

非物質文化遺產的物質性、 操作者與保育：有關香港禮生 及其文本的初步研究

Materiality, Practitioners and the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage – A Preliminary Study of *Lisheng* and Their Texts in Hong Kong

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有聲書 AUDIO BOOK

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導言

Bouchenaki 提出，非物質文化遺產（非遺）作為一個統稱，就是指非實體的文化遺產，當中所包括的習俗、口述傳統、表演藝術、宗教和節慶儀式，以及傳統知識和技藝，皆與物質文化相關。¹ 而這種文化遺產須靠人類作為載體而得以實踐。這就是說，當談及非遺，我們不能忽視其中的物質性和人為因素，不然在有關課題上就缺少一個較為全觀的視野。

本文透過訪問元朗廈村鄧氏宗族中一個具禮生背景的家庭，探索禮生及其文本在香港非遺框架內的含義，並討論文化習俗的物質性和文化工作者與其身處的文化背景成為完整組合，如何有助於了解和保護非遺。

香港非遺脈絡中的禮生

禮生，即謂「儀式大師」，植根於中華文化，歷史源遠流長。從定義來說，禮生就是主持儀式的人。據歷史學家劉永華的研究，《漢典儀》中首提及禮生，並於唐代至清代期間被制度化為一個官方角色。² 儘管禮生的功能在不同皇朝中皆有差異，他們均選自貢生或地方文士，負責執行皇室乃至社群儀式，例如祭孔、縣衙的更替、婚喪、一般迎送祭祀及個別家禮。³ 由是觀之，禮生為執行儀式的專業人士，同時通曉文書，以便在儀式中背誦相關文本，帶領儀式的進行。而禮生的實務操作，尤其在香港非遺的脈絡裡，與今日社會仍然緊密相關。

Introduction

Bouchenaki suggests, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as a collective term means the non-material kind of cultural heritage, including customs, oral tradition, performing arts, religious and festive practices, as well as traditional knowledge and skills, which are associated with the material culture.¹ Such kind of cultural heritage needs us, human beings, as carriers to pass on. That said, when discussing ICH, we cannot dismiss its materiality and anthropogenic factor, or else we will miss a more holistic view on the subject matter.

Based upon an interview with a family of the Tang clan in Ha Tsuen, Yuen Long with a *lisheng* background, this article explores the meanings of *lisheng* and their textual records in the context of the ICH in Hong Kong and discusses how the materiality of cultural practices and cultural practitioners as an assemblage in their situated cultural context may in turn shed light on the understanding and safeguarding of ICH.

Lisheng in the context of the ICH in Hong Kong

Lisheng, literally "masters of rites", have a long historical root in the Chinese culture. By definition, *lisheng* are the persons who take charge of rituals. According to historian Liu Yonghua,² *lisheng* were first mentioned in *Handian yi* (Ceremonials of Han Officials) and were institutionalised as official roles from the Tang dynasty to the Qing dynasty. While serving different functions in various periods, *lisheng* selected from government pupils or local literati were to conduct imperial and communal rituals, such as rites of sacrifice to Confucius, the handover of responsibility at the prefectural yamen, wedding and funerary rites, rites of welcoming, greeting and sacrifices as well as family rituals.³ We now can define *lisheng* as ritual-conducting specialists who possess the knowledge about directing the rituals which often require recitation of ritual texts. The practices of *lisheng* are still applicable today in the context of the ICH in Hong Kong.

¹ Mounir Bouchenaki: <The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage>, 《ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium: 'Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites'》(10, 2003), 頁1。

Mounir Bouchenaki, "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage." *ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium: 'Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites'* [Oct 2003]: 1.

² 劉永華：《Confucian Rituals and Chinese Villagers: Ritual Change and Social Transformation in a Southeastern Chinese Community, 1368-1949》（萊登及波士頓：Brill，2013），頁49-51。

Yonghua Liu, *Confucian Rituals and Chinese Villagers: Ritual Change and Social Transformation in a Southeastern Chinese Community, 1368-1949* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 49-51.

³ 同上註。

Ibid.

禮生雖不直接見於香港非遺代表作或香港非遺清單內，但卻是當中一些代表項目裡不可或缺的角色，例如非遺代表作中的「宗族春秋二祭」，由非遺清單中不同村落春秋祭祖所組成。在這些儀式中，禮生一如劉永華記載清代梁章鉅的描述，他們主導儀式程序，引領儀式參與者在何時起立、下跪、叩頭等。⁴

在宗族祭祖儀式相關的非遺項目當中，我們固然能管窺禮生於當代社會的功能及其文化上的面貌；而當我們能以更廣角度將非遺的意義擴闊至官方清單以外，與有關非遺所置身的文化背景作一對比，我們就可從禮生及其文本，密切審視作為文化傳統的香港村落習俗。

認識禮生家庭

2020年6月，筆者訪問了一個元朗廈村鄧氏家庭。退休教師鄧女士是筆者的主要資料提供者，這些年來她都致力推廣香港傳統村落文化。

更重要的是，鄧女士來自廈村裡一個具禮生背景的家庭，這也解釋了她對於傳統村落嫻熟的原因。她的家庭是二十三世奇猷祖的直系後裔，奇猷祖是清末的貢生，曾「為鄉建吉山書院為首事」，也因為他對教育的貢獻，在世時宗祠已設有祿位供奉。正因為這個書香世代的背景，鄧女士的家庭承傳了都禮俗知識，她的祖父、父親和叔父皆為其村落的禮生，如劉永華教授所述，相關知識在皇朝時期皆由貢生或有識之士所掌握。⁵鄧女士透過在禮生家庭中觀察和學習，了解村落儀式的意義，這也是她不時受邀講解村落傳統的主題內容。

根據鄧女士所述，禮生在村裡有多種功能。除了主持不同的宗族儀式，禮生亦負責撰寫和誦讀有關儀式所需的祝文，有些禮生還會負責與儀式相關的工作，例如村醮務會的文書、顧問和統籌等職務，組織醮會和相關的儀式。從

While *lisheng* as a term is neither mentioned in the Representative List of Hong Kong ICH nor the ICH Inventory of Hong Kong, *lisheng* are the key personnel to some listed items in the Representative List, for example, the spring and autumn ancestral worship of lineages, which is composed of a number of ancestral worship events in the ICH Inventory. In these events, *lisheng* direct the procedures of the ceremonies by guiding the participants when to rise, kneel and kowtow during the ceremonies, which is still much the same as what Liu describes the *lisheng*'s major ritual duties in the Qing dynasty after Liang Zhangju, a scholar of the Qing dynasty.⁴

Such ICH items related to the ancestral worship ceremonies of lineages can certainly provide us with a glimpse of one of the functional and cultural aspects of *lisheng* in the contemporary world; and when we adopt a broader view by extending the meaning of ICH beyond the official list vis-à-vis the situated cultural context of the named ICH items, we can closely examine the village-based practices in Hong Kong as a cultural tradition through the lens of *lisheng* and their textual records.

Introduction to a family of *Lisheng*

In June 2020, I had a chance to visit a family of the Tang clan in Ha Tsuen, Yuen Long. My key informant, Ms Tang, is a retired teacher and has been keen on popularising the traditional culture of local villages over the years.

Above all, Ms Tang was from a family with a *lisheng* tradition in Ha Tsuen, which partly explains why she has knowledge of the ritual practices in traditional villages. Her family was descended from the 23rd generation ancestor *Keyau*, who was a government pupil in the Qing dynasty. As *Keyau* took the lead to support and build the *Gat Shan* College in his village, a tablet of his was installed in the ancestral hall even during his lifetime to commemorate his education contribution to the village. With this scholastic background, her family has inherited the proficiency in rituals that was generally seized in the hands of government pupils or scholars recognised in the imperial period as suggested by Liu — her grandfather, father and uncle all served as *lisheng* of her village.⁵ Being an observer and learner in the family

前，因禮生能讀書寫字，更有禮生具備命理堪輿的知識，所以他們當中有人擔當村中的老師和堪輿師傅。這就如鄧女士的祖父一樣，除了是村中的風水顧問，亦會為村民就祭祀、婚喪等擇日，也曾是大井圍和廈村的鄉村老師，亦在私塾任教。

禮生的知識和實務工作，一如其他文化習俗，都是學習得來的成果。宗族的年輕男性只要願意學習禮生的文化造詣，皆有條件成為日後禮生的一員。鄧女士和她的兄弟也說，族中的男性有機會被挑選為禮生學徒，然而成為禮生的過程並不容易，合資格的禮生需要具備良好的記憶力，以記誦禮生的知識和文本資料。鄧女士的兄長曾經跟隨祖父學習成為禮生，希望至少能成為一位堪輿師傅，但因為他的興趣不大，所以最終放棄成為禮生。儘管如此，鄧家祖父和父親在往生後留下了一系列與禮生有關的文本，猶如家寶，亦為我們探討禮生的工作以至傳統村落的儀式生活，提供了重要資料。

with such a background, she understood the meanings of the village rituals, which were often featured in the talks she was invited to give to the public for promoting the village tradition.

According to Ms Tang, *lisheng* served multiple functions in the village. Besides taking charge of different rituals in the clan, they were tasked to write and recite the ritual texts known as *zhuwen* (prayers) for ceremonies. Some *lisheng* were also involved in other ritual-related duties such as being the secretaries, consultants and coordinators of the village's *jiao* board, and were responsible for conducting the associated rituals of *jiao* festivals. In the past, a number of *lisheng* were usually educators as well as geomancers of a village due to their generally high proficiency in Chinese and knowledge of geomancy. For example, Ms Tang's grandfather worked as a village teacher in Tai Tseng Wai and Ha Tsuen as well as a teacher at a private school. He would also help villagers in date selection for worship, wedding, funeral or something alike, besides being a *fengshui* consultant of the village.

Like other cultural practices, the knowledge and practices of *lisheng* have to be learnt. Young male members of the clan are all potentially to be *lisheng* in the future, as long as they have the will to learn the cultural assets of *lisheng*. As Ms Tang and her siblings suggested, male members of the clan might be selected to be trained as *lisheng* in the past, but the learning process could be demanding and pupils were required to have a good memory to recite the knowledge and texts in order to be qualified *lisheng*. Mr Tang, Ms Tang's brother, once tried to learn to be a *lisheng* (or at least a geomancer as he wished) under the guidance of his grandfather but later decided to quit the study as he lost the interest. Even so, the grandfather and father of the Tang siblings did leave behind a collection of written texts related to the *lisheng* practices as a family treasure, through which the *lisheng*'s work as well as the ritual life of traditional villages could be exemplified.

⁴ 同註2，頁48。
See Note 2, 48.

⁵ 同註2，頁65。
See Note 2, 65.



禮生的文本

在筆者到訪期間，鄧女士展示了她祖父和父親留下來的文本資料。由於時間關係，筆者未能將文本一一細閱，但為文本拍下照片，並在事後加以分類，以協助我們了解文本和禮生相應的工作。相關文本現粗略分類如下：

儀式文本

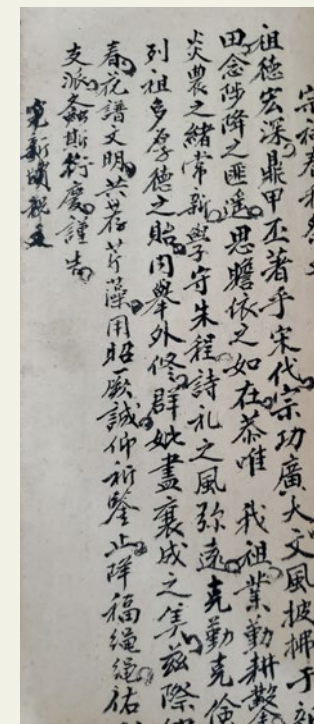
如前述，儀式文本主要包括在官方儀式中使用的祝文和祭文。鄧女士祖父所記錄的相關範文包括曾用於宗祠春秋二祭的祭文●，以及祭祀已故親人的祭文●。這些祭文都是以文言文寫成，也是儀式文本的寫作範式。文本的內容視乎各種儀式而有所不同。例如宗祠春秋二祭的祭文會讚頌源於宋代的鄧氏祖先的功德，並祈求祖先庇佑福澤延綿。而祭祀已故親人的祭文則會提到往生者的生前善行，並表達對死者的哀思。

The textual records of *Lisheng*

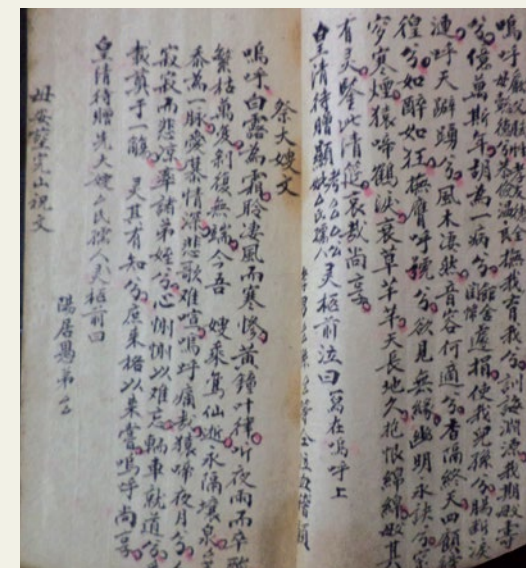
During my visit, Ms Tang showed me the collection of texts her grandfather and father left behind. Owing to a limited time, I could not read them one by one in detail, but I still had a chance to take photographic records of the texts and categorise them afterwards, which can help us understand the types of work of *lisheng* from the corresponding texts. The types of texts are roughly summarised as below:

Ritual texts

The ritual texts, as mentioned previously, mainly include *zhuwen* (prayers) and *jiwen* (sacrificial texts) that were used in official ceremonies. The sample texts recorded by Ms Tang's grandfather include the *zhuwen* and *jiwen* for the spring and autumn ancestral worship ● as well as commemorating deceased family members ●. The ritual texts were written in classical Chinese, which is the standard writing style of such texts. The contents of such texts depend on the nature of the ritual. For the spring and autumn ancestral worship conducted in the ancestral hall, the ritual text praised the glory and virtue in remembrance of the Tang clan's ancestors dated back to the Song dynasty and wished for the extension of fortune and blessings from the ancestors. On the other hand, the ritual text or elegy commemorating deceased family members recounted the good deeds of such members as well as lamented the loss of the beloved ones.



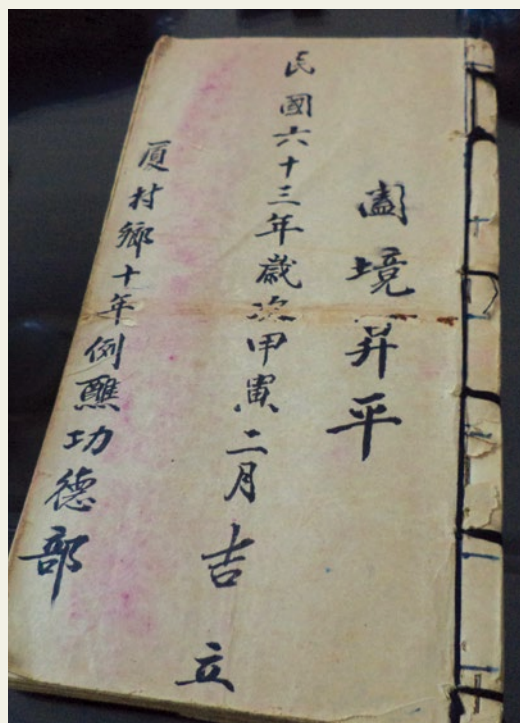
1 宗祠春秋祭文
The *jiwen* for the spring and autumn ancestral worship at the ancestral hall



2 祭父母文及祭大嫂文
The *jiwen* for commemorating deceased family members: the parents and sister-in-law of the *jiwen*'s writer

儀式記錄

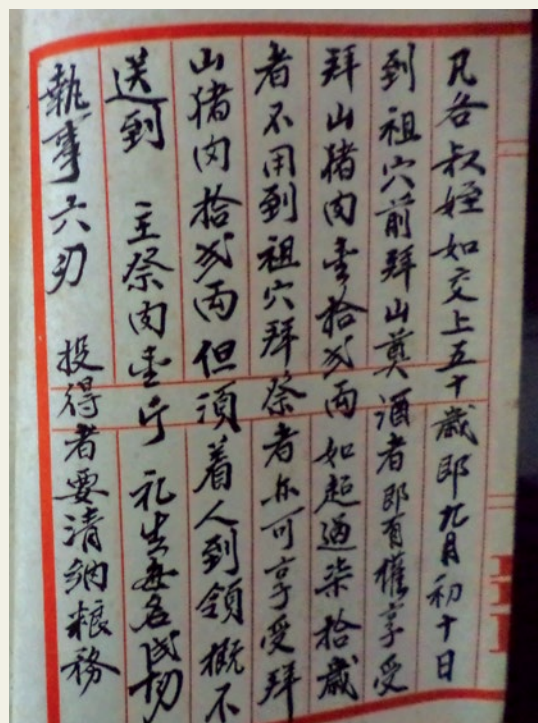
除了儀式文本外，鄧女士的家族檔案中還有儀式和實務操作的記錄，例如醮會和祭祖後「分豬肉」的準備和操作程序。從這些記錄中，我們可以了解到儀式是如何進行。如鄧女士父親為祭祀擺設繪製的佈局圖，當中記錄了祭品的擺放位置。此外，還有準備醮會的筆記，當中詳細記錄所需的物資、聘用喃嘸師傅和樂師以協助進行儀式、不同工作人員的角色和職責，以及醮會中各項活動的所需時間和程序，以確保醮會能順利進行。



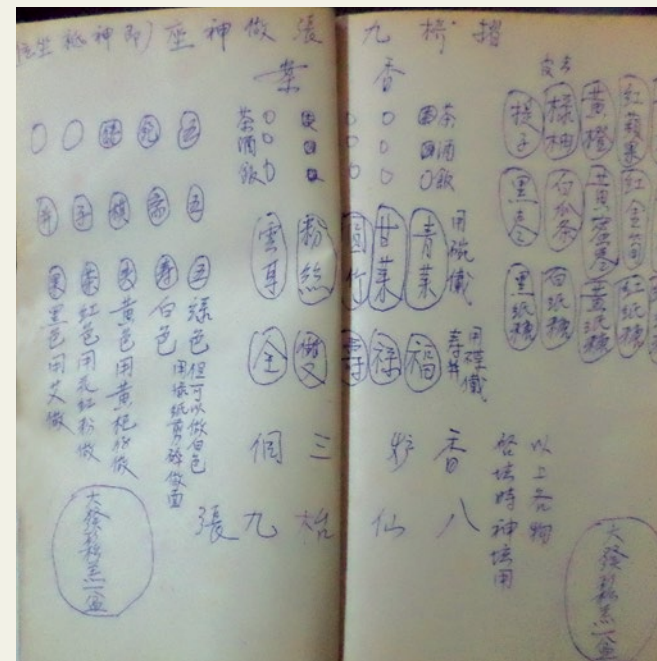
● 醮會記錄
A record of *jiao* festival

Ritual records

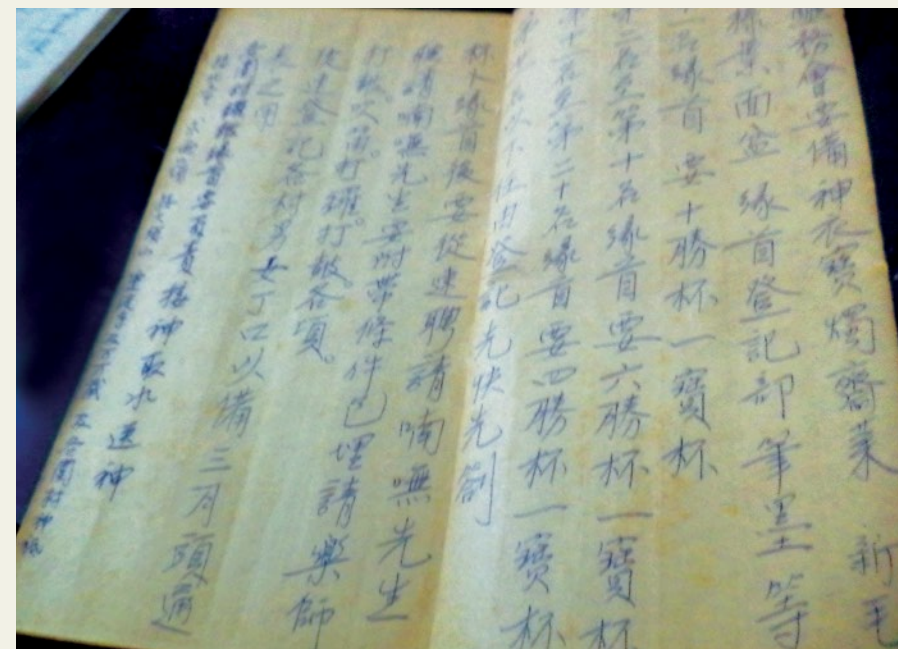
Besides ritual texts, there were records of the ceremonies and practices such as the preparation and procedures for the *jiao* festival ceremony and the pork division after ancestral worship in the family archive of Ms Tang. In such records, we can see how the ceremonies were conducted. For example, Ms Tang's father drew a layout plan for the setting of the worshipping ceremony, which recorded the places for offering the sacrifices. Notes were also taken for the preparation of a *jiao* event, detailing the materials required, the Taoist priests and musicians hired for the ceremony, the roles and duties of the personnel involved, as well as the time and procedures for the different events in the *jiao* festival ceremony to ensure that the *jiao* ceremony could be conducted properly.



● 「分豬肉」程序
The procedures of pork division



● 祭儀擺設的佈局安排
A layout plan for the ceremony setting



● 醮會組織及分工記錄
A record of the organisation and division of labour of *jiao* festival

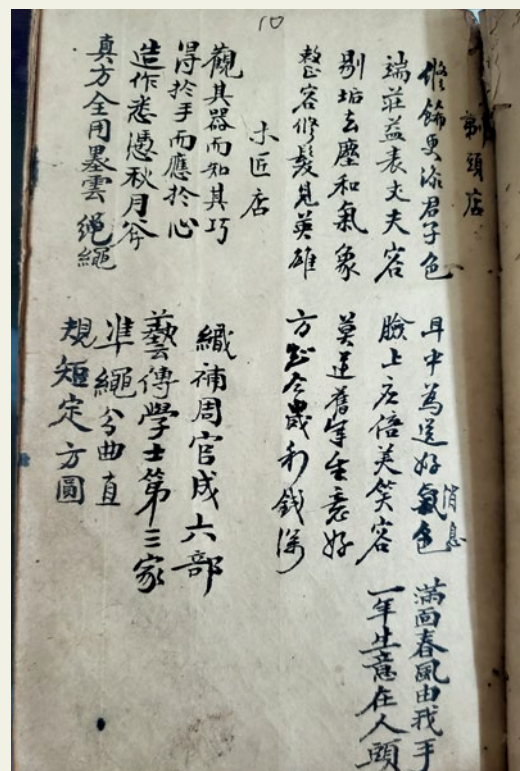


各式寫作範本和堪輿資料

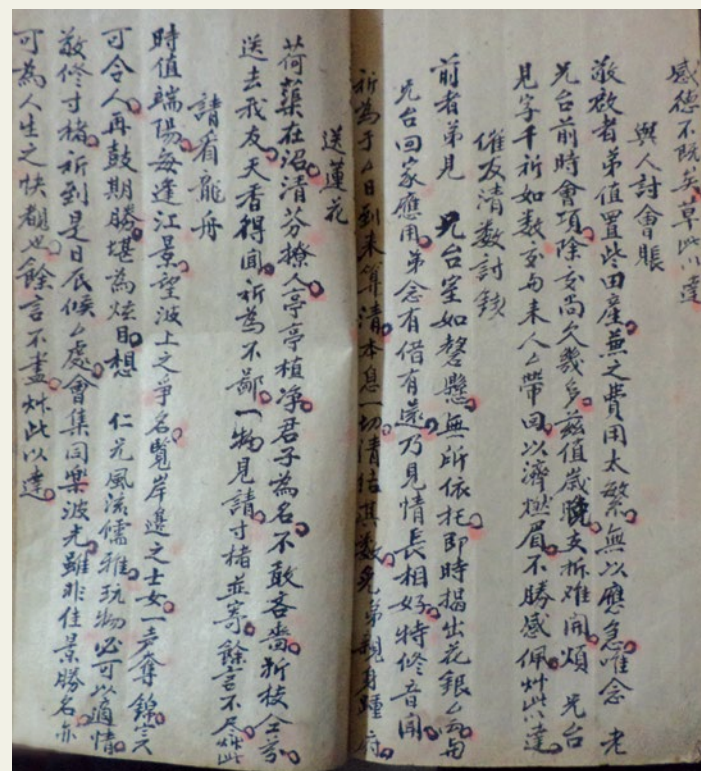
由於鄧女士的祖父和父親在他們的時代是屬於受過良好教育的一群，他會為村民提供文書上的建議和協助。在圖●中，我們可以看到切合各行各業的對聯範例；另外也有鄧先生記錄的文件和信函範本。正如鄧女士所說，當年大眾認字率低，代客寫信和撰寫文件是一個專門行業。而這些文件範本用作正式通訊和文件紀錄，例如邀約、討債●、立遺囑●等。亦如前述，鄧女士的祖父是村裡的堪輿師傅，在他留下的文本當中，我們亦能看見相關的資料，如擇日手冊●、喪儀操作筆記●、清還前生債業的民間習俗「還花債」備忘●。

Different writing samples and records of geomancy

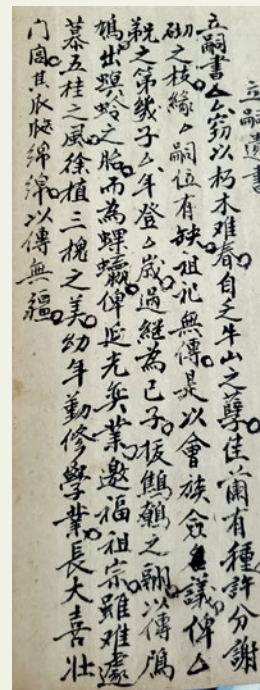
Because Ms Tang's grandfather and father were well educated at their time, they could provide advice and assistance for villagers regarding literal matters. Photo 7 shows some samples of couplets that would fit different businesses. Besides, there were letter and document samples in the record. Back then, as Ms Tang said, letter and document writing was a profession due to the low literacy rate among the general population at that time. The samples served the purpose of formal communication and documentation, such as invitations to events, debt collection 8, will drafting 9, among others. As mentioned above, Mr Tang was a geomancer of the village; in his record, we found his handbook of date selection 10, the notes of funeral matters 11, and notes of clearing floral debts 12 (which is a folk practice for clearing debts of one's previous life).



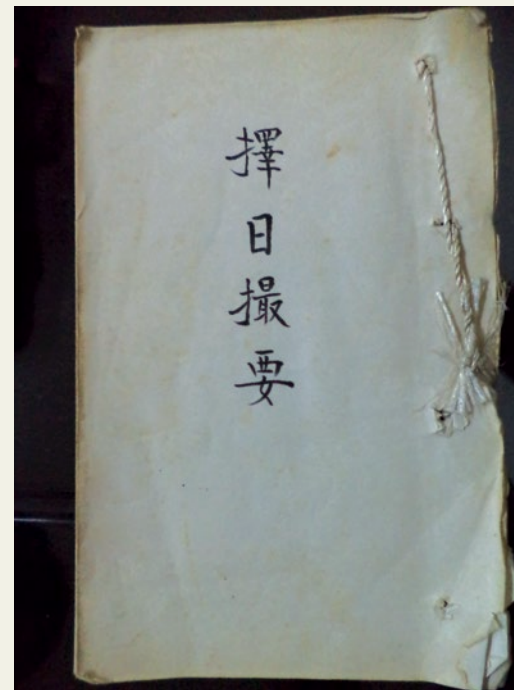
● 對聯範例
Samples of couplets



8 邀請函及討賬函範例
Samples of invitations to events and debt collections



9 立嗣遺書範例
A sample of will drafting



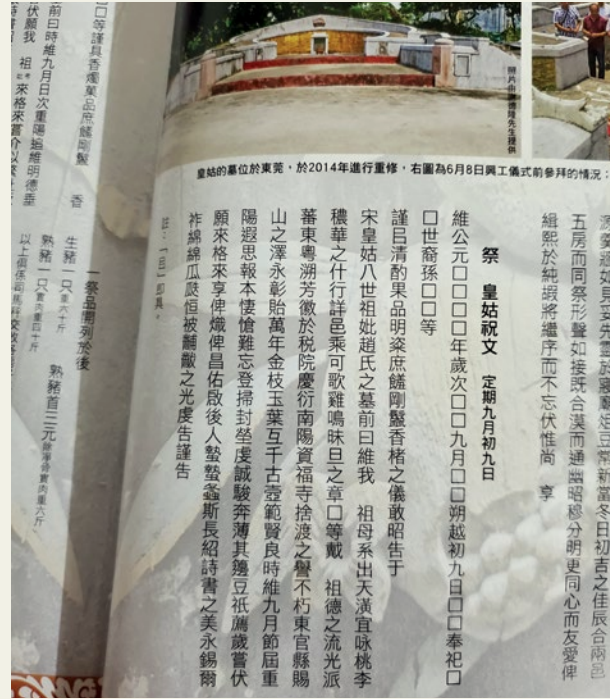
10 擇日撮要手冊
The handbook of date selection



11 喪儀操作筆記——記載了墓碑和金埋墓主的記錄方法
The notes of funeral matters documenting the recording ways for the deceased on tombstones or the covers of funeral urns



12 「還花債」記錄
The notes of clearing floral debts



13 ● 廈村鄧氏另一支派系出版的族譜，包含了祭祖祝文的記錄。
The genealogy of another branch of the Tang clan in Ha Tsuen featuring *zhuwen* in ancestral worship

從上可見，我們能窺知鄧女士的祖父和父親的禮生生涯。這些文本檔案不但有助我們了解禮生的工作，更是傳統村落文化習俗的物質基礎。鄧女士說，廈村其他背景類同的家庭都會珍藏該類文本資料。她就此舉出廈村鄧氏另一支派系為例，他們出版族譜，內裡便包含各類儀式的文本資料（●●）。禮生既然留下如此豐富的資源，傳統村落的儀式和禮生這門專業理應可以繼續蓬勃發展。然而，社會變遷對禮生的傳統文化和村落的習俗帶來了一定程度的影響。

From the above, we can have a glimpse of what Ms Tang's father and grandfather used to do as *lisheng*. The textual records not only help us understand the scope of *lisheng*'s work, but also serve as the material foundation of the cultural practices of traditional villages. Ms Tang mentioned that families like hers with a root in the scholastic background may have similar written records. For this, she cited another branch of the Tang clan in Ha Tsuen by showing a Tang genealogy they published, in which written records of ritual texts were featured (●●). With these resources of ritual archives left behind by *lisheng*, the rituals and the profession of *lisheng* in traditional villages might have well been flourishing. However, some social changes have impacts on the tradition of *lisheng* and village practices, which are elaborated in the next section.

禮生文本與實務習俗的「轉變」或「遺失」環節

鄧女士的叔父季良叔也是一名禮生，他自九十年代末開始擔任禮生，協助廈村的儀式事務。不幸地，他在 2019 年辭世。而在季良叔離世前，鄧女士和她的兄弟已見證了社會轉變對村落習俗和禮生工作所帶來的影響。以下是筆者與鄧女士和她的兄弟交談時，留意到三個與此相關的話題：

式微中的圍頭話

在與鄧女士和她兄弟的討論當中，提及了儀式與語言的關係。鄧女士的兄長說，儀式的文本以圍頭話誦讀，而圍頭話也屬於香港非遺清單上的其中一項。然而，在香港現代教育下，圍頭話這種方言已被邊緣化，只限於新界村落裡使用。鄧女士憶述，她少女時代在村外上學，當她在學校裡說圍頭話時，便會給同學取笑，所以只能在村裡說圍頭話。而鄧女士和她的兄弟皆認為，雖然村內儀式仍以圍頭話進行，但現在村裡明白和使用圍頭話的人為數不多。儘管如此，他們仍嘗試推廣圍頭話。鄧女士的弟弟在一個社交媒體專頁經常上載短片，解釋圍頭話的意義，從而希望引起大眾對有關方言的興趣。不過，傳統儀式和禮生專業的文化底蘊已因為圍頭話的式微而受到衝擊。

村裡人口結構轉變

除了語言，村裡人口結構轉變亦對禮生的儀式和操作帶來影響。1960 至 1970 年代，部分村民選擇到歐洲國家，如英國、荷蘭、法國等作短期或長期移居，希望在親屬開設的華人餐館找到更好的工作機會，這個現象在有關係界和宗族遷移的研究中亦有詳盡記錄。^{6,7} 這些村民在移居地重新開展新生活的同時，仍與原居地保持密切聯繫。重要的儀式如婚喪，亦會回村裡舉行。就這點，鄧女士的弟弟分享了一個有趣例子，他先叔父季良叔曾主持一場雙語婚禮，為一位已移居海外的鄧族子侄和其外籍新娘主持婚禮。結果他將儀式的文本翻譯成英文，並以廣東話和英語進行，讓新娘在婚禮期間知曉一切程序。這例子反映出，禮生及儀式文本須按村裡宗族遷移所導致的人口結構轉變和引伸情況作相應調整。

“Changing” or “missing” links between texts and practices of *Lisheng*

Ms Tang's uncle, Uncle Kwai-leung, was also a *lisheng*, he had been helping handle the ritual matters in Ha Tsuen since the late 1990s. Unfortunately, Mr Tang passed away in 2019. Before the loss of Uncle Kwai-leung, Ms Tang and her brothers had already witnessed some social changes that impacted the practices of village rituals as well as the work of *lisheng*. Here I have cited three important topics I noted in the discussion with Ms Tang and her brothers as below:

Diminishing of *waitauwaa*

The discussion with Ms Tang and her brothers touched on the linkage between the language and rituals. Ms Tang's brother commented that the ritual texts were presented in *waitauwaa*, which literally means the dialect of walled villages and is also an ICH item in the ICH Inventory of Hong Kong. However, due to the modernised education in Hong Kong, the dialect has been marginalised as a language used within villages in the New Territories. As Ms Tang recounted, she would be laughed at, when she spoke *waitauwaa* at the school outside the village as a teenaged girl, and as such, the dialect was only used in the village. Ms Tang and her brothers agreed that the dialect is not commonly known and spoken nowadays even within the village, though the rituals in the village are still mostly conducted in *waitauwaa* today. Nonetheless, some efforts have been made in an attempt to promote the dialect. Ms Tang's youngest brothers have recently uploaded short video clips onto a social media page to explain the meanings of *waitauwaa* in the hope of arousing public interest in the dialect. Above all, the diminishing of *waitauwaa* has already posed some challenges to the cultural property of the traditional rituals and *lisheng* profession.

Changes in the village's demographic structure

Besides the language issue, the rituals and practice of *lisheng* have been affected due to some changes in the demographic structure of the village. A number of villagers migrated, whether in the short-term or long-term, to European countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, among others, to seek better work opportunities in the Chinese restaurants run by their relatives between the 1960s and 1970s. Such a phenomenon was also recorded in the study on the New Territories and lineage-based emigration.^{6,7} While they restarted their lives in the host countries, they remained a strong tie with their place of origin at the same time. As such, important rites like wedding or funeral ceremonies would be conducted in the village. On one occasion, Uncle Kwai-leung helped host a wedding ceremony for a groom from the Tang clan who have emigrated abroad and a foreign

⁶ James L. Watsons : 《Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London》(柏克萊：加州大學出版社，1975)。
James L. Watsons, *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁷ James L. Watsons : 〈The Chinese: Hong Kong Villagers in the British Catering Trade〉，載於 James L. Watson 編《Between Two Cultures》(牛津：Basil Blackwell Publisher，1977)，頁 181-213。
James L. Watsons, "The Chinese: Hong Kong Villagers in the British Catering Trade." In *Between Two Cultures*, ed. James L. Watson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1977), 181-213.

「年輕人不感興趣」

鄧女士說，禮生在村裡是義務工作，她的叔父也一樣，完成工作後大多會收到紅封包。如前述，要成為合資格的禮生必須熟識各類儀式及其他方面，例如文化歷史和鄉村風俗，當中需要投放大量時間和苦功。鄧女士和她的兄弟皆認同，除非年輕人對儀式和禮生知識有相當濃厚的興趣，否則面對多類型工作的選擇下，對於需要掌握儀式文本和觀察儀式學習的禮生，該不會感興趣。而事實上，現今禮生欠缺人手，一些村落需從其他兄弟村落中聘請禮生主持各項典禮和相關儀式。

從上述三項話題當中，我們能察覺到村落的傳統儀式和禮生的工作，像其他非遺項目一樣，都會隨著社會轉變而有所改變。在不斷轉變的社會環境裡，現代化發展除了帶來同化的生活模式和文化外，同時令城鄉分野更為懸殊，而新界的傳統習俗如圍頭話、村落儀式和禮生工作亦或多或少被邊緣化。縱使禮生的文本依然是村落儀式和禮生專業的重要資源，但儀式的語言和村裡人口結構的細微變化也同時改變了儀式和禮生操作的本質。另一方面，文化是具適應性的，就正如方才雙語婚禮一例所示；套用 Giddens 所說，禮生作為社會行動者，他們懂得將既有的社會規條作為變奏的資源，一方面維護社會結構——就如在婚禮等儀式中所見的狀況——也兼容了語言與村落人口的改變。⁸ 從廣義理解，村落儀式隨著社會變遷而不斷變化和互相詮釋，而禮生就是兩者之間的翻譯者。更重要的是，禮生與香港傳統村落相關的非遺項目有密切關聯，而這專業一如前述，與相關的非遺項目一樣瀕危。在這背景下，我們需要透過綜合法，對禮生以至相關文本和工作在其身處的文化系統內進行整體理解，從而達到保護這項相關非遺項目的目的。

bride. In the end, the ritual texts were translated into English and the rituals were conducted bilingually in Cantonese and English so that the bride understood what to do during the process. The example shows that the texts of rituals and *lisheng* need to be adjusted due to the change in the demographic structure of the village and its circumstances resulted from the lineage-based emigration back then.

“Youngsters are not interested”

According to Ms Tang, being *lisheng* is on a voluntary basis as was her late uncle; *lisheng* might receive red pockets after completing their work. As mentioned previously, qualified *lisheng* have to be proficient in various types of rituals and other areas such as cultural and historical backgrounds, as well as village traditions, a lot of time and hard work is required. Unless one is extremely interested in the rituals and the knowledge of *lisheng*, Ms Tang and her brothers believed that the young generation may not be interested in learning from the ritual texts and observations on the conduction of rituals to be *lisheng*, given that a variety of career choices are available. In fact, there is a shortage of *lisheng* nowadays, some villages need to hire *lisheng* from affiliated villages for conducting ceremonies and the associated rituals.

With reference to the three topics illustrated above, we see that the traditional rituals in villages and the practices of *lisheng* are both subject to some social changes as are many other ICH items. In the changing social environment, some traditional practices in the New Territories such as *waitauwaa*, village rituals as well as the practices of *lisheng* seem to have been marginalised to a certain extent, giving way to a homogenised lifestyle and culture as a result of modernity that has widened the gap between the dominant urban and peripheral rural lifestyle. Even though the texts of *lisheng* remain as a valuable source for the village rituals and the profession of *lisheng*, the subtle changes in the language of rituals and village structure have altered the innate property of the rituals as well as the practices of *lisheng*. On the other hand, as exemplified by the bilingual wedding rites mentioned before, culture is adaptive in the sense that *lisheng* as social actors, in the words of Giddens,⁸ are knowledgeable about exploiting the existing rules as resources to devise variations to reinforce the social structure, i.e. the order that we see in the village rituals, such as wedding rites, on the one hand, and accommodate changes in language and village demographics on the other hand. Village rituals, in a broad sense, are dynamically and mutually interpreted with the social change in the mediation of *lisheng* as cultural translators. Above all, *lisheng* are closely related to the ICH items of traditional villages in Hong Kong, and the profession is equally endangered like its associated ICH items as shown above. In this background, we can gain an overall understanding of *lisheng* as well as their texts and practices in their cultural system through a synthesised approach so as to safeguard the related ICH items.

非物質文化遺產的物質性、從業者與保育綜合法

禮生的文本有雙重意義——Hayes 提出，「香港的村落文化是一個書寫文化」；⁹ 當中村落各類儀式，如土地擁有、訂親、婚事、喜慶及民間信俗等，大多以指引、手冊等文字示例記錄下來，而禮生的文本也是這種書寫文化下的產物。如較早前所述，這些書寫文本記錄了禮生在傳統村落生活中的實務工作，也是他們所主持的儀式和相關事項的實體。禮生及其書寫文本與村落習俗——當中不少在近年香港保護非遺的努力下已列入香港非遺清單——是不可分割的。這是認識禮生文本的首個範疇。另一方面，昔日或現今由禮生執行的文化習俗亦可被視為文化讀(文)本，正如 Geertz 提出，不同文化形式都能被視為文本，並需透過文化系統解讀及詮釋文化行為，才能彰顯其意義。¹⁰ 非遺的研究者要肩負「謄譯」這種文本的責任。最重要的是，這兩種文本都能透過收集禮生書寫文本及研究禮生文化行為，實質地保存下來。

時至今日，不少村落的儀式和節慶均已列入香港非遺清單，如不同村落的春秋二祭與醮會、點燈儀式、宗族口述傳統等。儘管這些項目在清單上獨立成項，但透過禮生及其文本（在書寫及文化呈現層面），我們可了解到村落儀式乃至其他生活方面的相互關係，讓我們能以全觀的視角，將村落傳統作為一個文化整體加以檢視。所以，保護與村落儀式相關的非遺項目，並非限於保護這些習俗，而是所有相關的資料及其從業者，即禮生，亦須一併視為受保護的主體。

Materiality, practitioners and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage — a synthesised approach

The texts of *lisheng* constitute two dimensions in meaning. Hayes suggests that “the village culture in Hong Kong was a written culture”,⁹ in which some ceremonies held in the village, such as land ownership, betrothals, marriages, celebrations and folk religious practices, among others, were mostly be recorded in written exemplars, such as guides, handbooks or something alike. The texts produced by *lisheng* are as well the products of such a written culture. As demonstrated in the preceding sections, such written texts recorded the practices of *lisheng* in traditional village life. These written texts are the tangible forms of rituals and the associated matters that were produced by *lisheng*. *Lisheng* and their written records are inseparable from the village practices, some of which have been inscribed onto the ICH Inventory of Hong Kong as a result of the recent efforts dedicated to safeguarding the ICH in Hong Kong. That is the first aspect for understanding the texts of *lisheng*. Alternatively, the cultural practices conducted by *lisheng*, whether historical or present, can be viewed as the cultural texts. As Geertz suggests, cultural forms can be treated as texts, the meanings of which should be realised through contextual reading and interpretation of the articulated cultural behaviours in a cultural system.¹⁰ The researchers of ICH play a pivotal role in carrying out the transcription of such texts. Above all, both types of texts can be preserved materially for safeguarding ICH through collecting written texts of *lisheng* and researching on the cultural practices of *lisheng*.

As of today, a number of village-based rituals and festivals have been included in the ICH Inventory of Hong Kong, for example, the spring and autumn ancestral worships and *jiao* festivals of different villages, lantern lighting rituals, oral traditions of different lineages, among others. Although these items are listed individually on the inventory, *lisheng* and their texts (in written and cultural presentations) lend a lens for us to understand the interrelation of rituals and the different aspects of village life and thus enable us to take a holistic view of the village tradition as a whole cultural assemblage. As such, the safeguarding of the relevant village ritual practices as ICH is more than safeguarding the practices; the materials associated with the ICH items and their practitioners, i.e. *lisheng*, should also be the subjects of study and preservation as a collective whole.

⁸ Anthony Giddens : 《The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration》(劍橋: Polity Press, 1984)。

Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).

⁹ James Hayes : 〈Manuscript Documents in the Life and Culture of Hong Kong Villages in Late Imperial China〉·《Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch》(50, 2010) ·頁 165。

James Hayes, “Manuscript Documents in the Life and Culture of Hong Kong Villages in Late Imperial China,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 50 (2010): 165.

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz : 《The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays》(紐約: Basic Books, 1973)。

Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

就這點而言，筆者根據 Bouchenaki 提出的「三重法」，透過非遺物質材料的脈絡化理解、記錄和訓練文化從業者三方面，綜合探討保育上述有關非遺項目，詳情如下：^{11 12}

從更廣角度理解物質文化

禮生的文本是傳統村落書寫文化和儀式生活的產物。如較早前所述，這類文本的意義需要在其引申的文化脈絡中理解，彼此不能分割。更重要的是，禮生的文本與其他植根於香港傳統村落的非遺項目環環相扣，例如圍頭話、宗族的祭祖活動、點燈儀式、傳統婚儀等。將禮生的文本及實務在村落文化中情景化解讀，無疑有助我們全方位了解在同一及連貫的文化系統中非遺項目之間的互相依存關係。

將非物質文化遺產「物質化」

禮生文本已是祭祖、醮會等非遺項目及具非遺意味的民間習俗的主要「譯本」，而對有關文本進行系統化存檔和記錄，有利於延續相關非遺項目和村落傳統。此外，記錄和研究時代變遷對禮生文化習俗帶來的影響，能讓我們進一步了解相關的非遺項目如何應對社會轉變。結合作為基本參考資料的原有禮生文本，以及改動後的禮生實務詳情或文本集成，可作為保護禮生相關的非遺項目資料庫，並在更廣泛的文化層面上提供管理相關非遺項目改動的依據。

協助非遺從業者及傳承相關技藝知識

如劉永華所說，禮生在歷史角度來看，是自帝國宏觀論述到地方習俗執行之間的文化中介者。^{13 14} 而將這個論點放在現今保護非遺的情境裡，我們同樣可將禮生理解為儀式文本和實務間的中介者。如沒有禮生的協助，相關的儀式難以確切地執行。因此，訓練通曉儀式文本和操作的禮生，對於延續傳統村落儀式及同源的香港非遺項目，著實相當重要。

In this regard, I hereby frame the discussion based on Bouchenaki's "threefold approach" to synchronise the contextualised understanding of materials, documentation and training of cultural practitioners as a way forward to safeguard the related ICH items as mentioned below:^{11 12}

Putting material culture into its wider context

The texts of *lisheng* are the products of the written culture and ritual life of traditional villages. As demonstrated previously, the meanings of such texts should not be isolated from the understanding of the cultural context in which they were engendered. More importantly, the texts of *lisheng* interlocked with other ICH items in Hong Kong, such as *waitauwaa*, the rituals of lineage-based ancestral worship, lantern lighting rites and traditional wedding rites, which have their roots in the culture of traditional villages in Hong Kong. A contextual reading of the texts and practices of *lisheng* has no doubt shed light on a holistic understanding of the interdependent relationships among ICH items under the same and coherent cultural system.

Translating intangible cultural heritage into "materiality"

While the texts of *lisheng* are already the primary "translation" of such concerned ICH items as ancestral worship and *jiao* as well as other folk practices of ICH interests, systematic archiving and documentation of such texts would be an initiative in favour of the continuity of the ICH items and the village tradition. Moreover, further documentation and studies on the cultural practices relevant to *lisheng vis-à-vis* the changes overtime will help us better understand the cultural responses of the ICH items to social changes. The texts of *lisheng* preserved as the basic source of reference with the accumulation of the transformed cultural practices or texts can serve as a database for safeguarding the ICH items and management of the changes of such items in a wider cultural context.

Supporting ICH practitioners and the transmission of skills and knowledge

As Liu shows, *lisheng* were historically the cultural mediators who communicated between the macro-narratives of the imperial state and the cultural practices at the local level.^{13 14} Taking this stance in the contemporary context of safeguarding ICH, we can also understand that *lisheng* are the mediators between rituals in texts and rituals in practices. Without the assistance of *lisheng*, rituals cannot be properly conducted. Thus, the training of *lisheng* with the proficiency in the texts and practices of rituals is essential to the continuity of the ritual practices in traditional villages as well as those items with the same origin listed as the ICH items in Hong Kong.

從禮生和其文本的例子可見，從全觀及情境化角度，可將文化同源的不同非遺項目理解為完整的文化組合，並同步兼容物質與非物質性文化遺產，不論保育主體是先被界定為非遺與否，此舉能有助我們在文物保育的廣義上保存文化物件和習俗間的關聯意義。

而作為文博從業者，亦能根據對文化遺產的全觀理解，進而設計出保育文化遺產的方案。最後，孕育這些遺產的群體肩負了傳承相關文化遺產的責任，透過辨識和培養文化遺產傳承人，將傳統延續下去。

對於香港非遺的前景，我們保持樂觀態度是尤其重要，這方面的發展有賴學術界對非遺的持續研究，以及政府保育及推廣非遺的措施，如成立非物質文化遺產辦事處和非遺資助計劃，並需要擁有相關文化知識及技能的非遺傳承人或團體支持。



In view of the example of *lisheng* and their texts, it is essential to have a holistic and contextual understanding of different ICH items from the same cultural origin as a whole cultural assemblage, coupling with a synchronised agenda to accommodate both the tangible and intangible cultural aspects to help us preserve the interrelated meanings of cultural objects and practices in the doctrine of heritage preservation, whether the subject is defined in the first place as intangible heritage or otherwise.

The above approaches can also help us, as practitioners in the heritage and museum sector, devise appropriate measures to safeguard our cultural heritage with such a holistic view. The communities in which the concerned heritages are nurtured shoulder the responsibility of transmitting the concerned heritages by identifying and cultivating some members of the communities as the bearers of the heritage to carry on the tradition.

Above all, we shall be optimistic about the future development of the ICH in Hong Kong, which is upheld by the continuing studies of ICH in academia, the government initiatives such as the ICH Office and ICH Funding Scheme set up for safeguarding and promoting the ICH in Hong Kong, as well as the support from the bearers and bearer communities with relevant cultural knowledge and skills.

¹¹ 同註 1，頁 1。

See Note 1, 1.

¹² Mounir Bouchenaki: 〈A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention〉，〈International Journal of Intangible Heritage〉(2, 2007)，頁 106-109。

Mounir Bouchenaki, "A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention," *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2 (2007): 106-109.

¹³ 劉永華：〈亦禮亦俗——晚清至民國閩西四保禮生的初步分析〉，《歷史人類學學刊》(2 (2)，2004)，頁 53-82。

Yonghua Liu, "Ritual Specialists as Cultural Mediators: The Masters of Ceremonies (*lisheng*) in Late Qing and Republican Sibao, Fujian," *Journal of History and Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (October 2004): 53-82.

¹⁴ 同註 2。

See Note 2.

結語

本文乃基於筆者對香港禮生及其文本進行的初步實地研究，所以不足以就保育禮生文化及文本提供具體和完善的解釋。這方面有必要深入研究，從而更了解相關主題。儘管如此，本文嘗試探索非遺蘊藏的物質性，以及其對保護非遺乃至文化遺產視為整體的含義。筆者藉此鳴謝鄧妙薇女士和她的兄弟，在筆者進行實地研究期間，無私地分享關於其家族和村落的資料和故事，為筆者開啟了理解和學習傳統村落文化的大門。同時前人的努力不可忘，所以亦特別感謝鄧女士的父親和叔父——鄧鈞鐸先生和鄧季良先生——長久以來對非遺研究的支持。

Conclusion

This article is based on the preliminary fieldwork on *lisheng* and their textual records in Hong Kong and thus is far from adequate to provide a substantial and mature account of the preservation of the culture and texts of *lisheng*. An in-depth study for enhancing our understanding of the subject matters is needed. Nevertheless, this is an attempt to explore the materiality embedded in ICH and its implication on safeguarding ICH and cultural heritage as a coherent entity. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Ms May Tang and her brothers for their generous sharing of the information and stories about their family and village during my fieldwork, which has truly opened a door for me to understand and study the culture of traditional villages. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Ms Tang's father and uncle, Mr Tang Kwan-dok and Mr Tang Kwai-leung, who have contributed greatly to the study and promotion of ICH.

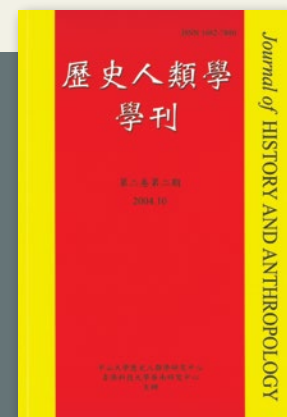
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延伸閱讀 Extended Readings

〈亦禮亦俗——晚清至民國閩西四保禮生的初步分析〉介紹了禮生的歷史，並探索晚清至民國時期閩西四保禮生的社會文化活動，以及相關的禮儀結構和禮儀文本。作者亦討論禮生作為文化中介的功能，並探討文化中介研究對重構民間文化史的方法論意義。讀者透過閱讀這文獻，對禮生在傳統習俗和儀式中的實務細節和功能有更詳盡認識。

The essay "Ritual Specialists as Cultural Mediators: The Masters of Ceremonies (*lisheng*) in Late Qing and Republican Sibao, Fujian" offers a brief history of *lisheng* and explores the socio-cultural activities of *lisheng*, the liturgical organisation and texts of the *lisheng* in Sibao in western Fujian during late Qing and Republican periods. The author also discusses the mediating role of *lisheng* and the methodological significance of the study of cultural mediators for the reconstruction of the history of popular culture. Readers can further understand the practices and roles of *lisheng* in traditional customs and ceremonies.



劉永華：〈亦禮亦俗——晚清至民國閩西四保禮生的初步分析〉，《歷史人類學學刊》（2（2），2004），頁 53-82。

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非物質文化遺產辦事處
The Intangible Cultural
Heritage Office

非物質文化遺產辦事處在2015年成立，旨在確認、立檔、研究、保存、推廣和傳承非物質文化遺產。辦事處在三棟屋博物館設立了「香港非物質文化遺產中心」，作為其展示和教育中心，透過多元化的教育和推廣活動，提升公眾對非物質文化遺產的認識和了解。

Established in 2015, the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Office identifies, documents, researches, preserves, promotes and transmits ICH. The ICH Office has set up the "Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre" at Sam Tung Uk Museum as a display and resource centre to enhance public understanding and awareness of ICH through various educational and promotional activities.

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