

Appendix

vorgelegt von

Long, Jiang

geboren am 06.04.1977 in Harbin

Weimar, 2012

Contents

List of Figures	VI
Additional Pictures of the Villages Surveyed.....	1
The Pictures of Furong Village.....	1
The Pictures of Cangpo Village.....	37
The Collection of Audio Interviews in the Field Surveys.....	81
Interviews Conducted in Furong Village	81
1. The first conversation with the boss of the Big Family Inn and Chen Jianbing, the head of Furong Village	81
2. A conversation with the Furong villagers.....	95
3. The second conversation with the boss of Big Family Inn	102
4. The first conversation with Furong villager Chen Shiyao.....	103
5. The first conversation with Furong villager Chen Nanxing, a tourist guide	103
6. A conversation with Chen Jianxin, the Furong village Party secretary.....	108
7. Another conversation with the Furong villagers.....	112
8. The second conversation with Chen Shiyao	113
9. The second conversation with Chen Nanxing	115
Interviews Conducted in Cangpo Village	131
1. The first conversation with the family of Li Sanzhen, the head of Cangpo Village	131
2. The first conversation with Li Sanzhen.....	133
3. The first conversation with Li Sanzhen's wife.....	137
4. The conversation with Zhou Wangxin, the head of Yantou Town.....	143
5. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen	144

6. The first conversation with Cangpo villager Li Yuyou (a retired teacher serving as a tourist guide of Cangpo Village now)	145
7. The conversation with Li Yuyou and some other Cangpo villagers at the Che Men (Xi Men)	155
8. The conversation with the Cangpo villagers by the East Pond	158
9. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen's family	159
10. The third conversation with Li Sanzhen	161
11. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen's wife	165
12. The fourth conversation with Li Sanzhen	166
13. The fifth conversation with Li Sanzhen.....	169
14. The second conversation with Li Yuyou and the retired Party secretary of Cangpo Village.....	177

The Collection of Audio Interviews in the Field Surveys (Chinese)

实地调研采访录音资料汇编	185
芙蓉村中的采访.....	185
1 与芙蓉村大屋人家客栈老板及芙蓉村上村村长陈建兵的第一次对话.....	185
2 与芙蓉村民的对话.....	195
3 与大屋人家客栈老板的第二次对话	201
4 与芙蓉村民陈时耀的第一次对话.....	201
5 与芙蓉村民陈南兴（现任芙蓉村导游）的第一次对话.....	202
6 与芙蓉村上村村党支部书记陈建新的对话	205
7 与芙蓉村民的对话.....	208
8 与陈时耀的第二次对话.....	209
9 与陈南兴的第二次对话.....	211

苍坡村中的采访.....	223
1 与苍坡村村长李三珍一家的第一次对话.....	223
2 与李三珍的第一次对话.....	224
3 与李三珍妻子的第一次对话.....	227
4 与岩头镇镇长周望欣的对话.....	232
5 与李三珍的第二次对话.....	233
6 与苍坡村民李玉友（退休教师，现任苍坡村导游）的第一次对话.....	233
7 与李玉友及其他苍坡村民在溪门（又称车门）的对话.....	241
8 与苍坡村民在东池边的对话.....	243
9 与李三珍一家的第二次对话.....	244
10 与李三珍的第三次对话.....	246
11 与李三珍妻子的第二次对话.....	248
12 与李三珍的第四次对话.....	249
13 与李三珍的第五次对话.....	252
14 与李玉友的第二次对话，以及与老书记（曾任苍坡村党支部书记，现已退休）的对话.....	258

List of Figures

Figure 1	Satellite map of Furong Village	1
Figure 2	The road outside the village	1
Figure 3	The Furong Peak	2
Figure 4	Rice fields outside the village	2
Figure 5	An old couple transplanting rice seedlings in their rice field.....	2
Figure 6	The road linking the Che Men to the highway outside the village	3
Figure 7	Stone tablets recording the construction process of the road and the names of who made contributions.....	3
Figure 8	Front facade of the Che Men.....	4
Figure 9	Back facade of the Che Men	4
Figure 10	People, including the tricycle driver, chatting in the Che Men.....	5
Figure 11	A pedlar beside the Che Men.....	5
Figure 12	The space surrounded by the Che Men, the bandstand, and the clan's ancestral hall.....	5
Figure 13	Main entrance of the courtyard of the clan's ancestral hall.....	6
Figure 14	The screen wall and pond in the courtyard of the clan's ancestral hall	6
Figure 15	Main entrance of the clan's ancestral hall.....	7
Figure 16	The middle gate of the clan's ancestral hall.....	7
Figure 17	The side gate of the clan's ancestral hall.....	7
Figure 18	The main hall of the clan's ancestral hall.....	8
Figure 19	The interior of the main hall.....	8
Figure 20	The side corridor	9
Figure 21	The stage in the ancestral hall	9
Figure 22	The ceiling of the stage	10
Figure 23	A close-up of the column base of the stage.....	10
Figure 24	People resting on the bandstand.....	11
Figure 25	The Ruyi Street viewed from its eastern end	12
Figure 26	The Ruyi Street viewed from its western end	12
Figure 27	A close-up of the Ruyi Street.....	13

Figure 28	A couple coming from another place to mend shoes for the Furong villagers.....	13
Figure 29	Horn speakers installed on the roof for broadcasting notifications	13
Figure 30	The Furong Pond	14
Figure 31	The Furong Pavilion	14
Figure 32	A man washing a plastic bucket by the Furong Pond	15
Figure 33	An old woman washing furniture by the Furong Pond	15
Figure 34	Women washing clothes by the Furong Pond	15
Figure 35	Children playing by the Furong Pond	16
Figure 36	People resting in the Furong Pavilion	17
Figure 37	A stone tablet recording the construction process of the Zhaohui Pavilion and the names of who made contributions.....	18
Figure 38	Branch ancestral halls.....	19
Figure 39	Abandoned branch ancestral halls	20
Figure 40	Close-ups of the gates of Furong Village.....	21
Figure 41	Traditional-style dwelling houses in Furong Village	22
Figure 42	Modern-style dwelling houses in Furong Village.....	24
Figure 43	Sliced bread like dwelling houses in Furong Village	26
Figure 44	Close-ups of the streets and lanes in Furong Village.....	29
Figure 45	People resting in the streets and lanes.....	31
Figure 46	The “floating” house lots.....	33
Figure 47	Women washing clothes by the ditches in the village	35
Figure 48	A well in Furong Village.....	36
Figure 49	The water storage tank in the courtyard of the Big Family Inn	36
Figure 50	Satellite map of Cangpo Village	37
Figure 51	Fields outside the village	37
Figure 52	Tricycles waiting outside the village	38
Figure 53	The circular pond outside the village	38
Figure 54	The Xi Men (Che Men).....	39
Figure 55	Close-ups of the Che Men.....	40
Figure 56	People resting at the Che Men.....	42
Figure 57	The Dingxiang Bridge.....	43

Figure 58	The Che Men and Dingxiang Bridge viewed from the Guanshang Pavilion	43
Figure 59	The main hall of the clan's ancestral hall.....	44
Figure 60	The interior of the main hall.....	44
Figure 61	A close-up of the veranda of the main hall	45
Figure 62	A close-up of the column base of the main hall	45
Figure 63	The side corridor	45
Figure 64	The stage in the ancestral hall	46
Figure 65	Close-ups of the Dougong of the stage	46
Figure 66	The Renji Temple.....	47
Figure 67	A close-up of the roof of the Renji Temple	47
Figure 68	Close-ups of the wall of the Renji Temple	48
Figure 69	Close-ups of the front veranda of the Renji Temple.....	49
Figure 70	The West Pond	50
Figure 71	Women washing clothes and bamboo baskets by the West Pond.....	50
Figure 72	The canal connecting the West Pond with the East Pond.....	51
Figure 73	The East Pond before the corridor bridge was demolished	51
Figure 74	The East Pond after the corridor bridge was demolished	51
Figure 75	Children playing by the East Pond	52
Figure 76	The Shuiyue Tang.....	53
Figure 77	Close-ups of the corridor bridge over the East Pond	54
Figure 78	The Wangxiong Pavilion	55
Figure 79	The interior of the Wangxiong Pavilion.....	56
Figure 80	A close-up of the Dougong of the Wangxiong Pavilion	56
Figure 81	A close-up of the ceiling of the Wangxiong Pavilion	57
Figure 82	A close-up of the Meiren Kao benches in the Wangxiong Pavilion	57
Figure 83	A close-up of the column base of the Wangxiong Pavilion	57
Figure 84	The Shuangxi Pavilion	58
Figure 85	A stone tablet recording the construction process of the Shuangxi Pavilion and the names of who made contributions.....	58
Figure 86	Close-ups of the Dougong of the Shuangxi Pavilion.....	59
Figure 87	A close-up of the ceiling of the Shuangxi Pavilion	60

Figure 88	A close-up of the eaves of the Shuangxi Pavilion	60
Figure 89	The Guanshang Pavilion	61
Figure 90	A close-up of the ceiling of the Guanshang Pavilion	61
Figure 91	Two old men resting in the Guanshang Pavilion	61
Figure 92	Traditional-style dwelling houses in Cangpo Village	62
Figure 93	Sliced bread like dwelling houses in Cangpo Village	64
Figure 94	Modern-style dwelling houses in the north of Cangpo Village	65
Figure 95	Modern-style dwelling houses in the south of Cangpo Village	68
Figure 96	Modern-style dwelling houses in the west of Cangpo Village	69
Figure 97	An illegally constructed dwelling house forcibly demolished by local government	71
Figure 98	The new village still under construction	71
Figure 99	Close-ups of the streets and lanes in Cangpo Village	72
Figure 100	The street life of the Cangpo villagers	76
Figure 101	Women washing clothes and vegetables by the “One Spring with Four Wells”	77
Figure 102	A close-up of one of the wells	77
Figure 103	A well in Cangpo Village	78
Figure 104	Women washing clothes by the ditches in the village	78
Figure 105	A close-up of a woman washing clothes by the ditch	79
Figure 106	Women washing clothes in a small stream outside the village	79

Additional Pictures of the Villages Surveyed

The Pictures of Furong Village



Figure 1 (top):
Satellite map of Furong Village
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 2 (bottom):
The road outside the village



Figure 3 (top):
The Furong Peak

Figure 4 (middle):
Rice fields outside the village

Figure 5 (bottom):
An old couple transplanting
rice seedlings in their rice field



Figure 6 (top):
The road linking the Che Men to the highway outside the village

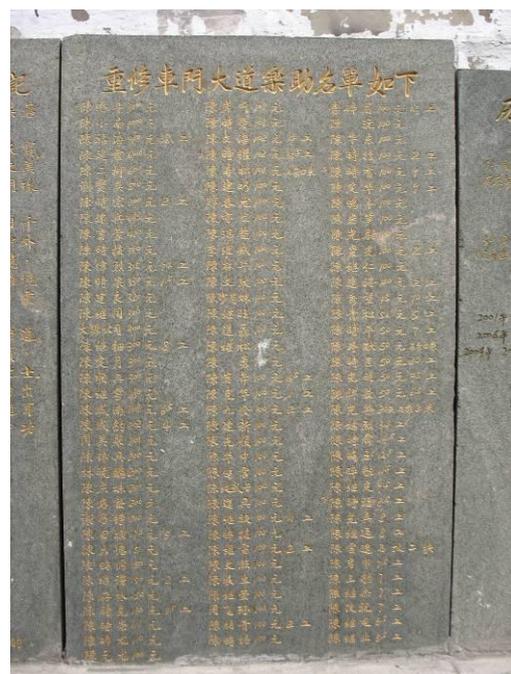
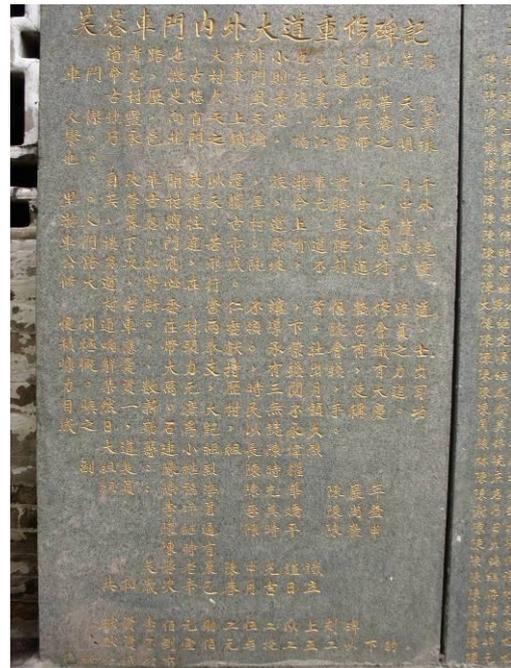


Figure 7-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
Stone tablets recording the construction process of the road and the names of who made contributions



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 8-1,-2 (top, middle):
Front facade of the Che Men

Figure 9 (bottom):
Back facade of the Che Men

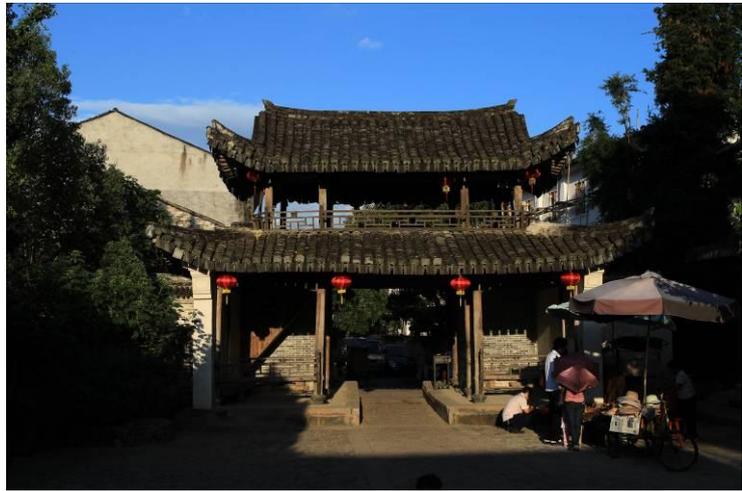


Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 10 (top):
People, including the tricycle driver, chatting in the Che Men

Figure 11 (middle):
A pedlar beside the Che Men

Figure 12 (bottom):
The space surrounded by the Che Men, the bandstand, and the clan's ancestral hall



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 13 (top):
Main entrance of the courtyard
of the clan's ancestral hall

Figure 14-1,-2 (middle bottom):
The screen wall and pond in the
courtyard of the clan's ancestral
hall

Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 15 (top):
Main entrance of the clan's
ancestral hall

Figure 16 (middle):
The middle gate of the clan's
ancestral hall

Figure 17 (bottom):
The side gate of the clan's
ancestral hall





Figure 18 (top):
The main hall of the clan's ancestral hall



Figure 19-1,-2,-3 (middle, bottom):
The interior of the main hall





Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 20 (top):
The side corridor

Figure 21-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
The stage in the ancestral hall



Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 22 (top):
The ceiling of the stage

Figure 23 (bottom):
A close-up of the column base
of the stage



Figure 24-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
People resting on the bandstand

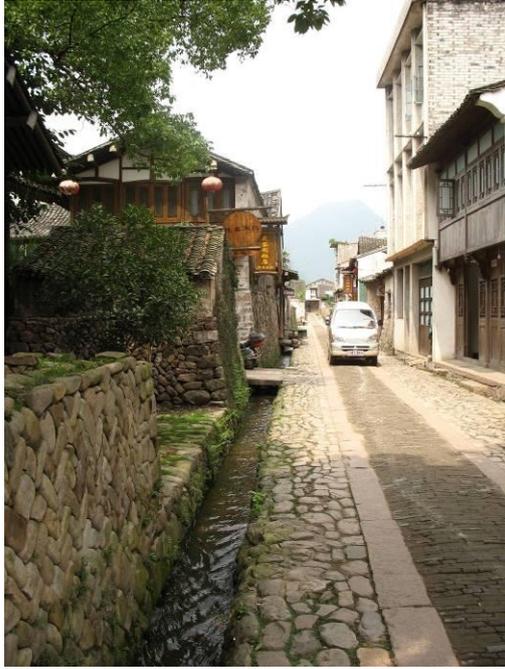


Figure 25 (top):
The Ruyi Street viewed from
its eastern end

Figure 26 (bottom):
The Ruyi Street viewed from
its western end



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 27 (top):
A close-up of the Ruyi Street

Figure 28 (middle):
A couple coming from another
place to mend shoes for the
Furong villagers

Figure 29 (bottom):
Horn speakers installed on the
roof for broadcasting notifications





Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 30 (top):
The Furong Pond

Figure 31 (bottom):
The Furong Pavilion



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 32 (top):
A man washing a plastic bucket by the Furong Pond

Figure 33 (middle):
An old woman washing furniture by the Furong Pond

Figure 34-1 (bottom):
Women washing clothes by the Furong Pond



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 34-2,-3 (top, middle):
Women washing clothes by the
Furong Pond

Figure 35 (bottom):
Children playing by the Furong
Pond



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 36-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
People resting in the Furong Pavilion

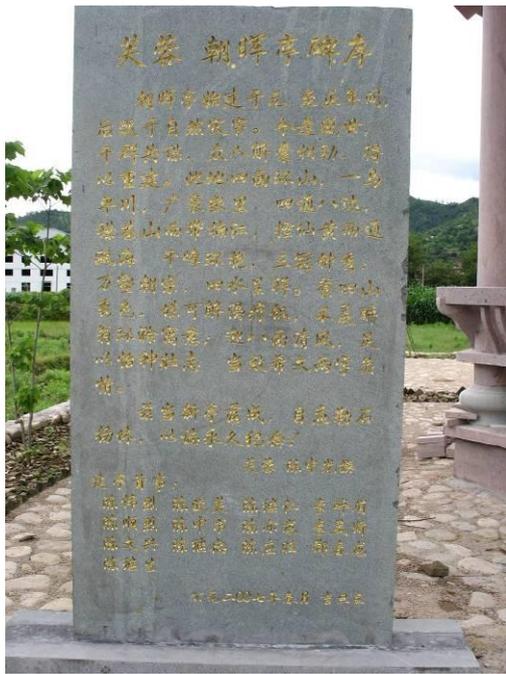


Figure 37-1,-2 (top, bottom):
 A stone tablet recording the construction process of the Zhaohui Pavilion and the names of who made contributions



Figure 38-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Branch ancestral halls



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 39-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Abandoned branch ancestral
halls



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 40-1,-2,-3,-4 (top left, bottom left, top right, bottom right):
Close-ups of the gates of Furong Village





Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun

Figure 41-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Traditional-style dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 41-4,-5,-6 (top, middle, bottom):
Traditional-style dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Figure 42-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Figure 42-4,-5,-6 (top, middle, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Figure 43-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Sliced bread like dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Figure 43-3,-4 (top, bottom):
Sliced bread like dwelling houses
in Furong Village



Figure 43-5,-6,-7 (top, middle, bottom):
Sliced bread like dwelling houses in
Furong Village



Figure 44-1,-2,-3,-4 (top left, bottom left, top right, bottom right):
Close-ups of the streets and lanes in Furong Village

Photo by Lu, Yongshun

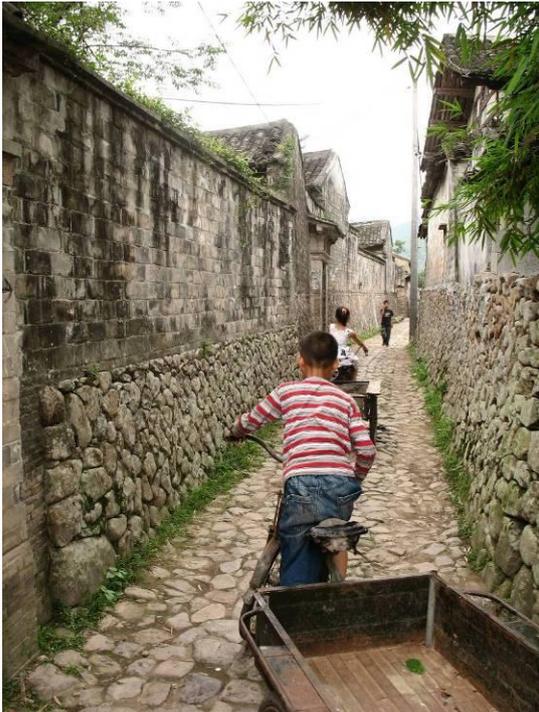
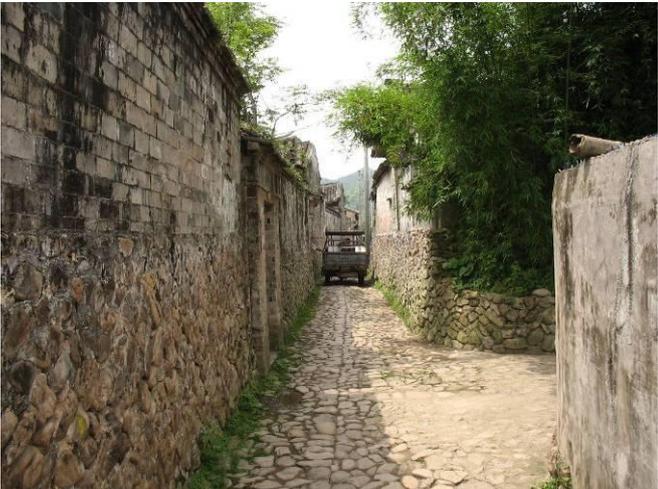


Figure 44-5,-6,-7 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the streets and lanes in
Furong Village

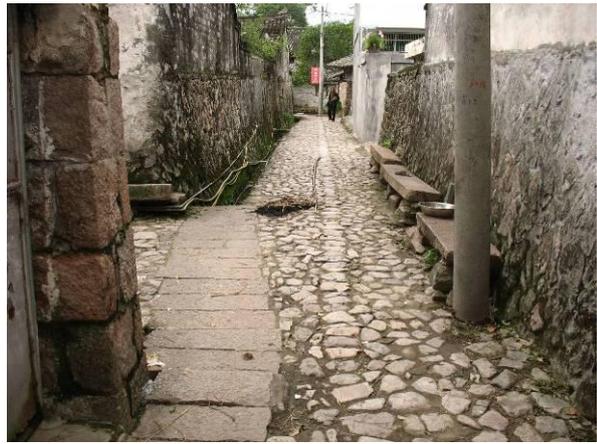
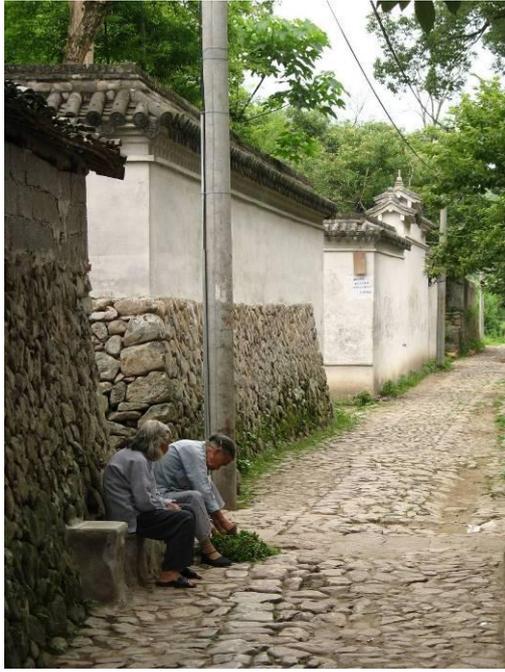


Figure 45-1,-2,-3,-4 (top left, top right, middle, bottom): People resting in the streets and lanes



Figure 45-5,-6,-7 (top, middle, bottom):
People resting in the streets and lanes



Figure 46-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
The “floating” house lots

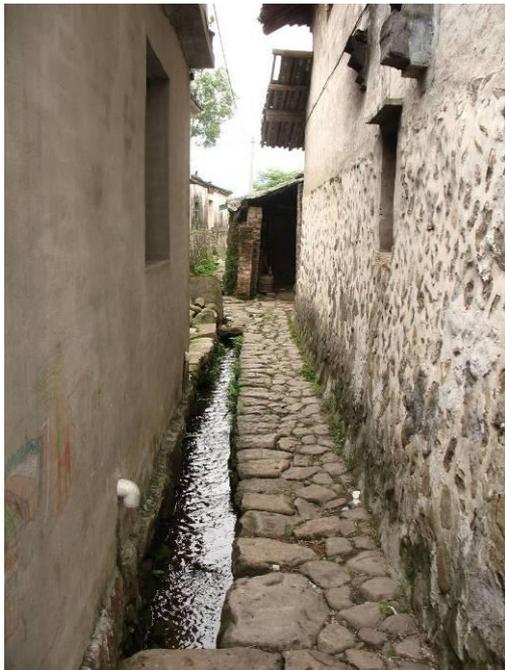
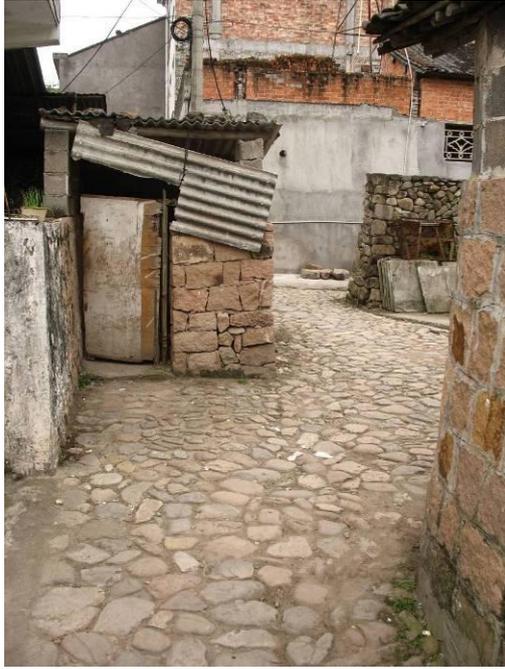


Figure 46-4,-5 (top, bottom):
The “floating” house lots

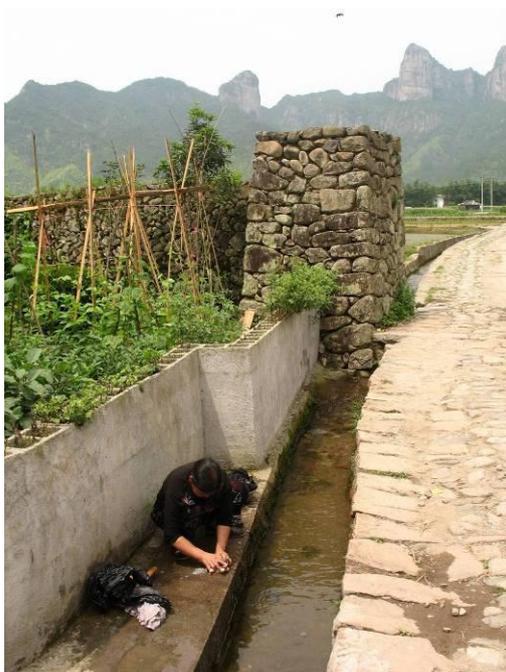
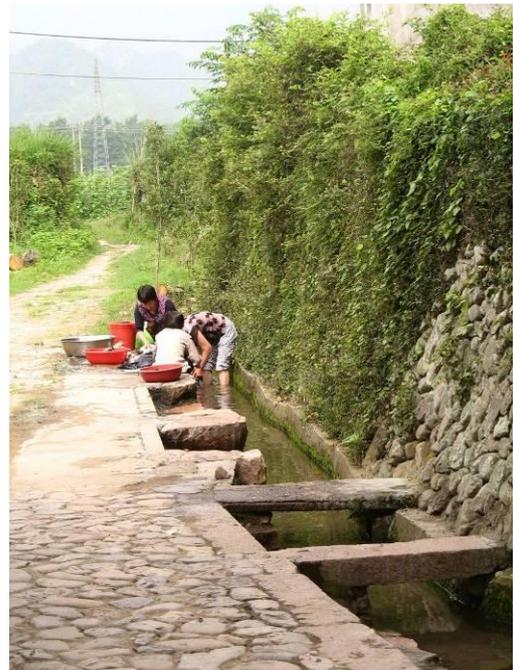


Figure 47-1,-2,-3,-4 (top left, top right, bottom left, bottom right):
Women washing clothes by the ditches in the village



Figure 48 (top):
A well in Furong Village

Figure 49 (bottom):
The water storage tank in the
courtyard of the Big Family
Inn

The Pictures of Cangpo Village



Figure 50 (top):
Satellite map of Cangpo Village
(Source: Google Earth)



Figure 51 (bottom):
Fields outside the village



Figure 52 (top):
Tricycles waiting outside
the village

Figure 53 (bottom):
The circular pond outside
the village



Figure 54-1,-2 (top, bottom):
The Xi Men (Che Men)



Figure 55-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the Che Men



Figure 55-4,-5,-6,-7 (top left, bottom left, top right, bottom right):
Close-ups of the Che Men

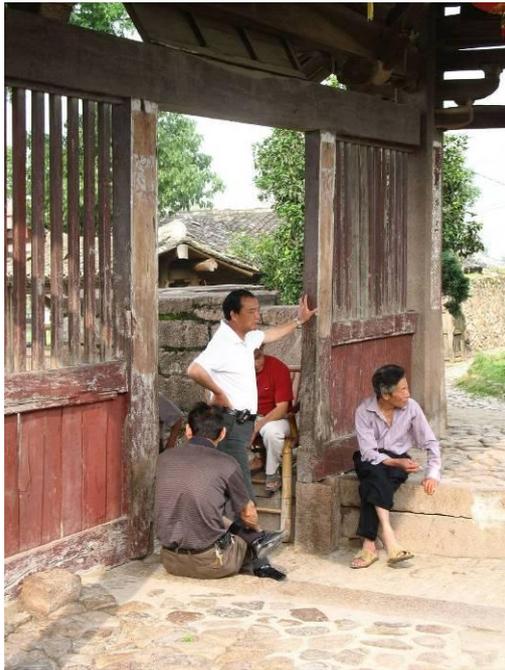


Figure 56-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
People resting at the Che Men



Figure 57-1,-2 (top, middle):
The Dingxiang Bridge

Figure 58 (bottom):
The Che Men and Dingxiang
Bridge viewed from the
Guanshang Pavilion



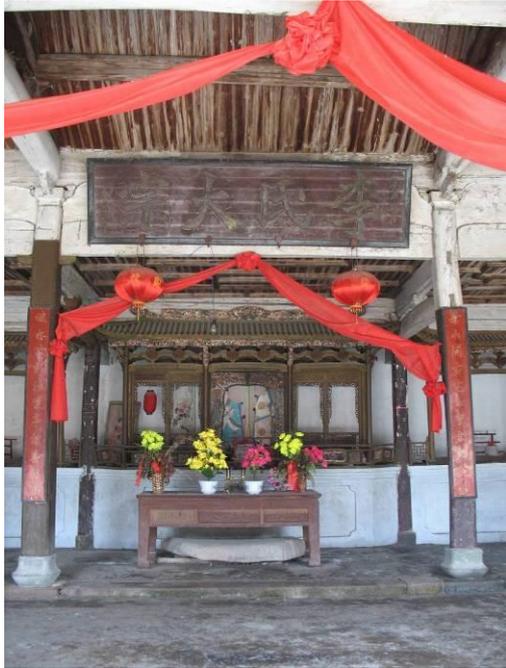


Figure 59 (top):
The main hall of the clan's ancestral
hall

Figure 60-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
The interior of the main hall

Figure 61 (top):
A close-up of the veranda
of the main hall



Figure 62 (middle):
A close-up of the column
base of the main hall



Figure 63 (bottom):
The side corridor





Figure 64 (top):
The stage in the ancestral hall

Figure 65-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the Dougong of the stage



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 66 (top):
The Renji Temple

Figure 67 (bottom):
A close-up of the roof of the
Renji Temple



Figure 68-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Close-ups of the wall of the
Renji Temple

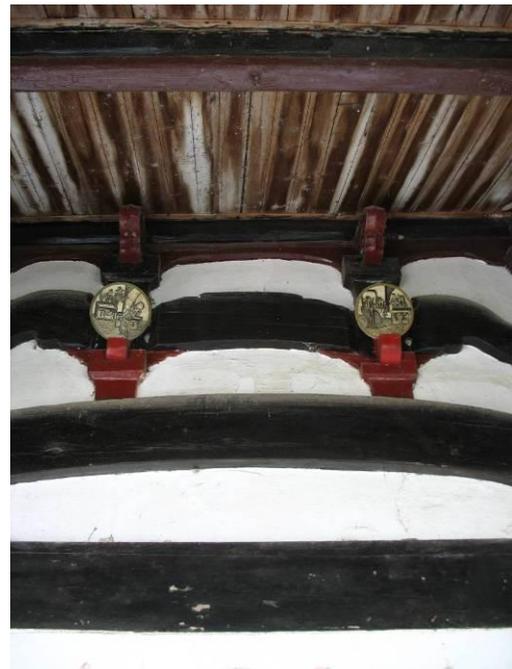


Figure 69-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the front veranda of the Renji
Temple



Figure 70 (top):
The West Pond

Figure 71-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
Women washing clothes and bamboo
baskets by the West Pond



Figure 72 (top):
The canal connecting the West
Pond with the East Pond

Figure 73 (middle):
The East Pond before the corridor
bridge was demolished

Figure 74 (bottom):
The East Pond after the corridor
bridge was demolished





Figure 75-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Children playing by the East Pond



Figure 76-1,-2 (top, bottom):
The Shuiyue Tang



Figure 77-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):

Close-ups of the corridor bridge over the East Pond



Figure 78-1,-2 (top, bottom):
The Wangxiang Pavilion



Figure 79 (top):
The interior of the Wangxiong
Pavilion

Figure 80 (bottom):
A close-up of the Dougong of
the Wangxiong Pavilion



Figure 81 (top):
A close-up of the ceiling of the Wangxiang Pavilion



Figure 82 (middle):
A close-up of the Meiren Kao benches in the Wangxiang Pavilion



Figure 83 (bottom):
A close-up of the column base of the Wangxiang Pavilion



Figure 84-1,-2 (top, middle):
The Shuangxi Pavilion

Figure 85 (bottom):
A stone tablet recording the construction
process of the Shuangxi Pavilion and the
names of who made contributions





Figure 86-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the Dougong of
the Shuangxi Pavilion



Figure 87 (top):
A close-up of the ceiling of the
Shuangxi Pavilion

Figure 88 (bottom):
A close-up of the eaves of the
Shuangxi Pavilion



Photo by Lu, Yongshun



Figure 89 (top):
The Guanshang Pavilion

Figure 90 (middle):
A close-up of the ceiling of
the Guanshang Pavilion

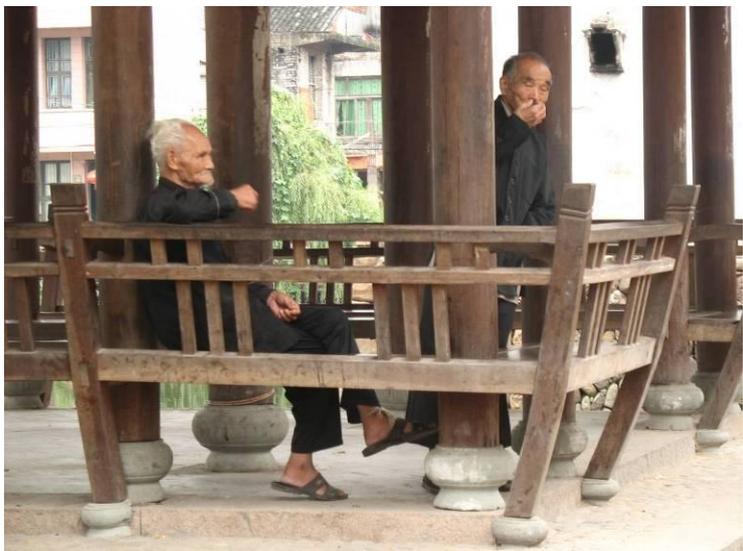


Figure 91 (bottom):
Two old men resting in the
Guanshang Pavilion



Figure 92-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Traditional-style dwelling houses
in Cangpo Village



Figure 92-3,-4 (top, bottom):
Traditional-style dwelling houses
in Cangpo Village



Figure 93-1,-2,-3,-4 (top, middle left, middle right, bottom):
Sliced bread like dwelling houses in Cangpo Village



Figure 94-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in the north of Cangpo Village



Figure 94-4,-5,-6 (top, middle, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in the north of Cangpo Village



Figure 94-7,-8,-9,-10 (top, middle left, middle right, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses in the north of Cangpo Village



Figure 95-1,-2 (top, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in the south of Cangpo Village



Figure 96-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses
in the west of Cangpo Village



Figure 96-4,-5 (top, bottom):
Modern-style dwelling houses in the
west of Cangpo Village



Figure 97-1,-2 (top, middle):
An illegally constructed dwelling house forcibly demolished by local government



Figure 98 (bottom):
The new village still under construction

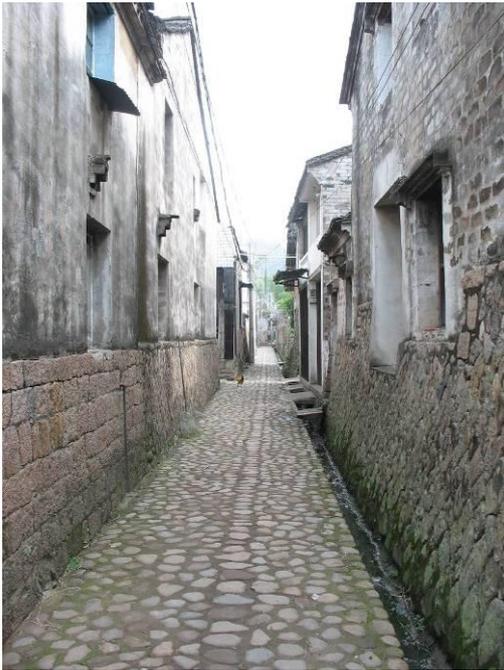


Figure 99-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the streets and lanes in Cangpo Village

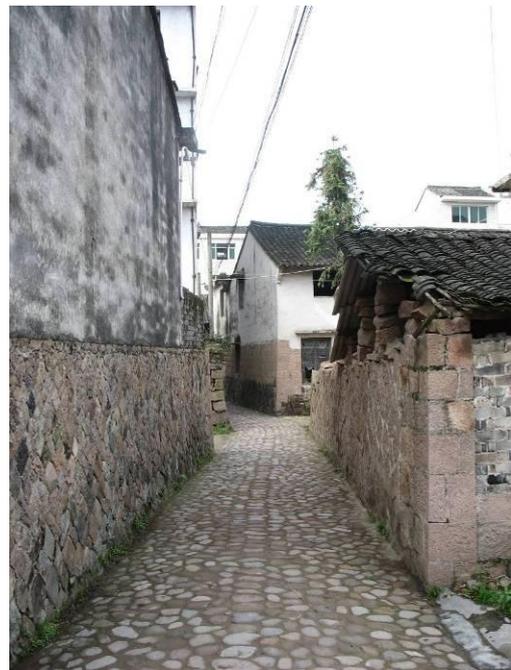


Figure 99-4,-5 (top, bottom):
Close-ups of the streets and
lanes in Cangpo Village



Figure 99-6,-7 (top, bottom):
Close-ups of the streets and
lanes in Cangpo Village

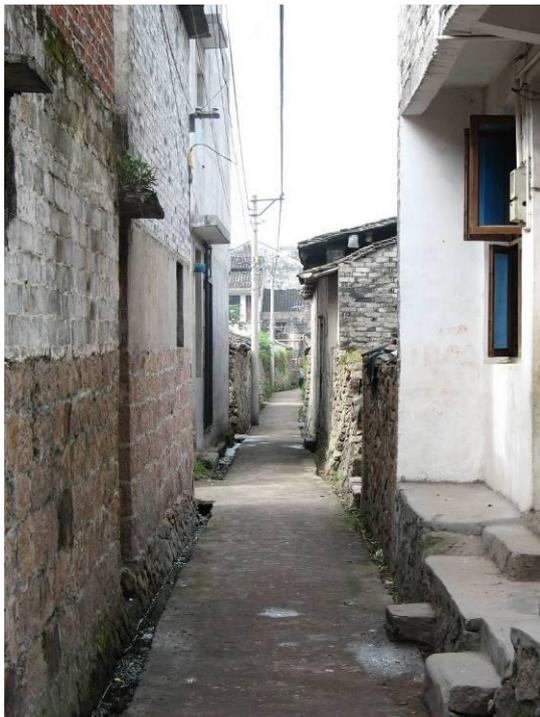


Figure 99-8,-9,-10 (top, middle, bottom):
Close-ups of the streets and lanes in Cangpo Village

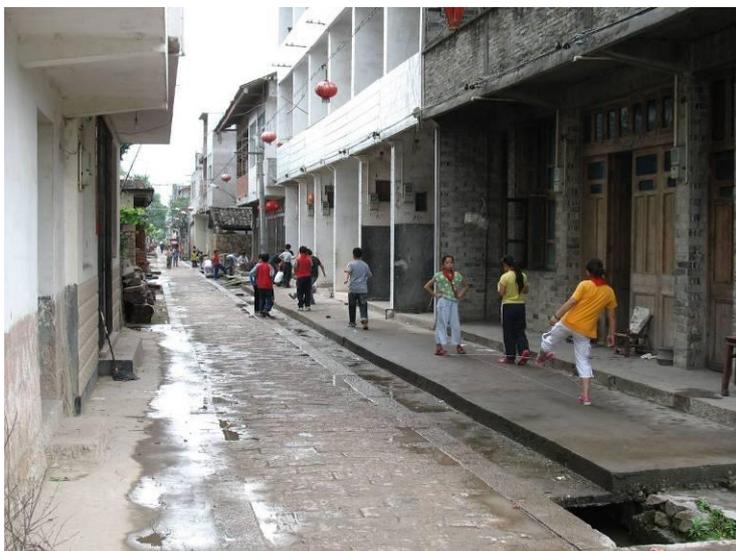
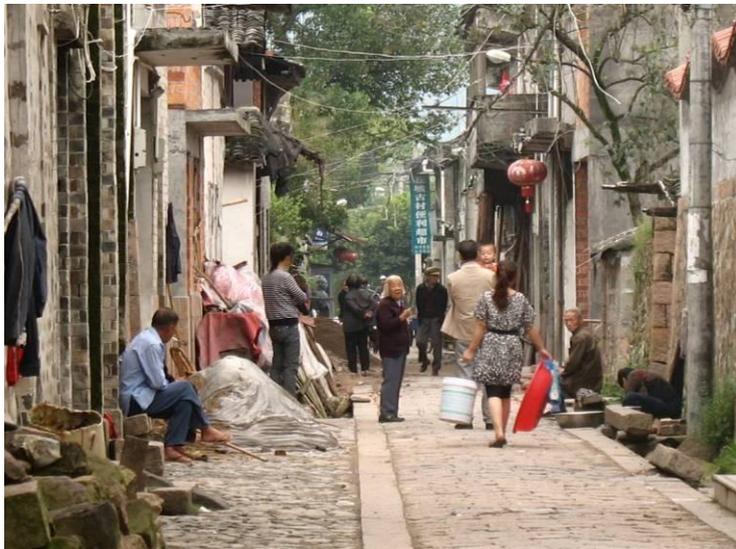


Figure 100-1,-2,-3 (top, middle, bottom):
The street life of the Cangpo villagers



Figure 101-1,-2 (top, middle):
Women washing clothes and
vegetables by the “One Spring
with Four Wells”

Figure 102 (bottom):
A close-up of one of the wells



Figure 103 (top):
A well in Cangpo Village

Figure 104-1,-2 (middle, bottom):
Women washing clothes by the
ditches in the village



Figure 105 (top):
A close-up of a woman washing
clothes by the ditch

Figure 106 (bottom):
Women washing clothes in a
small stream outside the village

The Collection of Audio Interviews in the Field Surveys

Interview Date: May 2007 and September 2010

Interview Sites: Furong Village and Cangpo Village in Yantou Town, Yongjia County, Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, China.

Interviewer: Long, Jiang

Interviewees: The local government officials in Yantou Town, officials and residents in Furong Village and Cangpo Village, etc.

Interviews Conducted in Furong Village

1. The first conversation with the boss of the Big Family Inn and Chen Jianbing, the head of Furong Village

The inn boss: There is no water piping system here. I spent more than six thousand Yuan to install the equipment to pump water from underground and store it.

Chen Jianbing: In this village, the people with the surname Chen actually originated from Huaiyang in Henan Province. Our ancestors migrated to Changxi in Fujian Province, and then to Changqiao in Ruian, Zhejiang Province, until the ninth-generation ancestors settled here. There are more than one hundred people, just like me, of the Jian-generation now. There have been sixty-nine generations of people (Note: According to the Furong Chen's genealogy books, there actually are about forty generations in total.) with the surname Chen and Chen Gong is regarded as the apical ancestor of our Furong Chen's clan.

Long: There is no clan head, but a village head and a village Party secretary in this village nowadays, right?

Chen Jianbing: There are still clan heads in some villages and those positions are usually filled by the people of the older generation. But there is no clan head in our village.

Long: How many people are there in the village?

Chen Jianbing: There are about 3000 people.

Long: Are all the people still living in the village, or many of them have gone out to find jobs in other areas?

Chen Jianbing: Some local people have gone elsewhere to work, while there are some people coming here to work.

Long: Do those people coming here want to just work temporarily or settle down permanently?

Chen Jianbing: Their hukou cannot be registered in our village, and consequently they cannot settle down here permanently. They come here just to cultivate the land which is left by those working elsewhere.

Long: Are the majority or only a minority of the villagers working in other places?

Chen Jianbing: The majority have gone out to work because little money can be earned in hometown.

Long: Do the migrants to cities still have houses in the village?

Chen Jianbing: Some have houses both in the village and in other places. Even so, some have to live in hotels when coming back because their houses might be not big enough. Furong Village has been appraised as an important cultural relic site under state-level protection and we are going to build a new village now. Although we have got the land, how to assign it to the villagers is still very troublesome.

Long: Is it because there are too many people?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, there are too many people but not enough houses. The new village will cover 45 mu of land and it actually could basically meet our needs. But, the new houses are only allowed to be three-story high at most, in order to be consistent with the ancient architectural style. If they can be built higher, the housing shortage could be resolved better. The villagers all want to build higher, but the government doesn't allow.

Long: Will all the households in the old village have a new house in the new village?

Chen Jianbing: It may not be enough. There will be only two hundred houses in the new village but four hundred to five hundred households in Shang Village, so some families cannot have houses in the new village.

Long: Since not all the families are in a lack of housing, you can allocate new houses to those in a lack of housing.

Chen Jianbing: Our village has 80 mu of contracted land under a 15-year term, which expired in 1999. The land was reassigned several times in 1999, but it failed until 2005. Now the land will be used to build new village, and since it has already been assigned to every family, every family asks for a new house. In fact, according to the government's policy, those in a serious lack of housing should first get the new houses, but they still need to pay for the houses by themselves and those who lack housing are usually lack money, too.

Long: Why do the houses in the new village cannot be higher than three-story?

Chen Jianbing: I have seen the blueprint. The houses are designed by an agency in Hangzhou, imitating the house style of Maojiapu Village, Hangzhou. Furthermore, the construction costs are quite high.

Long: You have the right to assess their design, don't you?

Chen Jianbing: We have raised our objections to the current design several times, but it is useless. It will be the higher authorities that make the decision.

Long: If the houses were built, who would pay for them?

Chen Jianbing: The house owners would pay by themselves because the village committee doesn't have much money.

Long: The home buyer will pay for the construction of the new house, right?

Chen Jianbing: Yes. The village committee has paid more than 200,000 Yuan for the design, almost using up the tourism revenue. So, the village committee has no money to pay for the house construction. The construction of the new village is a part of the Furong Village tourism development project. The construction bureau and tourism bureau wish that the two villages can be consistent with each other in architectural style and the tourists will be guided to visit the old and the new villages in succession. The houses were originally designed to be only two-and-a-half-story high, with a kitchen and a living room on the first floor and two bedrooms on the second. Such room arrangement was unreasonable because if a family has four people, including the parents, a son, and a daughter, they will need at least three bedrooms. Moreover, there should be a room for guests. Later, the design was changed, permitting the houses to be three-story high.

Long: During the previous planning process, did the designers ask for your proposals?

Chen Jianbing: They based their planning on the practical situation in Yantou Town instead of that in our village. If they could come here, we would tell them our practical situation, however, the planning was always examined in Yantou Town. Additionally, besides this planning, another one was made by the Shangtang planning bureau. There are two versions of planning now.

Long: Has the planning been carried out now?

Chen Jianbing: The planning has basically been finished, but the construction drawings haven't been made yet. It has cost our village more than 200,000 Yuan for the design, and will cost at least 300,000 Yuan for the construction drawings.

Long: Since when has tourism been developed here?

Chen Jianbing: Since 2002.

Long: Why did you develop tourism?

Chen Jianbing: When Professor Chen Zhihua came here in the 1980s, he advocated the protection and restoration of this traditional village. However, his proposal wasn't implemented in the following ten plus years. As few tourists came here, the tourism bureau began to advertise to attract photographers taking pictures in the village. Afterwards, the Association for the Elderly organized their members to sell tickets, five Yuan for each ticket, and the annual revenue amounted to 10,000 to 20,000 Yuan. When the tourism in Furong Village began to gain momentum, the tourism bureau decided to take over the management position of the association and planned to invest two million Yuan in the tourism projects which actually were jointly managed by the county government, the tourism bureau, and our village from then on. From 2002 to May 2007, all the tourism revenues were given to our village. But, the tourism bureau and the country government want to share the profits since this year. We insist that they should invest in the restoration of the shabby old houses and help us to demolish the remaining modern multi-storey buildings which, in the eyes of tourists, have seriously destroyed the harmony of the village's overall appearance.

Long: From when does the government plan to share the profits?

Chen Jianbing: From this May 1.

Long: How will you share it?

Chen Jianbing: Our village will get 48%, the Yantou Town government 26% and the tourism bureau 26%. The government always says that they will invest, but actually hasn't paid anything yet.

Long: That is to say, they never invested any money, but have got the dividends.

Chen Jianbing: It is reasonable for the government to share the profits if it has invested money. But, since the government didn't invest any money, all the profits are still owned by our village now. This matter hasn't been resolved yet. Until now, there has been no money being shared by the government and meanwhile, there are still a lot of buildings and facilities that need to be repaired.

Long: It is June now. Has the government shared the profits for a month since May or not?

Chen Jianbing: No, they haven't got any of the profits since much money is still needed for the restoration of branch ancestral halls, the repair of roads, and the installation of a water piping system, a sewage system and a public fire hydrant system, etc. The government doesn't dare to really share the profits, but only claims it in words.

Long: How much was the ticket revenue last year?

Chen Jianbing: It was 580,000 Yuan last year and 600,000 Yuan the year before last year.

Long: Could the average annual revenue reach to 600,000 Yuan?

Chen Jianbing: No, it was only 240,000 Yuan in 2002.

Long: But it was the first year that you began to developed tourism.

Chen Jianbing: The annual revenue was about 300,000 Yuan in 2003 and 600,000 Yuan in 2004, adding up to more than 2 million Yuan in the last five years.

Long: Was all the 2 million Yuan spent on the restoration and maintenance of this traditional village?

Chen Jianbing: The 2 million Yuan is being spent in several ways. The branch ancestral halls, belonging to the Fangs in the past, have been rented by the village committee and the rent for each one is 1200 Yuan per year. Besides, the salaries of the relevant staff are 40,000 to 50,000 Yuan per year. It cost more than 300,000 Yuan to install underground communication and TV cables, and did more than 100,000 Yuan to install 900 meters, each of which 150 Yuan.

Long: What do the villagers think of the tourism development in the village?

Chen Jianbing: They are not satisfied with it because only some villagers could indeed benefit from the ticket revenues while others not and each villager actually could share just ten Yuan from ticket revenue every year. It cost the village committee over 100,000 Yuan in the recent two years to buy medical insurance for the villagers. Each person was given 20 Yuan last year and 30 Yuan this year.

Long: When did your village begin to be protected as a valuable cultural relic site?

Chen Jianbing: In the 1980s. But, the protection was performed mostly in words rather than in deeds, and only when we had spare money would we repair the old buildings occasionally.

Long: Are the new-style houses not allowed to be built in Furong Village?

Chen Jianbing: No, they cannot be built now. We are trying to ensure the preservation of the traditional appearance of our village. If someone's house cannot be inhabited anymore, the householder must build his house strictly according to the design drawings made by local government.

Long: There is no modern sewage system in the village till now. How do you convey sewage away?

Chen Jianbing: The sewage is directly discharged into the ditches.

Long: Is excrement also poured directly into the ditches?

Chen Jianbing: It is poured into septic tanks, and then leaks underground. It would make underground water polluted.

Long: Would the underground water be polluted?

Chen Jianbing: Yes.

Long: What about the water piping system?

Chen Jianbing: It hasn't been installed yet. If it were done, the fire hydrant system would also be installed.

Long: Then the villagers are still using the well water, aren't they?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, they all use underground water. However, the people have built so many septic tanks that the underground water might be polluted. We just haven't perceived the consequence yet.

Chen Jianbing: When Chen Zihua came here to conduct surveys in the 1980s, the county leaders didn't attach much importance to the preservation of the traditional villages. Otherwise, the new-style houses which have damaged the traditional landscape of Furong Village wouldn't be built.

Long: Now every family here has access to electricity and phone service. Is it the main achievement of the infrastructure construction in your village?

Chen Jianbing: Yes.

Chen Jianbing: Every new county or town leader had his own policy towards the preservation and development of the traditional villages. Now, the cultural relic bureau has taken the place of the town government to administer the preservation of the villages. And it is stipulated that after this July, the renovation of the traditional residential buildings must be based on the drawings made by the relevant provincial government agencies. According to the proposals of the local villagers, the villagers wish to build five-or-six-story houses because there is a large population but little land in our village and only in this way can the housing needs be met. However, the authorities didn't adopt our proposals, insisting that people could built only at most three-story ones, with the first story 3 meters high, the second 2.7 meters, and the third 2.8 meters. In our village the first story of a house used to be 3.5 meters high and the above stories each 3 meters high. So, the height of each story is reduced by the new government requirement.

Long: Are you living in a traditional house or a brick one?

Chen Jianbing: My family is living in a brick house.

Long: When was it built?

Chen Jianbing: In the 1970s.

Long: Who designed it?

Chen Jianbing: The house didn't need professional designs. I designed it by myself.

Long: Now the government provides the designs of the new houses to you. Comparing the designs made by the government with those by yourselves, do you think it is necessary for the government to design the houses for you? And is it necessary for you to employ professional staff to design your houses?

Chen Jianbing: We have to pay money for the government's designs. We can save it if we design the houses by ourselves. However, we are not allowed to design by ourselves any more now. We have no choice but to let the government design for us, which will inevitably enhance the total construction cost. There was a traditional house demolished by the owner without government permission. The government didn't allow him to build a new-style house and fined him 10,000 Yuan. With this money the government designed for him a new house whose first story was 3 meters high and bathroom was placed just under the stairs, only 1.6 meters high and impossible for people to stand inside.

Long: Now it seems to be a dilemma. On the one hand, it will be expensive and even unsuitable for actual conditions if the government designs for you. On the other hand, the government is afraid that if you design by yourselves, you might mess it up.

Chen Jianbing: Yes, the government is afraid that we might mess up. But it costs too much money if the government designs the houses for us. It will cost more than 10,000 Yuan for designing one house.

Long: You have to pay for the construction of the new village. Then, how much money might a family pay?

Chen Jianbing: One family might have to pay more than 100,000 Yuan.

Long: How large is the house that you can buy with this money?

Chen Jianbing: The house is designed to be three-story and 9.9 meters high, 3.3 meters wide, 12 meters long, and about more than 100 square meters in total.

Long: Why is there such a dire need for housing in your village?

Chen Jianbing: It is not urgent for some families whose children are just seven or eight years old. But it is urgent for the families with children 19 or 20 years old to build houses, because the children will soon get married and separate from their parents. Many families are living in just half-a-jian-wide houses, and many people who work in other areas don't have houses to live in when they come back. So, some of them have to build small houses beside their old ones, even though it is illegal.

Long: When did the young people here begin to work in other areas?

Chen Jianbing: They began to go out to work in the 1960s.

Long: But at that time the government had very strict control over the allocation of jobs.

Chen Jianbing: Even so, they still managed to go out to work, always with fake approval certificates they made by themselves.

Long: Why didn't they stay at home?

Chen Jianbing: It was very hard for them to count on farming in the village to feed themselves. They had no choice but to work out of the village as early as the 1960s. It was not easy to get an approval certificate from the county government until 1984 when the villagers were officially permitted to work elsewhere freely. It could be said that the certificates held by our villagers in the 1960s and 70s were all fake.

Long: Each family has some land, doesn't it? Do you cultivate it?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, we do, but each person has only 0.1 mu of land.

Long: Now you don't need to submit any grains to the government, do you?

Chen Jianbing: No. Even the agricultural tax was eliminated last year.

Long: Did you have to pay the tax before?

Chen Jianbing: We had to pay the tax rather than submit grains in the past. But all the agricultural taxes were eliminated last year.

Long: Can you be self-sufficient by depending on farming your own land?

Chen Jianbing: No, it is not enough.

Long: Then you have to buy some grain for yourselves, don't you?

Chen Jianbing: Yes. If you have only a little land, you can rent some land from other families who have gone to work in other places. It is not enough for everyone to rely solely on the land allocated by the government.

Long: How do the ordinary peasants make a living? Totally rely on farming?

Chen Jianbing: They also do some other work.

Long: Like what?

Chen Jianbing: When some families build houses, other villagers can do some manual labor for them.

Long: Is your village rich or poor in the town?

Chen Jianbing: Our village is just so-so, not as rich as Yantou and several other villages, but better than those in the upper reaches of the Nanxi River. Our Village is not impoverished, especially with annual ticket revenue of 600,000 Yuan.

Long: But the 600,000 Yuan cannot be a great help to the villagers.

Chen Jianbing: No, it cannot. In fact, developing tourism only makes our village much famous.

Long: Does each family have flush toilet?

Chen Jianbing: Most of the new-style houses have, but those traditional houses can't be remodeled to install flush toilets.

Long: Is the excrement flushed directly into septic tanks, leaking into the soil afterwards?

Chen Jianbing: A part of it leaks into the soil, while the other part is sifted out and dumped into ditches.

Long: Did the Chen's clan divide itself into several branches?

Chen Jianbing: Yes.

Long: How many main branches are there now?

Chen Jianbing: Our apical ancestor had two sons. One son established Xiazhai Fang and the other did Shangzhai Fang. Xiazhai Fang has no branches, while Shangzhai Fang has four. The current village Party secretary just belongs to the first one of the four branches; a dozen of families in the second branch still live here while the others have already migrated onto the mountain; those of the third branch have migrated into Xiami Village except only one family living here; and the others belong to the fourth branch. Later the fourth Fang developed into two branches, one of which doesn't exist now but the other one divided into two sub-branches again. One didn't divide but the other one divided into three branches. There are, in total, eighteen branch ancestral halls in the village.

Long: Did the Fangs have Fang heads?

Chen Jianbing: Each Fang had a fang head in whose family the Fang genealogy books were preserved.

Long: Why were those genealogy books preserved in his family?

Chen Jianbing: He was literate and thus could read the genealogy books. It was a senseless thing to let illiterate people preserve the books.

Long: This was the case in the past. Now most of the villagers perhaps have been literate and can read the genealogy books.

Chen Jianbing: Yes, most villagers are literate now. But, the genealogy books are continually preserved in the previous families.

Long: Are the general genealogy books preserved in the village Party secretary's home?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, they are. The newly revised ones have been sealed and can't be opened. If you want to search for information about the elder generations, you can consult old versions of the genealogy books. As for the information about the young generations, you should go to consult the Fang genealogy books in every Fang. The latest version of the genealogy books were revised in 1981. When they are unsealed, our clan will burn incense and sacrifice a pig's head to the ancestors in the ancestral hall.

Long: Are the genealogy books in the village Party secretary's home the old version?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, they are. They were revised during the Republic of China, after which it was the Land Revolution, and then the Cultural Revolution. We couldn't revise them until 1981. Thirty years after the last revising, our clan will revise them once again.

Long: Were the people residentially concentrated in their respective Fangs or mixed with those of other Fangs?

Chen Jianbing: They have been mixed together and families belonging to the same Fang have scattered to different areas. This is totally different with the situation in the past that all the people of the same Fang lived together in one area. Due to population growth, families were separated when constructing their new houses in different locations.

Long: What about the situation in history, for example, before liberation?

Chen Jianbing: Before liberation, several families of one Fang lived together in a big house. For example, the Sima Di was built by a family belonging to the second Fang. The family consisted of five brothers and four of them lived together in that house. But later, as some moved out and some died, their descendants sold parts of the house to people of other Fangs, and so it is owned by people of different Fangs now.

Long: If you wanted to sell your house, could those of the other Fangs buy it? Could you sell your house to them or only to those belonging to the same Fang with you?

Chen Jianbing: When someone wanted to sell his house, he would first ask people of the same Fang whether they wanted to buy. If they didn't want, the owner could sell it to people of other Fangs.

Long: People of the same Fang had the priority to purchase, didn't they?

Chen Jianbing: Yes.

Long: And other people also had a chance to buy.

Chen Jianbing: There is no such priority anymore now. The house will be sold to the one who bids the highest price.

Long: Are there some rules for you to build a branch ancestral hall? For example, should it be located near to the place where the Fang members are residentially concentrated in?

Chen Jianbing: There are no such rules. You just build it on your own land.

Chen Jianbing: Furong Village reached its peak during Qianlong's reign in the Qing Dynasty. It also developed quite well in the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties when eighteen central officials came out of this village. And Chen Yüzhi became a hero fighting against the Mongolian army in the late Southern Song.

Long: I have heard people talk about the "seven stars and eight dou". What do they refer to?

Chen Jianbing: Our village was destroyed because of fighting against the Mongolian army. The last emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, Emperor Yuan Shun, ordered to rebuild Furong Village. The village was planned around the concept of "seven stars and eight scoops" during the reconstruction process. The three dou referred to the three ponds constructed for people washing clothes and vegetables. Their water was quite clean in the past, but not any more now. At the same time they were also for fire fighting.

Long: What did the seven stars refer to?

Chen Jianbing: They referred to the seven settlement gates, while the eight dou the three ponds plus five wells.

Long: What are the branch ancestral halls used for now?

Chen Jianbing: A dozen of them have been rented for tourists sightseeing and some others, demolished in the past, have been restored yet.

Long: Will the Fang members still go to hold rituals in the branch ancestral halls?

Chen Jianbing: No, they won't. We have rented the ancestral halls.

Long: Do the Fangs have nothing to do with their branch ancestral halls now?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, the ancestral halls actually still belong to the Fangs and the village committee just rents them temporarily for developing tourism.

Long: Some branch ancestral halls were demolished. Was it because they had been too shabby?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, they were very shabby and the Fangs didn't have money to repair them. They were thus blown down by typhoons.

Long: Before implementing the village preservation policies, were there also many procedures that the villagers had to go through for building new houses?

Chen Jianbing: No, there were no procedures in the 1970s. This lasted until 1987 or so when the housing construction began to be planned and examined.

Long: That is to say, the villagers were able to build houses relatively freely in the past.

Chen Jianbing: Yes.

Long: They even didn't need to apply to the village head?

Chen Jianbing: The land was owned collectively by the village in the 1970s and belonged to the village until 1984 when it was contracted to households.

Long: Then where on earth could the villagers rather freely build their houses?

Chen Jianbing: They could build houses on their own private plots.

Long: Wasn't all the land owned by the collective? Why could the people still have private plots?

Chen Jianbing: Not all the land belonged to the collective. People still could own private plots. This was a policy made by Liu Shaoqi. The private plots were assigned to the villagers. They had the right to use their own plots.

Long: How were the private plots assigned?

Chen Jianbing: They were assigned according to the population.

Long: How did you decide which piece of land should be a private plot or belong to the collective?

Chen Jianbing: The private plots were assigned to the people first, 0.048 mu per person.

Long: But pieces of land differed in condition. Some might be fertile, while others barren. How were these pieces of land assigned?

Long: In the past, everything was decided by village cadres, such as the brigade head and the village Party secretary, etc. If the people had no private plots, they would have starved to death in the 1960s.

Long: Couldn't the villagers produce enough food from the collectively owned land?

Chen Jianbing: Every day after we had arrived at the fields, we would put our hoes down and sit to smoke. Few people worked hard to cultivate the collectively owned land.

Long: Did you have two pieces of land after the Reform, namely a piece of private plot and a piece of contracted land?

Chen Jianbing: Yes, you are right. But if someone had built a house on his private plot, he couldn't get another plot. If he didn't build a house there, the plot was still his.

Long: You can own your private plot forever, can't you?

Chen Jianbing: We can use it forever. This was stipulated by Liu Shaoqi. The private plots were assigned again in 1979, and thus people born after 1979 haven't. In my family I am the only one of the four members having a private plot.

Long: Houses can't be freely built anymore even on private plots, can they?

Chen Jianbing: No. Housing construction needs the examination and approval of the authorities now. In the past, since people built houses by themselves rather freely without any planning, it triggered a lot of problems. Some old houses were almost enclosed by the new ones, the lanes leading to their front and rear gates having both been blocked. Many quarrels occurred between neighbors because there was no planning during the process of building a house. House construction does need planning. Enough space should be set aside for use as lanes in front and rear of each house.

2. A conversation with the Furong villagers

Long: Did your Chen's clan have clan head before liberation?

Villager: Yes, we had. There would always be a person serving as the clan head in the past. Moreover, the village consisted of six Fangs and each Fang had a head.

Long: He was called Fang head, wasn't he?

Villager: Yes, he was called Fang head. When some important events happened in the village, the six people would discuss together.

Long: Was the clan head elected from the Fang head?

Villager: It should be the village head.

Long: Was he addressed as village head in the past?

Villager: No. It was called bao zhang at that time.

Long: Was bao zhang in charge of the management of clan affairs, just being the clan head?

Villager: Yes. And only through election could someone become bao zhang in the past.

Long: How was he elected?

Villager: The villagers would hold a meeting for the election of bao zhang.

Long: Was he elected by vote?

Villager: Yes, by vote.

Long: When did this happen?

Villager: It was during the period of the Republic of China.

Long: Was the clan head also elected by vote in the Qing Dynasty?

Villager: It was perhaps the same.

Villager: There were eight villages above and five below Yantou. The clan heads of these villages would come together to jointly deal with issues among these villages.

Long: Was the clan head also serving as bao zhang at the same time?

Villager: A clan head didn't have to be bao zhang. The clan head was an old title called within a clan, while bao zhang was an executive title under the new political system of the KMT regime.

Long: When the clan head came forward to mediate a dispute, what would happen if his decisions were not accepted by the people concerned?

Villager: If the people concerned refuse to accept the clan head's decisions, they could lodge appeals because there were also courts at that time.

Long: That is to say, the clan head didn't have the right to enforce obedience to his decisions, did he?

Villager: I don't clearly know the situation of the past, but it has been like that ever since I could remember, the clan head didn't have that right.

Long: Did the clan head not have such a right during the period of the Republic of China?

Villager: No. Only the courts had such a right in that period.

Long: What about the Fang heads? If there were some conflicts within a Fang, did the Fang head have the right to enforce obedience to his decisions?

Villager: The Fang head would persuade both sides to make concessions. And he should never be partial toward either side. Otherwise, his mediation would be useless.

Long: The Fang head must be fair and just.

Villager: Yes.

Long: Did he mediate only by virtue of his prestige?

Villager: Yes. He couldn't enforce obedience to his decisions. If his mediation failed, next, it should be the government to resolve the conflicts. There was also local government in that period. Fang heads couldn't take the place of local government.

Long: Was the Fang head a lifelong title? Once someone was elected Fang head, would he occupy that position without a time limit?

Villager: There might not be a time limit. But when a Fang head was too old to work, he would give the position to others.

Long: Would he give the position to his son?

Villager: There was no such tradition.

Long: The new Fang head should be elected, right?

Villager: Yes.

Long: Are the families of different Fangs living in mixed neighborhoods?

Villager: Yes. Families belonging to the same Fang are not residentially concentrated, but have scattered and live in many different places now. Take my

Fang, the third Fang, for example. Our people live in both Shang and Xia Villages. We live wherever we could purchase houses. Every Fang might be residentially concentrated at the beginning of the establishment of this settlement. For example, the first Fang might live in a corner of the village and the Xiazhai Fang in another one. But the people of the Xiazhai Fang live here and there nowadays.

Long: You mean the families of each Fang perhaps were residentially concentrated in the early stages of settlement, right?

Villager: Yes, they were. For example, all the people of the Xiazhai Fang lived over there in the past. But they separated as soon as the population grew up. They would have to build new houses in other places and might sell their old ones to those of other Fangs.

Long: That is to say, in early times, it could be seen clearly that the people of a Fang lived together in a area, but later, along with the purchase of house lots between each other, the people gradually lived with those of other Fangs, and now there is no distinct area that the members of a Fang are residentially concentrated in.

Villager: Yes, it is true.

Long: When someone wants to sell his house, will he sell it only to the person of the same Fang or to anyone of other Fangs?

Villager: Generally speaking, the people of the same Fang have the priority to buy the house. But if they don't want to buy, the people of other Fangs can buy it.

Long: Will the house be sold to the person of the same Fang or other Fangs at a same price?

Villager: Yes, at a same price. The people of the same Fang only have the priority to buy it. For example, we belong to the same Fang. When I want to sell my house, I will first ask whether you want to buy it or not. If you don't want to buy, I will then sell it to the people of other Fangs.

Long: For their own interests, were the Fangs ever in severe conflicts with each other in history?

Villager: Yes, they were. Sometimes they differed in their opinions, quarreled, and even fought against each other. Every time it happened, the big drum placed inside the ancestral hall, just over the front door, would be beaten to assemble the villagers, especially the Fang heads, to resolve.

Long: Who, the Fang heads or the villagers, would come to resolve the conflicts?

Villagers: It was usually the Fang heads.

Long: Can we say that the heads of the six Fangs were responsible for arbitrating conflicts?

Villagers: Only for very important issues would a general meeting of the villagers be convened to discuss together, which in fact was extremely rare.

Long: Would those Fangs intermingle with each other on ordinary days?

Villager: Yes, especially at weddings or funerals. For example, if an old man died, the people of other Fangs would send wreaths and money to his family.

Long: When people gathered to talk or play chess in daily life, were they only with the people of the same Fang, or also with those of other Fangs?

Villager: The people of different Fangs didn't estrange themselves from each other. The big house where I live now accommodates more than thirty families from the second, third, and Xiazhai Fangs. We share everything in our daily life.

Long: Is it like this all along?

Villager: Yes.

Long: Only on special occasions, for example, on elections, could the distinction among Fangs be seen, right?

Villager: Yes. Take our village as an example. The village heads and the village Party secretaries are always from the biggest Fangs.

Long: Will the smaller Fangs be bullied by the larger ones? For example, if someone is elected village head or village Party secretary just by virtue of his Fang's large population, will he be fair and irrespective of Fangs when dealing with village issues?

Villager: Theoretically, he should deal with issues fairly, but he actually would show some partiality.

Long: Is the partiality severe enough to trigger conflict?

Village: Because of the partiality, some people will suffer light losses and have to swallow their anger. But for the heavy losses, they won't compromise anymore.

Long: Did it ever happen that the small Fangs did suffer heavy losses?

Villager: Yes, it ever happened.

Long: Although all the Fangs live harmoniously in daily life, they still will distinguish themselves from each other in the face of interests.

Villager: Yes.

Long: Is it like this all along, either?

Villager: Yes. But some leaders are quite upright and fair. When the people of his Fang had conflict with those of other Fangs, he would avoid dealing with it. This ever happened.

Long: Did it happen after liberation or even before liberation?

Villager: I don't know the situation before liberation. Now, some leaders will let other ones to deal with the conflicts between their own Fangs and other Fangs in order to avoid people's doubts about his impartiality. Even so, he would still usually give some basic opinions on those conflicts.

Long: If one family is very poor, will your clan give relief to it?

Villager: Yes. We will firstly publicly discuss which families need help, and then make a list of their names and post it on the wall of the ancestral hall. If no one raises an objection to the list, it will be submitted to the government and either the town government or our village will give relief to those families on the list.

Long: What about in the past, for example, in the period of the Republic of China?

Villager: When the villagers suffered natural disasters or accidents, they could receive relief from the clan. Every Fang had its own land and could collect rent therefrom.

Long: Did all the Fangs have their own land?

Villager: Yes. If someone studied well and was admitted to some school, his Fang would sponsor him. It was the same in all the Fangs.

Long: Were such kind of small funds usually established by the Fangs?

Villager: The clan also had land and used the land revenue to establish such fund. The clan would sponsor the children to study in middle schools or collages.

Long: Since the Fangs had already sponsored the children's study, why did the clan also sponsor them?

Villager: The Fang's and the clan's funds could shoulder only part of the expenses of their study. And the majority of expenses had to be shouldered by the students themselves. Otherwise, they still couldn't go to study in schools.

Long: If someone wanted to go to study, would both the clan and his Fang sponsor him at the same time?

Villager: Yes.

Long: It means he might get two sponsorships at the same time.

Villager: Yes. If someone was too poor to let his children study, his Fang, for example, the third Fang, and the clan would lend him several mu of land for three years. Then he could rent the land to other people and the land rent would belong to him.

Long: By whom was the clan or Fang land usually farmed?

Villager: The land was usually rented to the people, some of whom might be local villagers and some from other places. The clan and Fangs were only responsible for collecting the rent.

Long: All the people in your clan had the same surname Chen. Are there any rules relating to marriage?

Villager: There was no couple that both had the surname Chen before liberation, but there are some now. For example, a person from the second Fang and the other from the third, at a similar age, can get married.

Long: Can't two people of the same Fang get married?

Villager: There are very few such cases. Since the people of the same Fang share common descent, they can't intermarry with each other.

Long: Some people of the same Fang may not be near relatives in the law, so they can get married now, right?

Villager: Even though it is legal, there are, in fact, very few such marriages. The clan no longer prohibits it, but the genealogy books probably stipulated in the past that people with the same surname mustn't intermarry with each other.

Long: Did the "people with the same surname" refer to all those across the country? That is to say, you also could not marry with a girl from other provinces as long as she had the same surname Chen with you. Is it true?

Villager: There were not many such occasions in the past. Actually, few people would come here from other provinces. All people in Furong and Chenao Villages had the same surname Chen. In the past, the matchmakers wouldn't introduce Chenao girls to our fellows, because it was the custom that people with the same surname mustn't intermarry. But it has been different now. We can marry with people as long

as they come from other villages, and even some of local villagers, with the same surname, have married each other. Besides Chen, there are people with other surnames like Wang, Xü, Zhang, and Zhou, etc. in our village now. So, there are larger opportunities to choose spouses than before.

Villager: I heard that, in the past, if a woman was wanton, she would be executed. I just heard of it but never saw it.

Long: Who would enforce the death penalty? Would the clan?

Villager: Yes, it would be done by the clan, and, in the period of the Republic of China, if the clan had such rules, the government couldn't intervene.

Long: Most of the young people have gone out to work, right?

Villager: Yes, very few are still staying in the village. Only old people are living here.

Long: What do you do in daily life?

Villager: We have been too old to work, so we live depending on the money earned by our sons and daughters.

Long: Depending on the money they remit to you?

Villager: Yes.

Long: Are there any people still farming in the village now?

Villager: Yes. Some people have come from the mountain area to live and rent land for farming in our village. Now the land rent is quite cheap. To rent one mu of land for one year only costs 100 jin of grains which are worth of tens of Yuan. The rent of ten mu of land is less than 1000 Yuan.

Long: Does each family usually have many children in the village?

Villager: Some families had even more than ten children in the old days. But, even though family planning policy was not carried out then, there wasn't rapid population growth on the whole, because the people were in poor living and health conditions caused by economic difficulties.

Long: How do the old peasants make their livings?

Villager: Their sons will earn money and remit it to them.

Long: Are there any people remitting no money to their parents?

Villager: No, there are no people that don't remit money to their parents at all.

Long: Is it compulsory for the children to support their parents by giving money?

Villager: Yes. No matter how many children there are in a family, each of them should shoulder such a responsibility.

Long: In the past, would the parents consider whether they could afford it before they gave birth to a lot of children?

Villager: They usually wouldn't. They just tried to bring their children up, without considering too much whether the children could get enough education and find suitable jobs.

Long: Did they prefer boys and having as many as possible?

Villager: Yes, they did.

Long: They would like to have several sons. Otherwise, their family would be bullied by others, wouldn't they?

Villager: Yes, it happens all along. If you have two sons and someone has three or four sons, your sons might suffer bullying because they couldn't beat the four sons.

Long: Does this happen even now?

Villager: Yes.

Long: But there are laws. No matter whether they are boys or girls, they will all be protected by the laws against being bullied by others.

Villager: There are indeed some laws, but they can hardly be with you all the time. Even if you win in lawsuit, you might suffer retaliation. Therefore, people will usually tolerate the light losses and have to keep silence.

3. The second conversation with the boss of Big Family Inn

The hotel boss: Houses could be freely built in the past, and then many brick houses were constructed.

Long: When were they built?

The hotel boss: It was before developing tourism here.

Long: Before the 1980s?

The hotel boss: Yes. The government didn't conduct strict supervision over the village construction activities. Neither was there any planning.

Long: I wonder why they built brick houses instead of wooden ones.

The hotel boss: Wood was too expensive.

Long: Were the wooden materials or the labor expensive?

The hotel boss: Both were expensive.

4. The first conversation with Furong villager Chen Shiyao

Chen Shiyao: There was only a collective portrait of the “eighteen golden belts”, and the names of these eighteen ancestors were unknown before developing tourism here. That is to say, people in our clan only heard of the “eighteen golden belts”, but didn’t know their names. It is shameful for us, the descendants of the “eighteen golden belts”, not to know our ancestors’ names, and so we decided to study carefully in order to find out their names. We almost searched through all the genealogy books concerned in which our many ancestors’ names were recorded but we still didn’t know which were of the “eighteen golden belts”. Later, someone said that he ever read the names of the “eighteen golden belts” in a village 85 li away from here and the villagers there also all had the same surname Chen. Then we went to that village where, indeed, there ever was the relevant record, but it had been burned during the Cultural Revolution. Finally, in another village sharing the same surname Chen, we found the names and the portrait of the “eighteen golden belts” in its genealogy books and then used them from then on.

5. The first conversation with Furong villager Chen Nanxing, a tourist guide

Chen Nanxing: This place was originally built by the end of the Tang Dynasty, with a history of more than 1000 years by now. However, all the houses were burned down and most of the villagers died in 1279. Since they died for the country, the emperor ordered to rebuild Furong Village in 1341. Furong Village, destroyed in 1279 and rebuilt in 1341, has a history of 666 years this year, 2007. In ancient times many of our people became government officials and both the civil and martial officials must

get off their sedan chairs or horses, respectively, in front of the east gate of the village. When those officials passed by, a band would play music on the bandstand to welcome them. The word “Zong Ci” (ancestral hall) actually contains two concepts, namely “Zong” and “Ci”. Since all the people in our village have the same surname Chen, there is only one “Zong” (clan’s ancestral hall), with a theatrical stage inside. This building is used as a public hall and owned by all the people of the Chen’s clan in Furong Village. That is to say, all the clan members are eligible to enter “Zong”. When I was a child, there were seventeen “Ci” (branch/Fang’s ancestral hall) in our village. Three or four of them have tumbled down but there are still a dozen ones remaining. The “Ci” was used for worshiping ancestors and built by the descendants of the Fang.

Long: Is a Ci owned by a Fang?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. It is built by the descendants of the Fang to worship their ancestors.

Long: Were the Ci built around the Zong?

Chen Nanxing: No.

Long: How did people choose the location of Ci?

Chen Nanxing: A Ci might be built on any vacant lot that you owned or bought from others. It was the same as building a dwelling house. If you owned a vacant lot, you could build a house there. Or you could purchase a lot from others since land was owned privately in the past.

Long: If the members of a Fang were residentially concentrated in a region, was it better to build the Fang’s ancestral hall near it as far as the conditions permitted?

Chen Nanxing: No. In the past there was a taboo in villages that dwelling houses shouldn’t be built behind an ancestral hall because ghosts would usually haunt there. So, the people generally built their houses in other places unless they had no choice as only behind the ancestral halls were there vacant lots.

Chen Nanxing: All the Furong villagers share the same surname Chen from the past to the present. Eighteen people ever obtained jinshi degree and became capital officials in the Song Dynasty. They were called “eighteen golden belts”. Chen Yüzhi, a member of the Furong Chen’s clan, was a martial official safeguarding the capital, Hangzhou, against the attack from the Yuan Dynasty in the Southern Song Dynasty.

His army later was driven here by the Mongolian army and retreated over the mountain behind the village. They lived there for more than two years, from 1276 to 1279, until the Mongolian army completely encircled the mountain and thus food could no longer be sent onto. Under the leadership of Chen Yüzhi, all soldiers jumped off the mountain and died. Afterwards, when the Mongolian troop went down the mountain, they killed all the people and burned all the houses in the village. When the emperor ordered to rebuild Furong Village in 1341, actually there had been no people living here. Chen Gong, our apical ancestor, migrated here from Changqiao, Ruian. And so, all people living here now are descendants of Chen Gong, rather than of the apical ancestor of the previous Furong Chen's clan.

Long: When did you hold performance in the ancestral hall?

Chen Nanxing: It was on February 2 of the Chinese lunar year, in honor of the apical ancestor Chen Gong because that day was his birthday.

Long: Are there any performances now?

Chen Nanxing: I am 61 years old. When I was young, performances were held three times a year. Now there is only one time in every year after developing tourism.

Long: Is it also on February 2 of the Chinese lunar year?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: What was the ancestral hall used for in the history?

Chen Nanxing: It was for holding opera performances as well as meetings.

Long: You mean the grand meetings of the villagers?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. For example, when this village had conflicts with another village, the drum in the ancestral hall would be beaten and all the villagers went there to discuss together.

Chen Nanxing: Furong Village was built around the theme of "seven stars and eight dou". The "seven stars" refer to the Northern Dipper. They were built at the crossroads according to the shape of the Northern Dipper. We still haven't installed a water piping system yet, but have to use well water. There are five wells providing us with drinking water and representing Metal, Wood, Fire, Water, and Earth, respectively. Additionally, there are three ponds representing Heaven, Earth, and Human being, respectively, and providing us water for daily use, such as washing clothes and fire fighting.

Chen Nanxing: Due to the feng-shui, it is better for our houses to face east, facing the Dragon-Gown Mountain which is not high, but big, and wins its name by its shape like the emperor's gown. And at the back of the village, there is Black-Gauze-Cap Rock which consists of three rock mountains, in shape like the black gauze cap worn by Bao Gong. Besides, there are Waist-Belt Water and Brush-Rack Mountain in the front and back of the village, respectively. The street in the middle of Furong Village is the Brush Street, representing a brush lying on the brush rack.

Chen Nanxing: The reason why this village is named Furong Village is that the plan of this enclosed settlement is just like the hibiscus leaf (Hibiscus is called Furong in Chinese). And moreover, the rock color of the three mountains is like that of hibiscus under the sunshine.

Chen Nanxing: The branch ancestral halls were used for worshiping ancestors till now. Some of them are rented by the village committee for tourism purposes. The branch ancestral halls were owned by private individuals to place tablets inside in the past. When old people passed away, their tablets would be worshiped in the branch ancestral halls. Now some still put the tablets there, but some don't anymore.

Long: Fangs no longer conduct sacrificial ceremonies in their branch ancestral halls, do they?

Chen Nanxing: Only a few Fangs still do that, but most of them just worship the tablets of their ancestors inside the branch ancestral halls. In the past, if old people had enough money, some of them would buy coffins before their death, usually in their 50s or 60s, and put the coffins in the branch ancestral halls, rather than in their own homes which might scare their families. I remember that there were a lot of coffins, about 50 to 60, in the branch ancestral halls when I was young. They were stored on the rafts instead of on the floor to prevent them from rotting. Some old people might prepare their coffins in their 50s, but live until 90s or 100s. If they put their coffins on the floor, the coffins would definitely rot away after twenty or thirty years because the floor couldn't be dry enough.

Chen Nanxing: If there is a street or lane straightly leading to a house, a stone tablet, written "Mount Tai Being Here", will be erected at the foot of the wall of the house, because it is believed that such a street or lane has a profound adverse impact

on the health of the people living in the house and erecting such a kind of stone tablet is able to offset those adverse effects.

Chen Nanxing: The flagpoles in front of the Furong Academy are fastened by stone strips and even typhoon can't blow them down. The Ming Lun Tang was ever burned down in the past, and restored to the current one afterwards. "Ming" means "to discern truth" and "Lun" means the Confucian "five cardinal relationships". The Ming Lun Tang was the hall of the academy, and the Ai Zhi Tang the teacher's office.

Long: Was this academy used for all children in your clan?

Chen Nanxing: This academy was built by the owner of the Sima Di, since some ones in his family were officials and very rich at that time. He bought this lot which was previously owned by private individuals, and established the academy for the children in this village.

Long: Was it for all the children in your village?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it was established for all the children in this village. The buildings of the academy still belong to the descendants of that family, but have been rented by the village committee now.

Long: Was that family also responsible for the daily maintenance of the academy?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. And it was perhaps even responsible for paying the teachers' salaries since it was very rich.

Chen Nanxing: If someone's house was burned down and his family thus had no place to live, he with his family could live in the branch ancestral hall for one, two, or three years until he had money to build a new house. That is to say, people could temporarily live in the branch ancestral halls.

Long: What is the central room of a house used for?

Chen Nanxing: That room is publicly used by the families living in the house and it is always wider than the other rooms. For example, if a house is owned by two brothers, each having half of the house, the central room will be used by both of the two families. In the past, since there were no restaurants in our village, we usually held wedding banquets in the central rooms. They were living rooms publicly used by

the families in those houses. When we build a house, the number of jian is always odd, perhaps five, seven, nine or eleven, and the central room is just for public use.

6. A conversation with Chen Jianxin, the Furong village Party secretary

The village Party secretary: The old villages in the Nanxi River area, Yongjia County, are mainly clan settlements. The Furong villagers basically share the same surname Chen. And the people in each village all belong to a same clan and have a same surname like Li or Zhang, etc.

Long: As far as I know, several plans have been made for Furong Village as well as Cangpo Village, but those plans seem somewhat difficult to match your real situations. Personally, I think it is because the designers didn't go deep into the local worlds.

The village Party secretary: The government requires that every village should draw up and carry out its own village construction plan. Even though we have already drawn up a plan, we don't have enough money to carry it out unless the government agrees to finance us. According to the planning, roads should be paved first, but it is difficult to obtain loans for it. In order to protect the traditional vernacular buildings in our village which has been appraised as an important cultural relic site under state-level protection, the government proposes that priority should be given to constructing a new village for us to solve the housing shortage and also to those living in protected houses to moving into the new village. Such a proposal is reasonable from the perspective of cultural relic preservation. But, the real situation in our village is that those both living and not living in protected houses share common ownership of the new village's land which was collectively owned by villagers before. And those not living in protected houses also suffer from serious housing shortage. In the 1970s, the living conditions were so poor that even the problems of food and clothing hadn't been basically solved, let alone those of housing. And meanwhile, the land was controlled by the government, and the power was concentrated in the hands of the village head and village Party secretary who had the final say. It has been different now. The villagers no longer listen obediently to the words of the village cadres, but

often examine the proposed policies carefully, making the cadres very difficult to allocate the house lots in the new village.

The village Party secretary: The ancestral hall is a public building used for public activities in the village.

Long: How many Fangs are there in the Furong Chen's clan?

The village Party secretary: There were the First Fang, the Second Fang, the Third Fang, the fourth Fang, the Fu Fang, the Sixth Fang, and the Xiazhai Fang in our clan, but the fourth Fang does not exist now.

The village Party secretary: We had a farming-studying culture in our history. Those who studied in school would be awarded several mu of land by the clan.

Long: Was it like a fund?

The village Party secretary: Yes. And moreover, some land belonging to the Fangs was also used as a reward. Children might be awarded in old times as long as they could be qualified to study in middle schools. In recent years, the award policy has been changed several times even since I became the village Party secretary. At the beginning, 5 Yuan was given to the one admitted to a junior middle school, 20 Yuan to the one to a senior middle school, and 200 Yuan to the one to an university.

Long: How was the head of a Fang elected?

The village Party secretary: The standards were, are and will be the same. He should have strong abilities, a higher level of cultural quality than other villagers, and a lot of money.

Long: The Chen's clan has six Fangs. Are they residentially concentrated in six parts of the village, respectively?

The village Party secretary: No, they are definitely not.

Long: Have they mixed themselves together?

The village Party secretary: Yes. People of different Fangs are living in mixed neighborhoods because of their frequently buying and selling land and houses within them in the history. In the past, if someone wanted to sell his house, he should ask his relatives first and give priority to his close relatives rather than the distant ones. Only if the relatives didn't want to buy would he sell it to those of other Fangs.

The village Party secretary: This natural village consists of two administrative villages (Shang and Xia Villages). All together there is a population of more than 3,000, of which 2,500 hold agricultural hukou and 500 non-agricultural. I belong to Furong Shang Village and our village has a population of 1,700 or so. Furong Village was just one village in the past. Three collective canteens were established here during the land reform. After the system of collective canteens was abolished, the people of two previous canteens formed Furong Shang Village, accounting for two-thirds of the total population, and those of the third canteen formed Furong Xia Village, accounting for one-third of the population.

Long: Do the majority of the young people go to work in other places now?

The village Party secretary: Yes. People couldn't freely go other areas to work during the regime of Mao Zedong, but there were still some ones here going out to work then. Although introduction letters were required for work, some people succeeded in going elsewhere to work by making a seal with sweet potato and stamping it on their forged introduction letters.

Long: Why did the people go out to work?

The village Party secretary: Because there was a large population but little land here, and it was easier to earn money in other places. Everyone working elsewhere must submit several Yuan to the production brigade at that time.

Long: How do the people staying in the village make their living?

The village Party secretary: The majority of the people staying in the village are the elderly and children. And the elderly are responsible for taking care of the children. Some of the elderly make their living by growing grains and vegetables, and some rely on the money earned by their sons who do business in other places.

Long: Are there some ones that do business elsewhere but don't support their parents?

The village Party secretary: There are, but quite few.

Long: When were your clan's genealogy books revised last time?

The village Party secretary: It was in 1981.

Long: Who were responsible for revising the genealogy books?

The village Party secretary: They should be literate and know how to revise genealogy books.

Long: Were they just temporarily elected?

The village Party secretary: When we revised the genealogy books in 1981, an agency was established, consisting of representatives of the Fangs, one representative each Fang. It was calculated how much money each person should pay according to the total budget for the revision work. Only men paid for it, and women didn't.

Long: I notice that many branch ancestral halls are vacant now.

The village Party secretary: They are used by the village committee now.

Long: Has the village committee rent them?

The village Party secretary: Yes.

Long: When did you develop tourism in this village?

The village Party secretary: It was in 1981 when we began to repair the houses in the village.

Long: Did the government appropriate money for it?

The village Party secretary: Only a little.

Long: The village is an important cultural relic site under protection now. Does the government appropriate any money for the protection of the village every year?

The village Party secretary: Yes, it appropriates some money now. Our village was not under province-level, but county-level protection before 2005. The county government was so poor that there was no financial support for village protection at all in the beginning. Later, however, twenty percent of the county government budget was used to finance the protection of the cultural relic sites in the county. When this village became an important cultural relic site under province-level protection in 2005, the government appropriated 800,000 Yuan to our village. Tens of thousands of Yuan was used for planning, and another part of the money was used in repairing the ancestral halls.

Long: Was the planning made under the guidance of the authorities, but paid by the village?

The village Party secretary: It was the government, or, to be more precise, the Provincial Bureau of Cultural Relics that paid for it.

7. Another conversation with the Furong villagers

Long: In old times, were women forbidden to go out of their home doors or able to go outside to work in the farmland with the men?

Villager: No, they didn't work in the farmland, but wove cloth at home. My grandma is in her 90s. Her feet are quite small but she can walk quite quickly.

Long: It is mentioned in books that women had to stay at home all day long and were neither allowed to go out of home doors, nor to meet unfamiliar men in the Chinese feudal society. Was it true in the village?

Villager: Yes, it was true.

Long: Could the women walk freely within the village?

Villager: The women didn't have real freedom at that time. Nominally they were free, but actually they had to take care of their younger brothers and sisters, or their own kids at home. A family always had a lot of children at that time. My grandma often said that women shouldn't go outside even if wanting to take a bath. If a woman frequently went outside, she was not a real woman in my grandma's eyes.

Long: If the women were not allowed to go outside. How could they wash clothes?

Villager: My grandma washed clothes always at night. She didn't have many clothes, but only one suit in the past, and she washed them before went to bed.

Long: Didn't she need to take water from a well or stream?

Villager: Generally, the water was taken home by others. My grandma said that if a woman often walked outside, she was like a man not a woman. Her feet were bound to be only 3.5 cun long.

Long: I always thought that women in villages were not like those described in books, never going out of their family doors.

Villager: The facts were exactly the same as those written in books.

Long: I originally thought they could go outside together with men, for example, to work in the farmland.

Villager: No, they couldn't.

Long: Their feet had been bound to be so small that they couldn't go out to work anymore.

Villager: Men should go out to work at that time. And women just needed to cook at home. If time permitted, they would weave cloth and make clothes.

Long: Is your grandma living in a village nearby?

Villager: She lives in Huangnan Town, Yongjia County.

Long: How old is she?

Villager: She is 99 years old. She has no name. People called a woman according to the place where she came from. For example, she would be called Grandma Furong if she came from Furong Village.

8. The second conversation with Chen Shiyao

Chen Shiyao: In general the genealogy books should be revised every thirty years. They had been revised fifteen times without interruption before liberation. However, they were burned during the “Destroy the Four Olds” campaign.

Long: Do you still remember the whole process of burning them?

Chen Shiyao: The town leader ordered that all villages should take out their own genealogy books and burn them up.

Chen Shiyao: Professor Chen Zihua from Tsinghua University has come here three times. When he first came here, I showed him around, and he thought the traditional characteristics of our village were well preserved. He brought some other people here to take photos of the village when he came the second time, and made a documentary when the third time. He told me that Furong Village was a treasure, and it would be good to develop tourism here.

Chen Shiyao: The Association for the Elderly repaired the road and played an active role in public welfare in the village.

Long: Which road was repaired by the Association?

Chen Shiyao: It was the road linking the Che Men to the highway outside the village. After it paved, the Association began to sell tickets to tourists for their sightseeing in Furong Village.

Long: You said it was the Association responsible for repairing road and selling tickets. Were those matters also under the administration of the village committee at the same time?

Chen Shiyao: No, they weren't.

Long: Did the whole ticket revenue belong to the Association for the Elderly?

Chen Shiyao: Yes.

Long: Who paid for the road pavement?

Chen Shiyao: The villagers donated the money voluntarily, and paved the road without asking for remuneration.

Long: Did this happen in the early 1990s?

Chen Shiyao: It happened perhaps even a bit earlier.

Long: In the end of 1980s?

Chen Shiyao: Yes.

Long: Did the villagers actively respond to the call of the Association?

Chen Shiyao: Yes, they did. Tens of thousands of Yuan was collected. And it was recorded on a stone tablet how much time you spent on paving the road and how much money you donated.

Long: Who are eligible to join the Association?

Chen Shiyao: The villagers above 60 years old.

Long: As the Association was responsible for selling tickets, how did they allocate the ticket revenue?

Chen Shiyao: 30% of total revenue was given to those on duty, 70% to the Association for the Elderly.

Long: Couldn't the other ordinary villagers share a part of the revenue?

Chen Shiyao: No, they couldn't.

Long: Didn't some part of the revenue need to be given to the local government, either?

Chen Shiyao: No, it didn't at that time.

Long: What about now?

Chen Shiyao: 52% is given to the town government and 48% to the village committee.

Long: Is the Association for the Elderly an agency under the administration of the village committee?

Chen Shiyao: No, it isn't. The Association used to entertain the village cadres on September 9 of the Chinese lunar year.

Long: Is it the same now?

Chen Shiyao: Yes, it is.

9. The second conversation with Chen Nanxing

Long: Was there a clan head in your Chen's clan before liberation?

Chen Nanxing: There was always a clan head in the past. And, the young always listened to the old at that time, but don't now. Even sons may not be obedient to their fathers. People usually listened to the elderly in the past. However, village cadres began to replace the elderly to administer the villages after liberation. The elderly are still influential in some other villages now, but not here. The Association for the Elderly is not influential in this village.

Long: Was there a permanent position of clan head in the village during the period of the Republic of China?

Chen Nanxing: Probably there was.

Long: Were there any clan activities regularly conducted by your clan at that time?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, but only a few. I heard from my father that there were no university students in the village during the period of the Republic of China. When someone graduated from senior middle school, he would buy a pig's head.

Long: Did he buy it when he graduated from or was admitted to a senior middle school?

Chen Nanxing: It was probably when he was admitted to a senior middle school. He would go to sacrifice the pig's head in the ancestral hall of another Chen's clan and that clan would give him some money as a reward. Nobody does this anymore now, even if he is admitted to a university. By then, however, his family still will offer sacrifices to ancestors in the Furong Chen's ancestral hall and entertain some relatives and friends in the family.

Long: Someone ever told me that the celebration activities would last for three days and nights at some festivals.

Chen Nanxing: The celebration activity he mentioned will be held in the ancestral hall on February 2 of the Chinese lunar year.

Long: Do you still hold it every year?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, we do. It is the birthday of our clan's apical ancestor. And opera performances will last for at least three days and nights, being paid by the village committee. After that some villagers will ask the troupe to continue to perform for other several days, and those villagers will pay for it by themselves. As far as I know, opera performances ever lasted for nine days and nights.

Long: Why will those villagers engage the troupe to perform?

Chen Nanxing: To celebrate father's 80th birthday or a boy born, people would like to engage a troupe to perform for one or two days.

Long: Are those performances concentrated on February 2 of the Chinese lunar year?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. The troupe won't mind performing one or two more days since having been here. But, if you invite them to perform for only one or two days, sometimes they won't agree because it takes them too much time on the road, making it not worthwhile. The government stopped these performances in order to eliminate superstition during the Cultural Revolution. The actors were thrown into prison and their costumes and prop cases were all ruined. Policy changed after the Cultural Revolution, and actors were allowed to perform traditional pieces again.

Long: Only during the Cultural Revolution the opera performances in the ancestral hall were suspended, is it right?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. There always were performances every year when I was young. They were suspended perhaps for two or three years during the Cultural Revolution.

Long: As soon as the Cultural Revolution was over, you began to engage troupes to perform, didn't you?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: Did your clan have clan land which owned by all the clan members?

Chen Nanxing: I heard that our clan had clan land in the past, but the clan doesn't have it now. Moreover, I ever heard from the elderly that if someone's child was admitted to a school, the Fang would give a piece of land, maybe five fen, to the family as a reward. This happened in the past, not now.

Long: You mean before liberation?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it happened before liberation. The land was given as a kind of subsidy which has been replaced by money now. The village committee has about 100,000 Yuan deposited in the bank. The interest is used as subsidy, not too much, only two or three hundred Yuan per person, given to those admitted to middle schools or universities.

Long: The clan no longer has clan land now?

Chen Nanxing: No. All the land was collectively owned by the production brigade during the regime of Mao Zedong.

Long: Did the villagers here all have the same surname Chen in the history?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: Were there any people coming from other places and with different surnames?

Chen Nanxing: No, there weren't. But, there were only a few families which had no sons but daughters.

Long: You mean they would let the sons-in-law move to live here?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. If such a husband, without the surname Chen, moved here to live in his wife's house, his children undoubtedly didn't have the surname Chen. But there were few such cases.

Long: Was there a large population here before liberation?

Chen Nanxing: No, there were not many people here at that time. Now the population becomes larger because of improvement in medical conditions. It was said that a family, in the past, might give birth to seven, eight, or even nine children, but only two or three of them could be brought up. Since current medical conditions have been much better than before, few infants will die.

Chen Nanxing: The village Party secretary is elected not by the villagers but by the Party members. He usually trains the young people of his Fang and recommends them for Party membership so that the position of village Party secretary will always be held by one Fang. During the Cultural Revolution, it was considered that poorer people would be more revolutionary and rich people thus couldn't be village cadres. Our village Party secretary came from the first Fang which was the poorest in the village at that time.

Long: Which Fang in the Chen's clan was the strongest, most powerful?

Chen Nanxing: The Second and Third Fangs were in the past, but the First and Second Fangs now because the current village Party secretary and village head are from the first and second Fangs, respectively.

Chen Nanxing: The former village head is serving as accountant in the village committee now.

Long: Is he also from the second Fang?

Chen Nanxing: No, he is from the third Fang.

Long: Why wasn't he reelected village head?

Chen Nanxing: The position of village head was taken away by the second Fang. Nowadays, as long as a candidate comes from a Fang that has a larger population and is more powerful, he will definitely win the election for village head, regardless of his being competent or not.

Long: Now your village consists of Shang and Xia villages. Which Fangs are residentially concentrated in Shang Village?

Chen Nanxing: It is hard to say which Fang is more residentially concentrated in Shang Village. During the regime of Mao Zedong, our villagers were divided and assigned to three collective canteens. Later, the canteens, however, were required to be merged and thus the two in the north of the village were merged into one, which plus the remaining one was two canteens, two production brigade.

Long: Was the land in the village also divided into two parts?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. But Xia Village's land is just half of Shang Village's, just accounting for one-third of the total, because Shang Village was composed of people from two canteens. Even now, Xia Village can only get one-third of whatever is allocated.

Long: Is there a boundary between Shang and Xia villages?

Chen Nanxing: The Ruyi Street is roughly the boundary. There are less than five families of Xia Village living on the north side of the street, but many families of Shang village living on the south side of the street.

Long: Were the clan activities basically stopped after liberation?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, most were stopped except the opera performances in the ancestral hall.

Long: Did the villagers like to watch opera performances?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, they did. And moreover, it was for worshipping our ancestors. So it couldn't be stopped.

Long: What types of opera do you watch now?

Chen Nanxing: We watch many types of opera. If some troupe asks for a reasonable price and performs fairly well, we will engage it to perform here. The troupes may perform Kun opera, Yue opera, but mainly Beijing opera.

Long: Do the young people like to watch them?

Chen Nanxing: The young people just come to take a look and then go away. Only old people like to watch opera performances, because they can understand them, but most young people can't.

Long: Is it mainly for worshipping ancestors?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it is. And moreover, the villagers like to watch opera performances. Opera performances were held two or three times each year when I was young, but only one time each year nowadays.

Long: Were the branch ancestral halls used for other purposes after liberation?

Chen Nanxing: No. But the production brigade used them to store things during the Cultural Revolution.

Long: They were changed into warehouses?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. But, after the land was contracted to households, the branch ancestral halls were returned to corresponding Fangs.

Long: So the branch ancestral halls belong to the Fangs again now.

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: It was only during the Cultural Revolution when the branch ancestral halls were used as warehouses, wasn't it?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: What about the clan's ancestral hall during the Cultural Revolution?

Chen Nanxing: It was vacant.

Long: Vacant? Wasn't it used for other purposes?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, I remember that it was used as a fertilizer factory and a mat factory in succession.

Long: When was it restored to the clan's ancestral hall?

Chen Nanxing: It was after the Cultural Revolution.

Long: Were there some people coming from other places to live here after liberation?

Chen Nanxing: No. Nowadays, some people come here from other places just in order to work temporarily, and they rent houses only for one or two years, without planning to buy houses to settle down permanently.

Long: Had the villagers built a lot of houses in the village before the Reform?

Chen Nanxing: No, they didn't build many in the past because people were very poor at that time. It couldn't meet the people's basic needs for food, let alone building new houses. Even if some new houses were built, their quality was rather poor. After the Reform and Opening, many young people went out to work and earned quite a lot of money, enough for building new houses even if it might cost hundreds of thousands of Yuan.

Long: Can I build a new house as long as I own a piece of land in the village?

Chen Nanxing: It didn't need approval of the government in the past, but now, you have to obtain it from a lot of government agencies, such as the land bureau, the planning bureau, etc., which didn't exist at all in the past.

Long: Are they agencies of the county or the town government?

Chen Nanxing: Of both of them.

Long: Weren't any clan activities restored after the Reform and Opening?

Chen Nanxing: The Association for the Elderly ever proposed to restore the annual "Hanging Dragon Lanterns", asking the villagers to take part in and the village committee to finance. This activity was held twice until the village committee no longer financed the Association for it two years later.

Long: Does the ancestral hall usually need maintenance?

Chen Nanxing: If it suffers some damage, the village committee will repair it.

Long: Was it ever repaired in the past?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. It was repaired because the tiles had cracked and the wood got rotten.

Long: When was it repaired?

Chen Nanxing: There was no regular time. We would repair it whenever it got damaged. Sometimes typhoon might blow off the tiles, so we have to repair the roof.

Long: Don't you plan to revise your genealogy books recently?

Chen Nanxing: We will revise them in 2011 when it is thirty years from the last revision of our genealogy books. In some other places the clans revise their own genealogy books every twenty five years, while we do every thirty years. Next year is just the 30th year from the last revision, so we have to revise them by then.

Long: What prompted you to develop tourism here?

Chen Nanxing: It was the government that wanted to develop tourism in the Nanxi River area. Actually it brings no benefits to our villagers and nearly 99% of the villagers criticized it.

Long: Why?

Chen Nanxing: It is mainly because we are not allowed to demolish our old houses. Moreover, the 600,000 to 700,000 Yuan ticket revenue each year is quite a small amount of money and the villagers in fact can't get any money from it at all. It undoubtedly causes criticism. Applications for building new houses in our village generally cannot be approved, while those in other villages can, just because the government wants to develop village tourism here. Neither the city nor the county government agencies will approve our applications. They will directly reject them as recognizing the applications from Furong Village.

Long: What will the people do with the old houses?

Chen Nanxing: They are allowed to repair their traditional-style houses with the money of which 70% is paid by the government and 30% by themselves.

Long: Was your house designed by yourself?

Chen Nanxing: I designed it together with the experienced masters.

Long: Were the local houses basically designed by the house owners themselves?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. Experienced old masters would give them some suggestions. Those masters know everything in not only house design but also construction.

Long: Where are they engaged from?

Chen Nanxing: They are all from our neighboring villages.

Long: Can they build brick houses?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, even without any design drawings. I also can build some simple ones. In fact, it generally doesn't need design drawings to build houses in the village since all the masters know what and how to do, and their techniques are passed down from generation to generation.

Long: How do you find the workers when building houses?

Chen Nanxing: We call them “rough laborers”. We will find suitable number of such workers according to the requirement of the master, and usually find them within our own village. When building a house, you can ask your relatives who belong to the same Fang with you to help. In the past, you didn’t need to pay money for their help, but provide them with food and entertain them after the construction was completed. Now the case is different. You have to give some money to the workers.

Long: How many masters did you engage when building your house?

Chen Nanxing: I engaged three, including one carpenter and two bricklayers, and additional four or five workers.

Long: How long did it take to build your house?

Chen Nanxing: It took only one week to construct the walls and lay the tiles, only setting aside the interior decoration.

Long: Are there any modern-style houses built after developing tourism here?

Chen Nanxing: Some ones were built furtively, but demolished by the government later. For this action, more than five hundred armed policemen were sent here to maintain order. Soon after those houses were demolished, the people built them again.

Long: When did it happen?

Chen Nanxing: Those houses were demolished the year before last. But afterwards one was rebuilt and the owner moved into it last year.

Long: Did any fights with weapons ever occurred between this clan and other ones in neighboring villages?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. It happened about 40 years ago and lasted for nearly two years.

Long: Which village did you fight with?

Chen Nanxing: Xi’nan Village.

Long: When did it happen?

Chen Nanxing: It was after liberation, about 44 years ago.

Long: In 1966?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: What did you fight for?

Chen Nanxing: We fought for the mountain and water. Only several people were involved in the conflict at first, but it gradually escalated into a full-scale fight between the two villages. Since it was during the Cultural Revolution, it was possible to purchase guns and some guns had been really prepared for the fight. The villagers stopped farming their land because staying in the fields would make them very easy to be shot by the other side. So, they had to depend on the food bought from the town.

Long: Didn't you think of reconciliation?

Chen Nanxing: Villagers of the two sides didn't listen to their respective village Party cadres anymore.

Long: What about now? Do you still fight with Xi'nan villagers?

Chen Nanxing: No, we don't fight now.

Long: When did the fight end?

Chen Nanxing: It lasted two years.

Long: The fight occurred only once, didn't it?

Chen Nanxing: Yes.

Long: Did anyone die in the fight?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, some died.

Long: How many people died on your side?

Chen Nanxing: Three.

Long: How many people were wounded?

Chen Nanxing: There might be over ten. Five or six people died on the other side.

Long: How many their people were wounded

Chen Nanxing: Also more than ten.

Long: What was to be done with the families of the deceased?

Chen Nanxing: The village committee was responsible for taking care of those families until a lot of years later.

Long: Some villagers still would like to build wooden houses because of comfortable feeling to live in them, wouldn't they?

Chen Nanxing: No. I think that 99% of the villagers wouldn't like to build wooden houses which can't be built high. Why our houses are usually built as high as possible? It is the reason that the house lots are usually not big enough. A higher house is built in order to utilize the lot more economically.

Long: You ever said that there hadn't been a big increase in the local population in contemporary times. Why do you feel a shortage of houses?

Chen Nanxing: After all, the population has increased. People usually lived crowdedly in the past but they wish to live spaciouly now. Each son should be able to have a one-jian-wide house now, but some families of seven or eight people might live together in just a one-jian-wide or even half-jian-wide house in the old days.

Chen Nanxing: The young people must listen to the old people in the past. Although some still do so nowadays, most ones, including ordinary villagers and village cadres, do not listen anymore.

Long: Are you acquainted with all the residents, as many as 3,000, here?

Chen Nanxing: I was acquainted with many of them in the period of the people's communes when the majority of the people stayed in the village, but I don't know a lot now because many people begin to study or work out of the village as early as age 15 or 16 and will be over 20 years old when coming back five or six years later. It is hard for me to remember them. Nevertheless, I can soon recognize them after a short talk.

Chen Nanxing: It depends on the lot size to build a house. When I engaged an experienced old master, I told him my lot size and asked him to build a two-story house for me. He knew how to build such a house and could also be responsible for the whole design, making it unnecessary to engage professional designers.

Long: Were there any experienced old masters living in your village in the past?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, there were some in the past.

Long: What about now?

Chen Nanxing: Now there are a lot of young masters, and many of the old masters have already passed away.

Long: How do they learn the relevant techniques?

Chen Nanxing: The techniques will be passed down from generation to generation. If there is a veteran master famous for his techniques, young people can apprentice with him for about three years and basically master his techniques through the three-year study. Those who are still not qualified enough also can continue to study for another year. They might develop into masters in the following days and

teach their techniques to other people after completing their studies. In this way, the techniques can be passed down from generation to generation.

Long: I heard that there ever was a custom of distributing birthday peach buns in this village.

Chen Nanxing: There still is now.

Long: How are the buns distributed?

Chen Nanxing: It is usually in the first month of the Chinese lunar year. Suppose I am 60 years old this year. Birthday peach buns will be brought by my relatives and I will be responsible for distributing them in the village, one bun per family.

Long: How big is a birthday peach bun?

Chen Nanxing: It depends. A birthday peach bun might be 0.5 jin weight in the past, but 1, 1.5, 1.8 or 2.2 jin now.

Long: Who is responsible for buying the birthday peach buns?

Chen Nanxing: The buns should be bought by his daughters. If someone has two daughters, both of them should buy the birthday peach buns for their father. Now most of daughters choose to give money to their fathers.

Long: But the daughters who have been married off should belong to their husbands' families, shouldn't they?

Chen Nanxing: It is still the daughters who should be responsible for buying birthday peach buns even if they have got married. If someone has no daughters, his sons will be responsible for buying the buns.

Long: After the daughters have bought the birthday peach buns, the father distributes them door to door, doesn't he?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, every family will get one.

Long: Is it in the first month of the Chinese lunar year?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it usually was and still is now. I am 59 years old, and will be 60 next year. By then I will distribute birthday peach buns to the others.

Long: Will you continue to do that when you are 61 years old?

Chen Nanxing: No. It isn't necessary for me to do that again when I am 61, but should be when 70.

Long: Is it every ten years that someone should distribute his birthday peach buns after having been sixty years old?

Long: Yes, it is every ten years. It will cost several thousands of Yuan at a time, perhaps three thousand Yuan now.

Long: Why don't sons buy birthday peach buns?

Chen Nanxing: Daughters used to give gifts, mostly money now, to their parents at festivals. But the parents in fact mainly live on their sons on ordinary days.

Chen Nanxing: Every family should get one birthday peach bun. And if there are eight hundred families here, eight hundred birthday peach buns should be prepared.

Long: Is it on whichever day in the first month of the Chinese lunar year to distribute birthday peach buns?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, any day in the first lunar month is ok.

Long: It costs much money to celebrate a birthday, doesn't it?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it does cost much money.

Long: When receiving your birthday peach buns, will the villagers give you some gifts in return?

Chen Nanxing: They will send me some good wishes. And since I gave you my birthday peach bun at 60, you will give me yours at 60, too.

Long: What if someone is too poor to buy birthday peach buns?

Chen Nanxing: He can customize smaller ones. If other people's birthday peach bun is 2 or 2.5 jin weight, his may be just 1.5 jin.

Long: Is there an Association for the Elderly here?

Chen Nanxing: It is still new. We didn't have it in the past.

Long: When was it established?

Chen Nanxing: In the 1990s.

Long: Besides, are there any other associations established in the village?

Chen Nanxing: No, there aren't.

Long: Who are eligible to join the Association?

Chen Nanxing: The people at or above 60 can join it.

Long: Does this apply to both men and women?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. But some people have no interest in joining the Association.

Long: Are there many women members?

Chen Nanxing: Perhaps only a few, less than men members. Anyone who joins the Association will be required to pay a membership fee which has risen from the initial 5 to 10, and then 20 Yuan. It was 50 Yuan when I joined the Association four years ago, and became 100 Yuan last year.

Long: What activities will the money be used for?

Chen Nanxing: The money is used for only a few activities. When a member passes away, the Association will buy a coffin for him. It, however, doesn't apply to those who haven't joined the Association.

Chen Nanxing: The road linking the Che Men to the highway outside the village was built by the Association for the Elderly, costing tens of thousands of Yuan. In the past, when a road suffered damage, elderly people would ask villagers to give money to repair it, and the villagers, according to their respective economic conditions, always would donate some money. So the village construction was all financed by private individuals at that time. But the villagers are no longer willing to do so now even if they have much money because the government develops tourism here and should be responsible for the village construction.

Long: Does every household still keep the deeds of land signed by ancestors?

Chen Nanxing: The people kept them in the past. But, actually they are not afraid that some others might occupy their house lots or land because the lots and land are all passed down from generation to generation. It doesn't matter for a household if without any deeds of land as the range of the lots and land has already been well known to all of the neighbors.

Long: Who were in charge of administering the streets of this village in the past?

Chen Nanxing: Elderly people were in charge of it in the past, but have already been replaced by village cadres now.

Long: There are some stone benches along the streets. Were they placed there in the past or after developing tourism?

Chen Nanxing: They were placed there in the past for the convenience of the villagers to have a rest in the streets or lanes. There are such benches all over the villages.

Long: But your village isn't very large. Why do the villagers like to rest in the streets rather than in their homes?

Chen Nanxing: It is quite interesting for villagers who are well acquainted with each other to chat together in the streets. Compared with this, there is no pleasure in staying and watching TV at home day and night. And that is why our villagers who have been working in other places, such as Wenzhou, Shanghai, or Yongjia, would still like to return to settle here after their retirement.

Long: I see that the people chatting at the Che Men are mostly male.

Chen Nanxing: Of course, they are mostly men, staying and chatting at the Che Men, because usually there is no common topic of conversation between men and women. It makes women feel too boring to stay for one minute. Moreover, women have much housework to do. If some women spend an hour in chatting at the Che Men, they might neither be able to prepare meals on time, nor have enough time to wash clothes, clean houses, and carry adequate water for use, and thus be scolded by their husbands. So, women have not much time to go outside to chat with others.

Chen Nanxing: In the past if someone stole an ox, one of his eyes would be gouged out by villagers as a punishment.

Long: Was there such a rule in your village?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, it was the same in every village here. So those who attempted to steal cows would dare not do so anymore. After liberation, if a thief was caught, the villager cadres would ask him to pay for the cost of showing a movie.

Long: Was it before the Reform?

Chen Nanxing: It was during the Cultural Revolution. The village cadres would use the penalty to show movies at the grain-sunning ground all night long and allow the villagers to watch for free.

Long: Will you build a new village? Has it already begun or just been planned to be built?

Chen Nanxing: The examination and approval process hasn't been finished yet. We will begin to build the new village with our own money as soon as we complete all the relevant procedures. The government is just responsible for the planning and design of our new houses.

Long: Has the government designed the houses for you?

Chen Nanxing: Yes, the government has designed and provided us related drawings. It cost our village more than 200,000 Yuan. The design has been made twice, actually without reaching a satisfying result.

Long: Why?

Chen Nanxing: The design is not good enough because the designers don't know our practical situations.

Chen Nanxing: People will meet a lot of trouble when building houses in the village. You might not have enough money. And even if you do have, perhaps others aren't willing to sell their house lots to you. Suppose you want to build a three-jian-wide house, but have a lot only two jian wide. You have to give up if your neighbor refuses to sell a one-jian-wide lot to you. Your neighbor may explain that he won't sell the lot because he wishes to leave it to his descendants. That is to say, although he has no money to build a house on it, he will leave the lot to his descendants, his sons, or even grandsons, some of whom may definitely have the money.

Long: I saw some women washing clothes at the Furong Pond. Do they usually wash clothes there?

Chen Nanxing: Yes. Women used to wash both clothes and vegetables there. But, they no longer use the pond water to wash vegetables now because the water is not as clean as before. And the clothes washed in the pond are those worn by the people when working in the fields. In other words, people use the pond water to wash bad clothes, rather than good ones. Some of them will wash the clothes again at home after having washed them in the pond.

Long: Suppose three brothers live in a five-jian-wide house. How will they divide it in the family division?

Chen Nanxing: There is no rule on it. Just figure it out themselves. Suppose four brothers decide to divide a three-jian-wide house lot. If three of them are relatively rich, each might get one-jian-wide lot. And as for the other brother who is poor, it seems unnecessary to give him a part of the lot since he has no money to build a house at all. Nevertheless, the other three brothers will give him a sum of money in compensation, making him able to buy a house in other places.

Chen Nanxing: Elderly people would usually come forward to administer the village before liberation. But now, they won't do so since people aren't willing to listen to them as before. For example, in the past, if someone threw dirty water into a street, he would be scolded by elderly people, those over 60 years old, in the village. And the elderly people would also forbid villagers to put boulder strips in front of their house doors as steps. Nowadays, those in the Association for the Elderly, even 90, or 100 years old, in fact have little influence over other villagers.

Interviews Conducted in Cangpo Village

1. The first conversation with the family of Li Sanzhen, the head of Cangpo Village

Long: How many people are there in your family?

Li Sanzhen: My family is quite a large one. My oldest son is a driver, and one of his sons is learning in the Pingyang Armed Police School. Besides, here are the other two grandsons (actually one grandson and one granddaughter) and one granddaughter (the daughter of Li Sanzhen's second son). There are about ten members in my family. My family can speak a little Mandarin because we used to live in other places.

Li Sanzhen's second son: Take myself for example. I did not return to my hometown until 18 years old. I grew up in another place.

Long: Where?

Li Sanzhen's second son: I grew up in Jiangxi Province.

Li Sanzhen: All my family had a long-term living in Jiangxi Province.

Long: Aren't you a local resident here?

Li Sanzhen: I have worked in Jiangxi for more than 40 years since I was 17 years old, and I return to hometown now to develop the tourism here.

Long: Were you dispatched back by the village committee?

Li Sanzhen: No. Here is my hometown. I wanted to develop tourism here, and so I came back.

Li Sanzhen: When you visit some families here, you may find that the male householders can speak a little Mandarin, while the female householders cannot. My wife can speak a little Mandarin because she was away from hometown for twenty years more or less. All my children can speak Mandarin. The languages spoken in Wenzhou are all dialects. Some of them cannot be understood by the people living just 60 li away from each other.

Long: The economy has got development in Cangpo. Have most of the traditional houses been demolished? Your house is in a quite modern style.

Li Sanzhen's second son: This house was constructed in the 1990s. Now the old style houses are not allowed to be demolished anymore because the country protects the traditional vernacular houses here. In the past, the people here liked to change their old style houses into new ones when they had money. We have been living in this house for ten-plus years.

Long: It was built in the early years, wasn't it?

Li Sanzhen's second son: Yes, it was built relatively earlier. We were allowed to demolish our old style houses at that time, but not now.

Long: What if some people still hope to build modern-style ones when they have money?

Li Sanzhen's second son: They can build houses outside the village. They can get new house lots there. After building up their new houses, their old ones will be no longer inhabited and should be sold to the government. You see, many new houses have been built up on the west side of Cangpo Village. Some old villages have been preserved. Even though Cangpo Village was not preserved fairly well, it was still better than most of other villages in the Nanxi River area. Other villages in this area received poorer protection. To be honest, these old style buildings might have already been demolished if they did not receive protection.

Long: Here is near to Wenzhou, so you all have become rich, haven't you?

Li Sanzhen's second son: It is indeed true for some people, but there is a huge wealth gap between the rich and the poor.

Friend of Li Sanzhen's second son: Those with huge money have all gone to other places to build houses, and the moderate rich people would like to build new houses in the village. Millionaires can be found everywhere in this region.

Li Sanzhen's second son: The houses here seem to be shabby, but numerous executive cars can be seen when the rich return to hometown during festivals.

Friend of Li Sanzhen's second son: The rich people accumulate their wealth through doing business in cities or other places. The young people like me rarely stay at home.

Long: How does Wenzhou become so rich?

Li Sanzhen's second son: All the people here go to other places to do business, and it is difficult to see people like us stay at home. Moreover, we have an early start to go out of our hometown to do business, starting from my father's generation. Besides, it is also due to the environment conditions. With a large population and little land, we have no choice but to leave our hometown to make a living.

Friend of Li Sanzhen's second son: Even though I am a peasant, I don't have any land, and can't make a living through farming. The founder of Zhengtai Corporation in Liushi Town, Leqing City had no land, either. So he made a living by buying and selling some broken household appliances and gradually developed it into a big business. Now Liushi Town has become a City of Household Appliances in China. It can be said that they were forced to go out of the village and achieved tremendous business success.

2. The first conversation with Li Sanzhen

Li Sanzhen: I seldom let people read this book (the genealogy book of the Cangpo Li's Clan). I must keep it well.

Long: Is the genealogy book preserved in your hands or by the village committee?

Li Sanzhen: One is kept by the village committee. But there are many people in the village committee. It was taken away by someone.

Long: You show me some genealogy books. When were they revised?

Li Sanzhen: They were revised at the end of the Qing Dynasty. And those revised after the Qing Dynasty have been sealed and can't be seen till the opening date when we will revise them next time.

Long: How many years between every two revisions of the genealogy books?

Li Sanzhen: About thirty years or so.

Long: Now the clan rules aren't as strict as they were, are they? All the people in this village prefer complying with the law rather than the clan rules. Is it true?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, we don't stick to the clan rules anymore. Women were not allowed to be recorded in the genealogy books according to the previous clan rules, but now they are. We should establish new rules rather than insisting on the old ones.

Long: How will the genealogy books be revised?

Li Sanzhen: Some people in my village know about it. To revise the genealogy books, a committee should be established with a few people as directors.

Long: How are the directors elected?

Li Sanzhen: Each of the Fangs recommends one director.

Long: Are the elderly in the Fangs elected to revise the genealogy books?

Li Sanzhen: No. The elected are those who know how to revise the genealogy book.

Long: The elected should be literate and know a bit of the clan's history, isn't it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: I guess the genealogy books will also record those villagers working in other places.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, you are right. It doesn't matter for the villagers to work in other places. The survey will be conducted from door to door in each of the Fangs to revise the genealogy of every family. It takes at least three years to revise the genealogy books.

Long: Most of the young people in your village work in other places. Do they still care about the revision of the genealogy books?

Li Sanzhen: There are old people staying in such families. When we revise the genealogy books, they will tell us all the information about their families.

Long: Those who work in other places will return home during the spring festivals, won't they?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, they will all be back by then.

Long: Are they still with a respectful feeling towards the clan and ancestors?

Li Sanzhen: It is true for those who know about their families' histories, but not for the others.

Li Sanzhen: Do some people still cultivate land in Cangpo Village?

Long: Yes.

Long: There is not much land in Cangpo Village. Is it true?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: I once talked with you why people in Wenzhou would like to do business elsewhere.

Li Sanzhen: Yes. It is because there is too little land here.

Long: It takes two or three years to revise the genealogy books, doesn't it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: It is nothing less than making a census.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, you are definitely right.

Long: It is a census of the clan members.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it also records the history of the clan.

Long: That is to say, the genealogy books record not only the lineage of each family in the clan, but also the history of the whole clan.

Li Sanzhen: Yes. The genealogy book will record the clan's history from generation to generation, adding the new events of the clan into it. For instance, someone in the clan became a government official, or someone did some help to others, etc. All of such events will be recorded into the genealogy books.

Long: Are the genealogy books revised by the Fang heads as the directors?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: How did they collect the material? Is each family required to submit its own information which will be sorted through and compiled by the directors later?

Li Sanzhen: We are all fully acquainted with the situations of the families here.

Long: You know all the situations of the families here?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Considering that the compilers have good or bad personal relationships with different families, I wonder whether there is a difference between the facts and the records of each family in the genealogy books.

Li Sanzhen: The records in the genealogy books are usually consistent with the facts because the recorded events will be checked by all villagers. They can't make up the story. For example, one's position recorded in the genealogy book should be the real one he got in the real life.

Long: Are there still some titles like clan heads and Fang heads in the Cangpo Li's clan at present?

Li Sanzhen: No.

Long: The directors are elected only when it's time to revise the genealogy books, aren't they?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. They are the directors only during the three years of revising the genealogy books. After that, they aren't anymore. The directors take full responsibility for the revision of the genealogy books during these three years. Three years later, the revised genealogy books will be sealed until their reopening after another twenty or thirty years. The reopening of the genealogy books is called "kaipu". The genealogy books can't be opened casually. It needs to sacrifice a pig's head. After the revision of the genealogy books finishes, the books should be preserved in cases and kept in several families of the clan. All the other clan members know in which families the genealogy books are preserved.

Long: What kind of families are the genealogy books stored in?

Li Sanzhen: The books are stored in the trustworthy families with high prestige.

Long: Does the government encourage or turn a deaf ear to the revision of genealogy books?

Li Sanzhen: The government encourages it.

Long: Perhaps some local government officials still have respectful feelings towards their own clans.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it is one of the reasons for them to advocate this matter. Moreover, the genealogy books of a clan record the clan's history.

Long: In the preface to "*The Genealogy Book of the Cangpo Li's Clan*", it is mentioned that the books could remedy the deficiency in official historical records.

Li Sanzhen: Yes. And moreover, Cangpo Village shares the same ancestors with Fangxiang Village, so the genealogy books of the two villages are integrated into one in which it recorded that Cangpo and Fangxiang Villages were united Fangs. The general genealogy books are composed of several branch genealogy books each of which records the genealogy of each Fang.

Long: Can those contents recorded in the branch genealogy books also be found in the general genealogy books?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, all can be found there.

3. The first conversation with Li Sanzhen's wife

Long: There are many modern-style houses constructed in the village.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, these houses were built at the former time, but no ones are allowed to be built now.

Long: When did the prohibition begin?

Li Sanzhen's wife: About ten years ago. The traditional houses in Cangpo village were beautiful. It was a pity to demolish them.

Long: The people in Cangpo village cannot build modern-style houses anymore from then. Is it true?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, the villagers here no longer build modern-style houses from then because the government doesn't allow them to build. Many people actually want to demolish their old houses which have been so shabby that will always leak when it rains. The people have no choice but to live in such shabby houses due to the restrictions from the government.

Long: Is there tap water in this village?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, there is.

Long: Can it also be seen in the traditional houses?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No. It can only be seen in the modern-style houses.

Long: When was your house built?

Li Sanzhen's wife: It was built in 1981. And it has become an old house now.

Long: The rendering on the big billboard at the entrance to the village is the planning of the new village, isn't it?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, it is.

Long: How can the people living in the traditional houses get new houses?

Li Sanzhen's wife: They can get new houses if they give their old ones to the government.

Long: Few villagers plant crops here, right?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, few ones do now.

Long: Do most of the families have land?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, but my family's land has been commandeered due to the highway construction. The compensation money should be 30,000 Yuan for one mu,

but my family got only 10,000 plus Yuan. The rest part of the compensation money was detained by the village committee.

Long: Then how do you make a living?

Li Sanzhen's wife: My family has some money earned by doing business elsewhere in the early days. Now we can depend only on it.

Long: Will your two sons support your living?

Li Sanzhen's wife: My sons are struggling to feed their own families. I don't know what we can live on after my land was commandeered to build the highway. After using up the compensation money, I don't know what to depend on. The old villagers usually stay in the village because they can't earn money in other places. Only the young people can earn money elsewhere. For example, if the old and the young run shops at the same time, it is only the latter's shop that can attract customers.

Long: Yes, young people have more flexible minds.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Long: You are lucky to have two sons who can support you when you are old.

Li Sanzhen's wife: I have two sons and one daughter. The daughter is the oldest, 38 years old, and has got married in Wenzhou.

Li Sanzhen's wife: In the beginning, we received only 12,500 Yuan in compensation. My husband went to argue with the village head and the accountant for several times, making a deal to get 16,500 Yuan in the end.

Long: I guess the small pieces of land near the village still belong to the villagers.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Long: Are there many young people staying in the village?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Quite few.

Long: Well then, who plant the land?

Li Sanzhen's wife: It is done by the old rather than by the young. The young people even don't know how to plant.

Long: How old are you?

Li Sanzhen's wife: I'm 57 years old.

Long: And your husband?

Li Sanzhen's wife: He is 60.

Long: How many years has your husband been working as the village head?

Li Sanzhen's wife: My husband used to earn money in other places. He returned home just a few years ago.

Long: Had he been working in Jiangxi before returning home?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, he had been in Jiangxi for more than 20 years

Long: And you?

Li Sanzhen's wife: I have been here for thirty plus years since I got married.

Long: Are you from Jiangxi?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, I'm a native of Yongjia County.

Long: Who designed this house for you?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Some local farmers did it.

Long: They knew how to design, and you discussed with them to decide how to construct your house. Is it the case?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, but their design was not quite good. For example, tall people will easily hit their heads on the upper interior stairs. My second son once thus got hit on his head. Additionally, the stairs begin too near from the room door of the second floor, so it is very easy for people to roll downstairs. The local peasants in fact do not know how to design at all.

Long: Why didn't you ask a professional architect to design your house?

Li Sanzhen's wife: It is too expensive.

Long: So you just asked some local people to make a rough drawing of the arrangement of rooms.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, the design is actually just a rough drawing of the arrangement of rooms.

Long: Were the traditional dwelling houses not designed by professional designers either?

Li Sanzhen's wife: The old houses were with good designs, but those designers of the old houses couldn't design the modern-style ones. Nevertheless, the rural people would like to save the expensive design fees and spend the money on the construction of their houses.

Long: That is to say, they don't have enough money to carefully design their houses.

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, they don't have. All their money is spent in building the houses.

Long: Can you reconstruct your house if you are not satisfied with it?

Li Sanzhen's wife: We are not allowed to demolish any houses.

Long: But your house is in modern style rather than traditional style.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, but the government still doesn't allow us to demolish it. If we demolish this house, we would be fined for it.

Long: Have you been to the new village? And what do you think about the design there?

Li Sanzhen's wife: I have not been there yet.

Long: What did the other villagers think the design of the overall environment and the layout of the streets in the new village?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Some praised it, while some criticized it.

Long: It seems that the original street network in this village has already been changed.

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, It hasn't.

Long: Some streets are straight. Are they the same as before?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, the streets have never been changed.

Long: But some other villages are full of winding alleys, quite like mazes.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Winding alleys? This is the Brush Street and it has never been changed. And the winding alleys are all inside the residential area.

Long: There is a small yard in front of your house. Does it belong to you?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Why don't you enclose it with walls?

Li Sanzhen's wife: The houses over there belong to my husband's brothers. They need to pass through this yard to get their houses.

Long: Are there any people living in those houses now?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, there is no one living there. These houses were built in the quite early days. The householders have left and built new houses elsewhere, so these houses are vacant now.

Long: Your eldest son has three children, right?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, he has three.

Long: But your second son has only one child.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, he didn't get married until thirty years old and has one child now.

Long: Does the government allow your son having three children?

Li Sanzhen's wife: If the first child is a girl, the couple is allowed to have another child. But if the first is a boy, they are not allowed anymore. Or else, they would be fined.

Long: But your eldest son has three children.

Li Sanzhen's wife: He was beyond the restriction.

Long: Was he fined?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Long: How much?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Tens of thousands Yuan. His first child is a boy and the second is a girl who was born in Jiangxi province. The couple received a ligation operation after they had the girl. But they had another child later.

Long: Was it because the operation didn't work?

Li Sanzhen's wife: I don't know.

Li Sanzhen's wife: My daughter has only one son.

Long: Your second son has a daughter, doesn't he?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Long: Doesn't he want another one?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Even though he is allowed to have another child, he doesn't want to.

Long: Is it his will not to raise another one?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, It is his will. He didn't get married until he was thirty.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Is your daughter-in-law also a local person?

Long: Yes, she is from Yantou. In the past my second son had a girlfriend, a tall and beautiful girl from Shijiazhuang, but we didn't agree on their marriage.

Long: You didn't allow your son to marry a girl from other area, did you?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, we didn't agree on this marriage, so he didn't get married until he was thirty.

Long: He did so to protest against your decision.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes. And he refused to get married because of this.

Long: Why didn't you agree on his previous marriage?

Li Sanzhen's wife: The girl's hometown was too far away from here.

Long: After marriage the girl will come to live with your family rather than that your son would go to her hometown and never return back.

Li Sanzhen's wife: My husband said that at least tens of thousands of Yuan would be spent in traveling expenses to marry a wife from a place far from here. It would be ok if the wife were obedient; otherwise, it would be quite troublesome. Several people here ever married wives from other areas. Some wives are obedient, but one isn't. She always returns her home, and a lot of money has thus been spent on the traveling expenses. Therefore, my husband was strongly opposed to such a marriage.

Long: How about the public order in this village?

Li Sanzhen's wife: It's ok.

Long: Aren't there any thefts?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, there are. The gate of my house was ever pried open and several thousand Yuan was stolen together with a cell phone.

Long: Was it at night?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes. We have all fallen into a sound sleep. My second son was still living with us at that time.

Long: Was it done by a local villager or someone from other places?

Li Sanzhen's wife: The thief might be from other areas. There are also thieves in this village. They neither have jobs nor go elsewhere to work.

Long: They even dared to steal the village head's house.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes. Now the public order has become a little better. But there were always theft incidents two years ago. It could always be heard that one family's gate was pried open on some day, and another's on another day.

Long: There are even thieves in such a small village.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, there are still a few thieves even though the village is so small.

Long: You may have known who the thieves were.

Li Sanzhen's wife: But we didn't catch them red-handed.

Long: Did you report to the police after being stolen?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, we did. But it was useless. I have married and lived here for thirty years. It was the first time that I encountered such a thing.

Long: Is there a police station in the village?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No, there isn't here.

Long: How about in the town?

Li Sanzhen's wife: There is one police station in Yantou Town.

4. The conversation with Zhou Wangxin, the head of Yantou Town

The town head: Our town government wants to promote the development of the old villages and to lift the local people out of poverty through developing tourism in these villages. We have always been adhering to this idea. But it is the major difficult problem how to protect these traditional villages in our Yantou Town, Yongjia County. We are trying to find an effective means, but haven't succeeded yet. It is mainly due to the inefficient administrative system. Take Cangpo Village as an example: we went to demolish the illegal buildings there yesterday. But the householders will continue to build other ones as they can't move to the new village. The Cangpo village, with quite a long history, is well worth preserving. But the villagers have a weak awareness of protecting it. We have not found an effective way to solve this problem. Now the villagers don't accept the government's preservation policy and don't care about the preservation of the precious architectural heritage here. The government has failed to gain the local people's understanding.

Long: Professor Chen Zhihua, Lou Qingxi and Li Qiuxiang from Tsinghua University once conducted some field surveys on the traditional villages in the Nanxi River area, and collected many basic research materials, didn't they?

The town head: I think that their theory of protecting the traditional villages is fairly good, but their excellent theory might be somewhat not applicable to our reality here. The professors started from a high theoretical point, while the villagers' qualities are still at a relatively low level.

Long: They also know this conflict between theory and reality, and now the major issue is how to resolve it.

The town head: I think it is difficult to resolve this conflict. The examination and approval procedure for constructing new village is quite cumbersome. The village planning has been put forward for more than ten years, but hasn't been put into practice yet. The new village might begin to be constructed this year, and we have initiated the preparation work now. This project has been developed for more than ten years. There are not many ten years in one's life, so it can be understood that the villagers have an urge to move to new houses. You should live in Cangpo Village for several days to listen to the villagers' opinions. They may have some ideas that we haven't thought of yet. It is quite important to probe their thoughts. The villagers may usually think from perspectives different from yours. Some fresh ideas obtained from them would enrich your dissertation and make it closer to the real life of our villages.

5. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen

Li Sanzhen: The construction of the Shuangxi Pavilion was presided over by me. I asked my relatives to construct it in order to do a good thing for the village.

Long: Perhaps the villagers no longer know how to produce structural members of wood.

Li Sanzhen: Some people, the old carpenters rather than the young, still can do it. There was such an old carpenter here when we built the Shuangxi Pavilion, and this pavilion was constructed by his hands.

Long: It was in order to do a good thing for the village that you organized the construction of this pavilion. Am I right?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, I collected the funds. I persuaded ten people to sponsor two thousand Yuan in total, each one giving two hundred Yuan, and the other money was also collected by me.

Long: How long did it take to build such a pavilion?

Li Sanzhen: It would take two or three months if it was constructed quickly. And it took only twenty thousand Yuan to build this pavilion, not very expensive.

6. The first conversation with Cangpo villager Li Yuyou (a retired teacher serving as a tourist guide of Cangpo Village now)

Li Yuyou: The Wangxiong Pavilion was built in 1128 when the two brothers divided their family after getting married. The older brother gave the land to the young and then moved to Fangxiang Village. With a deep brotherhood feeling, the two brothers were unaccustomed to separate from each other, so they farmed respectively in the daytime but got together to chat at night. One would accompany the other back home after they finished chatting in the deep night and the other would then accompany his brother back home, too. Such kind of farewell sometimes lasted even the whole night. They did so because there were many wild animals in the forest outside the settlements. The two brothers were both worried about the other going home alone. Later, two pavilions were built at the entrances of the two villages, respectively. The one constructed by the old brother was named Songdi Pavilion and the other one named Wangxiong Pavilion. Two lanterns were hung in the pavilions, respectively, and the two brothers would sway the lanterns when arriving safely.

Long: Were there many forests in the surrounding areas in ancient time?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: Not cultivated land?

Li Yuyou: No. In ancient time only the Cangpo's apical ancestor himself lived here. There were two after he married his wife. Along with the reproduction, the population here was continuously enlarged from generation to generation. In the early time, there was cultivated land inside the settlement, but only a little. After many generations, because of the population growth, the forests nearby had to be slashed and the land was reclaimed into arable land. The land you see now is just the result of the villagers' hard work.

Long: Does the land between Cangpo and Fangxiang Villages all belong to Cangpo village?

Li Yuyou: No, some belongs to Fangxiang Village.

Long: Are all the people in Fangxiang Village with the surname Li at present?

Li Yuyou: The majority of the people in Fangxiang Village have the surname Li, only a few with other surnames like Wang, etc.

Long: Are there still any relationships between the clans in Cangpo and Fangxiang Villages?

Li Yuyou: There is still a deep brotherhood feeling between the two villages. The ancestral hall of the Cangpo Li's Clan was jointly constructed by the two villages. The people of Fangxiang Village would come here to offer sacrifice to the ancestors and chat with each other to strengthen our brotherhood feeling every Chinese New Year's Day.

Long: I think you still have a good relationship with each other.

Li Yuyou: Yes. In ancient times, they would also come to offer sacrifice to the ancestors if someone won a champion or juren degree in the imperial examination.

Long: Please give me a brief introduction to the settlement wall.

Li Yuyou: The whole village was entirely enclosed by walls in the past, but only a part of the wall still remains. The walls were originally one person high. But the upper part had already tumbled and they are lower than before. The primary function of the walls was to protect the village against wild animals and the enemies mainly from Xiami Village. We had conflicts with the Xiami villagers at that time, so we built the walls to secure our own safety.

Long: So the walls were mainly for defense.

Li Yuyou: Yes, you are right.

Li Yuyou: The Xi Men (i.e. Che Men) was built in 1178, with more than eight hundred years of history. The builder of the gate hoped that many of his descendants could become government officials. The plan of the gate is like the Chinese character “八” and there is a three-step stair in the front of the Jinshi Tan. The three-step stair represented the three levels of ancient Chinese imperial examinations.

Li Yuyou: What are the three levels of imperial examinations?

Li Yuyou: They are namely the district exam, the provincial exam and the metropolitan exam. The one who passed the examinations would be granted the jinshi degree. That is why the road from the three-step stair to the gate is called “Jinshi Tan”, and it was the only road for the government officials coming into and going out of the village. The literal officials must get off their sedan chairs and the martial officials get off their horses in front of the stair. The seven-step stair in front of the Xi Men

represented the officials' promotion from the seventh to the first rank. The pool near the Xi Men is called Yüantian which is just like a dragon ball on the appearance and the Xi Men like the dragon's head. This bridge is called Dingxiang Bridge ("Dingxiang" means carrying censer on the head). Some Cangpo people ever became the top officials like Taishi and Emperor's son-in-law, so there would be some imperial relatives coming to this village. When they arrived, the Taishi would welcome them on this bridge carrying censer on the head and hence the name came into being. Later it became a custom that the government officials, brides and grooms could walk on the bridge, while the other villagers should walk beside.

Long: Will brides and grooms still walk on the bridge in wedding ceremonies now?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they will.

Li Yuyou: In the Xi Men there are two stone pillars supporting all the weight of the structure. Pillars of gate are usually made of woods, but of stone here, otherwise the Xi Men wouldn't be so solid. There are usually two levels of Dougong placed on pillars, but six levels of Dougong here. Moreover, no nails were used in the construction of the Xi Men. The Xi Men is both beautiful and solid. A typhoon once resulted that a pine tree was blown down, but the Xi Men still firmly stood over there. The Xi Men once was repaired, only changing some tiles and rafters rather than its appearance. The planning theme of this village is "the four treasures of the studio", including the brush pen, ink-stick, inkstone and paper. The mountain to the west of the village has three peaks and is named Brush Rack Mountain, symbolizing the brush rack. The West Pond represents the inkstone. If you take a photo of the West Pond, both the inkstone and the brush rack will appear in the picture, and moreover, the Brush Rack Mountain will be reflected in the West Pond. It is extremely beautiful.

Long: Does the East Pond also have the symbolic meaning of inkstone, or only the West Pond does?

Li Yuyou: Only the West Pond symbolizes the inkstone.

Li Yuyou: This street, with a length of 388 meters from the east to the west, is named Brush Street symbolizing a brush. The brush head is lying at the foot of the Brush Rack Mountain, and the road under our feet represents the pole of the brush. The three boulder strips located in the front symbolize the ink-sticks. And the whole land of the village symbolizes a piece of paper. These are what the four treasures refer to in this village. The “four treasures” were not built in modern times for the sake of tourism development. They were built in the Southern Song Dynasty and have a long history of more than eight hundred years.

Li Yuyou: The ancestral hall of the Li’s Clan faced the south when it was built in the South Song Dynasty, but later was changed to face the west because it was used as a primary school at that time. Changing the ancestral hall to face the western “four treasures”, the ancestors hoped that their descendants could learn hard and became officials after grew up.

Long: The ancestors of the Li’s clan designed Cangpo Village in accordance with the concept of the “four treasures of the studio”. Were there any old drawings left?

Li Yuyou: There are no drawings. The village has been the same since the Song Dynasty until now.

Li Yuyou: If there were some conflicts happened in a family and the clan was wished to resolve, the family would beat the big drum in the ancestral hall. The drum shouldn’t be beaten if nothing happened.

Long: The ancestral hall was always open in ancient times and people could enter it freely. Was it true?

Li Yuyou: Yes, the door was open because it was a primary school.

Long: Was it both a primary school and an ancestral hall?

Li Yuyou: Yes, it served two functions. There were not many students in the past, perhaps only tens of students, and they learned in the corridors on the two sides of the ancestral hall. The theatrical stage was constructed for opera performance. We used to watch opera performances in spring and winter.

Li Yuyou: Do you still watch opera performances now?

Li Yuyou: We won’t in this year. We put on plays at particular times according to the tradition in ancient times, but occasionally did so in recent years.

Long: It was the clan that paid for the performances, wasn't it?

Li Yuyou: Yes. The ancestors' tablets were placed inside the ancestral hall to let these ancestors watch the performances, too. And sometimes the ancestors' portraits and the goddess's statue were also put there, enjoying the performances with us.

Long: Were all the clan members permitted to freely watch the opera performances at that time?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Li Yuyou: In the past, some rich families employed teachers to teach their children at home. Here we invited teachers to teach our children in the ancestral hall.

Long: The clan paid the teachers' salaries, didn't it?

Li Yuyou: Yes, the clan paid them.

Long: It is a kind of compulsory education.

Li Yuyou: Yes, that is true.

Long: But the villagers still should more or less pay for their children's education or donate some money, shouldn't they?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Li Yuyou: In the Renji Temple and the Taiyin Gong, the beams were carved and the rafters painted in the past. But all were damaged during the Cultural Revolution. Although the adornments on the roof of the Renji Temple were restored, they were not like the previous ones, and so we did not restore all parts of the temple.

Long: Were all of the present adornments on the roof of the Renji Temple restored at that time?

Li Yuyou: Yes. But the restoration was not done very well. Otherwise, all the original decorations of the Renji Temple and the Taiyin Gong would have been restored. Now the dragon decorations do not look like the original ones.

Long: Are there still any drawings of the previous decorative components? These components cannot be restored if there are no such drawings.

Li Yuyou: We don't have the drawings, but we still remember what the previous decorative components looked like. We know what is located here, and what is there.

Long: Are you still able to remember them clearly?

Li Yuyou: Yes, we do remember. The drawings of the Renji Temple were brought by our ancestors from Hangzhou. The temple is located adjacent to the ancestral hall. On its front, back, left and right sides there are Meiren Kao benches. Since it is very cool there in summer, old people always liked to sit or lie on those benches to enjoy the cool before the tourism bureau began to manage this village.

Long: Why was Zhou Chu worshiped in the Renji Temple?

Li Yuyou: Zhou Chu originally committed all kinds of evil, but later desisted from his evil ways by himself. He killed tigers and devils for the people and eventually died on the battlefield. After his death, people placed his statue in the temple in order to commemorate him. Zhou Chu was actually not a local man. He was from Yixing in Jiangsu Province. However, the masses were moved by his brave deeds and then began to worship him.

Long: Only Cangpo Villagers worshiped Zhou Chu?

Li Yuyou: The people in many other places including Wenzhou worshiped Zhou Chu, too.

Long: Were there any regular rituals performed in this temple?

Li Yuyou: Yes, we offered sacrifices to him on his birthday each year.

Long: Were the rituals presided over by the clan heads?

Li Yuyou: Yes. Sometimes Buddhist monks were invited to chant sutras if the clan had money. And the rituals would be bustling with excitement by then.

Long: How about on ordinary days?

Li Yuyou: Some people offer sacrifices, such as heads of pigs and chickens, to Zhou Chu on ordinary days, but mostly on the eve of the Spring Festival, the lunar New Year's Day, and other festivals. The rituals would always be bustling with excitement.

Long: Perhaps people don't worship him anymore now. Even his statue can't be seen here.

Li Yuyou: No, people no longer do that now. The sacrificial activities have declined during and after the Cultural Revolution.

Long: Because of the Cultural Revolution?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: There are not any ancestral worship activities in the ancestral hall now, either. Is it right?

Li Yuyou: Yes. Previously, there were the tablets of the ancestors in the ancestral hall, not only Li Cen's tablet which is being worshiped now, but also those of the other ancestors after Li Cen. However, they were all damaged during the Cultural Revolution. Li Cen's tablet was also damaged, but restored to commemorate him again after the Cultural Revolution.

Long: Since when have the sacrificial rites not been held in the ancestral hall anymore?

Li Yuyou: Since the Cultural Revolution.

Long: Also mainly because of the Cultural Revolution?

Li Yuyou: Yes. The sacrificial rites were held even after the founding of the People's Republic of China, until the Cultural Revolution.

Long: Do you still have the genealogy books of your clan?

Li Yuyou: Yes, we do.

Long: Will you hold a ritual when the genealogy books are to be revised again?

Li Yuyou: Yes, we will. There will be plays put on here. All people with the surname Li in Cangpo Village will gather here. A banquet will be held and it will be very bustling with excitement because some troupe will be invited to perform on the stage for about three days.

Long: You have mentioned that you will occasionally invite troupes to perform in the ancestral hall and so I wonder what they are invited for.

Li Yuyou: Nowadays, we always invite troupes to perform in the first lunar month when there are many guests in the village.

Long: Do the young people still like to watch the opera performances?

Li Yuyou: Some of them like, but most of them perhaps not. Elderly and middle-aged people like to watch, and the young people who do not prefer the performances actually would also gather at the ancestral hall in order to enjoy the lively ambience there. Many types of opera, such as Beijing opera, Yue opera, Kun opera, and Ou opera, will be performed.

Long: Ou opera is the local opera in this area, isn't it?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Li Yuyou: There are two big families, the Li Mingguang's and the Li zhaoyang's, living on the right and left sides of the Dengyin Lane, respectively. In order to determine the location of a ditch along this lane, the two families ever compared with each other to find which was wealthier. In the end, Li Mingguang lost, and Li Zhaoyang won, and then the ditch was constructed along the Li Mingguang's courtyard wall.

Long: What was the significance of the dispute on the ditch's location?

Li Yuyou: According to local superstition, it was destructive to the house if the ditch was constructed along its walls, so they disputed on it. We in fact cannot explain why the construction of the ditch would be destructive to the house, but we do have such a taboo.

Long: What is the use of the ditches?

Li Yuyou: The ditches were constructed to drain water away. Otherwise, the streets would be flooded when heavy raining.

Long: The streets in many villages wind in a zigzag form, but the Dengyin Lane is quite straight. Was it originally like this in the history or recently changed to this?

Li Yuyou: It was like this in the history.

Li Yuyou: The "One Well and Three Pools" had been there since ancient times, and was maintained after the Reform. The first pool was for washing vegetables and rice, the second for washing clothes, and the third for washing chamber pots and cow's drinking. So it was called "One Well and Three Pools". The water originated from a spring, through the three pools which are connected in the proper order, and then flew into the West Pond.

Long: Does the water still flow in this way now?

Li Yuyou: Yes. But the water level of the West Pond should not be higher than that of the spring because it would make the spring water polluted.

Long: Are the pools still used in previous way?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they are.

Long: Whose tomb is this?

Li Yuyou: It's Li Cen's tomb. He is our apical ancestor and his wife was also buried here.

Long: Why was it located here, beside the Brush Street?

Li Yuyou: There were not so many houses in the village at that time, and so they were buried here, just inside the village, after died. Now, there are no vacant lots that can be used as cemeteries inside the village. When Master Li Shiri planning the village, he asked Li Song, the ninth-generation ancestor of the Cangpo Li's Clan, whether wanted the clan to develop much quickly or a little slowly. Li Song chose the former without any hesitation and so the Xi Men was located in the now place. If he chose the latter, the gate would be placed far away from its current location.

Long: That is to say, the clan's territory had to be relatively smaller if the people wished to develop faster.

Li Yuyou: Yes. With a smaller territory, the village, of course, would be developed faster.

Long: When were those modern-style houses on the western part of Cangpo Village built?

Li Yuyou: They were built in 2000, and 2001, not a long time ago.

Long: Modern-style houses are not allowed to be built in the middle and the south of Cangpo Village. But, can they be built in the northern part of Cangpo Village?

Li Yuyou: The tourism bureau has forbidden villagers from building modern-style houses there.

Li Yuyou: Probably because there was extensive land, a branch ancestral hall was built wherever the feng shui master chose, regardless of the distance between the branch ancestral hall and the Fang's residential district. The founders of the branch ancestral halls only cared about whether the sites were beneficial to the prosperity of their future generations.

Long: Considering the feng shui, the ancestral halls were located where they could bring prosperity to the descendants. But they were usually far away from the dwelling houses. If their feng shui were very good, why not construct the dwelling houses around them?

Li Yuyou: The dwelling houses were constructed earlier than the branch ancestral halls. Along with population growth, there would be so many tablets of ancestors that ancestral halls needed to be constructed to place those tablets in.

Long: By whom were the branch ancestral halls built, in the order of the age of brothers from the oldest to the youngest or depending on the amount of their respective wealth? For example, if the eldest brother didn't have enough money, but the third had, would the branch ancestral hall of the third Fang be built firstly?

Li Yuyou: Those who had enough money would build their own branch ancestral halls. Otherwise, they couldn't build one.

Long: If the feng shui of somewhere was good, anyone with enough money could build a branch ancestral hall, right?

Li Yuyou: Yes. We are the 34th-generation descendants. Theoretically, each branch lineage should have a branch ancestral hall, but, if so, there would be too many branch ancestral halls. Actually, if the descendants of a particular generation were poor, they thus wouldn't build one. Only some Fangs have their own branch ancestral halls now and those branch ancestral halls were all built when their respective ancestors were rich.

Long: You all belong to one clan. It seems that the allocation of land is always based on the strength of each Fang rather than the order of generations.

Li Yuyou: Yes, of course.

Long: In this sense, a younger brother doesn't have to yield to his elder brother.

Yi Yuyou: It mainly depends on the money they respectively have. The more money someone has, the more and better land he can own. Some brothers would help each other to buy land if they have a good relationship.

Long: Are there any folk activities held for the villagers themselves rather than for the tourists?

Yi Yuyou: No, there are not such activities anymore. In the past, we watched "Chinese Flower Lanterns" and enjoyed opera performance in the ancestral hall in which many antiques, ever used by ancestors, would also be displayed on January 15 of the Chinese lunar year.

Long: Was the ancestral hall of the Li's clan always the center of those activities?

Yi Yuyou: Yes, of course. In recent years, Xiami Village has begun to hold some traditional folk activities again.

Long: Do they volunteer to do it?

Yi Yuyou: Yes. Nowadays, those activities could be held as long as the villagers have enough money and willingness.

Long: Where do the old people like to stay and chat during their free time? I see many of them like to go to the Xi Men.

Li Yuyou: Yes, many old people like to rest there.

Long: The same in the Wangxiong Pavilion.

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: No other in the central part of the village?

Li Yuyou: If the newly planned pavilion is built, it may attract frequent visits of the villagers. But, it hasn't been begun to be built yet. There aren't many public places for people to rest, and the Xi Men and Wangxiong Pavilion are always the most popular.

7. The conversation with Li Yuyou and some other Cangpo villagers at the Che Men (Xi Men)

Long: Are there some villagers here becoming rich by means of doing business elsewhere?

Villager: Yes, there are.

Long: Will they return to this village after becoming rich in other places?

Villager: They do will. The ancestors can't be forgotten. They seldom live here as doing business in other places on ordinary days, but will come back on festivals and finally return here when they are old.

Long: Will they come back when they are old?

Villager: Yes, the people usually go out to earn money while they are young.

Long: But the housing conditions may be better in cities than here.

Villager: Those who work in other places will mostly come back as long as still having houses here, because they always think the hometown is better than the external world.

Long: Even though they have apartments in cities, is it true?

Villager: Yes, they will leave their apartments in cities to their sons, and definitely come back. It is a matter of idea.

Long: But if they have got used to the life in cities, will they still come back?

Villager: Yes, they will. They will still think it is better to live here, because it's the place where they were born and grew up.

Long: But those living in cities could enjoy relatively better infrastructure, such as the better water supply and drainage system, more comprehensive medical services, and more convenient transportation.

Villager: When people become rich, they usually have their own cars and so it will be the same to live here as to live in cities to enjoy those infrastructure services. Actually, the air is much fresher here than in cities. If they get sick, they can conveniently go to city hospitals for treatment. Along with the overall living conditions having been greatly improved now, highways are paved passing by the village and it takes only half an hour to arrive to Wenzhou.

Long: Since people can't build modern-style brick houses anymore due to the now preservation of this old village, are those people willing to return to live in their old wooden houses in relatively poor conditions?

Villager: You probably haven't lived in these houses. If you ever did, you will have a feeling towards the houses. It could not be said that these houses are totally bad only because of their poor conditions. And we will always have a feeling towards them even though they are quite shabby.

Long: What if the people have bought apartments in cities?

Villager: Some have already each bought several apartments in cities.

Long: Will they still come back to live in the village?

Villager: Yes, they will during the festivals.

Long: Only during the festivals?

Villager: They will come back as soon as they have free time, because their parents are still living here.

Long: How long do they usually live here?

Villager: Even for one or two months. The housing conditions in fact are not bad, even if the houses look shabby. But for the now preservation policy, they could be transformed into splendid villas. They are actually just ancient villas. And there were not many families or clans which could build so good houses in ancient times. The houses here are valuables like Beijing Si He Yuan. If you could live here for one month and integrate yourself into the local Ou culture, you will understand why those working in cities are willing to come back when they are old. In cities, the people all live behind iron doors and are unacquainted with each other at all. But the people

here would usually come together after dinner to chat, having thus established good relationships with each other, and when someone needs help, all others will give their hands. If an old man gets sick without any family at hometown, his neighbors will take care of him. And if a person passes away, all other families will help to deal with the funeral things. In cities, the people are so unacquainted with each other that nobody cares about others except themselves.

Long: Is it because you are all with the surname Li, and count yourselves to be relatives?

Villager: No, it isn't because of this. Actually, all villagers are living in the same environment that everyone might need the help of others some day. And then, if you have received help from others, you should help others when they need it.

Long: The urban population has a high mobility.

Villager: Yes, people in cities might move from their previous residences to new ones, having new neighbors and being unacquainted with each other again, every ten or twenty years. So, the villagers who have got used to living here don't like to live in cities. When a stranger comes here, we will all know.

Long: I really didn't expect that the villagers would return here after earning money in other places.

Villager: They still belong to here, and their ancestors are still here, even though they have earned money in other places.

Long: How is the ticket revenue distributed in your village?

Li Yuyou: The village and the town government hold 20 percent of the ticket revenue, respectively, and the Nanxi River Tourism Bureau gets the remaining 60 percent which should be used for all kinds of constructions in the village.

Long: The bureau is under the jurisdiction of the county government, isn't it?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: Could the village's economic development depend on the ticket revenue?

Li Yuyou: The 20 percent of the ticket revenue the village received is just like the vinegar added when cooking. It is rarely useful.

Villager: It can only feed the families of those ticket sellers. There is so little land here that we can't make a fortune by farming. Each family farms one or two mu of land every year, and can only earn one thousand plus Yuan.

Long: Is it enough to feed a family?

Villager: There is fair enough grain for feeding a family. Most people have gone elsewhere to earn money, and few people are staying at home.

Long: Do the peasants still need to submit grain to the government?

Li Yuyou: No, we needn't do so.

Villager: Now the country has implemented the new agricultural policy, cutting the agricultural tax totally.

Long: Was the previous tax paid in grain or money?

Villager: In grain at first, but money later. We pay neither of the two now.

8. The conversation with the Cangpo villagers by the East Pond

Long: The branch ancestral halls shouldn't be inhabited, but for worshiping the ancestors. However, they are inhabited by villagers now.

Villager: Right. During the Cultural Revolution, the branch ancestral halls were assigned to those whose houses were not enough. No people live in the branch ancestral halls anymore because these ancestral halls have been rented by the tourism bureau. The bureau plans to make them scenic spots and thus gives some money to our village as rent. The ancestral halls will be returned thirty years later.

Long: Have these branch ancestral halls been rented by the tourism bureau?

Villager: Yes, they have been rented out. If the tourism bureau no longer develops tourism projects in Cangpo Village in the future, the branch ancestral halls will be given back to the village.

Long: Was there a corridor bridge over the East Pond in the past?

Villager: No, there wasn't. The tourism bureau built it when developing tourism here. The houses on the eastern dike, built during the Cultural Revolution, will be demolished, so that tourists can walk along the eastern dike to the Wangxiong Pavilion through the corridor bridge. Now those houses on the eastern dike haven't been demolished yet, and, therefore, few people use that bridge.

Long: Where is the East Pond's water from?

Villager: From the stream outside the village.

Long: Do you wash clothes by the pond?

Villager: Yes, we all wash clothes there, firstly with the pond water, and finally with tap water. We used to wash clothes there in the past, needless with tap water to wash a second time. But now, the quality of the pond water is no longer good because the people living on the dike dump excrement into the pond. There were no people living there in the past.

9. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen's family

Long: When was your house built?

Li Sanzhen: It was built in 1983.

Long: How long did the construction take?

Li Sanzhen: It took only two to three months.

Long: Who designed the house?

Li Sanzhen: We designed it by ourselves.

Long: You and your families just discussed the room arrangement by yourselves, and that was the design, wasn't it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, you are right.

Long: Weren't there any drawings?

Li Sanzhen: No, there weren't.

Long: How could the builders construct your house without drawings?

Li Sanzhen: I told them my ideas about the room arrangement.

Long: Was the construction team engaged from other areas?

Li Sanzhen: It consisted of both local builders and those from other places.

Long: A temporarily established construction team?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it was.

Long: Is it the same now, temporarily establishing a construction team when building a house?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Will the rich villagers who have already bought apartments in Wenzhou or other big cities come back to live here?

Li Sanzhen's second son: Some will, but most will basically not. It is hard to imagine who would like to live here. It isn't convenient in all respects. It is unable to find somewhere in the village to have a late supper at night, and shopping is inconvenient, either. Everyone has his own thoughts. Some would like to build more splendid houses here, but it is impossible to be realized. One of my friends has built a very splendid house in a nearby village and spent over hundreds of thousands of Yuan on the interior decoration.

Long: Did he employ professional people to design his house?

Li Sanzhen's second son: He does business in Guangdong and designed his house by himself, imitating the layout of a Guangdong style house. It is allowed to build modern-style houses in that village, not here.

Long: But there are also rows of new houses in the northwest of Cangpo Village.

Li Sanzhen's second son: They are constructed under the governmental planning, being part of the new village. Those poor families who didn't have their own houses moved into them.

Long: When were those new houses built?

Li Sanzhen's second son: Around 2000. They were not planned quite well.

Long: They were for the poor families. Who paid for the construction?

Li Sanzhen's second son: It was 20,000 Yuan per house lot. This price was quite low.

Long: But the residents were very poor.

Li Sanzhen's second son: They still needed to pay for themselves. It is not true that they have no money but, actually, have no place to live.

Long: Were their original houses made empty?

Li Sanzhen's second son: The old people in their families still lived there.

Long: Young people usually like modern-style houses.

Li Sanzhen's second son: Yes, definitely. New houses are cleaner.

Li Sanzhen's second son: My parents had lived in Jiangxi for more than thirty years, but finally came back.

Long: Here is like a huge magnet.

Li Sanzhen's second son: Yes, our roots are here. We ever owned an apartment in Wenzhou, but my parents didn't agree to live there.

Long: How about the apartment in Wenzhou now?

Li Sanzhen's second son: It was sold.

Long: They sold the apartment in order to come back here?

Li Sanzhen's second son: Yes. Now we have another apartment in Hubei, but it is still vacant.

Long: It is in the city or in the countryside?

Li Sanzhen's second son: In the city.

Li Sanzhen's wife: It was uncomfortable to live in city apartments.

Long: Why? Was it because of feeling lonely in the city?

Li Sanzhen's second son: They didn't feel lonely, but always unable to adapt themselves to living there, especially my father.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Even the drinking water there doesn't taste good.

Li Sanzhen's second son: My father had been in Jiangxi for more than thirty years, but finally decided to come back.

10. The third conversation with Li Sanzhen

Li Sanzhen: During the period of land reform, still before liberation, it was bao zhang who was responsible for the affairs in the village. Bao zhang was just like the present village head.

Long: Was bao zhang put forward by the villagers?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, he was put forward by the villagers.

Long: He was the leader of your village?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, he was. He also had subordinates named zhong ren who were just like the cadres in the now village committee.

Long: The Li's clan consisted of several Fangs, didn't it? Who were in charge of the Fangs, respectively?

Li Sanzhen: Each Fang had its own head.

Long: Did those Fang heads have a leader?

Li Sanzhen: It was bao zhang or zhong ren.

Long: What qualities for someone to depend on to be put forward as bao zhang, his experience, generation, or ability?

Li Sanzhen: It was like electing a village head today. To be a competent bao zhang, he should have prestige, that is to say, his family should be of great influence. The acquirement of a certain level of education was also necessary, so that he had the ability to solve the villagers' problems. Otherwise, he couldn't be put forward as bao zhang.

Long: Was zhong ren elected in the same way?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, in the same way. Zhong ren were just like the cadres in now village committee. The village head was named bao zhang in the past and zhong ren were under bao zhang.

Long: How many zhong ren were there usually?

Li Sanzhen: It depends. There might be several if the village was large.

Long: How many were there in your village in the past?

Li Sanzhen: Two or three.

Long: Was bao zhang responsible for all affairs in the village?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, he was responsible for everything.

Long: Did he have an office?

Li Sanzhen: I don't know, but meetings were always held in the ancestral hall.

Long: In the ancestral hall?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Do the people of your generation still have a strong sense of belonging to your respective Fangs?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, we have.

Long: But those of your son's generation have a weaker sense of belonging to their own Fangs, don't they?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. The sense is inherited from history, but many young people no longer care about it. Nevertheless, in some families the old people will still pass it down to their next generation.

Long: Was bao zhang responsible for coordinating the relationships among Fangs when people's sense of belonging to their Fangs was still very strong in the past?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, you are right.

Long: What kinds of conflicts could happen between two Fangs?

Li Sanzhen: It was hard to say. There would be all kinds of conflicts. Some people were even killed in the fights between the Fangs. I heard from my father that this happened when our Fang had conflicts with Santui Fang. The two Fangs despised each other, and subsequently fights happened, killing several people.

Long: Didn't bao zhang come to resolve this conflict?

Li Sanzhen: Bao zhang came from my Fang, and was killed by Santui Fang in that fight. The whole clan originally owned a mountain collectively. But the people of Santui Fang were seen to cut trees there and my Fang of course refuse to be reconciled to it. After my Fang failed to stop Santui Fang taking away the trees, the conflict began to escalate.

Long: Even bao zhang was killed. How was the conflict resolved in the end?

Li Sanzhen: After the death of bao zhang, zhong ren came to successfully mediate it.

Long: When did it happen? Was it before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Should the position of Fang head also be held by the one with high prestige and recognized by all other members in the Fang?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, he should also have power. Now is the same. In some places, the candidates were elected village heads only depending on their power, and even those who had high prestige couldn't win if they had not enough power.

Li Sanzhen: The people here couldn't marry the natives, because two people both with the same surname Li couldn't marry.

Long: Do you refer to those in the same Fang, or those just with the same surname Li?

Li Sanzhen: Those with the surname Li couldn't marry each other in this place. Otherwise, they couldn't be recorded in the genealogy books. It was stipulated in the genealogy books of the Cangpo Li's clan. The people of the surname Li usually married those with other surnames.

Long: So the villagers here had to find spouses in other villages.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, they could only marry those with other surnames. Otherwise, the people concerned would be eliminated from our genealogy books.

Long: It was a kind of punishment here to the people who married someone with the surname Li.

Long: Was the title bao zhang changed into the village head after liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, the title was named as "village head" after liberation, changed to "team leader" in the era of People's Communes, and changed back to "village head" after the reform and opening-up. The secretary of production brigade in the period of the People's Communes amounts to the present village Party secretary.

Long: If there are some small disputes, would they be handled by the village head, or given to be dealt with by the police?

Li Sanzhen: It depends. The small ones could usually be resolved within the village.

Long: Suppose there are some petty thefts. Would the village head transfer the offenders to the police?

Li Sanzhen: If only petty thefts and the offenders just little kids, we would merely admonish them. But if it doesn't work, we would send them to the police.

Long: Many families here each have several children. Is it because every family wants a boy? But I see many families each have more than one boy.

Li Sanzhen: The feudal concept is still deeply rooted in the rural people's minds. And since the laws are not enforced quite strictly, the more sons a family has, the more powerful the family is. In the village, if you have several brothers, nobody would dare to offend you. But if you have only one or no sons, people would not fear you, and even bully you.

Long: Who manages the finance in your village? Your village has a certain amount of common property, doesn't it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. The money is managed by the accountant, and the village head's signature is always necessary. There are two committees in the village, namely the village committee and the village Party committee, each consisting of five members.

11. The second conversation with Li Sanzhen's wife

Long: Was your husband born here?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, he was, and left here at 17 to earn money in other areas.

Long: When did he come back?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Just a few years ago.

Long: Why did he come back?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Because he was becoming old.

Long: Leaves wish to land near the roots.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, he was becoming old, and then always wanted to go home. We were in fact able to settle in another place, but my husband insisted on coming back, mumbling about this every day. I had no idea how to deal with him. I got along with the neighbors there quite well and sometimes now I still persuade my husband to return there. However, he said that since we had returned to our hometown, we wouldn't go out anymore.

Long: Your house was built in the 1980s.

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes. My husband came back alone to build this house and returned to work in other places after that.

Long: And then this house was vacant?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes, it was vacant.

Long: Is the present construction of the houses in the new village paid by the government or by the house owners?

Li Sanzhen's wife: It is paid by the house owners. After buying each house lot with several tens of thousands of Yuan, the people build their new houses according to the village plan hung on the billboard at the entrance of the village.

Long: What kind of people will first buy those house lots? Those who got rich earlier?

Li Sanzhen's wife: No. The house lots will be first sold to those who have no houses to live in.

Long: Do the villagers design the houses by themselves?

Li Sanzhen's wife: Yes.

Long: What about the planning?

Li Sanzhen's wife: In the past, families bought the house lots according to the assignment of the village committee. Later, new houses were not allowed to be built for the sake of tourism development. However, the villagers insisted on building new houses even if the authorities didn't allow. Consequently, as long as new houses were built, the government would demolish them, but after the demolition, the villagers would construct them again.

Long: Where do you wash clothes?

Li Sanzhen's wife: By the canals or sometimes by the wells.

Long: I see that you have washing machine. Why don't you use it?

Li Sanzhen's wife: The clothes are quite dirty, and so can't be washed clean by the washing machine. It is not like in cities. I bought this washing machine, but have never used it when living here.

12. The fourth conversation with Li Sanzhen

Long: When did you return to Cangpo Village?

Li Sanzhen: In 1998. It has been more than ten years since then.

Long: Was it your own will to come back?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it was my will to come back. I lived in other places until I was in my fifties. I didn't want to stay there anymore but thought I should return to my hometown.

Long: Why did you still have such a strong feeling for your hometown, even though you left here when you were quite young?

Li Sanzhen: Because my relatives were all here.

Long: But you must have made friends in other places.

Li Sanzhen: Yes, I had many friends elsewhere.

Long: You had been living in other places for so many years but still wanted to come back. What a strong feeling towards your hometown!

Li Sanzhen: People always say that the hometown is the best.

Long: Is there a sewage system in the village now?

Li Sanzhen: No. I constructed sewerage for my house by myself.

Long: Where does it lead to?

Li Sanzhen: It leads to the outside of the village. Most of the families don't have sewage systems.

Long: Then how many families have their own sewage systems?

Li Sanzhen: Perhaps few.

Long: Shouldn't the branch ancestral halls belong to the Fangs? Why have they belonged to individual families?

Li Sanzhen: They were assigned during the land reform.

Long: Zhong ren served as the assistants of bao zhang in the past. Did the Fang heads also have assistants?

Li Sanzhen: No, they didn't have.

Long: When the Fang heads mediated conflicts, were there any executive agencies helping them to enforce their decisions then? Or say, whether did their meditations have binding force?

Li Sanzhen: When conflicts happened, Zhong ren would always come forward to express their opinions. And if they had enough ability and power, being able to pacify the parties concerned, the conflicts would thus be resolved. Otherwise, their words wouldn't be really complied with. Their words, actually, were always useful in the past, not like now. Nowadays, even though a mediator is serving in the village committee, there is nothing he could do if the people involved in conflicts just refuse his intervention. According to the present law, the mediator is only authorized to conduct mediation, having no right to enforce obedience at all. In the past, since the zhong ren

enjoyed higher social status and more power than common villagers, to a certain extent being able to enforce their decisions, the people concerned in conflicts usually stood in awe of them and dare not to disobey their words.

Long: Your clan was divided into several Fangs. Did the families of the Fangs live in a mixed inhabitation?

Li Sanzhen: It is basically right. In the past the families of the same Fang were usually residentially concentrated, but mixed with those from other Fangs later.

Long: From when did the mixing begin?

Li Sanzhen: It is hard to say. There wasn't a definite time.

Long: Was the present planning of Cangpo Village proposed by the tourism bureau or by your village?

Li Sanzhen: By the town government.

Long: Were the design fees paid by the government?

Li Sanzhen: No, our village paid it.

Long: How much does it take to build a new house now?

Li Sanzhen: More than a hundred thousand Yuan.

Long: Does it include the cost of the house lot?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: What's the population of this village? And how many households are there in the village?

Li Sanzhen: There are over 700 households with a population of more than 2800.

Li Sanzhen: Before the revision of the genealogy books, the Fang heads have to make clear the numbers of the members of their respective Fangs and to collect the fees for the revision from every family. Each male has to pay more than each female. After that we will prepare to start revising the genealogy books.

Long: Are the fees collected according to the number of the clan members?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Does every person have to pay?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. If the fees have all been collected, we will choose an auspicious day to open the sealed genealogy books, not only inviting a troupe to perform, but

also sacrificing a pig head and a sheep on that day. We will go to Fangxiang Village to revise the genealogy books jointly with them. Above all, the matters related to the revision should be discussed by the Fang heads from Cangpo, Fangxiang, and some other villages concerned, reaching a common decision to conduct the revision. It must be ensured that there is enough money for the revision. As long as the money is guaranteed, we will start the revision. Otherwise, we mustn't. After finishing the whole revision, the new genealogy books will be sealed. We will also hold a ceremony with opera performances by then. After offering sacrifices to the ancestors, the genealogy books will be sealed in trunks which mustn't be opened until the next time we revise the genealogy books. Our clan suffered damage during the Cultural Revolution, and most of our genealogy books were burned up. The ones now preserved in my hands were secretly kept at that time.

Long: Whether the government advocates you conducting clan activities?

Li Sanzhen: Now we are quite free to do it.

Long: Does the government advocate it or just wink at it?

Li Sanzhen: The government doesn't pay attention to it.

Long: What are the benefits for the development of the village to hold clan activities?

Li Sanzhen: The previous history shouldn't be lost. Conducting clan activities is our tradition and we should keep it.

13. The fifth conversation with Li Sanzhen

Long: Did the Li's Clan revise the genealogy books before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Was the cost of the revision also borne by the villagers?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, the villagers had to jointly share the cost. It was stipulated that how much a man and a woman should pay, respectively.

Long: Did women also have to pay for it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. Women paid less than men.

Long: But women were not recorded in the genealogy books.

Li Sanzhen: No, women were not recorded in the genealogy books revised in the Kuomintang (KMT) period.

Long: Were there any activities of ancestor worship conducted in your village during festivals before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. The ancestors of Fangxiang and Cangpo Villages were brothers. The ancestor of Fangxiang Village was older than that of Cangpo. On the first day of the Chinese lunar year, we would beat drums and gongs to welcome the descendants of our ancestor's old brother to worship the ancestors together.

Long: Did it usually take only one day to worship the ancestors?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, only one day.

Long: Did you need to go to Fangxiang Village to worship the ancestors?

Li Sanzhen: No, we needn't, because the clan's ancestral hall was here. It was ok to meet the descendants of our ancestor's old brother just here.

Long: Until when was such an activity held every year?

Li Sanzhen: We held it until now.

Long: Also during the Cultural Revolution?

Li Sanzhen: It was suspended then.

Long: Could it be held before the Cultural Revolution?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it could.

Long: There is a stage in the ancestral hall. When will you invite troupes to perform?

Li Sanzhen: It was usually in the first month of the Chinese lunar year, but on the first day of the Chinese lunar year in recent years.

Long: Would the troupes perform for only several hours?

Li Sanzhen: At least for three days.

Long: Is it held just for entertaining the villagers or for worshiping the ancestors?

Li Sanzhen: We hold performances in order to worship our apical ancestor Li Cen. We would worship him before the performances, and the troupes would perform "The Eight Immortals Crossing the Sea" to congratulate upon his birthday.

Long: Such an activity was held every year before, wasn't it?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Was it also suspended during the Cultural Revolution?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it was suspended.

Long: Did your clan have clan land in the past?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, we did. Each Fang also had its own land. The related revenue was used to worship the ancestors, such as sweeping their tombs at the Qingming Festival. Some Fangs each had a few mu of land and some others might each have only one mu.

Long: How was the ancestral hall used before liberation? Besides holding performances and worshipping ancestors in the first month of the Chinese lunar year, what was it used for in the daily life?

Li Sanzhen: The village head would hold meetings there in the past. There was a big drum in the ancestral hall. The people would gather there to discuss issues when the drum was beaten. And only when there was an emergency in the village could the drum be beaten.

Long: Are there any people that still like to watch the opera performances now?

Li Sanzhen: Those who like to watch are mostly old people. Few young people would like to.

Long: Did your village have any conflicts or even fight with other villages in the history?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, we did.

Long: With which village?

Li Sanzhen: With Xiami Village.

Long: What is the surname of the people in that village?

Li Sanzhen: They are with the surname Teng.

Long: Why did you fight against them?

Li Sanzhen: We fought against them several times. Guns were used in the fights during the KMT period.

Long: You fought against them before liberation. What about after liberation?

Li Sanzhen: We fought even after liberation, just for a mountain. Neither of the villages should occupy the mountain. As long as Xiami Village attempted to occupy it, we would fight against them.

Long: It belonged to neither of the villages after the fights?

Li Sanzhen: No.

Long: Was it just an isolation belt?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it was an isolation belt. We won the fights both during the KMT and the CPC periods. We were in a very advantageous position. We occupied the higher mountain, so the guns could be mounted higher.

Long: When did you fight after liberation?

Villager: In 1963.

Long: Fought for the mountain?

Villager: Yes.

Long: Did all your villagers take part in?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, all took part in, not only the people of our village but also the people of Fangxiang.

Long: How long did the fight last?

Villager: It lasted for a whole day. They were defeated and had to retreat.

Long: Didn't they seek revenge?

Villager: No, they didn't.

Long: Were there any casualties?

Li Sanzhen: Two people of Xiami Village were wounded.

Long: What about your people?

Li Sanzhen: There were no casualties.

Long: Didn't the government intervene?

Villager: The government mediated between our two sides.

Li Sanzhen: The conflict was resolved through the town government's mediation.

Long: From then on you didn't fight again, did you?

Villager: No, we didn't.

Long: Won't the descendents of the two sides bear a grudge against each other?

Li Sanzhen: There is no feud. We won't fight against them unless they occupy the mountain again.

Long: Who was in charge of the building construction in the village before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: There was a clan head in the village and he was in charge of it.

Long: Are there any decent buildings conducted during the period of the Republic of China?

Li Sanzhen: There was the Taiyin Gong.

Long: What was it for?

Li Sanzhen: It was the temple of Goddess Chen Shisi.

Long: What did Goddess Chen Shisi do?

Li Sanzhen: Goddess Chen Shisi always did good things and could kill devils. She would secure our safety if we worshiped her.

Li Sanzhen: The temple wasn't used any more, was it?

Li Sanzhen: It was damaged during the "Destroy the Four Olds" campaign after liberation. The dragons carved on the roof of the temple were fairly beautiful, but all damaged during the Cultural Revolution.

Long: How did you buy and sell land before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: After reaching an agreement, the two sides invited people who had good relationships with them in the villages as witnesses and signed a contract.

Long: Would the elders in the village be invited to witness?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, they would be invited, but only those who had good communication skills and executive ability.

Long: Were they also invited to witness the family divisions in the villages?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, they were.

Li Sanzhen: The Fangs here, in order of size from the largest to the smallest, were named Jiguan Fang, Santui Fang, Sanfang Fang, Wufen Fang and Waizhai Fang, respectively.

Long: Are the village head and other cadres of the village mostly from Jiguan Fang?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Before the Cultural Revolution, were there still any clan activities which were held every year during the period of the KMT government?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, there were.

Long: How were the buildings like the ancestral halls, the Renji Temple, and the Taiyin Gong used during the Cultural Revolution?

Li Sanzhen: They were vacant.

Long: Was the clan and Fang land assigned to the villagers?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, all were assigned to the villagers.

Long: Did it all finally belong to the collective?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, it did.

Li Sanzhen: During the period of the People's Communes, our village was reorganized into a production brigade consisting of twenty-four production teams. And this village was once divided into three small villages which were combined into one again later.

Long: When did the division happen?

Li Sanzhen: In 1958 when organizing collective canteens.

Long: When were the villages combined into one?

Li Sanzhen: After the reform and opening-up.

Long: Were there any people with other surnames living in this village before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, there were.

Long: As early as before liberation?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: What were those surnames then?

Li Sanzhen: There were surname Zhou, Xü and Pan, etc.

Long: I think there might be very few people with those surnames in this village.

Li Sanzhen: No, not many. The people with the surname Zhou had already settled here and gave this place to us after my apical ancestor came here.

Long: Has the population size changed a lot here?

Li Sanzhen: Our population has increased a lot. There were only several hundreds of people here in the past.

Long: Only several hundreds of people? When?

Li Sanzhen: Before liberation.

Long: What about now?

Li Sanzhen: There are about three thousand people now.

Long: You did business in other places in the past, didn't you?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: What made you come back to be the village head?

Li Sanzhen: I came back to establish the folk culture company?

Long: Was the ancestral hall used again after the reform and opening-up?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Who maintained it?

Li Sanzhen: I got the funds for the restoration work from the county government when establishing my company. The ancestral hall was previously used as a school.

Long: How much did the restoration cost?

Li Sanzhen: One million Yuan was allocated from the government, and eight hundred thousand Yuan was spent in restoring the ancestral hall.

Long: In what year?

Li Sanzhen: About in 2001.

Long: When was the Association for the Elderly established in Cangpo Village?

Li Sanzhen: It was almost twenty years ago.

Long: Who can join the association?

Li Sanzhen: Women at age 65 or above and men at age 60 or above are eligible to join it.

Long: Are there many women joining it?

Li Sanzhen: There are some.

Long: The majority are male. Is it true?

Li Sanzhen: Yes.

Long: Does everyone need to pay a membership fee?

Li Sanzhen: Yes. Each should pay 30 Yuan in the past and 50 Yuan now.

Long: Should the member fee be paid annually?

Li Sanzhen: Only a one-time payment. When a member dies, the association will give his family 100 Yuan for the funeral, and on every September 9 of the Chinese lunar year, the festival for the elderly in China, give 20 Yuan to every member.

Long: Each one will get 20 Yuan?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, in every year.

Long: Do all the elderly have to join it?

Li Sanzhen: It is voluntary.

Long: How do you assign the ticket revenue?

Li Sanzhen: The town government and the village hold 20% of the ticket revenue, respectively, and the tourism bureau gets the remaining 60%.

Long: What are the daily activities of the association?

Li Sanzhen: There are few activities on ordinary days.

Long: Do they have an office?

Li Sanzhen: No.

Long: Where do they hold meetings?

Li Sanzhen: Just talk with each other in someone's home.

Long: Were the public places, such as small squares and streets, under the management of the clan in the past?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, the clan managed them.

Long: What about now?

Li Sanzhen: Nobody is in charge of the management anymore. It is in a mess.

Long: Was the location of the Guanshang Pavilion chosen by the donor himself?

Li Sanzhen: Its location had been determined a long time ago, but we didn't have enough money to build it, and so he donated his money earned in other places for the construction.

Long: I remember that you also built a pavilion at the northwest corner of the village.

Li Sanzhen: Yes. All the others, even the village committee, had no money to build it when I came back to the village.

Long: Why did you locate the pavilion there?

Li Sanzhen: Its location had also already been determined to be there before I came back and the villagers expect me to do some good deeds for the village at that time.

Long: How much did it cost?

Li Sanzhen: It cost more than twenty thousand Yuan. I gathered the money from other people.

Long: Did you collect the money in the village?

Li Sanzhen: Yes, in the village.

14. The second conversation with Li Yuyou and the retired Party secretary of Cangpo Village

Long: I saw a corridor bridge over the East Pond when I came here three years ago. Why isn't it there now?

Li Yuyou: Some photographers complained to the tourism bureau for several times that the bridge covered the reflection of the distant peaks in the pond and then the tourism bureau demolished it.

Long: When was it constructed?

Li Yuyou: About in 2000 or 2003.

Long: Who built it?

Li Yuyou: It was built and demolished a few years later by the tourism bureau.

Long: I heard that it was demolished last year.

Li Yuyou: No, it was in 2008, the year before last year.

Long: As far as I know, the most part of the garden on the dike was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

Li Yuyou: Yes, for building houses during the Cultural Revolution.

Long: The houses on the eastern dike have been demolished now.

Li Yuyou: Yes, they were demolished and a new garden was planned to be built there.

Long: Is it to restore its original appearance?

Li Yuyou: Yes. All the houses there are planned to be demolished, but some residents don't agree to move, and the government hasn't found a solution yet. Except them, the households previously living in the middle part of those buildings have already moved away and built their new houses in the new village to the west of the village.

Long: Do those who refused to move come from one family?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they are two brothers.

Long: They are united in their opposition.

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: The genealogy books were all burned up during the Cultural Revolution, weren't they?

Li Yuyou: Yes, most of the genealogy books were burned up.

Long: The Cangpo Li's clan revised its genealogy books in the 1980s. How was it done in the case that the previous ones had already been burned?

Li Yuyou: During the Cultural Revolution, the Fang genealogy books were burned, but the general genealogy books were hidden by someone. The revision of the new genealogy books was just based on them.

Long: How were those general genealogy books saved?

Li Yuyou: They were saved by Li Chengkuai who was a Red Guard at that time. When he saw the general genealogy books, he hid them in his home.

Long: He was a Red Guard. He should burn them at once.

Li Yuyou: Some of the Red Guards thought the genealogy books shouldn't be burned, because they were left by ancestors and of great value.

Long: How many production brigades was your village divided into during the period of the People's Communes?

Li Yuyou: Three production brigades which were combined into one after the reform and opening-up.

Long: Why did you want to develop tourism here?

The retired village Party secretary: At that time the government tourism agency attached great importance to the tourism development here, and the village cadres actively cooperated with it. The village has been officially opened to tourists since 1992.

Long: It was the tourism bureau leading the tourism development here, wasn't it?

Li Yuyou: Yes, even now.

Long: Is it the county or the town tourism bureau?

The retired village Party secretary: It is the county tourism bureau.

Long: Was it after developing tourism when the ancestral hall was repaired?

Li Yuyou: Yes. The ancestral hall has been reconstructed several times. It faced south in the Southern Song Dynasty, but west in the Ming Dynasty for integrating itself more fully into the "four treasures of the studio", and was replaced by a modern multi-storey building later. The tourism bureau thought that its modern appearance

didn't match the overall appearance of the village and then demolished it for restoring it to the present one.

Long: When did you do the restoration work?

The retired village Party secretary: It was in 2002.

Long: Are the Renji Temple and the nearby Taiyin Gong the original ones without any restoration?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they are.

Long: When was the Taiyin Gong built?

The retired village Party secretary: It was built in the 28th year of the Republic of China.

Long: Who paid for it?

The retired village Party secretary: A part of the money was from the clan land revenue, and the other was donated by individuals.

Long: Who is worshiped in the Taiyin Gong?

Li Yuyou: Goddess Chen Shisi is worshiped inside now.

Long: Are there still any people coming to the Renji Temple and the Taiyin Gong to conduct worship activities in nowadays?

Li Yuyou: Yes. We just held such activity this year.

Long: When do the people usually worship in the two places?

Li Yuyou: There is no rule. But it is usually in the first and twelfth month of the Chinese lunar year.

The retired village Party secretary: The activities conducted in the Renji Temple are on February 2 of the Chinese lunar year. And there will be some stuff displayed there.

Long: But the gods' statues aren't there.

Li Yuyou: They were destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.

Long: I originally thought that the two temples were being used only for sightseeing by tourists, not for worship anymore.

Li Yuyou: Nowadays some people who believe in gods still will go there to burn incense on the first and fifteenth day every month of the Chinese lunar year.

Long: Under what level of protection is Cangpo Village as an important cultural relic site?

Li Yuyou: It is under province-level.

Long: When was it appraised?

The retired village Party secretary: In 2005, the same year so Furong Village was.

Long: Did the government pay for the expense of maintaining the Renji Temple and the Taiyin Gong?

Li Yuyou: No.

Long: You paid it by yourselves, didn't you?

Li Yuyou: Yes, it is the same now.

Long: Was the money collected from all the villagers or donated by some individuals?

Li Yuyou: It was collected from the villagers.

Long: When did you repair it?

The retired village Party secretary: It was about in the 1980s.

Long: Now, do the restoration and maintenance of the ancestral hall, the temple and the pavilions all depend on the money collected from the villagers?

Li Yuyou: It is the tourism bureau paying the money now, but we paid before.

Long: Is Jiguan Fang the largest?

The retired village Party secretary: Yes, it is.

Long: What percent does it account for the total population?

The retired village Party secretary: 45% or so.

Long: Are there people with the surname Xü and Pan living in your village?

Li Yuyou: Yes, there are.

Long: How many are they?

The retired village Party secretary: Only a small part. There are not a lot.

Li Yuyou: Their number is too little to be calculated in percentage. Besides, there are people with the surname Chen or Zhou.

The retired village Party secretary: Only one or two families are with the surname Zhou or Chen, and about twenty people with the surname Pan.

The retired village Party secretary: This was a backward village before 1983.

Long: In which aspect was the village backward?

The retired village Party secretary: The public buildings had all collapsed and there was no highway, electricity, or tap water here at that time.

Long: How were they constructed?

The retired village Party secretary: In 1983, reform was carried out here. The Association for the Elderly organized the villagers to construct buildings and facilities in the village. It had no money then. When a huge maple tree on the eastern dike was struck dead by lightning, the association sold it for eight hundred Yuan which was used to build the public place, the Renji Temple.

Long: It was unbelievable that the construction was organized by the Association for the Elderly.

The retired village Party secretary: The Association for the Elderly and the village committee organized it together. Our village owned a hill on which lots of orange trees were planted. Those oranges tasted very good and were quite famous in Yongjia County.

Li Yuyou: Through selling the oranges, the village's collective economy gradually developed, and afterwards, a work team from the county was stationed here to direct our economic development. In this way, the village economy recovered.

Long: Was it true that the strength of the government played a crucial role in the village economic development?

Li Yuyou: Yes, of course.

The retired village Party secretary: The village was built to be a civilized village later.

Li Yuyou: The clan also made some contributions to the village construction. For example, the Association for the Elderly was just representing the clan.

Long: Besides restoring the Renji Temple, did the Association for the Elderly conduct other such village construction activities?

Li Yuyou: If the streets or lanes in the village had some damage, the Association for the Elderly would repair them. And they watched over the trees and flowers planted in the village. If someone damaged these plants, the association would impose a fine on him. For example, someone was fined 50 Yuan for picking a flower, and then nobody dared to do damage anymore.

Long: When did it happen?

The retired village Party secretary: It was about in 1985 or 1986.

Long: 50 Yuan was not a small number to be fined at that time.

Li Yuyou: Yes, the person felt much pain on it, but had to comply with the regulation of the association to pay the fine.

Long: Does the Association for the Elderly still have such a huge influence now?

The retired village Party secretary: No, it doesn't.

Li Yuyou: Now it is different from the past.

Long: Why?

The retired village Party secretary: The present village cadres no longer set a high value on old people, but the previous did.

Long: The houses in the north of Cangpo Village were constructed without any planning in the 1980s, weren't they?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they were constructed with no planning at that time.

Long: But the houses on the west side of the village were built according to some planning.

Li Yuyou: Yes.

Long: Without any planning, how could the houses in the north be built?

The retired village Party secretary: The planning bureau of Yongjia County had not been established yet in the 1980s.

Li Yuyou: But there were some examination and approval procedures.

The retired village Party secretary: It was the county government responsible for the examination and approval.

Li Yuyou: Precisely speaking, it was the land bureau responsible for it. At that time some families had a lot of children but without enough housing. Then the production brigade allocated house lots to them to build new houses.

Long: The house lots were assigned by the production brigade, but the houses were built by those families themselves, right?

Li Yuyou: Yes, the villagers built the houses by themselves.

Long: And the people had to pay for all expenses of the house construction by themselves, didn't they?

Li Yuyou: When they built their houses, the production brigade more or less helped them with some money.

Long: The expenses of the house construction on the west side of the village were wholly paid by the house owners respectively. Is it true?

Li Yuyou: Yes, they paid all by themselves.

Long: What about the house lots?

Li Yuyou: People have to pay their own money to buy the house lots in the new village now. Although the lots on the west side of the village were also sold to the house owners, the prices were very cheap for benefitting the poor.

Long: What was the width of one jian?

Li Yuyou: It is about 3.3 meters.

Long: It seems to be the length of a bed plus the width of a door.

Li Yuyou: You are right. And it, in fact, usually determined by the house owner himself, so sometimes might be wider than 3.3 meters, even 3.6 meters.

Long: I notice that there are few people going to stay in the Wangxiong Pavilion recently.

Li Yuyou: there will be more people in summers.

Long: When was the ancestral hall rebuilt?

Li Yuyou: It was originally a study place provided to students in the village, and the classroom was quite simple. Since the village committee, the Association for the Elderly, the Women's Federation, and the militia had no office rooms, the Li's ancestral hall was rebuilt. The main hall was retained, but the side galleries were both demolished.

Long: Were the side galleries demolished?

Li Yuyou: Yes. The galleries on the south and the north sides were demolished and replaced by a multi-storey building.

Long: How many stories was the new building?

Li Yuyou: Two stories.

Long: When was it built?

Li Yuyou: In the late 1970s after the Cultural Revolution.

Long: When was it restored into the present one?

Li Yuyou: In order to develop tourism, the tourism bureau demolished the multi-storey office building and the ancestral hall was restored to its original appearance.

Long: What is the owner's name of the house which has stopped being built?

Li Yuyou: He died last year.

Long: What's his name?

Li Yuyou: His name is Li Yanxing.

Long: How old was he?

Li Yuyou: He was more than sixty years old.

Long: Did he die in an accident when working in other places?

Li Yuyou: Yes.

实地调研采访录音资料汇编

采访时间：2007年5月，2010年9月

采访地点：中国浙江省温州市永嘉县岩头镇芙蓉村，苍坡村

采访人：龙江（Long）

受访人：岩头镇政府官员，芙蓉村，苍坡村村干部，村民等

芙蓉村中的采访

1 与芙蓉村大屋人家客栈老板及芙蓉村上村村长陈建兵的第一次对话

客栈老板：这个村没有自来水。（我家）这个水是从井里，花了六千多块钱（安装设备），抽上去，罐起来。

陈建兵：我们村子是这样子的，姓陈的都是河南淮阳为发源地，以后迁到福建长溪，再迁到（浙江）瑞安长桥，第九代（祖先）迁到这里。到现在，大概，像我们这个建字辈，有一百零几个人，其实姓陈的有六十九代（注：实际为四十余代），宗拱公（即以陈拱为芙蓉陈氏宗族的始祖）。

Long：现在（芙蓉村）没有族长，只有村长和（村党支部）书记了？

陈建兵：有的村子还有（族长），谁的辈分最大的就是族长，我们这里没有。

Long：你们村能有多少人？

陈建兵：大概三千人。

Long：三千人都在这儿，还是说有不少年轻人都已经出去打工？

陈建兵：出去打工的有，也有外地住这里的打工。

Long：外地的到你们这儿（仅仅）是打工还是说已经安了家了？

陈建兵：没有安家，没有户口。我们年轻人出去赚钱，田没有人种，他们到这里种。

Long：你们这儿年轻人绝大部分都出去打工了，还是说只有一小部分？

陈建兵：大部分，在家里没有钱赚。

Long：在外面打工的话，家里面还有房子吗？

陈建兵：我们这个村子，外头的房子有（意即有的村民在外面盖或买了住房），回家了房子也有，但住不下，有的回家了住宾馆。现在国保批下来了（即指芙蓉村

被评为国家级文物保护单位), 新村也要造起来。新村土地已经批下来了, 但是现在怎么分 (新房) 很麻烦。

Long: 人太多了?

陈建兵: 人太多了, 房子的间数不够。地块可以了 (意即地块面积基本满足要求), 45 亩。但是造起来 (为了) 向我们古村落 (传统建筑风格) 相配套, 房子最高只能三层。如果要高一点, 就可以解决很多人 (的住房困难)。现在三层, 一户人家就是一间房子。(村民想) 盖高 (, 政府相关管理部门) 又不让盖。

Long: 你们旧村每一户人家都要在新村分一户吗?

陈建兵: 可能还不够。新村就两百间房子, 我们上村就有差不多四百到五百户, 有的户就会没有。

Long: 不是每户人家都缺房子, 哪户人家缺房子就给哪家 (新房子) 呗。

陈建兵: 承包土地我们是八十亩, 以前承包期限是 15 年, 99 年到期。99 年分了好几次, 就分不掉。到 05 年把土地都分掉, 分掉后 (把土地) 留起来盖新村。这个土地是大家的, 人人都有份。现在就是每个人都要 (新房)。政府部门 (的政策) 是没有房子的先要, 先给他们 (新房), 但是还要收钱, 但是没有房子的钱又不富裕。

Long: (新村住宅) 为什么一定要三层?

陈建兵: 这个图纸是杭州那边 (的设计单位) 画出来的, 仿照 (杭州) 毛家铺, 和毛家铺 (的建筑) 差不多。造价也高, 我看过图纸。

Long: 他们设计, 你们也有评价的发言权吧?

陈建兵: 图纸会审我们说了好几次了, 他们说了就算, 我们说了不算。

Long: 如果要是盖起那个房子来, 房子造价是由谁承担呢?

陈建兵: 造价由盖房子的人 (即村民) (承担)。我们 (即指村委会) 承担我们没有这么多钱。

Long: 由买房子的人承担?

陈建兵: 嗯, 自己盖房子自己承担。我们设计图纸花了二十多万, 村子里面古村落 (旅游) 的收入被投进去了, 盖房子的时候没有这么多钱了。我们这个 (即芙蓉村) 是古村, 那边是新村, 古村新村 (风格) 相配套, 以后旅游, 先看看古村, 后看看新村, 是这样搞起来 (即设想) 的, 是建设局和旅游局策划的。图纸下来的时候, (设计的住宅) 是两层半。我们跟他们说根本一户人家不能住。怎么能住呢? 楼下, 后面一个厨房, 前面是起居室, 楼上就是两个房间。现在, 一家要是四口人, 一个男孩和一个女孩, 要三个房间的。再来一个客人, 怎么解决? 以后 (为此修改了设计,) 再加半层, 就成了三层。

Long: 在做这个设计的时候, 有没有问过你们想要什么样的房子?

陈建兵: 设计都是岩头镇政府按照他们的实际情况, 不是我们村的实际情况。我们村的情况, (如果) 他们来, 我们要跟他们说。他们说不行, 图纸会审, 要到岩头去。上塘规划局那边, 也搞一套 (设计方案), (总共) 已经搞了两次了。

Long: 现在这个规划已经开始执行了吗?

陈建兵: 规划差不多, 现在施工图还没有。光平面图 (即方案设计图) 花了二十多万, 还有施工图至少要三十万。

Long: 你们这儿的旅游是什么时候开始兴起来的?

陈建兵: 旅游开始就是在 02 年。

Long: 为什么要搞旅游呢?

陈建兵: 八几年开始陈志华教授来这里, (倡议) 古村保护, 古村落整旧如旧, 十几年, (陈志华的倡议) 都没有搞上 (意即没有被落实)。旅游来看的人不多, 旅游局 (于是) 打广告, 拍照的 (即摄影爱好者) 都 (逐渐) 来了。以后, 老人协会自己组织起来卖门票, 五块钱一张, 收入一年合一到二万。好起来后, 旅游局接手了, 政府要投入, 投入资金有两百万, 县政府, 旅游局, 我们村子里, 一起搞。02 年到 07 年 5 月份, 不管收入多少都归到我们村子里自己用。今年, 旅游部门, 还有县政府, 他们想要分成。我们跟他们说, 你们要 (继续) 投入, (如果) 不投入不 (把已经破败的老房子) 修 (葺) 起来, 怎么解决 (古村落濒于破败的问题) 啊? 像那高的房子 (即指破坏了古村落原有风貌的新式住宅), 要把它拆掉, (如果) 不拆掉, (游客) 来看, (古村落) 还是这样子 (没有得到应有的复原和保护)。

Long: (具体) 是什么时候 (政府) 开始想要分成的?

陈建兵: 从今年 (即 07 年) 5 月 1 号就开始了。

Long: 怎么个分成法?

陈建兵: 村子里面 (分得百分之) 四十八, 岩头镇政府 (百分之) 二十六, 旅游局也 (百分之) 二十六。他们光嘴说, 没有投入钱。

Long: 也就是说, 把钱分完了, 然后说是要投资一部分结果没有投?

陈建兵: (政府) 要投资, 给它分成, 那是对的。(但是现在) 这个财产都是我们村子里的, 它一分钱也没投, (却) 要分成了。这个事情还没有解决, 现在还没有钱被它分去, (因为) 这里要修, 那里要修。

Long: 现在这已经六月份了, 它已经分了一个月吗, 还是说没开始分?

陈建兵：没有，没有。好多祠堂都没有修，还有好多路（也没有修）呢。村里自来水，排污管都没有搞起来，全搞起来得好几百万。消防栓，这个还没有搞。他们（即指政府相关部门）光是嘴说分成，也不敢来（真地分成）。

Long：去年门票收入能有多少钱？

陈建兵：去年收入能有 58 万，前年 60 万。

Long：也就是平均下来 60 万？

陈建兵：哪里，02 年收入就是 24 万。

Long：但 02 年刚开始搞。

陈建兵：03 年大概有三十多（万），04 年 60 万。算起来有两百多万，五年两百多万。

Long：这两百多万都用在（古村落）维护上了？

陈建兵：这两百多万是这样子（花）的，我们村子这些祠堂，以前都是（属于）一个房一个房里面的，我们现在都把他们租过来了，一个祠堂一年（租金）1200。还有工作人员发工资，一年开销大概要四、五万。电视，通讯（线路），电缆埋在下面，用了三十多万。装的费表一个 150，我们装了 900 个费表，大约花了十来万块钱。

Long：旅游办起来了，村民感觉怎么样？

陈建兵：感觉很不好。有一部分人有收入，有一部分人没有收入。（门票）收入给他们（即指村民）一年到头一个人分十块钱。今年办医疗保险，去年也保起来，今年也保起来，两年就花了十几万。去年一个人是 20 块，今年是 30。

Long：你们村从什么时候开始保护的呢？

陈建兵：从八几年开始。八几年时是嘴巴说保护，（偶尔）有钱就修一下。

Long：现在不让（在芙蓉村里）盖（新式住宅）了？

陈建兵：现在，嗯，不能盖了。现在就要文保到位。你家房子如果真不能住了，他（指当地政府部门）画个图纸给你，按照他这个图纸修起来（新房）。

Long：现在，你们还没有下水管道，污水怎么排？

陈建兵：都排在水沟（即李氏宗族原本在聚落内建筑旁修造的水渠）里面。

Long：粪便也往里倒吗？

陈建兵：粪便倒在化粪池。化粪池都是往地下渗，渗下去地下水又搞（得）不好了。

Long：把地下水又污染了？

陈建兵：嗯。

Long：自来水呢？

陈建兵：自来水没有装起来。自来水如果装起来，消防栓也会搞起来。

Long: (现在村民) 只能用井水了?

陈建兵: 对, 都是用地下水。化粪池你也搞起来, 他也搞起来, 搞得太多了把地下水污染又不好了, 现在还感觉不到。

陈建兵: 陈志华来(芙蓉村考察)是八几年。我们县里领导不重视这个事(即通过开发旅游业来辅助古村落建筑遗产保护)。如果, 以前, 他来了, 县政府一重视, 我们现在这个房子(即指已建成的, 并破坏了芙蓉传统聚落风貌的新式住宅)都盖不起来, 政府(当时)都不重视这个事情。

Long: 你们现在家家都有电了。(你们村现有的)基础设施就是有电, 通电话之类的?

陈建兵: 对。

陈建兵: 一个县长来了他有一套(古村落保护, 建设, 开发的政策), 一个镇长来了他又要搞一套, 每次(新领导上任)都有一个(新的政策)。现在, 我们这儿(的村落建设和保护), 他(即指镇长)又说了不算了, 现在是文物局。如果那个房子(即指芙蓉村旧有的传统住宅)改造, 都要按照, 7月份, 省里面图纸画下来, 那可以(意即从当年7月份开始, 如要村民要进行旧房改造, 应按照省相关部门绘制的住宅图纸修建)。(新村住宅建设如果)征求我们的意见, 我们地少人多, (新房)要盖五层六层还可以(满足居住需求)。他们又不行(意即不采纳我们的意见), 最高盖到三层。第一层(层高)三米, 第二层两米七, 第三层还是两米七, 两米八。现在我们村子里(自己)盖房子, 第一层三米五, 第二层三米, (以上皆是)三米, 是这样子盖上去的。现在他们(即指政府相关机构)把它(建筑层高)降下去了。

Long: 你现在住的房子是老房子还是新的砖瓦房?

陈建兵: 我们住砖瓦房。

Long: 是几几年盖的?

陈建兵: 七几年。

Long: 那个设计是谁设计的呢?

陈建兵: 这个不用设计的, 自己设计。

Long: 现在国家给了你们(新村住宅的设计)方案, 你感觉国家拿的这个方案和你们自己设计的(相比较), 国家这一套方案有没有必要? 有没有必要(你们)还得请外人设计?

陈建兵：给国家设计不是要拿钱（给设计机构）嘛，自己做不要花钱。如果肯自己把它造起来又不行，又要办手续，一定要给他们（设计），给他们的话成本肯定要高了。那边有个（传统样式的）房子被（屋主擅自）拆掉了，拆掉了后，（政府）又不给（意即不允许）他盖（新式）房子，又罚了（屋主）一万块钱。（政府用这）一万块钱设计一个图纸给他。第一层三米，卫生间做在楼梯下面，楼梯下面一搞，卫生间高度就是一米六了，人进去不能站起来。

Long：现在有点儿僵在这儿了，让政府搞吧，成本高，也不切合你们的实际，如果让你们搞吧，他们害怕（你们）搞乱了。

陈建兵：（他们）害怕搞乱了，是。他们搞成本肯定要高得多，（那样造）一个房子起码要出一万多块钱（设计费）。

Long：现在如果是盖那个新村，一户得花多少钱呢？因为这钱也得你们出。

陈建兵：一户大概要十几万。

Long：多少平米？

陈建兵：他们设计是三层高，高度是九米九高。大概是十二米长，宽度三米三，大概一百来平米。

Long：现在你们的建房要求为什么这么迫切？

陈建兵：子女大起来了，要小的子女嘛，就七八岁，没什么事。像子女有的十八、十九、二十岁了，他要分家了，不分出来没有法子盖。有的一户人家只是半间房子，是这样住。有的人在外面（打工），回家就没有房子住了。回来了没有办法，（在原来房子的）边上盖个小房子给自己住，违反法令的，是违章建筑，没有办法。

Long：你们（村中的年轻人）现在出去打工是从什么时候开始的呢？

陈建兵：往外跑的，从六几年就开始有了。

Long：那个时候正是国家管分配（工作）管得很严的时候啊。

陈建兵：可是他们也出去啦，拿的（批准外出找工作的）证明统统都是假的，都是自己造的证明。

Long：那（他们）为什么不在家待着呢？

陈建兵：在家没有吃没有喝，六几年，他们就（不得不）出去（打工）了。要到八四年，县里可以开证明，（村民）可以（名正言顺地）出去。六几年，七几年拿的（证明）都是假的。

Long：现在你们每家每户都有地吧？那还种不种？

陈建兵：种啊。不多，一个人一分多（耕地）。

Long：现在你们不缴公粮吧？

陈建兵：免了，去年农业税也免了。

Long：以前都得交吗？

陈建兵：以前，地粮没有收，税有。到去年，什么都没有了。

Long：地里头的粮食能够维持你们一家一年的口粮吗？

陈建兵：不够。

Long：不够？还得自己买？

陈建兵：买，对。你不够的话可以租人家的地。有外面出去（打工）的，把他的地租过来，种起来可以（满足自家所需）的。每个人，你自己光（指望）分来的（耕地），种起来是不够的。

Long：（作为）普通的农民，他的收入是什么？你们农民只能靠地来收入啊。

陈建兵：做工嘛，就是这样子。

Long：你们做什么工呢？

陈建兵：人家盖房子，做劳力工。

Long：你们这个村在你们镇子里算是穷村还是富村？

陈建兵：现在，算是一般，比岩头，还有其他地方差一点，比山上（即指位于楠溪江上游的村落）好一点。说起来芙蓉村可以了，门票收入六十万。

Long：但是这六十万对于（芙蓉村）农民的生活没有太大的帮助。

陈建兵：没有很大用，就是大个名气。

Long：每家每户都有抽水马桶吗？

陈建兵：有的没有，像老房子改装不起来，新房子一般都有。

Long：直接冲到化粪池里然后往地里渗？

陈建兵：有的渗，有的还淘出来扔到水沟里面。

Long：你们陈氏宗族也分了好几个房吧？

陈建兵：对。

Long：主要房有几个呢，现在？

陈建兵：首先，一个老祖宗，老祖宗生了两个（儿子），一个是（形成了）下宅（房），（另一个是）上宅（房）。下宅现在还是下宅，我们上宅又分开了，（分成）四个房，下宅整个还是一个房。上宅又（分成）四个房。我们现在（村支部）书记是（属于）大房。二房有的（迁居）到山上，现在住在这里有十几户人家。

三房（迁居）住在下米（村），住在这里就是一户人家。剩下来都是四房。四房里面之前分出两个房，有一个房没有了，就剩一个房。（这）一个房（里面）又分出来两个房。两个房下面，一个房没有分，有一个分出来三个房。总共，村里的（房）祠堂十八个。

Long：你们的房有没有个头儿呢？

陈建兵：整个房里有一个头儿。（房）谱放在他家里他就是头儿了。

Long：为什么选择放在他家？

陈建兵：他识字，看得懂。如果放在不识字的人家里，（他）看也看不懂。你也不懂，他也不懂，这没有用嘛。一定要识字的人，看得懂的人。

Long：你说的这是过去吧？现在（村民）都能认字了，都看得懂（谱）。

陈建兵：现在都看得懂了，过去放他家，没有拿出来，就（继续）放他那儿了。

Long：现在总谱是在书记那儿？

陈建兵：总谱放在书记那儿。新的谱要包着存起来的，不能开谱（查阅）。你要查，查老一辈的，上面的（即旧版的宗谱）。下面的（即最新修订的宗谱），你查哪个房就到哪个房去查。新的宗谱是 81 年做的，大概。（如果）把那个谱要背出来（即指将存放宗谱的箱子扛出来），要（在）大宗祠里面，要（祭上）猪头，点香，祭祖。祭了，才能开谱。

Long：在书记家那个谱是个老谱？

陈建兵：对，是个老谱。民国那时做了（意即编修新谱），做了以后就革命（即指土地革命）了，革命之后文化大革命了，文化大革命过后一直就没有做，（直）到 81 年做一次。可能到 30 年（即距 81 年修谱满 30 年），这次（意即新一次修谱）可能又要做了。

Long：你们村原来居住的时候，比如说你四房的，就在四房这一片儿居住，还是说各个房穿插着住（意即各房相互混居）？

陈建兵：穿插着住（即混居）。（同属一个房的若干户家庭）这边也有（居住），那边也有。以前不是。以前，好比你这个房，住下来都是在一座房子里。现在人多起来了，以后，分宅基地，自留地，自己盖房子的时候，我（的宅基地）分在这里就在这里（盖房），你分在那边就盖在那边，都分开了。

Long：历史上呢？解放之前。

陈建兵：解放之前，一座房子一座房子都是大房子，每个房（的若干家庭）都住在里面。比如司马第大屋，盖这个房子的就是二房，二房兄弟五个，住在司马第大屋里

面有四个兄弟。(但)现在有的人住到外面去,有的人没有了,(他们的后代)把房子卖给你,卖给他。一间房子原来是你的,现在又归其他人了。

Long: 比如说你是四房的,你要想卖房子的话,我是二房的,或三房的,我可以向你买吗?你会卖给我吗?还是说你只卖给你们四房的人?

陈建兵: 首先,这个价钱你要不要,先问你(即四房的人),你要是不,我就卖给别的人。可以卖(给别房的买家),首先问自己房里的,你要不要,他们都不要了,那就(卖给)别(房)的人。

Long: 就是说自己房的有优先权。

陈建兵: 嗯,有优先权。

Long: 但是其他人也是有购买权的。

陈建兵: 现在没有优先权了,谁的价钱出得高就卖给谁了。

Long: 你们建房祠有没有什么规矩?比如说一定要在房区附近盖?

陈建兵: 那没有,这个地是属于自己的(房),(房祠)盖在自己的地方。

陈建兵: 清朝乾隆阶段,我们芙蓉村最发达了。北宋,南宋也是很发达的,就是(因为)我们(出了)十八位京官。以后,陈虞之抗元,(成为)抗元英雄。

Long: 你们都说什么“七星八斗”,什么叫“七星八斗”呢?

陈建兵: 我们因为抗元,村子被毁掉了。以后,元顺帝,元朝最后一个皇帝,下一道圣旨,把芙蓉村重建。重建以后,(村子布局)按照七星八斗设计出来。三个斗就是三个水池,一个(功用)是可以洗洗衣服,洗洗菜。以前的水很干净的,现在不行了。第二个(功用是)可以消防。

Long: 哪七星呢?

陈建兵: 七星是七个大门。八斗嘛,有三个水塘,有五个水井。

Long: 现在这些房祠都干嘛用呢?

陈建兵: 好几个把它租过来了(供游客参观),有十来个。有的拆掉了没有修起来。

Long: 比如说这是大房的房祠,大房(的人)还会到这儿来举行什么仪式吗?

陈建兵: 没有,没有,现在我们把它租过来了。

Long: 跟这个家族没关系了?

陈建兵: (我们只是暂时把它们)租过来,(这些房祠依旧和建造它们的房)有关系,实际上还是他们的。现在,因为我们(开发)古村落旅游,给我们用了,我们给它租过来。

Long: 有些房祠被拆是(因为)太破旧了?

陈建兵：太破旧了，它（即房）没有钱修（这些破旧的房祠），台风一刮，塌掉了，好几个了。

Long：保护古村落之前，（芙蓉村民）盖房子（需要）经过什么手续呢？

陈建兵：没有手续，七几年都没有手续的。八七年左右，从那时开始规划，土地（审批），以前没有。

Long：以前没有，就是说随便找块地方自己就盖（房子）了？

陈建兵：嗯。

Long：也不向村长知会一声？

陈建兵：七几年，我们土地都是分到集体。八四年的时候，田地包产到户。八四年以前土地都是村子里面的，（村子本身可以对内部的房屋建设说了算）。

Long：你们哪儿能随便盖？

陈建兵：（各家）不是有自留地吗？

Long：不是说（你们的土地）全被充公（意即归为集体所有）了，（你们怎么）还有自留地呢？

陈建兵：没有（完全归集体所有），还有自留地。刘少奇定的（土地政策。）（自留地）给村民用于使用，（拥有者）有使用权。

Long：自留地是怎么分的呢？

陈建兵：那时候按照人口分的。

Long：怎么划分这是要留给（村民作为）自留地，那个是要留给集体？

陈建兵：首先要分自留地，一个人 0.048 亩。

Long：但是这个地到底是挑好的给你，还是挑差的给你？

陈建兵：这个以前都是由村干部说了算。大队长，（村支部）书记，他们说了算。如果农村没有自留地，六几年早就人都饿死了。

Long：公家地养不起来（你们）（意即村民耕种集体所有的田地无法产出足够的粮食）？

陈建兵：（村民必须集体耕种集体所有的土地。村民每日的流程是）准备出工，出去，锄头拿出来，一放，一坐，抽烟，一天劳动量没有多少的（意即没有人卖力气耕种集体的土地）。

Long：（改革后）你们有两块地？一个是自留地，一个是承包地？

陈建兵：说得对，你的自留地已经盖房子了就没有（新的）自留地了，你那儿没有盖房子还是你自己的自留地。

Long：（你们家分得的）自留地是永远属于你们家的？

陈建兵：永远使用，这是刘少奇他们定的。自留地我们重分是在 79 年，79 年以后出生的（村民）就没有自留地了，（结果现在）我们一家四口只是我一个人有自留地。

Long：现在在自留地上（完全以自己的意愿）盖房子不行了？

陈建兵：嗯，需要上头批，以前就是盖自己的，（不受干涉），没有规划，（麻烦）事情一大堆。（比如留）路，（曾经因为）房子对房子，自个儿被对方围起来，（不但住宅前面）门口给（别人新建的房子）塞掉了，后面也都转不出来。因为没有规划，（因建房导致的邻里间）吵架特别多。房子就得要规划，后面，前面都要留出路来，有通道通出来。

2 与芙蓉村民的对话

Long：解放前你们陈氏宗族有没有族长？

村民：族长是有的，过去，就一个人（作为族长）。还有，我们这个村分成几房，有六个房，一个房里面一个头儿。

Long：（一个房一个）房头？

村民：嗯，房头。这个村发生重大的事，他们六个人一起商量解决。

Long：是不是从房头挑出族长？

村民：那（同时）就是村长了。

Long：以前也叫村长吗？

村民：以前不叫村长，叫保长。

Long：保长基本上就相当于管你们这个族的事，相当于一个族长？

村民：嗯，是的。过去保长是推选出来的。

Long：怎么选的？

村民：由村民大家开大会推选出来。

Long：是选举的？是投票选吗？

村民：嗯，投票的。

Long：这是什么时代（的事）？

村民：民国。

Long：清朝或者是封建时代，这个族长也是这么选出来的吗？

村民：过去可能也选的。

村民：（对于）村与村之间的事情，岩头上面（即指楠溪江上游方向）有八个村，下面

（即指楠溪江下游方向）有五个村，这十几个村汇合起来，族长们商量决定（互相间的事宜）。

Long：族长也就是保长吗？

村民：族长不一定是保长。族长是旧的（头衔，是宗族在其内部自设的职务），保长是（国民党时期新政治体制下国家）行政上的职务。

Long：族长如果出面调解的话，做出了一个判决，如果被调解的人不服从这个调解怎么办呢？

村民：不服之后，行政上面向上面上诉，过去也有法院。

Long：就是说，如果出现一个纠纷的话，族长没有强制的执行力？

村民：过去不知道，我记事以后，（在我记忆中）族长没有这个权力。

Long：是民国（时期），（族长）没有这个权力？

村民：嗯，是民国，（族长）没有这个权力，只有法院才有。

Long：房头呢？他如果对于本房（内部纠纷）做了一个裁决，他有没有强制的执行力呢？

村民：一般过去吵架，有纠纷，打架的，（房头要求）双方面都各让一点，（使彼此都要过得去，（房头的裁决）不会一面倒的，一面倒这个案子讲不好的。

Long：房头（必须）很公平。

村民：嗯。

Long：他也就是凭他的威信来进行一些调解？

村民：不会强制执行的。你不服，还有政府呢。过去（即国民党时期）也有政府，房头不能代表政府。

Long：房头是终身的吗？一旦选出来，他就一直当着，不换届？

村民：可能没有时间期限的。房头年龄大了，他自己没有能力干了，那就让给别人。

Long：他会不会把这个房头的职位传给儿子呢，还是说到时候由房里的人来选？

村民：没有这个规矩。

Long：还得选？

村民：嗯，还得选。

Long：各个房的家庭是混居在一起的吗？

村民：六个房的居民是散居的，没有一块儿集中起来居住的，都是分散的。好比我是三房的，（同属三房的族人居住在）上村也有，（居住在）下村也有。（房子）买在哪里就住在哪儿，（同一房的族人）住在一起的没有。可能过去建村的时候他们住在一起的，好比大房住在（聚落的）这一角，下宅（房）住在那个地方。现在，下宅（房的族人住在）别的地方也有了，这里也有住，那里也有住。

Long: 也就是说有可能在建村之初, 一个房一个房 (分别各自) 聚居在一起的?

村民: 嗯, 建村 (时候一个房的族人可能) 是住一起的。比如讲, 那边是下宅, 过去, 下宅房的人都住在那里。人数多起来了, 就分开了。新的房子造起来了, 原先的卖掉, 它 (即指旧房子) 给他 (别房的族人) 买去。

Long: 也就是说, 刚开始各房稍微明显一些 (分别) 聚居在一起, 后来, 地方已经 (被占) 满了, 互相串换, 就出现这种情况 (即相互混居), 现在 (各个房区) 有点儿分得不太清楚了。

村民: 嗯, 是这样的。

Long: 你们如果要是卖房子的话, 比如说我是三房的, 然后我要卖房子, 我会卖给本房的, 还是说也会卖给外房的?

村民: 一般来讲, 房子卖出去的, 都是自己房的优先来买。自己房的没人买, 别 (房) 人也 (可以) 买。

Long: (房子卖给本房或外房,) 这个价钱都是差不多的吧?

村民: 价格差不多的, 就是 (本房的买家) 有优先权。好比我跟你是亲的 (即属同一个房), 我这房子要卖掉, 我先到亲房家, 你愿买这房子, (我就把房子) 卖给你了。你不愿, (我就把房子) 卖给外 (房) 人, 就是这样的。

Long: 在历史上, 房与房之间会不会因为利益争斗得很厉害?

村民: 有的。意见不统一, 有争执, 打起来。如果 (房与房之间) 打起来, 争执不下, 大宗 (即陈氏宗祠) 里面有一个鼓, 很大的, 放在大宗门口的上面, (当事者) 就拿起鼓棒, 把大鼓敲起来。村里人都会 (去) 看, 然后房头进行商量 (以解决纷争)。

Long: 是房头集合呢, 还是说全村的人都到了?

村民: 一般都是房头。

Long: 也就是出了事儿是由这六个房头来进行仲裁?

村民: 有些问题比较重大的, 要开村民大会, 把他们都召集起来, 不过, 开大会不多的。

Long: 以前, 房与房之间平常会有交往吗?

村民: 如果有红白喜事, 比如讲, 老人故去了, (送) 花圈, 送钱, 房与房之间有的。

Long: 平常聊天, 大家聚在一起, 谈天说地, 下棋, 这个时候是只跟自己房内的人, 还是大家不分彼此?

村民: 不分的。我住在那个大屋里面, 大屋里面现在住着三十多户人家, 有二房的人, 三房也有, 下宅 (房) 的也有, 好几个房的人都住在一座房子里。平时里, 不分彼此的。

Long: 一直都这样吧? 不管是以前还是现在。

村民: 嗯, 都是这样。

Long: 只是一到了特殊场合, 比如说选举, 房与房之间的派性就出(显露)来了?

村民: 嗯, 是的。拿我们村来讲, 都是几个大的房当(村党支部)书记, 村长。

Long: (小房)会不会受(大房)欺负呢? 比如说某一房人多, 选出来(村)干部, 村长或书记, 他会不会在工作的时候平等地, 不分房系处理事情?

村民: 理论上他处理事件要公平, 实际上偏向也有。

Long: 但是, 偏向到了使矛盾突出的地步吗? 相当于硬是欺负了小的房。

村民: (因为)有偏向, (因此)一些人就会有一些小亏, 一般的人就会忍下去。大亏就不行了。

Long: 有这种情况吗? 让小房吃大亏的。

村民: 也有的。

Long: 虽然日常生活当中, 可能各个房都挺融洽, 但到了大的利益方面, 房的派性还是显露出来。

村民: 嗯, 嗯。

Long: 这也是历史延续至今都差不多吧?

村民: 对, 差不多。不过, 有一些人自己比较廉明公正。他自己这个房的同其他房的人起争执, 他一般就会回避, 他不处理, 这样情况也有的。

Long: 这种情况是出现在现在呢, 就是解放之后呢? 还是说解放之前就有?

村民: 解放以前我不太清楚, 现在, 有时候怕处理不公正, 给人家说这个说那个, 他自己不处理, 由你们(即指与当事方属不同房的村干部)讲了就算了。不过, 他自己不处理, 他(对事件)也得讲一个基本意见。

Long: (如果)一户人家比较穷, 你们家族内对于比较穷的有救济吗?

村民: 对困难的(家庭给予)照顾(是)有的。对困难的照顾原来是公开地(由)大家讨论, 讨论出个(需要接受照顾的困难户的)名单然后公布, 这个可以看到的, (哪些户需)要照顾的。不是(由)村里(负责)照顾, 就是(由)镇里(负责)照顾。这个名单讨论好了, 就贴在外面这个墙面上面公布。(村民)没有意见, 报上去就是了。

Long: 以前呢? 就比如说民国的时候?

村民: 碰上天灾人祸, 村里的照顾是有的。过去每个房都有产业的, 每个房都有田, (可以)收田租。

Long: 这个(即房田)每个房都有?

村民：每个房都有的。比如这个房的读书好的，考上学校，房就资助他们，这个每个房都一样的。

Long：你们是以房为单位建立这么一个小基金？

村民：大宗（即芙蓉陈氏宗族）也有的，有产业的，有收入。村里的，比如念书，过去念中学，念高中，考上大学的，就资助他们。

Long：房既然有钱就已经解决了上学的财政（问题），怎么这个宗还会拨钱呢？

村民：（房和宗族对）上学的只能帮助一部分（即只能承担他们的部分开销），全部（承担），过去是没有的。主要的钱（还是）由自己想办法交，（如果）你自己没有办法，读书也（还是）不能读，没有办法读。房只能（资助）一部分，你自己（承担）大部分。

Long：比如说我要读书，这个房就有一部分钱会资助我，那个宗也会（同时）资助我吗？

村民：嗯，有的。

Long：那相当于我得了两份资助。

村民：嗯，是的。过去，学校没念的，像我们这个三房，（如果你是）穷的呢，有几亩田给你种三年。你（可以租）给别人种，这个租谷给你。老宗那里也有田给你种。

Long：这个田（即族田和房田）（一般情况下）由谁来种？

村民：这个田都是租给人家种，（房和族）把租谷收上来。种田的是这地方人有的，别的地方人也有。

Long：你们这个族内都是姓陈的，结婚的时候有没有什么说法呢？

村民：过去，解放以前，姓陈的和姓陈的结婚没有的。现在有了。比如说二房和三房的，年龄差不多，都可以结婚的。

Long：本房的不能吗？

村民：本房的（通婚）很少。那些人都同一个房，如出一脉，不可以结婚的。

Long：（现如今）本房的也不算是法律上所规定的近亲，（应该）可以结的吧？

村民：在法律上面讲是可以结的，但（实际并）不多。村里（现在）没有规定的，过去，宗谱上面可能有规定，同姓的不能结婚。

Long：所谓的同姓是全国范围之内？比如说你们是在浙江，其他省过来的也姓陈，（你们也因为同姓而不能与之通婚吗）？

村民：过去，你讲的这个情况不多的。外省人来到我们这里的很少。我们芙蓉村都姓陈，那边陈岙村也（都）姓陈。媒人不会把陈岙村的女的介绍给我们。过去有这个习惯，不能和同姓的结婚。现在就不同了，现在只要是别的那就可以，本村的，

同姓的也有结婚的。现在在我们村，不是就光是姓陈的，也有别姓的，姓王的，姓许的，姓张的，姓周的，都有的。那么这样，多姓了，对象挑选的余地就大了。

村民：我听说，过去，女的假如作风不好，会把她处死，我是听人家讲的，看是没有看过的。

Long：要是执行是谁来执行？是你们族里头来执行？

村民：嗯，族里执行。民国的时候，（如果）族里有这么规定，政府也不能管的。

Long：（现在）年轻人是不是基本上都往外跑？

村民：嗯，我们村青年人没有几个人在家里，在家里都是年龄大的老头子。

Long：你们现在平常都干些什么呢？

村民：老得不能劳动，得靠下一代，靠子女赚钱赡养。

Long：他们寄钱赡养你们？

村民：嗯。

Long：现在这个村里头还种田吗？

村民：种田有的，山里（人）住到我们村里（租田耕种），现在种田（租金）很便宜的，一亩田只要（交）100斤（稻谷），种一年。100斤稻谷只有几十块钱，你租十亩田，（租金）不用一千块钱。

Long：（在农村，每家）一般都会生很多（孩子）？

村民：（一家生）十来个也有。过去经济困难，生活条件差，医疗卫生也不好，（虽然当时）没有（实行）计划生育，人增长得也不多。

Long：（年纪大的）农民是怎么维持自己的生活？

村民：儿子钱赚来，寄回家，供养他们。

Long：有没有不给的？

村民：几乎不给（是）没有的。

Long：不给不行？孩子是一定要给（父母赡养费）的？

村民：嗯。如果有两个孩子，两个孩子（共同）负担，三个三个负担。

Long：（生许多孩子的家庭）有没有想想自己能不能养活得起（这些孩子），在以前？

村民：这个一般不去考虑，只要生下来，把他养大了（就可以）。什么培养他读书啊，做什么工作啊，这个就没有考虑了。

Long：有没有希望生男孩，越多越好？

村民：是的，希望生出来男孩。

Long: 要(好几个)男孩, 否则自己家里男孩少了会受欺负。

村民: 嗯, 这个有的, 以前到现在都有的。好比你只两个儿子, 他有三个四个儿子, 你两个儿子就吃亏了, 打不过(他们)。

Long: 现在这个(情况)还有吗?

村民: 现在也有的。

Long: 但是现在有法律了, 不管你是有儿子还是有女儿, 受欺负了都会有法律(保护他们)。

村民: 是有法律, (但)法律不能够天天地跟着你走, 你就是把这个官司打赢了, 他会找你算账, 报复。一般的, 有些人, 小亏吃了就算了, 不提了。

3 与大屋人家客栈老板的第二次对话

客栈老板: 以前, 房子随便你(即当地村民)盖的, 盖起来很多(砖瓦房)。

Long: 是什么时候盖起来的?

客栈老板: 没有搞旅游的时候。

Long: 八几年之前吧?

客栈老板: 嗯, 对, (当时政府)没有控制的(意即没有对村落建设进行严格地监督和审批), 规划也没有的。

Long: 我想问一下他们为什么一定要盖砖房呢? 盖木头的行不行呢?

客栈老板: 木头太贵了, 很贵很贵。

Long: 是木头材料贵, 还是(工匠的)工夫贵?

客栈老板: 工夫, 材料都贵。

4 与芙蓉村民陈时耀的第一次对话

陈时耀: (芙蓉村)还没有开始(搞)旅游的时候, 我们芙蓉的十八金带只有一个(全体的肖像)图, 没有名字(意即十八个人的名字已不为人知)。只是晓得十八金带, 十八金带(各自)叫什么名字族人讲不出来。自己(即作为十八金带的后代)讲不出来(祖先的名字)不好, 要把十八金带研究研究, 到底(他们每个人)叫什么名字。(我们把)宗谱几乎都翻遍了, (宗谱上记载的)名字很多很多, 哪个是十八金带对不上来。以后, 听到一个人讲, 十八金带名字有啊,

据这儿五十里路，那边有姓陈的村子，他（在那个村子里）看到了（关于十八金带名字的记载）。我们就去那里，（关于十八金带名字的记载）那里有是有，文化大革命的时候烧掉了。后来，有个地方也都是姓陈的，我们把（他们的）宗谱看看，（发现）有十八金带的名字、画像，我们就把它拿来（用）了。

5 与芙蓉村民陈南兴（现任芙蓉村导游）的第一次对话

陈南兴：开始我这个地方是唐朝末年，唐朝末年建起来到现在是一千多年历史，后来是1279年人都死掉了，房都烧光了。东大门（即车门）圣旨下重建。因为我这地方人散掉了，这个地方人为国家牺牲，后来圣旨下重建（芙蓉村），是1341年。1279年人散掉，到1341年（重建），（芙蓉村重建后）到现在2007年等于是666年。东门前，文武百官一过来就一定要下马下轿，过去，因为我这个地方当官的多。迎宾台（即乐台），（用于）迎接文武大官的。文武大官走过来，（乐队在迎宾台奏乐）迎接他们。陈氏大宗。一个宗，一个祠，宗祠两个字（应该）分开说。宗是什么呢？因为我这个地方（的人）全部姓陈，没有其他姓，只有一个大宗，里边一个戏台。这个房子就好比公家一个大会堂，是（同）一个地方的（人）（即所有芙蓉陈氏族人都有的份的（意即共同建造并拥有），你也可以走（意即进入，使用），我也可以走，这个叫大宗。祠堂是什么呢？我们这里好多，过去，我小时候（芙蓉村）有十七个，现在塌了三四个，还有十几个。这个祠堂是祭祖用的，是下一辈造的。

Long：是房的祠？

陈南兴：嗯，对，是下一辈（造）的。

Long：这十几个祠堂是围着这个大宗造的吗？

陈南兴：不是，不是。

Long：怎么选祠堂的位置呢？

陈南兴：这里空。或我有份的（意即拥有该空地的所有权），或我有钱，没有份的我把它（即空地）买来，造一个祠堂。现在我们造房子（即住宅）也是一样，好比你家住在那边，你边上还有空就可以造（住宅）；我住在那边，我那边有空也可以造。没有空，我到其他地方买一点儿也可以。过去土地都是私人的。

Long：如果条件允许的话，比如说，大房的都聚居在一起，要造祠堂就造在大房的边上是不是最好？

陈南兴：不是的。过去是这样子的，好比这个是祠堂，我们农村有个迷信，祠堂后面不能盖房子，祠堂后面有鬼（出没）的，所以祠堂后面造房子不大好。所以一般的人（选宅基时）地点也要选择好一些的。有的人他没有办法，没有（其他）地是空的，所以在祠堂后面也盖房子。

陈南兴：我这个地方，过去到现在全部姓陈。宋朝的时候，我们这个地方考上了十八名进士。十八名进士考上以后，全部都当官了，全部在京城里当官，（被称为）是十八金带。后来，南宋，抗元的时候，（芙蓉陈氏族人）陈虞之是一个武将，守京城的。过去京城是在杭州，（陈虞之）从京城里（被蒙古军队）打到这个地方，退到后面山上，住在大石头（山）上面住了两年多，1276年到1279年。后来，敌人打过来了，蒙古兵把后面石头（山）全包围起来，我们粮食送不上去，（陈虞之率领队伍）全部（从山上）跳下死掉。后来，敌人，就是蒙古兵，下山把我这个地方（的人）统统杀光了，房子都烧光了。1341年，圣旨下重建（芙蓉村）。因为我这个地方没有人了，老太祖是瑞安长桥迁过来的，叫陈拱，我们现在住在这个地方全部都是陈拱的后代，不是过去芙蓉陈氏老太祖的后代。

Long：什么时候（在宗祠戏台）演戏呢？

陈南兴：是每年农历二月二，为纪念老太祖（陈拱），（因为）老太祖生日（是在）农历二月二。

Long：现在还有（演出）吗？

陈南兴：我从小的时候，我今年61岁了，过去，我这个地方一年演了三次都有的。现在，搞旅游了，就只有一次了。

Long：就是在二月二？

陈南兴：嗯。

Long：历史上这个宗祠干什么用呢？

陈南兴：这个大宗一方面是（供）演戏，一方面是（供）开大会。

Long：就是村民大会？

陈南兴：嗯。比如说，我这个地方跟那个地方（即其他村）打起来了，两个地方打起来的时候，过去（宗祠里）有个鼓好大的，鼓打起来，大家都跑来，在这里商量一下。

陈南兴：过去按照七星八斗造的（芙蓉村）。七个星就是北斗星，按照北斗星的位置造在地上，就造在十字路口。我这里到现在没有自来水，靠井水。五个水井是（分别代表）金、木、火、水、土，五口井给我们吃的（意即提供饮用水）。三个水池给我们用的（意即提供除饮用水外其他生活用水），（分别代表）天，地，人。三个水池一方面给我们洗衣服用的，第二方面是消防用的。

陈南兴：我这个地方房子朝东好一些，风水好。前有龙袍山，前面有个山，不高，挺大的，好像龙袍一样。后有纱帽岩，纱帽岩就是这三块石头（山），这三块石头（山）好像包公戴的乌纱帽。（此外，）前有腰带水，后有笔架山，（芙蓉村）当中这一条路就是笔街（即指如意街），这一条路代表一个笔，这个笔靠在那个笔架上。

陈南兴：为什么我这个地方叫芙蓉村。叫芙蓉村就是这个地方围墙（总平面）大体好像芙蓉花的叶。第二就是这三块石头（山），早上，太阳一起来的时候照过去，颜色好像芙蓉花一样，所以我这个地方叫芙蓉村。

陈南兴：祠堂过去是祭祖用的，就是到现在也是一样的。这两个祠堂（即指紧邻陈氏宗祠北侧的两个房祠）是大队（即村委会）把它（们）租来的，租来放东西给游人看。这些（房祠）过去是私人的，放牌位的。年纪大的人死掉了，他的牌位供在里面。现在牌位有的人不要（意即不再供奉），有的人还要。

Long：现在你们某个房（即便）还有祠堂也不搞什么祭祀活动了吧？

陈南兴：还有搞的，一般没有，就是有的人把牌位供在里面。这个房子（即房祠）第一方面是这样的意思（意即用于供奉祖先牌位）。（房祠另一个用处是，）过去，有的年纪大的人，到了五十多岁，到了六十多岁，有钱了，还没死掉，（会）把（自己的）棺材（预先）打起来，先放在这里（即房祠里），不放自己家里。放自己家里，人家看到会怕。棺材所以都放在这里，这里棺材我们放的挺多的。过去，我们小的时候，这个祠堂当中有五十多个，六十多个。放在（梁）上面，不放地面上，（否则棺材）会烂掉的。有的人他是五十多岁（把棺材）打起来的，活到九十多岁，一百多岁，过了二十多年，三十多年，（先前打的棺材如果放在地上就会）都烂掉了，地上有水的（意即地面比较潮湿）。

陈南兴：（如果街巷尽端直对住宅墙体，该墙墙根处常常立着）泰山在此这个石碑，这个路一直冲（对于直对着的住宅来说）是不行的，房子盖在这里，人住在这里，怕身体不好，所以，把“泰山在此”放在这里（即墙根处，直对着街巷），把不好的东西挡住。

陈南兴：（芙蓉书院里面的）这个旗杆架，石头搭起来，专门搁（即夹固）旗杆用的，这样子搞起来台风也打不到（旗杆）。（原本）这个房子（即明伦堂）已经被火烧掉了，这个是新建的。“明”就是讲道理，“伦”指“五伦”，这里（即明伦堂）是（芙蓉书院的）客厅，会客厅。爱知堂就是老师办公的地方。

Long：这个学堂（即芙蓉书院）是你们整个宗族用的学堂吧？

陈南兴：这个学堂是司马第造的，他家当官有钱，拿钱造一个书院。这个地方（即芙蓉书院基址）有的是（其他人家的）私人的（地产），他买来造一个学堂给大家念书。

Long：是给你们全村人？

陈南兴：嗯，对，供全村人（的子弟）念书。现在，这个房子留下来还是（归属于）他的后代的，现在大队（即村委会）把它租来。

Long：（当时）平常维护的费用也是这个司马家他们出？

陈南兴：可能请老师的钱也是他出，他有钱嘛。

陈南兴：如果谁家的房子被火烧掉了，没有地方住，祠堂给他住个一年，两年，三年都可以，后来有钱，把房子盖起来，再搬出去。祠堂是（可以）临时给人住的。

Long：这个屋子（即指正屋当心间）是干什么用的呢？

陈南兴：这个屋子是大家（即家院的居民）公用的。我们这儿的房子当中这一间（宽度总是会比其他间的宽度）大一点儿。好比我们是两个兄弟，盖房子，一半是你的，一半是我的，这个中间是公用的，你也可以用，我也可以用。过去，我们没有大的饭店，我们讨老婆的时候，我们在这里摆酒席，所以这个是一个公家（即公共）用的大客厅。所以我们农村盖房子，不是五间就是七间，不是七间就是九间，不是九间就是十一间，（间数）肯定是单（数）的，当中的房间是公共的。

6 与芙蓉村上村村党支部书记陈建新的对话

书记：永嘉县楠溪江古村落基本上都是以宗族（村落）为主，我们芙蓉村基本都是姓陈的。（其他村如果）姓李的（村民就）全部姓李的，姓张的全部姓张的，（每个村）都是一姓，一个宗族。

Long: 据我所知,你们芙蓉村,包括苍坡村,已经做了好几个规划,但是这些规划似乎有一些很难(适)用的地方。我个人认为,这些难用可能因为很多规划(的设计者)没有深入到你们的生活,所以做的规划我认为有些水土不服。

书记: 在农村里面,现在说要做规划,按照政府的思路(意即:现在,按照政府要求,农村需要制定各自的规划)。现在(芙蓉村)虽然说有这么一个规划,谁出钱(实施)?现在如果政府不出钱,叫农村出钱,像我们村,钱拿不出来。按照规划,首先提出要修路,投入的钱谁先贷款呢?按照政府的思路,因为我们芙蓉现在已经达到国家级文保单位,有古建筑,古民居,应该建新村解决住房问题,按照保护的角度,这样做没错。按照农村的实际情况,这个新村的土地,房子是国家级文保单位的居民有一份所有(权),不住在这个里面的人(意即房子不是国家级文保单位的村民)也有一份所有(权),因为土地是村所有(即村民集体拥有)的土地。按照政府的思路,先让给这些(居住在)国保单位(即国家级保护建筑)的村民(入住新村),这也是合情合理的。但是,有部分村民,他们不住在国保单位里面,住房也很紧张。以前,七几年,农村生活条件比较差,温饱问题也没有解决,住房问题肯定解决不了。当时的土地是政府调控,权力比较集中,政府说了算,村里就是村长,书记说了算。但是现在,村民会问政策宗旨是怎么的,根本不听村干部的话,这也是工作当中的一个大难题(意即村干部分配新村住房时的难度比以往已大为增加)。

书记: 宗祠就是我们村里一个公共建筑,一个(公共)活动的场所。

Long: 现在(芙蓉陈氏宗族)是几个房?

书记: 现在我们这里有二房、有三房,四房没有了,还有福房,六房,下宅房。

书记: (历史上,)我们村有耕读文化,(凡是)有念书的,村里给他奖励。当时奖励就是地,村里有几亩地,给学生。

Long: 像基金一样?

书记: 对。另一个,我们房也有一部分田用作奖励的。当时,可能考上一个中学就有奖励的。现在,我们村里,我当书记我们(这方面的奖励政策)也变了好几回了,当时考上中学的给他奖励五块,考上高中的给他奖励二十块,考上大学的给他奖励二百块。

Long: 房头是怎么选举出来的呢?

书记: 过去一样,现在也是一样,将来也是,一个是他能干,第二个,他文化素质肯定领先(于其他村民)的,另一个,肯定是家里有钱的。

Long: 过去, 你们陈氏宗族分六个房, 是不是在你们村里 (分别) 形成了六个小 (聚居) 区?

书记: 这个肯定不会的。

Long: 他们是串换的 (意即混居) ?

书记: 肯定是串换的, 因为房子买卖, 土地买卖。过去, 你想卖 (房子或土地), 如果亲戚不买, 卖给其他人; 如果有亲戚买, 先让亲的 (即近亲) (买), 再 (让) 远的 (即远亲) (买)。

书记: 我们一个自然村里面有两个行政村, 我们现在人口, 占农业户口的, 有 2500 左右, 占非农业户口的有 500 人口, 总共可能有 3000 人口。现在, 我们这片是芙蓉村 (注: 应为芙蓉上村), 那边是芙蓉下村。我们芙蓉 (上) 村有一千七百多人。当时 (即指从前) 我们芙蓉村就是一个村, 土改以后, 我们这里分成三个食堂, 后来, 食堂取消了, 两个食堂的 (村民被划成) 一个村, 那边一个食堂的一个村, 占的比例是我们芙蓉 (上) 村占三分之二, 芙蓉下村是三分之一。

Long: 现在你们这村里年轻人是不是基本都出外打工了? 绝大部分都出去打工了吧?

书记: 对。毛泽东时代都不让出去 (意即不能随便到外地打工), 那时候我们这里都有人出去了。出去需要开介绍信, 有的人聪明, 自己找块地瓜刻个章 (在伪造的介绍信上) 盖了一个印就出去 (打工)。

Long: 为什么要出去呢?

书记: 因为我们这里人口多, 土地少, 出去外面好挣钱。一个劳力出去, 他们给我们生产队交几块钱。

Long: 现在留守的这些村民他们靠什么生活呢?

书记: 现在留在村里的村民老的老, 小的小, 老的带 (意即照看) 小的。(他们) 一种情况是靠自己种地, 种粮食和蔬菜, 第二种情况 (是靠) 儿子在外面经商 (赚钱)。

Long: 儿子经商, 有没有不赡养父母的?

书记: 这有是有, 但是占的比例很小。

Long: 你们上一个宗谱是几几年 (修) 的?

书记: 81 年。

Long: 这个宗谱都谁来编呢?

书记: 有文化素质的, 编得比较内行的。

Long: 这个人临时选的?

书记: 81 年 (修谱时,) 成立一个机构, 每一房推选一个人。按照预算, (修谱总计) 用多少钱, (计算出芙蓉陈氏族人) 一个人出多少钱。女的就不用出了, 男的出。

Long: 现在我看不少房祠都已经是空着了。

书记: 现在的房祠都是给村集体用了。

Long: 你们给租过来了。

书记: 对, 租过来了。

Long: 你们这个旅游是什么时候兴起来的?

书记: 我们这里旅游从 81 年开始, 从 81 年我们村 (开始) 进行修缮。

Long: 国家给你们这个村子拨款吗?

书记: 拨款很少。

Long: 你们属于文物保护 (单位), (国家) 每年会为文物保护给你们拨一部分钱吗?

书记: 现在会有了。因为我们这个村是 05 年才达到省 (级文物) 保护 (单位), 05 年以前是县 (级文物) 保护 (单位), 县里的钱很少, 以前, 全部都没有 (拨款), 后来, 县财政拿出百分之二十几给文保单位作为维修经费。从 06 年 (注: 应为 05 年) 我们成为省保文物保护单位以后, 搞了规划。还有, 当时给我们 80 万, 规划 (花) 出了几万, 还修理了几个祠堂。

Long: 是由上面来牵头搞这个规划, 你们来掏钱?

书记: 现在这个钱是政府掏的, 是省文物局掏的钱。

7 与芙蓉村民的对话

Long: 那个年代 (即解放前), 在农村, 女的也是不让出门吗, 还是说可以跟男的一块儿下地去劳动?

村民: 没有, 不用下地, 在家织布。我奶奶今年九十几, (因为裹脚) 那个脚只有这么一点点, (但) 走路也走得很快。

Long: 书本里面讲封建社会女的就在屋里待着, 不让出去, 也不让见陌生的男人, 但是, 农村是这样的吗?

村民: 是这样子的。

Long: 在农村里, 女的, 在她的村子里是不是可以自由地走呢?

村民: 那个时候 (女的实际上) 没有自由的。(虽然名义上) 自由是自由的, (但女的) 在家里还要带兄弟, 带小孩, 那个时候小孩 (生得) 很多的。我奶奶经常讲 (女的) 不能出家门, 假如去洗澡都不能出去。(女的经常) 出去的话, 奶奶会说这不是一个女人。

Long: 家门不让出, 那洗衣服怎么办呢?

村民: (我奶奶) 洗衣服都在晚上, 她衣服不多的, 原来衣服只有一套的, 晚上睡觉的时候脱下来洗掉。

Long: 她不需要到外面的井边, 溪边去打水来洗?

村民: 一般的, 水是挑到家里来。(如果女人) 要在外面乱逛, 她(即奶奶)说, 这样不是一个女人, 好像一个男人。她把她的脚包起来, (包成) 三寸脚, (实际大概) 三寸半。

Long: 我一直以为农村不会像书里说的(女的) 大门不出, 二门不迈。

村民: 真是这样子的, 跟书里写得完全一样。

Long: 我还以为她们也得跟着男的一块儿出去, 比如说到田里劳动。

村民: 不去的。

Long: 像那个脚(即三寸脚) 也没法劳动了。

村民: 那个年代, 是男的出去, 女的在家里做饭。(如果) 白天没事就做衣服, 织布。

Long: 她(即指该村民的奶奶) 也是周边的村庄的吗?

村民: 她住在(永嘉县) 黄南乡。

Long: (她) 今年(即 07 年)(多大年纪)?

村民: 九十九了。我奶奶姓名没有的, 她是哪个地方的, 好比芙蓉村来的, 就叫芙蓉姥姥, 不叫名字的。

8 与陈时耀的第二次对话

陈时耀: 一般情况下, 三十年一次(修谱)。解放以前, 连续修了十几次, 十五次。(文革期间) 破四旧的时候, 宗谱烧掉了。

Long: 你还记得烧宗谱的这个过程吗?

陈时耀: 镇领导命令, 各村要(把各自的族谱) 拿出来烧掉。

陈时耀: (清华大学教授) 陈志华来这里三次。第一次来, 就觉得我们这个地方古村落很好。他看的地方都是我带他去看的。(陈志华) 再来了, 带人来拍照。(陈志华) 第三次来, 拍电影(注: 应为纪录片) 了。陈志华跟我讲这个(即芙蓉村) 是宝贝, 办旅游很好。

陈时耀：我们老年人协会修路，做公益事业。

Long：（老人协会修的）是哪条路？

陈时耀：就是这条路（即指由车门通向村外公路的道路）。（路）修好就开始（向游客）卖票（参观芙蓉村）。

Long：你们老年人协会又修路，又卖票，村里头（即村委会）管不管？

陈时耀：不管。

Long：门票归老年人协会了？

陈时耀：嗯。

Long：这个路是谁出的钱？

陈时耀：是（村民）自觉自愿集资。大家有工出工，有力出力。

Long：这个是在九十年代初期？

陈时耀：早一点点。

Long：八十年代末？

陈时耀：嗯。

Long：村民响应吗？

陈时耀：响应，（总共）拿（出）了几万块。有个石碑记在那里，你出几工（即指无偿修路的工时），你出多少钱，有块石碑刻在那里。

Long：都什么人参加老人协会？

陈时耀：六十岁（以上的村民）。

Long：你们（即老人协会）收门票，门票的钱是怎么分呢？

陈时耀：我们是百分之三十，（百分之）七十归公（即老人协会）。百分之三十给值班的人。

Long：（其他）普通村民得不到这个钱？

陈时耀：嗯。

Long：也不给当地政府？

陈时耀：那时候不给。

Long：现在呢？

陈时耀：52%给镇里，48%给村里。

Long：老人协会是村委会下面的一个机构吗？

陈时耀：不是的。过去，我们（即老人协会）九月九要请村干部。

Long：现在还是吗？

陈时耀：现在还有的。

9 与陈南兴的第二次对话

Long: 解放前, 你们陈氏宗族有族长吗?

陈南兴: 过去都有的。农村, 过去, 老人说话 (年轻族人) 基本上都听的。现在, 青年人不行了 (意即不听老人的话), 自己的儿子也可以不听自己的父亲管了。过去, 一个地方, 年纪大的人说话一般的人都听的, 现在, 共产党解放后, 有大队干部 (即村干部), 老人也就没用了。有的地方 (即指在其他村落) 老人还有用, 我这个地方不行, 我这个地方老人协会说话没用。

Long: 民国时期, 你们这儿有正式的族长吗?

陈南兴: 民国时期可能有的。

Long: 你们原来的宗族在解放前有没有定期举办一些 (宗族) 活动?

陈南兴: 过去有, 不多。我听我的父亲说, 那时 (即民国时期) 村里还没有大学生, 最多 (即村民最高文化程度) 就是高中。(某人) 高中毕业, 他买一个猪头。

Long: 是上高中, 还是高中毕业?

陈南兴: 可能是上 (高中)。高中考上, (那人) 买一个猪头, 到其他地方也是姓陈的, 去拜拜祠堂。其他地方 (的陈氏宗族) 给他一个红包。现在不搞了。现在, (某人即便) 大学考上也没有去其他地方 (拜祠堂)。(为此) 在自己家里拜祖是有的, 你自己家里的 (孩子) 大学考上, 摆酒 (席), (请) 几个亲戚朋友来吃酒。

Long: 有的介绍说, 到了节假日, 你们这里三天三夜地开 (庆典)。

陈南兴: 那个是在大宗 (即陈氏宗祠), 就是在农历二月二, 这个我们每年都有, 戒不掉的。

Long: 现在还有吗?

陈南兴: 还有。每年农历二月二, 是我们这个地方老太祖的生日。演戏 (的天数) 不一定, 最少是三天三夜, 钱是大队 (即村委会) 里出的。后来 (即三天之后), 我叫他 (即戏班) 演一天两天, 或是你叫他演一天两天, 或是他叫他演一天, 这个钱是私人出的。有时候, (据) 我知道, 我这个地方 (曾连续) 演了九天九夜。

Long: 个人为什么愿意出钱 (请戏班演戏)?

陈南兴: 好比你的父亲 80 岁了, 你高兴, 拿出钱为父亲 80 岁做寿, (请戏班) 演一两天 (戏)。有的是生了儿子, 高兴了, 钱拿出来, 演戏演一天。

Long: 但是都赶在二月二吗?

陈南兴：嗯，跟那连在一起的。戏班已经来了，多演一天两天可以，（单独）叫它来演一天两天它不会来的，它没有空，它不合适的（意即不划算）。费工夫跑来跑去，拿的钱不多，不合适的。毛主席的时候（即文化大革命时代）破除迷信，这个（即指在宗祠演戏）已经停掉了。你是演戏的把你衣服，戏箱倒掉（意即销毁），人都拉去坐牢了。后来（文革后），翻过来了（意即政策变了），又（开始）演老戏了。

Long：就是文化大革命期间没有演？

陈南兴：嗯，文革前，我们从小都有的，就是文化大革命（期间）停了一段时间，可能两年或是三年，忘了。

Long：文革一结束你们就恢复（请戏班）演了？

陈南兴：嗯。

Long：一般都说宗族都有自己的土地，叫族田，是公共用地，你们这个宗族有吗？

陈南兴：过去听说有，现在没有了。过去听前辈说，你有一个小孩，好比现在考上大学，房里面有或是五分地，几分地给你种，这个地就白送给你了。这个过去有，现在没有了。

Long：过去就是解放前吧？

陈南兴：嗯，这个是解放前，好像补贴一样，现在补贴钱了。大队（即村委会）里面有十万块钱，不少放在银行里，这个利息拿来，有考上大学的，考上高中的，都多多少少给些补贴，不多的，三百两百的。

Long：现在族田没有了？

陈南兴：毛主席的时候（即指人民公社时代）全部生产队的，全部集体的。

Long：你们（村民）历史上全都是姓陈的吧？

陈南兴：嗯。

Long：有没有外来的（其他姓的居民）？

陈南兴：外来的没有。这样子有的，不多，有几家人，好比他家里有两三个女孩，没有儿子。

Long：（女婿）入赘？

陈南兴：嗯，这样子把那边的人（即指丈夫）叫过来（意即随妻子在芙蓉村居住），不是姓陈的，下面的小孩子也不姓陈，这样子有，不多。

Long：解放前这块儿人多不多？

陈南兴：不多。现在（村民人口）稍微多一点儿，因为现在医学好一些。过去，听人说，有的一家人生了七个，八个，九个，都死掉了，只能养两个，三个。现在医学好了，死掉的少了。

陈南兴：农村里，（党支部）书记不是村里大家推起来的，是（村里的）党员选的。他做支部书记，把自己房里的青年人带起来，推荐为党员，所以每一届都是自己房的做书记，（书记的职务）其他房搞不去。过去，文化大革命的时候，认为越穷越革命，家里有钱的不叫你做干部，他这个房（即指村支部书记所属的大房）是我们村最穷的。

Long：你们陈氏宗族哪个房实力最大呢？

陈南兴：过去说起来是三房和二房，现在是大房和二房。现在（村）干部是他们的，村长是二房的，书记是大房的。

陈南兴：上一届村长是现在大队（即村委会）里会计。

Long：他也是二房的？

陈南兴：是三房的。

Long：怎么没选上（现届的村长）？

陈南兴：给（二房）争去了。现在，不管你好不好，反正谁人多（意即房的人口多），势力大就选得上。

Long：现在，你们这儿分上村和下村，上村主要是哪几个房？

陈南兴：一样的（意即不以某个房为主）。这个过去是毛主席的时候（即指人民公社时代）分的，我这个地方三个食堂，后来说食堂还要并大，我这儿三个怎么并呢？上面（即村北部）两个食堂并成一个，下面（村南部）一个食堂。两个食堂，也就分成两个大队。

Long：你们这一个村地也分（为两部分）了？

陈南兴：地也分了两个村，下面这个村（比上村）少了一半（地），（占）三分之一，（因为）上村是两个食堂并下来的，下面（即下村）现在分什么东西他们（只占）三分之一。

Long：你们这个村有一条（界）线划分上村和下村吗？

陈南兴：大概的话就是这一条路（即指如意街）。上面这一边，属于下村的不到五家人；下面这一边，属于上村的人还不少。

Long：解放后，宗族活动基本都停了？

陈南兴：嗯，都停了，就是演戏没有停。

Long：你们喜欢听戏？

陈南兴：一方面，是村民想看戏，第二方面是祭祖，这个不能戒掉的，戒掉是不行的。

Long：你们看的戏是什么剧（种）？

陈南兴：都有的。（如果某个）剧团价格便宜，戏又演得好，我们就叫它来。有的是（演）昆剧，越剧，还有京剧，主要是京剧。

Long：现在年轻人也喜欢看戏吗？

陈南兴：年轻人跑过来看了一下后就走了，都是年纪大的人（愿意看）。年轻人看不懂，都是年纪大的人懂。

Long：演戏主要就是为了祭祖？

陈南兴：主要是为了祭祖，第二个就是农民喜欢看戏。一年看一次不多，过去，我小的时候，一年我这个地方演两次，三次。现在，每一年就一次。

Long：解放后，你们祠堂还是祠堂，没有变（其他用途的建筑）？

陈南兴：没有变，就是文化大革命的时候祠堂被生产大队用了。生产大队的东西搬来放在里面。

Long：变仓库了？

陈南兴：嗯，变仓库了。后来这个地分掉了（即改革后实行家庭联产承包责任制），这个祠堂是你家的你家收去，他家的他家收去。

Long：现在（房祠）又（归）回（各房）去了。

陈南兴：嗯，都（归）回去了。

Long：那这个事（即指房祠被用作仓库）主要是文化大革命期间发生的？

陈南兴：嗯。

Long：你们这个大宗（即陈氏宗祠）在文革的时候干嘛了呢？

陈南兴：大宗就空了。

Long：空了？没有变成其他用途？

陈南兴：有，有，我知道有过两次。一次是（改作）肥料厂，第二次是席子厂。

Long：什么时候又恢复成现在的（宗祠）？

陈南兴：文化大革命以后。

Long：你们解放后有没有什么外来人口？

陈南兴：没有。外地住在这里打工的有，（把）房子租去住个一年两年，长期买去住在这里没有的。

Long：改革前，你们这个村子房屋建造得多吗？

陈南兴：过去不多，因为过去（生活）困难，造了一点造得也不大好。现在造房子的人多了，开放了，人家到外面（去打工）钱挣得多了。过去连吃饭也搞不到哪能盖房子，现在有的青年人跑到外面去挣得多了，几十万盖房子也盖得起。

Long：假设地是我的，我就可以盖吗？

陈南兴：过去不（需）要批准，就是现在要批。（现在负责审批的有）土地局，规划局，太多了，过去都没有。

Long：（审批机构）是镇的，还是县的？

陈南兴：镇的县的都有。

Long：改革后，没有恢复什么宗族活动吗？

陈南兴：已经恢复一次了，老人协会搞的，挂龙灯，也要（村民付出）功夫也要（村委会）拿钱，搞了两年，大队里（即村委会）不（再）拿钱给它（即老年人协会），它也就不搞了。

Long：现在这个宗祠需不需要维护呢？

陈南兴：（如果）不好了，村里修。

Long：修过吗？

陈南兴：修过了，不修不行的，上面的瓦（碎了），木头都烂掉了都有的。

Long：什么时候修的呢？

陈南兴：这个不一定，那个时候坏掉那个时候修。台风有时候打，有时候没有，台风一打，把瓦都打掉了，就要重修。

Long：你们没有准备近期修谱吗？

陈南兴：明年（即 2011 年）要修了，明年就（距上次修谱）30 年了，有的地方 25 年做一次，我这里 30 年，明年就 30 年，明年一定要修。

Long：你们是怎么想起搞这个旅游的呢？

陈南兴：是政府想把楠溪江旅游搞起来，其实旅游搞了对农民没有好处的。农民百分之九十九说不好。

Long：为什么呢？

陈南兴：因为房子不给你拆掉不给你建。（而且）钱太少，一年（门票）只卖到 60 多万，70 来万块钱，农民一分钱没有分到，当然说（搞旅游）不好。我们（的建房申请）一般都批不下来，其他的地方（建房申请）批得下，我这里批不下，因为现在（我们村）搞（古村落）旅游，盖（新）房子就批不下。你到市里，到县里都一样，你说（申请）批（准盖）房子，他看你是哪个地方的，你说芙蓉村的，没有批（意即没有人能获得批准），全部没有批。

Long：那老房子现在怎么办呢？

陈南兴：现在是这个样子，让你重修，公家拿百分之七十，私人拿百分之三十。

Long：你的房子建的时候是你自己设计的？

陈南兴：自己跟老师傅（共同设计的）。

Long: 这儿所有的房子基本都是自己设计的?

陈南兴: 嗯, 有老师傅给你出出意见, (关于设计和建造) 老师傅都懂的。

Long: 老师傅从哪儿请的呢?

陈南兴: 老师傅都是我们附近村里的。

Long: 砖瓦房老师傅也会做吗?

陈南兴: 也会做的, 不要设计图的。简单的我也会搞, 农村里盖房子全都没有设计的, 老师傅都知道 (怎么做), 一代一代传下来的。

Long: 盖房子所需要的工人怎么找的呢?

陈南兴: 我们说 (做) 粗工的人。老师傅说叫四个来, (我们) 就叫四个来, 他说叫三个, (就) 叫三个来。工我们村里就有, 好比我们是亲房, 我盖房子了, 我把你叫来, 饭烧给你吃, 没有工钱给你的。房子盖好了以后, 要摆酒, 叫你来吃。现在不行了, 要给钱了。

Long: 你 (盖房子) 找了几位老师傅?

陈南兴: 我找了三个, 木工一个, 砌砖的两个, 粗工叫来四五个。

Long: 你的房子多长时间就盖好了?

陈南兴: 那快得很, 一个礼拜就建好了, 砖砌好, 瓦铺好, 仅是外面的空壳, 里面再慢慢搞。

Long: 你们这儿没有搞旅游之后盖的新房子?

陈南兴: 有几个偷盖, 偷盖盖起来就给 (政府) 倒掉, (为此) 永嘉县武警派来五百多人, 倒掉以后, 又重修起来了。

Long: 什么时候发生的?

陈南兴: 前年。前年倒掉, 他后来造好了, 去年住进去。

Long: 你们这个宗族和其他村的宗族发生过械斗吗?

陈南兴: 有啊, 打了两年, 距现在已经 40 多年了。

Long: 和哪个村?

陈南兴: 溪南村。

Long: 什么时候打的?

陈南兴: 解放后, (距今) 已经 44 年了。

Long: 1966 年?

陈南兴: 对。

Long: 为什么打?

陈南兴：争山争水。开始就是几个人，后来越打越厉害，最后两个地方（即芙蓉和溪南村）打了，枪都买来了。正好是文化大革命，枪买得到。（为了械斗）这个地全部没有种，我们粮食全部到镇里去买来吃，（如果）你去种地（对方）枪打过来把你打死。

Long：你们就没想着和解一下吗？

陈南兴：你这儿党的干部说话也没有用了，他那儿党的干部说话也没有用了。

Long：现在呢？

陈南兴：现在不打了。

Long：什么时候不打的？

陈南兴：两年以后就不打了。

Long：就打了那一次？

陈南兴：嗯。

Long：没有（打）死人？

陈南兴：有啊。

Long：你们这块儿死了几个？

陈南兴：三个。

Long：伤了几个呢？

陈南兴：伤了可能有十几个。那边死了最少五六个。

Long：打伤的呢？

陈南兴：也是十几个。

Long：死了的家里怎么办呢？

陈南兴：大队里照顾他们一点儿，照顾了好几年以后就没有照顾了，到现在就没有照顾了。

Long：有的农村希望盖木头的房子，因为（住在）木头的房子感觉好。

陈南兴：没有，这儿一个人也没有，百分之九十九不盖（传统样式的木构住宅）。木头的房子盖不高，现在为什么房子高主要是（因为）地基没有（意即没有足够大的宅基）。（房子）盖得高地基就省。

Long：如你所说，你们的人口没有太多的变化，为什么感觉房子不够用呢？

陈南兴：多还是多一点的（意即人口终究有所增长）。过去房子（住得）也挤得很，现在要宽（敞）一点，一个儿子至少要一间房子。过去在农村有的一家人七八个人只有半间房子，一间房子。

陈南兴：现在老人说话没用了，过去老人说话年轻人一定要听。现在老人说话青年人有的听，大部分不想听了，干部也不听，农民也不听了。

Long：你们这儿三千个人你们都认识吗？

陈南兴：过去生产队的时候（即人民公社时代），多数在家里（住），认识的多一点。现在好多不认识了，因为十几岁他们在外面念书，有的十五岁，十六岁到外面打工，打了五六年已经二十多岁了，我们都不认识了。（即便）不认识了，（碰面时）一说起来就知道了。

陈南兴：建房子要看地基（大小）。（建房的）老师傅过来的时候，我说我家地基这么大，你帮我盖到两层，怎么盖老师傅心里知道。他帮你设计起来，不要我们请设计师，你跟他一说（自己的大概想法）他就知道（该怎么盖）了。

Long：像这种老师傅你们村原来有没有？

陈南兴：原来也有的。

Long：现在呢？

陈南兴：现在青年的多，年纪大的死掉了。

Long：技术是怎么学的？

陈南兴：一代代传下来的。（好比）你这个老师傅懂得一点（建房技术），教给我，我跟你学了三年，也是差不多（学会）了，（学得）还不够的，再（向老师傅）问一下，再跟一年也可以。学手艺都是这个样子的，你是老师傅，教给我，我再教给他，技术一代一代传下来。

Long：我听说这儿原先有分寿桃这么个习俗。

陈南兴：现在还有的。

Long：怎么分的？

陈南兴：一般都是在正月。好比我今年六十岁了，寿桃由亲戚挑来，我把它分了，（村中）每一户一个（寿桃）。

Long：寿桃有多大？

陈南兴：这不一定，在过去（每个寿桃）有半斤，现在有一斤，一斤半，两斤，有的一斤八两，两斤二两也有的，这个不一定。

Long：寿桃谁买？

陈南兴：寿桃由女儿家挑过来，（如果）有两个女儿，两个女儿都挑过来（寿桃给父亲），现在大部分都拿钱。

Long: 但是女儿不都嫁出去了吗?

陈南兴: 嫁出去了这个(置办)寿桃的责任还是女儿负。如果没有女儿的话,就是儿子帮他父亲做(寿桃)。

Long: 比如说你的女儿挑过来(寿桃),然后你挨家挨户地分。

陈南兴: 嗯,一家一个。

Long: 是(在)正月(分)?

陈南兴: 嗯,(过去)大部分都是在正月,现在也是一样。我今年五十九岁,明年就六十岁(要向村中各户分寿桃)。

Long: 六十一岁呢?

陈南兴: 六十一岁不分了。六十岁分了,到七十岁(再分)。

Long: (六十岁过后)每十岁(分一次)?

陈南兴: 嗯,每十岁。(一次)要(花)几千块钱,现在说,(大概)要三千块钱。

Long: 为什么不让儿子负担呢?

陈南兴: 女儿就是逢年过节,现在送钱,过去都是买东西送给我们。一般的我们一年到头,吃饭,用的,大部分都是儿子的。

陈南兴: (寿桃)每一家(分得)一个。我这里若是有八百户,(分寿桃时)就得买八百个寿桃(分给各家)。

Long: 正月里随便哪一天(分)吗?

陈南兴: 嗯,随便哪一天。

Long: 过个生日还挺亏啊?

陈南兴: 嗯,要好多钱的。

Long: 家家户户吃你的寿桃,没什么表示吗?

陈南兴: 说句好话(意即说句祝寿的话)。就是这样子,好比今年我分给你,明年,后年,你六十岁了你也分给我。

Long: 如果我家比较穷。

陈南兴: 寿桃就做小一点,人家(一个寿桃)做两斤,或是两斤半,你做一斤半嘛。

Long: 你这儿有个老人协会?

陈南兴: 老人协会是新搞起来的,过去没有的。

Long: 什么时候搞起来的?

陈南兴: 90年代,2000年以前。

Long: 除了老人协会之外有没有其他的协会?

陈南兴：其他没有。

Long：老人协会什么人可以参加呢？

陈南兴：就是六十岁以上的。

Long：男的的女的都是（六十岁）？

陈南兴：都是，有的人不参加的也有。

Long：女的（成员）多吗？

陈南兴：女的可能还不多，没有男的多。参加（老人协会）还要钱呢。开始（的入会费）是两块钱，以后五块，十块，二十块，我参加已经四年了，我参加的时候（入会费）已经是五十了，去年开始是一百了。

Long：有什么活动需要用（这些钱）？

陈南兴：用的（活动）不多，就是年纪大的人，已经参加（老人协会）的人，死掉了，老人协会买个棺材给他，还没有参加的（老人若是亡故，老人协会）就不管了。

陈南兴：这条路（即指由车门通向村外公路的道路）就是老人协会造的，花了几万块钱。过去，好比这一条路已经坏掉了，有的年纪大的人跟你说一下：“大家拿一点钱把这条路修一下。”你（会）自愿拿出来，你拿一百也可以，拿五十也可以。所以过去农村的建设都是私人出钱，你有钱多拿一点，你没有钱少拿一点，都可以。现在不行了，现在我们都不拿出来了，因为我们（在政府的主导下）搞旅游了，公家应该拿钱来做，我们私人有钱也不拿出来做。

Long：你们一户户有没有地契？

陈南兴：过去是有的。反正现在人家一般不会和你争（宅基），（各家的宅基范围）一辈一辈传下来，没有（地契）也可以，大家都知道（各自的宅基范围）的。

Long：在过去，街道是谁来管呢？

陈南兴：在过去，说起来也要年纪大的人管，现在是农村的干部（管）。

Long：你们这儿道边都有石头的长条凳子，是（发展）旅游的时候造的呢，还是以前就有？

陈南兴：都是过去（造）的，是方便人家坐的，这个在农村都有。

Long：你们这个村不大，（村民平常）为什么就要在路边坐着呢？

陈南兴：家里没有意思，在外面说说话多有意思。我们每个人都熟的，跑到这里开玩笑，说说东，说说西，都好说话。你待在家里看电视，从早上看到晚上，晚上看到天亮，一点意思也没有。所以我们退休的时候，年纪大的人，在温州，在上海，在永嘉，又要跑回家（即故乡芙蓉村）（定居）。

Long: 我看你这块儿（即车门）来（聊天）的好像绝大部分都是男的。

陈南兴: 当然男的, 女的有什么说（意即和女的没有一起聊天的话题）, 女的坐两分钟就跑了,（因为）坐下来没有意思。女的家里面还有家务事, 她要回家干活的。好比几个女的, 在这里, 说了一个钟头说得时间长一点了, 回家晚了, 饭也做晚了, 小孩衣服还没洗, 地还没扫, 水还没挑好, 男人回家的时候饭没的吃,（会）骂她, 所以她要早一点回家。

陈南兴: 农村过去（有人）偷牛, 偷牛的农村里（会）把（他的）一个眼睛抠掉。

Long: 你们这个村有这样（的规定）吗？

陈南兴: 嗯, 每个村都一样的, 所以（想）偷牛的不会偷了。在解放后, 你偷东西, 大队干部把你抓起来, 钱罚过来放电影给大家看。

Long: 改革前？

陈南兴: 文化大革命的时候, 你偷大队的东西, 把你抓住了以后,（你要掏钱）在那边（即晒谷场）放电影, 放一个晚上,（村民）免费看的。

Long: 你们要建新村？已经开始建了, 还是说只是有这么个打算？

陈南兴: 还没批好（意即尚未办完审批手续）, 公家手续搞好我们就（开始）建, 钱我们自己拿。房是自己盖, 它帮你搞好, 这里一栋, 这里一栋（意即政府相关部门负责规划设计）。

Long: 他们（即政府）替你设计（住宅）吗？

陈南兴: 公家设计, 画图, 花了二十多万块钱, 画的还没用, 画了两次了。

Long: 为什么没用？

陈南兴:（设计者）不懂农村的事, 设计得不好。

陈南兴: 农村的（建房）问题挺多呢, 一个是没有钱, 第二个, 有钱, 人家不卖给你（地）。你想盖三间房子, 你地基只有两间, 他这个地基不卖给你你没有办法。他说我现在不卖, 我（把地基）留下来还要给后代, 我现在没有钱盖房子, 我留下来（地基）给我的儿子盖, 儿子没有钱, 给孙子盖, 所以他不卖。

Long: 在芙蓉池, 经常有女人在那儿洗衣服, 她们平常都是在那儿洗衣服吗？

陈南兴: 嗯, 在过去, 洗衣服, 洗菜。现在, 洗菜的人少了, 就是因为这个水不干净了。有的人种地的衣服, 不好的衣服在这里洗, 好的衣服还在家里洗, 有的在这里洗好了在家里再洗一下, 这个水不干净了。

Long: 有的房子是五间, 住着三个兄弟, 这要是分家的话怎么分呢?

陈南兴: 好比有三间房子, 四个兄弟分, (如果其中) 三个 (兄弟是) 有钱的, 每个人分一间, 没有钱的 (那一个) 人, 反正这个地基分给他他也没有钱盖, (其他) 每个兄弟拿钱给他, 他就自己到外面买一间房子。这个没有规定的, (分家时) 自己想办法。

陈南兴: 解放以前, 我们村老人 (对村中事务) 说话的 (意即干预), 现在老人说话也没用了。过去水流在这个路上, 年纪大的人, 六十岁以上的人, 他都 (认为) 不行 (并加以制止)。这个一步一步走上来 (即指现在有的临街住宅门前放石条作为踏步), (过去) 他不给 (意即不允许) 你造, 就是一步走下来就对了, 现在老人协会里面一百岁的人, 九十岁的人说话都没用。

苍坡村中的采访

1 与苍坡村村长李三珍一家的第一次对话

Long: 你家有几口人?

李三珍: 我家里有好多人。我大儿子是开车的, 大孙子在平阳武警学校 (念书)。这儿还有两个孙子 (注: 实际是一个孙子和一个孙女), 还有他 (即李三珍二儿子) 的一个女儿, 家里 (总共) 有八个, 十来个人。我的家人基本上普通话可以说一点, (因为) 我一家 (经常) 都住在外地。

二儿子: 像我 18 岁回的家, 我从小在外面长大的。

Long: 在哪儿呢?

二儿子: 我在江西长大的。

李三珍: 我一家人全都 (长期居住) 在江西。

Long: 难道你不是本地人吗?

李三珍: 我 17 岁就在江西 (打工), 回老家之前在外面 40 多年, 回来村子里是因为我们这里搞旅游。

Long: 你是 (被村里) 调回来的吗?

李三珍: 不是调来的, 我老家是这里的。因为这里搞旅游开发, 我决定回这里搞旅游。

李三珍: 你到有的人家家里去, 可能老公会说几句普通话, 但老婆是不会说的。我的老婆也在外面待了十几二十年, 她也会讲一点 (普通话), 我的这几个小孩都会说的。温州话全部都是土话, 我们这里隔着六十里路有的话就听不懂了。

Long: 现在苍坡这地方经济发展了, 是不是旧的房子都陆续被拆掉了? 像这个楼 (即李三珍宅) 就很新。

二儿子: 这个楼是九十年代后建的, 现在旧的 (房子) 都不能再拆了, 因为国家保护 (这里的传统民居)。以前的一些旧房子拆掉了, 自己有钱的时候就会把房子拆掉换成新的。我们这个房子住了十几年了。

Long: 这儿建的比较早?

李三珍: 对, 比较早了, 那个时候可以建, 现在就不能建了。

Long: 那如果有钱了, (现在) 想盖一个更好的房子怎么办呢?

二儿子：（建在）外面，新的地基给你。村里的老房子不住，在新的地方把房子盖起来，然后再把老房子卖给国家。那边的新房（即指苍坡村西侧新建的住宅）都盖起来了。有些古村全都给保护起来，这边保护得不好，但在楠溪江地区，这边（保护得）还算最好，其他的地方更不行。说实话，要是不保护的话这些房子早就被拆掉了。

Long：现在你们这儿也富起来了吧？因为靠着温州，是不是也都富起来了？

二儿子：贫富差距比较大，有钱的很有钱。

二儿子的朋友：我们这里的人是这样，真正有钱的人已经出去（盖房）了，一般有钱的话（即指稍微富裕的人）在村里就重新盖房子。温州这边几千万的人遍地都是。

二儿子：看到这边（的村落）破破烂烂，但一到过年名车多得不得了。

二儿子的朋友：有钱的人都是到城市里，或者是到外地做生意，在这里像我们这样的年轻人在家里很少很少。

Long：温州为什么这么富呢？

二儿子：全部都出去做生意，像我们都难得在家里。另外，我们起步得比较早，我们父辈就起步了。我们主要是环境所逼，人口多，耕地少，没有办法，只能出去。

二儿子的朋友：像我虽然是农村的人，（但是）田都没有，一分田都没有，你说我吃什么喝什么？乐清市柳市镇有个正泰集团，创始人以前田都没有的，就收一些电器，破烂的电器，逐渐发展起来了，现在（那里）是中国电器城。他们也是被逼出来的，那个时候根本没有吃的，田都没有，就是这样逼出来的，现在发展多厉害，发展成集团了。

2 与李三珍的第一次对话

李三珍：这本书（即苍坡李氏宗族宗谱）一般不给别人看的，我（必须）要保管好。

Long：这个谱是保存在你这儿，还是保存在村委会？

李三珍：有一本保存在村委会里，村委会人多，它就被人拿走了。

Long：你这个（宗谱）一直记载到什么时候呢？

李三珍：一直记载到清朝，清朝以后（编修）的那个宗谱已经被封起来了。那个不能看的，开谱的时候就可以看。

Long：你们这儿多少年修一次谱？

李三珍：三十年左右。

Long：现在，这个（宗族原有的）族规已经不那么严格了吧？现在是不是村子里都讲法律，就不按照这个族规来做了？

李三珍：嗯，不会按照这个。原来女性不能上谱，现在都可以上了。新法规要准备起来（即重新制定），不能按照原来的。

Long：宗谱怎么修呢？

李三珍：我们村子里面有懂得这个事的人，要（把）这些人（组织在）一起，要修谱的话，搞个谱局。要有几个管事的人（担任董事）。

Long：这些董事是怎么推选出来的呢？

李三珍：一个房一个房里面推选出来的，一个房一个。

Long：每个房是把长者推出来修这个谱？

李三珍：不是，管事要懂得一点（修谱）的。

Long：要有一些文化，知道一点儿（宗族）历史的？

李三珍：嗯。

Long：现在有不少人都到外地打工，到（修谱的）时候要把他们（的世系）记录下来，也编到（宗谱）里面来吧？

李三珍：嗯，对。打工没有关系，他们原来房里面的人，会一家一家地（调查），搞出来（各家的世系）。修一个谱起码要三年呢。

Long：现在，你们村子里的年轻人出去打工，他们对于修谱的事还是很在乎吗？

李三珍：打工的家里有年纪大的人，如果要修谱的话他们都要（把家里的情况）说出来的。

Long：一到春节，是不是这些打工的都回来？

李三珍：都回来。

Long：他们认祖归宗的感情，对于自己家族的感情还是很强烈的吗？

李三珍：嗯，有的很强烈，有的也不强烈。有的人懂得这个家族历史的人就强烈一点儿，有的人就不关心。

Long：苍坡村还种田吗？

李三珍：种田。

Long：种的田是不是比较少呢？

李三珍：少。

Long：曾和你们聊起来为什么温州人都出去做买卖。

李三珍：田太少了。

Long: 你们修一次(宗谱)得耗费两三年?

李三珍: 嗯。

Long: 相当于做一次人口统计了。

李三珍: 对, 对, 对。

Long: 对家族成员的统计。

李三珍: (还)统计了(宗族的)历史。

Long: 不光是写每家都有什么人, 还有些历史, 还得把家族的一些事迹编进去。

李三珍: 嗯。谱就是把历史一代一代地记载下去。把(宗族)新的事在谱上写一写, 表一表。比如(什么人)当什么官啊, (什么人)做的什么好事啊, 都要在谱上写一写。

Long: 你们修宗谱都是由房长作为董事来写?

李三珍: 嗯。

Long: 他怎么搜集资料的呢? 是否会要求各家汇报材料, 再由他来写?

李三珍: 这个(即各家的情况)我们(住)在这个地方(相互)都知道的。

Long: 各家各户家里的情况都知道?

李三珍: 嗯, 都知道的。

Long: 记述历史时是否会因为编纂者个人的感情而将一些人写得(比实际情况)好一些, 另一些人写得(比实际情况)不好一些? 或者有些人提供材料时就会故意夸一夸自己, 会不会造成族谱(记载)上的一些偏差呢?

李三珍: 族谱上(的记载)基本上(与事实)偏差不大, 它一般能够(真实地)按照历史。你(即当事者)说的一些事迹是要大家来评价的, 他(即当事者)不会编造, 如果他编造的话是不行的, 比如你当了什么(官职)就是当了什么。

Long: 现在(在苍坡李氏宗族里)还有族长和房长这样的人吗?

李三珍: 没有, 现在。

Long: 只是到了修谱的时候会临时推选(董事)?

李三珍: 嗯, 临时推选。这个(职务)三年以内(即修谱期间)是他的, 三年以后(即修谱完成以后)就不是他了。三年做谱的时候有族长, 总负责。三年以后的话, 做的谱封好, 封了二十几年三十年再次做的话, 这个宗谱要开, (即)开谱。谱不能乱开, 宗谱要开的话还要祭拜它, 用猪头来祭拜开谱。谱做完以后, 完谱, 要(把宗谱)全部锁掉(即锁在箱子里), 封闭起来, 放在(一些族人的)家里面, 由他们保存起来。我们都知道(宗谱被)放在谁家里。

Long: 把宗谱放在什么人家里呢?

李三珍：放在威望高的，信得过的（人家里）。

Long：现在政府提倡（宗族修谱）还是不闻不问啊？

李三珍：提倡。

Long：可能现在当地政府中，作为个人来讲也有宗族感情。

李三珍：嗯，一方面是宗族感情。而且宗谱就是历史。

Long：（苍坡李氏宗族）宗谱的序（里面）说这也是弥补了官方历史的不足。

李三珍：对。我们这里同方巷村，两个村子原来是一起的（即始于共同的祖先），所以

（宗谱）就是合并的。宗谱上写着（我们是）联房，联起来的，方巷和苍坡。

总谱里面分出来房谱，房谱就是每个房的谱。

Long：房谱（记载）的事是不是在总谱中也都有（记载）呢？

李三珍：都有的。

3 与李三珍妻子的第一次对话

Long：村子里有很多新房子。

李妻：嗯，新房子是早建的。现在不让建了。

Long：从什么时候不让了？

李妻：可能十来年了。早年苍坡村子很漂亮，（可惜几乎）全部拆了。

Long：这十年来苍坡村民没法住进新房子了？

李妻：嗯，（村）里面全都没有新（建）房子。现在（政府）不让（村民）建。很多人想拆掉房子，但（政府）不同意让他们拆。他们没地方住，天上下雨，屋里也下雨，没有办法，拆又不让拆，住又没法住。

Long：这个村子有上下水吗？

李妻：嗯，有上下水。

Long：旧房子里也有吗？

李妻：旧房子没有。好多现在的新房子造起来（上下水）了，老房子里面都没有。

Long：这个房子（即李三珍宅）盖多少年了？

李妻：我这个房子是 81 年盖的，老房子了。

Long：外面村口有个大牌子，上面印的规划图是新的村子（的规划图）吧？

李妻：嗯，是新的村子（的规划图）。

Long：住在老房子的人怎样才能得到一间新房子？

李妻：你拿一间老房子给政府，一间换一间。

Long：这里的农民可能都很少种地吧？

李妻：现在比较少。

Long：是不是每人每家还都有地啊？

李妻：有是有，可是我家因为修高速公路已经没有（地）了。本来（因修路每占用）一亩田（政府应赔）三万块钱，（钱）给到村（即村委会）里，（我家）实得了一万多，每亩田。剩下的一万多就在大队（即村委会）里。

Long：之后你家靠什么来维持生活呢？

李妻：我们家还有一些钱，是早前在外面做生意攒下来的，（我们）现在吃这些老本。

Long：两个儿子会养你们吧？

李妻：儿子（连）自己都顾不上，他（们）自己有老婆和儿子（需要养活）。修高速公路搞得我家田都没有了，（我们将来）吃什么都不知道。本来有三万块钱应该给我（家），大队（即村委会）只给我（家）一万多块钱。（日后）这一万块钱吃掉了，你让我们（日后）吃什么？我这里老人（留）在家里，（因为老人）在外面也赚不到钱。现在就是年轻人在外面赚钱。比如开店，老人开一个店，年轻人开一个店，就只有年轻人的店能够卖。

Long：年轻人头脑比较灵活。

李妻：嗯。

Long：幸好你家有两个儿子（终归可以赡养你们）。

李妻：两个儿子和一个女儿，女儿是老大，已经 38 岁了，嫁到温州。

李妻：最初（村委会）给了（我家）一万两千五，我丈夫不答应。找村支书和会计，反复交涉，（最终他们）给了（我家）一万六千五，就这样了。

Long：周围一小块一小块的田就是你们村民们的吧？

李妻：嗯，对。

Long：现在年轻人留在村里面的多吗？

李妻：少。

Long：那么那些田都什么人种呢？

李妻：都是老人种，年轻人不会去种，年轻人连怎么种都不知道。

Long：你今年多大岁数了？

李妻：57。

Long：村长呢？

李妻：60。

Long: 村长当了多少年了?

李妻: 我丈夫以前在外面赚钱, 刚刚才回来没有几年。

Long: 原来(他)是在江西?

李妻: 对, 在江西, 后来回来这里。在江西待了 20 多年。

Long: 你呢?

李妻: 我嫁到这里三十几年了。

Long: 你是江西人?

李妻: 我是这里的(即永嘉县)本地人。

Long: 你们的房子是谁设计的?

李妻: 是(这里的)农民(设计的)。

Long: 你们找谁会设计(房子)的, 然后坐下来合计合计(就决定了设计方案)?

李妻: 嗯, 对, 但这个设计不行啊。(比如室内的楼梯平台,) 人高一点就会撞到头, 我
的小儿子撞了一次。(此外,) 从(二楼)房间门一出来就是楼梯, 不小心(人)
就会掉下来, 设计的不好, 农村人当初不会设计。

Long: (如果)找城市里的人设计呢?

李妻: 贵。

Long: 所以可能你们大部分人就自己找人大致画一画(房间格局)就得了。

李妻: 对, 大致画一画(房间格局)就是(设计方案)。

Long: 原来的房子(即当地的传统民居)也没人设计呀。

李妻: 原来的房子设计得好, (但能设计老房子的人)设计不了新房子。农村的人要你
(即城市中专业的建筑设计师)设计你(即专业的建筑设计师)会要钱。农村人
觉得把这些钱尽可能多地用在造房子上更好一些。

Long: 也就是说农民没有(宽裕的)钱用在设计上。

李妻: 嗯, 钱都用来造房子。

Long: 你对这个房子如果感觉不满意, 可不可以拆了再盖呢?

李妻: 我们这里不让拆(房子)。

Long: 可是你们的房子已经算是新(样式的)房子了, (不是受保护的传统民居)。

李妻: 是啊, 但(政府)就不让你拆, 你拆我(即当地政府)就罚。

Long: 你们感觉新村的房子设计得怎么样? 你们去了吗?

李妻: 我们没有去。

Long: 你们感觉那里的街道, 以及整体环境被规划, 设计得怎么样?

李妻: (村民)人多, 嘴多, 有的人说好, 有的人说不好。

Long: 这个村子里好像有的（原来的）街道已改变了吧？

李妻: 街道没有改。

Long: （村中）有的街是笔直的，以前就这样吗？

李妻: 嗯，街道没有改。

Long: 有的村子里面像迷宫一样，净是些小道。

李妻: 弯来弯去的？这里（即李三珍家附近的笔街）没有改，弯来弯去的（街巷）在里面（即居住区内部）。这条路是大街，笔街，这个一早就这样的，没有改。

Long: 你们房前还有一个小院儿，这个院儿是归你们的吗？

李妻: 嗯。

Long: 你们为什么没有把它围起来？

李妻: 那边（邻近的）有几间房子，那家是我丈夫的弟弟，他们走路都要从我这里过。

Long: 现在那房子里有人住吗？

李妻: 没有，那房子造得早，现在没住人。他们（即房主）（后来）在外面造房子了，把这里空着，没有人住。

Long: 你们大儿子生了三个孩子？

李妻: 嗯，三个。

Long: 老二（生了）一个？

李妻: 老二（生了）一个。老二不生啊，也不娶老婆，直到三十岁。

Long: 现在（政府）允许（一对夫妻）生三个（小孩）吗？

李妻: 如果（一对夫妻）第一胎生了个女儿，（政府）就同意（他们）生二胎。第一胎要是男孩，（政府）就不允许（他们）再生，就一个，再生就罚。

Long: 但是你的大儿子生了三个。

李妻: 他是超生。

Long: 他没有被罚？

李妻: 罚了。

Long: 罚多少钱？

李妻: 罚了几万块钱。他第一胎生了个儿子，二胎是在江西生的，生了个女儿。然后就做了结扎手术，做完手术后还生了个孙子。

Long: 手术没做好？

李妻: 不知道啊。我的女儿只有一个儿子。

Long: 你的二儿子生的是个女孩吧？

李妻：嗯，生了个女孩。

Long：（他）不想再生了？

李妻：他虽然可以生二胎，可是他不生。

Long：他自己不想生？

李妻：嗯，他自己不想生。小儿子三十岁才娶媳妇。

Long：你的（这个）儿媳妇是本地人？

李妻：是岩头的。他（即二儿子）本来在外地交了个女朋友，是石家庄人。她长得很漂亮，还很高，但我们不同意。

Long：你们为什么不同意？

李妻：（如果）娶了外面的（我们）就不同意。

Long：你们不让（儿子）娶外面的吗？

李妻：不同意。因为（我们）不同意（这桩婚事），他就不娶老婆。

Long：向你们抗议。

李妻：嗯，就一直不娶老婆。

Long：你们为什么不同意呢？

李妻：（女方家离这里）太远了。

Long：你们是把人家的女儿娶到这里来，又不是你们的儿子到那边去不回来了。

李妻：我丈夫是这样说的，到外面去（讨老婆）起码路费都得要几万块钱。媳妇听话还可以，如果不听话就很麻烦。我们这里有好几个（娶了外地的媳妇）。有的娶来的（媳妇）听话，有一个（媳妇）不听话，总是跑回她家里，光路费就花了很多。就这样（我丈夫）坚决不同意（二儿子和外地女友的婚事）。

Long：你们村子的治安怎么样？

李妻：我们这里还可以，马马虎虎。

Long：没有小偷小摸的？

李妻：有啊。我们家的门被小偷撬开丢了几千块钱，连手机都被偷了。

Long：晚上？

李妻：嗯，我们都睡着了，当时小儿子也在这里住。

Long：是本村人干的还是外村人？

李妻：可能是外村人，本村也有（小偷），都是些没有工作的，没有到外面去做事的。

Long：连村长家都敢偷？

李妻：敢偷。现在还好一点儿，以前，前年最厉害。（不是）这里门被撬开，（就是）那里门被撬开。

Long: 这个村不大啊, (竟也有小偷)。

李妻: (村) 不大, (但) 有几个 (小偷)。

Long: 你们应该都知道 (谁是小偷) 啊。

李妻: 没有 (当场) 抓到他们。

Long: 你们家被偷了之后报没报案?

李妻: 报了, 没有用。我嫁到这里三十多年了, 这是头一次 (碰到这种事)。

Long: 村里有派出所吗?

李妻: 没有。

Long: 镇子里呢?

李妻: 岩头有, 派出所在岩头。

4 与岩头镇镇长周望欣的对话

镇长: 我们镇政府希望用古村落 (旅游业带来) 的经济效益来带动古村落的发展, 来带动村民脱贫致富, 这个思路我们是很清晰的。但是现在 (主要问题) 就是在我们永嘉岩头镇, 古村落的保护比较难, 其实我们也在积极地探索一条有效的途径, 但是找不出好方法。现在主要来说就是 (因为) 体制不行。就像苍坡古村落, 昨天, 我们去拆除违章建筑, 但是, 新村住不进的话他 (即指违章建筑的屋主) 又 (违章) 建啊。现在像苍坡这个古村落, (在规划中融入) “文房四宝” (的寓意), 年代比较久远, 具有保护价值, 但村民的意识比较落后, 如何改进这种落后的思想, 现在我们是在一种探索的过程, 没有有效的办法。现在真的他们不接受啊, 最好的东西 (即指古村落建筑文化遗产) 他们没有注意 (保护), 他们不理解我们当地政府 (保护古村落的苦心)。

Long: 清华大学的陈志华、楼庆西、和李秋香教授曾经考察过楠溪江流域的古村落, 搜集了很多基础资料。

镇长: 我感觉他们的思路 (即古村落保护的理论设想) 很好, 但是教授们站在 (理论的) 高起点上, 一下子到我们这儿文化素质较低的地方, (他们的理论和这里的现实) 会产生冲突。

Long: 他们也知道这个矛盾 (即理论与现实间的矛盾), 现在 (主要问题) 就是怎么解决这个矛盾。

镇长：这个矛盾我感觉比较难（解决）。新村审批手续太繁琐了，他们的新村已经搞了（意即筹划）十几年了，都没有搞起来（意即没有投入建设），今年才有点儿眉目，我们已经实际在做，准备今年把它搞下来（意即开工建设）。已经搞了十几年了，人生一辈子有几个十几年？他们村民（迫切希望入住新房的）的心情我们是很理解的。你在（苍坡）村里住一住，听听他们（即苍坡村民）的意见。说不定他们的有些想法是我们没想到的。挖掘他们的思想也是很重要的。学者站在的层面和他们的层面不同，有时候他们层面的问题没有被发现，发现了他们层面的问题，可以使你的论文更充实，更贴近我们农村的实际。

5 与李三珍的第二次对话

李三珍：这个亭子（即指双溪亭）是我过来搞（意即修建）的，是我差我亲戚建的，那时候（是为了给村里）做好事。

Long：现在这村里的人不会加工这种（传统建筑的）木构件了吧？

李三珍：有人还能加工，那些老师傅，新师傅不会了。建双溪亭的时候我们这里还有一个老师傅，（双溪亭）由他手工建造的。

Long：你是为了（给村里）做好事修了这么个亭子？

李三珍：嗯，钱都是我筹集的。我先自己动员了十来个人，每个人出两百块钱，一共是两千。之后，其他的钱也都是我筹集来的。

Long：造这样一个亭子得多长时间？

李三珍：一般，快的话，大概两三个月。这个亭建起来价钱不高，当时只要两万来块钱。

6 与苍坡村民李玉友（退休教师，现任苍坡村导游）的第一次对话

李玉友：这个亭子（即指望兄亭）建于1128年。1128年，这里有兄弟两人，他们长大娶了老婆之后就分家了，哥哥把地让给了弟弟，自己搬到了那个村子，那个叫方巷村。兄弟俩情深义重，分家后他们不习惯（分离），白天种田，晚上要聚在一起促膝谈心。哥哥和弟弟谈到半夜还依依不舍，哥哥把弟弟送到这里，弟弟又要把哥哥送回去，一直送来送去直到天大亮了。为什么要送呢？1128年，（村）外面全部是原始森林，里面有各种各样的凶猛野兽，所以（他们）不放心（对方独自回家）。后来兄弟俩在村里各造一亭，哥哥在那边村口造的亭叫

送弟阁，弟弟在这边造的叫望兄亭。这两个亭子里挂着灯笼，哥哥或者弟弟安全到了后就向对方晃灯笼。

Long：原来这附近全是森林吗？

李玉友：嗯，对。

Long：不是田地？

李玉友：没有（田地）的。这里（最初）只有一个祖宗（即指苍坡李氏宗族的始祖）（住在这里），只有他一个人，他娶了老婆（加自己）也只有两个人，后来慢慢繁衍下来，一代，两代，三代，人才多起来。这个地方（即苍坡村）里面，基本的土地是有的，小的。后来，几十代以后，人多起来，这个森林当然要被砍掉了，都要被开垦成田地。所以现在这里的田地都是我们这些农民通过辛勤的劳动开垦出来的，不是天然的。

Long：这里的地（即指苍坡村与方巷村之间的土地）都是苍坡村的吗？

李玉友：有些是苍坡村的，有些是方巷村的。

Long：现在方巷村（村民）也都是李姓的吗？

李玉友：现在方巷村（村民）基本都是李姓的，其他姓也有，姓王的，还有一些其他姓的，我们李姓的住在那边的为主，其他姓的（村民）很少。

Long：这儿（即指苍坡村）的宗族和那儿（即指方巷村）的（宗族）还有什么联系吗？

李玉友：还有兄弟情，（苍坡村）李氏大宗就是我们方巷和苍坡两地共同造的。每年正月初一，那边（派人）到这边来祭拜祖宗，聊聊天，谈谈兄弟感情，喝喝茶。

Long：关系还是很好的？

李玉友：嗯，很好的。在过去，如果他们中了状元或是举人，要来这里祭拜祖宗。

Long：给我介绍一下寨墙吧。

李玉友：原来，这个村庄四周都被（墙）围着，现在就保留这一段了（即车门附近及村落东南部分的围墙）。本来（围墙）一人高，历史上倒塌一部分，现在没有一人高。其作用主要是防兽，防敌，敌人就是下米村姓滕的，当时和他们有矛盾，很可能会起冲突，打起来，所以这围墙可以保护我们自己的安全。

Long：主要就是防护作用。

李玉友：嗯，对，对。

李玉友：这个溪门建于 1178 年，到现在是八百多年了。造这个门之前他（即溪门的建造者）就设想下一代出大官，所以开了个八字门。然后前面（的进士坦）有三级台阶，三级台阶象征考进士需经过的三试。

Long: 三试 ?

李玉友: 就是县试, 乡试, 会试 (注: 应该是乡试、会试和殿试)。三试以后成为进士, 所以中间的 (路) 叫进士坦。进士坦是做官的 (出入苍坡村) 必经之路, (在此) 文官下轿, 武官下马。这里 (即溪门前) 的七级台阶表示七品官升到一品官。(溪门前不远处的) 池子我们这里叫它 Yüantian, 从外表看溪门像个龙头, 这个 (即指 Yüantian) 像个龙珠。这个桥我们这里叫鼎香桥。为什么叫鼎香桥呢? 这里 (即苍坡村) 出了太师, 驸马, 当然有皇亲国戚来了。皇亲国戚一来, 太师要头顶香坛在这里迎接皇亲国戚, 所以称为鼎香桥。后来形成习惯, 就是做官的, 新郎和新娘一定要从桥上走, 一般的平民百姓从下面走。

Long: 现在 (村民) 结婚还要从上面走吗 ?

李玉友: 嗯, 现在也是这样的。

李玉友: 溪门有两根石柱拔地而起, 整个溪门的重心压在这两根石柱上。一般都是木头的, 这里就是石头的, 没有石柱这个 (溪门) 就不牢固了。石柱上一般都是两层斗拱, 这里是六层斗拱。而且 (建造溪门) 没用到钉子。溪门建筑既美观又牢固。曾经有一次台风, 这里有一棵松树被打倒了, 溪门还矗立在这里, (台风) 打不到。溪门曾经被维修过, (更换) 一些瓦片, 或者椽, 面貌还是原来的, 没有改变。这个村庄 (的规划) 以文房四宝为主 (题), 前面的 (即村庄西面) 三个山峰就是笔架山, 代表笔架。这个池塘 (即西池) 代表磨墨的砚台, 如果拍照, (画面里会) 既有砚台又有笔架, 看到 (笔架山在西池的) 倒影, (此处景观) 很美很美的。

Long: 那片池子 (即指东池) 也属于砚台的一部分, 还是就这个 (西池象征着砚台) ?

李玉友: 就这个 (西池象征着砚台)。

李玉友: 这条路叫街路 (即笔街), 这条路从东到西 388 米长, 代表着笔, 笔头放在那个笔架下面, 现在脚下 (路面象征) 的是笔杆。(什么是) 磨的墨呢? 你看前面 (即笔街和西池间的空地) 的三个石条, 就是墨。还有纸呢? 整个古村大地代表着白纸, 所以说笔墨纸砚。但这个笔墨纸砚不是现在为了旅游开发 (设计修造的), 而是在南宋这里就设计好了, 所以到现在已经八百多年了。这个李氏大宗, 原来, 南宋造的时候是朝南的, 后来到明朝的时候改向朝西。为什么朝西呢? 就是因为原来这里是小学, (宗族) 主要是希望下一代端端正正读书, 长大做大官, 所以 (将建筑改为向西) 朝着文房四宝。

Long: 当初(宗族)按照文房四宝设计(苍坡村平面格局),有没有遗留下来的古图呢?

李玉友: 图没有,历史上(苍坡村)从宋朝到现在都是这样的。

李玉友: 如果谁家里有什么矛盾的事情,要求村里(管事者)来解决,就把这个(即指安置在李氏宗祠中的大鼓)敲起来,没有矛盾就不要敲了。

Long: 古时候这个宗祠一直都是打开的,人可以随便进?

李玉友: 嗯,对,门开的,这是小学嘛。

Long: 这是小学,同时又是宗祠?

李玉友: 嗯,两用的。过去小学学生不多的,只有大概几十个人,坐在廊(即指宗祠正房两侧的连廊)里读书。这个戏台(即指李氏宗祠中的戏台)是用来唱戏的。我们原本要演两季,一个春季,一个冬季。

Long: 现在还有吗?

李玉友: 今年没有,(近年来)有时候有,有时候没有。过去是按照规定的,一定要在这些时间做。

Long: 是由宗族出钱找戏班子?

李玉友: 嗯,对。这儿还有祖宗(的牌位)在这里,(相当于让他们)看看戏。有时候还把(祖宗的)画像和(庙里供奉的)娘娘(像)放这里(,相当于让他们共同看戏)。

Long: 到时候村里的族人随便都可以来看?

李玉友: 嗯,随便来看。

李玉友: 过去有大户人家自己请一些老师(到家中教他们的孩子念书)。这里是(请老师)在宗祠里面(教书)。

Long: 宗族出钱(请老师教书)?

李玉友: 嗯,宗族出钱。

Long: 也算是一定的义务教育。

李玉友: 嗯,对的。

Long: 但是平常,村民也得(为孩子念书)支付,或捐一些钱吧?

李玉友: 嗯,对的。

李玉友: 寺庙(即指仁济庙和太阴宫)原来是雕梁画栋。到文革期间都被破坏掉了。前面(即仁济庙)屋脊上龙的雕塑搞得不像(原来的),所以没有全部搞(意即没有连同太阴宫的屋顶装饰构件进行全面复原)。

Long: 这个（即仁济庙）檐上的（装饰构件）都是后来（重新复原）的？

李玉友: 嗯，后来搞的。搞得不大好，如果搞得好的话（两座寺庙）全部（的屋顶装饰构件）都要恢复。这个龙搞得都不像（原来的）。

Long: 现在还有（这些构件样式的）图纸吗？没有图纸就没法恢复了。

李玉友: 没有（图纸）了，但我们还记着（这些构件原来的样子），这个地方是什么，那个地方是什么。

Long: 你们竟然还能记着？

李玉友: 嗯，还记着。这个庙（即仁济庙）的造型和图样是从杭州拿过来的，我们祖先从杭州拿过来的。这个庙建在祠堂中间（注：实际是毗邻宗祠并和宗祠相连通），左右，前面都有美人靠，夏天很凉快的。过去，旅游局没有管（苍坡村）的时候，老人都坐，或躺在这里乘凉。

Long: （仁济庙里）供奉周处？为什么要供奉他呢，供奉他有什么用呢？

李玉友: 周处原来无恶不作，杀害人。后来，他自行改邪归正。杀虎，斩妖，为民除害，最后战死沙场。人们为了纪念他，他人死了以后，把他的相貌塑在殿里，纪念他。实际他是江苏宜兴人，不是这里人。他为民除害，老百姓被深深地感动，所以就祭拜他。

Long: 就这儿一个村子祭拜周处吗？

李玉友: 不是就这儿一个村子，有好多地方（祭拜周处），在温州也有。

Long: 这个庙平常有没有固定的仪式（来祭拜周处）？

李玉友: 有，每年按照他的生日都来祭拜他。

Long: 是族长来主持？

李玉友: 嗯，如果富裕的话，还请人念经，搞得很热闹的。

Long: 平常呢？

李玉友: 平常嘛，一些人用家里的一些东西来祭拜他，比如，猪杀掉，用猪头来祭拜他，还有些人用鸡来祭拜他，在正月初一，三十除夕，过节的时候也都来祭拜他，比较热闹的。

Long: 现在不祭了吧，连塑像都没有了。

李玉友: 现在没有了，文革期间和之后就很少了。

Long: 是在文革时中断（祭拜活动）的？

李玉友: 嗯，中断了。

Long: 在宗祠，现在也不举行什么（祭祖）仪式了？

李玉友：嗯，也没有了。本来宗祠里面有（祖宗）牌位。不光这个祖宗（即指现如今被供奉在宗祠的始祖李岑），还有下面几代（祖宗）的（牌位），文革的时候都被搞掉了，本来老祖宗的（牌位）也没有了，后来为了纪念他又把他的（牌位）搞起来了。

Long：宗祠什么时候不再举办祭祖仪式？

李玉友：文革期间和以后就没有了。

Long：主要还是因为文革中断了一些祭祖活动？

李玉友：嗯，文革中断的。建国以后还有的，我们祭拜祖宗到文革前都是有的，后来就没有了。

Long：你们（现在）都还有宗族的族谱？

李玉友：有。

Long：族谱如果要是修的话会不会（在宗祠）举行一个仪式？

李玉友：有。我们这里要是开谱的时候要演戏的。所有（苍坡村）李姓的全部到这里来，要请客，会很热闹，请戏班在戏台上演戏，大概做三天。

Long：现在，像你刚才说还偶尔（请戏班来宗祠）唱戏，那是为了什么事而唱戏呢？

李玉友：现在，就是农历每年正月，客人在村里很多，就请戏班来唱戏。

Long：现在年轻人还会听戏吗？

李玉友：嗯，年轻的也有些喜欢听戏，大部分可能不喜欢听了，老年人和中年人是喜欢听的。年轻人有些人喜欢，有些人不喜欢，不喜欢的人看看热闹也是好的。这里京剧，越剧，昆剧，瓯剧，都有的。

Long：瓯剧就是这一带的地方戏了。

李玉友：嗯。

李玉友：这个路（即指登银巷）两侧都有个大户人家，这侧（即东侧）叫李明光，这侧（即西侧）叫李朝阳。后来为了挖水沟，以（两家各自）银（的多少）斗输赢，结果李明光输了，李朝阳赢了，水沟就放在这里（即靠近李明光一侧）。

Long：他们争这个有什么意义呢？

李玉友：我们过去迷信地讲水沟放在房子底下大概对房子有害，不利的，所以他们就这样争执。实际上有没有（害）我们也是不知道。我们按照迷信的讲法有这样的（忌讳）。

Long：那要这个水沟干嘛？

李玉友：这个村庄里面有水流出来，水沟就需要放在这里。如果没有这条水沟的话，一下雨，这条路就全部有水了。

Long: 很多其他村子, 道路就像迷宫一样转来转去, 像这个 (即登银巷) 却是很笔直, 这是现在弄得这么笔直还是以前就这样?

李玉友: 历史上就这样。

李玉友: 一井三池过去就有, 改革后重修。第一个池过去是洗菜, 淘米用的。第二个池是洗衣服用的。第三个池是洗马桶, 牛喝水用的, 所以叫一井三池。这水是从泉水流出来, 三个池子都是连通的, 流到池塘 (即西池) 里面去。

Long: 现在这水也这么流的?

李玉友: 也这么流的。如果池塘 (即西池) 的水高起来就不行, 高起来把这个水 (即泉水) 就污染了。

Long: 现在还按着这个顺序用?

李玉友: 嗯, 还这么用呢。

Long: 这是谁的坟?

李玉友: 这是第一代李岑的坟, 两夫妻都在这里。

Long: 为什么放在这儿 (即位于村子里, 靠近笔街)?

李玉友: 过去这个村落全部是空的, 没有这里的房子。他们死了以后就葬在这个地方。现在 (村落里面) 就没有地方 (用作墓地) 了。我们本来 (在规划村落范围) 的时候, (负责规划设计的) 国师 (即李时日) 问李嵩 (即苍坡李氏宗族第九世祖) 是要 (宗族) 快发 (家) 还是慢发 (家)。李嵩说当然快发好, 慢发怎么行啊。所以溪门的位置就确定在现在的地方。如果慢发, 溪门的位置就在很远的地方。

Long: 也就是说快发的话地盘小一点。

李玉友: 嗯, 对, 地盘小一点儿嘛 (当然) 就快发啦。

Long: 这些楼 (即指苍坡村西侧的新住宅) 都是什么时候盖的呢?

李玉友: 这些楼大概 01, 00 年盖的, 没几年。

Long: 这个地方 (即指苍坡村中南部) 就不让再盖 (新住宅) 了, 后面 (即指苍坡村北部) 还是可以再盖 (新住宅)?

李玉友: 嗯, 对, 这里旅游局不让再盖 (新宅) 了。

李玉友: 可能当时 (即指古代) 地比较大, 比较多。风水先生来看看哪个地址好就在哪个地方造祠堂, 不按照和自己 (房区) 的近远 (来为房祠选址), 没有考虑这个东西。他 (即指祠堂的修造者) 要考虑祠堂造在这里下一代是否兴旺, 有这样的想法。兴旺就行了, 不兴旺就不行。

Long: 因为考虑了风水, 这个祠堂放在这里就兴旺 (后代), 但住宅却位于 (距宗祠或房祠) 很远的地方, 如果这里风水好, 为什么没在这里造住宅呢?

李玉友: 先造的住宅, 后造的祠堂。住得兴旺, 人多起来了, 这些祖先也有祖先了, 他们上代 (祖先) 的牌位没有地方放, 就要造个祠堂, 放自己房里面的上一代 (祖先) 的牌位。

Long: 房祠由谁建, 或建在什么位置是从老大, 老二, 老三, 老四这么排下来的呢? 还是说谁有钱谁就先建? 比如说老三有钱了, 就先建他的房的祠堂, 老大没钱, 就没有建。

李玉友: 根据谁有钱。没有钱就没有造 (房祠)。

Long: 如果这里风水好, 谁有钱谁就建 (他所属房的房祠)。

李玉友: 嗯。我们现在是第三十四世, (理论上说) 每系都要有一个祠堂, 那就 (太) 多了。有些时候没有钱就没有造祠堂。现在有房祠的 (房) 就是他们祖先 (当时) 有钱, 所以造这些祠堂。

Long: 你们同属一个大宗族, 但在分配土地方面好像不是按照辈分, 而是按照各房发展后的实力来决定。

李玉友: 嗯, 那当然。

Long: 不是说老二非得让着老大。

李玉友: 主要是按照钱, 钱多就行 (意即能够得到较多, 位置较好的土地), 钱不多就没有办法。有些兄弟团结的话可以互相照顾一下。

Long: 现在每年村里有没有什么大型的活动, 不是给游人看的, 而是 (为) 你们自己 (举办) 的一些民俗活动?

李玉友: 没有, 现在不搞了, 过去有。过去我们这里正月十五闹花灯, 还要看戏, 还有 (宗祠) 殿里面有好多东西摆出来给人家看。

Long: 这些活动都是以李氏宗祠为中心?

李玉友: 嗯, 那当然。下米那个村就又开始搞 (各种民俗活动) 了。

Long: (他们) 是自发的?

李玉友: 自发的。如果有钱, 大家喜欢 (搞这些活动) 的话就可以搞。

Long: 老人没事儿的时候都愿意在哪里坐下来聊天呢? 我看 (他们) 经常坐在这里 (即溪门) 聊天。

李玉友: 嗯, 在这个地方老人坐着 (休憩的) 比较多了。

Long: 还有那个亭子 (即望兄亭)。

李玉友: 嗯, 那个亭子。

Long: 村子里面（即中部区域）没有吗？

李玉友: 如果那个凉亭（即指当时正筹划修造的观赏亭）造起来，可能（会成为村民常去的地方），但那个凉亭还没有造。村里面（公共）休息的地方不多，这两个地方（即溪门和望兄亭）是村民最喜欢的。

7 与李玉友及其他苍坡村民在溪门（又称车门）的对话

Long: 这个村是不是也有的人在外做买卖发家了？

村民: 有。

Long: 发家了之后他们还会回到这村子里住吗？

村民: 肯定要回来，老祖宗不能丢。平常不住在这儿，做生意在外面，过年过节总还是要回来，老了还是会回家乡。

Long: 老了还会回来？

村民: （只是）年轻时到外面，正是可以挣钱的时候还是要到外面挣钱。

Long: 但城市里的房子要比这里的好一些吧？

村民: 他们（即指在外打工的苍坡村民）要是（在村里）有老房子，还是会回来。（他们）老了，还是（觉得）这个地方好。

Long: 假如他在大城市有房子了，他（老了以后）也要回来住？

村民: 对，（城市的）房子给儿子住。肯定要回来。这是一个观念问题。

Long: （他）如果在城市的房子里住习惯了，还会回来吗？

村民: 会，还是觉得这儿好，都会回来。因为这儿是生他养他的地方。

Long: 城市里面厕所，（上下）水，医疗，还有交通都更方便，（这里的基础设施落后，为什么还会回这里？）

村民: 他有钱之后也会有车，有车跑这里来往，跟住城里不是一个样（可以获得必要的公共服务）？（城市）还不如这里好，这里空气好。他自己有车怕什么？要有什么事（比如生病）都可以上街的（意即可以及时进城就医）。现在这里条件也好起来了，高速路也通了，路也都修好了，到温州也就半个来小时就到。

Long: 现在要古村落保护，他就不能再盖砖房，那他还会回到这种（居住条件相对较差的）木头房子里住？

村民: 你可能是没住过（这种木头房子），住过的话有那种感情在那里。不能说这个房子破就不好，（这个房子）再破就是有份感情在那里。

Long: 如果在城市买了房子,

村民: 在城里买好几套房子的人都有啊。

Long: 他(真地)还会回到这里来住?

村民: 都回来住啊, 逢年过节还得回来啊。

Long: 只是逢年过节回来住?

村民: 平常有空的时候也会回来, 因为老人都在这里。

Long: 住多长时间?

村民: 一两个月都可以住。别看那房子古旧, 但条件不落后的。只是这房子不让你(彻底)整, 它是(被)保护的, 整一整的话就是个别墅嘛, 这就是古代的别墅呢。那时候(即指古代)有几户人家可以造这么好的(住宅)? 像北京的四合院一样(是宝贝)。(在苍坡村)你如果住一个月试试看, 只要能融进这里的文化, 瓯系文化,(就会明白为什么那些年轻时在外打工的人还会回这里住)。在城市里, 铁门一关, 谁也不认识谁。这里你吃过晚饭了, 大家聊聊天, 拉拉家常, 大家(关系)都很好的, 你家有什么事情, 大家都会来帮, 城里人谁帮谁啊,(邻里之间)认都不认识谁帮谁啊, 谁都不管, 只管自己。这里父母生病了, 如果子女不在, 邻居都会帮忙的。我们这里老人过世了, 不用说, 整个村子都会来帮忙(处理后事)。

Long: 是因为你们都姓李, 算是沾亲带故(才这样互相帮忙的吗)?

村民: 不, 不是(因为)这个。我们处在一种环境中, 大家都一样(有可能需要帮助), 你家有事情(别人)帮帮忙, 他家有事情你也(得)帮帮忙。

Long: 城市里流动性比较大。

村民: 城市里, 你住在这栋房子里, 你可能十几二十年之后搬家了, 换了新的(邻居), 就又(相互)不认识了。像在这地方(即苍坡村)住习惯了, 城里房子不要住的。我们这里来了一个陌生人,(村民)就知道了他不是这里的人。

Long: 我真没想到(这里的村民在外地)一旦赚了钱了还会回来住。

村民: 他们(在外地)赚了钱还是这里的人啊, 祖宗还是在这里啊。

Long: 你们村的门票收入是怎么分的?

李玉友: (门票收入)百分之二十归村里, 百分之二十归镇里(即镇政府),(楠溪江旅游局得)百分之六十, 这百分之六十用于村里的各种建设。

Long: 这个局是归县里(意即由县政府管辖)?

李玉友: 县(政府管辖)。

Long: 你们村的经济(发展)能靠这个门票(收入来推动)吗?

李玉友：这个百分之二十（即村委会直接分得的门票收入）就好像做菜加了一点儿醋，没有多大用。

村民：只不过能养活这些卖门票的。我们地少得很，种地是发不了财的。（每户）种个一亩两亩（地每年）只能得一千来块钱。

Long：这个钱够自己一家人吃饭吗？

村民：（每家）吃（的粮食）是有的，大部分人出去了，都到外面，没几个人在家里。

Long：（现在）农民还要（向国家）上缴（粮食）吗？

李玉友：没有。

村民：现在国家实行新农业政策，减掉了农业税，没有了。

Long：以前的税是指粮食还是钱？

村民：以前是（向国家上缴）粮食，后来是钱，现在不要（再上缴）了。

8 与苍坡村民在东池边的对话

Long：房祠不应该被（村民）住的，应该是供奉祖宗的地方，现在都被住了。

村民：嗯，以前的时候（即指文革期间），因为很多人原来的房子住不下，（村干部）就把这里（即房祠）分给他们住。现在没有了，（房祠）归了旅游局，被它（即旅游局）租去了，不让人再住在这里。旅游局需要这个房子（即房祠）（供游客参观），就给我们这里（即苍坡村）钱，然后（我们村把房祠租）给它，（旅游局）三十年以后归还。

Long：（这些房祠）已经（租）给（旅游局）了吗？

村民：已经（租）给旅游局了。以后如果旅游局不办了（意即放弃开发苍坡村的旅游业），（这些房祠）就还是我们的。

Long：这桥（即东池上的廊桥）以前就有吧？

村民：没有，后来搞旅游的时候（旅游局）把它盖起来的。那边的房子（即指文革时期在东堤上修建的房子）都要拆掉，（游客可以经过廊桥，然后沿着东堤）向望兄亭走。现在人家房子（即东堤上的房子）不拆掉，（廊桥）造在这里没人走。

Long：这个池塘（即东池）的水都是哪儿来的？

村民：是（村）外面的小溪流过来的。

Long：你们在池边洗衣服？

村民：嗯，我们都在这里洗，在这里洗完后，再（把衣服）用自来水洗一遍。以前的时候都在这里洗，（不用自来水洗），现在（池水水质）不好了，（因为）那边（即池子附近）房子里的人会把大便小便倒在这里，以前都没有这些房子。

9 与李三珍一家的第二次对话

Long：你们家这个房子是哪年建的？

李三珍：83年。

Long：盖了多长时间？

李三珍：很快，两三个月就还好了。

Long：房子是谁设计的呢？

李三珍：这个（是）我们自己设计的。

Long：你们一家人坐下来商量需要什么房间，就这样设计出来了？

李三珍：嗯，对。

Long：没有图纸？

李三珍：没有图纸。

Long：（没有图纸）施工队怎么造啊？

李三珍：我的（关于房间格局的）想法，给他们（即施工人员）讲，（他们就按照我的想法把房子造出来）。

Long：施工队是请外地的吧？

李三珍：（施工人员）外地也有，本地也有。

Long：难道是临时组成的施工队？

李三珍：嗯。

Long：现在也是吗？临时召集各个不同地方的人，现凑在一起，然后来盖房？

李三珍：嗯。

Long：如果你们村有发家致富的，比如说能够在温州或是其他大城市买到房子，还会回来住吗？

二儿子：也有回来住的，也有不回来住的，基本上不回来住的多。谁愿意到这边来住啊，各方面都不方便，晚上想吃个夜宵都没得吃，买点儿东西也不方便。各人有各人的想法，有的人想搞个好一点儿的房子，这里没办法搞。我一个朋友在附近另一个村建了一个房子，造得相当好，里面装修可能花了几十万。

Long: (他) 是找 (专业) 人设计的?

二儿子: 他在广东做生意, 就按照广东的 (住宅) 套型造的。他自己设计的, 照抄了一个 (广东现成的套型), 他那边 (即邻近苍坡村的村子) 允许建房, 不像我们这边不行。

Long: 可是 (苍坡) 村西北侧也有一排一排的新房子。

二儿子: 这也是规划的, 是新村的一部分, 当时 (搬进这些新住宅的) 是困难户, (他们) 没有房子。

Long: (这些新住宅) 几几年造的?

二儿子: 2000 年, 差不多, 这里整得还是不怎么好。

Long: 这是为困难户 (造的新住宅), 谁出的钱?

二儿子: 一个基址两万块, 已是一个便宜的价位。

Long: 但他们本身不是困难户吗?

二儿子: 钱还是得自己出, 他们不是说没钱, 而是没有地方住。

Long: (他们) 原来的房子腾空了?

二儿子: 以前的老房子老人住。

Long: 年轻人还是喜欢住新式的房子。

二儿子: 对, 肯定的, 干净点。

二儿子: 我老爸老妈在外面三十年了, 他们就不要待在那里 (即已经居住了三十年的江西), 还是要回来。

Long: 这里就像个大磁铁一样。

二儿子: 嗯, 这儿就是根啊。以前我们家在温州也有房子, 他们都不住。

Long: 现在呢, 那房子?

二儿子: 卖了。

Long: 把房子卖了, 为了回来住?

二儿子: 嗯, 现在我们家湖北还有房子, 没人住。

Long: (房子位于) 乡村还是城市?

二儿子: 城市。

李妻: 城市里的房子住着不舒服。

Long: 怎么不舒服呢? 是不是在城市里很孤独?

二儿子: 不孤独, 但 (他们) 就是不适应, 特别是我老爸。

李妻: 连城市里的水都不好喝。

二儿子: (我爸) 在江西待了三十来年了 (竟然) 还要回来。

10 与李三珍的第三次对话

李三珍：解放以前，土改那个时候是保长（负责村务），保长就像现在的村长。

Long：保长是你们推举出来的吗？

李三珍：嗯，保长是被推举出来的。

Long：他是你们村里的头？

李三珍：嗯，作为村里的头。原来保长下面还有“众人”（注：疑为“仲人”），他们就像现在的村委会（干部）一样。

Long：你们李氏宗族不是分各个房吗，（各个房由谁领导）？

李三珍：房里面就是有房头（作为领导）。

Long：房头上面有没有头啊？

李三珍：房头上头就是保长和“仲人”。

Long：保长是靠什么当上这个保长的呢？是靠他的资历，辈分，还是能力？

李三珍：也是像现在村长一样，一个是名望，家里有势力。一个是他文化水平也得有，（别人）有事（他）能帮得了，帮不了也没有用。

Long：“仲人”是不是也是这么选出来的？

李三珍：嗯，也是一样的，就像现在村里面村委会（干部）。原来就是保长，保长下面“仲人”。

Long：一般有几个“仲人”呢？

李三珍：没有一定的，地方大的有几个。

Long：你们这儿原来有几个？

李三珍：总是有两三个。

Long：（村中）大小的事情都是由保长来管？

李三珍：嗯，什么都由保长来管。

Long：他有办公地点吗？

李三珍：办公地点不清楚，开会也是在原来宗祠。

Long：在宗祠里开会？

李三珍：嗯，在宗祠里面。

Long：你这一代是不是房的观念还挺强呢？

李三珍：强啊，我们这里房的观念强。

Long：后一代，也就是你儿子这一代，（房的观念）弱一点儿了吧？

李三珍：从上到下这是历史留下的，现在（许多）年轻人不管。（但）有的家里上辈（依旧会）传下去，留下去这个观念。

Long: 以前, 房观念很强的时候, 由保长来协调各个房之间的关系?

李三珍: 嗯, 对。

Long: 两个房都会有什么纠纷呢?

李三珍: 这个很难说, 什么矛盾都有。像原来我们这里房跟房之间还打死人。听我父亲说(我们房)同三退房(冲突导致)打死人。(我们)看他们不服, 他们看我们这里不服, 就两边(互相)打架, 人命都打死了几个。

Long: 保长没出来摆平这件事?

李三珍: 保长也被他们(即三退房)打死了, 原来保长是我们(房)的人。原来我们(族)一起(拥有)的山, 他们(即三退房)去砍树, 我们这个房不服, 这是(宗族)集体的树却被你(三退房)砍掉。我们这个房(当时)输了,(树)给(三退房)砍去了,(随后)就出来(冲突升级)这个事。

Long: 连保长都被打死了, 那最后这事儿怎么办呢?

李三珍: 保长被打死了, “仲人”来把这个案子说合了。“仲人”来说(即斡旋),(当事双方)一起摆道理。

Long: 这是什么时候(发生的事)? 解放前?

李三珍: 解放前。

Long: 房头也是大家推选德高望重, 大家都认可的人当?

李三珍: 对, 有势力。现在当村长也是一样的, 有的地方(村长候选人)就是用势力来当村长, 德高望重的, 有道德的还当不上村长。

李三珍: 原来我们这里当地的不能找当地的(结婚)。我们姓李的不能和姓李的结婚。

Long: 是指房和房之间不能结婚还是说连姓李的都不能(结婚)?

李三珍: 连姓李的都不能, 原来, 我们这个地方。我们这个谱(即苍坡李氏宗谱)上都写了,(同)李姓(结婚的人)就不能上谱, 有写了字(即明文规定)的。一般都要找别姓的结婚。

Long: (当时这里的村民)只能到其他村去找(结婚对象)了。

李三珍: 嗯, 只能(找)别姓的。李和李结婚的话做不了谱(即指当事人将被宗族从宗谱中除名)。

Long: 这也算是个惩罚了, 如果娶了个姓李的。

Long: 解放后保长就变村长了？

李三珍: 嗯, 解放以后就是村长, 村长以后变成了大队长, 在人民公社时代。改革开放以后, 改过来又称为村长。原来 (即人民公社时代) 大队书记就是现在村委书记。

Long: 比如说有小官司, 由你们村长解决, 还是你们上报给派出所, 让派出所来解决？

李三珍: 看是什么事情, 小事情一般是村里解决。

Long: 比如说小偷小摸, 被抓着了, 你们村长是 (把他们) 交到派出所去？

李三珍: 小偷小摸的话, (如果是) 小事, (当事者是) 小孩, 我们能说几句就说了, 说不起来的话 (意即被抓的小偷不理睬村干部的斥责) 就交到派出所去。

Long: 你们这儿生孩子都会生好几个, 是因为想生男孩吗? (可是) 我看好多 (人家生了) 不止一个男孩, 有好几个男孩。

李三珍: 嗯, 我们这里, 农村里面, 封建 (即指传统的社会运行模式) 还去除不了。现在, 在农村, 我们这里, 法律上面还不严, 儿子多的人势力强。在村子里面, (某人) 兄弟几个多的话, 你看他就会怕。你一个儿子的, 或没有儿子的, 人家看你就不怕, 人家就欺负你, 有这个情况。

Long: 你们村里钱是谁管? 你们村里有钱吧？

李三珍: 有钱。钱是会计管, 村长签字。村委会我们有五个人。村里面分出来两个委, 一个 (是) 党委, 党委五个 (成员), 村委也五个 (成员)。

11 与李三珍妻子的第二次对话

Long: 村长是生在这块儿 (即苍坡村) 的吧？

李妻: 生是生在这里, 然后 17 岁到外面去, 在外边做事 (即打工), 挣钱。

Long: 什么时候回来的？

李妻: 回来没有几年。

Long: 那回来干什么呢？

李妻: 老了就回来了。

Long: 叶落归根, 是因为这个吗？

李妻: 嗯, 老了想回家, 就是这样的思想。我 (们) 到外面去, 本来是在外面也可以 (定居), (我丈夫) 就是要回到家里来, 天天就念叨家里, (他) 怎么搞的我也不知道。我在外面和人家隔壁邻居很好, 我 (有时) 劝我丈夫回那里 (即外地) 去, 他说回 (家乡) 来了就不回 (外地) 去了。

Long: 你这房子是八几年盖的。

李妻: 对。我丈夫一个人(回)到这里来, 81年, (把房子)盖好了, (之后)他再出去
(继续打工)。

Long: 那这房子就空下了?

李妻: 嗯。这里空着。

Long: 现在新村的房子是政府给钱盖, 还是说自己掏钱?

李妻: 自己(掏钱)。地基(即宅基地)卖给你几万块钱, 照村口牌子上的(规划)做。

Long: 那些房子是什么人买走了? 是先富裕的然后就先买了?

李妻: 不是, (是)房子没有的, 困难的(村民), (这些新建的住宅)要卖(得)先给
他们买。

Long: 这儿的房子都是自己设计的吧?

李妻: 嗯。

Long: 是怎么一个规划呢?

李妻: 一早(即过去), 大队里分好了, 这个房子给哪一个(家庭), (随后)这个房子
(就被那个家庭)买去了。后来, 搞旅游开发, 不让你盖(砖房)。再以后, 你不
让我盖我也要盖。(政府)没有办法, (村民)一盖就来倒(即拆毁), (但)倒了
(村民)又要盖。

Long: 你们洗衣服都在那儿(即水渠)?

李妻: 嗯, 在那里洗, 还在井里洗。

Long: 我看你们家也有洗衣机, 为什么不用洗衣机来洗呢?

李妻: 农村里衣服脏死了, 洗衣机洗不干净, (住在)城市里面, 衣服放在洗衣机洗一
下子(就可以)。我这里不是(已经买了)洗衣机么, 从来没有用过。

12 与李三珍的第四次对话

Long: 你是什么时候回(苍坡村)来的?

李三珍: 我回来(已经有)十多年。我是九八年回来的。

Long: 是你自己要回来的?

李三珍: 我自己要回来的。我在外面这么久, 到了五十来岁, 我说(应该)回家来了,
不愿(继续)待在外面。

Long: 你很小的时候就已经出去了, 怎么还对这个家乡有 (这么深厚的) 感情呢?

李三珍: 亲戚都是在家 (乡) 里。

Long: 你在外面应该有朋友啊。

李三珍: 有, 在外边我朋友很多。

Long: 在外面待了那么多年, 竟还能想着要回来, 乡情这么浓。

李三珍: 嗯, 都是说自己家乡好嘛。

Long: 现在, 村里面有下水道吗?

李三珍: 没有。我家的是我自己做起来的。

Long: 通到哪儿?

李三珍: 通到 (村) 外边。他们 (即其他村民家) 都没有下水道。

Long: 几家有呢?

李三珍: 有几家, 很少。

Long: 祠堂 (即房祠) 不是应该属于房吗, 怎么 (许多都已经) 归了 (个别) 人家了呢?

李三珍: 土改的时候分掉了。

Long: 原来, 保长下面有仲人 (作为助手), 房头下面也有助手吗?

李三珍: 房头就是房头了 (意即没有助手)。

Long: 比如说, 有纠纷, 他做出一个调解, 有没有什么执行机构帮着他执行, 还是说大家只是听听而已?

李三珍: 仲人 (对于纠纷) 都会说话的 (意即发表意见), (同时他们也) 都有实力的, 他们 (即房头) 叫仲人一起来把这个案子一起说 (意即共同调解纠纷)。如果这几个仲人有能力, 他 (们) 自己两边说得下去 (意即能够安抚当事双方), 这个案子就结束了。如果 (当事者) 不听的话, 就执行不了。但是, 原来, 一般都可以说得下来。不比现在, 村两委会 (即村委会和村党支部) (虽然) 有调解主任, 他 (即当事者) 不同意说的话你 (即调解主任) 就没有用, 你就说不下去, 法律上你没有执行权, 只有调解权, (如果) 双方情愿调解, 那就好说。原来有仲人比你大 (意即地位高于普通村民), 比你硬, 他 (从某种程度上说) 可以执行 (他做出的裁决), 你就怕他嘛 (, 就会听从他的调解)。

Long: 你们 (宗族内部) 以前分一个个房, 他们 (即每个房的家庭) 是分散着 (混居在一起) 住吗?

李三珍: 基本上, 原来, 这个地方是这个房的 (意即有着各自较为明确的聚居区), 到以后就分开来了 (意即相互混居在一起)。

Long: 什么时候开始分开的?

李三珍: 那个没有一定的, 定不下来的。

Long: (苍坡村) 这些规划是旅游局, 还是你们村提议要搞的?

李三珍: 镇里 (即镇政府)。

Long: 设计费也是他们出?

李三珍: 我们出的钱。

Long: 建一个房子得花多少钱?

李三珍: 要十来万。

Long: 包括土地的钱吗?

李三珍: 嗯。

Long: 这个村子有多少人口, 多少户?

李三珍: 有 2800 多人, 700 多户。

李三珍: 开谱 (前), 房头, (把各自房的) 总人数要搞过来, 搞好人数。(修谱的) 钱要交过来, 每家每户要交钱, 男丁要多 (交) 一些, 女丁要少 (交) 一些。交钱以后, 我们准备就要开谱了。

Long: 钱是按照人头算?

李三珍: 按人头算的。

Long: 每人 (都要交) 一份钱?

李三珍: 嗯。钱要是交好的话, 我们准备要挑好日子 (开谱)。开谱的时候, 我们有开谱戏, 要 (请戏班) 演戏。献猪头, 羊。我们要到方巷村, 同它一起 (修谱)。首先我们几个头儿要谈好 (开谱的事宜), 他那里有几个房头, 我们这里几个, 还有别的地方 (共同) 参加 (修谱) 的也有几个, 一起决定开谱。首先要房头商量这个事情, 商量 (修谱总共预计需要) 多少钱, 钱要到位。钱到位, 我们就开谱, 钱没有到位, 不能开谱。开谱还要关谱, 谱做好 (之后) 全部要放起来, 放起来要 (举行) 关谱 (仪式), 也要演戏。我们拜祖宗, 封谱, 拿钥匙锁掉 (保存宗谱的箱子), (下一次再修谱以前) 无论如何不能动 (宗谱)。文化大革命的时候打击了一下 (宗族), 这个谱全部烧了, 我这个谱是偷出来的。

Long: 现在政府提倡你们搞宗族吗?

李三珍: 现在比较自由。

Long: 是提倡, 还是说根本就不管, 睁一只眼闭一只眼?

李三珍：不管。

Long：（搞宗族活动）有什么好处呢？对村子发展有什么益处呢？

李三珍：早前的历史不能丢掉，这个（即宗族活动）是传统，民族传统要留下来。

13 与李三珍的第五次对话

Long：你们（李氏宗族）解放前有没有修谱？

李三珍：有的。

Long：那个时候如果修谱的话这个费用都是你们村民分担吧？

李三珍：嗯，村民分担。每个人（都要分担），（规定出每个）男丁（需要分担）多少，女丁多少。

Long：女的也要算？

李三珍：也要算，女的少收一点，男的多收一点。

Long：但是女的是不入谱的吧？

李三珍：原来国民党（时期）修的（苍坡李氏宗谱女性族人）不入谱。

Long：你们这儿逢年过节有没有祭祖的活动呢，解放前？

李三珍：有。方巷村和苍坡村（的先祖）是两兄弟，方巷是哥哥，搬到那里去，我们这里是弟弟。初一的时候，这里锣鼓敲起来，把哥哥后代接到这里祭祖。

Long：祭祖就是一天？

李三珍：嗯，一天。

Long：有没有你们去那块儿（即方巷村）祭祖？

李三珍：没有，宗祠在这里，把哥哥（的后代）接过来（祭祖）就行了。

Long：这个活动持续到什么时候呢？

李三珍：一直都保留，现在也有。

Long：文革时候也有？

李三珍：就文化大革命时候中断了一下。

Long：文革前还有？

李三珍：也有。

Long：宗祠里头有戏台，你们什么时候会请来（戏班）唱戏呢？

李三珍：一般在正月，这几年是正月初一，都有一次戏。

Long：（戏班）也就（唱）几个小时？

李三珍：起码要三天。

Long：是为了看戏，还是为了祭祖？

李三珍：我们要祭太公（即苍坡李氏宗族的始祖李岑）。（开戏前）先拜太公，要（演）八仙过海，（为太公）庆寿。

Long：这个是一直都有的？

李三珍：一直都有的。

Long：是不也在文革的时候中断了？

李三珍：（那时候暂时）中断了。

Long：你们（宗族）原来有没有族田呢？

李三珍：有，房里面也有房田。留起来（将其收入用于）拜祖，（比如）清明节拜坟。多的几亩田，小的一亩田。

Long：解放前宗祠怎么用的呢？除了正月唱戏，祭祖的时候用，平常都是干嘛用的呢？

李三珍：平常的话，我们原来的保长开会都是在宗祠里面。宗祠里面有一个大鼓，打起来召集（村民议事）。村里有什么急事，这个鼓就打起来。

Long：现在你们（请戏班）唱戏还有人愿意来听吗？

李三珍：有，现在愿意听的都是老一些人，年轻的少。

Long：历史上你们这个村有没有和其他村发生过争执或是械斗？

李三珍：有。

Long：跟哪个村？

李三珍：下米村。

Long：那个村姓什么？

李三珍：姓滕。

Long：因为什么打呢？

李三珍：我们这里同它打了几次，国民党的时候同它打用枪。

Long：解放前也打，解放后也打？

李三珍：解放后也打，我们就争那个山。这个山两边都不能种。它自己（擅自）管去了（意即占用），我们就同它打。

Long：打了之后那个地方谁也不能动呗？

李三珍：对，不能动。

Long：就是一个隔离带？

李三珍：嗯，隔离带。打的话我们这个地方国民党（执政的）时候打赢了，共产党（执政）以后也打赢了。地理位置我们比它（即下米村）占得好，占着高山，枪就架在上面，我们优势一点。

Long：解放后几几年曾经打过？

村民：63年。

Long：是因为争那个山？

村民：嗯。

Long：你们整个这个村都参加了？

李三珍：都参加了，不但我们这个村，方巷村姓李的也参加了。

Long：打了多长时间？

村民：打了一天。他们输了，（不得不撤）回去。

Long：（他们）没有再报复？

村民：没有报复。

Long：有伤亡吗？

李三珍：他那边两个（被）打伤了。

Long：你们呢？

李三珍：我们没有伤员。

Long：当时政府没有管吗？

村民：管了，（在我们之间）调和调和。

李三珍：由乡政府，调解了也就了结了。

Long：以后就是再也没打了？

村民：以后没有打。

Long：你们后代不会记仇吧？

李三珍：仇没有。它不管我们（的山）我们也不会打它，它如果占了又要打。

Long：解放前你们这个村落谁来管建设？

李三珍：宗族来管。村里有宗头（即族长），宗头来管。

Long：你们民国时候有没有建什么比较像样的房子？

李三珍：太阴宫。

Long：那是干什么用的？

李三珍：原来就是陈十四娘娘的庙。

Long：陈十四娘娘是管什么呢？

李三珍：陈十四娘娘是做好事，杀妖的。我们祭拜她，她就保我们平安。

Long：这个庙现在不用了吧？

李三珍：解放以后破四旧的时候被倒掉（意即毁坏）了。这个庙（屋脊）上面的龙（原来）造得相当好看，文化大革命的时候都被搞掉。

Long：你们怎么买卖土地，解放前？

李三珍：双方合同商量好，请村里面关系好的（作为见证人）过来签一下字。

Long：会不会请村中长辈？

李三珍：长辈有。会说话会做事的（意即具有较强的办事能力），就请来见证一下。

Long：分家也要他们来吗？

李三珍：也要。

李三珍：我们这里现在的房是这样的，机关房最大，三退房第二大，还有三房房第三大，五份房第四，还有一个房，外宅房，第五大。

Long：村长还有（其他）村干部主要也就是来源于机关房吗？

李三珍：嗯。

Long：文化大革命之前，（乃至）民国时候的宗族活动还都延留下来了吗？

李三珍：延留下来。

Long：文化大革命的时候，你们这些房子都怎么用的，比如宗祠，仁济庙，太阴宫？

李三珍：空着。

Long：房田，族田都被分了吧？

李三珍：分了。

Long：都归集体了？

李三珍：都归集体了。

李三珍：我们村（在人民公社时代是）一个（生产）大队，（下分）24 个小队。我们这个村（曾经）分三个村，村 1、村 2、村 3，以后并起来（重新成为一个村）。

Long：这个村 1，村 2，村 3 是什么时候分的？

李三珍：1958 年的时候，办食堂的时候分了三个村。

Long：从什么时候并成一个村的？

李三珍：改革开放后。

Long：解放前这个村有没有其他姓的人？

李三珍：有。

Long：解放前就有？

李三珍：解放前就有。

Long：他们姓什么呢？

李三珍：姓周的，姓徐的，姓潘的。

Long：他们人少吧？

李三珍：不多。我们过来的太公，就是姓周的住在这里（意即当李氏宗族的始祖初迁此地时，姓周的人已在此定居），我们这个地方是姓周的给我们的。

Long：这里的人口（规模）变化大吗？

李三珍：人（增）多了，原来只有几百人。

Long：原来只有几百人，什么时候？

李三珍：解放前。

Long：现在呢？

李三珍：三千左右。

Long：以前你是打工，在外面做买卖？

李三珍：嗯。

Long：怎么想到要回来当这个村长呢？

李三珍：我过来搞风俗公司。

Long：宗祠在改革开放后又用起来了？

李三珍：嗯，对。

Long：它是谁修的呢？

李三珍：是我搞过来的（维修）钱，我到县里搞过来的，我搞风俗公司的时候。这个（即指宗祠）原来做学校的。

Long：维修花了多少钱？

李三珍：从上面搞下来（拨款）是 100 万，花了八十万（用于维修宗祠）。

Long：是几几年？

李三珍：可能 01 年。

Long：（苍坡村）老人协会是什么时候建立的呢？

李三珍：将近二十年差不多。

Long：什么人可以参加这个老人协会？

李三珍：女的 65 岁，男的 60 岁。

Long：女的多吗，参加的？

李三珍：也有。

Long: 主要是男的 ?

李三珍: 主要是男的。

Long: 入会有没有会费 ?

李三珍: 会费要交的, 早几年交的话是 30, 现在交 50。

Long: 会费每年要交 ?

李三珍: 一次性交过来。以后, 他如果死了, (我们) 吊念去的话给 (他家人) 100 块钱
(作为丧葬费)。现在, 每年九月九, 就是 (发会员) 20。

Long: 每个人 (发) 20 ?

李三珍: 对, 每年。

Long: 所有老人都参加吗 ?

李三珍: 一般是自愿。

Long: 你们这儿旅游的门票收入是怎么分配的呢 ?

李三珍: 百分之二十归镇里, 百分之二十归我们这里, 旅游局百分之六十。

Long: 你们老年人协会平常有什么活动吗 ?

李三珍: 平常也没有什么活动。

Long: 你们有没有办公地点 ?

李三珍: 没有。

Long: 开会怎么办 ?

李三珍: 各个家坐一下 (聊聊) 也就行了。

Long: 公共用地, 像广场, 街道, 宗族在过去会管吗 ?

李三珍: 管啊, 宗族管的。

Long: 现在呢 ?

李三珍: 现在没有人管, 整得一塌糊涂。

Long: 这个亭子 (即观赏亭) 的位置是他 (即捐资修建者) 自己选的吗 ?

李三珍: 这个亭子的位置原来早就选在这里, 就是我们没有钱造, 所以他出钱造起来给大家, 用在外面赚的钱。

Long: 我记得你在那头 (即村西北角) 也造了一个亭子吧 (即双溪亭) ?

李三珍: 那个亭子是我造的。我过来的时候 (即指从外地返回苍坡村) 那个亭子没有人造, 村里也没有钱。

Long: 你当初为什么选择在那个地方造呢 ?

李三珍: 那儿原来也留好了亭基, 后来村里人说, 你回来了, 好事做一下。

Long: 花了大致多少钱?

李三珍: 那个时候花了两万多块钱, 我向别人筹资, 每个人凑一点儿。

Long: 你是在村里集资的吗?

李三珍: 在村里面集资的。

14 与李玉友的第二对话, 以及与老书记 (曾任苍坡村党支部书记, 现已退休) 的对话

Long: 三年前, 我来过 (苍坡村) 一次, 当时东池上有一条廊桥, (现在) 怎么没了呢?

李玉友: 根据摄影爱好者反映, 远山的倒影拍不出来, 桥有影响 (意即桥遮盖了远山在东池中的倒影)。(他们) 向旅游局反映好多次了, 旅游局就把它拆掉了。

Long: 当初是什么时候建的?

李玉友: 大概 2000, 2003 年。

Long: 谁建的呢?

李玉友: 这个也是旅游局建的, 建了没有几年就拆掉了。

Long: 我听说是去年拆的。

李玉友: 不是, 前年拆的, 08 年。

Long: 据我所知, 包括这个堤坝 (即东堤) 还有那边的堤坝 (即西池南侧堤坝) 都是在文革时候被毁的 (即指修造住宅取代原有的园林)。

李玉友: 房子造起来是在文革。

Long: 现在那块儿 (即东堤上的住宅) 被拆了。

李玉友: 嗯, 现在拆了。现在我们这里有规划, 拆掉以后造花园。

Long: 再恢复成原来的样子。

李玉友: 嗯, 要恢复原来的。(准备) 全部拆掉, 结果这个 (即指居住在尚未被拆毁的房屋中的住户) 不同意 (搬迁)。别人 (即其他拆迁户) 同意他们不同意, (政府暂时) 没有办法。中间几家新的房子造那边 (即指村西侧的新村) 了。

Long: 这房子里的住户 (即指依旧拒绝拆迁的住户) 是一家吗?

李玉友: 一家的, 两兄弟。

Long: 这两兄弟比较团结了, (共同拒绝搬迁)。

李玉友: 嗯。

Long: 你们这里的宗谱在文革的时候是不是都被烧毁了昵?

李玉友: 宗谱, 文革期间, 基本给烧掉了。

Long: (苍坡李氏宗族) 在八十年代修了一次(宗谱), 怎么修的呢? (原谱) 都已经烧了。

李玉友: 在文革期间, 有一本总谱给人家藏起来, 房谱被拿去烧掉了。所以, 到八十年代修谱(的时候) 还有底子。

Long: 总谱是怎么保留下来的呢?

李玉友: 李成快, 他原来是红卫兵, 他看到总谱, 就拿去了放在家里。

Long: 他是红卫兵, 他应该直接把它烧了。

李玉友: 红卫兵里面也有些人觉得这个东西是要紧的, 是祖宗的东西, 不应该烧。

Long: 人民公社时期, 你们村是几个大队?

李玉友: 三个大队, 后来(即改革后) 又并成一个(村) 了。

Long: 旅游是怎么搞起来的呢? 为什么想搞旅游呢?

老书记: 当时, 政府旅游部门对这个地方(旅游) 开发比较重视, 村干部也比较积极(配合), 所以 92 年正式开放(供游人参观) 了。

Long: 那个时候是旅游局管(意即主导苍坡村的旅游开发)?

李玉友: 嗯, 现在还是它管。

Long: 是县旅游局还是镇(旅游局)?

老书记: 县(旅游局)。

Long: 宗祠都是后来(即旅游开发以后) 修的吧?

李玉友: 嗯, 宗祠是后来修的。宗祠修了好几次, 本来在南宋的时候是朝南的, 后来到明朝, 改向朝西, (因为) 前面有文房四宝, 最后, 建成楼房了。旅游局看到了, (觉得) 不像了(意即破坏了古村落的原貌), 把它拆掉, (重建成) 像现在的样子了。

Long: 恢复成现在这个样子是几几年?

老书记: 02 年。

Long: 仁济庙还有旁边的太阴宫都是旧的?

李玉友: 旧的。

Long: 太阴宫是什么时候建的?

老书记: 民国 28 年。

Long: 谁修建的呢?

老书记: 从族田(的收入) 出, 有些私人也捐钱, 大致是两方面(凑钱) 搞成的。

Long: 那里面祭祀的是谁呢?

李玉友: 现在里面供着陈十四娘娘。

Long: 现在仁济庙和太阴宫还有人拜吗?

李玉友: 有的, 我们刚刚今年还搞了活动。

Long: 都什么时候来拜呢?

李玉友: 这没有规定, 一般在正月, 还有十二月。

老书记: 仁济庙(举办活动)是在二月初二, 里面有东西摆起来给大家看。

Long: 没神像了吧?

李玉友: 给倒掉了, 文化大革命的时候。

Long: 我还以为这两个庙现在只是(供游客)参观, 不再有实际的(参拜)功能。

李玉友: 现在, 有些相信的每月初一十五还上上香。

Long: 这里(即苍坡村)是什么级别的文物保护单位呢?

李玉友: 省级的。

Long: 是什么时候评的呢?

老书记: 跟芙蓉村同样(即05年)。

Long: (仁济庙和太阴宫的)维修全都是政府出的钱吧?

李玉友: 没有。

Long: 是你们自己?

李玉友: 现在还是我们自己。

Long: 是你们(共同)集资呢, 还是个人捐款(进行维修)?

李玉友: 集体地(集资)。

Long: 几几年修的?

老书记: 大概八几年。

Long: 现在, 宗祠, 庙, 还有这个亭子(即望兄亭)都是靠你们村子里的人集资维修的。

李玉友: 现在是旅游局了。没有搞旅游前, 都是我们村里集体(集资维修)。

Long: 机关房是不是最大?

老书记: 机关房最大。

Long: 大致占总人口的多少?

老书记: 45%左右。

Long: 你们这个村还有姓徐和姓潘的人吧?

李玉友: 有。

Long: 他们占人口的多少呢?

老书记: 他们占得很少, 不多的。

李玉友: 没有百分比(可言)的, 很少。姓周也有, 姓陈也有。

老书记: 就是一户两户。姓潘的现在大致有十几, 二十个人。

老书记: 八三年以前, 这个村就是一个落后村。

Long: 落后是指哪儿落后呢?

老书记: 公共建筑(当时已经)全部倒塌, 村里没有路, 没有电, 没有(自来)水。

Long: 是怎么修起来的呢?

老书记: 八三年, 改革了, 老人协会(组织村民进行村落建设)。那个时候没有钱, 这里(即东堤)有一棵大枫树, 被雷震掉了, 那么把它卖掉, (卖得)八百块钱, 用这八百块钱修了公共场所, 这个仁济庙。

Long: (竟然)是老人协会组织起来的?

老书记: 嗯, 老人协会, 村委会一起搞起来的。那个时候, 我们村里有桔山, 桔子很好, 在永嘉县很有名气。

李玉友: (通过卖桔子, 村子的)集体经济就好起来了。后来县工作队驻村了, (村子就逐渐发展起来了)。

Long: 还是依靠政府的力量(村子获得了发展)。

李玉友: 嗯, 那当然。

老书记: 后来建成一个文明村。

李玉友: 我们宗族也有一些力量, 像老人协会就是属于宗族里面的(意即是宗族力量的代表)。

Long: 老人协会除了修仁济庙, 还有其他的这种村落建设活动吗?

李玉友: 好比村里有些交通上不方便的东西它都要修理的。过去这些树栽起来, 花栽起来, 老人协会就在这里看着, 守着, 如果人家破坏, 它就罚款。有一个人摘了一朵花, 就罚了他五十块钱, 所以后来就没人敢破坏了。

Long: 这是什么时候的事呢?

老书记: 八六, 八五, 大概这个时间。

Long: 八十年代中期, 罚五十块钱那可不少了。

李玉友: 嗯, 他很心疼哩, 没有办法, 老人协会有这个规定, 他只好把钱拿过来。

Long: 现在老人协会影响力还大吗?

老书记: 现在没有了。

李玉友：现在和过去不同了。

Long：为什么呢？

老书记：（现在）村干部没有把老人利用好，那个时候，把老人利用好了。

Long：（苍坡村）北边这一片（住宅）当年（即八十年代）盖的时候没有什么规划吧？

李玉友：没有规划。

Long：这一块儿（即村西侧新建住宅）是有规划的。

李玉友：嗯。

Long：那么，当时，它们（即村北部的住宅）没有规划是怎么造出来的呢？

老书记：八十年代的时候，规划局没有成立，永嘉县规划局。

李玉友：审批手续都有的。

老书记：县里审批。

李玉友：那时候都是土地局审批的。当时，（有的）人家没有房子，儿女多，由生产队（即村委会）给他分下去（宅基），给他自己安排（建造房屋）。

Long：土地是生产队（村委会）给的，然后修造是自己造？

李玉友：嗯，自己造。

Long：完全自己出钱？

李玉友：当时，造这个房子（村委会）多少也有点儿钱给他（作为照顾）。

Long：现在这个（即村西侧新建住宅）完全是自己出钱（建造）？

李玉友：嗯，造都是自己出钱。

Long：地呢？

李玉友：西面（即新村），都是自己钱拿出来买的。东面（即村西侧，新村的东面，与新村隔街相对），过去，买也是要买的，价钱没有（新村）这么高，当时还考虑房子没有的，确实有困难的，安排在那里。

Long：（宅基的）间的宽度是怎么确定的呢？

李玉友：我们这里一般的是三米三。

Long：好像是一张床的长度再加上一扇门的宽度。

李玉友：你讲对的。有些地方（的宅基每间的宽度）可能也宽一点儿，地基是自己的，那么可能就是三米六。

Long：我看望兄亭现在人不多（意即很少看到有人聚在望兄亭）。

李玉友：夏天（人）多。

Long: 宗祠是什么时候（重）建起来的？

李玉友: 李氏大宗，我们读书就在这里，教室很简单的。村委会，老人协会，妇联，民兵的办公室没有地方，把李氏大宗重建。大宗（正殿）没有改变，左右两侧都全部拆掉。

Long: 两边的廊子吗？

李玉友: 嗯，南北两廊，被拆掉，重新盖成楼房。

Long: 大致几层呢？

李玉友: 两层楼。

Long: 这个办公楼是什么时候盖的？

李玉友: 文革之后，七十年代中后期。

Long: 然后，它什么时候又变成现在这个样子？

李玉友: 后来，旅游局搞旅游，要复古，楼房拆掉了。

Long: 这一户（即停建住宅的房主）叫什么名字？

李玉友: 他已经死了，今年死的。

Long: 他叫什么名字？

李玉友: 李严星。

Long: 他多大年纪？

李玉友: 大概六十多。

Long: 他是在外面因事故死亡的？

李玉友: 嗯。