

THE HONG KONG

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香港人類學家



I S S U E N U M B E R S E V E N

From the Editor

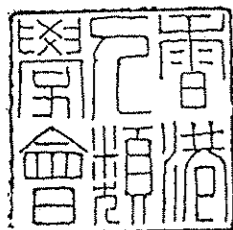
1993 marked the 15th anniversary of the Hong Kong Anthropological Society. This issue of *the Hong Kong Anthropologist* contains an article by Dr Chiao Chien, which gives an account of how anthropology has developed in Hong Kong and China over the years. Other articles focus on specific topics that constitute important elements of the anthropology of Hong Kong, including Kazuo Yoshihara on lineage and clan associations and their networks that go beyond the Territory, Lee and Leung on the taboos and functions related to paper offerings, Zhang Xiaojun on the re-creation of traditions in South China, and Jack Goody, in a broader perspective, compares the culture of flowers in the East and the West.

The Society has been very active in the year 1993-94. It started the year with the presentation of the 7th Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture on "Rationality: East and West" by world renowned comparative anthropologist Prof Jack Goody. A festival of ethnographic films was organized a second time and was enthusiastically received by members and non-members alike. In January, the Society celebrated its 15th birthday with a reception at the China Tee Club, where Dr Chiao Chien, founding chair of the Society, gave a talk on the development of anthropology in Hong Kong, and Prof Fei Xiaotong of Peking University attended as the guest of honor. Altogether ten lectures were held, including a seminar on the controversial subject of "Customary Law in the New Territories: The Issue of Female Inheritance" by Dr Patrick Hase and Dr Carol Jones, on "Asian Americans as the Model Minority" by Prof Lee Lee, on "Humanity at Risk: the Vanishing Diversity of Culture" by Prof Russell Bernard, and on "Folk Craft Potters of Japan" by Prof Brian Moeran.

This year the Society is organizing some local as well as overseas fieldtrips, and hopes to enlist the talents of its members. We warmly welcome suggestions and participation--you may like to volunteer to be fieldtrip leaders, or come to the executive committee meetings to give your opinions. Of course we look forward to your contributing an article or essay to the annual journal.

Readers interested in receiving more information on the Society or becoming a member may contact the Honorary Secretary, c/o the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Siumi Maria Tam
May 1994



Cover photograph: A member of the Tang Clansmen Association preparing offerings for the autumn worship ceremony at the clan's ancestral grave in Tsuen Wan.

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Flowers in East and West

Jack Goody



宋 馬遠 梅竹山雉

Mountain Pheasant among Plums and Bamboo, by Ma Yüan, Sung dynasty (960-1279)

My interest in flowers arose out of a visit to the East, to the Indonesian island of Bali. In Ubud, a Balinese town with a princely past and an artistic present situated in the hills of Bali some two hours drive from the International airport, a festival was being celebrated at one of the many temples. There was nothing unusual in this. Temple festivals, with their formal dancing, their gamelan music, their *wayang kulit*, the shadow puppet shows based on the Indian legends of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, running late into the night, seemed to follow one another in a continuous flow. They ran in parallel to the seamless pattern of planting, growing and harvesting the rice, a process that knew no season, no set time of sowing or of gathering. For the extraordinary complex pattern of man-made channels leads irrigated water down from the mountains to the coast, sometimes along small wooden aqueducts passing above the road, and at others making spectacular sweeps as they wind down the valleys of the tropical landscape, bringing a variable but perpetual supply to countless small fields on the way in a remarkable feat of human organization.

Preparing for the festival, women spent hours creating many-coloured offerings of cooked rice cakes, fruits and flowers, all vegetable gifts which were arranged as a tall, elegant pyramid on a platter to be carried on their heads from house to temple. In the service itself the priest (a 'brahmin') made offerings, placing a flower behind his ear as a sign of dedication to god. [1] When the offerings were set down on the ground, prayers are recited to the gods accompanied by incense and flowers, especially the marigold, which waft the words towards the divinities. At the ceremony I attended in Ubud, the women, who filled the front of the temple, were first blessed by being aspersed with the Holy Water (*tirta*) on the surface of which petals gently float; then they pulled off the petals of the flowers they held and cast them in the direction of the altar, three times in all, once for Brahma, once for Vishnu and once for Siva. In Bali these offerings to men and gods are not a matter of collecting colourful wild flowers from the fields and

forests, though many exist in the Asian tropics. Flowers are grown around the houses to be offered to the gods, not only on public occasions in the temple but also at private shrines in the house where they are used for worship rather than for decoration. The plants are grown in small plots largely devoted to particular specialist crops which include what we would call herbs and spices (the vanilla pod is conspicuous as a vine). And they are grown to offer to the gods, like music, dance and drama at the temple festival, to attract them down to earth to bring help to mankind. Frangi-pangi (*Plumifera acutifolia*) and jasmine are especially in demand for ritual offerings and small children collect the flowers for sale early in the morning. In the mountains there is also a commercial growth of marigolds, which are liked because of their strong colours, their toughness and their durability. Every morning they are brought down in truck loads to be sold, very much as in Indian markets.

ABSENCE IN AFRICA

In Indonesia I was struck by what I saw partly because of the rich unfamiliarity of the scene, although I had spent time in other parts of Asia, which like Europe has its culture of flowers. But I was struck above all by the extreme contrast with West Africa. I had attended many ceremonies and had seen food, the raw and the cooked, offered at innumerable shrines. But never flowers. Nor did one see flowers grown around the house, let alone in the fields. This I encountered only once in a 'traditional' context, in the town of Damongo in Gonja, where I found a creeper with a blue flower growing in the compound of a well-travelled Muslim trader. Islam certainly has its culture of flowers, at least in Asia, the Mediterranean, and to some extent in East Africa. John Middleton observed that the Swahili of Lamu, in the coastal area of East Africa grow red roses and jasmine. [2] However their culture has been much influenced by Islam, by India and by Indonesia.

But in general the peoples of Africa did not grown domesticated flowers. Nor yet did

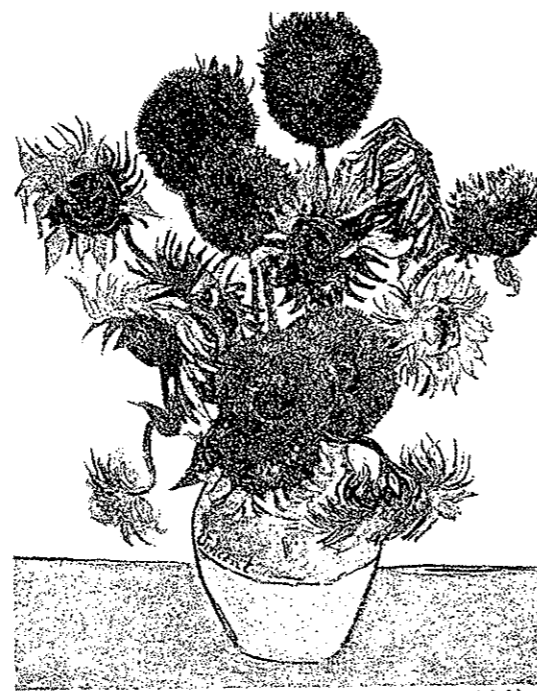
they make use of wild ones to any significant extent in worship, in gift-giving or in the decoration of the body. That is understandable in the light of what I have said about worship, since one gives to the gods the best of what one gives to humans: the bread and the wine are the basis both of secular and of religious life, at least in the area where the religion was born. But what is perhaps more surprising is that flowers, neither domesticated nor wild, play so little part in the domain of design or the creative arts. I certainly have not reviewed the entire corpus of the graphic arts in Africa but I have come across little or nothing in my own experience. [3] African sculpture provides no examples; there are some decorations of a possibly floral type on Benin bronze plaques and there are similar 'abstract' designs on some of the Moorish or Egyptian brass ware that has entered into Africa south of the Sahara for nearly a thousand years. But these 'rosettes' of the Islamic tradition are explicitly alternatives to the representations of flowers, a rejection rather than an image. [4]

What about the verbal arts? Is there any parallel to the myriad references to flowers and to the development of flower symbolism resembling that we find in Chinese poetry from the earliest times as well as in Indian, Arabic and European literature. In the Bagre myth, on which I have worked for many years and collected many versions among the LoDagaa of Ghana, [5] little or no use is made of flowers, certainly as Europeans usually understand the term. There are some limited references to flowers as forerunners of crops, a theme to which I will return soon. Just as the absence of visual images of plants is in stark contrast to the still-life tradition of Dutch painting, so the paucity of verbal ones stands opposed to the 'Daffodils' of Wordsworth, to the work of Clare and in a totally different way of Baudelaire, the imagery of Shakespeare conjured up in the speech of the mad Ophelia, let alone to the abundant references to flowers in Asian poetry.

When this contrast first struck me, I consulted other Africanists to see if their experience tallied with my own. I also had the opportunity of discussing the problem of flowers with a Japanese anthropologist, Junzo Kawada, who worked among the Mossi of Tenkodogo in

Burkina Faso. He remarked that the local chief was totally surprised at any enquiry on this topic and Kawada concluded that his response and those of others represented a wider lack of interest in natural beauty as distinct from man-made things. There may be some truth in this suggestion, although the possible absence of interest in natural beauty for its own sake certainly did not mean an absence of interest in nature in Africa, for that was always of intense concern, both in its wild and in its domesticated state. But not in flowers as such, which hardly impinge upon man and his works. Clearly that does not mean that there was no developed aesthetic but in the verbal as in the plastic arts interest centred on men and animals rather than on less animate nature. Secondly, and here I want to introduce a further theme to be developed later, it is possible that in his circumstances the Chief of Tenkodogo saw attention to flowers as a moral failing, as well it might seem to others contemplating Africa's continuing encounter with hunger and famine. It was an attention of those who had not got their priorities right.

The contrast was not confined to Bali and Africa. Bali was a representative of the flower cultures of the major societies of Asia and Europe (and indeed of indigenous America, in Mexico in contrast both to other Indians of north



Vincent van GOGH (1853-1890)
Sunflowers

America and of the Amazon). China, Japan, India, and the Near East were very similar in this respect, indeed were even more developed. These societies were those that experienced the agricultural and urban revolutions of the Bronze Age, in the course of which more elaborate plough (using animal energy) and intensive agriculture made possible the production of a surplus that enabled specialist crafts together with an associated court and merchant culture to develop in the towns. Intensive horticulture diversified into 'aesthetic' as well as 'utilitarian' production, to meet the urban demand for the luxury of flowers, to be used partly as decorations for humans but partly too as offerings to the gods. In Africa such offerings, to humans and gods, take the form of food, whether raw, cooked, solid or liquid, or as the sacrifice of animals. In Asia flowers are often seen explicitly as substitutes for such sacrifice in communities where 'high' behaviour sometimes rejects the eating of meat by humans.

WHY

A realisation of the differences in these notions and their accompanying usage gave rise to the first question. Why did flowers play so little a part in African life and so great a role in Asia and Europe? The question had similar roots to an earlier interest in differences in cooking and cuisine, and indeed in a wider set of features, between Africa and the major civilisations of Eurasia. African cooking displayed limited differentiation, and indeed elaboration, having little by way of a haute cuisine; the cultures were largely homogeneous from this point of view, even in states composed of a number of social strata. That was certainly not the case in Europe and Asia, where strata tended to eat, as they married, in a circle, with their own recipes, ingredients, methods, table manners and social rituals; each had its own place in the system of consumption as well as in that of production, in the culture as of society (if we may use that unsatisfactory opposition). These broad differences between the continents I saw as linked to the nature of social systems and specifically to the relations between 'classes'. In most of Africa members of groups intermarried frequently and hence did not

establish their own distinct sub-cultures, nor greatly elaborate the culinary art. I argued that in societies based on hoe cultivation and lacking many of the major inventions of the Bronze Age, the main differences between individuals and groups did not centre upon either the ownership of the means of production nor yet the relations between those involved in the process. Equally the absence of writing, except in Muslim areas, meant that there was little differentiation resting on the mode of communication, that is, between literati and others.

But that argument holds for the cultivation, the domestication of flowers. Why should Africa also largely avoid the use of *wild* flowers? They appear to be less abundant in Africa than in other continents; partly too the flower is valued for its future rather than for its present, for what it will be rather than for what it is; partly the features of the plant world that interest mankind are largely leaves, roots and bark, the attributes of trees rather than flowers.

Aspects of the interest in nature seem to be reflexive; it is often those people cultivating domesticated flowers that display an intense concern with the wild varieties, not only as a result of a reaction between the two, or even an opposition between the urban and the rural, but because it is the wild which represents the ultimate source of garden plants. That notion of opposition raises a further possibility. Was there an implicit rejection of wild flowers?

I have already made this suggestion in connection with Kawada's experience among the Mossi, and I ask the question here only tentatively in order to draw attention to the occasional rejection of *domesticated* flowers in those European and Asian cultures where they could have existed. Early on we find a reluctance to use flowers in Jewish culture. As we know, the representation of natural objects, including flowers, was discouraged in Judaism, partly because this was considered as an attempt to imitate the unique act of God's creation of the world. Flowers themselves played no part in worship; they were rejected partly because it was *other* religions that for example hung garlands of flowers around the Golden Calf; to the One God, nothing was to be offered except prayer, for God created all and needed nothing

from creation, except fidelity. And to give flowers was equally forbidden to the dead. Today Jewish cemeteries such as those in Hong Kong or Prague, are devoid of flowers, as are Jewish funerals.

Similar attitudes are to be found in Islam, except that in secular as distinct from religious contexts, representations came to be permitted. In early Christianity, too, the use of flowers was identified with the pagan cults of the Romans and Greeks where flowers were used in conjunction with, not in substitution for, sacrifice. And in other contexts flowers were forbidden for another reason, they were manifestations of luxury and therefore not only unnecessary but distracting from more important things. That was the opinion not only of some of the early Christian fathers but also of some Roman moralists who saw their use as part of the luxury that was threatening Roman culture, as debilitating luxuries that often came from the East together with silks and perfumes. In particular the forcing of flowers in hothouses was criticised on the ecological grounds of unseasonality in the support of luxury.

The result was a great decline in the culture of flowers in Europe which can best be appreciated from a graph of Joseph Needham where he suggests that in the fourth century B.C.E. the knowledge of plants as listed in botanical and other treatises was about the same in China and in Europe (Theophrastus). [6] But that after that Europe showed a radical decline, which never took place in China despite their own barbarian invasions.

It is also significant that the rejection of flowers by the early Christians also involved an ambivalence about icons (the visual arts), as well as about representations of a theatrical kind (performance arts).

Of course there was a slow comeback in Europe, firstly in the use of flowers (and in the other features) especially with the economic revival of the twelfth century, and then with their incorporation in botany by the German botanists of the fifteenth century - leading to the subsequent take-off of knowledge systems in which Europe eventually surpassed China. But even so there were some aspects of the culture of flowers which at times continued to look back to the early rejection, to puritanical

ambivalence. Indeed the radical elements in the Reformation of the sixteenth century threw icons out of the churches, and in some cases out of houses too, and discouraged the use of flowers in worship or in funerals, partly for theological reasons and partly because they were wasteful. Even today there is a dramatic contrast between the use of flowers in American (especially New England) cemeteries as compared with for example Italian or Japanese ones.

China and Japan obviously belong to the societies with an elaborate culture of flowers. This has been true from the early times when much effort was put into 'aesthetic horticulture', into the cultivation of flowers in addition to more directly useful food plants. Many of these flowers were later adopted by the West, mainly brought back by traders and some by planthunters deliberately sent out for that purpose. For China produced a remarkable number of cultivated flowers from an earlier period and maintained not only its botanical tradition, but also its horticultural one, despite attacks from northerners. That tradition was embodied in poetry, in art forms and especially in painting.

Chinese landscape painting developed in the Han from the work of earlier precursors who employed designs of a natural kind, a more pronounced emphasis on nature than in some other Asian traditions. Flower painting became a specialised branch. Though the groundwork had already been laid in the Tang, it was during the Five Dynasties (907-960) that flower painting developed into a distinct branch of art, with depiction of flowers as independent subjects 'inaugurated and influenced by the literati'. [7] Among these was the peony, a symbol of prosperity, which had already been an object of appreciation in the Sui dynasty (589-618). It was in the eleventh century that flower and bird painting emerged as a really important genre. Such paintings of flowers and birds (and other plants and animals) were encouraged by the interest of the Emperor Huizong who ruled between 1101 and 1125. [8] The painting of flowers could take many forms, some concentrating on meaning, others appearance. Under the Emperor Huizong, realism dominated; under the Mongols, their depiction took on a political dimension of nostalgic

protest, evoking the 'lost gardens' of earlier dynasties. [9] At this time painting was largely a court art organised by the Academy, although works also came from the brush of conservative literati and 'smelly monks'.

Flower and plant painting became highly popular, especially during the Qing. In the sixteenth century a great expansion of flower painting took place in the commercial centre of Suzhou, the wealthiest town in China, whose private citizens followed Nanjing of the previous century in creating an urban art. Gardens of the period took a different form from the great estates of earlier times, being walled precincts suitable for a city environment. They were not only the subjects of painting but the place where poets and scholars lived, following the model of Tao Qian at the end of the fourth century. It was the 'symbolic miniature model of and substitute for the world of nature so little accessible to urban dwellers.' [10]

The Tang was the great period of 'flower' poetry, especially in the *tz'u* which, in its literati form, is said to originate with Li Bo (701-762 A.D.). This genre consisted of writing lyrics to melodies depicting 'the world of the courtesan and the singing girl, the beautiful "flowers"'. The mid-tenth-century anthology of these poems, *Hua jian ji* (Among the Flowers), which was rediscovered in the Dunhuang caves, is dedicated to the celebration of love in all its many stages. Some of these poems were later composed by these 'Southern singing girls'. And flower painting too was especially favoured by women painters in the urban centres, professional painters as well as courtesans, the former often belonging to painters' families.

Manuals on painting such as the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* gave instructions on painting, especially on the 'four gentlemen of flowers', that is, the bamboo, the orchid, the flowering plum, and the chrysanthemum, representing the four seasons. Indeed the symbolism in painting and poetry was very complex and contextual. The chrysanthemum for example was often a symbol of joviality and a life of ease and retirement, [11] 'defiant of frost and triumphant in autumn'. [12] It was also associated with funerals and cemeteries, being an autumn flower, and it was this negative significance that later became more generalised.

It was one of the many plants that were brought to the west, being transported to Marseilles in Southern France in 1789. Throughout Europe the flower became very popular but with quite different meanings. In Catholic France it became associated with the autumn festival of Toussaints, All Saints, identified with The Day of the Dead, when in South-west France many people return to their native villages to lay fresh flowers, usually chrysanthemums, on their family graves. Otherwise these graves are decorated with artificial flowers, a practice that seems to have been of longstanding in the south, as in Bavaria. So closely are chrysanthemums identified with mourning that it is impossible in European Catholic countries that celebrate the Day of the Dead (All Saints' or, rather, All Souls') to give them as gifts; they are called 'flowers of the dead'.

I now turn from the *representation* of flowers in China to their use. They played a great part in ceremonies, particularly religious ones, when they served as gifts to the deities, especially in Buddhist ceremonies. But their presence was often associated with the notion of prosperity. That is the case with the flowering peach trees cut down for the New Year in Guangdong whose blossom on the day in question (and for the next 14 days) is an indicator of good fortune in the year to come. Making flowers bloom on exactly the right day is a gardening art that involves much care and attention. The same care and attention given to flowers, to aesthetic horticulture, for example, forcing the flowers to bloom with glass-houses or, now in the New Territories of Hong Kong with electric lights, marks the intensive agriculture of South China, and produced so many varieties of fruit as well as more central food crops. Flowers and food, the aesthetic and the utilitarian, were closely entwined.

One could continue to examine aspects of the flower culture in China and Japan, the secular aspects on spring and autumn viewing, the art of flower arranging, the cultivation of miniature gardens by the literati. But the subject is probably better known to you than to me, and the main point I want to make is the growth and continuity of the culture of flowers in the East as compared with the West. In Europe as we have seen the flower culture of

the Roman period disappeared, partly for deliberate puritanical reasons. That applied to botanical learning, poetry and art as well as to the use of flowers themselves. Even the great centres of earlier civilisation in the Mediterranean became culturally impoverished and it was not for many centuries that the area caught up again with the East. And it was perhaps what Eric Wolf has called 'the privilege of backwardness' that enabled the West to make the breakthrough in knowledge systems that followed the Renaissance. They were somewhat less constrained by a complex culture. And in part this situation was created by the deliberate rejection of certain aspects of what I call 'cultures of luxury' by the population.

Such rejection was associated with an element in early Christianity which re-emerged again at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. Then too flowers were partly rejected by the extremists as were icons, stage representations, many rituals and festivities as well as inequalities of all kinds.

China clearly constituted a 'culture of luxury' especially in relation to flowers. Were there any similar rejections, which I see as related to a deep-rooted ambivalence about luxury in the face of need, the kind of attitude very much to the fore in Roman moralists and not confined to Christianity?

Can we see something of this ambivalence in a certain opposition between Buddhist and Confucian uses of flowers? Certainly it is there between Buddhism and Shinto in Japan where flowers are placed on the first shrines and green branches on the second. In Korea the architecture of Buddhist temples is much more colourful than Confucian buildings, decorated with many carvings and paintings of flowers. In China it is true that Confucian literati are connected with the cultivation of flowers but in representation their use of pen and ink, of restrained colours, seems to set them off from the more colourful display popular religious activities.

However that may be, we have more definite indications. The famous Empress Wu of the Tang dynasty who ruled between 684 and 704 was well known for her love of peonies, a flower that became so popular as to give rise to what has been called 'peonymania'. It has been

so called since it reminds one of the *tulipomania* that gripped Holland around 1635 (at the same time as the development of painting of flowers), with many people betting on how bulbs would turn out to bloom, what colours would be produced. Such frenetic activity led to a boom-bust cycle which has been seen by an economist as an early example of the development of capitalism.

The Empress was noted for her authoritarian spirit as well as for her love of flowers and of Buddhism, facts that are related to a story, no doubt of longstanding, recounted by Li Ruzhen (c.1763-1830) in his classical novel, *Flowers in the Mirror*. At the beginning of the novel we meet the Fairy of the Hundred Flowers in the Islands of the Blessed when she is invited to the birthday of the Queen Mother of the West, taking with her the hundred-flower nectar as a gift. When she arrives she meets an attendant, the Lady of the Moon, who asks her to make all the flowers bloom at once to please the Queen Mother. This she refuses to do saying that her flowers must follow a proper schedule. When it is objected that already people force flowers to bloom in hothouses, she protests that 'the seasons must be respected', though agrees to do it only if ordered by an earthly ruler. This did happen when the Empress Wu reigned; she ordered all flowers to bloom at once. Only the peony resisted, and hence was banished from the capital Chang'an to Luoyang. The danger to nature comes from unjustifiable interference by the rich and powerful.

These attitudes were not new. As long ago as 33 B.C., Shao Xinchun, the Minister of Natural Resources Revenues, declared that products such as hot-house plants were all untimely things, whether flowers or not, and would be injurious to men and inauspicious as offerings. And he went so far as to ask that they all be done away with. Consumer demand, initially based on the luxury trade, presses towards an extension of the growing period, but ambivalence expresses itself in 'ecological' feelings, that tampering with nature, destroying its seasonality, is harmful for the world at large, for the balance of nature. The more we interfere, the more likely worries will arise.

Ecological concerns have a long history

in cultures of luxury. So too have ambivalences, cognitive contradictions, about luxury itself, especially luxury in the midst of poverty. I have referred to the return of objections to the culture of flowers at the Reformation which marks the puritanical wing of Protestantism. That was especially marked in early New England and still influences that country. But another manifestation has been in contemporary socialist countries, but especially the Peoples' Republic of China.

As signs of luxury, as relics of discarded customs, as distractions from the serious business of material production, flowers are obvious targets for egalitarian regimes that

but also to many reformist religious ones. The two elements of luxury and ritual are often associated as decorations or offerings in the temple and in the house, so that attitudes to non-utilitarian luxury combine with those towards beliefs and practices that are seen as 'the opiate of the people'. Such thoughts were overt among the more dogmatic elements represented by the Gang of Four. Under the Cultural Revolution the New Year ceremonies were abolished but they were reinstated under Deng Hsiao-ping. While flowers were certainly incorporated in ceremonies organised by the party and were planted in public places, in the private domain their use was discouraged.

During the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai the Red Guards smashed flower and curio shops, saying that only the rich had the money to spend on such frivolities. The author Nien Cheng, who was damned for working for the Shell Oil company, presents a harrowing account of the coming of the Red Guards to her house in Shanghai, knocking over her flower bowls and destroying china, paintings and books. [13] Needless to say, such actions affected the production of these items which was seen as distracting the workers from 'essentials'. Production declined, skills were lost, at least temporarily. Nien Cheng's old gardener told her how he had lost his job because 'To plant flowers was supposed to be bad, if not counter-revolutionary'. When the Red Guards came, he put his seedling boxes under his bed. Flower shops were closed and around Shanghai growing was forbidden until the mid-1970s. However even then when Nien Cheng wanted him to plant flowers in the garden, the family sharing the house objected. 'Don't you know our Great Leader Chairman Mao is against flowers?' Yet Mao was constantly referring to flowers (as well as to the notion of the 'soul') in his many speeches, incorporating them into slogans such as 'Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend', and 'If poisonous weeds are not removed, scented flowers cannot grow'. There was a complete dichotomy between language and practice, between metaphor (which continued) and reality (which changed). In other words this usage meant that the conditions for the reinstatement of the culture of flowers were implicit in



Wall posters in Beijing, 1978, urging support for Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping (Time-Life Books).

attempt to rectify the sins of the past. Rituals, especially those associated with supernatural beliefs, are anathema not only to atheistic elites

discourse and in particular in words and names. For example, the murdered daughter of Nien Cheng was called Meiping, flowering-plum vase.

That was one of the problems about attempting to suppress the culture of flowers in China; for many they still carried the significance of 'prosperity', 'longevity', 'wealth', 'happiness', that is, of general well-being. Indeed it is significant that with the ending of the Cultural Revolution the use of flowers was gradually allowed to return (although that development was condemned from time to time). Nowadays in Guangdong, flowers which had been literally stamped into the ground in the Cultural Revolution have made a comeback. You can tell a successful factory by the flowers growing around it. The huge New Year market at Chencun, south of Guangzhou, is flourishing, fifteen kilometres in length when I visited there in 1987. People are using flowers for secular rituals and even for a few religious ones. Indeed they are also growing them for export through Hong Kong, participating in the important worldwide trade in cut-flowers. By this means they fill the peasant's rice bowl (the ostensible reason for their disappearance) more efficiently than by suppressing flowers to grow more rice. They can gain hard currency by exporting to the USA and Europe produce that they can do best (for reasons of climate and culture) purchasing grain from the Americans in return.

In conclusion I have contrasted Africa with the major civilisations of Europe and Asia with regard to the culture of flowers, especially domesticated ones. I associated their presence with the existence of advanced agriculture and horticulture. That development made possible cultures of luxury which left room for the 'aesthetic' as well as the 'utilitarian'. And it is in turn part of my wider thesis about the general comparability of levels of culture in East and West that I want to discuss in the following paper. I see this point as offering a critical comment on the dominant view among Western social scientists and humanists on the reasons why the East did not 'modernise' at precisely the same time as the West (a question that in any case I regard as wrongly posed).

But these cultures of luxury, which

contain both rich and poor, are subject to criticism on that very count. Culture contains its own critique. We find this criticism among Roman moralists as well as among the early Christians who followed them. It is possible that the absence of flowers in Africa was related implicitly to these objections which became explicit only in written cultures. Together with theological considerations, the result was a massive setback in the culture of flowers in early medieval Europe. China did not undergo such a general setback. But doubts existed in China, of a moral and ecological kind. This undercurrent of criticism which came to the fore in the Peoples' Republic for political reasons. But that was soon overcome. The strength of the culture of flowers in China reasserted itself, just as the earlier commercial traditions of the area are undergoing a vigorous rebirth. Flowers are not only symbolic but diagnostic in many ways, now becoming part of a culture of mass consumption in which they are consumed by the gods, by the dead as well as by the living. ☉

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Notes

- [1] Belo 1953.
- [2] J. Middleton, personal communication.
- [3] For a compendium of African design, see Williams 1971.
- [4] On the art history, see Bravmann 1974.
- [5] Goody 1972.
- [6] Needham 1986.
- [7] Sze 1956: 435.
- [8] Cahill 1960.
- [9] The interest in such activities took on political significance when the North had been lost to the barbarians. See Barnhart 1983:26,30,37. On the political significance of plum poetry and painting in the Southern Song, see Bickford 1985:26,71.
- [10] Barnhart 1983:63.
- [11] Koehn 1952:143.
- [12] See Li 1959:37ff. On the botany of the chrysanthemum.
- [13] Cheng 1987.

東方和西方的花卉

古迪

論文摘要

本文比較在非洲、歐洲和亞洲的主要文明中，對花卉的文化觀念及使用行為有何異同。高度發展的農業及初農社會鼓勵奢侈文化的發展，其中兼容「美觀」與「實用」二者，故此與人工培植花卉及其使用有直接的關係。文中指出非洲文化不用花，而歐洲文化則因宗教問題，而使原來相當普遍的花卉文化在中古時代受到重大挫折。在中國文化對花卉仍有道德上和生態環境有關的考慮，這些在大陸的政治氣候變化中尤其明顯。今天，花卉文化再度在中國興盛，而且成為消費文化的一部份，同時為神祇、已逝者和在世者所使用。



民間信仰復興與地方文化重構

張小軍

福建省的閩江江畔，有兩個不久前因溪口電站移民而剛從地圖上消失的小村：湖口和蒿洋。與它們毗鄰的黃村就是著名的《金翼》之鄉。一九八八年至一九八九年間，筆者曾隨孔詔教授一同到這裏進行田野研究，體驗到民間信仰復興與地方文化重構之間有著密切的聯繫。

十幾年來，隨著中國鄉村改革，民間信仰特別是在南方鄉村迅速復興。究竟這一復興的含義是什麼？是否對舊秩序的一種反抗？或是社會改革中政治和經濟的功能需要？還是一種封建殘餘的死灰復燃？筆者認為：在今天的鄉間，(1) 民間信仰復興從文化發生的意義上，並非以反抗社會舊秩序為目的，它的本質是生產一種與人們生活密切相關的和諧秩序；(2) 在結構功能層面，信仰與政治和經濟之間有功能聯繫，但不是它們的功能必需，甚至對它們具有某些功能上的反動性；(3) 民間信仰復興並非一種封建殘餘死灰復燃，尤其在文化象徵層面，它作為一種文化手段，已經含有新的文化意義。

一

中國鄉民對神似乎有一種矛盾心態，他們一方面敬畏神的力量和權威，甘於受其「控制」，這種敬畏是一種觀念上超理性的意識。另一方面，他們又理性地造神、玩神，這是在象徵意義層面上的「造」與「玩」。當今鄉民的造神心態，無疑與歷史有著密切的聯繫。

湖口村有兩個廟，除祖廟之外，還有一個麻公廟。廟內橫樑記載該廟於光緒三十三年修建，原廟座落於閩江邊，傳為朱姓船上人（閩江疍民）所修。現在的小廟只有約二十平方米，是一九五八年修建鐵路時拆遷的。那個年代修廟不可能保留原來規模，但麻公的傳說卻在民間流傳：當年，朱元璋與陳友亮相仗，陳守南平，朱鎮溪口。一日，朱乘舟江上，但見閩江

之水半邊順流而下，半邊摧舟逆上，朱見此景，以為天賜，遂慌忙跪拜於船上。船夫見朱只謝玉帝，不謝自己，便氣憤投江，朱不知情，以為船夫失足，乃嘆道：船夫既為我死，若有朝一日當了皇帝，定追封其為狀元，忙問船夫名，船夫只是伸手上抓（福州話音「麻」），後其屍漂湖口，追封麻公，並建廟祭之。這一傳說，頗為有趣，但虛構甚多，朱姓疍民通過麻公將自己與朱姓皇帝聯繫起來，這類情形在華南鄉村相當普遍（參見科大衛1993）。同樣流傳的另一傳說十分簡單：古時，一日閩江上游漂下一人，著狀元服，落於湖口，鄉民間他自何處來，他無力答話，只是伸手上抓（麻），後人稱麻公，立廟紀念之。狀元進村，乃希罕事，特別是「死」進來，有陰間命判的含義，村民祭拜也是順理成章的。因為由某種機緣而產生的神明，可以為他們的精神世界帶來某種秩序意義，麻公沾上朱皇帝，可以為他們帶來更多的秩序意義。自宋以來，「國家扶祀百神」對地方造神恐有諸多影響。從上述傳說的演變，不難看到鄉民運用某種文化手段編造神之象徵意義的傳統和某種自覺。

蒿洋地方的民間信仰十分龐雜，僅湖口、蒿洋及周圍的幾個自然村，偶像就有約二十種（見表一）。鄉民一方面重新祭祀這些偶像，另一方面許多家庭中仍掛有毛澤東像。很難相信鄉民的信仰復興是以反抗舊秩序為目的。

蒿洋地方神多為命神，區別於行神。行神與經濟職業活動關係密切，如車夫祀車神，馬夫馬商祀水草馬明王，田農則多祀土地（葉郭立誠，1967）。命神則不同，他們掌管著人的生死福禍，婚配及因果報應等等，與生命秩序密切相關。如陳靖姑，便是一個能降蛇伏妖、去邪鎮惡的命神，每年正月十五，玉田臨水宮（陳夫人祖廟）都會有三日盛大游神祀拜。因為福建多蛇，「閩」乃東南蛇名之一，蛇為

表一：嵩洋地方祭祀神一覽表(1989年)

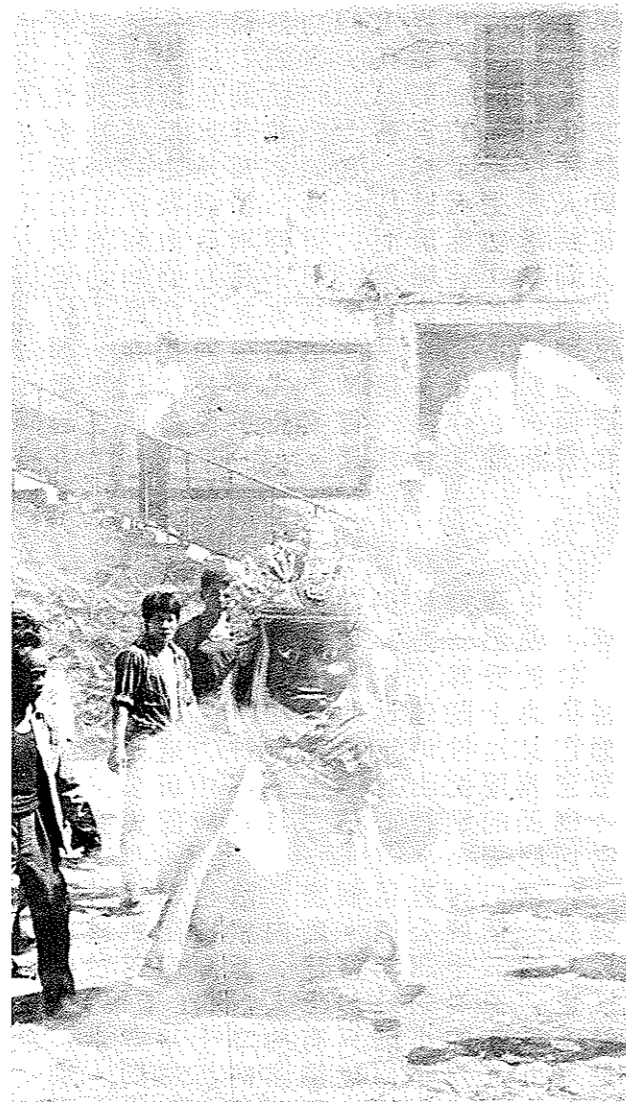
自然村	湖口	嵩洋	都洋	田村	黃村	洋上	鍾潭
祭祀神	村祖鄭明 源夫婦 陳靖姑 七爺、八爺 土地、(麻公)	泰山 白馬王	陳靖姑 潘公公 王公 倪公 土地爺	陳靖姑 青蛙精	陳靖姑 土地爺	陳靖姑 蓮公 謝老師 馬元師 虎將軍	白馬王
祭祀地	祖廟、麻公廟	泰山廟	三公廟	x	土地廟	蓮公廟	白馬廟

長虫，閩為「開門見虫」，可見其多。端午門前插艾草，按當地傳說，五月初一早雞鳴時分，有白蛇從天上飛過，過處盡毒，陳夫人告訴白蛇，凡插艾者皆我娘家，白蛇便不敢去，所以稱「雞鳴艾」。由蛇而演變出的龍、龍圖騰以及划龍舟，表達了當地人們對蛇又敬又畏的複雜感情。當他們在端午將粽子及豆娘拋入閩江之中時，他們並非為了祭屈原，而是為了祭江里的龍神。民間端午祭祀儀式與官方龍舟體育比賽之有機結合，更難以凸現當地民間信仰和儀式之復興是為了反抗舊的秩序。

人類社會通常有三類基本的專司造序的行為，這就是政治、倫理和信仰。在民間信仰中，神的基本造序意義是關於生命秩序的，其次才是與經濟等其它活動有關的秩序。當地鄉民的許多農事商事，如播種、收割、店鋪開張等等，求的多為命神而非行神。在他們的潛意識中，經濟和政治活動是他們生命秩序的一部分而不是相反，這也是民間信仰復興並非鄉村經濟和政治的功能需要的基本原因。實際上，鄉村經濟的發展，正在年輕一代當中減少著忠實的民間信仰者；另一方面，經濟發展帶來的新的物質追求之秩序，也在賦予傳統的民是信仰之造序以不同於四九年以前的新意義。個人則可由此新意義去界定一個已經失落許久的自我。

不同的造序行為可能衝突，也可能和諧。當某一造序行為收縮時（如文革之後政治造序的收縮），其它造序行為得以借助不同文化手段而有更大的發展空間，這是很自然的。在國家轉型中，儀式的復活再現了文化碎

片在新環境下的重綴。.... 人們重構儀式的文化碎片，與政治結構的壓縮相互動，再造，促進並改變著他們的文化意義(Helen Siu 1989:134)。



湖口村游神，前為黑臉矮子范八爺，後為白臉高子謝七爺(張小軍 1989)

儘管改革前，民間信仰造序因與政治造序衝突而受到政治的壓縮，信仰仍是種基本的造序，是政治不可替代的。從邏輯上，民間信仰對舊政治或舊信仰秩序的反抗不應發生在強權政治和毛崇拜退縮之後，而應發生在當時。

我們在這裏之所以強調民間信仰的文化發生意義，乃是因為它是比結構功能更深層的東西，是政治造序不能取代的。即使就信仰而言，目前有官方政治色彩的基督教三自愛委會以及佛教和道教協會，在大陸基層村落的控制幾乎都是空白。嵩洋鎮黃村的一個基督教星期聚會處，更公開表明他們決不承認「三自會」，表明了鄉民有自己追求的文化創造。

二

如果說鄉民的信仰文化之創造是為了秩序的建構，這種創造是作為一種文化手段呢？還是政治和經濟的功能需要？換句話說，信仰秩序是否功能性地發生？

功能通常是指一種有指向的互動能力。一種秩序功能性地發生就意味著它們彼此之間的相互作用指向確定。當代鄉村中的民間信仰復興，我以為並不帶有對經濟或政治的這種指向即作為它們的功能而發生。我們更多地是看到政治和信仰造序兩者間的彼此借用：信仰借用政治權威同時政治借用神之權威。這在歷史上已是鄉民們在文化創造中的「輕車熟路」。

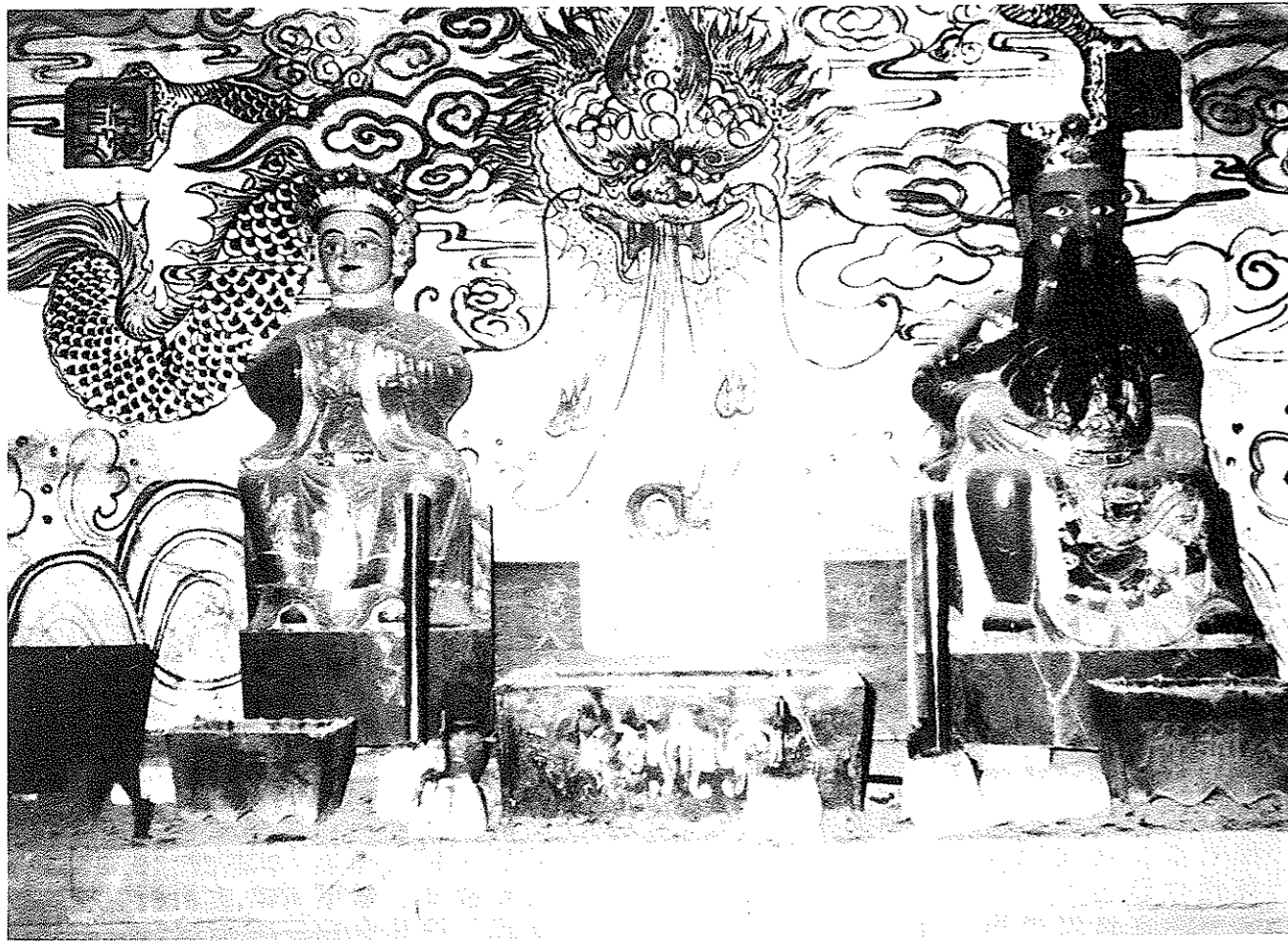
湖口人祀拜七爺和八爺，俗稱大哥二哥(有稱高子矮子)。傳說七爺謝必安乃山東煙台下家川人，是為官將，率軍南下剿匪寇，後迷路山里，士兵飢亡，無奈與副將八爺范無咎(山西人氏)吊死在湖口蔡家的樹上，現在七爺的雕像仍是吐著長舌的上吊狀，每年適逢神誕，便要全村游神，每家必在門前擺香案請神送神，以討吉利平安。實際上，謝、范二爺都是城隍手下的官兒，「謝必安」、「范(犯)無咎」本身就有命判含義。城隍是專司人間善惡，掌管因果報應的陰間司法之神，有十八司、八爺，文武二判官和三十六部將，構成一套陰間政治秩序。鄉民們在此又加上陽間的

官將傳說，可謂「陰陽政治」，頗為有趣，它反映出在造序這一點上，民間信仰與「官」是如何彼此借鑒挪用的。

另一個是東岳泰山的傳說。泰山本是閩王十殿中的第七殿，並無「官」的背景。但嵩洋卻流傳這樣一個故事：古時嵩洋有一美女，品貌無雙，她每天到閩江邊洗衣服，總有一片雲彩為她遮蔭，皇帝天子在上天看見，奇怪為何每天南方天空總有一片雲停駐那里，後來發現是一美女在雲下洗衣，遂選為娘娘，派泰山(太奸)下來接，村女寧死不從，投江自盡。泰山見無法向天子交差，也自刎於江邊。後其頭被狗刁走。皇帝得知，感嘆其忠，乃賜「金頭御葬，三十六墓穴」。三十六墓穴傳說就在當地，但已無人知曉，而泰山則成為一個不朽的偶像。這種官神合一的偶像，顯然在鄉民心中注入了一種神權和皇權的雙重秩序。

李亦園曾指出民間信仰中的宇宙詮釋是和諧與均衡(李亦園 1992:64)。我們發現，當信仰和政治兩種造序衝突時，彼此之間一方面存在功能上的反動性，另一方面有著此消彼長的協調和強者對弱者的征服性借用，例如像文革中的毛神(作為一種政神)。Beatrice Whiting曾在對印第安派尤特人五十個社會群的研究中，發現無集權社會群中，巫術重要的有二十四個，不重要的一個；集權群中巫術重要的有十一個，不重要的有十四個(科恩 1987: 83-84)。Helen Siu指出當代民間信仰復興與政治在文革後的收縮有關，暗示了文革後的政治造序與信仰造序仍然衝突且關係緊張。事實的確如此，因為在中國，只有「宗教」在法律上有信仰自由，而一般民間信仰屬於「迷信」之列。像陳靖姑，本屬閩山三奶派，應歸入道教，但四九年以後至今未劃入「宗教」。一九八六年正月十五玉田臨水宮大游神，使福州北上的公路幹線受堵，驚動了官方，臨水宮被令關閉，使後來許多歸國觀光的僑胞十分不滿，也使各級地方政府感到為難。一些人說，陳靖姑如果不加入道教協會，合法身份終難解決。

信仰造序與政治造序之間也常常



湖口祖廟中央的村祖鄭明源夫婦坐像。(張小軍 1989)

產生相互的和諧、彼此支持和滲透，各自作為支持對方的文化手段。湖口、嵩洋等村歷史上的麻公、七爺八爺、泰山、村祖鄭明源(傳為皇太師)，都被鄉民賦予了某種皇室或官的背景。至於陳靖姑，更是多次受皇室敕封：「以救唐后產難得封都天鎮國顯應崇福大奶夫人。以斬白蛇功，閩王璘封為臨水夫人。以救國功，閩王璘加封崇福臨水夫人。宋淳祐年間封順懿。宋淳祐間，徐靖叟請於朝加封崇福昭惠慈濟夫人。元延祐間(1314-1320)追封淑靖。清雍正七年(1729)皇后宣封天仙聖母。」(魏應麒，1928-1929)。這一自唐之後幾乎朝朝都有的敕封，使得民間信仰的偶像「合法化」，使兩種造序協調起來。蕭鳳霞(1990:53)曾就珠江三角洲小欖的情形指出：每當一種民間信仰或儀式發展到足以構成一種威懾時，帝國的政權常常會有意識地將其納入自己的規範之內。例如，給民間的地方神冊封

，即意味著官方的承認。不管藉口是什麼，這都可理解為在組織上較弱的農業國家盡力將異己勢力納入其統治規範內，以維護自己定義這種規範的權力。需要補充的是：民間信仰或儀式並不僅僅發展到構成威懾時才受到帝國重視。帝國實際上也常常主動採用信仰的文化手段來表達帝國的政治語言。例如近十年的來，一些重要的地方神廟，如湄洲島的媽祖廟和一些神之偶像，或成為政府對僑胞的統戰工具，或成為政府改善形象、穩定地方和與地方非政治交流的手段。省宗教局曾就陳靖姑的「宗教」身份問題進行過討論，實際也是在選擇一種文化手段為政治服務。按照 Goldman (1986)的看法，文革後的宗教寬容政策誘導宗教信仰從私人轉向公共崇拜，由此，黨可以在其中再顯它的控制。

三

在當代中國鄉村地方文化的重構中，民間信仰之復興決不簡單是一種舊序的死灰復燃。在文化象徵層面，它作為一種借用歷史的文化手段，已經被賦予了新的文化意義。

我們發現：文化手段一方面可以借助於歷史，不同的歷史顯然對當代的信仰復興有不同的影響；另一方面，文化手段可以借助於社會其他方面和領域，甚至西方社會流入的一些東西，如基督教。同時，這些文化手段的使用又受到現實社會當中政治、經濟等方面的影響和限制。

四九年革命後的中國，政治對基層村落的控制是一步步加強的，逐步把以前的多元化鄉村社會轉變為單一僵化的社會(Helen Siu 1989)。政治的強力控制產生了兩種效果：一方面，鄉民們對政治的控制和壓力十分敏感，特別是鄉村幹部；另一方面，他們因而離國家越來越「遠」，越來越不認同，不願付出。一九八九年的端午節是六月八日，從陰曆四月三十(六月三日)開始的一系列儀式，並未因「六、四」而中斷，也並未沖淡他們的節日喜慶氣氛。他們更熱心於實際的鄉村秩序，而對國家則表現的相當被動。

改革之後的大陸農村社會，又重新一步步走向多元秩序。這種多元化已與四九年革命以前的情形不同。地方社會與國家的對話更加豐富地展開。西方社會的這類對話或許多從法律、倫理而比較公開、直接的方式進行，但中國社會中的這類對話要複雜得多。宗族、儀式、親屬制度、信仰、關係網、利益群體、階級之類，均可成為對話手段，而方式則在兩個層面展開：公開的一面，多是形式化的；實質性的對話，並不一定公開或直接。

端午祭祀龍神，是一整套相當宗教化的儀式，包括龍舟競渡。嵩洋的儀式活動開始於每年的五月初一，在泰山廟布道場祭拜龍頭，然後由道士

引導沿村、街游龍頭至江邊。在龍舟上安放龍頭稱「掛彩」，下水的龍舟首先要江中繞三圈，向泰山廟拜三拜。這一活動的組織者是一個民間「推選」的委員會，一個地方精英的組織。一九八九年嵩洋的這個委員會，包括了村長、村黨支書和一位身為鎮黨委委員的本村人士。村幹部全要為此活動捐款，當地稱「獻彩」。他們十分自然地游刃於鄉村和國家之間，具有一種雙重代理人的角色，並且協調得十分自然。

國家權力遠及農村，需要經過不同的層面，權力在每一層面都有一種轉換，各層面上「代理人」的表現也相當不同。例如嵩洋的龍頭祭拜儀式和「掛彩」，因有迷信色彩，鎮的黨政「第一把手」都不參加，但對村一級幹部的介入他們則不予干涉；而當端午儀式進入龍舟競渡時，作為一種民間體育，副縣長、鎮長都前去出席、主持並頒獎。又如湖口游神，主持符咒儀式的，是一位老共產黨員，當地解放後的第一任區(相當於現在的鎮)長。湖口游神聲勢浩大，但仍屬於迷信活動。對於這類活動，無領導同意不行，但領導又不能同意，於是便有了「默許」，以表面的「默」應上，以實際的「許」順下。這是一個十分有趣的基層二元(國家和地方)秩序的協調典型，既合乎政治規則，又順應了民意。在這些信仰儀式的復興中，同一文化手段可以被國家與地方以不同的方式借用並賦予不同的象徵意義。像端午儀式，對政府是民間體育，對鄉民則是一種祭祀活動，兩者協調得相當自然。

通過上面的討論，可以看到：在當代中國鄉村秩序的重構中，更為基本的不是「物」的重現，而是新「過程」的發生，不同的文化手段和象徵意義不是在「物」中而是在「過程」中得到新的定義和表達，新的秩序由此而生。⊙

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Revival of Folk Beliefs and Restructure of Local Culture

Zhang Xiaojun

Abstract

Over the past decade, with the social reforms in rural China, there has been a revival of folk beliefs and rituals. In the paper the author argues for the following points: (1) this revival is in essence the creation of a new harmonious order rather than a reaction to the existing social order; (2) on the structural and functional level, folk beliefs are independent of, but at the same time maybe functionally related to the society's polity and economy; (3) the phenomenon is not simply a revival of the past, particularly on the cultural-symbolic level, it can be regarded as a cultural means to construct a new local order and to fulfil individual interests.



Development of Anthropology in China and Hong Kong: A Personal and Casual Review *

Chien Chiao

This essay deals with the development of Anthropology in China and Hong Kong. Here China is defined in a broader term and covers both the Mainland China and Taiwan. As its subtitle suggests, this essay is a personal and casual review; not a factual recountal or systematic examination of the subject. Still, I have to make two more clarifications before I begin.

First, due to the limitation of my own specialty, I will mainly discuss one of the four subdisciplines of anthropology, that is, socio-cultural anthropology and will not cover the rest three fields - linguistics, archaeology and physical anthropology. Secondly I speak not as an expert of this subject in the sense that I am not a member of the small elite group of social anthropologists in Chinese studies who have, since the late fifties, each occupied a small territory in Taiwan or Hong Kong, worked on it diligently and put out respectable publications, rather as a truly participant observer of the subject. I have been devoted for more than twenty years in developing anthropology in Hong Kong, and have observed and in one way or the other related myself to the development of anthropology both on the Mainland China and in Taiwan.

In this essay, I plan to discuss three problems: how was the anthropology, mainly socio-cultural anthropology, introduced into China and how has it been promoted in China as well as in Hong Kong? How have anthropologists adapted themselves to Chinese society (Hong Kong Chinese Society included, naturally); and, finally, how has the Chinese society reacted to this relatively new subject? Let's deal with the first problem first.

The first anthropology book introduced

into China was *Völkerkunde* written in German by Michael Haberlandt published in 1898 which was translated into English by J.H. Loewe as *Ethnology* in 1900. Then the famous Chinese translator Lin Shu with the assistance of Wei Yi translated it into Chinese as *Minchung Xue* (Raciology) which was published by Peking University Press in 1903. This book dealt mainly with the German concepts of race and gave a comprehensive survey of the peoples in North America, Oceania, Asia, Africa and Europe. In the same year, the Qing (Manchu) Government promulgated the "University Regulations and Courses", in which, a new course "Raciology and Anthropology" was listed. Only, however, Peking University compiled with it and offered a course entitled "Anthropology". The textbook for this course and with the same title was written by Chen Yinghuan and published much later in 1918. The book had heavy emphasis on physical anthropology and mainly dealt with the physical types, evolution and world distribution of mankind.

The confusion was finally settled by Mr. Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) when he published his influential article "On Ethnology" in *Yiban Zazhi* (General Magazine). Cai was a great

*This essay is mainly based on a paper entitled "Development of Anthropology in China: A Personal View" which I read at the Symposium on "Development of Anthropology in China: Its Direction, Achievements and Problems" in the 13th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held 29 July - 5 August 1993 in Mexico City. It has also

educationist and spiritual leader in modern China during the early part of this century. He was the president of Peking University for 6 years (1917-1923) and the founder of Academia Sinica. He studied in Germany three times. In his third time there, he represented China to attend the International Congress on Ethnology of Pre-Columbian America and Amerindians held in Stockholm in the summer of 1924. Stimulated by this conference, he became very much interested in Ethnology. So right after the Conference, he went to study ethnology at the University of Hamburg until 1926 (Ruey 1972:1407 and Lemoine 1987:89).

In his article "On Ethnology", Mr. Cai stated clearly that the main concern of Ethnology was culture. It was therefore different from raciology which was concerned mainly with racial classifications, and also from anthropology which mainly studied biological aspects of mankind (Ruey 1972:1408). A year after the publication of this article, he set up the Ethnology Section under the Institute of Social Science in Academia Sinica that he was organizing and got it fully established in 1928. Mr. Cai was therefore generally credited as the founding father of Chinese ethnology, and in China, the term ethnology is still much more widely used than cultural or social anthropology.

In the 1930's, teaching and research activities in ethnology surged. Many renowned western anthropologists came to teach at Chinese universities, Sergei M. Shirokogorov, a white Russian anthropologist taught first at Zhongshan University in Canton, then Qinghua University in Peking. Diffusionists Elliot Smith, Father Schmidt and F. Graebner all lectured at Fujen University in Peking. At the same time, young Chinese scholars who studied anthropology overseas began to return to China to do their field researches along with those who studied anthropology at home. One outstanding characteristic at this period was that all these

incorporated the talk on "Development of Anthropology in Hong Kong" that I gave at the 15th Anniversary Reception of the Hong Kong Anthropological Society held 15 January 1994 at the China Tee Club in Hong Kong.

young Chinese scholars whether trained home or abroad were all engaged in the field research on the minority nationalities. For example, Lin Shun-sheng who was the student of Marcel Granet, studied the Hezhe (Goldes) in 1934, Fei Xiaotong with his newly married wife Wang Tong-hui went to Da Yao Mountains in 1935 to conduct their investigation on the Yao; Lin Hui-xiang researched on the Formosan Aborigines in 1931.

Teaching of Anthropology spread also fast, between 1927 and 1936, anthropology was taught at more than a dozen universities in China. Among them, Yenching University under the leadership of the sociologist Wu Wenzao developed a new direction. At Wu's invitation, Chicago sociologist Robert Ezra Park first lectured there in the fall of 1932 and introduced the concept of "Community studies", followed by Radcliffe-Brown in the fall of 1935. R.B. talked about the methodology of community studies in more details and strongly urged the Chinese scholars to choose a Chinese village for long term intensive study. With their strong advocacy, quite a few eminent young Chinese anthropologists shifted their researches to rural communities of the Han Chinese and yielded a series of excellent works. Among them, first and best known was Fei Xiaotong's study of Kaixiangong (1939), followed by Martin Yang's of Taitou (1945), Lin Yaohua's of Fujien (1948) and Francis L.K. Hsu's of West Town (1949). With this new direction, Chinese anthropology advanced along two lines side by side - Han Chinese community studies and the study on non-Han peoples. Until 1949, substantial progress had been made on both lines even during the War against Japanese invasion.

Two years after the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, all courses of socio-cultural anthropology together with those of sociology were banned. Most anthropologists were assigned to investigate the history and culture of non-Han peoples in order to establish their identities more accurately. These investigations yielded huge amount of ethnographic data. Unfortunately even these investigations were banned when the Cultural Revolution started, and only a small portion of these data have been published so far.

After 1952, teachings and researches in anthropology continued only in Taiwan at a number of institutions: Department of Anthropology at National Taiwan University, the Institute of Ethnology and the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica, the Institute of Border Area Studies at National Chengchi University and, recently, the Institute of Sociology and Anthropology at National Tsinghua University. As late as 1978, the ban on anthropology was finally lifted on Mainland China. Zhongshan University established its department of anthropology in 1981 and two years later Xiamen University followed. At present, as far as I know, anthropology courses are also offered at Beijing University, the Central University for Nationalities, Fudan University and Yunnan University.

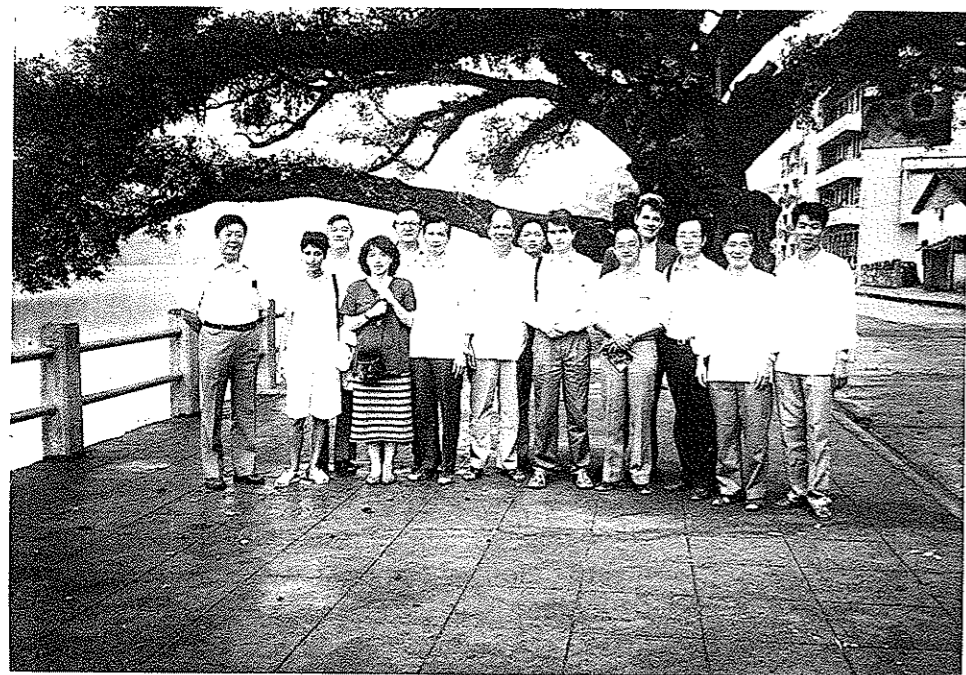
In Hong Kong, though many eminent anthropologists including Maurice Freedman, Barbara E. Ward, Jack M. Potter, James and Rubie Watson and Marjorie Topley have done researches there, formal institutions for teaching and research were developed rather late. In 1973, I was invited by The Chinese University of Hong Kong to establish a department of anthropology. I first set up an Anthropology Section in its Department of Sociology. The Section first offered elective courses, and then in 1977, began to offer Minor Program in

Anthropology. Finally in 1980, it became an independent department offering major program. I served as its founding chair until 1991. The department established the M.Phil Program in 1987 and Ph.D. Program in 1992. So far it is still the only department of anthropology in Hong Kong, although anthropology courses are offered at both The University of Hong Kong and The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

Prior to the establishment of the department, The Hong Kong Anthropological Society was formed on 3 June 1978 and was registered with Hong Kong Government as a non-profit organization. The formation of the society was the result of more than six months intensive preparation by a group of local anthropologists. Most of them were elected to serve on the founding Executive Committee of the Society which had the following composition:

- Chairman - Dr. Chien Chiao
- Secretary - Dr. Eugene Cooper
- Treasurer - Mr. Michael Cartland
- Publications Officer - Dr. Marjorie Topley
- Other members - Prof. Murray Groves
Mr. Brian Peacock
Dr. Sunghsing Wang

The Society has been very active to promote



Anthropologists from China, Hong Kong and France on a Society fieldtrip to Lungmun Yao Autonomous County, 1987.

anthropology in Hong Kong for last sixteen years. It has regularly held public lectures by local as well as transient anthropologists, organized field trips to China, and since 1987, it has published its own journal - *The Hong Kong Anthropologist* (formerly known as Hong Kong Anthropology Bulletin).

Enough have been said about the history. Now let's turn to the second question, how have the anthropologists adapted themselves to Chinese society. For this question, the case of Fei Xiaotong may provide a good illustration. In my article "Fei Xiaotong: A Personal Appraisal", I first raised the question of Fei's academic identities: "Is Fei Xiaotong an anthropologist, an ethnologist or a sociologist? This is a question frequently debated by Chinese scholars in these three fields" (1992:21).

Fei's major field work before the completion of his Ph.D. was anthropological, including his famous community studies in Kaixiangong, and his anthropometrical work of the Yao in the Da Yao Mountains of Guangxi, where he and his first wife also collected ethnographic data. Thus by training and by virtue of his initial field work, Fei is an anthropologist, specifically, a social anthropologist. At this stage, there could be no confusion about Fei's "academic identity".

If we examine Fei's work and activities after he returned to China from England, the picture grows more blurred. Though Fei became famous largely because of his studies of Kaixiangong, he has stated that he was not solely interested in understanding a single village, but wanted to understand the lives of all the Chinese peasants or even the lives of all the Chinese people, with the ultimate goal of reforming China (Fei 1992:14).

Soon after he returned from England, Fei selected three villages in Yunnan, each representing a distinct type of Chinese village, and made a comparative study of them. The data collected in these studies was incorporated in the second book he published - *Earthbound China* (1948). Fei saw: "this book as continuing the anthropological approach that I first adopted in *Peasant Life in China*, being an exercise in the method of comparison of types. However, *Earthbound China* aroused less attention in the West than *Peasant Life in China*.

Anthropologists in the West were not interested in my approach" (Fei 1992:16). In fact Fei had already begun to deviate from the anthropological training he had received in England. After this study, Fei freed himself completely from the restrictions imposed by the Western academic tradition and became, in his own words, "a wild horse" (Chiao 1992:27).

It was unfortunate for Fei and for Chinese anthropology that Fei was deprived of his freedom for twenty years (1957-1976). Still the amount of research and the number of publications he has completed since 1976 is astonishing. Specifically, he has traced the changes in Kaixiangong over the course of 50 years (1936-1986) and has written another monumental work on these changes. At the same time, the territory covered by his research has expanded rapidly. Applying his "comparison of types" methodology, he has surveyed small towns, cities, regions and finally the whole country according to a grand design that Fei calls "putting the whole nation on a chessboard". This evolutionary process that takes Fei from a single village to all of China constitutes one of the two "articles" that he has been writing all his life (Fei 1988:587). The other "article" begins with his 1935 investigation of the Yao in the Da Yao Mountains, then expands to the frontier areas - first to the north, particularly Inner Mongolia - and then to the West and back to the south. In 1988, when Fei delivered the Tanner Lecture at The Chinese University of Hong Kong on "Plurality and Unity in the Configuration of Chinese People," he covered not only all of China but all of Chinese history (Chiao 1992:27).

Because he attempts to cover so many topics, such a large territory and such a broad time span, Fei can variously be labelled a social anthropologist, a sociologist, an ethnologist and a historian - or none of these. One thing is clear: no single label can be applied to him. Because Fei has developed his scholarship according to the principle which he has firmly held all his life, that is, to gain useful and relevant knowledge about the Chinese people in order to better serve China, he was unable to confine himself to a discipline with boundaries that had been developed in a society which advocated knowledge for knowledge's sake

alone. It will take some time before the Chinese reality and the Western intellectual disciplines attain congruence. Before this occurs, it should be remembered that when one searches for knowledge relevant to the welfare of his society, one could never be tied down by imported labels (Chiao 1992: 27-28).

Fei's experience makes a sharp contrast to the argument made by Maurice Freedman in his article "A Chinese Phase in Social Anthropology" which was the third Malinowski Memorial Lecture delivered in 1962. In it, Freedman argued the usefulness for anthropologists, historians and sociologists to learn from each other. On the other hand, he warned, it was important not to lose the respective aims and methodological characteristics of their profession (1979: 385-87). Had Fei, I suggest, been a professor in an American or British university instead of having lived as a conscientious citizen in China which badly needs development, he would find easier to follow Freedman's advice and maintain clearly his academic identity.

Turning to the third problem, how do Chinese society react to anthropology, I would like to offer my own experience to explain this problem. My basic view is that anthropology is a fundamental science for understanding humans. In building the only anthropology department in Hong Kong, our prime responsibility is to transmit the updated and comprehensive knowledge of this subject to our students and guide them to see themselves, their society and the world in a more broad and comparative perspective.

"Comparison" is the key word not only in Anthropological methodology, but also in the humanistic education developed with anthropological knowledge. Experience with and deep understanding of a culture other than one's own through field work is an essential part of anthropological training. Therefore, to find an ideal site for the students' field work was one of my main concerns in setting up the anthropology department. Lévi-Strauss envied his American colleagues because they could:

leave their universities and visit native communities as easily as we could go to the Basque country or the Riviera. What I am praising is not an intellectual tradition but an historical situation. It

must have been an extraordinary advantage to have access to communities which had never yet been the object of serious investigation and which were still quite well preserved, since their destruction had only just begun (1973:60).

The location of Hong Kong may be even better; 150 kilometres northeastward or 250 kilometres northward from it, there are ancient settlements of the Yao people. Those in the north i.e. Liannan County in north Guangdong are particularly unique; they are the original eight settlements of the colourful Pai Yao tribe. I made it our first field work site, and took the first group of anthropology students to do the field work there in 1984. At the same time, I did the best to promote the Yao Studies both inside and outside China. Together with a number of the distinguished specialists, we organized three international colloquiums on Yao studies in Hong Kong (1986), Hunan (1988) and France (1990) respectively and two workshops on specific problems in between. Furthermore we also established the International Association for Yao Studies which I served as its founding president (1986-88). In view of the limitation of both time and resources, these accomplishments were rather remarkable. Nonetheless, the hierarchy of my university thought that all these activities went to the wrong direction. They have been mainly concerned with whether the anthropology graduates can find descent jobs and whether our researches can benefit (in very practical terms) the local community. Here Professor Fei's principle that the goal to study anthropology is to serve China better is narrowed down to the very parochial and utilitarian level. Such kind attitude, unfortunately, is not confined to my own university. In spring 1993, I visited anthropological institutions in Xiamen, Beijing and Guangdong and lectured at the first two places. I found that they all received the same kind of criticism that I had. Sadly, Xiamen University closed its anthropology department in summer 1993. After more than twenty years in promoting anthropology in this area, I still wonder whether anthropology is a subject which may be too luxurious and theoretical to the people who are overwhelmingly concerned with economic development. ☹

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人類學在中國及香港的發展：從個人角度的漫談

喬健

論文摘要

本文乃綜合作者在第十三屆國際人類學及民族學大會中所宣讀論文及在香港人類學會十五週年紀念會上的講詞而成，主要是從個人的角度探討人類學（限於文化人類學）在中國大陸、台灣及香港的發展。文章集中於三個問題的論述：(1) 人類學傳入中國的經過以及其後在中國大陸、台灣、香港的發展。本文以歷史事實陳述此一問題。(2) 人類學者對中國社會的適應問題。本文以著名社會人類學家費孝通為例說明此一問題。(3) 中國社會對人類學的反應。本文以作者二十餘年在香港發展人類學的經驗檢討此一問題。



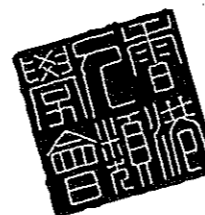
Anthropology Week at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The author (fourth from left) with students in minority costumes.

The Society just celebrated its 15th anniversary. Founded in 1978, the Society has over the past fifteen years organized and presented various activities to promote the public's understanding of and interest in anthropology. Assembled here are photos of past activities to bring back your fond memories.....

On January 15, 1994, the Society hosted a cocktail reception at the China Tee Club to celebrate its 15th birthday.



Grant Evans, Chair of the Society, introduced the speaker Dr Chiao Chien (center) of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the guest of honor, Prof Fei Xiaotong (left) of Peking University. (Kuah Khun Eng)

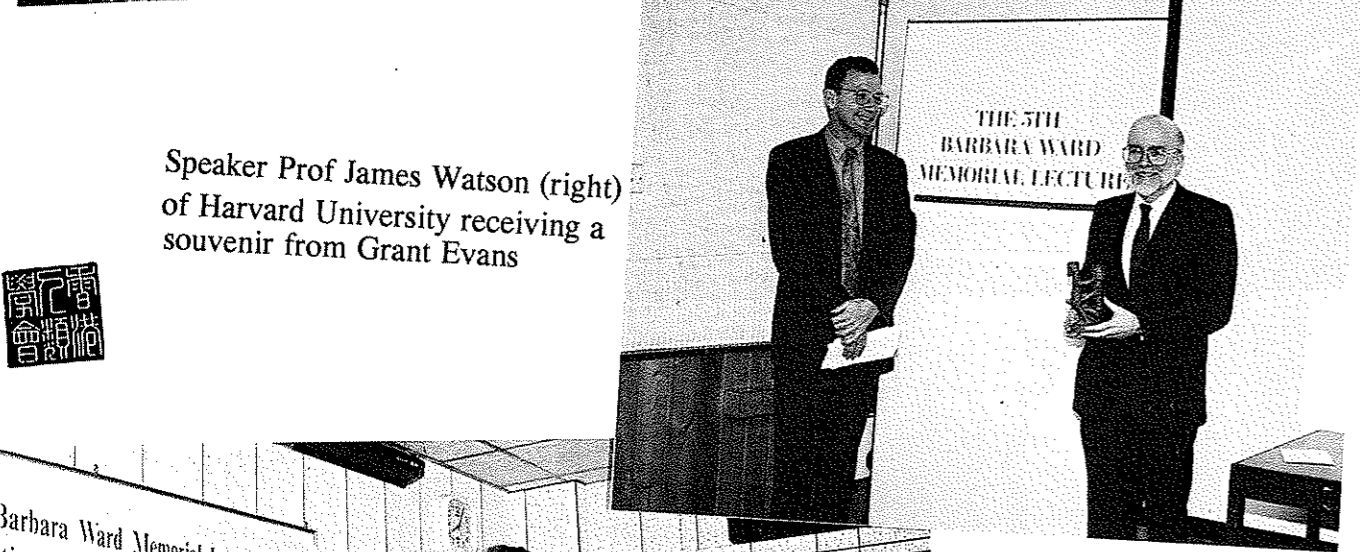


Members enjoying themselves
(Kuah Khun Eng)

Started in 1987, the Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture is an annual event dedicated to Barbara Ward of Newnham College, Cambridge, who taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She was in many ways a pioneer of anthropological studies of Hong Kong, and is remembered fondly by many, especially the villagers of Kau Sai where she did intensive fieldwork.



(from left) David Jeffreason, Helena Hung, the speaker Prof Wang Gungwu of Hong Kong University, Diana Martin, Janet Scott.



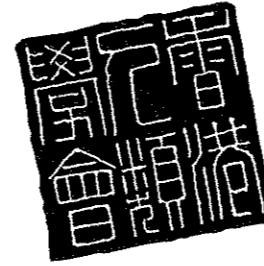
Speaker Prof James Watson (right) of Harvard University receiving a souvenir from Grant Evans



At the 7th Barbara Ward Lecture: Speaker Prof Jack Goody of Cambridge University and Society Hon Sec Maria Tam invited questions from the floor. (Andrew Stables)



Lectures are held monthly or bi-monthly. They provide a forum for scholars and interest parties to discuss a wide range of topics on Hong Kong, China and cultures of the world.



Lectures have always been occasions of intellectual stimulation and reunions of old friends



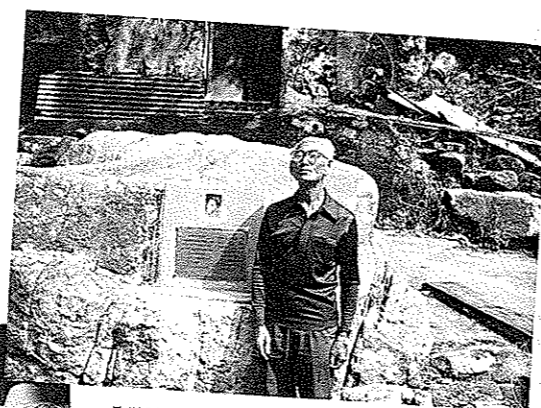
--and good food afterwards at Kam Kong Restaurant (here with speaker Prof Lee Lee of Cornell University, fourth from left)



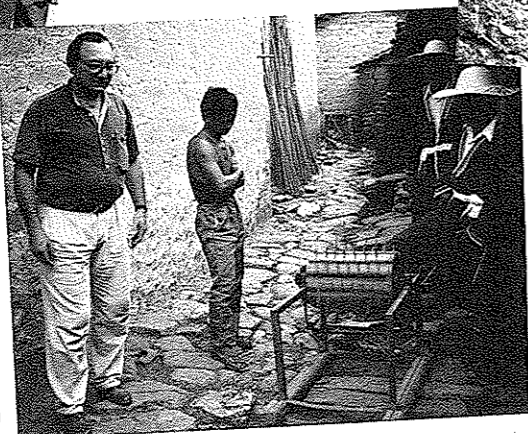
Excursions have been extremely popular with members. The Society has organized trips to various minority areas in China as well as local places of interest such as Castle Peak Monastery and ancestral halls in the New Territories.



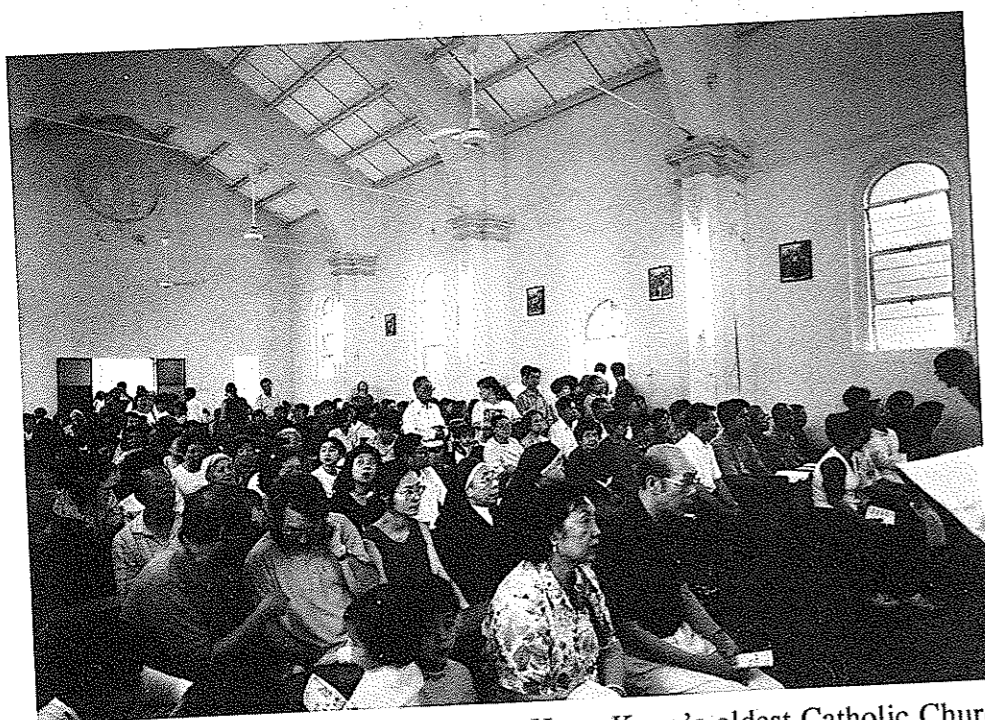
Yao minorities in Guangdong
(Diana Martin 1987)



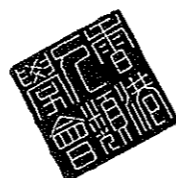
Villager of Kau Sai posing in front of plaque in memory of Barbara Ward (Maria Tam 1993)



French anthropologist Maurice Godelier with Yao informants
(Diana Martin 1987)



Members took part in a mass held at Hong Kong's oldest Catholic Church during the Society's fieldtrip to Yim Tin Tsai Island, May 2, 1993.
(Saunders Tam)



CLAN ASSOCIATIONS IN HONG KONG:

Their Precursory Organizations in China and Development in Contemporary Hong Kong

Kazuo Yoshihara

INTRODUCTION

The earliest so-called clan association was founded in 1915, and four more associations during the pre-war time. The post-war days witnessed the founding of 8 associations in the 1940s, 38 in the 50s, and 24 in the 60s. By the mid-70s a total of 77 associations could be counted. The years of each foundation are shown in Table 1.

As shown in Table 1, 80% of the clan associations were established during the 1950s and 1960s. In general, the 70s can be said to be a decade of decline of the traditional Chinese associations. But several associations were organized even in the 80s. (1)

The words "clan association" is generally used to denote a certain kind of organization which is composed of members bearing the same surnames. But if we stick to the literal meaning of CLAN, we may fail to understand the actual characteristics of these associations. These so-called clan associations can be grouped into two categories - single-surname associations and multi-surname associations. Typical examples of the former are The Hong Kong Wong Clan Association (香港黃族宗親會), and Hong Kong Au Choy Clansmen Association (香港柯蔡宗親會), Hong Kong Gee Tuck General Association (香港至德總會) for the latter. Single-surname associations, however, include additional words indicating certain county names, such as the Hong Kong Hoiping Luen Clan Association (僑港開平梁族宗親會) in the names of their organizations. The above shows that the general

term "clan association" actually contains some different kinds of associations. Furthermore, among the district associations with organizational principles quite different from one another, we find a few associations similar in substance to the clan associations. It is, therefore, necessary to analyze not only so-called clan associations but also the type of district associations in order to grasp the true state of this kind of Chinese association.

I have not made a complete survey of the clan associations in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, I propose a tentative typology based on research which I have carried out both in China and Hong Kong during the past one and half years. While I suppose this typology shall be modified by further research, it might be useful for the time being to clarify the characteristics of certain kinds of Chinese associations in Hong Kong.

My research is based on the supposition that so-called clan associations in contemporary Hong Kong have some precursory organizations in mainland China, simply because most of the associations of this kind were organized by migrants from China, especially from Guangdong Province. After examining some associations related to Kaiping county, I found that the lineages - Chinese traditional kinship groups, make the basic model of the contemporary clan associations in Hong Kong. By the words "precursory organizations", I mean organizations which not only provide potential members but provide models for the

organizational principle and the cardinal activities of later associations.

Each type is classified according to the precursory organization which organizers of associations in Hong Kong are assumed or observed to use as a model.

TYPES OF CLAN ASSOCIATION

1. LINEAGE ASSOCIATION

Some district associations were organized around 1960 and during the 1970s and the 80s as shown below. The Chinese names of these associations include the words The Same District (同鄉). It may seem perplexing that the words Clansmen Association are used in the English names for registration, such as Hong Kong Hoiping Lowkong Clansmen Association (香港開平樓岡同鄉會).

1. Hong Kong To Ching Countrymen's Association (香港開平杜詭同鄉會) 1960 譚
2. Hoiping Yu Leung District Association (開平儒良同鄉會) 1959 胡
3. Hoiping Zeng Kiu District Association (開平張僑同鄉會) 1970s 張
4. Hong Kong Hoiping Lowkong Clansmen Ass. (香港開平樓岡同鄉會) 1984 吳
5. Hong Kong Bolo District Association (香港波羅同鄉會) 1985 周

In Guangdong, village comprised of inhabitants with identical surnames are common, and Kaiping county - a part of the inner Pearl River Delta - is no exception. Here is an example of the Lowkong Clansmen Association. Lougang hsian (樓岡鄉) consists of five village. The original villagers in Lougang had the surname Wu, and belong to a localized lineage. (2) It is said that all the original dwellers of this area are patrilineally descended from the first ancestor who settled there about seven hundred years ago. They belong to four major segmented branches, each of which is named after the first ancestor of the branch.

There are seven more minor branches. Each village in Lougang is occupied to a certain extent by one or two of the major branches. In each village there used to be at least one ancestral hall.

In 1874 the ancestral hall of the third ancestor was founded in the market town of Lougang in order to show the integration among all the branches of the Wu. The reason why this was done for the third ancestor, and not the first, is that no other segmentation was observed before his generation. Villagers shared the ancestral property both in the name of each hall of the branch and the central hall in the market town. Most of the ancestral halls including the central one had unfortunately been destroyed by the 1960s.

In 1985 the club building of Lougang was especially established for the Chinese who returned from overseas, and a memorial hall for worshipping the third ancestor was opened on the top floor of the building. As the pictures of the ancestors are enshrined in the altar, and the periodical ceremonies are observed, the memorial hall is formally regarded as the reestablished central ancestral hall at Lougang.

An interesting point is that the funds for the club building were raised through the Lowkong Clansmen association in Hong Kong. This association in Hong Kong played the role of a powerful agent for raising funds in collaboration with its counterpart in Canada. Almost five hundred people living in various countries in the world made donations. About 70% of the total funds were raised by the members of the association in Hong Kong and their families in China.

This association was once scheduled to be established in the mid-1970, but actually the planners failed to start organizing in spite of their intentions. The association was finally established in the spring of 1984, (3) when the future of Hong Kong after 1997 was known to a certain extent.

We should not miss some important facts influencing the success of the association being organized. A kind of newsletter in the form of a booklet for the overseas villagers which had been first published in 1921 and had suspended its business during the Cultural Revolution, was resumed. The newsletter tells about the latest

political and economic situation in China with the purpose of awakening interest in business at home among Overseas Chinese. The attempt of the authorities of Kaiping county that supported the news letter has been successful.

The chief editor of this quarterly newsletter had had teaching positions at schools in Lougang and he enjoyed the confidence of former pupils in Hong Kong. He was extremely influential in persuading those who opposed the decisions of the preparatory committee for the association. He helped and encouraged the organizers in Hong Kong with his abundant knowledge about Chinese government policy concerning Overseas Chinese and people in Hong Kong.

Of course the open policy for economic development in China is crucial to understand the circumstances of the newly established association based on traditional kinship ties. The post-1997 issue must have been the trigger for the organizers of the association to seek to establish the association.

This type of Lineage Association in the Philippines is named Single-name Hometown Association in Chinben See's paper. He recognized them as a transferred agnatic corporate descent group in rural China. (4) He might have been mistaken in regarding them as true lineages in spite of the voluntary membership of the hometown association. But in the Hong Kong setting also, a Lineage Association cannot be regarded as a transferred one but an association newly organized voluntarily among immigrants sharing a common ancestor.

The lineage in Lougang has lost its corporate ancestral trust and has been dissolved already, and yet the agnatic descent group consciousness was so deep-rooted in the villages that no institutional devices could exterminate it. The economic policy in the 1980s made the consciousness revive in China and abroad. The policy stimulated ambitious ex-villagers to establish a lineage association in Hong Kong. The association made the localized lineage in Lougang its model.

2. CLAN ASSOCIATION I

The clan as the precursory organization

of this Type 2 is not so tight in its consanguineal ties as the localized lineage and higher-order lineage. The entity indicated by the clan here is different from the clan stated in type 3 with regard to the two points of the relatively well demonstrated patrilineal agnatic ties among the founders of each lineage, and consequently of ritual integration concerning the ceremonies at the ancestral hall.

In 1976 the Chow Limkei Clansmen Association (香港同謙溪宗親會) was established by immigrants with the surname Zhou, from Kaiping county. The organizers were members of a clan which established the great ancestral hall (大宗祠) in 1903. The great ancestral hall was built in a market town of considerable size, the center of six combined branches sharing a common ancestor in the Song dynasty. The members of this kinship organization called themselves the six branches of the Zhou in Kaiping county. Each two branches in a neighbourhood, or with close patrilineal ties with each other, forms a higher-order lineage with the same founder. The great ancestor of the higher generation common to all the six branches is the famous thinker Zhou Lian-xi in the Song dynasty. (5) Also, all the members of the Bolo District Association, which was mentioned in the previous type, are descendants of one of the six branches.

In 1908 several businessmen with the surname Zhou from Kaiping, purchased a building for rent in Hong Kong. They signed a contract on behalf of the six branches. The building as the corporate property of the great ancestral hall was bought with the funds raised by descendants of the six branches in Kaiping. All the income from this common property covered the expenses of ceremonies at the great ancestral hall. The seasonal and annual ceremonies lasted until 1945.

The successors to the corporate property in Hong Kong purchased another building for rent in 1959. And the Chow Limkei Clansmen Association succeeded to all the property of the great ancestral hall in Hong Kong when it was established in 1976. A part of the income from the buildings for rent is spent for fraternal activities and mutual assistance among the members.

The present fraternal relationship among

the six branches makes it possible for The Newsletter of Boluo For Emigrants to report the news concerning all of them.

3. CLAN ASSOCIATION II

Another type of clan association is based on clanship. The word 合族祠 is a kind of ancestral hall especially constructed with the funds raised by descendants belonging to many lineages of the same surname. (6) The founders were the leading members in each local lineages. The agnatic descent ties among the component lineages are not demonstrated, but are merely insisted on in the genealogy.

The Chen Clan Academy (陳氏書院) in Guangzhou city is a well known example of a clan ancestral hall. As it was established by the educated elite and the wealthy with a view to their increased prestige, it looks extremely magnificent. The establishment of a hall for ancestor worship was not the primary purpose. But rather the politico-economic influence derived from a majestic ancestral hall was the central matter of concern.

I'll introduce here an example in relation to Kaiping county. In 1948, The Tam Clansmen's Association of Hong Kong (香港譚氏宗親會) was established by immigrants with the surname Tam mainly from Kaiping, Xinhui, Taishan, Donguang, and Nanhai county. This association organized an investment company to own a building for rent in 1958.

The committee decided to collect funds for the company also from members of the related organizations overseas as well as from members in Hong Kong. Some of the leading members, heavy shareholders in the company, were appointed as managing directors. The profits from the properties are divided according to shares. The clan association had its clubhouse on a floor in the same building.

An altar for ancestral worship is placed in the hall of the clubhouse. The Chinese characters signifying all the ancestors of the Tams are inscribed on a tablet in the center of the altar.

The number of members was about 1400 in 1960. Many of the members of the To Ching Countrymen's Association mentioned in type 1, are the members of this association at the same time. The association comprised of immigrants from Ducheng was organized as the counterpart of that in Montreal. One factor to be considered is that Communist China did not allow the overseas villagers to come back home at that time, and overseas Chinese expected Hong Kong to be a substitute. Another is that emigrants from the same village in Hong Kong wanted a more cohesive organization based on the lineage relationship. The newly established Lineage Association is consequently an independant organization. Nevertheless, the positions of secretary as well as some of the directorships, are occupied by the same person.

Clan association in this type might be regarded as the very prototype of a clan



Activities of international clansmen association (World Tang's Clansmen Association)

association, because the precursory organization is a provincial-wide clan.

The Tam Clansmen's Association made the clan which had established an ancestral hall in Guangzhou the model for their organization. The ancestral hall for the first settler of the Tams who moved to Guangzhou from Jiangxi province was built in the Song period, during the latter half of the 10th century A.D.. The ancestral hall was established by one of his great-grandsons. At that time it was supposed to be an ancestral hall just for the family. But interestingly, eight centuries later it was reestablished by 48 influential persons with the surname Tam in various counties of Guangdong province. The reestablished ancestral hall appeared as that of the provincial-wide clan in 1753.

The ancestral hall was repaired in 1872 by the many descendants, a total of about 2300, Tams. They shared one of the founders of the 1753 establishment as the common ancestor. About half of them lived in Kaiping, Xinhui, Chunshan, and Nanhai county, about 300 in each county.

Most of the members of the association in contemporary Hong Kong come from those counties. The association coupled with the investment company established with the funds collected both in Hong Kong and overseas countries made the repaired clan ancestral hall of 1872 its model. The ancestral shrine in the

club house of the association does not look like a miniature of the altar at the clan ancestral hall in Guangzhou, but symbolizes it.

4. MULTI-SURNAME ASSOCIATION

Multi-surname associations insist on the consanguineal ties in ancient days among the component surname groups, and yet we can only appreciate mythological, and not historical reality. Multi-surname associations are grouped into two by their names. The first group shows the constituent surnames in their organizational names, such as the Au Choy Clansmen Association, the Au Ou Au-Yeung Clansmen Association (區·歐·歐陽同宗會), the Hong Kong Shoo Yuen Tong Lui Fang and the Kwong Clansmen Society (香港湖源堂雷方廣宗親會). The second group uses symbolic words in their names, such as the Hong Kong Gee Tuck General Association, the Hong Kong Chew Lun Clansmen's Association (香港昭倫公所), and the Lung Kong Association of Hong Kong (香港龍岡親義總會).

In the United States and Canada, The Soo Yuen Benevolent Association and Sue Yuen Tong are used as the names of the associations comprised of the three surnames, Lei, Fang, Guang. Their development in this century is well known, but the precursory organizations are relatively unknown. According to an article



Example of ancestor altar in a clubhouse (The Tang's Clansmen Association of Hong Kong)

of The Suyuan Monthly Magazine, an ancestral hall named Suyuan Jia Shu (潮源家塾) was established in 1847. (7) Although I have not myself examined the history of the ancestral hall in Kaiping, the ancestral tablets of the three surnames enshrined at the central hall used to be worshiped every New Year. A lot of descendants bearing the three surnames assemble at the hall to observe periodical ancestral ceremonies. They lived not only in Kaiping county but also, in Taishan. The date of foundation was not contemporary with that of the associations in America, but it was earlier than the first influx of Chinese immigrants from Guangdong.

The Shoo Yuen Tong in Hong Kong was established with the financial assistance of its counterpart in the United States in 1958. Most of the members surnamed Lei and Guang are from Taishan county, while members bearing the surname Fang come mainly from Kaiping, Donguang as well as several counties in Chaozhou. Immigrants surnamed Fang from Kaiping organized an independent association in 1988, that is the Hong Kong Hoi Ping Fong's Mutual Aid Association (香港開平方氏宗親聯誼會).

Quite a similar history about Lung Kong Association around the world is reported in an article of Kaiping Wenshi. (8) A temple dedicated to the four ancestors with the surnames Liu, Guan, Zhan, and Zhao was constructed at a market town in Kaiping. The date of foundation dates way back to the 17th century, 1661. In New York the first organization of the Lung Kong Association was established in 1888. The author of this article regards the temple as the model of the later Lung Kong Association in the world.

In 1959 the Lung Kong Association of Hong Kong was organized. The basic component organizations had already existed. They are clan associations of four surnames, the Ciu Clansmen's General Association of Hong Kong (香港趙漢宗親總會) established in 1947, the Hong Kong Zeng Clansmen Association (香港張氏宗親會) in 1953, the Hong Kong Lau Clansmen Association (香港劉氏宗親總會) in 1956, and the Hong Kong Kwan Clansmen Association (香港關氏宗親總會) in 1958. Although there is

an interlocking relationship of office holders between the Lung Kong Association and each of the four associations, the membership is independent.

The Gee Tuck Association was originally comprised of five surnames, Wu, Zhou, Cai, Weng, and Cao. The Gee Tuck of Hong Kong was established in 1960. The representative of the Gee Tuck in the United States visited Hong Kong to urge the foundation of the counterpart. At that time the Ng Clansmen Association (香港吳氏宗親會), Chow Clansmen Association (周氏宗親總會), and Au Choy Clansmen Association had already been established, and the leading members of each association formed a committee. In 1963 a campaign to raise funds for the clubhouse started in Hong Kong and North America, and three years later it was opened.

The establishment of the Hong Kong Chew Lun Clansmen's Association is similar to that of the other multi-surname associations mentioned in the previous paragraphs. (10) In 1963 the association was organized by four surnames, Tan, Tam, Xu, Xie. The delegate of Chew Lung Clansmen's Association of America requested the four fellow surnames in Hong Kong to organize the association. Immigrants surnamed Tam, Xie, and Xu had already established their respective associations. A member of the preparatory committee made an interesting statement at a meeting. The point is shown below. Hong Kong is close to China. Many of the Overseas Chinese left their family and relatives in Hong Kong, which they often visit as it holds an strategic position in Asian trading and traffic. The establishment of the Chew Lun Clansmen's Association of Hong Kong will contribute to broaden the network of the Chew Lun Clansmen's Association in the world. Hong Kong is the second homeland for the Overseas Chinese.

CONCLUSION

In this presentation, I introduced several so-called clan associations related to Kaiping county in Guangdong. I have talked more about the Type of Lineage Association because

International networks:
Tang's Clansmen
Association of Thailand
visiting Tangs in Taiwan



lineages are considered to be the basic kinship organization. Clans in traditional China adopted a similar organizational principle and structure. The precursory organizations of the multi-surname associations found in Guangdong also made the lineages their model. Multi-surname associations can be called Quasi-clan Associations, and the Lung Kong Association is an extreme case as it is based on a fictional brotherhood.

It is necessary to know the relationship among the associations bearing the same surname. The Chow Clansmen Association established in 1948, which might be classified in Type 3, does not have any organizational relationship with the Hong Kong Bolo District Association and the Chow Limkei Clansmen Association. A publication of the Chow Clansmen Association shows a part of the genealogy of the Zhous in Kaiping, as one of the various genealogies concerning the Zhous in China, but we cannot find any concrete agnatic

ties among them. The Hong Kong Ng Clansmen Association, established in 1948, also does not have any formal relations with the Hoiping Lowkong Clansmen Association.

In contrast to that, the Tam Clansmen's Association holds a formal relationship with the Chew Lun Clansmen's Association as well as the To Ching District Association and Toishan Tam Kwong Yu Tong (台山譚光裕堂) established in 1960, and thus it maintains a large network among the associations with component surnames of the Chew Lun not only in Hong Kong, but around the world.

An attempt to broaden the network among the related organizations based on natural or artificial kinship was accelerated during the 1950s and the 1960s - at that time the Chinese did not have an open-door diplomatic policy. It may be said that the close relationship among the kinship associations in and out of Hong Kong is very important with regard to the post-1997 issue. ⊕

Notes

1. See Kazuo Yoshihara. "Hong Kong: An Asian city." in H. Fujita and N. Yoshihara eds. Cities (Tokyo: Mineruba Shobou, 1987) pp. 142-163. [in Japanese] See also K. Yoshihara, "District Associations in Hong Kong and Emigrant Villages in China," in Hiroaki Kani ed. Hong Kong and the 1997 issue (Tokyo: Touhou Shoten, 1991) [in Japanese]
2. The word "local lineage" is used in Maurice Freedman, Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung (London: The Athlone Press, 1966) p.20, and James L. Watson uses "localized lineage" in his paper "Chinese Kinship Reconsidered: Anthropological Perspectives On Historical Research," The China Quarterly, no.92 (1982) p.607. I have adopted the terminology of J. Watson.
3. Geoffrey Howe visited Beijing to meet Deng Xiaoping in April 1984. The Agreement of The Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in December 1984.
4. Chinben See. "Chinese Clanship in the Philippine Setting," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, vol.XII, no.1 (1981) p.231.
5. Great ancestral halls for Zhou Lian-xi were built in several cities and towns in Guangdong province.
6. The word 合族祠 is used in the papers by Tatsumi Makino. "Gouzokushi and Gouzokufu in Guangdong (廣東の合族祠と合族譜)." Noboru Niida ed. The Study of Modern China (Tokyo: Kougakushya 1948). The word 書院 was often used in the names of clan ancestral halls of this kind in Guangdong.
7. The Suyuan Monthly Magazine, no.2 (1985) p.35.
8. Kaiping Wenshi, no.8 (1984) p.43-44.
9. See K. Yoshihara, "Clan Associations in Hong Kong," The editorial committee for the commemoration of Professor Tadao Sakai's seventieth birthday ed. Peoples and Cultures in asiatic History (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankoukai 1982) pp. 695-713 [in Japanese]
10. See K. Yoshihara, "Voluntary Associations in a Migrant City: Clan Associations and District Associations in Hong Kong," Cultural Anthropology, no.5 (1988) pp.151-163 [in Japanese]



香港的氏族宗親會：
在中國的前驅組織及
在香港的當代發展

吉原和男

論文摘要

本文分析了幾個與廣東開平縣有關係的香港宗親會。當代的香港宗親會在中國有其前驅組織。由于宗親會大多是由移民所組成，他們以早期中國傳統的親屬群體——宗族作為基本模式。“前驅組織”意味着它不僅提供了“潛在的成員”，而且為後來宗親會的組織原則和基本活動提供了模式。

香港可稽的第一個宗親會誕生于一九一五年。約百分之八十的宗親會產生于五十五至六十年代。七十年代以後發展呈下降趨勢，八十年代隨中國開放的經濟政策又有回升。氏族宗親會容易按字面誤解為僅僅是同姓的成員組織，實際上，它有不同的類型。例如一些同鄉會的組織原則與其他宗親會有相當的不同。

氏族宗親會可分為四類：

1. 宗族宗親會 (Lineage Association). 它是基于鄉土宗族并帶有共同祖先的移民志願組織。
2. I類氏族宗親會 (Clan Association I). 它的血親紐帶不像宗族宗親那樣緊。這類由氏族表征的宗親會，在其中每一宗族的發起人中間，有相對清楚的父系親屬紐帶和儀式整合。
3. II類氏族宗親會 (Clan Association II). 它以氏族制度為基礎，包含許多同姓但屬于不同宗族的人，有合族祠。每一宗族之間的父系血緣紐帶未得證實，僅僅認定于系譜。
4. 聯姓宗親會 (Multi-surname Association). 又稱半氏族宗親會 (Quasi-clan Association), 是以古時共脈的親族紐帶結成的姓氏群體，譬如“區，歐，歐陽同宗會”。

從五十年代到六十年代，人們曾基于自然的和人造的親屬關係，加速在有關聯的組織之間擴展關係網。可以認為：現時在香港內外，這些有親屬關係的宗親會之緊密聯繫，對於香港“九七”以後的情形會是十分重要的。



紙扎鋪的禁忌

李偉儀、梁偉基



《太上感應篇》中的地獄酷刑果報之圖。

(一) 序

紙扎鋪是售賣中國宗教儀式中的祭品的商店，是華人宗教系統中不可缺少的一部份。紙扎鋪的顧客雖然是生存的人，但真正的使用者是死者和神祇。本文探討紙扎鋪作為一個與鬼神接觸的行業，其中的種種禁忌，以及這些禁忌所衍生的行為模式與文化規範；從中探索人的神鬼觀念對其生活及世界觀的影響，以了解人與文化之間的互動關係。

紙扎鋪所經營的生意，以售賣紙製扎作及其他紙祭品為主。扎作是實物的模擬，主要以紙及竹枝為材料，製作程序是將竹枝折成所需的模型或框架，再糊上彩紙而成的立體祭品。用紙扎作的製品種類很多，普遍的有交通工具、樓房、電器用品、各式日常用品以及僕人等。這些扎作通常在祭祀中焚燒，目的是給死去的親友使用，故此對象甚少是與自己並不相識的陌生死者。此外，紙製扎作一般只在死者逝世後數年內用來供奉死者；逝世很久的死者一般並不以扎作來供奉，除非死者對其後人或其他在生的人有特別的要求，才會以此作祭品。

紙祭品也是模擬實物的形狀而製成的，一般是平面的紙品，如金銀、溪錢和冥鈔等，也有用紙張印製和摺疊而成的祭品，如紙衣服。這些紙祭品，價錢較扎作廉宜，也受到普遍採用。紙祭品可燒給任何死者，不論是親戚朋友抑或與自己不相識的「遊魂野鬼」，只要覺得有這需要，那些祭品可用作供奉。

紙扎鋪內也售賣香燭。「香」是把香膠及香料(如檀香、沉香)搓在竹籤(俗稱「香雞」)上，經過風乾而成的棒狀物。燃點時，它會散出香味及煙霧。「燭」是指蠟燭，可分為紅色和白色，以配合紅事(如神誕)及白事(如喪禮)的不同需要。它的造法是將蠟搓上竹籤上而製成的。

紙扎鋪的禁忌與香港的文化究竟有何關係呢？其一，焚燒紙製祭品的習俗在西方社會中並不存在，只有在華人社會中出現，可謂具有中國文化特色。其二，紙扎鋪的禁忌和其他一切形式的禁忌，以及到紙扎鋪購買祭

品，然後進行不同形式的宗教活動等，均是受到社會成員公認、互相模仿，繼而相沿成習，卻沒有明文規定應當如何進行。這種約定俗成的思想行為，在民間長期並且廣泛流傳，可說是一種民間文化，有著濃厚的地方色彩。

(二) 文獻回顧

關於「紙扎鋪」的研究，在 Marjorie Toplay 的一篇關於「香港的偶然舉行的中國儀式」的文章中有提及。他指出紙扎鋪是一間售賣儀式用品的商店，並簡介店內的貨物品種，如冥鈔(paper mock money)、香(incense)及金銀(square of paper with a small square of gold or silver substance stamped in the centre ... representing the Chinese ingot)。此外，文中亦剖析中國人觀念中的人、鬼、神的關係和架構，以及「地府」觀念的存在原因及作用。

另外，James L. Watson 在「廣東社會的喪禮專家」(Funeral Specialists in Cantonese Society)一文中，亦有提及紙扎鋪，並稱之為「紙舖」(chih-pu, paper shops)，售賣的貨品包括冥鈔(Hell Bank Notes)等祭品。此文旨在描述在喪禮過程中，有哪些人會參與其中，並組成一個階級架構。然而，這兩篇文章，並沒有談及紙扎鋪的禁忌。

(三) 個案簡介

是次研究的對象是兩間位於秀茂坪村地下的紙扎鋪—利祥香莊及一間紙扎工場。我們分別於一九九三年十一月九日及廿五日進行訪問，田野資料主要有訪問筆錄、照片、幻燈片和搜集到的紙祭。

香祥香莊在秀茂坪已開業廿七年，是一間零售店，售賣的貨品包括香燭、紙祭品及一些小型扎作如紙鞋、冠帽等。香莊的大部份貨品是批發而來的，另在店前設有一張工作檯製香，製成的香店內零售。

利祥香莊所供奉的神是齊天大聖、觀音及關帝。香婆說前二者在秀茂坪有廟宇，有很多人供奉，自己也是信徒。關帝則是一般做生意的店舖均會供奉的神。由此可見，利祥香莊所供奉的不單是行神，也有社區或地方性的神祇。

香莊的東主是一對中年夫婦，男的自稱「香公」，女的自稱「香婆」。「香婆」每天在店前用手製造香枝。他入行的原因是因為在中國大陸，他的家庭是製香維生的，故到了香港後他也以這門手藝來謀生。

另外一間店舖是一家紙扎工場，在秀茂坪營業了十多年。東主也是一對夫婦——林先生和林太太。他們聘請了一位助手黎先生。所謂紙扎工場，就是製造紙扎的地方。這工場沒有店號，林先生說因為這工場並不會有顧客直接到訪，只會透過殯儀館或其他同類型商店作中間人訂貨，故此該舖無須命名以作識認。

紙扎工場所供奉的神祇是天后及

林先生在十多年前是做男裝洋服的。但因不景氣而被迫轉工。他認為做紙扎與做洋服沒有分別，均須考究的剪裁，故他轉行不久便很快熟練起來。

雖然香公、香婆認為他們的「香莊」並非「紙扎舖」，但我們在此論文中把利祥香莊及紙扎工場通稱為「紙扎舖」，一方面是為了方便描述起見，另一方面則是運用約定俗成的通稱。

當筆者詢問香婆，別人如何稱呼香莊時，他說街坊及顧客會因為他在門前造香的緣故，一定會稱此店為香莊，而稱其他同類型但不造香的店舖為「紙扎舖」。香婆認為這是由於一般人不懂得如何分辨祭品，以為所有紙祭品皆稱為扎作。其實，像香莊這類店舖，應該稱為「紙品舖」、「香莊」或「元寶蠟燭香舖」，而「紙扎舖」則是製造或售賣扎作的地方。反之，林先生自己和其他人均稱紙扎工場為「紙扎舖」，認為他的工場既是



香婆正在做香 (李偉儀 1993)

華光。前者也是一個地區神祇，在秀茂坪建有廟宇供奉，而華光則是紙扎行業所供奉的神。林先生稱華光為「師傅」。據筆者所知，華光是保佑從事建築的人的。故此，扎作製造也被視為建築行業的一種。

生產紙扎的，稱為「紙扎舖」是正確的。

(四) 禁忌

禁忌是人們為了避免某種具有超

自然力量所帶來的災禍，從而對某些人、物、事情、言行產生行為限制的及自我迴避。它源於人們對某些事情的恐懼，因而禁忌常帶有負面的含意。被人們列為禁忌的東西，不論是神靈抑或潔物，均是被界定為不得接觸的。

其實，禁忌與規則可說是一個錢幣的兩面，即是說，禁忌與規則同時存在的。人們要遵守某些規則以免犯上某些禁忌；有了禁忌，人們便要遵守那些規則。故此，規則是要使人不犯上禁忌，令人們有適當的社會行為，成為一個循規蹈矩的人，為的是要避免犯了禁忌而帶來不良的後果。禁忌或規則給了人們一個行為上的指示。無論是一定不可做的東西抑或一定要做的東西，均是使得人們不要觸及禁忌。在探訪香莊及紙扎工場的過程中，筆者發現這兩個地方都存在必需遵守的規則，和絕對不能觸犯的禁忌。

在兩次的訪問中，香公香婆與林先生、林太太均不停地為我們介紹店內的貨品。雖然他們的行業經常與鬼神和死亡扯上關係，理應沒什麼死懼，但言談之間，他們對鬼及死亡是有所禁忌的。

最明顯的例子是，他們在筆者談及死亡與鬼的話題時，顯得十分不自在，似乎並不喜歡這些話題。他們不繼續向我們介紹貨品，以轉換話題。他們亦會避免運用「死」和「鬼」等字眼，而改用「下面嗰的」（下面的）、「已過身的人」（已死的人）、「去咗嘅」（已死的人）、「嗰啲嘢」（那些東西）、「祖先」及「先人」等去代替「死者」。此外，也會用「去咗」、「過身」、「唔係度」、「仙遊」來代替「死亡」。

當筆者詢問香莊內有何禁忌或有甚麼東西不可以做時，香婆的即時回應是「百無禁忌」。林先生也說紙扎工場純粹是商業經營，沒有什麼禁忌可言。林先生立即接著說，紙扎不一定是「白事」（喪禮）時用的，並給我們看了一些照片。照片中的紙扎是一些「紅事」時用的紙祭物，例如神誕中的鬼王等。此外，林先生亦強調紙扎實在是藝術製品，例如有花燈，花炮及明紗紮作等。總之，紙扎並不是只限於「白事」時用的。

不過，這兩間紙扎舖在孟蘭節（農曆七月十四日）時都有焚燒大量冥鏹，一般有多個竹籬的容量。這種叫「燒街衣」的習俗，是人們從家裏帶來香燭冥鏹，在街上焚燒，供「遊魂野鬼」使用。商人也會在店舖門前或附近「燒衣」，數量不定。香婆對於他們燒大量街衣的解釋是：「遊魂野鬼平時沒有人供奉，如果我們這行也不燒多些，還有哪些人會燒？」孟蘭節燒些街衣是應該的。他說東西的生意，所謂取之於社會，用之於社會，正如和生人做生意一樣，都要給一些甜頭的。另外，紙扎是燒給特定的死者，一般遊魂野鬼不會收到，故此在七月節（孟蘭節）應燒多些超渡他們。」

除了每年燒街衣之外，香莊與工場均有供奉神位。香婆認為「神靈」的作用是看守店舖，保障平安。筆者再詢問她既然鬼只能收到已燒成灰燼的冥鏹，那為什麼還需有神靈看守店舖呢？香婆的回答是：「雖然那些東西」（鬼）不能拿走東西，但有「神靈」便可將之拒之於門外」。林先生供奉華光及天后的原因是：「同行（紙紮行業）的都供奉，加上是做生意，沒有神位似乎不是很好。」

由此可見，兩間「紙扎舖」的店東均因為自己的工作行業的關係，而產生了禁忌。從上述所見，由禁忌所衍生的規則大抵分為兩種：一定要做的，例如設立神位和燒大量街衣，以及不可以做的，例如忌談「鬼」和「死」。這些都是由禁忌而產生的規則與規範，繼而把人的行為制度化起來。

其實，筆者認為兩間紙扎舖均存有對鬼及對死亡的禁忌，乃是由於鬼神都依靠生存的人焚燒祭品奉獻給他們，方可得到那些資源。紙扎舖的經濟生產以鬼神為對象，與鬼神之間可說有間接的經濟關係，亦即控制了鬼神所需的資源，店東可能會認為鬼神均會將注意力集中於紙扎舖。故此，他們為免招來麻煩，便要小心自己的行為，因而產生了禁忌，確使自己與鬼神維持和睦的關係。「百無禁忌」對他們來說，似乎是一種期望和行為指標，而非既有事實；他們希望對事

表三：鬼、神、祖先與祭祀、香火、共同祭祀群體之關係表

	家鬼	野鬼	厲鬼	厲神(陰神)	祖先	香火神
地位	禁忌			←————→	神聖	
情緒	畏懼			←————→	崇敬	
祭拜對象	屍柩(魂帛)	無	無	屍骸(墓碑)	神主(公媽牌)	神像(神位)
祭拜處所	墳墓	任意地點	無	塚祠(陰廟)	宗祠(家廳)	廟宇
香爐(香火)	無			-----→	有	
祭祀方式	奠	普度	無	-----→	定期祭祀	
共同祭祀群	家族	無	無	形成中	家族(宗族)	地(業)緣群體

的。顧客甚至會要求與現有貨品一樣的商標或款式，例如有一位男士訂造了一輛與「林保堅尼」跑車的款式和商標一模一樣的紙扎汽車。

從這些現象看來，地下世界的運作是參照現今的世界模塑而成的。正如 Topley 所說：「陰界其實是將當代社會轉移到地下而成的。生存於陰界的靈魂的需要，也就是現代人日常生活中所用的物質，如房屋、金錢、衣服、汽車，以至護照。」

林先生認為親人奉獻紙扎是出於孝心，使死去的先人在地下世界的生生活過得美滿。筆者認為這種地下的生活是一種理想，人們在生前不能完成的心願均可在死後由親友為其達成。這樣，人們便會覺得生前死後的世界差別並不太大，甚至死後可能比現世更好；相信這地下世界的模塑可以減少人們對死亡的恐懼，也從而強化了活人侍奉和祭祀祖先的觀念。

(七) 總結 - 從禁忌看文化

在探訪利祥香莊時，不難發現這間紙扎舖是一個社會網絡的中心點。有一天，我們在利祥香莊逗留了約三小時，期間並沒有人光顧，但卻不繼有「街坊」（住在附近的人）到訪。他們大多是到街市買菜的家庭主婦，也有一些住在附近的男性，其中，有些是與秀茂坪的廟宇有關的。例如，有一位主婦是觀音的「童身」（靈媒），另有一位男士是齊天大聖的「童身」的翻譯員，其他則是多年的老主顧。

「街坊」們在香莊門外空地所設置的檯椅處坐下，並與香公、香婆談天。他們的談話內容均是與秀茂坪區的神祇有關。那天利祥香莊的門外也擺放了一塊寫著「達摩寶誕」的木牌，是達摩（另一區內神祇）誕辰的宣傳品。原來，紙扎舖在此期間為達摩廟收集神誕捐款。區內舉行任何神誕時

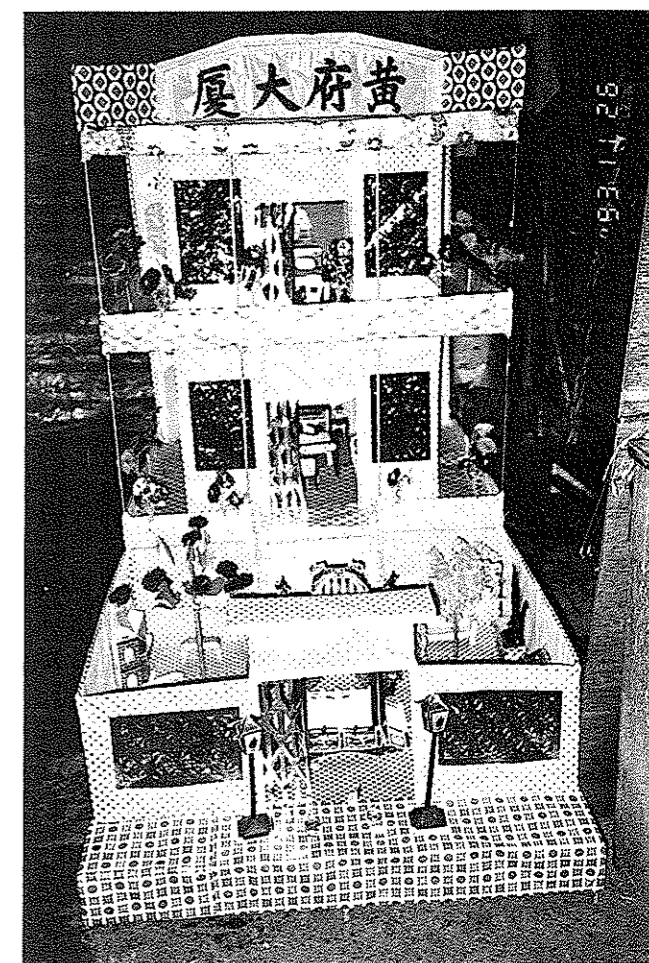
，居民一般都會到利祥香莊購買祭品。

由此可見，香莊、其顧客，秀茂坪街坊以及地區廟宇，連成了一個宗教網絡。人們通過這網絡互相鞏固及強化宗教信仰，促使秀茂坪的地方宗教得以繼續維繫及存在。

禁忌作為一種民間宗教現象，是約定俗成的，亦即是受到大眾的公認，並加以互相模仿和實行。禁忌與文化一樣，都需要由社會成員共享與學習才得以維繫的。死亡是人生的必經階段，但對死後的生活和對鬼的概念卻是在文化上存在的。隨之而來的禁忌，也是因應文化而產生的。

不過，個人的行為是有差距的。每個人都會因應不同的環境而作出不同的行為。其行為亦會因應文化變遷而作出調整，並不會長期留駐在同一位置。

禁忌本身所指涉的範圍也有彈性。當我們討論這一家秀茂坪的紙扎舖對鬼和對死的禁忌，實在很難說這些禁忌只是這一家紙扎舖內的禁忌。在不同程度上，這些也是所有紙扎舖的禁忌，也是普遍香港人甚至中國人的禁忌。⊕



花園洋樓紙扎的全貌 (李偉儀 1993)

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Taboos In Paper Offering Shops

Lee Wai Yee
Leung Wai Kei

Abstract

Taboo as a kind of culturally constructed norm and constraint is a frequent phenomenon in Chinese society, especially in situations concerned with death and the supernatural world. *Chi jaat po*, shops which sell paper offerings and other ritual goods, are indispensable from Chinese religious life and thus highly related to death and supernatural beings. The owners of *chi jaat po* have vertical relations with both deities and ghosts since they control the resources and materials which these "users" obtain through offerings by the living. The paper discusses people's perception of taboos and ways to prevent mishaps.



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