

## 晚明的地方官生祠與地方社會 ——以嘉興府為例

何淑宜\*

明代後期值得關注的現象之一，是社會上出現許多獨立於名宦祠系統之外的地方官生祠或紀念碑碣。這類生祠、碑碣因為被認為充滿奉承色彩，而不受研究者重視。不過，如果將這些祠或碑放回晚明地方社會變化的情境中考察，那麼這種對政治發聲或參與政治的形式，反而有助於呈現晚明社會的另一種樣貌。本文以浙江嘉興府為中心，討論以下三個主題：一是生祠與官方祀典的關係。由於明代中後期官方的鄉賢祠、名宦祠祀典規範日益完備，有關生祠設置地點（是否可建在學宮）、生祠是否合禮的討論也漸受關注。這些討論顯示士人試圖重新定位與名宦祠相似，但不符合祀典原則的地方官生祠。二，明代中後期賦役制度改革過程中，州縣官徵稅與完糧的直接責任加重，他們跟地方社會的關係也有所調整。本文以嘉興、秀水、嘉善三縣爭田的例子，說明地方士民透過生祠、去思碑等頌揚形式，以人評事，表達以個別地方利益為中心的訴求。第三，明代後期，由於地方社會自身或中央與地方之間盤根錯節的人際關係及政治紛爭，地方官的考選往往成為結納或報復的工具。從嘉興府的例子可以看到，建生祠或去思碑不只是一種紀念或奉承，另一層意義是表達對官評制度的不信任，突顯不同於官方、來自地方社會的官員評價。

關鍵詞：生祠 去思碑 賦役制度 大計 鄉評

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\* 國立臺北大學歷史學系

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何淑宜

## The Living Shrines for Departed Officials and the Local Society of Jiaxing Prefecture in the Late Ming Dynasty

Shu-yi Ho

Department of History, National Taipei University

This article focuses on the widespread monuments for departed local officials in Jiaxing prefecture (*fu*) in late Ming. Living shrines and steles were neglected in former researches, because they were taken as superficial flattery. In this study, the meanings of these monuments are reconsidered in the context of local social changes during the late Ming dynasty. A different perspective on the society of the late Ming was then provided.

Three main themes are discussed in this paper. Firstly, the relationship between the living shrines and the official sacrificial ceremony is studied. After the mid-Ming period, rules regarding ritual practices in official shrines for the local worthies and famous officials were gradually formalized and standardized through discussion. The literati tried to reconsider the appropriateness of living shrines for departed official because of how they were similar to the shrines for famous officials, but at the same time violated the principle of official sacrificial ceremony. Secondly, fiscal reforms in late Ming resulted in the increasing responsibility of local officials, so their relationships to the local society were changed. The controversy over land taxes among the three counties in Jiaxing prefecture is taken as a case study to investigate how the monuments were utilized by local people to advance their local interests. Thirdly, living shrines and steles of appreciation for departed officials were also used to protest the official evaluation system (*daji*). Because of serious political conflicts in late Ming, the evaluation system for local officials was at then often used by the factions for purposes such as revenging and bonding. The monuments provided an important means for the local people to deliver their own comments. Building the living shrines and steles was not merely for flattery or memorial. It was a way for the local communities to express the mistrust on the official evaluation system and to comment on the departed officials.

**Keywords: living shrines for departed officials, steles of appreciation for departed officials, the fiscal reform, the official evaluation system, local comments**