

童芍素 编著

流淌的母亲河

——浙江新农村建设中的民俗文化遗产



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THE FLOWING MOTHER RIVER

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民俗，流淌的母亲河

——代序

人们对民俗的了解和喜爱，往往始于儿时的经历与感知，因为人一出生便活在民俗中了。生活在乡村的自不必说，即使生活在城市的，长辈们往往有意无意之中将故乡的风物习俗随日常生活带到了城市，使孩子幼小的心灵仍然飘荡着故乡泥土的芳香，绵延着田园生活的温馨和从容。“大人盼种田，小孩盼过年”，春节的礼数、大人的忙碌和孩子的欢腾，让我们一生品味着我们民族久远的“辞旧迎新、阖家团圆、年年有余、休养生息”的人生企盼；祖母或者母亲一遍又一遍地讲述牛郎织女的故事、田螺姑娘的故事，让无数个孩子朦胧中不知不觉滋生着靠自己勤劳的双手创造美好生活的真诚向往；躺在摇篮里就开始熟悉的歌谣：“摇啊摇，摇到外婆桥，外婆请我吃年糕……”，给多少颗童心印上了对乡乡亲情的回忆和牵挂；女孩子从小学习剪纸、绣花、纳鞋底、做衣衫，在飞针走线的女红中悄然陶冶了中国女性重情忘我的品行……随着年龄与阅历的增长，人们越来越感悟到：一个人走得再远，也不可能走出心灵深处的“故乡”，那是涵养情感，孕育人文情怀的精神家园。

什么是民俗？学术界见仁见智。钟敬文先生在其《民俗学概论》中对“民俗”一词有过精彩的解释：“民俗，即民间习惯和风俗，指一个国家或民族中广大民众所创造、享用和传承的生活文化。”中国古代很早就认识到了民俗文化的重要社会价值和功能，孔子说：“移风易俗，莫善于乐；安上治民，莫善于礼”。至于“不识天文地理不足为将，不谙风土人情不能行商”、“入乡随俗”、“出门问禁”等俗语更是妇孺皆知。

民俗最贴近民众身心、最符合生活真谛，生活性是民俗文化最本质的特征。一方面，生活是民俗的源泉，民俗的根脉延伸到民众生活的各个领域：生产、商贸、饮食、服饰、居住、交通、医药保健等物质生活领域，家庭亲族、社会交往、生活礼仪、岁时节令等社会生活领域，信仰禁忌、民间艺术、民间伦理观念、游艺竞技等精神生活领域，无所不在，无所不包。另一方面，民俗是生活的提升和反映，民俗总是直接或间接地反映不同生存状态下民众的生活方式，反映一定范围、一定群体认识和改造主、客观世界的能力和成果。民众生活因民俗文化相伴而色彩斑斓，民俗文化因植根于民众生活而生生不息。

民俗是一个民族文化的基础，中华民族的文化精髓和底蕴不仅存在于典籍中，而且还更普遍、更深沉地扎根在各种“乡风土俗”中。如果把典籍文化比喻成父亲文化，民俗文化就是母亲文化。中华民族的文化传统及其文化精神正是由典籍文化和民俗文化共同组成的。与典籍文化所具有的正统性、系统性和威严性相比，民俗文化则更具民间性、内生性和广泛性，显得更包容开放、亲近鲜活和多姿多彩。中国民间流传的神话传说、民间故事、民间诗歌、方言俚语、民间音乐、民



间舞蹈、民间戏曲、工艺美术、游戏竞技、衣食住行、岁时节日、民俗信仰以及人生礼仪等，更具体生动地承载了中华民族特有的价值观念、思维模式、伦理道德、行为规范和审美情趣，包含了广阔深厚的生活经验和文化内涵，构成了中华民族世代赖以生存的文化生态。民俗文化就像千年流淌的母亲河，蕴涵着更多的民族文化基因，传递着我们的民族特性与民族性格，润物细无声地滋养着民族世代相承的文化土壤。

“生活之树常青”，植根于民众生活的民俗文化具有历史的延续性和稳定性，许多优秀的民俗事项不会因社会变革而中止。“过年摸门钉放鞭炮，上元吃汤圆放花灯扭秧歌，端午插艾条挂香符赛龙舟”，只要传统的农耕文化还没有从记忆中消失，这些具有鲜明的民族特色和浓郁的乡土气息的节日风俗就会沿袭下去。与此同时，民俗文化也必然会随着社会生活的日新月异而产生流变。特别是伴随着经济发展、社会转型和中西文化的交流，中国当代民俗被注入了许多时代的新元素和新内容，出现了多元的发展趋势。近些年，学界与民间许多有识之士开始认识到民俗在文化建设中的重要价值，以浓厚的兴趣投入到各种民俗现象的研究中，出现了重新认识并复兴传统民俗文化的动向。


民俗文化的核心是农耕文化，民俗文化的生存、延伸、发展地主要在广大农村。当前，在中国广大农村掀起了一场声势浩大的乡村建设运动——社会主义新农村建设。这场有史以来规模最大的综合性的社会基础工程，必将对中国的农业、农民和农村产生重大影响，同时也会对留存于广大农村的民俗文化的命运产生历史性的影响。一方面，由于对社会主义新农村建设理解的不全面，众多的民俗文化事项可能受到冲击。另一方面，新农村建设也为民俗文化的传承提供了千载难逢的机遇，是否能抓住这一机遇，关键在于如何清醒正确地把握民俗文化与新农村建设的内在联系。中央明确提出了“加强对农村优秀民族民间文化资源的系统发掘、整理和保护”，并要求“逐步建立科学有效的民族民间文化遗产传承机制”，这为新农村建设中的民俗文化遗产指明了方向。浙江位于中国东部沿海，具有丰富的地形地貌形态、悠久的人文历史传统、多样的社会生活方式，其民俗文化源远流长、绚烂多姿、博大精深，传承演绎 7000 年而经久不衰，生动形象地反映了浙江民众的精神个性和生活形态。有许多事项具有丰富的历史人文价值和天才的艺术创造，不少种类为全国仅存。我们有必要也有可能对这些丰富醇厚、历史悠久的民俗文化立此存照，将其中的部分优秀事项展示给广大民众。

我们欣喜地看到，近年来，浙江越来越多的人士开始认识到在工业化、信息化、城镇化、市场化、国际化深入发展的趋势下，社会主义新农村建设中民俗文化遗产的重要价值，把民俗文化作为乡村建设尤其是乡土文化建设的内容，摆上重要的议事日程，并自觉投入到民俗文化的“活态”传承中，使浙江民俗文化的发展步入了一个崭新的阶段。许多民俗事项在根植于传统元素的基础上，吸纳并融合了时代的新元素，从而萌发出了新枝嫩叶。在浙江这块文化基因极其丰富、充满创造活力的土地上，多姿多彩的民俗文化对民众生活尤其是对新农村建设作了慷慨奉献，像无私而智



慧的母亲激活了民俗事项中的文化基因。民间工艺美术、民间音乐、民间戏曲、民间舞蹈等民俗文化成了乡村发展文化产业的重要资源，有效地促进了农村的生产发展、农民富裕；农渔业生产性传统，商贸流通民俗，饮食、服饰、居住等物质生活民俗仍然是农民生产生活不可或缺的重要内容，有效地改善着农民的生产生活条件；民间艺术、民间竞技、民间传说等民俗文化以道德教化、文化娱乐的功能，推动着新农村的乡风文明建设；古民居、古村落等民俗物质载体因蕴涵着奇妙的人生哲理、较高的审美品位和高超的工艺水平而展示着民族历史的根基，唤起了人们久远的记忆，继续传递着各种文化信息；民间习俗、民间信仰、民间戏曲、民间故事、民歌民谣等民俗文化中的“和合文化”，通过合理挖掘与利用，发挥着规范和维系功能，有效推动了农村社区和谐；民间雕塑、绘画、灯彩等民俗造型艺术，民间舞蹈、民间音乐、民间戏曲、民间曲艺等民俗表演艺术在频繁参与国际文化交流中传播了中华民族古老厚重而又充满活力的文化形象，赢得了外国友人的赞誉，也收获了民俗文化的自尊、自信与自豪。精彩纷呈、厚重博大的民俗文化在新农村建设和实现中华民族文化崛起中具有不可替代的地位和作用，民俗文化不再是“落后”、“原始”、“蒙昧”的事物，而是弘扬民族传统文化、向世界展示本土形象的宝贵文化资源。

尤其让我们感到欣喜的是，联合国在全世界倡导的“非物质文化遗产保护”的理念逐渐引起社会各界的广泛关注，中国把每年6月份的第二个星期六确定为“文化遗产日”，营造了民俗文化保护和传承的良好氛围。在这种形势的推动下，浙江的民俗文化遗产迎来了可喜的发展局面，形成了民间艺人、社区和政府三个主体力量。这三个主体力量相互支持、相互配合，组合而成了推动民俗文化遗产的强大合力。民间艺人维系着口口相传的民俗事项，特别是许多技艺性民俗事项的“兴衰”。在民俗事项的传承中，浙江许多民间艺人自觉而艰难地守望，默默无闻地坚持在第一线。如当代翻簧竹雕传人以黄岩翻簧艺术馆为基地，采取大师带徒授艺的方式，培养了一批既懂翻簧造型、又掌握雕刻艺术手法的专业人才。村庄、乡镇、街道等社区是众多民俗事项生存的“原生态环境”，它们投入资金、集聚力量，坚持不懈地致力于优秀的民俗文化的保护和振兴。如在兰溪诸葛八卦村的保护和开发过程中，村委会动员村民和海内外诸葛后裔们筹资捐物，累计投入3000多万元，对古村落历史建筑实施维修和保护。浙江各级党委、政府是民俗文化遗产的主要组织力量，是更大层面上的“社区力量”，它们自觉强化了自身责任，分级建立了非物质文化遗产名录，对优秀的民俗事项进行了重点保护。浙江省政府先后公布了第一批64项、第二批211项非物质文化遗产名录，推荐了87个项目申报第一批国家级非物质文化遗产，共有39项（44子项）入选，居全国第一。全省所辖11个市分别建立了遗产代表作名录，部分县（市、区）政府也先后公布了当地的非物质文化遗产代表作名录。此外，各地还开展了规模浩大的民族民间艺术资源的普查工作，建立了不同层次、不同类型的保护基地。这些举措的实施，推动了优秀的民俗文化事项的保护和传承。浙江众多的民俗文化遗产实践范例为我们研究民俗文化提供了崭新的视角，进一步丰富和发展了民俗学的知识和理论。



本书没有按照业界的传统与时下的惯例，请前辈或权威为书作序，只是因为渴望较充分地表达编著者自己在对民俗文化的初步调研中获得的一些心得体会，并与读者分享。这些心得体会，虽然还是初步的，却是真切的；虽然还不够系统，却是经过深思熟虑的；虽然还只是思想的火花，却点燃了我们心头为民族文化振兴尽责尽心尽力的热情。是新农村建设的伟大实践、民俗文化的生命力和对民族文化的热爱，催生了这些思想认识，催生了编写这本书的尝试。我们尝试着从浙江大地上丰富多彩的民俗文化宝藏中挑选了民族特色鲜明，而今依然在民间生活中特别是在新农村建设中活态传承的民俗事项 100 例，以尽可能简洁而准确的文字和图片，展示每一民俗事项的四个要素：定名来历、历史流变、文化价值与活态传承，以求激发社会各界对民俗文化的喜爱和关注，乃至对其发展的研究、扶植和参与。我们尝试着运用民俗学、文化人类学、社会学的有关理论，结合民俗文化传承的具体实践，探索民俗文化发展的规律。我们十分清楚，我们对民俗文化领域还涉足不深，对其研究还刚刚起步。但我们愿以绵薄之力表达对中华民族文化复兴的期盼。我们深信，民俗文化的母亲河，不仅将世世代代继续滋养着中华民族的子子孙孙，还将责无旁贷地参与当今世界丰富多样的人类文化创造。

童芍素

2007 年 9 月于杭州




Folk Culture, the Flowing Mother River

——in Lieu of Preface

Our knowledge and appreciation of folk customs or folkways usually originate from our childhood's memories, experience and apperception. This is because we are born with the strong impact of folk customs. Those who grow up in the rural areas naturally go with the influence of folk customs, and those who grow up in urban areas are also influenced by their elders' habits and customs that have been developed or inherited from rural regions. So since childhood, our minds have been soaked with the aroma of the clay of our rural native places, the aroma of pastoral life. The old Chinese saying, "Parents long for spring farming and kids for the Spring Festival," associated with the rituals of the festival with parents' bustling about and children's joyful clamors, enables us to taste all our life the Chinese people's lifetime hope for better and new life, which is characterized by affluence, peace, relaxation, contentment and happy family reunions.

From Grandmothers and Mothers' stories of "The Herd-boy and the Weaving-girl" and "The Lady of River Snail", children would unconsciously develop the ambition of creating beautiful lives with their untiring hands. "Row, row, row the boat, and the boat gets to Grandma's bridge; Grandma then entertains me with rice cake..." The familiar melodies constantly take us back to the sweet memories of our cradle time spent among the folks of our native rural towns and villages. Traditionally, starting from childhood, Chinese girls learn from their mothers and grandmothers skills of paper-cutting, embroidering, making clothes and shoes, which require skillful needlework that gradually mould Chinese women's typical temperament of valuing true affections and caring for others. With the increase of age and experiences, one may realize that no matter how far away he goes, he can never truly be out of his "native place" in the depth of his soul, the spiritual home where his humanistic emotions have been nurtured.

When it comes to the definition of folk custom, views vary from person to person. In his works entitled "Conspectus on Folklore", Zhong Jingwen gives an interesting explanation on folk customs: "Folk customs are folk traditions, practices and mores. It is a culture of life that is created, enjoyed and inherited by the masses of the people in a country or nationality." Very early in history, our ancestors realized the social values and functions of folk customs and folklores. Confucius once said, "Nothing is better than music to reform the ways and manners of the people; nothing is better than rules of etiquettes to govern and appease the people." And there are also other popular Chinese



sayings with similar social values such as “One will never be a qualified general if he doesn’t know much about astronomy and geography; one will never be a successful businessman if he does not know folk customs”, “Wherever you are, follow local customs”, “Wherever you go, be aware of local taboos beforehand”, etc.

Folk customs are closely related to the feelings of common people, reflecting true meaning of their life, and therefore being true to life is the essence of folk customs. On the one hand, life is the source of folk customs, which can be originated from every physical area of our life, including production, trade, food, drinks, clothing, inhabitation, transportation, medicine, health care, etc. On the other hand, folk customs are the distillation and mirror of life. Folk customs straightly or indirectly reflect people’s lifestyles under various living conditions. It mirrors certain groups of people’s ability and achievements of understanding and reforming the subjective and objective worlds to certain extent. Thanks to folk customs, people’s life has become so colorful and vigorous.

Folk customs are the basis of a nation’s culture. The essence and wealth of the Chinese culture not only exist in the classic books and records, but also root in various “folkways and local traits”. If classic books and records could be described as reflecting the “father culture”, then folkways could be the “mother culture”. The cultural tradition and spirit of the Chinese nation are actually the integration of the two cultures. Compared with the systematic, orthodox and authoritative characteristics of classic books and records, folk customs and folklores are more tolerant, vivid, “amiable” and diversified in forms. The fairy tales, folklores, folk poems, slang, folk music, folk dance, folk drama, fine arts and craftwork, games and sports, festivities, ceremony and propriety, religions, manners and etiquettes, as well as catering, clothing, dwelling and transportation, all convey and represent the unique values, thoughts, ethics, morals and aesthetic taste of the Chinese nation. Containing broad and deep life experiences and cultural connotations, various forms of folk customs have all been working together to develop the cultural ecology on which the nation and its people have been depending for existence. In this sense, folk customs are like a mother river that has so many genes of the Chinese culture in it, showing off the characteristics and nature of the nation and nourishing imperceptibly the soil of Chinese culture from generation to generation.

Evergreen are life trees. Folk customs that root in common people’s life have the qualities of continuity and stability. Good folk customs would not cease to exist simply because of social changes and transformations. For example, the customs of touching doornails and setting off firecrackers during the Spring Festival (the 1st day of the 1st lunar month), eating glutinous rice dumplings, displaying festive lanterns and dancing the yangko dance on the Lantern Festival (the night of the 15th of the 1st lunar




month), and hanging moxa bunches on the entrance door, wearing sachets and holding boat races on the Dragon Boat Festival (the 5th day of the 5th lunar month): as long as the traditional farming culture doesn't vanish from our memories, such festival customs with distinctive national features and local cultural flavors will always be with us, followed by generation after generation.

Meanwhile, folk culture will change and evolve with the changing of social life. In recent years, with economic development, social transformation and communication between eastern and western cultures, folk customs of contemporary China have shown a pluralistic development trend, with many new and fresh elements being infused into traditional folk customs. Many insightful people in and outside the academia have realized the great value of folk customs in cultural development. With research on various folk customs initiated and undertaken, a strong interest in the re-cognition and revival of traditional folk culture can be felt today.

The core of folk customs is farming culture, and the vast rural areas are their birthplaces and cradles. At present, a great campaign named "building a new socialist countryside" has been initiated in rural areas of China. This unprecedented comprehensive social project, which is being carried on at the grass-root level, will definitely exert a great impact on China's agriculture, its rural areas and people working and living in those areas. Meanwhile, it will also have historic influence on folk customs existing in the rural areas. However, due to the possible incomplete understanding and improper promoting of the campaign, it is possible that numerous items of folk customs will face negative challenges. But on the other hand, the campaign may also bring golden opportunities for inheriting and disseminating folk culture, as with the case of Zhejiang Province. Located on the coastal line of East China, Zhejiang boasts diversified lifestyles, a long history of humanistic tradition, and varied landforms with different topographical features. The folk culture of the province, which vividly mirrors the character and life styles of its people, has inherited seven thousand years of culture and history that have never died down. Many folk customs boast rich cultural and historic values and contain talented creations, and many are unique in China. We must collect and keep those rich historic folk customs for future studies, and we are definitely able to do so.

We are glad to see that in recent years, more and more people from Zhejiang are beginning to realize the value of inheriting and disseminating folk culture in building a new socialist countryside in an environment of industrialization, urbanization, commercialization and globalization. As a result of this awareness, folk culture has been regarded as an important part of rural development that is entering a new stage of development in Zhejiang. Many items of folk customs, which root deeply in tradition, have absorbed new elements of the new era and are therefore starting their new burgeoning



period. In Zhejiang, where rich “cultural genes” can be found and strong creative energy felt, colorful folk customs contribute a lot to the folk life, particularly to the campaign of “building a new socialist countryside”. Folk handicrafts and fine arts, folk music, dramas and dances have become important resources for the development of rural cultural industries and effectively promoted the growth of rural economy as well as the increase of rural people’s incomes.

Most folk customs still prove themselves to be indispensable in the lives of rural people. Ancient villages and ancient dwelling houses transmit various messages of Chinese traditional cultures and arouse our memories of the old times. The “harmonious elements” in folkways, folk religions, folk dramas, folklores and folk songs play a unique function of promoting the harmony of rural lives. The frequent participation in the international cultural exchanges of folk arts, such as sculpture, painting, festive lanterns, dances, music and dramas, have won high opinions of foreign friends as well and the dignity and honor of the Chinese culture. Folk culture is no longer regarded as “barbaric”, “uncivilized” or “behind the times”. It is a precious resource carrying forward the splendor of the culture of the Chinese nation.

We are especially glad to see that the idea of “protecting intangible cultural heritages”, proposed by the United Nations, has gradually won acceptance among people from various circles. First and foremost, the central government in China has decided that the second Saturday of June should be “Cultural Heritage Day”, which helps create a favorable atmosphere for protecting and disseminating folk culture. In Zhejiang Province, three main forces, namely folk artists, communities and governments at different levels, have been making joint efforts in this regard. Folk artists are the key element in inheriting and developing folk cultures. Many folk artists work quietly but persistently for the maintenance of folk arts. Take the art of Huangyan’s Bamboo Inside Engraving, for example. The successors of this art set a base in a gallery that has trained a good number of specialists in the line of bamboo engraving. Villages, towns and communities, as the original places for protecting and reviving folk cultures, have been investing capital and manpower for protecting and rejuvenating folk cultures. In protecting and developing the ancient Zhuge Family Village in Lanxi City, the villagers’ committee mobilized local villagers and overseas descendants of Zhuge family to donate money and antiques. So far the village has collected and invested more than RMB 30 million to maintain the historic buildings. Governments at various levels are the major coordinators and organizers in protecting folk cultures. In Zhejiang Province, governments at various levels have made lists of intangible cultural heritages and taken special measures to protect and preserve those outstanding items. The provincial government publicized successively a total of



275 items of intangible cultural heritage in two groups and recommended 87 items, including that of “The Tales of the Ancient Beauty Xishi”, to be listed in the first group of state-level items. When the result came out later, 39 were finally chosen and Zhejiang was therefore ranked No.1 in the country. At present, eleven municipal governments and quite a few county and township governments have made their own lists of representative items of intangible cultural heritage. In addition, those governments have implemented large-scale general surveys of folk art resources and set up different cultural protection bases at various levels. Numerous examples of folk-culture protection have provided us with new perspectives for studying folk cultures, which has further enriched our knowledge about folk culture and developed the relevant theories.

What is worth pointing out is that we have not been following the usual practice of the present day to invite a venerable senior scholar or authority to write the preface for this book. This is simply because we strongly wish to fully express to and share with our readers what we have felt and gained from the preliminary investigation and research we have conducted of the folk cultures. Those feelings and gains, though preliminary and unsystematic, are true and from deep thinking. As sparks of speculation, they have inspired our enthusiasm for rejuvenating our national cultures. And it is the great practice of building a new socialist countryside, the vitalities of folk cultures and the affection for our national culture that have aroused our awareness of the value of folk culture and our wish to compile this book. We have selected one hundred examples from the rich and colorful deposit of folk culture in Zhejiang Province. We wish to demonstrate four factors of each example with simple but precise words and pictures, namely “origin of the name”, “history and changes”, “cultural value” and “inheritance and dissemination”, with the purpose of promoting people’s understanding of folk cultures, their affection for them and interest in them. By doing so, it is expected that more people will be involved in studying the development of folk cultures, supporting it and participate in it. We have attempted to use relevant theories of folklore, cultural anthropology and sociology to explore rules of the developmental trend of folk cultures on the basis of the specific practice of folk-culture inheritance and dissemination. We know clearly that we have just set a half-wet foot in the sea of folk-culture studies, but we are willing to voice our anticipation for the rejuvenation of the Chinese culture with the little efforts we have been making. We hold the strong belief that the flowing “Mother River” of folk cultures will not only nourish the Chinese nation generation after generation, but also dutifully participate in the creation of rich and diversified cultures of our world today.

Tong Shaosu

2007.9. Hangzhou



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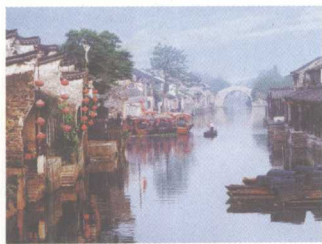
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