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梅州河源地區的村落文化

主編 房學嘉



國際客家學會
海外華人研究社
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**TRADITIONAL HAKKA SOCIETY
SERIES ⑤**

ed. John Lagerwey

**VILLAGE RELIGION AND
CULTURE IN NORTHEASTERN
GUANGDONG**

ed. FANG Xuejia



INTERNATIONAL HAKKA STUDIES
ASSOCIATION
OVERSEAS CHINESE ARCHIVES
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ORIENT



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INTRODUCTION

John Lagerwey

The present volume is composed primarily of contributions to the fifth regional conference of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation — funded project "The Structure and Dynamics of Chinese Rural Society." Organized by Fang Xue-jia, the conference was held January 10—12, 1997, at Jia-ying University in Meizhou City. By comparison with the first Yuedong conference, held in 1995 and focused on the Meizhou region, the present volume stretches its coverage to Heyuan Prefecture to the west and gives pride of place less to county seat temple festivals than to village religious culture and customs as a whole. Inasmuch as I shall leave to the conclusion some general remarks about what this volume has to contribute, I should like here to address several of the more important methodological issues we have had to deal with and which we have succeeded only partially in resolving; variation in quantity and quality of reporting; repetition; relationship between past and present; reliability.

The first and most obvious problem is the very uneven length of articles. While insufficient quantity is hardly a sure sign of inadequate quality — there are some excellent

short articles here, and some longer essays have had to be abridged — sheer quantity, in this kind of ethnographic reporting, is in and of itself a quality. As we never cease to repeat to our collaborators, "we are not afraid of essays that are too long (read: we impose no word limit), only of essays that are too short." But "born ethnographers" like Zhang Quanqing of Wuhua are hard to come by, and many of our collaborators are either well on in years or, if younger, very busy. Each and every one of them, we feel, has immense merit, for they do not just copy what others have written but go out and interview the old men (and, occasionally, women) of their villages and counties to find out how things really were and happened. Every fact they bring back from their forays, therefore, is irreplaceable and, as such, of inestimable value. Without exception, moreover, those who work with us do so with enthusiasm, on their own time, often with their own money, and out of "love for antiquity" (*huaigu*). All of us who have had the privilege of working with them are constantly moved by their readiness to write and rewrite again — many essays are in their third or even fourth version — and feel we owe it to them, in turn, to give to the world what they have managed to salvage from the debris of the past. More concretely, of the twenty-odd essays here presented, some are extremely circumstantial, others all too short. While we have set aside several essays in the hopes of obtaining more ample accounts in future, we

have decided to publish most of those originally presented, both in order to save what can be saved and because they reflect on each other; the two articles on the She at the end of the volume, for example, by their brief presentations of She Taoism, provide a helpful glimpse of both what is common to Hakka and She culture and what is different. The notes of Ma Zhaoluan on Jiao in Zijin County outline a general context for the more fully developed essay of Zhang Jie. We have also been attentive to questions of geographic distribution; there are four articles each on Longchuan and Fengshun counties, three each on Dabu and Pingyuan, two each on Xingning and Zijin, and one each on Wuhua, Meixian, and Jiaoling counties. Where feasible, they have been grouped together. There remain, of course, many glaring gaps in our coverage, which we hope slowly on to remedy with future volumes.

The second problem is repetition; festivals, marriage and burial rites are , from place to place , *datong xiaoyi* , "very much alike, with small differences." Why bother to repeat? We have wrestled with this problem a great deal and changed positions on it innumerable times. Where possible, we have eliminated the more banal repetitions. But we have also come to the conclusion that the work we are engaged in is very much like that of archaeologists; we are digging up the past, and a past that, unlike the material past, will soon disappear forever. No archaeologist would dream of sup-

pressing mention of yet another shard of a common form of pottery just to avoid repetition or save space; it is precisely from the accumulation of full accountings of many similar sites that gradations, both generic and historic, can be detected, and the detail that today seems irrelevant may tomorrow prove key. And so we have resigned ourselves to accepting repetition, lest our collaborators, wary of stating the obvious, overlook a precious detail; the big picture, here, is in the details. Or, as Professor Jao Tsung-yi once put it to me when looking at one of our volumes, "People think only of examining the past (*kaogu*; archaeology) and forget to examine the present (*kaojin*). " Ever since, we have considered ourselves "archaeologists of the (disappearing) present. "

The third problem is precisely that; how much of what is here described still exists? Until now, I have written my introductions in the eternal present; this time I have decided to write it in the past tense. Both are inaccurate. One thing is certain; there are no more grand marriages or funerals. The peculiar form of class society that gave rise to them is gone forever. As for lineages, there has been much talk of late of their reappearance, and quite regularly we see beautifully restored ancestor halls and thick volumes of newly printed lineage registers. But we hear just as regularly of intra — lineage marriage, and the new lineage registers are without exception far inferior to the old; these are the tell-

tale signs of a revival that no longer has a social basis. In my personal view, the lineage as it developed in southeastern China was inextricably linked to the fight for scarce resources typical of an agriculturally — based economy; nothing else can adequately explain the importance of geomancy in traditional China. It also had close links to a kind of feudal system of closed corporations: lineages specialized in different trades, from printer to smithy and from country priest to boatsman, and they were intent on keeping their trade secrets and related monopolies. Under these circumstances, the lineage became the basis both for education and for a whole system of social security, functions now taken over by the state, as the economic functions have been taken over by the "modern economy." The notion of lineage will linger on for quite some time yet, if only because of the sheer size of some of the lineages. But, judging by the frequently heard lament to the effect that, "it's everybody for himself now," the lineage is dead.

What of traditional religion? I have scores of pictures of empty sites, where once there stood a temple or a divine tree or rock. Almost all the Buddhist monasteries have long since ceased to exist, and the Cultural Revolution saw to the destruction of most Taoist liturgical manuscripts and paintings. Still, suprisingly much has survived, if only until the present generation dies out, and the basic features of Chinese religion seem to be indestructible; there are mediums

everywhere, and the sale of incense sticks and paper money is once again big business, in both town and country. The most common form of literate religious practice is the funeral, and funeral specialists, whether "Buddhist" or "Taoist," can now generally make a very good living, although their ritual forms have been severely simplified. Jiao and other forms of community practice are far more rare, but wherever the environment allows it, these forms flourish, and I am confident this phenomenon will continue to develop and spread. Unless stated explicitly to the contrary, however, what is described here no longer exists.

The most bedeviling problem of all is that of the reliability and general applicability of these reports: how widespread was a given practice? how far back in time does it go? on how many cross-referenced interviews is the report based? All I can say on this count is that we constantly insist that our collaborators cite their sources. Anyone who has done fieldwork in China knows that this is far easier said than done, and we fall way short of any kind of consistent success on this issue; these documents do not have the reliability of an archaeological report, based on material evidence; here almost all the evidence is oral, subject to the distortions of memory, class, and gender, among others. Here, too, we encourage our collaborators to preserve differing, especially conflicting versions of a tale. Some do, some don't, and again we are faced with the choice: do we

keep it or do we throw it out of court? Usually, we opt to keep it, if only because, in this work as in life in general, one develops a nose for authenticity by constantly comparing notes: the more information the better, especially where to begin with there was virtually none. I will give a concrete example of this in my concluding remarks. Suffice it here to say that, in my opinion, the reliability of the witnesses in these volumes is a far less severe problem than bias; the people spoken to, like the people writing, are literate men. The only solution to this problem would be for more women to do fieldwork. That said, the subjects here treated are also "masculine": they concern social life as reflected in the constitutive festivals, which were defined and organized by men. There is another half of traditional social life about which our volumes, alas, say nothing, even if that itself speaks volumes.

Finally, I should like to say a public word of thanks to Prot. Fang, as well as to his wife, Ms. Ye Cuiqiong, both of whom have been indispensable to our project. Ms. Ye has entered into the computer the texts of all our successive volumes, bravely affronting bad handwriting in the first versions and complicated and seemingly endless corrections in the second, third, and sometimes fourth versions of each article. Prot. Fang has not only been completely in charge of finding collaborators throughout the Yuedong (Meizhou and Heyuan) area and of shepherding them through what is in-

variably their first attempt at ethnographic description, he has also patiently borne the burden of organizing proofreading with each of the authors of the Gannan and Minxi volumes as well. To both of them, on behalf of all those who have collaborated with us on this project, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude.

Village Culture

The articles in the first section of this book cover a larger range of village life than those in the second, more exclusively focused on religion; they touch on marriage, funerals, geomancy, and seasonal festivals as well as Jiao and temple festivals. Zhang Quanqing, who has already given us a magnificent survey of the Wuhua county seat festivals in the first volume, here introduces us to his home village and lineage. Among the 13 surnames and 5248 people living in Hutian's 30 hamlets just south of the county seat, the Zhangs alone represent 70% of the population and occupy 19 of the hamlets. In pre-1949 Hutian, writes Zhang, political, lineage, and god power all formed "one body," for the lineage segments lived each in its own village, with its own protector god (*shetan*), and the "segment head" (*zuzhang*) was also "sector chief" (*jiazhang*). Zhang describes in detail the tombs and houses of the two brothers who came in the early Ming from Wuping County in Fujian, as well as

the seemingly endless series of ritual acts and ritual precautions taken when building "Yin" and "Yang dwellings." The ancestor tablets in a lineage hall, he notes, were placed directly above the "dragon lair" (*longxue*) site; the incense ashes of the dead were kept in their own homes for three generations, after which they were transferred to the lineage segment hall, called locally "old ancestral home" (*lao zuwu*). The Hutian Zhang had eight such homes (and one "ancestral hall," *citang*, in town for the two brothers' father). At the same time, the deceased's name was added to the lineage tablet in a ritual called *anlong*, "putting the dragon in place," because "the lineage tablet is a dragon." If a son had been born in the preceding year, his name had to be reported on the second day of the new year, when each segment worshiped in its hall. Clearly, life in Hutian took place "under the ancestor's shadow."

Weddings and births, likewise, required visits to the segment hall to report to and ask protection of the ancestors. Of 21 pre-1949 marriages in Zhang's village, 13 were child brides, six were second marriages, and two were "grand marriages." Of the latter Zhang provides an excellent description which defies all summary. Suffice it to say that he comments on such vital topics as the bride's weeping before leaving her home and the "facts of life" counsel she receives upon arrival in her new bedroom from the elder woman who has accompanied her.

Zhang's account of the gods is equally rich. They appear first in the context of the martial arts and lion—dance troupes first founded by a ninth—generation "military bachelor" (*wu juren*). Every year, beginning on 10/15, after setting up a place to worship the lion god, the troupe practiced regularly until New Year's. When a new member joined, he had to "swear allegiance with blood" before the lion's "throne," and each time the troupe returned from a performance in another village, they worshiped there again. Such troupes, writes Zhang, showed off a lineage's power (*shili*) and also helped maintain lineage cohesion, as the troupes went first to other lineage segment villages and only afterwards to villages of other lineages. Next were the territorial gods, for the house (the *longshen bogong*); fields (*tian bogong*), and sectors (*fude bogong*). Much like the latter but fewer in number and protecting larger areas were the Gongwang. Bogong and Gongwang alike were territorial gods, and Zhang gives a whole series of examples of contiguous lineages celebrating Jiao together in honor of these gods. The only temple in Hutian was dedicated to one Zhanggong, said locally to have been a good exorcist after "studying magic" (*xuefa*) at Maoshan. Most houses had a special niche for Guanyin, who was worshiped primarily by the women of the household; sons whose birth time put them in conflict with their parents were "sold" to Guanyin. During Midautumn festival, young girls participated in collec-

tive trance sessions involving the singing of "mountain songs" (*shange*) and speaking with the family deceased.

Xie Liyan, 19th — generation descendant of his Dabu County village's founder, is himself a primary school teacher who played locally the rôle of a Confucian master of ceremonies (*lisheng*). After a succinct lineage history that takes us back to an ancestor who refused to serve the Yuan, Xie surveys customs relating to marriage, moving house, death, and the worship of the gods. The most important local god was Wuxian dadi (Great Emperor of the Five Manifestations), to whom many local sons were adopted out. Every third year, at the beginning of the second month, six villages joined in a "spring procession" designed to drive away bad and attract good fortune. Like Jiao in other places, this procession was an occasion for the reunion of the gods: Dadi was carried in a military chair and Guanyin and Cankui zushi (Ancestral Master of Shame, the late Tang Chan monk who is worshiped throughout the Meixian area) in civil chairs; all the other gods were represented by wooden tablets in the procession and at its ten separate stops for receiving offerings.

Xie's description of the marriage procession is particularly detailed; after a final meal with her family, the bride, weeping loudly, got into the sedan chair. Pork meat was hung over the chair's poles, for the White Tiger star. The go-between led the procession carrying "incense quivers"

to be set out at each bridge in order to "buy the road" from the Bogong of the bridge. She was followed by the "dragger of the green" (*tuqing*), an elder of the lineage carrying a sword and a "tea tree" in order to "fend off evil" (*dangsha*). Upon arrival at the groom's house, the "tea tree" was thrown onto the roof and the sword was hung outside the main gate, to fend off "perverse killers" (*xiesha*). Only a *lisheng* could with such loving attention describe the rich panoply of symbolic gestures made to ensure an auspicious beginning.

In Xie's account of moving house, what is perhaps most interesting is that Taoists or *shangong* were not invited to perform rituals because they were considered "inauspicious" people. It was the geomancer himself who "eliminated the killers" (*chusha*): before dawn on the day for moving in, he put on a red turban, muttered an incantation while holding a red cock in one hand and a sword in the other, slew the cock, poured out a mixture of wine and blood on a white cloth spread on a series of tables stretching from inside the main hall to the door, and finally threw the cock outside the main gate. Mason and carpenter then beat the cloth all the way out the gate, where firecrackers fused and percussion thundered. The gates were then closed and a small entry used temporarily. Later in the morning, at an auspicious hour, a fortunate couple from the lineage opened the gates, with the male opening the left and the female the right, and

then all stood inside the gate while the gate gods were worshiped. Then and only then were the gates formally opened. Here, too, in short, the rite of passage was symbolically marked in precise, religious fashion.

Xue Fansheng relies partly on a geomancer's manual to describe his Xingning County village of 1200, of which 700 share his surname; there are 370 Huangs. Relations between them have been bad for many generations, and the Xues have also had conflicts with other lineages. They once shared a single large house (*weiwu*) with seven other lineages, but a geomancer who was close to the Xues dug a well whose water made all but the Xues fall ill, so the other lineages left one after the other. Local geomancers' handbooks call for the invitation, prior to beginning work on a tomb or a house, of such gods as Pangu, Confucius, Yang-gong and a whole series of "immortal masters," the patron saints of geomancers, as well as Luban, Guanyin, and Pu'an. Xue also details rules regarding drains, stoves, and wells. The last is the "eye of the dragon," and digging it improperly could harm the dragon's energy. Only "big burials"—usually reburials—required a geomancer; such a burial could not be done for those who had died young or for women who had died in childbirth, because "their return to this world was not desired." A son who died before it was weaned was placed in a basket and buried in the "disorderly burial ridge" (*luanrang gang*). Special measures, including