

Ethnographic Introduction

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Ke Lingquan was an author already well known to specialists of Huizhou before Wang Zhenzhong and I invited him to participate in our project. As at the end of his text he himself gives an excellent account of the process involved in our collaboration, I will only recount here a single incident: when we went to the port town of Shendu in search of an author, Ke Lingquan accompanied us. After a good hour spent interviewing a local cadre involved in cultural affairs, Ke intervened to explain to him that "their requirements are not what we are used to. They want you to do field research and uncover new and original materials, not just copy what has already been written." Wang Zhenzhong then added that "oral history was just as important as written." That Ke followed not only his own advice but that of Wang Zhenzhong, the readers of this book will soon discover.

As with previous authors in this series, Ke Lingquan is a native son, from Xitou, one of the many villages he covers in this book. This means that everything he writes about he has also experienced, whether personally or through hearsay. In the opening pages, for example, we learn that, while many children in the area were adopted out to Guanyin or to the Buddha, he was adopted out to Lingquan (Numinous Official): because he was an only son who was often sick before the age of five, his father prayed to the Numinous Official and gave him the name Numinous Power. As his health took a turn for the better, his father enjoined him to keep the new name his whole life long. Who is the Numinous Official? The spontaneous

response of specialists would be: the gate guardian of Daoist monasteries. But, according to Ke, this fierce-looking god is placed in a separate hall outside Buddhist temples. A tale says he was sent to keep a secret watch on Hai Rui for three years, with the aim of finding something to accuse him of. When he failed, he was condemned to live on the corridor outside the main halls of Buddhist temples. Once, when he had to leave the village, Ke's father taught him the Lingguan mudra: "You have already been adopted out to him, so if you do his 'knot', evil spirits won't be able to approach you." As elsewhere in Huizhou, the Numinous Official was also an exorcist in Mulian performances.^①

Ke's mother used to tell him terror tales of the dangers of night travels and of setting up Buddha pillars where people had been attacked by evil spirits. That is why, says Ke, there were such pillars everywhere, wherever "perverse energies were heavy". Elsewhere, we learn that Ke's grandfather, Ke Wanyi, was a famous lumber merchant who negotiated the purchase of the trees of whole hills and then had the cut trunks piled up on a river bank to await the spring floods to float them to market.

Before examining more closely the three sections on lineages, the economy, and customs, we do well to take note of one other salient fact, and that is the frequency with which Taiping depredations are mentioned. Already in 1853, militias were organized locally to defend against the Taiping armies. In the village of Wangcha, from the beginning of the twelfth month in 1861 to the twelfth day of the third month in 1862, everyone hid wherever he could find shelter from the Taiping, and Ke tells the story of one Ye

Changxuan, who had been in charge of a local bank with many short-term deposits. When people came back and demanded their money, he could not produce it and so fled to a friend's house, fell ill, and committed suicide. His host then demanded reparation from his family for such an unlucky event happening in his house. After the Taiping devastation left many lands "outside the hills" (*shanwai*) untended, people from the hilly region (*shanli*) bordering on Jixi county to the east — this is the primary focus of his book — moved down into the plains, where many of them lived in grass huts. The effects of the sharp drop in the population caused by the Taiping in 1863 was compounded in the early Republican era, as in neighboring Jixi, by an epidemic caused by a blood-sucking parasite.

Lineages

Ke begins by classifying the various lineages according to the reasons traditionally given for their move to Xitou: for a geomantic site, for land or marriage, to guard a grave or to flee from chaos, or after having been driven from a former home. The geomancy tale is associated with one of the earliest and most numerous local lineages, the Yes, whose first ancestor is said to have been the military chief of Xin'an during the Liu-Song, but which did not actually settle in Lantian until the early Tang. Ye Meng, a high official, saw that "the five planets were all present, anchoring their sectors, while the nine-buckled streams flowed into the Hall of Light and the lion and elephant guarded the water exit." The importance of the last feature is that the lion-like hill on the east side of the water exit opens wide its mouth and the elephant-like hill across from it on the west sucks with its trunk to swallow the water (= wealth) that would otherwise flow out of the village. There were also two hills identified as Bell and Drum mountains, with a nunnery on the former, so that daily life took place in a kind of ritual time marked by the "morning bell

^① "Wuchang exorcisms: an ethno-historical interpretation," Paul R. Katz & Shufen Liu, eds., *Belief, Practice and Cultural Adaptation: Papers from the Religion Section of the Fourth International Conference on Sinology* (Nankang: Academia Sinica Press, 2013); 康豹、刘淑芬主编:《信仰、实践与文化调适:第四届汉学会议论文集·宗教篇》,台北:中研院、联经出版事业股份有限公司,第469—524页。

and evening drum”.

The first Wang of Wangmantian, Wang Nu, came as an indentured servant preparing corpses for burial and living in a grass hut. One New Year's Eve, he took in a geomancer and gave him tea and a place to sleep. For supper, Wang Nu killed his only hen but, as always happens in this story, gave him the less attractive parts to eat and put the all the meat — especially the drumsticks and the breasts — in a package for the geomancer to take along on his journey home to Jixi. When at noon he had reached the pass to Jixi, the geomancer discovered the chicken meat and, realizing he had misjudged his host, wept and went back to reveal to him there was a “precious site” — a tiger shape — just behind his hut. He told Wang Nu first to build a home there and later to turn it into a gravesite. Soon the local Chengs and other Wangs went into decline, with many deaths and much business for Wang the undertaker. The rumor spread that his house was on a tiger head that every day opened the door to eat people.

Ke also makes a close study of marriage relations in Xitou. He concludes that 55% of marriages were made within a range of 20 li, 30% within 60 li, 5% beyond 60 li, and the remaining 10% in other provinces (merchants living away from home). Locally, it is said that “one can take in a daughter-in-law who is not the equal of our family, but when marrying out a daughter, it must be to a family that is better than ours.” As it was out of the question to marry a daughter out as a concubine — the punishment was exclusion from the ancestral hall — most concubines came from more than 60 li away. In most cases, the reason for taking a concubine — which only the wealthy could afford because it cost 400 – 1,000 *yuan* — was the lack of a son. A concubine married for this reason who failed to have a son could not have a tablet in the main room of the ancestor hall. Often, the first wife would stay behind in the village, while the second went with her husband. Ke tells the life story of

one Ms Wu, concubine of Cheng Ganchen: the daughter of a sedan chair carrier in Zhejiang, she was brought by her father to the Chengs at age 11 on the pretext of going to visit relatives. Very quickly she understood she had been sold as a servant. Aged 17, she understood she had been purchased because the first wife had given no sons and, one night on the 24th day of the twelfth month, after sacrifices to ancestors, she found *laoye* in her bed: “We're married.” One segment of the Lantian Yes did not allow concubines, preferring secret trysts and “borrowing a belly” to get a descendant. One informant explained he was lucky because his great-grandfather had managed to borrow a belly and have a child. Four generations later, the lineage did not want to allow the informant into the hall but relented when he gave a lot of money: “I guess money still talks louder than lineage rules.”

Lineages in Huizhou are typically divided into “gates” (*men*) and “segments” (*fen*), and Xitou is no exception. Equally intriguing, as Xu Ji also found this to be the case in Xucun, joint lineage halls and genealogies, where they exist, are often late. The Chengs of Taoling, for example, founded a common hall (*tong zongci*) only around the year 1875. Two Wangcha Ye brothers did not get along and so left the joint hall to fall into disuse after separately founding an Eastern and a Western hall. The Xitou Yes created segment halls in the Zhengde era (1506 – 1521) and a joint hall in Yongzheng (1723 – 1735). The Kes of Daguyun, who arrived in 1350, divided into three gates in 1407. Middlegate disappeared in the ninth generation, while Front- and Backgate built separate halls in the late Ming/early Qing and in turn divided into segments (*fen*), Frontgate five, Backgate two. Frontgate's eldest segment built its own hall, while segments two-to-five had only “incense halls” (*xianghuo tang*): “Alas, there are many segment halls but still no joint lineage hall.” The Frontgate hall had statues of an earth god on the east side

of the main altar and of Wang Hua and his eighth son⁴ on the west. In the middle, there was also a statue of Zhenwu, as did the Backgate hall. Three of the incense halls had painted images of Zhenwu. Ke Lingquan was told that Zhenwu was thus placed in halls in order to prevent fires.

The Lantian Yes claim to have produced a *zhuangyuan* in the Shenzong era (r. 1068 – 1085), and its three “gates” are traced to him. But documents from a 1609 lawsuit show that Upper- and Middlegate Yes refused Lowergate’s right to worship on the grave of the founder, saying they were “alien” (*yilei*), originally of the surname Jin. Moreover, current lineage divisions would seem to derive, rather, from the four sons of Ye Nianjiu, a wealthy tea merchant in the early Yuan. The sons were given number names — Ke Lingquan cites a Qing-era text that claims the Ming founder reversed a Yuan policy that imposed number names and created the practice of giving generational names (*beifen*)^① — but by the mid-Ming, when a joint hall was built, only the descendants of sons one and four were involved. Over the last half of the Ming, the especially numerous descendants of son four divided first into twelve, then into 24 shares, and finally, in the Yongzheng era into 27 *fen*. They compiled their own genealogy in the year 1765. In 1708, Uppergate had the wherewithal to increase the size of the back room of its hall (where the tablets are kept) but did not have the means to pay for sacrifices, so it broke up into smaller units called “pillars” (*zhu*) that were more efficient in collecting money. Midgate meat distribution was very particular: in 1807, they divided their three segments into five pillars and 24 shares. The second and third segments, which sacrificed together, divided their 16 shares

^① This is an interesting claim, as we have encountered it as well in a genealogy in Yongding county, Fujian. See “Gods and ancestors: cases of crossover,” *Essays on Chinese local religious rituals*, ed. Tam Wai Lun (Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, CUHK, 2011), 371 – 410.

into four pillars, each of which recommended four persons as heads to collect land rents and organize the rituals by rotation.

The Yous, said to be the earliest surname in Xitou, became serfs of the Yes but still had their own hall. Later, serfs with other surnames began to also place their tablets in this hall, whose name was changed to “You family earth god association” (*Youjia she*). In 1691, the twelve Jiangs of Songkeng joined to create a *she*, with four teams that rotated responsibility. The Daguyun Kes had a *she* divided into six “households” (*hu*), with two from one hall, one each from two other halls (*fen* 1 and 4), 1½ from one hall (*fen* 3), and ½ from *fen* 2. Here, the concept of “household” clearly refers to a group of descendants of a single ancestor. In general, when enough land and people had been gathered under the name of a single ancestor, a “grave meat” association was created. Its sacrificial lands could then be divided up by shares, just like “dividing the stove.”

Women who remarried, adopted sons of a different surname, monks, and those who had been excommunicated for bad behavior could not have their tablets in a hall. Rules cited from various genealogies exclude the same groups from the genealogy. A woman who remarries after having had a son is simply referred to as “so-and-so” (*mou*). The same term is used to refer to an adopted son, and his own sons may not be recorded. When tablets were too numerous, the names were transferred to large tablets, and the small tablets were then buried. The founder and those with special honors had larger, permanent tablets.

Economy

A 1649 land survey from Wangcha divides land into paddy and dry land. Collective land, registered under halls and earth gods, represented 13.73% of the land, privately held land the rest. Xitou archives show a Buddhist temple with 24 *mu* of land in 1965. The

physical size of a *mu* depended on the quality of the land: first-rate, middling, and low quality paddy corresponded to 190, 220, and 300 steps/*mu*; for dry land, the figures were 200, 250, and 500. A pond *mu* had sides 260 steps long. In the year 1890, a magistrate tried to redo the land tax registries, totally chaotic after Taiping. He offered an amnesty to those who had been hiding their real holdings, and people were given one month to report. Documents from the village of Hongcunkou show major changes in landholding between 1892 and 1940, with a tendency toward concentration.

Among agricultural products described by Ke are rice, canola, tea, tobacco, indigo, and hemp. He then turns to milling and oil presses. Large water mills were frequently joint ventures. An early Qing document for one in Wangcha built in the mid-Ming shows the Yes with five shares and wives named Hu and Cheng with one share each. Doufu, wine-making, ceramics, and limestone were also an integral part of the local economy. Limestone, when put in a kiln using firewood, came out fine and white, good for building and to kill weeds in the fields. When fired with coal, the limestone was mainly for weed-killer. The village of Hucha had a Ming kiln with 28 shares. In general, after the mid-autumn festival, those with capital would start looking for this year's partners. In the ninth and tenth months, they gathered workers in the hills, repaired their huts (*peng*), cleaned out the kiln, and worshiped the earth god of the hills, with three sticks of incense as well for Laolang (Old Boy). Only then did they engage "little workers". A small kiln required around 80 workers, large ones up to 200. Those carrying in coal and limestone were paid per load. Every first and 15th of the month, workers were given pork meat and when, on 12/24, a whole pig was killed to thank the gods, all got pork and noodles. On the same day, all shareholders gathered to settle accounts and decide on daily salaries. One of those involved, Cheng Wanli of Hucha, went prospecting for sales in the eleventh month and collected down

payments so as to be able to pay salaries on 12/24. Deliveries of the limestone were made after the New Year, and the kilns would continue to operate until the fourth month, when they were shut down and the profits divided.

Ke also describes artisans: wood- and metalworkers, brick and tile makers, stonemasons, smithies, makers of bamboo items, tailors, makers of hemp bags and coir rope, varnish, and papier-mache items. These last, when making items for sacrifices to the gods, began with a ritual: an earth god association set up a *peng* in an open village space, surrounded it with rice drying mats, and invited a master to live there so as to avoid daily pollution from disturbing these divine objects. For major events like the Double Loyalty (Shuangzhong) festival for Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan, the master had four to five months of work. An account book for the reconstruction of the Wenchang Pavilion in Lantian details stone items bought in Hangzhou, shipping costs to Pukou and on to Lantian, beam-raising, and the banquet to celebrate completion. Originally built by a famous salt merchant in 1757, it was revarnished in 1805 and rebuilt in 1934. The biggest amount was given by the banker Ye Shiheng in the name of his father's grave association. Another account book, from Yecha, lists the day by day costs in 1934 for the building of a house.

Ke now moves on to merchants, starting with legends of the late-Song tea merchant Ye Nianjiu of Lantian. In the late Qing into the Republican era, there were some 58 shops altogether, with 24 of them, all listed, concentrated in Xitou. Most shops had very little capital. Outsiders came in to buy tea at harvest time, but relied on local merchants to do the purchasing. One such was Ke Caizhi (1838-1914), who put up his own money to buy tea for people like Jiang Yaohua (1848-1925), a famous tea merchant from Fangkeng with an entrepôt in Tunxi and shares in a Shanghai tea house. Jiang Yidong (d. 2011), great-grandson of Yaohua, showed Ke Lingquan

a series of letters from the year 1900 between Yaohua and Caizhi. Ranging over a period of six weeks (4/8 to 5/22), Caizhi describes that year's limited tea supply, sends him a sample, and inquires of Yaohua how much he wants. In the eighth month, Caizhi writes to Yaohua in Shanghai, inquires about export conditions, and asks to be paid. A receipt is dated 9/5.

In the year 1912, at his father's behest, Ye Zhonglin of Qitou stopped studying medicine in Hangzhou and was sent to learn the tea business with one Fang Guansan. His father told him that, on the first day, when he entered the shop, he should have incense, candles, and paper money ready to worship the wealth god, and then offer cakes to the master who would be in charge of his apprenticeship. Also from Xitou, Ye Ruichang was 13 years old when he began his apprenticeship in a cotton cloth shop. Among the many shop rules he learned on the very first day was that he was not allowed to gamble, to stay the night outside the shop, or to speak badly to a client. Up at dawn, he started the day by emptying out his master's night pot, sweeping up, practicing 50 characters, and learning a page of a letter book. He had constantly to observe how his master did business, burn the midnight oil to practice the abacus and accounting, learn how to recognize false silver coins and measure cloth. He had to sleep on the counter so as to be able to open the door late at night to the owner. Another former apprentice, Ye Shiqiao of Zikeng, said he had to put up with being cursed and beaten. Money was left lying around for the first six weeks in order to test him.

In 1895, Ke Zhenting of Daguyun, Ye Shouting of Xitou, and Xie Shengbo of the county seat created a joint venture for the sale of tea in Suzhou and Shanghai. They held three indivisible shares of a total of eleven. When Ye died in the year 1903, Xie took charge of the Suzhou shop and Ye's second son of the Shanghai shop. In 1906, the accountant embezzled funds from the Shanghai shop to pay the

debts of a younger brother in a rice shop in Shanghai, then went home and committed suicide. The joint venture collapsed as a result, but Xie and Ke then went on to found two new companies in Suzhou, one for tea and one for cloth. By 1910 the tea shop was doing well enough to lend 2,000 *yuan* to two friends of Ke for their shop in Jiangsu. A letter to Ke late that year from Ye Zhenyuan, son of Ye Shouting's younger brother, describes tea market difficulties and refers to banks collapsing. At that time, Zhenyuan's daughter was betrothed to Ke's second son, Zhusan. A 1912 letter refers to the revolution affecting business. One Wang Jinji wrote a letter on 1/5, 1915, describing for Ke Zhenting the past year's business. Ten years later Wang, who had earlier asked to withdraw as chief accountant, is still giving his reports. Referring to recent army disturbances in Suzhou, he writes that he had feared for the safety of both the shop and his person. But on 1/5 the army had entered the city and things had settled down, so on 1/7 he was able to do the spring accounting. Basing himself on these materials, Ke Lingquan provides a table of the accounts of the cloth shop for 1916 and 1925. Ke Zhenting died in the year 1922 but still received payments for the entire year as a member of the firm's board. On 1/28, 1923, Xie Shengbo's son Ziyin, now in charge, writes to Ke Zhusan. Later, Zhusan, who was building a house in Xitou while the Daguyun Kes were editing a genealogy, tried to get the money he needed from what his father had left, but a letter from Ziyin to Zhusan dated 1/14, 1926, simply laments the difficulty of doing business under present circumstances.

Ke Lingquan cites the Ke genealogy to the effect that Ke Zhenting's father died before he was born and he was raised by his mother. Aged 28, he went to Suzhou and soon began to sell tea to the Northeast. With the money made there, he opened a cloth shop in Shendu and another joint venture in Huizhou. Among charitable undertakings, Zhenting took care of family graves and paved the

road from Xitou to Taokeng in Jixi, with the result that business between the two counties thrived. On his deathbed, he tells Zhusan that a large portion of his money is for ongoing charity: "Do not disappoint me." That fall there was a disastrous flood, and Zhusan gave to the stricken areas "in order to realize his father's wish." He then created a trust, with the rent proceeds going to pay for an orphanage in Tunxi.

From the 83-year old son of the merchant Ye Zhonglin (1896 - 1938), Ye Shunchang, Ke Lingquan collected account books covering the years 1913 - 1938. Aged 14, Ye Zhonglin went to Hangzhou to study medicine with one Chen Shoutian, but in the year 1913, at the urging of his grandfather Ye Dayou in Suzhou, he shifted to an apprenticeship in the tea business. At the outset, because his family was poor, he spent no money whatsoever other than for haircuts and letters home. Soon his two brothers joined him in the firm, and he began to send money home. By the last decade of his life he was a tea examiner and could see and smell at a glance the origin and quality of the tea. In 1928, he purchased a concubine in Hangzhou for 90 *yuan*, but when his wife learned of it, she came to Hangzhou with their three sons on 2/2 in the year 1929, and Zhonglin had to shift to another firm so as to be able to pay for two households. An entry on 8/30 of that year shows that the concubine's rent was half that of his wife's, and after 1929 all costs for the concubine disappear. The account books cover everything: the costs of giving birth, dividing the family, a funeral, a village earth god "salvation of the solitary" (*dugu*) ritual. In 1923 (217) he repaid money borrowed in 1912 for his marriage. The purchase of a house in 1927 cost less than medicine for his father. His wife received more small change than his mother (because she had many social costs like worship of the gods. Costs after the move to Hangzhou included worship of the former house owner's earth god (*dizhu*). In 1934, Ye Zhonglin created a joint venture for sale of

tea in the Northeast. Unfortunately, the Japanese attacked just after his arrival in Dalian, all the tea was lost, and the firm went bankrupt. His partners took him to court, and Zhonglin ended up spending six months in jail. Then his partners forced the sale of his house and lands in Xitou in order to pay the debts. He returned to his home area and, with a loan from a friend, set up a pharmacy. The same friend paid for his burial in 1939.

Customs

Ke Lingquan begins with an overview of annual observances. Preparations for the New Year began at the very start of the twelfth month for maternal families with a new bride or grandson: they made 100 cakes for distribution to the paternal side, which passed many of them on to relatives and neighbors who, on 12/30, sent a red envelope back as a return gift, for placement by the maternal stove. On 12/8, houses were swept out to prevent dust falling in the coming year. On 12/24, the family ancestors were worshiped, shopowners thanked the god of wealth and gave their accountants a banquet, and rich and poor alike burned straw for the stove god's horse. On 12/30, ancestor portraits were hung up and children's mouths wiped. This was called "wiping the buttocks," meaning that any bad words said on New Year's Day should be considered like uncontrollable farts. After midnight, heads of the halls set off firecrackers and opened the hall gates. All followed suit at home, set out offerings in the courtyard, and welcomed Heaven and Earth, then led all inside the house in bowing before the portraits of the ancestors, then the stove god, and then the earth gods of pig- and cowpens and the gate gods. At the sound of a gong, the men went to their ancestral hall to bow before the portraits of the ancestors, then parade through the village, saluting the gods of each temple passed. This was done in utter silence as this, it was said, would bring riches. Back at the hall, the head read out the names of the main

temples and their gods, after which the men went home for sweets, tea eggs, tea, and long life noodles.

Early on the morning of 1/3, people went to their family graves. The next day merchant families worshiped the god of wealth. The Jade Emperor's birthday on 1/9 was celebrated in all temples. "Stove god lanterns" were hung in kitchens from 1/13 to 1/18, and the god's red paper emplacement was changed. Newlyweds received a lantern from their ancestral hall for hanging in the parlor; once they had a son, they returned it to the hall. On 1/15, women went out in groups, then came back to burn incense and paper money in the outhouses to welcome the Silkworm Lady. That night the stove god was welcomed and all ate glutinous rice sesame balls.

On 2/2, all went to the earth god temple. Right about that time, people also went into the fields with special offerings to get rid of insects. The fifth *xu* day after the start of spring was the day to welcome the Shegong and to transfer responsibility for his worship to the next year's "head of the *she*." Often, plays were put on and the heads distributed *shifu*, literally, "earth god good fortune" in the form of *zongzi* and glutinous rice cakes. In some places, as in Wangmantian, where each segment hall had its own earth god, the halls took turns in managing this ritual. For the equivalent ritual in the fall, the Wangmantian hall of the year had to give a whole pig that was set out in the hall for three days before distribution to all "males of the earth god" (*sheding*).

On 5/5, at noon, elder women sprinkled sulphur wine throughout the house while singing to the scorpions to leave. The maternal family sent special tiger caps and tiger head-embroidered shoes for their grandson, to protect him from epidemics. In many villages there was Jumping Zhong Kui. On 6/6, women went to temples to turn the pages of scriptures so they could be reborn a male. On 6/19, in a ritual usually organized by an ancestral hall,

whole families would go to percussion to fetch a statue of Guanyin and then parade her through the fields, asking her to manifest her power to protect the paddy from drought and insects. On 7/15, vegetarian noodles were set out in the courtyard to worship the ancestors. On 8/1, when the harvest had begun, Buddhists or Daoists were invited to recite scriptures, and the earth god and his wife were carried into the fields. The priests played Wuchang, taking up pitchforks and chains and going to pig- and cowpens to drive away epidemics. After supper on 8/15, women worshiped the moon in the courtyard in order to keep illness at bay, while children stole melons and adult men paraded straw dragons before throwing them into the river at the "village mouth" (*cunkou*). On 10/1, people went to their graves with paper clothing for the ancestors, as winter was coming. On 10/15, monks were invited to save (*chaodu*) the ancestors and feed the solitary souls. There were special foods for this, as for the winter solstice sacrifice, when large lineages did collective ancestor worship. For this, the Taiyuan Wangs of Yecha, for example, were divided into nine teams which rotated responsibility for the worship. Each team had eight shares, and each share had to prepare a plate of offerings.

Ke Lingquan now turns to the gods and their festivals. People who went into the hills to cut trees, mine limestone or coal, or hunt would worship Laolang by wrapping three sticks of incense in paper money and hanging them in a tree in the relevant area. A ritual text from Yecha lists all local gods, starting with the earth god, followed by those worshiped in temples and "all the gods of the Taiyuan *she*, up to the springs and down to the water exit." Last are the gods of the house, the "father and mother of the graves," and the "dragon god of geomancy who looks toward shade."

In Xitou, the Ye lineage parades the Pusa on 1/15. Already on 1/13, in their ancestral hall, they hang 16 large lanterns, while placing large red candles in the earth god house and the back room

of the hall. People are dispatched to the earth god house to change the clothes of Wanggong, Baxianggong (Wang Hua's eighth son), Santaizi (Wang Hua's third son), and the Shegong, and then go to the river by a bridge with a Guandi pavilion to burn money and purchase water to wash the god's dirty clothes. On 1/14, the heads gather in the hall to discuss the parade. Early on 1/15, a man goes around with a gong to wake people up so they come to the hall to carry the gods. Santaizi precedes the other gods because his chair is carried in "military" fashion, being bounced from side to side and even turned upside down. The other three god chairs are carried in "civil" manner, normally. The Shegong is last in line, in a beautifully carved chair. The procession circles the village before returning to the earth god house. That night, they parade again, but with lanterns. Again they end up at the earth god house, but dragon and fish lanterns go to the Buddhist Fushansi temple to "swim in the dragon pond," hoping thus to stir up waves that will defeat fire and make the lineage prosper. Meanwhile, the unicorn-sends-a-son lantern are dispatched to the house with newlyweds with "candles for sending sons." As they emerge from the house, they meet the returning fish and dragon lanterns and go back to the hall. On 1/16, Santaizi alone returns to the *shewu*, while the other three gods continue to parade, returning that night after the lantern parade to the earth god house.

In Taokeng, the Yes and Hongs did their rituals separately, the first on 1/15, the second on 1/16. Both invited monks from the Buddhist Yanxiasi temple, which served no fewer than 24 *she* — Taokeng being one of them — each of which paid it a rice tax. After a ritual in the hall, the monk went house to house, with all the males in tow, to "settle the stove god in place" (*anzao*) and call on Amituo to "anchor the house" (*zhenzhai*). In Wangmantian a "fish lantern association" created in the late Qing to fight fires organized a parade with a main lantern seven meters long. Parading went on

from 1/13 to 1/16. Longevity or son candles were brought to houses with people over 60 or with newlyweds. Wangcha did a "fire exorcism sacrifice" every 1/17. Longshan'an Daoists performed the ritual on top of a stack of tables, then went out in the afternoon with the villagers to sprinkle water with branches to "clean the streets." Thereafter, till night time, people had to stay indoors. At night, when the Daoist began again to recite his scriptures, each household set out a basin of water at its door. At a certain point, the men surrounded a small cedar branch house and set it afire. When it was done burning, firecrackers were set off, and the leaders overturned the water basin on the ritual arena while all householders, having heard the firecrackers, did the same. On 12/27, the Daoists went again to each house and gave them a calendar on which the "fire days" were marked. They went into each kitchen to fetch ashes, then to the gate to dump the ashes and use them to write the character for "well".

Every year in the third month, two persons from Hongcunkou were sent to Qiankou to buy a paper Guanyin image and bring back a gourd of holy water. They came back as far as the Fuqing'an in Jinguoling, there to await the arrival on the next day of the beautiful Hongcunkou Guanyin sedan chair used to welcome the temple's one-meter tall statue of Guanyin. Singing popular Huizhou opera songs like "Putuo Cliff" as they walked, the villagers were followed by four monks, four nuns, four Daoists, and four musicians. Behind them were the Guanyin chair and then the paper Guanyin image from Qiankou. Once in the village, the parade toured it till it came to the open space with a divine stage on which Guanyin could be worshiped. On the far side of the space was another stage, for the opera that went on for three days and nights. This was the time to make vows or adopt one's children out to Guanyin. The festival usually lasted seven days, after which Guanyin was carried to the hall of the lineage — Ye, Wang, or

Xu — in charge that year. She would be carried back to her home temple in the tenth month.

Every fifth year, Hongcunkou did the Double Loyalty festival in honor of the two kings, Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan.^① Because of the strongly exorcistic character of this ten-day festival done in the tenth month, it was called “Yin festival” (*yinhui*), and fear of a death in the family that organized the ritual meant no one wanted to do it, so the leader had to be chosen by lot. This was done on 2/13 in the main earth god house, with each of the five sectors sending a representative. One of the three main lineages occupied two sectors, the other two one each, and the central sector was for two “guest surnames” that had no ancestor hall. On 2/15, each sector began to prepare its altar. The main altar was always in the hall of the Frontgate Wangs, and each of the four lineage-based sectors had altars in their segment halls. The central sector had its altar in the main earth god house. At the start of the fourth month, people were sent to the Guanyin hall in Fuqing’an to announce the planned festival and then take a gourd to go fetch holy water from Jiuhuashan and bring it back to the main altar. At this point, a hut (*peng*) was set up for the papier-mache master to begin working. It would take him half a year, and no one should see his work in progress.

The day before the festival, all washed their furniture and dishes, as well as the village streets, then hung lanterns on the altars. After sixteen Daoists had begun the offering (*jiao*), they went with some 250 villagers to Jinguoling to fetch Guanyin. Invited by the Daoists, she was carried back to the main altar. All the papier-mache items were then fetched and carried to the relevant altars: the dragon boat to the southern sector, with 36 four-foot tall

soldiers, vengeful ghosts (*ligui*), rowers (all fearsome), and the two kings. The western sector received the Five Emperors, the northern the five epidemic gods together with the Pukou Blind Man who, forced to lead these gods in to poison Huizhou and having heard they feared the two kings, told villages along the way to worship the Two Loyal Ones. People then set out beans that the five epidemic gods thought was rice for the Suiyang army and so did not dare to poison it. The wooden statue of Santaizi in the *shewu* was the focus of worship in the central sector. Through the ninth day the Daoists did rituals to save (*chaodu*) all who had died in battle for the country, as well as the solitary souls of all Huizhou. That evening, the boat with the two kings was carried to a Mulian stage. The next day in the morning, the five emperors and five epidemic gods were carried to the stage and the Daoists animated the emperors. Each sector then took its emperor and pressed the epidemic gods through the village before rushing with them to the village exit (*cunkou*) to burn them.

After lunch, all guests went home, and the villagers came out with goats and pigs to the opera stage, even from surrounding villages, to make a vow. To Daoist music the kings and the Pukou Blind Man were placed in the boat in front of the stage and then, after a ritual, all lined up their animals, with the chief pig and goat in front. On signal, first the main altar, then all the others, killed their animals and let them run till they dropped. (In 1938, it is said, there were 300 pigs!) Using a drop of the blood of the chief pig and goat, a Daoist animated the two kings. All outsiders disappeared, and all houses were tightly shut. Only sector representatives stayed to carry the boat through the village till near dusk. All along the way, the Daoists made half-crying half-ordering sounds, to deep, monotonous percussion. No other sound was to be heard. Adults carried children and did not let them talk or cry lest they disturb the kings and get taken along as underworld soldiers (*yinbing*). Done

^① On this festival, see Wang Zhenzhong, “明清以来徽州的保安善会与‘五隅’组织”, in *Minsu quyiyi* 174 (2011.12): 17–102.

parading, the representatives rushed quickly out of the village with the boat to burn it while the Daoist recited. That night at last the vegetarian fast came to an end, there were meat banquets and the last operas. The next day Guanyin and Taizi were brought back to their respective temples.

Ke Lingquan turns now to a wide range of local exorcistic practices. If a child has a nightmare or a fever in the night, a soul-summoning specialist, usually a post-menopausal woman, is called upon. One called Erniang (Second Lady), who lived just across the river from Ke's house, often came to summon his soul when he was a child. She would cover a bowl of rice with a kerchief, draw the four corners of the kerchief together underneath the bowl, and then hold the bowl like a seal to stamp the child's head, palms, and soles. Then she would set the bowl on the table and uncover it to divine on the basis of where the rice was lowest in what direction the soul had gone. The child was then carried in that direction, whether a riverbank, a tree, or some other place, high or low, there call on Guandi, Wanggong, and the stove god to bring the child home, then head back calling and throwing rice mixed with tea leaves. Back home, the child was made to bow three times to the stove god and the bowl of divining rice was cooked and given him to eat. If, when he slept, he sweated, this was considered a good sign.

In the *gandiao* ritual, one person plays the hung person and sits at a table with food and drink across from a straw person who is wearing the deceased person's clothes and cap and has blood flowing from all seven facial orifices. The player repeatedly invites the straw person to drink. A monk playing Jiutian yingyuan and lay persons playing the Wuchang have meanwhile gathered at the village exit, Black Tiger of the Dark Altar with an iron chain, the other four Wuchang with pitchforks. Jiutian does a ritual to "stir the Wuchang," after which they drink, smash the wine cups, and follow

Jiutian to the deceased's house. The sound of the chain and a drum is enough to cause all villagers to go indoors and shut their doors tightly. Jiutian and Wuchang tour the house before entering the bedroom. Black Tiger puts his chain on the hung person's neck while one of the Chang pitchforks the straw person and they go out into the parlor. There, the hung person is ordered to bow down. When Jiutian asks where he comes from, he says Yangzhou. Jiutian tells him to go back there quickly, but he says he will come back at New Year's. Jiutian threatens him, they chase him out, with the pitchforked straw person Chang close behind, followed by the other three. There is a huge racket outside as they race two li outside the village and there burn the straw person.

Small-scale *dugu* (saving solitary souls) rituals are performed by the poor when children are often sick. Some villages invited Buddhist monks for such rituals on an annual basis. Major Mengshan or Yankou rituals were usually done in the tenth month so that cold weather clothing could be sent. These required four monks and were extremely solemn, with many mudra. At one point "road lanterns" — incense sticks to light the way for the lost souls — were set out by two teams going, one to the village head (*cuntou*), the other to its tail (*cunwei*). After ritual invitation, two teams again headed out them along the same routes to feed the lost souls, giving food to beggars along the way. After 108 utterances of the *om mani padme hum* "six-character true word", the paper clothes and shoes were burnt and the gods sent off. The wealthy would do a "releasing the flaming mouths" (*fang yankou*), which required a papier-mache Big Officer (*dashi*).

Pilgrimages to Jiuhuashan sought salvation for the family dead. Members of pilgrimage associations would go every third year around 7/15. A Buddhist image would be brought back and a Buddhist monk invited to do a ritual upon return. A Xitou manuscript from the Ye lineage describes the organization of such an

association in the year 1893. The subscription period went from 3/3 to 7/30. Once closed, there could be no additions and no changes. The pilgrimage took place in 1895. Outside villagers who participated were listed by *she*.

When a woman was about to give birth, all windows and an umbrella were opened to encourage the birth. The umbrella was used because the word was homophonous in local dialect with the word “to give birth.” If labor dragged on, people went to the Pavilion of the Three Officers to fetch King Li: the god’s feet were made to touch the woman’s belly lightly three times, after which the midwife took the god’s hammer and prayed for the baby to come out. As soon as the baby was out, warm water was used to wash its eyes — this was called “opening Heaven’s gates” — then its nose (“open the dragon’s nose”), and the mouth (“open the dragon’s mouth”). His head was shaved on the third day so it would not turn white young. Then his cap was put on and the mother carried him to worship the father and mother of the bed. Scallions tied with red paper were placed on the table in the parlor, the child’s buttocks were washed with mugwort water, and the scallions were replanted outside so that the child would be good in school. Only then did the father go with red-painted eggs to report the good news.

Brides were usually fetched at night, and the groom did not go. As the party arrived in the village, they set off firecrackers. The girl’s family shut its gates and sent four persons with lanterns to the village entrance to welcome the sedan chair. Gifts were passed in, firecrackers set off, and then the door was opened and the chair was carried into the parlor. The bride’s side passed a torch around the chair to get rid of all perverse energies before being set down on a rice sieve. After a snack, the presents were quarreled over until the male side pressed the issue. The bride then washed, had the hair removed from her face, and dressed. Once her inner garments were

on, her feet could no longer touch the earth, and as she dressed she sang songs with her mother — songs of departure both happy and sad learned on the sly when, as a twelve-year old girl, she was up in the hills with the water buffalo or fetching grass for pigs. She was now carried by a man of means into the parlor, where she sat on a stool placed on a rice sieve. Once the bride was in the sedan chair and out the gate, her family shut its main gate tightly and used a number of tricks to ensure the bride not take away the family wealth. In the groom’s house, she was given a snack, then led by a young girl and boy into the bedroom, where she changed into a red dress, then came back into the parlor for the marriage ritual. The next day, the groom went with her to the earth god house and to local temples and the ancestral hall. That night, a tame *naofang* was performed, and the couple slept together for the first time.

Qiangqin, kidnapping the bride, was also done in this area, usually because the first set of gifts had already been more than the groom’s family could afford. The same method was used when widows were sold by a family.

The drainage system under a house could not use direct pipes but must have bends, to look like a serpent. Sharp turns “carry evil energies” (*sha*). All water should collect in one place and then flow out in an auspicious direction. The main gate of the house should not face a hill, a peak, a strange rock, the angle of a neighbor’s roof, a road, or due south, for south is fire and conquers metal, that is, merchant wealth. The inner parlor room must be higher than the outer, and the outer must be longer and narrower, so as to produce the character *chang* 昌, flourishing, but upside down. Because the courtyard is open to the sky, welcoming of Heaven and Earth is done there. The character *fu*, good fortune, on the reflecting wall, is short for “Heaven gives good fortune and work.” A house without side rooms is one that leaks energy; one with side rooms collects

energy. The practice of placing roof tiles one up one down is called mandarin duck or butterfly style. The tiles on the peak of the roof are placed vertically and referred to as a roiling dragon (*panlong*). The staircase entry must face water. If there is no water in mid-village, then it should be placed left of center because the left is the east and water flows east. There should be 16 or 21 steps so as to begin and end “walking on metal (gold)” (*tajin*) in the five agent sequence metal-water-wood-fire-earth. Pillars should number 18, 24, or 36 altogether. The four “gold and silver” pillars in the upper parlor were the most important and should be of four different woods which, by homophony, when read together mean “one hundred children, all is spring.” Before beginning to work on a house, an auspicious day must be selected to worship Laolang, god of artisans, and the local earth god. Because of the tricks they can incorporate in the building process, the mason, carpenter, and brick layer are the artisans most feared by the owner.

According to an 1891 text from Xitou, when making a grave, the birth dates of the two “grave heads” — the father and mother to be buried there — and their four sons had to be taken into account. Atop layers of charcoal and ashes to prevent humidity, a layer of river stones was put in. The total cost of the grave was 95 *yuan*: 17 for the purchase of the land, 10 for bricks, 15 for limestone, and 39 for the workers, including ten “divine good fortune” (*shenfu*) feasts for seven workers. But the grave proved humid, with white ants eating the wood and grains not sprouting, so the grave was never used.

As soon as someone dies, the mosquito net on his bed is removed. This is called “withdrawing from his place” (*tuiwei*) in this world. The preparation of the corpse involves tying up parts of the body and also lacing the shoes in a special way so that they look like the scales of a dragon, to express the hope the deceased will soon bath in the dragon artery (*longmai*), become a dragon, and

channel good fortune to his descendants. For the dressing of the corpse, the eldest son stands on a stool placed in a rice sieve and tries on each item of clothing, all without buttons. Once the corpse, still lying on its bed, has been dressed, the wealthy burn the paper money he once took to Jiuhuashan. These packages had been opened before the gods on the mountain and some of the money burned, the rest being carried home for use at this moment. The ashes of the money are collected and placed in a yellow Jiuhuashan incense bag — a pilgrim’s bag — to be hung on the chest once the corpse is placed in the coffin. Underneath the corpse a gold coin is placed so that the deceased will have his back up against gold when facing Heaven. When placing the corpse in the coffin, Daoists or monks should be invited to do a “repose of the soul sacrifice.” The male corpse’s head must touch the head of the coffin, the female’s feet the foot. The corpse is wedged in with bags of limestone to ensure it does not move when carried.

The mouth is now touched with a bit of pork, which is thrown up onto the roof, then by some tea leaves and rice so the deceased will not wish to drink Mengpo Pavilion soup and forget his life. A small brass mirror is placed on the chest to reflect the light of sun and moon. At last the cover is put on, with one nail (*ding*) taken out for the family to keep: it means sons (*ding*). The coffin is now placed in a side room, horizontally, so that Buddhists or Daoists can do a second sacrifice for the repose of the soul.

One of the most critical decisions to be made after a death is the dates of the seven sevens, especially the third, for that is the day the soul returns. The day before the “real summons” there is a “surreptitious summons”, meaning the soul can escape its underworld handlers and come back on its own. Ke’s mother often cooked for this event, and told him tales while she cooked, as of the daughter-in-law who was not respectful to Popo and on that night found a big fish bone in her clothing bag, or of a mother with two

sons who liked only the second, so he found two pieces of cooked meat under his pillow, and the elder just some bones. The offerings that night are rich, and many paper items are burned. When going to bed, mothers wrap their children in their arms so that they neither see nor hear the returning soul. The next morning, the family verifies to see whether the food and chopsticks have been touched. The next day is the real summons, when Yanwang allows the soul to return under escort, said to be the soul of whichever male was first to see the deceased after he stopped breathing. The character for “Buddha” must be written on paper money and pasted up on all openings so the escort won’t press the soul to do it. As the night before, there are nine bowls of offerings, with a special bowl for the escort in which there is an egg and a single chopstick: because he will be focused on picking up the egg, he will forget his charge and allow him a bit more freedom.

There is also a day to “chase away the negative energies” (*gansha*). On that day, all the family members disappear, and a Daoist goes with peach twig and wooden sword through the house, throwing bits of iron, red beans, and tile shards, and at last chases the *sha* out the gate, which is shut immediately, as the Daoist rushes to the village exit and, facing away from the village, throws iron scraps, beans, and shards, drops his peach twig and eggs, and burns paper money. This may also be done by a lay person, who uses not a peach twig but a cleaver, with which he goes through the house tapping.

After the “white sacrifice”, done more or less in accord with the *Jiali*, the coffin was set vertically again, and the Daoist did the “remove soul sacrifice” (*zheling ji*) in preparation for burial. According to a 1931 manuscript of “miscellaneous jottings” (*zazhi*) of the Wangs of Yecha for the funeral of a first wife née Ye, that night they served a nine-bowl feast to the nine men who would carry the coffin. When the third dish was served, the sons in mourning

kowtowed to them and begged them to do the carrying. The next day at dawn was the “surreptitious burial”: lest the family try to prevent the coffin from leaving the house, the coffin was carried out while the family still slept and placed in front of the house on a sieve and the gate was shut, according to the same logic as when a bride left home, to “suppress the earth dragon” (*ya dilong*). Then a Daoist opened the gate and chased out the *sha*-energies. The women followed the Daoist out the gate, weeping and calling out the deceased’s name, circled the coffin thrice, went back inside to deposit their burning torches in the wok, then back outside to weep by the coffin. From then until the coffin was carried out, there had to be weeping. The Yecha jottings gives the names of the nine carriers and says there were four Daoists, six musicians, and four carriers of the “soul-chair” in which was placed the portrait of the deceased. A live “rooster who helps with the funeral” rode the coffin. Once at the burial site, either monks or Daoists first recited scriptures, then summoned the soul and returned, with the portrait chair and the soul flag, to dot the ancestral tablet, place it in a paper “soul-pavilion”, and carry it into the hall for the sacrifice that would take place that afternoon, when all mourners had returned. This was a “red sacrifice” because mourning was now finished.

At this point, Ke Lingquan inserts an account based on the “jottings” of the costs and gifts involved in the 1931 funeral, for the pall bearers, the Daoists, and the musicians, among others.

Meanwhile, at the grave, the geomancer, after certifying that the coffin was perfectly aligned, scattered grains that the mourners sought to catch with their clothes. Grains were also placed in two red bags for the eldest son and his wife to hang from the main beam of the house. If there were more brothers and the household had been split, each received such bags, and there was competition to be the first home to hang it up and prosper. After the red sacrifice in the hall that afternoon, each daughter-in-law prepared a hemp bag

with clothing of the deceased person in it. At the gate of the hall, they handed these bags to the lineage elders, who handed them back. This was called “generational transmission” because of the homophony of the words for “generation” and “bag”. If the dead person was the mother-in-law, the daughters-in-law went home after this ritual and divided up her jewelry. The next day, after the grave was filled, triangular paper “dragon flags” of four colors were planted to percussion from the top of the hill down to the grave, to “summon the dragon.” Then worship before the grave was performed and the contract of land purchase from the gods was burned so that no demons would contest ownership.

For one year, every month on the day of death family members did not eat crunchy fried beans or meat, to say that they “regret the bones and flesh” of the deceased.

The following section examines taboos and pastimes. A person over 70 should not be invited to stay overnight nor a person over 80 to come for supper, lest they die away from home and then could not be encoffined in their village. A sick person should be carried head first, a dead person not in a coffin feet first. The year-end pig should not be killed by cutting his throat because the blood would then flow from the mouth and augur the same of a family member. If two persons in a family die in the same year, the coffin must not go out the same door; if there is only one door, a new plank must be added to the threshold. If a woman wears mourning for her parents, she must remove the mourning clothes in her own home, especially if her husband’s parents are still alive. Among pastimes discussed are hunting, catching monkeys, fishing, cricket fights, and watching operas — Hongcunkou, Yecha, Zikeng, and Lantian all had permanent stages.

Ke Lingquan closes out his book with a series of tales, mostly about grave geomancy. In one tale, the Hu lineage wins a lawsuit against the Yes, who had built an ancestral hall in front of an

important Hu grave. The Yes were allowed to keep the hall but had to take care of the Hu grave and feed the Hus yearly at Qingming. Later, fighting (*xiedou*) erupted between the two lineages. One Ye Can got himself killed on purpose, and there was a new lawsuit that went all the way to Beijing. By means of subterfuge, and with the help of their in-laws the Wangs, the Yes “proved” the Hus were rebels. The Hu grave now fell into disrepair, and the Yes enlarged their hall. Every year on 12/30, right down to 1949, the Yes remembered Ye Can.

Concluding remarks

In his own afterthoughts, Ke Lingquan describes understanding at last why Wang Zhenzhong and I were reluctant to supply outlines for book manuscripts, and his own joy at discovering new details in the course of his research. Once he ran into Ye Chengli, a middle school teacher from Taokeng, who told him of using small triangular flags to tap a monk on the back. Too eager to find out more, he couldn’t stand to wait for his son-in-law to take him by motorbike and so walked instead the 15 li to Taokeng to do his interviewing. And of new materials given him by an informant in Xitou who understood geomancy, Ke exclaims: “These were all important new things I did not know of before. Perhaps it is my sincerity that moved the Lord on High?”

Ke Lingquan finished writing on September 28, 2011. It has, alas, taken me nearly two years to write at last my own all too brief account of the wealth of information about traditional Xitou which Ke, thanks to his persistence, experience, and social networks, has been able to record for transmission to future generations. Without authors like Ke, Huizhou’s rural past would have been lost forever.

John Lagerwey
Hong Kong, August 28, 2013

民族志导言

劳格文

(谭伟伦译)

在王振忠和我邀请柯灵权参与我们的计划前,他已是颇有名气的徽州专家了。在他的后记里,也交代了与我们合作的整个过程。在此我只提及一件事,当我们到达深渡镇寻找作者时,柯陪伴着我们。与一位当地的文化干部面谈一个多小时后,柯插了一句:“他们的要求跟我们过往的习惯不同。他们需要我们去田野作业,去找原始和新材料而不是去抄袭已经写过的东西!”王振忠也加了一句:“口述历史与书写的历史同样重要。”本书的读者会发现柯在写作过程中不只遵照了他自己的意见,也遵照了王振忠的意见!

一如本丛书的其他作者,柯灵权是本地人,他来自溪头村,即他书中所写的众多乡村之一。因此书中所写的若不是他的亲身经历,便是他的亲身听闻。例如书的开首他说很多孩子若五岁前病痛多,都会寄名给观音或佛祖;而他自己则是寄名灵官,所以取了一个乳名叫灵权。后来他的健康真的改善了,他父亲便建议他一生都沿用那个新名字。谁是灵官?大多数专家的实时反应都以为是指道教宫观的守护神。但柯告诉我们,样貌凶恶的灵官是被供奉在佛教寺院外的一个独立殿中。有一个故事说到灵官曾被委派暗中监视海瑞三年,目的是要找他的错处,但灵官失职了,所以被罚守在佛教寺院大殿外的走廊中。有一次,柯要离开乡村,柯的父亲传授他灵官的手诀。他父亲说:因为你已契给了灵官,只要你比划这个手诀,恶灵都不能靠近你。灵官在徽州其他地方是目连剧中的一名护法^①。

^① 参见劳格文,“Wuchang Exorcisms: An Ethno-historical Interpretation”,康豹、刘淑芬主编:《信仰、实践与文化调适:第四届汉学会会议论文集·宗教篇》,台北:中研院、联经出版事业股份有限公司,第469—524页。

柯的母亲常告诉他关于人在晚上赶路时碰到危险的恐怖故事和当人被邪灵袭击后中邪而死所立的如来佛柱。柯说:“如来佛柱在邪气重的地方到处都是。”我们还得知柯的祖父柯万亿是一位有名的木材商人。他买下整片山林,再把砍伐的木材运到河边,等待春季水涨时漂运到市场。

在仔细探讨宗族、经济与民俗之前,我们注意到太平天国之乱常被提及。1853年里东乡较大的村坊曾组织团练对抗太平天国军队。在汪岔村,从1861年农历十二月到1862年三月十二日期间,各房子孙都要找地方躲避太平天国军队。柯讲述了一个有关叶昌铨的故事。他负责一间本地钱庄短期储款。当客人回来要提款的时候他不能提供,于是逃到一位朋友(吴金元)的家里,后来生病并自杀。朋友向他的家人要求赔偿,因为在自己房子中发生这样的事非常不吉利。

太平天国之乱使很多山外土地都荒废了。山里人携家到山外,住在绩溪县城以东,这也是本书所主要记载的地方。从山上初迁到平原,很多人都住在茅棚内。自1863年太平天国之乱后人口大幅减少,到了民国期间,在绩溪附近又发生了血吸虫疾病,使人口进一步减少。

宗族

柯以迁移到溪头的原因为把宗族分类:为风水、为土地、为婚姻、为守坟、为避难,或被遗弃驱赶。风水故事与一个来得最早和人口最多的地方宗族——叶氏有关。他们的开基祖是刘宋时期守新安的行军都统,及至初唐方在蓝田定居。叶孟是一名高官,他看中当地“五星具备,九曲入明堂,狮象捍水口”的风水。最重要的是东边潺溪的出水口处,有一座巨崖如狮子正张开大口,西边的巨崖如象形山,伸长鼻子吸水以免流出村外。两边还有钟山和鼓山,钟山顶上又有贵金尼庵,每天的生活仿佛活在“暮鼓晨钟”。

汪满田的开基祖汪奴是一名住在茅草棚的长工,专门为人殓尸入棺。有一年除夕,他招待一名风水师喝茶并提供住所。晚饭的时候汪奴杀了他家里唯一的母鸡,但故事常常这样发生,他把好的部分如鸡腿和鸡胸肉包起来给风水师回家路上吃,只用肉不多的部分给他晚餐时吃。当风水师离开后,到了中午才发觉鸡腿的事,他知道错怪了主人,很感动地跑回去指示他一块风水宝地——在草棚背后的山冈虎形地。

他告诉汪奴先在那里起房子,死后也埋在该地。不久当地的程姓和汪亨派都衰败了,很多人过世,汪奴的生意便好起来。有谣言说他的房子筑在虎头,每天打开门户去吃人。

柯也研究了溪头的通婚。他的结论是百分之五十五的通婚都在二十里范围内,百分之三十在六十里内,只有百分之五在六十里外。余下的百分之十会到其他省份通婚(即于外省经商侨居地娶亲)。当地有一个说法,媳妇必须门当户对,但女儿可以嫁往环境更好的家庭。女儿绝不能当人家的妾,否则不许入祠。所以妾都来自六十里以外的地方。纳妾的原因是原配没有生儿子。只有富有人家才纳得起妾。纳妾要花四百到一千元。没有生出儿子的妾,她死后神主牌便不能放在祠堂里。原配通常留居故乡,妾则随夫居所或居经商之地。柯讲述了程干臣妾吴氏的故事。吴是浙江一位轿夫的女儿,她11岁时被父亲以探亲的名义带到程家,不久她发觉自己已被卖作工人。当她17岁那年她才明白她被买下之原因是老爷的妻子没有生下儿子。十二月二十四日的一个晚上,在祭祖先后,老爷便睡在她床上,告诉她他们已成亲。蓝田下门叶氏支派不容许纳妾,只能暗中约会和以借肚皮的方式来延续下一代。有一位报告人说他很幸运,因为曾祖父成功借肚皮而诞下他的曾祖父。但宗族一直不容许他高祖的牌位进入祠堂,后来他捐了一百元便解决了。他想钱比族规更大。

徽州宗族被分成门和房。溪头也一样。同样有趣的是许骥发现许村的情况也一样,联合的祠堂和族谱是很迟的事。桃岭程氏的统宗祠约于1875年建造。由于汪岔叶氏两兄弟合不来,统宗祠荒废了,他们各自建了东、西支祠。溪头叶于明正德年间(1506—1521)建了支祠,又于雍正(1723—1735)年间建了统宗祠。大谷运柯氏于元代1350年迁来,于明代1407年建了前、中、后三门。中门传九代后消失了,前门和后门都于明末清初建起自己的支祠。后来又分成两分:前门五分,后门两分。前门大分建有自己的公祠,二至五分则只各有香火堂。“惜支祠虽多而合族宗祠犹未创建!”前门支祠在东面供奉社神,在西面又供了越国公(汪华)和他的第八子(崇惠王),中间又供奉了真武。后门支祠也一样。三分香火堂寝壁上都画了真武的像。他们告诉柯灵权,真武被放在祠堂是用来镇火灾的。

蓝田叶氏声称在神宗(1068—1085)年间出了一名状元。三门都是

他的后代。但一份1609年的讼词显示:上门和中门叶氏曾拒绝下门叶氏祭祀始祖坟的权利,说他们是异类,本姓金。现在的叶氏宗族分支好像是来自元初的一位富有茶商叶念九的四个儿子,他们都有一个含数字的名字。柯灵权引用一份清朝的文件表示明太祖改变了元朝时的政策,不再用数字取名,他创造了辈分的习俗^①。但在明中叶建总祠的时候,只有第一位(长老派)和第四位儿子(四老派)的后代有份。明末时人丁旺盛的第四子分成十二股、二十四股并在雍正年间分成二十七股。1765年还修了族谱(四老历世支谱)。1708年上门派有足够资金扩建他们祠堂中用来摆放神主牌的寝堂,但却不够资金来进行祭祖。所以他们分成更小的单位称作柱,这样就较容易收集资金。中门的分布非常特别。1807年他们把他们的三房子孙分成五柱二十四股,第二和第三房联合祀祖,把十六股重新分成四柱。每柱有四人负责收田租和组织轮流祭祀。

尤氏是溪头最先迁入的姓氏,后来衰落成为叶氏的族仆,但仍有自己的祠堂。后来其他姓氏的仆人开始也把他们的神主牌放进去。祠堂就被改名为尤家社。1691年竦坑江氏十二公联合创办了一个社,分成四队来轮流值班。大谷运的柯氏也有一社分成六户,当中两户来自同一祠堂,一户来自第一和第四分派的祠堂,有一户半来自第三分派,半户来自二分。户的意思显然来自同一祖先的一群后裔。当有足够人口和土地就以一位祖先的名聚在一起,便可成立一个分墓地猪肉的组织(膳塋)。祭祀土地则以股的形式分配,就如分灶头一样。

改嫁的妇人、从别姓收养的儿子、出家僧人和因恶行被逐出宗族的人其神主牌是不能放进祠堂的。很多族谱都有这样的族规。生过儿子的妇人若再婚只能把她说成某某。同样的,收养的儿子也是如此被称呼,他的儿子也不能被记录。若神主牌太多,名字会被搬到更大的神主牌,小的神主牌会被埋葬。开基祖和有名誉的祖先可享有较大和永远的牌位。

经济

1649年汪岔的土地调查把土地分为水田地与旱地。集体拥有的

^① 我们在福建永定亦发现类似情况,参劳格文,“Gods and Ancestors: Cases of Crossover”,刊于谭伟伦主编:《中国地方宗教仪式论集》,宗教与中国社会研究丛书[十四],香港:香港中文大学崇基学院宗教与中国社会研究中心,2011年。

地被注册在祠堂与土地公的名义下,占了全部土地的百分之十三,其余为私人所拥有。溪头(“四清运动”)档案显示 1965 年一间佛教寺院拥有二十四亩的土地。一亩土地的真正面积还要视乎水稻田土地的品质:一等的土地相当于 190 步一亩,中等的有 220 步,下等的土地有 300 步。上等的干旱地则有 200 步,中等 259 步,下等有 500 步。一亩的池塘有 260 步长。1890 年有一位知县尝试重新厘定自太平天国后变得混乱的土地税收。他给予逃税的人特赦,可以有一个月时间重新申报。洪村口的文件显示 1892 年至 1940 年间的土地拥有发生重大的变化,倾向于兼并和集中(少数富裕大户)。

除了农业产品外,柯还提及大米、菜籽油、茶叶、烟草、靛青和苧麻,他还谈及碾磨和榨油业。大的水磨坊多是联营的。一份清初的文献显示,在汪岔建于明中叶的一个水磨坊是叶姓拥有五股,他的夫人胡姓和郑姓各有一股。地方经济还有豆腐制作、酿酒、陶器制作和烧石灰。柴灰用茅柴烧成,会变成白色,是建筑的好材料,亦用作耘田杀草。煤灰用石煤炼成,主要是用于耘田杀草。湖岔村有一个明代的窑,由二十八股人拥有。一般中秋过后有资金的都会去寻找合伙人。到了农历九月和十月就会把工人齐集在山上修理工棚、清理窑和以三枝香来拜山上土地和老郎,这样才敢招来小工人。一个小的窑需要八十位工人,大的要二百位。负责运送石煤和石炭的以每担来算工钱。每逢初一和十五,工人都获发猪肉。每年农历十二月二十四都会杀一头猪去酬神。每个窑工都会获发猪肉和面食。当天所有股东会聚集来结账和决定日薪的价目。湖岔的程万里会在十一月去勘探销售情况和收取首期订金以便在十二月二十四日支付薪金。石炭会在过年后运送。窑会运作到四月方关掉并进行分红。

柯亦描述了不同的技工,包括木材、金属、砖瓦、石匠、铁匠、竹器、裁缝、麻绳和麻袋、油漆和纸扎。若要制作敬神用品都要先做仪式。村社神会先于村中空地建一棚,围以晒谷簰,并请纸扎匠人住宿其中,以免神灵神器被世俗所沾污。若遇上大节日如张巡和许远的双忠会,匠人扎酬神供品工期长达四至五个月。一本账簿详细记录了重建蓝田文昌阁所用的石头从杭州船运至浦口再到蓝田,还记录了上梁和之后的酒筵庆祝情况。文昌阁原是一位有名的盐商于 1757 年建造,1805 年重新油漆,1934 年重建。最大的一项捐助是由钱庄大贾叶士衡以他父

亲的膳莹(扫墓)会名义所捐赠。另一部晔岔的账簿详尽地列出了 1934 年建房每天的开支。

柯写到一位晚宋茶商蓝田叶念九的故事。从晚清到民国,一共有五十八间商店被列出来,当中有二十四间集中在溪头。大部分的商店都是小本生意。外地客商在茶季收成时购买茶叶,但要依赖本地商人去帮忙购买。柯彩芝(1838—1914)用自己的资本替著名芳坑茶商江耀华(1848—1925)买茶,他在屯溪有茶行,也拥有上海茶栈的股份。江的曾孙江怡桐给柯灵权展示 1900 年耀华和彩芝之间长达六星期的通信内容(四月八日至五月二十二)。彩芝解释当年茶叶失收,还寄了一些样本给他,询问他需要多少。八月期间,彩芝又致函在上海的耀华,询问他上海出口洋茶的情况并要求付款,还有付款的收据,日期是九月初五。

1912 年在父亲的命令之下,叶钟麟放弃在杭州行医而被安排跟方冠三学习经营茶叶生意。他父亲在他进入商店的第一天便要求他准备香烛与纸钱拜财神,又准备糕点给师傅拜师学业。叶瑞昌也是溪头人,他 13 岁时便在一所棉布店当学徒。他从第一天便学会了许多店铺规矩,包括不容许赌博、不得在店外过夜、不得骂顾客。大清早便要替师傅清理痰盂、打扫、学习五十个毛笔字和写一页尺牍书信。他常常要站在业师身旁观察师傅如何做生意,还要半夜点灯练习算盘和会计,学习辨认假货币和度量布匹。他要睡在柜台以便夜深起来替店主开门。另一位学徒即梓坑的叶石樵说他要忍受被打骂。在最初的六星期还要接受到处都丢钱的考验,试探他贪不贪小便宜。

1895 年,大谷运柯振庭、溪头叶绶廷、县城谢笙伯合伙到苏州和上海做茶叶生意。他们共同拥有十一股。1903 年叶氏离世,谢氏负责苏州的店铺,叶氏的次子负责上海的店铺。1906 年司账挪用上海店铺的公款去偿还他弟弟在上海米铺的债项,之后跑回家自杀了。合伙的生意于是倒闭了。谢和柯继续在苏州创办了两间店铺:一间茶行、一间布店。1910 年茶行经营得很好,并可以贷款二千元给柯氏两个朋友在江苏开店。同年叶绶廷弟弟的儿子叶宸远写信给柯振庭说及茶市疲滞和钱庄倒闭之事。当时宸远之女已许配给柯之次子祝三。1912 年的一封信说到辛亥革命对生意的影响。有一位汪晋吉在 1915 年正月初四、五写了一封信形容柯振庭去年的生意。约十年后汪本欲期满卸任,

但仍在写报告。他在报告中表示,由于在苏州的动乱,他担心自己和店铺的安全。但五月一日后军队入城,局势也平静下来。所以七月一日开始他又可以做春季的账目了。根据这些资料,柯灵权整理了布匹店铺在1916年和1925年的账目表。1922年柯振庭离世,但同年茶行仍发足全年工资给他。1923年正月二十八日由当家的谢笙伯之子谢子荫写信给柯祝三。后来祝三在溪头要建新房子,大谷运柯氏则要修谱,祝三希望拿到父亲遗留下来的款项。但子荫给祝三于1926年正月十四日所写的一封信中只表示在当时的乱世环境下生意如何难做。

柯灵权引用柯氏的宗谱说:柯振庭的父亲在他出生前已过世,振庭是他母亲抚养成人的。二十八岁那年他到苏州不久便开始运茶叶到东北卖。赚到钱后他在深渡镇和徽州都开了布匹店。振庭做了很多慈善事业,包括负责家族的坟墓和建造从溪头到绩溪桃坑的道路。也因为这条道路,两县之生意大增。临终前他嘱咐祝三要把他大部分的钱财用作慈善。并说,“慎勿辜吾志也!”当年秋天发生了灾难性水灾,祝三救济灾区以满足父亲的愿望。他又以收租回来的钱创办了一个基金,在屯溪创立育婴堂。

柯灵权从83岁商人叶钟麟(1896—1938)和叶顺昌处收集到1913—1938年间的账册。14岁那年叶钟麟到杭州跟陈寿田习医。1913年在他苏州祖父叶大有的催促下,改行当茶商学徒。由于家贫,他除了写信回家和剪发以外,舍不得用钱。不久他的两个弟弟加入他的店铺,他开始汇钱回家。在他生命的最后十年,他成为一位评茶师,只要看一看和嗅一嗅茶叶,他便能知道茶叶的产地和品质。1928年他花了九十元从杭州娶了一位妾,他太太得悉后,于1929年二月初二日带着三名儿子到杭州找他,他需要“跳槽”到另一店铺工作方可以支持两头家用。当年八月三十日的账目显示,妾的房租是他夫人的一半。1929年之后妾的开支便没有了。账簿记载了一切开支,包括生儿、分家、丧葬、乡村土地、度孤等费用。1923年他偿还了1912年结婚时所借的债务。1927年买房子的费用比他父亲的医药费更便宜。她太太要支付的零用钱比他母亲多,原因是她要支付很多社交费用诸如拜神费用。1934年叶钟麟与朋友合伙开茶行卖茶叶,不幸由于中日战争,他运茶到大连之后所有茶叶都损失掉而店铺也倒闭了!他的生意伙伴告上公堂,终于钟麟要坐牢六个月。之后他的合伙人还逼迫他变卖他

溪头的房子和土地来偿还债项。他回到家乡,从朋友处借了些钱开了一间药店。后来借钱给他的友人还支付了他1939年的殡葬费。

民俗

柯灵权为一年的风俗作了一个整体的介绍。新嫁女的和新添了外孙的家庭要在十二月头便开始准备过年。他们要预备一百份糕点(年饭馐)送给婿家,后者又转送亲戚朋友,收到的要于年三十回礼一份红封包用来放在赠家的灶头上。十二月八日便要把房子打扫好,不要把尘埃带到明年。十二月二十四日要祭祖先,店主要谢财神并给留店伙计设宴。富有人家与穷苦人家都要为灶君的马烧一些粮草。年三十夜要把祖宗挂起来,用草纸把儿童的嘴擦一下,他们叫“揩屁股”,这样过年时万一听到孩子说的不吉利话都看成不能自控的放屁而不作数!午夜之后祠堂或社首会燃放爆竹,把大门打开。其余的人都会在家中照样做,把供品放在天井来迎接天地,并带领家人向悬挂的祖宗行礼,再向灶君和猪、牛栏的土地和门神敬拜。祠堂钟响后,各户男丁都会到祠堂向祖先的画像鞠躬和游村,并向经过的神庙朝拜。整个过程都要保持安静,这样才会带来财富(“蒙声发大财”)。在祠堂中,祠首会读出主要庙宇和其神明的名字,之后男丁都回家吃糖果、茶叶蛋和长寿面。

正月初三大清早,每家每户都会扫墓。第二天商人会接拜财神。每间庙宇都会庆祝正月初九的玉皇大帝寿辰。从正月十三到十八都要在厨房挂灶灯,并给灶司亭换贴新红纸牌位。新婚的会从祠堂里领到一盏百子灯挂在客厅。生了男孩的要把灯送回祠堂。正月十五妇女会成群结队群游“走百病”,之后焚香纸于厕间来接蚕花夫人。当晚大家都吃糯米芝麻汤圆来迎接灶君。

二月二日人人都要到土地庙,同时要到自家田地以特别的供品拜祭以便赶走害虫。在春季的第五个戊日要迎社公和交接明年社首。通常都要在这个时候演戏并由社首分发社福(粽子和米糕)。在一些地方如汪满田,以支祠为社,各社会轮流主持这个仪式。在秋天每个负责的祠堂要负责出一头全猪,供在祠堂三天,然后分发给所有社丁。

五月初五的中午,老主妇会在房子里遍浇黄酒和唱赞语以驱赶蜈蚣。外婆家会把绣有老虎的帽子和鞋子送给孙子以保护不受瘟疫侵袭。很多乡村都有“跳钟馗”。六月六妇女都会到庙里去翻晒经书以便

来生转成男身。六月十九祠堂会组织去抬观音游稻田以保佑不受旱灾和虫害。七月十五会以斋面当庭祭祖,八月初一当收割开始时会请和尚或道士来诵经,又把土地公公和婆婆抬到田里。僧道会扮成五猖神,拿着钢叉和铁链到猪栏和牛栏赶瘟。八月十五晚饭后妇女会在天井拜月以除却病痛,儿童则会偷西瓜,男丁则会舞草龙,完成后会丢弃在村口的河中。十月初一冬天来临之际,村民会带冥衣到墓前焚烧祭祖。十月十五会请和尚来超度祖先和度孤,食物方面也有讲究。冬至时大宗族会有集体祭祖。例如晔岔太原王派会分成九班来轮祭,每班有八股,每股要负责一碗菜。

柯灵权把话题转到神明与节庆上。凡到山上砍伐树木、开石灰石或煤矿,又或打猎者都要把三根香用纸钱包起来挂在树上祭拜老郎。晔岔的一份祭文列出所有的地方神明,首先是土地、庙神、太原社神、泉神、水口神,最后是家宅神、各处坟公坟母、风水龙神。

溪头叶氏正月十五游菩萨。正月十三会在祠堂挂上十六盏大灯笼,还会在社屋内和宗祠寝室点上大红烛,又派人替汪公、八相公(汪华第八子)、三太子(汪华第三子)和社公换衣服,并到关帝庙桥楼下河边烧纸钱和买水洗净神明的衣服。正月十四,族长、社首们会齐集祠堂商讨游神事宜。三太子在前面,因为他的坐轿“武而不文”,会摇来摇去甚至翻转。其他的神轿都会以“文”的方式来抬。社公会最后,坐在他雕刻精美的座椅上。队伍会绕村一周才回到社屋去。晚上还要用龙灯再游一次,也是在社屋结束。龙灯和鱼灯则要到富山寺转龙潭,以便搅动波涛来消灭火灾,也使宗族兴盛。麒麟送子灯则会“游”到新婚家庭去“送子”。龙灯和鱼灯会与麒麟灯在路上碰头,一起返回祠堂。正月十六三太子会回到社屋,其他三位神明则继续巡游,晚上才会返回社屋。

在桃坑,叶氏和洪氏在正月十五和十六各自举行自己的仪式。都会从岩下寺请和尚,岩下寺共服务二十四个社,每社会向寺供给稻谷。在祠堂举行仪式后,和尚会到厨房“安灶”,又会念几句经文来“镇宅”。汪满田一个晚清组成的鱼灯会目的是“克火”。它带头巡游的大鱼灯有七米长。巡游由正月十三到十六。长寿烛或子孙烛由有超过六十岁老人或有新婚者之家带到房里。在汪岔每逢正月十七都要作驱火灾的祭祀。龙山庵的道士会在神台上做法事。下午还会陪同村民到街上去“净街解厌”。入夜后村民就会留在屋内。道士则会诵经。每家每户会

在门口放一盆水。各户男丁会围着并焚烧一个由杉树枝搭成的小屋。当房子烧光后就会燃放爆竹,族长、祠堂司年(当值者)就会把做仪式场地供桌上的烛火吹灭,并将台边的一盆水泼去。其他户主当听到爆竹声也会在家中照样做。十二月二十七日,道士会到各家各户派发一个标出每月“火”日的月历,还会到每个厨房拿一点炉灰到门口倒在地上和用灰写一个井字。

每年的三月,洪村口派两个人到潜口买一尊黄纸印制的观音并带回一葫芦“圣井”的水。他们回来后供奉在金锅岭福庆庵。第二天洪村口会送来精美的观音亭轿来接观音。轿子是用来迎接庙内一米高的观音塑像。村民由四名和尚、四名道士、四名尼姑和乐师带领着,细乐清唱队并唱着徽州的戏曲如《普陀岩》、《赏荷》等。队伍的最后便是观音的轿子和从潜口接回来的纸观音像。以前巡游队伍会停在一个筑在空地上的神台,观音便会在哪里受敬拜。空地上还会有另一个演戏台,演出三天三夜。这是向观音许愿和把孩子寄名给观音的最好时机。整个节庆长达七天,之后观音会被带到叶、王或许姓祠堂,视乎当年谁当值。十月,观音才会被带回她所属的庙里去。

每五年洪村口会举行两次双忠会以纪念张巡和许远^①。因为这个在十月举行十天的节日有很强的驱邪性质,因此又称为“做阴会”。大家都害怕会令家人遭遇不测,所以无人愿意担任会首,只能抽阄决定。抽阄在二月十三假社屋举行。每五隅要派一个代表。三个主要的姓氏便占了四隅,当中一个姓氏(前王、后王)占两隅,中心一隅是那些无祠堂的客姓。二月十五日每隅都要准备好自己的坛场。总坛设在前王的祠堂里。其他姓派则把分坛设在支祠中。四月初会派人到福庆庵去祷告兴祭,并从九华山带回一葫芦的圣水到总坛。此时要为纸扎师傅建造一个棚给他工作。他要花半年时间工作,且不能让人看到。

节庆前一天要把用具、碗碟和村里的街道清洁好,并在神坛上挂上灯笼。十六名道士开始醮仪,他们会与约 250 位村民到金锅岭接观音。道士请神后,观音会被抬到主坛里。各隅的纸扎会被放到分坛去。龙船是属于南隅,船上立有 36 尊四尺高的兵将、凶恶的厉鬼、水手像和大

^① 关于此节日,参见王振忠:《明清以来徽州的保安善会与“五隅”组织》,《民俗曲艺》2011年第12期,第17—102页。

王、二王像。西隅则有五帝。北隅有五瘟神和浦口瞎子。后者曾被迫带领神明去毒害徽州,当他得悉他们害怕大王、二王时便教导村民拜奉“双忠”。村民于是为王煮赤豆饭食,五瘟神以为是为睢阳军队预备的饭,于是不敢毒害村民。中隅分坛是三太子。道士共花九天的时间去超度所有为国捐躯的勇士和孤魂。晚上会用船把二王送到目连戏台上去。第二天早上,五帝和五瘟神都被送到台上去并由道士开十光。每隅会把五帝和五瘟神送至村口焚化。

午饭后村民和来自四乡许愿、还愿者会牵羊赶猪到戏台前。在道士的法器乐声陪伴下,大王、二王和浦口瞎子会被放在船上。仪式后村民会把羊、猪列队,总坛的两头羊、猪会排在最前头。一声号令下,由总坛开始,继而各家户神坛前的人会把羊、猪杀掉,并任由它们奔跑直至倒下为止。1938 那年据说有三百多头会猪会羊。道士会用羊、猪的血来替大王、二王开光。之后,外客回避,家家闭户。只有各隅代表留下把龙船于黄昏时带到村内。路上道士一直发出如泣如诉的声音,并伴以低沉单调的锣鼓声,其余便没有声音。成人都把小孩抱紧,以免他们说话和哭泣而会打扰大王、二王或被召去当阴兵。巡游完毕后代表会带同龙船跑出村外把它烧掉,道士会在旁念诵。当天晚上斋戒会结束而开荤,并上演最后的剧目。第二天观音和太子会被送回自己的庙里去。

柯灵权又转到一系列的地方驱邪仪式方面。若小孩夜里发热,会请来一位叫骇专家,通常是一位不再生育的年老妇女。有一位叫二娣的住在柯家河对岸。当他年少时,二娣常被邀请替他喊魂。她会用手帕将一碗米包好,在碗底绑好,并以碗“印”小孩的头、肚、手掌和鞋底。之后她会把碗放在桌上,打开手帕,看看哪个方向的米最低来决定魂魄走到哪个方向。孩子便会被带到那个方向,到了河边、树木或任何一处地方,“叫骇”请关帝、汪公和灶司老爷带小孩回家。回到家以后又请小孩向灶司拜三次,把米煮成粥给小孩吃了。若小孩睡觉的时候出汗便被认为是好现象。

在赶吊仪式中,扮演吊死鬼者坐在放了酒菜桌子的一边,对面是一个稻草人,身穿亡者的衣和脸蒙死者的布巾,七孔流血。扮演吊死鬼者不断请稻草人喝酒。一名僧人扮演九天应元,一名俗人扮演五猖神在村口集中,黑虎玄坛猖神手执铁链,其余四猖神手持钢叉。九天应元进

行一仪式去“起五猖”,五猖于是喝酒又把酒杯打破,就跟着九天回到亡者的家。铁链的声音和击鼓的声音使得全村村民都紧闭门户。九天和五猖会巡行房子一遍才进到亡者房内。黑虎把铁链套在吊死鬼的颈上拉着,五猖神的一位用钢叉叉住稻草人,之后便移到堂前。吊死鬼会被命令跪倒,九天问他来自何方,他回答来自扬州,九天便请他快快回去,但他说过年时会回来。九天便威吓他,把他赶出去,连同被钢叉叉着的稻草人,及其余三位猖神跟着一起出去。在外边经过大锣大鼓,并在村外追逐两里才把稻草人烧掉。

小型的度孤主要是超度无后代祭祀的孤魂野鬼。有些乡村每年都会请和尚做这样的法事。大的破蒙山或放焰口法事于十月进行,有送寒衣之意。这需要四名和尚,仪式很庄严,要比很多手印。两组人分别要在村头和村尾点起蜡烛路灯,为孤魂照明。经过召请仪式后,同样两组人会沿着同一条路线去为孤魂施食,并向路上的乞丐施舍食物。当念满 108 遍“唵、嘛、呢、叭、咪、吽”六字真言后,就会烧纸衣和纸鞋,然后送神。富有人家会放焰口,这要扎一个纸的焦面大士像。

到九华山朝圣能为死去的亲人获得救度。朝圣会每三年的七月十五举行。回来时会带回一尊佛像,并要请一名和尚做仪式。一份溪头叶氏的文件描述了 1893 年一个朝圣会的组织。从三月三日到七月三十日都可以加入,之后就不能退出或加入。该会朝圣活动在 1895 年进行。村外的参加者都以社为单位。

妇人快生产的时候所有门窗和伞都要打开以使生产顺利。伞的当地读音与“产”字谐音,因此要撑开一把伞。若生产不顺会派人跑到三官亭接李王像,并用神明的脚去轻触妇人的肚皮三次。接生婆还会拿着神明的锤子来祷告孩子顺利出生。当孩子出生后马上要用温水洗他的眼睛,这叫“开天门”,也洗他的鼻子叫“点龙鼻”,洗他的嘴叫“开龙口”。第三天还要剃光头以免他年轻便生白发。然后婴孩会被戴上帽子,由母亲抱去拜床公和床婆,还会以艾草水洗婴儿的屁股。还会拔来几根葱扎上红纸放在堂前桌上,再被种在外边使孩子将来读书聪明。这样父亲方可以用染红的鸡蛋去通知亲友婴儿诞生。

接新娘往往在晚上而且新郎不去。接回村中便燃放爆竹。女方家中会把门关上,并派四名人员到村口迎接花轿。礼物会从门缝塞入,收礼后燃放爆竹,这样门才打开。花轿抬到客厅。新娘的家人会以火把

除去花轿上的邪气才把它放在一个粮箔上。吃过点心后便找借口争论礼物的事情直至男方催亲,新娘方开始梳洗和更衣。当她穿好内衣裤,脚便不能沾地。她边穿衣服边要和母亲哭别,内容是离开的悲和喜,哭词是女孩十一二岁时上山放牛或为猪打野草时偷偷学的。现在她要被利市公抬到堂前,放在米筛的小凳上。当新娘坐在椅上抬到门口,娘家便把门关上,要用不同的计谋不令家里的财禄被带走。到达新郎家后,新娘会被招待吃点心。一名童男、童女会带她到新房,她会于此时换上红色的衣服,才到客厅行礼。第二天,新郎、新娘会到社屋、地方庙宇和祠堂敬神拜祖。当晚会有一个斯文的闹新房,新郎和新娘才会一起上床安睡。

抢亲在这一地区也有发生,通常是由于新郎家难以负担女方的彩礼。此外,寡妇被家里卖掉时也会采取这种手段。

房子天井下水道不能是直的,而必须是弯弯曲曲像一条蛇,但弯得厉害便成凶煞!所有流出去的水要在一个地方集中起来,再流去一个吉利的方向。房子的大门不能对着山口、岭头、怪石、邻居屋顶的屋角、马路或向南,因为南是火,火克金,金是财。下堂的房间必须高过上堂,而下堂厅必须是又长又窄,这才会与上堂厅合成一“昌”字。由于天井可看到天,接天地便在此。天井前照壁上的福字是寓意“天赐福禄”的缩写。没有厢房的房子是会漏气的!厢房要藏气。把瓦片一仰一覆的放称为“鸳鸯蝴蝶”。在屋脊瓦要竖放称作“盘龙”。楼梯要向水。若村中无水则楼梯要放在左边,因为左面是东方而水向东流。梯级要有十六或二十一,这样才会开始和结束都踏金,因为五行的次序是金水木火土。屋柱的总数则要十八、二十四或三十六。在上堂的四条金银柱是最重要,并需要分别用四种谐音是“百子同春”的木材(柏、梓、桐、椿)。在开始建房子时要先择日拜“新郎”和土地公。屋主最怕的是石匠、木匠和砌砖工人在建房的过程中做手脚!

根据溪头 1891 年的一份文献,做坟时墓主(夫妇)和他的四个儿子的生日要在考虑之列。上层要放木炭和泥炭以防潮,再放一层鹅卵石。一座坟要花费将近 95 元。当中 17 元用来买地,10 元买砖,15 元买石炭,39 元是工资,包括七人之神福宴费用。后来坟地被发觉是潮湿的,又有白蚁蛀食木头,五谷霉烂无芽,所以坟地被弃而不用。

人一过世,蚊帐便须马上移走,这叫做从阳间“退位”。尸体的处理

要把上身和鞋带捆绑成龙的鳞甲一样,表达希望亡者能葬于龙脉中成为龙,泽被子孙。给亡者穿衣时,长子站于放在米筛上的小凳,所有衣裳都不能扣上衣扣。穿好衣后,亡者仍睡在床上,富有人家便开始烧亡者生前曾带到九华山的金锡纸。这些金锡纸带到九华山后要在菩萨面前打开,烧去部分,其余带回家中死后用。纸钱的灰要收起来放在黄色的九华山香袋内。入殓时香袋要挂在亡者胸前。在亡者身下要放一金钱,使他面对天时能背金朝天。当亡者被放入棺木时要请道士和和尚来安灵。男死者头要顶住棺的头部,女死者的脚则要顶着棺木的尾部。尸首要用装满石炭的纸包楔住,以免在搬运的过程中移动。

撬尸人会以猪肉抹一下亡者的口,然后把肉抛到屋瓦上,又会在亡者嘴里放茶叶和米,使亡者不再喝孟婆汤而忘掉自己生前事。一块小铜镜会用来放在亡者的胸口以反射日和月的光芒。最后盖棺,会留一颗钉给家属代表“子孙钉(丁)”。棺木会横放于厢房以便和尚或道士再做一场安灵的仪式。

七期都是往生以后重要的时刻,特别是第三个七,因为魂魄会在这一天返回。这次是回呼(魂魄),前一天是偷呼,即魂魄可以避过冥使而自行回来。柯的母亲常为回呼的仪式烹饪供菜,还告诉他很多她烹饪时遇到的奇事。一位对婆婆不敬的媳妇在晚上她的衣袋里发现一大块鱼骨。有一位母亲只宠爱次子不喜长子,结果回呼夜,次子在他的枕头下发现了两块煮熟的肉,而长子只发现骨头。当天晚上的供品很丰盛,还要烧很多纸扎。睡觉的时候母亲都把小孩抱紧,以免他们听到魂魄回来的声音。第二天早上,家人都会查看食物和筷子有没有动过。第二天是正呼。阎王容许魂魄在押送下回去探亲。每张小火纸块都要写一个佛字,贴在所有家中有孔隙的家具和通道以使押送者不会对亡魂太逼迫。当晚前要准备好九碗供品,有一个升里放一枚生鸡蛋,只有一根筷子,是供押送亡魂的,因为当其注意取蛋的时候便会忘记亡魂,让他有多一点自由。

也有一天是赶煞的。当天家人都躲起来,道士则手持桃枝和木剑走到屋内,边抛一些铁片、赤豆和瓦屑,最后把煞赶出门外,并把门关上。道士会路到村口,面向村外,再撒一些铁片、赤豆和瓦屑,放下桃枝和鸡蛋,烧一些纸钱。这种工作也可以由普通人来做,但他不用桃枝而用菜刀,到丧家各处去挥舞和拍打。

白祭大概按《家礼》进行后,灵柩会再被纵放,道士则进行下葬前的拆灵祭。据1931年的晔岔王氏“杂记”关于第一任妻子叶孺人的葬礼,他们要为抬棺的九个人准备九碗菜。吃到第三道菜时守丧的儿子要跪地请求他们帮忙抬棺。第二天黎明是“偷丧”的时候,为免家人阻止棺木离家,灵柩会在家人仍睡觉时抬出门,放在屋前的一个坦上。大门会关上,情形和新娘出嫁一样,目的是要把地龙压着。道士要来开门并把煞气赶走。妇女跟着道士后头,边哭边叫亡者的名字,绕棺三匝,再回到屋内将火把放到锅灶中,方再到外面灵柩旁哭泣直至灵柩被抬走。“杂记”中记载了九人的名字、四名道士、六名乐师和四名抬魂桥的人,魂桥灵椅上放了亡者的画像。抬棺木的龙杠上还放了一头公鸡。到达下葬的地方,道士或和尚会诵经和招魂,最后把承载亡者画像的轿和招灵幡带回,再去为神主牌开光,把它用纸灵帐包好,送到祠堂,待当天下午所有守丧的人都回来时举行仪式。那算是“红祭”,因为丧礼已结束。

柯灵权提供了“杂记”上有关1931年这场丧礼的账目,包括给奠帛、道士、乐师等的工价。

在坟地,当地理师表示棺木已准确地放好位置以后,他会撒一些谷物,守丧人会以衣襟去接。长子和他的夫人会被分给两包以红袋藏好的谷,用来挂在房子的主梁上。若有很多分了家的兄弟,则每人都会收到一袋,并争先挂到自己家里的主梁上来得到兴旺。下午,祠堂中红祭完成后,媳妇们会准备一个袋来收藏亡者的衣物。在祠堂的门口,她们会把麻袋交给族中长老,长老又传回给她们,称为接代,因为代与“袋”谐音。若亡者是婆母,则媳妇可以瓜分她的首饰。下葬的第二天,要用四色三角形的龙旗从山上最高处敲锣插到坟来,以便“呼龙”。之后便开始在坟地的祭祀和把买地的地契烧去,以免有恶灵来争夺。

一年内,每个月每到亡者去世的那一天,家人都不得吃能嚼出响声的硬炒豆类和荤肉以表示惜骨肉!

下面柯考察了禁忌和消遣。不能邀请超过七十岁的人留宿,也不能招待超过八十岁的人吃饭,因为害怕他们死于家外而不能被葬于村内。抬患病的人要头先行,抬死者(不在棺内)则脚先行。年尾时杀猪不能剪喉,不然血会从口流出而令家人有同样遭遇。若一年内有两名家人去世,棺木不能通过同一道门。若家里只有一道门则要在门槛上加一层新的门槛。若妇女要为自己家人守丧,则丧服要在自己家里脱

掉,特别是她丈夫的父母仍健在的情况下。消遣则有斗蟋蟀、赌博和看戏。洪村口、晔岔、梓坑和蓝田都有自己的固定戏台。

柯灵权在书的完结时说了一些故事,大部分和坟地风水有关。有一个故事关于胡氏宗族和叶氏打官司。叶氏在胡氏的一座重要坟前建了一个祠堂。叶氏的祠堂被容许继续存在,但他们得帮忙照顾胡氏的坟墓且每年清明都前往拜祭。后来两族之间发生械斗。有一名叶灿者故意挑衅,结果被打死,因此又有一宗新的官司打到北京去。在姻亲王氏的协助下,叶氏借口证明胡氏是作乱者。胡氏的坟现已荒废,而叶氏的祠堂却进一步扩建了。直到1949年,每年十二月三十日,叶氏都会纪念叶灿这个人。

结语

柯灵权在他的后记提到他终于理解王振忠和我当初为何拒绝提供书稿的大纲。他又为他在研究过程中的新发现感到高兴。有一次他碰到道坑的中学老师叶正礼,叶告诉他关于用小的三角幡去拍打和尚的背的风俗。他很想弄清楚这是怎么一回事,所以等不及他的女婿以摩托车去载他,他自己步行十五里路到道坑采访。他从另一位在溪头懂风水的报告人那里得到一些新的讯息,他很感慨地说:多么重要的信息,以前都是我不懂的,这可能是“诚心感动上帝吧”。

柯灵权在2011年9月28日完成他的写作。我却花了差不多两年时间方完成我这篇太短的序言。这些有关溪头的传统丰富资料、徽州农村过去的种种,若不是柯的坚持、经验和人脉而被记录下来传给下一代,相信会被永远遗失了!

劳格文

2013年8月28日于香港