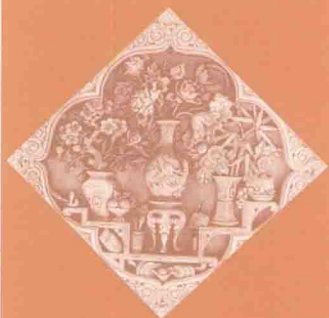


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[法]劳格文 王振忠◎主编



歙县

的宗族、
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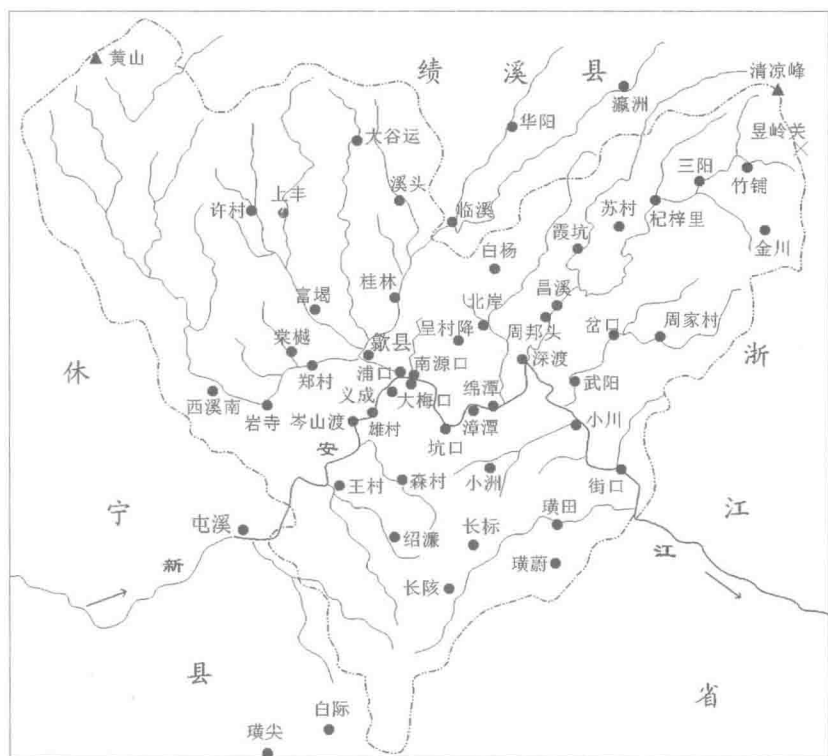
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安徽歙县示意图

(本书插图,皆由复旦大学李甜博士协助绘制,特此谨申谢忱)

Ethnographic Introduction

John Lagerwey

Introduction

Myself a total stranger to Huizhou when I first went there in 2007, it was my privilege and pleasure to work on it over a four-year period (2008–2012) with Wang Zhenzhong, an historian of the region second to none, but also one who had for decades already been collecting, studying, and publishing local materials of all kinds. When we would meet in Shexian, he always knew exactly where he wanted to go. Often, it was to villages he knew well from his materials but had never been to — there are so many important villages in Huizhou! — and the joy of discovery was as great for his practiced eyes as they were for those of the neophyte. These visits have left me with hundreds of unforgettable impressions and memories, regrets — that the visits were so short — and satisfactions: that we could find local authors who would make these now often forgotten places — some of which are no doubt condemned to disappear — places to remember. That is what our work together has sought to provide: places to remember, in the words of those who have lived their lives in them, indeed whole generations of lives.

That each chapter is a record of a past that is gone forever, we have been reminded when authors died: Wu Zhengfang, the author of the first book in this series, and Jiang Yitong, author of the first chapter in this book. Jiang had just barely completed his manuscript in May 2012 when he died. We paid many subsequent visits to his wife, in the hopes of being able to piece together from Jiang's extraordinary family archives a whole book in his memory. We

failed, but his is the longest piece, and Wang Zhenzhong has done a remarkable job editing a manuscript that required a good deal. Wang had known of the extensive Jiang archives since his student days, and we were fortunate enough, one day in 2011, accompanied by our dear friend and constant companion, Ke Lingquan, to visit Jiang and consult his collection of century-old letters, contracts, account books, and marriage gift lists. He — we — had hoped to be able to keep the collection together for Wang to edit, but Huizhou document prices had already gone through the roof, and it proved impossible.

It is hard to describe what it is like to visit Fangkeng, so lost it is in the hills. The first time, we took a ferry across the Xin'an River and then walked in. It was a Sunday and, as we wound our way down the winding one-lane cement driveway that led into the village, it was a shock, suddenly, at what we later learned was Fangkeng's outer water exit, to see a Protestant church, with the sound of hymns coming out of the open windows. Later, when I asked Jiang Yitong what locals thought of their water exit being "occupied" by a church, he surprised me by saying it was better the site be occupied than not, regardless of the god! The second time, we approached Fangkeng from the land side, descending into the village by what seemed an endless number of hairpin turns, all the time wondering what would happen if our minivan met another vehicle on the narrow road without turnouts. That is the day Jiang gave us a guided tour of the village, opened his archives, and finally, with much coaxing, promised to write for us.

Our visits to other villages were equally memorable. Getting to Huangyu took three hours and involved crossing a mountain range, then turning off the main road and heading upstream to a village at the end of the road, hidden among the trees. At its wooded entrance — its water exit — there had once been a Daoist abbey and was still an earth god temple with a stele. In the village itself we were treated to

a display of opera robes, for Huangyu has long had its own opera troupe that performed regularly in neighboring village festivals. On leaving Huangyu, we drove back to where its stream flowed into a small river, then turned right to see where this river in turn entered the Xin'an River. Once there, we turned right again and went some distance to Jiekou, a decaying village that was once a flourishing port, strung out along the river.

Zhoubangtou is not quite as far from Shexian's county seat as Huangyu, but it is also in the hills, up on a bluff above a wide river. Originally part of Changxi, where the Wus are dominant, it is now an independent village. Changxi attracted us with its beautiful old temple dedicated to Zhang Xun, but it had no Zhou Liangrong, the native son and soul of Zhoubangtou, a painter and a ritualist. He led us down to the village water exit and showed us the now empty sites of the Xijing'an and the earth god temple, whose central role in village life he describes in his chapter. On our first visit, our ears perked up when he spoke of a "Daoist village", and immediately we asked him to take us there to pay a visit. "No," we were told, "the Daoists are out working today." On our second visit we did make it to the village, another half hour deeper into the hills. Most of its tamped earth houses were locked and abandoned, but in one we did find what we were told was the last Daoist, being fed gruel at midday in his bed.

Having such memories of each of the villages described below, we are all the more keenly aware of how feebly these descriptions reflect once thriving communities it took centuries to build and decades to destroy. It is our hope that, by an effort of the imagination, our readers will nonetheless get a sense of what life was like "before".

*Gods and ancestors***Fangkeng**

Kengkou was an important town on the Xin'an River 15 kilometers south of the county seat. Renshou Temple, built at the water exit of three villages — Yangkeng, Xuekeng, and Fangkeng — in the mid-Ming, stood right on the river, near a bridge of the same name. Dedicated to the worship of Zhang Xun, it was also called General's Cave. The arriving dragon hill was behind the temple, and the tale was told of a geomancer coming from far away along the dragon artery to this "imperial site" only to discover it already occupied: he threw down his compass and said, "The Buddhists occupy all the good hills!" One hundred stone steps led down to the river, where monks washed, drew water, and milled grain with a water mill. The benefactors of the temple were the Zhangs of Rouchuan and Fangkeng, the Zhuangs of Yangyuan, and the Jiangs of Fangkeng. The monks did rituals in the surrounding villages. Every third year a major ritual was done, with a paper-and-bamboo Aoshan being set out on the east end of the Renshou Bridge, Guanyin atop it, and Laolang at the west end of the bridge. Between the temple and the bridge the ten yamen of hell were placed, together with their instruments of punishment. The monks performed at a special outdoor altar set up in front of the earth god temple at the end of Kengkou's Outer Street. When little oil lamps were set out at night, it looked from a distance like the underworld yamen. When the Buddhist rites of salvation were finished, the monks did a Jiao for peace, distributed the offerings, and "respectfully sent off the solitary souls and ghosts from the wilds".

Fangkeng's water exit had an inner and an outer "dam head" (*bashou*). The latter is now occupied by a large Protestant church. Inside it, the S-shaped stream and a stone path that followed it formed a Taiji shape, with a Guanyin pavilion on the outer dot and a Guandi temple on the inner. To get from one to the other, one

crossed the stream on a bridge. At the village entry (*cuntou*), there was a temple for Jiulaoye and, in mid-village, on the path leading to Tunxi, there was a small Wuchang temple. Guanyin rituals on 2/19 and 9/19 drew people from all around, as it was popular to give children to her. The Guandi was the lower water exit temple, popularly called Good Fortune Saint Nunnery. It was a two-story temple, with Guandi, Zhang Xun, and Marshal Zhao on the ground floor and Wenchang and Prince on the upper. To the left was the nuns' kitchen, linked to it the earth god house (the Fangchuan great earth god), and just beyond it the house where the nuns lived. The nuns, who were bought as young girls by benefactors so they could learn the rites from the older nuns, not only did Jiao for individual benefactors but also went to people's homes for funeral rites.

Miantan

Miantan is located on the north bank of the Xin'an River, 27 kilometers from the Shexian county seat and 10 kilometers upstream from Shendu, the main Shexian port. The two main lineages are the Wangs and the Zhuangs: Wang Nianyi is said to have arrived in the year 1226, and Zhuang Fuchu in 1357, as a son-in-law marrying into the Wang lineage. A small "family temple" for the worship of Wang Nianyi and the four generations preceding him was located on the boundary between the Upper and Lower villages. The Wang ancestral hall, said to date from the late Yuan or early Ming and located in the middle of Lower Village, was rebuilt in 1856. From the same time date the family temples of the Wangs and the Zhuangs in the middle of Upper Village. These two temples were contiguous, making it possible to go from one directly into the other.

The eldest branch of the Wang lineage owned the Qibei "ancestral earth god", while the other branches had only "big earth gods". "Guest lineages" had no ancestral hall but some did have their own earth god house. The Weng, Zhou, Wu, and Yao groups

were all purchased labor. The Qibei ancestral earth god, on the edge of Yangshu alley and a mere 30 meters from the main Wang hall, contained statues of Jiulaoye, the earth god and his wife, as well as of Guan Yu and Taizi (Prince). In the big earth god temple of Qibei, Wang Hua, called locally Wangyang laodi or “emperor of the underworld”, was worshiped together with his three youngest sons and Marshal Hu, “commander” (*zongguan*) who helped defeat Huang Chao. The Zhou lineage took care of this temple, in front of which there was a stage.

Wang Weidong mentions as well four Buddhist temples, the closest of which was a nunnery one kilometer from Miantan; the others were all located in the surrounding hills. Within three kilometers there was also a Daoist abbey and a Chan temple. But the most important temple, four kilometers distant, was the Huilongmiao (Temple where the dragon turns back), near a bridge of the same name. The main god in this temple was Wang Hua, whose statue had been originally borrowed from another temple and not returned. It also contained Wang sons seven and eight and was at the center of an “alliance” of 18 ancestral halls, each of which borrowed the gods according to a fixed schedule during the first month. Rebuilt in the Republican era, it was torn down in 1958. Only halls with an “earth god placard” granted by the Huilong temple could welcome the gods, and as the two “family temples” in Upper Village did not have such a placard, their Qibei big earth god had to “steal a borrow” on 1/16. The main Wang hall of Lower Village prepared carefully for the welcoming of the gods by setting out two huge red candles and posting a list of events and organizers on the hall door. Early on the sixth day of the first month, one group went to Miantankeng to welcome the “earth god of the eighteen”, a second group to Mianxi to fetch the Commander from the Huilong temple, and a third to the Qibei big earth god to get Wanggong and his three youngest sons. The three teams met at the

Guanyin temple at the water exit, then entered the village together for the parade through the village to the hall. The gods were set out with Wanggong in the middle, the "18 earth gods", Qilaoeye, and Jiulaoeye to his left, and the Commander and Balaoye to his right. A bleeding pig ran in circles inside the hall to express "satisfactory completion" till it dropped, as though kowtowing, facing the gods. After worship, all went home for breakfast. That afternoon, the gods were sent back to their temples, and three days of opera began.

After supper on the last day of the year, Mid- and Upper Village Wang and Zhuang males over the age of 15 met with lanterns at the lineage hall, then proceeded together to the Huilongmiao to salute Qilaoeye. On the second day of the new year, they exchanged visits to each other's lineage hall to get fried cakes before going to their own respective halls to worship. On the 17th day of the first month, Upper Village welcomed the great earth god of Qibei, and that evening paraded lanterns to Huilongmiao. On the 18th, a stage was set up in front of the earth god house for several days of opera. On the 29th day of the second month, the youths of the small lineages played at "carrying the dragon boat". Accompanied by Daoists and Buddhist monks invited by the Wangs and Zhuangs, the papier-mâché boat was carried throughout the village, with each household throwing incense and paper money into the boat in exchange for auspicious phrases from the Daoists and Buddhists. Finally the parade went to the earth god house to burn the boat and everything in it.

Every ninth year, the three Wang and Zhuang lineage halls together went in the 7th-8th months to welcome Guanyin. Five youths good at martial arts left before dawn, via the county seat, for Qiankou. There they put water in a special gourd, had a Daoist ritual performed, and bought a talisman. As the temple gate would be shut precipitously at the end of the ritual, the youths had to rush

out just before, using their martial arts to force passage if needs be. If they failed to get out, they would have to pay again. On the return trip, whenever the youths came by a Wuchang temple, they had to circle it three times to light gonging, to pray for fewer troubles. All five sectors of Miantan went out with flags to meet them: the Lower Village Wangs represented the east (with dragon flags), Middle Village Wangs the south (red bird), Upper Village Zhuangs the west (white tiger), and Middle Village Wangs the north (snake and tortoise) and middle (yellow flags). Together with invited villages, all went out carrying the papier-mâché statue of Guanyin made for the occasion. They all met at a pavilion built to commemorate a woman who had been saved from an earthquake when a dog stole her comb and ran to this point, with her chasing after. After attaching the talisman to the Guanyin statue, a huge parade headed back to the village, reaching frenzy pitch as it approached the Upper Wang hall. Villagers came from all around on boats to watch: Guanyin was placed on a temporary stage; after the holy water had been poured into a big urn and well water from the Wang well added, all rushed to get a spoon and drink it. After three days of worship, Guanyin was carried out again for a parade through every alleyway to a stage for three days of opera. Finally, Guanyin was carried back to the hall, where she would stay for three years that began with seven days of Mulian theater, with yang plays by day and yin by night.

Huangyu

Hu Liusi, generation 17, is said to have moved to Huangyu in 1145, where he is the Hu founding ancestor. For ancestral hall festivals, his portrait was hung to the left of the distant ancestor, while to the right was hung that of generation 28 Hu Xianghuo, founder of the sixth branch. The 1915 genealogy contains a sacrificial writ for this 49-day ritual for the salvation of the dead

done by Buddhists and Daoists together. The daytime program of “yang rites” given by this writ is a fairly standard one for such merit rituals, but the nighttime “yin rituals” include Mulian rituals, starting on the first evening with “welcoming Local”. This was done on 10/15, a “ghost day”, and involved making paper-and-bamboo images of a number of ghosts: water, charcoal, hung person, and Local, also called Lata, or Refuse. Daoists and youths were selected to play the monsters (*guiguai*). Split into five camps, they gathered at the hall door, then went to a swallow nest site to welcome Lata. When they fired their 29 powder guns, women and children hid, while Local, on stilts and with the high hat characteristic of Marshal Gao, climbed on the stage. Subsequent rituals included “summoning the armies to welcome the dragon”, also called “dragging a pig to greet the dragon”, when many pigs were slain one after the other till the hall floor was covered with blood. One especially big “sacred pig” was carried up to a strategic point on the dragon artery hill, dragged down to the hall, and then killed so that its blood streamed out as it ran around the hall until it collapsed facing the portraits of the ancestors. Only after this ritual could villagers start again to eat meat. The next major ritual involved Daoists and Buddhist monks made up as the ten kings of hell to do hell scenes, the last of which was the famous *gandiao*, in which one Daoist played a woman who hung herself after a life of suffering and another the “hanging ghost” who led her to commit suicide and even pulled the chair out from under her and then “fanned” her with plantain leaves so that her body spun on the end of the rope.

On an auspicious day in the sixth month in Huangyu, five strong youths would go out to welcome the Five Emperors, each with a different color face. They then converged on the Temple of the Marquis, where they fetched Jiulaoye, whom they carried around the village to the main hall. That evening, a stage was set up inside the hall, and a week to a month of opera began. Huangyu also

regularly sent off the epidemic gods in a nine-meter long paper-and-bamboo dragon boat with Zhang Xun, Xu Yuan, the five epidemic gods, and the Big and Little kings in it. Each king weighed 80 kilos; monks did the animation rites for these images, including that of the kings, who were literally torn apart after they emerged from the hall in the presence of competing teams from Upper and Lower Village.

The Yihe great earth god society, divided into five "sectors", was in charge of the eight annual temple fairs. One temple fair, that of the Sizhou temple, involved a dozen earth god villages in Zhejiang who prayed together for rain. The temple had originally been built at the village water exit to house a statue stolen from a Sizhou temple by a local rice porter in the late Ming. After a dream, a larger temple was built on a new site. A temple for Jiulaoye did a reconsecration festival once every ten years. It began on 4/15 with the removal of all statues to a Wanggong dadi temple nearby. Two days later, after the statues had been refurbished, they were carried in a massive parade back to their own temple.

After midnight worship on 1/1 — first in one's own house, then the ancestral hall, then the temples of Upper and Lower Village, early the next morning, every family welcomed the gods into their homes. Then each of the five sectors and six lineage branches by turn — one each day — welcomed the gods. Parades were led by the god Old Hu, with Jiulaoye in the middle, and a hammer-wielding Xianggong in the rear. Starting with the eldest branch hall on 1/1, the parade went each day to a different hall and returned to the temple on 1/8. Opera continued until 1/18. Mothers-in-law invited Jiulaoye to protect a newborn boy. After a bath and haircut on the third day, grandparents brought the baby to the village temples, pavilions, and water exit as a way of saying that, when he grew up, he could go everywhere without fear. Children in danger were given to Guanyin laomu, and the child had then to worship her three times a year until he turned 18. When all temples were destroyed during

the Cultural Revolution, an old tree was used as a substitute.

Zhoubangtou

At year's end, after vegetarian offerings for the gods in the Incense Hall (*xianghuotang*), people went to the Zhouwang temple to give thanks, then to the Xijing'an; in the afternoon, they worshiped their ancestors in their halls. According to the author, Zhou Liangrong, the Xijing'an was founded in the Yongzheng era, while the Zhouwangmiao was linked to the local dragon artery, making it especially "numinous". Incense halls in Shenan are always placed behind the main ancestor hall, so as to be just behind the back room of the hall, as that is where the "ghost altar" for "ghost people" is found. In the second of two rooms in this incense hall, the upper seat was reserved for the "incense pusa", the middle for Guanyin, and the lower seat for Lady Immortal (Xiangniangniang). On the last day of the year, after welcoming Heaven and Earth and a special meal in the main ancestral hall, the men involved took leave of the gods, went to the incense hall to salute all gods there, then went out, each with a lantern, to the Xijing'an, where they were assisted in their worship by the temple Daoist. Last they went to the Zhouwang temple to pray for a good year and then went home. On 1/1, only after the main hall had opened its gates and set off firecrackers could each house be opened and the gods welcomed back. After setting out offerings, people went first to the Xijing'an, then to the Zhouwang temple, the incense hall, the main hall, segment halls, and finally to individual houses. On 1/13, the lineage head and the six persons in charge of the hall that year, organized a parade so big the lineup stretched all the way to the west of the village. The head having fetched Balaoe at the Lower Zhouwang temple, eight men carried his palanquin through the village to the main hall. While an orchestra played, four Daoists danced and sang with swords and court tablets. The next day in the

afternoon, each family prepared a table of offerings before the portraits of their ancestors. After the evening banquet, the lantern paraders in new opera dresses headed west of the village to Xijing'an, worshiping in halls to Zhenwu, Guandi, and Guanyin along the way. Next they went to the Zhouwang temple, then the incense hall, and finally back to the main hall, where seven portraits hung. This was followed by first a lion then a dragon lantern dance. Some then stayed the night in the hall. The next morning, Guanyin was welcomed, on the 16th the ancestral master of varnish (Zhuangzi!), on the 17th the god of wealth, and on the 18th Wanggong dadi, this time with a Daoist to sing. Then all gods were escorted back to their temples, and the ancestor portraits were rolled up and put away.

The next biggest festival in Zhoubangtou was that of the ninth month in honor of Zhouwang. Over the first nine days of the month, lineage leaders met to decide on details of the 9/13 celebration. On 9/6, the hall was decorated, a stage built, and an opera troupe and Daoists invited. On 9/11, a 14-man orchestra, eight carriers, eight Daoists, and others went to fetch Zhouwang and Balaoye. The ritual was done in a segment hall, and people, including gamblers, came from all around. Families were delegated to make specific delicacies, because 108 dishes had to be set out before the gods. On 9/13, eight Daoists did the ritual, together with 24 *lisheng*. There was opera and gambling. The next day, Guanyin was brought in, and the tablecloths were changed to yellow. On 9/15, Zhuangzi, master of varnishers, was welcomed, and on 9/17, all the gods were sent back, but opera went on for ten days.

Locally, the earth god and his wife were worshiped in the Zhouwang temple. For spring and fall worship, Daoists and carriers went to fetch the god and his wife and brought them to the main hall. Throughout the morning, the Daoists performed rituals while people came and went with their offerings. In particular, boys who