

DOCUMENTING AND RESEARCHING GRAVESITES IN
PACIFIC ASIA

DRGPA 2019

MIGRATION, RELIGION AND ETHNICITY

May

17-19. 2019

1st Conference Room, Research Center
for Humanities and Social Sciences,
Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心第一會議室

研究 記錄

亞 太 墓 地 遷 移 、 信 仰 與 民 族

PROCEEDINGS



華人文化主體性研究中心
Research Center for Chinese Cultural Subjectivity in Taiwan

國立高雄大學社會人文科學院
亞太語言文化研究中心

Documenting and Researching Graveyards in Pacific Asia

Migration, Religion and Ethnicity

DRGPA2019

第四屆研究記錄亞太墓地研討會

遷移、信仰與民族

日期: 2019年5月17日(五) – 2019年5月19日(日)

Date: 17th – 19th May 2019

地點: 中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心第一會議室

Venue: Conference Room 1, RCHSS, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

舉辦單位:

國立高雄大學西洋語文學系

國立高雄大學人文社會科學院 「亞太語言文化研究中心」

國立政治大學華人文化主體性研究中心

法國現代中國研究中心(台北分部)

Organizers:

Department of Western Languages and Literature (DOWELL), National University of Kaohsiung
Research Center for Asia-Pacific Languages and Cultures (APLAC), National University of
Kaohsiung

Research Center for Chinese Cultural Subjectivity in Taiwan, National Chengchi University
Centre d'Études Français sur la Chine contemporaine (CEFC Taipei)

Asia-Pacific SpatioTemporal Institute, National Chengchi University (ApSTi)

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TO, Man Wai Mandy 杜文蔚 (國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung)

WANG, Yu-Ting Sara 王雨庭 (國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung)

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第四屆研究記錄亞太墓地研討會

遷移、信仰與民族

研討會文集

PROCEEDINGS

編輯 Editors:

奧利華 Oliver Streiter

杜文蔚 TO Man Wai

莫詹姆 James X. Morris

17 MAY 2019 • FRIDAY											
09:15 09:45	簽到 Registration										
09:45 10:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> 畢遊塞 Sébastien BILLIoud 法國現代中國研究中心台北分部辦事處主任 Researcher, Director of the CEFC Taipei </td> <td>歡迎辭 Welcome Remarks</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 奧利華副教授 Asso. Prof. Oliver STREITER 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung </td> <td>開幕辭 Orientation</td> </tr> </table>	畢遊塞 Sébastien BILLIoud 法國現代中國研究中心台北分部辦事處主任 Researcher, Director of the CEFC Taipei	歡迎辭 Welcome Remarks	奧利華副教授 Asso. Prof. Oliver STREITER 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung	開幕辭 Orientation						
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10:40 11:00	參加者大合照 Group photo taking										
	茶敘 Tea break										
PANEL 1											
11:00 12:15	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2">主持人 Chairperson: 奧利華 Oliver Streiter</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 卜道教授 Prof. David BLUNDELL 國立政治大學 National Chengchi University </td> <td>Why Taiwanese have difficulty to embrace their own heritage? (20min)</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 莊庭瑞 Tyng-Ruey CHUANG 中央研究院資訊科學研究所副研究員 Associate research fellow, Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica </td> <td>Difficult Space: Old Gravesites in Taiwan (15min)</td> </tr> <tr> <td> 莫詹姆 James X. MORRIS 國立政治大學博士生 Ph.D. student, National Chengchi University </td> <td>Cosmological assumptions of the Minnan tomb: turtles, wombs, microcosms, and beyond (20min)</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">互動問答 Questions & Answers</td> </tr> </table>	主持人 Chairperson: 奧利華 Oliver Streiter		卜道教授 Prof. David BLUNDELL 國立政治大學 National Chengchi University	Why Taiwanese have difficulty to embrace their own heritage? (20min)	莊庭瑞 Tyng-Ruey CHUANG 中央研究院資訊科學研究所副研究員 Associate research fellow, Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica	Difficult Space: Old Gravesites in Taiwan (15min)	莫詹姆 James X. MORRIS 國立政治大學博士生 Ph.D. student, National Chengchi University	Cosmological assumptions of the Minnan tomb: turtles, wombs, microcosms, and beyond (20min)	互動問答 Questions & Answers	
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12:15 13:15	午餐 LUNCH										

PANEL 2	
	<p>主持人 Chairperson: 艾琳達 Linda Gail Arrigo</p>
13:15	<p>蘇峯楠 SU Feng-Nan 國立臺灣歷史博物館研究人員 Division of Research, National Museum of Taiwan History</p>
14:30	<p>在墓地裡發現臺南 Discovering Tainan in Cemeteries: Exploring Activities and Its Research Traditions over the Last One Hundred Years in Cemeteries nearby Tainan Old City (15min)</p>
14:30	<p>盧泰康教授 Prof. LU Tai-Kang 國立臺南藝術大學 Tainan National University of the Art</p>
14:45	<p>族群記憶的原點——臺南明清古墓出土珍貴文物 The origin of ethnic memory -- Precious cultural relics unearthed from tombs of Ming and Qing Dynasties in Tainan (20min)</p>
	<p>李燕萍 LI Yen-Ping 地上台南 Aboveground Tainan</p>
	<p>南山公墓：四百年的傳奇與當前危機 Lâm Suann Cemetery: A legacy of four-hundred years and its crisis at hand (20min)</p>
互動問答 Questions & Answers	
14:30	小息 Short break
14:45	
PANEL 3	
	<p>主持人 Chairperson: Yoann Goudin</p>
14:45	<p>奧利華副教授 Asso. Prof. Oliver STREITER 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung</p>
16:00	<p>從日暮到破曉：「讀墓」計劃的新視野與發展 On New Horizons: The ThakBong project between sunset and dawn (20min)</p>
16:00	<p>龍恬醇 LONG Tian-Chun, Jenna 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung</p>
	<p>進士的五十道陰影：石馬、英雄、與陰錯陽差 50 Shades of Jinshi Tombs: Horses, heroes, and failed exams (15min)</p>
	<p>劉依婷 LIU Yi-Ting, Tammy 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung</p>
	<p>在奄美與八重山之間：琉球群島墓葬風俗之變遷 Between Amami and Yaeyama: The transformation of Ryukyu burial practices (20min)</p>
	<p>詹雅晴 ZHAN Ya-Qing, Hanna 國立台灣大學 Taiwan National University</p>
互動問答 Questions & Answers	
16:00	茶敘 Tea break
16:30	

數位人文工作坊		
Digital Humanities Workshop: Practical techniques for graveyard documentation		
主持人 Chairperson: 莊庭瑞 Tyng-Ruey CHUANG		
16:30 17:55	蔡依倫 TSAI Yi-Leun 國立臺南藝術大學 Tainan National University of the Art	石碑拓本製作流程解析 On Creating Stone Rubbings (10min)
	王兩庭 WANG Yu-Ting, Sara 杜文蔚 TO Man Wai, Mandy 奧利華副教授 Asso. Prof. Oliver STREITER 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung	碑文的影子：外部閃光攝影運用 On Shadows: Documenting Inscriptions with External Flash Lights (10min)
		Documenting Cultural Heritage with GPS-Photography (15min)
		Documenting Sites through Aerial Imagery: Orthophotos and 3D-Models created with OpenDroneMap (10min)
	詹進發副教授 Asso. Prof. JAN Jih-Fa, Andy 國立政治大學 National Chengchi University	環景攝影與立體攝影 Panoramic photography and stereoscopic photography (20min)
互動問答 Questions & Answers		
18:00	第一天結束 End of Day 1	

18 MAY 2019 • SATURDAY					
09:00 09:30	簽到 Registration				
主題演講 Invited talk					
09:30 10:15	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> 沈蕾娜 Elena Serrano Herrero 西班牙坎塔布里亞大學國際史前歷史研究所研究員 Research Fellow, International Institute of Prehistoric Research, University of Cantabria </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> The cemetery of San Salvador de Isla Hermosa (Keelung, Taiwan): an early example of European colonial gravesites in Pacific Asia </td> </tr> </table>	沈蕾娜 Elena Serrano Herrero 西班牙坎塔布里亞大學國際史前歷史研究所研究員 Research Fellow, International Institute of Prehistoric Research, University of Cantabria	The cemetery of San Salvador de Isla Hermosa (Keelung, Taiwan): an early example of European colonial gravesites in Pacific Asia		
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主持人 Chairperson: 杜文蔚 TO Man Wai, Mandy					
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12:00 13:00	午餐 LUNCH				
PANEL 5					
主持人 Chairperson: 艾琳達 Linda Gail Arrigo					
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互動問答 Questions & Answers					
13:45 14:00	小息 short break				

PANEL 6		
主持人 Chairperson: 蘇峯楠 SU Feng-Nan		
14:00 15:15	林德順博士 Dr. LING Tek Soon 馬來亞大學馬來西亞華人研究中心 Malaysian Chinese Research Centre, University of Malaya	離散陰宅：吉隆坡百年福建義山研究 A study of the Kuala Lumpur Hokkien Cemetery (15min)
	蔡慧釗 CHUA Hui Chuan 新加坡國立大學 National University of Singapore	馬來西亞鄉鎮——麻坡巴冬華人公墓初探 A Preliminary Study on the Chinese Cemeteries in Parit Jawa, Muar (15min)
	杜文蔚 TO Man Wai, Mandy 施宣妃 SHIH Syuan-Fei, Fay 國立高雄大學 National University of Kaohsiung	傅吾康之東南亞華文碑刻彙編系列數位化 計劃: 動機、方法與資料架構 First Steps towards Reviving Franke's 'Chinese Epigraphy in Southeast Asia': Motivations, Approaches and Data Structures (20min)
互動問答 Questions & Answers		
15:15 15:40	茶敘 Tea break	
Panel 7		
主持人 Chairperson: 詹進發教授 JAN Jihn Fa, Andy		
15:40 16:55	林漢聰 LIM Han Cong 馬來亞大學馬來西亞華人研究中心 Malaysian Chinese Research Centre, University of Malaya	現代與在地化：談馬來西亞華人殯葬習俗 的變革與現況 Localization And Modernization: A Study of Malaysian Chinese Funeral Culture's Change and Current Situation (15min)
	梁家恩助理教授 Asst. Prof. Kar-Yen LEONG 淡江大學 Tamkang University	Keepers of the Grave: Ritual Guides, Ghosts and Hidden Narratives in Indonesian History (20min)
	Fabian GRAHAM 新加坡國立大學亞洲研究中心 Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore	Hell deities hunt at night: Night-time cemetery rituals in Singapore (20min)
互動問答 Questions & Answers		
16:55 17:20	艾琳達 Linda Gail Arrigo 台北醫學大學醫學人文研究所 (已退 休) Taipei Medical University (retired)	六張犁墳墓區的活歷史 Living History in the Graveyards of Liuzhangli, Southeast Taipei (20min)
17:20 17:45	自由討論時間 Open discussion	
17:45 18:00	閉幕詞及簽名留念 Closing remarks; name signing on posters	
18:30 20:00	晚宴(發表人及受邀嘉賓) Dinner for presenters and invited guests	

19 MAY 2019 • SUNDAY	
09:00-09:30	六張犁捷運站出口集合 Meeting at Liuzhangli Metro Station exit
09:30-12:15	Graveyard Walk 健行讀墓
	09:30-10:00 步行至白色恐怖受害人墓區 Walk to White Terror Section
	10:00-10:40 中英雙語講解 Lectures, lessons, and tour of White Terror Section graves
	10:40-11:00 步行至回教墓區 Walk to Muslim Section
	11:00-11:45 中英雙語講解 Lectures, lessons, and tour of Muslim Section graves
	11:45-12:15 步行至六張犁捷運站解散 Walk back to Liuzhangli Metro Station
12:15-13:00	自由討論 (optional) free discussion

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鹿港義塚調查與鹿港第一公墓保存事件
A Study of Old *Yi-zhong* in Lugang and
the Destruction of Lugang First Public Graveyard

陳仕賢 Chen Shih-Hsien

鹿水文史工作室主持人

Chairman, Lu Shui History and Culture Research Office

ch53642002@yahoo.com.tw

<http://ch53642002.blogspot.com/>

摘要 (編者撮)

清代先民有歸葬原鄉的習俗，而無法歸葬原鄉或無人認領的屍骸，當時則由官方或地方士紳設置停柩的場所及義塚，以供安歸。目前，台灣從事鄉鎮發展的研究中，較少論及義塚在城市中所扮演的角色與地位，本文以鹿港街區的街鎮發展，來說明義塚的位置及設置過程，有助於了解有關街鎮的發展與義塚的關係。文中提及的義塚有敬義園、三山國王塚、地藏王塚、大將爺塚、烏魚寮塚、黃義興塚及和興塚。本文亦討論鹿港第一公墓的拆除及保存事件。

關於作者

陳仕賢為彰化縣鹿港鎮文史工作者，鹿水文史工作室主持人，鹿港文教基金會董事。他致力於研究、保存鹿港鎮及其他台灣在地文史資產、宗教古蹟，積極於文化資產導覽工作，出版多本文史書籍，獲 2016 年第四屆國家環境教育獎優選、2015 年台灣鄉土文史暨藝術教育有功人員、2014 國史館台灣文獻館第五屆傑出台灣文獻獎及 2010 年行政院文建會文馨獎等殊榮。

Abstract (written by the editor)

In the Qing dynasty, Chinese had the custom of burying the deceased in their original hometown. In Lugang, the government officers or local gentry would set up coffin homes and *yi-zhong* (義塚, potter's fields or public burial grounds for commoners) for those who were waiting to be shipped back to their hometown, unclaimed corpses and the paupers respectively. At present, in the study of township development in Taiwan, discussions regarding the role and status of *yi-zhong* in the city are quite few. This paper attempts to find out the relationship between the development of towns and streets and *yi-zhong* by explaining the locations and establishments of several *yi-zhong* of Lugang Township. The *yi-zhong* mentioned in the article include the *Jingyi Garden*, the *Three Kings Yi-zhong*, the *Ksitigarbha Bodishava Yi-zhong*, the *Grand*

General Yi-zhong, the *Wuyu Liao Yi-zhong*, the *Huangyi Xing Yi-zhong* and the *Hexing Yi-zhong*. The controversial demolition and preservation of the Lugang First Public Graveyard will also be discussed in this paper.

Chen Shih-Hsien is an independent researcher and active cultural tour docent based in Lugang Township, Changhua County, Taiwan. He is committed to researching, preserving and publishing about cultural assets and religious heritages in Lugang Town as well as other places in Taiwan. He has won the Merit Prize in the fourth National Environmental Education Award in 2016, Award for Meritorious Worker in Taiwan History, Culture and Art Education Industry in 2015, the 5th Outstanding Taiwan Literature Award of the Taiwan Historia and the Wenxin Award of Council for Cultural Affairs (Ministry of Culture) in 2010.

鹿港義塚調查與鹿港第一公墓保存事件

陳仕賢作

一、前言

早年，台灣是一個移民社會，先民皆有落葉歸根的心態，期盼在往生後，能回原鄉歸葬。當時由官方或地方士紳設置停柩的場所，使歸葬者在等待船期時，有暫時停柩的地方。

據《清代台灣大租調查書》記載：「…乾隆 24 年（1759）台灣知縣夏瑚，設法捐資代運旅櫬至廈，俾客亡親屬，按籍認領。咸豐年間，總兵林向榮鎮守時，各屬停柩不能歸葬者，資助運回原籍，皆一時傳為盛舉。要不若廣設義塚，俾小民得一坏之土，以安旅魂，其利尤薄也，但必畫界勒碑，垂諸永遠，方無年久混侵之弊…」¹說明清代先民歸葬原鄉的習俗。而對於無法歸葬原鄉或因械鬥、戰亂而無人認領的屍骸，則由地方的士紳設置義塚，以供安歸。

目前，台灣從事鄉鎮發展的研究中，較少論及義塚在城市中所扮演的角色與地位，本文以鹿港街區的街鎮發展，來說明義塚的位置及設置過程，有助於了解有關街鎮的發展與義塚的關係。

二、鹿港義塚的設置

在鹿港街鎮的發展過程中，大多以街區的變遷為主要探討，極少研究義塚在街鎮中的區域發展及影響。²目前有史料可查鹿港地區年代最早的義塚有：大將爺塚（今鹿港國小操場）、三山國王塚（民權路彰化客運、鎮公所一帶）、地藏王塚（舊福興庄公所、地藏王廟後方一帶）、崙仔頂塚（運動公園、勞工教育學苑）等。

乾隆 38 年（1773）王坦渡海來台，乾隆 42 年（1777）由士紳魏子鳴倡義，商請鹿港巡檢王坦，日茂行林振嵩及泉廈郊戶捐資，成立「敬義園」，取「良

1 《清代台灣大租調查書》，台灣省文獻會出版。

2 2004 彰化研究鹿港兩岸學術研討會，賴志彰發表〈鹿港市街歷史變遷之界面研究〉論述「…大幅彎轉的河道區隔陰陽兩地…」，是錯誤的，鹿港河道的南岸僅有烏魚寮的墓塚，其餘墓塚的設置皆有廟宇來區隔空間，如大眾爺塚、三山國王塚、地藏王塚等，並非以河道來區隔陰陽空間。

以敬義立，則德不孤也」。鹿港敬義在鹿港地區從事拾字紙、收遺骸、置義塚、修橋樑、平道路等慈善事業。³義塚的設置為地方的一種慈善事業，大多由官紳倡義，始能勉力而行。

鹿港敬義園碑已失，碑文內容收錄於文獻中，撰碑者為魏子鳴。《彰化縣志》〈規制志〉「養濟」：「敬義園，在鹿港街，乾隆四十二年，浙江魏子鳴同巡檢王坦首捐倡率，紳士林振嵩及郊商等捐貲，建置早園，充為義塚」。

鹿港自乾隆 49 年（1784）開為正口後，台灣中部地區往返內陸者，均以鹿港做為出入港口，歸葬原鄉的棺柩亦由鹿港進出，於是鹿港一地必需有多處可停放棺柩的場所及義塚的設置。

鹿港地藏王廟內有一塊嘉慶 23 年（1818）「重興敬義園捐題碑記」，碑文有清代鹿港各郊商所捐款的記錄，如泉郊、廈郊、布郊等，總共捐金二千餘員。敬義園所設置的義塚，即原鹿港鎮第二公墓（即今勞工運動公園），舊稱「崙仔頂塚」，鹿港稱為「舊塚」。

此義塚內原有三座金字塔造型的建築，用以放置無主的骨骸，由於造型特殊，鹿港人將它稱為「煙墩」。民國 81 年筆者前往採集時，得知中間的煙墩建築，其墓碑書有「乾隆 45 年冬萬善同歸」，龍邊則書「乾隆 46 年男善同歸」，虎邊則書「乾隆 46 年女善同歸」。

位於金字塔造型的義塚墓前，亦有一排日治時期的義塚建築物，其墓碑上書有「萬善同歸」，為大正及昭和年間所收埋的無主骨骸。民國 84 年鹿港鎮公所進行清塚遷葬，發現一塊「義塚界址碑」，亦說明崙仔頂塚為敬義園所設立的義塚無誤。

此外，《彰化縣志》〈藝文志〉記載道光 13 年（1833）王蘭佩所撰「重捐敬義園序」，序文內容：「鹿港敬義園，浙江魏先生子鳴所倡建也。初，子鳴有志行善而歉於財，乃伸意於前巡司王君坦，捐俸與共得數百金，又商紳林君振嵩倡議捐助，合泉廈郊戶鳩金三千有奇，置早園充義塚，以其贏者買街店六座，年得稅銀二百六十餘員以供諸費，此拾字紙、收遺骸、施棺木、治橋道所由來，而敬義園之名，千古不朽矣。」

顧立法之初，綱紀粗張，施澤未遠，計年得息，量入為出，固嘗見其有餘，而流傳既久，生齒日繁，費用日廣，則又見其不足，非重捐建業，倍加生息，

3 《台灣中部碑文集成》，台灣省文獻委員會。

勢恐中阻難支也。幸林君三子文濬，克承父志，即於嘉慶乙亥歲，倡捐鳩金二千餘員，填馬芝大路，以顧鹿港龍脈，置琅玕厝園，以恢葬地，買茄苳溝租，以充諸費。是年董事蔡國敏，亦捐鹿港地稅錢，年收四十千。自是置業多，而出息愈大，行善久而功德愈宏。不獨鹿中義舉所必為，即外莊之橋路，或造，或修，亦肩其任。此敬義園之功德，所以可久而可大也。

迨本年夏間，風雨驟至，橋路多崩，以敬義園歲所出息，給費不敷，安得不再為籌議乎？於是文濬五子孝廉廷璋，念祖父之遺績，又倡捐貲，泉廈郊戶襄之，共得白金千員。乃修街尾長濟橋，荊桐腳長安橋，屋口厝慶豐橋及通邑大路。塚中暴骨，次第經理，尚有贏餘，乃將再置旱園，以充葬地。而敬義園之功德，不誠千古不朽哉，是為序」。由於清代許多無人認領的遺骸，遂由敬義園慈善機構設置義塚，供埋葬以告天靈。

乾隆 42 年（1777）成立的敬義園，至嘉慶年間唯恐生息不足以支付，幸有日茂行林振嵩之三子林文濬，倡義捐資，於嘉慶 20 年（1815）捐金二千員，填舖馬芝大路（今鹿港中山路），又置琅玕厝園（頂厝一帶），做為鹿港的義塚墓地。

鹿港街區的義塚尚有崙仔頂塚（運動公園、勞工教育學苑）、三山國王塚（民權路彰化客運、鎮公所一帶）、大將爺塚（今鹿港國小操場）、地藏王塚（舊福興庄公所、地藏王廟後方一帶）等。

三山國王塚

《清代台灣大租調查書》中有關鹿港義塚的記錄為：「一在鹿港街後街尾，前巡檢王坦捐俸置。」、「一在鹿港三山國王廟後，前巡檢王坦捐置。」，敬義園所設的義塚尚有上述二處，鹿港街後街尾的義塚，其範圍包含今第一公墓一部份及地藏王塚。位於第一公墓納骨塔前方，目前尚留有一塊「義塚碑」，由於時代的變遷，昔日的義塚卻成為今日的私塚。⁴

另一處由敬義園設立的三山國王塚，即今日中山路民權路以東，範圍含蓋鹿港鎮公所一帶。三山國王廟創建於乾隆 2 年（1737），為鹿港的人群廟之一。日治時期，日人實施市區改正，於大正 15 年（1926）即將三山國王塚清塚，並新開闢道路（今民權路），並將原三山國王廟遷移至今日現址（中山路 276 號）。

三山國王廟於乾隆 2 年（1737）建廟，為鹿港的人群廟之一，由大正 15 年的舊照片可知，三山國王廟於大正 15 年（1926）以前，即已遭拆除遷建，即顯

4 目前義塚碑保存狀況良好，位於今第一公墓路旁，93 年 4 月 5 日陳仕賢採集。

示三山國王塚亦應於新道路時拆遷無疑。⁵今日鹿港鎮公所後方，有一座百姓公廟，即三山國王塚清塚時，無人認領之無主骨骸，由地方興建小祠供奉。

地藏王塚

地藏王廟嘉慶 20 年（1815）由八郊興建鹿港舊祖宮的餘額，捐部份金額興建地藏王廟。⁶而地藏王塚即位於地藏王廟的後方一帶（舊福興鄉公所附近），屬鹿港街街尾義塚的一部份，此墓塚於日治時期清塚，成為青雲路及部份住宅區。

大將爺塚

鹿港的厲壇又稱大眾爺廟，今稱「威靈廟」，《彰化縣志》：「大眾廟…鹿港大眾廟即厲壇，一在鹿港菜園，嘉慶 20 年建…」。⁷厲壇為清代祭無祀鬼神之壇，亦是停放棺柩的地方，昔時欲運回大陸的棺柩，皆在此停放，等待船期。⁷

大眾廟旁即大眾爺塚，菜園黃慶源主人黃禮永的《榮哀錄》內容提及「…君為評議員兩任，當地保正，里人無間言，生平溫厚樸實，性好慈善，鄰有威靈廟祀大將爺，廟宇歲久破壞，君邀黨人出資修理，樑棟一新，地旁有古塚蓬蒿，滿眼污穢不堪，君又倡首清理，移築冥漠…」。⁸大眾爺塚即今鹿港國小的操場，而大眾爺廟原位於今菜園路上，日人拓寬道路時，將廟宇拆除遷移。民國 64 年整理操場圍牆時，挖出許多枯骨，遂在一旁興建百姓公廟安置。

大眾爺廟主祀大將爺，為明萬曆 47 年與清廷對仗殉節的明將劉綎，據聞約 300 年前由大陸分靈而來，正遇鹿港瘟疫慘重，鎮民有求必安，乃遮留神駕久駐鹿港，遂由鹿港菜園黃姓捐地建廟，名曰「威靈廟」。乾隆 9 年（1744）擴大規模增建，嘉慶 20 年（1815）由八郊重修鹿港天后宮餘資重修。

烏魚寮塚

⁵ 《鹿港懷古》頁 照片。

⁶ 嘉慶 21 年（1816）「重修鹿溪聖母宮碑記」，此碑現存鹿港天后宮。

⁷ 《彰化縣志》158 頁。

⁸ 《榮哀錄》，自刊，1930。

烏魚寮為今鹿港鎮立圖書館一帶，在清代，烏魚寮與鹿港市街隔著鹿港溪，為早年漁民捕魚的休憩的浮嶼。日治時期鹿港溪漸淤，乃於民權路鎮安宮前搭一座橋，稱為「黑貓橋」，是市街通往烏魚寮的橋樑，戰後此橋遭拆除。烏魚寮因位於鹿港溪南岸，日治時期屬福興庄的行政區域，浮嶼上原有少數墓塚，清塚後，興建一座百姓公媽廟供奉無主骨骸，即今洛津國小前百姓公媽廟。鹿港舊港溝改道後，烏魚寮劃入鹿港鎮的行政區域。

黃義興塚

黃義興塚位於鹿港員大排水溝旁（位於沿海路新溝處），昭和 16 年（1941）因員林大排道施做，而將黃義興墓園清塚。依龍山寺開山祖師墓塚修護時，所出土的資料記載得知，龍山寺住持的墓園，原位於鹿港過港（鹿港溪南岸）黃義興墓園內，墓穴坐向為坐西向卯兼辛乙，分金辛酉向辛卯，昭和 16 年（1941）10 月 26 日將兩位禪師拾骸合葬於和興義塚（今第一公墓內），依原墓分金坐向。當時地理師陳其清書寫墓誌銘置紅磚上，埋於墓穴中。

和興塚

和興塚即今第一公墓，日人實施市區改正及拓寬道路時，清除街區多數的墓塚，如三山國王塚、地藏王塚等，因而新設和興塚，供鹿港居民遷移墓園之用，此墓塚為新設置，所以稱為「新塚」，與鹿港崙仔頂塚的「舊塚」相呼應。和興塚位於八保二圳以南，員林大排水道以東的區域，以河道來區分陰陽的界址。

由上述的探討可發現，鹿港的街鎮發展，墓塚則遠離商業街區，由於墓塚是陰宅空間屬性，各墓塚旁均有一座廟宇來鎮守，如三山國王塚、地藏王廟塚、大將爺塚。近年來，隨著都市的發展，昔日的義塚陸續遭清除，成為學校用地或公園設施。

三、鹿港第一公墓保存事件

鹿港第一公墓是日治時期都市計劃時，當時設立的墓塚，所以鹿港人稱為「新塚」。民國 107 年鹿港鎮公所將公墓承租給科技廠商，準備設置太陽能電廠。同年 7 月清理到同治年間鹿港清代慈善事業敬義園所設置的「萬善同歸」、「女同歸所」墓塚及墓碑，而由鎮公所呈報文化局。

經過數次的文資踏勘，及文史工作者努力急呼，喜望能保存 200 多個重要的墓碑，在挖掘中若有發現墓誌銘或重要墓園建築，能保存下來。可惜，鹿港鎮公所人員咨議妄為，將 200 多座重要的，且值得保存的墓碑給剷平，引起輿論的撻伐。

期間，文化局的數次找專家學者現勘，並與鹿港鎮公所開會討論保留事宜，文化局希望做好相關文資價值後，再繼續施工。然而鎮公所卻持續拆除古墓，無視文化資產保存的重要性。目前，2019 年 1 月經審議會後，鹿港第一公墓僅存的四十多座古蹟，已被暫定古蹟，未來將進行墓葬考古取掘。

四、結論

《清代台灣大租調查書》中有關鹿港義塚的記錄為：「一在鹿港街後街尾，前巡檢王坦捐俸置。」、「一在鹿港三山國王廟後，前巡檢王坦捐置。」，敬義園所設的義塚尚有上述二處，鹿港街後街尾的義塚，其範圍包含今第一公墓一部份及地藏王塚。位於第一公墓納骨塔前方，目前尚留有一塊「義塚碑」，由於時代的變遷，昔日的義塚卻成為今日的私塚。⁹

由上述的探討可發現，鹿港的街鎮發展，墓塚則遠離商業街區，由於墓塚是陰宅空間屬性，各墓塚旁均有一座廟宇來鎮守，如三山國王塚、地藏王廟塚、大將爺塚。近年來，隨著都市的發展，昔日的義塚陸續遭清除，成為學校用地或公園設施。

民國 84 年鹿港第二公墓清塚時，當時鹿港敬義園所設置的三座金字塔造型的古墓，極具歷史與建築價值，可惜當時對古墓的保存意識不足，而遭全部拆除。

20 多年後，鹿港第一公墓仍遭大規模破壞，當時我曾要求鹿港鎮公所公共管理所，在清理墓塚時，至少能保留重要墓碑及墓誌銘。而彰化縣文化局經過數次的會議，鹿港鎮公所公共管理所能恣意妄為，不願配合，官員瀆職才是文化資產保存最大的殺手。

⁹ 目前義塚碑保存狀況良好，位於今第一公墓路旁，93 年 4 月 5 日陳仕賢採集。

Why Taiwanese Have Difficulty to Embrace Their Own Heritage? Yet, They Really Admire Their Culture Not in Cemeteries

David BLUNDELL

UCLA Anthropology Ph.D.
National Chengchi University, Taipei
University of California, Los Angeles

pacific@berkeley.edu

In Taiwan, I found people have difficulty embracing their own heritage. Yet, admire their culture not in cemeteries. Why? The dilemma is an embarrassment in terms of self-identity and identification with the ecology.

Chinese heritage does help Taiwanese acknowledge their natural environment as a Daoist factor historically giving people a sense to commune with their ecology. Yet in our world today, the 'built urban environment and virtual Internet based reality' are taking over the way to think about and view nature at a distance, not be in it.

As this trend persists in the world, Taiwanese also select electronics and media in their lives as a way to escape possible confrontation with their own identity. Yet, surrounding urban spaces in Taiwan, nature invites Taiwanese back to the mountains, valleys, plains, coasts, and neighboring islands.

In Taiwan, local indigenous peoples for generations have known nature to be their inspiration for the future. This orientation of knowledge could be passed on to generations to come, or forgotten, trashed. In Taiwan today, how do people develop processes by which to select ecological resources to be positive and integrate the power of nature into cultural processes?

Difficult Space: Old Gravesites in Taiwan

莊庭瑞 Tyng-Ruey CHUANG

Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

trc@iis.sinica.edu.tw

Old gravesites pose difficult questions about their places in Taiwan, where already since years, cremation has replaced earth burial as most common form of burial. Land plots for old gravesites have been re-zoned and cleared out to make room for new projects. Issues have been raised about whether and how old gravesites shall be preserved. We contemplate the nature of these issues, and wish to suggest ways to navigate this difficult space. In particular, we need to address the questions of what the gravesites are preserved for and for whom. Re-establishing old gravesites as the places for collective memory making – re-using them for new burials, for example – could be a long-term strategy for preservation.

Tyng-Ruey Chuang is an associate research fellow at the Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica, with a joint appointment at both the Research Center for Information Technology Innovation and the Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences (the Center for GIS). His research interests include functional programming, geospatial informatics, and topics in citizen science and data collaboration. He helped to set up the Sunflower Movement Archive (<http://public.318.io>) and the Taiwan Roadkill Observation Network (<https://roadkill.tw/>). His team has been working on data.depositar.io – a research data repository built on top of open source software.

莊庭瑞任職於中央研究院資訊科學研究所為副研究員，同時合聘於資訊科技創新研究中心以及人文社會科學研究中心（地理資訊科學專題研究中心）。他的研究興趣包括函數程式語言、地理空間資訊、以及公民科學和資料協作的相關議題。他協助建置「318 公民運動文物紀錄典藏庫」（<http://public.318.io>）以及「台灣動物路死觀察網」（<https://roadkill.tw/>）。他的團隊建立 data.depositar.io，一項以開放原始碼為基底的「研究資料寄存」服務。

Cosmological Assumptions of the Minnan Tomb: Turtles, wombs, microcosms, and beyond

James X. MORRIS

National Chengchi University

james.x.morris.@gmail.com

The Minnan (閩南) tomb style dominates in Taiwan, having originated from southern China in Kinmen (金門), incubated in Penghu (澎湖) for a period, before spreading across the island. The tomb carries a multitude of encoded values in its structure, arrangement, and ornamentation. While much research has focused on the cosmic turtle-back designs which are associated with Kinmen, the tomb and mound also present other traditions which have disappeared or taken a back seat. Within cosmological traditions we can identify more than the cosmic turtle motif; we find the tomb's intersection with and divergence from several ancient practices such as earth worship, the cult of fertility and agriculture, the form and compass schools of Chinese geomancy, and Confucian thought. These multiple cosmological threads have been woven together to generate the architecture of the Minnan tomb. This exploration of these various cosmological traditions is intended to provide a greater appreciation for these folk heritage structures.

Keywords: tombs, Taiwan, Minnan, Chinese cosmology, heritage structures

James X. Morris is a PhD Candidate at National Chengchi University in Taipei. His area is the analysis of communal ritual space in Taiwan's communities, including placements of shrines, tombs, and stones. His main focus has been on Earth worship and tombs preservation. James also writes on issues relating to Taiwan, its society, and its political-economy. He has worked on the Xindian First Public Cemetery (新店第一公墓) preservation issue since 2016, and is producing a book, Grassroots Heritage on the topic (To be announced). His work can be followed on Twitter and Instagram: @JamesXMorris

在墓地裡發現臺南：近百年來臺南府城近郊墓地的調查活動及其研究傳統

Discovering Tainan in Cemeteries: Exploring Activities and Its Research Traditions over the Last One Hundred Years in Cemeteries nearby Tainan Old City

蘇峯楠 Su, Feng-nan

國立臺灣歷史博物館研究人員

Division of Research, National Museum of Taiwan History

woodsouth@nmth.gov.tw

摘要

本文主要針對臺南府城近郊墓地的調查活動及其研究傳統進行回顧。19世紀晚期，府城墓地形成許多地理環境及風水堪輿方面的知識，也有不少文人吟詠活動。20世紀開始，近代城市計畫開始推進，清塚行動使大量墳墓開始遭到遷移，亦使臺南地方研究人士（包含臺灣人及日本學者）開始投入墓地進行調查與記錄活動，並在20世紀中期完成一些初步的研究報告。研究者在參與遷葬的過程中，獲得墓碑抄錄文字、墓碑拓本、陪葬品、照片等相關資料或物件，它們之後都由城市的博物館加以典藏。這個模式一直延續到1945年以後，具有「地方性」的博物館更讓市民也能夠參與墳墓調查及累積成果，而人們也利用這些墓葬物件建構臺南歷史。另一波墓地調查活動興起於21世紀初期，當政府有意逐步遷移南山公墓，市民因而主動發起保存運動，並且結合社群網站資源，號召大眾參與投入墓地歷史資源調查活動。相較於20世紀中期人們對墓地遷移的抗爭行動，21世紀初的墓地保存運動，更帶有文化資產保存、公民運動與地方性行動的特質。

關鍵詞：考古、地方學、地方性、博物館、墳墓研究

Abstract

This paper aims to study fieldwork activities and its research traditions in cemeteries nearby Hú-siánn (old Tainan Fu walled city). In the late 19th century, there has been much knowledge of geography and *fengshui*, as well as many literati visits in suburban cemeteries of Hú-siánn. As the modern city planning progresses from the 20th century, a large number of tombs were moved, and then Tainan local researchers (including Taiwanese and Japanese scholars) began to get into investigating and recording activities in cemeteries, and completed some preliminary research reports in the middle of the 20th century. In the process of participating in the moving of tombs,

the researchers also got materials or objects such as texts of tombstones, tombstones rubbing, funerary objects, photographs, etc., which were later collected by the city museum. After 1945, the city museum with “local features” allowed people to participate in tombs research, and people also used these objects to construct the Tainan history. Another cemetery research began in the early 21st century. When the government intended to move the Nanshan cemetery, there has been a historic preservation movement which through social media called on the public to join in the investigation of historical resources in cemetery. Compared to the protest for tombs moving in the middle of the 20th century, the cemetery preservation movement in the early 21st century has more concepts on cultural heritage preservation, social movement and local action.

Keywords: Archaeology, Local Historical Studies, Locality, Museum, Tombs Research

蘇峯楠，現任職於國立臺灣歷史博物館研究組，研究領域為臺灣史、地圖史、歷史地理、圖像研究、物質文化研究。目前正在進行的研究是十八世紀臺灣番俗圖的繪圖活動與圖像論述。

Feng-nan Su currently holds a position at Division of Research, National Museum of Taiwan History (NMTH). His primary research interest focuses on Taiwan history, history of cartography, historical geography, research on historical visual materials, and material culture studies. His current research is on painting activities and image discourse of genre painting of the Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples in 18th century.

在基地裡發現臺南：

近百年來臺南府城近郊基地的調查活動及其研究傳統*

蘇峯楠

國立臺灣歷史博物館研究組

一、前言

臺南府城近郊的基地空間，¹ 長久以來依隨著府城居民的墓葬需求、儀式活動及相關民俗而有所發展。「人」與「地方」在那裡建立了互動關係，累積出豐厚的生命經驗、家系建構、儀式展演、風水堪輿等相關知識與活動足跡。這些知識的系譜，有很大一部分是源自人們在墓葬上的直接需求，但是，也有一些人進入基地之目的，並非只為了進行墓葬行為。以埋葬了鄭成功兩位嬪妃的「藩府曾蔡二姬墓」（以下簡稱「二姬墓」）為例，該墓早已因時代鼎革而後人不祀，但依然還存在於人們的生活與知識脈絡中，因此，時人不僅知道該墓所在位置，也將附近一帶高地的地名稱之為「曾蔡二姬崙」，在 19 世紀晚期府城士紳採訪紀錄的《臺灣採訪冊》裡，「曾蔡二姬崙」更是作為論述「溪仔墘溪」（今竹溪）水勢環境的重要地點之一；² 至於城外基地的空間地景，亦很早就用以回饋為府城市街地理格局之詮釋，如 19 世紀的《續修臺灣縣志》即引用南郊的魁斗山作為府城整體空間論述。³ 此外，城外的南郊墓地亦常作為城內文人踏青感懷之地，並偶有詩文作品留存，如 19 世紀的城內士人許南英，即注意到小南門外法華寺畔的「閑散石虎之墓」，並為之作詩憑弔，甚至讓後人接續展開一段關於明代武將在臺灣的歷史想像。⁴

到了 20 世紀初期，府城近郊墓地開始出現另一種活動人群，並且形成新的知識傳統。這些人將視線投注在不屬於自己家的墓塚，但跟前段提到傳統空間

* * 本文為未完成稿，僅提供會議討論使用，如欲引用請先聯繫作者。

Draft paper, not for citation or quotation without permission of the authors.

- 1 本文所指的臺南府城近郊，指舊城區周邊之今臺南市北、中西、東、永康等區。
- 2 《臺灣採訪冊·水勢》記載：「溪仔墘溪，源出東門外太爺廊前，南流大橋頭，過竹溪寺邊，轉過曾、蔡二姬崙，旋傳經溪仔墘，西流鹽場，注於臺江。」見陳國瑛等採集，《臺灣採訪冊》（臺北：臺灣銀行經濟研究室，臺灣文獻叢刊第 55 種，1959），頁 11。
- 3 《續修臺灣縣志·卷一·地志》：「魁斗山，在邑城南。其脈自東南來，至正南陡起三峯，狀若三臺星，為府學文廟拱案。又蟠屈蜿蜒，以至西南，勢若內抱，形家所謂下砂者是也。邑來脈甚長，而所謂下砂者止此。」
- 4 關於「閑散石虎之墓」的想像與詮釋，可參見蘇峯楠的討論。蘇峯楠，〈歷史事實、文學想像與文物詮釋：論「閑散石虎之墓」碑文物內涵的形成〉，《臺南文化·南瀛文獻》合輯（2011 年 11 月），頁 35-47。

認知及踏青感懷的人不一樣的是，這些人關注於墳墓的碑刻文字、建築形態及歷史緣由，並透過實地調查活動的進行，撰寫累積調查記錄以及展開研究討論。這般活動模式，顯然與之前屬於個人或家族的墓葬及祭祀活動有所不同，而是地方研究者社群對於環境空間與歷史文化的探索，並試圖將其記錄所得，回饋到對於自身城市與土地的關懷理解。本文所要回顧的就是這些人的墓地調查活動，以及這些活動所代表的時代意義。

二、南方共筆：20世紀前期地方研究者的墓地調查與挖掘

臺南近郊墓地的調查活動於日治初期就已開展，其主要成果，大多呈現於像是臨時臺灣舊慣調查會針對臺灣傳統社會進行調查所得的文獻資料，如該會於1906年完成的報告書。⁵民間的墓葬文化及其知識進入殖民政府調查資料，成為政府透過舊慣調查行動所額外編製的「統治知識」，以提供施行現代城市管理及公共墓地設置的規劃基礎。

不過，這套在地知識依然在民間有所承襲，並隨著1910年代市區改正開始實施而有所反應。如1916年，臺南師範附屬學校（今國立臺南大學附設實驗國民小學）在小南門外欲闢建新校區，動工之前，臺南廳先針對該地的墳墓辦理遷葬作業，當中也包含法華寺畔的「閑散石虎之墓」。文人連橫得知消息之後，先向臺南廳提出申請，再僱工將該墓遷至法華寺內，⁶是較早以實際行動參與古墓保存的案例。

墓地的紀錄一直存在於連橫蒐集整理的臺灣掌故之中。因此，1924年還可以看到連橫於《臺灣詩薈》第5號雜錄欄中發表〈臺南古跡志（二）〉一文，內容提及仁和里鞍子「皇明聖之省之二公子墓」（以下簡稱「二鄭公子墓」）、蛇子穴「藩府陳蔡二姬墓」（按：陳為曾之誤，以下簡稱「二姬墓」）等古墓事跡；然而，其敘說方式也表現出，當時民間還沒有真正形成一種墓地調查活動及具體成果，一直到1930年臺南市役所舉辦的「臺灣文化三百年紀念會」，墓地調查才有較具系統性的成果。在該場展覽內容中，包含了展出開山神社（今延平郡王祠）提供的「二鄭公子墓」、「二姬墓」、「陳永華之墓」、「定國將軍施公墓」、「李茂春之墓」、「李茂春塋域保存之碑」（此件為史料展覽會提供）等墓碑拓本，⁷拓本的形式既可說明這些墳墓已有特定的調查與紀錄活動，它們出現在展覽場中，更呈現出將這些墓葬資料進行特定整理的成

5 見《臨時臺灣舊慣調查會第一部調查第二回報告書》之「墳墓」一節。該篇內容雖主要描述臺灣墓葬文化，然亦有特別著墨臺南義塚之管理與運作。見臨時臺灣舊慣調查會，《臨時臺灣舊慣調查會第一部調查第二回報告書》，第1卷（臺北：臨時臺灣舊慣調查會，1906），頁336-359；另，該會蒐集部分關於墓葬的碑刻或古文書，亦收於該書「附錄參考書」中第一編「不動產」關於臺南地方土地沿革之下，見同書《附錄參考書》，頁167-173。

6 蘇峯楠，〈歷史事實、文學想像與文物詮釋：論「閑散石虎之墓」碑文物內涵的形成〉，頁38。

7 臺灣文化三百年紀念會編，《臺灣史料集成》（臺南：臺南文化三百年紀念會，1931），頁34-35。

果。這應有很大一部分是源自展覽係係長村上玉吉所聘任的委員、府城在地文史及蒐藏家石暘睢的規劃與安排。

在「臺灣文化三百年紀念會」結束之後，有更多具體的墓地調查討論開始陸續浮上檯面。首先，一直對墓地有所關注的連橫，繼續在 1931 年於《三六九小報》發表短文〈明定國將軍墓記〉，略述位於府城小東門外瑤竹林、也有在展覽中出現的「皇明定國將軍施公墓」墓主及其身分；⁸ 1932 年，再於同報「雅言」專欄略述「鄭氏時代之墓」，⁹ 連橫與石暘睢，都是府城在地人士持續關注近郊墓地的代表。再者，臺北的劉克明也在 1930 年出版的《臺灣今古談》一書中，收錄了「二鄭公子墓」的聖之、省之到底是誰的簡短討論，¹⁰ 這顯示出也開始有外地士人關注府城近郊墓地的掌故。再者，臺南第一中學校（今國立臺南第二高級中學）的前島信次、¹¹ 內田勳、國分直一等日籍教師，亦開始參與了墓地調查活動。

以前島信次為例，他畢業於東京帝國大學東洋史學科，專攻中亞及伊斯蘭史研究，但在其於 1932 年抵達臺南任教之後，對於臺南地方文史事蹟亦有所興趣。1933 年，他在讀過學生小林悅郎的暑假作業後，對於作業中提到洲仔尾鄭其仁墓的傳說頗有興趣，於是在該年 11 月 12 日，他與學校同事鹽塚勝之、安平臺灣史料館的野田八平、以及石暘睢等人，一同前往洲仔尾鄭其仁墓址附近探查，並真的於當地掘出一座斷足石馬，在獲得地主答允捐贈之後，他們將石馬移至安平的臺灣史料館展示，隔日起開放參觀。¹² 而在 1934 年，位於新化的府城商紳林朝英之墓，林家後人打算遷至府城南郊墓地的洲仔溪，該年 5 月，內田勳與鹽塚勝之先前去做基本探查，內田還有拍攝照片、撰寫記述；¹³ 9 月，前島信次於林家後人邀請下，再與內田勳等人一同參與林朝英墓的開挖改葬過程，此次從墓穴中掘出 4 塊 19 世紀的磚造墓誌銘，前島隨即進行拓印。1938 年，前島將此次經歷撰入〈枯葉二三を拾ひて〉一文，發表於期刊《愛書》之中。¹⁴

這段時期的墓地調查具體成果，又再於一次大型展覽中具體呈現。1935 年，在臺灣總督府舉辦的「始政四十周年臺灣博覽會」臺南展場「特設臺灣歷史館」中，同樣展出了「墓地取締之碑文」、「五妃道碑文」、「鄭其仁墓道碑文」、「李茂春之墓碑文」、「二姬之墓碑文」、「二公子之墓碑文」、「陳

8 武公（連橫），〈明定國將軍墓記〉，《三六九小報》，1931 年 6 月 19 日，版 4。

9 連雅堂，〈雅言（六六）〉，《三六九小報》，1932 年 8 月 13 日，版 4。

10 劉克明，《臺灣今古談》（臺北：新高堂書店，1930），頁 64-66。

11 前島信次自臺灣返回日本後改作「前嶋信次」，這裡採用他在臺灣所使用的原名；文後述及戰後部分，則使用「前嶋信次」。

12 〈永康庄の墓地で石馬一基を發掘 安平資料館に陳列 殘る一基も近く發掘〉，《臺灣日日新報》，1933 年 11 月 14 日，版 7。〈夜な畑を荒す墓前の大石馬と 部落民に盜まれた銀の首級 清朝の功臣鄭其仁の墓から發掘した石馬安平史料館へ〉，《臺南新報》，1933 年 11 月 15 日，版 8。之後，這座石馬一度被遷至臺南市歷史館前，戰後再移置赤崁樓，見何鳳嬌、陳美蓉訪問記錄，《黃天橫先生訪談錄》（臺北：國史館，2008），頁 127。

13 內田勳相簿原件現藏日本大阪國立民族學博物館，其所拍攝的林朝英墓照片，可見江明珊總編輯，《南方共筆：輩出承啟的臺南風土描繪特展專刊》（臺南：國立臺灣歷史博物館，2018），頁 103。該照片的註解誤作「林清忠墓」。

14 前島信次，〈枯葉二三を拾ひて〉，《愛書》10（1938 年 4 月），頁 149-154。

永華之墓碑文」、「定國將軍之墓碑文」等石碑拓本，¹⁵而在第三會場古碑陳列場（今大南門碑林）中，也新增展示了蒐集自府城各地的 54 塊碑碣，其中包含了來自大南門外的 1746 年「五妃墓道之碑」、¹⁶ 1802 年「義塚護衛示禁碑記」，¹⁷ 以及安平公學校邊的 1832 年「殉難義塚碑記」¹⁸ 等 3 塊來自基地的碑刻文物。這些也應來自於再次受聘為委員的石暘睢，以及另一位委員前島信次¹⁹ 的規劃成果。而石暘睢在 1942 年 3 月《民俗臺灣》第 2 卷第 3 期發表〈臺南古碑記〉一文，²⁰ 文中整理了他在府城採集到的 200 塊石碑，當中包含有「墓道塚域之碑」的項類，應為 1935 年開始有系統地整理碑刻文物的其中一個具體成果；而另一篇〈臺南郊外塚地考〉一文，發表於 1943 年 4 月《民俗臺灣》第 3 卷第 4 號，條列了其所採集的 85 個臺南府城周邊墓地相關地名，並針對名稱典故略以釋說，²¹ 也是石暘睢基地調查的另一項重要成果。

之後，如同前面提到連橫對於「閑散石虎之墓」的遷移動作一樣，隨著大型建設工事接續施行所浮現的墓地徵收及遷葬作業，使得關注墓地的人們不僅只有調查紀錄，更親自參與了部分古墓的挖掘遷葬流程，並蒐集到出土的部分明器，以及能夠有具體觀察墓葬建築構造的機會。鄭氏時期遺老李茂春之墓，原本座落於新昌里南郊墓地中的蛇仔穴，1942 年因臺南飛行場擴建工程而即將遭到徵收移除，因此，該年 4 月 25 日，石暘睢、莊松林、盧嘉興、國分直一、福田百合子、渡邊等人，利用法華寺提供之經費，偕同工匠張麟司前往進行遷葬工作，將李茂春遺骨裝入木盒，與墓碑、1800 年立「李茂春塋域侵佔示禁碑記」一同移置法華寺，也順勢掘出橢圓形小石硯 1 個、永曆錢 3 枚等明器。²² 在挖掘李茂春墓時，又於附近發現「皇明顯妣夫人洪氏墓」，因而同年 10 月，莊松林、董祐峯再利用陳氏宗祠提供之經費前往發掘，並有 4 個青花五穀斝、1 個銀戒指等明器出土，而墓則遷葬至另一處。²³

15 不著撰人，《臺灣歷史館出品目錄》（出版地不詳，1935），頁 56-58。

16 不著撰人，《臺灣歷史館出品目錄》，頁 107。此碑現置於大南門碑林第 2 排第 5 位。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》（臺北：國立中央圖書館臺灣分館，1992），頁 319-320、535-536。

17 不著撰人，《臺灣歷史館出品目錄》，頁 109。此碑現置於大南門碑林第 2 排第 17 位。何培夫主編，何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 350、541。

18 不著撰人，《臺灣歷史館出品目錄》，頁 107。此碑現置於大南門碑林第 2 排第 6 位。何培夫主編，何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 376-378、545。

19 莊松林，〈懷念石暘睢先生〉，《南瀛文獻》10（1965 年 6 月），頁 42。

20 石暘睢，〈臺南古碑記〉，《民俗臺灣》2:3（1942 年 3 月），頁 51。

21 石暘睢，〈臺南郊外塚地考〉，《民俗臺灣》3:4（1943 年 4 月），頁 34-36。

22 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，《臺南文化》3:2（1953 年 9 月），頁 44、54，取自國立臺灣歷史博物館「臺南文史研究資料庫」，網址：

<https://tainanstudy.nmth.gov.tw/article/detail/154/read>，瀏覽日期：2019 年 4 月 1 日。黃典權，〈夢蝶園主李茂春〉，《臺南文化》2:1（1952 年 1 月），頁 57，取自國立臺灣歷史博物館「臺南文史研究資料庫」，網址：<https://tainanstudy.nmth.gov.tw/article/detail/036/read>，瀏覽日期：2019 年 4 月 1 日。何培夫主編，何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 160-161、164-165、295-296。

23 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，頁 54。朱鋒，〈臺南近十年來的考古工作概要〉，《臺北文物》6:2（1957 年 10 月），頁 98。

整體來說，臺南近郊基地的調查活動，應在日治時期政府針對臺灣舊慣的關注下，始有較具系統性的調查成果；但是，更貼近地方、更深入的細緻成果，須至日治晚期才陸續推出。依謝仕淵對於石暘睢之臺南研究的討論來看，他認為應是在終戰前後的文化政策與戰爭局勢、甚或整體都市發展所構成的環境改變過程下，讓石暘睢這些學人在此危機感中，展開了許多具體調查行動。²⁴ 筆者認為，當時的基地調查活動、以及參與其中的調查者們，應該也是在這個脈絡下讓基地調查活動浮上檯面。

三、戰後的延續與徵集

戰後，臺南基地調查活動依然持續進行，這有一部分是承襲自日治時期的調查成果與經驗，如莊松林曾經回顧他在 1942 年參與「李茂春墓」、「皇明顯妣夫人洪氏墓」的發掘過程，自述這兩次經驗使他對於在臺明墓「粗知涯略」、「始有初步的了解」，²⁵ 開啟他對於墳墓調查的興趣，因而在戰後初期，又持續發現數座明墓。²⁶ 一直到 1961 年 12 月，仍有石暘睢、鄭喜夫、林國琛等人於永康二王四份子發掘薛靜冲等 5 墓²⁷ 等古墓重修工作之參與。

隨著基地調查成果逐漸累積有成，相關著述的討論開始細緻化，也有數量及篇幅上的進展，這從戰後的文章開始以利用表格整理前人的發掘成果、並且不斷有後人接力增補的情形，即可見一斑。1969 年黃典權針對二鄭公子墓的文章，是討論細緻化的一例。²⁸ 而最早使用到表格的，應該是莊松林〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉一文的「臺灣明墓碑銘尺寸表」，該表中條列了「明墓」碑銘及尺寸資料共 24 筆。²⁹ 日後，莊松林仍有繼續補充，直到 1965 年再度整理時已增至 72 筆，當時他僅以複寫紙複寫數份，分贈親友，經 1975 年石萬壽重新整理，已頗具規模。³⁰ 1985 年黃典權發表於《成功大學歷史學系歷史學報》第 12 期的〈皇明壬寅重修故妣吳門徐氏塋墓考證〉一文，³¹ 主要討論臺南關廟的一座明墓，但文中亦有「臺灣已見明墓簡表」，盤點 55 種臺灣額刻「明」字之墓碑，作為其討論基礎。

1951 年「臺南市史料編纂委員會」成立（之後改為「臺南市文獻委員會」，以下簡稱「文獻會」），使研究工作不只個人行動，而還有組織資源與平臺的支援，故自 1950 年代開始，基地調查成果陸續出現在文獻會的刊物或活動中，

24 謝仕淵，〈石暘睢（1898-1964）文史調查事業之初探：兼論戰後初期的臺灣博物館〉，《師大臺灣史學報》9（2016 年 12 月），頁 159。

25 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，頁 44；莊松林，〈懷念石暘睢先生〉，頁 44。

26 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，頁 44、54。

27 鄭喜夫，〈悼念石暘睢先生〉，《南瀛文獻》10（1965 年 6 月），頁 30。

28 黃典權，〈延平王鄭二公子墓考〉，《臺灣風物》19:1-2（1969 年 6 月），頁 41-58。

29 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，頁 49-52。

30 石萬壽，〈記新出土的明墓碑〉，《臺灣文獻》26:1（1975 年 3 月），頁 38-42。

31 黃典權，〈皇明壬寅重修故妣吳門徐氏塋墓考證〉，《成功大學歷史學系歷史學報》12（1985 年 10 月），頁 155-177。

討論內容也更加具體，如《臺南文化》在 1953 年先後刊登石暘睢〈臺灣明墓考〉³² 及莊松林〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉³³ 兩篇撰著成果；1958 年莊松林再於《臺北文物》發表〈臺南近十年來的考古工作概要〉共 3 大篇文章，從 12 個項目闡述日治晚期至戰後初期臺南（主要為府城地區）各類文物調查成果，而「明墓」在其所列第 2 項，分別從清治時期舊誌所載、「臺灣文化三百年紀念會」及「始政四十周年紀念臺灣博覽會」臺灣歷史館之展品、博覽會後至終戰前、戰後初期等 4 個階段，整體回顧明墓的調查成果。³⁴

文獻會的成立，也讓官方的文化資產保存概念及相關資源，開始走進墓地研究傳統裡。1952 年，文獻會即針對曾振暘墓、二鄭公子墓，二姬墓等 3 座墳墓進行整修；而在 1975 年臺南市政府舉辦的「臺南觀光年」活動中，市政府也委託文獻會調查臺南市的「古蹟」，結果總計有 140 處，曾振暘墓、二鄭公子墓、二姬墓、五妃廟等古墓亦列名其中，³⁵ 並再次進行整修工作。1985 年，臺南市政府依《文化資產保存法》指定「藩府曾蔡二姬墓」、「藩府二鄭公子墓」、「曾振暘墓」等 3 座古墓為「第三級古蹟」（後改為「市定古蹟」），並在 1997 年由臺南市政府發包執行調查研究與執行修護計畫，2001 年施作完工，添加了步道及解說牌等設施。³⁶ 至 2003 年，臺南市政府再指定「施瓊芳墓」為市定古蹟。這些成為法定「古蹟」的墳墓，既獲得公部門投入資源進行維護，也使它們擁有不一樣的論述地位，因此在 1980 年代以後，凡有論及臺南市古蹟的政府出版品，大多以這 4 座具有文資身分的「古蹟」代表了府城南郊墓地的整體論述。

即使文獻會存在，也並不影響個人或民間社團持續進行的調查活動。曾經身為文獻會委員的黃天橫，回憶莊松林經常約他騎腳踏車去巡視明墓，時間大多在清明節過後。有時他們會注意墳墓有沒有人拜，若是沒有，會奉上花與銀紙聊表心意。³⁷ 而他也親自參與過林朝英墓的改葬過程，在此之前，他曾經利用日治時期前島信次的墓誌銘拓本，整理〈林朝英之墓誌銘〉一文，發表於《臺灣風物》期刊；³⁸ 而經過此次參與之後，他又根據墓誌銘的原件，再發表〈林朝英墓重修勘考記〉一文。³⁹

而在民間組織方面，1958 年有「臺南市文史協會」由文獻會主要班底成員成立。該會承接日治晚期以來莊松林等人的墓地調查傳統，也以其民間組織身

32 石暘睢，〈臺灣明墓考〉，《臺南文化》3:1（1953 年 6 月），頁 25-28。國立臺灣歷史博物館「臺南文史研究資料庫」，網址：<https://tainanstudy.nmth.gov.tw/article/detail/118/read>，瀏覽日期：2019 年 4 月 1 日。

33 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉，《臺南文化》3:2（1953 年 9 月），頁 44-55。

34 朱鋒，〈臺南近十年來的考古工作概要〉，《臺北文物》6:2（1957 年 10 月），頁 96-100。

35 游醒民，〈臺南市古蹟調查與簡介〉，《臺南文化》新 7（1979 年 6 月），頁 106-126。

36 蕭梅計畫主持，《臺南市第三級古蹟藩府二鄭公子墓、藩府曾蔡二姬墓、曾振暘墓調查研究與修護計劃報告》，1997。楊明人建築師事務所設計監造，《第三級古蹟藩府二鄭公子墓、藩府曾蔡二姬墓、曾振暘墓修復工程工作報告書》，2001。

37 何鳳嬌、陳美蓉訪問記錄，《黃天橫先生訪談錄》，頁 245。

38 黃天橫，〈林朝英之墓誌銘〉，《臺灣風物》23:2（1963 年 6 月），頁 51。

39 黃天橫，〈林朝英墓重修勘考記〉，《臺灣風物》26:2（1976 年 6 月），頁 31-36。

分行動，成為戰後初期參與墓地調查活動的代表性民間社團。該會不乏有關心墓地課題的會員，如資深雕塑家邱火松，曾於 1973 年出資整修藩府曾蔡二姬墓之墓埕，以防止其他墳墓進佔；1996 年，他也不斷反映臺南市政府豎立的「曾振暘墓」古蹟標示碑之錯字誤植。⁴⁰ 此外，為了追溯早期會員的墓地調查傳統，該會在 1998 年也舉辦「明墓巡禮」活動，藉以「緬懷本會前輩們對本市文史的貢獻」並且「冀望本會能將清明節祭拜明墓的活動傳承下去」，⁴¹ 因而此後的清明節前後，該會或有舉辦墓地探訪活動。

戰後臺南市博物館在墓地調查的角色與職能也值得關注。戰後於赤崁樓重新開館的「臺南市立歷史館」（以下簡稱為「歷史館」），在墓地相關藏品方面有顯著的累積成果。其蒐藏方式，有直接購藏者，如 1955 年發現落款「仁戌」（1682，明永曆 36 年）的「皇明妣慈順唐氏墓」碑，原本流入石舖，經歷史館發現後購藏入館；⁴² 1740 年劉國瑞墓誌銘，亦是購自小西門腳民家。⁴³ 或有調查發現後徵集入館者，如 1745 年「陳登昌墓道碑」、⁴⁴ 1788 年「鄭其仁墓道碑」、⁴⁵ 1813 年「王得祿祖塋定界示禁碑記」、⁴⁶ 1840 年「嚴禁山鬼越界築塚碑記」⁴⁷ 及 1863 年「蔡振益祖墳界趾」碑⁴⁸ 等碑刻，皆自墓地原址徵集入館。亦有參與墓葬整修及考掘工作而獲得出土文物者，如 1953 年臺南市文獻委員會針對「市郊所存明墓」籌款進行整修，其對象包括「許申墓」、「許冲懷夫婦墓」、「黃公墓」、「陳忠欽墓」、「鄭旭初墓」等，整建過程中掘得多件附葬明器，經歷史館「擇要」入藏該館。⁴⁹ 除了歷史館之外，其他場地或館舍亦有類似的入藏歷程，如 1977 年出土於臺南市北區公園路的「皇清萬善同歸所」碑，於 1978 年移至大南門碑林陳列；⁵⁰ 1982 年臺南市政府闢建四維街馬路時，

40 林慧瑜，《藝術界中的武士流：邱火松泥塑作品之研究》（臺南：林慧瑜，2015），頁 39-41。

41 林明山、陳蘭瑩，〈「明墓巡禮」雜記〉，《文史薈刊》復刊 3（1998 年 8 月），頁 86。

42 〈臺南又發現三百年古碑〉，《聯合報》，1955 年 7 月 13 日，版 5。黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，《臺南文化》4:4（1955 年 6 月），頁 97。

43 黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁 51-52。

44 此碑原位於北區三分子路南園中，戰後移置臺南市立歷史館，今陳列於赤崁樓。黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁 97。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 92、287-288。

45 此碑原位於北區柴頭港福德祠邊，戰後移置臺南市立歷史館，今陳列於赤崁樓。黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁 97。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 111、287-288。

46 此碑原發現於臺南市東區虎尾寮，戰後入藏臺南市立歷史館，今陳列於赤崁樓。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 113-114、288。

47 此碑現藏於鄭成功文物館。黃典權，《臺灣南部碑文集》，臺灣文獻叢刊第 218 種（臺北：臺灣銀行經濟研究室，1966），頁 632-633。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 69-70、281。

48 此碑現藏於鄭成功文物館。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 72、282。

49 黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁 47-48。

50 此碑現置於大南門碑林第 3 排第 11 位。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁 324、536。

掘出「清同歸所」碑，後亦由國立成功大學歷史文物館收藏。⁵¹

不論是黃天橫、邱火松或者臺南市文史協會，皆是對文史課題有所探究或鑽研的同人與社團；但戰後值得注意的，還有一般大眾的參與。1952年，市民蔡萬挺即帶領歷史館的石暘睢，前往勘查師爺塚前釋迦園附近的1642年「曾振暘墓」，始讓這座建於荷蘭東印度公司管理時期的華人墳墓重新面世。⁵²而該館也受理許多市民通報或捐贈的墓葬文物，如1982年陳仁德、吳樹於東區虎尾寮發現的19世紀「爵府王山界」墓界碑，之後入藏該館；⁵³1991年枋橋頭吳尚新後人重修墓園後，也將不再使用的吳尚新墓碑捐贈予該館；⁵⁴永福路王家裔孫王阿欽的1742年王紹堂墓誌銘、⁵⁵祀典武廟邊陳樹根的18世紀鄭門郭氏、鄭廷爵、鄭門林氏等3人之墓誌銘，⁵⁶亦皆為捐贈之例。從這些案例可見，民眾在墓地調查活動的角色，已不只是戰後初期以前單純的報導人，而也是參與了關注墓地，以及發現與蒐集墓碑的參與者，而博物館的存在，即作為一般大眾得以通報、觀展及交流這些資訊的對口。

四、怪手之下：1990年代以後的課題拓展與搶救式考古

1990年代以後，文獻徵集的工作仍持續有成果出現。1990年開始，國立中央圖書館臺灣分館（今國立臺灣圖書館）與國立成功大學合作執行「採拓整理臺灣地區現存碑碣計畫」，在時任成大歷史系的何培夫主持下，也到五妃廟、法華寺、南山公墓等地，採拓「寧靖王從死五妃墓」、「義靈君之佳塋」、「閑散石虎之墓」、「李茂春墓碑」、「曾振暘墓碑」、「二鄭公子墓碑」、「藩府曾蔡二姬墓碑」、「旅櫬安之墓碑」等非記事類碑刻的墓碑。⁵⁷

在研究課題上，此時的研究主題，一方面尋求與戰後初期的成果有所對話，另一方面也有新的方法。前者的文章，如2010年蘇峯楠的〈記臺南市新發現的兩座明代古墓：兼論其墓碑形制〉一文，繼續整理了所謂的「明墓」主題；⁵⁸2019年盧泰康的〈臺南明鄭古墓出土珍貴文物〉一文，也試圖回頭重新整理戰後初期的出土明器。⁵⁹後者的成果，則像是2010年蘇峯楠的〈由詩入書：從謝

51 何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁421、552。

52 〈南市發現明代古塚 荷據時代大陸客 埋骨在三百年前〉，《聯合報》，1952年11月22日，版4。

53 吳樹，〈爵府王山界小考〉，《臺南文化》新15（1983年6月），頁66-68。何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁62、280。

54 何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁71、281-282。

55 黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁49-50。

56 黃典權編輯，〈歷史館專號〉，頁51-57。

57 何培夫主編，《臺灣地區現存碑碣圖誌·臺南市》，頁146-147、159-161、422-425、552-553。

58 蘇峯楠，〈記臺南市新發現的兩座明代古墓：兼論其墓碑形制〉，《臺灣文獻》61:3（2010年9月），頁367-400。

59 盧泰康，〈臺南明鄭古墓出土珍貴文物〉，《故宮文物月刊》430（2019年1月），頁91-108。

星樓墓碑看其文人創作歷程》⁶⁰ 以及〈歷史事實、文學想像與文物詮釋：論「閑散石虎之墓」碑文物內涵的形成〉，⁶¹ 皆是針對墓碑進行墓主及觀看者的詮釋意識進行梳理。2010年蘇峯楠〈文化遞嬗與風格綜融：臺南市南山公墓日治時期墳墓的觀察〉一文，更再討論不同時間的人群及其墓葬文化，如何表現在南山公墓區內墳墓建築的形制及風格。⁶² 2017年陳緯華〈從墓碑來看「土著化」現象：清代以來臺灣社會祖籍認同的變化〉一文，則利用南山公墓及安南第一示範公墓所調查的墓碑文字為主要材料，討論墓碑書寫形式及其祖籍認同觀念。⁶³

另一方面，南郊墓地空間也成為研究生學位論文的研究題材。2003年陳鈴琴的碩士論文〈死生之境：臺南南郊竹溪沿岸墳場地景之文化與構成分析〉，針對墓地景觀進行了空間的分析；⁶⁴ 2008年李岳倫的碩士論文〈府城（台南）南門外土地使用的歷史發展〉，在針對傳統府城南門內外空間發展的討論中，也涉及了檢視南門外墳場空間構成與義塚分布，以及日治時期市區改正與都市計畫以後的變遷；⁶⁵ 2015年黃中明的碩士論文〈墳場上的城市：臺南府城福安坑溪到竹溪之間的土地再利用〉，討論府城南郊地區從墓地到現代城市建設之間的地形與景觀變化。⁶⁶

這些課題的拓展，與戰後初期集中關注「明墓」有點不同。所謂的「明墓」，指的是額刻「明」、「皇明」的墳墓。之所以特別關注「明墓」的原因，一方面可能基於鄭氏時期的史料為數不多，而較為特別的是，墓地可能保留了相對較多的這類線索，因此，正如莊松林所言：「明鄭的文物，經了前清一代長期的蓄意的摧毀……在本島除了『明墓』之外，現在已經無從找出一塊明代的殘碑短碣了。因此，明墓為研究明鄭時代的極珍貴的直接史料，與『先住民遺址』，『清碑』和『日寇』檔案並列為研究臺灣史不可缺的四大史料之一」，⁶⁷ 在這項觀點中，墓地具有保存清治以前史料的特殊性；但另一方面，因「明墓」背後所早期、甚至鄭成功開臺論述，因而使「明墓」研究可能因為扣連戰後初期民族主義詮釋，正如莊松林所謂「臺灣的明墓可以說是我國民族精神卓

60 蘇峯楠，〈由詩入書：從謝星樓墓碑看其文人創作歷程〉，《臺灣文獻別冊》32（2010年3月），頁47-55。

61 蘇峯楠，〈歷史事實、文學想像與文物詮釋：論「閑散石虎之墓」碑文物內涵的形成〉，《臺南文化·南瀛文獻》合輯（2011年11月），頁35-47。

62 蘇峯楠，〈文化遞嬗與風格綜融：臺南市南山公墓日治時期墳墓的觀察〉，《臺灣史學雜誌》9（2010年12月），頁91-121。

63 陳緯華，〈從墓碑來看「土著化」現象：清代以來臺灣社會祖籍認同的變化〉，《民俗曲藝》197（2017年9月），頁185-231。

64 陳鈴琴，〈死生之境：臺南南郊竹溪沿岸墳場地景之文化與構成分析〉（嘉義：南華大學生死學研究所碩士論文，2003）。

65 李岳倫，〈府城（台南）南門外土地使用的歷史發展〉（臺南：國立臺南大學臺灣文化研究所碩士論文，2008）。

66 黃中明，〈墳場上的城市：臺南府城福安坑溪到竹溪之間的土地再利用〉（臺南：國立臺南大學臺灣文化研究所碩士論文，2015）。

67 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉。

越的標識」，並將鄭成功事蹟扣連到反攻中國，⁶⁸，因而成為具有戰後初期時代特徵的研究取徑。但 1990 年代以後，隨著解嚴及民主化時代的來臨，雖仍不乏有針對「明墓」進行延伸研究、或者與之對話者，由此可以看出「明墓」關懷對於府城墓葬研究的基礎性及影響程度；但已有文章開始檢討將「明」字與民族主義拉近之觀點。

而在這個階段，臺南墓地要開始面對另一項壓力。水交社一帶空間，原屬於府城南門外南郊墓地的一部分，日治中期起墓地受到徵收，先是開闢為跑馬場，之後再成為海軍航空隊宿舍，戰後再接收為空軍志開新村、明德新村、實踐四村等眷村社區，因而地景早已大幅度改變。為配合中央眷村改建政策，水交社亦藉由市地重劃方式進行開發，並於 2008 年 7 月正式開工。

2009 年初，臺南市水交社重劃區工程施工單位以大型機具在興中街 116 巷北側進行施工時，自地下挖出大批古代墓葬遺構及物件，引起各方關注。臺南市政府文化觀光處在召集專家學者進行會勘後，於 2 月 24 日行文予國立臺南藝術大學藝術史學系，請求協助處理施工期間監控及進行初步緊急搶救考古清理行動。在南藝大文博學院撥列經費之下，該系藝術史與考古團隊進駐工地進行搶救式考古行動，至 4 月 2 日暫停，期間出土之相關文物移至南藝大存放，並於 7 月 1 日起進行文物登錄、整理與保護工作，9 月 25 日提交出土文物清冊，並於 11 月完成整理報告，由南藝大藝術史學系出版之《發現臺南水交社前清墓葬群》一書即其主要成果；⁶⁹ 另有單篇論文，如 2015 年邱鴻霖、盧泰康、李匡悌發表之〈臺灣人骨考古學研究新案例：臺南市水交社清代墓葬群之埋葬習俗與病理觀察〉一文，著重於體質人類學之探討。⁷⁰

2009 年水交社地下墓葬群的搶救式考古行動，一方面顯現南郊墓地一帶受到開發計畫所隱含的壓力及衝突面，另一方面則呈現多元領域學人進入臺南近郊墓地研究。

綜觀戰後的墓地調查活動，初期仍由戰前的研究先行者們，以其關注在臺明墓的視野興趣，及藉由個人或文史社團的實地調查記錄、參與遷葬挖掘、順勢蒐集出土文物等活動模式，延續其研究傳統，直至 1970 年代黃天橫參與林朝英墓重修時，仍然有所維持。值得注意的是，其他研究傳統也在戰後出現並參與臺南墓地調查研究，例如，相較於日治時期，臺南博物館舍在戰後的角色與位置顯然更突出，並且作為一般民眾參與調查及蒐集墓碑的中介平臺；另一方面，研究者所關心的方向，也有更多元的視野，即使在 21 世紀，諸如蘇峯楠對在臺明墓的持續發掘、對於「閑散石虎之墓碑」內涵有更進一步討論，以及盧泰康針對歷史館舊藏墓葬出土文物重新檢視的研究成果來看，可知近年成果也並未與上個世紀的先行研究成果完全斷裂，甚至有再度回歸或重新檢討的方向。

68 朱鋒，〈臺灣的明墓雜考〉。

69 盧泰康、李匡悌，《發現臺南水交社前清墓葬群》（臺南：國立臺南藝術大學藝術史學系、臺南市政府文化觀光處，2009）。

70 邱鴻霖、盧泰康、李匡悌，〈臺灣人骨考古學研究新案例：臺南市水交社清代墓葬群之埋葬習俗與病理觀察〉，《田野考古》18:1（2015 年 12 月），頁 1-30。

第二，後近的研究，逐漸從「明墓」的關注，進一步從墓主生平、墓碑形制、空間、墓碑與想像論述等角度，針對墳墓及墓碑進行討論，更進一步挖掘墓葬文化所蘊含的不同面向歷史文化線索。可以這麼說：雖然研究取徑、關懷重點有所不同，但臺南近郊基地的研究事業並未有所斷裂，甚至是維持銜接與對話。

五、群起走讀：2018年開始的保存運動

在市政課題上，南山公墓的遷移問題，或多或少都有受到討論關注。然而，2018年3月29日臺南市市長參選人林義豐於其 Facebook 粉絲專頁「林義豐 MarkLin」首次公開線上影片，提出大規模遷葬並重新開發、引進商業活動的主張，作為其政見廣告，再將遷墓行動推上公共檯面、並且引發某種程度上的輿論風潮。⁷¹ 另一方面，2018年臺灣其他地方陸續出現墓地遷移事件，例如年初整體作業就已全數完工的高雄市覆鼎金公墓遷葬工程、新北市新店第一公墓遷移案、彰化縣鹿港鎮第一公墓遷葬整地案、埔里第一公墓等歷史墓地遷葬爭議等。這些事件，可能也間接促使南山公墓遷移開發議題於2018年再次受到廣泛關注，也讓南山公墓的保存行動，在不同社群人們的運作下陸續成形。

2018年7月8日，由共感地景創作承攬之「水交社歷史館」籌備，預定以墓葬作為主題，以「一間由大家一起籌備的博物館」為號召，透過志工運作及共同參與的方式，嘗試以更久以前的時間軸，論述水交社的故事。⁷²

臺南資深文史作家吳昭明於2018年10月8日開始，在其 Facebook 粉絲專頁「【府城今昔】吳昭明筆下的老台南」⁷³ 上開始發佈「南山系列」文章，發文內容大多針對臺南市政府的南山公墓遷移策略進行批判針砭；此外，2019年1月吳昭明亦於「環境資訊中心」網站發表〈留下南山公墓，臺灣最珍貴的古墓葬區——黃偉哲可能給答案？〉一文，⁷⁴ 雖然是發表在不同的網路平臺，內容同樣在闡述對於公部門政策的質疑。

同樣是在2018年，一群在地人士也開始進入南山公墓進行自發性的調查記錄，並於2019年1月於 Facebook 成立「地上台南 - 南山公墓」粉絲專頁，成立了固定發聲及活動實踐的公民行動團體。該專頁除了以單篇發文呈現社群的墓地調查成果之外，也從2019年3月2日開始與彰化鹿港的文史工作者陳仕賢搭

71 〈臺灣真心話(建設篇)〉，收於「林義豐 MarkLin」Facebook 粉絲專頁，網址：

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2102849749947619>，發佈日期：2018年3月29日，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

72 〈「水交社歷史館」籌備志工招募！〉，網址：

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73 「【府城今昔】吳昭明筆下的老台南」Facebook 粉絲專頁，網址：

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74 吳昭明〈留下南山公墓，臺灣最珍貴的古墓葬區——黃偉哲可能給答案？〉，社團法人臺灣環境資訊協會「環境資訊中心」網站，網址：<https://e-info.org.tw/node/216124>，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

配合作，舉辦數場「走讀臺南桶盤淺公墓」等導覽活動，⁷⁵並且在4月8日正式發布了具體的6點行動訴求。⁷⁶

網路媒體「報導者」網站，也推出臺灣歷史基地的大篇幅專題報導，⁷⁷並有蘇峯楠針對南山公墓撰寫的特稿〈映照府城400年，南山公墓如何與現代城市並存？〉一文。⁷⁸3月2日，「重現府城水文促進會」提報將南山公墓登錄為「文化景觀」；⁷⁹4月3日，該會及其他團體，更開始串聯臺南市相關組織團體，啟動「反對迫遷南山公墓！要求全區保留」的連署活動，⁸⁰

由此可見，這一波基地保存運動亦源起於城市規劃與擴張，這似乎與1928年「大南門外墓地遷移事件」有類似的導因。但不同的是，1928年的反對聲浪，主要植基在日治中期起臺灣文化團體針對統治者治理手段及各種社會問題所累積的關懷能量，並對於市民欲維持墓葬習俗的意願加以支援發聲；而2018年的保存運動，則是進一步基於地方人群從文化資產概念的視角，進行在地文化地景空間的歷史回顧與主張保存，並透過網路平臺號召市民大眾參與，也以之經營發聲管道與呈現工作成果。這樣的現象，可以說是從地方出發，重新梳理「臺南史」以及臺南所身處的位置；而其所得的地方知識與歷史材料，也成為了當代在地人群關懷地方與進行運動的能量之一。至於這波保存運動的結果與效益，仍尚待觀察。

六、結語

臺南府城近郊墓地隨著臺南市街共同發展，與人們生活文化保持密切聯繫，發展時間至今趨近四百年，並積累出廣闊的墓葬地景與大量墳墓。應是在這樣的條件下，墓地內的活動，不只出現喪葬儀式、祭祀行為以及與之伴隨存在的風水堪輿知識，而在20世紀初期開始出現調查活動。由於市區改正與都市計畫的清塚壓力，日治晚期開始，地方研究者透過實地勘察式的調查方法投入近郊

75 「地上台南－南山公墓」Facebook 粉絲專頁，網址：<https://www.facebook.com/%E5%9C%B0%E4%B8%8A%E5%8F%B0%E5%8D%97-%E5%8D%97%E5%B1%B1%E5%85%AC%E5%A2%93-517224158786548/>。

76 〈「地上台南」的由來〉，收於「地上台南－南山公墓」Facebook 粉絲專頁，網址：<https://www.facebook.com/517224158786548/photos/a.517344342107863/561210884387875/?type=3&theater>，發佈日期：2019年4月8日，瀏覽日期：2019年4月8日。

77 張子午，〈看，毀滅中的老墓——臺灣地下文資浩劫紀實〉，「報導者」網站，網址：<https://www.twreporter.org/a/cemetery-heritage-destruction>，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

78 蘇峯楠，〈映照府城400年，南山公墓如何與現代城市並存？〉，「報導者」網站，網址：<https://www.twreporter.org/a/opinion-tainan-nanshan-cemetery-heritage>，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

79 楊淑芬報導，〈南山公墓提報登錄文化景觀〉，《中華日報》新聞網，網址：http://www.cdns.com.tw/news.php?n_id=1&nc_id=284512，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

80 〈南山公墓是我們共同祖墳，搶救南山公墓連署正式啟動〉，收於「重現府城水文促進會」Facebook 粉絲專頁，網址：https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=790594664637002&id=506239693072502，發佈日期：2019年4月3日，瀏覽日期：2019年4月8日。

墓地，進行調查與記錄活動、產出具體研究成果，並讓墓地裡的碑刻本體、拓本、出土明器、照片等相關物件走進館舍展場中成為蒐藏品，人們也利用這些物件，協助建構早期以來的臺南史圖像。

值得注意的是，這些調查活動與發掘物件，不僅只有單向面對觀眾，在某些方面，市民、報導人或觀眾也有程度不一的主動參與性，這部分就表現在戰後初期民眾針對墓葬文物的捐贈與通報。這可能使墓地調查活動得以站在日治時期所累積的實踐經驗上，於戰後初期仍有穩定進展；而調查者、博物館方以及觀眾，則以館舍及其展場為平臺，進行某程度上的參與及互動。因此，博物館如何能夠與地方研究及墓地調查有所交集？博物館在地方脈絡中的角色，可能並不全然在於出土物及蒐藏品的取得，而更在於銜接及關注地方脈絡。就此而言，博物館的地方性（locality）——包含本文所提的臺南市歷史館，以及先前的大型展覽會臺南展場、戰後的民族文物館等——或許是在這段臺南近郊墓地調查活動中，博物館得以有積極且多元行動的源頭之一。這樣的面貌，近年一部分展現在國立臺灣歷史博物館關照臺南地方研究先行者的「南方共筆：輩出承啟的臺南風土描繪特展」特展中。展覽期間，館方亦嘗試觸及南山公墓課題，除了在《觀·臺灣》刊物中有相關文章之外，⁸¹亦於2019年於3月3日舉辦「南山公墓小旅行」，帶領觀眾走出博物館，帶著物件進入墓地。

在21世紀初期浮上檯面的南山公墓遷移課題，牽涉到現代重大市政規劃與土地開發，博物館的角色必然與先前的歷史館有所不同，但如何不同？又得以發揮何種職能或角色？面對大眾的博物館，如何跟觀眾一起走進墓仔埔？這部份仍有待後續觀察。

81 蘇峯楠，〈歡迎光臨臺南夜總會：南山公墓考察指南〉，《觀·臺灣》40（2019年1月），頁26-29。此文另有完整版文章〈歡迎光臨臺南夜總會——臺灣最大、歷史最悠久的城市墓地「南山公墓」〉，刊登於「故事」網站，網址：<https://gushi.tw/nashan-cemetery/>，瀏覽日期：2019年4月1日。

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族群記憶的原點——臺南明清古墓出土珍貴文物

盧泰康博士

國立臺南藝術大學藝術史學系教授

tk.lu@msa.hinet.net

臺灣歷史時期的古墓，在文化資產保存法的分類架構下，涉及古蹟、歷史建築、考古遺址、古物等多種類型，屬於特殊「多重文化資產」，然而目前臺灣社會對於此一重要文化資產，普遍缺乏正確認識，導致了大量珍貴古墓及其出土文物遭受摧毀破壞，屬於族群歷史文化的真實紀錄，也隨之蕩然無存。

臺南市南山公墓所見明清時期的古墓，不僅具有地上建築墓碑結構，地下更保存了墓室結構、陪葬物件，以及體質人類學（人骨）等大量各種珍貴出土文物，是紀錄臺南先民生活與喪葬禮俗的重要實物，同時也是探索府城早期漢人社會之歷史、人文、宗教信仰、物質文化、日常生活等多元視角的關鍵證據，引領我們回溯祖先與族群記憶的原點。

關鍵字：臺南、南山公墓、明清古墓、出土文物

盧泰康博士研究專業為文化資產—古物研究、歷史考古學、陶瓷史等領域，曾主持臺南市水交社清代墓葬的搶救考古發掘，近年亦積極推動文化資產中的文物普查與古物分級工作。

The Origin of Ethnic Memory — Precious Cultural Relics Discovered from Tombs of Ming and Qing Dynasties in Tainan

PhD. Lu, Tai-Kang

Professor, Department of Art History,
Tainan National University of the Art
tk.lu@msa.hinet.net

According to the nature of ancient historical burial grounds in Taiwan, it can be classified in multiple categories according to The Taiwan Cultural Heritage Preservation Act: 1. Monuments; 2. Historical Buildings; 3. Archaeological sites, 4. Antiquities. Ancient burial grounds should be treated as special combination of cultural heritage sites. Our current society has been unable to understand the importance of protecting the precious existence of such sites. Countless antiquities and historical relics are destroyed. We are also losing our ethnic cultural assets and history records.

The ancient tombs of the Ming and Qing dynasties found in Nan-shan cemetery, Tainan contain the following elements: 1. structures of stone on the ground. 2. underground burial chambers and burial objects. 3. anthropological remains (human skeleton). All of these materials represent critical records of our ancestors who lived in Tainan and cultural details of funeral custom activities. The burial grounds provide multi-dimensional perspectives for research and present many key evidences guiding us to study our ancestors on many aspects such as social, historical and cultural affairs, material culture and day-to-day life. Enable us to trace back to the origin of our ancestors and ethnic memories.

Keywords: Tainan, Nan-shan Cemetery, ancient tombs of the Ming and Qing dynasties, archaeological relics

Prof. LU Tai-Kang's research focuses on cultural heritage: historic relics and antiquities studies, historical archeology and ancient ceramic studies. The author has been heading up the excavation of the Shui-jiao-she burial grounds of the Qing dynasty in Tainan. He is also actively promoting cultural heritage relic survey as well as working on classifications of antiquities discovered.

南山公墓：四百年的傳奇與當前危機

李燕萍

地上台南

南山公墓保存運動團隊

【報告大綱】

第一節陳述南山公墓的歷史以及空間演變，並說明它的地理環境，及其「風水」上的重要性。第二節依據時代的分段，從明代末年到二戰之後，敘述若干長眠於南山公墓的傳奇。接著一節，南山公墓近代的大型遷葬事件，由此而進入第四節，談論南山公墓當前的遷葬危機。我們概述臺南市政府的作法，並提出幾點批評。最後結論處我們主張，當前最首要緊急措施，是市政府撤下「限期自主遷葬」的公告。此外，應注意在網路上對於重要墓塚的照片採取必要的保護。

- 一、南山公墓簡介：由城裡到城外
- 二、長眠於南山公墓的傳奇：從明代末年到二戰以後
- 三、南山公墓過去的大型遷葬事件
- 四、南山公墓的當前危機：臺南市政府的遷葬政策
- 五、結語



地上台南-南山公墓 Facebook 專頁

**Lâm Suann Cemetery:
A legacy of four-hundred years and its crisis at hand**

LI Yen-Ping

Aboveground Tainan

(A team of citizens dedicated to the preservation of Lâm Suann Cemetery,
Tainan, Taiwan)

The first section of this contribution will give an introduction to the history and the changing expansions of Lâm Suann Cemetery. We also pay attention to its geographical environment and its significance for *Fengshui* (風水). The second section will recount some oral and local histories, covering the period from the very late Ming period to the post WWII era, kept underground the cemetery. The next section reviews the contemporary events of major relocations in the cemetery, which leads to the current crisis elaborated in the fourth section: The current relocation and the dangers it incurs. We will criticize Tainan City's relocation project of Lâm Suann Cemetery. In conclusion we claim that to prevent the cemetery from further demolition, the top emergency measure would be to withdraw the city's announcement of relocation, which requires the citizens of Tainan to relocate their ancestors' tombs in the Lâm Suann Cemetery before a designated date. Besides, for the protection of the old tombs, we strongly recommend a digital documentation of important tombs to be preserved and made accessible through the Internet.



Official Facebook page of Aboveground Tainan

從日暮到破曉：「讀墓」計劃的新視野與發展

On New Horizons:

The ThakBong project between sunset and dawn

Oliver STREITER

National University of Kaohsiung

The ThakBong project is a long-term project that aims at the digital documentation of Taiwan's burial sites. Within the last 12 years, more than 80.000 tombs have been documented on more than 600 Taiwanese graveyards. Data are stored in a relational database according to a data model that closely matches the reality of burial sites in Taiwan. Throughout the years, the need for a deeper analysis has pushed us to extend the scope of our documentation, from tombs to burial grounds, to landscapes, to surrounding spiritual sites, but also, for comparison and the understanding of developments, beyond Taiwan, to Penghu, Mazu, Okinawa, China, Hong Kong, Macao and burial sites of ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia. To accommodate this greater variety of sites, objects and inscription, we are gradually reshaping our conceptual model to resemble and ultimately to be conform to the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model (CRM), for the representation of sites, and TEI, for the representation of inscriptions. Research methods, finally, are continuously tested, refined and combined, hoping not to fall back in the run against the ongoing destruction of burial sites in Taiwan.

Keyword: ThakBong, documentation of burial sites, Taiwan, Asia Pacific Regions, CIDOC, TEI

進士的五十道陰影：石馬、英雄、與陰錯陽差
50 Shades of Jinshi Tombs: Horses, heroes, and failed exams

龍恬醇 LONG Tian-Chun, Jenna

國立高雄大學

National University of Kaohsiung

yoyo88112@gmail.com

優美、祥和、與迷人，這些形容詞很容易在一個首次探訪進士墓的訪客腦中浮現。本報告的其中一個核心，是首位臺灣進士，鄭用錫的墓地。此墓最具特色的地方在於其墓碑前方站立了各式精細的石像生，他們依序是成對的石虎、石羊、石馬、與石人。透過簡單的環視觀察，我們不難發現此墓是經由他人精心設計過的。

此墓本身便隱含了許多長輩對後代的期許。透過魯班尺的測量，我們發覺此墓不同區塊的的長度與高度，皆蘊涵著有關風水及祝福的訊息。大部分的訊息是對於財富、健康、與添丁的期盼，而其他的則是隱含了對後代子嗣的祝福。

在其之後，我們便展開了在臺灣與金門之間的進士墓探訪。在田野調查當中，我們發覺，要找到一個真正的進士墓，真的不如預期中的那般簡單。我們找到了非常大量的「假進士墓」。其中包含了上頭刻有「進士」二字的墓碑，後證實該死者於生前從未通過進士考試，該二字是由其子孫後來加上去的；而石馬與石虎象也可以於其他特別的墳墓前看到，然而墓碑的主人，除了進士之外，亦有可能是有功的將軍或是進士的父親等等。透過探討這些可愛的誤會，我們希望能夠和大家分享我們是如何數據化地記錄進士墓、我們是如何測量進士墓，而最重要的，是希望能夠與眾人一起欣賞如此無價之人文瑰寶。

關鍵詞：進士、進士墓、鄭用錫、石像生、石翁仲、魯班尺

龍恬醇時為國立高雄大學西洋語文學系之大二學生。自 2018 年十月起便開始擔任奧利華之研究助理一職。



田野調查時偶遇墓匠鄭漢松先生，奧利華老師在鄭用錫進士墓前用魯班尺測量。龍恬醇攝。2019年4月26日。

Oliver Streiter and tomb craftsman Mr. Zheng Han-Song taking measures of the front gate of Zheng Yong-Xi's tomb using a Lu Ban measuring tape. Photo taken by Long Tian-chun, 26th April 2019.

Picturesque, peaceful, and charming, these are the words that will flash into one's mind when visiting the tomb of a *jinshi* (進士) for the first time. One of the *jinshi* tombs that will be the focus in this presentation is the tomb of Zheng Yong-Xi (鄭用錫), the first *jinshi* in Taiwan. The special features of his tomb are the stone statues arranged in front of the tomb. They are tigers, sheep, horses, and guardians, all in pairs. Simply by observing the overall appearance of the tomb, we can easily recognize that it was carefully designed.

The tombs itself symbolizes a great amount of auspicious wishes and the expectations for the offspring. By using a Lu Ban measuring tape (魯班尺), we found that the length and the height of different parts of the tomb indicate different kinds of meanings in Chinese geomancy, and expressed through them, different wishes. Most of them are related to fortune, health, and fertility. And some represent blessings for the offspring.

Later on, we began our journey of finding and exploring *jinshi* tombs in Taiwan and Jinmen. In our field trips, we realized that finding a real *jinshi* tomb is harder than we expected. We found a great variety of “fake *jinshi* tombs” including one, having the title “*jinshi*” inscribed on the tombstone, yet the owner of the tomb never passed the exam. Horses, tigers and lions can also found on other exceptional tombs, but the owner might be a hero or the father of a *jinshi*. Along with the discussion of these lovable mistakes, we would like to share with you how we digitalize *jinshi* tombs, how we measure these tombs, and most importantly, to appreciate this priceless cultural heritage.

Keywords: Jinshi, jinshi tombs, fake jinshi tombs, stone statues

LONG Tian-Chun, Jenna is currently a sophomore majoring in Western Languages and Literature at National University of Kaohsiung. Since October 2018 she has been a research assistant of Dr. Oliver Streiter.

在奄美與八重山之間：琉球群島墓葬風俗之變遷

Between Amami and Yaeyama: The transformation of Ryukyu burial practices

奧利華

Oliver STREITER

National University of
Kaohsiung, Taiwan

oliverstreiter@gmail.com

詹雅晴

Hanna Ya-Qing ZHAN

National Taiwan University,
Taipei, Taiwan

zhanzhan.ya.qing@gmail.com

劉依婷

Tammy Yi-Ting LIU

National University of
Kaohsiung, Taiwan

yitingliu920@gmail.com

Tombs in the Ryukyus represent a unique looking glass into the transformation of burial practices that took place in parallel to the transformation of societies from fishing and agricultural societies into a modern society. As this transformation took place within a relative short period of a hundred years, we can find, despite the destruction brought about through WWII, the installation of the US military, and the urbanization and promotion of tourism on larger islands, examples of archaic burial forms all over the archipelago. One of the reasons of this preservation of these sites lies in the fact that that spiritual sites, e.g. *utaki* (in Yaeyama called ‘*ong*’), tombs and wells, had been placed within Ryukyuan cultures under ecological protection. No hunting, no agriculture, and no slashing was practiced at or near these sites.

As a consequence of Japanese colonial imperialism, island after island was subjected from north to south to systematic forms of Japanization. This Japanization included the Shintoization of local prayer sites as well as the promotion of cremation, replacing the common practice of wind-burials combined with a second burial ritual called bone washing. For the *utaki*, which usually became included into a larger Shinto complex, this meant the intrusion of a rigidly architected open landscape into the shady ecosystem that characterized *utaki*. A second transformation of the *utaki* was of social nature. The access to the Shinto complex is open all kinds of people, lifting de facto the century old restriction according to which only female priests could enter an *utaki*. Through the introduction of cremation, tombs could be detached from mountain sides with naturally ventilated caves, required for the wind burial, causing a migration of gravesites from the mountains into the flat lands surrounding villages.

In our talk we will represent the fieldwork of 2016, 2017 and 2018 in Ryukyus. In the first part we will present, from north to south, tombs documented on our fieldtrips. We will then proceed to the problems of the classification and serialization of tomb styles, a step necessary to support our claim of transforming burial practices and architectures.

We then shift our attention to a religious and ethnic minority and its tactics to integrate into this complex Japano-Okinawan microcosm. From the 1930s to the 1960s, Taiwanese farmers migrated from various place on Taiwan to the Yaeyama archipelago to earn their living by growing, canning and selling crops. Through schooling, friendship, work and marriages, people integrated into the society and eventually naturalized in Japan. Despite this integration, Taiwanese community festivals and a community graveyard still serve as marker of a Taiwanese identity that survived in older generation on the Yaeyama islands. Ast our fieldwork revealed, Taiwanese tombs inherit aspects of both cultures, with features visible by the outside community, such as surnames and the tomb architecture showing great similarity with the Japano-Okinawan style, while features more visible to the inner community, such as given names and ornaments manifest a distinct Taiwanese identity.

Keywords: Ryukyu (琉球), Ishigaki (石垣島), Yaeyama (八重山), burial practices (埋葬習俗), wind burial (風葬), bone washing (洗骨)



Figure 1: Burial sites (red) and prayer sites (blue) documented so far on the Ryukyus



(a.) Unten, Okinawa



(b.) Unten, Okinawa



c.) Yoron, Kagoshima

Figure 2: Variation of a common theme, representing various degrees of elaboration?



(a.) A royal tomb



(b.) A cave with a yushiri, a temporary urn



(c.) An utaki



(d.) A well associated with a kaanu-kami, the deity of the well

Figure 3: Sacred sites on the Ryukyus, merging culture, geology and nature



(a.) Mount Gusuku, Ie Island, Okinawa, Shintō gate (torii)



(b.) Shintō shrine, called utaki



(c.) The utaki proper



(d.) Ishigaki, Okinawa,
the Shintō gate (torii) of
Ama-on Ong

(e.) The shrine of Ama-
on Ong

(f.) The original gate of
Ama-on Ong

Figure 4: Temples and sacred sites of non-Japanese origin encircled by Shintō



(a.) Painted in the
lid of an urn

(b.) Painted inside
an urn

(c.) Carved on the
outside of an urn

(d.) Painted on
wood sticks

Figure 5: Inscriptions in or on urns indicate the name and the date of birth,
death, and bone washing.



(a.) Ie Island, Okinawa:
stylized pagoda

(b.) Ie Island, Okinawa:
Buddha and lotus

(c.) Noho Island,
Okinawa: a dragon



(d.) Ie Island: a stylized tomb structure

(e.) Ie Island: wave-like motif

(f.) Ie Island: zigzag pattern

Figure 6: Urn motifs, styles, and patterns on funerary urns.



(a.) Open burial cave

(b.) Semi-open burial cave

(c.) Front wall with louvers

(d.) House-like porch

Figure 7: The architectural development of burial caves from an open cave to a house-like structure, attached to a hillside.



(a.) Ie Island, Okinawa, modern necropolis

(b.) Naha, Okinawa, modern necropolis

(c.) Naha, Okinawa, modern, giant columbarium

(d.) Naminouie Shrine (波上宮, Naminouie-gū,) Naha, Okinawa, a columbarium

Figure 8: Modern burial forms that developed with the introduction of cremation.



(a.) Ishigaki, Okinawa, the new family vault built in front of the original cave-tomb

(b.) The original cave-tomb behind the modern tomb

Figure 9: Modern burial style extending the older cave-tomb.



(a.) Ma (麻氏) (b.) Yang (楊氏) (c.) Liang (梁氏) d.) Fu (傅姓)

Figure 10: Chinese surnames along Japanese surnames on modern funerary epigraphs (photos from Maaji, Naha, Okinawa).



(a.) Common tomb (公墓)

(b.) Houtu (后土)

(c.) Tudigong (土地公) and Jinlu (金盧)



(d.) Taiwanese-style tombstone, Fulushou (福祿壽), Jintong Yunu (金童玉女)



(e.) Okinawa-style tomb with tombstone on the roof



(f.) modern lotus or family symbol: Japanese-style



(g.) Lin 林 family tomb



(h.) Sone 曾根 family tomb, originally probably Zeng 曾



(i.) Okinawa folk motif



(j.) First burial tombstone, Taiwanese place name



(k.) Tanghao Longxi (隴西) of Li 李 family



(l.) Okinawa-style front opening to the family vault

Figure 11. Some aspects of the Taiwanese cemetery in Ishigaki.

Original Taiwanese surname	Japanese Surname adopted	Example of a living person
吳 (Wu, Ngo)	吳屋 (Goya)	吳屋吉男 (born in Ishigaki, second generation)
張 (Zhang, TiuN)	張本 (Harimoto)	張光輝 → 張本光輝
陳 (Chen, Tan)	東 (Azuma)	陳清龍 → 東鄉清龍
黃 (Huang, Ng)	橫山 (Yokoyama)	黃長發 → 橫山長發
湯 (Tang, Tng)	湯川 (Yukawa)	湯建興 → 湯川建興
林 (Lin, Lim)	林 (Hayashi)	林發 → 林發
王 (Wang, Ong)	玉木 (Tamaki)	王玉花 → 玉木玉代
曾 (Zeng, Tsan)	曾根 (Sone)	<i>unknown</i>

Table 1: Japanese Surnames adopted by Taiwanese families on Yaeyama.

石碑拓本製作流程解析

On Creating Stone Rubbings

蔡依倫¹Tsai, Yi-leun

國立臺南藝術大學藝術史學系專任助理

Research Assistant,

Department of Art History, Tainan National University of the Art

judy7767524@gmail.com

在田野調查過程中，運用拓印法記錄文物的銘文與紋飾內容，實為相當重要的訊息紀錄方式。石碑的拓印技法，是將宣紙覆蓋於碑面的銘文或圖像之上，用拓包蘸墨後拍打碑面，藉以拓印碑面的文字或圖像。其所獲致之拓本，除可做為研究與史料保存之用外，亦具有鑑賞與展示價值。本報告內容逐一說明石碑拓印的流程與步驟，所需工具與材料選用，以及施做過程所需注意事項。

關鍵詞：石碑拓印、拓本製作

In field research, the technique of stone rubbing plays an important role in documenting inscriptions, preserving the content and decoration of the historical relics. When we create the rubbing of a stele, we cover the inscription or image of the stele with a Xuan (宣) paper, then dip the rubbing bag into ink and use the bag filled with ink to tap on the stele. A stone rubbing is not only for research and documentation purposes, but can also be exposed as aesthetic cultural artifact. This presentation will explain the process, the necessary steps, the material and tools, as well as the precautions necessary to produce a quality stone rubbing.

Keywords : Stone Rubbing, documentation of inscriptions

¹國立臺南藝術大學藝術史與藝術評論碩士。M.A. in Art History and Art Criticism, Tainan National University of the Art, Tainan, Taiwan.

On Shadows: Documenting Inscriptions with External Flash Lights

碑文的影子：外部閃光攝影運用

王雨庭

Sara Yuting WANG

National University of Kaohsiung
Department of Western Languages and
Literature

sara.yuting.wang@gmail.com

奧利華

Oliver STREITER

National University of Kaohsiung
Department of Western Languages and
Literature

ostreiter@nuk.edu.tw

Abstract

Light is needed when taking photos, but sometimes it is better to exclude the diffuse daylight, broken many times before it hits from various angles the object of your desire. Coming from different directions, the light casts an infinite number of shadows which we cannot perceive at all. As a consequence, if the inscription bears no colors and the carving has been largely eroded, there is no light effects that can help our eye to discern a century-old carving.

Excluding the day light by choosing a manual camera setting that would yield a completely dark photo, we can add an artificial light that shines from one side onto the scene and cast shadows according to our needs, from a small angle if the surface is completely flat, from a larger angle if the surface is bumpy, from the top to get nice shadows on horizontal strokes or from the side to highlight vertical strokes. Triggered either by a light receptor on the external flash that reacts to the built-in flash light on the camera, or by bluetooth connection that pairs camera and external flash, the external flashlight can help to make tombstone photos more readable.

In this presentation we will explain the the basic ideas of the external flash light photography, show how a camera can be set up and discuss situations which for this technology provide challenges. Our presentation will conclude with the comparison of documentary photos taken in daylight to photos taken with the external flash. We conclude that, although the flash light cannot recreate characters that have been

completely eroded, it can be a major game changer in the documentation of inscriptions. For the blink of an eye, characters that haven't been read for one hundred years, reveal their message, before everything turns white again in the darkness of the summer's sun.

Keywords: Photo documentation, inscriptions, shadows, external flash

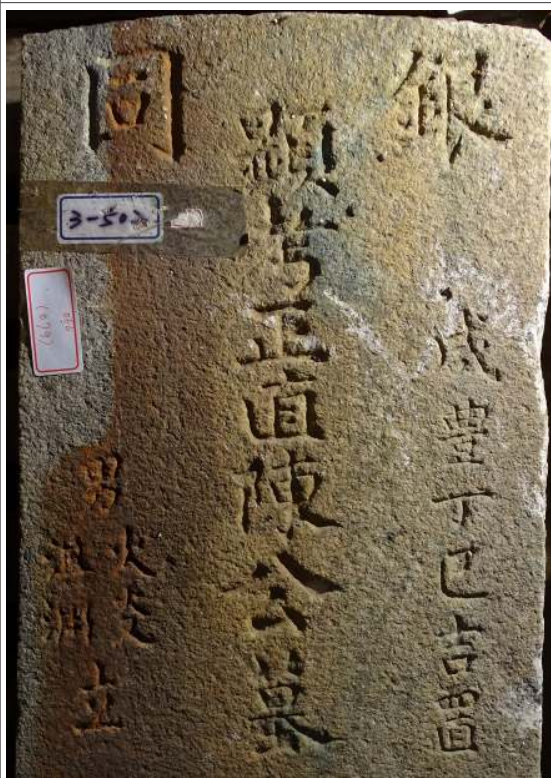
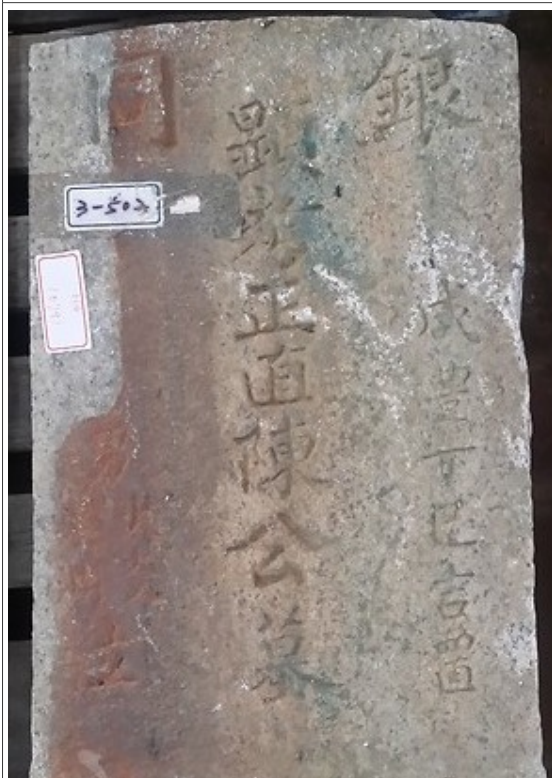
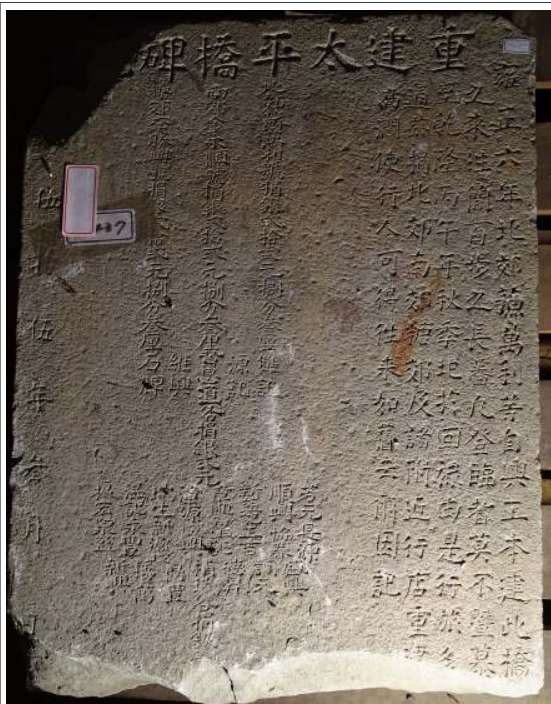
摘要

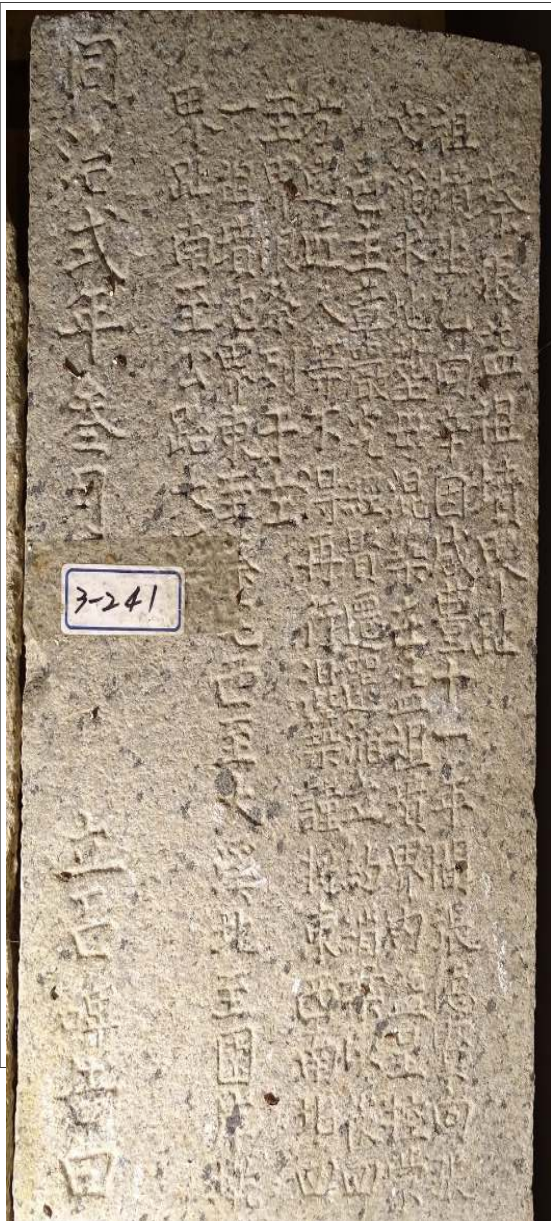
拍照時需要照明，但有時排除漫射的日光能拍出更好的照片。來自不同方向的光線投射出無數陰影，但我們的肉眼卻無法看見那些影子。如果銘文沒有顏色，雕刻也被侵蝕得非常嚴重，幾乎沒有任何光影效果能幫助眼睛辨別擁有百年歷史的刻紋。

透過選擇手動模式設置相機，排除日光產生完全黑暗的照片，再利用人工添加定向光源，在我們需要的位置製造出光影。若表面平滑，我們採用與表面幾乎平行的角度；若表面凹凸不平則可採用較大角度拍攝。頂部光源可以漂亮得照出平行筆畫的影子，從側邊則可以將垂直的刻紋凸顯出來。藉由相機本身閃光驅動的外接閃光燈，或藍芽配對的外部閃光設備，這些外部光源能有效提升墓碑照片的易讀性。

在本演示中，我們將解釋外部閃光攝影的基本概念，以及如何設置相機並討論該技術受限的地方。我們的報告中會比對白天實際拍出的照片，以及運用外部閃光燈所拍出的照片。我們的結論是，閃光燈雖然無法再現銘文最一開始的樣貌，卻是一項足以改變文檔資料的重要技術。眨眼的瞬間，在一個變得黑暗的夏日午時，百年來未曾知曉的碑銘，將在一切反白之後揭示出他們的信息。

關鍵詞: 照片紀錄, 墓誌銘, 陰影, 外部閃光燈





Documenting Cultural Heritage with GPS-Photography

Oliver Streiter

National University of Kaohsiung

ostreiter@nuk.edu.tw

Abstract

Digital cameras with a built-in GPS-device are available from 300 US-Dollars onwards. Also, most smart phones can be turned into a GPS-camera by adjusting the setting so that the GPS-position, captured through satellites, are stored within the image header. Beside the location, GPS-devices might also store, depending on the brand and the price, the altitude and the compass bearings. As the location, altitude and the bearings are relevant in cultural heritage documentation, not capturing these data with a GPS-device would represent an serious and unnecessary diminution of the quality of the documentation.

The digital images with the GPS-data stored in each of them in the Exif (Exchangeable Image File Format) header can be used in many different ways, documenting individual points, a path taken or an entire area. In almost all instances of using GPS-photos, at least one specific piece of software is required to extract data and visualize them in relation to the photo. In this presentation, we will use one possible software, GpsPrune (<http://gpsprune.activityworkshop.net>), to show how GPS-photos can be easily turned into a documentation software.

Looking at old photos and pondering where they might have been taken should no longer be necessary for future generations of researchers. Make sure that the choices you make when designing your documentation will not put you on the spot.

Keywords: GPS, photography, documentation, location, altitude, bearings

**Documenting Sites through Aerial Imagery:
Orthophotos and 3D-Models created with OpenDroneMap**

Mandy Manwai TO & Oliver STREITER

National University of Kaohsiung

tomanwaipopo24@gmail.com & ostreiter@nuk.edu.tw

Abstract

Documenting a burial site or a prayer site with a handheld camera allows to zoom in on and document interesting spots, but frequently falls short when it comes to capturing the environmental aspects of the site, its surrounding, landscape or spirituality. A bird's-eye view might provide more holistic views of the site. Captured with a drone, a.k.a. an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV), videos and images can be saved at high resolution in all modern media formats. Of these, GPS-photos, if taken from the UAV with sufficient overlap, can be used to create orthophotos and 3D-models.

An orthophoto is the result of stitching the individual photos together to of geo-referencing that photo like a 'satellite'. This orthophoto can be aligned with or superimposed onto maps provided by Google Maps or OpenStreetMap.

Much more overlap and more images from different angles are required to turn the aerial images into a three-dimensional model. Using OpenDroneMap (ODM), these images can either be processed locally, or, if installation of OpenDroneMap proves difficult, online through CloudODM.

In this presentation we will demonstrate the process of creating orthophotos and 3D models through CloudODM and show the results in QGIS and Meshlab.

Keywords: GPS, photography, documentation, location, altitude, bearings

環景攝影與立體攝影

Panoramic photography and stereoscopic photography

詹進發 Jan, Jihn-Fa (Andy)

國立政治大學地政學系副教授

Associate Professor,
Department of Land Economics, National Chengchi University

jfjan@nccu.edu.tw

在田野調查中，環景攝影可以獲得廣域的場景影像，對於調查者所在之環境的了解有很大的幫助。立體攝影透過成對的影像，可以提供立體的圖像，有助於了解景物彼此的空間關係。本報告將介紹環景攝影和立體攝影的方法、所需的設備、影像資料處理和發布的流程，以及處理過程中所需注意事項。

關鍵詞：環景攝影、立體攝影

In fieldworks, panoramic photography can obtain wide-area images of the scene, which are very helpful to the understanding of the environment in which the investigator is located. Stereoscopic photography provides stereoscopic images through pairs of images, helping to understand the spatial relationship among objects in the scene. This report will introduce the methods of panoramic photography and stereoscopic photography, the equipment required, the workflow of image data processing and distribution, and the precautions required during the process.

Keywords : panoramic photography, stereoscopic photography

The cemetery of San Salvador de Isla Hermosa (Keelung, Taiwan): an early example of European colonial gravesites in Pacific Asia

Elena Serrano, IIIPC, Universidad de Cantabria

María Cruz Berrocal, IIIPC, Universidad de Cantabria

Cheng-hwa Tsang, Tsing-hua University

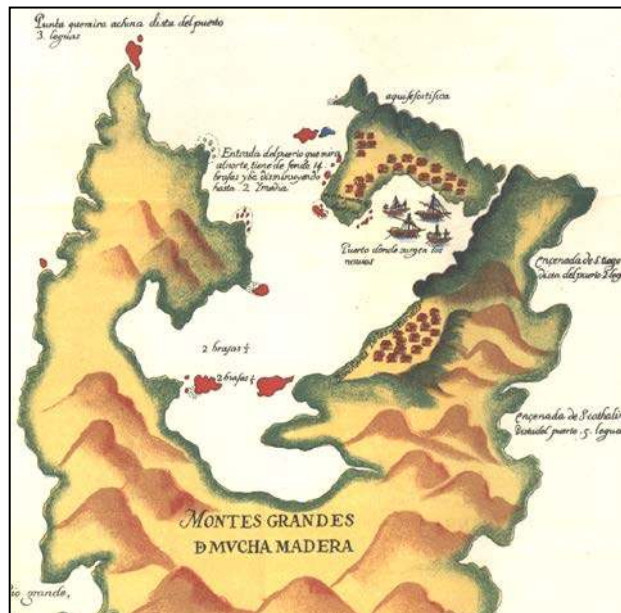
Dr. María Cruz Berrocal is a STAR2 researcher at the IIIPC, University of Cantabria, in the "STAR-Santander Universities Program and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport", within the framework of the Campus of International Excellence Program of the call CEI 2015 of the Cantabria Campus International project", in addition to the Associated Fellow of the Zukunftskolleg, Universität Konstanz. Her work has focused on aspects related to the process of neolitization of the peninsular Mediterranean and Prehistoric rock art, and from 2007 in the Pacific, where she has carried out research in various Fiji islands, and since 2011 in Taiwan. A new project has recently begun in Alofi, Wallis and Futuna, to show that European contact in the 17th century (or 16th in other places) had a great impact on local populations, which has been completely neglected in traditional historiography.

Dr. Cheng-hwa Tsang has been a Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica, Taiwan. His research interests focus on the prehistoric archaeology in Taiwan and Southeast Asia, and the management of cultural resources and heritage. He was elected as an academician of Academia Sinica in 2014. Dr. Tsang currently is Distinguished Research Chair Professor in the Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing-hua University (Hsinchu).

Elena Serrano Herrero, archaeologist since 1988, has participated and directed numerous archaeological interventions among which it is worth highlighting those carried out in Spanish urban areas with long and complex sequences of occupation. Since 2012, she has been part of the International research project "Taiwan in the 17th Century: Archaeology of Early Colonialism and the beginnings of globalization", led by Dr. Maria Cruz Berrocal and Dr. Cheng-Hwa Tsang. She is currently a researcher at the International Institute of Prehistoric Research of the University of Cantabria where she is developing her doctoral dissertation on the prehistoric sequence of Heping Dao site (Keelung).

Abstract

Since the year 2011 a research group led by Cheng-hwa Tsang and María Cruz Berrocal has carried out archaeological investigations on Heping Dao, Keelung, uncovering a long sequence of occupation from the Neolithic to World War II and later. Our main initial driver for the project was the location of the colony of San Salvador, a Spanish foundation between 1626 and 1642, when it was taken over by the Dutch until 1668 when they finally abandoned it. Several monumental structures had been mentioned in the Spanish and Dutch written sources but no material evidence existed.



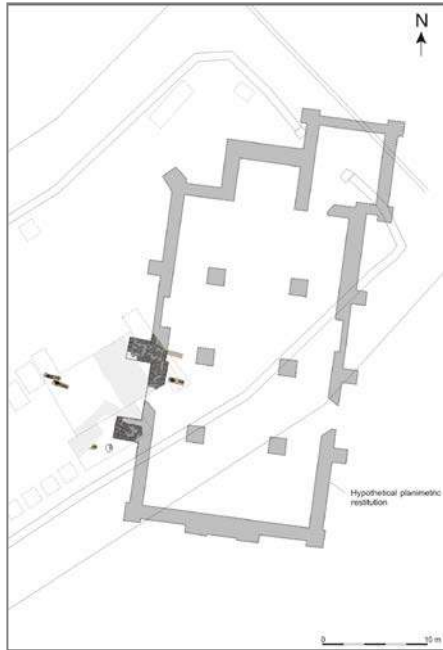
Heping Dao island in Pedro de Vera map (1626).
Archivo General de Indias.

In the course of the 2012 field season we uncovered the remains of a building of European facture whose location matched that of the Convento de Todos los Santos. The religious impulse for the establishment of the colony of San Salvador was indeed of the utmost importance: the pressure from religious orders had been paramount for the launching of the colonial establishment from Manila, and in particular the Dominicans were one of the pillars of the Spanish presence not only in Heping Dao but also in the northernmost area of Taiwan. More than 48 priests of mostly Dominican, but also Franciscan, Agustinian and Jesuit orders stayed or passed through Heping Dao in their way to China and Japan. Six churches were built: two in the province of River Tanchuy (one for the use of the Indians, another one for Spaniards); one in the village of Santiago, situated towards the East, close to Cabaran province; another one, dedicated to All the Saints, in the islet of the main Spanish garrison; still another, dedicated to St. Joseph, in the village of Taparri, at the other side of the bay; and close by, in the village of Quimaurri, another one in honor of Our Lady. Later on another one was constructed in the *pariancillo de los sangleyes*. Finally, one dedicated to St Peter the Apostle was looked after by Juan de Balcázar. The burden of this impressive deployment was unsustainable for the Dominicans,



Detail of the foundation of the church.

who finally released at least one of the churches to the Franciscans, retreating to San Salvador. There they focused on the construction of a solid stone church called the church or Convento de Todos los Santos. This was all that the records mentioned about this building; our excavation has determined its foundation, potential alignment, and massive structure, as well as its significance in the context of early modern European colonialism in Asia-Pacific.



Hypothetical plan view of the church and graveyard at San Salvador.

Our field work also established that a cemetery stood in association to the church, a typical European practice among European colonists in any colonized area of which, however, news were totally lacking for Taiwan. The burials of Heping Dao, belonging to an early European colonial yard adjacent to a church, are therefore a common sense, yet completely unprecedented, finding for the areas of Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish influence in Asia-Pacific, as far as we can determine. The European origin of at least one of the buried persons has been attested through DNA analysis for the first time for the region in the early modern period.

The excavation of the graves and skeletons focused on the recording of the pattern of bone distribution and degree of connection between bones forming a given joint, aiming at reconstructing initial burial conditions, following

the principles and methodology of the “Anthropologie de terrain”. Distortions of the normal anatomy inform on the environment in which the corpse decomposed, allowing the detection of a former presence of organic material which disappeared at a lower rate than the body, such as clothing, wrappers and other forms of containers. It also allows the assessment of further manipulations on the body or the skeleton. More specifically in the case of Heping Dao we concentrated on the identification of perishable containers, a task that relies in the first place on the demonstration that the body decomposed in an empty (unfilled) environment (or space), and second, on the observation of constraining effects and wall effects on the skeleton reflecting the form of contention or container.



Photographs of the adult burials at San Salvador taken during the excavation.

The finding of the San Salvador cemetery allows us to study material dimensions of the



Process of digging a burial.

life and death histories of the colonists and other inhabitants in the colony, which leads us back to big historical questions, such as the migration movements of the 17th century. These are the beginnings of a global world. In tiny backwater places such as San Salvador, individuals from all continents including the (Austronesian) Pacific, would cohabitate, and die, for the first time.

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春泥長眠舊香江：跑馬地香港墳場¹

Hong Kong Cemetery: the Memory of a City

Sharon Joy WHILE

Chairman and founder of Friends of Hong Kong Cemetery
squinnwhile@netvigator.com

I ask everyone to come and visit at least once. To experience this garden cemetery in the heart of Hong Kong. Not a gloomy place but one of emotions and memories. Hong Kong Cemetery needs Friends. Join me there. 我希望大家都能到這個滿載歷史回憶與情感的墓園走一趟。香港墳場需要大家的支持。



Official Facebook page of
Friends of Hong Kong Cemetery



<https://www.hkcemetery.org/>



Figure 1: 'The Happy Valley Hong Kong' (1865). Permission Lowenthal Historical Photograph of China Collection

¹ 本文中文標題及中文註解為編者所加。The title and notes in Chinese are added by the editor.

At the heart of Happy Valley (快活谷，又名跑馬地), lies an oasis of calm and verdant beauty. Hong Kong Cemetery, once known as the Colonial Cemetery, was established in 1845. The Chapel of the cemetery was also built in the same year. In the 19th century it evolved into a beautifully landscaped cemetery garden, inspired by the Parisian cemetery Père Lachaise.

It is the final resting place for over 40 nationalities including British, Chinese, American, Japanese and Russian, both military personnel and civilians. Some of the key moments in the history of Hong Kong are engraved in the stones. Undoubtedly, this place is rich in history, architecture and nature, being used as a fascinating introduction to the history of Hong Kong to schoolchildren, tourists and interested locals.

However, research has showed the Chapel, the oldest western building in Hong Kong, was slowly deteriorating along with the memorials and landscape. This was not through lack of care but in some cases *misguided maintenance*.



Figure 2&3: Exterior of the Chapel of the Resurrection built in 1845. The oldest Western building on Hong Kong. The Chapel interior reveals a fine old marble checkerboard floor and timber-framed Gothic windows (credit Luc Carson)

Sharon While, who founded Friends of Hong Kong Cemetery in 2014, started researching the care and maintenance of this government-run site in 2013. The cemetery office was contacted back in 2013, simply about the unnecessary removal of epiphytes (climbing plants) from a venerable old frangipani tree (雞蛋花). The rest is a journey of discovery about the labyrinthine government departments -- one of them being The Lord Wilson Heritage Trust (衛奕信勳爵文物信託) which gave my project ‘*Gravestone Restoration and Pilot Scheme for the Historic Landscape*’ funding.

The ultimate goal of the project is to take the Conservation Management Plan, studies of fauna and flora and A Study of Certain Gravestones and Monuments to the Antiquities and Monuments Office and gain the dearly needed historic status for the whole site.

To date some changes have been accomplished. They include wildlife and architectural aspects. 2020 will be the 175th Anniversary of the founding of the cemetery. With that in

mind it is hoped that this site of natural and built heritage can be ushered into a new era. The Chapel has been recognised as important to Hong Kong in 2009 having gained historic status 'Grade I'.

The aim of the presentation is to convey a little of the beauty and emotion contained in the stones and trees. The details of the project and the work including designing slopes and pathways and so forth will be covered in the presentation. Two short videos will be shown. One will show the sheer loveliness of the (disused) fountain and surrounding trees, the other has comments from people involved in the project.

Keywords: bio-diversity, gravestone restoration, rare trees and butterflies, heritage status, conservation management plan, natural and built heritage

Sharon Joy While, originally from the United Kingdom, arrived in Hong Kong 1995 for work rather unrelated to cemeteries. She has good working relationships with government departments in Hong Kong who have the cemetery under their care, namely the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department, Architectural Services Department, Drainage Services Department, Environmental Protection Department, Agriculture and Fisheries Conservation Department and others such as Antiquities and Monuments Office and the Antiquities Advisory Board.

Recently she has completed the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust funded project. This included architectural surveys and discoveries of forgotten landscape architecture aspects, plus workshops which include 'Gravestone Cleaning' and 'Recording of Inscriptions' course for conservation students.

She is especially proud to have permission to carry out landscape restoration and various surveys including unprecedented access at night to document fireflies and moths and to have planted butterfly-friendly flowers in the historic disused fountain.

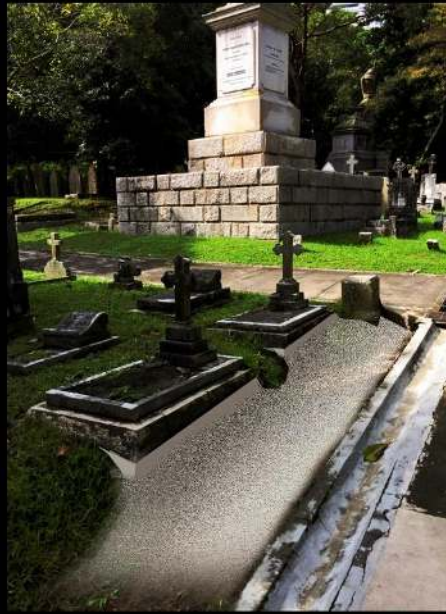
She has worked on projects for the Polytechnic University of Hong Kong, Swiss German School, University of Macau, Hong Kong University, Hong Kong Arts Festival, and Fung Yuen Butterfly Reserve.



Figure 4 & 5: Tombstones, stone wall trees and granite wall. (credit Luc Carson)



STEP 1
Planting steel picks to provide additional grip for the concrete.



STEP 2
Adding a layer of porous concrete to form the substrate for the soil and support for the cantilevering grave stone. The concrete will not be visible.



STEP 3
After the concrete settled, we will add the layer of soil.



STEP 4
Finally, we may spread some grass seeds.

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7/11/2016
SK001
HONG KONG CEMETERY GRAVE STONE REFURBISHMENT
PHASE 1

Figure 6: Gravestone and landscape restoration (credit and design Manfred Yuen)

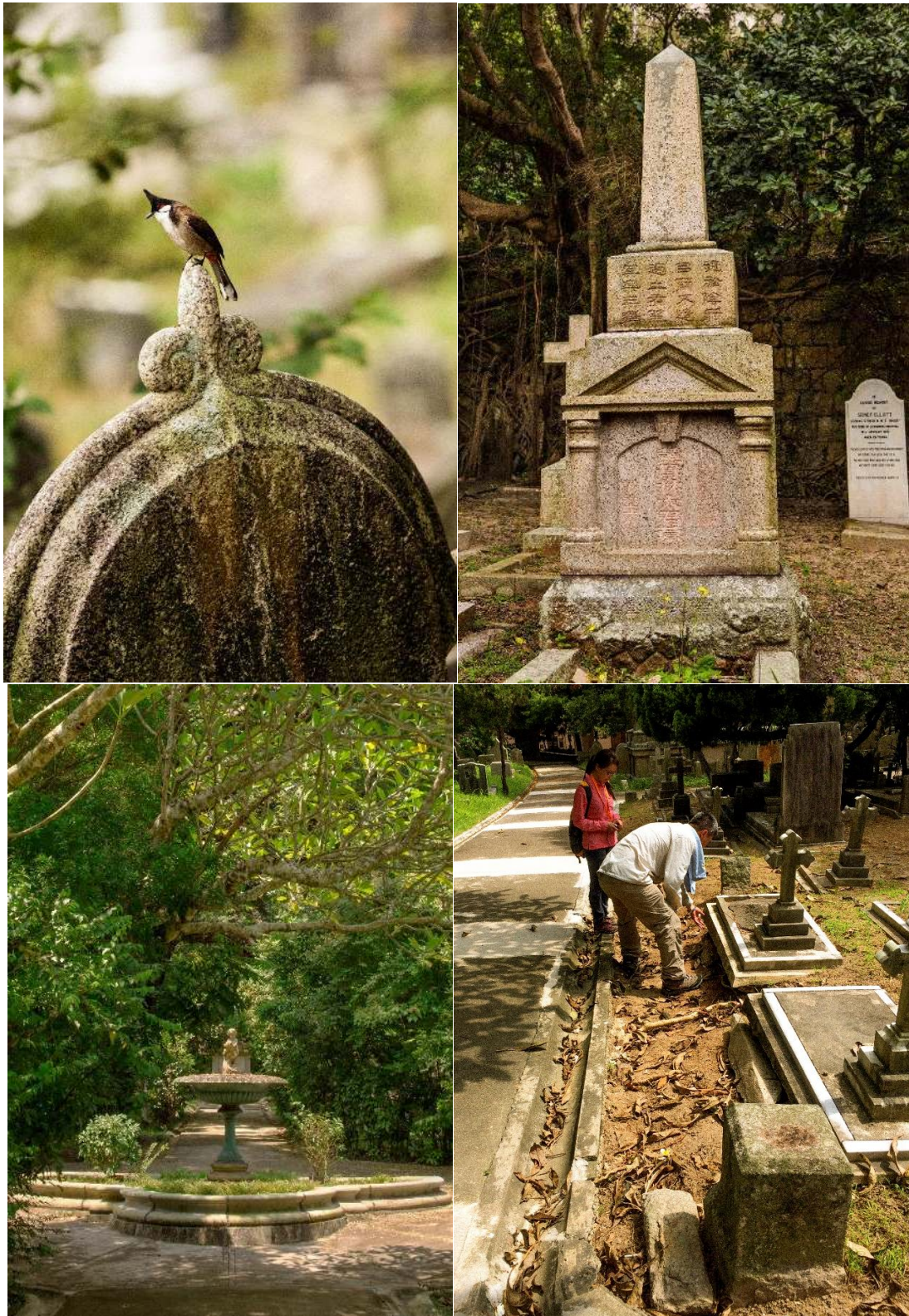


Figure 7-10: Crested Bulbul, Chinese gravestone, restoration planning, 19C cast-iron fountain

香港墳場政策與華人殯葬習俗的互動

The Interaction between Cemeteries Policy and Chinese Burial Customs in Hong Kong

鄧家宙博士¹ Dr. TANG Ka Jau, Billy

陳子安² CHAN Tsz On

香港史學會

Society of Hong Kong History

shkh.org@gmail.com

十九世紀伊始，西方社會日益關注城內埋葬 (intramural burial) 引起的公共衛生 (public health) 問題。一八五零年代以後，英國政府不許國民在教堂範圍內舉行殯葬活動。作為英國海外殖民地的一份子，香港政府於五零年代中業後亦禁止華人在官方指定地區以外將死者下葬。二十世紀初香港人口不斷增加，城內葬地早已不敷應用，政府遂於四零年代初著手推動新界和合石墳場計劃 (Wo Hop Shek cemetery scheme)。至一九六零年代初，政府在港島東面興建大型現代化火葬場 (modern crematorium)，而火葬的普及終極改變了香港華人的殯葬傳統。後殖民時期的香港政府，為了解決骨灰龕位不足的問題，大力推動綠色殯葬 (green burial)，成效理想與否仍有待觀察。

本文參考香港及英國相關的歷史檔案文獻及數據，從歷史角度探析二十世紀香港墳場政策的發展，並了解有關部分的政策是如何與華人殯葬文化傳統產生互動後衍生的成果。

本文參考香港及英國相關的歷史檔案文獻及數據，從歷史角度探析二十世紀香港墳場政策的發展，並了解有關部分的政策是如何與華人殯葬文化傳統產生互動後衍生的成果。

1 香港史學會總監。Director of Society of Hong Kong History

2 University of Durham

十八世紀，英國社會發生工業革命 (industrial revolution)，鄉郊人口急速流向城鎮，各主要大城市人口暴增。這些人於身死之後，多被埋葬在教堂毗連的葬地 (churchyard)。基於下葬者數目眾多，不少屍體外露，屍身腐爛臭味惹來公共衛生問題。十九世紀伊始，英國社會日益關注城內埋葬 (intramural burial) 引起的公共衛生 (public health) 問題，英國國會遂於一八五零年初以後，下令禁止國民在教堂墓地舉行葬禮。英國東北部紐卡素 (Newcastle) 南面大城鎮蓋茨黑德 (Gateshead)，於泰思河 (river tyne) 畔有一所約九百年歷史的聖瑪利亞教堂 (St. Mary Church)。十九世紀初之前，這所教堂四周的墓地就是當地人離世後唯一的安息之所。一八五三年，英國國會下令禁止城內埋葬 (intramural burial)，自此再沒有人在這地方下葬了，現在的聖瑪利亞教堂搖身一變成了聖瑪利亞文物中心 (St. Mary's Heritage Centre)，而這些至少有百年或以上歷史的墳塋，就成了進入文物中心觀光的遊客憑吊的對象了。事實上，當年這個禁令不獨影響英國各地以及教堂的墓地，對英國海外的殖民地也有一定程度的影響。

香港開埠之初，居住在港島的華人按習慣可隨意在附近一帶的山邊殮葬死人，死者也可以按其生前意願被送返中國內地家鄉落葬。至於港島最早期為有宗教背景的西歐人士而設的新教及天主教墳場，要算是位於今天灣仔 (昔日稱為下環) 的日、月及星街。由於受到疾病侵擾，平民及駐軍的死亡數字甚高，灣仔墳場早已不敷應用，基於公共衛生的緣故，殖民地政府於一八四五年將新教及天主教墳場搬遷至今天跑馬地黃泥涌道的位置。³ 前述英國國會在一八五三年下令禁止城內埋葬，作為英國殖民地的印度，在一八五六年也同樣發出類似的禁令——《1856年印度保護法案 XIV》，有關法案嚴禁在未經政府認可及註冊的地方將人類遺骸下葬。不過，此禁令對身處海峽殖民地 (the Strait Settlement) 的華人來說有如廢紙一張。這是因為他們認為有權利及自由揀選墓葬地點，墓地一經選上後，就會被視為永久擁有。⁴ 同年，香港殖民地政府由定例局 (legislative council) 頒佈《1856年第12號條例》，規管華人埋葬事宜。條例賦予政府設立華人墳地及檢控不當殮葬的權力。有關條例對當時住在香港的華人沒有太大的影響，因為他們可以選擇在過身後被送返國內下葬。一八八二年，殖民地政府首次以「在墳場以外地方埋葬華人遺骸」(Burial of Chinese Corpse elsewhere than in a cemetery) 的罪名對兩名涉事華人提出檢控，而這兩人最終銀鐐

3 Patricia Lim, *Forgotten Souls: A Social History of Hong Kong Cemetery* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 8-10.

4 Brenda S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2018), 284.

入獄。總括而言，一八五零年代至八零年代期間，殖民地政府對華人非法墓葬的情況有可能予以寬鬆手法處理，畢竟早年殖民地華人殮葬事宜未曾觸發大規模公共衛生問題。

香港開埠以後，華人人口不斷增加，居住衛生問題由是衍生。一八八一年，奧斯伯·查維克 (Osbert Chadwick) 被派遣來港調查香港的衛生問題。查維克的報告書批評港島太平山區一帶住屋衛生環境不堪入目，最終速成潔淨局 (Sanitary Board) 於一八八三年成立。就墳場政策而言，潔淨局主要職能是指定何處地方屬於華人墳場，為不恰當的埋葬及隨處埋葬設置罰則，同時列出合法墳場的名單，以及遵照港督會同行政局的指令關閉墳場。一九三五年，潔淨局易名為市政局 (Urban Council)。翌年一月開始執行《公眾衛生 (潔淨) 條例》賦予的權力，監控及管理香港的公眾衛生問題，其中包括與墳場和喪葬有關的事務。殖民政府於一九六九年底，經市政局的建議，制定墳場政策，其中主要有以下五項的重點：

一·積極鼓勵火葬 (cremation)

二·將集中在和合石 (Wo Hop Shek)及沙嶺 (Sandy Ridge) 公共墳場進行棺葬

三·在和合石及沙嶺公共墳場內棺葬者六年後須撿拾骨殖的做法依舊繼續進行

四·無論在官地抑或在私人土地上皆不許建私營墳場 (private cemeteries)

五·現有的私營墳場必須符合以下條件，方可獲擴建：擴建部分一半屬永久葬地而另一半只能屬非永久葬地 (即六年後棺葬者的骨殖要被撿拾)

一九九九年十二月三十一日特區政府廢除市政局及區域市政局，服務香港市民達 117 年的市政局正式告終，而原本由兩局負責管理的食物環境衛生事務，被新成立的食物環境衛生署所取代。事實上，昔日市政局有部分的墳場政策，皆是與華人殮葬文化傳統產生互動後衍生的成果，而後殖民地時期的墳場政策不過是蕭規曹隨而矣。

十九世紀末，殖民地政府的官員觀察到，在香港殖民地生活的部分華人有二次葬的習俗，他們於是在二十世紀初設置金塔墳場 (urn cemetery)，由於金塔所佔用的土地面積較棺木為小，故在火葬未被華人社會廣泛採納作為處理遺體的方法之前，曾被政府視為紓緩墳地不敷的不二法門。。在一九四一年香港政府寫給殖民地部論及「華人墳場」的檔案文件

中，殖民地政府依據中國傳統習俗，奉行所謂「十年撿拾骨殖週期」(ten years exhumation cycle) 的政策。⁵ 這政策指先人棺葬在政府於山邊開闢的墳地基穴內，等待七年屍身完全腐化後，至第八年其骨殖被撿拾後存放甕內，被永久葬於金塔墳場內，而有關葬地經一年閒置(恢復養份)後，第十年就可以棺葬另外的死者了。此項政策其後得以繼續的發展，除時限縮短至七年外，其他細節具體不變。家屬於先人棺葬後第六年將收到政府函件，通知他們須為先人撿拾骨殖，有關的期限為棺葬後的第七年，撿拾後的骨殖可安葬於金塔墳場內，而家屬亦可以選擇將先人的骨殖進行火化，然後把骨灰安放於靈灰安置所的靈灰龕內。除了公眾墳場之外，有關骨殖撿拾的方法，也用於其他私人墳場(如華人永遠墳場、基督教墳場及天主教墳場)。

另一方面，前述殖民地部檔案文件也指出，香港的死亡數字由一九三零年的一萬三千五百宗躍升至一九四零年首九個月的四萬零八百二十四宗。死亡數字的暴升為香港及九龍市內的墳地帶來前所未有的壓力。事實上，早於一九三零年代中，時任市政衛生局主席杜德(R.R. Todd)就已經表明，港島、九龍及新九龍不會再為歐人、華人、新教徒及天主教徒新建墳場，而政府將計劃在新界拓建公共墳場，以解決香港人口不斷增加，市區葬地不敷應用的問題。有見及此，一九四零年代殖民地政府著手推動「新界和合石墳場計劃」(Wo Hop Shek cemetery scheme)，在新界粉嶺和合石動工興建一個大型公眾墳場，但可惜年底香港淪陷日本軍政府之手，有關計劃被迫擱置。日治時期，港九部分政府墳場照常運作，港島雞籠灣東西墳場、柴灣墳場、九龍何文田及靠背壟墳場重開，殯葬活動與戰前無異。

戰後，政府重新啟動「新界和合石墳場計劃」。然而，有關計劃因現實環境出現改變而稍作微調。基於和平後新界人口不斷增加，政府有必要在和合石一帶預留一定範圍的集水區，以保障粉嶺及上水一帶居民有足夠的食水供應。因此，除了和合石之外，政府另闢位於鄰近邊界的沙嶺作墳場之用。一九四九年，政府宣布關閉所有位於九龍、新九龍及香港島的公眾墳場。翌年，位於和合石及沙嶺墳場正式啟用。為了方便港九市民，政府在紅磡設立厝房及永別亭。死者的靈柩由港九鐵路設計載運棺柩的卡車運送至和合石墳場下葬，而和合石墳場鄰近九港鐵路，為每年春秋二祭的孝子賢孫提供方便。一九五零年九月底，紅磡厝房及永別亭正式啟用。華民政務司(The Chinese Secretary of Chinese Affairs) 杜德(R.R. Todd) 在舉行開門禮致辭時，表示殖民地政府在執行墳場政策的過程中，在考量全港

5CO129/588/6, "Chinese Cemeteries."

市民利益的大前提下，亦充份照顧華人慎終追遠，敬祀祖先的傳統，而厝房及永別亭的設立，就是為了給「一般民眾得到其中便利，對他們的先人，可以盡其禮，使內心的哀感，藉此得到一點寬慰」。⁶

正當和合石及沙嶺公眾墳場啟用之際，來自宗教界、警隊以至市政局對政府推行現代化火葬的步伐，表示關注。事實上，早於二十世紀初，殖民地政府已經有意推行火葬，但當時意識到華人社會對這種處理遺體的方法抱極大保留，故暫且按兵不動。到了一九五零年代，政府認為推行火葬的時機業已成熟，故在內部進行多次的討論，探討如何落實在華人社會推行火葬。一九五一年十月，華民政務司杜德在一次官方會議上強調推行火葬的可行性。他引用英國的火化數字，指出一九二五年英國火化率只有百分之一，但二十五年後卻增長至一成五，政府也因此不斷興建火葬場以應付需求。杜德指要華人接受火葬，政府必須建造設備齊全的，莊嚴的及交通便利的火葬場。有見及此，市政局墳場部曾致函英國火葬協會，指出香港不久的將來需要興建現代化的火葬場 (modern crematorium)，希望了解英國廠商能否生產可以火化中式棺木的火葬爐。經過差不多十年的討論、選址及建築工程，殖民地政府在港島東面興建的現代化火葬場 (modern crematorium) 正式於一九六二年底投入服務，而火葬的普及終極改變了香港華人的殯葬傳統。一九七零年中，仍有不少家屬選用中式棺木為死者進行火葬禮，即使在今天火葬非常普及的社會裏，間中仍有家屬會這樣做，而個別公營火葬場仍舊提供這項服務。從火葬爐的大小可見，殖民地政府有意透過火葬設備及服務，將英式火葬與華人慎終追遠傳統結合，盡量減低香港市民對火葬的抗拒及戒心。

面對香港地小人多的情況，殖民政府不斷尋求解決方法，由開拓大型墳場計劃，到六零年代全面推動火葬，由六年撿拾骨殖遷至金塔墓穴下葬，到採用火化骨殖的方法，目的是減低墳地的使用量。一九九零年代，火葬已成港人處理亡者遺體的主流選擇。然而，後殖民時期的香港政府，為了解決骨灰龕位不足的問題，大力推動綠色殯葬 (green burial)，成效理想與否仍有待觀察。

6 〈紅磡新建厝房昨行開門禮〉，《香港工商日報》1950年9月30日。

伊斯蘭的神秘面紗： 以墳場為借鑒，探索台灣與香港的歷史、遷移與社會

王兩庭

國立高雄大學

sara.yuting.wang@gmail.com

墓園提供了一個可以接近死亡的地方，在人類擁有文明以前就已經有埋葬的行為，而這些歷史的傳承體現了我們對於死亡的敬畏與無知。縱使人們無法真正體驗死去，遊墳的過程能喚起人們心中的另一個聲響，或許是對於世界大千的坦然，又或許是對於自我生命的感嘆，無論是哪一種，我們都可以透過墓地來一次深訪社會與心靈的探遊。

香港回教墳場前的告示牌，開宗明義地鼓勵人們遊墳，而鼓勵穆斯林經常遊墳的原因，是因為在墓地可以跳脫平常的框架，可以暫時放下世俗的規範，在亡者面前做最真實的自己，也透過他們學習與思考「生死」。生死的話題在台灣往往是禁忌，但我們又何嘗逃得過一死？「成、住、壞、空」四個循環，是世界萬物必經的生命歷程，我們生「成」，爾後「住」下，不免崩「壞」，最後回歸虛「空」。墓園帶給人們的形象不應該只是恐懼與髒亂，他們應是人們學習人生最困難課題，最好、最適切的場所。

本篇報告將透過墓園討論伊斯蘭教在台灣與香港兩地衍伸出的文化異同，以及他們是如何在短短兩百年，從一個尚未建立的國度，擴展到橫跨歐亞非三洲的大帝國？又是如何在二十一世紀911事件後，被世界誤會與抹黑的情況下秉持著信念直到今日？是時候讓我們卸下身上的成見，走進神秘面紗後的伊斯蘭世界。

關鍵字：墓園、墳場、台灣、香港、伊斯蘭、穆斯林、埋葬習俗

王兩庭時為國立高雄大學西洋語文學系之大四學生。自2017年10月開始擔任奧利華教授之研究助理一職。

Exploring Islam in Taiwan and Hong Kong: Graveyards as Mirrors of History, Migration, and Society

WANG Yu-Ting, Sara

National University of Kaohsiung, Kaohsiung, Taiwan
sara.yuting.wang@gmail.com

Cemeteries frequently provide the most direct paths for people to approach human history. They give a viewpoint from which to look deeply into a society and think about the meaning of life. In this report, we will cover three main topics: the history of Islam, Islam in Taiwan and Islam in Hong Kong. The last two sections will integrate the perspectives provided by graveyards, followed by a literature overview and data analysis.

Islam has risen to a world religion by the expansion of a theocratic empire over half of the globe, reaching its maximal size in the 7th century. Since then, Muslims maintained an unchanged set of beliefs and practices based on a relatively literal interpretation of the lessons taught in the Quran. Though a peaceful religion, in the 21st century there has been an increase in radicalized Muslims utilizing terror attacks, frequently in the form of suicide bombers, in the name of a so-called “Holy War,” to which the US government reacted with the “War on Terror,” which led to a cycle of violence, mistrust, and misconceptions, which shapes our current world and has pasted a strong label on Muslims. Since then, when people think or hear of Islam or Muslims, ideas of terrorism and cruelties come to their mind. But can Islam really be equated with terrorism and atrocities? What do we know about Islam beyond the images CNN conveys to us? Do we really understand Islam and its people?

Walking in the cemetery, people ponder more than when engaged in solving everyday problems. They get connected to the dead, and through it to death. The natural environment creates a peaceful atmosphere which is suitable for people to take a meditative walk during daytime. In front of the gate of the Muslim cemetery in Hong Kong, there is a sign encouraging people to go inside and to pay respect to the deceased. Wandering in graveyards is not something terrifying. To the contrary, it is healthy for our spirit and soul and provides a place for people to put away their shield and start a friendly conversation with each other.

Drawing people to begin a conversation on Islam and its people is the main target of this report. Knowledge is the only way to overcome mistrust and misconceptions and build up a new relationship.

Keywords: cemetery, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Islam, Muslim, Burial Practices

Sara Wang is an undergraduate student at National University of Kaohsiung and also a research assistant of Professor Oliver Streiter. She has been helping with fieldwork and data transcription since 2017. After doing fieldwork in various places, she developed an interest in Islamic culture and obtained a National Science research grant for a project on this topic. She loves traveling, writing and photographing. She can be reached through media on Facebook and Instagram: @im_sarawang.



Figure 1: Taipei graveyard of Hui Muslims. Shared with the Mainlanders of Taipei is the preference of rectangular tombs and tombstones.



Figure 2: Kaohsiung graveyard of Hui Muslims.



Figure 3: Hong Kong graveyard of Hui Muslims.

台南基督教公墓宣教士墓群初探

Throwing Light on Tombs of Missionaries in the Tainan Christian Cemetery

康迦智¹KANG Jia-Chih, George

國立高雄大學

National University of Kaohsiung

georgekang@gmail.com

本次研究的目的透過宣教士的墓群來調察宣教士墓中的隱藏信息和他們在南臺灣地區的奉獻。調查的方法來自於收集資料，這次研究的結果顯示肺炎為宣教士們主要的死因。調查方法包括：1.拍攝宣教士的墓碑。2.搜尋這些宣教士的歷史檔案3.訪問石材行以明白在墓碑上的資訊。4.搜尋台灣 1931~1935 年的疾病史以找出宣教士死因。本次研究結果可視為將來對清領時期宣教士進行研究的指南。

關鍵字：台灣，宣教士，女宣教師，疾病，肺炎

The purpose of the study is to investigate hidden messages and the contributions of missionaries in southern Taiwan through the analysis of their tombstones. Descriptive survey design is adopted to collect data. Our research follows the following steps : (a) Take photo of missionary tombstones, (b) search historical files of these missionaries, (c) interview the stone carvers' shop to obtain first-hand information on tombstones designs and carvings information, and (d) search historical statistics of deadly diseases in Taiwan 1931~1935. The result reveals that pneumonia is the major cause of death of the missionaries included in this study. The study findings may serve as a guide for further research on missionaries during the Qing Dynasty in Taiwan.

Keywords: Taiwan, Missionary, Pneumonia, Female Missionary

¹ 現為國立高雄大學西洋語文學系三年級學生，從 2018 年 2 月始擔任奧利華副教授的研究助理一職。He is currently a junior student majors in Western Languages and Literature. He has been a research assistant of Professor Oliver Streiter since February 2018.

離散陰宅：吉隆坡百年福建義山研究
The Study of Kuala Lumpur Hokkien Cemetery

林德順 Dr. LING Tek Soon

馬來亞大學中國研究所

Institute of China Studies, University of Malaya

馬來亞大學馬來西亞華人研究中心

Malaysian Chinese Research Centre, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

lingteksoon@um.edu.my

在中華生死學里，「視死如生」觀念使得中國人認為死後的世界與生前幾乎一樣，因此把死者的墳墓以「陰宅」的概念名之，許多現實世界的元素亦集中在其陰宅展現。一旦中國人移居海外，雖然已經離散，如此的墓葬風格尚保留原鄉的多種文化元素，如墓碑文以在地人多無法理解的中文書寫等。從另一個角度看來，這也是一種離散體現。本文以有百年歷史的吉隆坡福建義山為例，從中取樣探討上述現象的存有與變遷，旁及當地華人社會的本土意識與在地認同的提升探討，認為華人的墓葬文化是本土化進程較為緩慢的一環，從中審視華社有共識地把它視為自身文化根源與祖鄉文化最真切的連接，因此保存了華社的離散特質。

關鍵詞：吉隆坡，福建義山，陰宅，雪隆福建會館，離散

A popular Chinese belief about the after-life is that it is similar to the present living world. For this reason, the Chinese graves are designed and built with features mirroring a person's earthly residence, even if they are now in the after-world.

This paper examines a century old Hokkien Cemetery in Kuala Lumpur. We will show that these graves retained very distinct Chinese characteristics. For instance, engravements on the grave stones are written almost entirely in Chinese, a language not understood by the locals. Though already identified themselves as local, in the tombstone descriptions, Malaysian Chinese still state their ancestral homeland as their place of origin instead of their adopted homeland, where they lived for most of their life. It appears that the Chinese community has made this practice as a symbol to connect themselves to their ancestral homeland.

Keywords: Kuala Lumpur, Hokkien Cemetery, Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Hokkien Association

馬來西亞鄉鎮——麻坡巴冬華人公墓初探

A Preliminary Study on the Chinese Cemeteries in Parit Jawa, Muar

蔡慧釗 CHUA Hui Chuan

新加坡國立大學中文系

Chinese Studies Department, National University of Singapore

chua.huichuan@u.nus.edu

馬來西亞鄉鎮的華人方言群人口比例與概況，在官方檔案上很少可以查出。透過考察和統計公塚的墓碑與祖籍，可以提供另一種數據，以彌補無法從口述和官方檔案呈現的一個華人聚落的概況。

馬來西亞柔佛州麻坡縣屬下的「巴冬」，馬來地名為 Parit Jawa，中文翻譯也稱作「巴力爪哇」，意指爪哇人港口。約在 1860 年代，柔佛蘇丹先引進印尼爪哇人到此開墾，挖掘河渠，發展種植業。在巴冬內陸——武吉摩（Bukit Mor）的山區也發現了錫礦，吸引了客家人在此開採錫礦。同時，很快地吸引來了其他方言群的華人移民至此，主要是福建和潮州人，進行其他經濟活動，包括耕植、捕魚和貨物買賣。

後來錫礦業的沒落及客家人的離去，福建和潮州人也逐漸成為了當地最大的方言群。當中以捕魚業為主的潮州人，祖籍以揭陽、澄海和潮安為多；而 20 世紀初興起的橡膠種植，則吸引了來自永春和南安의 福建人。這些產業經濟所衍生出的社會紐帶關係，讓巴冬早期成為具有濃厚的族緣和地緣特徵的華人聚落。

如今在巴冬還有此處最老的華人公墓，分別是福建公塚和廣東公塚，保留著許多二戰以前的墓碑。通過統計這兩個公塚的墓碑和籍貫，希望可以歸納出該地區的兩個方言群人口的大致比例，也提供另一個角度呈現這個聚落的地緣特徵。

關鍵詞：華人公墓，巴冬，麻坡，馬來西亞鄉鎮，墓碑

蔡慧釗目前就讀於新加坡國立大學中文系碩士班。她的研究興趣包括中國近現代史，婦女運動，海外華人的商業和公墓研究。2013 至 2014 年，她曾任職於馬來亞大學馬來西亞華人研究中心；2015 年至 2017 年，曾任多個研究計劃的兼職研究助理；2017 年至 2018 年，曾是「霹靂角頭的華人社群的社會史」和「巴冬華人社會發展史」的其中一名研究員。

The population statistics and historical data of various Chinese dialect groups in small Malaysian towns and villages are often insufficient in local government archives. Therefore, surveying and counting the number of tombstones and ancestral homes could provide an overview of Chinese settlements which could not be found from oral interviews and official documents.

Parit Jawa, meaning the port of Javanese in Malay, is located in Muar, Johor. From the 1860s, the Sultan of Johore imported Javanese labourers from Indonesia to develop the area—river canal excavations, land cultivation and plantations. Tin was discovered in the mountain area of Bukit Mor, which is located inland of Parit Jawa, which attracted many Hakka to the mining industry. Soon after, other dialect groups of Chinese immigrants, mainly Hokkien and Teochew were attracted by the tin rush and started other economic activities in Parit Jawa, including farm plantation, fishing and goods trading.

After the decline of tin mining and leaving of Hakka people, Hokkien and Teochew have gradually become the two largest dialect groups in Parit Jawa. Most of the Teochew population worked in the fishing industry, and many of them are from Jiayang, Chenghai and Chao'an; the emergence of rubber plantations in the early 20th century brought in Hokkienese mainly from Yongchun and Nan'an. The social relationship which ties these economic activities have caused Parit Jawa to become a Chinese settlement with strong ethnic and geographical characteristics in its early days.

Today, the two remaining historic Chinese cemeteries in Parit Jawa are Hokkien cemetery and Guangdong cemetery where many pre-WWII tombstones are preserved. By counting the number of tombstones and different ancestral homes associated with these tombstones, it is hoped that an approximate ratio of the population of the two dialects in the region can be summarized. It also can show the geographical features of the settlement from another angle.

Keywords: Chinese cemetery, Parit Jawa, Muar, Malaysia, tombstones

CHUA Hui Chuan is currently a master student at Department of Chinese Studies, National University of Singapore. Her research interests include the contemporary history of China, women's movements, trading activities and cemeteries of overseas Chinese. She worked as research assistant at Malaysian Chinese Research Centre of University of Malaya in 2013 to 2014; freelance research assistant of various projects from 2015 to 2017; one of the researchers of "Social History of the Chinese Community in Tanjung Piandang, Perak" and "History of the Development of the Chinese Community in Parit Jawa" projects in 2017 to 2018.

First Steps towards Reviving Franke's 'Chinese Epigraphy in Southeast Asia': Motivations, Approaches and Data Structures

STREITER, Oliver^o

oliverstreiter@gmail.com

BINGENHEIMER, Marcus^m

m.bingenheimer@gmail.com

ZHAN, Hanna Ya-Qing^h

zhanzhan.ya.qing@gmail.com

TO, Mandy Manwai^t

tomanwaipopo24@gmail.com

SHIH, Syuan-Fei^f

syuanfeishih@gmail.com

^{ohtf}NUK - National University of Kaohsiung, Kaohsiung, Taiwan
APLAC - Research Center for Asia Pacific Languages and Cultures

^mTemple University, Pennsylvania, USA
College of Liberal Arts

^hNTU - National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan
Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature

^oNational Chenchi University, Taipei, Taiwan
ApSTi - Asia-Pacific SpatioTemporal Institute

Abstract

The goal of this research project is to transform the paper-based and barely accessible Documentation of Chinese Epigraphy produced by Wolfgang Franke and his colleagues (WFCEM) into a permanently archived and freely accessible repository of standardized data that overlays the original documentation with state-of-the-art imagery, enhanced data, geo-localizations and a continuation of the prose describes of sites, object and inscriptions. Doing this we also hope to increase the awareness in various research communities of the

existence of this extraordinarily rich resource, but also raise the awareness of those who manage and administer the cultural sites of the treasures history has laid into their hands.

此次研究計畫目標在於：將傅吾康先生與其友人的紙本印刷的東南亞華文碑刻銘彙文件，轉化成永久歸檔且容易取得的標準化資料庫，覆蓋了原始文檔，包含最先進的圖像、高品質的數據、地理定位，並有註解描述圖片的地點、物品和銘文。藉由此研究，希望能增強各種研究團體對於墓誌銘等珍貴資源的意識，也能提高歷史性文化遺址管理者的意識。

1 Introduction

Chinese Epigraphy in Southeast Asia counts among the most important sources for the region's social and religious history in the last three hundred years. Countless inscriptions in temples and graveyards are often the only dated witnesses of local Chinese communities. Digitally aggregated, these records could be analyzed on a much wider scale than previously possible. Based on more than a decade of experience recording tombstone inscriptions on Taiwan, Penghu, and Okinawa,¹ we have begun to work on a "Digital Database of Chinese Inscriptions in SEA", all the while reshaping our conceptual model to conform to the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model (CRM), for the representation of sites, and to TEI, for the representation of inscriptions.

1.1 Epigraphy

An epigraph is an inscription carved into an object composed of hard material, such as stone, wood or metal.

The main distinctive features of epigraphs are their uniqueness and their context-dependency. Epigraphs, tend to remain on the site or the object on which they have originally been created. It is the unique site and the unique object which contribute to the meaning of the epigraph. This is particularly the case where deictic expressions are used to refer, e.g., to a village as '本村' (běn cūn, this village), or '本廟' (běn miào, this temple), instead of using the name of the village or temple. Likewise, the oldest tombstone, the largest tombstone and the only granite tombstone obtain these properties only within a set of tombstones. People's names obtain meaning from nearby shops, factories and temples, and family relations show how within a community families established and maintained their economic power.

Second, the object, its size and material, the tools, and the training of the carver influence what and how an epigraph ultimately materializes. These factors determine genre, style, format, as well as character and semantic variants. Soft materials facilitate the carving of small characters or characters composed of many strokes, while hard or brittle materials tend to show large or simplified character variants, e.g. '顯' vs. '顯' (xiǎn, an honorific) or semantic variants, e.g. '旦' (dàn) vs. '穀' (gǔ) (in the sense of 'auspicious'). Thus, what seems to be a paradigmatic opposition represents only a contextual variant, if the conditions of the production are considered. Contextualization thus minimizes the danger of overinterpretation.

Beyond the conditions of production, the conditions of the reception of the epigraph too are encoded. An epigraph typically assumes a certain posture towards the reader, perhaps in front of a tomb, or a temple gate, or at the top of a mountain. Not only the stone, but also the assumed position of the readers determine the size and the orientation of the carving.

¹The ThakBong database contains 330.000 images of 682 graveyards in Taiwan and its outlying islands, see <http://thakbong.dyndns.tv/>.

The type of the object, e.g. tombstone or ancestral tablet, will influence the wording, especially in the case of referential linguistic expression on , tombs (mù 墓) or ancestral tablets (shénwei 神位).

These features of epigraphs have fundamental implications for research and documentation. Instead of visiting libraries, which collect copies of texts and make them available, researching epigraphs requires the researcher to visit the places where epigraphs were carved or where the objects have been erected in order to document the potential contexts which affect the interpretation of the inscription.

Therefore rubbings or photos of epigraphs, stored in libraries, can only partially replace the object. Beside the properties typical of epigraphs, discussed above, also the spatial properties of the epigraph might have been lost. These include longitude and latitude of the object, the altitude, the bearing of the object in degrees from the north line and the orientation of the object in terms of the spatial configuration within a set of culturally relevant objects of a site. Epigraphs tend to be embedded within a physical space that represents, as symbolic space, social arrangements in a community. The placement and orientation of tombstones, ancestral tablets, donor steles, bells, yunban, censers, couplets or wooden tablets within a temple are thus meaningful since symbolic arrangements and contain clues how an epigraph can be interpreted.

The value of an epigraph thus derives from its unique position at the intersection of humanities, the science of man-made products, and the social sciences, the science of human behavior. An epigraph combines text, material and object, and has been created by specific agents at specific times, at specific places, in relation to specific events within which they fulfill a specific function. A wooden tablet attached to the roof of a temple, for instance, is inscribed with the year of its creation, with that space and time, two essential coordinates, are already known. Additional data can be associated, e.g. the content can be transcribed and translated, actors can be identified. Each epigraph is thus a node in a network that can be linked to historical, sociological, anthropological, geographic, linguistic, or economic data, with the potential to change our perception of the past.

1.2 Wolfgang Franke (1912-2007)

Wolfgang Franke was a well-known German Sinologist who taught in Hamburg University. He was the son of Otto Franke (1863-1946), the founder of German Sinology. After his retirement in 1977 Franke moved to Malaysia, where he continued to teach and pursue his research. Originally a specialist of the Ming Dynasty, Franke, perhaps influenced by the destruction of cultural assets during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1975), began to work on a large-scale photographic documentation of Chinese epigraphs in Southeast Asia. We will refer to this multi-volume survey of Chinese epigraphy in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand as the Wolfgang Franke Chinese Epigraphic Materials (henceforth WFCEM).

Franke assembled a large and effective team of collaborators that included renowned scholars such as Chen Tieh Fan, Claudine Salmon, Anthony Siu and Porpan Juntaronanont, among others. How this team worked is almost undocumented and more research is needed to reveal how this team was able to collaborate successfully for such a long time.



Figure 1 Wolfgang Franke (1912-2007)

2 Franke's Documentation of Chinese Epigraphy in Southeast Asia

2.1 Achievements

Building partially on data collected earlier in his career, Wolfgang Franke began to intensify his fieldwork and assemble and publish a multi-volume documentation of Chinese epigraphic materials in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand, covering the time span from the late Ming period to the 1950s (Franke & Fan, 1983), (Franke *et al.*, 1988), (Franke *et al.*, 1997), (Franke & Juntaronanont, 1998a), (Franke & Juntaronanont, 1998b). He and his team were assisted by local scholars who were often crucial in identifying the oldest and most relevant epigraphs in a region.

In two decades, the team around Wolfgang Franke documented and published approximately 10,000 inscriptions, the oldest and most relevant inscriptions they were able to find in the second half of the 20th century. This epigraphy is considered a crucial source for the study of oversea Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Although in its present form it is difficult to access and cumbersome to use, it is absolutely indispensable for the serious study of Chinese religion and history in Southeast Asia.¹ In total, the team around Wolfgang Franke published eight volumes on South East Asian Chinese epigraphy, each volume containing approximately 1000 epigraphs.

Not only is the content of WFCEM highly significant, also its style and format has become a model for subsequent documentation projects, such as the Chinese Epigraphs in Singapore (Dean & Hue, 2016), in Malaysia (黃文斌, 2013; 张少寬, 2013; 吉隆坡, 2014), in Taiwan (Streiter *et al.*, 2011b; Streiter *et al.*, 2011a; Streiter *et al.*, 2011c; Streiter & Morris, 2016), on Penghu (Streiter & Goudin, 2016; 奧利華, 林莉倫, 陳乃瑜, 莫詹姆, 詹雅晴, 2016; 奧利華 & 詹雅晴, 2016), in Hong Kong (鄧家宙 & 陳覺聰, 2012), and Chinese Migrants in France (Goudin & Streiter, 2016). Claudine Salmon, having worked with Wolfgang Franke and being listed as editor and collaborator in WFCEM, continued to work on Chinese epigraphies in Vietnam (Salmon & Cac, 1998) and Indonesia (Salmon & Archipel, 2016)).

The volumes of WFCEM are organized by country and region. Volume 1 of "Indonesia", for example, covers Sumatra and Volume 2 covers Java. Some cartographic material

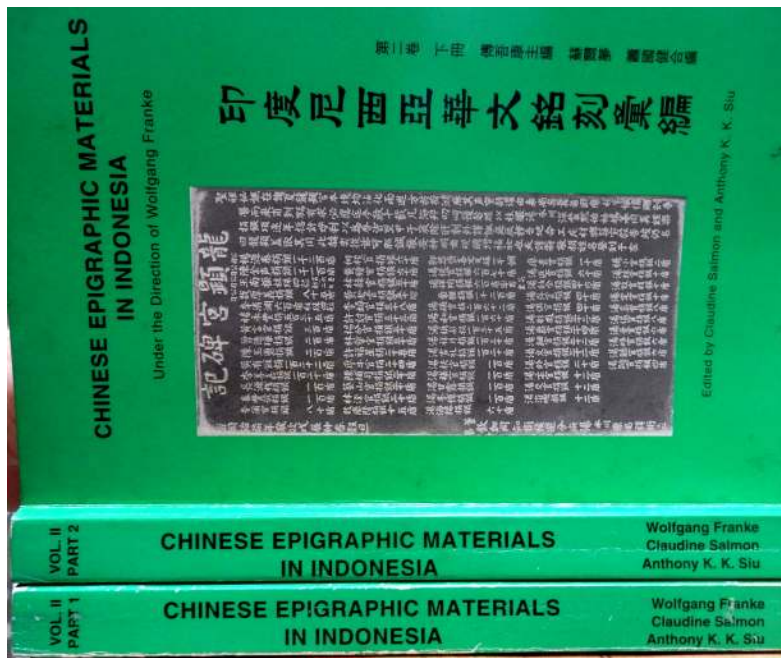


Figure 2 Chinese Epigraphic Materials in SE Asia, the cover of IDN-IIa and IDN-IIb”

has been included, mapping the earliest finds for each administrative region, cf. 3. Sometimes however, additional material from regions documented in earlier volumes has been included in later volumes, making an extensive search in the books more difficult.

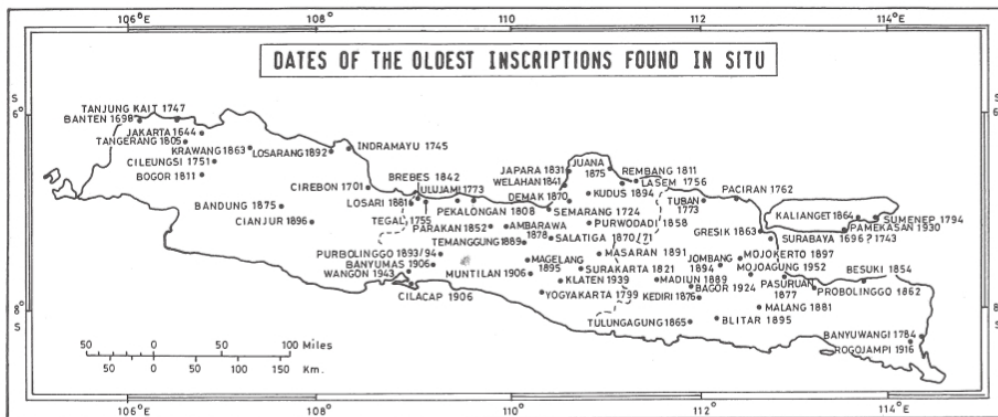


Figure 3 Chinese epigraphic materials in SE Asia. A map of the oldest inscriptions found on Sumatra, in IDN-IIa”

WFCEM is indexed, using hierarchic alpha-numeric codes, which will facilitate the conversion of Franke’s material into modern database formats, as Franke’s hierarchical codes match the conceptual distinctions we find today in the CIDOC-CRM Conceptual Reference Model: locations, sites within locations, objects within a site, and inscriptions on objects.²

In Franke’s coding system, *K*, stands for central Java, *KI* for Semarang, with *KI.13* for

²The CIDOC-CRM Conceptual Reference Model, designed for implementation in database formats, describes the implicit and explicit concepts and relationships used in cultural heritage documentation. The CIDOC-CRM standard is one of the formal standards into which we will transform WFCEM.

Table 1 *Summary of Wolfgang Franke Chinese Epigraphic Mat. (WFCEM)*

Short Reference	Authors	Year	Title	Pages	Publisher
MYS-I	W. Franke and Chen Tieh Fan	1983	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Malaysia, Vol. 1	1–441	Univ. of Malaysia Press, Kuala Lumpur
MYS-II	W. Franke and Chen Tieh Fan	1983	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Malaysia, Vol. 2	442–970	Univ. of Malaysia Press, Kuala Lumpur
MYS-III	W. Franke and Chen Tieh Fan	1983	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Malaysia, Vol. 3	971–1510	Univ. of Malaysia Press, Kuala Lumpur
IDN-I	W. Franke, C. Salmon and Anthony Siu	1988	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Indonesia, Vol. 1	1–429	South Seas Society, Singapore
IDN-II	W. Franke, C. Salmon and A. Siu	1997	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Indonesia, Vol. 2	430–870	South Seas Society, Singapore
IDN-III	W. Franke, C. Salmon and A. Siu	1997	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Indonesia, Vol. 3	871–1294	South Seas Society, Singapore
THN-I	W. Franke and Porpan Juntaronanont	1998	Chinese Epigraphic Mat. in Thailand	1–786	Xin Wenfeng, Taipei

a specific graveyard and *KI.13.1* for the first tombstone in this graveyard. Likewise *KI.3* represents a temple and *KI.3.1* an inscription in that temple. Generally, the first character represents a larger administrative regions, a two-character-code a town or village, a three-character-code a site and and four-character-code an objects that bears and inscription. Sites can be graveyards, temples, schools or residences. Items can be tombstones, wooden tablets, steles, censers, couplets, sculptures etc.

Using this simple coding system, Franke had no means to describe complex relations among objects, such as the inclusion of one object in another. E.g. the relation between an altar, a couplet at the altar and each part of the couplet could not be formally expressed in his notation.

Generally, WFCEM provides one photo for each epigraph, a normalized transcription and a relatively literal and uncritical translation. In the normalized transcription, character variants are normalized throughout. The transcriptions are “uncritical” in the sense that the content of the inscription is presented as fact. A placename, e.g. *Tong’an* is usually translated as *from Tong’an*, no matter whether the person migrated from that place, whether the ancestors migrated from that place or the ancestors are believed to have migrated from that place. Likewise the sons and daughters are always translated to have *erected* the tombstone, although they might also just have sent money or the tombstone might have been erected without their knowledge or consent. The translations should ideally matched with family genealogies, where available. Non-factual inscriptions expressing attitudes or identities, such as 皇清 (huángqīng, of the August Qing Dynasty), are not translated and not explained. In total, the team around Wolfgang Franke published eight volumes on South East Asian Chinese epigraphies, each volume containing an estimate of 1.000 epigraphs.³

The way Franke and his team selected and presented the material reflect a deep under-

³The exact number of epigraphs will only be known after the project has been completed, as Franke frequently grouped related epigraphs under one number.

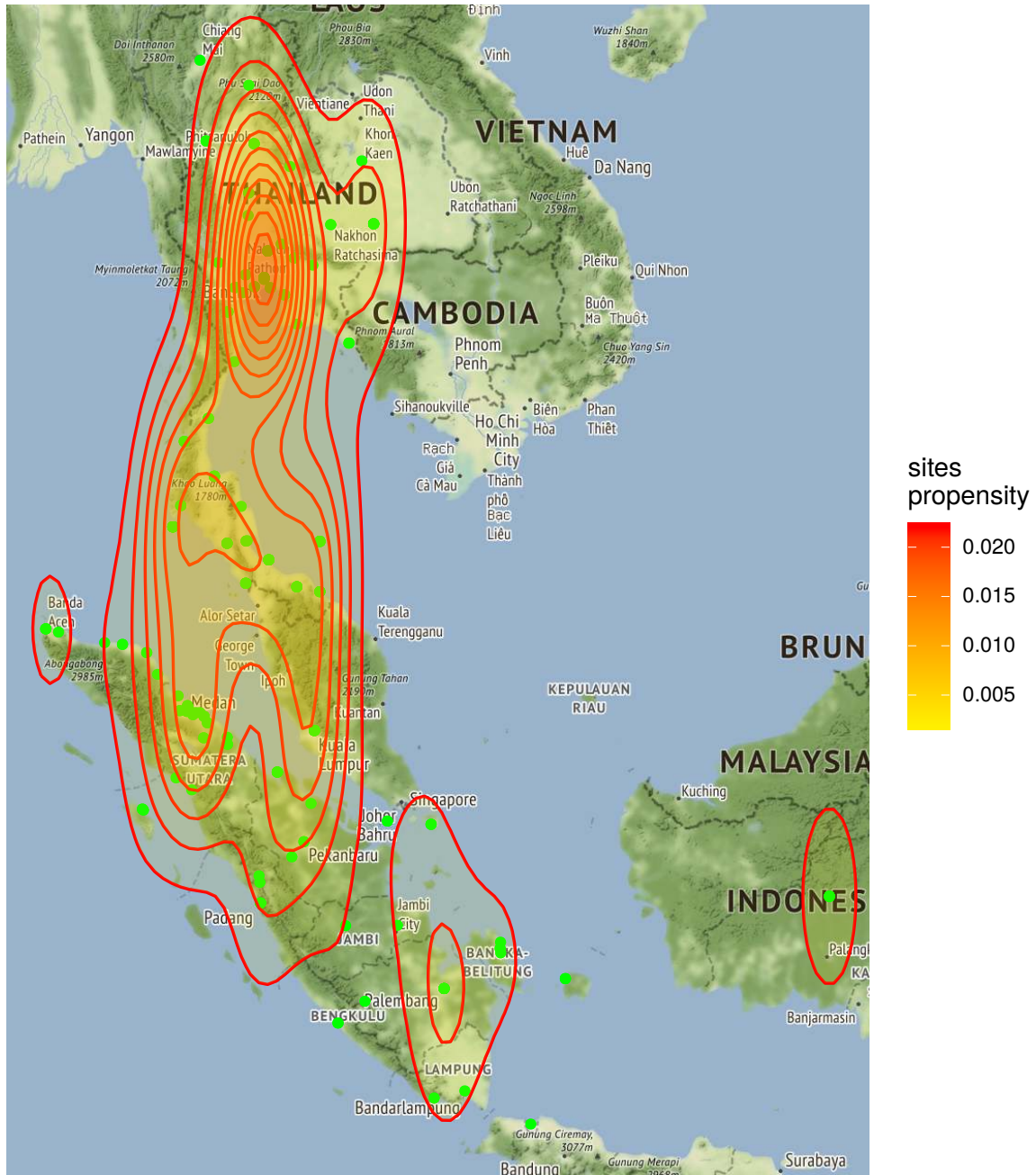


Figure 5 Pilot Study: The spatial distribution of some sites extracted from WFCEM. Once completed these maps will guide our fieldwork.

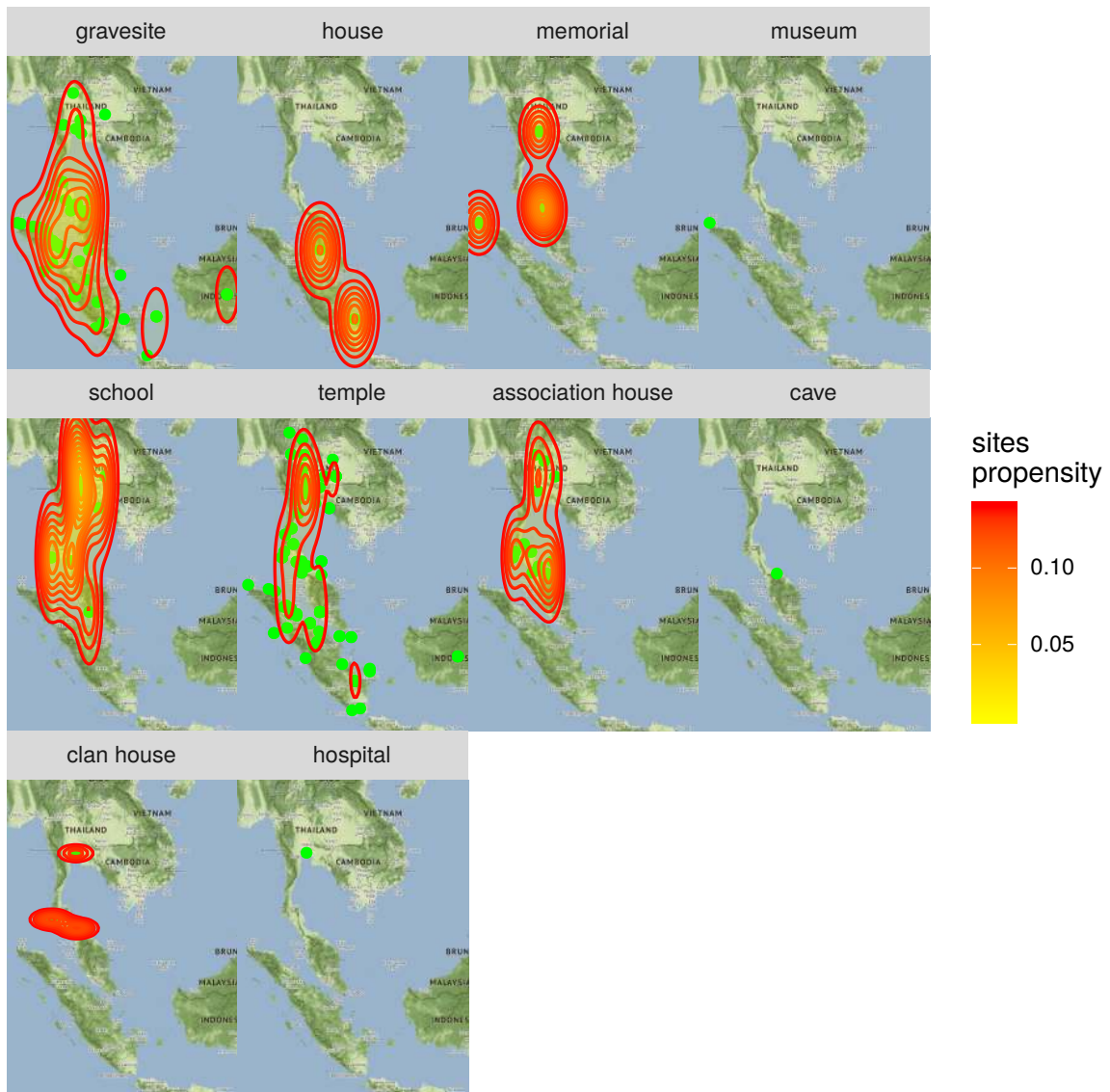


Figure 6 Pilot Study: The spatial distribution of some sites extracted from WFCEM, split by the type of site

B 2.3
Kuang-tung i-shan 廣東義山, the Cantonese cemetery, is located outside the town.
It was founded in 1915.

B 2.3.1 廣東義山亭門額 民國十六年(1927)

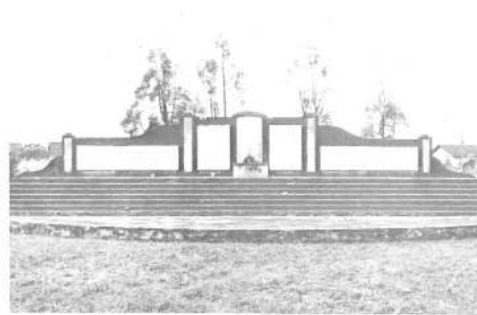


A stone inscription above the entrance to the cemetery resthouse written by Huang Shih-ch'ing. Dated 1927. The same person wrote a tablet in the Ch'ao-chou hui-kuan, Kuala Lumpur, see No. A 1.27.1.



Table 2 Entrance to the Guangdong Graveyard in Batu Pahat: Left side photo in MYS-I, right side photo taken in August 2018, adding color, motifs, GPS-location and direction. Note, that the date '中華民國十八年立' is in the transcription but not on the photo on the left side.

B 1.3.1 華僑殉難紀念碑 民國三十六年(1947)



柔佛新山區華僑殉難紀念碑記



Table 3 Tomb and memorial in Johor: Left side photo in MYS-I, right side photo taken in August 2018. The improvement in the quality of photos is obvious in this comparison. In addition, about 50 more photos have been taken in this site during our field trip in August 2018, which all can be made available in a digital medium, but not on a paper-based medium.

2.2 Shortcomings

By today's standards, the black-and-white photography seems rather primitive. In order to improve the readability of carved characters, Franke's teams used chalk that was rubbed into the inscriptions.⁴ On the images the material of the chalked object becomes almost impossible to assess.

Although most photos in WFCEM have been taken *in situ*, objects are depicted in isolation from their site. E.g. we find photos of tombstones, without photos of the tomb, of wooden tables without photos of the temple.

Except for one overview map per book (e.g. Figure 3, WFCEM lacks, an analytic component that visualizes and interprets the bulk of collected data. Timelines, maps, social networks, and linguistic analysis are only implicitly encoded in the transcriptions and the descriptions that WFCEM provides for each object. Once the information is digitized, it becomes computationally accessible and can be analyzed and visualized in various ways.

⁴This method, effective as it is, is today depreciated, not only for cultural reasons. Chalk is very abrasive and will provide food for lichen and fungus which will further destroy the stone. In addition, it contain a cocktail of chemical substances that might react with the stone and accelerate the degradation of the material

B 2.4
Lin-shih tsung-tz'u 林氏宗祠 or Chiu-lung t'ang 九龍堂, the Ancestral Temple of the Lin lineage.

B 2.4.1 九龍堂匾 民國二十一年(1932)



A wooden plate with the name Chiu-lung t'ang, dated 1932.

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Table 4 *A wooden tablet in the Jiulongtang Lin family temple in Batu Pahat: Left side photo in MYS-I, right side photo taken on in August 2018. On the recent photo, the plaque has been renovated and the original date '民國二十一年' has been replaced by '歲次壬申' and disambiguated on the left side with '西元一九三二年立'.*

The full potential of the WFCEM could be enjoyed by the growing research community that studies Chinese communities in SE Asia.

3 Research Goals and Objectives

3.1 Revisiting and Re-Documenting WFCEM Sites - Result of a pilot study

Our aim is to re-visit as many sites as possible, to re-document the epigraphs once documented in WFCEM, and to identify and document new material. We intend to get better photos and more data, such as: information on symbols and motifs otifs, cf. Figure 2, GPS-localization, orientation, localization within the site, material, size, etc. We will also document the transformation of the epigraphs. Some were change on purpose, e.g. in Figure 4, some change is due to environmental reasons of the site, as shown in Figure 3. Others are due to degradation or abandonment of the site, or to an inappropriate storage.

In the pilot study, we aimed to get a general view on what happened in the last thirty years in the regions we visited. Of the 49 sites we visited in Malaysia, 34 had been visited before by Wolfgang Franke and his team. Of them, 33 were accessible and in the same place as 30 years ago. One temple has moved, one has completely burned down and has been, like most others reconstructed. This reconstruction work took a took a heavy toll on the objects and epigraphs once documented in these temples. Destroyed by the community, destroyed during the reconstruction, moved into sheds or simply unfindable or stolen, about 50% of the objects and epigraphs documented by Franke seen to have been lost. Of those epigraphs still available, many are being stored under inadequate conditions, among tools, paint cans, roof tiles and scaffolds. Rummaging in sheds, however, revealed epigraphs that Wolfgang Franke either did not have found or not documented, adding an extra value to our pilot study.

3.2 Processing Fieldwork Material and Data

Each digital file, each photo, video or audio, is annotated with meta-data that refer to the field trip (date, technique, researcher), the site, the object and all the particularities of the item. We also classify the data files as to which photo is the best photo showing the epigraph, the best photo showing the environment of the epigraph, a photo showing mea-

surements, a photos showing parts of the epigraph, photos documenting our fieldwork in relation to that epigraph, etc. Pieces of information that cannot be transcribed, such as motifs and symbols are mentioned in the meta-data as well.

3.3 Scanning and OCRing of WFCEM

All books of WFCEM are now scanned in the highest possible resolution at the National University of Singapore, by a team under the leadership of Kenneth Dean. Dean and his associates have also kindly shared a georeferenced dataset listing the locations of the original Franke sites.

On these these scans we have applied bilingual Chinese and English OCR (optical character recognition) to produce a bilingual docx-document on the basis of ABBYY FineReader. Besides recognizing the Chinese and English texts, the OCR attempted to identify and preserve the images in bilingual docx output. The preserved images can be extracted automatically with Pandoc. Where the OCR did not recognize an image, the image has to be cut manually from the scans. Likewise, OCR mistakes must be corrected manually in the docx output. This can be done semi-automatically for the English text, using a spelling checker. Chinese OCR output, e.g. the names of temples and sites, and the transcriptions of the epigraphs, must be proofed manually.

The irregular layout of the pages in WFCEM is a major challenge for OCR, c.f. Figure, c.f. Figure 4. In the printed volumes, English paragraphs, Chinese paragraphs and photos are mixed in creative ways in order to allow for the maximum of photos and texts on one page. Frequently, the OCR software thus attempts character recognition on images (especially as many depict visible characters), turning the photo incorrectly into text. The photo thus disappears from the docx output-file and has to be manually cut from the scan.

3.3.1 Transforming OCRed Scans into a Intermediate Annotation Format (IAF)

After the final corrections of OCR mistakes, we transform the output of the OCR into a format which is easy to understand and easy to manipulate, and to compute with. Scripts running over this intermediate representation can add redundant information, insert GPS-data, or correct obvious mistakes.

The IAF (Intermediate Annotation Format) follows closely the structure that underlies the hierarchically organized entries in WFCEM. An example of this format for the first entries in IDN-IIa is given in Appendix A.

3.3.2 Entity Recognition (ER)

Entity recognition refers to the recognition, extraction and storage of references to people, places and temporal units and their relations, such as events, rituals, locationization etc. Sources from which entities are recognized are the metadata of epigraphs, the transcriptions of epigraphies, the translation of epigraphies and the prose description of sites and objects provided in WFCEM.

The IAF contains already in isolated forms entities and of entity relations, e.g. in the table of content, in the names of temples, and in the transcribed date. These entities can be searched and indexed in the textual elements. From the recognized entities, templates can be compiled which interactively allow to extract more entities. Entities are searched extensively before their relations are identified. The steps we will followed are:

- the extraction of entities

- the storage of entities in an intermediate entity database

the extraction of relations

the storage of relations in an intermediate entity relation database

the transfer of the intermediate entity and entity relation database into the XML TEI markup and into CIDOC-CRM.

Examples of the Intermediate Entity Database (IEDB) and the Intermediate Entity Relation Database (IERDB) are reproduced in Appendix B and Appendix C. In all these processing steps we follow a three-step procedure.

Fully automatic processing with a high degree of confidence, e.g. a full match of unambiguous entities.

Semi-automatic processing with a lower degree of confidence, e.g. the system ask an expert for confirmation when different entities match onto one string,

Fully manual processing for cases that are too complex or too ambiguous to be recognized or handled automatically. E.g. the foundation date cannot be extracted automatically from IDN-IIa C5.1 (*"The only, rather new Chinese temple of the small town."*)

3.3.3 Conceptualizing Models in TEI and CIDOC-CRM

One of the main purposes of our research is to represent WFCEM in standardized digital formats, to stimulate related research in various research communities. The two standard formats we will use in the creation of WFCEM in digital formats are TEI and CIDOC.

TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) is the main standard for text-based research in the humanities. Linguists, historians, anthropologists, literary scientists and information scientist collaboratively created this standard and share their annotated data for interdisciplinary research. With TEI we will create a digital representation of the volumes that Wolfgang Franke has created. The TEI representation can be digitally archived by librarians and serve as a master format of other output formats, e.g. a website or a PDF file. Sites documented during our fieldwork, which have not already been documented in WFCEM, will in a first step not be elaborated in TEI.

In contrast to TEI, which is used by textual studies and historians, CIDOC-CRM is used mainly by anthropologists, archaeologists, museum scientists and professionals involved in the management of archaeological or heritage sites. With CIDOC-CRM the focus of description shifts from the text to the site and its objects, their relations to other objects and the transformation they underwent. We record all sites, even those not previously documented by Franke, in this model. The CIDOC-CRM standard has been developed from 1996 under the auspices of the ICOM-CIDOC-CRM (International Council for Museums – International Committee on Documentation) Documentation Standards Working Group. The CIDOC-CRM model is an object-oriented ontology and can be implemented in various formats, of which the most commonly used is RDF (Resource Description Framework). In 2006, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) adopted CIDOC as standard ISO 21127:2014, called *"Information and Documentation: A Reference Ontology for the Interchange of Cultural Heritage Information"*.

The focus of CIDOC-CRM lies on the formal description of cultural heritage objects, their locations, periodization, their connections etc..

CIDOC-CRM is not designed as an all-comprising standard. Instead, it is one standard in the CIDOC-CRM family of models, which can be combined according to the needs of a project. Additional complementary standards are CRMgeo (a spatiotemporal model), CRMinf (an argumentation model), CRMsci (a scientific observation model), CRMdig

(a model for provenance metadata), CRMba (a model for archaeological buildings), CRM-Marcho (an excavation model), FRBRoo (a model of intellectual processes) and PRES-Soo (a model of underlying semantics of bibliographic information). However, none of these standards is nearly complete to formally represent the inscriptions on the object and their linguistics features. TEI will thus not only be used to represent the documentation published in WFCEM, but also to represent the inscriptions further referenced by CIDOC-CRM.

The example of a TEI annotation is shown in Appendix D for the objects shown in Figure 4. Entities collected in the IEDB have already been annotated in that example.

The TEI files produced this way can serve many purposes. They can be accessed by visualization tools, e.g. for the creation of timelines, maps and social networks, or by statistics programs for theory testing. Alternatively the TEI files can be presented as hypertexts in HTML or PDF. The transformation from a TEI format into another human-readable format is performed through XSLT style-sheets. One example for the result of such a transformation, a simple visualization as HTML hypertext is shown in Appendix E.

CIDOC data, which by definition follow an object-oriented model, is created by adding relations to the set of relations that the object entertains. The resulting data can be part of a database system or used (and distributed) in XML format.

3.4 Analyzing the Data Using Digital Techniques: GIS, Timelines and Social Network Analysis

The data, when summarized in generalizing views, reveal common patterns that tell us how communities usually developed. The development of a community that deviates from these common patterns may have its cause in a particular history that either can be directly pinpointed at by the data or that an extended research might reveal.

Wolfgang Franke, for example reasons that the onset of epigraphy in a community depends on a certain level of technical, literary and cultural development.⁵ From there he assumed that epigraphy, once started, developed simultaneous across media there should be a common and general onset of epigraphs, and that, for instance, the earliest tombstones and the earliest wood tablets had been carved at about the same time.

Persuing this idea, we have digitized a few pages of IDN-IIa. Then we have plotted the year of the carving of the extracted epigraphs, their object types and the name of their respective community. As can be seen in Figure 7 and Figure 8, in some communities the onset of tombstone and tablet carvings did indeed occur, as Franke assumed, in the same period. Inscriptions on altars and censers, however, tend to occur later, and mostly together, while bells, usually imported from China, show no regularity with respect to when they have been ordered and installed. We might therefore argue that bells depend less on the cultural than on the economic development, in as far as its wealth allowed to purchase the expensive bronze bells. The appearance of temple bells, imported or locally produced, might thus serve as a marker for an economic development that can be used to compare communities, regions and countries.

Where the first gravestones appear long after wooden tablets, such as in Pematang Siantar, or vice versa, such as in Bengkalis, researchers would have to find a reason in the local history of these communities to explain these particular distributions. For Pematang Siantar, Wolfgang Franke himself, apparently surprised, noticed that *"no tombstones of the late Qing or early Republican area were found"*. This illustrates how digital approaches can

⁵Introduction to MYS-I, pg. 6: *"From overall experience it can be established as a rule that at a certain town or settlement the earliest dates of inscribe objects in a temple of other building correspond roughly to the earliest tombstone dates."*

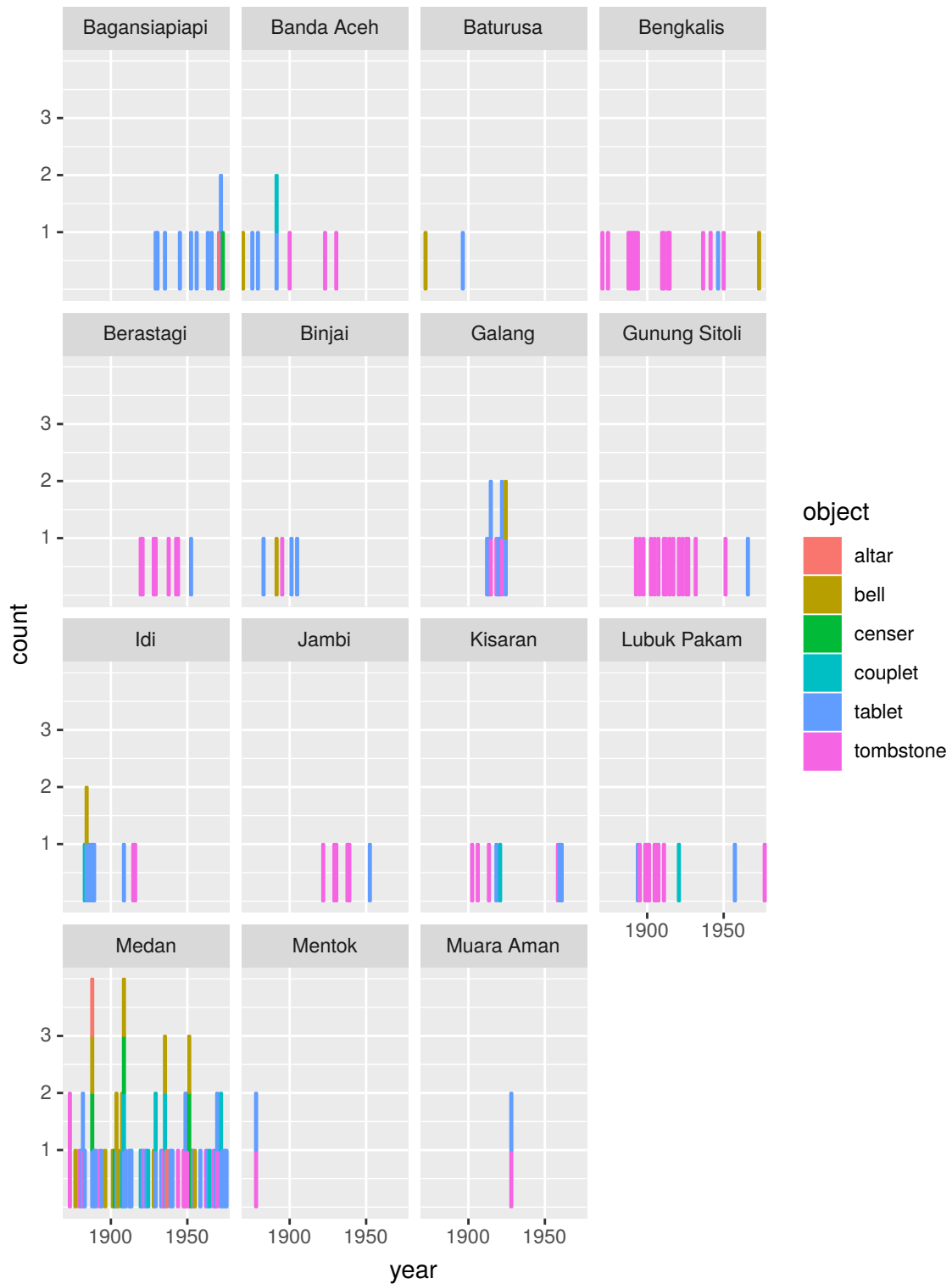


Figure 7 Pilot Study: The first occurrences of epigraphs on objects of different types, split by the location in Indonesia

detected deviations from regular patterns, prompting researchers to look deeper into a region of site. Without data visualization, nobody would assume that there might be a story.

4 Conclusion

Digitizing and formalizing WFCEM is a daunting task. Yet, filling gaps in Franke's documentation and following the traces of more than thousand sites and roughly ten thousand epigraphs is an even greater challenge. While few researchers might start with this task, its completion will have to rest on many shoulders.

As the expected outcomes of this project can be predicted to be highly significant for many researchers and research communities, we hope that more and more researchers might join this effort. It thus will become necessary to find a social, organizational and computational structures that would support this long-term collaborative effort, similar to the collaboration that formed the bases for the creation of WFCEM. As this cultural heritage is eroding day by day, no time has been left to wait.

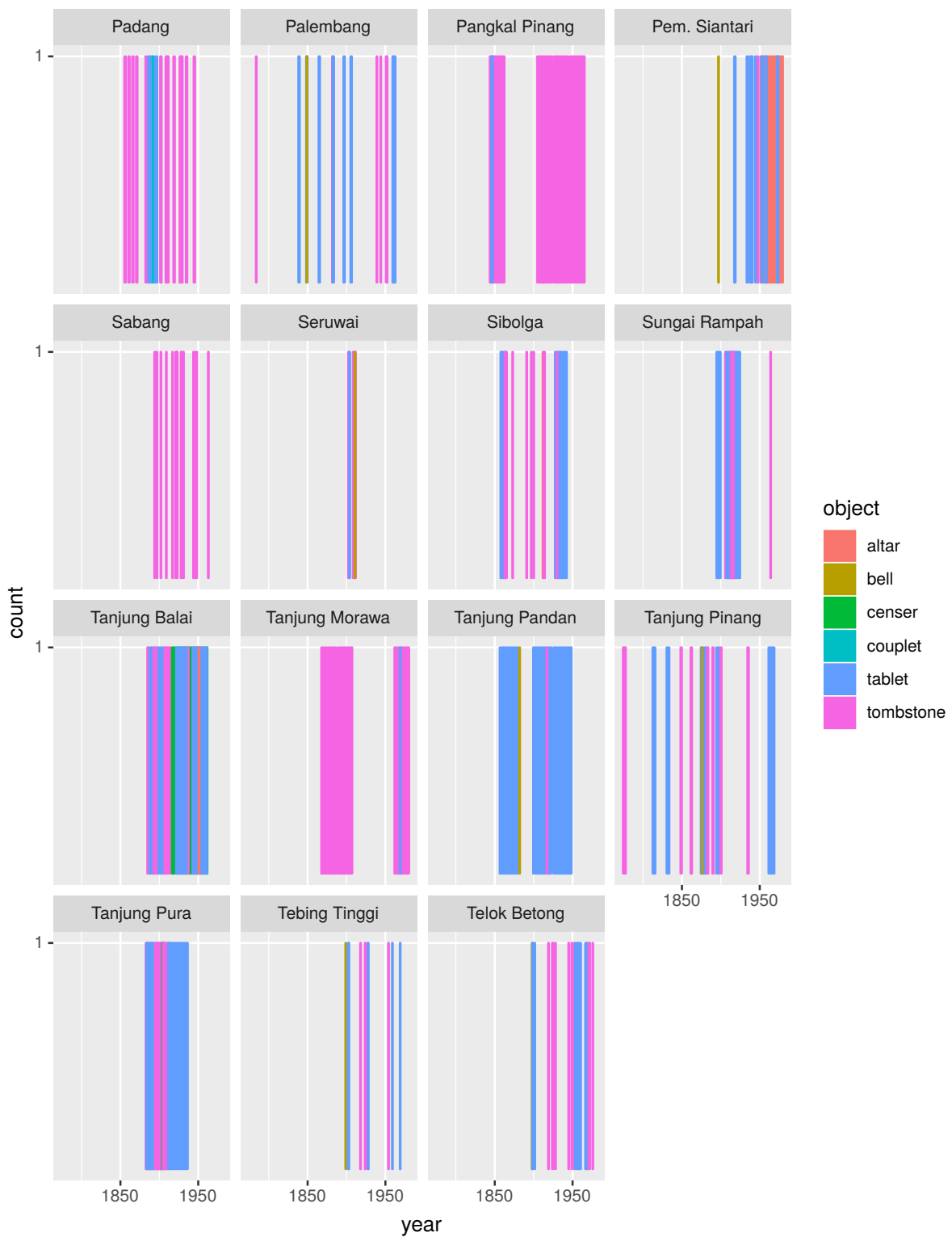


Figure 8 Pilot Study: The first occurrences of epigraphs on objects of different types, split by the location in Indonesia (continued)

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黃文斌. 2013. 馬六甲三寶山墓碑集錄 (1614-1820). 華社研究中心.

A An Example of the Intermediate Annotation Format (IAF)

```
typ:loc
loc:region
tic:印度尼西亚; 亞齊
ide:A
tie:Indonesia; Aceh
nor:4.695135
eas:96.7493993
complete:y
===:
typ:loc
loc:village
ide:Ā
tic:印度尼西亚; 亞齊; 班達亞齊, 大亞齊
tie:Indonesia; Aceh; Banda Aceh
inf:Former name Kota Raja 古打拉惹, is the capital of Aceh Province.
eas:95.3237559
nor:5.5482904
complete:y
===:
typ:sit
ide:Ā.1
sit:museum
tic:印度尼西亚; 亞齊; 班達亞齊, 大亞齊; 博物館
tie:Indonesia; Aceh; Banda Aceh; The Museum in the centre of the town
eas:95.3149826
nor:5.5479392
complete:y
===:
typ:obj
ide:Ā.1.1
obj:bell
mat:bronze
tic:印度尼西亚; 亞齊; 班達亞齊, 大亞齊; 博物館; 鐘銘
tie:Indonesia; Aceh; Banda Aceh; The Museum in the centre of the town; \
Bronze bell
dat:成化五年冬月吉日造
yea:1469
img:2.jpeg
eas:95.3149826
nor:5.5479392
complete:y
inf:A large bronze bell, 1.25 m high and 0.75 m in diameter, suspended ...
```

The codes used in this representation are:

- typ: type, possible values *loc*, *site* or *obj* for locations, sites and objects respectively,
- loc: the kind of locality, possible values *region* or *village* for larger administrative units or cities, towns or villages,
- sit: the kind of site, possible values *museum*, *house*, *temple*, *school*, *memorial site* or *gravesite*
- obj: the kind of object, possible values are *altar*, *bamboo tube*, *bell*, *censer*, *couplet*, *gate couplets*, *horizontal wooden tablets*, *lion*, *memorial stone*, *niche*, *pillar*, *stele*, *tablet*, *tombstone* and *yunban*,
- tic: the Chinese name of the location, site or object,
- tie: the English name of the location, site or object,
- ide: the identifier assigned in WFCEM
- nor: the latitude of the location, site or object, not provided in WFCEM
- eas: the longitude of the location, site or object, not provided in WFCEM
- inf: textual explanations provided in WFCEM,
- yea: the year of the creation, erection or establishment of the object, site or location
- img: the image associated with the site or object

B An Example of the Intermediate Entity Database (IEDB)

Each entity is stored with its type, e.g. 'person', 'date', 'event' etc, all expression that refer to that entity, e.g. '黃公華生' and a unique identifier for each entity, e.g. '1'. For each entity the source of its identification is retained.

id	entity.id	entity.type	entity.reference	source
1	1	tombstone	黃華生之墓	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
1	2	inscription	黃華生之墓	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
1	3	person	黃華生	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
4	3	person	Huang Huashen	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
5	4	date	民國三四年	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
6	4	date	公元一九四五年	WFCEM entry: 林媽之墓
7	5	location	粵邑	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓
8	6	material	concrete	WFCEM entry: 黃華生之墓

C An Example of the Intermediate Entity Relation Database (IERDB)

The relations are stored temporarily in triples, the subject, the predicate and the object of the relation. In addition, for each entity the semantic role in which it stands to the relation is stored. Again for each relation, we retain its source.

id	entity1.id	entity1.role	relation	entity2.id	entity2.role	source
1	2	theme	contain	1	location	entry: 黃華生之墓
2	1	theme	create	4	date	entry: 黃華生之墓
2	2	theme	create	4	date	entry: 黃華生之墓
2	2	theme	create	4	date	entry: 黃華生之墓
2	3	theme	jiguan	5	location	entry: 黃華生之墓
2	1	theme	create	6	material	entry: 黃華生之墓

D An Example of a TEI Encoding

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
<?xml-model
href="http://www.tei-c.org/release/xml/tei/custom/schema/relaxng/
tei_allPlus.rng" type="application/xml" schematypens="http://
relaxng.org/ns/structure/1.0"?>
<?xml-model href="http://www.tei-c.org/release/xml/tei/custom/
schema/relaxng/tei_allPlus.rng" type="application/xml"
schematypens="http://purl.oclc.org/dsdl/schematron"?>
<TEI xmlns="http://www.tei-c.org/ns/1.0">
  <teiHeader>
    <fileDesc>
      <titleStmt>
        <title> Chinese Epigraphy in SEA - Ind 2 - I.1 - Fengshan miao 鳳
          山廟</title>
      </titleStmt>
      <publicationStmt>
        <p> Part of this data is digitized from W.Franke (s.b.), other
          parts were collected by the authors in the course of their
          fieldwork.</p>
        <p> The data that was collected as part of the project "Chinese
          Epigraphy in Southeast Asia" 2019-2021, is published under a
          Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 4.0).</p>
      </publicationStmt>
      <sourceDesc>
        <p> Page breaks and page numbers below refer to <bibl> Franke,
          Wolfgang, Claudine Salmon, Anthony Siu. 1988-1997. Chinese
          Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia. Vol. II: Java (1997).
          Singapore: South Seas Society.</bibl></p>
      </sourceDesc>
    </fileDesc>
    <encodingDesc>
      <geoDecl datum="WGS84">106.8119 6.1427</geoDecl>
      <listPrefixDef >
        <prefixDef ident="image"
          matchPattern="([a-z]+[123][a-z]*-[0-9|_|-]*[a-z])"
          replacementPattern="https://ourwebsite.net/facsimileView/getImage
            .xql#$1.png">
        <p> Constructs public URLs from the private URI</p>
      </prefixDef>
    </listPrefixDef>
  </encodingDesc>
</teiHeader>

<facsimile> <!-- This lists all images of a single site in the
  system, whether by WF or us, whether used in the text or not.
  File extension can be added by prefixDef. -->
<graphic resp="WF" url="image:ind2I-1_1a"/> <!-- Indonesia, Vol
  .2, Part 1, Region Letter I, Site Number 1.1., Photo/Image a,
  (caught by ([a-z]+[123][a-z]*-[0-9|_|-]*[a-z]) -->
<graphic resp="WF" url="image:ind2I-1_1-1a"/> <!-- Indonesia, Vol
  .2,
  Region Letter I, Site Number 1.1., Object Number 1,
  Photo/Image a, -->
<graphic resp="WF" url="image:ind2I-1_1-2a"/>
<graphic resp="CESEA" url="image:ind2I-1_1b"/>
<!-- Our photos of that site would go here -->
```

</facsimile>

<text>

<body>

<div1 n="#ind2I-1_1" resp="WF" ><!-- Site level, references site ID from authority, Basically all the info for now is from Franke so default is @resp="WF". We can add our data on sites and objects into the text by using @resp="CESEA" -->

<head><pb n="1"/> The Fengshan miao 鳳山廟</head>

<figure><graphic url="image:ind2I-1_1a"/></figure>

<p> The <placeName> Fengshan miao 鳳山廟</placeName>, "Temple of the Phoenix Mountain", also called <placeName> Dashi miao 大使廟</placeName>, "Temple of the Great Emissary", is located at Jalan Kemenangan Tiga no. 48, not far from the Jinde yuan (<ref target="#ind2I-1_2"> Ī.2</ref>). Its present Indonesian name is <placeName> Wihara Dharma Wijaya</placeName> or "Temple of the Victorious Law". According to the stone inscription of <date>1839</date>, the temple was founded in "<date>1755</date>" by a group of merchants from <placeName> Taiyi 泰邑</placeName> (<placeName> Changtai 長泰</placeName> <choice><sic> country</sic><corr resp="CESEA"> county</corr></choice>) in the prefecture of Zhangzhou, Fujian (see <ref target="#ind2I-1_1-4"> Ī.1.4</ref>), in honour of <persName type="deity" key="#d0001"> Qingyuan zhenjun 清元真君</persName> or <persName type="deity" key="#d0001"> Dashi gong 大使公</persName>, a deity especially worshipped by the people of Changtai (see also K 19.1). According to one of the oldest inscriptions (<ref target="#ind2I-1_1-2"> Ī.1.2</ref>), it seems that the deity was first worshipped on the premises of the <placeName> Changtai huiguan 長泰會館</placeName>, the association founded by the merchants native to that county. It would thus be the oldest association of that kind in Jakarta. Changtai merchants in Singapore proceeded in the same way when, about a century later (in <date>1849</date>), they founded their own association.</p>

<p> See <bibl> Chen Ching-Ho and Tan Yeok Seong, (1972), pp. 142-144</bibl>; <bibl> Lin Xiaosheng and others, 1975, p.83ff.</bibl>;

<bibl> Salmon & Lombard, 1980, pp. 101-105, 134</bibl>.</p>

<div2 xml:id="ind2I-1_1-1"><!-- object level division-->

<head> Ī.1.1 木香爐乾隆十六年 (1751)</head>

<ab type="transcription" facs="image:ind2I-1_1-1a">

<lb/>武安真君傳香吧浪，寶爐氤氳非烟若雲，

<lb/>時濃更薄乍聚還分，火微難盡風長易聞，孰云道力慈悲所薰。

<lb/><date from-iso="1751-04-26" to-iso="1751-05-24"> 大清乾隆拾陸年歲在辛未余月</date> 穀旦 <lb/>同邑廈嶼弟子王天賜薰沐叩首敬置</ab>

<!-- there is a lot more one could mark up in the inscriptions: Writing direction, variants, sections, names, with better images one can tie text passages to zones on the image. Anyway, the book text needs to go first. -->

<pb n="2"/><figure><graphic url="image:ind2I-1_1-1a"/></figure>

<p> A wooden incense burner donated by <persName type="person" key="#p00001"> Wang Tianci</persName> native of <placeName> Xiayu</placeName> (<placeName> Xiamen 廈門</placeName>) in the county of <placeName> Tongyi</placeName> (<placeName> Tongan 同安</placeName>), Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian. Dated <date>1751</date>. The first line of the inscription alludes to the

fact that the <persName key="#deity0002"> Immortal Wuan zhenjun 武安真君</persName>. (Wuan is a former name of Changtai) has transmitted incense to <placeName> Balang</placeName> (<placeName> Batavia</placeName>). The last line is quoted from an inscription on an incense burner written by emperor <persName type="DDMperson" key="#A002426"> Yuandi 元帝</persName> <!-- this is a name already contained in the DDM authority db, we could also use CBDB --> of the Liang 梁 dynasty. Apart from an inscribed wooden altar dated <date >1724</date> (<ref target="#ind2I-1_2-1"> Ī.2.1</ref>), this is the earliest known inscription in Jakarta.</p> <p> For a translation in French see <bibl> Salmon & Lombard, 1980, p . 140</bibl>.</p>

</div2>

<div2 xml:id="ind2I-1_1-2"><!-- object level division -->

<head> Ī.1.2 靈溢海疆匾 乾隆壬申年 (1752)</head>

<figure><graphic url="image:ind2I-1_1-2a"/></figure>

<ab type="inscription" facs="image:ind2I-1_1-2a">

<lb/>岢<date from-iso="1752-11-06" to-iso="1752-12-05">乾隆歲次壬申年陽月</date>穀旦<lb/>靈溢海疆<lb/>長泰縣會<del rend="erasure"><gap unit="chars" quantity="3" cert="low"/>等仝立</ab>

<!-- with erasure and illegible passages we use the epidoc style markup http://www.stoa.org/epidoc/gl/latest/trans-erasedlost.html --> <p> A wooden tablet donated to <persName type="deity" key="#d0001"> Qingyuan zhenjun </persName> by the heads of the Changtai association. Their names have been erased. Dated <date>1752</date>.</p>

</div2>

</div1>

</body>

</text>

</TEI>

E An Example of a TEI visualization

An example of the objects of Ind-IIa shown in Figure 4 and encoded in TEI as shown in Appendix D, transformed into an HTML hypertext. This HTML visualization is one of many possible visualizations that can be created and tuned through style-sheets.

Chinese Epigraphy in SEA - Ind 2 - I 1.1 - Fengshan miao 鳳山廟	
Table of contents	
1. The Fengshan miao 鳳山廟	
1.1. I 1.1.1 木香爐乾隆十六年(1751)	
1.2. I 1.1.2 靈湫海疆圖 乾隆壬申年(1752)	
1. The Fengshan miao 鳳山廟 [Page 1]	
<p>The Fengshan miao 鳳山廟, "Temple of the Phoenix Mountain", also called Dashan miao 大德廟, "Temple of the Great Emissary", is located at Jalan Kemerangan Tigo no. 48, not far from the Jinde yuan (I 1.2). Its present Indonesian name is Wihara Dharma Wijaya or "Temple of the Victorious Law". According to the stone inscription of 1839, the temple was founded in "1755" by a group of merchants from Taiyi 臺邑 (Changtai 興臺 [county]) in the prefecture of Zhangzhou, Fujian (see I 1.1.4), in honour of Qingyuan zhenjun 清元真君 or Dashu gong 大德公, a deity especially worshipped by the people of Changtai (see also K 19.1). According to one of the oldest inscriptions (I 1.1.2), it seems that the deity was first worshipped on the premises of the Changtai huiguan 崇臺會館, the association founded by the merchants native to that county. It would thus be the oldest association of that kind in Jakarta. Changtai merchants in Singapore proceeded in the same way when, about a century later (in 1849), they founded their own association.</p> <p>See Chen Ching-Ho and Tan Yeok Seong, (1972), pp. 142-144; Lin Xiaosheng and others, 1975, p. 83ff.; Salmon & Lombard, 1980, pp. 101-105, 134.</p>	
1.1. I 1.1.1 木香爐乾隆十六年(1751)	
<p>武安侯善維德昭昭，寶爐前聖聖昭昭。 時歲聖冊千禧運分，火海聖冊萬壽無疆。 執云道乃慈恩所薰。 大清乾隆拾陸年歲在辛未春余於社 質德侯顯恭子王五賜撰林印發敬題</p> <p>A wooden incense burner donated by Wang Tianci native of Xiaayu (Xiamen 廈門) in the county of Tongyi (Tongan 同安), Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian. Dated 1751. The first line of the inscription alludes to the fact that the Immortal Wuan zhenjun 武安真君 (Wuan is a former name of Changtai) has transmitted incense to Batang (Batavia). The last line is quoted from an inscription on an incense burner written by emperor Yuandi 元帝 of the Liang 梁 dynasty. Apart from an inscribed wooden altar dated 1724 (I 1.2.1), this is the earliest known inscription in Jakarta.</p> <p>For a translation in French see Salmon & Lombard, 1980, p. 140.</p>	
1.2. I 1.1.2 靈湫海疆圖 乾隆壬申年(1752)	
<p>靈湫海疆圖 其家製者 [...] 等全立</p> <p>A wooden tablet donated to Qingyuan zhenjun by the heads of the Changtai association. Their names have been erased. Dated 1752.</p>	

F The Mapping of WFCEM Entity Types onto CIDOC-CRM Entities

CIDOC-CRM makes a principal distinction between entities and properties, where properties describe the relations between the entities. Entities include objects, their parts and their surrounding. The basic entity types used in WFCEM, mapped onto CIDOC-CRM Entities.

WFCEM entity type	CIDOC-CRM Entity	Example
objects	E19 Physical Object	11.1.1 木香爐乾隆十六年 (1751)
persons	E21 Person	Wang Tianci
sites	E27 Site	The Fengshan miao 鳳山廟
photo	E31 Document	photos
title	E35 Title	Indonesia Sibolga Guanyinting
foundry	E40 Legal Body	Dingxin Co., Hongkong
location name	E41 Appellation	”Batavia”
date	E49 Time Appellation	大清乾隆
date	E50 Date	大清乾隆拾陸年歲在辛未余月
location	E52 Time-Span	between 1905 and 1908
location	E53 Place	Batavia
material	E55 Material	wood
material	E61 Time Primitive	1905
community	E74 Group	Chinese Community of Lhokseumawe
person’s name	E82 Actor Appellation	武安真君傳香吧浪
inscriptions	E90 Symbolic Object	武安真君傳香吧浪
identifiable inscriptions	E73 Information Object	武安真君傳香吧浪
space-time	E92 Spacetime Volume	Located at Jalan Jen. Gatot Subroto, but no more extant in the 1980s.

Some entity types are left unexpressed in WFCEM, or are expressed only implicitly or vaguely. Yet, with the help of external knowledge resources, reasoning algorithms or new field data, these missing data can be recovered and represented as CIDOC-CRM Entities.

CIDOC-CRM Entity	Example
E54 Dimension	size, weight, diameter, density
E94 Space Object	6.1427,106.8119

Different sub-types of the WFCEM entity types, e.g. the sub-types of the type ‘site’ are distinguished by the CIDOC-CRM property P101 `has_as_general_use`. Likewise objects will be specified using the property P101 `has_as_general_use`. How these objects and sites are distinguished is not specified within CIDOC-CRM.

WFCEM entity type	CIDOC-CRM Entity	CIDOC-CRM Property
graveyard	E27	P101=community burial
tomb	E27	P101=personal burial
school	E27	P101=community teaching
monument	E27	P101=memorial
museum	E27	P101=exposition
temple	E27	P101=community worship
side-temple	E27	P101=community worship
tombstone	E19	P101=memorial of deceased
stone stele	E19	P101=memorial of temple renovation
wooden tablet	E19	P101=expression of blessing
incense burner	E19	P101=burning incense
altar	E19	P101=collecting offerings to venerate a deity

Many entities in CIDOC-CRM can be further specified by part-of relations, specifying. e.g. that the site tomb can be part of the site graveyard, or that the object tombstone is part of the tomb. Objects not included into a larger object are double-encoded as site and object, each with its specific properties. For example, an isolated removed tombstone is in the site of this isolated unused tombstone.

现代与在地化：谈马来西亚华人殡葬习俗的变革与现况¹

林汉聪²、王秀娟博士

马来亚大学中文系、马来亚大学马来西亚华人研究中心

limhancong93@gmail.com / siewkian@um.edu.my

世间一切生物都有生有死，尤其对于具有反思能力的人类来说，死亡其实更具有思考的重要位置。远古的先民相信灵魂不灭和鬼神的存在，死亡不过是向另一个世界过渡，因此丧礼成为了他们在社会生活中的一大要事，进而逐渐形成形形色色且神秘隆重的告别仪式——丧、葬、祭礼。这世上各个国家与民族都有自己所传承与保存的一套丧礼习俗，但对于海外华人而言，丧礼其实具有其独特的重要教化与传承价值。华人将原有的传统民俗文化与宗教信仰结合，促成人们在殡葬期间的参与感和仪式感。这也正因为中华民族传统的信仰，一直是以祖先崇拜作为所有文化传承的中心。

十九世纪末二十世纪初，中国大批华工从原乡迁移至南洋谋生，并将原乡文化与信仰一并带到海外延续。在东南亚多元色彩的笼罩下，马来西亚华人殡葬习俗面对了方言群间和当地环境的文化交流，甚至在历史与时代交替中，逐渐形成一套马来西亚华人殡葬独有的习俗模式。在面对一连串崭新的挑战，人们应该如何继续保存传承的价值至今已成为最值得探究的议题。

因此，本文将尝试梳理马来西亚华人殡葬习俗的起源与变革，及整理本地殡葬行业协会相关发展历史及活动，进而探讨马来西亚华人如何透过殡葬习俗看待死亡观念。第二，本文也将根据近年来所收集的田野纪录，分析与探讨马来西亚华人所传承与实践的丧葬文化之意义和价值。最后，本文也将在结语中回应该如何保存此类生命礼俗的非物质文化等。

关键词：马来西亚、华人、殡葬、丧礼、变革

1 Acknowledge Project “Remembering the Dead - Rituals and Rites (RP032A-16HNE)”.

2 林汉聪，男，26岁，目前为马来亚大学文学暨社会科学院中文系硕士班研究生（二年级），马大马来西亚华人研究中心项目研究助理。研究兴趣在于有关马来西亚华人民俗信仰与丧葬文化。本科学习期间，为了更深入观察殡葬活动，毅然前往吉隆坡文良港孝心殡葬服务公司完成实习工作，并收集了雪隆地区相当丰富的第一手田野资料。同时，目前也是马大研究项目“Remembering The Death: Ritual and Rite (No. Project: RP32A-16HNE)”的研究助理，且跟随该项目近三年。自2016年来，常年走访马来西亚华人殡葬仪式与中元节盂兰胜会相关田野考察工作，另也进行东南亚德教信仰研究。

Localization And Modernization: A Study of Malaysian Chinese Funeral Culture's Change and Current Situation³

LIM Han Cong⁴, Dr. ONG Siew Kian

Department of Chinese Studies, University of Malaya

limhancong93@gmail.com / siewkian@um.edu.my

Everything in the world goes from life to death. Especially for humans with reflective ability, death is something important to consider. Generations of ancestors believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of ghosts and gods. From them, death was just a transition to another world. Therefore, funerals became major events in their social life, and gradually formed a variety of mysterious farewell rituals. In this world, all countries and nations have their proper funeral customs, which they have inherited and preserved. However, for the overseas Chinese community, the funeral has its own unique importance of inheritance. The Chinese combined the original traditional folk culture with religious beliefs to encourage people's sense of participation and ritual during the funeral period. This is precisely because of the traditional belief by Chinese nation, it has always been the center of ancestor worship as the inheritance of all cultures.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a large number of Chinese workers migrated from their native villages in China to Malaya to work, and brought overseas and continued the culture and faith of the original homeland. Under the hustle and bustle of Southeast Asia, Malaysian Chinese funeral customs have transformed under the influence of the cultural exchange among different dialect groups and the local cultures. Through time, a customary model unique to Malaysian Chinese funeral has gradually formed. In the face of a series of new challenges, how people should continue to preserve the value of inheritance has become the most worthy topic.

Therefore, this contribution will try to sort out the origins and changes of Malaysian Chinese funeral customs, and organize the relevant development history and activities of local funeral industry associations, and then explore how Malaysian Chinese rethink the concept of death through funeral customs. Secondly, this contribution will also analyze

³ *Acknowledge Project "Remembering the Dead - Rituals and Rites (RP032A-16HNE)"*.

⁴ **Lim Han Cong** is Master Student on Department of Chinese Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya and Research Assistant on Malaysian Chinese Research Centre (MCRC), University of Malaya. His research interest is in Malaysian Chinese folklore belief and funeral culture. For in-depth observations, he decided work at a casket service company for professional training and the collection of primary resources. He is also the research assistant of the project "Remembering the Death: Ritual and Rite (No. Project: RP32A-16HNE)" for almost 2 years. Since 2015, he has participated in almost 22 fieldwork activities related to the Malaysian Chinese Hungry Ghost Festival.

and explore the significance and value of the funeral culture inherited and practiced by Malaysian Chinese based on the project's fieldwork documents and records collected in recent years. Finally, this article will also return to the intangible culture of such life etiquette in the conclusion.

Keywords: Malaysia, Chinese, funeral, transformation

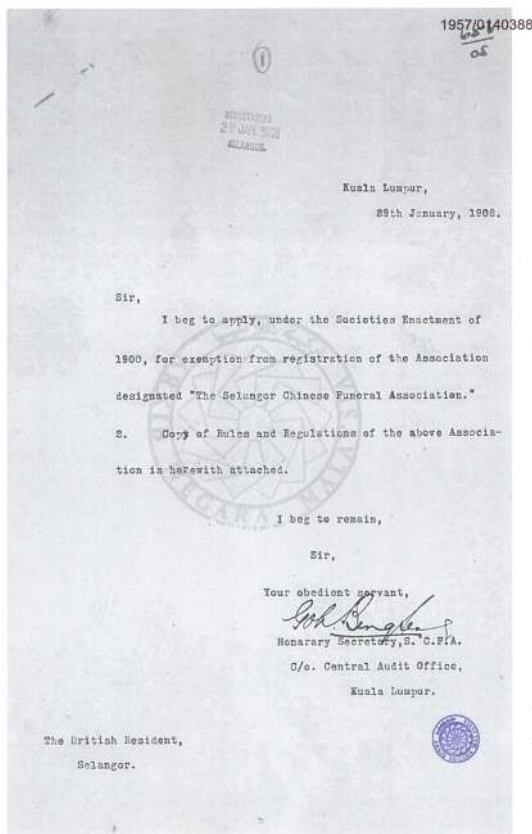


Figure 1 The Earliest Chinese Funeral Association "The Selangor Chinese Funeral Association" registered from British Resident since year 1908.



Figure 2 Malaysian Chinese Funeral (Hokkien Taoist).



Figure 3 Malaysian Chinese Funeral (Hakka Taoist).



Figure 4 Malaysian Chinese Funeral (Teochew Taoist).



Figure 5 Traditional Funeral Parlour. (Batu Pahat, Johor.)

Keepers of the Grave: Ritual Guides, Ghosts and Hidden Narratives in Indonesian History

By Dr. Kar-Yen LEONG

Tamkang University, Department of Global Politics and Economics

karyen@mail.tku.edu.tw

Within Javanese culture, the *juru kunci* or gate keeper is an essential intermediary between the dead and the living. Devotees often approach these individuals to enjoy the fruits of divine blessings especially in visits to the graves of Muslim saints. These gate keepers, according to scholars, also form a bridge between the past and present, acting as living ‘archives’ filled with oral historical accounts of legendary and historical figures. While these are popular amongst devotees, there are also sites which draw power from their reputations as mass graves for suspected communists and dissidents for those seeking earthly ‘favours’ through lottery numbers. During the 1965 pogroms of the Indonesian Communist Party, between 500,000 to one million individuals coming from ‘unclean environments’ were incarcerated and ‘disappeared’ in many of these mass graves all across the island of Java.

Even after the fall of Indonesian strongman Suharto and with the end of the Cold War, this history continues to be taboo. But as public discussions over the existence of Indonesia’s killing fields grows, these sites are also increasingly becoming important repositories of an unspoken history.

This paper investigates the role played by the *juru kunci* of several mass graves specifically in central Java. It asks: how do these keepers of the grave, through their connection with the ghostly presence of their former comrades elucidate a past which continues to be silenced in Indonesia? As former communists and political detainees themselves these gate keepers have taken on the role of not only keeping the ‘spirit’ of their fellow communists alive but to also allow their ‘voices’ to speak through them. Through contact with the souls of executed dissidents, these gate keepers utilize this ethereal ‘connection’ as way to subvert the state’s enforced silence over the 1965 pogroms as well as their subsequent

stigmatization. These gate keepers serve as important custodians of an important part of Indonesia's history and provide the necessary oral historical material for a localized form of 'reconciliation'. I posit that the case study of these gate keepers allows us to understand such processes from a micro perspective which larger grander narratives have largely ignored.

Keywords 關鍵詞: human rights, Indonesia, mass graves, 1965, PKI, memory, Southeast Asian Studies

Dr. Kar Yen Leong is currently an assistant professor at Tamkang University's Department of Global Politics and Economics. Trained in Southeast Asian Studies, he has a deep and abiding interest in how, history, memory and human rights intersect in the region.

Hell deities hunt at night: Night-time cemetery rituals in Singapore

Fabian GRAHAM

National University of Singapore

arifcg@nus.edu.sg

I will be giving an informal twenty-minute talk accompanied by fieldwork photographs of night-time cemetery rituals in Singapore. As the rituals described were performed primarily by Chinese spirit mediums (tang-ki) while channeling Underworld (Hell) deities in trance possession states, I will begin by introducing these deities and their importance in Singapore's religious landscape. Moving on, the collection of graveyard 'medicines' to cure a devotee with leukemia; Lunar seventh month cemetery rituals for aborted fetuses, wandering spirits and ancestors; and, an annual ritual performed to provide clothes to wandering spirits will be described.

Keywords: Hell deities; Lunar seventh month; cemetery rituals; Singapore; spirit mediums.

Dr. Fabian Charles Graham is a Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore. He holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from SOAS in London, and two master's degrees, one in 'Taiwan Studies' from National Chengchi University in Taipei, and the second in 'Social Anthropological Analysis' from the University of Cambridge. Working closely with lingji masters and tang-ki spirit mediums, and adopting a participatory approach to fieldwork where possible, his research interests include the anthropology of Chinese religion; spirit possession; temple ritual and material culture; the invention, inversion and reinterpretation of tradition; and, new ethnographic, narrational and analytical approaches to the study of religious phenomena.

六張犁墳墓區的活歷史

Living History in the Graveyards of Liuzhangli, Southeast Taipei

艾琳達

台北醫學人文研究所

Linda Gail Arrigo, Ph.D. Sociology
Taipei Medical University, Humanities

June 2009

linda2007@tmu.edu.tw



傳統台灣的墳墓特徵，上面標示地名及堂號、立碑年份。

Common traditional design of Taiwanese grave, built 1994. Central vertical line is honorific and name of person, “Grave of illustrious mother of Zhang clan, He Tao”. Fujian place of origin or clan label, top.

傳統上顯示年份的方式，是以朝代加上天干地支配對，並以一甲子（六十年）為一輪，或是以民國紀元為標示。

The traditional form of dating states the year of reign plus two characters (sequences of 10 and 12), indicating place in a 60-year cycle. Otherwise year of the Republic of China from 1911 is cited in Chinese numbers. Date may be that of grave construction, not death. Left, descendants or family branch. Clan name Zhang at top of arc of wall.



白崇禧將軍之紀念碑及回教墳墓

Monument and Grave of Muslim General Bai Chongxi, (1893-1966)



為土地及認同抗爭：在白崇禧墓前花園範圍內新修建的台式墳墓

Struggle for land and identity...A Taiwanese grave of the local Gao clan newly rebuilt in General Bai's garden, as if reclaiming the site.

前言—土地的抗爭，認同的掙扎

Prologue —A struggle for land and identity

在台灣最主要的回教公墓都是在崇德街，並有界碑畫分出範圍，大約有二、三千座，因為他們堅持與非回教徒分開。他們大多是從廣西來的白崇禧的軍隊，與共產黨打一場硬戰，但是在台灣他卻是蔣介石的潛在對手。白崇禧甚至被拒絕入境澳門。白崇禧的紀念碑可以在山頂看見，並有四個新月，近看則有點老舊。(在台灣，來自於中國的回教徒已幾乎看不見，過去這個族群在中國的重要性在 1949 年後的政治路線上已逐漸降低)

白崇禧將軍雄偉的紀念碑中也顯示出本省人及外省人的戰爭—土地的爭議。在白崇禧將軍紀念碑前的花園中，有一高家的墳墓，他們是兩百年前從福建來的移民，高家的墓上面寫著重修年份為 1955 年，並約在十年前又重新粉刷。但是白崇禧的墓是在 1960 年代中建造。顯示出這塊地，似乎高家的後代有象徵性的再次宣示土地的所有權。

Muslims in Taiwan: 1949 exodus from China

The major graveyard of Muslims in Taiwan is demarcated by markers on Tsongde Street, with 2-3,000 souls, because they insisted on segregation from non-believers. These are said to be largely the troops of General Bai Chongxi from Guangxi, who fought the Communists to the bitter end; but in Taiwan as a potential rival to Chiang Kai-shek Bai was refused even permission to travel to Mecca. The huge monument to General Bai can be seen high on a hill topped with four crescent moons; close up, it is in sad repair. (The current population of Chinese Muslims in Taiwan is nearly invisible; these ethnic relations that were significant in China have

been reduced to post-1949 political lines.)

General Bai's grandiose monument now also provides a hint of a resurgent tug of war between native Taiwanese and mainlanders, a dispute over identity of the land and the representation of the past. Right in the middle of Bai's monument, in the approach area that is planted with flowering bushes, a large grave of the Gao clan, a clan that pioneered the settling of the Taipei basin by migrants from Fujian two hundred years ago, has been colorfully rebuilt within probably the last ten years. The tablet, which appears to be older than the rest of the rebuilt grave, gives the original year of renewal of the ancestor's grave as 1955. But Bai's monument was built in the mid-1960's. It seems that the site has been symbolically reclaimed by native Taiwanese, with the earlier tablet set in place.

從時代轉捩點 2008 年回顧台灣歷史

Looking at the past from the transition of 2008...

二次世界大戰後在台的中華民國流亡政府以及因國共內戰而流離失所的大批外省難民，將台灣社會原始風貌徹底的改觀。六十年後的今天，因冷戰對峙時期的離去遠逝以及富裕親美社會的發展情況下，年輕的世代似乎難以想像過去曾有的動盪與紛亂。

2008 年，在台灣與中共終將建立起互動關係的新時刻以及試圖彌平過去因內戰動蕩紛擾的餘波之際，期盼能藉此提升台灣這一島嶼國家的視野與國際接軌，看見未來的遠景和展望。而現在即是反省在台實行使用近 40 年的戒嚴令與檢視過往歷史的良好時機。

過去的台灣人民和其他小國一樣，不曾擁有決定自己國家身份認知和未來方向的基本權力，命運任人擺佈宰割。

Cold War aftermath...

The nature of Taiwan's society was totally transformed after World War II by the flood of refugees from the Chinese civil war, and the establishment of the government-in-exile of the Republic of China on Taiwan. Now, nearly sixty years later, with the Cold War far in the past and the fruits of US-sponsored development in hand, it seems difficult for the younger generation to imagine that turbulent and troubled past. Finally in 2008, with a new rapprochement with the Peoples Republic of China at hand, thus putting to rest the unsettled and unsettling aftermath of the civil war, a less isolated perspective may be unfolding for the island nation. However, this is also a suitable moment for reflection on the past, and how some forty years of martial law led to the present. As in the past, the people of Taiwan have not had the privilege of determining their own national identity and destiny; as in many small countries, their fate is merely that of a pawn in big power faceoffs.

茶米之鄉：1949 年之前的台灣社會 The pre-existing Taiwanese society: Tea and rice

1949 年國民政府的大遷徙改變了這個原本以農業為主的地區。從前這個地區原本在地勢較低的地方隨處可見稻田、村落，以及散佈於山腳下的三合院。由台北盆地南緣丘陵下來的古道匯集之處，由於商旅的頻繁往來，形成了市集。若沿著這些路往山上走，過去可見到大片大片的茶園，茶農順著這些古道將茶葉運下山之後轉往淡水河上的艋舺港（今萬華龍山寺一帶）出口。黎安里捷運麟光站附近開始的山路 19 世紀時曾是重要的交通要道，有一座建於 1844 年的清水祖師廟。這片不算寬的山谷地帶 1949 年之後蓋了三座軍營，其中有一座屬於裝甲兵營區。從捷運六張犁站旁基隆路、和平東路口的小圓環開始的崇德街與分隔南港、木柵的山系（中央最高處約海拔 375 公尺）平行，也是與該山系平行唯一車輛行走的道路。崇德街的上坡路段從一個古早的小聚落及一間老土地廟一帶開始，崇德街附近的小巷弄還可看到很多日本殖民時期留下來的建築。

The exodus from the mainland swamped the pre-existing local Taiwanese agricultural so-

ciety in this area. Originally dotted with villages based on rice fields in a low-lying area that required drainage, with farmhouses hugging the edge of the hills, the area was also a collection and marketing point for several paths leading out the higher hills on the southeast rim of the Taipei basin, where high-grade oolong tea was grown for export through the Tamsui River port of Manka (now Wanhua, near the Lung Shan Temple).

Paths going up from Li An Neighborhood 黎安里 near Linguang MRT station aptly illustrate this history, back to the early 1800's. The Clear Water Master Teacher Temple 清水祖師宮 there is dated 1844. The center of the narrow valley here was taken over in 1949 by three military camps, among them tank battalions.

From Liuzhangli MRT station, the road up the hills that rise nearby to the southeast, Tsongde Street (beginning at the traffic circle that is the intersection of Heping East Road and Keelung Road), is still the only vehicle access paralleling the ridge (up to 375 meters elevation at the center) that separates Nangang from Muzha. Tsongde Street begins to rise at what was probably originally a small market town; there is a large Earth God temple there, and the intersection with small lanes still shows remnants of Japanese period buildings.

祖先及土地的認同

Ancestors and identity with the land

對於土地及祖墳，台灣人跟中國人有一種奇妙的強烈認同感，除了祖先的墳墓一定要重視風水以庇蔭子孫之外，「落葉歸根」的觀念也代表了對生長的土地的認同。子孫需按月於家中祖先牌位前以食餉其先祖，避免讓祖先成為無祖孤魂；每年春節、清明之際也需掃墓，以彩色紙片（墓紙）撒於墓上替祖墳「修繕屋頂」，並在墓碑、墓的周圍壓上墓紙畫出墓界。無法返家扶養老父母、或者奔喪的人被認為不孝，無後者在傳統文中也被認為是家族之恥。在我的田野調查中發現，台灣人傳統上似乎喜歡將祖先埋葬在自家的土地或是在自家附近風水良好的地點，有可能是要感謝祖先留下這麼肥沃的土地給子孫。把祖先埋葬在自己土地上，可能也是一種「宣示主權」的方式。一般傳統的台灣墓葬方式是傳自中國南方，墳墓的形式前方就像是張附有手把的太師椅，後方的墓穴本身，則是堆成圓圓的土丘，旁邊用矮牆圍住。下葬數年之後，白骨會由俗稱「土公」的撿骨師自墳中取出、清洗、祭拜之後按特殊排列方式放入甕中，然後再放入家族式的集中墓穴，家族墓常常會建成平頂的小房子。當然也不是所有撿骨後的骨頭都會放到家族墓裡面，有時候也可以看到一些被挖開的墓裡面放有咖啡色的骨甕，這種墓上面通常都會加頂，這些就是撿完骨要重新下葬的墓。看起來好像年代比較久遠的墓很多都留在原地，其中有的被雜草、樹木、或是竹叢掩蓋住，看起來只是象徵性的一堆石頭，上面完全沒有名字或墓碑，個人推論可能是家境貧窮或是怕被敵人破壞。

The Taiwanese and Chinese tradition reflects a strong and almost mystical sense of identity between landownership and the burial of ancestors, with the bodies of the ancestors carefully sited by geomancy (feng-shui) to insure that they favor prosperity of descendants. This and sense of longing for family and native place is expressed in the common saying “The fallen leaf returns to the root.” Descendants must provide food offering to the ancestral spirits monthly at the home ancestral altar, or the ancestors will become hungry, marauding, ghosts; an annual spring cleaning of the grave, “repairing” the roof with small strips of colored paper held down by rocks, manifests at the grave site that the ancestor is remembered and respected. Thus the welfare of the spirits of the dead is closely tied with return to a native place and with the siring of descendants. Those who have not returned home to respect and honor their own parents in old age and death have failed morally, and have not taken their proper place in the cyclical renewal of life, even more so if they die without issue. If so, it is a source of great shame for traditional Chinese. From my roaming around the countryside, it seems that Taiwanese traditionally pref-

erentially buried their ancestors on their own land or on auspicious overlooking sites nearby, honoring their ancestors for providing the land that gives sustenance to descendants, and perhaps providing a sign of claim as well. The traditional Taiwanese style of individual grave is that of South China, somewhat resembling an armchair with outward-curling armrests, and a mound in the back that is encircled by a low wall, set against the hill. After seven years the bones may be taken out of the grave by a hired specialist, cleaned, and placed in an urn, to be set in a family crypt that is often like a small house with a flat roof. Sometimes one sees the yellow-brown pottery urn, lidded, sitting in the opened grave under some large rock or piece of tin roofing, i.e. exhumed bones awaiting reburial. But it seems many of the oldest graves are left in the original site, which may be even hidden in a forest or bamboo grove, a few stones piled in symbolic grave shape but sometimes even lacking tablet or name, perhaps due to poverty or concern for despoilment by enemies.

陳媽道光辛丑年



Illustrious Mother of Chen Clan Reign of Dao Guang 1841

This rare grave is located in bamboo grove under intersection of Hsinhai and Hsinyi elevated highways, 100 meters northwest. Discovered by Linda in May 2009.



墳墓上顯示為 1980

年修復，傳統台灣的樣式。祖籍：福建武功，墳基建在可以俯看家族的土地。

Grave gives year of repair as 1980; style is traditional Taiwanese. Place of origin is Wugong, Fujian. Grave is sited where it might overlook clan land holdings. Note fresh strips of pink "tile" paper. Picture by Linda, 2009.04.24.

在象山的周氏墳墓，周氏為松山區最大的地主

Grave of a Zhou clan ancestor on Elephant Mountain. Zhou's were the largest landholders in the Songshan area.



Hsieh clan Illustrious Mother 1889, Shen

Keng, Taipei County



Hsieh Clan, Shen Keng, modern clan memorial off Wan Fu Road.



仙景李氏家族的墓佔崇德街上的一部分，靠近清水祖師廟茶道的交叉路上，仙景也是位於福建泉州，與清水祖師廟為同一來源。

Graves of the Lee clan of Xian Jin occupy a cluster of sites above Tsongde Street, near the intersection with the tea-carrying path of Clear Water Master Teacher Temple, founded 1841. Xian Jin 仙景 (福建泉州清水岩) is the same place in Quanzhou, Fujian, that is the source of the temple cult.



仙景李氏宗族的墳墓之一，1990年。

One of several burial vaults of the Lee clan of Xian Jin, dated 1990



新墳旁的右邊，是被枯葉覆蓋的墳墓 Right of the new vault is an old grass-covered grave...



紅毛李公墓，1965 年修復 “Illustrious Ancestor Red Hair Lee” , 1965 repaired



歷代二十七世祖，來台第六世，卒於1960年，七十歲 27 generations, 6 in Taiwan, Died in 1960 at age 70



Ancestor Red Hair Lee is guarded by Eight Generals and Four Spirits, but his grave is overgrown with dry grass. Was his real name forgotten? Was he European?

紅毛李公由八將四神守護，然而他的墓卻被乾草覆蓋。是他的名字被遺忘，還是他是歐洲人？



Grave of Chen Mother Lee Bu-niang (literal meaning, Maiden No)

Showa 12 (1937) —recently built again (left), with original stone and same inscription nearby (right). Derogatory names for women were not unusual!

陳媽李氏不娘墓，昭和十二年（1937年）翻新，後又重建。對於女性名字的貶抑時有所見。



從崇德街繼續走 40 公尺 40 meters farther up Tsongde Street the Hsieh Family Peace Tower 1934

謝家奉安塔，昭和九年，樣式可能為現代日式，此在台灣少見。

The Hsieh family bone vault, dated with the Japanese reign Showa, year number 9. Style may be modern Japanese form, quite rare in Taiwan.

1949 年大逃亡的遺跡

Signs of the exodus from the Chinese Civil War, 1949

在台北六張犁仍可看到六十年前的歷史遺蹟，尤其是在距離六張犁及麟光站不遠路程，山坡上的公墓。為了因應大量湧入台北的中國難民的殯葬需求，在山區蜿蜒數公里的崇德街從茶園變成了公墓區。雖有少數建於日據時期的閩南及客家人墳塚穿插其中，但此區絕大多數的墳墓都屬於來自中國各省的民眾，其中以浙江、廣東、四川、河南為主。崇德街過了老聚落不久的地方，在五〇年代曾經有一個警察檢查哨控制出入山區的人車。目前警察檢查哨唯一剩下的遺跡只有一塊大大告示牌，上面畫了警徽，還寫著提醒民眾小心森林大火的標語。由於複雜的歷史背景，這個地區成了 1949 大撤退最好的歷史見證，不管是曾經參與國共內戰的以及隨著國民黨撤退來台的軍、民、官的墳墓，或是 1950 年代白色恐怖政治受難者的墓園在這裡都可以看到，這是台灣其他任何地方都難得一見的。

Intriguing remnants of the events of six decades ago and earlier can be seen in Taipei around

Liuzhangli, especially in the public graveyards in the low hill areas that are within walking distance of the Liuzhangli and Linguang stations of the Muzha Metro Rapid Transit .

Originally a tea-growing area, Tsongde Street that snaked along the hillsides for several kilometers was transformed into the main locus of public graves for the huge influx of Chinese mainland population that camped in Taipei. The area was dotted with native Taiwanese graves from the Japanese period and earlier, but these became surrounded and pressed upon by graves of those from every province of China, predominant among them Zhejiang, Guangdong, Sichuan, and Henan Provinces.

In the 1950's a police check point was sited a little beyond the market town at the entrance to Tsongde Street, controlling access to the hills; all that remains of this is a large sign with a police insignia urging prevention of forest fires. Thus this area preserves a living microcosm — living as physical signs of history, though the individuals have passed into the great unknown — of the 1949 exodus from China, one that is not to be seen on this scale anywhere else in Taiwan. There are graves reflecting the Chinese civil war as well as the 1950's White Terror period.

1949 年四四兵工廠從山東青島搬到台北松山區

In 1949 a major armaments factory was evacuated from Qingdao, Shandong, to Sungshan District, Taipei

公墓在此的原因是由於 1949 年前後，大批的軍隊及他們的眷屬居住在松山及信義區（台北市政府及台北 101 — 世界最高樓所在地）。特別的是現在的世貿展覽館過去是從山東青島遷來製造槍炮彈藥的兵工廠，只有一小部分軍用品的工人及其眷屬的眷村，其倉庫被保留在四四南村。

還有其他做為倉庫、修理軍事設備及車子的軍營，在麟光捷運站那一帶。這個地方過去是日據時代的軍營，並有鐵路運載從瑞芳來的煤礦，並可通往基隆港。

The reason for this location is that in 1949 large numbers of military troops and their dependents were settled in the Sung Shan and Xinyi Districts (the area now centered on the new City Government Building and Taipei 101, for at least a while the highest building in the world). In particular, what is now the World Trade Center Exhibition Hall was originally the site of a huge armaments factory complex transferred from Qingdao, Shandong, producing guns, bullets, and bombs; only a small portion of the housing for the munitions workers and their families has been preserved in the nearby “44 South Village”, which houses memorabilia. Other military camps for storage and manufacture and repair of equipment and vehicles, accompanied by housing, stretched over several kilometers interspersed with rice fields from there around to the other side of the low hills to the south, i.e. past the present Linguang MRT station. This siting was at the time determined by the previous existence of three Japanese military camps, served by a narrow railway line to the coalmines of Ruifang and the port of Keelung.

軍人孤單的軍旅生涯

The lonely barracks life of the servicemen

從 1950 到 19660 年代很多外省軍人簡單的墓碑可以看得出來，這些人在過世的時候都沒有家人或子嗣在身邊。當時在軍中流傳一句話，「毛澤東殺我祖先，蔣介石斷我子孫」，因為那時候，隨著蔣介石撤退來台約五十萬的官兵除了軍官之外，一般士兵不能攜帶家眷來台。這些基層的兵有的在 1953 年年滿五十歲退伍，也只配給三個月份白米跟軍餉，僅夠糊口，無法娶妻；不過，退休的軍官卻每個月可以領到達原薪資八成的退休俸。(資料來源：黃廣海口述) 1965 年之前，軍人因為要隨時保持備戰狀態以反攻大陸，是不能結婚的，一直到 1965 之後這個禁令才解除。由於沒有結婚、沒有子嗣，這些墓碑上只有列上軍階、逝世的日期，有時也會有幫他們料理後事的同袍的名字。1970 年代的軍人墓碑上常可見到有義子、義女、女婿等署名，但是這些墓碑後來都沒有整理或翻修過。這些都是國共內戰，撤退來台灣的軍人，不為人知的心酸面，

亦是冷戰時代下的悲歌。

It can be gathered from the simple headstones of servicemen from the 1950's and 60's that many died without descendants or family at hand —a source of deep desolation. An adage of military men in the period was, “Mao Zedong dug up our ancestors; Chiang Kai-shek cut off our descendants.” The half million or so enlisted men that retreated to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek generally did not bring wives; provision was made only for the families of officers. Enlisted men who were age 50 or more in 1953 were retired with three months of rice rations and salary, a pittance at that time and insufficient to marry; retired officers received monthly 80Only beginning about 1965 were enlisted men allowed to marry; before that, they were asked to keep in ready for re-taking the mainland. It is not surprising then that many of these simple early headstones set in cement list merely military rank, date of passing, and sometimes names of buddies who buried them. For headstones of the 1970's it is more common that “honorary” (yi) sons, daughters, and sons-in-law are listed as the grieving descendants —but such graves generally show no sign of later worship or renewal. This leaves a sense of melancholy, a shadow of the huge human cost of the Chinese civil war, the retreat to Taiwan, and the lonely barracks life of the Cold War years.

外省人之間的文化差異

Cultural differences among the mainlanders

墳墓區多種宗教的混雜反映出國共內戰的兩極化。雖然基督徒與穆斯林在中國人口上較少，但他們的墳墓卻大量出現在六張犁地區，顯示出大量基督徒與穆斯林在中共發動攻擊前即逃離家鄉。基督徒的墳墓有集中在一起的、也有些是分散的。基督徒的墳墓表現出強烈的基督教風格，例如墓碑上常可見到「安息主懷」這類的字眼，年份也大多使用「主後」加上西元紀年，而非民國紀年。一般台灣閩南式的墳墓上通常有二十四孝圖做裝飾，外省籍的墓則似乎較偏現代或西式，當然有些也可能是中國北方的風格（類似小屋上是圓頂）。一般來講，祖籍為寧波（近上海）者的墳墓通常為政商名流的墳墓，會較具現代風格，他們的碑文較簡短，並以橫式書寫。這種現代風格，也可以在深坑北邊山上的自由墓園雷震墓（河南籍）看到，1960-1970年的代表。

The medley of religious symbols in the graveyards reflects the polarization of the Chinese civil war: Christians and Muslims are disproportionately represented, no doubt because they fled before the advance of the atheist Communists. The Christians are scattered or clustered; aside from platitudes like “Rest in the Lord” that mark their earthly remains, the Christian perspective is shown in that birth and death are sometimes given in years ad dominum rather than in years of the Chinese republic, i.e. counted from 1911. In contrast to the South China traditionalism of the native Taiwanese (often adorned with tiles illustrating the 24 Tales of Filial Piety), the grave designs of many of the mainlanders seem to reflect a more modern or Westernized ethic, though part of the divergence seems to be a different style of graves for the flat plains of North China, e.g. a long raised concrete chamber that may be rounded on top. The modernism is especially apparent in a special graveyard for natives of Ningpo, near Shanghai, generally the business and bureaucratic elite. Their inscriptions are short on classical honorifics, and laid out horizontally. Such modernism is also seen in the “Freedom Garden” memorial to Lei Chen in the graveyard for natives of Henan, located on a hill on the north side of Shen Keng, near Muzha. Lei Chen served 10 years, 1960-1970.

墓碑上死者的瓷磚照片

The porcelain photographs of the dead

當時曾流行過將印有死者照片的瓷磚鑲嵌於墓碑之上，以此感念死者。大部份的照片上都是穿著一般的軍裝、佩帶軍階等，但也有穿著一般印象中軍閥會穿的超正式的軍禮服，上面掛著燙金鈕扣、飾品、墊肩等。還有穿著中山裝的公務員、西式服裝的

商人、穿旗袍、戴墨鏡的女子，頭頂著 1960 年代上海、寧波流行的髮、有老太太梳著中國古代傳統的包頭，戴著鑲玉的頭飾，還有一位瘦小的年長女性留著 1920 年代那種清湯掛麵的學生頭。

The porcelain photographs of the dead that are set into the cement of the individual monuments, in the fashion of the period, are particularly evocative. We see military uniforms – most with modest sergeant's stripes flanking an open collar, but even one with high collar and the excessive gold braid of a megalomaniac warlord. We see Sun Yat-sen-suited bureaucrats and Western-suited businessmen and stylish women in qipao's and large sunglasses and 1960's bouffant hairdos, from Shanghai or Ningpo. We see elderly grandmothers wearing traditional headbands set with an oval jade piece at the center, holding back any wisps that might escape from their tight hair buns. And a thin older woman with the clipped straight hair of a 1920's radical student.

外省人的後代

The descendants of the mainlanders

1970-80 年代有子嗣的外省人的墓通常會重修。後代的名字會列上，在清明掃墓時節，並壓墓紙（將黃白色或五色的長方形紙，以石頭壓在墓碑、墓頭及墓旁的「后土」上。壓紙有「掛錢」，供祖先花用之意，也表示子孫已祭拜過祖墳）。但在我個人這幾年非正式的訪談中，以及統計資料，我印象中在 1990 年代較富裕的外省籍後代搬到美國。現在他們有些在美國及中國有他們的事業，因此只會行程中經過台灣。我猜六張犁外省籍的墓大概只有不到 1 大陸，而這些墓也只能在 1990 年後才可以遷回，這些證據可以在我訪談極樂殯儀館的錢德榮先生中看到。

In contrast to the lonely servicemen, graves of mainlanders from the 1970's and 80's who had descendants have often been re-constructed in white and red tile. The names of children and grandchildren are listed. After the spring grave-cleaning period, perhaps a fifth display driedup flowers and scraps of colored paper. But from my casual interviewing over the years, as well as some scraps of statistics, it is my impression that most of the descendants of well-to-do mainlanders in Taiwan had moved on to the United States at least by the 1990's. Now many spread their business enterprises between the United States and China, and only return to Taiwan as a way station. If there were a count, I would guess one percent or less of graves of mainlanders in Liuzhangli have been repatriated to the mainland; this has only been possible since 1990, as seen in the interview with Mr. Qian of Extreme Happiness Mortuary.

族群及權力關係的發展

The evolution of ethnic and power relations

蔣介石禁止「自由中國」（台灣）內的人民自由組黨；1960 年代，外省籍的自由主義者雷震就是因為企圖與本省政治精英組織政黨而遭蔣政權監禁。但是在 1971 年，中國人民共和國取代中華民國在聯合國的席次後，「反攻大陸」夢碎，中華民國遂成為國際反共聯盟一份子，幫助美國在拉丁美洲的計畫。

在 1970 年代，台灣本省人（佔台灣 85 在起飛的出口經濟上受益，而小部分的外省第二代則出國，台灣本省人逐漸能在基層的政府機關或教育、軍事體系的擔任職務。蔣介石於 1975 年逝世，他的兒子蔣經國曾在蘇聯留學過，開始規劃十大建設。1970 年代末，蔣經國「吹台青」政策，開始於國民黨任用台灣籍的企業家。1985 年，他選擇本省籍的李登輝擔任副總統，並於 1988 年他逝世前一天宣佈解嚴。

1978-79 年，從社會運動興起的民進黨，以台灣人為主要組成份子，於 2000 年及 2004 年贏得總統選舉，但於 2008 年落敗，無法舉行台灣獨立公投。

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek brooked no dissent in “Free China”, as demonstrated in the 1960 jailing of Lei Chen, a prominent liberal mainlander, for trying to start a political party together with local Taiwanese politicians. But by 1971, when the Peoples Republic of China

took the China seat in the United Nations, it was clear that the “Return to the Mainland” imperative was crumbling. The Republic of China continued to serve however as the seat of the World Anti-Communist League to aid U.S. schemes in Latin America. In the 1970’s, native Taiwanese (85 beneficiaries of the rising export economy, since they owned land and could muster labor. The small second generation of mainlander elites mostly went abroad, and Taiwanese gradually filled the lower ranks of the bureaucracy, educational system, and military.

Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975 and his Russian-trained son Ching-kuo planned the Ten Great Projects for Taiwan’s economic development. In the late 1970’s, CCK began a policy of co-opting Taiwanese industrialists into political office for the KMT. In 1985 he chose a native Taiwanese VP, Lee Teng-hui; Chiang finally lifted martial law just before he died in 1988. A Taiwanese-based party that grew from the 1978-79 democratic movement, Democratic Progressive Party, won the presidency in 2000 and 2004; it was defeated in 2008. It failed to call for a referendum on Taiwan independence.



墳墓之旅 (3 公里) 簡圖

由上而下：台北醫學大學、蔣渭水墓、極樂殯儀館、徐蚌會戰戰士墓、白崇禧墓、戒嚴時期政治受難者墓園、麟光捷運站、黎安里臥龍街 431 巷。

A schematic map of the beginning section of the graves tour, within 3 km. of Tsongde St. entrance. Top to bottom: Taipei Medical University Early mainlander graves 1946+ Chiang Wei-shu Monument 1952 Japanese period Taiwanese grave Extreme Happiness Mortuary office White Terror graves area III Huaihai (Xubang) Battle Memorial, Winter 1948, Chinese Civil War Muslim General Bai Chongxi White Terror graves areas II, I Linguang MRT Station at lower left Li An Neighborhood, Wolong St. Lane 431



有多位軍人無法「落葉歸根」，由朋友送葬
Army men buried by their friends, 1960's



十字架:
Chinese Christians
來台灣的基督徒特別多

廣東四川的基督徒

Guangdong, Sichuan Christians

靠近崇德街入口的舊墳墓

Older mainlander graves, near beginning of Tsongde St.



一排無人整理的墳墓，由「義子」立碑。左為余炳才，1910 — 1983，江西籍

A row of neglected graves signed by “honorary” sons. Left, Yu Bingcai, 1910-1983, native of Jiangxi.



陸軍中將劉祖舜 (1891-1954)

General Liu Zuxun (behind Extreme Happiness Mortuary office)

劉祖舜

1936年2月4日，劉祖舜任陸軍少將，參與對日抗戰、之後國共內戰。1942年四月一日，蔣鼎文接第一戰區司令長官，兼冀察戰區總司令，副總司令龐炳勳、孫良誠，參謀長張知行（後劉祖舜）。1943年一月，國軍再度調整冀察戰區戰區序列。總司令蔣鼎文、副龐炳勳，參謀長劉祖舜。1948年9月22日與胡璉、孫立人、彭孟緝同任陸軍中將。1952年奉令退休，1954年逝世，得年63歲。

General Liu Zuxun, general from 1936 in Sino-Japanese War and Nationalist Army campaigns against the Chinese communists, ordered to retire in 1952. Died in 1954, age 63.



Formosano Nataly

1951年4月逝，東正教近戒嚴時期不當審判第三墓區

Formosano Nataly Died on April 1951 Eastern Orthodox Christian (near White Terror area

3)



1960 年的逝世者，外省籍。
1960's faces of a past generation, mainlanders



基督教式的顏氏家墓，1972 年，有東方臉孔的天使像。
Yen family Christian grave, 1972. Angel with an Asian face.



Graves Tour along Tsongde Street
 Ji Le
 Bai Chongxi
 White Terror I
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Satellite picture of the beginning section of grave tour of Tsongde Street.



Map of Li An Li