches	Sub-branches	Number of members	<i>Chengji</i> adoptions	<i>Chengji</i> as percentages
Kin Kai’s Branch	Ho Kok’s Sub-branch	24	1	4.2
	Ho Tang’s Sub-branch	58	4	6.9
	Ho Yip’s Sub-branch	42	2	4.8
Yin Kai’s Branch	Yan Wai’s Sub-branch	148	11	7.4
	Yan Yi’s Sub-branch	39	0	0.0
	Yan Tim’s Sub-branch	13	0	0.0
	Yan Yuet’s Sub-branch	38	6	15.8
Tak Kai’s Branch	Tsz Hong’s Sub-branch	144	14	9.7
	Chek Yan’s Sub-branch	84	5	6.0
	total	590	43	7.3

Having described the overall picture of *chengji* adoptions in “W” lineage, I now examine the life stages of male members and their adopted sons for each of the 42 *chengji* adoptions. The first example is the case of Wai Tsin – who belonged to the ninth generation of the lineage – and his adopted son Tin Yuk. Wai Tsin was the descendant of the founding ancestor’s third son. He was born in 1753 as the seventh son of his father Hin Hong. Around 1770, he married Yeung Shi, who was 1 year younger than him. In 1781, aged 28, all the senior members in his family unit passed away, and his own *jiazu* unit became independent. However, Wai Tsin and his wife Yueng Shi had no sons for many years. Yeung Shi died in 1794 aged 40. Although Wai Tsin had a long life until his death in 1835 at the age of 82, he did not remarry or have his own biological sons.

Tin Yuk, who was adopted by Wai Tsin, was born as the second son of Wai Man, a younger brother of Wai Tsin. Between 1800 and 1805, Tin Yuk married Tsoi Shi, who was 3 years younger than him, and in 1812 they had their first son. Thus, Wai Tsin could obtain a successor for his descent line by adopting the son of his younger brother. However, the genealogy contains no information about when the adoption of Tin Yuk occurred. If he

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was adopted after Wai Tsin and his wife had died, it should have occurred between the death of Wai Tsin in 1835 and the end of the genealogical record in 1838. At that time, Tin Yuk was in his mid-40s. However, if his adoption was practiced while his adoptive father Wai Tsin was still alive, Wai Tsin would have seen the birth of his grandson in his lifetime. I show the genealogical relation of Wai Tsin and Tin Yuk in Fig. 3-42 and their life stages in Fig. 3-43. In this figure, “Tin Yuk-” shows his genealogical position before he was adopted by Wai Tsin and “Tin Yuk+” shows that after the adoption.



"-" means genealogical position before adoption, and "+" means that after adoption

Fig. 3-42. Genealogical relationship between Wai Tsin and Tin Yuk

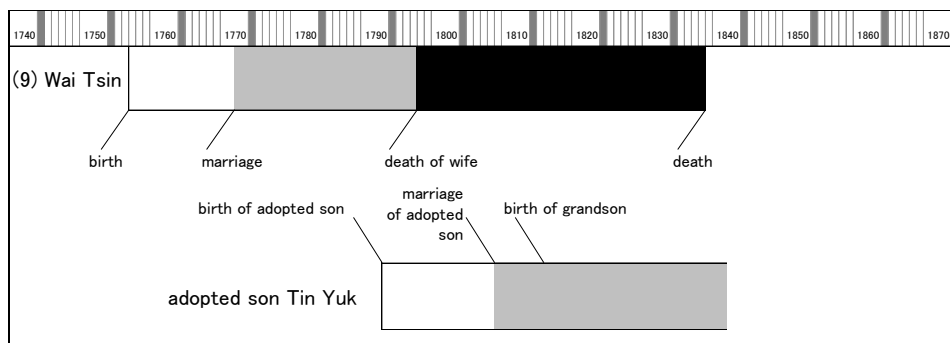


Fig. 3-43. Life stages of Wai Tsin and Tin Yuk

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Just like Wai Tsin’s case, that of Hau Tseuk - who belonged to the ninth generation of the lineage - is one in which an adoptive father could see the face of his grandson and secure a successor for his descent line by adopting a son. Hau Tseuk was a descendant of Tak Kai, the fourth son of the founding ancestor. He was born in 1727 and married a wife 2 years younger than him in 1745 or slightly earlier. His wife’s surname is unknown because the genealogy lacks this information. In 1751, Hau Tseuk and his wife gained their own independent *jiazu* unit following the deaths of senior family members. However, they had no sons when his wife died in 1766 aged 37. Hau Tseuk survived his wife for nearly 30 years without remarrying until he died in 1795 aged 68. Although they may have had daughters, which we will never know from the description in the genealogy, we can be sure that they did not have biological sons.

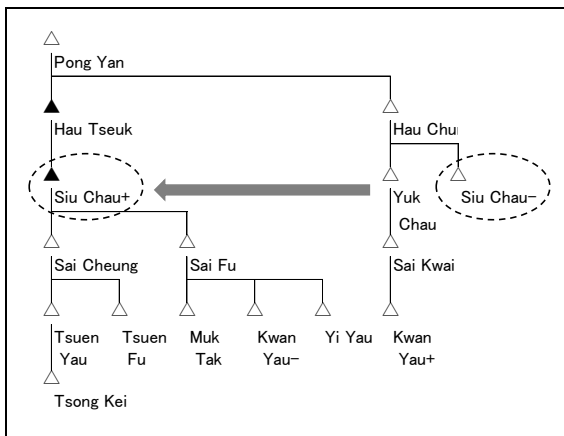


Fig. 3-44. Genealogical relationship between Hau Tseuk and Siu Chau

Hau Tseuk’s adopted son Siu Chau was the second son of his younger brother. Siu Chau was born in 1761 and married Chiu Shi, who was born in 1762, around 1780. They had a son in 1791, but as Chiu Shi died in 1795, Siu Chau later married his second wife, Lam Shi. Siu Chau died in 1832 aged 71. In this case too, it is not certain when Hau Tseuk adopted Siu Chau. At least we can say Hau Tseuk, who did not have biological sons, could obtain a successor for his descent line through Siu Chau’s adoption. The details of their life stages are shown in Fig. 3-45.

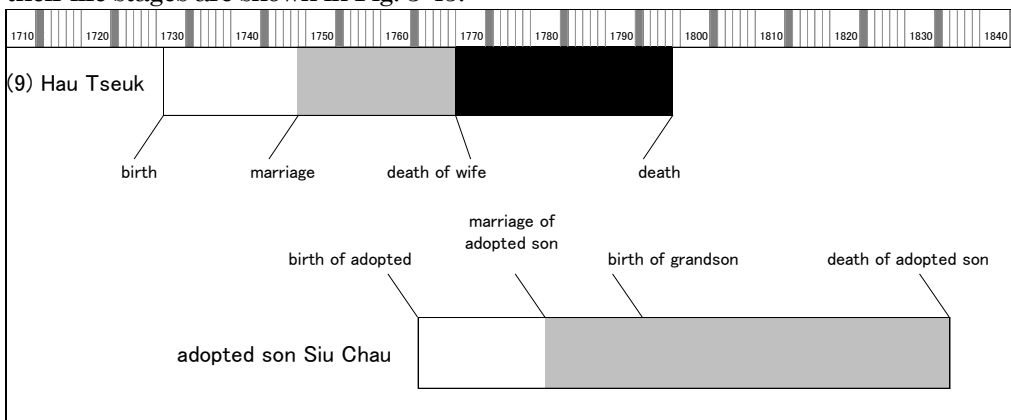


Fig. 3-45. Life stages of Hau Tseuk and Siu Chau

Tracing the “Family”

I show one more case that is similar to the previous two. That is the case of Wai Kwai, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was a descendant of Yin Kai, the third son of the lineage founder. Wai Kwai was born in 1726 and married Wan Shi in the 1740s. Wan Shi was born in the same year as Wai Kwai. In 1775, as senior members in their family died, their own *jjazu* unit became independent. However, they had no sons when Wai Kwai died in 1782 aged 56. Five years later, Wan Shi died aged 61. Because they did not have sons, they adopted Tin Yue as their adopted son, though it is not certain when this adoption occurred. As Fig. 3-46 shows, Tin Yue was the second son of Wai Kwai's older brother, that is, an agnatic nephew.

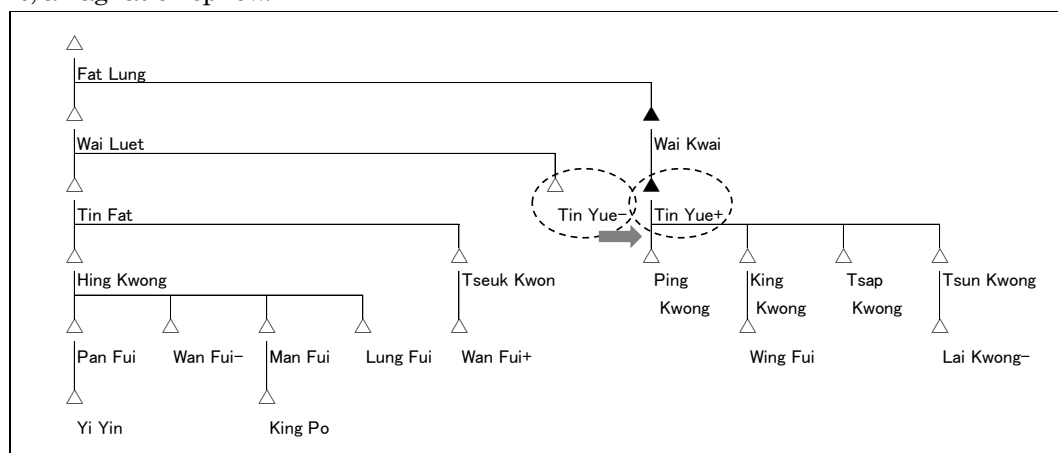


Fig. 3-46. Genealogical relationship between Wai Kwai and Tin Yue

Tin Yue was born in 1751 and had two spouses, Lei Shi, born in 1755, and Lam Shi, born in 1754. According to the written genealogy, Lei Shi was his wife and Lam Shi was his concubine. Therefore, these two women were thought to be in simultaneous conjugal relationships with Tin Yue. His wife Lei Shi died in 1814 aged 59 and his concubine Lam Shi died in 1810 aged 56. Tin Yue's first son was born in 1781 and three subsequent sons followed. We do not know from the genealogical record which woman was the mother of these four sons. However, it is at least certain that Wai Kwai and his wife Wan Shi, who did not have biological sons, had four grandsons through the adoption of Tin Yue, which secured the succession of their descent line. Wai Kwai's and Tin Yue's life stages are shown in Fig. 3-47.

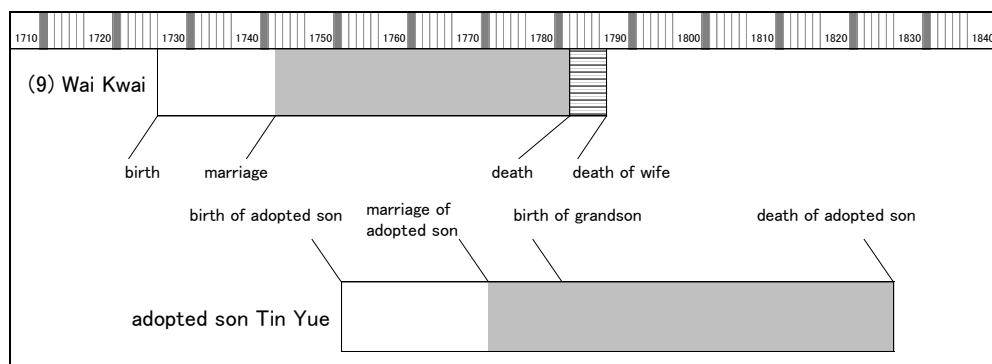


Fig. 3-47. Life stages of Wai Kwai and Tin Yue

Tracing the “Family”

Although I do not mention details here to avoid repetitions of similar cases, there are three more cases in which adoptive fathers secured the descent line by adopting sons among the total 42 examples of *chengji* adoption. These are the cases of Shui Chau in the 10th generation and his adopted son Sai Chue (Figs. 3-48 and 3-49), Tin Lan in the 10th generation and his adopted son Kin Kwai (Figs. 3-50 and 3-51) and Hei Fat in the 10th generation and his adopted son Tsuen Lin (Figs. 3-52 and 3-53). In each case, the adoptive father, who married but had no sons, adopted a son to succeed their descent. The adopted son had his own sons and the adoptive father secured successors for his descent line. We cannot be sure when any of these adoptions were decided and practiced. It is possible that Hei Fat’s wife Ho Shi was still alive in 1838; if this was the case, Tsuen Lin’s adoption would have occurred during his adoptive parents’ lifetime.

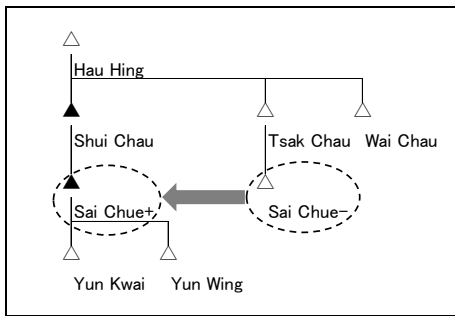


Fig. 3-48. Genealogical relationship between Shui Chau and Sai Chue

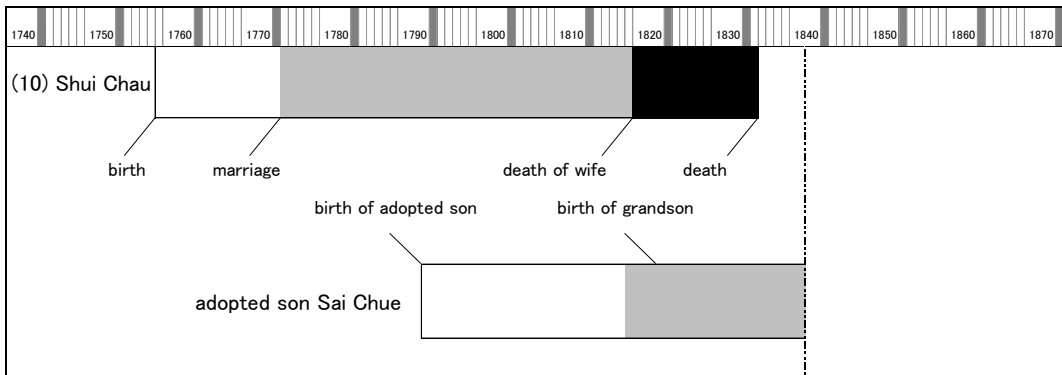


Fig. 3-49. Life stages of Shui Chau and Sai Chue

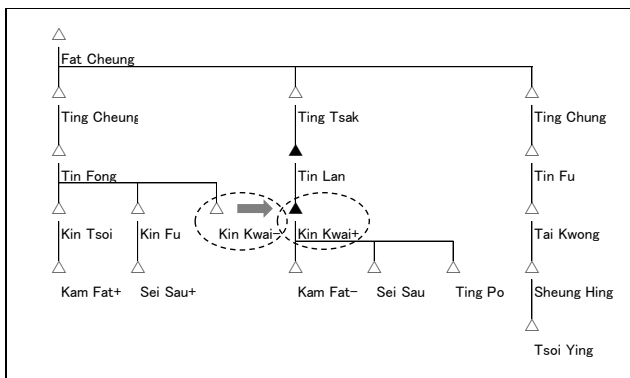


Fig. 3-50. Genealogical relationship between Tin Lan and Kin Kwai

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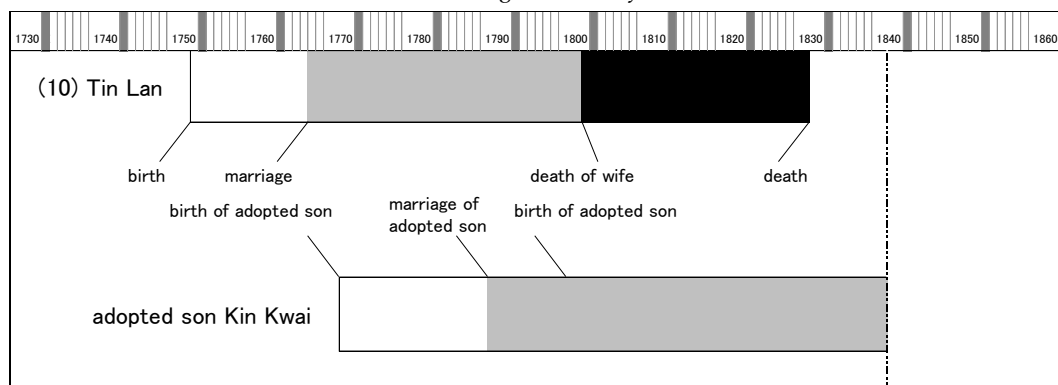


Fig. 3-51. Life stages of Tin Lan and Kin Kwai

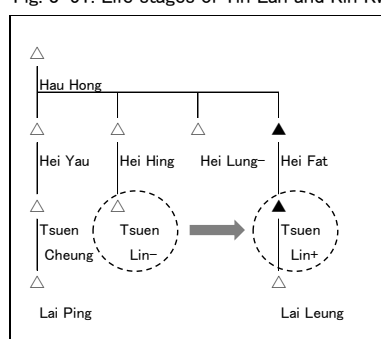


Fig. 3-52. Genealogical relationship between Hei Fat and Tsuen Lin

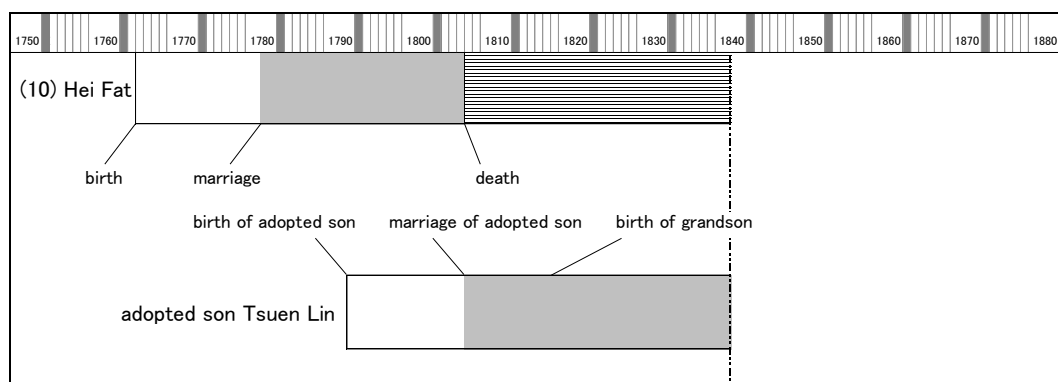


Fig. 3-53. Life stages of Hei Fat and Tsuen Lin

The next example is one in which an adoptive father obtained successors for his descent line through adoption but whose grandsons were apparently born after both he and his wife died. Figs. 3-54 and 3-55 show the case of Hau Kui - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Hei Kwai. Hau Kui was a member of a segment that had its origin in the fourth son of the founding ancestor. He was born in 1709 and married Leung Shi, though the year of their marriage was not recorded. Leung Shi was his senior by 1 year. Although there was no record of her death in the genealogy, it is impossible that she was still alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended. Therefore, she presumably died before her husband Hau Kui or they divorced. In any case, they had no sons when Hau Kui passed away and they are not mentioned in the genealogical records after this point.

Tracing the “Family”

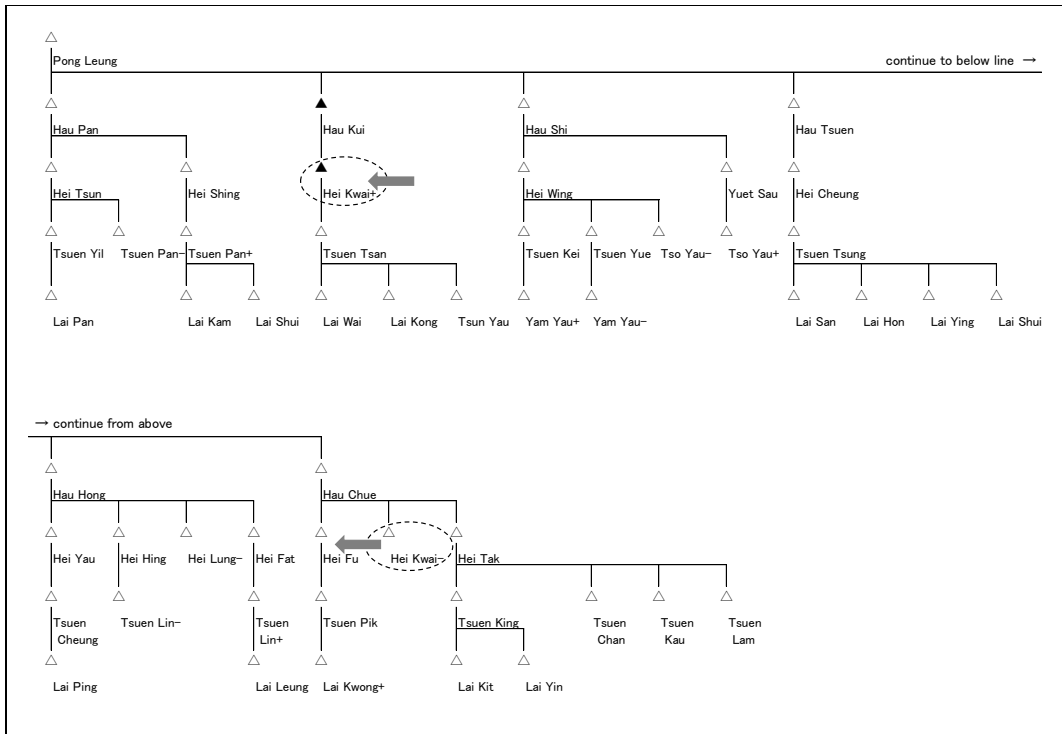


Fig. 3-54. Genealogical relationship between Han Kui and Hei Kwai

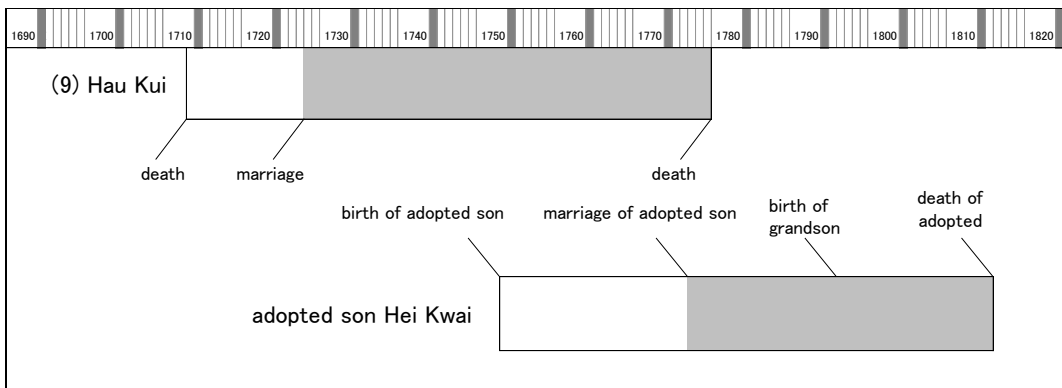


Fig. 3-55. Life stages of Hu Kui and Hei Kwai

Hei Kwai, Hau Kui’s adopted son, was Hau Kui’s youngest brother’s second son. Hau Kui had six brothers. Hei Kwai was born in 1749 and married Liu Shi, 8 years younger than Hei Kwai, in 1773 or slightly earlier. They had their only son as late as 1792. At this point, the adoptive father Hau Kui had already died and his wife Leung Shi had also died or had divorced. Therefore, although Hau Kui’s descent line was eventually succeeded by his grandson, Hau Kui never knew this.

The cases of Hau Mau - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Hei Lung (Figs. 3-56 and 3-57), Man Kam - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Yuk Chin (Figs. 3-58 and 3-59) and Lai Yuk - who

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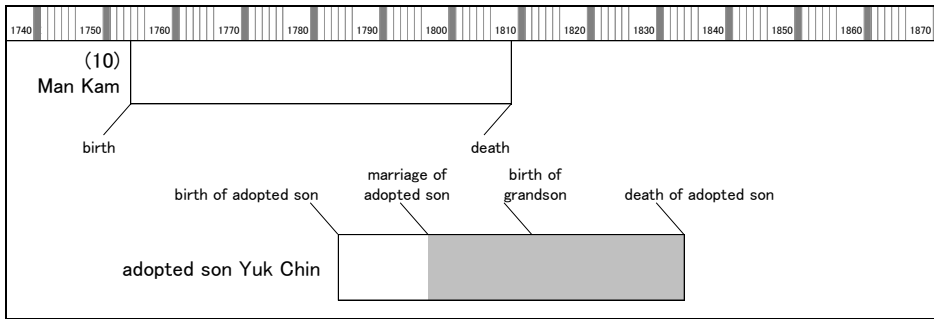


Fig. 3-59. Life stages of Man Kam and Yuk Chin

belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Ching Yuen (Figs. 3-60 and 3-61) are similar cases in which adopted sons had their own sons and secured the successors for the descent line only after the deaths of their adoptive fathers. In Hau Mau’s and Man Kam’s cases, as there were no records of the adoptive fathers’ wives, they seemed to be unmarried throughout their lives if this was not the result of simple failures to record. Hau Mau was born in 1725 and died in 1775 aged 50. Man Kam was born in 1754 and died in 1809 aged 55. Hau Mau’s adopted son Hei Lung was the grandson of Hau Mau’s father’s older brother and Man Kam’s adopted son Yuk Chin was Man Kam’s agnatic nephew or his younger brother’s son. Lai Yuk was married, but did not have his own sons.

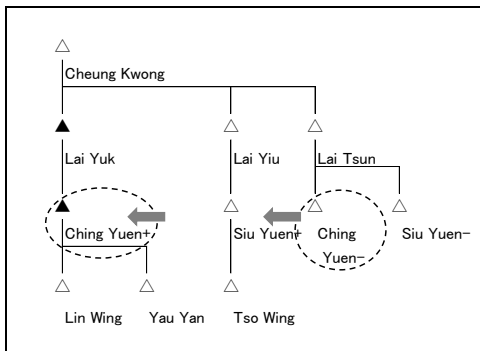


Fig. 3-60. Genealogical relationship between Lai Yuk and Ching Yuen

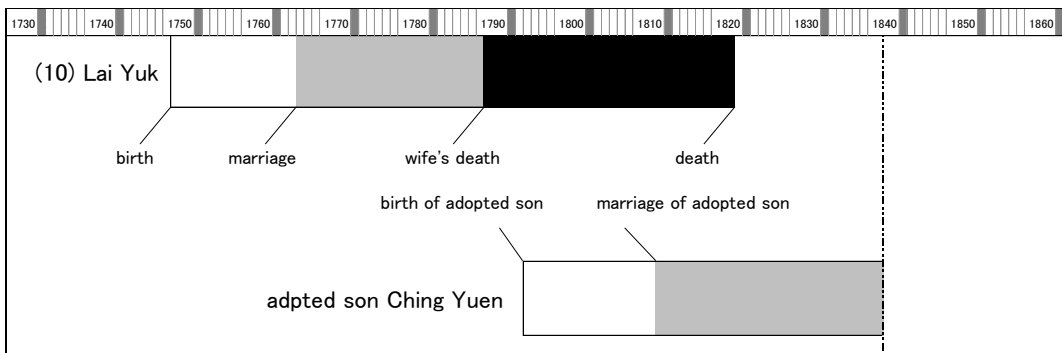


Fig. 3-61. Life stages of Lai Yuk and Ching Yuen

I will now show cases in which adopted sons did not have their own sons, which ended their adoptive fathers’ descent lines. Figs. 3-62 and 3-63 show the case of Pong Mong

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- who belonged to the eighth generation - and his adopted son Ah Yi. Pong Mong was a descendant of the youngest son of the lineage’s founding ancestor and was born in 1729. As there is no record of his marriage in the genealogy, he remained seemingly unmarried until his death in 1805 at the age of 76. Meanwhile, he had his own *jiazu* unit because of the death of senior members of his family, but there were no other members in his *jiazu*.

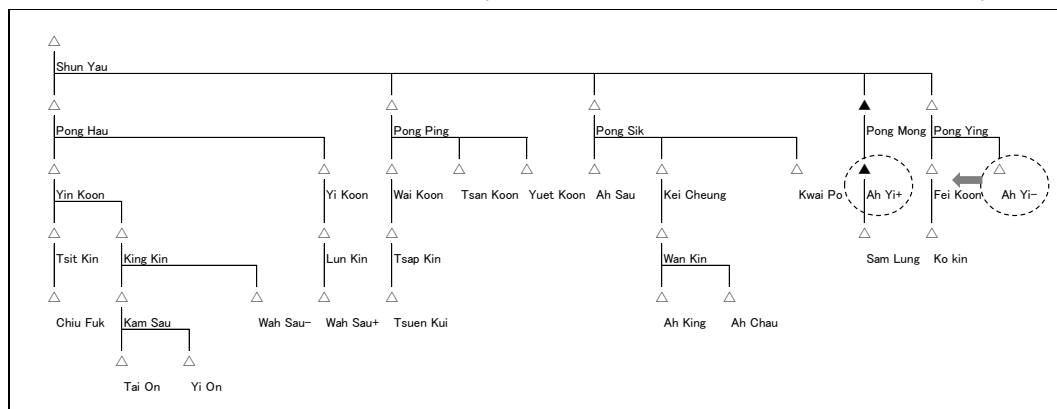


Fig. 3-62. Genealogical Relationship between Pong Mong and Ah Yi

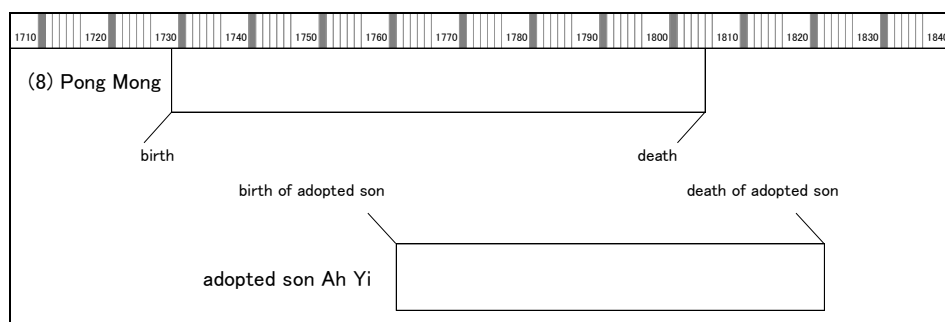


Fig. 3-63. Life stages of Pong Mong and Ah Yi

Ah Yi, adopted son of Pong Mong, was the nephew or the second son of Pong Mong’s younger brother. According to the written genealogy, Ah Yi was born in 1761. Although there is no record of his marriage, a footnote in the genealogical record states that “he never married because of the poverty of his family, but later he accepted a male child named San Hing who was born to the Cheng family.” This footnote suggests that although Ah Yi remained unmarried, he adopted a male child of another surname, although the meaning of the word “accepted” is unclear here. Although adoptions of non-agnates were usually called *yuzi* elsewhere in the genealogy, I am unsure whether this “acceptance” means *yuzi*. We do not know from the genealogy whether San Hing succeeded Pong Mong’s descent line as a formally-adopted son of Ah Yi. However, because the name Ah Yi looks like an infant name⁵² and not a formal name for a lineage member, it is

⁵² Ah Yi means “the second child” and is sometimes used as an infant name for the second-born child. As most of his cousins had names in accordance with the naming system of *beizi* such as Yin Koon or Wai Koon, he should also have such a name if he had reached adulthood.

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doubtful that he was recognized as a full lineage member. Therefore, it is difficult to suppose that the descent line was successfully continued through adoption here.

The cases of Hau Yue - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Tsun Chau (Figs. 3-64 and 3-65), Tin Yan - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Pan Kwong (Figs. 3-66 and 3-67) and Ting Chin - who belonged to the 11th generation - and his adopted son Shue Yau (Figs. 3-68 and 3-69) are cases in which adopted sons apparently had no sons and failed to secure successors for their adoptive fathers. Among these, no marriages were recorded for Tsun Chau or Shue Yau. Pan Kwong seemed to be married but had no sons when the genealogical record ended.

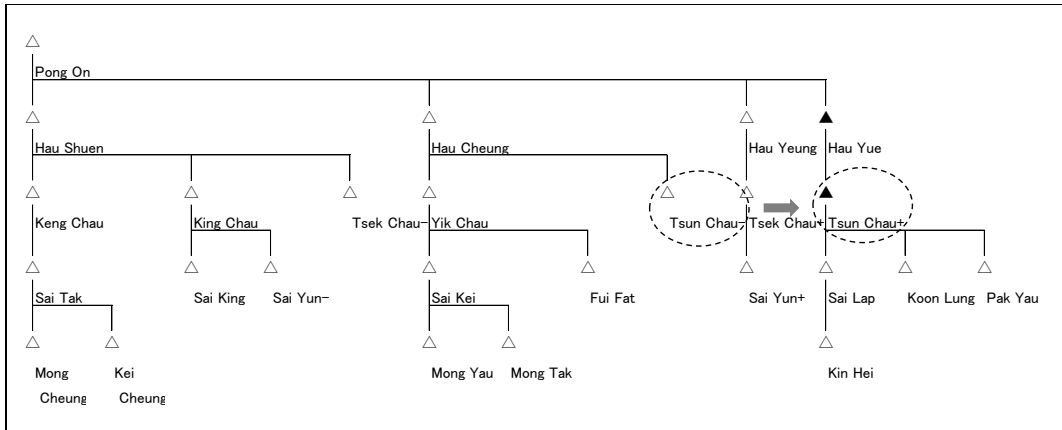


Fig. 3-64. Genealogical relationship between Hau Yue and Tsun Chau

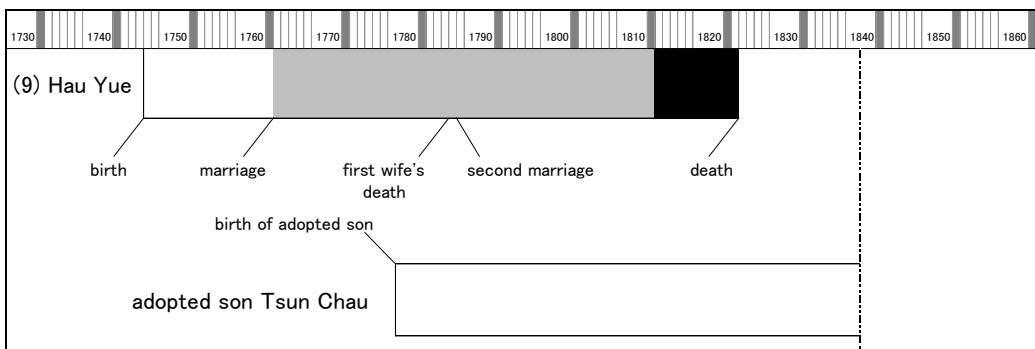


Fig. 3-65. Life stages of Hau Yue and Tsun Chau

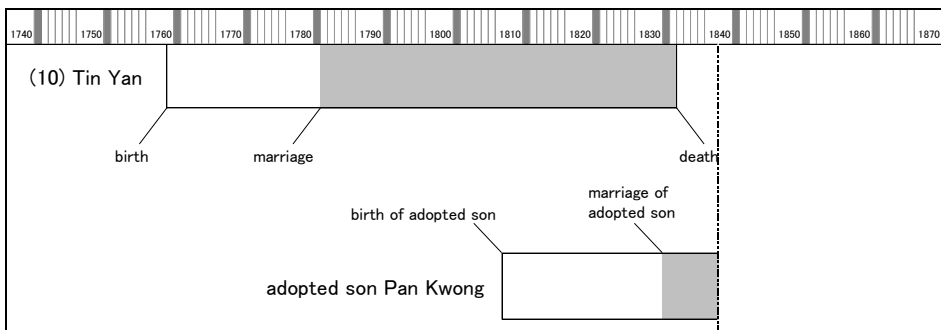


Fig. 3-67. Life stages of Tin Yan and Pan Kwong

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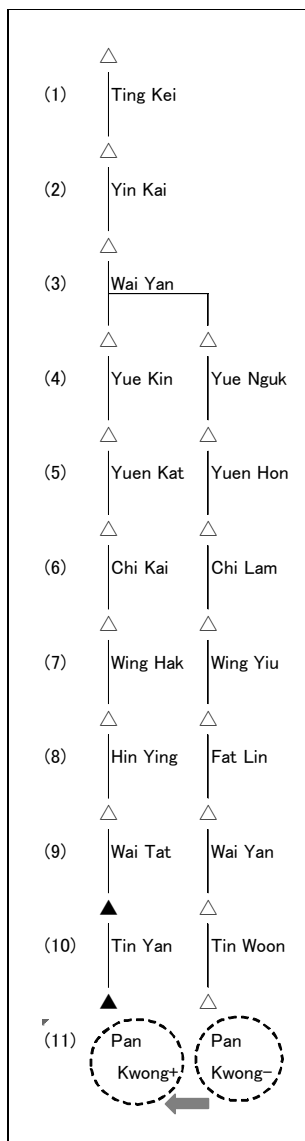


Fig. 3-66. Genealogical relationship between Tin Yan and Pan Kwong

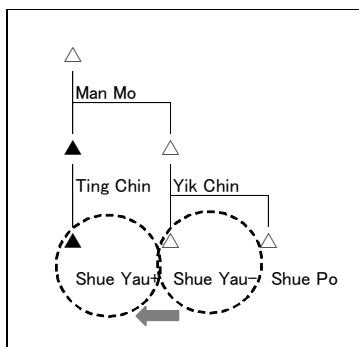


Fig. 3-68. Genealogical relationship between Ting Chin and Shue Yau

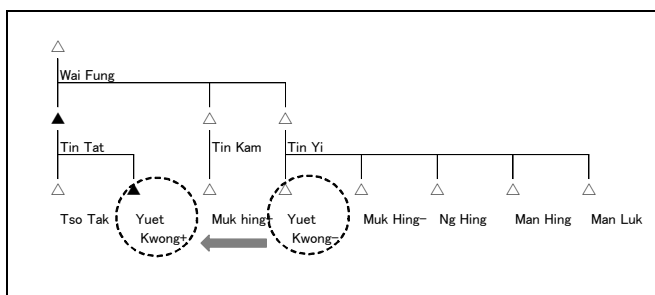


Fig. 3-70. Genealogical relationship between Tin Tat and Yuet Kwong

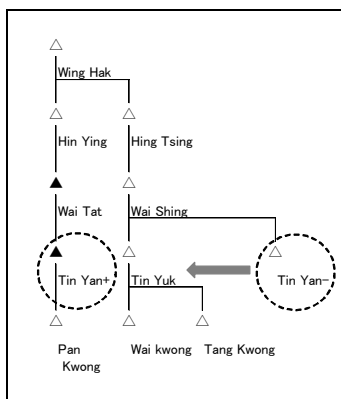


Fig. 3-72. Genealogical relationship between Wai Tat and Tin Yan

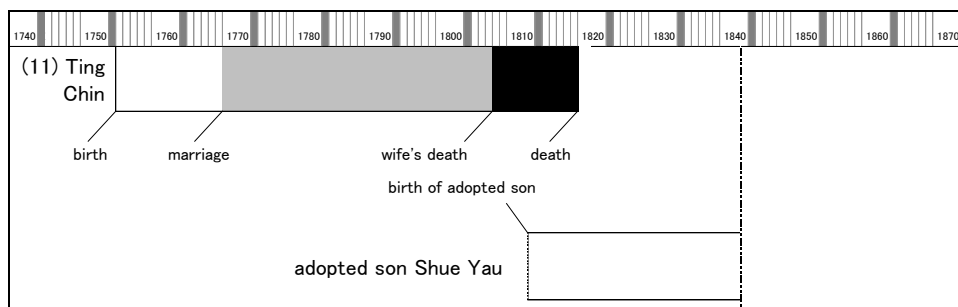


Fig. 3-69. Life stages of Ting Chin and Shue Yau

Tracing the “Family”

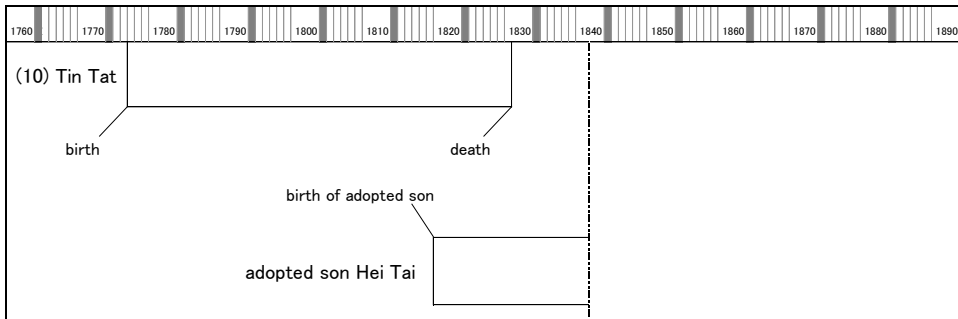


Fig. 3-71. Life stages of Ting Chin and Shue Yau

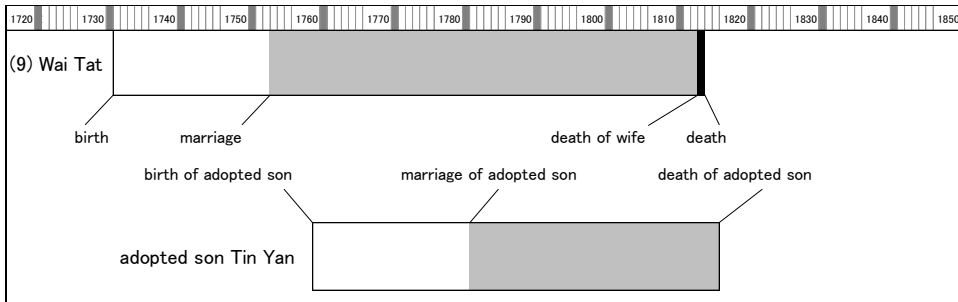


Fig. 3-73. Life-States of Wai Tat and Tin Yan

Tin Tat - who was a member of the 10th generation - and his adopted son Yuet Kwong (Figs. 3-70 and 3-71), seems to be a special case. Tin Tat was born in 1773 and he had a wife, Yuen Shi, whose year of birth was not recorded. According to the genealogy, Tin Tat had a biological son named Tso Tak whose mother seemed to be Yuen Shi. However, Tin Tat adopted Yuet Kwong, who was the oldest son of his younger brother. Because Tin Tat died in 1811, Yuet Kwong was a *guoji* adopted after his adoptive father's death. Even though there is no record of when Tso Tak died, his early death was mentioned in the genealogical book. Therefore, we can suppose that Tso Tak died while he was still under age and Yuet Kwong was adopted on behalf of Tin Tat, who had no successor when he passed away. Yuet Kwong was born in 1817 and because he was still 21 in 1838 when the record of the genealogy ended, it contains no record of his wife and sons.

In other cases, adoptive sons who had no sons adopted sons as their own successors. Wai Tat - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Tin Yan (Figs. 3-72 and 3-73) presents such a case. Wai Tat, a descendant of the third son of the lineage founder, was born in 1731 and married in his 20s to Wan Shi, who was 6 years his junior. In 1765, following the death of senior members of his family, he became the head of his own *jiazu* unit. However, the couple had no sons when Wai Tat died in 1814 aged 83. His wife Wan Shi passed away soon after. Thus, even though Wai Tat married and enjoyed a long life with his wife they did not have their own sons.

Tin Yan, the adopted son of Wai Tat, was the grandson of Wai Tat's father's younger brother, or the son of his patrilineal parallel cousin (Fig. 3-72). Tin Yan was born in 1759. As shown Figs. 3-66 and 3-67, Tin Yan married twice, to Wong Shi and Yip Shi, but never had sons of his own. He adopted a lineage member named Pan Kwong, who belonged to the same branch originating from the third son of the founding ancestor but

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related to him only through an ancestor seven generations before (to show all generations, lateral kin are omitted in Fig. 3-66). Although Pan Kwong married, he had no sons by 1838 when the genealogical record ended. This means that in Wai Tat’s family line, adoptions were repeated for two generations, but they struggled to secure successors for the descent line even through such practices.

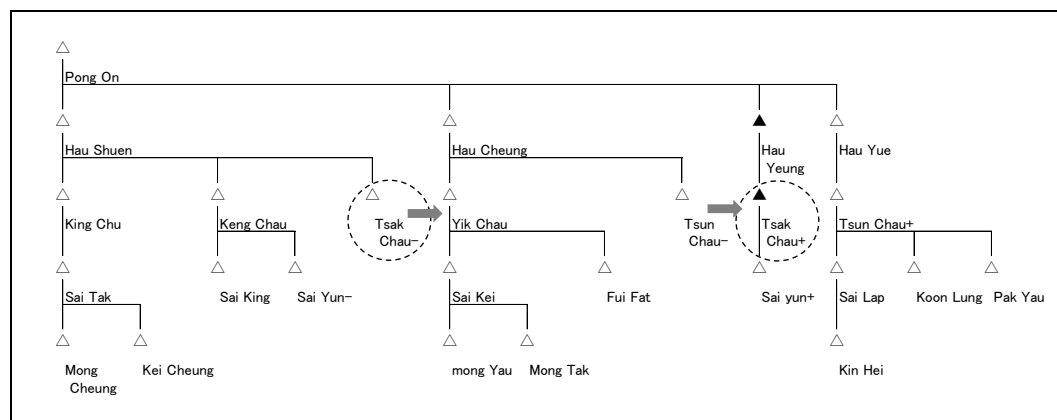


Fig. 3-74. Genealogical relationship between Hau Yeung and Tsak Chau

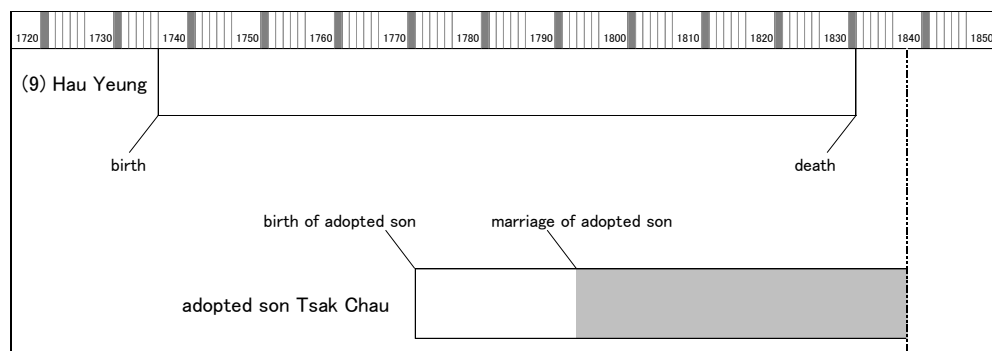


Fig. 3-75. Life stages of Hau Yeung and Tsak Chau

The case of Hau Yeung - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Tsak Chau is similar. Hau Yeung, who was a descendant of the youngest son of the lineage founder, was born in 1736 and enjoyed a long life until his death in 1815 at the age of 79. There is no record in the genealogy of a wife or a biological son. Hau Yeung adopted Tsak Chau, who was his older brother’s third son (see Figs. 3-74 and 3-75). Tsak Chau was born in 1771 and married Chan Shi, but no sons are recorded in the genealogy. Because there is no record of Tsak Chau’s death, we cannot be sure whether Tsak Chau was still alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended. However, it was recorded in the genealogy that Sai Yun had been adopted for Tsak Chau. As shown in Figs. 3-76 and 3-77, Sai Yun was the grandson of Hau Shuen, Hau Yeung’s older brother. Because Tsak Chau’s real father was Hau Shuen, Sai Yun was actually Tsak Chau’s real brother’s son. In these cases, *chengji* adoptions were repeated in two generations. I will examine another example of such cases later when I discuss the case of Pong Tso, Ah On and Wai Kin (Figs. 3-82 and 3-86).

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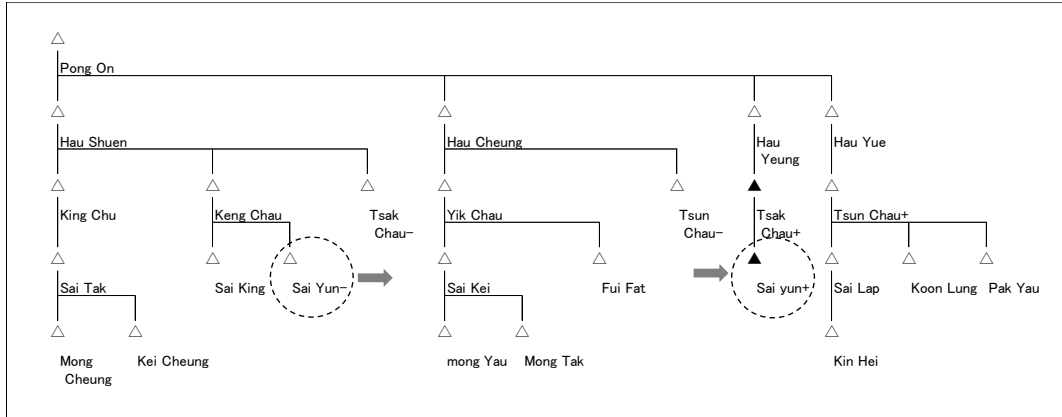


Fig. 3-76. Genealogical relationship between Tsak Chau and Sai Yun

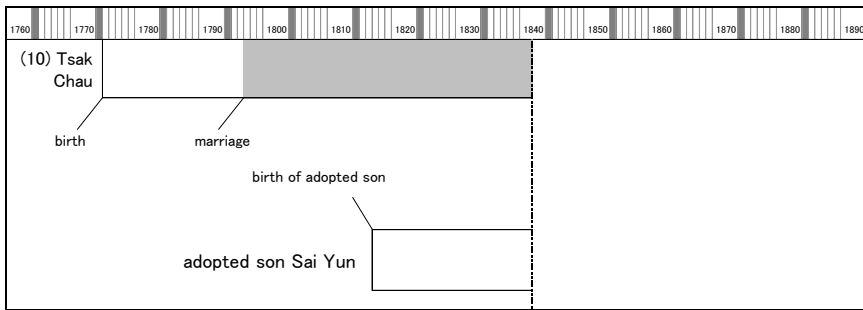


Fig. 3-77. Life stages of Tsek Chau and Sai Yun

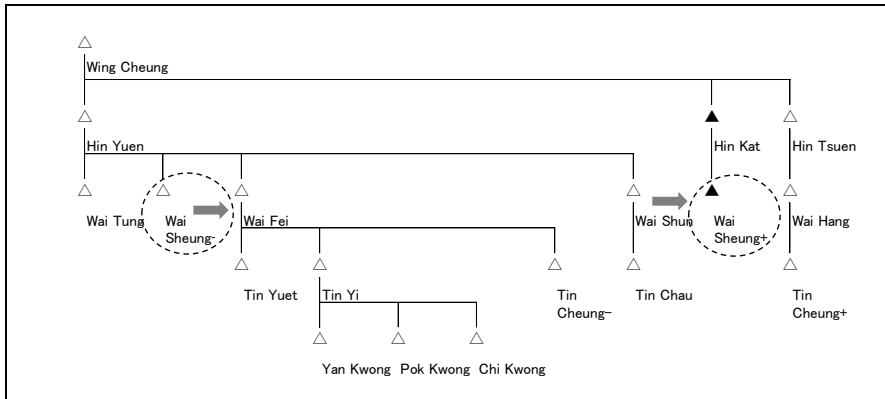


Fig. 3-78. Genealogical relationship between Hing Kat and Wai Sheung

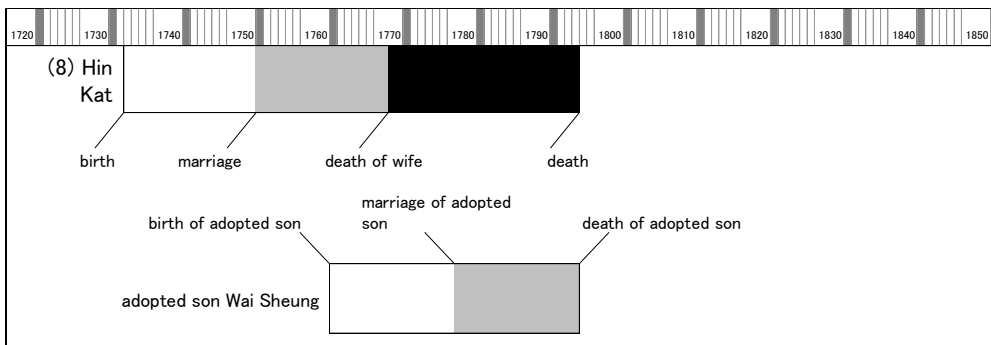


Fig. 3-79. Life stages of Hing Kat and Wai Sheung

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As seen in the cases above, it was not always easy to secure a successor for the descent line in the next generation even through *chengji* adoptions. The next two examples are cases in which adopted sons died around the same time as their adoptive fathers without leaving their own sons. The case of Hin Kat - who belonged to the eighth generation - and his adopted son Wai Sheung is shown in Figs. 3-78 and 3-79. Hin Kat was a descendent of the third son of the lineage’s founding ancestor. He was born in 1732 and married Loh Shi in the early 1750s. However, Loh Shi passed away in 1768 without bearing sons. After becoming a widower, Hin Kat never remarried or had own sons. He passed away in 1794 aged 62. He adopted Wai Sheung as his son. Wai Sheung was his older brother’s second son. Wai Sheung had a wife, Ng Shi, but he also died in 1794 aged just 34. As he had no son, *fuyi* was practiced for him after his death. I will discuss this case again in section 3-3-2.

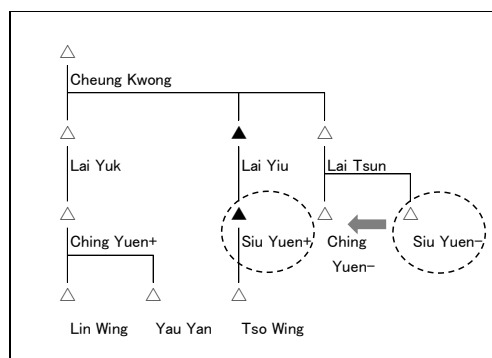


Fig. 3-80. Genealogical relationship between Lai Yiu and Siu Yuen

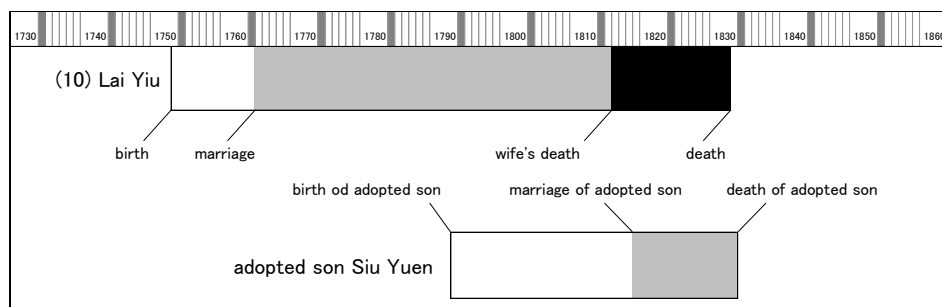


Fig. 3-81. Life stages of Lai Yiu and Siu Yuen

Another similar case is that of Lai Yiu - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Siu Yuen (Figs. 3-80 and 3-81). Lai Yiu, who was a descendant of the youngest son of the lineage founder, was born in 1749 and married Tsang Shi, but they had no sons when Tsang Shi died aged 63. Their adopted son Siu Yuen was the second son of Lai Yiu’s younger brother. Although Siu Yuen married Soh Shi, the couple never had their own sons. The adoptive father, Lai Yiu, died in 1829 and the adopted son Siu Yuen died in 1830.

There are even cases in which adopted sons died before their adoptive fathers. Pong Tso - who belonged to the eighth generation - and his adopted son Ah On (Figs. 3-82 and 3-83), Ah On - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Wai Kin (Figs. 3-82 and 3-84) and Pong Cheung - who belonged to the eighth generation -

Tracing the “Family”

and his adopted son Luk Koon (Figs. 3-85 and 3-86) are such cases.

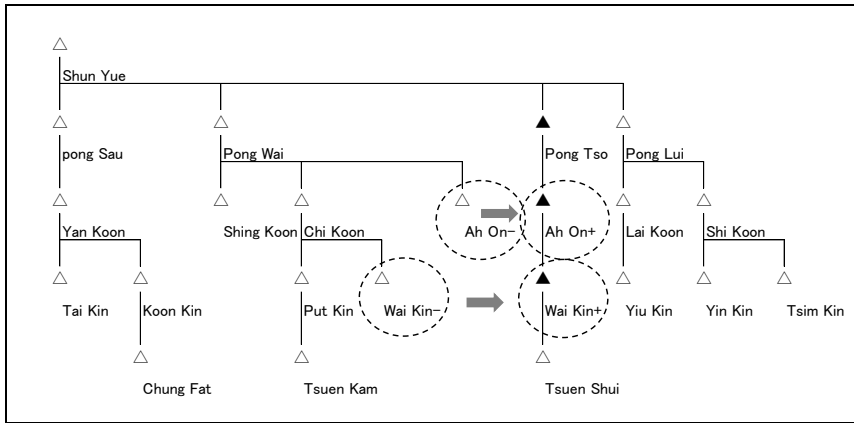


Fig. 3-82. Genealogical relationship between Pong Tso and Ah On, Ah On and Wai Kin

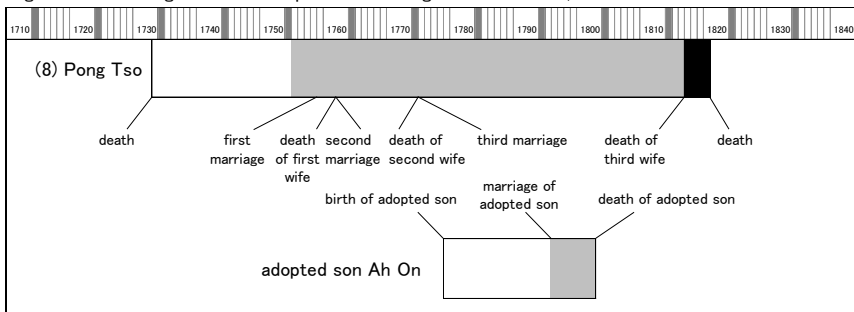


Fig. 3-83. Life stages of Pong Tso and Ah On

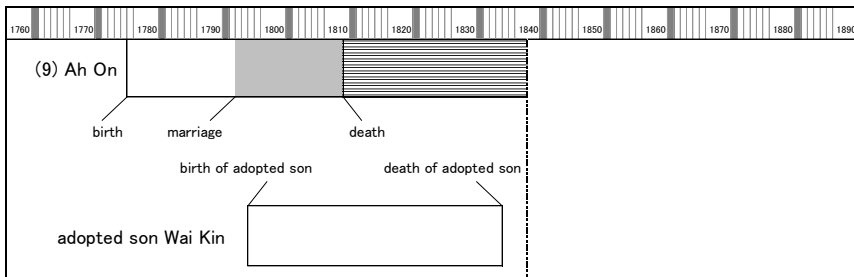


Fig. 3-84. Life stages of Ah On and Wai Kin

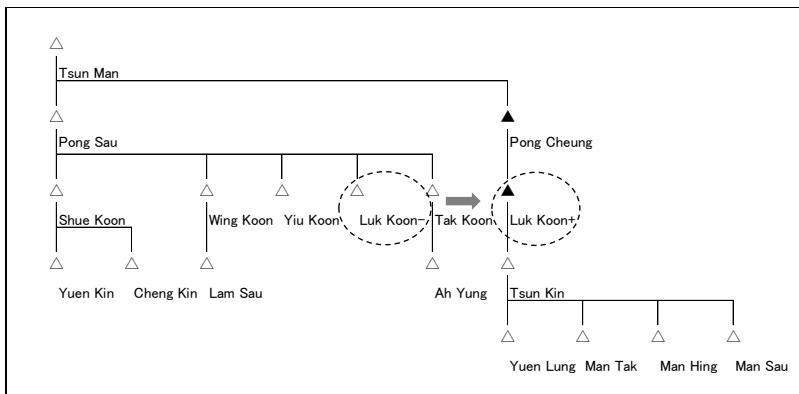


Fig. 3-85. Genealogical relationship between Pong Cheung and Luk Koon

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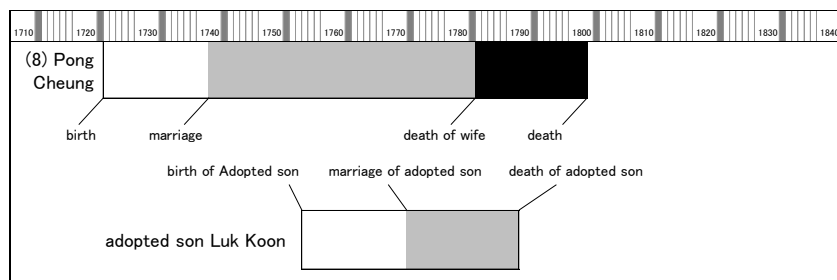


Fig. 3-86. Life stages of Pong Cheung and Luk Koon

Pong Tso, a descendant of the youngest son of the founding ancestor, was born in 1729 and married Tsui Shi, but she died a few years later. Pong Tso later married Leung Shi, but she also died after approximately 10 years of marriage. His third wife, Tsang Shi, enjoyed a long life and he lived with her for about 40 years. However, Pong Tso did not have a son with any of these three wives. After Tsang Shi's death, he lived a further 3 years and died in 1817 aged 88. Ah On, who was adopted by Pong Tso and succeeded his descent, was Pong Tso's older brother's third son. Ah On was born in 1775, 46 years after his adoptive father. When Ah On was about 20, he married Soh Shi, who was his junior by 1 year. However, soon after they married, he died aged just 24. At that time, Ah On's adoptive father Pong Tso was still alive aged 70.

As Ah On died without male descendants to succeed the descent line, Wai Kin was adopted as his son. Wai Kin was Pong Tso's older brother's grandson, or the son of Ah On's patrilineal parallel cousin. However, because Ah On's real father was Pong Tso's older brother, Wai Kin was actually the son of Ah On's own older brother (see Fig. 3-83). As Wai Kin was born in 1794, he was 15 when his adoptive father Ah On passed away. Although Ah On died very young, his wife Soh Shi seemed to still be alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended. There was a likely adoptive-mother-adoptive-son relationship between Soh Shi and Wai Kin. However, Wai Kin died in 1834 aged 40. In the genealogy, there are no records of his having a wife or sons. Thus, in Pong Tso's family line, not only were *chengji* adoptions repeated in two generations, but male members who were adopted as successors passed away before their adoptive fathers⁵³.

Similarly, Luk Koon, who was adopted by Pong Cheung in the eighth generation, died aged 34 when his adoptive father was still alive (Figs. 3-85 and 3-86).

The three examples shown above are cases in which the adoptive son died while one or both of the adoptive parents were still alive. These cases suggest that some *chengji* adoptions were decided and practiced before the adoptive parents' deaths. However, there are cases in which *chengji* adoptions were practiced apparently after the adoptive parents' deaths. The case of Tin Yuk - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son

⁵³ The name Ah On also seems to be an infant name. As Ah On survived to adulthood and was married, in principle he should have been given a formal name following the *beizi* naming system. However, he may have been recorded with this infant name in the genealogy because of his young and sudden death soon after the marriage.

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Chiu Kwong is such a case. Tin Yuk, who was a member of the branch originating from the lineage founder’s third son, was born in 1767. Although the year of his death was not recorded, the genealogical record does note that he died young and unmarried. The concept of “young death” (*yaozu*), as I mentioned in footnote 9 of Chapter 2, applies to those who died before or just after reaching adulthood, were unmarried, and without offspring. Therefore, even if Tin Yuk survived to 20 or a little older, he presumably died before 1790. Chiu Kwong, who was adopted by Tin Yuk, was Ting Yuk’s younger brother’s oldest son. He was born in 1800, when his adoptive father Tin Yuk had already passed away. According to the written genealogy, Chiu Kwong married twice; his wives’ names were Wan Shi and Chan Shi. His first son was born in 1834 (see Figs. 3-87 and 3-88).

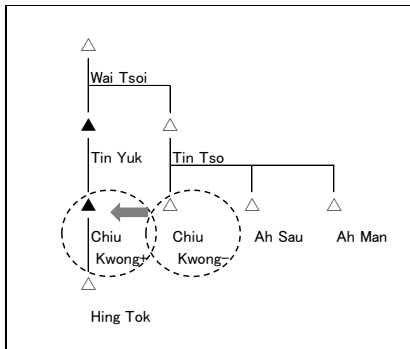


Fig. 3-87. Genealogical relationship between Tin Yuk and Chiu Kwong

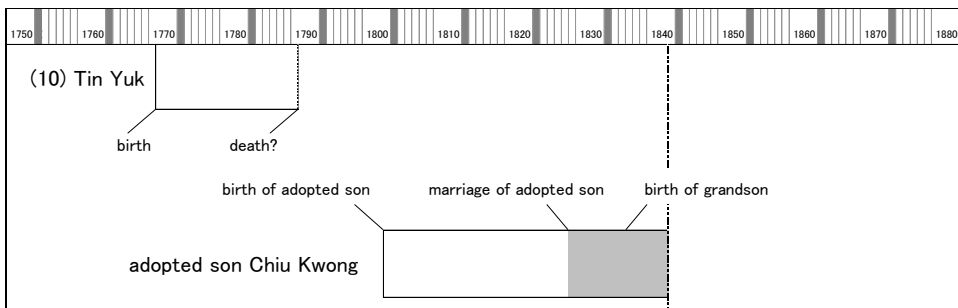


Fig. 3-88. Life stages of Tin Yuk and Chiu Kwong

A similar example is that of Tin Tat, who belonged to the 10th generation. His case appeared already in Figs. 3-70 and 3-71. The following cases are also similar; those of Lun Kin - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Wa Sau (Figs. 3-89 and 3-90), Sheut Kwong - who belonged to the 11th generation - and his adopted son Muk Fuk (Figs. 3-91 and 3-92), Hei Kwong - who belonged to the 11th generation - and his adopted son Shin Long (Figs. 3-93 and 3-94), Tseuk Kwong - who belonged to the 11th generation - and his adopted son Shin Long (Figs. 3-95 and 3-96), Tseuk Kwong and his second adopted son Wang Fui (Figs. 3-97 and 3-98), Sai Kwai - who belonged to the 11th generation - and his adopted son Kwan Yau (Figs. 3-99 and 3-100) and Hei Shing - who belonged to the 10th generation - and his adopted son Tsuen Pan (Figs. 101 and 102). I do not examine each of these cases here, but I will refer briefly only to the cases that include Shin Long because they seem to be special cases.

As shown in Figs. 3-93 and 3-94, the adoptive father Hei Kwong was born in 1788

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and died in 1803 aged 15. It was recorded in the written genealogy that he “died young and unmarried.” His adopted son Shin Long was Hei Kwong’s younger brother’s oldest son. As Shin Long was born in 1812, he was no doubt *guoji*, or a son adopted after the adoptive father’s death. However, as shown in Figs. 3-95 and 3-96, Shin Long was also adopted by another person, Tseuk Kwong, in the 11th generation. Although the genealogical record lacks data on the years of Tseuk Kwong’s birth and death, we can estimate that he was born around 1775 because his older brother Hing Kwong was born in 1771. As it was recorded in the genealogy that he “died young and unmarried”, he seemed to have already passed away before 1795. The Shin Long who was adopted by Tseuk Kwong was the same person who was adopted by Hei Kwong because the genealogical records state that Tseuk Kwong’s adopted son’s real father was Fan Kwong, Hei Kwong’s younger brother. As Shin Long was born in 1812, it is apparent that his adoption by Tseuk Kwong was also practiced after adoptive father Tseuk Kwong’s death.

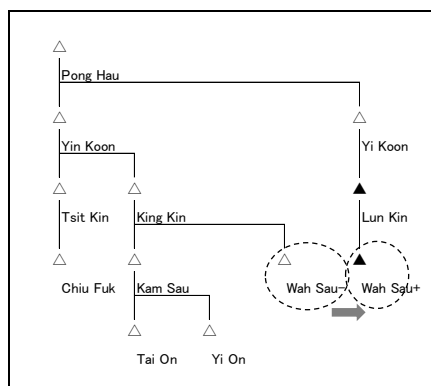


Fig. 3-89. Genealogical relationship between Lun Kin and Wah Sau

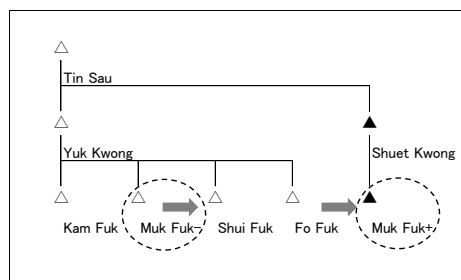


Fig. 3-91. Genealogical relationship between Shuet Kwong and Muk Fuk

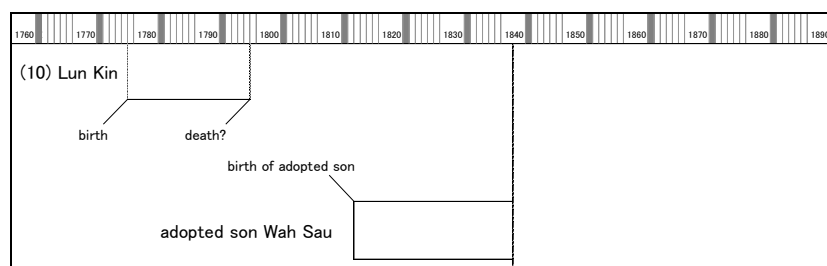


Fig. 3-90. Life stages of Lun Kin and Wah Sau

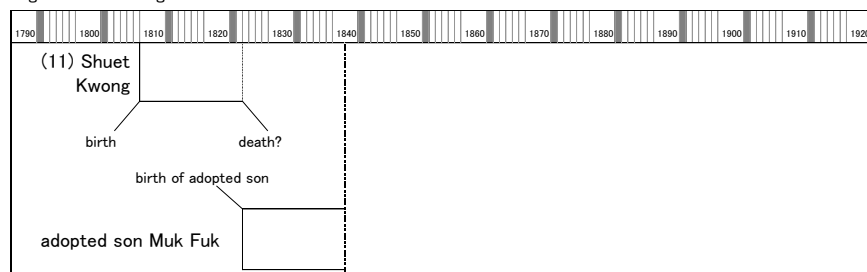


Fig. 3-92. Life stages of Shuet Kwong and Muk Fuk

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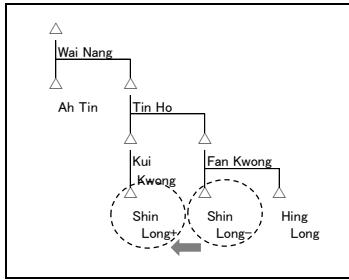


Fig. 3-93. Genealogical relationship between Kui Kwong and Shin Long

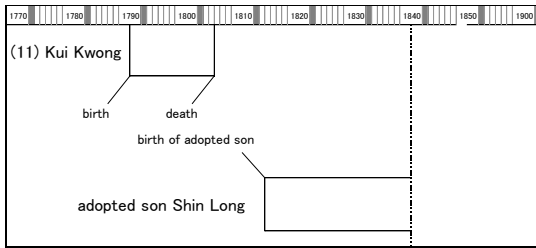


Fig. 3-94. Life stages of Kui Kwong and Shin Long

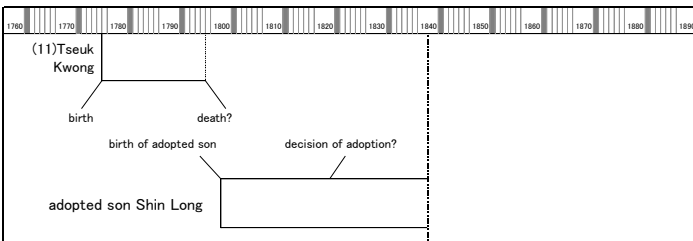


Fig. 3-96. Life stages of Tseuk Kwong and Shin Long

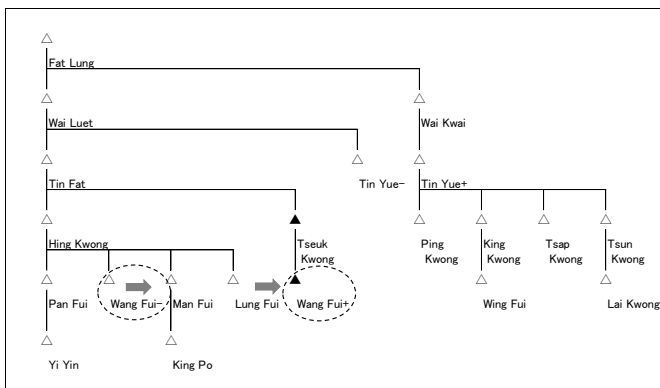


Fig. 3-97. Genealogical relationship between Tseuk Kwong and Shin Long

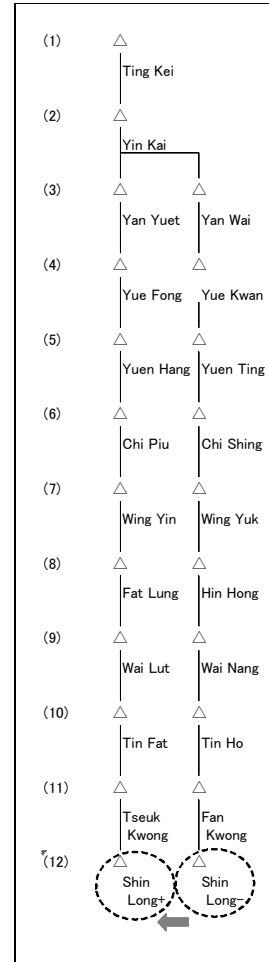


Fig. 3-95. Genealogical relationship between Tseuk Kwong and Shin Long

As shown in Fig. 3-95, Fan Kwong and his brother Hei Kwong were related to Tseuk Kwong only through Yin Kai, an ancestor in the second generation. The same person was adopted by a paternal uncle and by a remote kinsman related

through an ancestor of nine generations before. How can we understand Shin Long’s “double adoption”? Although it is difficult to find a proper answer only with the scarce clues provided by the written genealogy, three answers are possible. One is that Shin Long succeeded two adoptive fathers at the same time, and other two are that he had once succeeded one of them and cancelled it to succeed the other.

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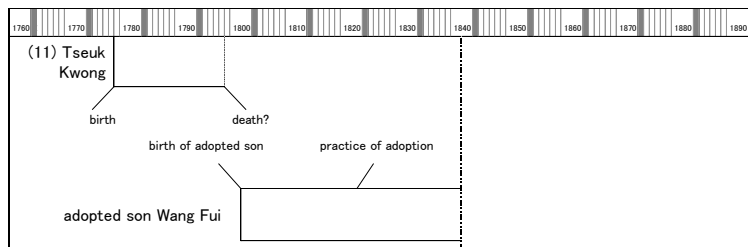


Fig. 3-98. Life stages of Tseuk Kwong and Wang Fui

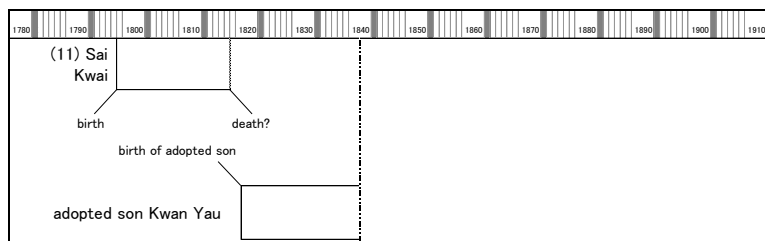


Fig. 3-100. Life stages of Sai Kwai and Kwan Yau

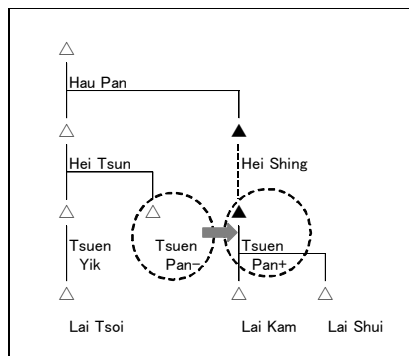


Fig. 3-101. Genealogical relationship between Hei Shing and Tsuen Pan

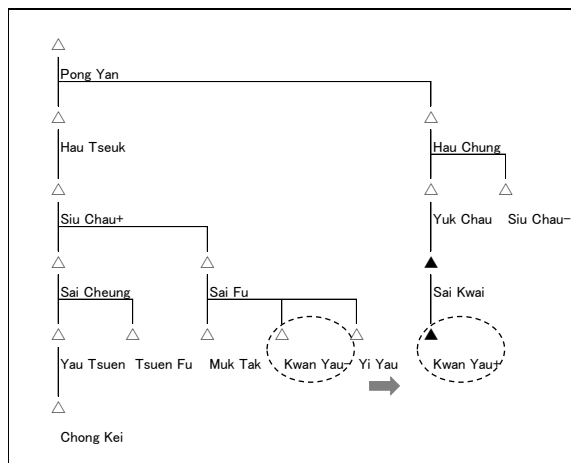


Fig. 3-99. Genealogical relationship between Sai Kwai and Kwan Yau

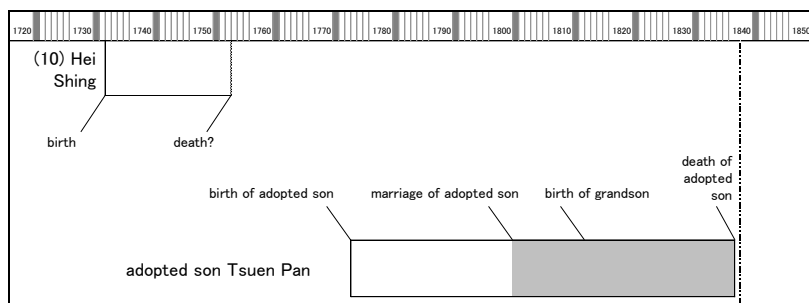


Fig. 3-102. Life stages of Hei Shing and Tsuen Pan

Studies on premodern and early modern China often reported that the custom of

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jiantiao, with which one person succeeded the descent lines of two or more ancestors, was practiced to secure successors for ancestors who had no lineal descendants. However, in most cases, *jiantiao* was practiced among close relatives so that a person succeeds the descent lines of his own father and his uncles, or of his father and father’s cousins and so on. In Shin Long’s case, he succeeded the descent line of Tseuk Kwong, a remote kinsman in his lineage. Therefore, we should say this would be rather irregular if it was a *jiantiao*.

It is more likely that once Hei Kwong or Tseuk Kwong had adopted Shin Long, then they cancelled it for some reason, and the other person adopted him later. We do not know which adoptive father adopted him first, but it seems natural to think that Tseuk Kwong adopted him first because he also adopted Wang Fui, who was Tseuk Kwong’s older brother’s second son. The scenario was presumably as follows; Shin Long succeeded Tseuk Kwong, who was in the same lineage branch and had died without offspring, but because Shin Long’s uncle Hei Kwong passed away without sons, he cancelled his succession of Tseuk Kwong’s line and succeeded Hei Kwong. Then, as a successor for Tseuk Kwong’s descent line, he adopted his nephew Wang Fui.

The cases examined above are examples of adoption practiced apparently after the adoptive fathers’ deaths. Such adoption was therefore not exceptional, but rather occurred with considerable frequency. Of course, as we already examined in the case of Pong Tso in the eighth generation, adopted sons sometimes died before their adoptive fathers, which suggests that some adoptions were actually decided and practiced before the adoptive fathers died. Because only limited examples are recorded in the genealogy, we cannot calculate the frequencies of adoption before and after the adoptive fathers’ deaths. However, as far as those cases we examined above show, it seems that there were more cases of adoption after the adoptive fathers’ deaths than those arranged in advance.

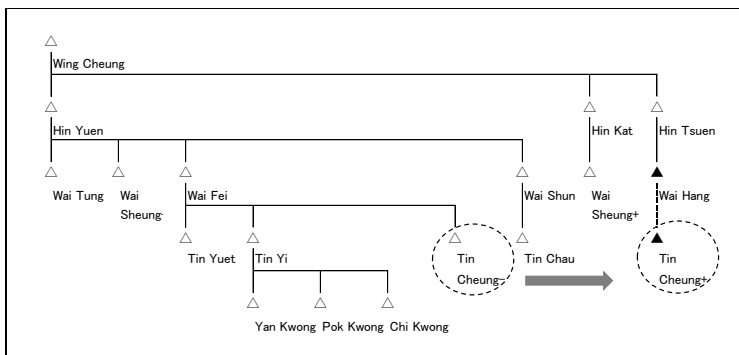


Fig. 3-103. Genealogical relationship between Wai Hang and Tin Cheung

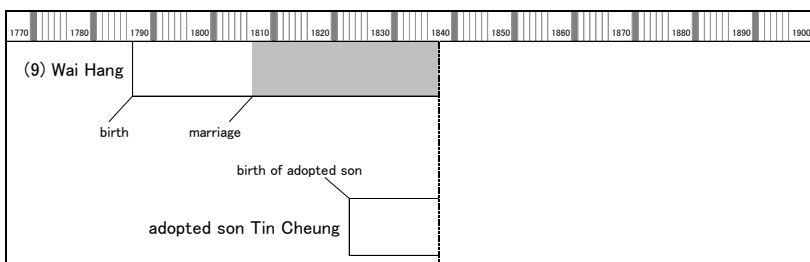


Fig. 3-104. Life stages of Wai Hang and Tin Cheung

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From this point of view, we can find some other cases in which adoptions were possibly practiced after the adoptive fathers’ deaths. In the eleven cases shown in Figs. 3-103 to 3-124, the genealogical record lacks data on the years in which the adoptive fathers and adoptive sons died. Although some of these persons may have been alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended, some of the adoptive fathers in these cases seemed to have already died because many of the genealogical data recorded in the last decades are incomplete and lack such basic information as the birth and death years of the lineage members.

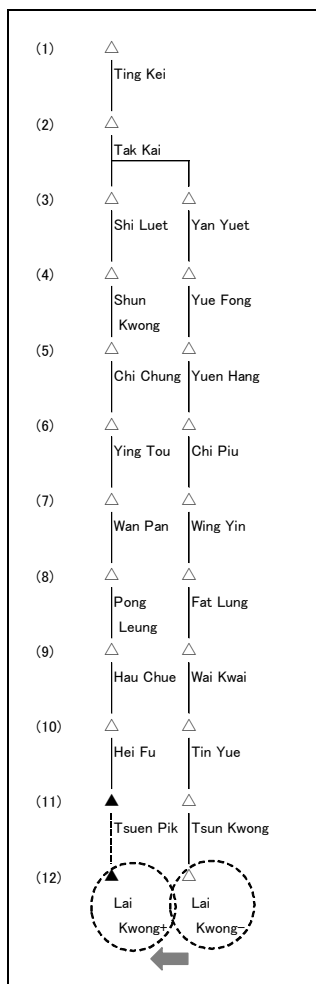


Fig. 3-105. Genealogical relationship between Tseung Pik and Lai Kwong

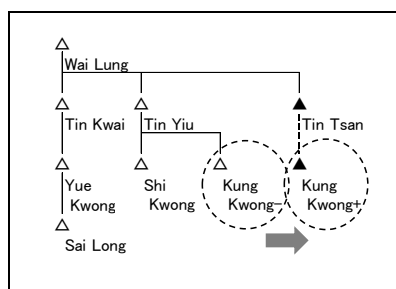


Fig. 3-107. Genealogical relationship between Tin Tsan and Kung Kwong

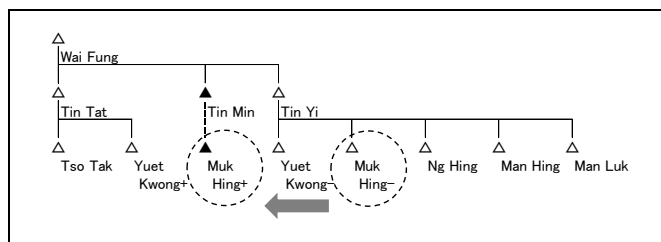


Fig. 3-109. Genealogical relationship between Tin Min and Muk Hing

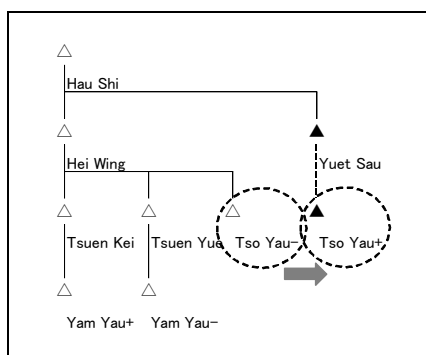


Fig. 3-111. Genealogical relationship between Yuet Sau and Tso Yau

I examine briefly one example here: the case of Wai Hang - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Tin Cheung (Figs. 3-103 and 3-104). The adoptive father Wai Hang was born in 1787. He married twice in his life, first to Leung Shi (born in 1791) and second to Man Shi (born in 1798). It is unclear whether the first wife died or was divorced before his second marriage. As there are no records of their death, it is possible that they were still alive in 1838. Had they been so, they would have been 51, 47, and 40,

respectively. However, the fact that Wai Hang’s brother’s son Tin Cheung was already

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adopted as a successor for Wai Hang’s descent probably means that Wai Hang and his wives were recognized as already unable to produce offspring. We have no way of knowing whether it was because his wives had died or Wai Hang had already passed away. If the latter was the case, this case would be another example of adoption practiced after the adoptive father’s death.

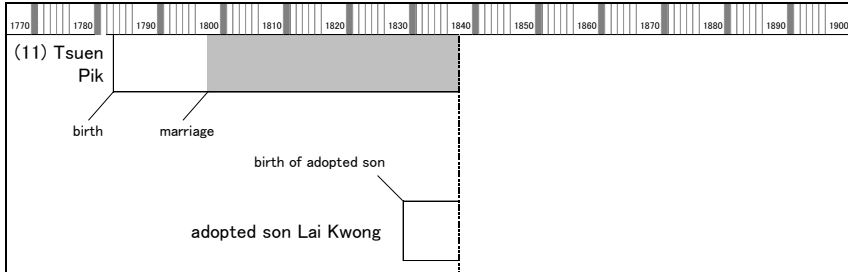


Fig. 3-106. Life stages of Tsuen Pik and Lai Kwong

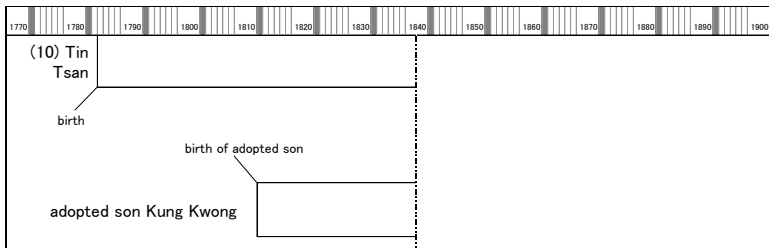


Fig. 3-108. Life stages of Tin Tsan and Kung Kwong

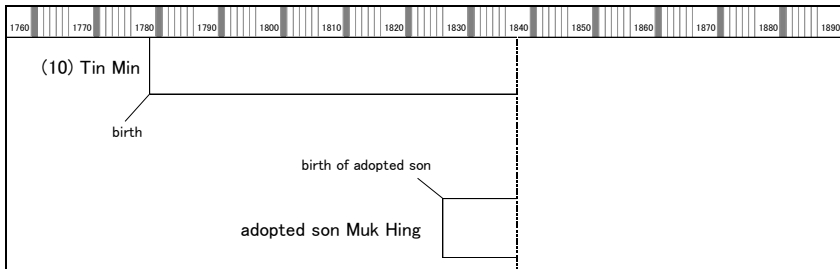


Fig. 3-110. Life stages of Tin Min and Muk Hing

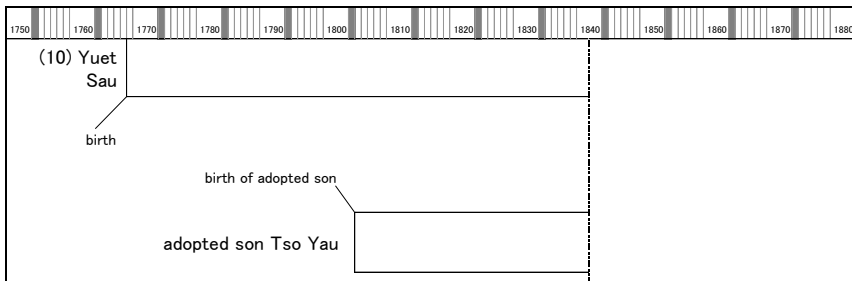


Fig. 3-112. Life stages of Yuet Sau and Tso Yau

Although we do not know exactly when each of these adoptions was decided and practiced because the genealogy lacks the information, other cases among those eleven cases given above seem to be similar to Wai Hang’s case. It is highly probable that at least some of these adoptions were decided and practiced after the adoptive father’s death.

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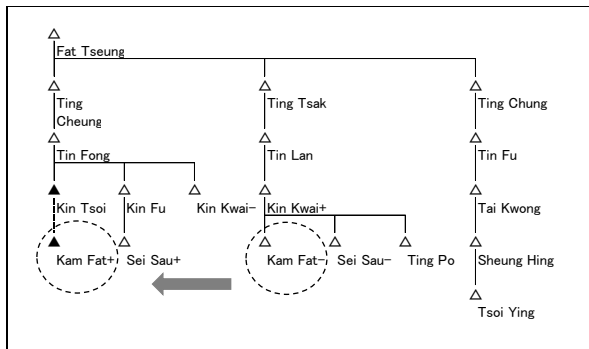


Fig. 3-113. Genealogical relationship between Kin Tsoi and Kam Fat

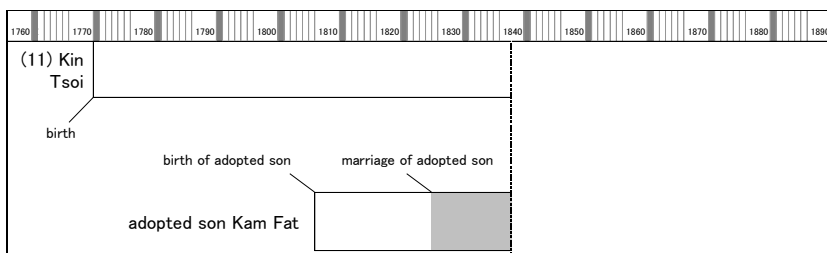


Fig. 3-114. Life stages of Kin Tsoi and Kam Fat

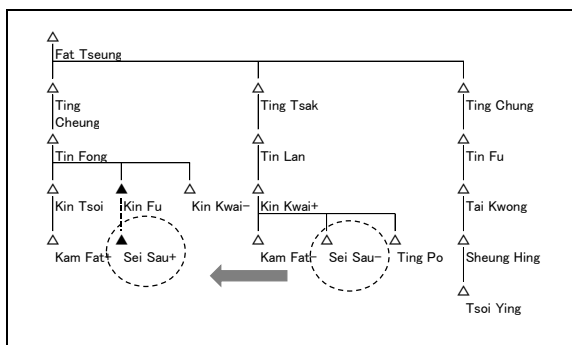


Fig. 3-115. Genealogical relationship between Kin Fu and Sei Sau

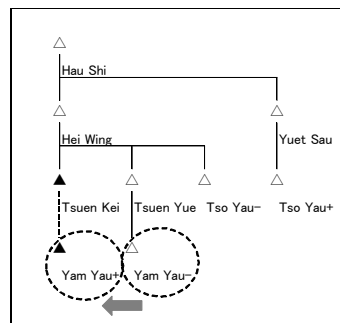


Fig. 3-117. Genealogical relationship between Tsuen Kei and Yam Yau

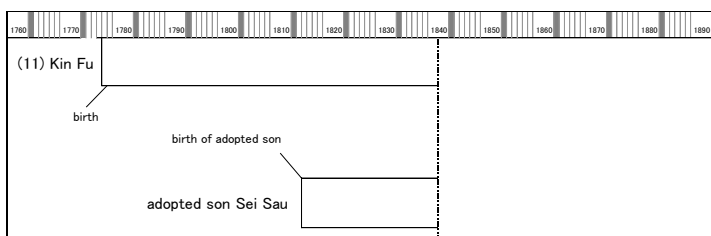


Fig. 3-116. Life stages of Kin Fu and Sei Sau

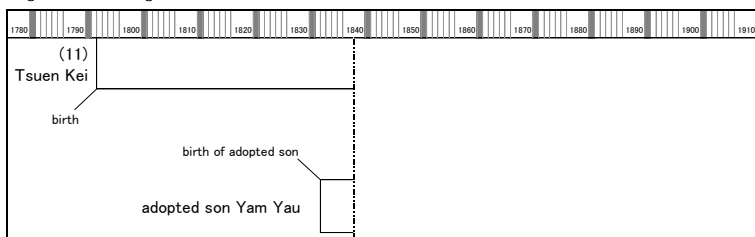


Fig. 3-118. Life stages of Tsuen Kei and Yam Yau

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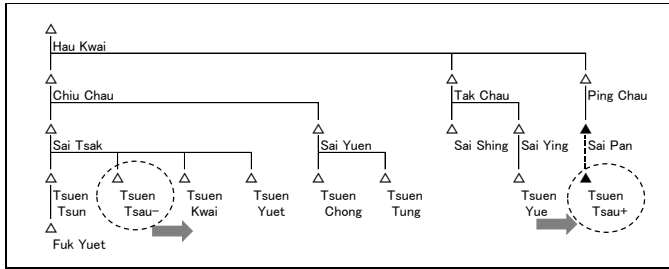


Fig. 3-119. Genealogical relationship between Sai Pan and Tsuen Tsau

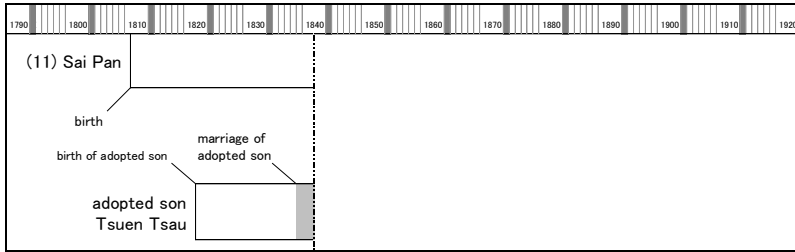


Fig. 3-120. Life stages of Sai Pan and Tsuen Tsau

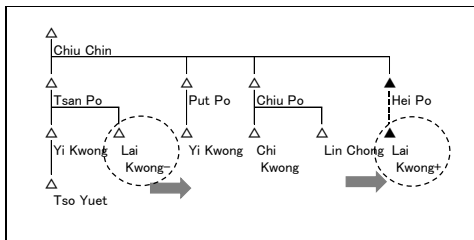


Fig. 3-121. Genealogical relationship between Hei Po and Lai Kwong

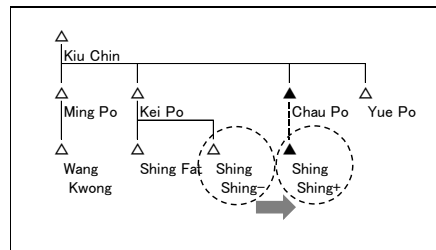


Fig. 3-123. Genealogical relationship between

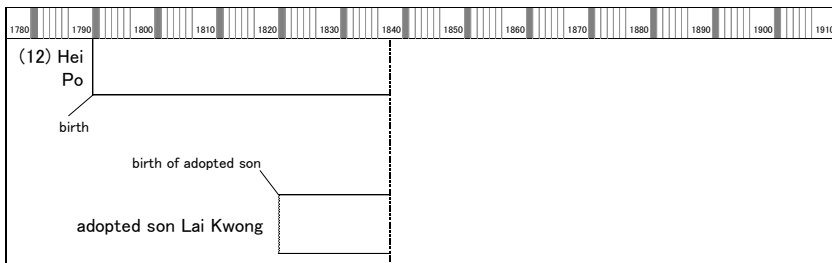


Fig. 3-122. Life stages of Hei Po and Lai Kwong

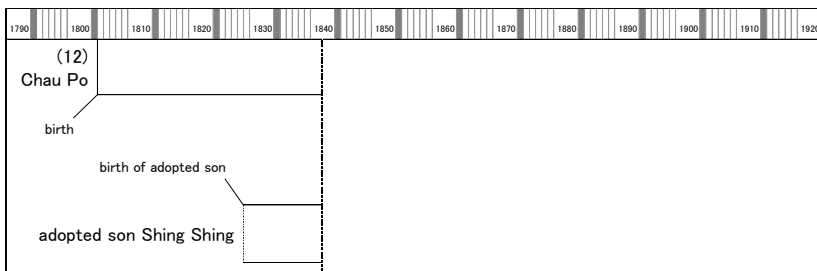


Fig. 3-124. Life stages of Chau Po and Shing Shing

In the analysis above, I extracted and examined 41 cases from the all adoptions recorded in the written genealogy of “W” lineage. The last example of adoption is the case

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of Shi Tsak - who belonged to the seventh generation - and the successors of his descent line (Fig. 3-125). Shi Tsak was a member of the segment that descended from the oldest son of the founding ancestor Ting Kei. He was born in 1637, and his oldest son Fat Leung was born in 1658. Fat Leung had a wife named Yuen Shi, but he died in 1717 at the age of 59 without leaving biological sons. After his death, Ming Tso was adopted to succeed his descent. In the written genealogy, only the birth year (1696) was recorded for Ming Tso, but there is no information about his origin. In the written genealogy of “W” lineage, adoption of sons who were not lineage members was called *yuzi* and was distinguished from adoption from within the lineage for *chengji* or formal succession. Ming Tso was referred to as a son adopted for *chengji*, not as *yuzi* in the genealogy. As I previously noted in Chapter 2, Ming Tso’s case is the only one in which the origin of a son adopted for *chengji* was not specified. If this was the result of simple omission of genealogical data, Ming Tso’s origin should be within the range of the nearest kin of his adoptive father like many other cases of *chengji* adoptions. It is highly probable that he was one of Fat Leung’s patrilineal parallel cousins’ sons.

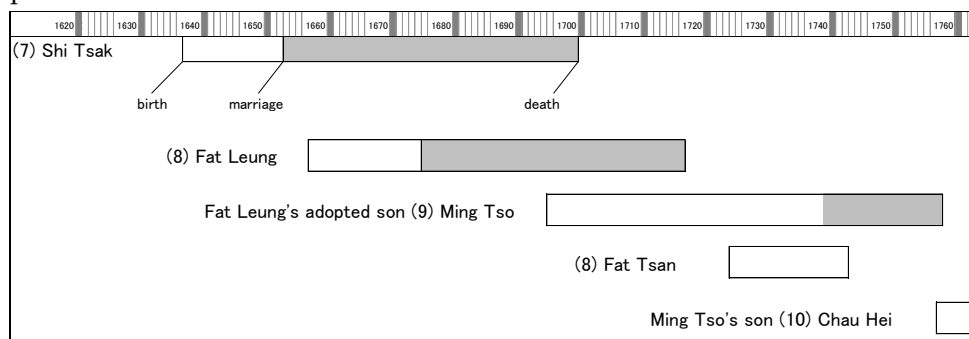


Fig. 3-125. Life stages of Shi Tsak, Fat Leung and Ming Tso

Ming Tso’s life stages recorded in the genealogy were somewhat extraordinary. First, his wife Cheng Shi was 27 years younger than him. Furthermore, his only son, Chau Hei, was born in 1751, when Min Tso was 61. Although it was not impossible because his wife Cheng Shi was still 34 at that time, it is more likely that Chau Hei was not Ming Tso’s real son, but his adoptive son adopted from within the lineage or a *yuzi* adopted from outside. For this case, it is highly likely that some omissions of genealogical information occurred.

As discussed above, Shi Tsak had a wife named Tsang Shi who was born in the same year as him. Tsang Shi bore his son Fat Leung when she was 21. She passed away in 1700, the year after Shi Tsak’s death aged 64. However, there is a record in the genealogy that Shi Tsak “remarried” another wife named Tse Shi, who was born in 1671. Although Tse Shi was described as his “wife”, not his concubine, she was presumably in a position of concubine because Shi Tsak had already married Tsang Shi and she was alive throughout his life. Tse Shi enjoyed a long life after her husband’s death, surviving until 1750 when she died aged 79. Meanwhile, in 1724, Shi Tsak’s “second son” Fat Tsan was born. However, he cannot be the biological son of Shi Tsak and Tse Shi because Tse Shi was already 53 at that time and Shi Tsak had died 24 years earlier. Therefore, Fat Tsan was likely a son adopted after the adoptive father’s death. Nevertheless, there was no reference to *chengji*

adoption or *yuzi* here.

Thus, there seem to be errors and omissions of data in the genealogical records in Shi Tsak and his descendants’ family line. If we reconstruct the whole story of this family line by filling in the missing data with speculation, it would likely be as follows. In 1700, when Shi Tsak died, his first son Fat Leung was still alive, but he passed away without his own sons in 1717. Because there were no other male successors in their family, Fat Tsan was adopted as a son of the late Shi Tsak. However, the succession of the family line failed again with Fat Tsan’s death without offspring in 1743. Therefore, Ming Tso was adopted as a successor for Fat Leung. However, also Ming Tso died without leaving his own sons in 1741. Finally, Chau Hei was adopted as a son of Ming Tso to succeed Shi Tsak’s family line. As for Fat Tsan, who had been adopted as the second son of Shi Tsak but had no male descendants, his worship was entrusted to the descendants of Ming Tso and Chau Hei. I will refer to this in the next section of this chapter. The case of Shi Tsak’s family line illustrates the difficulty of securing the successors of patrilineal descent and ancestor worship, even though they strived to do so.

In this section, I examined all the cases of *chenji* adoption recorded in the written genealogy of “W” lineage, focusing on the genealogical relations between adoptive fathers and their adopted sons and the correspondence of their life stages. This analysis revealed that *chengji* adoptions were practiced both during the adoptive fathers’ lifetime and after their death. It was sometimes difficult to secure the continuity of descent line over generations, even though those who had no biological sons often practiced adoption. As I noted earlier, it is not easy to trace the actual conditions of the lineage members using only data extracted from their written genealogy because recorded materials in the genealogy were usually limited to such formal events as the births and deaths and even those data were often omitted. Nevertheless, we can understand how they strove to secure the continuity of patrilineal descent. In the next section, I will examine individual cases of *fujj*, the entrusting of ancestor worship.

3-3-2 Case Studies on the Entrusting of Ancestor Worship

In this section, I focus on the entrusting of ancestor worship by analyzing all the individual cases of this custom recorded in the genealogy. In Chapter 2, I examined the practices recorded in the genealogy as *fujj*, which means to entrust one’s worship after death to someone. I showed that it was usually practiced for people who had already died without successors because of early death (*yaozu*). The genealogy records 29 cases of this practice; all of these cases were arranged between close kinsmen, such as an uncle and his nephew, a grandfather’s brother and his nephew’s son and so on.

As I examined every case of *chengji* adoption recorded in the genealogy in the previous section, now I examine every case of these 29 examples of *fujj*. Table 3-42 presents a list of the sentences in the genealogy that include the term *fujj*. As shown in this Table, *fujj* was practiced frequently in the ninth generation (10 cases) and the 10th generation (15 cases). Outside these two generations, there were only two cases in the eighth generation and another two in the 11th generation. In most cases of these *fujj* practices,

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the reason for the entrustment was explained in the genealogy as the ancestors’ “young death” (*yaozu*) or “failure to leave successors” (*wusi*). Ancestors were described as having “no successors” or “no sons” in 17 cases, “died young” or died while infants” in eight and “unmarried” in nine (see columns “N” to “P” in Table 3-43).

Table 3-42. Sentences in the written genealogy referring to the entrusting of ancestor worship in the written genealogy

generation	name of ancestor	translation of sentences
8	Fat Shin	Trusted the worship to Ming Kwong.
8	Fat Tsan	Trusted the worship to Ming Tso’s descendants.
9	Wai Ming	No sons. Trusted the worship to Wai Kwok’s son Tin Fo.
9	Wai Tung	No successors. Trusted the worship to Wai Fei’s son.
9	Wai Sheung	Adopted son of Hin Kat. No Successors. Trusted to Wai Fei’s descendants.
9	Wai Yin	No successors. Trusted the worship to Wai Hing’s descendants.
9	Yiu Koon	No successors. Trusted the worship to Tsun Kin’s descendants.
9	Tsan Koon	Died young and unmarried. Trusted the worship to Tsap Kin’s descendants.
9	Tyuet Koon	Died young and unmarried. Trusted the worship to Tsap Kin’s descendants.
9	Ah Po	Deceased young and unmarried. Trusted the worship to Wan Kin’s descendants.
9	Kwai Po	Deceased young and unmarried. Trusted the worship to Wan Kin’s descendants.
9	Shing Koon	Unmarried and no successors. Trust the worship to Put Kin’s descendants.
10	Lai Tsun	Two sons. The elder Ching Yuen succeeded Lai Yuk, the younger Siu Yuen succeeded Lai Yiu. Lai Tsun’s worship was trusted to Ching Yuen later.
10	Lai Tsoi	No sons. Trusted the worship to Lai Ying’s descendants.
10	Hong Hei	No sons. Trusted the worship to Cheung Hei’s descendants.
10	Tin Siu	No Successors. Trusted the worship to Tin Sau’s descendants.
10	Lai Sau	Unmarried. Trusted the worship to Tin Shing’s descendants.
10	Ah Tin	Unmarried and no successors. Trusted the worship to Fan Kwong’s descendants.
10	Tin Sheung	Died young. No successors. Trusted the worship to Tin Yuk’s sons.
10	Lin Tai	Died young and unmarried. No successors. Trusted the worship to Tin Kit’s descendants.
10	Kwi Tak	No Successors. Trusted the worship to Tin Pong’s descendants.
10	Koon Sau	No sons. Trusted the worship to Yui Chau’s sons.
10	Tso Po	No sons. Trusted the worship to Yui Chau’s sons.
10	Yuen Kin	Unmarried. Trusted the worship to Tsun Kin’s descendants.
10	Cheng Kin	Trusted the worship to Tsun Kin’s descendants.
10	Lam Sau	Died young. Trusted the worship to Tsun Kin’s descendants.
10	Ah Hong	Died young. Trusted the worship to Tsun Kin’s descendants.
11	Put Yuen	No sons. Trusted the worship to Ting Yuen’s descendants.
11	Ping Kwong	Trusted the worship to King Kwong’s descendants.

The entrusting of ancestor worship was conducted in different ways. There were cases in which an individual person was appointed, as in the case of Ming Kwong who was entrusted the worship of Fat Shin (shown in the first row of Table 3-43). In other cases, some person’s descendants were appointed as a group, as in the case of Ming Tso whose descendants were entrusted Fat Tsan’s worship (row 2 of the Table). In other cases, one person was nominated and that person’s “sons” were actually appointed as trustees, as in the case of Wai Fei (row 4 of the Table). In any case, as the descendants of appointed persons were supposed to succeed the duty of worship, there seems to be no essential difference overall among these three patterns. We can at least distinguish cases in which trustees and the persons who entrusted the worship belonged to the same generation and those in which trustees belonged to the next generation. I distinguish between these in column “C” of Table 3-43 by showing the cases in which trustees and those who entrusted the worship belonged to the same generation in italic letters and cases in which trustees belonged to the next generation in roman letters. Column “E” shows the genealogical relations between trustees and those who entrusted the worship⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ In Table 2-25 in Chapter 2, I showed persons in the next generation from those who were worshiped as trustees

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Table 3-43. Summary of *fujū* entrusting of ancestor worship recorded in the genealogy

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Generation	Name of ancestor	Name of trustee (original expression)	Name of trustee (persons in the next generation)	Genealogical position of the trustee seen from the worshiped ancestor (original expression)	Genealogical position of the trustee seen from the worshiped ancestor (persons in the next generation)	Trustee seen from the ancestor	Birth year of the ancestor	Birth year of the trustee	Age difference	Death year of the ancestor
8	Fat Shin	Ming Kwong	Ming Kwong	elder brother's son	elder brother's son	BS	1669	1686	17	1754
8	Fat Tsan	Ming Tso	Ming Tso	elder brother's adopted son	elder brother's adopted son	BS	1724	1696	-28	1741
9	Wai Ming	Tin Fo	Tin Fo	elder brother's son	elder brother's son	BS	1763			
9	Wai Tung	Wai Fei	Tin Yuet, Tin Yi	younger brother	younger brother's son	BS	1758	1772	14	1834
9	Wai Sheung	Wai Fei	Tin Yuet, Tin Yi	father's elder brother's son	son of father's elder brother's son	FBSS	1760	1772	12	1834
9	Wai Ying	Wai Hing	Tin Tsap	younger brother	younger brother's son	BS	1736	1738	2	1822
9	Yiu Koon	Tsun Kin	Tsun Kin	son of father's younger brother's son	son of father's younger brother's son	FBSS	1744	1770	26	
9	Tsan Koon	Tsap Kin	Tsap Kin	elder brother's son	elder brother's son	BS	1749	1771	22	1815
9	Yuet Koon	Tsap Kin	Tsap Kin	elder brother's son	elder brother's son	BS	1755	1771	16	1815
9	Ah Sau	Wan Kin	Wan Kin	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS	1740	1787	47	
9	Kwai Po	Wan Kin	Wan Kin	elder brother's son	elder brother's son	BS	1750	1787	37	
9	Shing koon	Put Kin	Put Kin	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS	1746	1790	44	
10	Lai Tsun	Ching Yuen	Ching Yuen	elder brother's adopted son	elder brother's adopted son	BS	1760	1793	33	
10	Lai Tsoi	Lai Ying	Ting Yuen	elder brother	elder brother's son	BS	1760	1746	-14	
10	Hong Hei	Cheung Hei	Pan Ko	elder brother	elder brother's son	BS	1741	1737	-4	
10	Tin Siu	Tin Sau	Yuk Kwong	grandson of grandfather's elder brother	great-grandson of grandfather's elder brother	FFBSSS	1751	1760	9	
10	Lai Sau	Tin Shing	Tsoi Kwong	grandson of grandfather's elder brother	great-grandson of grandfather's elder brother	FFBSSS		1755		
10	Ah Tin	Fan Kwong	Fan Kwong	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS		1789		
10	Tin Sheung	Tin Yuk	Hok Kwong	elder brother	elder brother's son	BS		1789		
10	Lin Tai	Tin Kit	Tsun Kwong	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS				
10	Kwai Sau	Tin Pong	Fui Kwong	son of fsther's elder brother	son of fsther's elder brother's son	FBSS	1793	1764	-29	
10	Koon Sau	Yui Chau	Yuet Ying	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS		1782		
10	Tso Fuk	Yui Chau	Yuet Ying	elder brother	elder brother's son	BS		1782		
10	Yuen Kin	Tsun Kin	Yuen Lung	grandson of grandfather's younger brother	great-grandson of grandfather's younger brother	FFBSSS	1760	1770	10	
10	Cheng Kin	Tsun Kin	Yuen Lung	grandson of grandfather's younger brother	great-grandson of grandfather's younger brother	FFBSSS	1763	1770	7	
10	Lam Sau	Tsun Kin	Yuen Lung	grandson of grandfather's younger brother	great-grandson of grandfather's younger brother	FFBSSS		1770		
10	Ah Yung	Tsun Kin	Yuen Lung	grandson of grandfather's younger brother	great-grandson of grandfather's younger brother	FFBSSS	1775	1770	-5	
11	Put Yuen	Tin Yuen	Koon Wing	elder brother	elder brother's son	BS	1785	1772	-13	
11	Ping Kwong	King Kwong	Wing Fui	younger brother's son	younger brother's son	BS	1781	1784	3	

L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
Death year of the trustee	Trustee was born before the death of the ancestor	Ancestors was recorded as no sons or successors	Ancestor was recorded as died young	Ancestor was recorded as unmarried	Number of the ancestor's wives	Number of the ancestor's real sons	Number of the ancestor's successors	Number of the trustee's wives	Number of the trustee's real sons	Number of the trustee's successors	Name of trustee's sons	Birth year of the first son of the trustee
1729	✓				1	0	0	1	2		2 Cheung Hei, Hong Hei	1737
1743	✓				1	0	0	1	1		1 Chau Hei	1757
1801		✓			1	0	0		0			
1799	✓	✓			1	0	0	1	3		2 Tin Yuet, Tin Yi	
1794	✓	✓			1	0	0	1	3		2 Tin Yuet, Tin Yi	
1767	✓	✓			1	0	0	2	1		1 Tin Tsap	
1804	✓	✓			1	0	0	1	4		4 Yuen Lung et als.	1796
1769	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	1		1 Tsuen Kui	1805
1775	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	1		1 Tsuen Kui	1805
1765	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	2		2 Ah King, Ah Chau	1818
1770	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	2		2 Ah King, Ah Chau	1818
1780	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	1		1 Tsuen Kam	
1818	✓				1	2	0	1	2		3 Lin Wing, Yau Yan	
1824	✓		✓		1	0	0	1	1		2 Ting Yuen, Wan Yuen	1777
1798	✓		✓		1	0	0	1	1		1 Kwai Ko	
1814	✓		✓		2	0	0	1	2		2 Yuk Kwong, Shuet Kwong	1798
				✓	0	0	0	1	1		1 Tsoi Kwong	
			✓	✓	0	0	0	1	2		1 Hing Long	1817
			✓	✓	0	0	0	1	1		1 Hok Kwong	1812
			✓	✓	0	0	1	1	2		1 Tsun Sau	
1813	✓		✓	✓	0	0	0	1	2		1 Fui Kwong	1795
			✓		0	0	0	1	1		1 Yuet Ying	1805
			✓		0	0	0	1	1		1 Yuet Ying	1805
1780	✓			✓	0	0	0	1	4		4 Yuen Lung et als.	1796
1800	✓				1	0	0	1	4		4 Yuen Lung et als.	1796
			✓		0	0	0	1	4		4 Yuen Lung et als.	1796
1795	✓		✓		0	0	0	1	4		4 Yuen Lung et als.	1796
1817			✓		1	0	0	2	1		1 Koon Wing	
1814	✓				1	0	0	1	1		1 Wing Fui	1815

to provide uniform data.

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The birth years of trustees and persons who entrusted their worship are shown in columns “H” and “I”, respectively, in Table 3-43 and I compare them in column “J”. As we can see, trustees were usually younger than those who entrusted the worship, but there were six cases in which trustees were senior. Furthermore, column “M” shows a comparison of the death years of trustees (column “K”) and those who entrusted the worship (column “L”). This shows that among the 20 cases in which the death years of both are available, trustees were still alive in 19 cases when persons who entrusted the worship passed away. There was only one case in which a trustee had already died when the person who entrusted his worship died.

Column “Q” shows the number of wives of those who entrusted the worship. Only one person who entrusted the worship had two wives. They had only one wife in 13 cases and no wives in 15. The average number of wives was 0.52. Numbers of biological sons are shown in column “R”. Most had no sons except for one case in which there were two real sons. However, as column “t” shows, two trustees had two wives and 26 had one wife. Trustees had 1.1 wives and 2.0 sons on average. All trustees had their own successors except for one case. Therefore, trustees were usually selected from persons who had many descendants to secure the succession of their own descent line.

Table 3-44-1. *Fuji* practiced in major branches

Branches	Number of members	<i>Fuji</i>	Percentages
Kin Kai's Branch	125	4	3.2
Yin Kai's Branch	239	11	4.6
Tak Kai's Branch	229	14	6.1
total	593	29	4.9

Table 3-44-2. *Fuji* practiced in major sub-branches

Major branches	Sub-branches	Number of members	<i>Fuji</i>	Percentages
Kin Kai's Branch	Ho Kok's Sub-branch	24	1	4.2
	Ho Tang's Sub-branch	58	1	1.7
	Ho Yip's Sub-branch	42	2	4.8
Yin Kai's Branch	Yan Wai's Sub-branch	148	9	6.1
	Yan Yi's Sub-branch	39	0	0.0
	Yan Tim's Sub-branch	13	0	0.0
	Yan Yuet's Sub-branch	38	2	5.3
Tak Kai's Branch	Tsz Hong's Sub-branch	144	10	6.9
	Chek Yan's Sub-branch	84	4	4.8
	total	590	29	4.9

Tables 3-44-1 and 3-44-2 show the *fujii* distribution within the lineage. Table 3-44-1 shows cases of *fujii* practiced in each of the three major branches originating from three of the sons of the lineage founder. Table 3-44-2 shows its distribution among the sub-branches that originate from the third generation ancestors. Both Tables show that the entrusting of ancestor worship was practiced equally in each segment of the lineage. We can see that 4.9 percent of lineage members practiced it throughout the genealogy recording period.

Based on this overview, I will examine 29 individual cases of *fujii*. Figs. 3-126 and 3-127 show the case of Fat Shin, who belonged to the eighth generation. Fat Shin was a

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member of the branch originating from the oldest son of the lineage’s founding ancestor. He was born in 1669 and married Wong Shi, who was 3 years younger than him. Wong Shi died in 1715 aged 43 and Fat Shin died in 1729 aged 60. They had no sons. Fat Shin had two older brothers as his nearest lateral kin. They had one son each. According to the written genealogy, the worship of Fat Shin and his wife Wong Shi after their death was entrusted to Ming Kwong, the son of Fat Shin’s oldest brother. Ming Kwong was born in 1686 and was 43 when Fat Shin passed away. Ming Kwong survived Fat Shin for 25 years and died in 1754 aged 68. Therefore, we can suppose that the entrusting of the worship of Fat Shin and his wife to Ming Kwong was practiced at some point of time in these 25 years. Fig. 3-126 shows the genealogical relationship between Fat Shin and Ming Kwong and Fig. 3-127 shows these two person’s life stages.

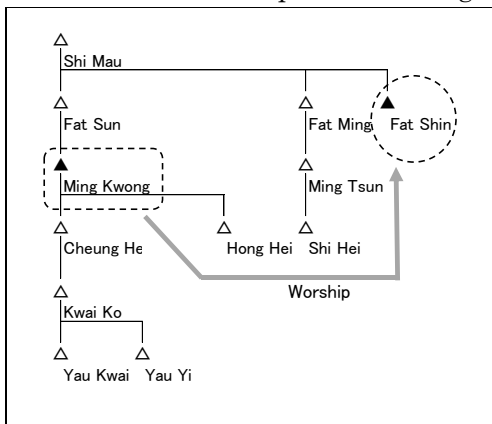


Fig. 3-126. Genealogical relationship between Fat Shin and Ming Kwong



Fig. 3-127. Life stages of Fat Shin and Ming Kwong

The second example is the case of Fat Tsan, who belonged to the eighth generation (Figs. 3-128 and 3-129). The details of Fat Tsan’s origin remain uncertain because Shi Tsak, who was recorded as his real father in the genealogy, died before his birth. Fat Tsan was born in 1724 and died in 1743 aged 19. Although there is no description of “unmarried death”, he presumably died while he was still unmarried because there is no trace of a wife in the genealogy. According to the genealogy, the worship of Fat Tsan was entrusted to Ming Tso’s descendants. As I mentioned previously, Ming Tso’s origin is also unclear because his real father was not specified in the genealogy, though he was recorded as an adoptive son adopted by Fat Leung for formal succession (*chengji*). As Ming Tso was

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born in 1696 and died in 1758 aged 62, he was likely 47 when Fat Tsan died.

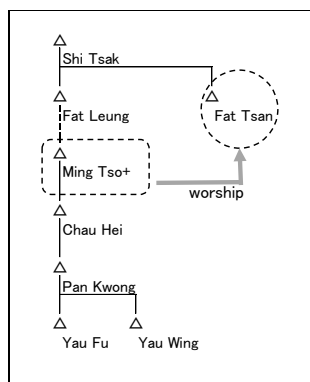


Fig. 3-128. Genealogical relationship between Fat Tsan and Ming Tso

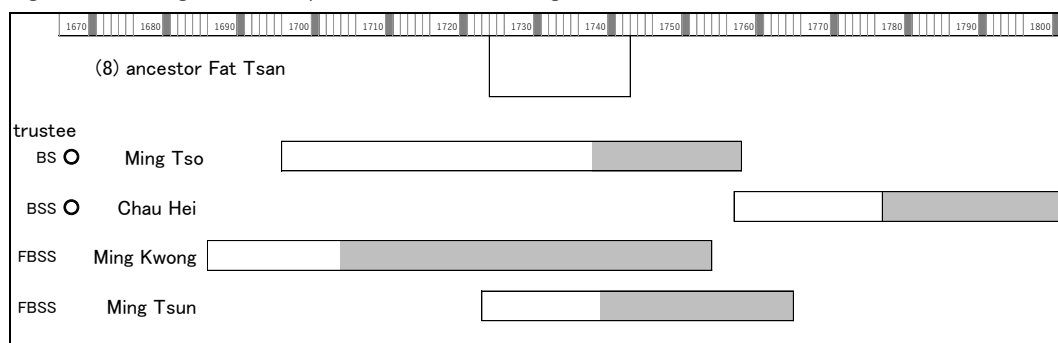


Fig. 3-129. Life stages of Fat Tsan and Ming Tso

However, at this point Ming Tso did not yet have sons. His son Chau Hei was born when he was 61. Although Chau Hei was not described as an adopted son in the genealogy, it is doubtful that he was a biological son of Ming Tso, as I stated in the previous section. The trustee’s name was recorded as “Ming Tso’s descendants” rather than as “Ming Tso” himself, probably because Ming Tso had already died when the worship was entrusted. Because Chau Hei’s name was not yet given as a descendant of Ming Tso, it is highly probable that Chau Hei was still underage at that point. Anyway, as Fat Leung Fat Tsan’s only brother and he had no nephews except for Ming Tso, Ming Tso’s descendants were appointed as trustees of his worship, even though Ming Tso was an adopted son.

The third example is the case of Wai Ming, who belonged to the ninth generation (Figs. 3-130 and 3-131). Wai Ming was born in 1763 and likely married Mak Shi, who was the same age, in the 1780s. However, they had no sons. Mak Shi died in 1797 and Wai Ming in 1801. Wai Ming’s nearest patrilineal kinsmen were Tin Fo, his older brother’s son, and Tin Shui, his father’s younger brother’s grandson. According to the genealogy, Tin Fo was appointed as the trustee of Wai Ming’s worship. However, we do not know whether Tin Fo had wives and sons because the genealogy lacks these data.

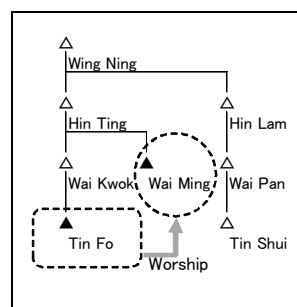


Fig. 3-130. Genealogical relationship between Wai Ming and Tin Fo

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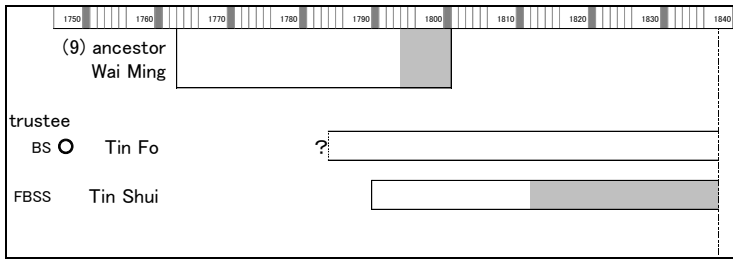


Fig. 3-131. Life stages of Wai Ming and Tin Fo

Another example is the case of Wai Tung, who belonged to the ninth generation (Figs. 3-132 and 3-133). Wai Tung was born in 1758 and married Tsang Shi, who was 2 years younger than him. However, they died in 1799 and in 1800, respectively, without leaving sons. As shown in Fig. 3-132, Wai Tung was the oldest of four sons. His father’s younger brother had adopted Wai Sheung. Wai Tung’s younger brother Wai Fei had three sons and the youngest brother Wai Shun had one son. After Wai Tung and his wife Tsang Shi died, their worship was entrusted to Wai Fei’s descendants. As Wai Tung’s father’s younger brother’s son adopted Wai Fei’s youngest son, the description “Wai Fei’s descendants” here seems to indicate his oldest son Tin Yuet and the second son Tin Yi and their descendants. The life stages of these persons are shown in Fig. 3-133. We can see that Wai Tung’s nephews were born more than 10 years after his death. Because the trustee of Wai Tung’s worship was referred to as “Wai Fei’s descendants” and not simply as “Wai Fei” in the genealogy, we can presume that the entrusting of Wai Tung’s worship was also decided at least after the birth of these nephews.

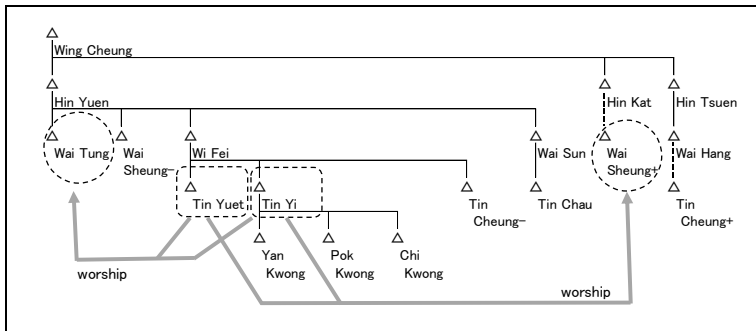


Fig. 3-132. Genealogical relationship between Wai Tung, Wai Sheung and Tin Yuet, Tin Yi

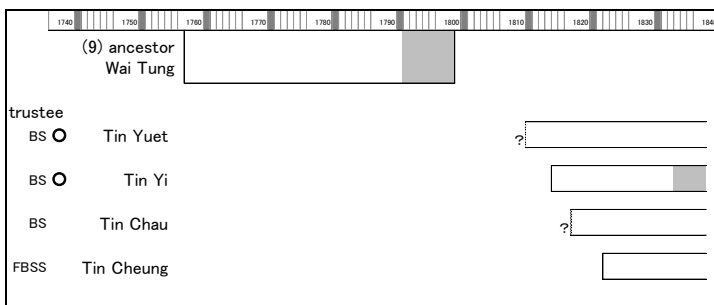


Fig. 3-133. Life stages of Wai Tung and Tin Yuet

The next example is the case of Wai Sheung, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was Wai Tung’s younger brother and was adopted by a brother of Wai

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Tung’s father. As shown in Fig. 3-134, Wai Sheung was born in 1760. His uncle Hin Kat adopted Wai Sheung, as discussed previously in the case studies of *chengji* adoption in Section 3-3-1 (see Figs. 3-78 and 3-79). However, he died in 1794, in the same year as his adoptive father Hin Kat. He had a wife, Ng Shi, who was 1 year younger than him, but they had no sons. Just as in the Wai Tung’s case, Wai Sheung’s nearest kin were his brother Wai Fei’s three sons and his other brother Wai Shun’s son. Among these four nephews, “descendants of Wai Fei” were appointed as trustees of Wai Sheung’s worship. That is, Wai Fei’s two sons Tin Yuet and Tin Yi were appointed as trustees. Wai Fei’s other son, Tin Cheung, was adopted by Hin Kat’s younger brother Hin Tsuen, as mentioned in Section 3-3-2 (see Figs. 3-101 and 3-102). Thus, we can see that Wai Fei provided his own sons as adoptive sons or trustees of the worship for his brothers and cousins who had no successors.

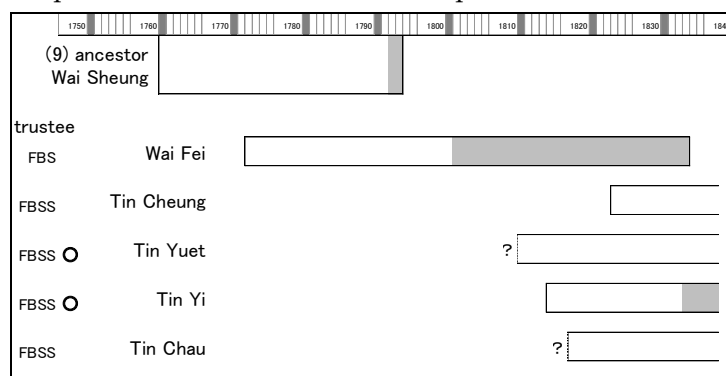


Fig. 3-134. Life stages of Wai Sheung and Wai Fei

Both Tin Yuet and Tin Yi, who were appointed as trustees of Wai Sheung’s worship, were born around 1810, when Wai Sheung had already passed away. As there was no record of Ng Shi’s death, it is possible that she survived her husband’s death in 1794 until the end of the genealogical record in 1838. However, it is also possible that data on her remarriage or death were omitted. In any case, Wai Sheung’s worship was entrusted after 1810 when Wai Fei’s sons were born because the trustee of the worship was nominated as “Wai Fei’s descendants.”

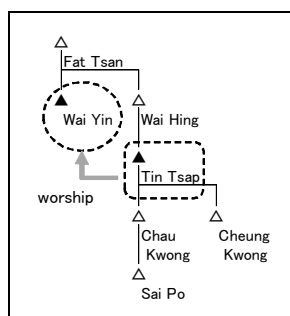


Fig. 3-135. Genealogical relationship between Wai Yin and Tin Tsap

The sixth example of the entrusting of ancestral worship is the case of Wai Kin, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was born in 1736 and married Lam Shi, who was his junior by 9 years. He died in 1767 aged 31 without leaving sons. His younger brother’s son Tin Tsap was entrusted with his worship (Fig. 3-135). Although basic information about Tin Tsap such as the years of his birth and death are not available from the genealogy, we can estimate that he was born in the 1760s because his father was born in 1738. This means that Tin Tsap had already been born when Wai Kin died. However, there is no clue in the genealogy regarding when the entrusting of worship was decided (Fig. 3-136).

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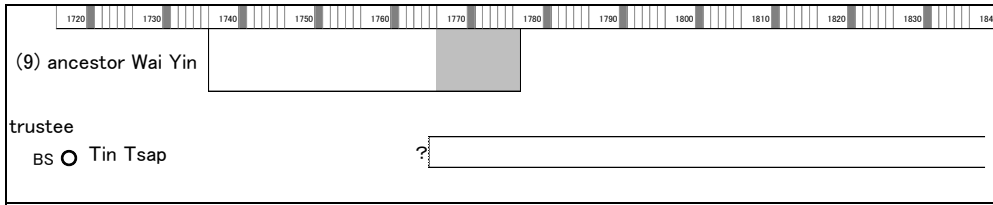


Fig. 3-136. Life stages of Wai Yin and Tin Tsap

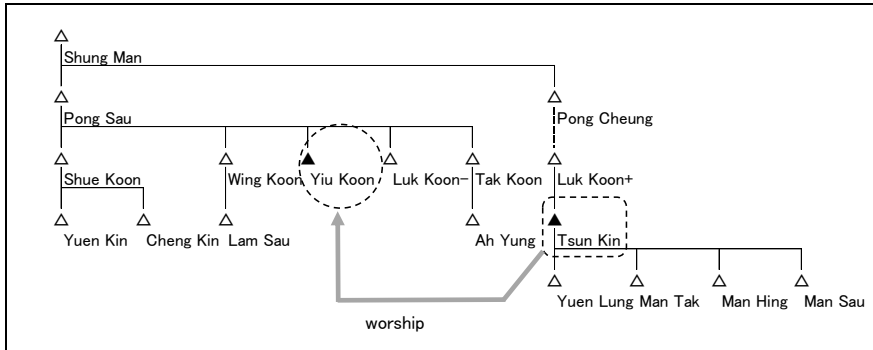


Fig. 3-137. Genealogical relationship between Yiu Koon and Tsun Kin

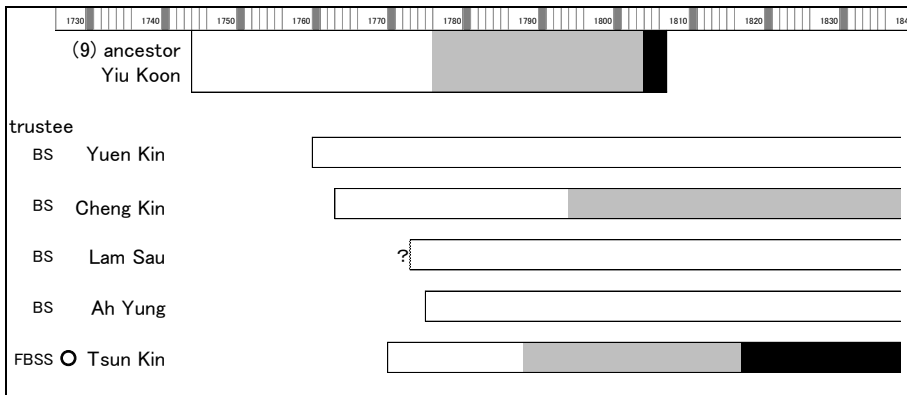


Fig. 3-138. Life stages of Yiu Koon and Tsun Kin

The next example, shown in Figs. 3-137 and 3-138, is the case of Yiu Koon, who belonged to the ninth generation. Yiu Koon was born in 1744 and his wife Yuen Shi in 1745. Both Yiu Koon and Yuen Shi survived together into their 60s, but they had no sons when Yiu Koon and his wife died in 1804 and 1807, respectively. Yiu Koon’s closest patrilineal kinsmen were his two older and two younger brothers and five nephews born to these brothers. Among these kinsmen, his younger brother Luk Koon’s son Tsun Kin was entrusted with Yiu Koon’s worship after his death. As Yiu Koon’s younger brother had adopted Luk Koon, Tsun Kin was genealogically patrilineal parallel cousin’s son. But because Luk Koon was originally the real brother of Yiu Koon, we can say that the trustee of his worship was still selected from Yiu Koon’s closest kin. The trustee Tsun Kin was born in 1770 and was 34 when Yiu Koon died. He already had his own son at that time. However, there are no data on the wives of three of Yiu Koon’s four other nephews Yuen Kin, Lam Sau and Ah Yung. The other nephew Cheng Kin had a wife but no sons when Yiu Koon

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passed away. I will examine later the entrusting of these four persons’ worship as the 24th to 27th examples in this section.

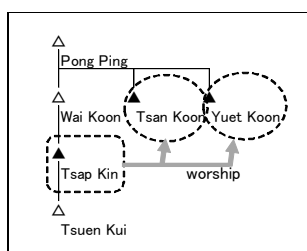


Fig. 3-139. Genealogical relationship among Tsan Koon, Yuet Koon and Tsap Kin

The eighth example is the case of Tsan Koon, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was born in 1749 and died in 1769 aged just 20. As there was a description of “early and unmarried death” for him in the genealogy, it is certain that he had no wives and no sons. The trustee of his worship was Tsap Kin, who was the son of Tsan Koon’s older brother Wai Koon (Fig. 3-139). Tsap Kin was born in 1771 and married Wong Shi around 1790. They had a son in 1805. However, Tsap Kin had not yet born when Tsan Koon died (Fig. 3-140). This suggests that the entrusting of Tsan Koon’s worship was decided many years after his death. Tsan Koon’s older brother Wai Koon was born in 1745, married Mak Shi around 1765, and had his own son. He died in 1784 but his wife Mak Shi survived until 1804.

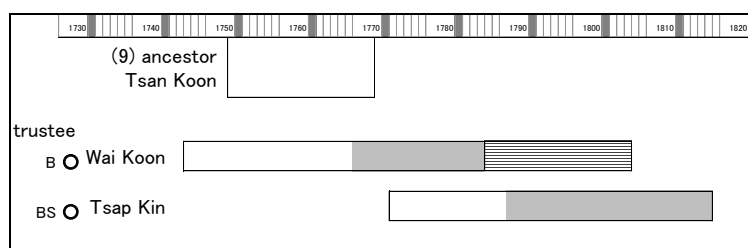


Fig. 3-140. Life stages of Tsan Koon and Tsap Kin

In this case, if the trustee was appointed soon after the death of Tsan Koon, Wai Koon should be appointed as trustee. However, this was recorded in the genealogy as Tsap Kin. This suggests that the trustee of Tsan Koon’s worship was appointed later, perhaps after Tsap Kin had reached adulthood. As Tsan Koon’s wife Mak Shi lived as a widow until 1804, she was likely the oldest member of a *jiazu* unit comprising her son Tsap Kin, his wife, and grandsons. However, she was not appointed as the trustee of Tsan Koon’s worship. This shows that the trustees of the ancestor worship were limited only to male members of the lineage.

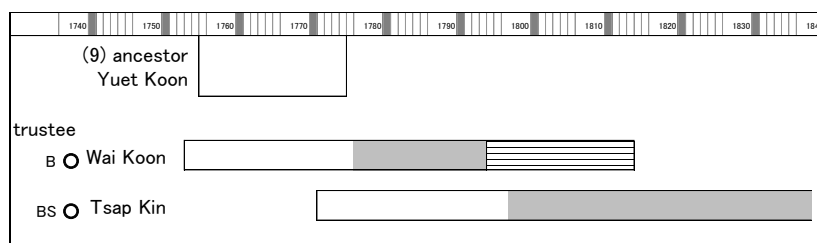


Fig. 3-141. Life stages of Yuet Koon and Tsap Kin

Tsap Kin was entrusted with the worship of another person. This is the ninth example of the entrusting of ancestor worship: the case of Yuet Koon, who belonged to the ninth generation. As shown in Fig. 3-139, his worship was entrusted to Tsap Kin, whose

father Wai Koon was Yuet Koon’s older brother. Yuet Koon was born in 1755 but died in 1775 aged just 20. It was written in the genealogy that he died young and unmarried just like his brother Tsan Koon, which means that he did not have wives or sons. Tsap Kin had already been born but was only 4 when Yuet Koon died in 1775 (see Fig. 3-141). Therefore, we can presume that, as in the case of Tsan Koon, the entrusting of Yuet Koon’s worship to Tsap Kin was decided after the death of Tsap Kin’s father Wai Koon in 1784, perhaps even after the birth of his own son in 1805.

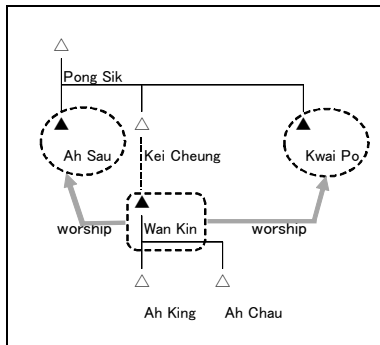


Fig. 3-142. Genealogical relationship among Ah Sau, Kwai Po and Wan Kin

Another case, the 10th example of entrusting of ancestor worship, is the case of Ah Sau, who belonged to the ninth generation. I examine his case together with Kwai Po’s case. Ah Sau, Kei Cheung, and Kwai Po were three brothers (Fig. 3-142). Among them, the oldest Ah Sau and the youngest Kwai Po “died young and unmarried” according to the genealogy. Ah Sau was born in 1740 and died in 1765. Kwai Po was born in 1750, but there is no record of the year of his death. Kei Cheung was born in 1745, and according to the genealogy, he was the only one of the brothers to have a wife and son. However, he died in 1775 aged

30. Although Kei Cheung’s son Wan Kin was not recorded as an adopted son, he was born in 1787, 12 years after Kei Cheung’s death. Therefore, Wan Kin could not be Kei Cheung’s biological son. It is highly probable that data on Wan Kin’s adoption were omitted.

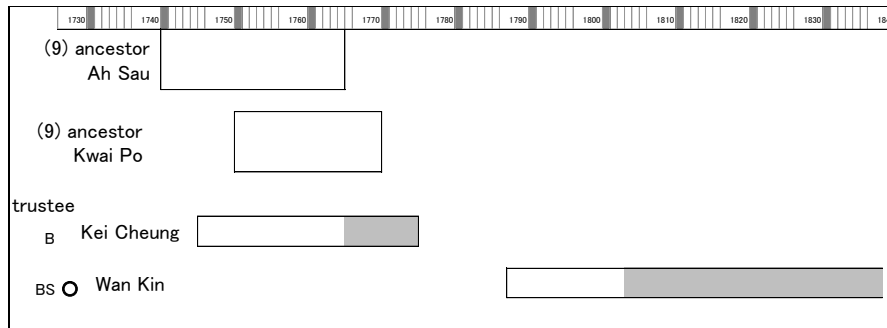


Fig. 3-143. Life stages of Ah Sau, Kwai Po, and Wan Kin

The worship of both Ah Sau and Kwai Po was entrusted to Wan Kin, who was the only successor for Kei Cheung’s descent line (Fig. 3-143). The trust was presumably decided and practiced several decades after the brothers’ death. We can presume that the person who planned and led these processes, and who might be the real father of Wan Kin if Wan Kin was adopted by Kei Cheung, was a descendant of Kei Cheung’s father’s brother. However, there is nothing to prove this in the written genealogy.

The 12th example is the case of Shing Koon, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was born in 1746 and passed away in 1780 aged 34. He was recorded as “unmarried with no descendants” in the genealogy. Put Kin, son of his younger brother Chi Koon, was appointed as trustee of his worship. Of Shing Koon’s two younger brothers, the

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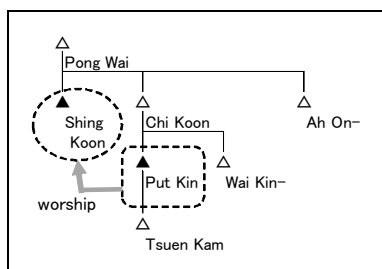


Fig. 3-144. Genealogical relationship between Shing Koon and Put Kin

youngest, Ah On, was adopted by Pong Tso, their father’s younger brother (Fig. 3-144). The second-youngest brother, Chi Koon, had two sons; one of these, Wai Kin, was also adopted by Ah On. Consequently, only Put Kin remained within Shing Koon’s closest kin. Put Kin was born in 1790, about 10 years after Shing Koon died, and he married Lai Shi, who was born in the year Put Kin was born. The trust of Shing Koon’s worship was presumably decided after Chi Koon’s death in 1821 because it was not Chi Koon but Put Kin who was appointed as trustee.

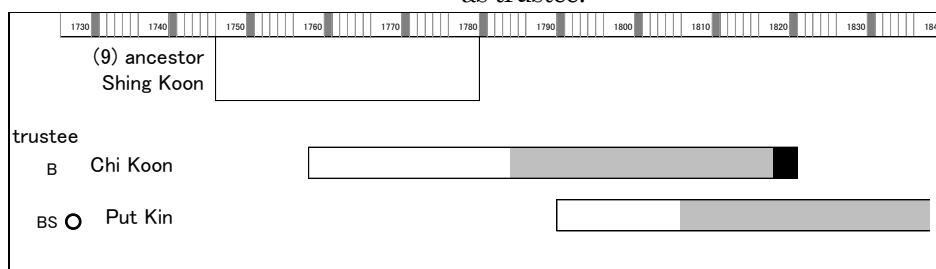


Fig. 3-145. Life stages of Shing Koon and Put Kin

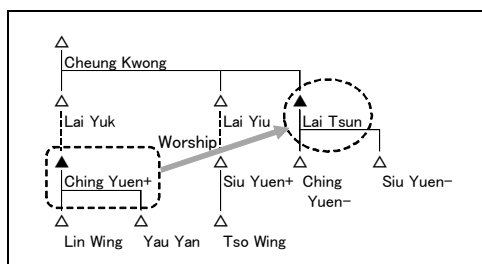


Fig. 3-146. Genealogical relationship between Lai Tsun and Ching Yuen

The 13th example is the case of Lai Tsun, who belonged to the 10th generation (Figs. 3-146 and 3-147). This case is somewhat special because it is the case in which a real son was entrusted the worship of his real father. Lai Tsun was born in 1760 as the third son. He had a wife, but his wife’s name is unknown because the data were omitted from the genealogy. Although Lai Tsun had two sons, the oldest, Ching Yuen, was adopted by Lai Tsun’s

older brother and the younger, Siu Yuen, was adopted by his younger brother, as Lai Tsun’s brothers had no sons. I previously examined these *chengji* adoptions in Section 3-3-1 (Figs. 3-61 and 3-81). Thus, Lai Tsun had no successors for his own descent because his two real sons were adopted by his brothers. After Lai Tsun died in 1818 aged 58, the worship of Lai

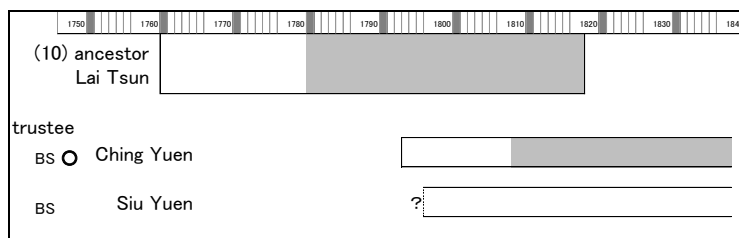


Fig. 3-147. Life stages of Lai Tsun and Ching Yuen

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Tsun was entrusted to Ching Yuen, who had been born as Lai Tsun’s biological son but later left his family unit through adoption by Lai Tsun’s older brother. Ching Yuen was born in 1793 and married Lei Shi, who was born in the same year. They were presumably still alive in 1838 at the end of the genealogical record.

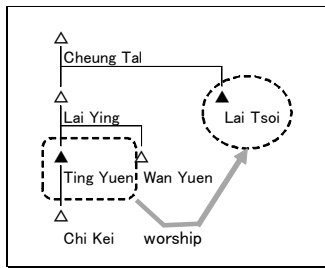


Fig. 3-148. Genealogical relationship between Lai Tsoi and Ting Yuen

The 14th example is the case of Lai Tsoi, who belonged to the 10th generation of the lineage (Figs. 3-148 and 3-149). This is a relatively simple case, in which Lai Tsoi, who was born in 1760 and married Tsoi Shi, died in 1824 aged 64 without leaving sons. His worship was entrusted to Ting Yuen, the older son of Lai Tsoi’s older brother⁵⁵.

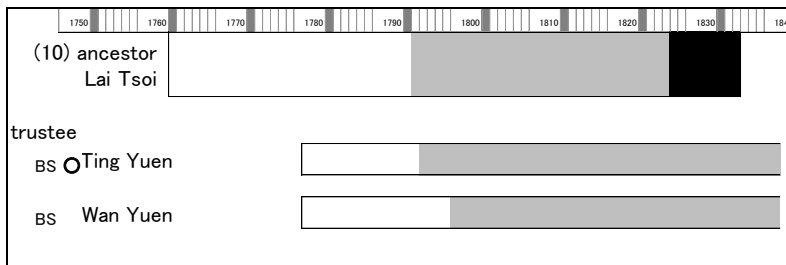


Fig. 3-149. Life stages of Lai Tsoi and Ting Yuen

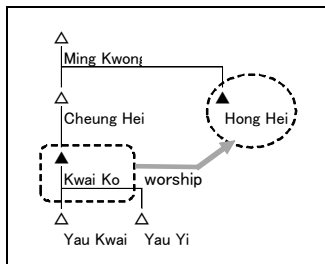


Fig. 3-150. Genealogical relationship relation between Hong Hei and Kwai Ko

Next is the case of Hong Hei, who belonged to the 10th generation. As shown in Figs. 3-150 and 3-151, Hong Hei was born in 1741 and married Tsoi Shi, who was 16 years younger than him. Until 1798, when Hong Hei died aged 57, the couple had no sons. The worship of Hong Hei was entrusted to the descendants of Hong Hei’s older brother Cheung Hei. Cheung Hei was Hong Hei’s senior by four years, and he passed away as early as in 1780, but his wife Lok Shi survived her husband until her death in 1833 aged 73. Cheung Hei and Lok Shi’s son, Kwai Ko, was born in the 1770s and married Leung Shi,

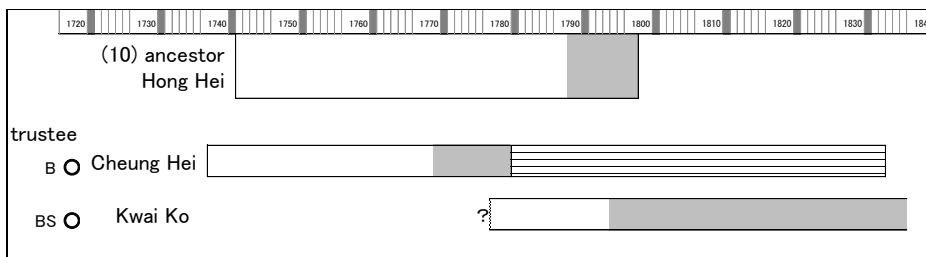


Fig. 3-151. Life stages of Hong Hei and Kwai Ko

⁵⁵ Both Ting Yuen and his younger brother Wan Yuen were born in 1777. Because their father Lai Ying had only one wife, they were presumably twin brothers.

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and then remarried Lei Shi after Leung Shi’s death. In this case, “the descendants of Cheung Hei” were appointed as trustees of Hong Hei’s worship, though Cheung Hei had died before Hong Hei. This was perhaps because Cheung Hei’s wife Lok Shi was still alive. However, as I discussed in Tsan Koon’s case (the eighth example), the trustees of worship of lateral kin were limited to the male members of the lineage, even when widows were still alive and were the oldest person in a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit.

Now we turn to the 16th example. It is the case of Tin Siu, who belonged to the 10th generation (Figs. 3-152 and 3-153). Tin Siu was born in 1751 and married twice. His first wife was Ho Shi and the second was Lam Shi. His second wife Lam Shi passed away in 1804, and Tin Siu died in 1841 aged 63. He left no sons. Because not only Tin Siu but also his father Wai Chong had no brothers, Tin Siu’s closest kinsmen were his grandfather’s brothers’ descendants. His grandfather Fat Lin’s older brother Fat Luen had two sons and three grandsons, among whom the descendants of Fat Luen’s second son were appointed as trustees of Tin Siu’s worship. As Fat Luen’s second son Tin Sau was born in 1760 and died in 1828 and his son Yuk Kwong was born in 1798, both were likely alive when Tin Siu passed away.

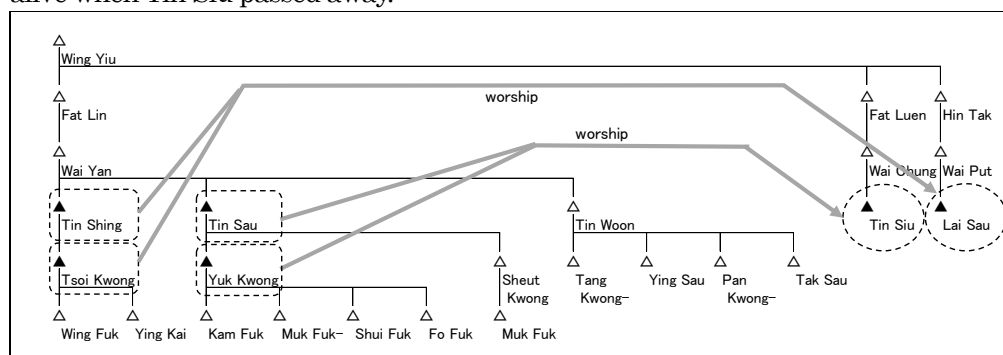


Fig. 3-152. Genealogical relationship among Tin Siu, Tin Sau and Yuk Kwong / Tin Shing, Tsoi Kwong and Lai Sau

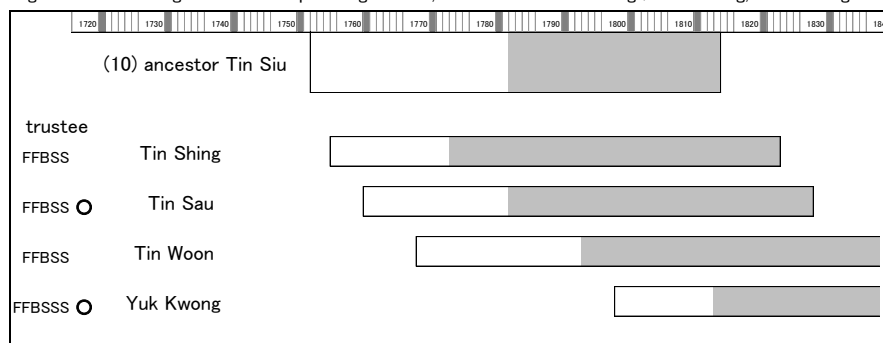


Fig. 3-153. Life stages of Tin Siu and Tin Sau

The 17th example, the case of Lai Sau, who belonged to the 10th generation, is also shown in Fig.3-152. He was Tin Siu’s grandfather’s younger brother’s grandson. The years of his birth and death were not recorded in the genealogy, but he seemed to die relatively young without leaving sons because there is a description of “unmarried death” in his genealogical data. His closest patrilineal kin were the same as those of Tin Siu. Among them, it was “Tin Shing’s descendants” who were appointed as trustees of his worship. Tin Shing and his son Tsoi Kwong were still alive when Lai Sau passed away

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around 1800 (Fig. 3-154).

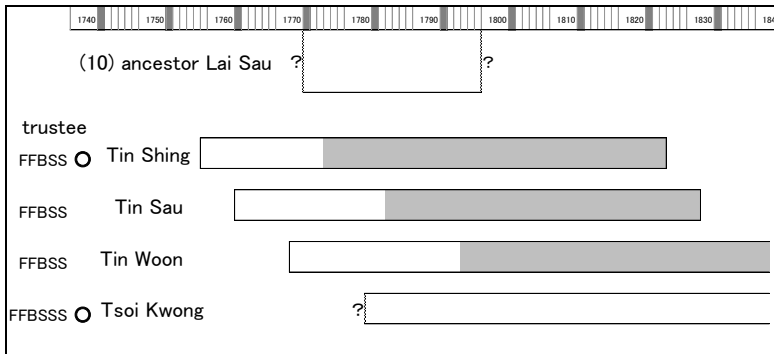


Fig. 3-154. Life stages of Lai Sau and Tin Shing

The next case that I present as the 18th example of the entrusting of ancestor worship is the case of Ah Tin, who belonged to the 10th generation. As shown in Figs. 3-

155 and 3-156, this is a comparatively simple case in which the worship of Ah Tin - who died unmarried and without sons - was entrusted to Fan Kwong, the second son of his younger brother Tin Ho. Although the years of Ah Tin’s birth and death are not recorded in the genealogy, he was likely born around 1755 because his younger brother Tin Ho was born in 1757. Entrusting of Ah Tin’s worship was presumably decided after the birth of Fan Kwong in 1789 because he is nominated as the trustee in the genealogy.

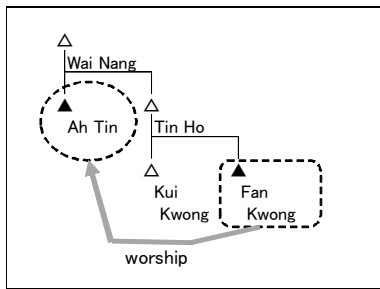


Fig. 3-155. Genealogical relationship between Ah Tin and Fan Kwong

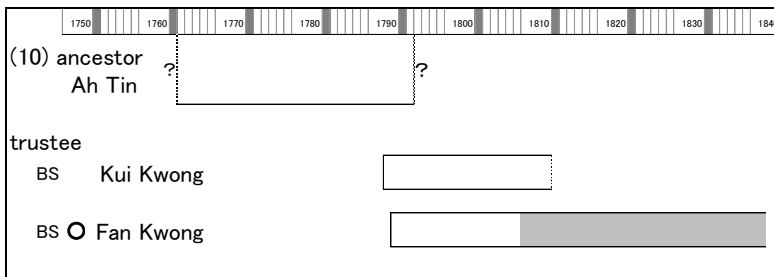


Fig. 3-156. Life stages of Ah Tin and Fan Kwong

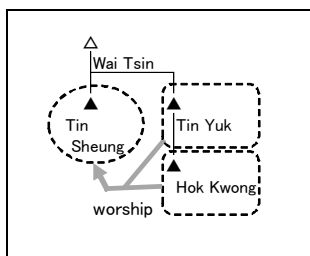


Fig. 3-157. Genealogical relationship among Tin Sheung, Tin Yuk and Hok Kwong

The 19th example is the case of Tin Sheung (Figs. 3-157 and 158). Although the genealogy lacks the data on the years of Tin Sheung’s birth and death, we can estimate lived from roughly 1780 to 1800 based on his father’s and cousins’ life spans. According to his record in the written genealogy, his worship was entrusted to “the son of Tin Yuk” after his young death without successors. Tin Yuk, who was the

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younger brother of Tin Sheung, was born in 1889 and married Nip Shi, who was the same age. As there is no record of their deaths in the genealogy, they were possibly alive in 1838. Tin Yuk had a son named Hok Kwong, who was born in 1812.

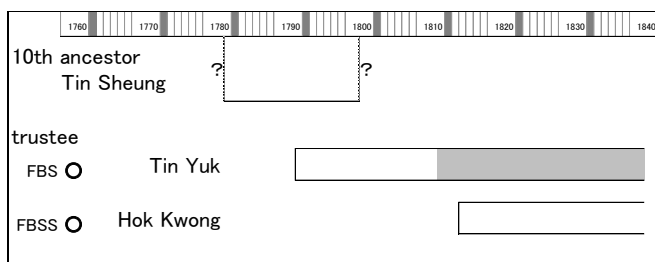


Fig. 3-158. Life stages of Tin Sheung and Hok Kwong

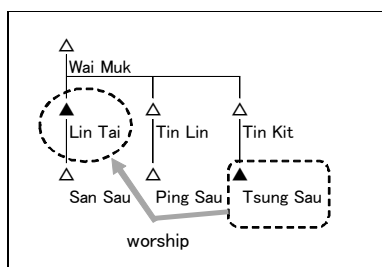


Fig. 3-159. Genealogical relationship between Lin Tai and Tsung Sau

states that he died young, unmarried and without successors. Judging from other cases with similar descriptions, this suggests that he died before reaching adulthood. However, a person named San Sau was recorded as Lin Tai’s son, which contradicts this assumption. Presumably, Lin Tai had adopted one of his brothers’ sons. The genealogy only states that San Sau was born in the Jiaqing era (1796-1820) and lacks data on the year of his death. However, the fact that Lin Tai’s worship was entrusted to the descendants of Tin Kit, Lin Tai’s

youngest brother, suggests that San Sau also likely died young without leaving descendants. Tin Kit had a son named Tsung Sau. Although the birth year of Tsung Sau is not recorded in the genealogical data, he was probably alive in 1838 and took responsibility for practicing the worship of Lin Tai.

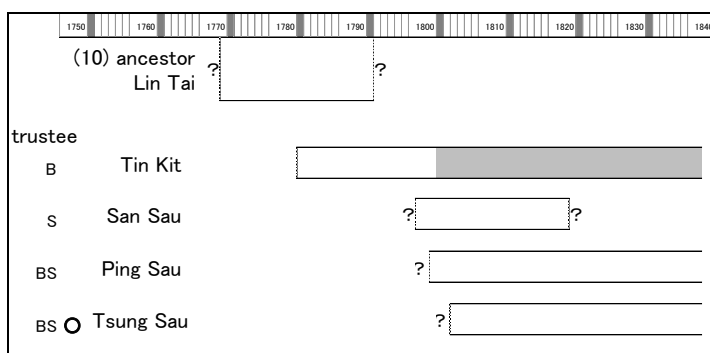


Fig. 3-160. Life stages of Lin Tai and Tsung Sau

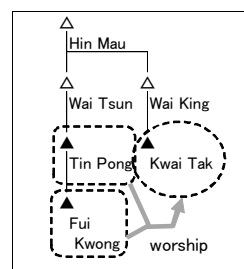


Fig. 3-161. Genealogical relationship among Kwai Tak, Tin Pong and Fui Kwong

The 21st example is the case of Kwai Tak, who belonged to the 10th generation (Figs. 3-161 and 3-162). Kwai Tak was born in 1793 and died in 1813 without leaving sons. In this case, his patrilineal parallel cousin Tin Pong’s descendants were appointed as trustees of his worship. Tin Pong was born in 1764 and married Tsui Shi, who was the

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same age. The couple had a son, Fui Kwong, in 1795. Therefore, Kwai Tak’s worship was presumably succeeded by Fui Kwong.

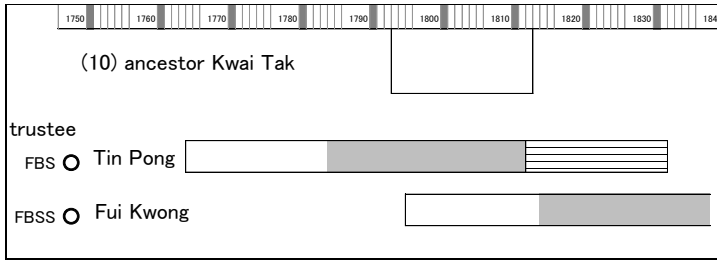


Fig. 3-162. Life stages of Kwai Tak and Tin Pong

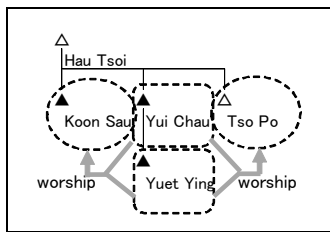


Fig. 3-163. Genealogical relationship among Koon Sau, Yui Chau, Tso Po and Yuet Ying

The next two examples are the cases of Koon Sau and Tso Po, who both belonged to the 10th generation. As shown in Fig. 3-163, Koon Sau, Yui Chau and Tso Po were brothers. Of these three brothers, the oldest Koon Sau and the youngest Tso Po died without successors and their worship after death was entrusted to Yui Chau’s son. Although the genealogy lacks the data on the years of Koon Sau’s and Tso Po’s births, Yui Chau was born in 1782 and he married Hau Shi, who was 1 year younger than him.

The couple was probably still alive in 1838. Yui Chau’s son, Yuet Ying, was born in 1805, and he had a wife, although her surname is unknown. Their life stages are shown and compared in Figs. 3-164 and 3-165. It is highly possible that Yuet Ying had not yet been born when Koon Sau died, but he probably had been born when Tso Po died. Although we do not know when these were decided and practiced, Yuet Ying was entrusted with the worship of these two uncles.

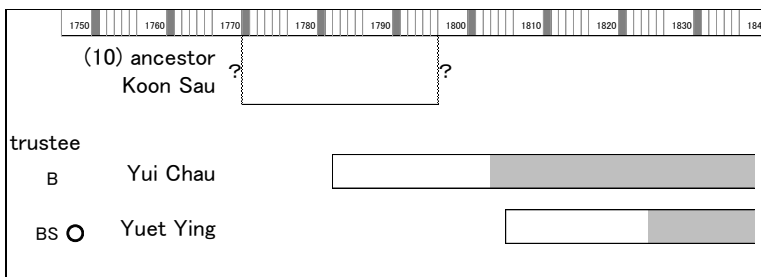


Fig. 3-164. Life stages of Koon Sau and Yui Chau

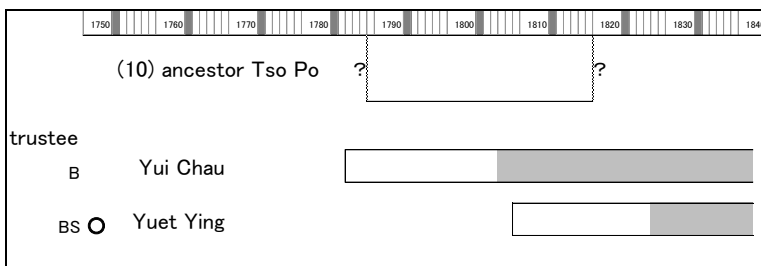


Fig. 3-165. Life stages of Tso Po and Yui Chau

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I show four examples - from the 24th to 27th - together. They are the cases of Yuen Kin, Cheng Kin, Lam Sau and Ah Yung, all of whom belonged to the 10th generation. Their genealogical relationships are shown in Fig. 3-166. These four persons were Pong Sau's grandsons. Yuen Kin and Cheng Kin were the sons of Pong Sau's oldest son, Lam Sau was the son of his second son, and Ah Yung was the son of his fifth son. Yuen Kin was born in 1760 and died while unmarried in 1780. Cheng Kin was born in 1763 and he married Ho Shi, who was 16 years younger than him, but he died without successors. The genealogy lacks the data on the year of his death. As for Lam Sau, the genealogy lacks any data on the years of his birth and death and there is only a description of “young death.” Estimating from his cousins' data, he was likely born around 1760 and died around 1780. Ah Yung was born in 1775. Although the year of his death is unknown, he probably died around 1795 or earlier because he was also described as having “died young.”

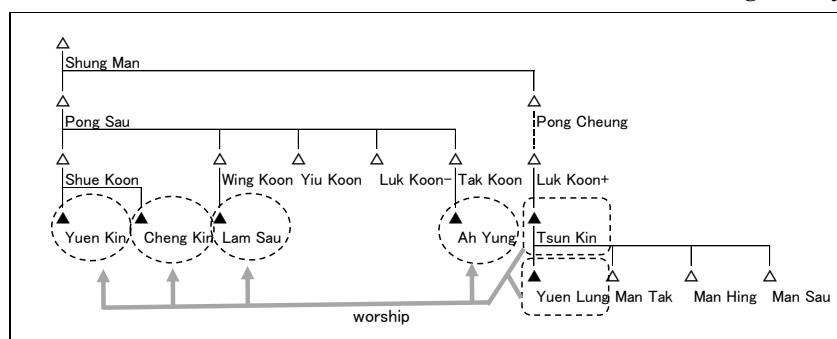


Fig. 3-166. Genealogical relationship among Yuen Kin, Cheng Kin, Lam Sau, Ah Yung, Tsun Kin and Yuen Lung

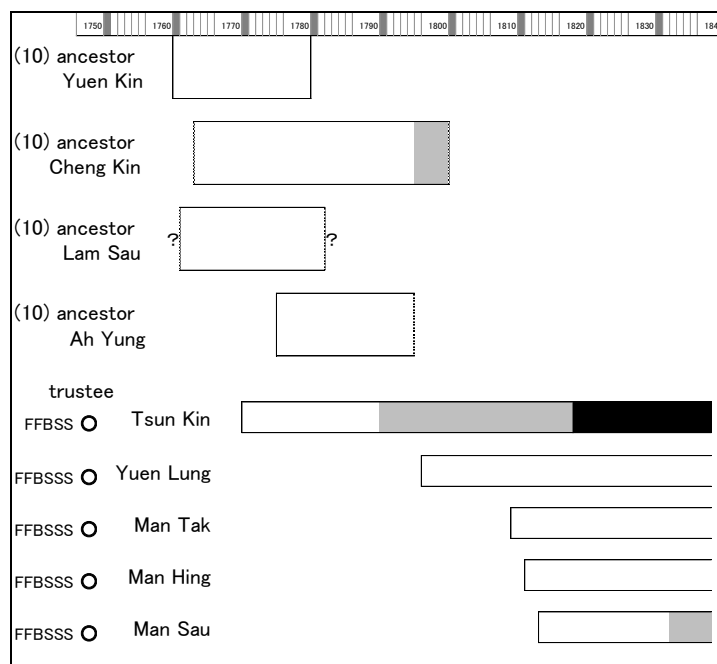


Fig. 3-167. Life stages of Yuen Kin, Cheng Kin, Lam Sau and Ah Yung / Tsun Kin and Yuen Lung

The descendants of their grandfather's younger brother Pong Cheung were entrusted with the worship of these four persons. Pong Cheung's grandson Tsun Kin had

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four sons who were entrusted with their worship. The life stages of the people concerned in these cases are shown in Fig. 3-167. As Tsun Kin was born in 1770, he was already alive when these four people died. However, his sons were not yet born. Therefore, we can assume that the assignment of trusteeship of these four people’s worship was decided and practiced many years after their death.

Thus, the worship of Yuen Kin and the three other people was entrusted to such remote kinsmen as their grandfather’s son’s son or their grandfather’s son’s son because Pong Sau’s descendants died out and among their closest agnates only Tsun Kwong’s sons survived (Fig. 3-166). As discussed in the seventh example (Figs. 3-137 and 3-138), the worship of Pong Sau’s third son Yiu Koon, who had no successors, was also entrusted to the descendants of Tsun Kin. Pong Sau’s brother Pong Cheung adopted his fourth son Luk Koon, as discussed in Section 3-3-1 (see Figs. 3-85 and 3-86). Eventually, the worship of Yuen Kin and the three other people was entrusted to the descendants of Luk Koon, who was originally Pong Sau’s son. This means that these cases were actually entrusting of worship to the patrilineal parallel cousins and their sons.

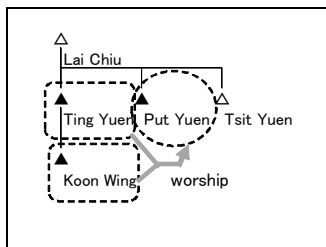


Fig. 3-168. Genealogical relationship among Put Yuen, Ting Yuen and Koon Wing

The 28th example is the case of Put Yuen, who belonged to the 11th generation. Put Yuen was born in 1785 and he married Ng Shi, who was born in the same year. However, Ng Shi died in 1812 aged 27 and Put Yuen died in 1817 aged 32. As the couple had no successors, their worship was entrusted to the descendants of Put Yuen’s older brother Ting Yuen (Fig. 3-168). Ting Yuen was born in 1772 and he married Tsui Shi. In 1815, Ting Yuen had a son named Koon Wing (Fig. 3-169) and he likely succeeded the duty of Put Yuen’s worship.

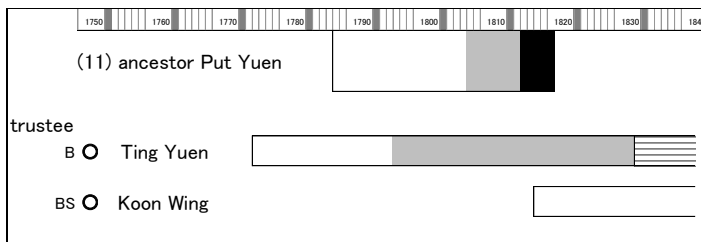


Fig. 3-169. Life stages of Put Yuen and Ting Yuen

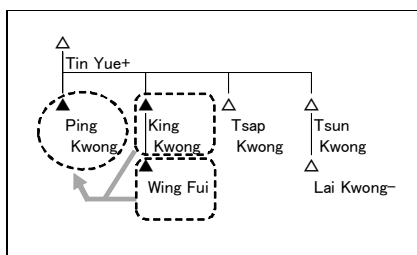


Fig. 3-170. Genealogical relationship among Ping Kwong, King Kwong and Wing Fui

The last example is the case of Ping Kwong, who belonged to the 11th generation. Ping Kwong was born in 1781 and had a wife named Lau Shi, who was his junior by 1 year. When Ping Kwong died in 1814 aged 33, they had no sons. Their worship was entrusted to the descendants of King Kwong, the oldest of his three younger brothers (Fig. 3-170). King Kwong was born in 1784 and he married Sit

Tracing the “Family”

Shi, who was 3 years older than him. In 1815, they had a son named Wing Fui (Fig. 3-171).

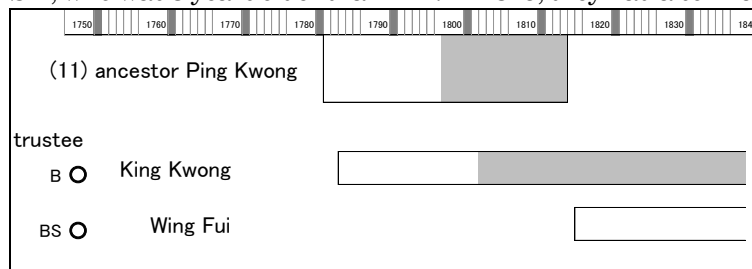


Fig. 3-171. Life stages of Ping Kwong, King Kwong and Wing Fui

Through the analysis above, I have examined all 29 cases of the entrusting of ancestor worship. Members of “W” lineage tended to entrust the worship of ancestors who died without successors to the deceased’s closest patrilineal kin if possible, such as an uncle’s worship by his nephews, a grandfather’s brother’s worship by the grandsons of the deceased person’s brother, so on. At least, this was always practiced within the range of *wufu*, a category of close agnates who share a common descent from the great-great-grandfather and share a mutual duty to go mourn each other at their death. In this point, *fujj* entrusting of ancestor worship seems to differ from *chengji* adoption, which could be practiced between the remote kinsmen related only through an ancestor several generations previously. Furthermore, trustees were often selected from family lines that had many descendants and were expected to endure over generations. Worship of many ancestors was sometimes entrusted to the same person if necessary.

The genealogy does not record when the entrusting of ancestor worship was decided and practiced in each case. However, through the precise analysis of how the trustees’ names were referred to in the genealogy, we can assume that the trustees were not always nominated soon after a person died, but often many years after the death. In some cases, it was almost one generation after the death that a trustee of worship was arranged for the ancestor who had died without leaving sons or adopted sons. It seems rather unusual that the trusts of ancestor worship were decided before the death of those who were worshiped because it must have been the last resort to avoid having no successor. It was only after they tried to have their own sons through remarriage and concubinage or to have adoptive sons through *chengji* adoption in their lives that the final decision of trust was made. Therefore, it would likely usually be arranged by the deceased’s close kinsmen within the mourning grades after a considerable length of time for negotiation.

3-3-3 Case Studies on the Adoption of Non-Agnates (*yuzi*)

In the previous two sections, I examined all the cases of the adoptions of agnates and the entrusting of ancestor worship recorded in the written genealogy of “W” lineage. These were the two principal ways to cope with the failure of the expected succession of descent lines caused by members’ “early death”, “unmarried death” and “death without sons.” In this section, I will examine the individual cases of *yuzi*, the adoption of non-agnates, which was another way to respond to such failures.

I previously referred to the custom of *yuzi* in Section 2-3-1. There, I showed that

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only four cases of *yuzi* adoption were recorded in the genealogy; no *yuzi* were adopted after their adoptive fathers died and *yuzi* adoption was likely an ad hoc response to individual situations because the age difference between adoptive parents and adopted sons varied greatly. Table 3-45 shows the list of sentences in the genealogy that include the word “*yuzi*.”

Table 3-45. Sentences referring to the word *yuzi* in the written genealogy

Generation	Name of ancestor	Translation of sentences
6	Chi Shing	No sons. Adopted a <i>yuzi</i> named Wing Yuk.
7	Wing Yuk	<i>Yuzi</i> of Chi Shing.
8	Fat Yui	Had a <i>yuzi</i> named Wai Kui.
9	Wai Kui	<i>Yuzi</i> .
10	Tin Sau	Yue Koon's <i>yuzi</i> . Died young.
11	Tsuen Yik	<i>Yuzi</i> of Hei Tsun.

There are only six instances, among which the first and second and third and fourth instances refer to the same adoptions. Therefore, only four cases of *yuzi* adoption appear in the total genealogical record. They are the cases of Wing Yuk, who belonged to the seventh generation; Wai Kui, who belonged to the ninth generation; Tin Sau, who belonged to the 10th generation and Tsuen Wak, who belonged to the 11th generation. The distribution of these cases among the major segments of the lineage is as follows; Wing Yuk and Wai Kui belonged to the segment originating from the lineage founder's third son's oldest son, Tin Sau belonged to the segment originating from the founder's fourth son's second son and Tsuen Wak was a member of the segment originating from the founder's fourth son's oldest son. Therefore, we can say that adoptions of this kind were practiced in different segments in the lineage.

Table 3-46. Summary of *yuzi* adoptions in the genealogical record

(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)	(I)	(J)	(K)	(L)	(M)	(N)
generation	name of <i>yuzi</i>	name of adoptive father	birth year of <i>yuzi</i>	number of <i>yuzi</i> 's wives	<i>yuzi</i> 's first wife	<i>yuzi</i> 's second wife	birth year of <i>yuzi</i> 's first wife	birth year of <i>yuzi</i> 's second wife	number of <i>yuzi</i> 's sons	name of <i>yuzi</i> 's sons	description of young death for <i>yuzi</i>	death year of <i>yuzi</i>
7	Wing Yuk	Chi Shing	1674	1	Lai Shi		1674		1	Hin Hong		1750
9	Wai Kui	Fat Yui	1724	2	?	?	1727	1728	0			1779
10	Tin Sau	Tue Koon	1798	0					0		✓	1820
11	Tsuen Yik	Hei Tsun	1771	1	Fung Shi		1784		1	Lai Tsoi		1832

(O)	(P)	(Q)	(R)	(S)	(T)	(U)	(V)	(W)	(X)	(Y)	(Z)	(AA)
birth year of the adoptive father	number of the adoptive fathers' wives	adoptive father's first wife	adoptive father's second wife	birth year of the adoptive father's first wife	birth year of the adoptive father's second wife	death year of the adoptive father	death year of the adoptive father's first wife	death year of the adoptive father's second wife	age difference between father and <i>yuzi</i>	age difference between adoptive father's first wife and <i>yuzi</i>	age difference between adoptive father's second wife and <i>yuzi</i>	<i>beizi</i> (prescribed character for personal name)
1672	2	Chung Shi	Panf Shi	1690	1697	1752	1724	1756	2	-16	-23	Wing
1703	1	Yeung Shi		1702		1766	1753		21	22		Wai
1761	1	Leung Shi		1764		1816			37	34		Tin
1725	2	Chan Shi	Tong Shi	1725	1729	1778	1754	1779	46	46	42	Tsuen

Years in italic letters are estimated.

For these four cases of *yuzi*, I extracted the data that related to the persons who were *yuzi* and their adoptive parents. These data appear in Table 3-46. Column “M” shows that only Tin Sau was described as having “died young” and column “F” shows that Wing Yuk and Tsuen Wak married once and Wai Kui married twice. As shown in column “K”, Wing Yuk and Tsuen Wak had their own sons. All their adoptive fathers had wives, as

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shown in column “P”. The same *beizi* (a prescribed character for members’ names in each generation) were used for the names of these *yuzi* as those used for other members of the lineage, as shown in column “AA”, which suggests that they were not treated differently in the lineage, at least with regard to their names.

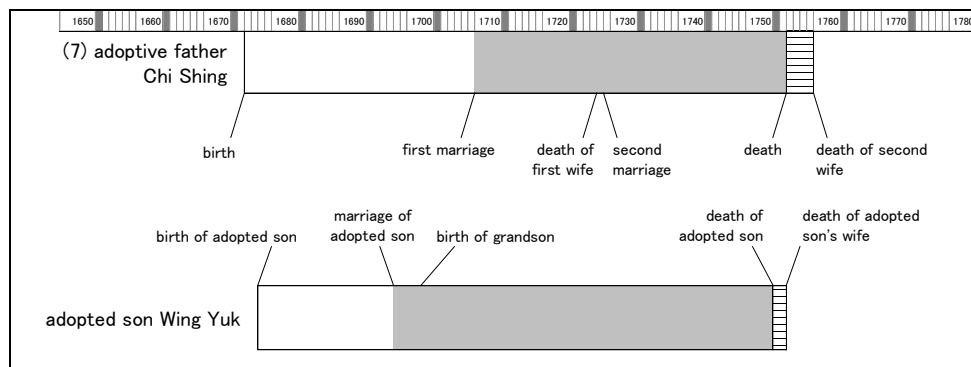


Fig. 3-172. Life stages of Chi Shing and Wing Yuk

Based on this overview of the data on *yuzi*, I now examine each example recorded in the genealogy. The first example is the case of Chi Shing, who belonged to the sixth generation and his *yuzi* Wing Yuk (Fig. 3-172). As mentioned in Chapter 2, this seems to be a special case in which the age difference between the adoptive father and his adopted son was very small. The adoptive father Chi Shing was born in 1672 and his adopted son Wing Yuk was born in 1674, only 2 years later. Chi Shing’s first wife Chung Shi was born in 1690 and was 18 years younger than her husband. They likely married around 1710, but as she died in 1724, he remarried to Pang Shi. There is no record of the origin of the adopted son Wing Yuk, nor any clue in the genealogy. Wing Yuk had a wife, Lai Shi, who was born in the same year as her husband. Wing Yuk likely married before his adoptive father Chi Shing because, when Wing Yuk and his wife had their son Hin Hong in 1698, Chi Shing’s first wife Chung Shi was only 8. The adopted son, Wing Yuk, died in 1750 aged 76, while his adoptive father Chi Shing survived him for 2 years and died in 1752 aged 80. Pang Shi, to whom the adoptive father Chi Shing remarried, died in 1756 aged 59. Lai Shi, who was the wife of the adopted son Wing Yuk, died in 1752 aged 78.

The description in the genealogy does not state when Chi Shing adopted Wing Yuk, nor whether his adoption resulted in the co-habitation and sharing of the family budget among them. It is difficult to imagine how these two couples lived given that they were related through adoptive parenthood but who were close in actual age. The *ganqin*, or the sword parenthood, is a possible answer⁵⁶. That was a kind of partnership sometimes established between a patron and his client or between a master and his disciple. However, this case differs from usual cases of sword parenthood in that Wing Yuk abandoned his natal surname and succeeded his adoptive father’s descent.

It is equally unknown whether Hin Hong, who was the son of the adopted son Wing Yuk, lived together with and cared for these two couples in their old age. Hin Hong

⁵⁶ *Ganqin* means the fictive parenthood between persons who have no agnatic relations with each other. The adoptive father and mother were often called *gandie* and *ganma*, respectively, in such practices.

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was the most productive ancestor in the lineage; he had eight sons. Among these eight male descendants, six had already been born when Wing Yuk and his adoptive father Chi Shing died. Both Chi Shing and Wing Yuk witnessed the birth of their many descendants while they were alive.

As Hin Hong had many sons, the descendants of Chi Shing and Wing Yuk became a large segment of the lineage. Among lineage members who belonged to the 10th or later generations, 151 members belonged to the branch originating from the lineage founder’s third son. The descendants of Chi Shing and Wing Yuk comprised 44 of these 151 descendants. As far as we can understand through the recorded data in the genealogy, there was no evidence that Wing Yuk’s descendants were treated differently from other members, even though Wing Yuk was *yuzi* adopted from outside. For example, among the cases examined in sections 3-3-1 and 3-3-2, six cases of *chengji* adoption and two cases of *fujii* entrusting were practiced by Wing Yuk’s descendants (see Table 3-47). This suggests that the succession of their family line was likely respected as much as that of other family lines.

Table 3-47. Cases of *chengji* adoptions and *fujii* entrusting in the family line of Wing Yuk

Generation	Name	Adoption of son	Entrusting of worship	Generation	Name	Adoption of son	Entrusting of worship
7	Wing Yuk			11	Ah Man	✓	
8	Hing Hong			11	Yue Kwong		
9	Wai Nang			11	Shi Kwong		
9	Wai Tsoi			11	Kung Kwong		
9	Wai Lung			11	Tso Tak		
9	Wai Fung			11	Yuet Kwong		
9	Wai Lun	✓		11	Muk Hing		
9	Wai Ko			11	Ng Hing		
9	Wai Tsin			11	Man Hing		
9	Wai Man			11	Man Luk		
10	Ah Tin			11	Hin Kwong		
10	Tin Ho			11	Pui Kwong		
10	Tin Yuk			11	King Kwong		
10	Tin Tso			11	Hon Kwong		
10	Tin Kwai			11	Ting Tak		
10	Tin Yiu			11	Kam Tak		
10	Tin Tsan			11	Kin Kwong		
10	Tin Tat		✓	11	Shui Sau		
10	Tin Kam		✓	11	Tak Kwong		
10	Tin Yi	✓		11	Yam Kwong		
10	Tin Ho	✓		11	Ah Sai		
10	Tin Hei	✓		11	Hok Kwong		
10	Tin Sin	✓		11	Kei Kwong		
10	Tin Pat			12	Sin Long		
10	Tin Tseuk			12	Hing Long		
10	Tin Yuk			12	Hing Tok		
10	Tin Sheung			12	Sai Long		
10	Tin Yin			12	Sai Tseung		
11	Hei Kwong			12	Ah Yuet		
11	Fan Kwong			12	Tung Tak		
11	Chiu Kwong			12	Yau Tak		
11	Ah Sau			12	Ping Tak		

The next example of *yuzi* is the case of Fat Yui – who belonged to the eighth generation – and his *yuzi* Wai Kui (Fig. 3-173). The adoptive father Fat Yui was born in 1703 and he married Yeung Shi, who was 1 year older than him, around 1720. However, they had no sons. Yeung Shi died in 1753 aged 51. In 1766, Fat Yui died aged 63. Wai Kui,

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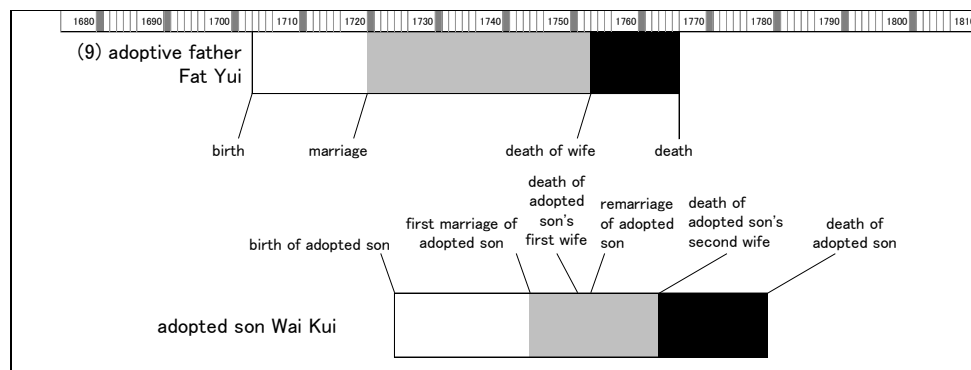


Fig. 3-173. Life stages of Fat Yui and Wai Kui

who became Fat Yui's *yuzi*, was born in 1724. Nothing about his origin, such as his natal clan name or his real father's name, appears in the genealogy. He married around 1740, but his wife's surname is unknown. As his wife passed away in 1751 aged just 24, Wai Kui remarried, although his second wife's surname is also unknown. However, after his second wife died in 1763 aged 35, he lived as a widower until his death in 1779 aged 55. Wai Kui had no sons. In this case too, we do not know when Wai Kui's adoption was decided. However, it is difficult to think that the adoption was decided before 1740 when Fat Yui and his wife were still of reproductive age. It was likely decided after 1763 when his wife died. At that point, Wai Kui was 29. As Wai Kui did not leave descendants, we cannot judge from his case whether his descendants were distinguished from other lineage members because of Wai Kui's origin.

The third example of *yuzi* is the case of Yue Koon - who belonged to the ninth generation - and his adopted son Tin Sau (Fig. 3-174). Yue Koon was born in 1761 and married his wife Leung Shi, who was 3 years younger than him, around 1780. Leung Shi

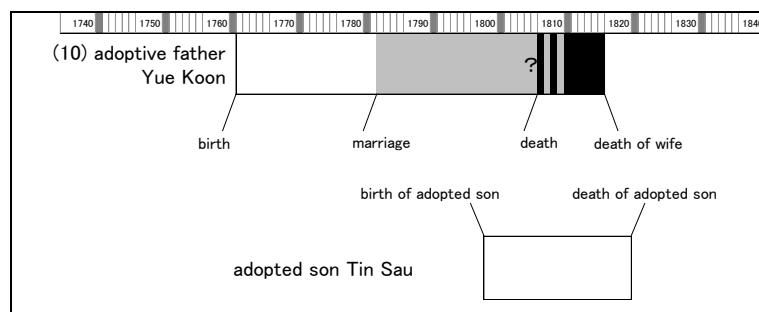


Fig. 3-174. Life stages of Yue Koon and Tin Sau

passed away in 1816 aged 52. Although the genealogy contains no data on Yue Koon's death, it seems that he died before his wife, likely in the 1810s. They had no sons. Their adopted son Tin Sau was born in 1798. Although the data on the year of his death does not appear in the genealogy, there is a description that he died young. This suggests that he died without wives and sons in 1820 or earlier. The adoptive father Yue Koon and his wife Leung Shi were in their mid-30s when Tin Sau was born. It is possible that Yue Koon and his wife gave up on trying to have their own sons for some reason and adopted the infant Tin Sau, but he passed away soon after the adoption. Another possibility is that the couple

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adopted Tin Sau after reaching middle age and Tin Sau died around the age of 20. In any case, as Tin Sau did not leave descendants, we cannot examine how the descendants of *yuzi* were treated in the lineage through this case.

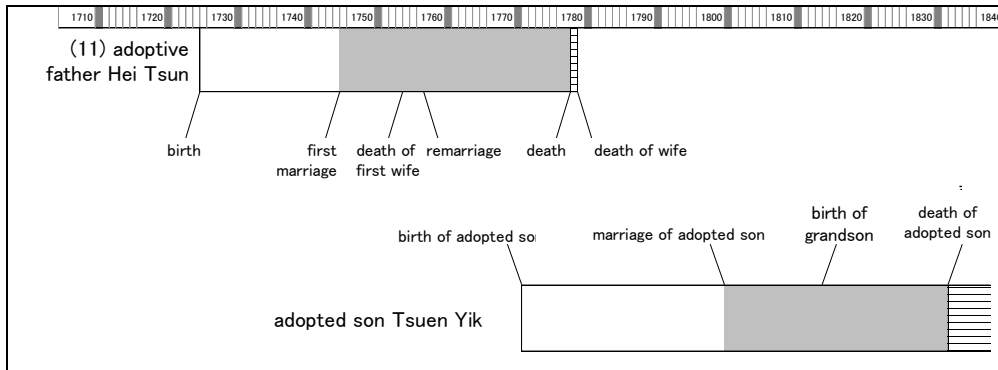


Fig. 3-175. Life stages of Hei Tsun and Tsuen Yik

The last example of *yuzi* adoption is the case of Hei Tsun – who belonged to the 11th generation – and his adopted son Tsuen Wak (Fig. 3-175). The adoptive father Hei Tsun was born in 1725 and married twice. His first wife Chan Shi, who was the same age as her husband. They likely married before 1745. However, Chan Shi died in 1754 aged 29 without bearing sons and Hei Tsun remarried to Tong Shi as his second wife. Tong Shi, who was four years younger than Hei Tsun, died in 1779 aged 50, 1 year after her husband’s death at the age of 53. Although Hei Tsun and Tong Shi survived to their fifties, they had no sons. Instead, they adopted Tsuen Wak, who was born in 1771. There was no record on his origin in the genealogy. Tsuen Wak married Fung Shi around 1800 and had a son named Lai Tsoi in 1813.

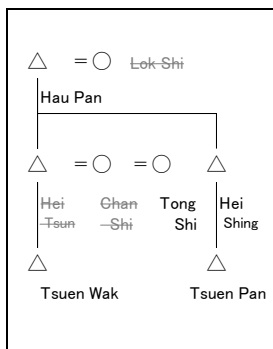


Fig. 3-176. Composition of Tsuen Wak’s family in 1779

The age difference between Hei Tsun and Tsuen Wak was large. Hei Tsun was 46 and Tong Shi was 42 when Tsuen Wak was born. Tsuen Wak was only 7 or 8 when Hei Tsun and his wife died. The *jiazu* unit to which Tsuen Wak belonged when his adoptive mother Tong Shi passed away was such as shown in Fig. 3-176. As the figure shows, Hei Tsun’s father Hau Pan was still alive, which suggests that a collateral extended family type *jiazu* unit headed by Hau Pan existed at that point. Therefore, Tsuen Wak, after his adoptive parents had died, was probably living with the family members of this *jiazu* unit - his adoptive father’s father and adoptive father’s brother. After reaching adulthood, Tsuen Wak married Fung Shi and had a son, Lai Tsoi, and the continuity of Hei Tsun’s family line was secured.

Analysis of individual cases of *yuzi* adoptions reveals that there were various forms of *yuzi*. While there was the case of Chi Shing and Wing Yuk in which ages of father and son differed by only a few years, there were other cases in which adoptive parents seem to have adopted their sons in their infancy as in the cases of Yue Koon and Tin Sau or Hei Tsun and Tsuen Wak. Therefore, it is difficult to suppose that the *yuzi* was a single

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adoption category practiced for only one purpose. Rather, it seems to have been a mixture of various practices conducted in differing situations. Some may have been a kind of business partnership or other activities between adult persons bound through adoptive parenthood. Others may have been to get a child to live with and secure someone to care for the parents in their old age. The former is thought to have been a kind of a contract between adult persons not necessarily accompanied by daily cohabitation and the latter may have been the practice that was accompanied by child rearing and familial affection. In any case, it is important that the authors of the written genealogy of “W” lineage did not try to hide adoptions of non-agnates. This enables us to learn about the practices that deviated from the formal patrilineal principle of the lineage. The cases of *yuzi* are valuable examples for us in that sense.

Not only *yuzi*, which means the adoption of non-agnates, but also *chengji*, which means formal succession by the adopted lineage members, and *fujī*, which means the entrusting of worship after death to the lateral kin, are apparent deviations from the ideal pattern of generation sequences in accordance with the patrilineal principle. These practices were only the second-best measures to which they resorted when they could not bear real descendants to succeed the family line. If the purpose of compiling a written genealogy was to ensure the continuity of patrilineal descent and the succession of ancestor worship, it seems unnatural at first glance that they did not try to hide or disguise such discrepancies from the ideal. We cannot explain why they described these facts without concealing by mere scrupulosity or desire for accuracy.

In effect, it seems to be such deviations and discrepancies that led them to write and keep the genealogy because it should be unnecessary to record the tracks of each ancestor’s life and their generation changes if they only repeated the succession of the descent line and ancestor worship in exactly the same way as the prescribed ideal patterns. Indeed, the lineage members often experienced unexpected deaths of infants, deaths of unmarried young members and the aged collateral kinsmen’s deaths without descendants. These occurrences prevented the ideal flow of the descent line’s succession and created an uneven and asymmetrical lineage structure. The actual lineage structure is far more complicated than the ideal patterns conceived in the patrilineal principle. Unbalanced segmentations, disrupted ancestor worship and discontinuity in the family lines were imposed on the lineage structure through the history of the lineage. The authors of the genealogy needed to record and consider such irregular and irreversible events because they differ from the prescribed ideal status and are therefore unique. Perhaps we can say that the unique sequence of such events gives meaning to the compilation of genealogy.

In this sense, the genealogical book can never be thought of as a mere monotonous account of members’ births and deaths. Although it seems at first glance a very flat and tedious text in which the lineage members’ life cycles were inscribed one after another, we can understand through the written genealogy the unique reality of each person’s life. This is possible if we read it carefully and trace each person’s lifespan, number of successors and response to the inevitable risks of the discontinuity of the family line.

3-4 Remarriage and Concubinage

3-4-1 Wives and Concubines in the Genealogical Record of “W” Lineage

Through the previous analyses, I showed that we can reconstruct the experiences of each individual and each family line over the centuries by untangling the complex knots of relations among the lineage members described in the genealogical record. I also showed that the compilers of the genealogical record were most interested in the continuity of patrilineal descent and fulfillment of ancestor worship duties. However, detailed case analysis shows us that these were not always easy. Lineage members’ desires to continue the patrilineal descent and fulfill ancestor worship duties were often frustrated and resulted in failure.

To follow the patrilineal principle, which prescribes the succession of fathers’ descent only by their own sons, it was essential to secure the birth of male descendants in every generation. This is why fertility was as highly valued as material wealth in the pre-modern Chinese value system. Although we have insufficient data to estimate the lineage’s infant mortality because they rarely recorded the deaths of children under 15, the genealogical record contains much evidence of young and unmarried members’ deaths. Therefore, it is easy to suppose that social pressure on married-in women to bear sons was very high because their fertility was essential to keep the patrilineal descent system intact.

However, no one could predict whether a married-in woman would actually bear children, especially sons. As far as the genealogical record shows, many wives could not actually bear a son for their husbands and some of these wives died young – in their 20s or younger. Of the 504 women who married-in as wives of lineage members during the 390 years in which the genealogy was recorded, 301 were proved to have been already dead in 1838 at the end of the genealogical record. The remaining 203 were still alive with their husbands in 1838 or detailed data to reconstruct their lives were lacking. Of the 301 women who died before 1838, 74 (24.6 percent) did not have their own sons⁵⁷. That means that one of every four married-in women could not bear sons for their husbands. Among these 74 wives, 15 (20.3 percent) died before they reached 30; these amounted to 5.0 percent of the married-in women (Table 3-48).

Table 3-48. Married-in women who had no sons in their lives

Married-in women (except for those whose data were incomplete or those who were still alive in 1838)	301		
Those who had no sons	74	24.6	%
died under 30s (included number)	15	5.0	%

However, 438 male lineage members were recorded as married (Table 3-49). Of these 438 male members, only 319 samples have enough data to confirm that had died by 1838. Among these 319 samples, 112 (35.1 percent) husbands survived their first wives.

⁵⁷ Usually, male children who died in their infancy were not named in the genealogical record. Therefore, even if they did have sons, if those sons died too young, these sons were presumably not counted in the genealogy.

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Twenty-six of these 112 widowers remarried but the other 86 did not. Of these 26 cases in which husbands remarried after their first wives’ death, 15 survived their second wives and three married third wives. Consequently, 98 husbands died as widowers, which we already examined in section 3-2-1 (Tables 3-31 and 3-32).

Table 3-49. Remarriage of lineage members

Total number of married male members	438	
Data complete ⁵⁸	(319)	100 %
Those who survived the first wives	112	35.1 %
Those who remarried	26	23.2 %
Those who survived the second wives	15	57.7 %
Those who remarried twice	3	20.0 %

As shown in Table 2-13-1 in the second section of Chapter 2, the average number of spouses per male member of “W” lineage described in the genealogical record was 0.85. Of 595 total male members, 156 had no spouses, 380 had one spouse, 52 had two spouses and 7 had three spouses (each including concubines). From these married male members, I extracted data for those who had two or more spouses (Table 3-50). Among the 52 cases in which a male member had two spouses, one of the two spouses was described as a concubine in eight cases; both spouses were described as “wives” in the remaining 44 cases.

Table 3-50. Remarriage of male lineage members who had more than two spouses

Members who had more than two spouses	52
Members who had more than two formal wives	44
Those who survived the first wives	17
Data incomplete	27
Members who had three spouses	7
Members who had three formal wives	6
Those who survived the second wives	4
Data incomplete	2

China had a monogamous system in principle even in its pre-modern era, even though concubines or informal spouses were also frequently reported. As it was impossible in principal that the same person had more than two wives at the same time, these 44 husbands are assumed to have remarried after their first wives had died or had left them by divorce. We can confirm that 17 husbands actually remarried after their first wives died, even though we do not have enough data on the years of the first wives’ deaths to confirm this for the other 27⁵⁸. In the same way, among seven male members who had three spouses in their lives, a spouse was recorded as a concubine, we can confirm that four husbands married their third wives after their second wives had died and for the remaining two cases the years of their second wives’ deaths were not available in the

⁵⁸ As the genealogical record contains no information about when they married, we can only estimate this. Confirmation here means that there is no inconsistency if we reconstruct the sequence of their family events from the data on the year of the first wives’ death, that of the second wives’ children’s births and husbands’ lifespans.

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genealogical record.

Table 3-51-1. Number of sons and the second wives' age at the first wives' death

Generation	Male members name	Spouse's name	Spouse's title	Number of real sons	Second wives' age at the first wives' death#
5	Chi Yiu	Ng Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	1	
		Tsoi Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
6	Chi Shing	Chung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	1	
		Pang Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		27
7	Shi Hung	Yip Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	3	
		Lam Shi			
7	Shi Chak	Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	2	
		Tze Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		30
7	Wing Cheung	Hui Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	3	
		Tsui Shi	<i>ceshi</i>		
7	Wan Pan	Hui Shi	<i>yuanpei*</i>	1	
		Cheng Shi	<i>ceshi</i>		
7	Shung Chung	Ng Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	2	
		Cheung Shi	<i>youqu</i>		31
8	Hing Ying	Hui Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	1	
		Tsoi Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		18
		Leung Shi	<i>ceshi</i>		
8	Hing Hong	Yuen Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young	8	
		Lei Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		29
		Yung Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		58
8	Hin Lam	Wong Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young	1	
		Kan Shi			12
8	Fat Tsan	Hung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young	2	
		Chan Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		27
8	Hin Mau	Chan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	2	
		Kan Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		22
		Ng Shi			25
8	Pong Tso	Tsui Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	0	
		Leung Shi	<i>jishi</i>		16
		Tang Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		32
8	Pong Lui	Mak Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	2	
		Wong Shi			
8	Pong Chue	Lam Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young	1	
		Lok Shi	<i>zaiqu</i> / died young		
		Chan Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		
9	Cheung Kwong	Ng Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	3	
		Fong Shi			20
9	Wai Kui	? Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	0	
		? Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		23
9	Wai Yan	Lei Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>	3	
		Fong Shi	<i>zaiqu</i> / died young		30
		Liu Shi			
9	Wai Nang	Chan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / not yet married-in	2	
		Wan Shi			

* this *yuanpei* is spelled in another character #concubines are not included

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Generation	Male members name	Spouse's name	Spouse's title	Number of real sons	Second wives' age at the first wives' death#
9	Wai Fung	Mok Shi Wan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>na qie</i>	3	
9	Wai Kwok	Tsoi Shi Tsui Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	1	
9	Wai Hang	Leung Shi Man Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young <i>zaiqu</i>	0	
9	Wai Hing	Yeung Shi Ng Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young before married-in <i>zaiqu</i>	1	
9	Wai Muk	Che Shi Lei Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> / died young <i>zaiqu</i>	3	
9	Wai Tsun	Yip Shi Tsoi Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	1	22
9	Wai Luek	Mok Shi Ng Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	2	
9	Wai Tsuen	Tsang Shi Lei Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> * <i>xuqu</i>	1	17
9	Hau Yue	Liu Shi Cheung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	0	33
9	Hau Hing	Wan Shi Lok Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	3	21
9	Hau Sik	Tsang Shi Cheung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	2	20
10	Man Yuen	Wong Shi Chan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	2	57
10	Lai Sau	Tsang Shi Hoh Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	1	20
10	Shi Hei	Lei Shi Tou Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	0	19
10	Tin Yan	Wong Shi Yip Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	0	
10	Tin Siu	Hoh Shi Lam Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	0	
10	Tin Sin	Lei Shi Liu Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	3	40
10	Tin Tseuk	Tsang Shi Wong Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>qie</i>	2	
10	Tin Yi	Loh Shi Fung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>yuanpei</i>	3	
10	Tin Yue	Lei Shi Lam Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>qie</i>	4	
10	Hei Tsun	Chan Shi Tong Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	1	25
10	Hei Hing	Ng Shi Loh Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> <i>zaiqu</i>	1	
10	Hei Tak	Leung Shi Chan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i> * <i>xuqu</i>	4	

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Generation	Male members name	Spouse's name	Spouse's title	Number of real sons	Second wives' age at the first wives' death#
10	Hei Lung			1	
		Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei*</i>		
		Chau Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		
10	Siu Chau			1	
		Chiu Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lam Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		34
10	Wai Kin			1	
		Tsoi Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lei Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		
11	Hung Chin			2	
		Lok Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Ma Shi	<i>zaiqu</i> / died young		
		Lau Shi	<i>youzaiqu</i>		
11	King Chin			0	
		Man Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lai Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		22
11	Ting Yuen			1	
		Hoh Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Tsui Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		
11	Tsit Yuen			0	
		Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Tang Shi	<i>na qie</i>		
11	Shi Yuen			1	
		Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Soh Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		
11	Kwai Ko			2	
		Leung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lei Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		12
11	Chiu Kwong			1	
		Wan Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Chan Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		
11	Tsuen Tsung			4	
		Cheng Shi	<i>yuanpei*</i>		
		Tsau Shi	<i>na qie</i>		
11	Tsuen Pik			0	
		Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei*</i>		
		Tsang Shi	<i>ceshi</i>		
12	Cheung Po				
		Leung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lai Shi	<i>xuqu</i>		
12	Chiu Po			2	
		Lau Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Wan Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		
12	Kei Po			2	
		Cheung Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Lam Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		
12	Hing Long			0	
		Tsang Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Chan Shi	<i>zaiqu</i>		
12	Pan Fui			1	
		Chan Shi	<i>yuanpei*</i>		
		Chan Shi	<i>youzaiqu</i>		
		Mok Shi	<i>yuanpei</i>		
		Wan Shi	<i>na qie</i>		
				Average	1.6
					26.5

Table 3-51-2. Second wives' age at the first wives' death

10s	6
20s	13
30s	6
40s	1
50s	2
Total	28

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Now, let us consider how male members’ remarriage affected their number of sons. Table 3-51-1 lists all male members who had more than two spouses including concubines. As already noted, 52 husbands had two spouses; eight of these had concubines. Seven husbands had three spouses, one of whom had a concubine. Therefore, 59 male members had two or more spouses; nine of whom had concubines and 50 only formal wives. As I mentioned in section 2-2-3, concubines were described in the genealogical record as *ceshi* or *naqie*, wives married through the first marriage were described as *yuanpei*, and those married through the second or third marriage were described as *zaiqu*, *xuqu*, or *zaiXuqu*. Some of their records included such terms as *yaozu* or *youzu*, which mean young death. Furthermore, there were even such cases in which brides died before they actually married in (Chan Shi, the wife of Wai Nang, who belonged to the ninth generation and Yeung Shi, the wife of Wai Hing, who also belonged to the ninth generation).

The genealogical data sometimes makes identification of a child’s birth mother difficult when the child’s father had two or more spouses. Therefore, the number of sons shown in Table 3-51-1 is the total number of each male member’s sons. For 59 male members who had two or more spouses, the highest number of their sons was eight and the lowest was zero. The average was 1.6, which is higher than the average number of sons for all lineage members (0.98) and roughly equivalent to the average for the members who belonged to the ninth or earlier generations (see Table 2-17-1 in Chapter 2).

The final column of Table 3-51-1 shows the second wives’ ages at the times of the first wives’ deaths. Their ages vary from teenaged to over fifty; six were under 20, 13 in their 20s, six in their 30s, one in her 40s and two in their 50s. The average age was 26.5 years old. This likely means that women of childbearing age were preferred as second wives⁵⁹. However, it is also clear that remarriages were not always practiced to obtain sons because three were already over 40 and married widowers who had underaged sons. In these cases, the main purpose of remarriage was likely the rearing of children left by the deceased first wives.

Table 3-52. Sons of remarried lineage members by their mothers’ status

Sons borne by first wives	13
Sons borne by second or third wives	26
First wives had no sons*	(21)
First wives had sons*	(5)
Sons borne by either wives but not spe	36
Sons borne by neither of wives	2

* included in the above

From 59 cases of remarried men shown in Table 3-51-1, I extracted data from the 50 cases that did not include concubines (Table 3-52). These 50 remarried men had 75 sons

⁵⁹ Of course we know only the ages of the second wives at the time of their first wives’ death, but not when they married. As husbands did not always remarry soon after their first wives’ deaths, some remarriages presumably occurred later in their lives. For example, in the case in which the second wife was only twelve when the first wife died, remarriage must have taken place several years later.

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in total, of whom 13 sons were likely borne by their fathers' first wives because they were born while the first wives were still alive. Another 26 sons were likely borne by the second wives who married in after the first wives died because they were born after their fathers' first wives died and before the second wives were too old to bear a child. In the remaining 36 cases, it is not certain which wives bore them because data on the years of their births and deaths are lacking. Of those 26 sons who were likely borne by the second wives, 21 were their fathers' first sons. The remaining five sons had older brothers who were borne by their fathers' first wives.

Table 3-53-1. Lineage members who did not remarry after the first wives' death

Cases	Number	%
First wives had sons	70	81.4
First wives had no sons	12	14.0
Not specifiable	4	4.7
Total	86	

Table 3-53-2. Lineage members who remarried after the first wives' death

Cases	Number	%
First wives had sons	13	50.0
First wives had no sons	12	46.2
Not specifiable	1	3.8
Total	26	

Table 3-53-3. Lineage members who survived their first wives

Cases	Number	%
First wives had sons	83	%
Remarried*	(13)	15.7
Not remarried*	(70)	84.3
First wives had no sons	24	%
Remarried*	(12)	50.0
Not remarried*	(12)	50.0
Not specifiable	5	
Total	112	* included in the above

These figures show that some lineage members could obtain sons through remarriage. As we have already seen in Table 3-49, of 319 married lineage members whose demographic data are fully available in the genealogical record, 112 survived their wives and experienced widowerhood. Twenty-six of these 112 widowers remarried; of the remaining 86 widowers who did not, as many as 70 had sons with their first wives. However, 12 of these 86 widowers had no sons through their lives and could not secure successors for their descent lines. The remaining four did have sons, but we cannot specify whether the first or the second wives were the biological mothers because data are lacking (Table 3-53-1). Therefore, among widowers who stayed single after their first wives died, more than 80 percent already had sons through their first marriage. Among the 26 widowers who remarried, 12 had no sons through their first marriage (Table 3-53-2).

If we approach this evidence in another way, while only 15.7 percent of male lineage members who had their own sons through their first marriage remarried after

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their first wives died, 50 percent of those who did not have sons through their first marriage remarried (Table 3-53-3). Thus, we can say that men who survived their first wives without sons were more likely to remarry. However, 11 lineage members had no sons to succeed their descent lines even after they married their second or third wives. Therefore, we can also say that remarriage did not always actually result in the sons who were necessary to secure the continuity of patrilineal descent.

What then were the effects of concubinage, which I set aside in the analysis above? How far did concubines contribute to securing sons? From the male lineage members who had two or more spouses listed in Table 3-51-1, I extracted only the cases including concubines. I show these in Table 3-54. There are nine cases in all; three in the eleventh generation, two in each of the seventh and tenth generations, and one in each of the eighth and the ninth generations.

Table 3-54. Concubines of lineage members

Generation	Member's name	Member's Status	Concubine's name	Age difference with formal wife	Age difference with husband	Number of sons
7	Wing Cheung	<i>ceshi</i>	Tsui Shi	2	9	3
7	Wan Pan	<i>ceshi</i>	Cheng Shi	6	5	1
8	Hin Ying	<i>ceshi</i>	Leung Shi	4	7	1
9	Wai Fung	<i>naqie</i>	Wan Shi	5	6	3
10	Tin Tseuk	<i>naqie</i>	Wong Shi	5		2
10	Tin Yue	<i>naqie</i>	Lam Shi	-1	3	4
11	Tsit Yuen	<i>naqie</i>	Tang Shi	24	27	0
11	Tsuen Tsun	<i>naqie</i>	Tang Shi	8	7	4
11	Tsuen Pik	<i>ceshi</i>	Tsang Shi	23	22	0
Average				8.4	9.6	2.0

Age differences between formal wives and concubines are mostly within 5 years, except for two cases in the eleventh generation in which concubines were over 20 years younger than the formal wives. Only one concubine was older than the formal wife. On average, concubines were 8.4 years younger than formal wives. Age differences between concubines and their husbands are mostly less than 10 years, although there were two cases, again in the eleventh generation, in which concubines were over 20 years younger than their husbands. Concubines were 9.6 years younger than their husbands on average.

It is difficult to identify the sons born to concubines because concubines and formal wives were often simultaneously in conjugal relationships with their husbands. As the genealogical record often does not specify which woman bore which son, we cannot be sure who was the real mother of a son if his father had concubines. Therefore, the numbers of sons shown in Table 3-54 are the total number of sons born to the same fathers. Although we can presume that all were borne by formal wives, it is equally presumable that some of them were borne by concubines. Regardless, male members who had concubines had 2.0 sons on average; this figure is more than double of the average number of sons for all the lineage members. It is also above the average number of sons for the male members who had two or more formal wives but no concubines.

Nevertheless, the fact that there were only nine cases of concubinage among 438 married male lineage members suggests that concubines were not so popular and concubines' contribution to securing the patrilineal descent lines should not be overestimated for this lineage. Of course, it remains possible that there were more cases of

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concubinage than described in the genealogical record because in some cases, the lifespans of wives described in the genealogical record as second or third wives seem to overlap those of the first wives⁶⁰. In these cases, we can assume that some of the "second" or "third" wives were in fact concubines⁶¹.

Table 3-55. Number of sons by number of spouses

Number of spouses	Cases	Total number of sons	Number of sons per member
1	379	477	1.3
2	52	81	1.6
3	7	18	2.6
Total	438	576	

Table 3-55 shows the relationship between the number of spouses and the number of sons for lineage members. Of 438 married male members described in the genealogical record, 379 members who had only one spouse in their lifetime had 1.3 sons on average, 52 members who had two spouses had 1.6 sons, and seven members who had three spouses had 2.6 sons. Therefore, male members who had two or more spouses actually had more sons than those who had only one spouse.

Table 3-56. Sons born in "W" lineage by status of their mothers

	Total for all generations	Average per male member	Total for 1st to 9th generation	Average per male member
Male members	596		201	
Sons born in lineage	581	0.98	314	1.56
Borne by first wives*	516	0.87	283	1.32
Borne by second or third wives*	44	0.07	20	0.09
Sons of members who had concubines	18	0.03	8	0.04
Not specifiable	3	0.01	3	0.01

*The half of the cases which are not specifiable are added here.

As already stated, male lineage members had on average 0.98 sons each. Among 581 males born as sons of the lineage members, 516 are estimated to have been borne by their fathers' first wives (Table 3-56). This means that first wives bore an average of 0.87

⁶⁰ For example, Shi Tsak, 1637–1700, who belonged to the seventh generation and to whom I will refer in 3-4-2 section of this chapter, married his first wife Tsang Shi, 1653–1701. He remarried with Tse Shi, 1687–1750. If these data on the years of their births and deaths are correct, his first wife would have been alive until the year after her husband died; therefore, we must assume that the "second wife" Tse Shi was in a conjugal relationship with Shi Tsak for some years while the first wife was still alive.

⁶¹ If there are cases in which women who were actually concubines were not named in the genealogical record as concubines, it may be because the people who wrote the genealogical record avoided recording them as such. As concubines' social status was generally lower than that of formal wives, descendants, especially those who were borne by those concubines, might be reluctant to register them with this term in the genealogical record after they died. As I discuss in the next section, it is highly probable that the second wife of Shi Tsak, who belonged to the seventh generation, was originally a concubine and she was promoted to the status of "wife" after her husband and his first wife died.

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sons per husband. If male lineage members did not remarry and had only sons borne by their first wives, they would have only 0.87 sons each on average. However, 44 sons were likely borne by their fathers' second or third wives: 18 of these were born to fathers who had concubines. Therefore, sons borne by second or third wives or concubines increased the total number of sons born in "W" lineage by approximately 10 percent.

In the calculation above, I included all lineage members from the founding ancestor and his descendants down to the 14th generation. However, as I stated earlier, some of members born after the 10th generation were still alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended and it is possible that these younger members had sons after this point. Therefore, I calculated only the sons of those lineage members who belonged to the tenth or senior generations (right half of Table 3-56). Each male member had 1.56 sons and first wives bore 1.32 sons per male member. This means that these male members' remarriage brought the lineage more 28 sons, which accounts for 13 percent of all sons borne by members of the tenth or earlier generations. This increased the average number of sons per male member by 0.14.

Based on the evidence above, we can say that the birth of sons, which was essential to the continuity of patrilineal descent, was reinforced by male members' remarriage if their first wives died early and by concubinage, through which male members tried to obtain more sons. However, we cannot say that their patrilineal lineage could not be maintained without these practices because 1.32 sons per male member were borne by the first wives. Theoretically, this seems to be enough to maintain the lineage.

Of course it may be also true that obtaining more than two sons was highly desirable to ensure the smooth succession of patrilineal descent because male members were obliged to offer their sons if their brothers or cousins had no sons and were in danger of dying without successors. Having more than two sons seemed to be important not only for the undisrupted succession of one's own descent line but also for the continuation of other close relatives' lines. In this context, women who married in as second or third wives or who became concubines of lineage members seemed to have vital importance in reinforcing the lineage's continuity. At least, we can say that such potential resource of women should be important for the lineage system to ensure the possibility of remarriage and concubinage.

3-4-2 Life-Stages of Remarried Male Members and their Spouses

So far, I have examined how many lineage members practiced remarriage and concubinage during the 390 years in which the genealogy was recorded. I have also made a general consideration on the relationship between those practices and the birth of sons, which had crucial importance for the continuous prosperity of the lineage. Through this consideration, we can see that remarriage and concubinage were important ways to obtain sons and ensure the lineage when their first wives failed to bear sons. In this section, I will examine in detail the life stages of male members who remarried after their first wives died, wives who married in as the second or third wives of these members, and the sons borne by these wives.

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The first example is the case of Shung Chung, who belonged to the seventh generation. He was born in 1686 and married Ng Shi, who was the same age, around 1700. However, Ng Shi died in 1724 aged 38 without bearing sons. After Ng Shi died, Shung Chung married his second wife, Cheung Shi, by 1727. Cheung Shi was born in 1693 and was 32 or 33 years old when they married. She bore their first son, Pong Kit, in 1727. The year of birth of their second son, Pong Chue, was not given in the genealogical record. Thus, Shung Chung, whose first wife died without leaving sons, gained two sons through remarriage. After his death in 1746 aged 60, his second wife Cheung Shi survived to 1755 as his widow. Both sons married and Shung Chung’s descent line continued successfully (Fig. 3-177).

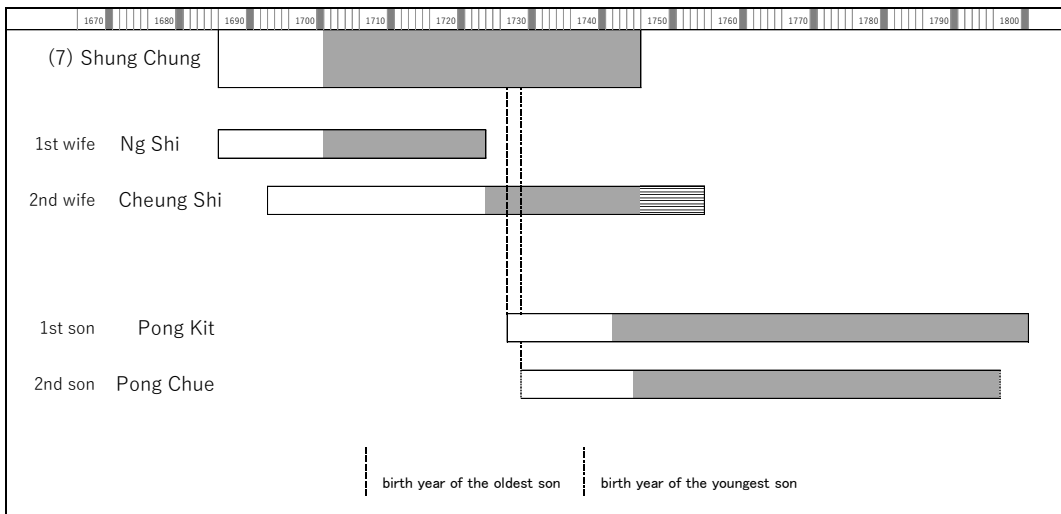


Fig. 3-177. Life stages of Shung Chung, his wives, and his sons

Next is the case of Hin Lam, who belonged to the eighth generation. He was born in 1717 and married his first wife, Wong Shi, around 1740. However, Wong Shi died in 1749 as young as 25 without bearing sons. After Wong Shi’s death, Hin Lam married Kan Shi. She bore a son named Wai Pan in 1771. Although Hin Lam died in 1781 aged 65 and had no other sons, he managed to maintain his own descent line through the birth of his only son Wai Pan (Fig. 3-178).

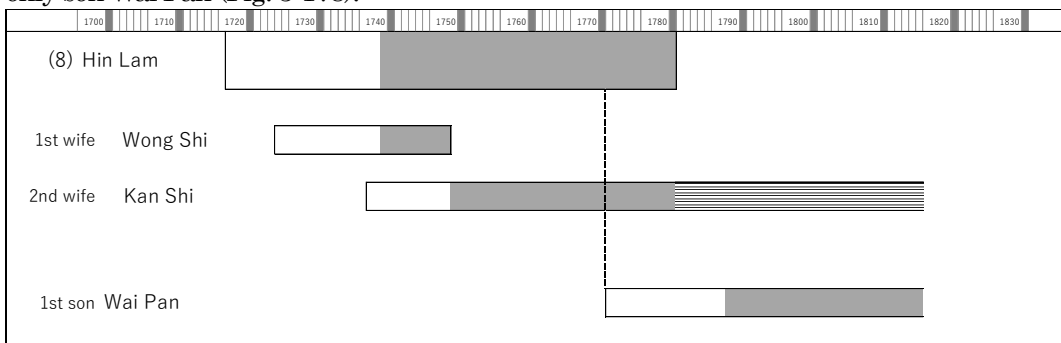


Fig. 3-178. Life stages of Hin Lam, his wives, and his son

The next example (Fig. 3-179) is a similar case. Wai Luet, who belonged to the

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ninth generation, was born in 1724 and married Mok Shi, who was presumably about the same age or slightly older than him, although the years of her birth and death are missing in the genealogical record. However, it seems that she died or was divorced soon after their marriage because the genealogical record states that Wai Luet then married Ng Shi, who was the same age. They married no later than 1744 because she bore Wai Luet’s son Tin Yue in 1745. Ng Shi died in 1784 aged 61 and Wai Luet died in 1803 aged 80. Although they had only one son, remarriage also enabled him to secure a successor.

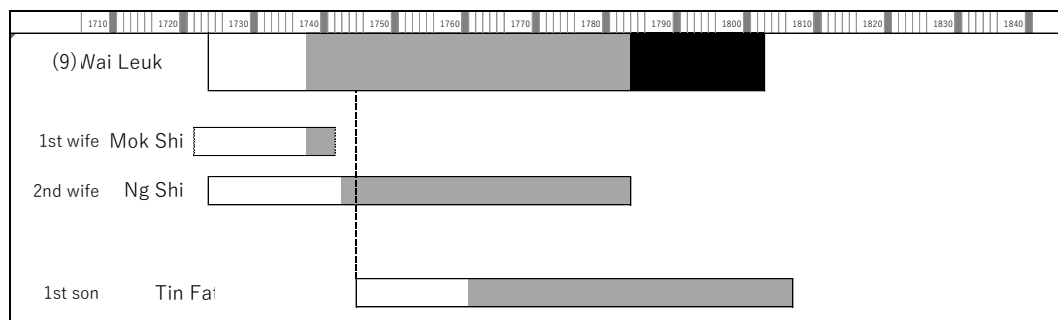


Fig. 3-179. Life stages of Wai Leuk, his wives, and his son

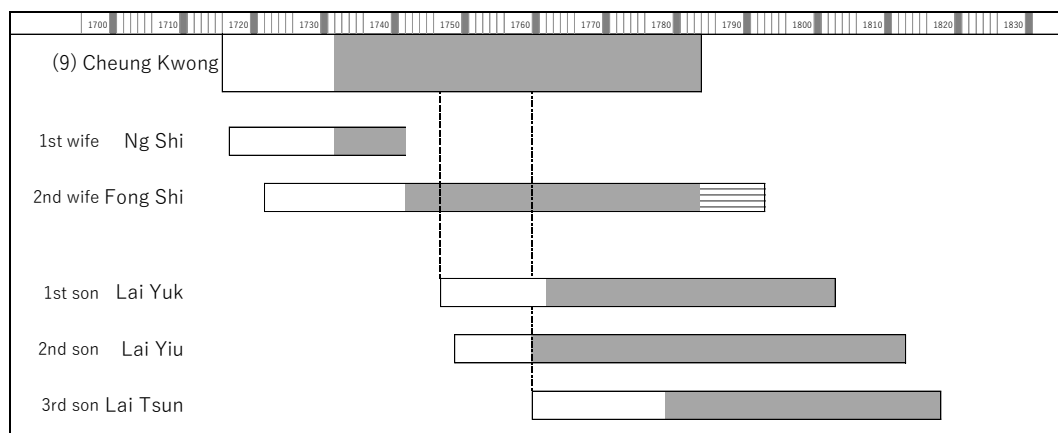


Fig. 3-180. Life stages of Cheung Kwong, his wives, and his sons

The case shown in Fig. 3-180 is also basically similar to the three above cases. Cheung Kwong, who belonged to the ninth generation, was born in 1716 and his first wife Ng Shi was 1 year younger than him. After Ng Shi died in 1742 as young as 26 without bearing sons, Cheung Kwong married Fong Shi, who was 6 years younger than him. Fong Shi married in as the second wife presumably within a few years after the first wife’s death and she bore their first son Lai Yuk in 1747. Later, they had a second son, Lai Yiu, in 1749 and the third son, Lai Tsun, in 1760.

Similarly, after Lai Sau’s first wife, Tsang Shi, died without leaving sons, his second wife, Ho Shi, bore a son. In this case, Tsang Shi died in 1766 aged 22 and Ho Shi bore a son named Ko Yuen in 1777 (Fig. 3-181).

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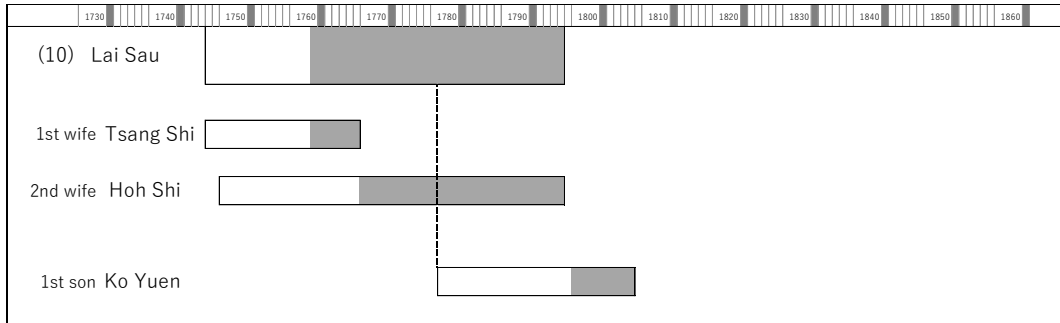


Fig. 3-181. Life stages of Lai Sau, his wives, and his son

In these five cases examined above, the second wives bore their husbands' first sons after the first wives died or divorced without bearing sons. The next example is a case in which the first wife died without sons, the second wife bore a son but also died young, and the husband married a third wife. Hin Mau, who belonged to the eighth generation, was born in 1719 and married Chan Shi as his first wife (Fig. 3-182). After Chan Shi died in 1743 as young as 23, he married Kan Shi and had a son named Wai Tsun. However, Kan Shi also died young aged 25. Then, Hin Mau married again, this time to Ng Shi, who was 2 years younger than him. They presumably married around 1750 when Ng Shi was in her late 20s. She bore Wai King, Hin Mau's second son, in 1761. Ng Shi, unlike her predecessors, had a long life: she survived her husband, who died in 1782, until her own death in 1785 aged 65.

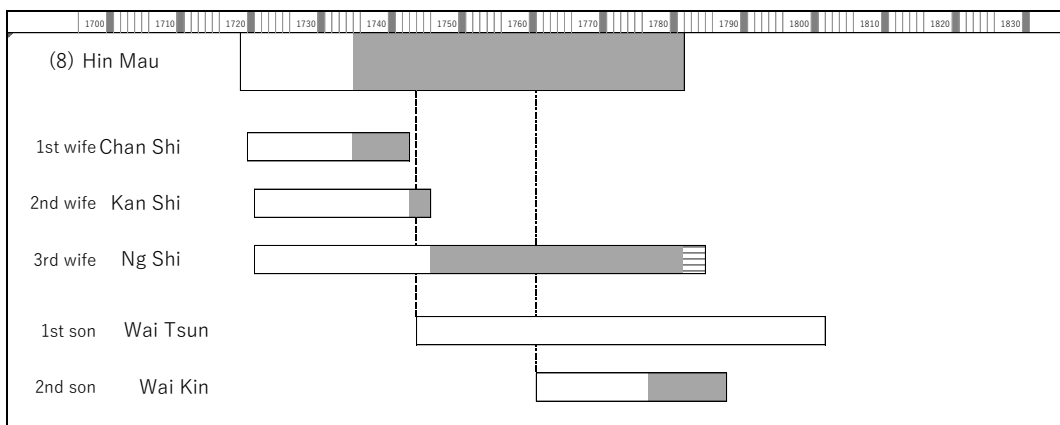


Fig. 3-182. Life stages of Hin Mau, his wives, and his sons

A similar but more complicated case is that of Hin Hong (Fig. 3-183). He not only married three times but also had eight sons, which was the highest of any lineage member in the lineage's 390-year history. He was born in 1698 and married around 1725 to his first wife Yuen Shi, who was 11 years younger than him. However, soon after, Yuen Shi died in 1728 aged just 19 without sons. Hin Hong became a widower aged 30. He then married his second wife Lei Shi, who was 1 year younger than him. Lei Shi lived with her husband for nearly 30 years until her death in 1761 aged 62. During this time, Hin Hong had eight sons. The first, Wai Nang, was born in 1734, when Hin Hong was 36 and Lei Shi was 35. However, as his youngest son Wai Man was born in 1758, when Hin Hong was 60 and his

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wife Lei Shi was 59, Lei Shi cannot be Wai Man’s real mother. Hin Hong had a third wife, Yung Shi, who was born in 1703. Because she was named as his wife in the genealogical record, she likely married Hin Hong after 1761, when Lei Shi died. However, Yung Shi was already about 60 at that point. Hin Hong’s youngest son was born before Lei Shi’s death and Yung Shi was already 55 years old. Therefore, not all Hin Hong’s eight sons could have been borne by any of these three wives. Hin Hong therefore likely had concubines besides his three wives who were not named in the genealogical record. Because Hin Hong’s third son, Wai Lung, was born in 1740, his first three sons were possibly borne by his second wife, Lei Shi, but we cannot identify the other five sons’ mothers⁶².

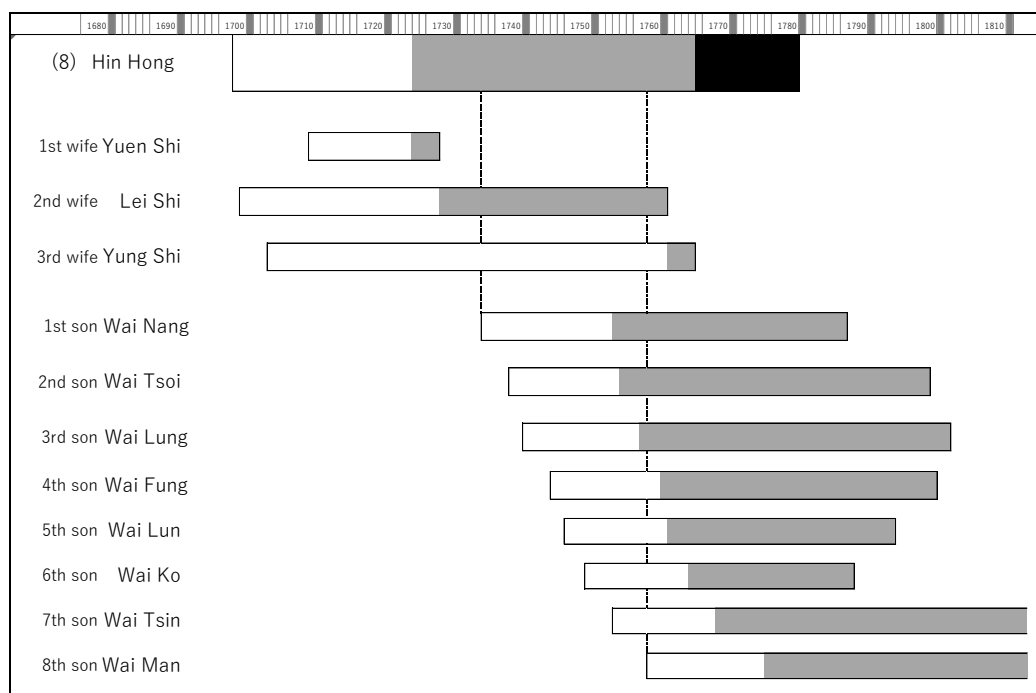


Fig. 3-183. Life stages of Hin Hong, his wives, and his sons

The examples I discussed above are cases in which the first wives died without bearing sons. I will now examine cases in which the first wives bore sons but died young and the husbands remarried. The first case is that of Fat Tsan, who belonged to the eighth generation (Fig. 3-184). Fat Tsan was born in 1719 and his first wife Hung Shi was his senior by 1 year. After their marriage, they had their first son, Wai Yin, in 1736 and their second, Wai Hing, in 1738. However, Hung Shi died in 1745 aged 27, leaving sons of 9 and 7. Fat Tsan married his second wife, Chan Shi, who was the same age as him. Chan Shi lived with her husband and reared the two sons borne by his first wife until her death in 1770 aged 62. However, she did not have her own sons. We do not know whether she bore

⁶² One possible story is that Hin Hong’s third wife Yung Shi was originally his concubine and some of these eight sons were borne by her. But even in that case, it is difficult to believe that she was the biological mother of the youngest three sons because she was already 46 years old when Hin Hong’s sixth son was born.

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daughters.

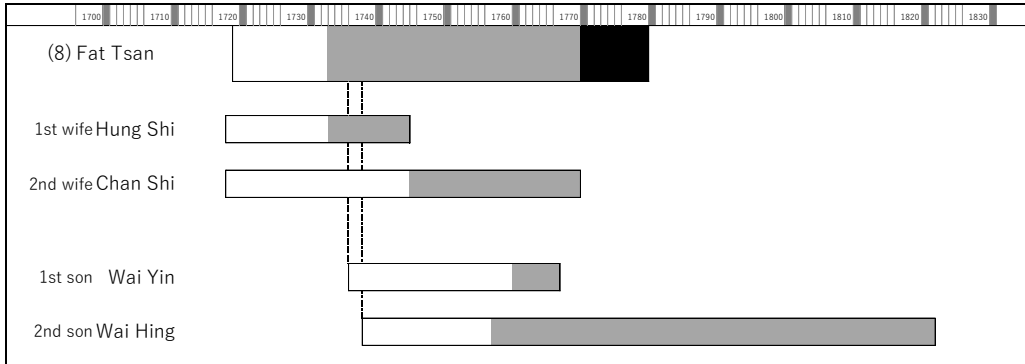


Fig. 3-184. Life stages of Fat Tsan, his wives, and his sons

Similar examples are found in the cases of Wai Tsun, Siu Chau and Tin Sin. As shown in Fig. 3-185, Wai Tsun, who belonged to the ninth generation, was born in 1744 and married Yip Shi, who was 2 years older than him, in the early 1760s. However, soon after they had a son, Tin Pong, Yip Shi died in 1765 as young as 23 years old. Her husband, Wai Tsun, who was left with the baby Tin Pong, decided to marry his second wife, Tsoi Shi. Tsoi Shi then raised Tin Pong. Wai Tsun died in 1802 aged 58 and Tsoi Shi survived as a widow until her own death in 1816 aged 73. She did not bear her own sons.

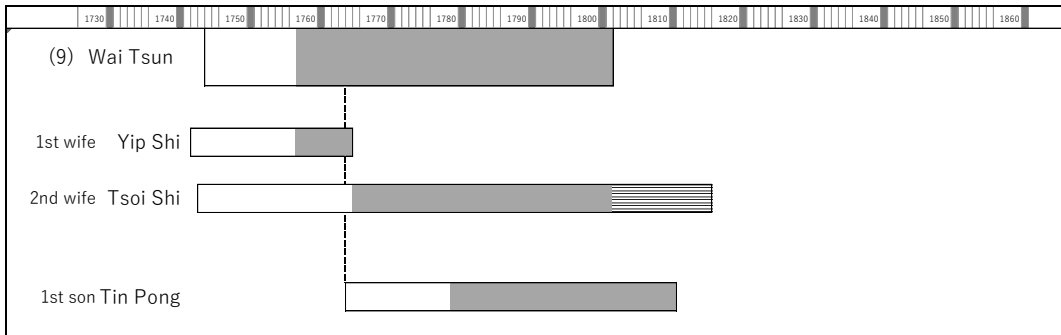


Fig. 3-185. Life stages of Wai Tsun, his wives, and his son

In the case of Siu Chau (Fig. 3-186) too, the second wife raised a son borne by the first wife. Siu Chau, who belonged to the tenth generation, was born in 1761 and married

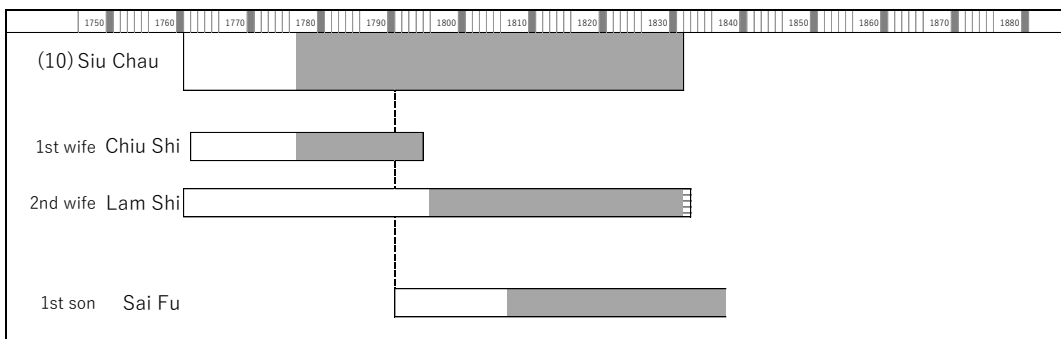


Fig. 3-186. Life stages of Siu Chau, his wives, and his son

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Chiu Shi, who was 1 year younger than him. Their son Sai Fu was born in 1791, but Chiu Shi died in 1795 when their son Sai Fu was only 4. Then, Siu Chau married Lam Shi and raised Sai Fu. Siu Chau died in 1832 aged 71 and his second wife Lam Shi died in 1833 aged 72. They did not have another son.

Another case is that of Tin Sin, who belonged to the tenth generation (Fig. 3-187). He was born in 1776 and married Lei Shi, who was the same age as him, around 1795. In his case, his marriage to his first wife Lei Shi was fruitful and they had three sons in 1797, 1806 and 1814. However, Lei Shi died in 1824 aged 48 and Tin Sin married Liu Shi, who was 8 years younger than him. As Tin Sin was estimated to be nearly 50 years old and Liu Shi was also presumed to be over 40 when they married, this marriage was likely practiced for the purpose of rearing children borne by the first wife. As the first and the second sons were described in the genealogical record only with their infant names, they may have died while they were still underage. However, their third son was alive in 1838 when the genealogical record ended.

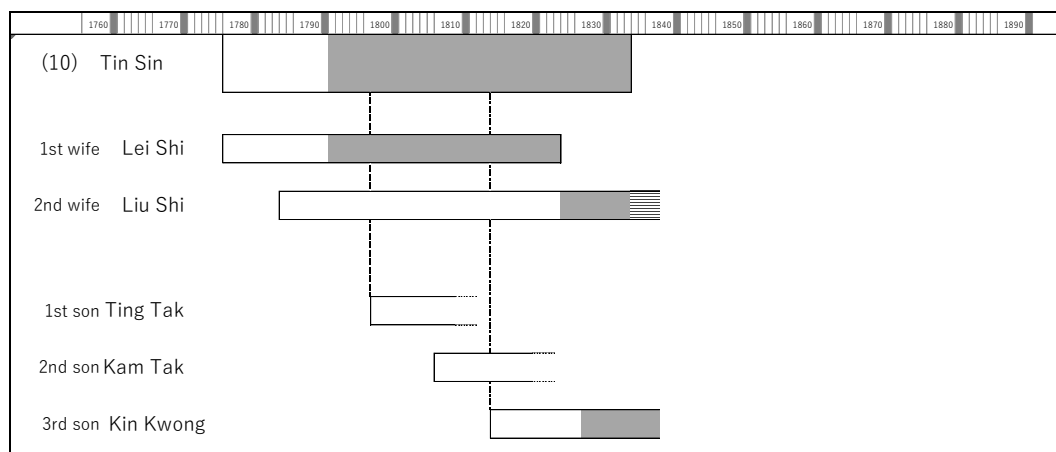


Fig. 3-187. Life stages of Tin Sin, his wives, and his sons

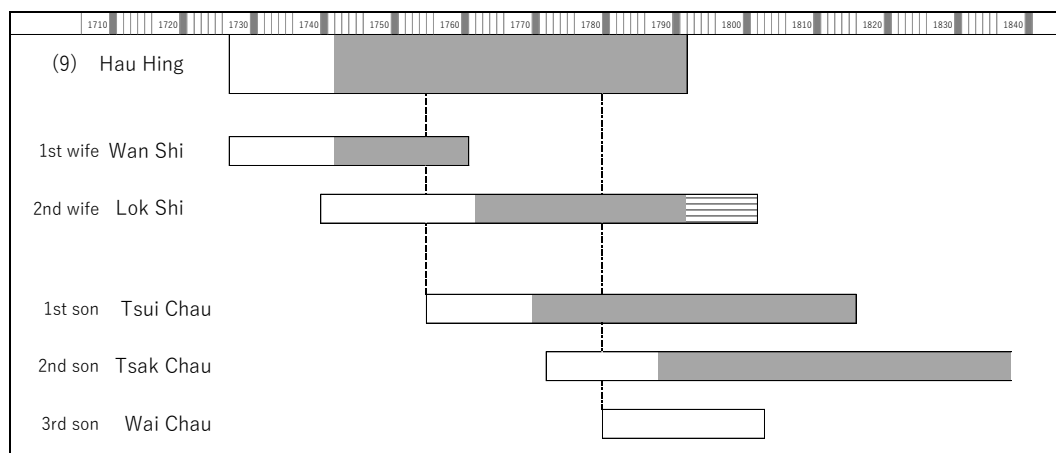


Fig. 3-188. Life stages of Hau Hing, his wives, and his sons

Still, there are cases in which both the first and second wives bore sons. Hau Hing,

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who belonged to the ninth generation, was born in 1727 and married Wan Shi, who was the same age, around 1745 (Fig. 3-188). Wan Shi bore a son, Tsui Chau, in 1755 when she was 28. However, 6 years later, Wan Shi died in 1761 aged 34. The second wife, Lok Shi, with whom Hau Hing remarried, was 13 years younger than her husband. She bore Tsak Chau, Hau Hing’s second son, aged 32 and Wai Chau, his third son, aged 40. Lok Shi lived as a widow for 10 years following her husband’s death in 1792 until she died in 1802 aged 62.

The next case is also similar to previous cases. Hau Sik, who belonged to the ninth generation, was born in 1736 and married Tsang Shi, 4 years younger than him (Fig. 3-189). She bore their first son, Kam Chau, in 1763, Tsang Shi died the next year aged 24. After her death, Hau Sik married Cheung Shi, who was 8 years younger than him. Cheung Shi bore Tsoi Chau, Hau Sik’s second son, in 1787 when she was 33. Cheung Shi lived as a widow for about 7 years following her husband’s death in 1798 until she died in 1805 aged 61.

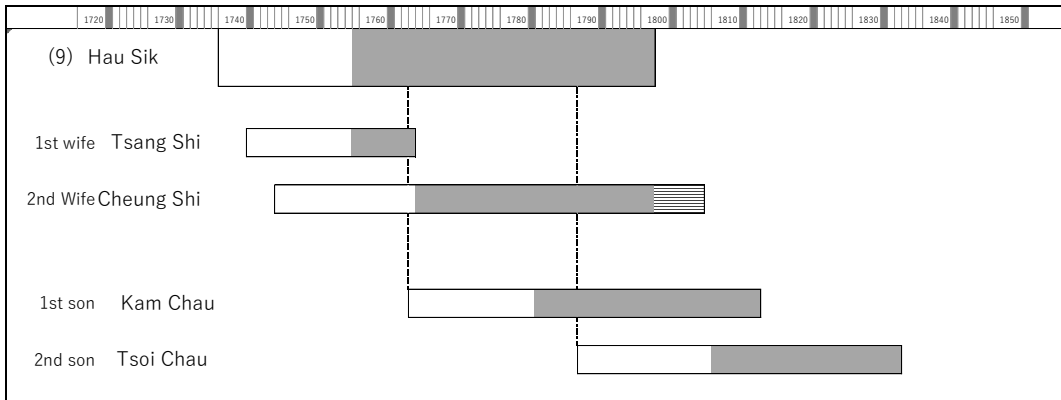


Fig. 3-189. Life stages of Hau Sik, his wives, and his sons

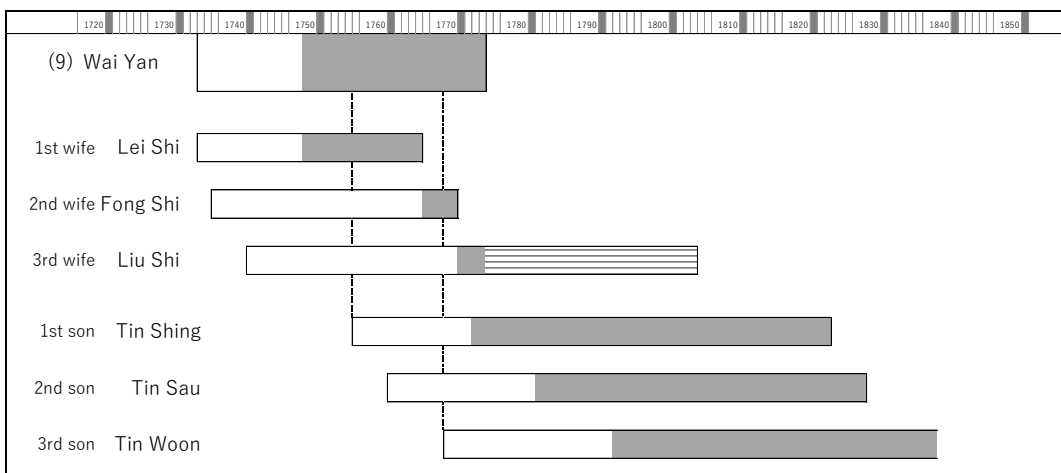


Fig. 3-190. Life stages of Wai Yan, his wives, and his sons

Another example is the case of Wai Yan, who belonged to the ninth generation. He was born in 1733 and married his first wife, Lei Shi, who was the same age. She bore their first son, Tin Shing, in 1755 when she was 22 and their second, Tin Sau, in 1760 when

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she was 27. However, as Cheung Shi died when Tin Shing was 10 and Tin Sau was only 5, Wai Yan remarried with Fong Shi, who was 2 years younger than him. In 1768, Fong Shi bore Tin Woon, Wai Yan’s third son. However, soon after his birth, Fong Shi died aged 35. Then, Wai Yan married his third wife, Liu Shi, who was 7 years younger than him. Liu Shi, who married in aged around 30, did not bear sons but likely raised the three sons borne by her predecessors. Although her husband Wai Yan died in 1774 when his youngest son Tin Woon was only 6, Liu Shi survived to 1804, when she died aged 64, after all of husband’s three sons had already grown-up (Fig. 3-190).

All the examples described above are cases in which either the first or second wives bore their husbands’ sons. However, lineage members who remarried did not always succeed in gaining sons. As we can see in the next case, remarried male lineage members sometimes failed to gain sons. Hau Yue, who belonged to the ninth generation, was born in 1744 and married his first wife, Liu Shi, his junior by 1 year, around 1765. Even though she led a conjugal life with her husband for about 20 years, she had no sons when she died in 1784 aged 39. After her death, Hau Yue married his second wife, Cheung Shi, when he was about 40 and she was about 35. Their conjugal life also lasted for more than 20 years until Hau Yue died in 1806 aged 62, but they did not have sons (Fig. 3-191).

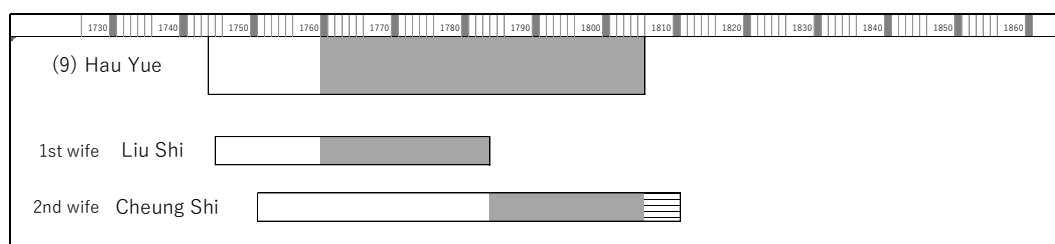


Fig. 3-191. Life stages of Hau Yue and his wives

In the same way, Tin Siu, who belonged to the tenth generation, also failed to have sons either through his first marriage or through remarriage. Tin Siu was born in 1751 and his first wife, Ho Shi, was born in the same year. Although the genealogical record contains no data on Ho Shi’s death, it is highly probable that she died or was divorced in the first decade after their marriage because Tin Siu married his second wife, Lam Shi, who was 2 years younger than him. Lam Shi died in 1804 aged 51, but she did not bear sons. Tin Siu survived his wife and lived as a widower until his death in 1814 (Fig. 3-192).

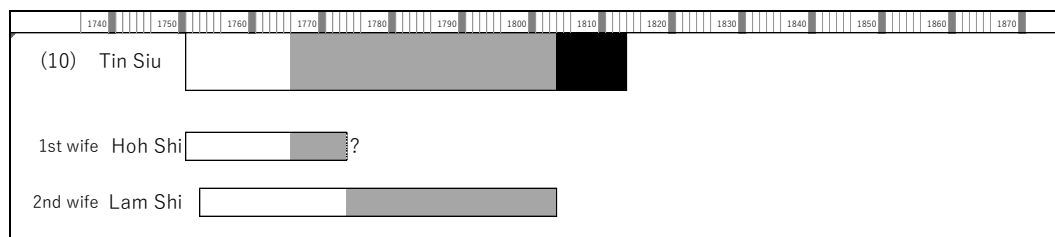


Fig. 3-192. Life stages of Tin Siu and his wives

The last two cases are somewhat irregular and complicated. Fig. 3-193 shows the case of Shi Tsak, who belonged to the seventh generation. He was born in 1637 and married Tsang Shi, who was the same age as him. In 1658, when both were 21, their eldest son,

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Fat Leung, was born. According to the genealogical record, Shi Tsak died in 1700 aged 63 and Tsang Shi died in 1701 aged 64. However, the genealogical record also states that Shi Tsak remarried with Tse Shi, who was born in 1671. Because he died 1 year before the death of his first wife Tsang Shi, if he married Tse Shi, he had two wives at the same time. Therefore, Tse Shi may have been his concubine, not his formal wife. However, the genealogical record describes her as a “wife.” One possible explanation is that although Tse Shi was originally a concubine of Shi Tsak, because she survived as his widow for many years until her death in 1750 aged 79, she was treated as a formal wife by her husband’s descendants. This might suggest the ambiguity of the boundary between concubines and formal wives. Furthermore, we find another strange point in Shi Tsak’s life story in that his second son, Fat Tsan, was born 20 years after Shi Tsak died. I already showed a possible interpretation of this in section 3-3-1.

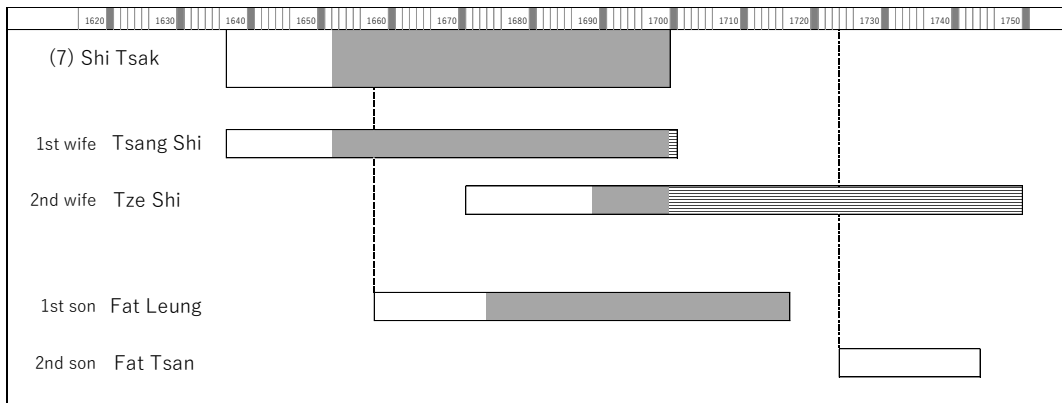


Fig. 3-193. Life stages of Shi Tsak, his wives, and his sons

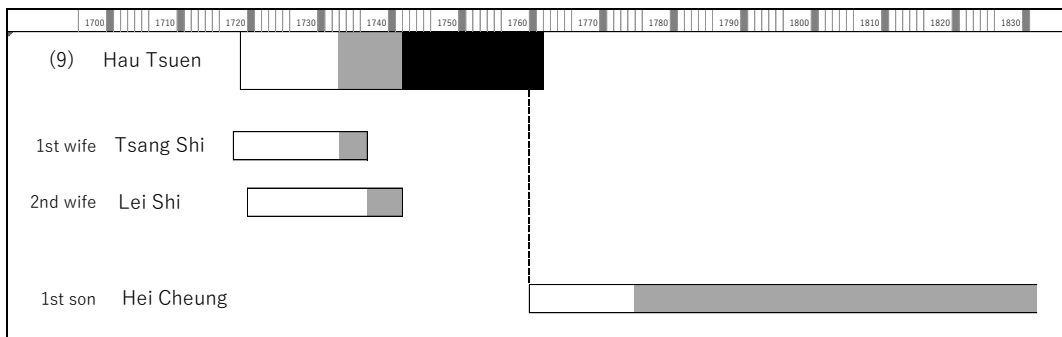


Fig. 3-194. Life stages of Hau Tsuen, his wives, and his son

The final case here is that of Hau Tsuen, a member of the ninth generation (Fig. 3-194). He was born in 1719 and married Tsang Shi, who was 1 year older than him. However, his first wife, Tsang Shi, died in 1737 as young as 19 without bearing sons. Lei Shi, with whom Hau Tsuen remarried after Tsang Shi’s death, was 1 year younger than him. However, she also died without sons in 1742 aged 22. Although Hau Tsuen was still only 23 when his second wife died, the genealogical record contains no evidence of his remarriage or concubinage thereafter. Nevertheless, his son Hei Cheung was born in 1760 when Hau Tsuen was 41, which was 2 years before his death in 1762. Two possible

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explanations exist for this case. One is that Hau Tsuen had another formal wife whom he married after his second wife died or a concubine who was not named in the genealogical record for some reason, and Hei Cheung was borne by this third spouse. Another possibility is that Hei Cheung was not Hau Tsuen’s biological son but a son adopted after his death. However, these are only estimations because the genealogical record contains no data to support either of these possibilities.

In this section, I extracted information on several male members who experienced remarriage in their lives and traced their life stages along with those of their spouses and sons as precisely as possible. The authors of the genealogical record of “W” lineage usually recorded their sons’ names together under their father’s name, which means that we cannot identify the mother of each son if his father had two or more spouses through remarriage or concubinage. However, by carefully checking the years of these individuals’ births and deaths and the order of life events, we can estimate the real mother for each son and draw the outline of each person’s life course to some extent. Through these analyses, we can see that the processes that led to their remarriage and their sons’ births varied greatly depending on each member’s situation. We can at least say that simple generalizations cannot reflect the reality of these people. While members who had no sons did not always remarry, those who already had more than two sons sometimes remarried. At first glance, the genealogical record seems to characterize people who lived as husbands, wives, fathers, or mothers as seeking nothing but the succession of their patrilineal descent. However, by tracing their lives precisely, it remains possible for us to reconstruct the specific circumstances of each individual person more clearly than expected.

3-4-3 Life Stages of Concubines and Their Husbands

In the previous section, I examined cases of remarriage, which was one important way to secure the sons necessary for succession of the patrilineal descent. In this section, I will examine the cases of concubinage by tracing as precisely as possible the life stages of the lineage members who had concubines and the women who were their concubines.

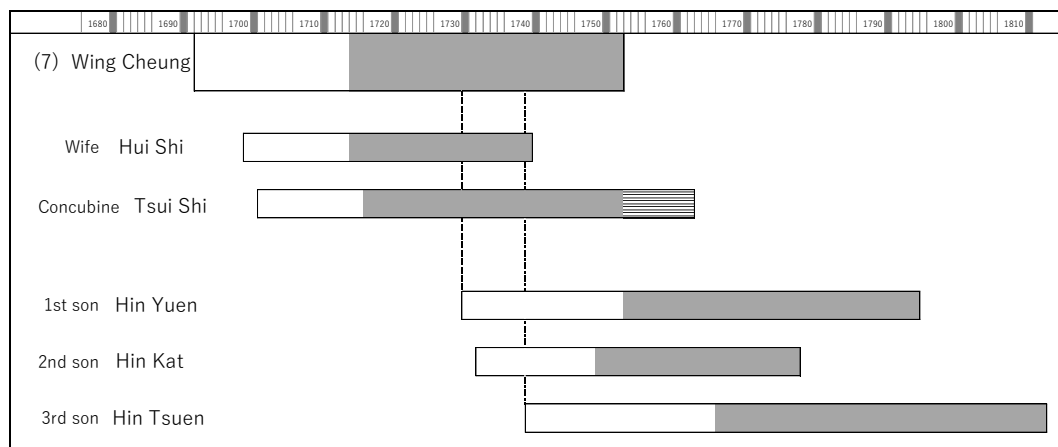


Fig. 3-195. Life stages of Wing Cheung, his waives, and his sons

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I examine here all the cases of members who were recorded in the genealogical record as having concubines (*ceshi* or *qie*). The first example is Wing Cheung, a member of the seventh generation (Fig. 3-195). He was born in 1692 and married Hui Shi, who was 7 years younger than him. As already stated, it is not clear when they married because the genealogical records do not mention it. However, it was likely around 1720. The genealogical records states that along with this formal wife, Wing Cheung had a concubine named Tsui Shi. Tsui Shi was born in 1701 and was her husband’s junior by 9 years. It is also unknown when she became his concubine. The formal wife, Hui Shi, led a conjugal life with Wing Cheung for about 20 years and died in 1740 aged 41. The concubine, Tsui Shi, survived Wing Cheung who died in 1753 aged 61 until her own death in 1763 aged 62.

Wing Cheung had three sons, of whom the eldest, Hin Yuen, was born in 1730, the second, Hin Kat, was born in 1732, and the youngest, Hin Tsuen, was born in 1739. We cannot identify each son’s mother because the genealogical record does not specify this. In Wing Cheung’s case it is possible that the formal wife Hui Shi was the mother of the three brothers because they were born when she was 31, 33 and 40 years old, all within her childbearing age (Fig. 3-195). However, it is also possible that these three sons were borne by Tsui Shi, who was 29, 31 and 39 years old at their births. Unlike formal wives whose conjugal periods with their husband could not overlap, concubines could maintain conjugal relationships with their husbands while he had other spouses. As Tsui Shi seemed to have already become a concubine of Wing Cheung when his sons were born, it is possible that at least one of his three sons was borne by Tsui Shi.

In any case, Wing Cheung gained three sons to succeed his descent line. In later years, each of these three sons married and grandsons were born⁶³. There is no sign of these three brothers’ descendants receiving different treatment in the genealogical record, although some of them could have possibly been borne by a concubine mother. The same is true for other cases that included descendants borne by concubines. At least in the genealogical record, we cannot find any evidence of different treatment of sons who were borne by concubine mothers and those who were borne by formal wives.

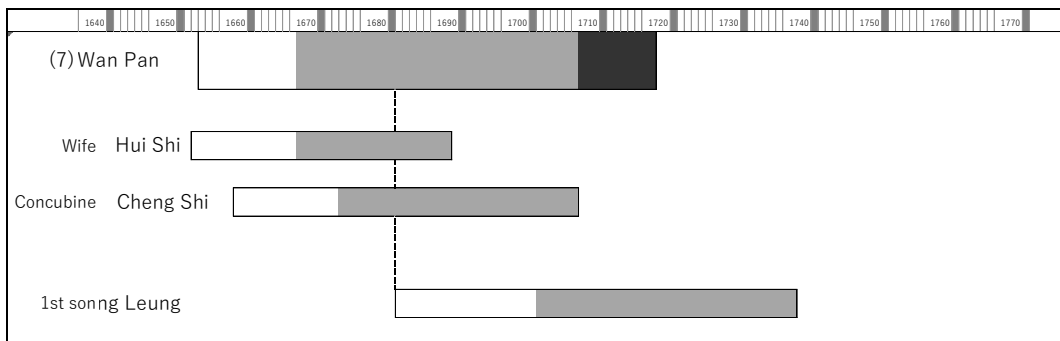


Fig. 3-196. Life stages of Wan Pn, his spouses, and his son

The second case of concubinage is that of Wan Pan, who belonged to the seventh

⁶³ However, the second son, Hin Kat, died aged 46 without sons. He adopted his eldest brother’s son Wai Sheung for succession. I have already examined this case in Section 3-3-1 of this Chapter (Fig. 3-78 and Fig. 3-79).

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generation (Fig. 3-196). He was born in 1653 and his formal wife Hui Shi was his senior by 1 year. He also had a concubine, Cheng Shi, who was 5 years younger than him. The formal wife Hui Shi died in 1689 aged 37. As Wan Pan’s eldest son Pong Leung was born in 1681, it is possible that Hui Shi bore him aged 29. However, it is also possible that the concubine Cheng Shi bore Pong Leung because she was 23 years old at Pong Leung’s birth, although it is not certain when she became Wan Pan’s concubine. Thus, Wan Pan succeeded in securing a son, though we do not know whether a formal wife or a concubine was the real mother.

The third example is the case of Hin Ying, who was a member of the eighth generation (Fig. 3-197). He was born in 1702 and his first wife, Hui Shi, was born in 1700, making her 2 years older than him. As Hui Shi died in 1723 as young as 23 without bearing sons, he remarried with Tsoi Shi, who was his junior by 3 years. Both Hui Shi and Tsoi Shi were Hin Ying’s formal wives according to the genealogical record. However, Hin Ying also had a concubine called Leung Shi, who was born in 1709. Although there are no clues as to when Leung Shi became Hin Ying’s concubine, it is natural to estimate that it was after 1725, when she became 16 years old. It is also possible that it occurred after the death of his first wife, Hui Shi. Hin Ying had a son named Wai Tat, who was born in 1731. We cannot identify Wai Tat’s real mother, but both Tsoi Shi and Leung Shi are possible because they were 26 and 22 at his birth, respectively.

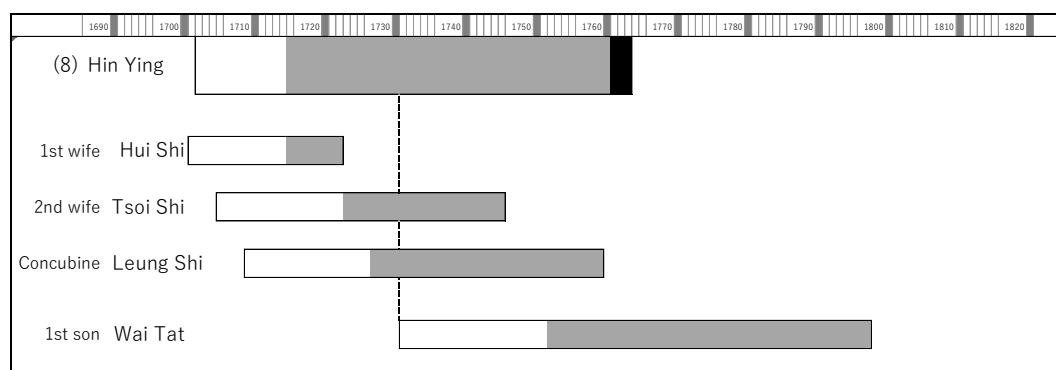


Fig. 3-197. Life stages of Hin Ying, his spouses, and his son

The next example (Fig. 3-198) is the case of Wai Fung, who was a member of the ninth generation. He was born in 1744 and his formal wife, Mok Shi, was his junior by 1 year. Their conjugal relationship lasted nearly 40 years until Wai Fung’s death in 1800 at the age of 56. Besides a formal wife, Wai Fung had a concubine named Wan Shi who was 6 years younger than him. Wan Shi lived as a concubine until Wai Fung’s death. Wai Fung had three sons named Tin Tat, Tin Kam and Tin Yi, who were born in 1773, 1779 and 1793, respectively. Among them, it is possible that Tin Tat and Tin Kam were borne by either the formal wife Mok Shi or the concubine Wan Shi, as Mok Shi was 28 and 34 years old and Wan Shi was 23 and 29 years old at these two sons’ births. The youngest son, Tin Yi, was provably borne by Wan Shi because Mok Shi was already 48 at his birth.

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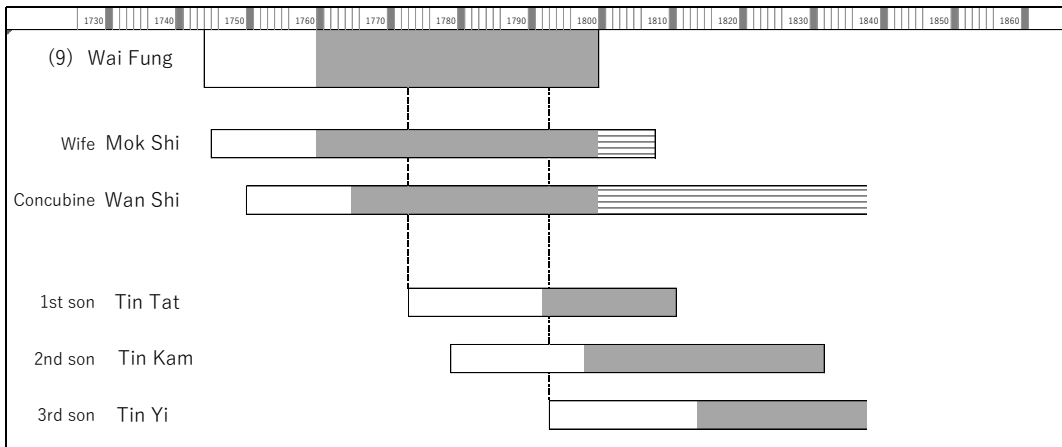


Fig. 3-198. Life stages of Wai Fung, his spouses, and his sons

The next example is the case of Tin Tseuk, who belonged to the tenth generation (Fig. 3-199). He was born in 1782 and married Tsang Shi, his junior by 5 years. Tin Tseuk's concubine Wong Shi was 10 years younger than him. Although it is not certain when Tsang Shi and Wong Shi began their conjugal lives with Tin Tseuk, the formal wife Tsang Shi died in 1832 aged 45, while the concubine Wong Shi survived with her husband past 1838 when the genealogical record ended. Tin Tseuk's older son, Yam Kwong, was born in 1817 and his younger son, Ah Sai, was born in 1828. Both sons were born within both women's childbearing ages (Fig. 3-199); Tsang Shi was 30 and 41 and Wong Shi was 25 and 36 when they were born, respectively. Therefore, it might be more likely that the younger son was borne by Wong Shi, though both women could have been his real mother.

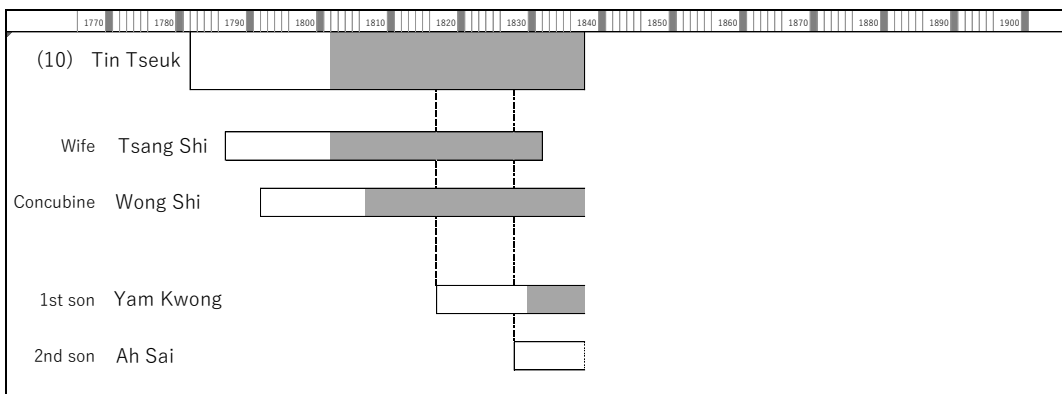


Fig. 3-199. Life stages of Tin Tseuk, his spouses, and his sons

Fig. 3-200 shows the case of Tin Yue, who was a member of the tenth generation. He was born in 1752 and his formal wife Lei Shi was 3 years younger than him. Tin Yue's concubine Lam Shi was his junior by 2 years. Although we do not know when they married Tin Yue, both women were likely in conjugal relationships with Tin Yue until their deaths. Lei Shi died in 1814 aged 59 and Lam Shi died in 1810 aged 56. Thus, Tin Yue seemed to have two spouses simultaneously for more than 40 years. However, as he survived his two spouses until his own death in 1826 at the age of 74, he passed his last decade as a widower.

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Tin Yue had four sons, of whom the eldest, Ping Kwong, was born in 1781, the second, King Kwong, was born in 1784, the third, Tsap Kwong, was born in 1788, and the youngest, Tsun Kwong, was born in 1792. These sons were borne when Tin Yue’s formal wife Lei Shi was 26, 29, 33 and 37 years old and when the concubine Lam Shi was 27, 30, 34 and 38 years old, respectively. Therefore, both women are equally likely to be these sons’ biological mother. Of these four sons, only the eldest son, Ping Kwong, died without sons aged 33 and the other three were still alive in 1838.

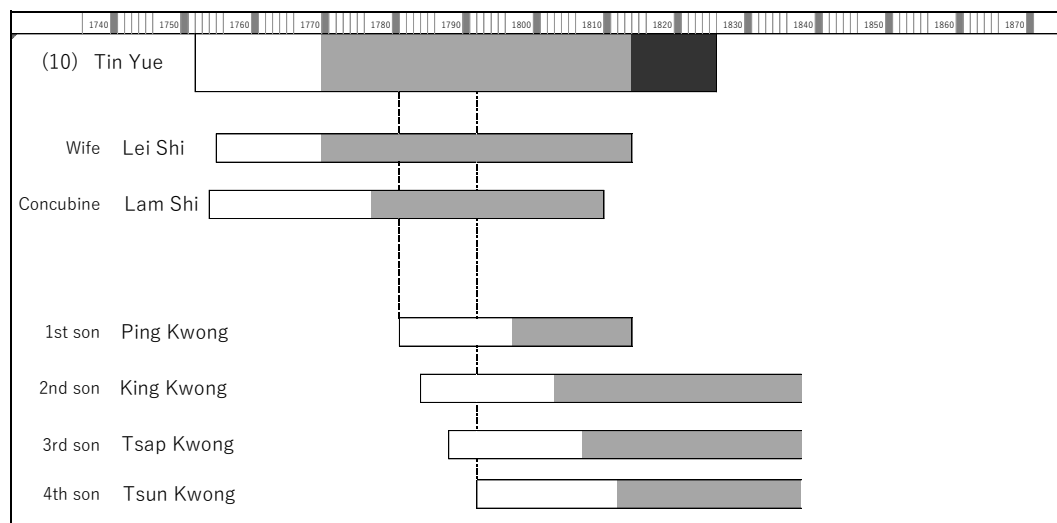


Fig. 3-200. Life stages of Tin Yue, his spouses, and his sons

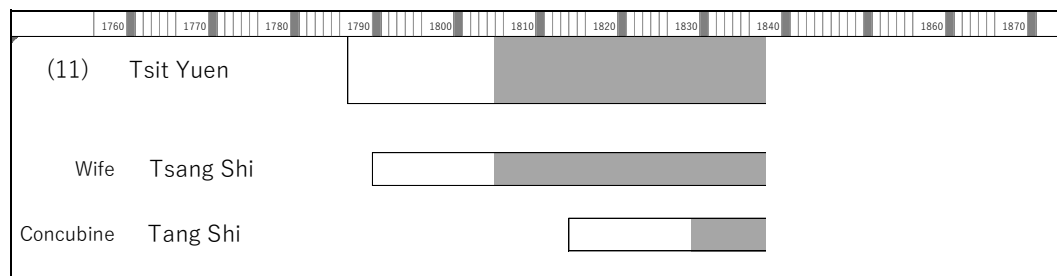


Fig. 3-201. Life stages of Tsit Yuen and his spouses

The next example was the case of Tsit Yuen, who belonged to the eleventh generation. Unlike previous cases, in this case the husband had not yet gained sons when the genealogical record ended, even though he had a concubine and a formal wife. Tsit Yuen was born in 1787 and married Tsang Shi, who was his junior by 3 years (Fig. 3-201). Because Tsang Shi had no sons when she was past childbearing age, Tsit Yuen had a young concubine, Tang Shi, who was 27 years younger than him. As the genealogical record contains no records of their deaths, the three of them were presumably still alive in 1838. Because Tsit Yuen would have been 51, Tsang Shi 48 and Tang Shi 24 at that time, it is possible that Tsit Yuen gained sons through his concubine Tang Shi later in his life. However, he had not yet done so before 1838.

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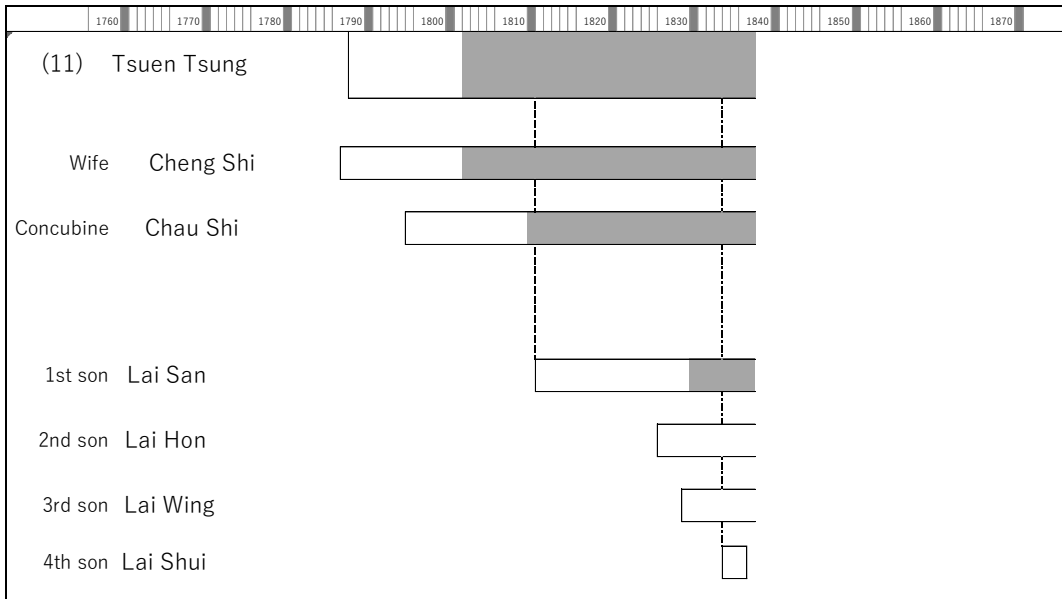


Fig. 3-202. Life stages of Tsuen Tsun, his spouses, and his sons

Another example is the case of Tsuen Tsung, a member of the eleventh generation (Fig. 3-202). Tsuen Tsung was born in 1788 and married Cheng Shi, who was his senior by 1 year. Besides his formal wife, Tsuen Tsung had a concubine named Chau Shi, who was 7 years younger than him. They all also seemed to be alive in 1838; Tsuen Tsung would have been 50, Cheng Shi 51 and Chau Shi 43 at that time. They had four sons, of whom the eldest, Lai San, was born in 1811, the second, Lai Hon, was born in 1826, the third, Lai Wing, was born in 1829, and the youngest, Lai Shui, was born in 1834. As in other cases, the genealogical record does not name the real mothers of these four sons. However, as I will examine in Chapter 4, another genealogical record compiled by a branch of the lineage recorded that the first and second sons were borne by Cheng Shi and the third and fourth sons were borne by Chau Shi. Cheng Shi bore Lai San and Lai Hon aged 34 and 39 years old, respectively, and Chau Shi bore Lai Wing and Lai Shui also aged 34 and 39, respectively. I will touch on the case of Tsuen Tsung’s family again in the next chapter, when I examine adoptions.

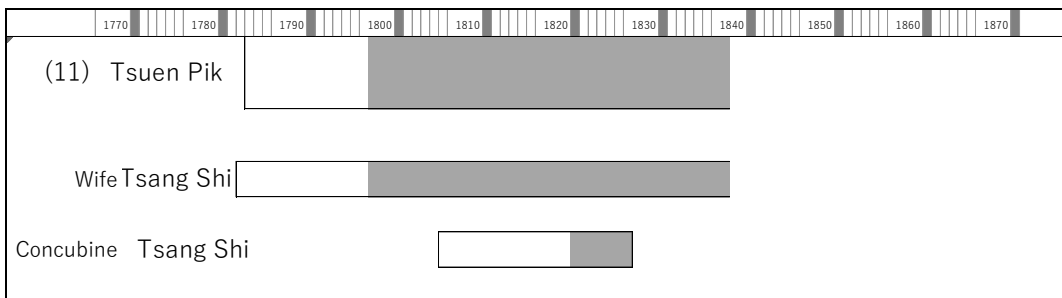


Fig. 3-203. Life stages of Tsuen Pik and his spouses

The final example here is the case of Tsuen Pik, a member of the eleventh

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generation (Fig. 3-203). Tsuen Pik was born in 1783. His wife was Tsang Shi, who was 1 year older than him. Both seemed to be alive in 1838, when they would have been in their mid-50s. Tsuen Pik had a concubine whose surname was also Tsang. This concubine, Tsang Shi, was born in 1805, making her 22 years younger than Tsuen Pik. If we suppose that she became a concubine after she reached mature age, this would not be before 1820. Tsuen Pik and his wife were around 40 years old at that time. Tsuen Pik presumably decided to have a concubine because his wife Tsang Shi had not borne sons when she reached her 40s. However, even when Tsuen Pik had a concubine, the genealogical record contains no record of a son’s birth until 1838, even though the concubine Tsang Shi was already past her mid-30s.

I have examined nine cases of lineage members who were recorded in the genealogical record as having concubines by checking their and their wives’, concubines’ and sons’ life stages. As I already noted in section 3-4-1 section, concubines tended to be a little younger than formal wives (Fig. 3-54). However, there were still some cases in which formal wives and concubines were approximately the same age. Therefore, we cannot say that all concubinage was decided after formal wives had past childbearing age, nor was it practiced solely for the purpose of obtaining sons. The fact that only nine of more than 400 married male members practiced concubinage shows that it was not a popular way to secure successors for their descent lines. Although securing sons might be one important reason for husbands’ decision to have concubines, in practice there were likely many other factors such as economic affordance, members’ personal preference, or conjugal relationships with their wives that led to the decision of having concubines. In this sense, like those factors which led male members to decide to remarry, there were likely many personal factors that affected their decisions.

Information about female members in the genealogical record is rather limited and is basically confined to that of married-in spouses. There are no records on girls born as lineage members’ daughters except in a few cases in which the number of a member’s daughters was given⁶⁴. Given that such scarce information is provided about female members, it is remarkable that the compilers recorded such detailed data on married-in women in the written genealogical record regardless of whether they bore sons and were a formal wife.

As far as the married-in spouses are concerned, the compilers of the genealogical record seemed to strive to record all women without omission⁶⁵. Consequently, the genealogical record includes not only those women who were the mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers related through blood relation to lineage members, but spouses of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers who died without bearing sons. This is presumably because these women were equally the objects of ancestral worship and

⁶⁴ As I will show in the next chapter, some descriptions of daughters of lineage members appear in another genealogical record compiled by a branch of “W” lineage. However, there is little information about these in the lineage genealogical record I used in my analyses above.

⁶⁵ There are a few possible omissions, to which I referred in each case.

lineage members were obliged to commemorate them periodically after their deaths.

As already stated in Section 2-1-1, genealogical records usually include the information about the location and features of ancestors' graves. The *fengshui*, or geomantic features, of the ancestors' graves seemed to be the most important pieces of information for lineage members. Constructing ancestors' graves in the proper places and keeping them in good condition were thought to be necessary for the descendants' prosperity. The fact that information about the graves of not only male members but also of married-in wives and concubines was recorded in the genealogical record shows that lineage members recognized worship of these deceased female members as a part of their duty.

As we saw in Chapter 2, lineage members tried to avoid *juefang*, or extinction of family lines, as far as possible because it would create members who had no descendants responsible for their ancestor worship and would threaten living lineage members with disaster. The lineage regarded the commemoration and fulfillment of the ancestor worship as a duty not only for these male ancestors but also for their spouses, regardless of whether they were the mothers of male members.

Maurice Freedman discussed the worship of female ancestors and stated that lineage members tended to worship as many tombs as they could, including those of female ancestors, to seek good fortune through the favorable *fengshui* of various tomb sites [Freedman 1966: 131-132]. However, such a pragmatic interpretation seems unnecessary here because it was supposed to be a part of lineage descendants' duty to perform funeral ceremonies and annual commemoration rituals for members' deceased spouses. Such practices were regarded as necessary to avoid having lineage ancestors who were not worshiped properly and to continue the natural flow of life.

In this chapter, I have analyzed such aspects of the lives of members of "W" lineage as family compositions, wives' life stages, adoptions and remarriages using the data given in the written genealogical record. In principle, succession through the patrilineal descent line that was succeeded by real sons borne by formal wives in every generation was most desirable. However, in practice, discrepancies from this ideal were inevitable when, for example, first wives failed to bear sons for a long time or they died leaving very young sons. Responding to these unexpected situations, lineage members might decide to remarry or to take a concubine, or they might seek to adopt nephews.

However, still there was a risk of failing to obtain successors because of unpredictable events such as the early death of adopted sons. In such situations, they might have to accept *juefang* as in the worst case. In facing such a result, some lineage members would try to maintain ancestor worship of those lost family lines by entrusting its duty to someone responsible for performing these rituals. These decisions and practices make the family history uneven and full of ad hoc events that apparently differ from the smooth and straight development designed in the patrilineal ideal. The writers of the genealogical record seem to have been trying to describe in detail the lineage's actual history without concealing any information.

Of course, they did not record any tensions or stresses that might arise among

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family members from such events as the young deaths of wives, marrying-in of step-mothers or taking of concubines. They simply described the facts of members' births, marriages and deaths without any emotional or ethical judgements. However, the record still informs us of the reality of people living in the past because it is the result of their uninterrupted efforts to record what they believed worth recording as significant life events and as the history of their family.

Chapter 4 Another Genealogical Book of “W” Lineage

In the previous chapters, I analyzed the records in the genealogical book compiled by “W” lineage and showed that we can extract rather clear images of lineage members’ lives by examining each detail of the genealogical data contained within. I also considered the compilers’ basic motivation and value consciousness underlying such a long-term effort of recording genealogical information over generations. At first glance, the genealogical record seems a very flat and tedious text in which the lineage members’ life cycles were merely inscribed one after another. However, I showed through the analyses in these chapters that if we read it carefully, the genealogical record actually reveals to us the unique reality of each lineage member’s life.

I analyzed only one copy of the genealogical book in the previous chapters. However, I found in the course of library research that another version of the genealogical record of “W” lineage was compiled by one of its branches. A copy of this version of the genealogical record is also preserved as a part of the Sha Tin Documents at the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, The University of Tokyo. It is the record compiled and preserved by the descendants of the fourth son of the founding ancestor of “W” lineage and is titled “The genealogical book of ‘W’ lineage in K village.” The contents of this branch’s genealogical record overlap partly with that of the whole lineage, which that I used as the source material in the previous chapters, but it also contains descriptions specific to this branch and data were recorded later than 1838, when recording of the lineage genealogy ended. Therefore, in this chapter, I will try to extract the cases that were not included in the lineage’s genealogical record and use them to further consider the nature of written genealogical records and their underlying value consciousness.

4-1 Comparison of the Lineage’s and Branch’s Genealogical Records

The branch’s genealogical record –the genealogical book compiled by the branch that started with Tak Kai, the fourth son of the founding ancestor of the lineage – is included in the Sha Tin Collection with other historical documents such as genealogical books of other surnames and ritual manuals called “*tipshik*” in local Cantonese⁶⁶. The first pages of this record are almost identical to that of the lineage and it is therefore difficult to distinguish these two genealogical books at first glance. However, if we read through to the latter half, we realize that it comprises only Tak Kai’s descendants.

More accurately, it includes only the members of one segment of Tak Kai’s branch. Although it contains all members of Tak Kai’s branch from the second to ninth generations,

⁶⁶ “*Tipshik*” (*tieshi* in Mandarin) means the formats of antithetical couplets pasted to the house gate. It also sometimes includes such manuals of ritual and ceremony as announcement letters of bridal ceremonies or prayers read at ancestor worship rituals.

only the descendants of an ancestor named Hau Tsuen are included after the 10th generation. I show Hau Tsuen’s genealogical position in the total structure of “W” lineage and the family tree of his descendants in Table 4-1. Hau Tsuen was born in 1719 as the fourth son of Pong Leung, a descendant of Tak Kai belonging to the lineage’s eighth generation. As I mentioned in Section 3-4-2, the lineage’s genealogical record states that Hau Tsuen had two wives, the first of whom, Tsang Shi, presumably married in around 1735 but died in 1737 as young as 19 years old. His second wife, Lei Shi, joined his family when he remarried after Tsang Shi’s death, but she also died young in 1742 aged 22. Only these two women were recorded in the lineage’s genealogical record as Hau Tsuen’s wives, but the branch’s genealogical record reported that Hau Tsuen had a third wife, Wong Shi, who was born in 1726 and survived her husband until her death in 1797 aged 71. She likely married in after the death of her husband’s second wife, Lei Shi.

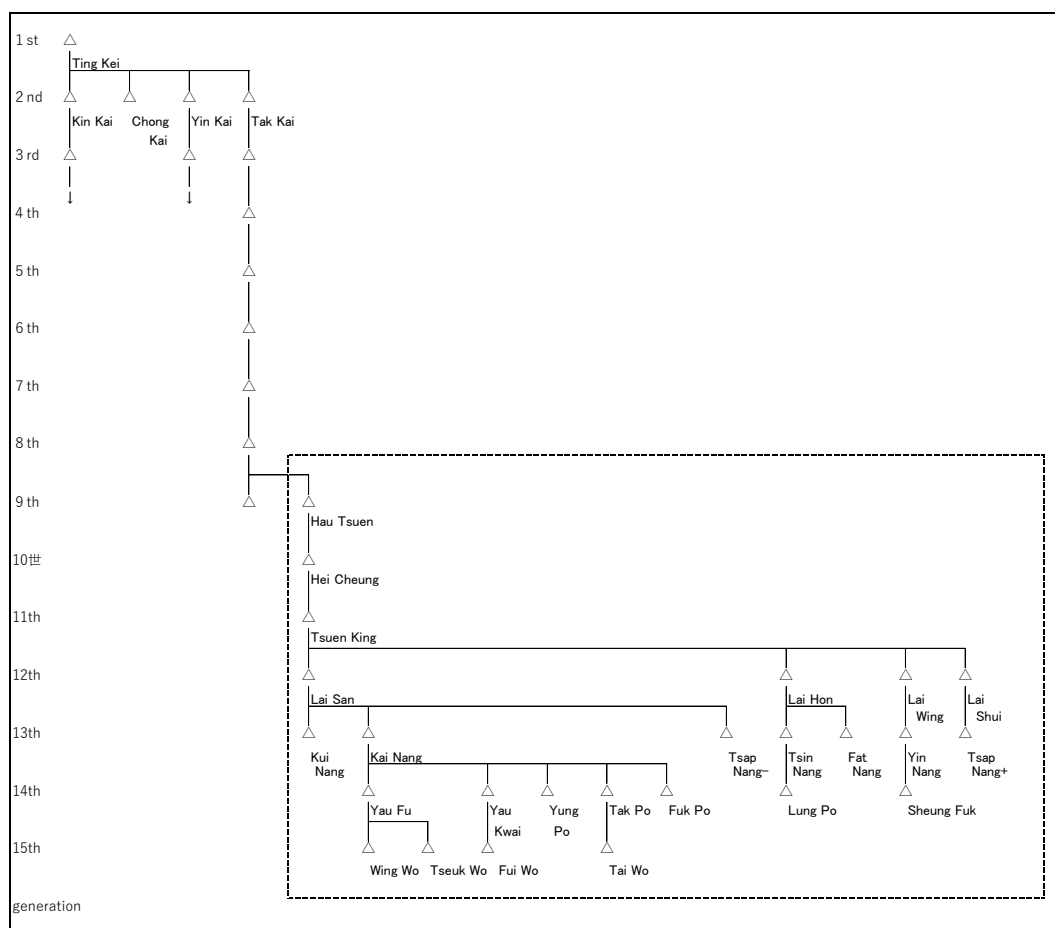


Fig. 4-1. Genealogical position of the Hau Tsuen’s segment

Hau Tsuen lived a relatively short life and died in 1762 aged 43. He had one son in his life, Hei Cheung, who belonged to the 10th generation. Hei Cheung was born in 1760, 2 years before Hau Tsuen’s death; his mother was presumably Wong Shi, who was 34 years old at the time of his birth. Tsuen Tsung, who belonged to the 11th generation and was Hei Cheung’s only son, had two spouses. One was his formal wife, Cheng Shi, who was born in

1787 and died in 1865, and the other was his concubine, Chau Shi, who was born in 1795 and died in 1856. Both Cheng Shi and Chau Shi bore two sons. Lai San and Lai Hon were borne by Cheng Shi, and Lai Wing and Lai Shui were borne by Chau Shi.

Only members older than this 12th generation are included in the lineage's genealogical record. However, the branch's genealogical record includes three further generations under these four brothers. The branch's genealogical book records 155 members from Tak Kai in the second generation to the 15th generation. This includes 74 male members, 73 married in spouses, and eight unmarried daughters. I extracted the demographic data of these members and show them in Table 4-1. I have checked the validity of the years of these members' births and deaths by comparing the years in the Chinese era and their zodiac and rectified any incomplete data as far as possible in the manner described in Chapter 2.

By calculating the average lifespan of members recorded in the branch's genealogical record, I obtain Table 4-2. It shows that the average lifespan of members of this branch was 56.6 years, that of male members was 56.2, and that of their spouses was 57.0. These figures did not differ largely from those calculated for the whole lineage (Table 2-3) in Chapter 2, except that branch members' spouses lived slightly longer than the average of all lineage members' spouses. The average number of spouses per male branch member from the second to the 14th generation⁶⁷ was 1.0. This is comparable to the 1.05 for the lineage members described in the lineage's genealogical record who belonged to the ninth or older generations (Table 2-13-2). The average number of sons for branch members was 1.6, which is also comparable to the 1.58 calculated for all lineage members.

I compare the data recorded in the branch's and lineage's genealogical records and show the results in Table 4-3. In this table, I show the data from the lineage's record on the left and those from the branch's record on the right. The parts marked gray indicate descriptions that do not coincide with each other. Despite some small differences in descriptions, the records contain basically the same data before the 10th generation. After the 11th generation, many items are described only in the branch's genealogical record, and after the 13th generation, descriptions are found only in this record. These items that are recorded only in the branch's genealogical record are presumably data added after the lineage's genealogical record was compiled.

Compared with the lineage's genealogical record, the most remarkable difference in the branch's record is in its reference to female members who were born as the daughters of lineage members. As I already noted, the lineage's record generally does not refer to the daughters of lineage members. The only exceptions are the references to the number of daughters for Tak Kai in the second generation and Tsim Kwong in the fourth generation. This exceptional information includes only the number of daughters, but not their names. All other information on the female members is that of spouses who married into the lineage. However, in the branch's genealogical record, the numbers of daughters born under branch ancestors are sometimes referred to, though this is not done for all ancestors.

⁶⁷ I excluded here the members of the 15th generation because many of them were likely still unmarried young people when the genealogical record was compiled.

Another Genealogical Book

Table 4-1. Basic data extracted from the branch genealogy

Generation	Name	(1)Birth year		(2)Death year		Death age (2)-(1)	Validity of data	Birth year (original)	Death year (original)	Birth year (corrected)	Death year (corrected)	Death age (corrected)
		Era	gan zhi	Era	gan zhi							
2	Tak Kai	Zhengde 5	geng wu ○ Wanli 24	bing shen ○	83 87 ×	✓	1510	1596	1510	1596	86	
3	wife Wong Shi	Zhengde 4	ji si ○ Longqing 2	wu chen ○	60 60 ○	✓	1509	1568	1509	1568	59	
	Tsz Hong	Jiaqing 28	ji you ○ Wanli 40	ren zi ○	64 64 ○	✓	1549	1612	1549	1612	63	
	wife Lei Shi	Jiaqing 31	ren zi ○ Wanli 42	jia yin ○	63 63 ○	✓	1552	1614	1552	1614	62	
3	Tseuk Yan	Jiaqing 31	ren zi ○ Wanli 42	jia yin ○	63 63 ○	✓	1552	1614	1552	1614	62	
	wife Yuen Shi	Jiaqing 34	yi mao ○ Wanli 42	jia yin ○	60 60 ×	✓	1555	1614	1555	1614	59	
4	Tsam Kwong	Longqing 6	ren shen ○ Chongzheng 10	ding chou ○	67 66 ×	✓	1572	1637	1572	1637	65	
	wife Nip Shi	Wanli 5	ding chou ○ Chongzheng 10	ding chou ○	62 61 ×	✓	1577	1637	1577	1637	60	
4	Tsam Tsoi	Wanli 3	yi hai ○ Chongzheng 12	ji mao ○	65 65 ○	✓	1575	1639	1575	1639	64	
	wife Ng Shi	Wanli 9	xin si ○ Chongzheng 15	ren wu ○	62 62 ○	✓	1581	1642	1581	1642	61	
4	Sz Yan	Wanli 10	ren wu ○ Chongzheng 17	jia shen ○	63 63 ○	✓	1582	1644	1582	1645	63	
	wife Lok Shi	Wanli 15	ding hai ○ Shunzhi 8	ren chen ×	66 65 ×	✓	1587	1651	1587	1651	64	
5	Chi Chung	Wanli 28	geng zi ○ Shunzhi 5	ji chou ×	54 49 ×	✓	1600	1648	1600	1653	53	
	wife Hoh Shi	Wanli 34	bing wu ○ Shunzhi 10	jia wu ×	53 48 ×	✓	1606	1653	1606	1658	52	
5	Chi Wa	Wanli 33	yi si ○ Shunzhi 3	ding hai ×	43 42 ×	✓	1605	1646	1605	1646	41	
	wife Chan Shi	Wanli 32	jia chen ○ Shunzhi 10	yi wei ×	51 50 ×	✓	1604	1653	1604	1653	49	
5	Chi Tsan											
5	Chi Yu	Wanli 36	× Shunzhi 18	jia wu ×	47 46 ×	✓	1608	1661	1608	1653	45	
	wife Ng Shi											
	wife Tsoi Shi											
5	Chi Lai											
6	Ying Tou	Chongzhen 2	ji si ○ Kangxi 21	ren xu ○	58 54 ×	✓	1629	1682	1629	1682	53	
	wife Chan Shi	Chongzhen 5	ren shen ○ Kangxi 14	yi mao ○	48 44 ×	✓	1632	1675	1632	1675	43	
6	Ying Tsun	Chongzhen 6	gui you ○ Kangxi 20	xin you ○	53 49 ×	✓	1633	1681	1633	1681	48	
	wife Hoh Shi	Chongzhen 10	ding chou ○ Kangxi 31	ren shen ○	60 56 ×	✓	1637	1692	1637	1692	55	
6	Ying Lung	Chongzhen 15	× Kangxi 60	xin chou ○	80 80 ○	✓	1642	1712	1642	1721	79	
	wife Mok Shi	Shunzhi 3	ding hai × Kangxi 53	jia wu ○	68 69 ×	✓	1646	1714	1646	1714	68	
7	Wan Pan	Shunzhi 10	jia wu × Kangxi 57	wu xu ○	66 66 ○	✓	1653	1718	1653	1718	65	
	wife Hui Shi	Shunzhi 9	gui si × Kangxi 28	ji si ○	38 38 ○	✓	1652	1689	1652	1689	37	
7	wife Cheng Shi	Shunzhi 15	ji hai × Kangxi 46	ding hai ○	50 50 ○	✓	1658	1707	1658	1707	49	
	Ying Pan	Shunzhi 5	ji chou × Kangxi 50	×	64	✓	1648	1711	1648	1711	63	
7	wife Tsoi Shi	Shunzhi 16	× Kangxi 60	×	63	✓	1659	1721	1659	1721	62	
	Tsz Pan	Shunzhi 16	geng zi × Yongxheng 1	gui mao ○	65 65 ○	✓	1659	1723	1659	1723	64	
7	wife Chan Shi	Kangxi 1	ren yin ○ Kangxi 51	×	51 51 ○	✓	1662	1712	1662	1712	50	
	Leung Pan	Kangxi 1	ren yin ○ Kangxi 58	×	58	✓	1662	1719	1662	1719	57	
7	wife Ng Shi	Kangxi 2	gui mao ○ Kangxi 59	×	58	✓	1663	1720	1663	1720	57	
	Shung Man	Kangxi 10	xin hai ○ Yongxheng 10	ren zi ○	60 62 ×	✓	1671	1732	1671	1732	61	
7	wife Wong Shi	Kangxi 20	xin you ○ Qianlong 9	jia zi ○	60 64 ×	✓	1681	1744	1681	1744	63	
	Shung Yau	Kangxi 20	xin you ○ Qianlong 4	ji wei ○	59 59 ○	✓	1681	1739	1681	1739	58	
7	wife Yuen Shi	Kangxi 21	ren shen × Qianlong 21	bing zi ○	65 75 ×	✓	1682	1756	1682	1756	74	
	Shung Yue	Kangxi 23	jia zi ○ Qianlong 14	ji si ○	66 66 ○	✓	1684	1749	1684	1749	65	
7	wife Hau Shi	Kangxi 32	gui you ○ Qianlong 15	geng wu ○	58 58 ○	✓	1693	1750	1693	1750	57	
	Shung Chung	Kangxi 25	bing yin ○ Qianlong 61	bing zi ×	61 61 ○	✓	1686	1796	1686	1746	60	
7	wife Ng Shi	Kangxi 25	bing yin ○ Yongxheng 2	jia chen ○	28 39 ×	✓	1686	1724	1686	1724	38	
	wife Cheung Shi	Kangxi 32	gui hai × Qianlong 20	yi hai ○	65 63 ×	✓	1693	1755	1693	1755	62	
8	Pong Leung	Kangxi 20	xin you ○ Qianlong 3	wu wu ○	58 58 ○	✓	1681	1738	1681	1738	57	
	wife Lai Shi	Kangxi 25	bing yin ○ Qianlong 3	wu wu ○	53 53 ○	✓	1686	1738	1686	1738	52	
8	Pong Yin	Kangxi 27	wu chen ○		688	✓	1688		1688			
	wife Mak Shi	Kangxi 28	ji si ○		689	✓	1689		1689			
8	Pong On	Kangxi 25	bing yin ○ Qianlong 12	ding mao ○	62 62 ○	✓	1686	1747	1686	1747	61	
	wife Tsoi Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi ○ Qianlong 11	bing yin ○	50 51 ×	✓	1696	1746	1696	1746	50	
8	Pong Yan	Kangxi 25	bing yin ○ Qianlong 14	ji si ○	64 64 ○	✓	1686	1749	1686	1749	63	
	wife Leung Shi	Kangxi 28	ji chen × Qianlong 15	geng wu ○	62 62 ○	✓	1689	1750	1689	1750	61	
8	Pong Tsuen	Kangxi 40	ren wu ○ Qianlong 24	ji mao ○	58 58 ○	✓	1701	1759	1702	1759	57	
	wife Tsang Shi	Kangxi 46	ding hai ○ Qianlong 17	ren shen ○	46 46 ○	✓	1707	1752	1707	1752	45	
8	Pong Shing	Kangxi 32	gui hai × Qianlong 19	jia xu ○	62 62 ○	✓	1693	1754	1693	1754	61	
	wife Wong Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi ○ Qianlong 20	yi hai ○	60 60 ○	✓	1696	1755	1696	1755	59	
8	Pong Mei	Kangxi 36	ding chou ○ Qianlong 27	ren wu ○	66 66 ○	✓	1697	1762	1697	1762	65	
	wife Yung Shi	Kangxi 42	gui wei ○ Qianlong 23	wu yin ○	56 56 ○	✓	1703	1758	1703	1758	55	
8	wife Tze Shi	Kangxi 55	bing shen ○ Qianlong 40	yi wei ○	60 60 ○	✓	1716	1775	1716	1775	59	
	Pong Cheung	Kangxi 55	bing shen ○ Qianlong 46	xin chou ○	66 66 ○	✓	1716	1781	1716	1781	65	
8	wife Cheng Shi	Kangxi 60	xin shen ○ Qianlong 48	xin chou ×	61 63 ×	✓	1721	1783	1721	1783	62	
	Pong Hau	Kangxi 61	ren yin ○ Qianlong 46	xin chou ○	60 60 ○	✓	1722	1781	1722	1781	59	
8	wife Yuen Shi	Kangxi 57	wu xu ○ Qianlong 38	gui si ○	65 71 ×	✓	1718	1788	1718	1773	55	
	Pong Bing	Kangxi 65	xin chou × Qianlong 53	wu shen ○	67 67 ○	✓	1788	1722	1788	66		
8	wife Yeung Shi	Kangxi 60	xin chou ○ Qianlong 50	ji si ×	65 65 ○	✓	1721	1785	1721	1785	64	
	Pong Sik	Kangxi 61	ren yin ○ Qianlong 54	ji you ○	55 68 ×	✓	1722	1789	1722	1789	67	
8	wife Leung Shi	Yongzheng 4	bing wu ○ Qianlong 52	ding wei ○	62 62 ○	✓	1726	1787	1726	1787	61	
	Pong Mong	Yongzheng 3	yi si ○ Qianlong 50	yi si ○	61 61 ○	✓	1725	1785	1725	1785	60	
8	wife Wong Shi	Yongzheng 7	ji you ○ Qianlong 50	ji you ×	61 57 ×	✓	1729	1785	1729	1789	60	
	Pong Ying	Yongzheng 13	yi mao ○ Jiaqing 12	ding mao ○	73 73 ○	✓	1735	1807	1735	1807	72	
8	wife Yeung Shi	Qianlong 2	ding si ○ Jiaqing 1	bing chen ○	60 60 ○	✓	1737	1796	1737	1796	59	
	Pong Sau	Kangxi 57	wu xu ○ Qianlong 58	gui chou ○	76 76 ○	✓	1718	1793	1718	1793	75	
8	wife Chan Shi	Yongzheng 3	yi si ○ Jiaqing 5	geng shen ○	76 76 ○	✓	1725	1800	1725	1800	75	
	Pong Wai	Yongzheng 3	jia chen × Qianlong 49	yi wei ×	54 63 ×	✓	1725	1784	1722	1775	53	
8	wife Lau Shi	Yongzheng 2	jia chen ○ Qianlong 49	jia chen ○	61 61 ○	✓	1724	1784	1724	1784	60	
	Pong Tso	Yongzheng 7	ji you ○ Jiaqing 6	xin you ○	73 73 ○	✓	1729	1801	1729	1801	72	
8	wife Tsui Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei ○ Qianlong 23	wu yin ○	20 20 ○	✓	1739	1758	1739	1758	19	
	wife Laung Shi	Qianlong 7	ren xu ○ Qianlong 36	xin mao ○	30 30 ○	✓	1742	1771	1742	1771	29	
8	wife Tang Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei ○ Jiaqing 18	gui you ○	75 75 ○	✓	1739	1813	1739	1813	74	
	Pong Lui	Yongzheng										
8	wife Mak Shi											
	wife Wong Shi											
8	Pong Kit	Yongzheng 5	ding wei ○ Jiaqing 2	ding si ○	71 71 ○	✓	1727	1797	1727	1797	70	
	wife Tsang Shi	Yongzheng 5	ding wei ○ Jiaqing 9	jia zi ○	78 78 ○	✓	1727	1804	1727	1804	77	
8	Pong Chue	Yongzheng 7	ji wei × Jiaqing 15	geng wu ○	69 81 ×	✓	1729	1810	1729	1810	81	
	wife Lam Shi											
9	wife Lok Shi											
	wife Chan Shi	Qianlong 3	wu si × Jiaqing 15	geng wu ○	73 73 ○	✓	1738	1810	1738	1810	72	
9	Hau Pan	Kangxi 45	bing xu ○ Qianlong 50	yi si ○	80 80 ○	✓	1706	1785	1706	1785	79	
	wife Lok Shi	Kangxi 44	yi you ○ Qianlong 23	wu yin ○	64 54 ×	✓	1705	1758	1705	1758	53	
9	Hau Kui	Kangxi 48	ji chou ○ Qianlong 25	geng chen ○	52 52 ○	✓	1709	1760	1709	1760	51	
	wife Leung Shi	Kangxi 47	wu zi ○		1708	✓	1708		1708			
9	Hau Shi	Kangxi 50	xin mao ○ Qianlong 29	jia shen ○	53 54 ×	✓	1711	1764	1711	1764	53	
	wife Tsoi Shi	Kangxi 49	geng yin ○ Qianlong 31	bing xu ○	57 57 ○	✓	1710	1766	1710	1766	56	
9	Hau Tsuen	Kangxi 58	yi hai × Qianlong 27	ren wu ○	44 44 ○	✓	1719	1762	1719	1762	43	
	wife Tsang Shi	Kangxi 57	wu xu ○ Qianlong 2	ding chou ×	20 20 ○	✓	1718	1737	1718	1737	19	
9	wife Lei Shi	Kangxi 59	geng zi ○ Qianlong 7	ren xu ○	22 23 ×	✓	1720	1742	1720	1742	22	
	wife Wong Shi	Yongzheng 4	Jiaqing 2		72 72 ○	✓	1726	1797	1726	1797	71	

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Wives	Real sons	Adopted sons	Name of sons	Father	Real father	Adopted Girls	Name of girls	Other information
1	2	2	Tsz Hong, Chi Yan	Ting Kei	Ting Kei	3		
1	2	2	Tsam Kwong, Tsam Tsoi	Tak Kai	Tak Kai	1		
1	1	1	Sz Yan	Tak Kai	Tak Kai			
1	1	1	Chi Chung	Tsz Hong	Tsz Hong	1		
1	2	2	Chi Wa, ChiTsan	Tsz Hong	Tsz Hong			
1	2	2	Chi Yiu, Chi Lai	Chek Yan	Chek Yan			
1	0	1	Ying Tou	Tsam Kwong	Tsam Kwong	3		
1	1	1	Ying Tsun	Tsam Tsoi	Tsam Tsoi			
0	0	0		Tsam Tsoi	Tsam Tsoi			
2	1	1	Ying Lung	Sz Yan	Sz Yan			
1	0	0		Sz Yan	Sz Yan			
1	1	1	Wan Pan	Chi Chung	Chi Chung			
1	3	3	Ying Pan, Tsz Pan, Long Pan	Chi Wa	Chi Wa			
1	4	4	Shung man, Shung Yau, Shung Yue, Shung Chung	Chi Yiu	Chi Yiu			
2	1	2	Pong Leung, Pong Yin	Ying Tou	Ying Tou	2		
1	1	1	Pong On	Ying Tsun	Ying Tsun			
1	2	2	Pong Yan, Pong Tsuen	Ying Tsun	Ying Tsun			
1	2	2	Pong Shing, Pong Mei	Ying Tsun	Ying Tsun			
1	2	2	Pong Sau, Pong Cheung	Ying Lung	Ying Lung			
1	5	5	Pong Hau, Pong Ping, Pong Sik, Pong Mong, Pong Ying	Ying Lung	Ying Lung			
1	4	4	Pong Sau, Pong Wai, Pong Tso, Pong Lui	Ying Lung	Ying Lung			
2	2	2	Pong Kit, Pong Chue	Ying Lung	Ying Lung			
1	6	6	Hau Pan, Hau Kui, Hau Shi, Hau Tsuen, Hau Hang, Hau Chue	Wan Pan	Wan Pan	2		
1	1	1	Hau Mau	Wan Pan	Wan Pan			
1	4	4	Hau Shun, Hau Cheung, Hau Yeung, Hau Yue	Ying Pan	Ying Pan			
1	0	2	Hau Tseuk, Hau Chung	Tsz Pan	Tsz Pan			
1	1	1	Hau Kwai	Tsz Pan	Tsz Pan			
1	1	1	Hau Hing	Leung Pan	Leung Pan			
1	2	2	Hau Sik, Hau Tsoi	Leung Pan	Leung Pan			
1	5	4	Shue Koon, Wing Koon, Yiu Koon, Tak Koon	Shung Man	Shung Man			
1	0	1	Luk Koon	Shung Man	Shung Man			
1	2	2	Yin Koon, Yi Koon	Shung Yau	Shung Yau			
1	3	3	Wai Koon, Tsan Koon, Yuet Koon	Shung Yau	Shung Yau			
1	3	3	Ah Po, Kei Shing, Kui Fuk	Shung Yau	Shung Yau			
1	0	1	Ah Yi	Shung Yau	Shung Yau			
1	2	1	Fei Koon	Shung Yau	Shung Yau			
1	1	1	Yan Koon	Shung Yue	Shung Yue			
1	3	2	Shing Koon, Chi Koon	Shung Yue	Shung Yue			
3	0	1	Ah On	Shung Yue	Shung Yue			
2	2	2	Lai Koon, Shi Koon	Shung Yue	Shung Yue			
1	2	3	ting Koon, Yue Koon	Shung Chung	Shung Chung			
3	1	1	Hin Koon	Shung Chung	Shung Chung			
1	1	2	Hei Tsun, Hei Shing	Pong Leung	Pong Leung			
1	0	1	Hei Kwai	Pong Leung	Pong Leung			
1	2	2	Hei wing, Ah Sau	Pong Leung	Pong Leung			
3	1	1	Hei Cheung	Pong Leung	Pong Leung	3		

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9	Hau Hang	Kangxi 61	<i>ren yin</i>	○	Qianlong 57	<i>ren zi</i>	○	71	71	○	✓	1722	1792	1722	1792	70
	wife Lam Shi	Kangxi 60	<i>xin chou</i>	○	Jiaqing 6	<i>xin you</i>	○	81			✓	1721	1801	1721	1801	80
9	Hau Chue	Yongzheng 3	<i>yi si</i>	○							✓	1725		1725		
	wife Cheng Shi	Yongzheng 2	<i>jia chen</i>	○							✓	1724		1724		
9	Hau Mau	Yongzheng 3	<i>yi si</i>	○	Qianlong 24	<i>ji mao</i>	○	35	35	○	✓	1725	1759	1725	1759	34
	wife ? Shi															
10	Hei Cheung	Qianlong 25	<i>geng chen</i>	○	Daoguang 12	<i>ren chen</i>	○	73	73	○	✓	1760	1832	1760	1832	72
	wife Loh Shi	Qianlong 25	<i>geng mao</i>	×	Jiaqing 21	<i>bing zi</i>	○	57	57	○	✓	1760	1816	1760	1816	56
11	Tsuen Tsung	Qianlong 53	<i>wu shen</i>	○	Daoguang 22			55	55	○	✓	1788	1842	1788	1842	54
	wife Cheng Shi	Qianlong 52	<i>ding wei</i>	○	Tongzhi 4			79	79	○	✓	1787	1865	1787	1865	78
	concubine Tsau Shi	Qianlong 60	<i>yi mao</i>	○	Xianfeng 6			60	62	×	✓	1795	1856	1795	1856	61
12	Lai San	Jiaqing 16	<i>xin wei</i>	○	Guangxu 11			75	75	○	✓	1811	1885	1811	1885	74
	wife Tsang Shi	Jiaqing 21	<i>bing zi</i>	○	Daoguang 24			29	29	○	✓	1816	1844	1816	1844	28
	wife Wan Shi	Daoguang 6	<i>wu zi</i>	×	Minguo 7	<i>wu wu</i>		91	92	×	✓	1826	1917	1826	1917	91
12	Lai Hon	Daoguang 6	<i>bing xu</i>	○	Xianfeng 10			35	35	○	✓	1826	1860	1826	1860	34
	wife Ng Shi	Daoguang 6	<i>bing xu</i>	○							✓	1826		1826		
12	Lai Ying	Daoguang 9	<i>ji chou</i>	○	Tongzhi 5			38	38	○	✓	1829	1866	1829	1838	37
	wife Tsoi Shi	Daoguang 9	<i>ji chou</i>	○							✓	1829		1829		
12	Lai Shui	Daoguang 14	<i>jia wu</i>	○				4			✓	1834		1834	1837	3
13	Kui Nang	Daoguang 28	<i>wu shen</i>	○							✓	1848		1848		
	wife Yeung Shi	Xianfeng 1	<i>xin hai</i>	○							✓	1851		1868		
13	Kai Nang	Xianfeng 6	<i>bing chen</i>	○	Minguo 2	<i>ren zi</i>	○	57	57	○	✓	1856	1912	1856	1912	56
	wife Lei Shi	Xianfeng	<i>bing chen</i>		Minguo 9	<i>geng shen</i>		65	64		✓	1856	1919	1873	1919	63
13	Tsap Nang [†]	Xianfeng 9	<i>wu wu</i>	×		<i>ding chou</i>		20			✓	1858	1877	1858	1877	19
	daughter Cheung Fung															
	daughter Yi Kiu															
	daughter Yam Tai															
13	Chin Nang	Xianfeng 4	<i>jia yin</i>	○							✓	1854		1854		
	wife Tsang Shi															
13	Fat Nang	Xianfeng 10	<i>si</i>	×							✓	1860		1860		
	wife ? Shi															
13	Yin Nang	Xianfeng 2	<i>ren</i>	○							✓	1852		1852		
	wife Hau Shi															
13	Tsap Nang [†]	Xianfeng 8	<i>wu wu</i>	○		<i>ding chou</i>		20			✓	1859	1877	1859	1877	19
14	Yau Fu	Guangxu 7									✓	1881		1881		
	wife ? Shi															
14	Yau Kwai	Guangxu 9									✓	1883		1883		
	wife Loh Shi										✓					
14	Yung Po	Guangxu 13			Guangxu 20						✓	1887	1894	1887	1894	7
14	Tak Po	Guangxu 16			Minguo 4						✓	1890	1914	1890	1914	24
	wife Loh Shi															
14	Fuk Po	Guangxu 20									✓	1894		1894		
	daughter Tai Kiu	Guangxu 4									✓	1878		1878		
	daughter Hing Lam	Guangxu 11	<i>yi you</i>	○							✓	1885		1885		
	daughter ? ?	Guangxu 18			Guangxu 20			3			✓	1892	1894	1892	1894	2
	daughter Tsen Tai															
	daughter Man Yau	Guangxu	<i>bing shen</i>								✓	1896		1896		
14	Lung Po	Guangxu 2									✓	1876		1876		
14	Sheung Fuk	Guangxu 3									✓	1877		1877		
15	Wing Wo	Guangxu 26									✓	1900		1900		
	wife Lei Shi	Guangxu	<i>jia chen</i>								✓	1904		1904		
15	Tseuk Wo	Minguo 7	<i>wu wu</i>	×							✓	1919		1919		
15	Yiu Wo	Xuantong 1									✓	1909		1909		
15	Tai Wo	Guangxu														

Furthermore, the descriptions for the 13th and 14th generations, which are near the end of the branch's genealogical record, contain the names and birth years of eight of these daughters. I show these using italic type in the table. We can say this is the most decisive difference of the branch's genealogical record from that of the whole lineage. However, in the branch's genealogical record, descriptions of ancestors after the 13th generation seem to be written in different handwriting and some are added only as footnotes to the main body of the record in handwriting that appears to have been added hastily. All the descriptions of these eight daughters are found in such footnotes. They are by no means comprehensive data on all the daughters of lineage members in these generations; the names and the birth years are described only for the daughters of two lineage members (Lai San, who belonged to the 12th generation, and Kai Nang, who belonged to the 13th generation).

In other written genealogical records, we can sometimes find such additional information described in the footnotes attached to the end of the record's main body. Much

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of this seems to be memoranda for family members who wished to record the personal data on close kin along with the formal data included in the record. In this case of “W” lineage’s branch’s genealogical record too, footnotes were likely added by some person who kept that record to memorialize family members’ personal data. It is in these additional footnotes that the information about their daughters is recorded.

Wives	Real sons	Adopted sons	Name of sons	Father	Real father	Adopted	Girls	Name of girls	Other information
1	4	1	Hei Yau	Pong Leung	Pong Leung				
1	3	1	Hei Fu	Pong Leung	Pong Leung				
1	0	1	Hai Lung	Pong Yin	Pong Yin				
1	1	1	Tsuen Tsung	Hau Tsuen	Hau Tsuen		4		
2	4	4	Lai san, Lai Hon, Lai Ying, Lai Shui	Hei cheung	Hei cheung		1		
1	3	2	Kui Nang, Kai Nang, Tsap nang	Tsuen Tsung	Tsuen Tsung			3 Cheung Fung, Yi Kiu, Yan Tai	
1	0	0	Chin Nang, Fat Nang	Tsuen Tsung	Tsuen Tsung				
1	0	0	Yin Nang	Tsuen Tsung	Tsuen Tsung				
0	0	1	Tsap Nang*	Tsuen Tsung	Tsuen Tsung				
0	0	0							
1	5	5	Yau Fu, Yai kwai, Yung Po, Tak Po, Fuk Po	Lai San	Lai San			8 Tai Tai, Hing Lam, Tsuen Tai, Man Yau	
0	0	0			Lai San				
					Lai San				
					Lai San				
1	1	1	Lung Po	Lai Hon	Lai Hon				
1	0	0		Lai Hon	Lai Hon				Remarried to outsider
1	1	1	Sheung Fuk	Lai Ying	Lai Ying				
0	0	0		Lai Shui	Lai San	0			
1	2	2	Wing Wo, Tseuk Wo	Kai Nang	Kai Nang		1		
1	1	1	Yiu Wo	Kai Nang	Kai Nang		3		
0	0	0		Kai Nang	Kai Nang				
1	1	1	Tai Wo	Kai Nang	Kai Nang				
0	0	0		Kai Nang	Kai Nang				
					Kai Nang				
					Kai Nang				
					Kai Nang				
					Kai Nang				
0	0	0		Chin Nang	Chin Nang				
0	0	0		Yin Nang	Yin Nang				
1	0	0		Yau Fu	Yau Fu				
0	0	0		Yau Fu	Yau Fu				
0	0	0		Yau Kwai	Yau Kwai				
0	0	0		Tak Po	Tak Po				

Table 4-2. Members' average life span and average number of spouses and sons in the branch genealogy

	Total	56.6
Average life span	Male members	56.2
	Wives	57.0
	average number of spouses	1.0 *
	average number of sons	1.6 *

* Only 1st to 14th generations are calculated here.

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Table 4-3. Comparison of lineage's genealogical record and branch's

Lineage genealogy (its Tak kai branch's part)									
Generation	Name	Birth year		Death year		Death age	Number of spouses	Number of sons	Number of daughters
		Era	gan zhi	Era	gan zhi				
1	Ting Kei	Tianyou 1	ding chou	Jiajing 20	xin chou	95	1	4	3
	Tang shi	Chenghua 14	wu xu	Jiajing 20	xin chou	74			
2	Kin Kai	Hongzhi 2	ji you	Jiajing 30	xin hai	65	1	3	
	Wong Shi	Hongzhi 1	wu shen	Jiajing 32	gui chou	68			
2	Chong kai	Hongzhi 5	ren zi				0		
2	Yin Kai	Hongzhi 8	yi mao	Jiajing 41	ren xu	68	1	4	
	Wong shi	Hongzhi 10	ding si	Jiajing 41	ren xu	66			
2	Tak Kai	Zhengde 5	gengwu	Wanli 24	bing shen	83	1	2	3
	Wong Shi	Zhengde 4	ji si	Longqing 2	wu chen	60			
3	Tsz hong	Jiajing 28	ji you	Wanli 40	ren zi	64	1	2	
	Lei Shi	Jiajing 31	ren zi	Wanli 42	jia yin	63			
3	Chek Yan	Jiajing 31	ren zi	Wanli 42	jia yin	63	1	1	
	Yuen Shi	Jiajing 34	yi mao	Wanli 42	jia yin				
4	Tsam Kwong	Lungqing 6	ren shen	Chongzhen 10	ding chou	67	1	1	1
	Nip Shi	Wanli 5	ding chou	Chongzhen 10	ding chou	62			
4	Tsam Tsoi	Wanli 3	yi hai	Chongzhen 12	ji mao	65	1	2	
	Ng Shi	Wanli 9	xin si	Chongzhen 15	ren wu	62			
4	Sz Yan	Wanli 10	ren wu	Chongzhen 17	jia shen	63	1	2	
	Lok Shi	Wanli 15	ding hai	ShunZhi 8	ren chen	66			
5	Chi Chung	Wanli 28	gengzi	ShunZhi 5	ji chou	54	1	0	
	Hoh Shi	Wanli 34	bing wu	ShunZhi 10	jia wu	53			
5	Chi Wa	Wanli 33	yi si	ShunZhi 3	ding hai	43	1	1	
	Chan Shi	Wanli 32	jia chen	ShunZhi 10	yi wei	51			
5	Chi Tsan						0		
5	Chi Yiu	Wanli 36		ShunZhi 10	jia wu	47	2	1	
	Ng Shi								
	Tsoi Shi								
5	Chi Lai						1	0	
	? Shi								
6	Ying Tou	Chongzhen 2	ji si	Kangxi 21	ren xu	58	1	1	
	Chan Shi	Chongzhen 5	ren shen	Kangxi 14	yi mao	48			
6	Ying Tsun	Chongzhen 6	gui you	Kangxi 20	xin you	53	1	3	
	Hoh Shi	Chongzhen 10	ding chou	Kangxi 31	ren shen	60			
6	Ying Lung	Chongzhen 15		Kangxi 60	xin chou	80	1	4	
	Mok Shi	Shunzhi 3	ding hai	Kangxi 53	jia wu	68			
7	Wan Pan	Shunzhi 10	jia wu	Kangxi 57	wu xu	66	2	1	
	Hui Shi	Shunzhi 9	gui si	Kangxi 28	ji si	38			
	Cheng Shi	Shunzhi 15	ji hai	Kangxi 46	ding hai	50			
7	Ying Pan	Shunzhi 5	ji chou	Kangxi 50			1	1	
	Tsoi Shi	Shunzhi 16		Kangxi 60					
7	Tsz Pan	Shunzhi 16	gengzi	Yongzheng 1	gui mao	65	1	2	
	Chan Shi	Kangxi 1	ren yin	Kangxi 51		51			
7	Laung Pan	Kangxi 1	ren yin	Kangxi 58			1	2	
	Ng Shi	Kangxi 2	gui mao	Kangxi 59					
7	Shung Man	Kangxi 10	xin hai	Yongzheng 10	ren zi	60	1	2	
	Wong Shi	Kangxi 20	xin you	Qianlong 9	jia zi	60			
7	Shung Yau	Kangxi 20	xin you	Qianlong 4	ji wei	59	1	5	
	Yuen Shi	Kangxi 21	ren shen	Qianlong 21	bing zi	65			
7	Shung Yue	Kangxi 23	jia zi	Qianlong 14	ji si	66	1	4	
	Hau Shi	Kangxi 32	gui you	Qianlong 15	gengwu	58			
7	Shung Chung	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 11	bing zi	61	2	2	
	Ng Shi	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Yongzheng 2	jia chen	28			
	Cheung Shi	Kangxi 32	gui hai	Qianlong 20	yi hai	65			
8	Pong Leung	Kangxi 20	xin you	Qianlong 3	wu wu	58	1	6	
	Lai Shi	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 3	wu wu	53			
8	Pong Yin	Kangxi 27	wu chen				1	1	
	Mak Shi	Kangxi 28	ji si						
8	Pong On	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 12	ding mao	62	1	4	
	Tsoi Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi	Qianlong 11	bing yin	50			
8	Pong Yan	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 14	ji si	64	1	0	
	Leung Shi	Kangxi 28	ji chen	Qianlong 15	gengwu	62			
8	Pong Tsuen	Kangxi 41	ren wu	Qianlong 24	ji mao	58	1	1	
	Tsang Shi	Kangxi 46	ding hai	Qianlong 17	ren shen	46			
8	Pong Shing	Kangxi 32	gui hai	Qianlong 19	jia xu	62	1	1	
	Wong Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi	Qianlong 20	yi hai	60			
8	Pong mei	Kangxi 36	ding chou	Qianlong 27	ren wu	66	1	2	
	Yung Shi	Kangxi 42	gui wei	Qianlong 23	wu yin	56			
8	Pong Sau	Kangxi 55	bing shen	Qianlong 40	yi wei	60	1	5	
	Tze Shi	Kangxi 55	bing shen	Qianlong 46	xin chou	66			
8	Pong Cheung	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Qianlong 48	xin chou	61	1	0	
	Cheng Shi	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 46	xin chou	60			
8	Pong Hau	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 53	wu shen	65	1	2	
	Yuen Shi	Kangxi 65	xin chou	Qianlong 53	wu shen	67			
8	Pong Ping	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Qianlong 50	ji si	65	1	3	
	Yeung Shi	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 54	ji you	55			
8	Pong Sik	Yongzheng 4	bing wu	Qianlong 52	ding wei	62	1	3	
	Leung shi	Yongzheng 3	yi si	Qianlong 50	yi si	61			
8	Pong Mong	Yongzheng 7	ji you	Qianlong 50	ji you	61	1	0	

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Genealogy of Tak Kai branch

Generation	Name	Birth year		Death year		Death age	Number of spouses	Number of sons	Number of daughters
		Era	gan zhi	Era	gan zhi				
1	Ting Kei	Tianyou 1	ding chou	Jiajing 20	xin chou	95	1	4	
	Tang shi	Chenghua 14	wu xu	Jiajing 20		74			
2	Kin Kai								
2	Chong kai								
2	Yin Kai								
2	Tak Kai	Zhengde 5	geng wu	Wanli 24	bing shen	83	1	2	3
	Wong Shi	Zhengde 4	ji si	Longqing 2	wu chen	60			
3	Tsz hong	Jiajing 28	ji you	Wanli 40	ren zi	64	1	2	1
	Lei Shi	Jiajing 31	ren zi	Wanli 42	jia yin	63			
3	Chek Yan	Jiajing 31	ren zi	Wanli 40			1	1	
	Yuen Shi	Jiajing 34	yi mao	Wanli 42					
4	Tsam Kwong	Lungqing 6	ren shen	Chongzhen 10	ding chou	67	1	1	1
	Nip Shi	Wanli 5	ding chou	Chongzhen 10		62			
4	Tsam Tsoi	Wanli 3	yi hai				1	2	
	Ng Shi	Wanli 9	xin si	Chongzhen 15	ren wu	62			
4	Sz Yan	Wanli 10	ren wu	Chongzhen 10	jia shen	63	1	2	
	Lok Shi	Wanli 15	ding hai	ShunZhi 8	ren chen	66			
5	Chi Chung	Wanli 28	geng zi	ShunZhi 5	ji chou	54	1	1	3
	Hoh Shi	Wanli 34	bing wu	ShunZhi 10	jia wu	55			
5	Chi Wa	Wanli 33	yi si	ShunZhi 3	ding hai		1	1	
	Chan Shi	Wanli 32	jia chen	ShunZhi 10	yi wei				
5	Chi Tsan						0		
5	Chi Yiu	Wanli 36		ShunZhi 18			2	1	
	Ng Shi								
	Tsoi Shi								
5	Chi Lai						1	0	
	? Shi								
6	Ying Tou	Chongzhen 2		Kangxi 21	ren xu	58	1	1	
	Chan Shi	Chongzhen 5	ren shen	Kangxi 14	yi mao	48			
6	Ying Tsun	Chongzhen 6	gui you	Kangxi 20		53	1	3	
	Hoh Shi	Chongzhen 8	ding chou	Kangxi 31	ren shen	60			
6	Ying Lung	Chongzhen 15		Kangxi 60			1	4	
	Mok Shi	Shunzhi 3	ding hai	Kangxi 48					
7	Wan Pan	Shunzhi 10	jia wu	Kangxi 57	wu xu	66	2	2	2
	Hui Shi	Shunzhi 9	gui si	Kangxi 28	ji si	38			
	Cheng Shi	Shunzhi 15	ji hai	Kangxi 46	ding hai	50			
7	Ying Pan	Shunzhi 5	ji chou	Kangxi 50			1	1	
	Tsoi Shi	Shunzhi 16		Kangxi 60					
7	Tsz Pan	Shunzhi 16	geng zi	Yongzheng 1	gui mao	65	1	2	
	Chan Shi	Kangxi 1	ren yin	Kangxi 51		51			
7	Laung Pan	Kangxi 1	ren yin	Kangxi 58			1	2	
	Ng Shi	Kangxi 2	gui mao	Kangxi 59					
7	Shung Man	Kangxi 10	xin hai	Yongzheng 10	ren zi	62	1	2	
	Wong Shi	Kangxi 20	xin you	Yongzheng 9	jia zi	62			
7	Shung Yau	Kangxi 20	xin you	Qianlong 4	ji wei	59	1	5	
	Yuen Shi	Kangxi 21	ren shen	Qianlong 21	bing zi	65			
7	Shung Yue	Kangxi 23	jia zi	Qianlong 14		66	1	4	
	Hau Shi	Kangxi 32	gui you	Qianlong 15	geng wu	58			
7	Shung Chun	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 61	bing zi	61	2	2	
	Ng Shi	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Yongzheng 2	jia chen	28			
	Cheung Shi	Qianlong 32	gui hai	Qianlong 20	yi hai	65			
8	Pong Leung	Kangxi 20	xin you	Qianlong 3	wu wu	58	1	6	2
	Lai Shi	Kangxi 20	bing yin	Qianlong 3	wu wu	53			
8	Pong Yin	Kangxi 27	wu chen				1	1	
	Mak Shi	Kangxi 28	ji si						
8	Pong On	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 12	ding mao	62	1	4	
	Tsoi Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi	Qianlong 11	bing yin				
8	Pong Yan	Kangxi 25	bing yin	Qianlong 14	ji si	64	1	2	
	Leung Shi	Kangxi 28	ji si	Qianlong 15	geng wu	62			
8	Pong Tsuen	Kangxi 40	ren wu	Qianlong 24			1	1	
	Tsang Shi	Kangxi 46	? hai	Qianlong 37	ren shen				
8	Pong Shing	Kangxi 32	gui hai	Qianlong 29	jia xu	62	1	1	
	Wong Shi	Kangxi 35	bing zi	Qianlong 20	yi hai	60			
8	Pong mei	Kangxi 36	ding chou	Qianlong 27	ren wu	66	1	2	
	Yung Shi	Kangxi 42	gui wei	Qianlong 23	wu yin	56			
8	Pong Sau	Kangxi 55	bing shen	Qianlong 40		60	1	5	
	Tze Shi	Kangxi 55	bing shen	Qianlong 46	xin chou	60			
8	Pong Cheun	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Qianlong 48	xin chou	61	1	0	
	Cheng Shi	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 46	xin chou				
8	Pong Hau	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 38	gui si	65	1	2	
	Yuen Shi	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Qianlong 53	wu shen	67			
8	Pong Ping	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Qianlong 50	ji si	65	1	3	
	Yeung Shi	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 54	ji you	68			
8	Pong Sik	Yongzheng 4	bing wu	Qianlong 52	ding wei	62	1	3	
	Leung shi	Yongzheng 3	yi si	Qianlong 50	yi si	61			
8	Pong Mong	Yongzheng 7	ji you	Qianlong 54	ji you	61	1	0	

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	Wong Shi							
8	Pong Ying	Yongzheng 13	yi mao	Jiaqing 12	ding mao	73	1	2
	Yeung Shi	Qianlong 2	ding si	Jiaqing 1	bing chen	60		
8	Pong Sau	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 58	gui chou	76	1	1
	Chan Shi	Yongzheng 3	yi si	Jiaqing 5	gengshen	76		
8	Pong Wai	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 49	yi wei	54	1	3
	Lau Shi	Yongzheng 2	jia chen	Qianlong 49	jia chen	61		
8	Pong Tso	Yongzheng 7	ji you	Jiaqing 6	xin you	73	3	0
	Tsui Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei	Qianlong 23	wu yin	20		
	Leung Shi	Qianlong 7	ren xu	Qianlong 36	xin mao	30		
	Tang Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei	Jiaqing 18	gui you	75		
8	Pong Lui	Yongzheng					2	2
	Mak Shi							
	Wong Shi							
8	Pong Kit	Yongzheng 5	ding wei	Jiaqing 2	ding si	71	1	2
	Tsang Shi	Yongzheng 5	ding wei	Jiaqing 9	jia zi	78		
8	Pong Chue						3	1
	Lam Shi							
	Lok Shi							
	Chan Shi	Qianlong 3	wu si	Jiaqing 15	gengwu	73		
9	Hau Pan	Kangxi 45	bing xu	Qianlong 50	yi si	80	1	1
	Lok Shi	Kangxi 44	yi you	Qianlong 23	wu yin	64		
9	Hau Kui	Kangxi 48	ji chou	Qianlong 25	gengchen	52	1	0
	Leung Shi	Kangxi 47	wu zi					
9	Hau Shi	Kangxi 50	xin mao	Qianlong 29	jia shen	53	1	2
	Tsui Shi	Kangxi 49	gengyin	Qianlong 31	bing xu	57		
9	Hau Tsuen	Kangxi 58	ji hai	Qianlong 27	ren wu	44	2	1
	Tsang Shi	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 2	ding chou	20		
	Lei Shi	Kangxi 59	gengzi	Qianlong 7	ren xu	22		
	Wong Shi							
9	Hau Hang	Kangxi 61	ren yin	Qianlong 57	ren zi	71	1	4
	Lam Shi	Kangxi 60	xin chou	Jiaqing 6	xin you			
9	Hau Chue	Yongzheng 3	yi si				1	3
	Cheng Shi	Yongzheng 2	jia chen					
9	Hau Mau	Yongzheng 3	yi si	Qianlong 24	ji mao	35	1	0
	? Shi							
10	Hei Cheung	Qianlong 25	gengchen	Daoguang 12	ren chen	73	1	1
	Loh Shi	Qianlong 25	gengmao	Jiaqing 21	bing zi	57		
11	Tsuen Tsung	Qianlong 53	wu shen				2	4
	Cheng Shi	Qianlong 52	ding wei					
	Tsau Shi	Qianlong 60	yi mao					
12	Lai San	Jiaqing 16	xin wei				1	0
	Tsang Shi							
	Yin Shi							
12	Lai Hon	Daoguang 6	bing xu				1	0
	Ng Shi	Daoguang 6	bing xu					
12	Lai Ying	Daoguang 9	ji chou				1	0
	Tsoi Shi							
12	Lai Shui	Daoguang 14	jia wu				0	0

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	Wong Shi								
8	Pong Ying	Yongzheng 13	yi mao	Jiaqing 12	ding mao	73	1	2	
	Yeung Shi	Qianlong 2	ding si	Jiaqing 1	bing chen	60			
8	Pong Sau	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 58	gui chou	76	1	1	
	Chan Shi	Yongzheng 3	yi si	Jiaqing 5	geng shen	76			
8	Pong Wai	Yongzheng 3	jia chen	Qianlong 49	yi wei	54	1	3	
	Lau Shi	Yongzheng 2	jia chen	Qianlong 45	jia chen	61			
8	Pong Tso	Yongzheng 7	ji you	Jiaqing 6	xin you	73	3	0	
	Tsui Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei	Qianlong 23	wu yin				
	Leung Shi	Qianlong 7	ren xu	Qianlong 36	xin mao				
	Tang Shi	Qianlong 4	ji wei	Jiaqing 18	gui you	75			
8	Pong Lui	Yongzheng					2	2	
	Mak Shi								
	Wong Shi								
8	Pong Kit	Yongzheng					1	2	
	Tsang Shi								
8	Pong Chue	Yongzheng 7	ji wei	Qianlong	geng wu	69	3		
	Lam Shi								
	Lok Shi								
	Chan Shi	Qianlong 3	wu wu	Jiaqing 15	geng wu	73			
9	Hau Pan	Kangxi 45	bing xu	Qianlong 50	yi si	80	1	2	
	Lok Shi	Kangxi 44	yi you	Qianlong 23	wu yin	64			
9	Hau Kui	Kangxi 48	ji chou				1	0	
	Leung Shi	Kangxi 47	wu zi						
9	Hau Shi	Kangxi 50	xin mao				1	2	
	Tsui Shi	Kangxi 49	geng yin						
9	Hau Tsuen	Kangxi 58	yi hai	Qianlong 27	ren wu	44	3	1	3
	Tsang Shi	Kangxi 57	wu xu	Qianlong 2	ding chou	20			
	Lei Shi	Kangxi 59		Qianlong 7					
	Wong Shi	Yongzheng 4	bing wu		ding si	72			
9	Hau Hang	Kangxi 61	ren yin				1	4	
	Lam Shi	Kangxi 60	xin chou						
9	Hau Chue	Yongzheng 3	yi si				1	3	
	Cheng Shi	Yongzheng 2	jia chen						
9	Hau Mau	Yongzheng						0	
	? Shi								
10	Hei Cheung	Qianlong 25	geng chen		ren chen	73	1	1	4
	Loh Shi	Qianlong 25	geng chen		bing zi	57			
11	Tsuen Tsun	Qianlong 53	wu shen	Daoguang 22		55	2	4	1
	Cheng Shi	Qianlong 52	ding wei	Tongzhi 4		79			
	Tsau Shi	Qianlong 60	yi mao	Xianfeng 6		50			
12	Lai San	Jiaqing 16	xin wei	Guangxu 11		75	2	3	2
	Tsang Shi	Jiaqing 21	bing zi	Daoguang 24		29			
	Yin Shi	Daoguang 6	wu zi	Minguo 7	wu wu	91			
12	Lai Hon	Daoguang 6	bing xu	Xianfeng 10		35	1	2	
	Ng Shi	Daoguang 6	bing xu						
12	Lai Ying	Daoguang 9	ji chou	Tongzhi 5		38	1	1	
	Tsoi Shi	Daoguang 9	ji chou						
12	Lai Shui	Daoguang 14	jia wu			4	0	0	
13	Kui Nang		wu shen				1	0	
	Yeung Shi		xin hai						
13	Kai Nang		bing chen	Minguo 2	ren zi	57	1	5	8
	Lei Shi		bing chen	Minguo 9	geng shen	65			
13	Tsap Nang		wu wu		ding chou	20	0	0	
	<i>Cheung Fung</i>								
	<i>Yi Kiu</i>								
	<i>Yan Tai</i>								
13	Chin Nang		jia yin				1	1	
	Tsang Shi								
13	Fat Nang		si				1	0	
	? Shi								
13	Yin Lung		ren				1	1	
	Hau Shi								
13	Tsap Nang+		wu wu		ding chou	20	0	0	
14	Yau Fu						1	2	1
	? Shi								
14	Yau Kwai						1	1	3
	Loh Shi								
14	Yung Po			Guangfxu 20			0	0	
14	Tak po			Minguo 4			1	1	
	Loh Shi								
14	Fuk Po						0	0	
	<i>Tai Kiu</i>								
	<i>Hing Lam</i>		yi you						
	??			Guangxu 20					
	<i>Tsuen Tai</i>								
	<i>Man Yau</i>		bing shen						
14	Lung Po						0	0	
14	Sheung Fuk						0	0	
15	Wing Wo						1	0	
	Lei Shi		jia chen						
15	Tseuk Wo		wu wu				0	0	
15	Yiu Wo						0	0	
15	Tai Wo						0	0	

different parts from lineage genealogy

Such entries including the personal data on daughters are often found in the written genealogical books compiled in the modern era, and especially in those edited in recent years. Therefore, it is easy to suppose that these footnotes on the daughters are also the precursors of such modernist treatment of women in the genealogical record. However, it seems to me a little too hasty to conclude that the differences between these two genealogical records are proof of changes in genealogical concepts or the result of modernization that might have occurred between the compilation of the lineage's genealogical record and that of the branch's genealogical record. Although the lineage's record is thought to have been compiled as a formal record of the lineage history, that of the branch seems to have a more informal character because it refers to branch members' private matters. We can suppose that, even in the pre-modern era, written genealogical records compiled by branches or members of individual family units had function including recording of private information and they should contrast the formal nature of the genealogical books compiled by lineages as corporate groups. It is possible that such different uses of genealogical records formally compiled by large scale descent groups and those privately recorded by small kin groups might also be common in the pre-modern era.

Of course, as there were only limited literate people among the ordinary people in the pre-modern era, it is unlikely that such private documents on the genealogical data of small family units were popular throughout the countryside of pre-modern China. However, at least in the case of "W" lineage, which was an ordinary lineage comprising only non-elite members, both the genealogical record of the whole lineage and that of a branch existed simultaneously and they seemed to have slightly different characteristics and roles. It is also presumable that the latter was used as a source material when the former was compiled by the lineage⁶⁸. In the process of the lineage's genealogical record's compilation, information that was regarded as too private or informal to include in the lineage's record might be omitted from it. Such information as the number, names and birth years of their daughters were probably regarded as private and informal matters by the compilers of the lineage's genealogical record.

Therefore, it seems that the inclusion of some daughters' data in the branch's genealogical record did not necessarily represent a modernized way of thinking or a change in the social roles of women, although such a change did actually occur in the latter half of the 20th century. Rather, it may simply reflect the informal nature of the branch's genealogical record.

4-2 Family Composition traced through the Branch's Genealogical Record

In this section, I analyze the family compositions and life stages of the members

⁶⁸ It is said that ancestral tablets placed in the ancestral halls or individual family alters, oral traditions about the ancestors' achievements, and donors' lists in lineage's corporate activities were often used as source materials in the compilation of written genealogical records [Faure 1986: 60-65].

whose life stages were recorded in the branch's genealogical record, just as I have analyzed those of the lineage members recorded in the lineage's genealogical book in Chapters 2 and 3. Here, I examine in detail the data on branch members belonging to the 13th to 15th generations, which were presumably recorded in the branch's genealogical record after the lineage's had ended.

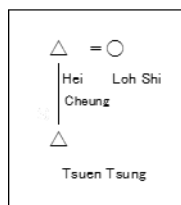
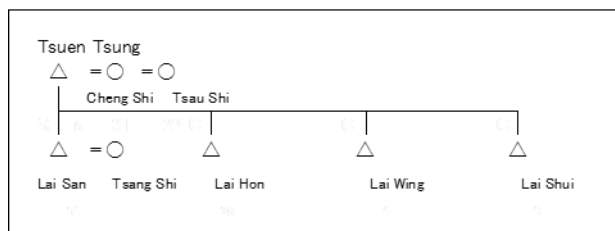
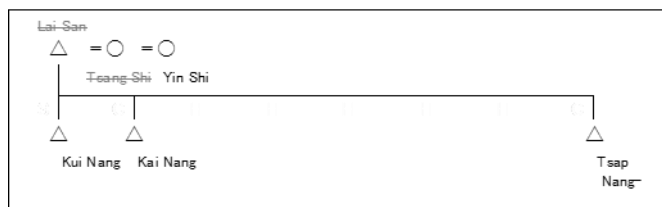
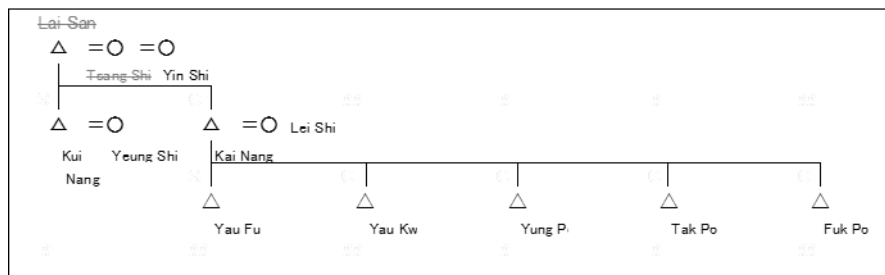
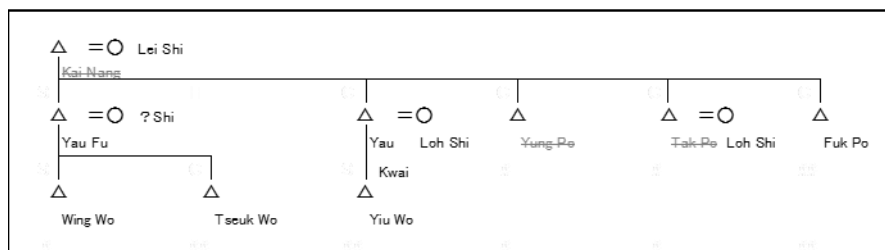
Although the branch's genealogical record comprises descendants of the founding ancestor's fourth son Tak Kai, as I showed in Table 4-1, after the 10th generation, only the descendants of Hau Tsuen are recorded. The family units to which Tsuen Tsung (Hau Tsuen's grandson) and his descendants belonged at different timepoints are shown in Figs. 4-2-1 to 4-2-5. Table 4-2-1 shows Tsen Tsung's *jiazu* unit at 4:00 am on December 12th, 1788, when he was born. At that time, as Hau Tsuen and his wife had already died, their *jiazu* unit was an elementary family unit that comprised Hei Cheung, his wife Loh Shi, and the newly-born Tsuen Tsung.

Tsuen Tsung married his wife Cheng Shi around 1807 and took a concubine, Chau Shi, around 1815. Cheng Shi bore two sons, Lai San and Lai Hon. Chau Shi also bore two sons, Lai Wing and Lai Shui. The composition of their *jiazu* unit at 10:00 am on July 21st, 1834 when the youngest son Lai Shui was born, was as shown in Table 4-2-2. As the oldest son, Lai San, had already married, their *jiazu* unit was a stem family. Tsuen Tsung passed away in 1842 aged 54, but his wife and his concubine survived their husband for many years. Cheng Shi died in 1865 aged 78.

Tsuen Tsung's oldest son, Lai San, and his wife Tsang Shi had two sons. The first son, Kui Nang, was born in 1848 and the second, Kai Nang, was born in 1856. Tsuen Tsung's second son, Lai Hon, married Ng Shi around 1845 and their son Chin Nang was born in 1854. Tsuen Tsung's third son, Lai Wing, married Tsoi Shi around 1850 and their son Yin Nang was born in the years following this. Tsuen Tsung's fourth son, Lai Shui, died in 1837 aged just 3. After Lai San had his third son, Tsap Nang, in 1859, Tsap Nang was adopted by his deceased uncle Lai Shui to succeed his descent. I show the composition of their *jiazu* unit at 10:00 pm on January 13th, 1859, when Tsap Nang was born, in Table 4-2-3. It was a collateral extended family *jiazu* that comprised Tsuen Tsung's widow Cheng Shi, Lai San, Lai Hon, Lai Wing, and their wives and sons.

Lai Hon died in 1860 aged 34 and Tsap Nang, who succeeded Lai Shui, died unmarried at 19. Furthermore, Tsuen Tsung's wife Cheng Shi passed away in 1865 aged 78. This brought the final dissolution of the late Tsuen Tsung's *jiazu* unit, which resulted in the independence of the *jiazu* unit headed by Lai San. In his *jiazu* unit, both his oldest and second sons, Kui Nang and Kai Nang, married. Kai Nang had two sons, of whom the older, Yau Fu, was born in 1881 and the younger, Yau Kwai, was born in 1883. Lai San died in 1885 aged 74, but his widow Wan Shi survived him until her death in 1917 aged 91. Therefore, a cooperative relationship among the members of Lai San's *jiazu* unit was presumably maintained while Wan Shi was alive. Meanwhile, Kai Nang had three more sons, Yung Po, Tak Po, and Fuk Po. In Table 4-2-4, I show the composition of Wan Shi's *jiazu* unit at 6:00 am on September 28th, 1894 when Kai Nang's youngest son, Fuk Po, was born. It was a large collateral extended family comprising Wan Shi, her oldest son Kui Nang, Kui Nang's wife, Wan Shi's second son Kai Nang, Kai Nang's wife, and his five sons.

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Fig. 4-2-1. Composition of Hei Cheung's *jiazu* unit at 4:00 am of December 12th, 1788Fig. 4-2-2. Composition of Tsuen Tsung's *jiazu* unit at 10:00 am of July 21st, 1834Fig. 4-2-3. Composition of Lai San's wife Yin Shi's *jiazu* at 10:00 pm of December 10th, 1859Fig. 4-2-4. Composition of Lai San's wife Yin Shi's *jiazu* at 6:00 am of September 28th, 1894Fig. 4-2-5. Composition of Kai Nang's wife Lei Shi's *jiazu* at 2:00 pm of January 23rd, 1919

Among Kai Nang's five sons, the first, Yau Fu, second, Yau Kwai, and fourth, Tak Po, married and had sons. Kai Nang died in 1912 aged 56. In principle, Kai Nang's *jiazu* unit should have been dissolved following Kai Nang's death, but again, as his widow Lei Shi remained alive for some years, cooperation among the family members was probably maintained for that period. In 1919, Yau Fu's second son, Tseuk Wo, was born. In Table 4-2-5, I show the composition of this *jiazu* unit at 2:00 pm on January 23rd, 1919 when Tseuk

Wo was born. As Kai Nang's third son, Yung Po, died aged just 7 and his fourth son, Tak Po, died in 1914 aged 24, their *jiazu* unit was a collateral extended family comprising Kai Nang's widow Lei Shi, Yau Fu, Yau Fu's wife and sons, Yau Kwai, Yau Kwai's wife and son, the young widow of Tak Po, and still-unmarried Fuk Po.

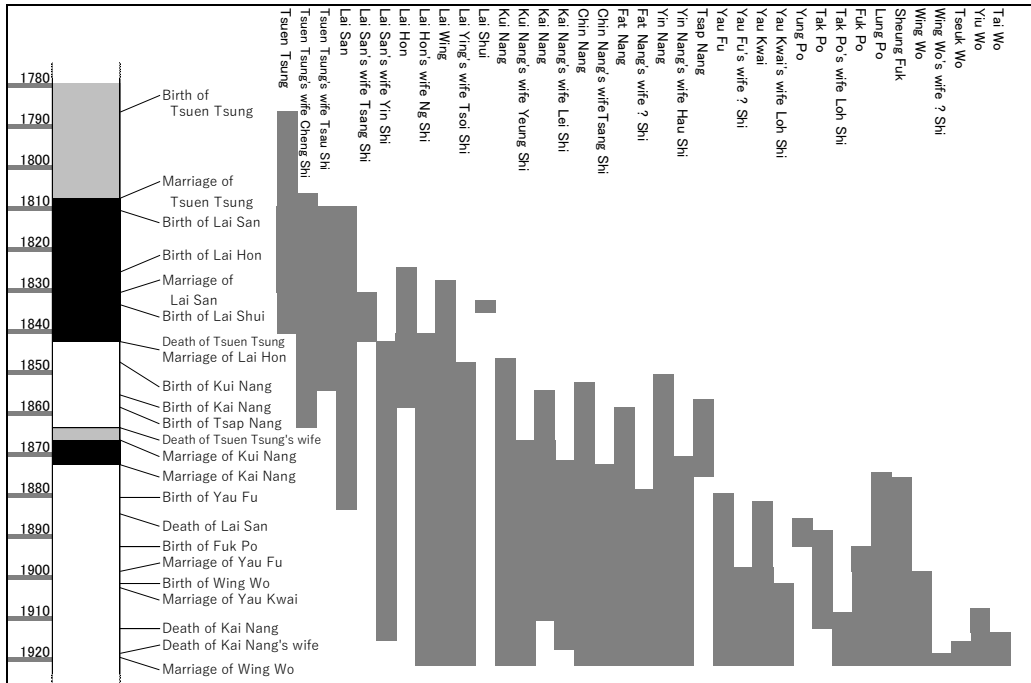


Fig. 4-3. Shift of family composition in the Tsuen Tsung - Wing Wo family line

In Table 4-3, I show the changing family types for Tsen Tsung's family line from his birth in 1788 to the end of the branch's genealogical record around 1920. I also show the life stages of 37 members of this family line in Table 4-4. As these figures show, although Tsuen Tsung died aged 54, his wife and concubine bore four sons between them and his wife Cheng Shi lived for 78 years. Meanwhile, her sons married and a collateral extended family *jiazu* unit was achieved. After Cheng Shi died, the *jiazu* unit was dissolved into independent units headed by her sons. Among them, Lai San had three sons and his second wife Wan Shi lived for 91 years, during which time a large collateral extended family unit appeared again. Then, in the next generation, Kai Nang had five sons and his wife Lei Shi survived him for years, so a collateral extended family *jiazu* existed again. In the case of this family line, survived wives' long lives likely contributed to the maintenance of cooperative relationships among their sons' family units even after the fathers' deaths. It is estimated that, in this family line, the *jiazu* units were collateral extended families for 70 years, about half of the period from Tsuen Tsung's birth to the end of the branch's genealogical record.

Of course, this estimation is based on the supposition that a husband's *jiazu* unit was not completely dissolved following his death if his widow was alive and that there was a transitional phase toward the independence of their sons' *jiazu* units until the widow died.

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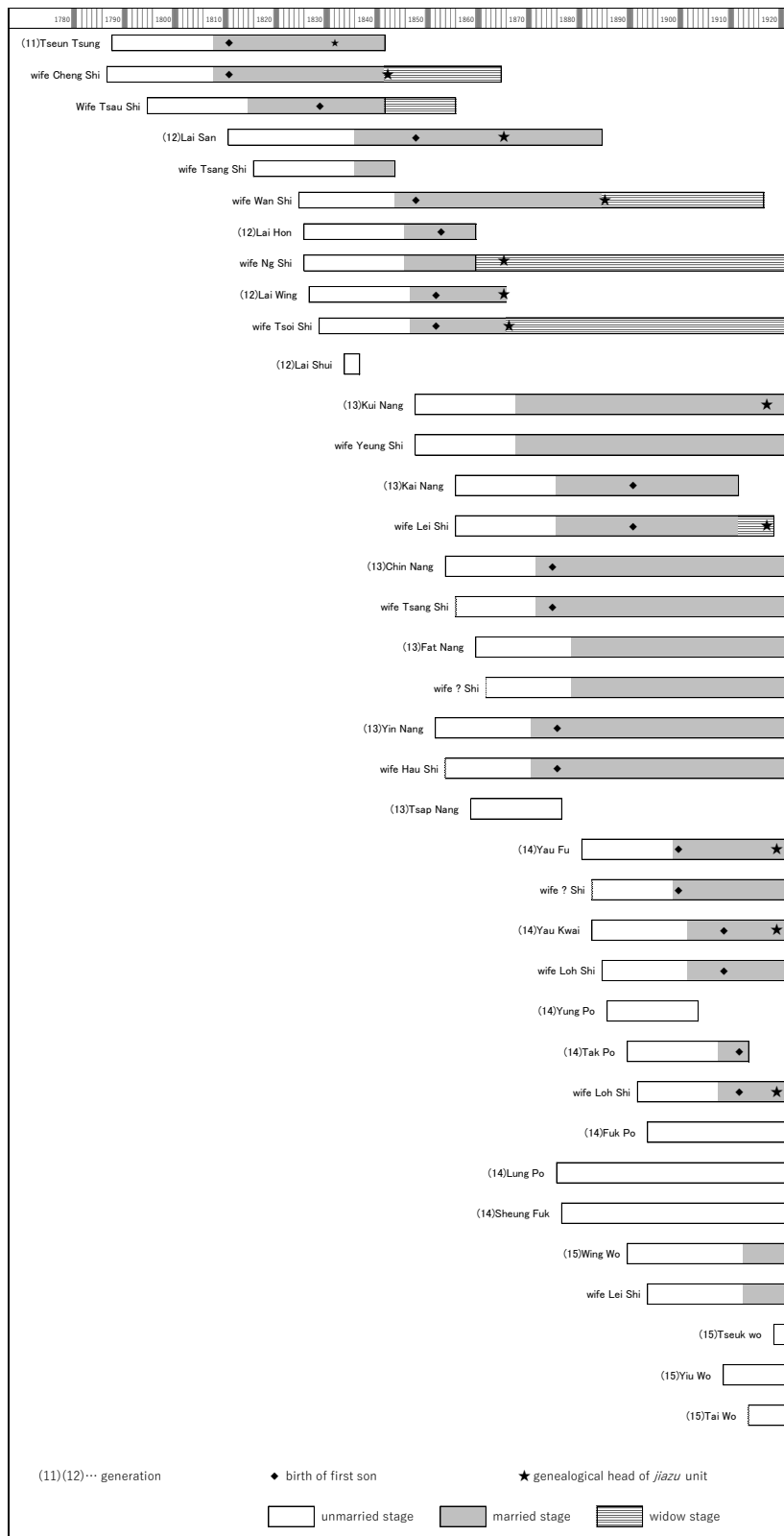


Fig. 4-4. Life stages of Tsuen Tsung's descendants

Although in actual cases the division of the father's property and residence may have occurred soon after the father's death or even before it, it is presumed that some cooperative relationship remained necessary in regard to the mother's care and ritual activities for their deceased father. If I regard a *jiazu* unit as able to exist only for the lifetime of its male head, the figure in the above estimation becomes 23 years, or 16.4 percent of this family line's total history.

Anyway, members included in the branch's genealogical record had comparatively many descendants from the 13th to 15th generations, even though some members died under the age of 10 while unmarried or died in their 20s after marrying. In this period, the branch seemed to be on its expansive stage. As I noted in Footnote 7 of Chapter 2, in the lineage's genealogical record, members who died as infants were usually not recorded. However, the branch's genealogical record contains a record of Lai Shui, who belonged to the 12th generation, who died as young as 3, and Yung Po, who belonged to the 14th generation, who died aged 7. The branch's genealogical record's characteristic as an informal memorandum of the branch members' private matters enables us to know about these members who died in childhood.

Among the cases that were added to the branch's genealogical record after the lineage's record ended, there was only one case of *chengji* adoption. As I mentioned above, Lai San's third son, Tsap Nang, was adopted by his uncle Lai Shui, who had died aged 3. This adoption was conducted after the death of the foster father, because Tsap Nang was born in 1859, 22 years after Lai Shui's death. Although both Lai Shui's father Tsuen Tsung and his birth mother Tsou Shi, who was his father's concubine, had already died, his father's formal wife Cheng Shi was still alive when Tsap Nang was born. We do not know who arranged Tsap Nang's adoption by an infant who died more than two decades earlier, but it is possible that Tsuen Tsung's widow Cheng Shi played a role. As we can see from the analyses in Chapters 2 and 3, it was not unusual for *chengji* adoptions to be arranged for ancestors who died as *yaozu*, or those who died young and unmarried⁶⁹. However, the practice of succession of the descent lines of family members who died in childhood was not always undertaken. In earlier generations, the lineage's genealogical record reports few cases of this, and these were especially rare for those who died under the age of 15.

Unlike those ancestors who followed the desirable life course in which one married and obtained male descendants to succeed his descent line, those who experienced such situations as *yaozu* (young death), *weipinshi* (unmarried death) or *wusi* (death without successors) were regarded as deviants from the desirable flow of life, which originated in the ancestors and flowed through the descendants. Compilers of the genealogical record had two measures to cope with these deviant ancestors: to neglect them by excluding them from the record and to find someone to succeed to their descent or conduct ancestor worship through adoption or *fuyi*. Because there are few cases in which the adoption or the entrusting of ancestor worship was practiced for infant members who died under the age of 10, it seems usual that the first measure was taken for such young dead. However, as in the case of Lai Shui described above, some ancestors who died very

⁶⁹ Examples I showed in Figs. 3-87 to 3-100 in Section 3-3-1 are such cases.

young were also succeeded by their adopted sons after their deaths. This means that these young ancestors who might otherwise be neglected in the genealogical record were actually restored to some traceable existence by having their lives included in the lineage history.

In such efforts, it may be possible to infer parents' affection or attachment for children who died too young⁷⁰. However, it seems more important to note that the arrangement of adoption for deceased infants created a representative who continuously reminded lineage mates of the deceased. Instead of letting them be forgotten by erasing any trace of them from the record, family members tried to inscribe the names of deceased infants into people's memories thorough adoption; once their descent was succeeded by adopted descendants, the proof of their existence would be transferred from one generation to the next. In this sense, this action of arranging the adoption is similar to the establishment of incorruptible stone tablets in their tombs. Descendants are the ultimate symbols that represent ancestors' existence because people in later generations can recognize that the ancestors existed through their living successors who are their physical representations.

In principle, there should be as many segments as sons born under an ancestor and the tracks of these segments would continue to be inscribed in the genealogical record regardless of whether they had their own descendants. However, in reality, people in later days could often recognize these ancestors or their segments through the existence of their living descendants. If there were no living descendants of an ancestor, it would be difficult to have a concrete recognition on that ancestor. Ancestors who had no successors to their descent nor trustees of their ancestor worship and only whose names were recorded in the genealogical record are little more than legends for people. Therefore, there may be gaps between the lineage structure recorded in the genealogical book and the actual social relationships among living descendants who shared lives.

In the case of Lai Shui, who died aged 3, his adopted son Tsap Nang, who succeeded Lai Shui's descent more than 20 years after his death, died in 1877 aged 19 while unmarried and without descendants. By his death, the attempt of surviving close kin to secure a successor to Lai Shui's descent ended in failure. However, still we can say that through the adoption of Lai Shui, a boy who died in infancy could be recorded as an ancestor who even had a son. In that sense, family members' wish to leave some trace of his existence in the lineage history was halfway carried out.

4-3 The Branch's Genealogical Record and Common Properties of its Segments

In the previous sections, I analyzed the branch's genealogical record mainly from the viewpoint of family structure and identified its characteristic features. However,

⁷⁰ For example, Tsap Nang's adoption was arranged for Lai Shui more than twenty years after his death, when Lai Shi's real parents had already died. As noted above, Lai Shui's foster mother Cheng Shi likely arranged the adoption; therefore, we should presume in this case a motivation other than parents' affection or grief.

differences between the branch's and whole lineage's genealogical records are not confined to descriptions of female family members and infants. Another important difference is in the reference to the corporate ownership of property within the branch⁷¹. For example, in the branch's genealogical record, we find the following description attached to the record of Tak Kai, who belonged to the second generation and was the founder of the branch.

In the 9th year of Daoguang (1829), we purchased land at ××× under the name of three descendants, Ying Tou, Ying Lung, and Ying Tsun. It is land of below-average fertility that can yield 26 *shis* of grain and of which tax duty amounts to two *dous* and eight *hes*. The three parties who commonly purchased this land decided to make it a common land for ritual expenditure and to use it by turns among three segments. That is, in the zodiac years of *zi*, *wu*, *mao*, and *you*, Ying Tou's descendants will obtain its profits, of which six sevenths are given to the descendants of Pong Leung and one seventh is given to the descendants of Pong Yin. In the zodiac years of *chen*, *xu*, *chou*, and *wei*, Ying Lung's descendants obtain its profits, which will be distributed equally among them. In the zodiac years of *yin*, *shen*, *si*, and *hai*, Ying Tsun's descendants will get its profits. Each party should be responsible for the ritual duties as well as the grain seeds for the next season in which it will obtain land profits. Keep this regulation and do not differ from it (in the above sentences, ××× means a specific location's name).

Ying Tou, Ying Lung, and Ying Tsun are ancestors belonging to the sixth generation who are the great-great-grandsons of branch founder Tak Kai. However, in 1829 when the land was purchased, all three ancestors were already deceased. Ying Lung, the youngest of the three, died in 1721 and the purchase was completed about 100 years later. Members who were alive in 1829 were those in the 10th, 11th, and 12th generations. Of Hau Tsuen's descendants who are included in the branch's genealogical record, Hei Cheung, Tsuen Tsung, and Lai San and his brothers (belonging to the 10th, 11th, and 12th generations, respectively) were alive at that time. As Hei Cheung was 69, Tsuen Tsung was 41, and Lai San was 19 years old in 1829, Tsuen Tsung likely played a major role in the purchase of the land.

At first glance, it is strange that the land was purchased under the name of ancestors who died more than 100 years earlier. However, the establishment of common property in such a way seems to have been practiced often and was by no means rare in Chinese lineages. Other ethnographies including my own [Segawa 1991] suggest the popularity of such a practice. The names of these three ancestors described in the above paragraph likely actually indicate the names of segments that comprise the descendants of each ancestor. For example, in the case of the Lei Lineage of "S" village in Pat Heung in the western New Territories, where I conducted my research in the 1980s, such segments were often called "*-ts'o*" with the first ancestor's name attached. These segments often held common lands, and in those cases, the commonly held lands were also given the segment

⁷¹ The lineage's genealogical record also refers to common property, but this is confined to the paddy fields held under the name of the founding ancestor.

name “*tsò*” [Segawa 1991: 149-154]. Therefore, the above paragraph presumably means that descendants of the three ancestors contributed to the cost of the land purchase under the names of these three ancestors and established a common property for the ritual usage of the branch founder’s worship.

One interesting point in this description relates to the common land’s management and profit distribution. Descendants of Ying Tou, Ying Lung, and Ying Tsun were prescribed to obtain the profits of the common land once every three years according to the zodiac cycle. Although it is not clear whether they obtained profits by actually tilling the land themselves or whether they leased the land to others to collect the rent, it is more likely that they planted by themselves because the paragraph also referred to the grain seeds for the next season. Each year’s profits were used to cover the expenditure for the branch founder Tak Kai’s annual ritual. The manpower necessary for the ritual was also likely managed by the members of the segment who were on duty that year.

More interestingly, distributions within each segment are also prescribed in the genealogical record. The genealogical outline of Tak Kai’s descendants is shown in Table 4-5. Although equal distribution was prescribed among the three descendants of Ying Lung, it was divided unevenly among Ying Tou’s descendants. There is no explanation of why these land profits were to be divided in the ratio of 6 to 1 between the descendants of Pong Leung and Pong Yin. One possible reason is the uneven population sizes of their segments. As I show in Table 4-6, Pong Leung had six sons; this segment had 17 members in the 11th generation, which is thought to include the major actors in the land purchase. However, Pong Yin’s segment had only one son for two generations and only one member of the 11th generation belonged to this segment. Therefore, equally dividing the profits among Pong Leung’s and Pong Yin’s segments would result in a much smaller per capita share for Pong Leung’s descendants. Conversely, if the profits were divided evenly by the living members, the shares for Pong Yin’s descendants would be inappropriately small. This may be why they divided the profits according to the numbers of Pong Leung’s and Pong Yin’s sons.

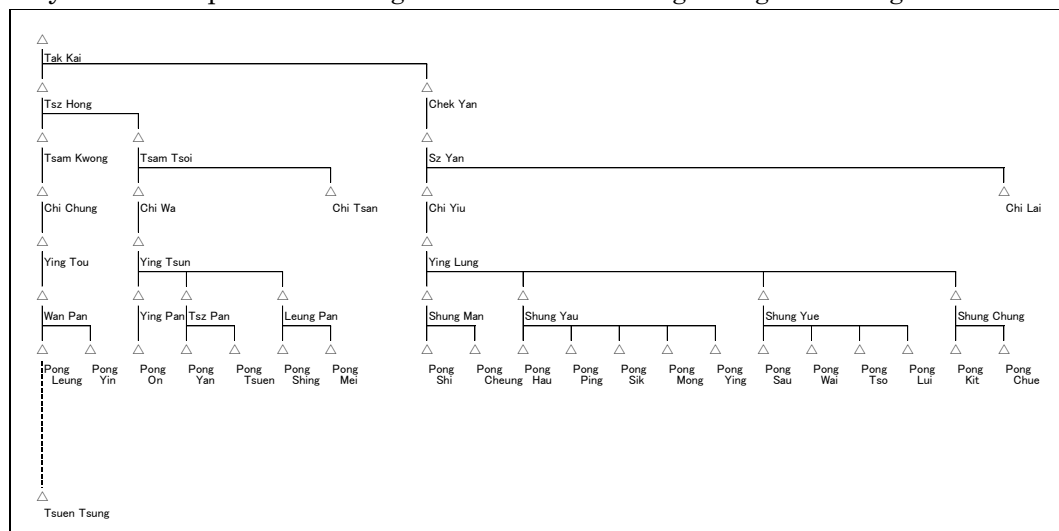


Fig. 4-5. Genealogical outline of Tak Kai’s descendants

Another Genealogical Book

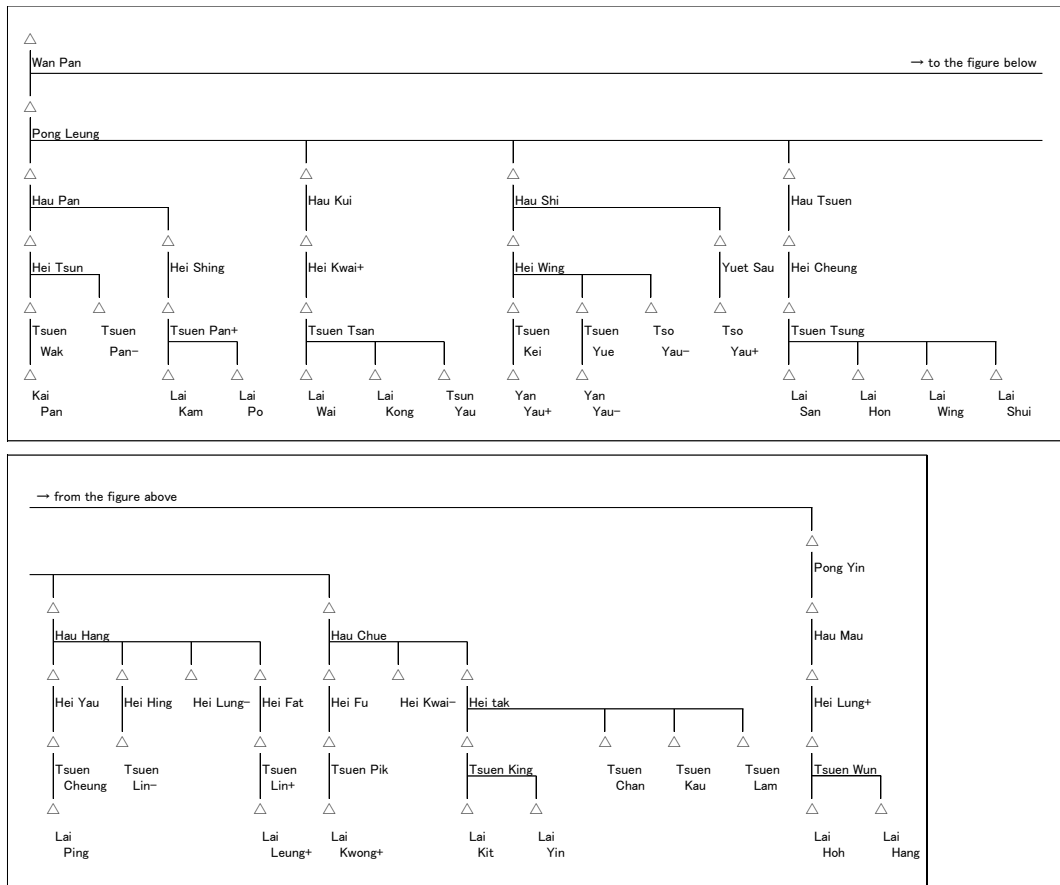


Fig. 4-6. Outline of the genealogy of Wan Pan's descendants

Another possible reason is that the rights of Pong Yin's descendants were restricted because Pong Yin was not the biological son of his father, Wan Pan, as I examine later. However, this cannot explain the 6 to 1 ratio between Pong Leung's and Pong Yin's descendants because a division of profits in this proportion would bring smaller per capita shares to Pong Leung's descendants. Furthermore, among Pong Leung's descendants, his grandson Tsuen Yik was also an adopted son, but he does not seem to have been treated differently with regard to property distribution. Therefore, it is more likely that the division of profits in the proportion of 6 to 1 was prescribed because of the difference in the number of members between the two segments.

The existence of common properties was not only mentioned with regard to Tak Kai's case in the branch's genealogical record. We can also find the following description in the footnote attached to an article on Tsz Hong, who belonged to the third generation.

Land at ××× is a middle-grade land that yields 8 *dous*, of which the tax duty is 1 *dou* and 8 *shengs*. ... Our family purchased land, of which the total tax amount is 2 *dous*, 9 *shengs* and 5 *hes*, on December 5th of the 8th year of the Daoguang era. The names of these lands are ×××, among which paddy fields in ××× will be distributed to the descendants for cultivation. Land

at ×××, which yields two *shis*, will be given to Hau Pan's descendants in perpetuity. Land at ××× will be used for ritual expenditure by entrusting its management to two *fangs* in turn. Rent from this land will be collected under the name of ancestor Tsz Hong and each year's tax must be paid by those who actually use the cultivated land around ××× village in that year. The land for ritual expenditure will be cultivated by each segment in turn. In the zodiac years of *si*, *you*, and *chou*, Pong Leung's descendants will cultivate it; in the zodiac years of *hai*, *mao*, and *wei*, Pong Yin's descendants will cultivate it, and in the zodiac years of *ying*, *wu*, *xu*, *shen*, *zi*, and *chen*, Ying Tsun's descendants will cultivate it. Each year's tax must be paid by those who cultivate the land in that year (××× means a specific location's name).

Here again, it was stated that the family purchased the land in the 8th year of Daoguang (1829) and established a common estate for ritual expenditure (*changtian*). The two *fangs* nominated to manage the ritual land in turn are likely the two segments that started with Tsz Hong's two sons, Tsam Kwong and Tsam Tsoi, who belonged to the fourth generation. More precise land use is prescribed so that Pong Leung's and Pong Yin's descendants cultivate the land once every four years, while those of Ying Tsun cultivate it once every two years. It is also prescribed that other lands should be cultivated in perpetuity by the descendants of Hau Pan, one of Pong Leung's six sons. This suggests that Hau Pan's descendants actually played a major role in this land purchase. It may be that Tsuen Yik, who belonged to the 11th generation and who was 58 years old in 1829, or Tsuen Pan, who belonged to the same generation and who was 56 years old at that time, played a leading role in the project. They likely purchased these lands by donating their own money or advocating contributions from branch members, and used part of these lands to establish a common estate for a small segment that started with their grandfather, Hau Pan. They also established a common estate to cover the ritual expenditure of Tsz Hong's ancestor worship, which was entrusted in turn to each of the three segments of Tsz Hong's descendants. Here, the three segments are Pong Leung's, Pong Yin's, and Ying Tsun's descendants. Although Pong Leung and Pong Yin belonged to the eighth generation, Ying Tsun belonged to the sixth generation. The former two segments were prescribed to cultivate the land once every 4 years, but Ying Tsun's segment was prescribed to cultivate it once every 2 years (see Fig. 4-7). We can estimate two possibilities regarding the reason for such an uneven appointment of cultivation among the three groups of descendants.

One is that Ying Tou's descendants' larger contribution to the land purchase led to them receiving a larger share of the land profits among Ying Tou's descendants. If the land was purchased using contributions from each member on a per capita basis, Ying Tou's segment, which comprised more members than Ying Tsun's segment, likely contributed more to the purchase, so it would be natural that it would claim a larger share. Pong Leung's sub-segment, which was the most populous in the branch, would require its own share to be separated from the other sub-segments of Ying Tou's segment. However, as the ratio of prescribed cultivation among Pong Leung's, Pong Yin's, and Ying Tsun's segments is 1:1:2, Pong Leung's descendants were not actually privileged in this distribution. Therefore, this possibility seems unlikely.

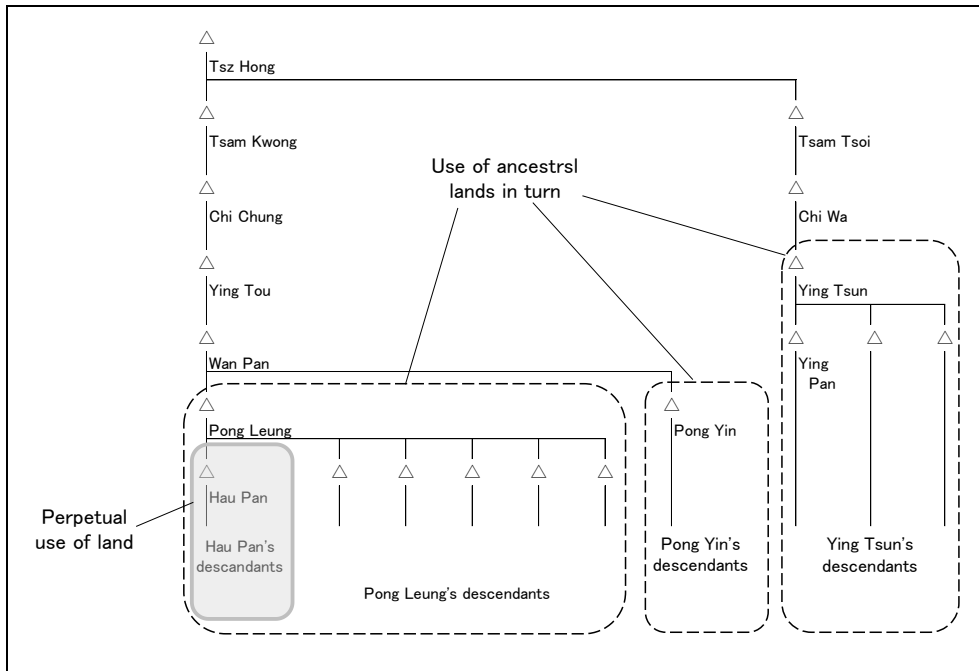


Fig. 4-7. Rights to the commonly owned lands among Tsz Hong's descendants

Another more likely reason is that the actual leaders who played major roles in the land purchase belonged to Pong Leung's, Pong Yin's, and Ying Tsun's segments and agreed to share the holdings among themselves in such proportions. If this land was purchased using the donations of a few rich members to commemorate a common branch ancestor, they would require a share for the segment that they actually represented. Among which segments they divide the profits from their common properties may depend on the contribution of each lineage member's in the past. For example, if people who had major roles in the land purchase were not among Pong Leung's, Pong Yin's, and Ying Tsun's descendants, but rather those of Pong Leung, Ying Tsun's grandson Pong On, and Ying Tsun's other grandson Pong Shing, the land cultivation would have been prescribed differently.

For lineage mates who lived at the same time, who should represent the interest of which segment, or who should speak for what range of kinsmen were probably part of their common knowledge. Existence of active members who represent a segment should activate the presence of that segment. In other words, they presumably recognized the presence of each individual segment through their leading members. This also means that the segmental map of the lineage structure in members' recognition could be influenced by the line-up of the lineage's leading personnel at that time.

In the branch's genealogical record, a description of the common estate is also found in the entry for Pong Leung, who belonged to the eighth generation.

On the 27th day of the 3rd month of the 60th year of the Kangxi era (April 23rd, 1721), we purchased a middle-grade land for which the tax duty amounts to one *dou* of rice. This land was formerly cultivated by Tang ×××, whose family head was Tang ××× of the eighth *tujia* of

five *du* (a registered address in the *tujia* system of Qing dynasty). On the 18th day of the 10th month in the 10th year of the Yongzheng era (December 5th, 1732), we purchased a lower grade land at ×××, for which the tax duty amounts to two *mus* and 5 *fens*. In the 6th month of the 1st year of the Qianlong era (July or August of 1736), five members – Hau Pan, Hau Shi, Hau Tsuen, Hau Hang, and Hau Chue – bought middle-grade land for which the tax duty amounts to 5 *mus* and 3 *fens*. Hau Kui had no relation to this purchase. On the 2nd day of the 2nd month in the 22nd year of the Jiaqing era (March 19th, 1817), we bought lower-grade land for the which tax duty amounts to three *shengs* and six *hes* of rice. This land was formerly used by Chan ×××, whose family head was Chan ××× who belonged to the twelfth *tujia* of six *du*. On the 6th day of the 2nd month in the 1st year of Daoguang era (March 9th, 1821), we also bought lower-grade land for which tax duty amounts to four *shengs* and five *hes* of rice. This land was formerly used by Tsoi ×××, whose family head was Tsoi ××× of the eighth *jia* and third *tu* of six *du* (××× means a specific person's or location's name).

Although this is footnoted to Pong Leung's entry, only the first three of the five land purchases mentioned above were practiced while he was alive (when he was 40, 51, and 55 years old, respectively). In the other two cases, which occurred in the Jiaqing and Daoguang eras, lands were purchased apparently after his death in 1738. Pong Leung's descendants, who were of middle or advanced age and living when these two land purchases were undertaken were Hei Wing (land purchases were done when he was 56 and 60 years old), Hei Cheung (57 and 61), and Hei Lung (61 and 65) of the 10th generation or Tsuen Yik (46 and 51), Tsuen Pan (44 and 49), and Tsuen Tsung (29 and 33) of the 11th generation.

Among these land purchases, the most interesting case is that in the 1st year of the Qianlong era, in which five of Pong Leung's six sons were involved. That is, the genealogical record declares that among Pong Leung's six sons (Hau Pan, Hau Kui, Hau Shi, Hau Tsuen, Hau Hang, and Hau Chue), only the second son, Hau Kui, was not included in the project. Although we cannot know the precise reason for this, this means that land was purchased by sons to add to the common properties held under their father's name, but one of his sons did not take part in the purchase.

Pong Leung was likely already at an advanced age when this land was purchased because he died only 2 years later. That land was purchased in the 1st year of the Qianlong era possibly means that even though the unity of *jiazu* was maintained under Pong Leung as the family head, his sons' *fangs* were gaining enough independence to decide to buy a landed estate. This also suggests that rights could be restricted for segments that did not contribute to the founding of common properties, even though the relationships among *fangs* under the same father should in principle remain equal. We know nothing about how Pong Leung's descendants actually managed their commonly held lands, but at least with regard to the land purchased in the 1st year of the Qianlong era, it may be natural to think that Hau Kui's descendants were excluded from its management because the genealogical record specified that he did not contribute to its purchase.

In this way, branch's genealogical record contains inside information specific to branch members and its internal segments that is not included in the lineage's

genealogical record. Names and birth years of daughters are examples of such information, as are descriptions of the establishment and management of segment property. The description of Wan Pan, who belonged to the seventh generation, is another notable example. According to its description, Wan Pan had a wife, Hui Shi, who was born in 1652 but died aged 38 being persecuted by three brothers – Ying Pan, Tsz Pan, and Leung Pan – who belonged to other segment of the same branch. Later, Wan Pan took a concubine, Cheng Shi, who was born in 1658, and also had one son⁷² and two daughters, but he decided to adopt a non-agnate child named Pong Yin as his son to avoid ill-treatment by powerful segments and avoid repeating such a harsh experience as losing his wife. He thought that his segment lacked manpower because his family line had only one son for four generations, which resulted in ill-treatment by more powerful segments.

The three brothers Ying Pan, Tsz Pan, and Leung Pan were, as shown in Table 4-5, the members of Tsam Tsoi's segment, which was one of the two major segments in their branch. Wan Pan belonged to the segment that started with Tsam Kwong. As I wrote above, the family line from Tsam Kwong in the fourth generation to Wan Pan in the seventh generation bore only one son. Therefore, in Wan Pan's generation, Tsam Kwong's segment had only one male member compared with seven in Tsam Tsoi's segment. As there is no information about Pong Yin's origin, he is estimated to be a non-agnate son adopted by Wan Pan. However, I did not count him as an example of *yuzi* in my analyses in Chapters 2 and 3 because he was not mentioned with that term in the lineage's genealogical record.

As I already showed, Tsz Hong's descendants cooperated to manage the ritual land that they purchased in the 9th year of the Daoguang era by cultivating it in turn between Tsam Kwong's and Tsam Tsoi's segments. The descendants of Ying Tou, Ying Lung, and Ying Tsun also maintained cooperation by managing the ritual land purchased in the same year under the name of the branch founder Tak Kai. This means that Ying Tou's descendants – including Wan Pan – and Ying Tsun's descendants – including Ying Pan, Tsz Pan, and Leung Pan – cooperated regarding land management. Thus, they worked together to establish and manage common properties, but at the same time they kept on record the animosity caused Wan Pan's wife's death.

Although it is not certain what persecution Wan Pan's family underwent, the description of this matter suggests that it was an exceptional case because it includes emotional expressions such as “*qiang ling ruo zhi can*” (misery of the weak persecuted by the strong). Such expressions are rarely found in other parts of the branch's or lineage's genealogical records. However, while such emotional antagonism existed, there also existed a cooperative relationship among branch members in their management of common properties and fulfillment of ritual duties, as far as the genealogical record tells us. Therefore, we can see that both the branch's and the lineage's genealogical records were compiled on the basis of formal order among members, though the branch's genealogical record contains more informal information, mainly as footnotes inserted between formal

⁷² This one son is Pong Leung, who had six sons and whose descendants took major roles in their segment's later activities.

descriptions.

In this chapter, I analyzed another version of the genealogical record of “W” lineage that was compiled by one of the lineage’s branches and compared this with the record compiled for the lineage as a whole. Through this, I showed that, compared with the lineage’s genealogical record, the branch’s genealogical record included more descriptions on the individual families’ informal or private matters, such as the names and birth years of their daughters, the establishment and management of segments’ common properties, and even emotional antagonism among lineage members. This characteristic of the branch’s genealogical record perhaps comes from its use as a memorandum of the family unit members who compiled it. However, we can still conclude that both genealogical records, which were compiled by the different ranges of members within the same patrilineal descent group were principally recorded by referring to the formal order of genealogical relationships among members, and in that sense, they were created on the same foundation.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Paleontologists who aim to reconstruct the shape and behavior of creatures living in the remote past from fossils may try to find clues by cleaning or polishing the remains, which have almost entirely been replaced by silicates and lost their parenchyma. My attempt to discover the paths of people's lives in the past using genealogical records was similar to such efforts in many ways. It was not an easy task to imagine their "parenchyma" through the descriptions in the genealogical books because compilers generally followed a standardized format of genealogical records and descriptions of many aspects of their daily activities and life experiences were omitted. Although such information may be common knowledge among researchers who were experienced in using Chinese written genealogical records as source materials, it seems almost impossible to find detailed descriptions in them. I have attempted to overcome such a challenge in this book.

As I wrote in the preface, the purpose of this book is not to learn something new using written genealogical records as source materials, but rather to use a precise reading of these genealogical records to understand what is described in them and what kind of people recorded this information. That is, I aimed to realize what the *zupu* is and understand why these records were compiled. Additionally, I also aimed to understand how people conceptualized time and history and what they believed to be essential matters that should be continued over the generations.

Therefore, I analyzed two versions of genealogical record compiled by members of "W" lineage in the eastern New Territories of Hong Kong. First, in the first section of Chapter 2, I evaluated the reliability of the genealogical data recorded in the genealogical book by checking its internal consistency and contradictions. By crosschecking demographic data such as the years of members' births and deaths, I showed that approximately 80 percent of data included in the genealogical record seemed valuable.

Next, in the second section of Chapter 2, I reconstructed the population, marital conditions, and family compositions of the lineage throughout its 380-year existence as precisely as possible by using these valuable data. Although the genealogical record's characteristic lack of data on female members and on the dates of members' marriages limited the amount of information available, I showed that it was still possible to rather precisely reconstruct the outlines of lineage members' life courses hundreds years ago by tracing them in the genealogical record.

Based on this consideration, in the third section of Chapter 2, I tried to extract the values underlying such long-lasting efforts of recording genealogical information over many generations by analyzing cases of adoption among lineage members. This analysis revealed that the compilers of the genealogical record were always most interested in the continuity of the descent lines and the fulfilment of ancestor worship duties. From this, we can presume that the compilers' most important motivation was the wish to avoid the existence of neglected ancestors, for whom no one would conduct ancestor worship.

Following the above considerations, I then traced the details of lineage members' life courses in Chapter 3. In Section 3-1, I analyzed the composition of family units to which lineage members belonged and their shifts overtime. This revealed that more than half of

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the members experienced life in a collateral extended family type of *jiazu* unit. Although the genealogical record does not show anything about the actual pattern of living and cooperation among family members, it shows the size and form of the agnatic units in which they lived.

In Section 3-2, I extracted the cases of women who became widows and analyzed the incidence and duration of widowhood among the women who married into the lineage. I found that many women survived their husbands and lived as widows in their husbands' lineage. Some of these widows were the oldest members of their deceased husbands' *jiazu* units. I also showed that in such cases, the existence of widows as genealogical apexes unifying their sons may have postponed the dissolution of their husbands' *jiazu* units.

Then, in Section 3-3, I analyzed individual cases of adoption and the entrusting of ancestor worship, which were practiced to secure the continuity of patrilineal descent, and showed that lineage members' life courses vary greatly. I argued that unexpected events in their life courses caused deviations and discrepancies from the ideal pattern of patrilineal succession and that these deviations and discrepancies necessitated the compilation of the genealogical book because the unique sequence of such unexpected events gives meaning to the recording of the genealogy.

Following this, in Section 3-4, I examined the cases in which lineage members had more than two spouses through remarriage or concubinage and analyzed the relationship between number of spouses and number of sons. We can see that the birth of male descendants, which was considered essential for the continuity of patrilineal descent, was actually reinforced by male members' remarriage in cases of their first wives' early death or by concubinage, through which male members tried to obtain more male descendants. However, I also showed that we cannot say that remarriage and concubinage were practiced only to secure descendants because the actual contribution of remarriage and concubinage to members' male children was statistically rather limited and each case of remarriage and concubinage seemed to have specific motivations that we cannot reduce to such a general purpose.

In addition to the above analyses, in Chapter 4, I analyzed another version of the genealogical record of "W" lineage, which one of its branches compiled. In Section 4-1, I compared the contents of the genealogical records of the whole lineage and this branch. One remarkable difference is the reference to the daughters born to lineage members, which was found only in the branch's record. However, I stated that this was not necessarily the result of a modernizing change in family ethics, although the genealogical records compiled in the present day often include information about female members.

In Section 4-2, I examined the family composition and cases of adoption in the later generations using the data added after the recording of whole lineage's genealogy had ended. I found some cases in which adoption was arranged for the members who died in infancy. I argued that the arrangement of adoption for deceased ancestors fulfilled a similar role to the establishment of incorruptible stone tablets in their tombs because people in later days often recognize these ancestors through their living descendants. There is no way for lineage mates in later days to recognize the existence of ancestors or their segments that lack living lineal descendants as their visible representations.

In Section 4-3, I analyzed the common properties and their management as described in the branch genealogical record. Through these, we can understand that the branch record refers to such informal matters as how branch segments cooperated and even emotional conflicts among branch members, in comparison with the whole lineage's genealogical record, which contains only formal descriptions on the genealogical relationships among lineage members.

By reading each line of written genealogical records, we can realize their nature and the outlines of the actual life courses of the lineage members who were recorded within. Written genealogical records are a simple monotonous record of the births, deaths, and marriages of a lineage's male members and their spouses who married into the lineage, whose most important purpose was to secure the successors of the descent line and the trustees of ancestor worship for all the male ancestors who were born and died in the lineage.

Therefore, under normal conditions in which lineage members could actually obtain male descendants in the next generation and their successors were secured, the genealogical record would look like an account book that merely describes members' names in accordance with the patrilineal descent order. However, once they deviated somehow from the principle, they would seek substitutive successors, and should they fail even in such attempts, the remarks of *wusi* (no successors) or *shiji* (abolition of worship) would be inscribed in the genealogical record. A series of such irregular responses to unexpected events gave the lineage history a unique shape, and it would motivate the members to continue to record the courses of such events in the genealogical book.

The actual history of lineage is thus uneven. We can draw the ideal pattern of patrilineal descent, in which, for example, every male member has three male descendants and the whole system expands in a fan shape toward the future. The structure of such "ideal" descent groups are always "symmetrical," to use the classic term used by Maurice Freedman. However, actual lineages are always uneven because differences in the numbers of sons born in each segment are inevitable and some segments are lost without descendants. On a computer screen, the apex of each segment is only one Unicode character that is drawn with dots arranged in a triangle shape to represent a male individual, but in an actual lineage, that segment could exist only if that male individual actually existed. The risks of *yaozu* (young death), *weipinshi* (unmarried death), or *wusi* (no descendants) always exist, and as such, lineages deviate from the fan shape established as the most harmonious pattern.

It is likely the result of the uneven and contingent nature of life that we need to write a history. Such specific members' characteristics as the number of sons, marital status, and lifespan give rise to a sequence of unique experiences and the lineage's uneven internal structure. For example, the early death of the second son of the founding ancestor Ting Kei resulted in a genealogical tree that lacks the second segment. Later, in the ninth generation, Pong Leung's six sons produced an extremely asymmetrical segment structure. Perhaps it is this contingent nature of events experienced by lineage members and the uneven lineage structure that made lineage members continue to record these matters. It is also why their descendants need the genealogical records. If the succession from one

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generation to the next always followed the ideal pattern prescribed by the patrilineal principle, the lineage history might be expressed in such ways as rituals or myths rather than in the form of genealogical descriptions. However, because the lineage members' experiences did not follow this ideal, written genealogical records were necessary.

Another important point in the historiographic study of genealogical record compilation is that people need living members to recognize the segmental structure and order of the lineage. For example, as I explained in Chapter 4, in a branch originating from Tak Kai, the fourth son of the founding ancestor of "W" lineage, common properties were established under the name of Tak Kai in the second generation, Tsz Hong in the third generation, and Pong Leung in the eighth generation. The shareholding and management of these common properties illuminate several active segments within the branch, each of which were presumably led by active lineage members. It was probably through these key persons, who acted as leaders in establishing the common properties, that other lineage members recognized the presence of these segments or the ancestors who started the segments. These key persons were not only the representatives of their own sons and grandsons but also the visible symbols, as it were, through which later lineage mates noticed the presence of these ancestors and the segments that originated from these ancestors.

The distribution of these key persons within the lineage depends largely on the situations, and therefore, we cannot predict which segments of which generation will be highlighted by the appearance of key persons at a specific point in time. Corporate activities of segments such as the establishment of *changtian* (commonly held lands for ancestor worship) show the presence not only of the segment that is represented by such properties, but also of their internal sectionalism through how they were actually managed. For example, in the case of Tsz Hong's *changtian*, which I examined in the third section of Chapter 4, three segments, which started respectively from Pong Leung in the eighth generation, Pong Yin in the eighth generation, and Ying Tsun in the sixth generation, were highlighted by their prescription of land use by turns. Such arrangements were probably decided by the key persons who led the projects according to the genealogical relationships among the members.

Such key persons' outstanding activities may cast light on some of the lineage ancestors. We can call these highlighted ancestors *xianzu*, who are distinguished from the total stock of ancestors. However, a segment that comprises the descendants of such remarkable ancestors may be merely one of several segments descending from the same father. If that remarkable ancestor was, for example, the second son of his father, the segment that he started would be called *er-fang*, or the second segment. In genealogical principle, the second segment is in the equal position to the first and third segments vis-à-vis their father. Fang in a Chinese lineage system simply means the position of sons in relation to their father in the genealogy. Therefore, there will be three fangs if a man has three sons and these three fangs are equal in the relationship to their father. If someone were to refer simply to "three fangs", we cannot specify which three segments are being referred to. In the same way, referring to "the second fang" could mean one of many segments started from any second-born son.

As such, *fang* is a relative, impersonal term that indicates only the genealogical position as a son. If one wanted to use this word to indicate a specific person or segment that comprises that person's descendants, it would be necessary to add his father's personal name, that is ××'s second *fang* or three *fangs* under ××. Regarding this way of indicating specific persons or segments by referring to one's father, I cannot find a direct example of this in the written genealogical records of "W" lineage, but as I mentioned in the third section of Chapter 3, I observed many examples during my fieldwork in another village in the New Territories (see Segawa [1991]).

In principle, under a male ancestor there should be as many *fangs* as sons in every generation. Each ancestor in each generation is the node of the ideological family tree descendants draw in their mind, from which *fangs* diverge. Logically, there should be as many *fangs* as ancestors. However, in descendants' actual recognition, only some of these potential *fangs* are selected and visualized through the specification of ancestors' names. Other unknown ancestors and their segments remain potential because their existence is not specified by their proper names. It is those segments that were actually specified and accentuated with the names of specific ancestors that Maurice Freedman called "segments" and on which he established his so-called "asymmetric segmentation model" of Chinese lineages. Conversely, the "*fang*", which was formulated by Chih-nan Chen as a basic concept of the Chinese kinship system, is all the potential segments diverging from the stem of the ideological family tree, that is, all the male ancestors born as sons to lineage members.

Fangs in Chen's sense are therefore all branches on the ideological family tree. Chen explained that a *fang* could exist regardless of its members' politico-economic conditions because its existence is purely ideological. This explanation seems to me correct enough logically. The *fang* is an ideological unit conceived in people's minds in accordance with the patrilineal principle. However, the actual social relationships among lineage members do not necessarily coincide with this principle. These are matters that belong to different ontological dimensions; therefore, logically, the former could never be influenced by the latter.

However, ideological *fangs* conceived in accordance with the patrilineal principle must also comprise people who really existed, or more accurately, people whose existence can be confirmed and specified. Regardless of ancestors' prosperity and fame, the pure facts of how many sons they had or whether they had male descendants reflect lineage members' recognition of segment structure. Therefore, while some segments were celebrated for having many male descendants and had many members, others would begin to disappear or had already disappeared by failing to have enough descendants. Presumably, the former cases tend to be the segments that held political power or economic wealth, and the latter tend to be those that experienced poverty or a lack of power.

Ancestors and their segments who lack descendants to represent them among the surviving lineage members, or who have surviving descendants who are in a position lacking prestige, may have no chance to be recognized in their descendants' "local" knowledge. In this sense, we can say that "asymmetric segmentation" is by no means a fiction created by Freedman, but rather an actual occurrence. However, the symmetry or

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asymmetry of lineage segmentation does not seem to reflect the differences between patrilineal descent groups in African and Chinese lineages. Rather, it reflects the difference between the symmetric nature of the ideologically drawn family tree and the uneven structure of actual segments comprising the surviving descendants because the idealized form of lineage development was always symmetric in both China and Africa, whereas the actual lineage structure was uneven because of lineage members' different life-spans, number of children, and so on.

It is because of this uneven succession of descent lines and internal segmentation within lineages that their members must record the courses of their ancestors' lives in the written genealogical records. Deviations from the even and symmetric branches of the ideological family tree give rise to the unique structure of each lineage, which presumably motivate lineage members to record their history. The flow of time that the lineage members actually experience is a sequence of uneven and contingent events that apparently deviate from the ideal pattern of succession, which is characterized by uniformity and consistency. People who experience such a sequence of unpredictable events would experience the linear and irreversible flow of events and therefore need to write a history to memorize and explain the lineage's unique and uneven development. The existence of the written genealogical record of "W" lineage, which was compiled over 400 years, proves that their members experienced such a flow of events.

Now I return to the topic of "family". At first glance, written genealogical records seem to tell us nothing about the actual conditions of families in the past because they only show formal information rather than vivid information on their daily activities. However, we can also say that it is these formal patrilineal kinship relations among male members and their marital relations with their spouses that constitute the essence of the "family" in the pre-modern Chinese sense. Regardless of whether there is actual cooperation of living or shared affection, they are classed as family members if they are related through the genealogical relationship between father and son or marital relationship between husband and wife. Such relationships were regarded as the most basic ties, which precede all other social norms.

Within the range of the patrilineal collateral extended family, and perhaps in the range of "*wufu*", or patrilineal close kin, which comprised members of an already dissolved extended family, securing the succession of each other's descent line was a familial duty. If a *wusizhe* (someone with no descendants) emerged, the remaining family needed to arrange adoption or entrustment of ancestor worship among themselves to secure successors.

Family members were required to fulfil the obligations derived from such relationships regardless of their real-life feelings toward or connections with the other party. Of course, this does not mean that their obligations and sentiments were always contradictory. In most cases, family members may actually have felt affection to their close kin and identified themselves with their family unit. However, this was not the essence of their "family". For them, family was defined a priori by genealogical ties.

Anthropological studies on kinship once treated it not only as a private

relationship restricted to intimate persons but as a principal human relationship underlying wider social spheres. Studies on unilineal descent groups in African societies flourished in the mid-twentieth century are examples of this. E. E. Evans-Pritchard's monograph on Nuer society or Jack Middleton's on Lugbara society showed that the patrilineal principle formed the social framework of the whole tribe. In today's kinship studies, such wider perspectives have been almost entirely forgotten, and the kinship tie is studied solely as a limited social relationship in the so-called "intimacy zone". It seems to me that this shift in the research paradigm coincided with the social change that Western societies actually experienced throughout the modern era. Western societies seem to have been striving to exclude the "family" from the public domain by eliminating the nepotism inherent in blood relationships or family ties from the public sphere on the one hand while establishing the tiny "home" as a sphere of genuine familial affection and privacy on the other.

In other societies, and perhaps in many pre-modern societies, the logic of family or kinship sometimes prevails over the public order in wider social spheres outside its domestic core. However, Western social scientists tend to treat such phenomena as proof of confusion between the public and the private and suppose it to be a token of backwardness, so they confined "family" to the intimacy zone. At least for the understanding of pre-modern Chinese families and kinship, we must be more relativistic and stand apart from the modern Western preoccupation that supposes the ethic of family and kinship as confined to intimacy zone.

In pre-modern China, the ethic of family and kinship was thought to be the most basic principle of human social behavior that should be observed through all social domains. As Confucianism explained it as an ethic not only of parent-child, older-younger sibling or husband-wife relationships, but also that of sovereign-subject and patron-client relationships, at least in pre-modern China, it was not a moral code restricted to the domestic sphere or intimacy zone. Even though some differences existed, this was probably also true for pre-modern Japan. To properly understand the nature of "family" in social conditions in which the Western context did not exist, preoccupations about family as a social institution on the level of the intimacy zone can be an obstacle to our flexible thinking. Any tendency to see Chinese genealogical books as too formal and monotonous to tell us about the reality of family lives might derive from our lack of imagination in understanding different forms and concepts of family in other societies and cultural settings.

The "family" extracted from written genealogical records is nothing but the aggregation of relationships that the people who recorded them and who were recorded in them believed to be the most basic and important ties among themselves. These ties not only combined people to make families and kin groups at one point in time, but might also serve as the source of what they believe to continue over the generations and what should be succeeded by their descendants. It was this continuity that lineage members desired through recording their genealogies.

In this book, I tried to show this desire for the continuity underlying the compilation of the written genealogical record. At least to the lineage members who recorded the genealogy, the succession of patrilineal descent and ancestor worship was the

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most important proof of such a continuity. Of course, these entities, which people believed to continue over the generations, are culturally constructed and specific to each society and era.

For example, in pre-modern and early-modern Japan, the *ie*, or household unit, was conceived as a continuous entity over generations and sometimes this continuity was sought in preference to other factors such as personal emotion and interest. However, in today's Japan, such a notion barely remains and is only found in old generations' ethics and behavior. In pre-modern China too, genealogical books compiled by lineages are the evidence of their belief in the continuity of the patrilineal family line and descendants' ritual duty. However, whether these have some influence in modern Chinese society is a topic for another study. Now, we can only say that such genealogical records vividly reveal the values and ethics of past society.

As I demonstrated in previous chapters, we can see that the members of "W" lineage sought continuity of descent and ancestor worship in preference to other factors. Such a concept of continuity might drive people to desire it as the ultimate purpose of life. As I argued, it seemed to be a basic factor that indicated a desirable life course and ideal succession of descent over time, and deviations from these pre-established ideal pattern likely led people to experience the flow of events as unrepeated and unpredictable. The recording of the lineage history as a form of written genealogical record was necessary for the lineage members who experienced such a flow of events.

Irrespective of China, Japan, or other societies in the modern age, the belief of what should continue over one's individual life seems to be in profound change. The recent rapid changes in household appliances, information technology, and social infrastructure make it increasingly difficult for us to share the same behavioral norms and maintain the same value systems over generations. Many people no longer believe that some of our customary behaviors can be succeeded to one's descendants and shared by them after our deaths. An irreversible change in value systems toward the individualization of society, which regards not only one's life but values, prestige, and wealth as enduring only for one's own lifetime, is occurring. In contemporary society, almost everything – including the biological knowledge, medical technology, information devices, social security systems and entire economic systems – is following this development. Therefore, although this is not a clear and straightforward path, it seems almost impossible to reverse this enormous trend in human society. Therefore, we have likely reached a new stage unexperienced by our ancestors in human history.

I am not insisting that the time consciousness based on the continuity of family and its ethics in pre-modern era was more humanistic. Neither am I advocating an old-fashioned nostalgia for kinship ties and community bonds. If such a nostalgia has something to appeal to the public, it may be simply because many people living in rapidly changing contemporary human societies face certain stresses in trying to adjust to these. What I want to emphasize here is simply that we should continue to ask about the different social customs and cultural value systems in the past because we do not yet thoroughly understand the variations of human culture and it remains necessary for us to investigate them if we are to know ourselves.

Conclusion

In the recent and remote past, in various societies, many value systems, customs, and social institutions existed that we do not yet fully understand. Investigating these human activities, which differ from our own, remains an important and irreplaceable method for us to gain insights into humanity and the nature of human society. On that note, genealogical books compiled by Chinese lineages, however monotonous and flat they may appear, are important and precious clues for us to learn about their social customs, especially their concept of continuity over individual lives and their practices based on this, and give us an insight into a cultural background that differs from our contemporary value system.

Postscript

This is a study on the “family”. However, perhaps readers could not find any scenes, sounds, and smells suggestive of family life, such as merry voices of young girls chatting at the well, white steam rising from a cooking stove, or even the faded red of a couplet pasted on the house gate, in any part of this book. The men, women and children described in this book appear as lifeless folk who existed merely as parents, children, husbands, or daughters-in-law deprived of their vivid real-life emotions because this book aimed to reconstruct the past statuses of family relations and the underlying kinship values in pre-modern Chinese society solely through the data extracted from a lineage’s genealogical records.

I believe that this goal was mostly achieved, as I stated in the concluding chapter. I demonstrated that, despite their flat appearance, we could extract the courses of lineage members’ lives from the written genealogical records far more precisely and vividly than expected. However, one thing that is clear is that we cannot expect many records of daily activities in the so-called “intimacy zone”, with which we are familiar through contemporary television dramas set in the home. The “family” described in written genealogical records differs from our usual definition or image of it because it genuinely reflects culturally prescribed ties and their continuity, which pre-modern Chinese society regarded as the most basic interpersonal relationship. In this book, I tried to extract these in their original forms as far as possible by reading the detail of genealogical records. There, I showed that people regarded the succession of patrilineal descent and ancestor worship duties as the most important proof of their life’s continuity, but such an ideal life course was sometimes frustrated by unexpected events.

Of course, we cannot regard the kinship values and norms extracted through the analysis in this book as features of Chinese society that remained essential and fixed throughout its long history. Because such basic values and norms change over time, it would be unrealistic to insist that the results of this study show the unchanging nature of Chinese society over time. In that sense, this study concerns only specific objects in a limited period of time.

If my purpose is to understand only the past status of a society, this might be regarded as basically a historian’s work. However, I did so as a cultural anthropologist. My study in this book largely depended on the skill of anthropologists which I used previously in my fieldwork when observing the complex web of relations among family members or village inhabitants and for describing them in analytical terms. Data collected through such a method sometimes include very private matters for informants which cannot be open to others through publications. Furthermore, because of the paradigm shift in cultural anthropology, few researchers in our discipline are now interested in the study of kinship and family relations. Therefore, we seldom see diagrams of family trees in recent anthropology books and articles. In this book, I used my old-fashioned skill for kinship studies as much as I want to describe and analyze the data.

Even though I studied the situations of people who lived hundreds of years ago, their descendants might find some invasion of privacy in this book because I often refer in

detail, for example, to their ancestors' young death, adoption, remarriage, concubinage, and other private matters. Therefore, I referred to the name of the lineage only by its initial and used pseudonyms for the ancestors' individual names. If there were any historically well-known persons among the members of "W" lineage, perhaps I would have a difficulty in using pseudonyms. Fortunately, this lineage does not seem to have produced any celebrities; therefore, I could anonymise the data.

From a historian's likely perspective, even if the genealogical record was about an obscure family, one should use the names found in the historical document as accurately as possible to enable other researchers to cross check and reference the information. However, here I prioritised their descendants' privacy. I did not want to know the historical events in themselves, but rather the structure of such events and their meaning for the people who experienced them.

Anyway, to the ancestors of "W" lineage who had been in their long sleep for hundreds of years, I must be an uninvited visitor. I must beg their forgiveness if I bothered them so much with my sudden peeping into their written genealogical record. Here, I would like to emphasize that the records of their lives are valuable not only for their own descendants but now also for future researchers. I believe that this information should be shared with a wider range of people to facilitate better understanding of the nature and variation of human societies.

Finally, I would like to thank to my own family, who supported my research activities in various ways throughout my 30-year research career. My wife, daughter and son are always the real source of affection and intimacy for me. I also thank my late father for his influence on me. He often spoke about the history of our family line during my childhood and affected my interest in family and kinship, which I chose as one of my main research topics when I began my academic career. We do not have a custom to write such an elaborate genealogical record to praise our family like "W" lineage's members, but instead of this, I would like to describe my sincere words of affection and gratitude to them.

On the double nine day, 2020, Sendai
The author

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Glossary

<i>bazi</i>	八字	<i>yuzi</i>	育子
<i>beizi</i>	輩字	<i>zaiqu</i>	再娶
<i>buji</i>	不祭	<i>zaixuqu</i>	再續娶
<i>ceshi</i>	側室	<i>zupu</i>	族譜
<i>changtian</i>	嘗田		
<i>chengji</i>	承繼		
<i>fang</i>	房		
<i>fengshui</i>	風水		
<i>fengzu fencai</i>	分居分財		
<i>fuji</i>	附祭		
<i>guofang</i>	過房		
<i>guofangzi</i>	過房子		
<i>guoji</i>	過繼		
<i>jiantiao</i>	兼祧		
<i>jiazhang</i>	家長		
<i>jiazu</i>	家族		
<i>jiying</i>	寄營		
<i>juefang</i>	絕房		
<i>naqie</i>	納妾		
<i>qiang ling ruo zhi can</i>	強凌弱之慘		
<i>qie</i>	妾		
<i>shiji</i>	失祭		
<i>shipai</i>	失派		
<i>taiping qingjiao</i>	太平清醮		
<i>tipshik (tieshi)</i>	帖式		
<i>tongju tongcai</i>	同居同財		
<i>weiguomen</i>	未過門		
<i>weipingshi</i>	未聘氏		
<i>wufu</i>	五服		
<i>wusi</i>	無嗣		
<i>wusizhe</i>	無嗣者		
<i>wutai tongtang</i>	五代同堂		
<i>xianzu</i>	顯祖		
<i>xuqu</i>	續娶		
<i>yaozu</i>	夭卒		
<i>yougui</i>	幽鬼		
<i>youzu</i>	幼卒		
<i>yuanpei</i>	原配		

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享壽時六十五
葬在土名烏溪沙
戊申歲十二月
於嘉靖三十二
生三子

Genealogical record of "W" lineage

*A Desire for Continuity:
An Anthropological Study of Family Life through an
Analysis of a Pre-Modern Genealogical Book in the
New Territories of Hong Kong*

This is a study on "family." However, readers will not find any scenes, sounds or smells that are usually associated with family life. Both the males and females described in this book are voiceless folk who lived simply as fathers, sons, wives, or mothers deprived of their vivid expressions in actual life, because the aim of this book is to reconstruct the past status of family relations and underlying kinship values in Chinese society solely through data extracted from the genealogical records of a lineage.



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