

客家傳統社會叢書 ②

主編 勞格文

銅鼓縣的傳統經濟與民俗文化(上)

劉勁峰 賴文峰 主編



國際客家學會
海外華人資料研究中心
法國遠東學院



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VOLUME ONE

Edited by Liu Jinfeng, Lai Wenfeng



INTERNATIONAL HAKKA STUDIES ASSOCIATION
ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
OVERSEAS CHINESE ARCHIVES



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INTRODUCTION

John Lagerwey

In August 2004, as Liu Jinfeng explains in his introduction to the history and geography of Tonggu County, we set out with Tam Wai Lun of the Chinese University of Hong Kong with the very general idea of investigating the mixed Hakka/local region of northwestern Jiangxi. Fortunately for us, our first stop was in Yichun, where we met with the head of the gazetteer office, Yuan Ganxiang. Over other possibilities like Xiushui just north or Wanzai just south of Tonggu, he recommended Tonggu as the county with the highest percentage of Hakka in northwestern Jiangxi. His recommendation led to this book, one of the richest in our series as regards the reporting on popular customs.

Very quickly after our arrival, our enterprise was taken in hand by two persons, each of whose contribution has been major. The first is Wu Yuancheng, county vice – chairman for cultural affairs: his enthusiasm and the resultant logistic support have made this one of the most efficient operations we have conducted. The second is Lai Wenfeng, a member of the local gazetteer office who has long taken an interest in local Hakka history. Not only has he served as our chief liaison with and shepherd of the authors, he has himself written three articles based at once on precious archival materials and fieldwork.

Working out the table of contents of this volume has not been an easy task. In the end, with Liu Jinfeng we decided to opt for a basically geo-

graphical division, but with two thematic sections at the beginning and the end. The first, somewhat heterogeneous section in fact sets the scene for the subject of this book: contrasts and comparisons between the “indigenous” (bendi) and Hakka populations. The two final essays bring us back to that theme of local versus Hakka because one is about the Hakka Lu lineage centered in the county seat, while the other treats of Wu Yuancheng’s indigenous lineage, with its center in Xiushui County to the north. Most of the articles in between treat of mixed Hakka and indigenous populations.

Varieties of local culture

The basic facts of geography and history that led to this table of contents are explained by Liu Jinfeng in his opening article: Tonggu has two main river systems that divide it into a mountainous and heavily wooded west and a largely lowland east. Goods could be carried by boat along the eastern river system to Xiushui and beyond until a major flood in 1890 rendered the Ding River non – navigable to all but rafts. Bordering on Hunan, Tonggu in fact came into existence as a separate county only in 1913. Until that time, it was part of Yiningzhou, which had its historical center in what is now the Xiushui county seat. A major uprising by laborers in the paper – making industry in the year 1574 led to the creation three years later of the ancestor of the present county seat: Tonggu Military Camp. This uprising, followed by protracted warfare in the early Qing, led to a dramatic drop in the population, which in turn led to the Kangxi – era government policy to encourage immigration of the Hakka from Fujian and Guangdong. The result is a population which is now 65% Hakka, 30% indigenous (lineages which have been in the area for 25 – 35 generations), and 5% the product of immigration in the 1950s and ‘60s. Most of the Hakka, of course, were poor laborers who went to

work for indigenous landlords, especially in the mountain economy focused on paper, lumber and tea oil. The gap in social status, reinforced by differences in language and customs, meant there was traditionally very little intermarriage between the two groups, and not a little friction.

The massive influx of the Hakka in the early Qing is thus the central fact of modern Tonggu history, and it is the subject of Lai Wenfeng's first essay. It is in 1678 that the Qing government began to encourage Hakka migration to the area. Most began as "hut people" (pengmin), but by 1723, among the thousands who had come to settle, some were well established enough to wish to transfer their population registers and sit for the imperial exams. Two years later, a special "ethnic" district was created for the Hakka: 248 families who had lived in the area at least twenty years and had land and graves were allowed to register in 80 separate population groups (jia) scattered in six of Yiningzhou's eight townships. The vast majority of the immigrant population was registered as dependents of their landlords. Miraculously, the original 1725 registry of the 80 jia has survived. It provides names, numbers in the family, date of arrival, place of origin, site of land bought, wives' origin, and site of graves. According to Lai's analysis, of a total population of 2663, 2624 came from 29 different Hakka counties in Fujian, Guangdong and southern Jiangxi; 60% settled in what was later to become Tonggu County.

Because the district thus created was called Huaiyuan, the Hakka and their language are still referred to locally not as Hakka but as "people of Huaiyuan." Ongoing discrimination against them led to protests, a court case that went all the way to Beijing and, finally, in 1853, 1859, and 1860, the creation of three separate tax offices for the people of Huaiyuan district. Even more significant, in 1775, seven Huaiyuan gentry families created their own school. In the first half century, however,

because there were more successful military than civil examination candidates, in 1837 the 88 – year old Lu Ruiying led the Hakka gentry in the creation of a Wenchang Palace endowed with substantial scholarship lands and turned their school into a full – fledged academy. Major collection campaigns in 1838, 1844, 1862, 1895, and 1902 regularly increased the endowment of this Hakka academic institution, whose gazetteer is among the extraordinary historical documents used by Lai to write this aspect of local Hakka history.

The texts of Lan Songyan on the indigenous lineages of the West River basin and of Zhu Kesan on the Hakka of the East River basin are explicitly parallel, designed to facilitate comparison as regards weddings, funerals and other customs of the two most important population groups in Tonggu. In the wedding process, whereas the locals of West River exchange the “eight characters” of both future spouses, the Hakka of East River send only those of the future bride. In all cases, the red paper with this information on it is set on the ancestors’ altar: if, in the course of a week, nothing untoward happens, plans for the wedding can go forward. Only the Hakka wedding includes bridal weeping before departure from her home: the louder the weeping the more her own family will prosper. When the Hakka porters have picked up the sedan chair and set out, young men from the bride’ s family rush to pull it back: called “returning the dragon,” the aim is to prevent the bride from taking her family’ s dragon energy with her. As the chair approaches the groom’ s house, the porters must empty the brazier inside of its coals so the bride not take her family’ s prosperity with her. The most remarkable feature of West River indigenous wedding is that the groom goes to fetch the bride the day after the bride has come with her family to celebrate the engagement. The bride’ s parents do not participate in the wedding, but the wedding is not

considered complete until the first month of the following year, when the newlyweds pay a visit to the bride's house.

Among West River locals, when someone is about to die, he is moved into the central hall. This makes it easier to keep an eye on the person, to ensure he does not die at a time that would be unlucky for his descendants. If such an event seems imminent, the dying person must be called to repeatedly, even force fed water, in order to get past the unlucky time. As soon as the person dies, candles are lit throughout the house in order to "lighten the road through darkness." Also, paper money is burnt immediately, part of it for the local earth god. Meanwhile, one son goes to report to the local earth god and fetch clean water to bathe the corpse. This bath water is buried, and the bedding and certain personal items of the deceased are burned. Zhu Kesan's Hakka also burn paper money, because money burned at that moment will be transferred completely. The ashes are placed in a packet that is put inside the coffin. A son or daughter, dressed in a coat of the deceased, then goes to report to the earth god and ask him not to cause trouble by retaining the souls of the dead person. The report to the earth god being a local feature not found among Hakka elsewhere, it seems clear the Hakka have adopted local procedures in this regard.

While we were often told that for funeral rituals, locals prefer Taoists and the Hakka "incense and flower monks" —indeed, Zhu Kesan confirms this for the East River Hakka, in Lan Songyan's account locals would seem to invite either, and Lan provides an extraordinary account of the local Pu'an Buddhist funeral Jiao. Monks of the Pu'an tradition used to be invited from two temples famous in the region. Those from Yunshansi in Qiping, who from the temple's founding married and kept their hair, are said to be the origin of the school of monks who live at

home. Monks from Yunfengshan in neighboring Gaoqiao are said to have come to do Jiao with 48 chests of liturgical instruments and paintings. Carried to and fro by porters hired by the family, there was no need to fear loss or theft because these items had to do with death and were surrounded by taboos. The "sovereign altar" constructed by Pu' an monks has four levels, with the Buddha on the top, Guanyin on the second, Pu' an on the third and Mile on the lowest level, with the coffin placed underneath. Paintings are also hung, including one in the kitchen of the Inspector of the Fast, said to be Guanyin' s father. Before the ritual can begin, the local earth god must be fetched. The first of 49 separate rituals is designed to open the deceased' s throat so he can eat. For the Destruction of Hell, lime is used to make images on the ground of hell and paradise. Carrying cymbals and the soul flag, the chief monk leads the chief mourner through each of 18 hells, lighting a lantern in each. He then goes to the main altar to invite Dizang, while inviting another monk to take on the role of Mulian and lead the mourners into paradise, from where he destroys each of the hells in turn with his pewter staff.

After Crossing the Naihe Bridge, the monks lead the mourners in a large procession to the local earth god temple to invite the soul back for further rituals. A document addressed to the god of walls and moats is read and burned, asking the emperor of the Eastern Peak to pressure the earth god to release the soul. Running the Noon Audience is done on the third day: lest the memorial addressed to the ten kings of hell and conveyed by paper lads on white cranes be waylaid by evil spirits, a monk puts on a display of military maneuvers to show these spirits they must not interfere. When the main ritual is finished and all paper grave goods and money have been burned, usually by a riverbank, a ritual to Repair the Earth and thank the earth and dragon gods is done. Then, with a cock in

his hand, the monk leads the mourners in a procession around the house of the deceased. This is called “encircling or chasing the sha energies” activated by the Jiao; these energies are then sent off downstream. The final act is a huge Mengshan ritual for the salvation of the unhappy dead. Only after this entire three – day sequence is the coffin closed and the deceased buried. Thereafter, Taoists or monks are particularly important for the third and fifth seventh day sacrifices to the deceased.

The Hakka of East River invite only monks of the Yujia school for their funeral rituals. There are Confucian and Buddhist ways of closing the coffin. The first involves persuasion, the other coercion. The Confucian method includes recitation of the Great Learning and the placement of symbols like the trigrams on the coffin. This is the preferred mode because the deceased will not be mistreated in the underworld and, even on hot days, the coffin will not stink. The most important sacrifices are those done on the fifth and seventh seventh days. Like locals, the Hakka do a reburial some seven years after the first. When work on the new tomb is finished, the geomancer throws “dragon rice” while summoning the dragon in order to ensure the presence of the dragon artery by the grave. The locals of West River have a phrase which expresses just how important good grave geomancy is: “A thousand people rushing about in this world is not worth one person in the ground helping out.”

In well – to – do families in West River sons would go on a pilgrimage on 8/15 to pray for their mother’s health in the Longevity Hall in Gaoqiao. On 1/15 women invite the god of the rice tray in order to ask questions about their future. Lan Songyan also describes a form of exorcistic healing in which strong young men, chosen by writers in trance to act as “yang soldiers,” rush to a site designated by the same writers and there dig up ants, insects and frogs. Treating them as the sick person’s

lost soul, they wrap them in paper money and take the packet home to lay on the sick person's bed. There are also Taoist and xigong forms of exorcism, the latter being of the Lūshan school and including, in its most exacting version, a sword ladder ascension. Even sculptors of god statues perform exorcisms derived from their Huashan school. His "Tianfang" (Tianpeng?) ruler is said to be Jiang Ziya's whip: a divine sword no god can resist. To West River locals, however, the most important god of all is the earth god. Its annual sacrifice is the central political event of village life, when repair of local bridges and roads and settling of festering disputes are discussed at the same time as the finances of the rotating worship system. The lineage has a similar meeting, in which all lineage affairs, and in particular sanctions and punishments to be meted out are discussed and decided. An appendix recounts the tale of the first abbot of Ziyunshan, who had gone to Xiushui to be ordained, but as his hair was about to be shaved, a fly alighted on his head, he slapped at it, and his master thought he wanted to keep his hair and so decided to recognize him as a hair-keeping monk. Such "monks" study for three years with a master and must learn to read, sing and write. They honor their dead masters, for when they do a Jiao, they must invite them, and when they return home, thank them.

East River Hakka worship the earth god on 6/6: having stuffed paper money into sections of bamboo sharpened on one end, these stakes are sprinkled with cock or pig blood and planted in the fields as an offering to the earth god. This is said to kill insects which might cause damage to the crops. At New Year's peasants not only put pig blood-spattered paper money in the pigpens, they also use lime water to write, "Jiang Ziya comes here." Because Jiang Ziya enfeoffed his wife as goddess of epidemics, when she sees these words, she is scared away. For teaching a