

DRGPA 2025

Proceedings of:

The 7th International Conference on

Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Pacific Asia (DRGPA)

Marginalized Space – Silenceing Voices

14 — 16 • 10 • 2025

Venue: Kaohsiung Fengshan Community College



第七屆

研究記錄亞太墓地研討會 (DRGPA)

邊緣空間 · 沉默的聲音

論文集

14 — 16 • 10 • 2025

舉辦地點：高雄市鳳山社區大學

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Conference Website: *Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Pacific Asia 2025*

<https://aplac.github.io/conferences/drgpa2025.html>



Facebook Group *Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Pacific Asia*

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/176143959533361>



Thakbong: The database in XML on GitHub

<https://aplac.github.io/tml/tml.xml>

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高雄市鳳山社區大學 – Kaohsiung Fengshan Community College

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何謂 DRGPA – What is DRGPA?

研究記錄亞太墓地 (Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Pacific Asia) 是有志於墓地墓碑、宗教文化、喪葬風俗、文資保育等跨領域學者的兩年一度的聚會。前身為自 2011 年發起之台灣墓地記錄和研究 (DRGT)，自 2019 年起，研究關注的地域擴及亞太地區，研討會因而更名。除了專家學者的投稿發表外，我們歡迎投入此領域之地方文史工作者、民間組織、個人投稿，一同參與、分享觀點。

Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Pacific Asia is a gathering of interested stakeholders and scholars in studying and preserving mortuary practices in the Asia-Pacific, and amongst its diaspora populations.

Formerly called Documenting and Researching Gravesites in Taiwan (DRGT), DRGPA was expanded in 2019 to include the broader global community studying these areas.

This Year's Conference Theme

Marginalized Spaces –Silencing Voices

Marginal spaces—whether in society, within the urban fabric, or in the daily rhythms of life—form unplanned, unstructured, and often subversive sanctuaries. They are refuges where cultural practices, architectural remnants, plants, animals, and forgotten communities find room to breathe. In these overlooked pockets, life takes a pause from the relentless pressures of survival, adapting and reimagining itself before fading into the mainstream or vanishing altogether.

In cities like Tokyo, small patches of greenery surrounding temples continue to shelter endangered plants and animals—species that could never afford the price of the land they inhabit. On the islands of Okinawa, the *utaki*—sacred indigenous sites—have, for centuries, forbidden hunting and cultivation within their boundaries. As a result, they preserve rare and economically “worthless” plants, and safeguard animal species found nowhere else on Earth.

In parts of Europe, parents still bring their infants to sleep beneath the trees of cemeteries, drawn by the cleanest air, the chorus of birds, and the rare absence of traffic noise. These sanctuaries contribute to the urban whole as weekends do to workweeks, as stillness does to creativity, as rivers do to a city’s soundscape, as forests do to its microclimate, and even as mosquitoes do to the feeding of birds. Yet, though essential, their voices go unheard—muffled behind the glass facades of air-conditioned offices.

Inside those sealed towers, politicians, city planners, developers, and shareholders—whether acting alone or in concert, within or beyond the limits of legality—are stirred to action by the mere idea of unregulated, potentially subversive land. Land that resists being structured, systematized, or monetized.

Blinded by the beauty of profit and the symmetry of highways, they silence the voices of these marginal spaces. Bit by bit, they carve them apart—paving them into parking lots, diverting rivers, erecting bridges and barriers—until what was already marginal becomes invisible. The lifeline of the last bird, the last bat, the last crab is severed, and extinction proceeds in silence.

Yet there are still those who listen—who shudder at the requiem of frogs and turtles, who sense the slow unraveling of an ecological song. These listeners bring forward perspectives the mainstream ignores; they sing of what others no longer believe exists; they document the absence of what once was. By joining hands, they reach out to a public adrift in the current—people for whom swimming against the mainstream feels unimaginable.

This conference seeks to do just that: to value what seems irrelevant, to appreciate what lies outside the museum walls, to reveal what has been willfully unheard. We turn our attention to exceptions, irregularities, and marginalities—to the edges where life persists and whispers.

Let us share the voices of those who cannot speak, of those who suffer, strive, and silently disappear. Let us share the voices of marginal spaces.

Kin-nî hōe-gī chû-tê

Pêng-giân Khong-kéng ê Siann

Pêng-giân ê khong-kéng—bô-lûn sī tī siah-hōe, tī chhīn-siâu ê kok-thâu, án-ni hō lâng ê chit-jit-jit lâi—tiôh sī bô kè-hoat, bô chèng-chhat, mā bô ti-tō ê sî-khò. I sī hō bûn-hòa, kiàn-chhek, chhū-bí, tóng-bûn kap bē hō kîn-lêng ê sió-chûn chhiau siáu ê só-châi. Chit-ê só-châi tī chiah-ê chhù, ū-êng chhòng-khuán, ū-êng siok-hûn, hō sió-bí lâng kap sió-seng thang siú-khì, thang koh tiôh kái-pián lâi kîn-jip chû-liû ê sî-khì, hō in bô kóng-hì chhōe-bóe sî-bián.

Tī Tō-kiô, siōng-siōng tī sī-jiôk ê bêng-khó khah bîn-khó, sī tiâm-tiâm chit-tiám chhân chhân ê chhàu-khì. Chhàu cheng-chhêng hâm bē-kiù ê sió chhù, hō hî-chí ê chhù-seng thang tōa-thàu. Tī Ôo-kî-ná ê tō, ū utaki hō lâng chò siong-sè ê chêng-tián, chit-pái-pái bē hō lâng thâu-hō, bē hō lâng chhê-tshat, só-í ū chit-níng sè-chhut ê chhàu-chí kap in chiah-ê sio-sêng-miâ khah bô lî-iöng ê phô-thâu.

Tī Ô-ló-pah, ū chhit-chhit pê khòaⁿ-chhiú teh tī bô-kô ê só-chhù, bē lí-khiān lô-chhia, bē tī-chhia ê só-thâu khòaⁿ-chhàu, hō in ê gín-á tī sió-chhû tiâm-tiâm thiaⁿ chhiūn-khì. Chiah-ê khong-kéng siú-koh hō siâⁿ-hû kap chit-pái chiah-kâu; chit-pái bô-lô kap só-chok; chit-tiám kâng chhùi kap chhīn-chhiūn ê siann-khí; chit-pái hō-siá kap tshun-hêng ê khí-hî; chit-tàng khùn khì kap chhiah-chiá ê chiah-pñg. Tán-sī, in ê siann bô thang king-chhōe kong-khi-kè ê pô-hêng-hâng, tī lêng-khi phâng-tóng ê chiū-lok-lâu lóng bô thang thiaⁿ-tioh.

Tī hia, sèng-chú, chhī-hê-siā, phah-té-chhut-chhia kap kú-té lóng tī in ê pang-chô kap sîn-sì lóng bô sió-thâu, chit-chhiú chit-chhiú hō in khì chhîn chò-chhê, hō in khì khòng-jî. Chiah-ê lâng hō chîn-chîn ê bí-bî kap lô-thâu chiah sī in ê bí-bî, lóng bē thiaⁿ tiôh chiah-ê khong-kéng ê siann.

Bôe-chhiú chit-tioh chiah-ê su-sî ê khong-kéng, hō in bô kè-hoat ê sió-chhù chit-pái-pái chhiú-siong-chhut, khòng-lêng, chhoë-bêng, lí-thâu. Tó-chhù bē-siu-khì, sió-siok bē-thán-lî, chit-chiah-chiah khah bē-khì. Tiôh sit pê chit-chiah-chiah, chit-chiah chiah-chiah ê thán-chhiún chhiú-tíng, chit-chiah chit-chiah ê khî-nî sî-khì bôe-koh tī chia. Sit pê lóng tī sió-bî chhòng-siân.

Nâ ū lâng thiaⁿ tioh—thiaⁿ tioh thô-a kap khoo-kê ê só-khì, thiaⁿ tioh sit-bê ê níng-chhe—chiah-ê lâng ê-tàng phah-khui chiah-ê chhîn-chhiû, khòaⁿ-tioh jû-liû bê khòaⁿ-tioh ê siann. In ê-siōng ê siann, ê-kiám ê bê ū ê sî-siaⁿ, ê-chhoë tioh sit-bê ê khang-khè. In ê-chhiú-chhiú chit-chhiú, tō ê thang kâ chhîn-chhiú ê jîn-chhè lóng thang thiaⁿ in ê kàu-chhôe.

Chit-pái ê hōe-üi sî beh hō chiah-ê sió-miâ ê sî-hû; beh kám-siong bô lâi-piau ê só-bêng; beh khai-khui chiah-ê bê lâng beh thiaⁿ ê siann. Gún beh khòaⁿ tī lí-oân kap bô-tè ê hâng-pêng, tī pêng-giân ê tō-té, pêng-giân ê chhê-hô kap pêng-giân ê khong-kéng, hō sió-seng ê siann koh thiaⁿ-tioh, koh hō khì.

Lâi-chò [□] gún kā chiah-ê bô thang kóng ê lâng kóng, kā chiah-ê siōng-khó, chiah-ê teh-thán, chiah-ê bē-chhoè ê sió-seng kóng. Lâi-chò [□] gún khòng-siong Pêng-giân Khong-kéng ê Siann.

今年會議主題

邊緣空間・沉默的聲音

無論是在社會之中、城市的肌理之內，或人們日常生活的縫隙裡，邊緣空間往往形成一種未經規劃、無法結構化、甚至具有顛覆性的庇護所。這些被忽視的角落，讓文化的實踐、殘存的建築、植物、動物與被遺忘的社群得以喘息。在這些空間裡，生命得以暫時脫離生存的壓力，重新調整自己，尋找再次融入主流之前的可能——或在消逝之前留下最後的痕跡。

在東京這樣的城市裡，寺廟周圍的一小片綠地，仍為瀕危的動植物提供棲身之所——那些原本無法「負擔」土地價格的生命，得以在此延續。在沖繩群島上，自古以來的「御嶽」(utaki)——原住民的聖地——禁止狩獵與耕作，因此保存了許多稀有而經濟價值不高的植物，也保護了島上特有的動物物種。

在歐洲，一些父母仍會帶著嬰兒到墓園樹下午睡。因為那裡的空氣最清新，鳥鳴最繁盛，汽機車的噪音最遙遠。這些被忽略的庇護所，如同週末之於一週、靜止之於創造、河流之於城市的聲景、森林之於地方氣候、蚊子之於鳥類的食譜——它們共同構成城市的整體。然而，這些至關重要的聲音，卻無法穿透冷氣辦公室的玻璃帷幕，被人們聽見。

在那密閉的高樓裡，政治人物、都市規劃師、開發商與投資者——無論是單獨行動或集體協作、合法或非法——僅僅因為想像到有一塊「未被控制、未被利用」的土地，就被驅使行動。他們渴望把這些空間規劃、制度化、商品化。

被金錢的光澤與高速公路的秩序迷惑，他們讓邊緣空間的聲音逐漸消失。土地被一片片切割——劃成停車場、改道河流、架起橋樑——原本已被邊緣化的地方，變得更加遙遠。直到最後一隻鳥、最後一隻蝙蝠、最後一隻螃蟹的生命線被切斷，滅絕在靜默之中。

然而，仍有人在傾聽——在青蛙與烏龜哀歌的合奏中顫慄。他們感受到主流世界忽視的真實，歌唱那些被認為已不存在的聲音，記錄那已不復存在的空白。當他們攜手而立，便能向仍在主流洪流中掙扎的大眾發聲——那些難以想像逆流而上的人們。

本次會議正是為了這樣的嘗試：去珍視看似無關緊要的事物，去欣賞博物館之外的風景，去揭開那些被有意忽略的聲音。我們將目光投向例外與不規則之處，注視邊緣的地域、邊緣的實踐與邊緣的空間——那些在城市邊陲中仍然低語、仍然呼吸的生命。

讓我們為那些無法發聲者說話——為那些受苦、掙扎、最終默默消逝的存在說話。讓我們，一同傾聽並傳遞邊緣空間的聲音。

Oliver Streiter

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DRGPA2025 【2025 研究記錄亞太墓地研討會】

2025/11/14 (五)

地點：高雄市鳳山社區大學 (Fengshan Community College) 勝國街 67 號

2F (2 F., No. 67, Shengguo St., Fengshan Dist., Kaohsiung City)

8:30-8:50	報到 Registration	
8:50-9:00	Oliver STREITER 李橙安 Lee Chen-An	開場 Welcome
9:00-10:30	Oliver STREITER and Yoann GOUDIN 李燕萍 Li Yen-Ping 南山公墓保存團體 「地上台南」召集人	Thakbong: An introduction to the database 《讀墓：資料庫導論》 《墓地是臺灣珍稀及瀕危物種的生態熱區》 Cemeteries as Hotspots For Taiwan's Rare and Endangered Species 互動問答 Questions & Answers
10:30-10:40	中場休息 Break	
10:40-12:10	Linda Gail Arrigo James Xavier MORRIS	Burial Remains as Traces of the History of Humanity: Examples, implications and ethical debates 《作為人類歷史痕跡的埋葬遺骸：案例、意涵與倫理辯論》 Acculturation of Chinese Practices at Mt. Hope Cemetery, Boston: A presentation of diaspora burial traditions in Boston utilizing low-cost citizen science methods, GIS mapping, 3D modeling, and LiDAR technology 《華人習俗在波士頓希望山墓園的文化適應：運用低成本 公民科學方法、GIS 地圖、3D 建模與 LiDAR 技術探討僑 民葬禮傳統》 互動問答 Questions & Answers
12:10-13:10	午餐 Lunch	
13:10-14:40	Solomon A. Patnaan Chen V. Ramos	A Case Study of Sagada's Hanging Coffins: Examining indigenous eschatology and embodied continuity with the lens of communication theology 《薩加達懸棺的個案研究：從溝通神學的觀點檢視原住民 的末世觀與身體延續性》(25min) The "Cementerio General de La Loma" as a Response to Manila Earthquake (1863)

	Joyce Ann Pagalilawan	and Cholera Epidemic (1882) in 19th Century Manila 『拉洛瑪總墓園』作為對十九世紀馬尼拉地震（1863）與霍亂疫情（1882）的回應》(25min) Digital Graves and Decolonial Care: A Case Study of Digital Mourning on Instagram as a Ritual Space of Curated Memory 『數位墓地與去殖民關懷：以 Instagram 上的數位哀悼為策展記憶儀式空間的個案研究』(25min)
	互動問答 Questions & Answers (15min)	
14:40-14:50	中場休息 Break	
14:50-16:20	吳中杰 Wu Chong-chieh 國立高雄師範大學文學院客文所教授 劉彥塘 LIU Yen-Tang 國立政治大學民族學系碩士生 羅景文 Luo,Ching-Wen/ 國立中山大學中國文學系副教授	《以墓碑探求台灣漢人亞族群之分布—以嘉義市短竹段為例》 Using tombstones to explore the distribution of Han Chinese subgroups in Taiwan: A case study of the Duan-zhu section of Chiayi City (25min) 《六張犁回教公墓墓葬型式的在地化現象與其變遷》 Localization and Evolution of Burial Typologies at Lak-tiunn-luê Muslim Cemetery (25min) 《從荒塚到廟中廟：高雄苓雅聖公媽廟的發展軌跡、地景變遷與靈力展現》 From a Desolate gravesite to a "Temple within a Temple": The development, landscape transformation, and manifestation of divine power of the Sheng Gong Ma Temple in Lingya, Kaohsiung (25min)
	互動問答 Questions & Answers (15min)	
16:20~	自由討論 (optional) discussions, sharing thoughts	
	晚餐 dinner，住宿 Check-in	
19:30~	導演：李立劭 Director: LEE Li-Shao	記錄片 Documentary film

DRGPA2025 【2025 研究記錄亞太墓地研討會】

2025/11/15 (六)

地點：高雄市鳳山社區大學 (Fengshan Community Univers)

勝國街 67 號 2F (2 F., No. 67, Shengguo St., Fengshan Dist., Kaohsiung City)

8:30-8:50	報到 Registration	
8:50-9:00	Oliver STREITER	開場 Welcome
	李橙安 Lee Chen-An	
9:00-10:30	蕭亨哲 北市私立復興高級商工職業學校	Research and Preservation of Epitaph Rubbings: A Case Study of the Wu Family Tomb in Nanshan Cemetery 《從鎮誌看美濃禮俗的延續與變革——美濃喪葬禮俗研究》 Continuity and Transformation of Meinong Rituals in the Township Gazette: A Study on Meinong Funeral Customs
	陳建宇，蔡韋漢 雲科大文化資產維護系研究所碩士生	《墓誌銘拓片的研究與保存—以南山公墓吳家墓為例》 Research and Preservation of Epitaph Rubbings: A Case Study of the Wu Family Tomb in Nanshan Cemetery
	莊仁誠 國立高雄師範大學台灣歷史文化及語言研究所碩士	《高雄地區喪葬儀式中的完形觀及其功能》 Gestalt Concepts and Their Functions in Funeral Rituals in Kaohsiung
	互動問答 Questions & Answers (15min)	
10:30-10:40	中場休息 Break	
10:40-12:10	莊庭瑞、蔡韋漢 CHUANG Tyng-Ruey and TSAI Wei-Han	《公墓作為文化資產之困境——談南山公墓文化景觀訴訟案現況》 Nanshan Gravesite not designated as a cultural landscape?! – Update on a current lawsuit against the Tainan City Government (25min)
	郭弈葳	《試從「母」談「子」之性靈與孝道》 Examining the Spiritual Nature and Filial Piety of the “Child” from the Perspective of the “Mother” (25min)
	James Xavier MORRIS	Between Tomb and God: The interstitial social position of graves, remains, and tutelary deities in the Taipei basin 《墓與神之間：台北盆地中墓葬、遺骸與守護神的社會夾縫地位》 (25min)
	互動問答 Questions & Answers (15min)	

12:10-13:10	午餐 Lunch	
13:10-14:30	導演：薛若儀 Director : Roy Hsueh	記錄片：南山公墓 Documentary film; The Tainan Nanshan Cemetery
14:40-15:00	11/16(日)早上參觀墓地行程說明 Discussion of Sunday morning graveyard excursion	
15:00~16:30	Oliver STREITER and Yoann GOUDIN Inès MINFRAY 天江喜久 -- Yoshihisa AMAE	Penghu Generals: An Introduction, Overview and Interpretation 《澎湖營頭：導論、概述與解讀觀點》(25min) Mapping the use and production systems of ceramic tiles from French to Taiwanese Contexts: Explorations across Penghu, Jinmen and Taiwan 《從法國到台灣，探索陶瓷磚的使用和生產系統：澎湖、金門和台灣的案例研究》(25min) Colonial Dead and Postcolonial Voices: The Afterlives of Hatta Yōichi and Yamaoka Sakae in Taiwan 殖民亡者與後殖民之聲：八田與一與山岡榮在臺灣的身後史;天江喜久
	討論 Discussion , 回饋 Feedback , 未來活動 Future Activities	
	晚餐 dinner , 住宿 Check-in	
19:30~	導演：王子杰 Director : WANG Z J	記錄片：滾弄 Documentary film: Not Burma Anymore 2016 緬甸/台灣 DCP Colour 70 分

DRGPA2025 【2025 研究記錄亞太墓地研討會】

2025/11/16 (日)

Graveyard visit – 參觀墓地

8:50-9:00	集合地點：柴山龍泉寺登山口(鼓山三路 25 巷 61 弄) Gathering at the meeting point (public toilets are available)
9:30-11:40	回到集合處 -- Return to the meeting point
~11:50	結束 -- Return to transportation hubs

讀墓—資料庫簡介

Thakbong: An introduction

Oliver STREITER

and

Yoann GOUDIN

APLAC

Research Center for Asia-Pacific Languages and Cultures
at the National University of Kaohsiung.

November 13, 2025

摘要

「讀墓」(Thakbong)計畫是一項開放性、長期性的研究與典藏計畫，其核心目標在於建立並維護一個跨世代可持續發展的數位資料庫，用以保存、記錄與研究臺灣海峽及周邊地區的碑銘(epigraphy)與墓葬文化遺產。此計畫由高雄大學亞太語言與文化研究中心(APLAC)主持，旨在透過數位典藏、資料可檢索化、註解與研究功能的整合，推動人文地理與文化實踐的再現與再詮釋。

此計畫的核心任務可區分為四個層次：儲存(storage)、典藏(archiving)、可檢索性(discoverability)與研究應用(researching)。這四個層次形成一個相互依存的架構：資料若無穩定儲存，即難以長久典藏；若無結構化典藏與權限管理，則無法有效搜尋；若無可搜尋與可視化的介面，則研究與再利用更無從談起。

目前「讀墓」計畫共蒐集超過六十萬張影像資料，主要為墓碑、廟宇、祠堂、風水設施、紀念碑等影像。這些影像暫存於商業雲端服務平台(如 Google Cloud)，以確保資料可在線上瀏覽與整合應用。同時，所有次級資料(secondary data) — 即由影像註解所生成的結構化資訊 — 皆以 XML 格式儲存於 GitHub 平台上。這些 XML 檔案除了提供註解與標籤，也與影像資料建立相互連結，使研究者得以以網頁模擬的方式瀏覽資料。

「讀墓」的資料結構區分為兩大類：

初級資料（primary data）：即媒體原始檔案，多為數位照片。

次級資料（secondary data）：由研究人員與機器學習工具標註的資料，如墓碑類型、文字轉錄、地點、朝向、材料、銘刻年代等。

這些標註資料使得研究者能夠透過關鍵詞搜尋、集合運算或條件查詢，例如：「找出所有朝西、年代屬於昭和年間的墓碑」，並可進一步透過統計分析發現文化分佈的異常現象或規律。在技術層面上，「讀墓」採用 XML 標籤語言作為資料結構的核心格式。XML 不僅可階層化描述文化實體（如墓碑、祠堂、村落），亦能對其屬性（如時間、空間、宗教歸屬、文化類型）進行多值標註。這樣的設計允許同一文化對象具有多重身分與詮釋，例如臺南的「五妃廟」既是廟宇，又是墓地，同時亦是文化資產。藉由多值標註，系統得以反映文化實踐中實際存在的曖昧、重疊與再詮釋現象，而非以單一標籤強行歸類。



Figure 1 「五妃廟」的多重面貌：前方為廟宇、後方為墓葬、入口處則為文化資產。– The different realities of the “The Shrine of the Five Concubines”, as a temple on the front side, as a tomb on the backside and as a cultural heritage site at the entrance.

「讀墓」計畫目前記錄了超過十三萬個文化場域（sites），每一場域皆被定義為「文化實踐的空間」。此概念包含了可觀察的行為（如祭祀、書寫、祈禱）與可推測的行為（如燃燒的痕跡、風水佈局、物件擺設）。透過對這些實踐的紀錄與分析，研究團隊試圖從下而上地重建文化模式，並與自上而下的制度性或官方實踐（如宗教政策、國家紀念活動）對比。此分析方法受到法國學者米歇爾·德·塞脫（Michel de Certeau）「策略與戰術」理論的啟發，將權力機構的制度性策略與民間的日常戰術性實踐加以對照。

五妃廟」之「名稱」與「類型」在 Thakbong XML 資料中的編碼方式。u 在資料應用面，「讀墓」不僅是一個靜態的影像與文字典藏庫，更是一個可進行文化研究、比較與視覺化分析的互動平台。透過 XPath 與 XSLT 技術，研究者可依主題動態聚合資料，如「祭祀用語的空間分佈」或「碑文中的地名與歷史事件關聯圖」。此種資料驅動的分析模式，使文化遺產研究能夠結合人文詮釋與數位方法論，進一步促進文化語義的探索與再現。

Table 1 *table*

Thakbong 資料中常見的遺址（場所）類型。– Common types of sites in the Thakbong data.

tomb (墓)	115740	house (房屋)	2170
cemetery (墓地、公墓)	1110	temple (廟宇)	1016
single general (單將)	434	village (村落)	726
shigandang (石敢當)	397	caizhai (菜宅)	303
memorial (紀念碑、紀念地)	301	betel nut shop (檳榔攤)	100
general system (將軍系統)	95	keng-a (宮仔)	83
ancestral hall (宗祠)	67	well (水井)	149
pagoda (塔、佛塔)	68	archway (牌樓)	96
museum (博物館)	46	island (島嶼)	98
huiguan (會館)	47	school (學校)	27
church (教堂)	41	utaki (御嶽)	29
prayer site (祈禱場所)	44	windbreak (防風)	27
tree (樹木、神木)	77	workshop (工坊、作坊)	15
harbor (港口)	27	government building (政府建築)	20
namo amitoufu (南無阿彌陀佛)	18	lighthouse (燈塔)	3
mosque (清真寺)	7	chapel (小禮拜堂)	5

此外，計畫亦重視「分類學（classification）」的文化相對性。傳統學術界傾向尋求概念的普遍定義，如「島嶼」、「山」、「廟宇」等，但這些定義往往忽略地方知識與生活經驗所形成的概念差異。「讀墓」並不追求單一權威的分類方式，而是同步蒐集多重命名與分類脈絡（emic 與 etic），例如同一空間可能被地方居民稱為「風水地」、被宗教界稱為「靈地」、而被政府列為「文化資產」。透過這樣的多重註解方式，研究者得以觀察不同社群如何在文化、宗教與政治層面上競逐對空間與記憶的詮釋權。

目前資料中常見的場域類型包括：墓地、寺廟、祠堂、村落、紀念碑、將軍石、風獅爺、風雞、地藏庵、祖堂、水井、燈塔、風水牆等。透過對這些場域的影像與註解分析，可觀察出宗教實踐的地理分佈與文化語意的變化軌跡。

「讀墓」資料的地理範圍涵蓋東亞與東南亞地區，其中以臺灣為最核心的研究場域，記錄超過九萬筆墓葬與宗教遺址資料。其他地區則包括中國、日本、韓國、越南、泰國、馬來西亞、新加坡、香港、澳門，以及歐美地區的華人、猶太與基督教墓園等。

總體而言，「讀墓」計畫不僅致力於保存文化遺產，更在方法論上提出一種結合語義網絡、資料可視化與文化實踐理論的新型人文資料學模式。透過這個平台，研究者可以在跨地域、跨語言、跨文化的維度上，重新閱讀、再現與詮釋墓葬、碑銘與祭祀文化中蘊含的社會實踐、權力結構與集體記憶。

關鍵詞：讀墓計畫、文化實踐、碑銘研究、資料庫設計、多值標註、數位人文、文化遺產、臺灣墓葬、風水信仰、XML 資料結構

Abstract

The Thakbong (讀墓) project is a long-term, open-ended digital humanities initiative that aims to document, archive, and analyze the epigraphy and material culture of the Taiwan Strait and adjacent regions. Its primary objective is to preserve and make discoverable an immense body of data—photographic, textual, and contextual—pertaining to tombs, temples, and related cultural sites. At its core, Thakbong is both a database and a research framework: a means to store and structure hundreds of thousands of images, and an interpretive tool that supports the study of cultural practices, materiality, and belief systems across time and space. The geographic focus of this work can be estimated, e.g. by counting the number of documented “tombs” within a region or country.

Many people have contributed through their photos or fieldwork to the establishment of the database. Among these people are Linda Gail Arrigo, Jimmy Chun Huang, David Blundell, Andy Jan, Jiunn-Jye Chuu (Kennex), Stephane Corcuff, Lin Chingchi, Ann Heylen, Ann

Table 2 *table*

Countries or regions of relatively intense fieldwork, measured by the number of documented tombs.– 田野調查較密集的國家或地區（以已記錄的墓葬數量計）。

China (中國)	4716	Czech Republic (捷克)	1391
England (英國)	174	France (法國)	1485
Germany (德國)	971	Hong Kong (香港)	6057
India (印度)	298	Italy (義大利)	3114
Japan (日本)	3936	Korea (韓國)	106
Macao (澳門)	1381	Malaysia (馬來西亞)	907
Netherlands (荷蘭)	620	Philippines (菲律賓)	102
Singapore (新加坡)	818	Taiwan (臺灣)	90286
Thailand (泰國)	6911	USA (美國)	4332
Vietnam (越南)	450	Laos (寮國)	412

Meifang Lin, Sandy Kerui Yan, Naiyu Chen, Sandy Lilun Lin, James X. Morris, David Lai, Zhan Yaqing, Jennifer Liu Yichen, Marcus Bingenheimer, Liu Jixiong, Wi-Vun Taiffalo Chiung (Ui-bun), Mandy Manwai To, Tammy Yi-ting Liu, Sara Yu-ting Wang, Syuanfei Shih, Yoyo Bizhu Chan, Marit Haughton, Liu Xiuyi, Ares Jing Tang, Tan Bochin, Xu Zhenyu, Sindy Choi, Shih Qiyang, Lisa Streiter, Leonhard Voltmer, Katherin Chong, Pierre Vendassi, Elisa Tamburo, Billy Tang, Sharon While, George Kang and Lenno Streiter.

What may appear as a technical exercise in data collection conceals a complex hierarchy of interdependent requirements: storage, archiving, discoverability, documentation, and research. Each layer builds on and enables the next. Reliable storage offers a digital harbor for data; archiving ensures its permanence for future generations. Discoverability transforms data into an accessible resource—through indexing, metadata, and the structuring of information architectures that allow both machine and human agents to find and navigate it. Documentation converts implicit information in the primary media (mostly photographs) into explicit secondary data through annotation, transcription, translation, and classification. Research, finally, uses these structured data to identify patterns, outliers, and correlations—what might be called a grammar of culture, visible in the regularities and exceptions that emerge from spatial, temporal, and semiotic distributions.

The project currently hosts over 600,000 images, primarily stored in commercial cloud environments for accessibility, complemented by XML-based secondary data on GitHub. The use of XML reflects a deliberate choice for transparency, longevity, and human readability. XML's hierarchical structure allows for complex yet coherent representation of cultural information—linking, for example, a tomb to its inscriptions, transcriptions, translations, and the inferred social or ritual practices it embodies. Through XSLT and CSS transformations, the same XML files can be rendered as human-readable web pages, ensuring that one single format serves both as the canonical machine-readable data and as its human interface.



Figure 2 The database and its contextualization encoded in XML on the left side and the visualization of the XML-encoded information through XSLT and CSS in a browser on the right side. – 左側為以 XML 編碼的資料庫及其脈絡化內容，右側則為透過 XSLT 與 CSS 在瀏覽器中呈現之 XML 資訊的視覺化結果。

Within this architecture, the Thakbong project has catalogued approximately 130,000 sites, defined as spaces of cultural practice. These range from tombs and cemeteries to temples, memorials, workshops, and even mundane structures like wells or windbreak walls. Each site is annotated along common schemas, allowing for queries across intersecting dimensions such as geography, type, and practice. Thus, a researcher may search for all tombs facing west, dated to the Shōwa period, located on Xiyu Island—or explore broader cultural regularities, such as the prevalence of apotropaic symbols across islands and regions.

This focus on practice is central. Following Michel de Certeau's distinction between strategies (the practices of institutions and power) and tactics (the improvisations of individuals), Thakbong seeks to trace both the top-down and bottom-up dimensions of cultural behavior

as they manifest in physical sites and material objects. Tombs that claim land, shrines that encode social hierarchies, and temples that serve both spiritual and political agendas are not just architectural phenomena—they are enactments of strategy and resistance, of memory and identity. By documenting these sites, the database becomes a means of reconstructing cultural grammars: the ways in which physical objects, spatial arrangements, and inscriptions articulate social relationships and cosmological beliefs.

A distinctive methodological feature of Thakbong lies in its treatment of classification. Rather than enforcing rigid, universal definitions of cultural categories, the project embraces multiple, potentially conflicting systems of labeling. Each site or object may carry several overlapping types—“tomb,” “temple,” “heritage site”—reflecting the layered histories and contested meanings of the same physical entity. The Temple of the Five Concubines (五妃廟) in Tainan, for example, is simultaneously a temple (in the present), a tomb (in origin), and a state-designated heritage site (in administrative discourse). Rather than treating such multiplicity as noise or inconsistency, the database encodes it explicitly, recognizing contradiction as an empirical reality of cultural life.

```

<PRIMORDIAL>
<name>language-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>zh-TW</code> <label>Traditional Chinese</label>
<name>script-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<name>script-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<name>script-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<name>script-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<name>script-Chinese-traditional</name> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<name>language-English</name> <code>en-GB</code> <label>The Shrine of the Five Concubines</label>
</PRIMORDIAL>
<types>
<type>language-Chinese-traditional</type> <code>zh-TW</code> <label>Chinese-traditional</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>inactive cemetery</label>
<type>Language</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>park-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>memorial park-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>ancient-park-converted cemetery-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>R.o.C. national monument-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>R.o.C. national monument of first degree-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>ancient-park-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>ancient-park->ancient-park-types</label>
<type>language-English</type> <code>en-GB</code> <label>Temple tomb</label>
<type>script-Chinese-traditional</type> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
<type>script-Chinese-traditional</type> <code>CHN-公園</code>
<type>script-Chinese-traditional</type> <code>CHN-五妃廟</code>
</types>

```

Figure 3 The encoding of “names” and “types” of the “The Shrine of the Five Concubines” in the Thakbong XML-data. – 五妃廟」之「名稱」與「類型」在 Thakbong XML 資料中的編碼方式。

This pluralism extends to language and epistemology. The project consciously avoids the

ideological pitfalls of universal taxonomies—those that reproduce the biases of dominant academic or cultural systems, often shaped by Western epistemologies. Instead, Thakbong juxtaposes emic (community-based) and etic (academic) labels, preserving both local terminologies and scholarly categories. This decision stems from the recognition that notions like “island,” “temple,” or “mountain” are far from universal: their meanings shift across linguistic, cultural, and disciplinary contexts. An island, for example, may be defined geomorphologically as “land surrounded by water,” but for islanders it is also a livelihood network encompassing reefs, winds, and fishing grounds—a lived environment, not a cartographic abstraction. In acknowledging this diversity, Thakbong positions itself as a polyphonic archive: a repository of voices, definitions, and perspectives that coexist without being forced into homogeneity. The following example—a church where the first author attended community-based yoga classes and played the piano during his stay in Philadelphia in 2024–2025—illustrates both diachronic and synchronic forms of epistemological pluralism.



Figure 4 Trinity Memorial Episcopal CHURCH/Winter SHELTER/Holy Trinity Memorial CHAPEL in Philadelphia

Technically, this approach necessitates multi-valued attributes within the XML framework, allowing each entity to carry multiple labels, names, and interpretations. Far from complicating data retrieval, this design enriches it—enabling complex queries that reflect the realities of cultural hybridity. Researchers can search for all sites that are both “tombs” and “temples,” or those reclassified as “heritage” after a given year. Moreover, the coexistence of contradictory labels becomes analytically productive, signaling moments of historical transformation or ideological conflict: temples converted into memorials, churches repurposed as museums,

shrines turned into political monuments. In this sense, the database itself becomes a record of cultural negotiation and appropriation.

The Thakbong project also articulates a philosophy of data transparency and sustainability. By relying on open formats (XML), distributed storage (GitHub and cloud platforms), and minimal interface transformations (via XSLT/CSS), it ensures that data remain both readable and reusable over time. Every entry, whether a temple inscription or a photograph of a tomb, exists in a self-describing structure, minimizing dependence on proprietary systems or software obsolescence. At the same time, the design anticipates scalability and future interoperability, allowing new modules—such as AI-driven image recognition or statistical visualization—to integrate seamlessly into the existing framework.

Finally, Thakbong redefines the relationship between cultural heritage and research infrastructure. It functions not only as a database of artifacts but as a living laboratory for thinking about how digital systems can represent, rather than erase, cultural complexity. The project challenges both positivist and relativist paradigms: positivism, by rejecting the illusion of universal categories; relativism, by showing that structured data can still model ambiguity and contradiction. It thus offers a middle path for digital humanities—one that respects the plurality of human culture while maintaining the rigor of formal modeling.

In sum, Thakbong is more than an archive: it is a cultural grammar machine, an evolving ecosystem where data, metadata, and interpretation interact dynamically. Its ambition is not merely to document the dead, but to make visible the living systems of belief, power, and practice inscribed upon the landscapes of the Taiwan Strait and beyond. By transforming the act of “reading tombs” (讀墓) into a collaborative, multilingual, and multimodal inquiry, the project opens new horizons for comparative epigraphy, anthropology, and the digital study of culture.

Keywords: Digital Humanities, Epigraphy, Cultural Heritage, Taiwan Strait, XML Data Modeling, Cultural Practices, Classification Systems, Emic and Etic Perspectives, Digital Archiving, Database Design

牠們能飛走嗎！可以嗎？ 墓地是臺灣珍稀及瀕危物種的生態熱區

Cemeteries as Hotspots for Taiwan's Rare and Endangered Species

李燕萍 – Li Yen-Ping

摘要

臺灣為一海島，土地有限，尤其在人口密度集中的西半部，工業優先為拼經濟主調，罔顧人權、犧牲民生及放棄農業的思惟下，對於土地的需求、超高利用、開發建設，甚至違反人權以暴力掠奪，成為政府中央到地方政府獲取選票支持、財團互利、籌措地方財源的日常手段。就算 2025 年的現在，臺灣人口持續負成長，土地利用需求依然有增無減，我們依然忙碌著拼 GDP，過度的開發下忘記了拼幸福。

大多數的人們不清楚「生物的多樣性」(Biological Diversity) 的重要性，我們享受著「生物多樣性」(Biodiversity) 為人類提供食、衣、住、行、育、樂全面的生態系服務 (Ecosystem Services)，甚至供給、調節、支持讓人類可以在地球上繁衍生命。但人類一面享受却又忽略維持更多的「生物多樣性」，一個”健康”的地球，才能支持人類良好的生存環境，不受食物短缺、極端氣候、無藥可醫、傳染性疾病傳播等等影響生存危機。但我們無盡的掠奪土地開發及產生的種種問題，擠壓同為地球住民的其它生物生存空間，避無可避，退無可退，已消失或正面臨滅絕威脅。

墓地的功能是埋葬死亡之人，紀念、懷念逝去之人，迷漫死亡氣息之地。因為人們對於死亡未知的恐懼及避忌，使得墓地成為都市中的嫌惡設施，每個人必經的歸所却又避之唯恐不及。在這片似乎寂靜之地，却又有群數量更勝於亡者的同居者，日日夜夜的在墓地裡鬧哄哄，被人忽視。

「桑滄變化本無奇，朝易塚遷古有之」隨著人類的移動變遷，承載亡者的墓地產生、消失及移動並不奇怪。但若因為貪婪及錯誤的政策而導致全面的清塚消失，這糟透了的事正在臺灣發生中。因政治主因失去了墓地，我們失去了臺灣歷史、失去墓葬文化、失去追索我們是什麼人的過去及未來，失去一個表達主權的證據。

這次發表，我將重點放在提醒少人關注的臺灣墓地作為動植物保護區及珍稀動植物最後保種基地的功能重要性。藉由個人及夥伴們（地上台南）多年從事墓地的保存，主要以臺南市，尤其是臺灣現存最古老最大型的南山公墓的踏查及記錄。分享其它地方致力於臺灣環境及野生動物保護的友人們提供的資料，真實展現在墓地裡日日夜夜鬧哄哄，被人忽略的這些住民或難民，對於我們的重要性及困境。

關鍵詞：南山公墓、地上台南、清塚、墓葬文化毀滅、生物多樣性、生態熱區、土地開發掠奪、土地徵收

Abstract

Taiwan, as an island with limited land resources, faces increasing pressure on its territory—especially in the densely populated western regions. Economic growth and industrial development have long been prioritized over human rights, social welfare, and agriculture. Under this mindset, land has been excessively exploited, developed, and even seized through coercive or violent means. Such practices have become everyday tools for political power and financial gain—from the central government to local administrations, and in collusion with private corporations.

Even in 2025, as Taiwan’s population continues to decline, the demand for land use shows no sign of decreasing. We remain preoccupied with pursuing GDP growth, while forgetting to strive for genuine well-being.

Most people are unaware of the importance of biological diversity (biodiversity), despite relying daily on the ecosystem services it provides—food, clothing, shelter, mobility, education, and recreation. These services sustain life on Earth through their provisioning, regulating, and supporting functions. Yet while humanity enjoys these benefits, it neglects to maintain the biodiversity that underpins them. A “healthy” planet is essential to ensuring a livable environment—free from crises such as food shortages, extreme weather, incurable diseases, and pandemics. However, relentless land exploitation continues to compress and destroy the living spaces of other species that share this planet with us, pushing many toward extinction.

Cemeteries, by contrast, are traditionally seen as places of death—spaces for burial, remembrance, and mourning, often shunned because of cultural taboos surrounding death. They are considered undesirable facilities within urban landscapes—destinations we all must face but would rather avoid. Yet within these seemingly silent grounds live countless other inhabitants, more numerous than the deceased, bustling with life day and night, though largely ignored by people.

“As the seas turn into mulberry fields, and tombs are moved with the changing times”—cemetery creation, relocation, and disappearance are natural parts of human history. But when greed and misguided policies lead to the systematic destruction of burial grounds, the consequences are tragic. This is precisely what is happening in Taiwan. Driven by political and economic motives, we are losing not only cemeteries, but also our historical memory, funerary culture, our sense of identity, and even material evidence of sovereignty.

This presentation aims to draw attention to an overlooked issue: the ecological importance of cemeteries in Taiwan as refuges and final sanctuaries for endangered flora and fauna. Drawing from years of personal and collaborative work with the group Ground Tainan (地上台南) in documenting and preserving cemeteries—especially Tainan’s Nanshan Cemetery, the oldest and largest surviving burial ground in Taiwan—this paper highlights their ecological, cultural, and historical value. It also includes findings shared by environmentalists and wildlife conservationists from other regions, revealing the vibrant yet neglected lives of the cemetery’s nonhuman residents, and reflecting on their significance and vulnerability in the face of ongoing urban and political pressures.

Keywords: Nanshan Cemetery, Ground Tainan, Cemetery Clearance, Destruction of Funerary Culture, Biodiversity, Ecological Hotspot, Land Exploitation, Land Expropriation

Burial Remains as Traces of the History of Humanity:
Examples, implications and ethical debates
作為人類歷史痕跡的埋葬遺骸：案例、意涵與倫理辯論

Linda Gail ARRIGO

November 13, 2025

摘要

近數十年來，隨著古代 DNA 分析、考古科學與族譜研究的進展，人類對自身歷史與遷徙的理解出現了深刻的轉變。歐洲、東南亞等地的研究團隊，已在公共工程與考古挖掘過程中，系統性地採集與分析出土遺骸中的基因資料。這些研究成果不僅重寫了人類族群起源與文化交流的歷史敘事，也引發了關於遺骸開掘、所有權與處理方式的倫理與法律討論。

本演講將臺灣置於這股全球科學再發現的潮流之中，並以南山公墓為核心案例，探討墓葬空間在學術研究上的潛在價值。臺灣社會普遍將墓地視為禁忌與避忌之地，但若轉換視角，墓葬其實是珍貴的歷史與生物資料庫。透過重新理解墓地作為遺傳學、族譜學與都市歷史研究的重要資源，我們可以促進人文與生命科學之間的跨領域對話。同時，演講亦將討論臺灣在研究人類遺骸時所面臨的倫理議題與文化敏感性，倡議以尊重、透明與社群參與為原則的研究與保存框架。

關鍵詞：古代 DNA、考古學、南山公墓、臺灣、人類遷徙、遺傳與歷史、研究倫理

Abstract

In recent decades, advances in ancient DNA analysis, archaeological science, and genealogical research have profoundly reshaped our understanding of human history and migration. Across Europe, Southeast Asia, and beyond, research teams now systematically recover genetic material from burial sites discovered during public works and archaeological excavations. These findings have not only rewritten long-standing narratives about population origins and cultural exchange but also raised new ethical and legal questions regarding the excavation, ownership, and treatment of human remains.

This talk situates Taiwan within this global movement of scientific rediscovery. Using the case of the Nanshan Cemetery (南山公墓) as a focal point, it argues that cemeteries—often seen locally as spaces of taboo or avoidance—should also be recognized as vital archives of collective history and biological heritage. By reframing burial grounds as sources of empirical data for genetics, genealogy, and urban history, we may open new interdisciplinary approaches that connect the humanities and life sciences. At the same time, the talk will address the ethical dilemmas and cultural sensitivities involved in studying human remains in Taiwan, advocating for respectful, transparent, and community-informed frameworks for research and preservation.

Keywords: Ancient DNA, funerary archaeology, Nanshan Cemetery, Taiwan, human migration, genetics and history, research ethics

My position on the graves of Taiwan and how they should be researched and preserved is very much that of an anthropologist or archaeologist who wants to answer big questions about human evolution and prehistory. Along the way, there is also the goal of preserving the materials for recording and analyzing the history of recent generations, from the Dutch period and on at least. This position admits that I may seem callous for the feelings of the current families of those in the grave sites, because I see the priority as researching them and adding to current day knowledge, not the preservation of the family graves per se.

When I gave a talk in Tainan two months ago, an older man exclaimed loudly, “When

the archaeologists begin to dig, we have lost!” I must admit there is an ethical issue if the current owners of the graves and their descendants feel they are disrespected by the research. There are also practical and legal issues, because the descendants own the graves of their parents and grandparents. But I would argue that unless the research is given priority because of its national and international value and then research is carried out in a systematic fashion, the whole site and area will continue to be seen by the public merely as an eyesore and remnant of superstitions. There is a deep Taiwanese fear of ghosts. The result will be that the cemetery will be bulldozed over by the real estate developers with the cooperation of local government, and nothing will remain at all, as has already happened throughout Taiwan. However, the research value and Taiwan’s search for international standing may be something of a shield against rampant development without research.

The Nanshan graves are certainly of high historical value and cultural value, even in their present condition, because ancestor worship has been central to Chinese culture over the eons, and it has been largely destroyed in China. As an example of south Chinese culture and burial with reburial as done in South China, it is a prime example of a living tradition, but one that may not be living much longer. Traditional Chinese beliefs were that burning or damaging the body of the dead was abhorrent. But now that cremation has been generally accepted, and there is no second burial of the bones, and the site of the bones is a tower rather than a hillside, the important festival of Qing Ming and grave cleaning is no longer very relevant, and youth do not even keep an altar to respect the ancestors at home. At the same time, unlike past centuries, the inheritance of land is no longer the predominant determination of social standing, and so the inheritance from the ancestors does not have the same meaning. But at least some memory of that past should be retained, for long-term cultural preservation and understanding. Otherwise, all inherited culture will have been lost to commercial greed.

But technology and science have also transformed the meaning of graves. Since about 2010 when the techniques were developed for reading ancient DNA, and even the full DNA of Neanderthals who were alive 40,000 years ago was reconstructed, there has been a global frenzy to dig through old caves that humans inhabited centuries ago, and to excavate burial mounds throughout the world, in order to add to the collection of ancient human or humanoid DNA, which is now in the hundreds of samples. Since 2000 several new kinds of ancient humans such as Denisovans and *Homo Floriensis*, aka “the Hobbit”, have been discovered. Swedish scientist Svante Pääbo won the 2022 Nobel Prize in Physiology

or Medicine for his work on the DNA of extinct humans. Pääbo also found that modern humans have traces of Neanderthals and other archaic humanoid populations in their DNA; i.e. there was interbreeding. The large numbers of archaic individuals that have been sequenced to date have allowed the resuscitation of ancient histories of migrations and population mingling and conquest.

These have been really stunning revelations of prehistory, and these revelations change our understanding of present day nationalities and cultures. Of course, this ancient DNA can be linked to and compared with the thousands of samples of current living populations. Now it is understood that Europe was populated by at least three waves of migrations of *Homo sapiens*, and before that it was populated by Neanderthals before they went extinct about 40,000 years ago. The last wave of migration was probably about 4.5 thousand years ago, migration by cattle herders that came from the steppes of central Asia, and they probably established most of the present population speaking Indo European languages. (The Migration of Indo-European Languages, <https://youtu.be/Sdm9ACB8dTo>) They also wiped out almost all the Y chromosomes of the previous populations, perhaps by violent takeover that killed the men and took the women.

Through the samples of modern populations that have been voluntarily donated to commercial genetics depositories or research depositories by people who want to understand their ethnic origins or find lost relatives, it is now possible to trace and locate ethnic groups and their divergences over thousands of years. Of course, the main purpose of these modern population DNA depositories is to research the relationships between genetic characteristics and diseases, such as predispositions for diabetes and heart disease. In addition, they provide understanding of the inheritance of rare fatal genes and may give some hints for curative therapies. These genes differ slightly but significantly among populations in different parts of the world. For example, blood thinning agents are often prescribed for people who are at risk of heart attacks, but these medications may be deadly to about 8

So in my view, the vast resources of DNA in the Nanshan cemetery are of tremendous value, especially if they predate the 1949 migrations, and perhaps extend back a few hundred years so that migration in that period can be studied and analyzed from the DNA, as well as from the inscriptions on the tombstones and the goods in the graves, all of which are very important to the interpretation of human society and its change over history. And prehistory as well.

It will be even more precious if the DNA from earlier prehistoric migrations to Taiwan

can be discovered, say 6,000 or 9,000 years old. But it is conceivable that even a longer time frame may be discovered; for example, bones from 30,000 years ago have been found in Vietnam, and humanoid tools from possibly 300,000 years ago have been found in the Philippines.

Homo erectus was in Asia and in Southeast Asia half a million years ago, specifically first discovered in Java in 1891, and now these remains are being reinterpreted in light of the discovery of a new strand of human evolution, the Denisovans. China has been advancing quickly in archaeology and DNA analysis and making new finds every year. Taiwan has been researching human remains from many thousands of years ago found in caves on Taiwan’s southeast coast, but it is probably the case that the fertile alluvial plains of Southwest Taiwan also harbored prehistoric populations.

So we get to the crucial issue of how the Nanshan cemetery should be preserved and researched, assuming that the greed of the real estate developers can be staved off. Let me emphasize here that governments throughout the world are now incorporating the needs of archaeology in their public projects. For example, over 60 archaeological sites have been found in the recent development of the London transportation system (Crossrail project: Europe’s largest archaeological dig, this project uncovered thousands of artifacts and fossils over a time range of 70,000 years. It involved excavating over 3,300 skeletons from the 16th and 17th centuries). In general, a year or two is allowed for the careful archaeological excavation of each site before the site is built over. Often an army of volunteers, easily 100, could be used at each site, and they are recruited to help the professional archaeologists. All around Europe, amateur archaeologists with metal detectors have helped to discover ancient artefacts and sites.

For another detailed example, over two decades ago a few skulls were dug up in a Florida bog that was being prepared for the building of an apartment complex. It was found that the skulls were 7000 years old, not a recent crime scene as was initially thought because of their excellent preservation in the bog. The whole site was intensively studied by archaeologists, who eventually found that it was a native American burial site with over 160 skeletons. (The Windover discovery, in east-central Florida, near Cape Canaveral, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bUKulFjhTFI>.) It must have been a sacred site, because the closely related people (as found through DNA analysis) brought their dead from tens of miles around for burial there. This could be determined from the strontium signature in the teeth: the strontium isotopes give an indication of where the person was

growing up and thus absorbing minerals from the environment. The layers of the teeth can be read like tree rings to decode migrations during pre-adult years. (The Egved Girl: A Journey Into the Bronze Age <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRqwwUjAeEY>.) This is one of many advanced techniques that now allow detailed study of past societies, e.g. finding that either men or women are marrying into the group, patrilineal or matrilineal.

In the case of Nanshan cemetery, the first step should probably be to do a lidar scan of the whole area. That is a kind of radar study of the underground that can easily be done by archaeologists with some equipment carried over the area, by hand or on a roller, in parallel strips like spraying pesticide on vegetable rows. Similar lidar is also done over large areas by airplane, for seeing through jungle cover and discovering ancient settlements in Central America. After computer analysis, the results of the echo readings show where there has been disturbance of the ground underneath, like for buildings and walls several meters under the ground, that cannot be seen on the surface. This mapping should be combined with geographical analysis, especially since the alluvial plain has been gradually building up over a long period. And the coast has moved out several kilometers over the past 400 years of recorded history. This could lead to some guess as to where the most ancient areas of habitation might be located, and where the human remains might extend farthest underground. This leads to the next stage of research, the digging of several trenches to verify the lidar indications, sampling the soil and artefacts down to the deepest stratum of habitation. Then the broader range of excavation and sampling can be designed. From my archaeologists' ideal, at least a quarter of the whole area should be intensively studied, and from there it can be discussed as to how the land can be best utilized for the long run.

There has already been considerable research on what are the most valuable current graves at the surface level and it should be designed how these can be saved from destruction, even in an archaeological dig. Of course, another aspect of the evaluation of land use that I have not mentioned is the ecological and environmental value of the land, for the preservation of living species and for providing green space for the current generation. Taiwan 's population overall is going to be collapsing to half or less over a period of time, and what it really lacks in living quality is natural environment.

After this evaluation, it might be judged how much of the land can be given over to modern development without destroying much of the cultural and archaeological value. It could be expected that the evaluation and preliminary archaeological examination could take several years. This scale of archaeological excavation and analysis implies that there

will be fairly large facilities needed to house the research, and finally a world class, museum to display the materials and the cultural artifacts. So this is really a part of a cultural industry that Taiwan should look to for raising its standing in the world, with a traditional Chinese material culture that cannot be found now in China.

The Taiwan government cannot claim that it does not have the resources for such cultural development. It has more than enough profits from the electronics industry, and has even been recently pushed by political forces to give out sums of money to the population for no particular purpose. Much of the excavation could provide employment to elder laborers, since the excavation requires only light labor, though with painstaking care. Taiwan does not need the land for housing. A large portion of newly built urban housing around the island is not even occupied, and is being held by speculators. Other areas of decrepit housing have not been renewed, but could easily be utilized. There is no solid reason for government to give in to the real estate developers, although they are, of course, supported by local residents who want to cash in on their assets. There is no price that can be put on the knowledge of culture and history that can come from such an archaeological research and cultural preservation, but it is likely to also give some economic benefits in tourist value.

There is no easy answer to be given to those who do not want the bones of their ancestors to be disturbed. Anthropologists have faced such ethical issues before many times in dealing with American native peoples, such as the Hopi, who believed that their ancestors came out of the rocks in their area of the southwest United States. They didn't want to hear that their ancestors probably came over the Bering Strait from Asia, 20,000 years ago or so. But such objections have gradually decreased as anthropologists have engaged with native people, returned the bones after analysis, and also welcomed native peoples to be trained as anthropologists.

It is likely that in Taiwan the archaeologists will need to engage with religious specialists in both native indigenous religions and Chinese religions to deal with the spiritual concerns. This may, in fact, enrich the cultural interpretation. But, of course, this engagement takes time and patience. And also the development of understanding of the archaeological and historical purposes of the excavation among much of the secular population. I am hoping that historians and archaeologists in Taiwan will step up to the plate and cast off their own superstitions as well, in order to save this irreplaceable archaeological and cultural site before it is covered up with cement and modern buildings.

我對台灣墓葬及其研究和保護的立場，很大程度上源於一位人類學家或考古學家想要解答有關人類進化和史前史的重大問題的視角。同時，我也希望保存相關資料，以便記錄和分析至少從荷蘭殖民時期至今的近代歷史。這種立場意味著，我可能顯得對墓園中逝者家屬的感受不夠體貼，因為我認為首要任務是研究這些墓葬，豐富當今的知識，而非僅僅保護家族墓地本身。

兩個月前我在台南演講時，一位老人大聲喊道：“考古學家一旦開始挖掘，我們就完了！”我必須承認，如果墓地的現任所有者及其後代感到他們的權益受到侵犯，這確實是一個倫理問題。此外，還存在實際和法律問題，因為後代擁有他們父母和祖父母的墓地。但我認為，除非這項研究因其國家和國際價值而被優先考慮，並以系統化的方式進行，否則整個遺址和區域在公眾眼中仍然只會是一個礙眼的、迷信的遺跡。台灣人對鬼魂有著根深蒂固的恐懼。結果很可能是，在地方政府的配合下，房地產開發商會推平這片墓地，使其不留任何痕跡，就像台灣其他地方已經發生的那樣。然而，研究價值以及台灣對國際地位的追求，或許能成為抵禦不經研究就肆意開發的屏障。

南山墓群即便在如今的現狀下，也無疑具有極高的歷史和文化價值，因為崇拜祖先在中國文化中根深蒂固，而如今卻已在中國遭到嚴重破壞。作為中國南方文化和二次葬習俗的代表，南山墓群堪稱一項鮮活傳統的典範，但這項傳統或許也即將消亡。中國傳統觀念認為，焚燒或損毀遺體是極為可憎的。

然而，如今火葬已普遍接受，遺骨不再二次葬，墓地也從山坡遷至靈骨塔，清明節和掃墓等重要節日已不再具有原來的意義，年輕人甚至不再在家中設立祭壇祭拜祖先。同時，與過去幾個世紀不同，土地繼承不再是社會地位的主要決定因素，因此祖先的遺產也失去了原有的意義。但至少應該保留一些關於過去的記憶，以促進文化的長期傳承和理解。否則，所有傳承下來的文化都將因商業貪婪而消失殆盡。

但科技也改變了墓葬的意義。自 2010 年左右古代 DNA 讀取技術發展以來，甚至連四萬年前尼安德特人的完整 DNA 都被重建，全球掀起了一股挖掘數百年

前人類居住的古老洞穴和墓葬群的熱潮，以擴充古代人類或類人生物 DNA 的樣本庫，如今尼安德特人已達數百個樣本。自 2000 年以來，有發現了幾種新的古代人類，例如丹尼索瓦人和弗洛里安人（又稱“哈比人”）。瑞典科學家斯萬特·帕博因其對已滅絕人類 DNA 的研究而榮獲 2022 年諾貝爾生理學或醫學獎。帕博也發現，現代人類的 DNA 中含有尼安德塔人和其他古人類的痕跡；也就是說，他們之間曾經發生過基因交流。迄今為止，已經對大量古代個體進行了測序，這使得人們能夠重現古代的遷徙、人口融合和征服的歷史。

這些史前發現令人震驚，它們改變了我們對當今民族和文化的理解。當然，這些古老的 DNA 可以與數千個現存人群的樣本進行關聯和比較。現在我們知道，歐洲至少經歷了三次智人遷徙浪潮，在此之前，尼安德特人也曾居住於此，直到大約四萬年前滅絕。最後

一次遷徙浪潮可能發生在約 4500 年前，是來自中亞草原的牧牛人遷徙而來，他們很可能建立瞭如今大部分使用印歐語系語言的人群。（《印歐語系語言的遷徙》，<https://youtu.be/Sdm9ACB8dTo>）他們也幾乎抹去了先前人群的所有 Y 染色體，這或許是透過暴力征服實現的，他們殺死了男性，奪走了女性。

透過人們自願向商業基因庫或研究庫捐贈的現代人群樣本（這些捐贈者希望了解自己的種族起源或尋找失散的親人），如今可以追溯和定位數千年來不同種族群體的起源和分化。當然，這些現代人群 DNA 庫的主要目的是研究遺傳特徵與疾病之間的關係，例如糖尿病和心臟病的易感性。此外，它們還有助於了解罕見致命基因的遺傳方式，並可能為治療提供一些線索。這些基因在世界各地不同人群中存在細微但顯著的差異。例如，血液稀釋劑通常用於預防心臟病發作，但對於台灣約 8% 為他們攜帶一種受藥物影響的特定基因。因此，對世界各地現代人群的基因研究對現代健康至關重要。同時，它也能為研究古代人群提供連結和理解。

因此，在我看來，南山墓地蘊藏的大量 DNA 資源極具價值，尤其如果這些 DNA 的年代早於 1949 年的遷徙，甚至可能追溯到幾百年前，那麼我們就可以透過 DNA、墓碑銘文以及墓葬品來研究和分析那個時期的遷徙情況。所有這些對於解讀人類社會及其歷史變遷都至關重要，也包括史前時期。如果能夠

發現更早的史前遷徙到台灣的 DNA，例如 6000 或 9000 年前的 DNA，那將更加珍貴。但可以想像，或許還能發現更久遠的 DNA；例如，在越南發現了距今三萬年的骨骼，在菲律賓發現了可能距今三十萬年的類人工具。

五十萬年前，直立人生活在亞洲和東南亞，最早於 1891 年在爪哇島被發現。

如今，隨著丹尼索瓦人這一人類進化新分支的發現，這些直立人的遺骸正被重新解讀。中國在考古學和 DNA 分析領域取得了長足進步，每年都有新的發現。台灣在研究在台灣東南沿海洞穴中發現的數千年前的人類遺骸，但台灣西南部肥沃的沖積平原很可能也曾是史前人類的家。

因此，我們來到了南山墓地應該如何保護和研究的關鍵問題上，前提是能夠遏制房地產開發商的貪婪。在此我想強調的是，世界各國政府現在都在公共計畫中納入考古需求。例如，在倫敦交通系統的近期開發中，發現了 60 多個考古遺址（Crossrail 項目：歐洲規模最大的考古挖掘項目，該項目發掘出數千件文物和化石，總跨度長達七萬年。它涉及挖掘 16 至 17 世紀的 3300 多具骨骼）。通常，每個遺址在被開發和建設之前，都會留出一到兩年的時間進行細緻的考古發掘。每個遺址通常需要多達 100 人的志工隊伍，他們被招募來協助專業考古學家，英國人似乎很樂意提供協助。在歐洲各地，業餘考古學家使用金屬探測器也幫助發現了古代文物和遺址。

另一個詳細的例子是，二十多年前，在佛羅裡達州一處正在為建造公寓大樓而清理的

沼澤地裡，工人挖掘了幾具頭骨。這些頭骨保存完好，最初人們認為它們是近期犯罪現場的遺骸，但後來發現它們已有七千年的歷史。考古學家對整個遺址進行了深入研究，最後發現這是一座美洲原住民墓地，埋葬著 160 多具骨骼。（《溫多弗遺址》，位於佛羅裡達州中東部，靠近卡納維拉爾角，<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bUKulFjhTFI>）這必定是一處神聖的場所，因為 DNA 分析顯示，與墓葬地有著密切聯繫的人們會從方圓數十英里內的地方將逝者運到這裡安葬。這一點可以從牙齒中的鈼同位素特徵中推斷出來：鈼同位素可以指示逝者成長的環境以及他們從環境中吸收的礦物質。牙齒的層理結構可以像樹木年輪一樣被解讀，從而揭示成年之前的遷徙路線。（《埃格維爾德女孩：青銅時代之旅》<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRqwwUjAeEY>）這是眾多先進技術之一，如今我們可以對過去的社會進行詳細研究，例如，發現男性或女性是否通過通婚進入群體，以及通婚是父系還是母系。

就南山墓地而言，第一步應該是對整個區域進行 lidar 雷達掃描。這是一種地下雷達探測技術，考古學家可以輕鬆地用一些設備完成，他們可以手持或用滾筒將設備沿著平行條帶像給菜地噴灑農藥一樣在區域內進行掃描。類似的光達技術也被用於飛機上大面積探測，以穿透叢林覆蓋層，發現中美洲的古代聚落。電腦分析後，回波讀數結果會顯示地下的擾動區域，例如地表下數公尺處的建築物和牆壁，這些在地表上是無法看到的。這種測繪應與地理分析結合，尤其考慮到沖積平原是經過漫長歲月逐漸形成的，而且在過去四百年的有記載歷史中，海岸線已經向外移動了數公里。這可以幫助我們推測最古老的居住區域可能位於何處，以及人類遺骸可能延伸到地下的最深處。接下來的研究階段是挖掘多條探溝，以驗證雷達的偵測結果，並採集土壤和文物樣本，直到最深的居住層。之後，就可以設計更大範圍的挖掘和取樣方案。根據我考古學家的理想，至少應該對整個區域的四分之一進行深入研究，然後才能討論如何才能從長遠角度最好地利用這片土地。

目前已有大量研究探討了地表上最有價值的墓葬，並應設計出如何在考古發掘過程中保護這些墓葬免於破壞。當然，土地利用評估中我尚未提及的另一個面向是土地的生態和環境價值，包括保護生物物種和為當代人提供綠色空間。台灣人口總體上將在一段時間內減少一半甚至更少，而其生活品質真正缺乏的正是自然環境。

經過評估，或許可以判斷在不破壞大部分文化和考古價值的前提下，有多少土地可以用於現代開發。預計評估和初步考古勘察可能需要數年時間。如此大規模的考古發掘和分析意味著需要相當大的設施來容納研究工作，最終還需要一座世界級的博物館來展示出土文物和文化遺跡。因此，這實際上是台灣文化產業發展的重要組成部分，台灣應該重視它，以提升其在世界上的地位，因為台灣擁有如今在中國大陸已難覓得的傳統中國物質文化。

台灣政府不能以缺乏資源進行此類文化發展為由推卸責任。電子產業的利潤足以支撐政府發展，而且近期還受到政治力量的推動，向民眾發放了大量資金，但用途並不明確。

由於挖掘工作雖然需要細緻的照料，但僅需少量體力勞動，因此大部分挖掘工作可以為老年勞工提供就業機會。台灣並不需要土地用於房屋建設。島上新建的城市住宅中，很大一部分甚至無人居住，被投機客囤積。其他一些破舊房屋也未進行翻新，但完全可以利用。政府沒有充分的理由向房地產開發商妥協，儘管他們當然會得到希望變現資產的當地居民的支持。此類考古研究和文化保護所帶來的文化和歷史知識是無法用金錢衡量的，而且很可能也會帶來一定的旅遊效益。

對於那些不願意祖先遺骸被擾動的人來說，很難給出簡單的答案。人類學家在與美洲原住民打交道時，曾多次面臨類似的倫理問題，例如霍皮族人就堅信他們的祖先是從美國西南部地區的岩石中誕生的。他們不願意接受祖先可能是在兩萬年前左右從亞洲經白令海峽遷徙而來的說法。但隨著人類學家與原住民的交流增多，在分析後歸還遺骸，並歡迎原住民接受人類學培訓，這類反對意見已逐漸減少。

在台灣，考古學家很可能需要與原住民宗教和中國傳統宗教的專家進行溝通，以處理相關的精神層面問題。這或許能夠豐富文化解讀。當然，這種溝通需要時間和耐心。此外，還需要讓大部分世俗民眾理解這次考古發掘的歷史和文化意義。我希望台灣的歷史學家和考古學家能夠挺身而出，摒棄自身的迷信，共同保護這處不可取代的考古文化遺址，以免它被水泥和現代建築所掩埋。

Acculturation of Chinese practices at Mt. Hope Cemetery, Boston: A presentation of diaspora burial traditions in Boston utilizing low-cost citizen science methods, GIS mapping, 3D modeling, and LiDAR technology

華人習俗在波士頓希望山墓園的文化適應：運用低成本公民科學方法、GIS地圖、3D建模與LiDAR技術探討僑民葬禮傳統

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Abstract:

In this paper we briefly present the unique heritage found at the Chinese burial lots in the Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston, Massachusetts along with our utilization of digitalization of tools employed for this documentation. We will also discuss the natural progression of our methodological approaches, including our decision to utilize consumer grade, low cost 3D modeling tools, including LiDAR. Our hope is that our overview of heritage at Mt. Hope Cemetery will contribute to the literature of New England gravesite studies and Chinese diaspora burial practices, and that our methodology will open new avenues for heritage research at other gravesites.

1. Introduction: Mount Hope Cemetery and Chinese burial lots.

Mount Hope Cemetery can be found in the southwestern reaches of the City of Boston, Massachusetts. Initially established in 1852 as a private cemetery, it came under the administration of the City of Boston in 1857. It was the first “garden” cemetery to be developed in Boston, one which “employed features of nineteenth-century” landscape aesthetics and neat organization intended to “create open public spaces that preserved natural features of the landscape” and grew to a maximum size of 129 acres featuring sections reserved for war veterans, the police force, and fraternal orders (Collins and Schmidt 2019). Beyond its ornate entrance and past its many private plots for Boston’s citizens, in its farthest back reaches feature indigent graves and paupers’ burials among which three lots can be found that were reserved for the burial of migrants and Americans of Chinese descent (Atoigue, n.d.). The earliest Chinese burials date to 1930 (Collins and Schmidt 2019), some of which belong to original Chinese migrants to the region (CHSNE 2008), reflecting the “first wave of immigrants to Boston Chinatown in the early 1900s” (Tien 2020). To date, it contains more than 1,500 Chinese burials (CHSNE 2008; Sitterley 2022), the oldest of which are found in Lots A, C, and E (Tien 2020).



Image 1. Chinese tombstones in Lot A of Mount Hope Cemetery (October 2025).



Image 2. Chinese tombstones in Lot C of Mount Hope Cemetery (October 2025).



Image 3. Chinese tombstones in Lot E of Mount Hope Cemetery (July 2019).

Boston's earliest Chinese population arrived in the region in the 1870s with the promises of jobs in Massachusetts factories. They were met with hostility, not realizing they had been employed to break a strike:

"Massachusetts, colonized by the British in the early 17th century, proved to be hostile when the first batch of Chinese arrived by train in the early 1870s, brought in to replace union workers who were on strike at a shoe factory in North Adams, 220 kilometers [west] of Boston.

The Chinese, unaware of their role as strike-breakers, were met by 2,000 angry people at the train station, before 50 policemen armed with shotguns escorted them to the factory.

The Chinese, realizing they had been duped, left for other places, including New York and New Jersey" (Xu 2020).

Many migrants to Massachusetts remained, finding their way to Boston, and within a few decades began to pass away, resulting in the first set of burials in Mount Hope Cemetery. For decades these tombstones languished, but eventually received renewed attention in the late 1980s when Davis Woo and David S.Y. Wong began efforts to rehabilitate these sites, leading to the establishment of the Chinese Historical Society of New England (CHSNE) in 1992, which, through a series of grants and public outreach projects, worked to reset and replace broken tombstones and improve the space, leading to the eventual construction of a memorial in Lot E of the cemetery in March 2007 (*ibid.*).

These plots of Chinese burials have been popular subjects of study (Liu 2018; Asian American Studies Program 2013), and represent the "densest Chinese immigrant burial area in New England" (Liu 2018) (New England is a geographic region of the northeastern United States comprised of the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut). Many tombstones in the cemetery were constructed of thin slabs of limestone, which have fallen into disrepair due to the dynamic climate of New England. Freezing and thawing of the soil has toppled many stones which now lean at precarious angles, have toppled over, or sit chipped and eroded by the elements. CHSNE has attempted to locate the descendants of those whose tombstones have been in a state of disrepair in order to make repairs or modernizations(Liu 2018). CHSNE has also been working with the city's Parks Department Cemetery Division on the creation of a bilingual database of these graves' heritage (*ibid.*). Certain records are available regarding these Chinese burials. Among these are deeds from 1912 to 1937 (Kane 2016). Despite the grassroots efforts to rehabilitate these graves, there is still a marked disparity in their condition in comparison to the non-Chinese burials nearby (Liu 2018; CHNSE 2008; Atoigue n.d., Tien 2020).

1.2. The memorial

A memorial was dedicated in 2007 to honor those buried in Lots A, C, and E, and serves as a focal point for ritual activities, including an altar for leaving offerings and a concrete and metal furnace for burning spirit money and paper offerings. Within the altar's surface is a long trench in which sticks of incense and candles can be inserted for the veneration of the deceased. There is also enough space on the altar for offering plates containing food and other goods the deceased may require in the afterlife. In addition to these components, there is a walkway leading to the altar that passes through an archway flanked by traditional guardian lions (referred to as "foo dogs" in the United States). The design of the memorial is a hybrid of traditional ritual components and contemporary western architectural aesthetics. Unlike cemetery shrines observed in areas of Taiwan and the Pearl River Delta (PRD), sites that are familiar to the researchers, this memorial is an open-air construction, utilizing modern materials and bears a distinct sleek twenty-first century aesthetic. Designed by architect Jo Kun Lim with feedback from the local Chinese community, its design is meant to place the original immigrants into a modern sense of place (CHNSE 2008; Sitterly 2022).

The memorial bears Chinese epigraphy reading "Remembering those who came before you" (慎終追遠) on the altar's back wall, as well as "Long rivers flow from distant origins" (源遠流

長) and “Abundant leaves flourish from deep roots” (根深葉茂) as couplets along the inside of the archway (English translations are borrowed from Collins and Schmidt 2019; Sitterly 2022).

1.3. Goals of this presentation

With this brief introduction of the burial site out of the way, we will continue with our exploration of the Mount Hope Cemetery Chinese burial sites and heritage trends that we have observed during our explorations in 2019 and 2025. The goals of our brief paper are ambitious; we anticipate this introductory work to serve as a foundation for future research for our team as well as for others. Below we will present our efforts at field research, including our methodology and our initial findings. We will also explore the utility of low cost consumer-grade tools for data collection, digitization, and 3D modeling. We will also present briefly our efforts at data collection and methodology experimentation at other cemeteries in Taiwan and the United States. Having done so, we complete our overview of the heritage at Mount Hope Cemetery by presenting the preliminary patterns we have identified, and turn our discussion to the acculturation of Chinese practices in an American cemetery: an opportunity to begin a dialogue on the nexus of diaspora traditions in American mortuary spaces.

2. Methodology

Our primary tools were smartphones and tablets that are capable of logging GPS data, directional orientations, dates, time, and other pertinent metadata. In total we have conducted two field visits to the Chinese graves. Our first visit occurred in July 2019 and documented approximately 170 graves in half of the cemetery's Lot E. A follow-up visit was conducted in October 2025 and documented approximately 1,253 tombstones. Our research team consists of three researchers, named Researcher A, Researcher B, and Researcher C for this paper. In 2019 only Researcher A visited the Lot E without any preparation, optimistically hoping to document as much as possible and only managed to cover half of this particular site due to time constraints. Preparation for the second visit in 2025 included additional preliminary research which revealed the extent of the Chinese graves was much more extensive than initially thought. As a result, a three-man team was assembled in order to divide labor and ensure as complete a documentation as possible could be conducted.

For our 2025 documentation Researcher B had already become familiar with tombstone documentation as a result of earlier collaborative efforts. Researcher C was given on-site training. This visit was conducted with the intent of collecting data at every tomb across burial Lots A, C, and E, including a redocumentation of the tombstones visited in 2019.

2.1. Our approach to documentation at Mount Hope Cemetery

For our 2019 research we brought a smartphone for tombstone documentation, a 360 degree camera for environmental documentation, as well as a compass for measuring tombstone orientations. For our 2025 visit we opted to emphasize our documentation of tombstone data, and relied primarily on the use of smartphones. We also brought an iPad Pro M4 in order to conduct LiDAR and photogrammetry scans for 3D modeling. Using smartphone cameras, our team of three was able to select rows of tombstones for documentation in each section, leapfrogging over one another in order to complete a documentation in the shortest amount of time. To begin, Researcher A began with the iPad Pro M4 in Lot E, scanning the memorial structure and its surroundings, Researcher B began a documentation of the undocumented tombstones in Section E, and Researcher C received on-site training as they redocumented the tombstones that had been visited in 2019. When Researchers A and C had completed their initial tasks, they joined Researcher B to complete the documentation of Lot E. The team then moved on to Lot C and then Lot A.

For the 2025 documentation, each section of the cemetery was approached methodically: each researcher was instructed to first take a photograph of the section in order to establish the

spatial reference points of the site. Then, each row of tombstones was approached from the same side. When documenting a new row, researchers were instructed to take another photograph of the row they were going to work on. Then they were instructed to document each tombstone in the row, beginning with the closest. Leapfrogging over one another row by row allowed for an efficient division of labor that ensured a quick documentation.

Our documentation was non-invasive. We photographed tombstones as they could be observed. When possible we removed fallen leaves and depositions of dirt from around the base of tombstones or from their surfaces, though this was only done in order to read inscriptions, and no removal of living plant matter or established surface soil was attempted.

2.2. Our tools

Our documentation of tombstones in 2019 was conducted using a Samsung Galaxy A18 smartphone, a 360 camera, and a handheld compass. For the 2025 documentation our tools consisted of a Samsung Galaxy S24 Ultra and an iPhone SE (2nd generation) belonging to Researcher A, an iPhone 12 belonging to Researcher B, an iPhone SE (3rd generation) belonging to Researcher C, and iPad Pro M4 also belonging to Researcher A. We found the Samsung Galaxy A18 to be sufficient for a documentation in 2019, but our goals in 2025 were more ambitious, and so we shifted our focus towards using devices that could easily communicate and share photographs across the same ecosystem (in this case, the Apple ecosystem).

For scanning, the iPad Pro M4 comes equipped with a consumer-grade infrared LiDAR sensor which can detect objects up to 5 meters away and could be used for accurate 3D modeling. In combination with LiDAR 3D modeling and photogrammetry apps, this tool enables clear, detailed virtual models of spaces and objects to be processed on the device and using app servers. We utilized a version of the iPad Pro M4 with a cellular chip that would ensure the device could communicate with GPS satellites, thus ensuring positioning metadata in its 3D scans. We chose the mobile application (app) Polycam for our research as earlier tests and other reviews (Hegazy and Yasufuku 2022; Nelson 2021) favorably reviewed its accuracy for most environments. Our own practice with Polycam suggests that its accuracy is +/- 2 cm, which sits within the range of measurement that we are currently interested in.

Although we have tested the capabilities of the iPad Pro M4 in various environments (hot sunny conditions, cool rainy environments, shady forests with mottled light, and dark indoor spaces, etc.) its effectiveness in the field appears to be impacted greatly by mist and drizzle. While one survey of the Preble Cemetery in Bowdoinham, Maine was conducted in rainy conditions and yielded an acceptable model, our attempts to scan the memorial at Mount Hope Cemetery using both LiDAR and photogrammetry yielded results that were less accurate than we'd encountered before. We may surmise that despite rainy conditions in the Preble Cemetery, the dense tree cover resulted in less atmospheric interference, whereas the open environment of Mount Hope Cemetery resulted in more misty conditions which could have resulted in poor conditions for scanning. What remains to be explained is the even poorer models that photogrammetry produced at this site.

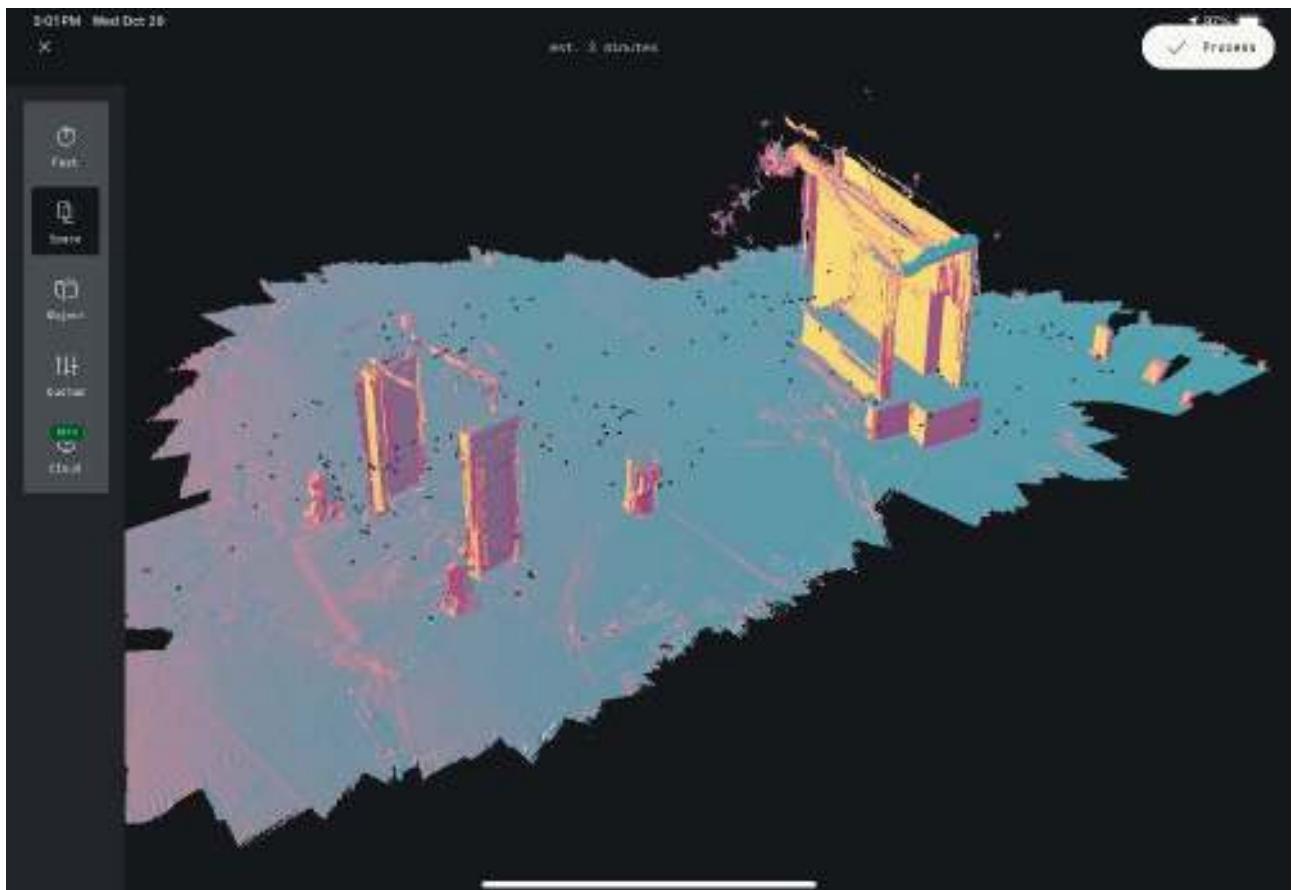


Image 4. A pre-processing contour rendering of the Lot E memorial shrine using the Polycam app and the iPad Pro M4's LiDAR capture features.

Nevertheless, our digitization of the tombstones at Mount Hope Cemetery was successful. We did notice that once all of our photographs were collected into the “Photos” app on the iPad Pro M4, they tended to become organized based on their timestamps rather than what device had taken the photos. This resulted in an intermixture of photographs taken by all three researchers, creating an inaccurate representation of work conducted mixed between three different models of iPhone on the Photos app. Although a bit of a headache at the moment, it is likely that this can be overcome by separating them based on their metadata related to the devices used to collect data.

One final comment to be made about the use of our devices was the tendency for certain phones to lose battery power rapidly. It is suggested that, because this research was conducted in misty, drizzly conditions where the ambient temperatures hovered between 5 to 12 degrees Celsius (40 to 55 degrees Fahrenheit), the cold may have impacted our devices as well. We have already noted that we ceased our attempts to use the iPad Pro M4 because of the deteriorating weather conditions and their impact on accurate scanning.

3. Preparation for this research

Our goal of researching the Chinese burials at Mount Hope Cemetery was inspired by the research conducted by the ThakBong project in Taiwan and Pacific Asia. ThakBong is a tombstone documentation initiative begun in 2007 by Oliver Streiter and Yoann Goudin, begun as an online relational database for Asia-Pacific tombstone heritage documentation, archiving, and analysis that takes advantage of advancements in the digital turn in the humanities and social sciences. The methodologies explored by ThakBong have brought us into contact with heritage cemeteries in Asia and North America, and have inspired us to conduct research, test methodologies, and present findings from heritage gravesites in Taiwan and New England (Morris 2017).

In 2019 we began our exploration of gravesites in New England in earnest, focusing primarily on tombstones in Bowdoinham, Maine, particularly the Preble Family Cemetery, which we have observed on and off for several years (Morris 2019a, 2019b). These explorations, combined

with earlier work done with ThakBong in Taiwan, led to the decision to conduct a preliminary study and documentation of tombstones at Mount Hope Cemetery in July of 2019 (Morris 2019c).

For our 2025 research, we sought more information about the burials at this site, resulting in our learning about the additional graves in Lots A and C. As a result, we decided that this was more than a single-person project, and assembled a team of three researchers in order to carry out the research in a single day trip.

3.1. Testing the iPad Pro M4

To test the utility of the iPad Pro M4 as a 3D scanning tool, we began with a preliminary literature review and by testing it on objects of convenience. The literature suggested that the iPad Pro M4 was sufficient for environmental documentation and 3D recreation though its accuracy was reliable only down to the centimeters and not recommended for fine detail (Labedz et al. 2022: 11). Considering our own interest is more in line with salvage archaeology, millimeter-level accuracy was not considered necessary as long as the resulting scans maintained enough fidelity to read epigraphy and retrieve basic reference measurements of objects.

Our preliminary experimentation with the iPad Pro M4 was conducted on a variety of objects of convenience, including room interiors, outdoor objects and spaces, shrines, and gravesite environments in Taiwan and the United States. Although we utilized several applications with the iPad's LiDAR system (including RTAB-Map, SiteScape, and Modelar), we settled on Polycam based on recommendations and due to its versatility, allowing LiDAR scanning, high-def photogrammetry, measurement capabilities, massive survey potential, and low subscription cost for data processing.

To further our testing of the iPad's capabilities, we conducted spatial surveys of gravesites including Nanshan Cemetery in Tainan City, Taiwan in September of 2025 and the Preble Family Cemetery in Bowdoinham, Maine, USA in October 2025. Nanshan Cemetery was documented using Polycam, RTAB-Map, and SiteScape, each offered its own strengths. By October 2025 we had decided on Polycam, and focused our time experimenting with the LiDAR scanning and photogrammetry tools that it provided. We found that LiDAR enabled us to take rather accurate measurements, whereas photogrammetry tended to produce even clearer, cleaner models, but did not yield measurable results. Although Polycam supports long-duration scans, we observed that with the more data it collected it had a tendency to begin rapidly heating our device. We also observed that when conducting a LiDAR scan of an environment backtracking over a previous scanned area could result in a doubling up of layers. Additionally, we noticed that any sudden jostling movements while scanning with LiDAR would produce errors in the final product regardless of what app was being used. Overall, when weighing the benefits and drawbacks, it was determined that using both LiDAR and photogrammetry features with Polycam was preferable: thus, two passes (or scans) at a site or space would be deemed necessary.

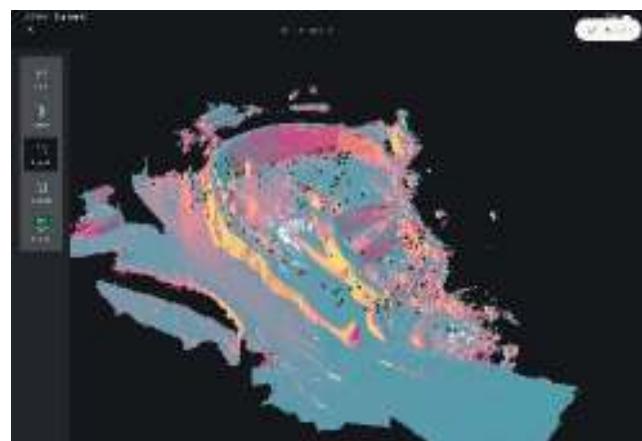


Image 5. Testing Polycam on an abandoned tomb at Nanshan Cemetery in Tainan City, Taiwan.

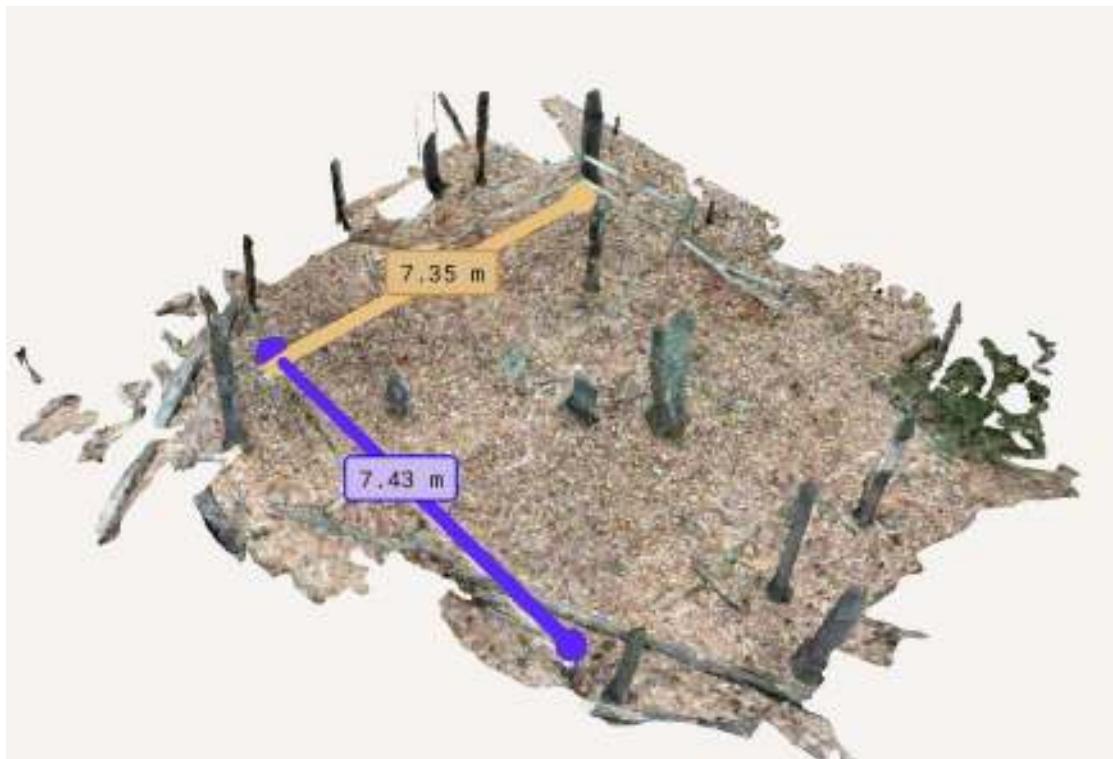


Image 6. LiDAR scans of the Preble Cemetery in Bowdoinham, Maine. Using LiDAR with Polycam allows researchers to take measurements accurate to within +/- 2 centimeters within a digital space.

4. Our study of Mount Hope Cemetery's Chinese burial lots

Our study of Mount Hope Cemetery revealed approximately 1,253 distinct tombstones representing approximately 1,228 graves. We observed at least 25 instances where a grave featured more than one tombstone. This may be a result of tombstone renovation and replacement or a result of older, illegible tombstones fragmenting, and their pieces being placed side by side and producing the illusion of more than one tombstone. Additionally, we observed two instances in which a couple (presumably a married couple) were buried together and shared a single tombstone. This would bring our total of persons buried to approximately 1,230 individuals. We note that these figures are preliminary and are based on a brief review of our photographs of distinct tombs. Because we have not yet committed each tombstone to a relational database, they are floating in an abstract dataset, and we estimate that it is possible we may have over counted by thirteen in our preliminary summary. A more robust and detailed study will no doubt result in concrete figures. Nevertheless, our study falls somewhat short of the 1,500 Chinese burials that the existing literature estimates (CHSNE 2008; Sitterley 2022). This discrepancy of approximately 270 graves may simply be a result of other Chinese Bostonians being buried elsewhere in the cemetery, not necessarily in Lots A, C, or E.

Lot A represents the greatest number of tombstones, arranged in 29 rows, and is likely the oldest section. Tombs here tended to date to the 1930s and 1940s more so than tombstones elsewhere. A majority of these grave markers were made of narrow, thin tablets of limestone, many of which were toppling over, laying on the ground, and generally unreadable due to weathering and the growth of mosses and lichens.

Lot C featured the smallest number of tombstones. These were tucked away in another far corner of the cemetery, and featured the highest rate of disrepair. Many tombs here were chipped, broken, or otherwise laying on the ground.

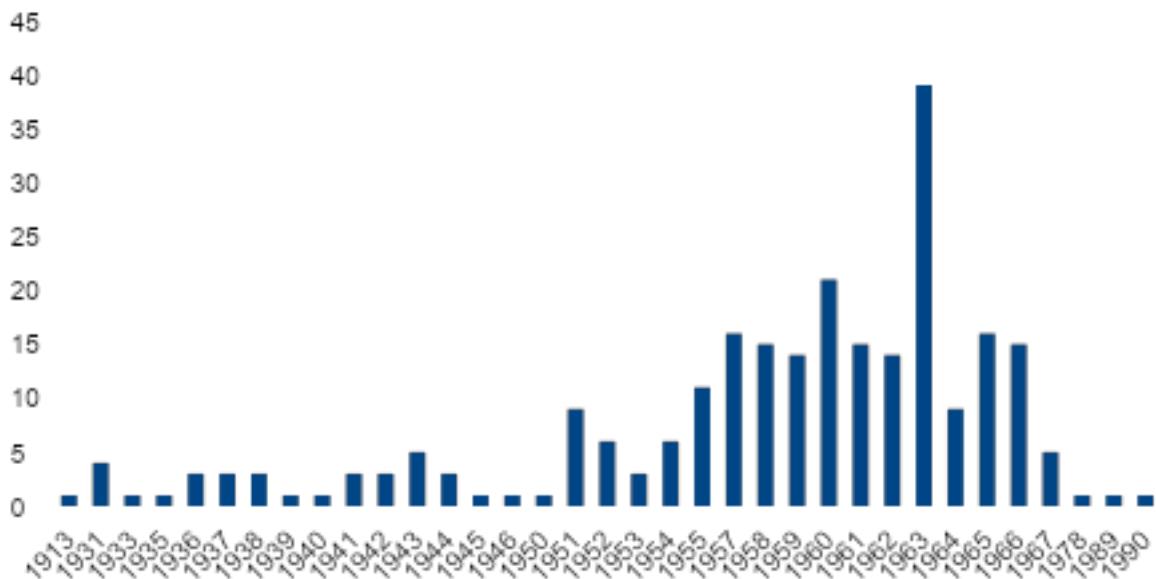
Lot E appears to have been the best maintained site. Tombs here featured dates in the 1950s and 1960s. It is possible that the presence of the memorial has resulted in grassroots efforts to take better care of these tombstones.

Of the 1,253 tombstones observed, only 167 featured dates. These appeared to be the dates of birth and death of the individuals buried there, rather than the Chinese tradition of adding the date of construction of the tomb or the date of commissioning of the tombstone. Of the death dates, representative of the approximate years when burials took place, dates ranged from 1913 to 1990, but were concentrated between 1954 and 1967. It is possible that the 1913 date may be a misreading of the characters on the stone. The 1990 date belongs to a tombstone on which two names are rendered, suggesting a spouse long-outlived their partner.

Table 1. Number of tombstones observed for each year

Year	Number of tombstones	Year	Number of tombstones	Year	Number of tombstones
1913	1	1944	3	1960	21
1931	4	1945	1	1961	15
1933	1	1946	1	1962	14
1935	1	1950	1	1963	39
1936	3	1951	9	1964	9
1937	3	1952	6	1965	16
1938	3	1953	3	1966	15
1939	1	1954	6	1967	5
1940	1	1955	11	1978	1
1941	3	1957	16	1989	1
1942	3	1958	15	1990	1
1943	5	1959	14		

Graph 1. Number of tombstones observed for each year



Seven tombstones rendered their dates in the calendar year of the Republic of China (民國) (corresponding to one tomb for 1943, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1955, and two tombs for 1956). Four tombs also featured dates of renovation alongside the death dates of the deceased (one in 2007, three in 2012).

We can also observe from the dates on many tombstones that many Chinese in the cemetery were first-generation Bostonians, observable by their early twentieth century birth dates (at least thirty years after the first Chinese migrated to the city).

Many of the tombstones we observed featured focus characters that serve to create a group identity among those buried in the cemetery. The most common being Taishan (台山) which appeared 258 times in our study. The second most common was Guangdong (廣東) which appeared 188 times. The third most common were permutations of Kaiping (開平) which appeared on 45 tombstones. Such focus characters are expected, as they can be found on many tombs in Taiwan and the Pearl River Delta (PRD). They bring our attention to the origins of Boston's early Chinese diaspora community from China's Guangdong Province. The latter half of the nineteenth century had rocked Guangdong, the opening of Guangzhou (Canton) as a treaty port, and particularly the establishment and growth of the British colony of Hong Kong had a significant impact on Chinese migration out of the Qing Empire. The west coast of the United States was one such location for Cantonese Chinese to migrate to, where they found work constructing railways and digging mines among other labor-intensive work. We find that the appearance of "Guangdong" is a reference to their province of origin. Taishan (Toisaan or Hoisan in Cantonese) is a county on the coast of Guangdong Province, located some 100 km southwest of Hong Kong, on the western side of the Pearl River Delta. Kaiping (Hoping in Cantonese), was historically a county just inland to the north of Taiping. It is evident that many of those buried at Mount Hope Cemetery originated from this region of Guangdong Province.

The vast majority of these tombstones are thin, narrow limestone tablets, and these can be found throughout all three burial lots. We also observe the inclusion of bespoke tombstones among the rows as well, most noticeably granite tombstones. Granite tombstones were generally of larger dimensions than the limestone ones, and often these featured floral motifs carved around the inscription face, an aesthetic choice generally common among twentieth century tombs throughout North America, suggesting they were sourced from workshops that catered to private clients and were on the pulse of contemporaneous trends. At the moment there is not enough information present to provide a history of the cemetery's material culture, though it appears that many of the tombstones erected in the first half of the twentieth century were contracted to a workshop dealing in cheap limestone tombstones, possibly a budget option, and that the granite tombstones were likely privately ordered by families.

From our preliminary observations, it is difficult to tell whether or not there is a consistent grammatical structure among the tombstone epigraphy in these lots. Among the limestone tombstones we can observe one, two, or three columns of inscription. Each column may feature any number of characters. It has been observed that many of the tombs featuring two columns are inscribed off-center on the stone. The reason for such an odd placement of the characters is unclear. In many cases, focus characters or full names are written horizontally across the top of the tombstone face, and on some stones the focus characters are written along the top edge itself. In cases where stones are set flush into the ground, other manners of inscription patterns are used. We also observe the inclusion of Romanized names and brief English biographical statements such as “Grandfather” or “sister” or “Son of” Otherwise, inscriptions tend to be written in traditional Chinese characters.



Image 7. Examples of simple tombstones featuring one, two, or three columns of inscription (October 2025).

Some general trends can be observed, such as the column on the visitor's right-hand side typically featuring the focus inscription (Guangdong, Taishan, Kaiping, etc.), the central column or columns will generally indicate who is buried there, and if there are three columns, the left-side column will typically feature some additional information (such as dates or more details about the deceased's place of origin). In general, however, birth and death dates appear to be rendered horizontally across the top section of the tombstone face along with the names.

We also observe that many limestone tombstones feature identification numbers written at their very base, such as “RG. 4 GR. 16.” In any given row the “GR” numbers appear to change while the “RG” numbers stay the same, evidently the city's means of keeping track of the tombstones.

We observed that several tombstones were constructed out of alignment or orientation with the general grid pattern of the burial lots. Typically tombstones were arranged in parallel rows, however it was observed that certain bespoke tombstones were stood upon their bases slightly at off angles from the 90-degree orientations of the rows and grid pattern. Their slight angle appeared to be deliberate, and suggests that although families had to adhere to the organization of the cemetery, they were able to make small adjustments in order to bring the tombs into better alignment with auspicious geomantic principles. In traditional Chinese geomancy, *fengshui* (風水), orientation of tombs, bodies, and tombstones are important, as they may be associated with certain dates and auspicious abstract qualities that serve to create harmonious graves and bestow blessings onto descendants. Such instances at Mount Hope Cemetery were rare, though when observed they were rather noticeable. We may consider that this logic was at play in the orientation

of many tombstones that had toppled over as well. It is possible that, once freed from the soil, families were able to lay the stones in auspicious orientations in order to enhance benefits for the lineage.

In addition, we observed that the expression of religious belief was rare among these tombstones. Of the 1,253 tombstones observed, two tombstones were observed to feature the Christian crucifix and one tombstone featured Buddhist swastikas.



Image 8. The tomb of W. F. King is a bespoke tombstone that has not only replaced an earlier stone (set in the earth behind it on the left), but it is at a slight angle from its base, presumably to make use of a slightly more auspicious orientation (July 2019).

4.1. The interplay of Chinese folk systems in an American cemetery

Mount Hope Cemetery is first and foremost an American cemetery. Developed in one of the oldest European settlements in North America and during a time in the mid-nineteenth century when European notions of garden landscape cemeteries began to take root. Subject to city ordinances, it is a well-organized and maintained burial ground. As a result, its tombstones and graves, including the Chinese burials, come under certain regulations that are not necessarily found in distinctly Chinese spaces.

Our research has observed many gravesites in Taiwan as well as Hong Kong and Macau, representative in many ways of Pearl River Delta (PRD) and Cantonese burial practices. In Taiwan and the PRD we find that traditional gravesites are disorganized, cluttered, and often unkept. When traditional folk religion practices and fengshui geomancy are allowed to be practiced at their fullest, we observe tombs that appear almost haphazardly across the landscape. Geomancy dictates that an elevation must be behind a tomb, and flowing water or a body of water ought to be found in front of it. Often, the scramble to find an elevation means that tombs orient themselves towards the smallest rise in the terrain—sometimes other tombs' burial mounds.



Image 9. Xindian First Public Cemetery in Taiwan, an organically developed burial ground that developed based on geomantic traditions.

Missing from the graves at Mount Hope Cemetery are burial mounds, semiotic objects of cosmological significance—representative of the fecundity of the earth, a womb within which the deceased is placed, an axis mundi, and the shell of the cosmic tortoise associated with said axis mundi (Morris 2021).

Tombs in Taiwan and the PRD are designed as ritual assemblages. More than simple graves with stone markers, they are designed as microcosms of ideal landscapes and sanctuary spaces that operate as shrines. Ancestor worship at traditionally constructed tombs occurs in front of the tombstone where an altar stone is generally placed before it. Also found associated with each of these tombs are small altars and tablets dedicated to the veneration of the earth deity either in the form of Houtu (后土) or Tudi Gong (土地公) who serve as tutelary protectors of the tomb assemblage. These deities must also be venerated alongside the ancestor.

At Mount Hope Cemetery we see no earth mounds, nor do we see assemblage elements. There were no altars for Houtu or Tudi Gong, not even at the memorial shrine. Nearby tombs belonging to other Bostonians appear to be designed as ornate assemblages, but there was no effort at tomb construction for the Chinese tombs. It is likely that socioeconomic conditions of the initial burials resulted in the development of extremely simple and undecorated tombs, or perhaps cemetery zoning played a role. It appears as though the tombstones are the sole semiotic objects that carry the weight of millennia of folk traditions, but even these are more difficult to interpret than their counterparts in Taiwan and the PRD. Without consulting with Boston's archives or its Parks Department Cemetery Division, it is unclear. These resources, along with the Chinese Historical Society of New England, need to be tapped.

There was evidence at several tombstones that offerings were left in accordance with Chinese folk practices. Burnt candles were observed at several tombstones, as were small stones holding down papers found atop others. The latter is a practice that occurs each Tomb Sweeping Holiday (typically held in early April) when families visit the tombs of their ancestors and tidy up their surroundings. Adding slips of paper is seen as a way to repair the “roof” of the tomb assemblage, to ensure the remains of the ancestors stay cozy and protected from the elements. But we also observed the American tradition of planting flowers and decorative plants at the tombs as well, common practices that occur annually during the Decoration Day holiday (now Memorial Day). We can also observe that several of the interred in these lots were war veterans, as their tombstones are decorated with American flags set into holders indicating their time of service.

We also observe that certain epigraphic patterns play out on the tombstones much in the same way they can be observed on Taiwan and in the PRD. First and foremost is the adherence to Chinese characters in some manner on each tombstone. Secondly is the inclusion of the aforementioned focus inscription that serves to bind together the community or segments of the community. Third, we can observe on several tombstones surnames are prominently displayed as another focus, a common practice on twentieth century tombs in Asia.

Whereas tombs on Taiwan tend to follow a particular base-five inscription formula, their columns either following a (n5+1) or (n5+2) pattern (if n = 1, resulting in a character count of 6 or 7 characters), the tombs at Mount Hope do not appear to follow any set formula.

Gravesites in Taiwan and the PRD will sometimes feature shrines dedicated to the veneration of anonymous dead. Sometimes these are simple altars for propitiating the buried deceased who no longer have descendants leaving offerings for them. Other times these are shrines that are built to house anonymous remains for the same reason. The memorial shrine at Mount Hope Cemetery does not appear to have been dedicated for either of those purposes, but instead was constructed for the memorialization of the Chinese migrants to Boston and to help ensure their graves remain relevant to the city's contemporary milieu.

5. Conclusion

This paper has briefly presented the Chinese burial sites at Boston's Mount Hope Cemetery. Our documentation of this site has been robust, though we caution that it remains incomplete to some degree. Our efforts at documenting each tombstone have been fruitful, already we have observed interesting preliminary trends. Further analysis of this new corpus of digitized epigraphic data can no doubt yield better heritage understanding. We are left with many lingering questions that prompt future investigations.

Moving forward, it would be worthwhile to return to Mount Hope Cemetery in order to accomplish several additional goals. The first is to explore whether or not our 2025 survey had missed approximately 270 (or more) Chinese tombstones, and if so, locate and document them. Additionally, we feel that a more complete non-invasive 3D environmental scan ought to be conducted. Despite the less-than ideal results that our use of the iPad Pro M4 produced during our 2025 field visit, we are nevertheless happy with its performance in other sites and believe that there is great potential for its LiDAR and photogrammetry capabilities in the documentation of heritage spaces such as cemeteries. The flukes we experienced at Mount Hope Cemetery appear to be merely that, flukes. Our experience at other sites have been sufficient, and we suspect the weather conditions may have impacted the outcome of our scans and modeling. Future documentation using LiDAR, photogrammetry, and 3D modeling may be best approached through a standardized ecosystem such as using Apple products with LiDAR capabilities and/or widespread spatial photogrammetry. Such approaches would need to be done in a patchwork fashion throughout the burial grounds which could later be stitched together using specialized programs such as MeshLab. We are happy that, although the price of certain digitization tools may at first be high (such as the iPad Pro and iPhone Pro models), there are many open source options applications which offset the initial costs.

The use of high tech devices should not preclude the use of low tech options either. We have found in 2019 that the use of a handheld compass is useful in determining deviations in tombstone orientations. Although smartphones are equipped with internal compasses, without their being positioned directly against a tombstone, it is impossible to tell whether a reading is 100% accurate. If a return visit occurs, it would be worthwhile to sample the orientations of some tombstones in each lot as well as those that appear uniquely out of orientation with the surroundings. Such readings may yield information as to why certain old tombstones have been laid out at odd angles.

Additionally, returning with a tape measure to take the dimensions of the older limestone tombstones as well as measuring the bespoke larger tombstones may also reveal whether or not auspicious measurements were included in their manufacture.

Finally, it would be worthwhile to attempt to transcribe the epigraphy of each tombstone in order to determine whether or not any grammatical consistencies or patterns exist.

It is our hope that this paper has illuminated new perspectives on heritage studies through the case study of Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston, and we hope that our innovative methodologies, including LiDAR scanning and photogrammetry, will inspire more researchers in this area. We have tested the efficacy of such tools and deem them to be worthwhile and relatively inexpensive additions to the researcher's toolkit. We believe that our research will help to advance areas of Chinese heritage studies, tombstone studies, and New England heritage studies.

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A Case Study of Sagada's Hanging Coffins: Examining indigenous eschatology and embodied continuity with the lens of communication theology

Solomon A. Patnaan

Abstract

This case study examines the indigenous burial practices of Sagada's Kankana-ey people, particularly the tradition of hanging coffins, through the lens of communication theology. Drawing on kinship studies, ritual theory, and a theological framework rooted in the works of Avery Dulles, Franz-Josef Eilers, and Emily Pennington, the research explores how these embodied rituals communicate a rich eschatological worldview that resists Western disembodied models of the afterlife. Employing thematic analysis of an in-depth interview with elder Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, the study interprets key ritual narratives through theological and anthropological frameworks. The study identifies core themes: embodied eschatology and ancestral continuity, the sacredness of place, ritual as spiritual technology, communal identity, and the tensions between tradition and modernity. Sagada's cave and cliff burials, offerings, and ritual chants (such as the bayao) are not merely cultural customs but theological acts that mediate ongoing relationships between the living and the dead. These rituals serve as communicative expressions of kinship, reverence, and spiritual healing, grounded in a theology that privileges relationality, material symbolism, and sacred geography. The study argues that such practices offer a contextualized and relational model of divine-human-ancestral communication, posing a valuable challenge to dominant theological paradigms. Ultimately, the case affirms the enduring relevance of indigenous cosmologies in shaping theological discourse and underscores the need for a contextual theology rooted in cultural embodiment.

Keywords: *Sagada hanging coffins, Indigenous eschatology, Embodied continuity, Ancestral Realities, Communication theology*

High in the Cordillera Mountains of the Philippines, the ancient practice of placing coffins in caves and hanging them from cliffsides in Sagada presents a unique and compelling case study in the intersection of culture, religion, and communication. These "hanging coffins," a tradition of the indigenous Kankana-ey people, are not merely cultural artifacts but represent a deeply spiritual worldview communicated through ritual, place, and embodied practices. This case study analyzes the indigenous burial practices of Sagada through the lens of kinship studies and ritual theory, demonstrating how these practices offer a unique perspective on eschatology that challenges dominant Western models and aligns with feminist and communication theologies as articulated by Emily Pennington. Specifically, this study examines how communication, both verbal (*through ritual chants like bayao*) and nonverbal (*through the placement of coffins and the use of specific materials*) shapes the Kankana-ey understanding of death, the afterlife, and the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. The analysis is structured around several key themes derived from an interview with Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, a 73-year-old elder from Kilong, Sagada. These themes include: the concept of embodied eschatology and ancestral continuity; the sacredness of place and the significance of caves; ritual as spiritual technology and relational healing; the impact of modernity, tourism, and external influences; and the importance of communal identity and kinship. Exploration of these themes through a communication theological lens illuminates the rich theological and anthropological significance of Sagada's burial practices and their enduring relevance in a rapidly changing world. This study analyzes how these practices communicate a distinct understanding of

the sacred, challenging dominant Western models and offering a valuable contribution to ongoing conversations about eschatology and the role of communication in shaping religious beliefs.

This study employed a qualitative thematic analysis approach to explore the theological significance of Sagada's indigenous burial practices. As described by Cernasev and Axon (2023), thematic analysis entails coding qualitative data to identify key themes, enabling researchers to uncover meaningful patterns grounded in participants' experiences.¹ Data was gathered through an in-depth, semi-structured interview with Elder Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes of Kilong, Sagada, conducted on April 8, 2025. The interview was transcribed and analyzed using inductive thematic coding, where key statements, images, and repeated motifs were identified and categorized.

From this analysis, five major themes emerged:

1. Embodied Eschatology and Ancestral Continuity
2. Sacredness of Place
3. Ritual as Spiritual Technology and Relational Healing
4. Communal Identity and Kinship
5. Tensions Between Tradition and Modernity

These themes were then interpreted through theological lenses rooted in communication theology, ritual theory, and contextual Filipino theology. The theological significance of each theme was clarified by drawing from the works of Avery Dulles, Franz-Josef Eilers, Emily Pennington, Victor Turner, Jose de Mesa, and others. For instance, Dulles (1983) views revelation as symbolic and embodied within community life, which aligns with the Kankana-ey belief in maintaining relationships with ancestors through ritual. Pennington (2017) critiques Western disembodied eschatology and affirms embodied continuity, a concept reflected in Sagada's material burial practices. Turner (1969) and Douglas (1966) help explain how caves, cliffs, and ritual spaces function as sacred, liminal zones.

Moreover, the use of animal offerings, the bayao chants, and oral transmission of ancestral knowledge align with Eilers' (2009) model of communication theology as participatory, embodied, and incarnational. The themes on kinship and communal memory were supported by Carsten's (2004) anthropological studies and the contextual theology of de Mesa (2003), which emphasizes that local and familial practices can serve as valid loci of theological meaning.

Thus, the thematic analysis not only allowed for the extraction of emic insights but also created a dialogue between indigenous experience and established theological frameworks, affirming that communication about the sacred in Sagada is both relational and revelatory, deeply rooted in ritual, space, and kinship.

Embodied Eschatology and Ancestral Continuity (Communicating Continuity)

The Kankana-ey people of Sagada do not view death as an absolute end but as a transition within an ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. This continuity is not merely a belief; it is actively communicated through a complex interplay of ritual and practice, as evidenced in the interview with Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes. Lumiwes states, "*We believe the dead remain members of the family. Even though they've passed on, we continue to include them in prayers and celebrations. That's something we share with other belief systems: the idea that family ties go beyond death,*"² directly

¹ Alina Cernasev and David Axon, "Thematic Analysis: An Overview for Graduate Students" (University of Arizona Graduate Writing Lab, January 2023), 2.

² Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, interview by Solomon Patnaan, Kilong, Sagada, April 8, 2025.

illustrating the belief that the deceased remain integral members of the family and community. This continued presence is not a passive state but is actively maintained and reaffirmed through regular engagement. The symbolic significance of materials and placement of the coffins further underscores this communicative aspect of the belief system. The traditional use of solid, hollowed-out logs, without metal, communicates a profound respect for the deceased and a desire to maintain the integrity of the body. Lumiwes explains that, “*Our ancestors did not like metal; if metal nails are mixed with the bones, they say the ancestors become uncomfortable,*”³ revealing a belief that the materials used directly impact the well-being of the ancestors in the afterlife. This is not merely a matter of practical preservation but a communicative act, expressing a deep reverence for the physical body and its continued significance. The careful placement of coffins, in caves or high on cliffs, also serves as a powerful communicative act. The difficulty of access is not simply a deterrent to animals but a symbolic gesture of respect and honor, elevating the deceased to a position of prominence within the community. The location of the coffin itself, as Lumiwes notes, “*Where a coffin is placed becomes a kind of status symbol, it could not be mistaken for anyone else's,*”⁴ becomes a marker of identity and social standing, further emphasizing the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead.

This embodied approach to eschatology stands in stark contrast to the disembodied models critiqued by Emily Pennington. Pennington argues that traditional Christian eschatology often separates the soul from the body and the earthly realm, resulting in a form of communication that is abstract and detached from lived experience. As Pennington (2016, 152) writes, “*Conceiving of the deceased as still existing in a disembodied manner is undoubtedly comforting to some... However, I cannot, in light of Herbert's considerations and my own affirmation of embodiment, agree with it. Herbert's argument is convincing insofar as it exposes the mind-body dualism that is at the heart of such perspectives... even if the deceased were able to relate in a disembodied manner, this would be insufficient and ineffectual, as critiques of a disembodied God have argued. There would be no possibility of intimate and tangible relations with such entities; thus, there would be no authentic relations,*”⁵ highlighting the limitations of a purely spiritualized understanding of the afterlife. In Sagada, however, the communication of continuity is profoundly embodied. The rituals, the materials, and the placement of the coffins all serve to maintain a tangible connection between the living and the dead, emphasizing the ongoing relationality that transcends the boundary of death. This embodied communication, as opposed to the disembodied narratives of traditional Western eschatology, fosters a sense of presence and ongoing connection that is central to the Kankana-ey worldview.

Relevant anthropological literature highlights that Sagada's burial practices, most famously the hanging coffins, are not isolated phenomena but are embedded in a broader pattern of indigenous cosmologies that emphasize continuity between the living and the dead. Studies such as Pilunden-Omengan's Death and Beyond: Death & Burial Rituals & Other Practices & Beliefs of the Igorots of Sagada (2008) provide a rich ethnographic account of how death rituals function as communicative acts that maintain kinship ties across generations.⁶ These rituals, including the sangadil (hanging of coffins on cliffs) and bogwa (bone-washing ceremony), reflect a worldview where the dead continue to participate in the life of the community. Similarly, the study on Kankanaey ritual practices of Pamakan

³ *Ibid.*, para. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 2.

⁵ Emily Pennington, *Feminist Eschatology: Embodied Futures*, Routledge New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology, and Biblical Studies (London: Routledge, 2017), 152.

⁶ Marylin Pilunden-Omengan, *Death and Beyond: Death & Burial Rituals & Other Practices & Beliefs of the Igorots of Sagada* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2008).

and Daw-es by Gacho (2020) illustrates how ritual healing and ancestral appeasement function as social communication within Christianized indigenous contexts, showing that spiritual presence is mediated through embodied, symbolic acts.⁷ The Igorot practice of human mummification, documented in research by Maceda and Batoon (2015), further underscores how the body itself becomes a sacred vessel of ancestral continuity, preserved materially and ritually as a site of ongoing presence.⁸ Broader studies on Philippine indigenous burial customs, such as Bautista's literature survey (1996), confirm that burial practices across ethno-linguistic groups serve not just as rites of passage but also as socio-spiritual technologies that link the visible and invisible realms.⁹ Meanwhile, research on Pag-Umboh or ancestral veneration among the Sama in Tawi-Tawi (Llamzon, 2019) highlights a shared Southeast Asian belief system in which ancestors play an active, reciprocal role in daily life.¹⁰ Finally, material culture studies such as the "Mapping Philippine Material Culture" project (Philippine Studies UK, 2020) provide context for understanding how burial objects, coffins, and even cliff faces serve as semiotic tools, embodying cosmological narratives and communicating belonging, identity, and sacred geography.¹¹ These studies support the argument that the Sagada burial practices are not isolated but are part of a broader pattern of indigenous beliefs that emphasize the continued presence and active participation of the deceased in the lives of the living, communicated through a variety of embodied practices.

The Sacredness of Place and the Significance of Caves (Communicating Sacred Space)

The Kankana-ey understanding of death and the afterlife is inextricably linked to the specific geography of Sagada. The caves and cliffs are not simply locations for burial; they are profoundly sacred spaces, actively communicating a worldview that emphasizes the continued presence of ancestors and the enduring connection between the living and the dead. This is powerfully illustrated in the interview with Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes. Lumiwes states, "*In our tradition, there is no formal cemetery. Burial in the usual sense isn't practiced. The dead are placed in wooden coffins and laid inside caves. These caves serve as communal resting places for our ancestors, and everything is passed down orally. That's how we know whose remains are where,*"¹² directly illustrating the belief that the caves are not merely burial sites but active participants in the ongoing spiritual life of the community. This is not a passive belief; it is actively communicated through the very act of placing the coffins in these specific locations, and through the oral transmission of knowledge and tradition. The symbolic significance of materials and placement further underscores this communicative aspect. The traditional use of solid, hollowed-out logs, without metal nails, communicates a profound respect for the deceased and a desire to maintain the integrity of the body. Lumiwes explains that, "*Traditionally, our coffins were made from solid, hollowed-out logs, no metal at all. Nails were made of wood. Our ancestors did not like metal; if metal nails are mixed with the bones, they say the ancestors become uncomfortable,*"¹³ revealing a belief that the materials used directly impact the well-being of the ancestors in the afterlife. This is not merely a matter of practical preservation but a communicative act, expressing a deep reverence for the physical body and its continued

⁷ Ria A. Gacho, "The Kankanaey Ritual Practices of Pamakan and Daw-es in the Context of Christian Indigenous Peoples" (undergraduate thesis, De La Salle University, 2020), Animo Repository, https://animorepository.dlsu.edu.ph/etdd_tred/12.

⁸ Carmen Maceda and Julie Batoon, "Human Mummification Practices among the Igorot of North Luzon," National Museum Journal of Cultural Heritage (2015), <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292715912>.

⁹ Bautista, Villanueva. "A Survey of Literature on Indigenous Burial Practices and Their Archaeological Implications." *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies* 11, no. 2 (1996): 74–91.

¹⁰ Llamzon, Teresa L. "Pag-Umboh: Ancestral Veneration Practice Among the Sama in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines." *Social Science Diliman* 15, no. 2 (2019): 1–29. <https://journals.upd.edu.ph/index.php/socialsciencediliman/article/view/10224>.

¹¹ Philippine Studies UK. *Mapping Philippine Material Culture*. Accessed May 4, 2025. <https://philippinestudies.uk/>.

¹² Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, interview by Solomon Patnaan, Kilong, Sagada, April 8, 2025.

¹³ *Ibid.*, para. 7.

significance. The careful placement of coffins, in caves or high on cliffs, also serves as a powerful communicative act. Lumiwes notes, “*This difficulty in access is not just for preservation but also signifies honor. It’s a source of pride for the family. Where a coffin is placed becomes a kind of status symbol; it could not be mistaken for anyone else’s,*”¹⁴ emphasizing the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead and how this relationship is communicated through the very placement of the coffins.

This place-based spirituality contrasts sharply with the disembodied models of eschatology critiqued by Emily Pennington. Pennington argues that traditional Western models often separate the soul from the body and the earthly realm, leading to an abstract and detached understanding of the afterlife. As she writes, “*Theologies that render eschatological hope as merely the soul’s escape from the body and world not only perpetuate dualisms but also fail to honor the material and social contexts that shape human existence and spiritual longing.*”¹⁵ The Sagada burial practices, in contrast, demonstrate a profoundly embodied and place-based spirituality, where the sacred is not separated from the material world but is actively communicated through the tangible realities of the physical environment and the enduring bonds of community.

Anthropological literature affirms that the Sagada burial practices are not isolated phenomena but are embedded in a broader framework of indigenous belief systems that emphasize the sacredness of place and the continued presence of the dead among the living. Hertz (1960) argues in his foundational study of secondary burial among Borneo tribes, argues that death is not a singular event but a transitional process wherein the deceased remains in a liminal state, actively engaged with the living community.¹⁶ Similarly, Scott (1994) documents pre-colonial Filipino burial traditions that situate the dead in elevated or cave-like spaces, underscoring a worldview in which burial locations were chosen for their spiritual resonance and visibility, thus facilitating continued communion with ancestral spirits.¹⁷ Luzviminda Francisco (1973) reinforces this by noting that the dead in Philippine indigenous traditions are not severed from society but are integrated into its spiritual and relational fabric through ongoing practices such as offerings, dreams, and ritual storytelling.¹⁸ Victor Turner’s (1969) concept of liminality further deepens this understanding by identifying caves and cliffs as symbolic and physical thresholds between life and afterlife, sacred zones where contact with the spirit world becomes possible.¹⁹ Finally, Barbara Riley (2002) emphasizes that indigenous religious communication is not merely verbal but is enacted through embodied rituals, spatial practices, and the material arrangement of sacred objects.²⁰ In Sagada, the act of suspending coffins on cliff faces or burying them in caves is not only an act of reverence but a profound form of communicative symbolism, one that asserts the enduring presence of ancestors and the sacred continuity of community across time and space. These studies collectively reveal that the sacredness of place in Sagada functions as a dynamic system of communication that actively shapes communal understanding of death, the afterlife, and ancestral connection.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 2.

¹⁵ Emily Pennington, *Feminist Eschatology: Embodied Futures*, Routledge New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology, and Biblical Studies (London: Routledge, 2017), 152 and 161.

¹⁶ Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. Rodney and Claudia Needham (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960), 27–28.

¹⁷ William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 147–149.

¹⁸ Luzviminda Francisco, “*Death and Afterlife in Philippine Indigenous Cultures*,” *Philippine Sociological Review* 21, no. 3–4 (1973): 179–185.

¹⁹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 42–43.

²⁰ Barbara B. Riley, “*The Role of Communication in Indigenous Religious Rituals*,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 16, no. 2 (2002): 55–68.

Ritual as Spiritual Technology and Relational Healing (Communicating Healing)

The death rituals of the Kankana-ey people of Sagada represent a powerful form of spiritual technology, actively shaping community understanding of death, maintaining social harmony, and facilitating healing through embodied practices and a profound connection to the physical world. These rituals, including cave burial, offerings (“baon”), and the bayao, are not merely symbolic but actively communicate respect, honor, and the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead, directly challenging disembodied models of eschatology. The emphasis on materiality, specific locations, and communal participation underscores the importance of embodied relationality in spiritual experience, supporting Emily Pennington’s arguments for a more holistic and relational understanding of the afterlife. The rituals’ functions in maintaining social order, managing grief, and restoring spiritual balance are not isolated but part of a broader pattern of indigenous beliefs and practices demonstrating the crucial role of ritual in shaping social relations and community identity.

The interview with Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes details several key rituals associated with death in Sagada. Cave burial and coffin placement are not merely practical; they are ritual acts communicating respect, honor, and the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. Lumiwes explains, “*In our tradition, there is no formal cemetery. Burial in the usual sense isn't practiced. The dead are placed in wooden coffins and laid inside caves. These caves serve as communal resting places for our ancestors, and everything is passed down orally. That's how we know whose remains are where.*”²¹ The challenging accessibility of cliffside locations further emphasizes the significance of the placement, signifying honor and a deliberate separation from the profane. The specific location within a cave is also significant, often determined by familial lineage. The “baon,” provisions for the afterlife, are carefully prepared and presented to the deceased. Lumiwes describes this, stating, “*We have strong respect for the dead. They are given what we call ‘baon’ provisions for the afterlife. This includes the number of pigs slaughtered. Six is standard, but this can increase depending on how many relatives and community members attend. Additional pigs from outside families are just for communal food supply.*”²² The number of pigs sacrificed, and the participation of community members, communicates the community’s reverence and the ongoing relationship with the deceased. The bayao, ritual chanting and prayers performed in front of the corpse, is a form of communication with the deceased. Lumiwes explains, “*During the wake, prayers are chanted in front of the corpse, a form of ritual communication called bayao, which is like talking with the dead. It's idiomatic, traditional.*”²³ The bayao functions as a way of actively maintaining the relationship, seeking guidance, and ensuring the continued well-being of the ancestors. The wake itself is a significant ritual, lasting three to five days unless there’s a specific reason for a longer duration. It provides an opportunity for communal mourning, storytelling, and reaffirmation of community bonds. The participation of family members, even beyond the required offerings, underscores the importance of collective remembrance and the ongoing nature of familial relationships. The practice of additional contributions, even when not strictly required, “just to avoid hurting feelings,” highlights the importance of social harmony and the relational nature of the community.

The rituals described above serve several crucial functions within the Sagada community. First is on Maintaining Social Harmony, the rituals reinforce social order and kinship ties, ensuring the smooth

²¹ Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, interview by Solomon Patnaan, Kilong, Sagada, April 8, 2025.

²² Ibid., para. 8.

²³ Ibid., para. 9.

transition of the deceased into the afterlife and the continued integration of the deceased into the community's spiritual life. The familial ownership of burial caves, and the strict avoidance of disturbing or interfering with the remains, reinforce social boundaries and group identity. The incident involving the exhumation of remains from Baguio and their return to Sagada [Lumiwes narrated: *Children who grew up in Sagada migrated to Baguio for work. Since only their mother remained in Sagada, they decided to take her to Baguio. Before the old woman died, her children asked her where she preferred to be buried. She replied that being buried in Baguio was acceptable to her, and that is what was done. Five years later, the deceased woman's younger sister was confined for several weeks at St. Theodore's Hospital in Sagada due to persistent headaches, but doctors could find no medical explanation. A visitor to the hospital then advised the family to exhume their aunt's remains from Baguio City. The family complied (I was there), and when we uncovered the remains in the Naguilian Road Cemetery, we observed that the root of a pine tree, standing a few meters from the grave, had entered the skull through the right eye socket, growing longer and longer, and curling inside the skull. When pulled out, the root was the size of a basketball. Our team leader, an elder from our community, explained that this was the reason her sister in the hospital constantly complained of feeling as if her skull would explode.*]²⁴, with the accompanying rituals, illustrates the power of these beliefs to maintain social order and address perceived disruptions to the harmony of the community. Thus, it Facilitates Healing: The rituals provide a framework for communal mourning and the processing of grief. The bayao, in particular, functions as a form of ritual communication that helps to alleviate anxiety and promote healing. The story of Lumiwes's mother's illness and subsequent recovery after the exhumation and reburial of her aunt's remains in Sagada illustrates the belief that these rituals can address spiritual imbalances and restore harmony within the family and the community.

Pennington's work emphasizes the importance of embodiment and relationality in spiritual experience. She narrated that "*Ritual practice, with its tactile, gestural, and communal dimensions, resists the abstraction of spirituality and locates theological meaning in the lived, bodily experiences of a community. It draws people into material participation with each other and the sacred.*"²⁵ The Sagada burial practices directly support Pennington's arguments. The rituals are not abstract or disembodied but are profoundly embodied and relational, actively maintaining and reaffirming the community's connection to their ancestors. The emphasis on materiality in the coffins and offerings, and the significance of specific locations, underscores the importance of the physical world in spiritual experience.

Anthropological studies on ritual healing and kinship dynamics offer crucial insights into the deeper social and spiritual significance of the Sagada burial practices. Turner (1969), in his work on Ndembu rituals, emphasizes that rituals function as "social dramas" that mediate conflict, restore communal harmony, and allow participants to symbolically re-enter social life transformed. This perspective is echoed in Sagada's funerary practices, which serve not only to honor the dead but to reestablish balance within the kinship network and the natural environment.²⁶ Edith Turner expands on this by observing that healing rituals in indigenous contexts often address both physical and spiritual ailments, suggesting that unresolved grief or improper burial can disrupt communal well-being.²⁷ In the Sagada context, the elevation of the dead into cliffs or their placement in sacred caves is understood to

²⁴ Ibib, para. 19-22.

²⁵ Emily Pennington, *Feminist Eschatology: Embodied Futures*, Routledge New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology, and Biblical Studies (London: Routledge, 2017), 174-82.

²⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 94-95.

²⁷ Edith Turner, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 117-118.

facilitate the peaceful transition of the soul while simultaneously protecting the living from spiritual unrest.²⁸ Mary Douglas, in her analysis of ritual purity, highlights that such practices are deeply communicative; they express and reinforce social order, kinship ties, and cultural boundaries.²⁹ Similarly, Janet Carsten's research on kinship in Southeast Asia shows that social relationships are not merely biological but are made and remade through everyday acts and ritual performance. Burial, then, becomes a communicative act that reinforces lineage, belonging, and community memory.³⁰ Finally, Renato Rosaldo's work on grief among the Ilongot people of the Philippines demonstrates that mourning is not a passive state but an active, expressive process that channels loss into culturally meaningful actions.³¹ In Sagada, rituals surrounding death are performative and spatial, enabling the living to manage grief through embodied practice, while maintaining reciprocal relationships with the ancestral realm. These studies demonstrate that the Sagada burial rites function not in isolation but as part of a wider indigenous system where ritual serves as a spiritual technology, one that shapes the community's understanding of death, the afterlife, and the enduring vitality of kinship bonds across generations.

The Impact of Modernity, Tourism, and External Influences (Communicating Resilience)

The interplay between tradition and modernity in Sagada, Philippines, is powerfully illustrated through the challenges facing its unique death rituals, a system of communication with ancestors now confronted by tourism, modernization, and external religious influences; understanding the community's efforts to preserve its cultural heritage requires considering the firsthand experiences and insights of individuals like Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes.

The increasing popularity of Sagada as a tourist destination presents several challenges to the preservation of its unique death rituals and associated worldview. Lumiwes directly addresses this, stating, “Nowadays, things are changing. Sagada has become a tourist destination, and this affects our traditions. The practice of placing new remains in the caves has been prohibited. The last time we did that was in 1975.”³² This highlights the direct impact of tourism on the physical practice of traditional burial. The influx of tourists risks commodifying the sacred caves and disrupting the community's relationship with their ancestors. Lumiwes's description of the oral tradition of remembering ancestral resting places within the caves (“These caves serve as communal resting places for our ancestors, and everything is passed down orally. That's how we know whose remains are where.”)³³ highlights the vulnerability of this knowledge to disruption from external influences. The sheer number of visitors, coupled with the potential for disrespectful behavior or a lack of understanding of the cultural significance of the sites, poses a threat to the sanctity of these spaces. Modernization, with its emphasis on individualistic values and secular perspectives, undermines the communal nature of the rituals and the shared understanding of the afterlife, as evidenced by Lumiwes's account of changes in coffin materials (“Traditionally, our coffins were made from solid, hollowed-out logs, no metal at all. Nails were made of wood. Our ancestors did not like metal...”)³⁴ and the evolving practices surrounding burial locations. The adoption of external religious beliefs, differing in their views on death and the afterlife, could lead to the erosion of traditional practices and beliefs, causing internal conflict and potentially diluting the unique cultural identity of the community. Lumiwes notes the influence of Christian missionaries, stating, “Christian missionaries

²⁸ Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, interview by Solomon Patnaan, Kilong, Sagada, April 8, 2025.

²⁹ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 3–4.

³⁰ Janet Carsten, *After Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 81–83.

³¹ Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 1–10.

³² Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes, interview by Solomon Patnaan, Kilong, Sagada, April 8, 2025.

³³ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 7.

during their time altered local death practices, perhaps under the guise of ‘elevating’ them or aligning them with Christian salvation narratives,”³⁵ illustrating the historical impact of external religious pressures.

Despite these challenges, the Kankana-ey community demonstrates remarkable resilience in preserving its traditions. Lumiwes’s statement, “*We respect that cultures evolve, but there’s still a deep, adamant clinging to our old ways,*”³⁶ underscores this resilience. Efforts to educate tourists about the cultural significance of the caves and rituals are crucial, as is the implementation of responsible tourism practices that prioritize respect for the sacred sites and minimize disruption to the community. Lumiwes’s detailed explanations of the rituals, emphasizing their significance and meaning, are vital tools in this educational process. The continued oral transmission of knowledge and traditions within the community, coupled with the active participation of younger generations in the rituals, ensures the continuity of these practices. The community’s active engagement in managing tourism, balancing economic benefits with cultural preservation, highlights their commitment to safeguarding their heritage. This active engagement can be viewed as a form of communicative resistance, actively shaping the narrative surrounding their traditions and asserting their cultural identity in the face of external pressures. Lumiwes’s own active role in sharing his knowledge and experience demonstrates this commitment. The incident he recounts regarding the exhumation of remains from Baguio and their return to Sagada for proper rituals powerfully illustrates the community’s determination to uphold its traditions and address perceived disruptions to the spiritual harmony.

The struggle to preserve traditional practices in Sagada reflects broader discussions on cultural preservation and the impact of globalization. The case study provides a valuable lens through which to examine the complex interplay between tradition and change, highlighting the importance of intercultural dialogue and mutual respect. The community’s efforts, as described by Lumiwes, showcase the dynamic nature of culture and the importance of understanding the communicative processes through which cultural identities are formed, maintained, and transformed. The ongoing negotiation between tradition and modernity, as experienced and articulated by Lumiwes, underscores the challenges and opportunities presented by globalization, and the Sagada example can offer valuable insights for other communities facing similar pressures. Further research into the specific communication strategies employed by the community, informed by Lumiwes’s firsthand knowledge, could provide valuable lessons for cultural preservation efforts globally. The community’s efforts to balance economic development with cultural preservation represent a model for navigating the complexities of globalization while maintaining cultural integrity.

Communal Identity and Kinship (Communicating Continuity)

Sagada’s strong sense of community and kinship, deeply rooted in its traditions, extends beyond death and is actively maintained through its elaborate death rituals. These rituals function as powerful communicative acts, shaping understandings of death, the afterlife, and the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead. This communal emphasis aligns with anthropological theories highlighting the social functions of ritual and the importance of kinship in social organization. From a communication theological perspective, these rituals are vital for transmitting cultural values and maintaining a shared worldview, demonstrating the community’s resilience in the face of external pressures.

Sagada’s social fabric is deeply rooted in a strong sense of community and kinship. The interview data reveals a system where familial ties and social structures are intricately interwoven, shaping daily life and worldviews. The collective responsibility for rituals surrounding death, such as the preparation of the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 12.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 6.

baon offerings and the performance of the bayao, underscores the importance of communal participation and shared responsibility. The concept of familial ownership of burial caves further reinforces this sense of collective identity and lineage, establishing clear social boundaries and a continuous link between the living and the deceased. The emphasis on avoiding the disturbance of ancestral remains highlights the profound respect for ancestors and the ongoing significance of their presence in the community's spiritual life. This strong sense of community transcends mere social cohesion; it represents a shared identity and worldview, where individual lives are inextricably linked to the collective well-being and continuity of the group.

Death in Sagada is not an absolute severance of relationships; rather, it signifies a transformation of those relationships. The deceased remain integral members of the family and community, continuing to be included in prayers, celebrations, and communal activities. The bayao ritual, a form of communication with the deceased, actively maintains this ongoing relationship, seeking guidance and ensuring the continued well-being of the ancestors. The placement of coffins in caves or on cliff sides is not merely a practical solution but a ritual act that communicates respect, honor, and the enduring presence of the deceased within the community. The challenging accessibility of these locations further emphasizes the honor and reverence afforded to the deceased. This continuity of relationships beyond death is not merely symbolic; it is a fundamental aspect of the Kankana-ey worldview, where the living and the dead are understood to be in continuous interaction and exchange.

The strong sense of community and kinship in Sagada aligns with anthropological theories emphasizing the social functions of ritual and the importance of kinship in structuring social organization. The death rituals can be analyzed through the lens of ritual theory, which highlights the role of ritual in reinforcing social norms, managing grief, and maintaining social cohesion. The emphasis on collective participation in rituals, the clear delineation of social boundaries, and the mechanisms for addressing disruptions to social harmony all contribute to the stability and continuity of the Sagada community. From a communication theological perspective, the rituals serve as powerful communicative acts, shaping and reinforcing the community's understanding of death, the afterlife, and their ongoing relationship with their ancestors. The oral transmission of knowledge about ancestral resting places, the symbolic significance of offerings, and the direct communication with the deceased through the bayao all contribute to the maintenance and transmission of cultural identity and values. The community's ability to manage the challenges of globalization and tourism while preserving its traditions can be seen as a form of communicative resilience, actively shaping the narrative around its cultural identity and asserting its values in the face of external pressures. The case of the remains exhumed from Baguio and returned to Sagada with accompanying rituals powerfully illustrates the community's communicative strength in upholding its traditions and restoring social and spiritual balance. Further research could explore the specific communication strategies employed by the Sagada community to maintain its unique cultural identity and kinship system in the face of globalization.

Lens of Communication Theology

The concept of communication theology emerges from the broader theological project of understanding divine self-disclosure and human response within a relational framework. In this theological trajectory, Avery Dulles, SJ laid an essential foundation by proposing the "Models of Revelation", in which he emphasized the symbolic and dialogical nature of revelation. Dulles argued that revelation is not a static deposit of truths but an ongoing process of divine communication, primarily manifest in personal encounter, historical events, and symbolic action. In his view, revelation requires human response and interpretation, making it essentially communicative and participatory. He wrote,

“God reveals Himself by symbolic communication within a community of faith” (*Models of Revelation*, 1983).³⁷

Building upon this, Franz-Josef Eilers, SVD, developed a systematic theology of social communication, emphasizing that communication is not merely a pastoral tool but a constitutive dimension of the Church’s identity and mission. In his work *Communicating in Ministry and Mission* (2009), Eilers argued that communication theology must recognize the Trinitarian foundation of communication, where the Father sends the Son, and the Spirit continues the communicative presence of God in the Church. This relational dynamic implies that all genuine communication is rooted in communion and must reflect respect for human dignity, community, and participation.³⁸

Eilers (2009, 32) defines communication theology as “the theological reflection on communication rooted in God’s communication in and through creation, the prophets, and most fully in Jesus Christ, and continued in the Church.” His emphasis on incarnation and contextualization becomes especially relevant in contexts like Sagada, where communication is mediated not only through language but through ritual, spatial placement, and embodied practices.³⁹ More recent scholars, such as Heinrich Boller and Lucio Ruiz, have extended communication theology into the realm of digital culture, but the foundational principle remains: communication is more than transmission, it is relational, sacramental, and transformative.⁴⁰

Communication Theology and the Sagada Context

The burial practices of the Kankana-ey people of Sagada, as explored in this case study, illustrate a profoundly embodied and contextualized form of communication theology. The rituals, spatial arrangements (such as the placement of coffins in cliffs and caves), and oral traditions function not merely as cultural customs but as theological statements. They articulate a worldview in which the sacred is mediated through material and relational means, very much in line with the communicative model of revelation described by Dulles. Where Dulles emphasizes symbol and community, and Eilers underscores participation and incarnation, the Sagada traditions demonstrate these principles through lived, indigenous expressions. The bayao chant, as ritual communication with the dead, aligns with Eilers’ view that communication must be participatory and rooted in context. The placement of coffins in sacred spaces is more than a burial act; it is a sacramental communication that signals respect, identity, and continued presence, a concept that mirrors Dulles’ and Pennington’s theological critiques of disembodied eschatologies. Moreover, the oral transmission of knowledge and the careful avoidance of metal in coffins reflect a deep commitment to relational integrity, a communication that seeks communion, not domination or efficiency. This is where communication theology departs from secular models: it insists on the sacredness of communication acts, especially those that shape communal identity and express transcendence.

Toward a Contextualized Communication Theology

In the indigenous eschatology of Sagada, communication is not merely human-to-human, but also human-to-ancestor, human-to-place, and ultimately, human-to-the-divine. This offers a challenge and a gift to traditional theological frameworks. It demands that communication theology remain open to

³⁷ Avery Dulles, *Models of Revelation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 26.

³⁸ Franz-Josef Eilers, *Communicating in Ministry and Mission: An Introduction to Pastoral and Evangelizing Communication* (Manila: Logos Publications, 2009), 13.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pg. 13

⁴⁰ Lucio A. Ruiz, *The Church in the Digital Culture: Communication Theology for the New Evangelization* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2019), 45. And Heinrich Boller, “The Trinitarian Basis of Communication Theology,” in *Church and Communication: Basic Documents*, ed. Franz-Josef Eilers (Manila: Logos Publications, 1997), 233–247.

non-Western expressions of sacramentality, and to alternative modes of theological knowledge production, such as storytelling, embodied ritual, and material symbolism. In this sense, Sagada becomes a living locus theologicus, a place where theology is enacted through cultural forms of communication that honor both the presence of the dead and the sacredness of place. Such an approach aligns not only with Dulles and Eilers but also with the contextual and liberationist strains of theology, such as those articulated by Filipino theologians like Fr. Patrick Flores and Fr. Jose M. de Mesa, who affirm that local cultures are valid mediums of divine communication.⁴¹

Conclusion

This case study of Sagada's hanging coffins has illuminated the intricate interplay of indigenous eschatology, embodied ritual, and communication theology within the Kankana-ey community. Through the lens of theological reflection on communication, especially as articulated by Avery Dulles and Franz-Josef Eilers, we can appreciate how the burial traditions of Sagada serve not only cultural but also deeply theological functions. Dulles' model of revelation as symbolic and dialogical highlights how ritual actions, such as the bayao chant, coffin placement, and cave burial, can be understood as expressions of lived revelation, communicating the sacred through community and symbol.⁴² Eilers further deepens this by framing communication as rooted in the Trinitarian mission and the Church's incarnational witness, affirming that communication is not just a pastoral tool but a constitutive dimension of theology itself.⁴³

In Sagada, these rituals function as more than anthropological artifacts; they embody a contextualized theology of communication, one that resists Western dualisms critiqued by scholars like Emily Pennington⁴⁴ and instead offers an integrated, relational, and place-based spirituality. The contributions of theologians such as Heinrich Boller⁴⁵ and Lucio Ruiz⁴⁶ also affirm that communication theology must attend to cultural expressions of faith, including those mediated through spatial, bodily, and ancestral dimensions. The practices in Sagada challenge the abstraction of Western eschatological frameworks by foregrounding the embodied and communal nature of death and the afterlife. From a communication theological standpoint, they reveal how theological meaning is constructed not only through formal doctrines but through lived, dialogical engagement with the sacred, what Filipino theologians De Mesa (2003) and Flores (1989) call the contextual, culturally grounded dimensions of theology.⁴⁷

Restating the thesis, this study asserts that the indigenous burial practices of Sagada represent a unique mode of theological communication, one that integrates the material, relational, and spiritual dimensions of life and death. They offer a counter-narrative to Western eschatologies, emphasizing

⁴¹ Leonardo Esteban Flores, *Doing Filipino Theology* (Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 1989), 48. And Jose M. De Mesa, *Why Theology Is Never Far from Home: A Filipino Theology of the Local Church* (Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 2003), 55.

⁴² Avery Dulles, *Models of Revelation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 26.

⁴³ Franz-Josef Eilers, *Communicating in Ministry and Mission: An Introduction to Pastoral and Evangelizing Communication* (Manila: Logos Publications, 2009), 13.

⁴⁴ Emily Pennington, "Reclaiming Embodied Eschatology: Feminist Critiques of Disembodied Afterlife in Western Christianity," *Journal of Feminist Theology* 18, no. 2 (2020): 139.

⁴⁵ Heinrich Boller, "The Trinitarian Basis of Communication Theology," in *Church and Communication: Basic Documents*, ed. Franz-Josef Eilers (Manila: Logos Publications, 1997), 233–247.

⁴⁶ Lucio A. Ruiz, *The Church in the Digital Culture: Communication Theology for the New Evangelization* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2019), 45.

⁴⁷ Jose M. De Mesa, *Why Theology Is Never Far from Home: A Filipino Theology of the Local Church* (Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 2003), 55. And Leonardo Esteban Flores, *Doing Filipino Theology* (Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 1989), 48.

embodied relationality, sacred space, and communal identity as key elements of spiritual continuity. Ultimately, this case study urges a broader theological openness to cultural particularities as valid loci for divine communication, enriching global theological discourse with indigenous insights into what it means to live, die, and remain in communion.

Appendix

Sagada Hanging Coffins

Interviewee: Felipe Kotowan Lumiwes (Age 73) – Fr. Kilong Sagada

Topic: Traditional Death Rituals and Burial Practices in Sagada

"In our tradition, there is no formal cemetery. Burial in the usual sense isn't practiced. The dead are placed in wooden coffins and laid inside caves. These caves serve as communal resting places for our ancestors, and everything is passed down orally. That's how we know whose remains are where."

To distinguish one from another, especially among ancestors, the practice of hanging coffins evolved. These are placed high on cliff sides, safe from animals like lizards, which tend to disturb the remains. Using strong ropes, the coffins are secured in places almost impossible to reach. This strong *r* in access is not just for preservation but also signifies honor. It's a source of pride for the family. Where a coffin is placed becomes a kind of status symbol, it could not be mistaken for anyone else's.

We believe the dead remain members of the family. Even though they've passed on, we continue to include them in prayers and celebrations. That's something we share with other belief systems: the idea that family ties go beyond death.

However, as time passes, it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish individuals.

And interfering with the remains is considered a grave offense. There was even a case where someone brought remains from Sagada to Baguio. That caused unrest, the spirits protested, so they had to be brought back to Sagada for the proper rituals, including animal sacrifices.

Ownership of burial caves follows familial and affinity lines. One family may "own" a cave where their ancestors are placed. Strangers are not allowed. In cases where remains are mistakenly moved or disturbed, there's an obligation to return them to their rightful place. In the past, if space became an issue, bones would be rearranged to make room, but that was never done lightly.

Nowadays, things are changing. Sagada has become a tourist destination, and this affects our traditions. The practice of placing new remains in the caves has been prohibited. The last time we did that was in 1975. We respect that cultures evolve, but there's still a deep, adamant clinging to our old ways.

Traditionally, our coffins were made from solid, hollowed-out logs, no metal at all. Nails were made of wood. Our ancestors did not like metal; if metal nails are mixed with the bones, they say the ancestors become uncomfortable. Some newer coffins used glass, but that was also removed because once the wood decays, the glass doesn't fall with the bones, it remains, which feels wrong, even if there's no scientific explanation.

Death Rituals and Practices

We have strong respect for the dead. They are given what we call “baon” provisions for the afterlife. This includes the number of pigs slaughtered. Six is standard, but this can increase depending on how many relatives and community members attend. Additional pigs from outside families are just for communal food supply.

The length of the wake varies. It depends on whether someone is expected to arrive. If there's no special reason, it usually lasts three to five days. During the wake, prayers are chanted in front of the corpse—a form of ritual communication called bayao, which is like talking with the dead. It's idiomatic, traditional.

If a family has many children and grandchildren, even if the required offerings are already complete, each child may still contribute a pig, just to avoid hurting feelings.

Sometimes, burials happen immediately, especially in cases where several deaths occur in succession, like siblings dying one after another. The idea is to interrupt that cycle. In such cases, the body is buried quickly, and the ritual offerings are completed later."

Christian missionaries during their time altered local death practices, perhaps under the guise of “elevating” them or aligning them with Christian salvation narratives.

Please also take note . That incident about exhuming the remains to be brought home sagada. This is the background.

Children grown up in sagada migrated to Baguio be reason of work. Since only thier mother was left in sagada, these children decided to take their mother with them yo baguio. Prior to the death of the old woman , the children asked her where she would prefer to be burried when the time comes. The mther answered that to be burried in baguio is acceptable to her and that was done,

Five years later, a younger sister of this dead woman, was confinef for several weeks at st theodore's hospital in sagada for reason persistent head ache but the doctors could not find any medical reason for the complaint.

Then a woman who happened to visit in the hospital advised the family of the patient to exhume the remains of their auntie who was burried in baguio city.

The family complied (i was there)and when we uncovered the remains in the grave at the naguilian road cemetery, we observed that a root of a pine tree standing few meters from the grave entered the skull through the right eye and grew long er and longer curling inside the skull. When pulled out, the root was the size of a basketball.

Our team leader, an elder from our community explained that that is reason why her sister in the hospital is always complaining of feeling as if her skull would explode.

All the bones in the coffin were then collected, packed in a container and brought home for burial in a public cemetery in sagada,

Rituals were then performed the next day after the burial and the woman who confined in the hospital was discharged with no more sickness to complain of.

(that woman who got sick was my mother. If i were to be asked what scientific explanation, i have nothing to explain. Was her getting well coincidental? I beg to disagree. Is that a work of the devil?i beg to disagree.

On our cultural perspective, possible explanation could be from our belief that our lives as indigenous peoples rest on the following;

1. Our relationship with the community
2. Our relationship with our environment
3. Our relationship with the spirit that is not only Kabunyan (God) but also our dead ancestors

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The *Cementerio General de La Loma* as a Response to Manila Earthquake (1863) and Cholera Epidemic (1882) in 19th Century Manila

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Abstract: Cemeteries in Philippine history are often associated with Christian beliefs and the ancient burial traditions of the Filipinos. However, their significance as a response to the adverse effects of calamities and epidemics has not received adequate attention in Philippine history and historiography. This research aims to analyze the importance of *Cementerio General de La Loma* as a response from the impacts of the 1863 earthquake and the 1882 cholera epidemic in 19th century Manila. The researcher will examine reports from Spanish clergy regarding the effects of the earthquake and epidemic in Manila, cemetery construction plans, and Spanish policies related to the establishment of La Loma Cemetery. These sources indicate that La Loma Cemetery served not only as a burial site for those who died due to the earthquake and the epidemic, but also as a model for proper sanitation and centralized burial practices in the colony. The construction of the La Loma cemetery contributed to the following aspects: 1) the allocation of a large area for the burial of the deceased outside of churches, 2) the establishment of clear regulations concerning the bodies entering the cemetery (with the assistance of the *medicos titulares*), and 3) weekly inspections by Spanish colonial government agencies related to health and public sanitation to ensure cleanliness within its grounds. Overall, the historical narrative surrounding La Loma Cemetery will provide a new perspective on its significance beyond burial practices. It not only promoted Filipino Christian beliefs about death and burial but also played a crucial role in improving sanitation, burial customs, and social order during a turbulent period that is often overlooked in the history of 19th-century Manila.

Key Words: *Cementerio General de La Loma*, Earthquake, Cholera Epidemic, Disaster, Filipino Society

Portraits of Grief and the Curated Memory of Our Pandemic Losses:
Instagram as a Digital Gravesite for Decolonial Mourning
悲傷的肖像與疫情失落的策展記憶：Instagram
作為去殖民哀悼的數位墓園

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摘要

本研究探討數位平台（特別是 Instagram）如何在新冠疫情期間，調節菲律賓使用者的悲傷表達與哀悼實踐。研究指出，數位策展（digital curation）的個人化精神，一方面促進了更深層的自我反思，另一方面卻也使哀悼同時成為公開與私密的行為。這種矛盾的關係，透過美學與象徵性的實踐呈現出來，跨越了身體與地域的界限，並在網絡空間中重新形構傳統的菲律賓哀悼儀式。

本研究特別關注菲律賓 Instagram 使用者在哀悼儀式被中斷、情感脆弱性加劇的疫情時期，如何策展並表現其悲傷。研究採用 Jenny L. Davis 的數位策展理論，以及 Carey 與 Quirk 所提出的「電子革命神話」（mythos of the electronic revolution）概念，分析 Instagram 的視覺與演算法特徵——例如限時動態（Stories）、濾鏡、貼文文字（captions）與回憶提醒（memory prompts）——如何在哀悼與記憶的表達中發揮中介作用。透過質性民族誌方法，本研究揭示 Instagram 同時扮演了「個人檔案庫」與「公共祭壇」的角色，使哀悼者得以透過策展與象徵性的行動來表演悲傷。

研究結果顯示，數位哀悼並非對傳統的斷裂，而是其當代延伸。在科技的媒介下，悲傷既是內省的，也是社會可讀的，其表現根植於菲律賓文化價值，如 pakikiramay（同情）與 pakikidalamhati（共悲）。

關鍵詞：菲律賓哀悼文化、數位哀傷、Instagram 民族誌、pakikiramay、pakikidalamhati、數位策展、演算法記憶、網絡哀悼、新冠疫情儀式、視覺哀悼美學

Abstract

This study examines how digital platforms such as Instagram mediate the performance of grief among Filipino users during the COVID-19 pandemic. It explores how the individualistic ethos of digital curation allows for greater introspection, while simultaneously rendering mourning both public and personal. This paradoxical relationship is expressed through aesthetic and symbolic practices that transcend physical boundaries and reconfigure traditional Filipino mourning rituals within networked spaces.

Specifically, the research investigates how Filipino Instagram users curated grief during a period marked by disrupted mourning rituals and heightened emotional vulnerability. Drawing on Jenny L. Davis's theory of digital curation and Carey and Quirk's concept of the mythos of the electronic revolution, the study analyzes how Instagram's visual and algorithmic features—such as Stories, filters, captions, and memory prompts—mediate expressions of loss and remembrance. Using a qualitative, ethnographic approach, it reveals how Instagram served as both a personal archive and a communal altar, enabling mourners to perform grief through curated, symbolic acts.

The findings suggest that digital mourning is not a rupture from tradition but its contemporary extension—where grief is both introspective and socially legible, mediated by technology and grounded in Filipino cultural values such as *pakikiramay* (sympathy) and *pakikidalamhati* (shared sorrow).

Keywords: Filipino mourning practices, digital grief, Instagram ethnography, pakikiramay, pakikidalamhati, digital curation, algorithmic memory, networked mourning, COVID-19 rituals, visual mourning aesthetics

1 Introduction

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic caused widespread global disruption, profoundly affecting public health, economic stability, and cultural practices surrounding death and mourning. With over seven million confirmed deaths worldwide, communities were forced to adapt their grieving rituals under unprecedented public health restrictions (World Health Organization, 2025).

As Klobucista et al. (2020) observe in their global survey, these constraints reshaped how societies mourn. Hospitals barred visitors, video calls replaced final goodbyes, and cultural and religious rites were

either modified or suspended. Rituals such as Islamic body washing were performed by medical staff, while Hindu cremations and Jewish shivas transitioned to digital formats. In countries like China and Singapore, governments promoted live-streamed ceremonies. These logistical shifts also disrupted the spiritual and communal dimensions of mourning.

In the Philippines, where mourning is deeply communal and grounded in familial and spiritual customs, these changes were particularly impactful. Digital mourning emerged in response to pandemic restrictions, evolving into a practice that reflects Filipino values such as *pakikiramay* (sympathy) and *pakikidalamhati* (shared mourning), rooted in the broader relational ontology of *pakikipagkapwa* (shared identity) (Venzon & Gopilan, 2023). Social media became a vital space for expressing grief, maintaining emotional connections, and affirming communal bonds amid isolation.

My own experience of loss during the pandemic shaped the direction of this study. It was a Sunday in September 2021, on my 30th birthday, a day meant for celebration turned into one of sorrow. My dog, Sushi, became paralyzed in her hind legs. In a panic, my brother and I rushed her to the vet. Due to pandemic-related restrictions, I was not permitted to accompany her during the check-up, and communication with the staff was limited. Sushi was confined for several days, and we were allowed only brief, one-hour visits. By Thursday, I promised Sushi she would come home the next day. And she did—but not in the way I had hoped. I brought her home lifeless.

This personal loss, compounded by the death of a family member in 2020 due to COVID-19, underscored the emotional and cultural void left by the absence of traditional mourning rituals. And yet, even in these altered spaces, *pakikipagkapwa* endured. It adapted, finding new forms of expression online. These experiences prompted a deeper reflection on how grief is mediated on Instagram, where mourning becomes both personal and public. Through curated posts, symbolic imagery, and community interaction, Filipino users navigate loss in ways that blend tradition with technology.

This study is both a personal reckoning and a cultural inquiry into how memory, mourning, and connection are being reshaped in the digital age. It examines how Instagram mediates the performance of grief, where the individualistic ethos of digital curation fosters introspection. This paradox renders mourning both public and personal, curated through aesthetic and symbolic practices that transcend physical boundaries and reconfigure traditional Filipino mourning rituals in networked spaces during and beyond the global health crisis.

1.1 Filipino Digital Mourning on Instagram

While digital mourning has often been examined through the lens of Facebook, particularly in diasporic and communal contexts (Babis, 2020; Sapalo, 2021), Instagram offers a distinct space that privileges visual expression and symbolic communication. Rather than creating new communal spaces, Instagram facilitates the articulation of individual experiences of loss through platform-specific vernaculars—curated visuals, hashtags, and ephemeral stories (Leaver et al., 2020).

In the Philippine context, this shift reveals how cultural values are being translated in more introspective and individualized ways. Unlike Facebook's broad communal reach (Babis, 2020; Sapalo, 2021), Instagram enables a more curated and intimate performance of grief through curated posts, ephemeral stories, and symbolic imagery. These practices reflect a negotiation between the collectivist ethos of Filipino mourning and the platform's emphasis on personal branding and visual coherence (Leaver et al., 2020).

The research draws on Jenny L. Davis's (2017) model of digital curation, which conceptualizes online identity work as both productive (creating and sharing content) and consumptive (engaging with others' content). This dual framework is particularly relevant to Instagram, where users actively construct and perform identities through curated visuals, captions, and interactions.

To extend the analytical lens of this study, “The Mythos of the Electronic Revolution” by James W. Carey and John J. Quirk (1970) is employed as a complementary framework. Aligned with a social constructivist perspective, this framework emphasizes how individuals actively negotiate meaning through digital practices, particularly in contexts of emotional and cultural significance.

Together, these models provide a lens for examining grief on Instagram as a form of identity and memory work. Users navigate the tension between personal expression and public visibility, rendering mourning a digitally mediated practice that blends individual affect with cultural ritual. This approach underscores the role of digital platforms in reshaping mourning as a socially embedded and technologically facilitated experience.

Methodologically, this case invites an ethnographic approach that is both immersive and reflexive. As someone who experienced loss and turned to digital spaces for solace, I approach this study not only as a researcher but also as a participant. This dual position allows for a deeper engagement with the emotional, cultural, and technological dimensions of mourning in a time of crisis.

Guided by these theoretical and methodological considerations, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do Filipino millennials use Instagram to curate grief in ways that reflect syncretic mourning practices shaped by the disruptions and transitions of the COVID-19 pandemic?

2. In what ways do Instagram's affordances mediate aesthetics, temporal, and relational dimensions of digital mourning?
3. To what extent do Filipino mourning practices on Instagram challenge dominant frameworks of digital mourning by foregrounding collective values, ritual continuity, and culturally grounded curatorial logics that contribute to global understandings of grief in networked environments?

By focusing on Instagram as a mourning space, this study contributes to a broader understanding of how grief is mediated on image-driven platforms, how cultural values adapt in digital contexts, and how individuals navigate the tension between public performance and private pain. Within the Philippine sociocultural landscape, the intersection of tradition, technology, and trauma reveals evolving forms of mourning in the digital age.

2 Theoretical Framework

In the context of digitally networked societies, curation has emerged as a critical process for managing the abundance of information and the complexities of identity performance in online environments. Jenny L. Davis (2017) offers a foundational theoretical model of digital curation that conceptualizes the practice as comprising two interrelated dimensions: productive and consumptive. These dimensions are situated within broader structural contexts, including social networks and platform architectures, which both enable and constrain user agency.

Davis's framework is grounded in symbolic interactionism and constructivist epistemology, emphasizing that identity is not a fixed attribute but is continuously performed and negotiated through social interaction. The model assumes that individuals are embedded actors whose curatorial practices are shaped by both interpersonal relationships and technological infrastructures. Rather than being limited to digital contexts, curation reflects a broader human tendency to organize, prioritize, and make sense of information in everyday life.

The first dimension, productive curation, refers to the ways in which individuals construct and perform identity through the content they choose to document, create, and share. This process is inherently selective and performative, involving decisions about what aspects of the self to reveal or conceal, and to which audiences. Davis highlights the role of digital affordances—such as privacy settings, tagging, and audience filters—in enabling users to manage their self-presentation with varying degrees of granularity. These curatorial strategies are particularly salient in contexts of “context collapse,” where previously

distinct social spheres converge within a single platform, complicating audience management and privacy maintenance.

The second dimension, consumptive curation, concerns how individuals selectively engage with content produced by others. In an environment characterized by information saturation, users must actively determine what to attend to, what to ignore, and how to shape their digital environments. Davis argues that consumptive curation is both a necessity and a form of agency, encompassing both technological manipulations (e.g., muting, hiding, subscribing) and manual practices of attention (e.g., scrolling, pausing, clicking). These practices allow users to construct personalized informational landscapes that reflect their emotional, social, and cognitive needs.

Beyond individual agency, Davis introduces the concept of third-party curation, which includes both human and algorithmic actors that shape curatorial possibilities. Network curation refers to the influence of others' curatorial decisions on the visibility of content. For example, a user's post may be rendered invisible if others choose to mute or unfollow them. Curatorial code, on the other hand, encompasses the platform architectures and algorithms that filter, rank, and distribute content. Features such as feed personalization, trending topics, and algorithmic sorting affect both the visibility of produced content and the accessibility of consumable material. These structural forces often work in ways that are hard for users to see or understand, influencing how they experience and engage with content.

A key contribution of Davis's work is her two-dimensional model of curation, which maps practices along two axes: productive versus consumptive and agentic versus constrained. This framework illustrates how curatorial practices are always situated within broader systems of visibility, power, and technological mediation. It provides a valuable lens for analyzing how individuals navigate digital environments, manage identity, and engage with content in complex and contextually specific ways.

3 Review of Related Literature: Relationality, Death, and Mourning in the Filipino Context

The Filipino understanding of selfhood is anchored in *kapwa*—a relational ontology that defines the person not as an autonomous individual but as a self-in-relation with others. Within Sikolohiyang Pilipino, *kapwa* functions as both epistemology and moral vision, framing knowledge and behavior through shared identity and interconnectedness (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, pp. 49–57). This relational orientation gives rise to ethical practices such as pakikiramdam (sensitivity to others' feelings), pakikiramay (sympathy), and utang na loob (reciprocal indebtedness), which together constitute an ethics of responsiveness and

communal care (Alarcon et al., 2024, p. 201). Far from peripheral, these values structure Filipino social life and emotional expression, offering a moral grammar that privileges empathy, reciprocity, and collective well-being (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, pp. 54–57; Alarcon et al., 2024, pp. 201–204).

Philosophically, *kapwa* assumes that the self and the other share an inner identity—what Virgilio Enriquez described as “a shared identity” (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, p. 54). Mabaquiao (2018) situates *pakikipagkapwa-tao* within existential and phenomenological ethics, aligning it with Buber’s I-Thou relation and Kant’s categorical imperative (pp. 27–31). Simultaneously, *kapwa* functions as a decolonial intervention, resisting Western individualism and colonial epistemologies of objectification, asserting that knowledge and care emerge through shared experience and intersubjective attunement (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, pp. 59–62; Mabaquiao, 2018, pp. 26–31). The COVID-19 pandemic made these relational ethics newly visible, as acts of solidarity and compassion manifested in community pantries and interfaith humanitarian work, guided by the ethic “Magbigay ayon sa kakayahang; kumuha batay sa pangangailangan” (del Castillo, 2023, pp. 3–6). *Kapwa* is thus a living moral resource, adaptable across crisis, ritual, and digital space.

3.1 Colonial Necrogeographies

Filipino burial practices reveal a complex interplay of colonial power, indigenous cosmologies, Catholic faith, and communal ethics. Cemeteries were not merely sites for the dead but instruments and expressions of social, political, and spiritual life (Dakudao, 1992; Huetz de Lemps, 2021). Colonial cemeteries in the Philippines embodied religious, class, and racial hierarchies, transforming the landscape of death into a reflection of societal order. Dakudao (1992) traces Manila cemeteries from precolonial to American rule, showing how clergy and elites occupied privileged plots while commoners were relegated to peripheral grounds (pp. 134–148). Similarly, Huetz de Lemps (2021) situates cemeteries as vehicles of colonial Catholic authority, extending *reducción* to the dead (pp. 162–167).

Even within these hierarchies, indigenous understandings of death as a transition through familial and spiritual webs persisted (Dakudao, 1992; Huetz de Lemps, 2021). These tensions between colonial control and relational continuity foreshadow contemporary mourning practices, where ritual, material culture, and communal care reassert *pakikipagkapwa-tao* as both ethical stance and form of resistance.

3.2 Ritual, Materiality, and Cultural Continuity

Anthropological and theological studies highlight death as a space of relational negotiation, where Filipino communities engage both indigenous cosmologies and Catholic faith (Salvador-Amores, 2018, pp. 6–18;

Corpuz, 2020, pp. 113–124; Montesa, 2024, pp. 2–6). Material culture—textiles, food, coffins, and ritual implements—mediates this relationality. In Bontok practices, objects like the sangachil (death chair) and erlek (coffin) embody social status and identity, while ritual stages (mangmang, sukusug, fernes, tukad, alulos) choreograph communal care (Salvador-Amores, 2018, pp. 1–18). Similarly, Ilocano *atang*—food offerings of rice cakes, basi, and tobacco—mediates communication with the dead, enacting both remembrance and participation in the Communion of Saints (Corpuz, 2020, pp. 113–122).

These practices reveal hybrid continuity: material and spiritual, Catholic and animist, personal and communal. Participation in ritual sustains psychosocial resilience and collective healing (Montesa, 2024, pp. 2–6; Mercurio, 2021, pp. 78–91). As Sabanpan-Yu (2009) observes, death “creates community,” with shared presence and care transforming mourning into social reciprocity (pp. 234–235). Material artifacts and ritual offerings thus become both memory and moral practice, demonstrating how Filipino relational ethics animate mortuary worlds.

3.3 Grief, Solidarity, and the Filipino Theology of Mourning

Building on these spatial and material dimensions, theological reflections map grief as a salvific and ethical process. Padilla and Marquez (2010) situate *pakikiramay* within Pauline paraklesis, arguing that communal mourning channels consolation and reintegration: the bereaved move through announcement, lamay, funeral, and babang luksa, eventually returning to societal life (pp. 101–128). Villanueva (2024) complements this interiorly, showing how dalamhati (grief) and luwalhati (joy) articulate an ethical-intuitive Filipino theology. Lament and praise share an origin in the loob; transformation occurs in pagluluwal, bringing internal grief into relational and ritual space (Villanueva, 2024, pp. 3–11).

Pakikiramay operates on two dimensions: immediate consolation and long-term formation (Padilla & Marquez, 2010, p. 129). Through acts of presence, abuloy, vigil, and prayer, communal mourning enacts relational care—reinforcing *kapwa* and *pakikipagkapwa-tao* in everyday life (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Alarcon et al., 2024). Lament is not weakness but ethical, relational, and decolonial: grief voiced in Filipino words, borne together in ritual, enacts both solidarity and spiritual continuity (Villanueva, 2024, p. 15).

Across these interlocking dimensions—colonial spatial order, ritual materiality, and theological mourning—Filipino death practices emerge as relational, ethical, and decolonial. Cemeteries encode social hierarchies, yet rituals, material culture, and communal mourning continuously restore *pakikipagkapwa-tao*. *Kapwa* is both ontology and ethic: it frames relationality across material, spiritual, and linguistic domains. Grief, remembrance, and solidarity converge in practices ranging from the Bontok sangachil to Ilocano

atang, to the communal enactment of *pakikiramay*, illustrating how care, memory, and salvation are inseparable in the Filipino imagination. This chapter positions mourning as a living ethical landscape, where relationality, ritual, and decolonial thought intersect—a framework that will guide subsequent discussions on curation, counter-hegemonic memory, and digital mourning practices.

4 Research Design

4.1 Methodological Approach

A qualitative approach is most suitable for my research on digital mourning in the Philippines during the COVID-19 pandemic because of its distinctive features (Jensen, 2002). Firstly, qualitative research focuses on meaning and social action, exploring how media generate meaning and shape identity and agency. Secondly, it emphasizes studying meaningful actions within naturalistic contexts, considering theoretical aims and practical constraints. Sampling techniques are employed to select relevant cultural settings and informants. Lastly, qualitative research positions the researcher as an interpretive subject, continuously engaging in interpretation to analyze the “native’s perspective” (Jensen, 2002) on reality. By employing a qualitative approach, I aim to uncover the nuanced dynamics of digital mourning in the Philippines, investigating how people generate and understand meaning in the realm of digital media, while also examining the role of digital platforms in shaping mourning practices, identity formation, and social interaction during COVID-19 pandemic.

4.2 Sampling Technique

I employed purposive sampling for my research to identify participants whose experiences closely align with the research objectives. According to Moser and Korstjens (2018), purposive sampling involves intentionally selecting individuals based on the researcher’s judgment of who can provide the most informative and relevant data. Participants were recruited based on specific criteria: they had to be Filipino individuals aged 25–44, residing in Metro Manila during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns (2020–2022), and using Instagram as a means to grieve, remember, or stay connected with loved ones. This targeted approach ensured the sample accurately represented those with direct, lived experiences of digital mourning practices. I maintained a maximum sample size and guided it by the principle of data saturation, which occurs when additional data no longer yields new insights (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

The data collection method I used was through face-to-face and online semi-structured interviews, based on the availability and preferences of the participants. Interviews are a key method in qualitative

research, offering depth and flexibility to explore complex experiences. The interview guide included open-ended questions and allowed for follow-up prompts, encouraging participants to share their narratives about grief, memory, and the role of social media. This hybrid method effectively accommodated participants' comfort and logistical constraints while maintaining conversational depth and rapport (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

In the analysis, I used an ethnographic approach to interpret the participants' experiences within their broader cultural and social context. Ethnography involves an ongoing search for patterns in thought, behavior, and social meaning, leading to a narrative that reflects how a culture operates. I have read and reread the interview transcripts, coded the data inductively, and organized it into themes. I emphasized how digital mourning practices fit into Filipino cultural norms of grief and remembrance, particularly as mediated by Instagram. Field notes and analytic memos captured contextual nuances and evolving insights, supporting the interpretation process (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

4.3 Analysis Technique

This study draws on Carey and Quirk's (1970) critique of the 'electronic revolution' to examine digital mourning on Instagram. They argue that electronic media are often mythologized as redemptive, promising societal transformation while functioning as symbolic and ritual technologies shaped by cultural narratives and collective belief.

Instagram, in this framework, becomes a mythic medium where mourning is ritualized and emotionally charged. Filipino users during the COVID-19 lockdowns used the platform to sustain bonds and publicly validate grief, reinforcing Instagram's symbolic role as a space of connection and healing. Although the platform appears to decentralize expression, its algorithmic structures reveal a centralizing logic that shapes visibility and engagement. Mourning thus becomes both a personal act and a culturally mediated performance embedded in broader narratives of technological salvation.

This perspective reveals how digital mourning practices reflect enduring media mythologies, where technology is imbued with emotional and spiritual significance, yet remains shaped by social, political, and economic forces.

4.4 Limitations of the Study

While this research offers meaningful insights into digital mourning practices among Filipino Instagram users during the COVID-19 pandemic, I recognize several limitations that shaped the scope and depth of the study.

4.4.1 Scope and sample size

This research focused on a small, purposively selected group of Filipino Instagram users aged 25–44 who were based in Metro Manila during the pandemic lockdowns (2020–2022). While this demographic was chosen for its relevance to the research questions, it does not represent the full diversity of Filipino mourning experiences across different regions, age groups, or socioeconomic backgrounds. As such, the findings are not intended to be generalizable but rather to offer a culturally grounded and interpretive understanding of digital mourning within a specific context.

4.4.2 Platform-specific focus

I concentrated on Instagram as the site of digital mourning. Although Instagram provided a rich space for visual storytelling and emotional expression, other platforms such as Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube also played significant roles in how Filipinos grieved online. By focusing on Instagram, I may have overlooked other important digital mourning practices that occur on these platforms.

4.4.3 Temporal context

The research is situated within the historical context of the COVID-19 pandemic, a time marked by physical isolation, heightened vulnerability, and increased digital reliance. While this context provided a lens through which to examine mourning, it also means that the findings may not fully reflect digital mourning practices in non-pandemic times or in future contexts where social and technological conditions may differ.

4.4.4 Self-reported narratives and researcher reflexivity

As a qualitative researcher, I relied on participants' self-reported experiences, which are inherently shaped by memory, emotion, and personal interpretation. I also acknowledge my own positionality as someone who experienced grief during the pandemic. One of the participants was my cousin, and while I approached our conversation with the same ethical rigor as with other participants, I recognize that our personal relationship may have influenced the dynamic of the interview. My own experiences of loss informed the research design and interpretation, which I view not as a limitation but as a form of reflexive engagement. Still, I remained mindful of the need to balance empathy with analytical distance.

4.4.5 Ethical and privacy considerations

Although the primary focus of this research was on curatorial strategies, ethical considerations related to the curation and engagement with grief-related content online were also critically examined. These included issues of informed consent, audience expectations, and the often-blurred boundaries between public and private data. Such concerns are especially pertinent when working with vulnerable populations and culturally intimate practices such as mourning (Spiti et al., 2), and align with the ethical guidelines of the Association of Internet Researchers (Franzke et al.) and De La Salle University.

All participants signed informed consent forms in accordance with the approved ethics protocol and were fully briefed on the study's aims, procedures, and their rights. Explicit permission was obtained to reference any Instagram content they voluntarily shared, with participants maintaining full control over what they disclosed. A small token of appreciation was offered to two participants. One accepted a meal, while the other declined. The remaining participants were not offered compensation and chose to participate voluntarily.

To protect participant privacy, all identifying information—including usernames, captions, and images—was anonymized or altered. No private Instagram content was analyzed without explicit consent. Interviews were conducted with sensitivity to participants' emotional well-being, and a distress protocol was in place to address any discomfort. Participants were also given the option to receive a summary of the research findings upon the study's completion.

Hello, Sushi is a short reflexive-performative documentary that extends the thesis Portraits of Grief and the Curated Memory of Our Pandemic Losses. Framed as a letter to my late dog, Sushi, who passed away during the COVID-19 pandemic, I reflect on how people continue to process loss in digital spaces years after the pandemic's peak and examine what has endured in the ways we remember and mourn.

My research examines how Instagram mediates the performance of grief, while the individualistic ethos of digital curation allows for greater introspection. This paradoxical relationship renders mourning both public and personal, as it is curated through aesthetic and symbolic practices that transcend physical boundaries and reconfigure traditional Filipino mourning rituals within networked spaces.

The documentary translates theoretical and ethnographic insights into a visual narrative, showing how memory is shaped by Instagram and how mourning practices adapt to technological environments. It also addresses the perception that pandemic-related grief is no longer relevant in 2025, arguing instead that grief persists through memory and shared rituals.

Drawing on Bill Nichols' (2001) performative and reflexive modes, I blend personal storytelling with curated digital materials such as Instagram posts, screen recordings, and voice memos. I also integrate

reflexive elements like editing timelines and notes to highlight the constructed nature of both memory and documentary storytelling. My work is grounded in frameworks including digital curation (Davis, 2017), pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati rooted in the broader relational ontology of pakikipagkapwa (Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Venzon and Golipan, 2020), and the mythos of the electronic revolution (Carey & Quirk, 1970).

The narrative is non-linear and introspective, emphasizing the emotional texture of grief through silence, repetition, and experimental editing. Sushi remains a symbolic anchor throughout the film, while participant insights are represented through excerpts I read aloud. Using mobile-native aesthetics, I mirror the visual language of Instagram and reframe everyday digital gestures as acts of remembrance.

Designed for academic and public engagement, Hello, Sushi is a practice-based research project that bridges personal memory, digital culture, and mourning. It demonstrates how creative practice can serve as a form of scholarly inquiry.

5 Findings and Analysis

In this section, I examine how Filipino mourners engage with Instagram as a site of digital mourning, using Davis's theory of digital curation as my primary conceptual framework. I draw on key concepts such as productive and consumptive curation, curatorial code, and network curation to analyze how users navigate grief, identity, and emotional visibility within the platform's affordances.

I approach this work with the ontological assumption that grief is a socially constructed and culturally mediated experience, shaped by both individual agency and technological structures. I adopt an interpretive stance, recognizing knowledge as situated and emerging from lived experience and narrative meaning-making.

I employed a qualitative, ethnographic methodology, conducting semi-structured interviews with purposively sampled Filipino Instagram users aged 25–44 in Metro Manila during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns (2020–2022). I position myself reflexively within the fields of media anthropology and digital cultural studies.

Throughout my analysis, I explore how Instagram becomes a sacred and curated space where grief is ritualized through visual and symbolic practices. Participants describe transforming their feeds into digital altars, using filters, captions, and imagery to stylize mourning. These acts of curation are not only aesthetic but deeply emotional, shaped by the platform's algorithmic features such as memory resurfacing, which reintroduce moments of loss into the present.

This digital mourning is not merely a response to pandemic-era restrictions but reflects a broader

reconfiguration of Filipino grief practices. Before the global health crisis, mourning was grounded in embodied rituals, communal gatherings, and material offerings. The pandemic disrupted these traditions, prompting mourners to reimagine grief through digital means—crafting aesthetic rituals and engaging in what might be called algorithmic intimacy.

Even after lockdowns were lifted, these digital expressions have persisted, becoming integrated into the evolving cultural landscape of mourning. Instagram, in this context, functions as a sacred infrastructure where memory, identity, and loss are curated through both personal agency and technological design. Silence, too, emerges as a meaningful strategy—an intentional withholding that speaks volumes within the emotional architecture of online grieving.

These practices challenge conventional binaries between sacred and profane, tradition and technology, public and private, presence and absence. Filipino mourners are not passive users of digital media but active curators of grief, negotiating emotional authenticity, cultural continuity, and technological constraint. In doing so, they transform Instagram into a space that sustains communal mourning, reclaims ritual, and redefines what it means to grieve in a networked world.

5.1 Sacred Screen: Curating Grief Identity from Altar to Digital Liturgy in Filipino Mourning on Instagram

Grief has always been mediated through objects, rituals, and shared spaces. In the Philippines, mourning is embodied in rites like the lamay, pa-siyam, and atang, where kinship and memory are sustained through gatherings and symbolic offerings. As digital life reshapes connection, grief has migrated online. This became especially visible during the COVID-19 pandemic, when lockdowns disrupted mourning rituals and compelled Filipinos to reimagine how they mourn (Salvador-Amores, 2018; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009).

This section examines how Filipino mourners curate grief identities on Instagram, transforming the platform into what Davis (2017) calls productive curation, where emotion and identity are managed through selective sharing and aesthetic choices. Instagram becomes a form of digital liturgy, where mourning is ritualized through filters, captions, and symbolic storytelling (Carey & Quirk, 1970). While often associated with aspirational self-presentation (Leaver et al., 2020), the platform is reconfigured for remembrance.

The discussion centers on three themes. Instagram as Sacred Space explores how users turn the platform into a quiet sanctuary for grief (Davis, 2017). Aesthetic Curation as Digital Ritual examines how filters, colors, and artifacts extend mourning practices (Salvador-Amores, 2018; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009). Captions as Digital Lamentation highlights how mourners use text to frame and narrate grief (Davis, 2017). Together, these practices show how Filipino mourning bridges the altar and algorithm, sustaining meaning

across embodied, digital spaces.

5.1.1 Instagram as Techno-Spiritual Space

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Instagram emerged as a techno-spiritual space—a digital site where grief could be articulated with both intentionality and emotional safety (Davis, 2017). In contrast to Facebook, which participants frequently described as overcrowded, chaotic, and prone to unsolicited engagement, Instagram offered a more curated and controlled environment for mourning. Its emphasis on visuality, selective networks, and restrained comment culture contributed to the formation of a digital sanctuary (Carey & Quirk, 1970). Within this space, the tensions of loss were navigated through ritualized practices that foregrounded the mourner's curatorial agency.

This framing holds both theoretical and experiential significance. Like many during the pandemic, I turned to digital platforms to process the loss of my dog in isolation. I wasn't seeking visibility; rather, I was drawn to the platform's capacity to offer a sense of privacy within publicity. Its architecture functioned as an emotional scaffold, allowing me to share without explanation and justification. Unlike Facebook, where the presence of extended family and friends made grief feel performative or vulnerable to misunderstanding, Instagram felt quieter and more attuned to the rhythms of personal mourning.

Eliza, for instance, chose Instagram precisely for its sense of peace and selective audience:

Eliza: Mas peaceful ako sa Instagram. Kaya gusto ko doon ma-share at ma-express 'yung feeling of grief ko. Para siyang safe space ko, compared to Facebook, kasi konti lang 'yung relatives ko na nandoon.

Eliza's decision reflects how platform affordances shape emotional expression, turning Instagram into a space where grief feels sacred. The choice of where to grieve was not trivial; it was a form of emotional boundary-making that mirrored the offline logic of pakikiramay, extending mourning into platformed spaces (Venzon and Golipan, 2023),

Although Instagram was not the primary mourning space for all participants, it nonetheless served as a meaningful emotional archive. Freyja described how, while her main posting occurred on Facebook, her Instagram—linked to Facebook—automatically carried those posts over. Even when not intentional, the presence of grief on Instagram became a form of symbolic persistence:

Freyja: It was more of posting pictures. Actually, it's on Facebook. Pero nakalink 'yung Facebook sa Instagram. So, na-po-post na rin siya dun.

Ms. B similarly noted this dynamic, suggesting that while Instagram wasn't her primary space for grieving, its role as a secondary repository still offered emotional relief:

Ms. B: Actually, si Instagram, hindi naman siya talaga 'yung main. Pero naka-link siya sa Facebook. Gusto ko lang siyang i-share na may gano'n akong pinagdadaanan. Medyo nakakagaan siya kahit sobrang lungkot.

These narratives revealed something I hadn't fully recognized until this research: that grief in digital space is not solely about what we share but about the infrastructures that shape how and where it feels safe to do so (Davis, 2017). Instagram's aesthetic-driven environment enabled mourners to frame grief visually.

The ability of Instagram to hold grief does not negate its limitations or its ties to commodified platform logics. Occupying the roles of both researcher and participant underscores the platform's inherent duality. Built for circulation and consumption, it also hosts quiet, reverent mourning. This reflects Brubaker et al.'s (2013) notion of networked grief, where mourning is shaped by social media's affordances. In this context, Instagram becomes a techno-spiritual archive—a curated space where intimate rituals sustain memory and tether the living to the dead.

5.1.2 The Syntax of Sorrow: Aesthetic Grammar of Grief

In digital spaces, grief is structured through an aesthetic grammar of images, symbols, captions, and visual decisions. This understanding is grounded in participant narratives, which reflect how mourning on Instagram unfolds as a patterned language where visual and verbal elements work together to render absence both visible and socially legible.

This grammar of grief constitutes a form of digital mourning ritual, where loss is mediated by personal emotion, cultural expectations, and the semiotic demands of the platform. This mirrors the materiality of grief, where objects carry the weight of kinship and memory (Salvador-Amores, 2018). On Instagram, these material artifacts are transformed into digital tokens of mourning.

Eliza's reflections exemplify this dynamic. She described using black-and-white filters to distinguish the temporal boundary between past and present:

Eliza: Kasi, malungkot siya. I chose black and white for the past. Tapos ito 'yung present [colored].

More than an aesthetic choice, this visual distinction functions as a temporal and emotional marker. Filipino mourning has historically used color (or its removal) as a visual cue of loss, with indigo (bluish-black) or black garments signaling grief (Salvador-Amores, 2018). On Instagram, the filter becomes a

modern mourning cloth, a visual translation of this tradition into platform vernacular. This mirrors longstanding Filipino mourning practices where color—or its absence—signals transitions between presence and absence (Salvador-Amores, 2018). The monochrome filter functions as a digital luksa, translating embodied mourning conventions into the aesthetic vernacular of Instagram.

This aesthetic grammar extends into ephemeral formats like Instagram Stories, where visual and auditory cues combine to evoke an atmosphere of mourning. Some participants, like Suzie, paired monochrome imagery with popular music to heighten the emotional tone. The layering of filtered visuals with familiar songs, such as those by Taylor Swift, amplifies mood and memory. In doing so, Stories become temporally bounded, intimate rituals of grief.

But not all grief is designed to be universally understood. For some, the act of posting is less about public visibility and more about encoding memory into symbols that carry personal meaning. Pao shared an example of this kind of intimate expression: a photo he posted during the pandemic in memory of his brother-in-law.

Pao: It's a good timestamp. And the photo that's shared is for me to remember something that's significant to that person and me. But it's not really for everyone to easily understand. It's like an abstract post.

The image Pao described was deceptively simple: a sky, a tree in the lower right, and eleven birds in flight. To others, it might look like anotherBut for Pao, the photo held layered significance. Taken outside a funeral parlor just after he saw the birds circling, the eleven birds mirrored his sister's birthday on September 11—just days after her husband died on September 6. To Pao, they were a quiet sign, a reminder not to forget.

This abstract form of mourning aligns with Brubaker et al. (2013) concept of networked mourning where grief is shared on social media in ways that are both visible and veiled. Posts serve as public expressions and private messages. I experienced this through an Instagram Story: a quiet image of morning shadows in my room. Though unreadable to others, it was a personal ritual, a symbolic farewell. In place of traditional mourning spaces, such cryptic gestures made grief quietly visible, occupying a liminal space between expression and concealment.

Still, it is the caption that completes this offering. Captions serve as the verbal structure within this syntax of sorrow, functioning not merely as descriptions but as affective and interpretive frames. Paired with the abstract image, Pao's caption transforms the post into a digital elegy, invoking not just remembrance but also the hope of reunion: Pao: You and I will meet again when we're least expecting it. One day, in some part of place, I will recognize your face. And I won't say goodbye for now, my brother, for you and I will meet again.

This kind of framing is not incidental. As Freyja noted, captions actively shape how grief is read and received, steering it away from pity and toward memorialization:

Freyja: If you combine it with 'yung caption na talagang kung bakit mo siya pinost and any sentiments that you have, it will steer you away from asking for people's sympathy.

Both the image and the caption operate together as a relational offering that signals memory, loss, and presence in ways that are emotionally legible to chosen audiences.

This aesthetic grammar also encompasses the translation of physical mourning artifacts into digital form. One of the most affecting moments for me emerged from Freyja's narrative. In contrast to the symbolic abstraction of filters or cryptic captions, her act of mourning was marked by an urgent and deeply embodied attempt to preserve something materially real. During her father's hospitalization amid the lockdowns, he had written pabilin (reminders, requests, and instructions) all scribbled on sticky notes. Freyja's decision to share a photograph of these notes on social media exemplifies how material objects, once confined to private spaces, are recontextualized as mnemonic vessels within digital mourning practices:

Freyja: Anything that can also share 'yung mga sentiments about the expired person. So, like, for example, 'yung mga sticky notes na sinusulat na ni Tatay sa hospital. So, 'yun 'yung mga meron siyang significant. Apart from memory, meron siyang kasamang emotions. It will get 'yung attention din ng mga tao kung gaano ka-importante sa'yo 'yung picture na pinost mo.

The sticky notes Freyja shared embodied traces of her father's presence. His handwritten words carried his care and absence. I found this particularly striking, as I too have kept similar tokens that hold so much emotional weight. For me, it underscores how something as simple as a sticky note can serve as an emotional epitaph, connecting the past with the present, and reinterpreted in the digital space.

This practice continues the Filipino tradition of pabaon, where offerings accompany the deceased into the afterlife. Just as the sangachil (death chair) guides the soul's journey in some indigenous customs (Salvador-Amores, 2018), digital images now serve as contemporary relics; emotional and spiritual tokens that extend mourning into the digital realm. Sharing these artifacts becomes a ritual act, ensuring the memory of the deceased endures across both material and virtual spaces.

Across these narratives, Instagram emerges as both a syntax of sorrow and a site of emotional and cultural labor. Mourners carefully curate what is shown, how it is framed, and to whom it is made legible (Davis, 2017). This reflects a shift in mourning practices—from overt declarations to subtle, aesthetic gestures imbued with emotional and cultural significance. Digital mourning emphasizes presence over visibility: how individuals hold on, let go, and make meaning in the quiet, affective spaces in between.

This aesthetic grammar underscores that mourning on Instagram is not a passive reflection of grief but an active, ritualized practice of meaning-making. Aesthetic choices such as monochrome filters, symbolic imagery, and captioned reflections function as ritual acts that draw from embodied practices like pakikiramay and pabaon (Salvador-Amores, 2018; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009). Whether through an image of the sky, a handwritten note, or a caption resembling a prayer, mourning becomes both a public offering and a private ritual.

Curated acts of remembrance, once shared, do not remain static. They enter an algorithmic ecosystem where the mourner's intent intersects with the platform's logics of circulation, visibility, and recurrence (Leaver, 2020). What is made visible may resurface unexpectedly through memory notifications, archival prompts, or algorithmically generated reminders. In this way, the platform itself becomes an active participant in the ongoing life of grief, summoning the past into the present in ways that can be both consoling and disquieting.

It is to this entanglement of grief, memory, and algorithmic time that I now turn.

5.2 Lingering Presence: Algorithmic Afterlife

If Instagram is conceptualized as a techno-spiritual space wherein Filipino mourners engage in visual and textual rituals to articulate grief, then the platform's algorithm may be understood as an unintended companion in the afterlife of memory. In this context, grief is not confined to the temporal moment of posting. It lingers and reemerges in the mourner's present, summoned not through deliberate intention but through the algorithmic rhythms that shape digital temporality (Carey & Quirk, 1970).

Algorithmic systems, shaped by users' prior behaviors, act as machine-based third-party curators that selectively surface content, raising important questions about the boundaries between user agency and platform-driven emotional influence (Davis, 2017). This introduces a central tension in the study of algorithmic grief: where does user agency end, and where does platform-driven emotional choreography begin?

Participants described how content that initially appeared generic often became deeply personal. What seemed like routine suggestions evolved into what some called an algorithmic haunting, a quiet and persistent presence in their mourning. Pao reflected on how the platform appeared to recognize his grief behaviors:

Pao: Instagram is a targeted ad. So, if you're grieving and you're looking at these things, reading on...the algorithm. Reading on things to make you feel better. Then, a lot of this information about grief will come out of your feed.

Pao's framing—at once wry and resigned—encapsulates the ambivalence inherent in this encounter. The algorithm appears attentive, surfacing grief-related content such as quotes or affirmations. His observation that “you'll see quotes or sayings to make you feel better” hints at the algorithm's capacity to simulate attunement to emotional needs, albeit through automated processes rather than intentional care.

Freyja offered a similar reflection, describing how the platform seemed to register and respond to her digital behavior during mourning:

Freyja: Instagram, parang may algorithm din siya na pag ganito 'yung vini-view mo na mga ano, or ganito 'yung post mo, medyo may mga lumalabas-labas din eh. ‘Yung mga inspirational quotes, ganyan. ‘Yung mga pages sa Instagram na may ganoon. ‘Yun, malaking tulong yun. Parang self-help kasi ang dating noon ’yun.

For Freyja, the posts that resurfaced through the algorithm became a digital scaffolding, offering affirmation and emotional support. The comfort came from the sense that the system had registered her grief and responded to it. These algorithmic interventions show how grief, once expressed intentionally, becomes unexpected co-curators and can take on a life of its own. It reappears unexpectedly, woven into the rhythms of the platform, and aligns with productive curation (Davis, 2017).

But this comfort is not without paradox. As much as these algorithmic encounters resonate with pakikiramay, they also sit uneasily within the extractive economy of attention. This tension appears particularly salient here, as the perceived emotional attunement of technology is often less an expression of care and more a product of data extraction and behavioral optimization (Carey & Quirk, 1970).

Instagram Stories, posts, and shared quotes now function as rituals of care, reconfigured through the interface (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Babis, 2020; Sapalo, 2023). These expressions of personal grief invite others into mourning without requiring physical proximity.

Suzie preferred ephemeral formats, choosing Instagram Stories over grid posts:

Suzie: Stories mostly. Stories talaga. Like I said earlier, I follow these accounts like Good Mourning and I repost those on my stories. Usually talaga stories. Not too much like solid posts on IG.

Suzie's preference suggests a desire to mark grief without permanently archiving it. In contrast, Pao expressed a different orientation:

Pao: When I express grief, I like it to be a permanent post. Not a story that disappears in 24 hours.

This divergence highlights how mourners navigate emotion, visibility, and audience. Participants made deliberate choices about what to share, how long it should remain visible, and who could see it. These decisions are shaped by both personal intention and the social dynamics of the platform (Davis, 2017).

Instagram's resurfacing of older posts further complicates how memory is lived. Freyja noted:

Freyja: Humans are very visual. Social media, ayun nga, nag-memories siya eh. It gives you something that you can look back into after like a year.

These digital memory prompts act as emotional timekeepers. They may arrive uninvited, but their appearance often marks emotional or spiritual continuity. I found myself doing the same. Since the loss of my dog Sushi four years ago, I developed an odd habit: if I happened to be awake at midnight, I would wait, almost expectantly, for an archived memory to appear. When none surfaced, it seemed like I was the only one who remembers. Over time, these algorithmic prompts began to feel like digital visitations, anchored in traditional temporal markers such as pa-siyam or babang-luksa, but to data patterns, timestamps, and code.

This realization was unsettling. The platform does not simply preserve memory. It interrupts, curates, and sometimes disorients it. Past and present collapse into sudden ruptures. The moment carries a resemblance of anticipating signs from the dead. The algorithm, without meaning to, had become part of my mourning ritual. Its timings, unpredictability, and uncanny ability to surface what still lingered made it feel strangely intimate (Carey & Quirk, 1970; Davis, 2017).

Eliza described her own curatorial practice as intentional and tender:

Eliza: Parang...a collection of my favorite pictures. Gusto ko siyang bigyan ng part dun.

Eliza's words both reflect the emotional labor of selection and the intentional creation of space for remembrance. The archive is meant to be seen, interpreted, and responded to (Davis, 2017). These decisions are shaped by the imagined audience, especially within the flattened space of social media, where friends, relatives, coworkers, and strangers all coexist (Marwick & boyd, 2011).

These resurfaced fragments—captions, photos, filtered memories—function as digital pabaon, allowing mourners to revisit what remains. Their circulation is neither sacred nor random; instead of ritual calendars, they operate on code (Brubaker et al., 2013), forming small rituals that ask for presence, even when response is optional.

This form of companionship is marked by tension. The algorithm is not built for empathy but for engagement, optimizing visibility, attention, and return (Lingel, 2013; Leaver, 2020). Grieving in this context involves reconciling two truths: the platform enables meaningful rituals of memory and care, while

simultaneously operating within extractive data economies. Through curated visibility and emotionally legible posts, pakikiramay persists in the feed. Still, not all mourning is public. Some choose silence—acts of resistance and interiority that unfold beyond the algorithm’s spotlight.

Echoes of Absence: Curated Silence and the Emotional Architecture of Quiet Grieving Online While much of digital mourning is shaped by what is shared this analysis turns to what is withheld. Participants often described grief as something that could not be fully expressed online, leading to practices of quiet grieving, delayed posting, or non-engagement. These silences were not passive; they were curated absences, shaped by emotional exhaustion, fear of judgment, or the desire to preserve the sacredness of loss. Drawing on Davis’s (2017) concept of productive curation, these acts of non-disclosure are as intentional as visible posts, reflecting a solemn form of emotional labor.

Yet, silence was not universal. For some, grief was too intense to contain, and public expression became a necessary release. This tension between quiet restraint and expressive urgency reveals the emotional architecture of networked grief: a space where mourning is not only curated through what is shown, but also through the deliberate negotiation of when to speak and when to remain silent.

In this way, curated silence and expressive rupture are not opposites, but part of the same emotional continuum. Both are shaped by the affordances of the platform, the imagined audience, and the mourner’s emotional state. Whether through a withheld photo, a quiet post, or a sudden outpouring, each act reflects a deeply personal strategy for managing emotional exposure in a networked world.

Strategic Silences: The Politics of Emotional Restraint in Networked Grief

While digital mourning is often framed through visibility—posts, photos, captions, and engagement—many Filipino Instagram users turn to silence as a meaningful mode of grief work. Here, silence is not an absence of feeling but an intentional curatorial act. It becomes a form of care: for the self, for the sacredness of memory, and for others navigating their own losses. Through quiet grieving, mourners resist the dominant logic of platform culture that equates visibility with authenticity and engagement with support.

Participants described practicing emotional restraint as part of how they manage grief online. Eliza articulated an internal boundary, separating emotions she deemed appropriate for sharing from those that might feel too exposed or socially disruptive:

Eliza: Hindi ko naman ishashare ’yung galit ko. Pero hindi naman negative ’yung sadness, ‘no?

Sadness, Eliza suggested, is legible and acceptable; anger, even if felt, might not be received with the same understanding. Suzie offered a similar insight from a different angle, framing her restraint in terms of personal image:

Suzie: As a Leo, ayoko pong mag-drama.

Their reflections brought me back to my own quiet grieving when I hovered over the “share” button, then chose not to. In those silences, I began to see a kind of authorship: a way of grieving that resists translation, yet still speaks.

This emotional selectivity mirrors traditional Filipino mourning practices, where grief is often expressed with solemnity, quiet gestures, or symbolic acts. The term *dalamhati*—derived from *dala* (to carry) and *hati* (to share)—captures the dual nature of grief as both a personal burden and a shared emotional experience (Santiago, 1993). While *pakikiramay* denotes outward expressions of sympathy, *pakikidalamhati* reflects an inward, empathetic holding of another’s sorrow or intersubjective connection (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Venzon & Gopilan, 2023). This cultural logic reframed the quiet, curated mourning I encountered not as withdrawal but as ethical engagement: intentional silence that holds space for others even as one holds sorrow.

Platform choice shaped how participants negotiated emotional exposure. Freyja preferred Instagram over Facebook precisely because it allowed her to control who had access to her emotional life:

Freyja: Mas marami akong followers sa Facebook eh. Sa Instagram, naminili lang ako ng ka-connection.

Ms. B added a sharper distinction:

Ms. B: Kung baga si Facebook, pang masa. Itong si IG, shala.

Instagram’s platform preferences position it as a semi-private, visually curated space that fosters emotional selectivity. This dynamic illustrates how mourning practices are shaped by the platform’s affordances, its imagined audience, and the cultural narratives it constructs (Davis, 2017).

Even in these curated environments, the risk of being misread remained. Freyja described the emotional calculus behind deciding to post:

Freyja: When you post something, it will automatically become a public item na. So, you cannot control how people react and you cannot tell them how they should react. So, if you’re open to accepting, or if you’re open into getting any type of comments or reaction from people, do you go publicly? Pero if 50/50 ka, like, hindi ka ganoon ka-open na baka may magsalita sa’yo ng hindi maganda and you will take it against them or baka it can aggravate your situation, you choose ‘yung mga postings mo kung ano lang ‘yung sa tingin mong willing mong i-accept ‘yung comments ng mga makakakita.

For some, silence was not strategic; it was necessary. Suzie, who had been her grandmother's caregiver, admitted:

Suzie: I was already burnt out. I didn't get to post the funeral. I was just out of it at that time.

The act of curating grief online depends on emotional availability, and when overwhelmed, individuals may find it difficult to post at all (Davis, 2017). In contrast, Eliza described how the intensity of her loss compelled her to express it publicly.

Eliza: Ito lang 'yung super bigat na grief na naranasan ko sa buong life ko. Sa sobrang intense ng feelings, kailangan ko na siya ilabas.

These polarities between exhaustion and overflow mirrored moments I had also experienced: hesitating over the “post” button, uncertain whether grief would be received as sincerity or spectacle. These decisions were not purely emotional but shaped by platform structures and the anticipated reception of grief. Like my participants, I crafted captions to appear respectful rather than dramatic, contemplative rather than performative, adjusting tone not only to express emotion but to manage perception. This illustrates how digital mourning is shaped by strategic self-presentation and the imagined gaze of online audiences (Davis, 2017; Marwick & boyd, 2010).

Not all silences stemmed from depletion. Ms. B withheld posting a photo of her deceased mother's hand:

Ms. B: Hinawakan ko 'yung kamay niya. Pero, sa sobrang sakit, hindi ko siya kayang i-post.

Instead, she turned to symbolic text:

Ms. B: Mga quotes na lang, ‘I wish there’s a stairway to heaven so I can visit.’ Hindi ko kayang i-post 'yung mukha niya.

Ms. B's restraint reflected a desire to preserve the sacredness of the moment from the flattening effects of platform visibility. I recalled a moment at the veterinary clinic when my brother quietly took a photo of me as I broke down. The grief felt too intimate to articulate. Some memories, I realized, are meant to be personal. This resonates with digital gravescapes where memory can persist without exposure, and where sharing is not obligatory (Babis, 2020; Church, 2013).

Some mourned what they never captured. A professional photographer, Suzie reflected:

Suzie: I take photos of families and events, and I don't even have enough of the woman who raised me.

Suzie remembered listening to her grandmother's voice messages after her death, haunted by a missed call she never returned. The lack of photos or messages didn't go unnoticed; it became a kind of silence that lingered. Grief is a burden we bear in silence, held close with a kind of reverence that asks for no witness (Santiago, 1993).

Participants described the silence of others as an expression of sensitivity. Freyja, for instance, reflected on how quietness could signal care rather than distance:

Freyja: When you post something in relation to death,. parang unified kasi yung intention ng mga tao. It's either they wanted to sympathize or they wanted to help you overcome yung situation mo. Not all people are comfortable with death. They don't know how to connect, baka ma-trigger ka. So, most of the time, they would rather stay quiet na lang. I don't have anything against people who stay silent.

Ms. B added that amid collective grief, reaching out sometimes felt too heavy:

Ms. B: May times wala ka parin makausap. Kasi, syempre, a lot of people were having a hard time. Kapag nag-reach out ka sa kanila makakadagdag ka pa doon sa bigat.

I recalled instances in which I responded to others' posts with a simple "heart," choosing not to comment further out of concern that a message might unintentionally reopen emotional wounds. In retrospect, these minimal gestures functioned as subtle forms of care and served as nonverbal acknowledgments that conveyed presence without intrusion.

Even when others did engage, the gestures were often minimal. Eliza noted:

Eliza: Typically, mas marami 'yung nag-heart lang, kesa nagco-comment.

Subtle interactions such as viewing, liking, or quietly reading posts without commenting reflect consumptive curation, where individuals engage in grief through presence rather than expression (Davis, 2017; Brubaker et al., 2013). These minimal gestures form part of communal digital grief, a mode of pakikidalamhati enacted not through words but through silent solidarity (Babis, 2020).

Across these narratives, including my own moments of scrolling, pausing, and choosing not to write, silence emerges as a meaningful curatorial practice shaped by the ways individuals navigate cultural expectations within the constraints and possibilities of digital platforms (Davis, 2017). It protects what is too sacred to render visible and honors what cannot be easily expressed. Whether through non-posting,

limited interaction, or quiet consumption, Filipino mourners reclaim space for sincerity over performance. They sustain the spirit of pakikidalamhati in ways that transcend the interface, affirming that grief, even in silence.

5.2.1 Scrolls of Sorrow: The Mourner's Gaze

When silence protects what is sacred, scrolling becomes a quiet form of participation. In digital mourning, the gaze carries significance as a gesture of presence shaped by platform design and cultural norms of care. Acts such as viewing Stories, reacting to memorial posts, or lingering over captions exemplify consumptive curation, where engagement occurs through observation rather than content creation (Davis, 2017). This form of interaction reflects a “supporting orientation” within networked grief (Brubaker et al., 2013) and aligns with communal digital grief, in which support is offered through presence rather than speech, resonating with Filipino values of shared but understated mourning (Babis, 2020).

Participant narratives reflect this ethic of presence. Freyja’s account of receiving unexpected support from high school classmates underscores the communal dimension of digital grief:

Freyja: Nakakatuwa. Noong may mga nakikita ako ng mga tao na nakiki-sympathize, na hindi ko ina-expect, nakakatuwa din kasi, ibig sabihin, they understand your situation. Kahit wala kayong masyadong communication or connection.

What moved her was not grand declarations but quiet gestures of empathy. This reflects how communal grief endures in digital forms not through visibility alone, but through ambient acts of solidarity that affirm the mourner’s pain without demanding reciprocity (Babis, 2020; Brubaker et al., 2019).

Similarly, Pao’s reflection on how certain grief posts resonate differently with audiences highlights the curatorial logic that shapes digital mourning practices:

Pao: It’s kind of comforting because you find the people who really matter. You will find them because they’ll reach out. Or sometimes, even if they don’t know, but they find the post intriguing, they reach out. And it’s comforting that there’s family outside of family.

In this context, productive curation functions as a filter, engaging only those attuned to the mourner’s emotional tone. This selective interaction reflects the dynamics of context collapse, where users navigate overlapping audiences through careful self-presentation—a tension particularly familiar to Filipino mourners who prioritize discretion and relational propriety over emotional display (Davis, 2017).

Platform logic also shapes what is seen and what remains unseen. Suzie noted:

Suzie: By that moment, all I see are the people who pour out their love on me. And I barely noticed people who didn't show up. Or for the most part, I have great friends. And they all showed up for me.

Suzie's experience illustrates how algorithmic engagement can amplify visible care while obscuring absence. What may appear as genuine community is also mediated by curatorial code, the backend infrastructures that prioritize content with higher interaction (Davis, 2017). This is not to diminish the sincerity of support, but to recognize that digital mourning is also shaped by platform design.

Digital grief unfolds not only in space but also in time. Suzie also described moments of ongoing connection:

Suzie: Now, I feel like there's a lot of people who lost their loved ones, too. And they post it on IG, but close friends lang. And then I get to relate with them. And I get to send them like virtual hugs. "Hey, I get it. I might not exactly know what you feel. But I've been through it too. It's just, I'm here."

These dynamics became more pronounced during the pandemic, when traditional mourning practices were disrupted. In response, many Filipinos turned to digital platforms not only to express grief but also to extend care across physical distance. Acts such as scrolling, viewing, and silent engagement emerged as contemporary rituals that preserved the core value of pakikidalamhati while adapting to new conditions of visibility and connection (Venzon & Gopilan, 2023; Manahan, 2021; Baclig, 2022). What emerges is a form of mourning that is ambient, relational, and shaped by platform infrastructures.

Digital mourning, then, does not represent a break from tradition but rather its extension. Through curated observation, ambient empathy, and temporal presence, Filipinos continue to practice pakikidalamhati in ways shaped by both cultural continuity and technological mediation. Grief is not less real because it is mediated; it is real because it is carried—quietly, collectively, and across screens. Recognizing this interplay offers a more nuanced understanding of digital mourning as a culturally rooted, platformed practice that affirms the Filipino belief that grief, like life, is never carried alone.

Such practices do more than express grief; they also sustain it. In the stillness of a scroll and the familiarity of a memory resurfaced by an algorithm, mourning persists not only as a response to loss but as a way of keeping presence intact.

5.3 Enduring Reverence: Filipino Mourning in the Light of Screens and Spirits

Participants' reflections trace how mourning has shifted from embodied, communal rituals to digital adaptations, culminating in a hybrid present where the sacred is mediated by both community and code. This transformation signals a broader reconfiguration of how pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati are expressed across temporal, spatial, and social dimensions. My own encounters with digital mourning similarly shaped how I approached these narratives, as someone navigating these shifts alongside them.

Prior to the pandemic, my experiences with mourning were shaped by embodied rituals, such as attending wakes characterized by communal prayer, quiet conversations, shared meals, and the exchange of handwritten condolences. Like many participants, I initially viewed digital mourning with discomfort. Posting about grief online felt like a rupture, a form of exposure that conflicted with the intimacy traditionally reserved for family and close community.

As Ms. B reflected:

Ms. B: Noon ha, noon. Parang, hindi dapat siya pino-post.

This sense of discomfort reflects long-standing cultural norms about where grief should be expressed. Traditionally, mourning belonged in defined spaces: by the altar, at the wake, or around the grave—not on social media feeds or in ephemeral Stories. Pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati have historically emphasized co-presence, shared emotion, and embodied support (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009).

The pandemic disrupted previously established boundaries between physical and digital spaces. During this period, digital platforms became the primary and often the only sites where mourning practices could take place. Like the participants, I found myself drawn into rituals mediated entirely by screens. I, too, waited in Zoom rooms that hovered between awkwardness and sincerity. I watched memorial slideshows in place of processions and typed “condolences” where embraces might have once been offered.

The shift wasn't seamless. Suzie voiced her conflicted response:

Suzie: It's supposed to be solemn, pero hindi, ‘Livestream natin to, beh!’

Suzie's words capture the dissonance between traditional expectations of solemnity and the performative informality that sometimes characterizes online grieving. It reflects a broader tension in digital mourning that blurs the line between sincerity and spectacle.

The discomfort expressed was rooted not only in the format of digital expression, but in concerns about its perceived authenticity. Ms. B later reflected on the extent to which grief communicated online can appear genuine:

Ms. B: Actually, these days, lalo na 'yung generation ngayon. Hindi ko na ma-verify kung totoo 'yung talagang nag-mourn sila.

Ms. B's observation reflects how platformed grief introduces interpretive ambiguity. Reactions can be misread, and mourning becomes both hyper visible and emotionally unverifiable. Concerns about the performative nature of digital grief may be interpreted as either sincere or strategic, depending on the context and audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010; Brubaker et al., 2019). The concept of the imagined audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010) highlights how users tailor their grief expressions based on perceived viewers, potentially leading to tensions between authenticity and social performance. Similarly, orientations to networked grief suggest that digital mourning is not universally accepted, with some expressions being supported, while others are objected to or isolated, reflecting broader concerns about performative grief in online spaces (Brubaker et al., 2019).

Digital mourning also opens new forms of accessibility. Eliza, for instance, noted how physical rituals were supplemented—if not replaced—by online practices:

Eliza: Every birthday, pupunta ka sa puntod. Pero dahil may digital mourning na, ang gi-nagawa ko mag-post, mag-share ng picture niya. Parang may limit 'yung physical, naging accessible siya. It made mourning personal yet accessible. Parang naging tamad pero naging accessible and personal.

Eliza's reflections highlight how digital mourning doesn't only displace traditional rituals but also extends them. Much like atang (Corpuz, 2020), posting becomes a form of symbolic care. It allows mourners to bridge physical distance while affirming relational presence.

What becomes clear in both participant narratives and my own experience is that mourning today exists in hybrid temporality (Brubaker et al., 2013). Ancestral customs, Catholic rituals, digital interactions, and algorithmic interventions converge in a layered experience of grief (Mercurio, 2021; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009).

This hybridity affirms the persistence of cultural memory through adaptation. Just as Bontoc funerary objects such as the sangachil or woven textiles embodied spiritual and social ties (Salvador-Amores, 2018), today's digital objects—archived posts, pinned messages, memory notifications—become vessels through which grief is shared, extended, and preserved.

This research has functioned as both an academic investigation and a reflective engagement with personal experiences of grief. The inquiry has been shaped by ongoing negotiations with loss, informed by participants' narratives and mediated through digital practices. These negotiations manifest in various

forms, such as live streamed wakes, captioned epitaphs, and resurfaced memory notifications. Each offers a means of engaging with absence and presence through ritual, technology, and memory. The continuity and transformation of these practices illustrate the evolving nature of mourning, situated within a hybrid temporal and cultural framework.

6 Conclusion

This study investigates how Filipino Instagram users curated grief during the COVID-19 pandemic, a period characterized by physical isolation, disrupted mourning rituals, and heightened emotional vulnerability. It focuses on how traditional Filipino values such as pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati were expressed, adapted, and reconfigured within the visual and algorithmic affordances of Instagram. The central research problem guiding this inquiry is:

How do Filipino users curate grief on Instagram, and how are these practices shaped by cultural values during the COVID-19 pandemic? Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do Filipino cultural values, such as pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati, shape the symbolic meanings, moral dimensions, and social acceptance of digital mourning on Instagram during the COVID-19 lockdowns and in the period that followed?
2. How do Instagram's features and technological ideologies influence the adaptation of Filipino mourning rituals?
3. In what ways do these digital practices reshape users' perceptions of grief, collective memory, and community connection?

By investigating these questions, I sought to understand how grief is mediated and negotiated in digital environments, and how cultural identity intersects with technological affordances in shaping contemporary mourning. This study reveals how Instagram's individualistic ethos enables introspective grief curation while rendering mourning both deeply personal and publicly visible. This paradox is expressed through symbolic and aesthetic practices that reconfigure Filipino mourning rituals within networked spaces.

Jenny L. Davis's (2017) theory of digital curation provided the foundational lens for analyzing how grief is curated on Instagram. Her distinction between productive and consumptive curation was clearly reflected in participants' practices. Productive curation involved selectively sharing images, captions, and memories in emotionally resonant and culturally appropriate ways. Consumptive curation emerged in how

participants chose which grief-related content to engage with, guided by emotional readiness, relational closeness, or aesthetic appeal.

However, Davis's concept of curatorial code—the algorithmic and architectural constraints of platforms—was extended in this study to reveal not just technical limitations but symbolic and ideological forces. Instagram's design did more than filter or organize content; it actively shaped how grief was expressed, perceived, and valued. Participants described algorithmic memory resurfacings, such as “On This Day” prompts, as emotionally charged events. For some, they appeared as spiritual signs or moments of divine timing; for others, they were painful intrusions. These reactions show that algorithmic prompts are imbued with meaning, functioning as co-curators of grief that simulate presence, trigger ritual, or disrupt healing.

Instagram's architecture also privileges content that is visually polished, emotionally restrained, and algorithmically engaging. Posts aligning with these norms are more likely to be seen, liked, and shared. This hierarchy of visibility disadvantages users who lack digital literacy, aesthetic fluency, or emotional bandwidth to curate mourning in such ways. As Fortner and Fackler (2014) argue, the ideological nature of technology encodes and reinforces dominant values—including those related to class, taste, and emotional expression.

Carey and Quirk's (1970) notion of the “electrical sublime” further reflects these dynamics. They argue that electronic technologies often carry a secular faith—a mythos—that casts them as redemptive, capable of restoring harmony and even spiritual connection. This mythos was evident in how some participants described Instagram as a sacred space for performing digital liturgy. Users invested the platform with emotional and spiritual meaning, sometimes obscuring its commercial and extractive foundations. Yet participants were aware of this tension. They spoke of the emotional labor required to maintain a curated presence, the pressure to aestheticize grief, and the discomfort of algorithmically resurfaced memories.

My findings affirm and extend prior research on Filipino mourning, particularly studies that explore pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati in traditional and digital contexts. Filipino grief reflects a relational ontology rooted in pakikipagkapwa—a shared sense of identity and emotional solidarity (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Santiago, 1993; Sabanpan-Yu, 2009). These values continued to shape Instagram mourning practices, even as they adapted to the platform's visual and algorithmic culture.

Studies by Babis (2020) and Sapalo (2023) describe how digital mourning on Facebook extended traditional rituals during the pandemic. My findings affirm this shift while showing that Instagram's emphasis on visual storytelling and aesthetic curation introduces new dynamics. Through Stories, Reels, and curated posts, participants enacted pakikiramay, using digital tools to communicate grief in forms that were both emotionally expressive and culturally legible. This supports Davis's (2017) notion of productive curation and Brubaker et al. (2013) claim that digital mourning is temporally extended and socially

networked.

Consumptive curation also played a key role in communal grief. Participants often engaged in pakiki-dalamhati not by posting, but by silently viewing, liking, or sharing others' grief content. These passive forms of engagement were nonetheless culturally significant, reflecting the Filipino ethic of pakikiramdam—a sensitivity to others' emotions that does not always require verbal expression. These findings confirm that digital mourning is not solely about visibility but also about presence, recognition, and shared emotional labor.

My study expands earlier work by showing how Instagram's specific features—its visual culture, algorithmic memory prompts, and audience collapse—affect how grief is performed and perceived (Leaver, 2020). While Salvador-Amores (2018) emphasizes the symbolic and material aspects of traditional mourning, my research demonstrates how these elements are reinterpreted through digital aesthetics. Participants used monochrome filters, symbolic captions, and curated tributes that echoed the solemnity of offline rituals. Digital mourning, rather than breaking from tradition, appears as a reconfiguration shaped by cultural expectations and mediated by platform design.

This resonates with Corpuz's (2020) study of the Ilocano atang ritual, which frames food offerings as acts of remembrance and spiritual communion. Similarly, Instagram mourning practices served as digital atang—contemporary acts of relational continuity that preserve bonds with the deceased. These tributes extended remembrance beyond emotional expression, encompassing spiritual significance and collective participation.

Importantly, this research complicates the view of digital mourning as purely empowering. While users exercised agency in crafting rituals, they also navigated platform constraints. The pressure to produce "Insta-worthy" grief, the emotional toll of curating posts, and the risk of commodifying mourning reflect the ambivalent nature of grieving in a platformed environment. These insights align with critiques by Abidin (2020) and Zuboff (2019) on the commercialization and surveillance of intimate life online.

Instagram provided space for emotional expression and cultural continuity, but access was shaped by intersecting inequalities—including class, digital literacy, aesthetic fluency, and generational familiarity. Younger, urban participants were more adept at navigating the platform and curating visually resonant tributes, giving them more visibility and social affirmation. Their posts often carried "aesthetic capital," which influenced how grief was received and acknowledged.

This research focused on a specific demographic: young, urban, digitally fluent Filipino Instagram users. It raises questions about the experiences of older adults, rural communities, and others with limited digital access. These groups may be excluded from digital mourning spaces, pointing to a broader digital divide. Gendered patterns also emerged: women were more likely to post tributes and write reflective

captions, while men favored symbolic gestures. Future research should examine how age, geography, gender, and digital literacy shape participation in online mourning.

Instagram's algorithm reinforces aesthetic hierarchies by privileging stylized, emotionally composed grief expressions. Raw, unfiltered, or culturally unfamiliar mourning may be overlooked or misunderstood. In this way, the platform not only mediates grief but also determines which forms are deemed beautiful, appropriate, or worthy of attention.

This research demonstrates that digital mourning on Instagram is shaped by the intersection of cultural values, emotional labor, and platform design. Grief is not just expressed but curated through visual and symbolic practices grounded in Filipino relational ethics like *pakikiramay* and *pakikidalamhati*. These values are not lost online; they are reimagined through Instagram's features, affirming Davis's theory of digital curation and complementing earlier studies on Filipino mourning.

Digital mourning is also shaped by the structures of the platform itself. Instagram favors aesthetically polished, emotionally contained content, which can limit the visibility of raw or culturally nuanced grief. As Zuboff (2019) argues, even intimate emotions become part of data economies that govern visibility and engagement.

While this research focused on a specific cohort, it surfaces broader concerns around access and representation. The exclusion of less digitally fluent groups, as well as gendered and classed disparities in grief expression, underscore the need for future research. My findings directly answer the central research question: Filipino Instagram users curate grief through visual storytelling, symbolic expression, and selective engagement, shaped by both platform affordances and cultural values. Mourning was not only personal but also communal, reflecting *pakikiramay* and *pakikidalamhati* as forms of *pakikipagkapwa*.

In response to the first research question, these values were preserved and rearticulated in digital form, guiding how users framed grief, managed visibility, and interpreted responses. In addressing the second, Instagram features such as Stories, filters, and memory prompts reshaped mourning, while also introducing new constraints and hierarchies. By integrating Davis's theory with the critiques of Carey and Quirk, this study shows that digital mourning involves curating memory and identity while negotiating platform ideologies and symbolic labor.

Ultimately, mourning in the digital age is both a continuation and transformation of tradition—a form of cultural resilience where memory and connection are sustained through curated acts of care. In these digital spaces, grief becomes a shared and evolving practice that reflects personal loss and collective adaptation.

7 Recommendations

This research began as a personal reckoning with loss during the pandemic and evolved into a deeper inquiry into how grief is shaped by culture, technology, and memory. The findings offer several pathways for future exploration and practical application.

For Future Research. This research focused on a specific demographic: urban, digitally fluent Filipino Instagram users aged 25–44. Future research should include voices from older generations, rural communities, and individuals with limited digital access. Their experiences may reveal different forms of mourning shaped by other platforms, offline rituals, or hybrid practices. Comparative studies across social media platforms could enrich conversations on how mourning is mediated, commodified, and reimagined in diverse digital ecologies.

For Scholars of Digital Media and Culture. The findings of this study highlight the importance of integrating cultural values and emotional labor into analyses of platformed life. Scholars should continue exploring how mourning is shaped by platform logics, algorithmic memory, and interface design, while remaining attentive to how users negotiate these structures with care, resistance, or creativity. In particular, there is value in deepening our understanding of how digital mourning functions as both a cultural and technological ritual, extending theories of networked affect, digital religion, and platform capitalism. There is also a need to examine how digital mourning intersects with broader issues of power, including class, gender, and access to technology. Embracing a decolonial and culturally grounded lens, such as one informed by pakikipagkapwa, can help scholars move beyond dominant Western frameworks in grief and media studies.

For Platform Designers and Policy Makers. Platform designers and digital policymakers must recognize mourning as a relational and sacred practice shaped by technological affordances. Design strategies should move beyond treating grief as generic content and instead support its emotional and cultural dimensions. This includes features such as customizable memory resurfacing controls, privacy settings tailored to mourning, and opt-in memorial modes. Additional grief-sensitive tools may involve tag-based filtering (e.g., marking posts with “grief” or “loss”) and collaborative memorial spaces curated by close networks. Platforms can also offer how-to guides for creating digital tributes and enable comment threads to function as message boards for collective prayer, storytelling, or reflection—mirroring traditional wake practices. Design frameworks must also address the needs of users with limited digital literacy or aesthetic capital. Prioritizing accessibility and cultural nuance can reduce digital exclusion and affirm diverse expressions of grief in online spaces. Ethical design should consider emotional well-being alongside engagement metrics.

For Mental Health and Grief Support Practitioners. Mental health professionals and support prac-

titioners are encouraged to engage more actively with the emotional and symbolic dimensions of digital mourning. Clients may experience grief through social media in ways that are not always visible or verbalized. Recognizing practices like silent scrolling, Story viewing, and digital tribute posting as valid expressions of loss can help practitioners provide more culturally attuned support. Therapists and grief counselors should also be aware of the emotional labor involved in curating grief online, including the pressure to appear composed, the reactivation of pain through algorithmic memory prompts, and the fear of judgment from one's networked audience. Integrating digital literacy into grief support models can better prepare practitioners for the realities of mourning in a platformed world.

For Filipino Communities and Cultural Institutions. Filipino communities, educators, and cultural institutions play a vital role in affirming digital mourning as a legitimate extension of traditional grief practices. While mourning has long been rooted in physical rituals and embodied solidarity, the pandemic has shown how values such as pakikiramay and pakikidalamhati can be translated through screens, symbols, and silence. Cultural organizations and community leaders can help bridge generational gaps by fostering understanding around digital mourning practices through workshops, public discussions, and cultural programming. Recognizing that mourning can occur through both visible posts and quiet digital presence creates space for compassion, healing, and intergenerational dialogue. As mourning continues to evolve, Filipino institutions must help ensure that cultural values persist, even as they transform into virtual spaces.

This thesis originated from a personal experience of loss during the isolating conditions of the pandemic. Through an exploration of digital mourning practices, particularly on Instagram, the study identified recurring patterns, expressions of emotion, and culturally situated articulations of grief. These observations also offered insight into the contours of my own mourning process. The resulting analysis presents a portrait of grief that is both distinctly Filipino and shaped by digital mediation. Instagram operated as a communicative environment in which memory, identity, and relational ties were actively maintained through curated content and sustained interaction.

Through this study, I have come to understand that grief, when mediated through digital platforms, undergoes a process of transformation. I observed how it is shaped by platform-specific features such as filters, captions, algorithms, and the quiet presence of others who scroll, pause, and engage in acts of remembrance. These digital interactions point to an ongoing reconfiguration of mourning practices. Within this mediated context, I understand mourning as a sustained act of collective care that continues to unfold through the affordances of technology.

As we move forward, may we continue to honor the ways we remember not only through rituals passed down to us, but also through the ones we are still learning to create.

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以墓碑探求台灣漢人亞族群之分布—以嘉義市短竹段為例
Using Tombstones to Explore the Distribution of Han Chinese
Subgroups in Taiwan:
A case study of the Duan-zhu section of Chiayi City

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摘要

有鑑於台灣漢人亞族群之固有語言大抵混同或業已失落，找尋全島漢人亞族群分布的工作有其難度，除了從信仰、習俗、飲食、建築、地名等方面探究，墓碑無疑是一個非常有效的線索。本文試圖以墓籍材料，使式微或消失的台灣漢人亞族群浮現。此方法能應用到全台各地。

本文擇定嘉義市市有地短竹段 1302 地號來研究，因為：1. 該地段經嘉義市政府於 2025 年 6 月公告，即將全面清理拆除，而有研究上的急迫性。2. 該地段之墓籍清冊檔案共 178 頁、2819 門墳墓的詳細資料查估表，在公告時作為附件呈現，成為可被研究之公開素材。

嘉義市東郊短竹段墓區受軍事基地包圍不便進入，我們 2025 年 6 月到其周邊的學府路福州山崇靈堂、蘭潭堤壩下方、小雅路 157 巷紅毛埠等墳區實際勘查作為對照。

本墓區可見最早的是廣東高州府吳川縣龐氏墳，建於乾隆戊寅年 (1758)，乾隆年間僅此 1 門、嘉慶年間有 12 門、道光年間有 159 門；足證 1850 年代以前，此處已經是墓葬盛行區了。

此墓區除了嘉義市本地人，由墓額和姓氏綜合判斷，應當有許多是來自周邊嘉義縣的人群，甚至有及於臺南市北部者。

漢人亞族群以潮汕族群為例，排除揭陽河婆、普寧、饒平、陸豐客家之後，計有 95 門，占總數 2819 門的 3%，尤其海陽 44 門、饒平 21 門，後裔格外集中。

可見墓籍材料是今後研究嘉義縣市地方歷史、乃至全台灣歷史中，所不能忽略的區塊。

關鍵詞：漢人亞族群、墓籍、嘉義縣市、姓氏、短竹段

Abstract

In view of the fact that the inherent languages of Taiwan's Han Chinese sub-ethnic groups are mostly mixed or lost, it is difficult to find the original distribution of Han Chinese sub-ethnic groups on the island. This article attempts to use tomb materials to bring to light the declining or disappearing Taiwanese Han Chinese sub-ethnic groups. This method can be applied to all parts of Taiwan.

This article chose the land number 1302 of the Duan-zhu section of Chiayi City to study, because: 1. The site was announced by the Chiayi City Government in June 2025 to be fully cleaned up and demolished, and there is an urgent need for research. 2. The 178-page tomb file and the detailed information estimate form of 2,819 tombs in this area are presented as attachments at the time of the announcement, becoming public materials that can be studied.

In June 2025, we went to the surrounding cemeteries such as Fuzhou Mountain Chongling Hall on Xuefu Road, under the Lantan Embankment, and Hongmaopi in Lane 157 of Xiaoya Road as a comparison.

The earliest thing that can be seen in this cemetery area is the Pang family tomb from Wu-chuan County, Gao-zhou Prefecture, Guangdong, built in the year of Qianlong Wuyin (1758), there is only one during the Qianlong period, 12 during the Jia-qing period, and 159 during the Dao-guang period; It proves that before the 1850s, this place was already a popular area for tombs.

In addition to the locals of Chiayi City, judging by the comprehensive grave plaque and surname, there should be many people from the surrounding Chiayi County, even those in the northern part of Tainan City.

Taking the Chaoshan ethnic group as an example, excluding the Hakka of Jieyang Hepo, Puning, Raoping, and Lufeng, there are 95 families, accounting for 3% of the total number of 2,819 families, especially Haiyang 44 and Raoping 21, and those descendants are particularly concentrated. It can be seen that tomb materials are a block that cannot be ignored

in the future study of the local history of Chiayi County and City, and even the history of Taiwan as a whole.

Keywords: Han Chinese sub-ethnic group, tomb register, Chiayi County and City, surname, Duan-zhu section

六張犁回教公墓墓葬型式的在地化現象與其變遷

Localization and Evolution of Burial Typologies at Lak-tiunn-luê Muslim Cemetery

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摘要

六張犁回教公墓為當今台灣規模最大、時間最久的回教公墓，擁有超過兩千門墓門。1949年起，許多華語穆斯林（Chinese-speaking Muslim）開始來臺，其墓葬亦開始了一連串的在地化過程，且因其高度的背景差異，導致其墓葬型制之多樣性極高；而自 1990 年代起，除了中國回教協會對於該公墓之管理愈趨積極、並大量製作規格統一之預備墳外，亦受到該時期台灣伊斯蘭教內部「遵經革俗」思想的影響，讓其後之墓葬逐漸趨向「低碑矮墳」的形制。

本研究將藉由對於六張犁回教公墓各墓門的資料蒐集與對照，理出其發展與變遷之方向，並將台灣華語穆斯林社群的思想浪潮與相關運動置於其中，為墓葬型式之變遷提供社群方面之解釋與意義；此外，本研究也將納入台灣其他回教公墓之案例，以觀察台灣整體穆斯林墓葬觀念之改變，希冀能豐富臺灣華語穆斯林之墓葬研究，並對其在地化現象提出新的詮釋方式。

關鍵詞：六張犁回教公墓、華語穆斯林、墓葬在地化、遵經革俗運動

Abstract

Lak-tiunn-luê Muslim Cemetery is the largest and oldest Islamic burial ground in Taiwan, comprising over two thousand individual tomb gateways. Since 1949, when many Chinese-speaking Muslims began settling in Taiwan, their funerary customs have undergone a series of localization processes. Owing to the considerable diversity of their backgrounds, the typologies of their tombs are highly varied. From the 1990s onward, not only did the Chinese Muslim Association (Taiwan) take a more active role in managing the cemetery and mass-produce uniformly standardized plots, but the internal Taiwanese Islamic movement of “tzuen-jing-ge-su (following Qur'an and reforming customs)” also influenced subsequent burials to adopt a “low-marker, flat-grave” format.

This study collects and compares data on each tomb gateway in the Lak-tiunn- luê Muslim Cemetery to trace its development and transformations. It situates shifts in tomb design within the broader ideological currents and related movements of the Chinese-speaking Muslim community, providing a social-communal explanation for changes in burial form. In addition, cases from other Islamic cemeteries across Taiwan are examined to observe how Muslim burial concepts have evolved nationwide. Through this comparative approach, the research aims to enrich the study of Chinese-speaking Muslim funerary practices in Taiwan and to propose new interpretive frameworks for their processes of localization.

Keywords: Lak-tiunn-luê Muslim Cemetery, Chinese-speaking Muslims, Localization of Burial Practices, “Tzuen-jing-ge-su” movement

From a Desolate gravesite to a “Temple within a Temple”:
The Development, Landscape Transformation, and
Manifestation of Divine Power of the Sheng Gong Ma Temple
in Lingya, Kaohsiung

從荒塚到廟中廟 高雄苓雅聖公媽廟的發展軌跡、地景
變遷與靈力展現

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November 13, 2025

摘要

高雄苓雅聖公媽廟的歷史可追溯至清代。其原址為「雜草叢生、墳墓遍佈」的荒地。從周邊地段的地籍資料可見，其中包含「墓地」等類別，證實該區早期屬於都市邊緣的葬地。這片供奉無名亡靈的空間，正是其神靈力量的根源所在。

聖公媽神威的重要展現發生於日治時期。當時因都市更新計畫，廟宇面臨拆除危機。然而，拆除工程期間連續發生多起離奇意外，被視為聖公媽顯靈抗議，最終迫使工程取消。自此之後，聖公媽廟以「有求必應」聞名，信眾絡繹不絕。《台灣日日新報》亦以〈十萬人參拜〉等標題報導其廟會盛況，顯示其神威已獲廣泛信仰認可，並使之成為高雄地區重要的陰廟信仰中心。信徒持續還願與酬神戲的演出，成為對神威的具體回應，形成信仰自我強化的循環。

因此，聖公媽廟正是以顯靈之神威抵抗都市計畫而得以保存，從墓塚之地轉化為台灣著名的陰廟，其「廟中有廟」的特殊格局成為象徵。此後更發展為現代化的宗教與慈善組織，並與地方大學合作，展現陰廟信仰的多元面貌。本文探討此都市邊緣葬地如何藉由「神威顯化」的過程而轉變，其景觀劇烈變遷，最終成為今日獨特的聖地。

關鍵詞：苓雅聖公媽廟、墓地、廟中廟、景觀、聖的力量

Abstract

The history of the Sheng Gong Ma Temple in Lingya, Kaohsiung, dates back to the Qing Dynasty. Its original site was a barren land “overgrown with wild grasses and dotted with graves.” Cadastral records of nearby plots, which included the category “graveyard,” confirm its peripheral character as an urban burial ground. This space for the unknown deceased formed the foundation of its divine power.

A critical manifestation of its divine power occurred during the Japanese colonial period when the temple faced demolition due to an urban renewal project. However, a series of miraculous accidents among the demolition crew was seen as resistance from Sheng Gong Ma’s divine power, ultimately forcing the project’s cancellation. Thereafter, the temple’s reputation for “answering every prayer” became widespread, attracting a large number of devotees. The *Taiwan Daily News* even reported on its festival crowds with headlines such as “One Hundred Thousand Worshippers,” proving its divine power was recognized by the faithful and elevating it to a major center of *Yin* temple worship in the city. The continuous fulfillment of vows and the offering of thanksgiving opera performances were tangible responses to its divine power, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of faith.

Thus, the Sheng Gong Ma Temple was preserved through its manifestation of divine power against urban planning, evolving from a field of tombs into a renowned *Yin* temple in Taiwan, symbolized by its unique “temple within a temple” architecture. It later expanded into a modern religious and charitable organization and collaborates with local universities, showcasing the multifaceted nature of *Yin* temple faith. This paper analyzes the process by which this burial landscape on the urban periphery was transformed through its “manifestation of divine power,” undergoing drastic landscape changes to become the unique sacred site it is today.

Keywords: Lingya Sheng Gong Ma Temple, Field of Tombs, Temple within a Temple, Landscape, Divine Power

美濃喪葬禮俗研究初探

從《美濃鎮誌》看喪葬禮俗的延續與變革

Continuity and Transformation of Meinong Rituals in the Township Gazette: A Study on Meinong Funeral Customs

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摘要

出生、結婚、死亡，被稱為人生三大事，死亡相較前兩者，更帶有不甘、無奈又或是解脫之情感，由於大眾對於死亡的恐懼與未知，使得喪葬禮俗相對繁複與慎重以及無容錯率，正因如此每一項儀式背後皆蘊含象徵與禁忌，也同時讓子孫在儀式中逐步意識到尊長已然過往。

美濃，四面環山的地形保證了其富有一定的封閉性與排外性，因故也相對能保留一定的原鄉喪俗特色，其演化受外來之影響莫過於二十世紀初的北客南遷，北部客遷移來南隆地區開墾，將其信仰與禮俗也一同帶進美濃，但最大影響則是在民國五十九年頒布的《國民禮儀》，更是讓一地一俗徹底改寫成了統一規範。

故此，筆者為探討美濃喪葬禮俗的演化，決定以三十年前出版的美濃鎮誌喪葬篇（1994 · 溫仲良）做主要考證文獻，對比美濃各家禮儀公司於入殮、還山儀式上的流程與差異，同時也考證，看見美濃三百年（2015）的作者-黃森松口述之「早期的客家人排佛拒道，婚喪喜慶皆由禮生操辦」，調查美濃在何時開始有佛教僧尼、儒宗神教的經生作齋仔，也將透過採訪相關從業人員以及儀式專家，進一步了解古今喪俗的演化與作法上的差異。

預計研究成果如下：各家禮儀公司在細節上的堅持，實為其獨特的“經營策略”，田調中也發現，客語的同音會造成華語異字，造成文字記錄上有一定的差異，經生與禮生的分工，也逐漸形成「禮生頭，經生尾」的特色。

不論實際考證與文獻記載的正確與否，皆是演化後，在消費者期望與葬儀社服務之間，所達到之平衡點，及工商業社會下將繁文縟節“以簡御繁”的調適與轉型，本研究透過田野調查與文獻對照，不僅重現其歷史脈絡，同時也為美濃的喪葬禮俗，做更加完整的文字記錄。

關鍵詞：美濃、喪葬、客家禮俗、經懺、儀式專家

Abstract

Birth, marriage, and death are regarded as the three major events in life. Among them, death carries a stronger sense of unwillingness, helplessness, or even relief. Due to people's fear and uncertainty about death, funeral rituals in Hakka communities are often intricate, solemn, and allow no margin for error. Each ritual embodies symbolic meanings and taboos, while also guiding descendants to gradually acknowledge the passing of their elders.

Located in a mountainous basin, Meinong's geography has fostered both seclusion and exclusivity, enabling the preservation of certain traditional funeral customs. The evolution of these customs was influenced not only by the migration of northern Hakka settlers to the Nanlong area in the early nineteenth century, who brought with them their beliefs and rituals, but most significantly by the promulgation of the National Ritual Guidelines in 1970, which standardized diverse local practices.

This study takes the “Funeral Customs” section of the *Meinong Gazetteer* (Wen Zhong-liang, 1994: 896–905) as its primary reference, and compares the procedures of contemporary funeral companies in rituals such as encoffining and burial return. It also examines oral accounts in *Meinong: Three Hundred Years* (2015, by Huang Sen-song), which note that “early Hakka families rejected Buddhist and Daoist rituals, relying instead on ritual specialists (*lǐshēng*) for weddings and funerals,” to investigate when Buddhist monks, nuns, and Confucian ritual specialists (*jīngshēng*) began to take part in local ceremonies. Field interviews with practitioners and ritual experts further clarify the differences between past

and present practices.

Findings reveal that the details upheld by each funeral company reflect distinctive business strategies; homophones in Hakka often lead to variations in Chinese written records; and the division of labor between ritual specialists and scripture chanters has gradually formed the distinctive pattern of “specialists leading, chanters concluding.” Whether in historical texts or contemporary practice, the evolution of funeral customs in Meinong represents a balance between consumer expectations and funeral services, as well as a social adaptation toward simplification in an industrialized era. By combining fieldwork and textual analysis, this study not only reconstructs the historical context but also provides a more comprehensive written record of Meinong’s funeral traditions.

Keywords: Meinong, funeral customs, Hakka rituals, scripture chanting, ritual specialists

1 目的與動機

1.1 研究動機

我選擇研究美濃喪葬禮俗的演變，源於自身對於禮俗的好奇與在地觀察，不僅希望以自身的微薄之力為美濃留下一段喪葬禮俗的文字記錄，更是想讓大眾看到美濃喪葬禮俗的獨特性。

人生三大事；出生、結婚、死亡，前兩項可以說是已經沒有田野了，如今的美濃，青年北漂，中年返鄉，剩下最多的僅有老人及外籍移工，既然沒有後生人，那又何嘗會有出生與結婚呢？相對而言，喪葬在日常生活中是持續的在發生，卻也在近年來快速的簡化與流失，除了宗族力量逐漸式微，亦開始有部分家屬選擇到鄰近的高樹殯儀館治喪，一來無須清出夥房，二來免去靈堂守靈的輪班（少子化已不像早期大家族式，有諸多手足可以交替輪班），三來告別式後可直接進行火化，省去諸多繁文縟節，此外，亦有部份家屬選擇，「一日儀式」，即是在還山當日的儀式，插入入殮的儀式，以減少人力及親友舟車，也省卻做齋。

由此觀察，我認為從現在到我大學畢業這段期間，正是田調美濃喪葬禮俗的黃金時期，原因包括：

- 一 地域優勢；身為美濃人，在與喪家、儀式專家及葬儀社的協調上更具信任基礎，也較容易獲取第一手資料，甚至請益到難以觸及的「儀式機密」。
- 二 儀式專家的年齡斷層；美濃的經生與禮生平均年齡已落於「中老年」，青壯年投入其中者極少，傳承出現明顯斷層，使得喪葬知識的延續面臨危機。
- 三 葬儀社之外地性；現今禮儀社之負責人需考取「喪禮服務」之丙級證照，但其學科內容大多以福佬人之禮俗為主，客家相關內容，也大多為北部客之喪俗，這樣的考照制度，將使美濃出現「半閩客」的混合喪俗現象，也使美濃喪俗加速消逝。

基於日常觀察與上述背景之分析，我深感此一研究主題具有迫切性與必要性。因此，我選擇辭去高三的暑期輔導，回到美濃進行田野調查與訪談，期望為美濃喪葬禮俗的現況留下紀錄，並進一步探討其背後的文化意涵與變遷脈絡。

1.2 研究目的

基於日常觀察與前述背景之分析，我認為研究並了解其演化脈絡有一定之必要性。因此，本研究規劃透過文獻回顧與田野調查及訪談，系統性的紀錄現今美濃喪葬禮俗的演化結果，並探討其背後之文化意涵與演變脈絡。具體而言，本研究目的如下：

1. 紀錄現況：將如今的美濃喪俗與流程留下文字紀錄與影像
2. 對比差異：探討美濃鎮誌喪葬篇與現今美濃喪葬禮俗與流程之差異
3. 分析差異：分析導致差異之主要影響原因與之可能性
4. 理解意涵：分析美濃喪葬禮俗與儀式在美濃社會文化中的象徵與意涵。

1.3 專有名詞-中文釋義

在美濃的喪葬文化中，冥器若有顏色需求，皆依照男青（茶青色）女黃（淺黃色）來製作，如；謚法、銘旌…，象徵男為陽為天為青（乾），女為陰為地為黃（坤），但因冥器繁多又不容易記，因此我將冥器分做三類，依序是；生者持、亡者用、儀式所需（其他），後續內文則不在贅述其作用及外觀。

1.3.1 生者持

1. 孝杖: 長約八吋上綁麻布（長孫持之為內紅布外麻布），男竹女桐，父喪用竹，因竹節在外，象徵在外有節、主外務，母喪用桐，因桐木節在內，象徵守貞節、主家務。成服時一同發放予兒子長孫。
2. 幢旗: 福佬人通稱魂幡，長約半身，以竹綁白布，上書喪宅地址、亡者名、陽上報 * 人，幡旗為引魂所用，若臨終後有請經生安靈，會放置於靈堂旁，若無則是入殮當天製作，還山繞棺時，由二兒子執持，若亡者無次子，女兒亦可。
3. 燈籠: 上書（由正面看左至右）姓氏 (* 府)、世代興榮、* 代大父（母）（若無孫僅二代，則寫嚴（慈）制）、壽字，亦有寫法為；姓氏 (* 府)、世代興榮、嚴（慈）制)、* 代大父（母），亡者未滿七十歲為白色，七十歲以上為紅色，亦有六十歲以下白色，六十至八十黃色，八十以上大紅色，還山當日走於出喪隊伍最前（亦有行於謚法後方），男喪本族執持，女喪則為外家。
4. 謚法: 取紅布製成橫幅，上片及中間各插一支竹子，右、中、左各貼一張紅紙，並寫；恭題、謚曰、陽上族 ** 題，女喪則為（戚 *** 題），中間貼四張（亡者未滿六十則為兩張）菱形色紙（男青女黃），於其內書寫謚法（對於亡者的追封與褒揚），男喪本族執持，女喪則為外家。
5. 銘旌: 高約三尺，於竹上綁紅布，上貼二十二張菱形色紙（男青女黃），男喪書；顯祖考謚 ****（謚法）諱 **（亡者名）享壽 **（亡者歲數）歲 *（亡者姓）母 ***（亡者姓名）靈前銘旌，女喪書；顯祖妣謚 ****（謚法）享壽 **（亡者歲數）壽諱 **（亡者名）*（亡者姓）公靈位銘旌，男喪本族執持，女喪則為外家，若亡者父母還在亦或未滿七十歲，或女婿，則無銘旌。
6. 香邦旗: 又名女婿（婿郎）旗（巾），為四條毛巾頭對頭以紅布條相纏，綁於兩支竹上，並於竹上各綁一紅花球製成，還山當日由女婿執持，為兩人執持（一人執一支竹），亦可一人執持（亦可外孫一同執持），若亡者無女婿，則無此旗。

subsubsection 亡者用

1. 蓮花水被: 蓮花水被分做上被及下被，上被蓋下被墊，上被為金黃色外邊白色，繡有卍字及蓮花，下被全白色，頭部印有藍色華蓋，腳部印有兩朵紅色蓮花，遺體小殮後（入冰櫃），上被蓋於冰櫃之上，待入殮當日下被鋪於水床，大體移出冰櫃，由子孫一同拉下被，將大體移入棺木中，亦有由葬儀社自行將大體移入棺木，此時下被則是先鋪於棺木內，大體入棺後，再將上被蓋上，隨後即可放入其餘紙錢、蓮花。
2. 神主: 高約 36 公分，劍狀，由先生書寫，男喪書；顯祖考謚 ****（謚法）諱 **（亡者名）*（亡者姓）公之神王位，女喪書；顯祖妣謚 ****（謚法）*（亡者夫姓）母 ***（亡者

姓名) 之神王位，亦有在神主左、右下處個貼一紅紙，上書；子孫（左）奉祀（右）。

1.3.2 儀式所需（其他）

1. 火鉢：早期煮藥用，外型同藥壺，於開孝前先生於鉢內焚一張壽金，象徵清淨，開孝時由長媳打破。
2. 謂法：此處謂法在本質上與族親/外家執持之相同，紅色，為紙質，約一張紅包袋大小，上書；恭題謂曰 **** 陽上族 ** 題，女喪則為（戚 *** 題）。於安亡時，焚化繞三圈香爐，並置於爐內。
3. 子孫釘：普通鐵釘，上穿圓形色紙（男青女黃），亦有多色者，上至下為；青色、紅色、白色，由八音團準備，於打子孫丁時使用。
4. 錢包：錢包，又稱財包，分作亡者與閻官使用，亡者用內包銀紙，閻官用內包壽金，於做七時焚化，外觀白色中間貼一長條色紙（閻官紅，亡者男青女黃）書寫欲予之對象。亡者用；是日陽上不孝 ***（孝子名）等今因為父（母）身故亦應 *（所做之七）寂之期虔具三牲禮物香楮燭帛之儀寄有財包一封外有散銀充足一心敬奉于（亡者名）自己開封享用他魂不得紊爭民國 ** 年農曆 * 月 * 日拜。閻官用；是日凡民信士 ***（孝子名）等今因有父（母）身故亦應 *（所做之七）寂之期虔具三牲禮物香楮燭帛之儀寄有財包一封外有散金充足一心敬奉于（閻官名）亡魂到案乞判超生民國 ** 年農曆 * 月 * 日拜。
5. 元寶：以銀紙捲製呈長條狀，於接棺、繞棺時焚化。

2 設計問題

2.1 靈堂象徵物

童年時參與美濃喪葬儀式，總會疑惑：為何靈堂上僅有相片與香爐，卻不見牌位的存在。直到祖父過世時，靈堂上多出了幡旗，但仍未出現牌位，這讓我更加好奇，美濃喪葬中的靈堂象徵物究竟是什麼？

所謂「靈堂象徵物」，在此指的是喪者於出殯前之豎靈期間，供親友前來靈堂弔唁、表達追悼之情所寄託的象徵物，就如同逝者的靈魂寄託於另一物之上。為釐清此點，我隨機訪談了兩位在地的叔伯，其中一位長年擔任禮生的阿伯表示：「毋點主，神主就毋靈，所以代表亡者个就係香爐」；另一位阿叔則說：「佢等夥房都有擺欵」。這顯示在地的實踐並非一致，因此我先提出幾種推測，共有兩種可能：

1. 早期的客家人排佛拒道，婚喪喜慶皆由禮生操辦，既無延請僧道誦經超渡，牌位也通常要到「點主」時才會出現；前期僅設香爐與相片供弔唁。據報導人 L 口述指出，早期美濃

在入殮後，廳下門關起來就「毋事情了」，直到還山前才再搭靈堂，其間也無須設案祭祀。既然無需祭祀，也就無牌位之必要。

2. 早期多以出家僧尼為主導儀式，出家僧尼通常在超渡誦經時會設立「蓮位」，法事結束即焚化，因此也無須長期設置牌位。我亦認為，美濃人對於喪葬物品相當謹慎，傾向在儀式需要時才安置，以避免不必要的移動。

2.2 排佛拒道與作齋

早期的客家人排佛拒道，婚喪喜慶皆由禮生操辦；但如今的美濃，大多會在出殯前一日延請僧尼或經生誦經超度。那麼，早期的美濃是否完全沒有「作齋」？我認為有兩種可能：

1. 二十世紀初桃竹苗移民南隆開墾時，將僧道或釋教儀式帶入美濃。
2. 早期喪葬主要由出家僧尼超渡亡者，後期寺廟逐漸出現專職經生，並帶有商業性質。於是原本偏紅頭性質，逐漸轉變為紅白都接的性質。

2.3 古今對比

在做設計問題的古今對比時，我認為需總結六個面向；流程、物質、觀念、場域、情感、象徵。如今社會已非與早期儒家思想的「死，葬之以禮，祭之以禮」儼然將祭祀的行為轉化為追憶於心，用符號學來說，祭祀的行為在象徵轉向下，祭祀逐漸從具體實體的存在，轉化為個人記憶與情感為主，亦然，傳統依賴物質性儀式的祭祀行為也隨之簡化。此一變化顯示，儀式的重心已由「確實履行祭祀程序」轉移為「透過追憶與情感表達維繫與亡者的連結」，換句話說，祭祀的意義從外顯的禮俗實踐，轉向記憶內化。故在今日普遍大眾的殯葬觀念中，儀式已是輔，既然如此，儀式執行也順應的轉化為簡單為主，所以我認為會有這六個面向所導致的差異。

既然儀式在當代人之殯葬觀念中已是輔助性的存在，那麼儀式的執行自然而然也逐漸式微，於是古今之間的差異，便圍繞著上述六個面向。

3 研究方法

3.1 文獻回顧

本文將以 1994 年出版之《美濃鎮誌 喪葬篇》作為主要參考文獻。該篇詳實記錄了美濃地區約莫三十年前之喪葬禮俗流程，為理解在地喪葬文化的重要文獻。並由於此書為官方出版，具一定之公信力，綜合以上考量，本研究選擇其作為主要參考文獻。

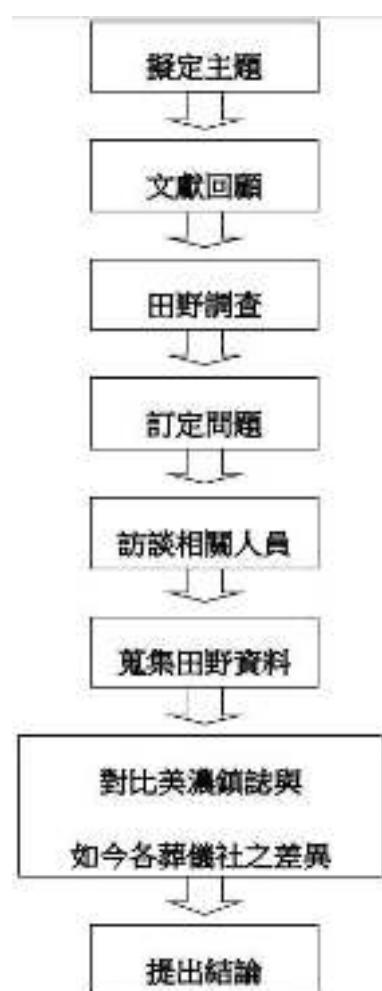


Figure 1 研究架構圖

本研究自五月起擬定主題，選擇以美濃喪葬禮俗為研究題目，主要考量在於：近年關於美濃伯公信仰的研究已蔚為顯學，然而相對隱晦的儀式領域，如禮生、經懺師等儀式專家執行之祭典，其活動紀錄相對稀少，原先曾考慮研究婚俗相關的敬外祖、敬內祖儀式，但由於此類儀式現今幾近消失，加上研究期訂於筆者暑假（國曆七、八月），今年又適逢舊曆閏六月，地方上祭典相對稀少，田野資料相對難以蒐集，因此最終確立以美濃的喪葬禮俗為研究主題。

在暑假期間，筆者首先於美濃圖書館進行文獻回顧，借閱多本相關書籍並查閱諸多學術論文，最終決定以《美濃鎮誌·喪葬篇》為主要參考文獻，其餘資料作為輔助線索。隨後於七月中下旬正式聯繫儀式專家與殯葬業者，洽談是否能進行實地觀察與記錄，並於觀察後訪談儀式專家及在地文史學者，將觀察所得之照片、儀式流程筆記與其請教，進一步獲得相關線索。

同時，筆者亦蒐集相關儀式資料，如祭文、哀章、經懺法本等，並將所蒐集之田野資料與《美濃鎮誌·喪葬篇》所載流程進行比對，歸納其中之異同。透過此一比較，期望能呈現當今美濃喪葬禮俗多元且個別化的發展樣貌，並於研究末提出結論。

3.2 研究對象

本研究之訪談對象以美濃地區的儀式專家、文史學者、殯葬業者為主。田調前期，筆者先與儀式專家及殯葬業者聯繫，並透過其徵得喪家之同意，以進行拍攝與紀錄，亦有筆者自行與喪家洽談，徵求其同意後再行紀錄。後續訪談則將擴及「現職從業者」與「曾任職從業者」，期望藉此求得今昔美濃喪葬禮俗之差異與演變之線索。

此外，筆者亦實際聯繫《美濃鎮誌-喪葬篇》之作者，與其進行訪談，深入了解三十年前其田調之相關禮俗、細節。殯葬業者部分包含連鎖與在地業者，惟考量現今業者皆須取得禮儀丙級證照，在美濃在地禮俗上可能會有混雜福佬禮俗的現象，為求貼近在地實況與文化脈絡，本研究將以在地殯葬業者為主要訪談對象。

3.3 研究工具與限制

本研究將使用 Nikon 相機紀錄儀式影像，並同時以手機進行錄音與錄影，以便於田野調查結束後能反覆觀看與詳聽禮生口誦之祭文內容，同時也會於現場以筆記本記錄田野筆記，尤其針對客語發音與字詞部分將詳細紀錄，避免後續資料整理時出現錯誤。

然而，本研究亦存在若干限制，其中最大限制為交通問題。筆者於首次田調時由父親協助載送，後續之訪談及田調則多以腳踏車為主要交通工具，因而在交通距離上限制了調查範圍。期盼未來取得機車駕照後，能進行更全面且深入的美濃喪葬禮俗調查與紀錄。

4 美濃鎮誌與田野調查之儀式分析

4.1 現今美濃喪葬禮俗-詳細流程

對比現今美濃三家禮儀公司於禮俗、流程之差異，本章僅探討經懺、入殮與出殯之禮俗流程，臨終階段與埋葬則未來另文討論。

4.1.1 豎靈

大體送回夥房前，需有宗親先將祖公牌及土地龍神以紅紙遮蓋，以便後續置換壽衣等儀式。大體送入廳下後（亦有送往殯儀館者，此處以夥房為主要討論點），依照男左女右置放（面向禾程）。但若亡者父母還在世，則一律置放於右側，並且以面朝內擺放，早期美濃人是無“豎靈”一事，後期才引入搭小靈堂之俗。若於此時家屬要求延請僧道誦腳尾經，則曰“安靈”，此時靈堂僅有香爐及相片，故是否有安靈的動作，依靈堂是否有幡旗即可看出，在僧道誦經後，大體入冰箱名曰小殮，通常小殮係指為亡者置換壽衣，抑或是移入棺木，而美濃稱大體入冰櫃為小殮，我推側係因為早期土葬無冰櫃，待一對時（二十四小時）後直接入殮，而後期有冰櫃的發明，加上是將遺體放入一空間等待入殮，故才會稱為“小殮”，但此時遺體係已著好壽衣的情況，故也算係合理。

4.1.2 入殮

通常入殮儀式與做齋時程相互配合，並與燒庫錢、誦經於同一日舉行。家屬聚集於這兩日為主要治喪時程，不用多次奔走，也省去請儀式專家的次數。

一 買水: 孝媳手捧面盆，內放置毛巾一條、壽金一只、紅包一封，率眾女眷至家門口處，跪地，手持三柱清香面朝水源，向水神買水，後禮儀社工作人員將水桶內的水倒至臉盆中，後由一工作人員將香插於附近土中，並焚化壽金，紅包則予此工作人員。

二 洗面: 孝媳買到水後，捧面盆水走回廳下內，男眷則站於接棺處等候，進入廳下後，長媳跪於遺體面旁（依照遺體置放位置有所改變，詳見豎靈-男女置放處），此時遺體眼部、天仔蓋上蓋有一張千元鈔票，長媳取下後，以毛巾為亡者擦拭面部，擦拭三回後，眾女眷起立出廳下，洗面水則倒於廳下門口。

三 接棺: 眾孝眷分男左女右（面向靈堂外）跪於大靈堂兩側（亦或於廳下門口前進行），手捧九銀摺成的“元寶”，待棺材搬入時，孝眷跪於棺材旁，手放於棺材上並口念:**（對亡者

之稱謂) 大屋入來了喔，後工作人員將棺材搬入廳下，孝眷將“元寶”拿至靈堂門口之臉盆內焚化，據報導人 z 口述此行為係象徵孝卷將棺材買回，但報導人 L 則表示焚化元寶係買路錢，但由此處皆能得知此“元寶”為早期美濃接棺就有之儀式所需用品。

四 問經: 接棺完畢後，執事操辦棺內置放物，家屬則在大靈堂上香，並由三至五位經生唸經超渡，同時也告知亡者即將為他進行入殮儀式，在儀式開始約莫十分鐘後，位居中間著黃海清之“主儺”在誦唸大悲咒後，持淨水入廳下灑淨，據報導人表示，此儀式象徵清淨大屋也潔淨亡者遺體，值得一提的是，在喪葬流程中筆者接寫“唸經”而不是“誦經”，據報導人 Y 指出：「廟項正做得講誦經，喪家做齋仔正做得講唸經，去廟項講唸經會分老人家罵」。由此可得知美濃地區對於做經儺用詞的紅白區別。

五 大殮: 於豎靈篇有提到，美濃地區稱入冰櫃為小殮，遺體放入棺木則係大殮，在執事將棺內物置放好後，在此時分別有兩種做法：

1. 大體由冰櫃移上水床時，蓮花水被之下被置於水床上，而後兒子、長孫、女婿拉下被，將大體移入棺木內，並覆上蓮花水被之上被
2. 執事先將下被置於棺木內，並搬大體之頭、身、腳部，由水床移入棺木內，最尾覆上蓮花水被之上被。

其差異在於，若是由子孫搬置，下被係先墊於遺體下方，若由執事進行，則直接置放於棺木內。

六 瞻仰遺容: 由主儺帶頭入內，其餘經生則於大靈堂靈前處誦唸佛號，瞻仰遺容順序為：主儺孝子媳婦孝女...，左進右出，走至亡者腳部時，雙手合十一拜，走至門口處喪家會發一紅包，孝眷瞻仰後則回大靈堂準備後續儀式。

七 蓋棺: 孝子長孫於廳下門口處跪（鞠躬）請長（平）輩為父（母）蓋棺，進入廳下後，孝子長孫低頭跪於靈柩右側，兩位本族（外家）摸棺蓋後出廳下，由葬儀社人員蓋棺，但據報導人 C 指出：「頭擺係由本族（外家）長輩蓋棺，毋係摸棺蓋後就做得出廳下」。

關廳下門: 早期係依照亡者性別，由本族（外家）將廳下門關閉，關上後就待開孝後才能開啟，早期皆以土葬並且無冰存設備，故遺體需盡快入殮，期間僅有棺木店之業者可開啟檢查棺木是否有漏風，需要補強，家屬不可入內。

4.1.3 還山

在早期的美濃，還山儀式皆由禮生操辦，但在十九世紀桃竹苗先民移民至三五公司-南隆農場開墾後，逐漸轉化為禮生頭，經生尾的儀式分工，

一 安祖公：因大體放置於廳下內，祖公牌需用紅紙蓋起，故會用紅紙上書堂號及 * 氏歷代高曾祖考妣神位，並依照亡者性別（男左女右，不分父母是否在世）貼於祖堂外之「門對」中間，但據報導人 v 指出：「早期臨時祖公牌上會照廳下內之祖公牌書寫，並將祖先名都抄上，但因時常造成對仗錯誤（夫妻對錯），故後期改作直接寫歷代祖先」。而因後續之三告儀式需告祖，故須於儀式前先請祖先，蒞臨臨時祖公牌接受祭祀。

二 攀鉢開孝：由長媳手捧火鉢，率眾女眷至家門口處（買水處），當聽到鞭炮聲時，將火鉢高舉重摔至地，同時八音團奏大團圓，一執事者敲鑼帶頭，男眷依序跪於廳下門口約十公尺處，女眷走至廳下門口時，則進行下一項儀式。若當日遇「酉日」，或亡者生肖為「雞」，因有卯酉沖的問題（卯為木，酉為金，金剋木，雞兔相沖），故不可於酉時開孝，需提前至寅時五點，抑或是延後至辰時七點開孝。值得一提的是，若亡者無媳婦，攀鉢者則變成兒子的工作，筆者推測，不係讓女兒來做之原因係因為早期女兒出嫁，祭祀部分係於辦路祭時，故開孝時女兒自然不會出現在會場，故由兒子執行，並且摔破火鉢不僅象徵亡者病痛痊癒，我認為也同時象徵媳婦的贍養工作至此結束，無須再為公婆熬藥，既然他有象徵贍養的意涵，故執行攀鉢者也同時代表著其與亡者之關係為「照顧者與被照顧者」。

三 開廳下門：執事者將緊閉的廳下門開啟，開啟後女眷跪地爬入廳下，扶棺痛哭。

四 點主：於大靈堂門口處之案桌前，孝子長孫跪（鞠躬）請長（平）輩為父（母）點主，後長子跪地面朝外手背於後捧神主，禮生口唸：「周公命謚，取善錄長，一點成主，世代榮昌」。禮生誦唸至一點成主時，將毛筆點至王字上，後再將筆擲出。通常美濃的神主於此時才會出現，但若是先有神主者，那點主之紅包將會蓋於神主上。但據報導人 L 口述：「此桌雖行告天禮，但並非天神桌，而是周公桌」。我認為此說法係因禮生念之「周公命謚」，代表此桌為請周公臨現場命謚之意。亦有一念法為：「伏以日吉時良，天地開張今日點主，萬事如意，永遠大吉昌，點天天清，點地地靈，點人人長生，點主主有靈」，執行儀式時所誦唸之內容僅是儀式執行者的傳承及習慣。

五 安亡：點主完畢後，禮生將香與神主置於盤中（此時香爐置放於靈前，故盤內僅置放香），孝子長孫低頭彎腰合十行走，長子捧至大靈堂天神案前，其餘子孫隨後，禮生將牌位

香爐至於桌上，爾後子孫行跪拜禮，禮生於誦唸完祭文後，將點主盤內之謚法（詳見第一章第三節儀式所需（其他）-謚法），點燃後繞香爐三圈，後放於爐內。此儀式僅在 C 公司有看到，據報導人 v 口述，早期美濃安亡都會燒謚法，或許此細節已遭多數公司、禮生簡化。

六 告祖: 安亡完畢後，禮生將香爐置於盤中，孝子長孫低頭彎腰行走，長子捧至臨時祖公牌前，其餘子孫隨後，禮生將香爐置於桌上，爾後子孫行跪拜禮，向堂上祖先告知，今日伙房中有子孫要還山下葬。筆者認為此儀式屬客家人「尊天敬祖」的展現，不管生、死皆須與天神、祖先稟報，或許也象徵著人間少了位至親，同時也代表祖公牌上將多一位「祖先」。告祖後，跪於祠堂內之女眷即可出來，同時執事將臨時祖公牌撕下，並拿至靈堂外之鐵盆中焚化。值得一提的是，禮生誦唸之祭文內容會因亡者性別有所變動，如；伏望「尊靈」一詞，在女喪時會改做唸伏望「慈靈」。

七 告天神: 告祖完畢後，禮生將香爐置於盤中，孝子長孫低頭彎腰，長子捧至天神案前，其餘子孫隨後，禮生將香爐置於桌上，爾後子孫行跪拜禮，向蒼天稟告，今日伙房中有子孫要還山下葬。

八 成服: 告天後，緊接著於原位成服，孝服依照孝子、孝媳、孝女…之順序擺放，孝子長孫需服之頭箍及孝杖，則另外置放於案桌上，此時禮生口中會誦唸；「重服在前，輕服在後，有服者各司其服，有杖者各執其杖」。亦有者僅誦唸；「重服在前，輕服在後，有服者各司其服」。禮生誦唸至；「重服在前，輕服在後時」。會將桌上之米酒以順時針方向灑於孝服上，並請本族（外家）摸一下孝服，若子孫之配偶無法前來奔喪，子孫將會於背後綁上一件其該司的孝服，象徵代替其戴孝。但若父或母較祖父母早過世，則無需替其戴孝。筆者推測係於其出殯前「杖棺」儀式時，已在早逝者之棺材頭上放一塊麻布，象徵先為父母戴孝，故無需陽世子孫代其戴孝。

九 告亡: 成服後，孝眷返回靈前，行跪拜禮，禮生口中誦唸；「孝子孝孫，謚依謚評，吉日成服，敢告尊（慈）靈」。不過如今亦有禮生在安亡時順道告亡，成服後孝眷僅行叩首禮。

十 移棺轉柩: 於過世後大體以面朝廳下內擺放，移棺轉柩係將靈柩逆時針旋轉，變成大體面朝外，象徵將接受子孫祭祀，也代表準備出門了。移棺轉柩時，禮生口中會誦唸；「日吉時良，天地開張，吉日轉柩，萬事吉昌，移重者各司乃至轉柩」，亦有誦唸；「移重者，移棺轉柩」，兩者皆可，僅為師承與習慣之差異，此處之「移重者」指的是執行轉柩之人員，也就是抬棺者。

十一 接檻: 孝眷至伙房門口跪地，由八音帶頭領外家進入大靈堂，期順序為；八音-檻-外家人等，如今搬檻者多為禮儀公司，早期係外家自行搬運，故喪家須包兩個紅包，予搬檻者，如今亦有此俗。辦檻者也會因亡者性別而有所不同，男喪為本族辦，女喪則為外家辦，若有女兒，女兒則需辦檻及一副豬頭五牲，女兒檻及本族檻不須接，於開孝前先置放於靈前桌上。如今亦有女兒檻之豬頭五牲改作三牲之現像。

十二 家祭: 行國民禮儀，於上香後，進花果酒禮，在行跪拜禮。

十三 答禮: 家屬（孝子長孫，亦有禮儀公司為全體孝眷）出大靈堂，至大靈堂門口處，隨司儀指示，將披掛於頭上之孝服摘下，向前來弔唁之親友行一鞠躬禮，答謝親朋好友在百忙之中蒞臨祭奠，禮畢復帽，隨後公祭。

十四 公祭: 公祭相對家祭簡單，主奠者至靈前時，禮生會為其披掛值星帶，並於上香後，獻花、果、酒禮，隨後在向兩側家屬答禮。美濃葬儀社的公祭時間幾乎一致，若遇趕場之公祭者，即可先暫停家祭，待其祭奠完畢後，再繼續行家祭。

十五 進湯飯: 長媳捧一托盤，盤內放一碗白飯一碗菜與一雙筷子，由大靈堂右側，逆時針繞一圈至靈前，其餘女眷跪地，長媳站於靈前，夾菜至飯中，喊爸爸（媽媽）食飯咯。若亡者無媳婦，則由兒子為儀式執行者，如今儀式引導者多為經生及葬儀社人員，亦有葬儀社老闆親自引導儀式進行。

十六 削棺木: 打子孫釘同時葬儀社工作人員用鐮刀削下一片棺材，有放置於斗中者，亦有丟於原地者。削棺木之俗有禮種說法；

1. 若於出喪過程中有人不適、昏倒，以此木泡水制煞。
2. 置放於亡者香爐內，待滿七除靈時焚化。

十七 打子孫釘: 孝子長孫於接棺處跪地請本族（外家）幫父（母）打子孫釘，禮生於此時念；「一敲富，二敲貴，三敲子孫代代長命富貴」。前兩下打於同一處，第三下時孝子、長孫雙手放置釘上，由長輩打於其手背上。

十八 繞棺: 由幡旗-斗-相片之順序，再按輩分由主殯帶頭，面向靈堂對靈柩順時針繞圈，主殯與經生於此時誦念佛號，儀式也象徵家屬對亡者的眷戀與不捨。

十九 辭外家: 因照禮俗外家不能送亡者還山，故孝子須於靈柩上車後，在家門口處轉頭跪謝外家長輩前來祭奠，也請外家送到這裡就好，於母喪時才有此禮俗，也象徵「阿舅大如天」。

二十 出門: 出門隊伍為：燈籠-謚法-銘旌-香桺旗-靈車-幡旗-斗-相片-孝眷（不同葬儀社主辦時，順序亦會有些許不同）。靈柩出家門時燃放鞭炮，象徵辟邪。出喪隊伍行走約兩百公尺，執持幡旗、捧斗、捧相片者，坐靈車，其餘孝眷則搭乘遊覽車至火葬場。

4.1.4 肆. 做齋、經懺

一 做齋：如今多以一日齋、半日齋為主，一日齋者做水懺，半日齋者做藥師寶懺，並依照家屬增添儀式，如：燒庫錢、渡孤，基本上做一日齋者就會渡孤（普渡），普渡多以蒙山施食為主，亦有家屬要求做焰口、大甘露，其差異為供品之數量，一日齋者為五位經生，半日齋則以三位經生為主。

二 做七：照傳統於亡者往生後，逢初一十五延請經生做七，大多請三位經生為主，若遇農曆九月出殯者，則統一於滿七時做，如今士農工商下，亦有火化當日做到七七，之後分別再做百日、對年、假三年。值得一提的是根據做七經文；「秦廣楚江並宋帝，五官閻羅卞城王，泰山平等二冥君，都市轉輪十殿主…」。由此能得知美濃是以都市王為九殿之主，北部則多以平等王為九殿。筆者考證後得知，若根據《玉曆寶鈔》紀載之九殿會是平等王，《地藏十王經》之九殿則是都市王，此論點未來將另文討論。

4.1.5 其他儀式

喪葬禮俗不僅在於超渡亡者，更是慰藉生者，並一解思親之情。因而在對於「非正常死亡」之亡者，各地皆有各種超拔儀式，如；對於婦女的打血盆，中南部盛行對於意外死亡的打枉死城，以及白髮人送黑髮人的杖棺…。因此類儀式不會出現在普通喪葬禮俗流程中，故稱「其他儀式」。雖說此類型一是較難考察，但在訪談中依稀獲得報導人提供之口述資料，藉此得知美濃有此儀式。以下為美濃地區對於非正常死亡之儀式的概述。

一 招魂：據報導人 L 口述；若意外死亡，須至案發地，以幡旗招魂。報導人 Z 則補充；須於幡旗上綁亡者上衣一件。但相同的是，皆無須使用到神主。

二 祭三喪: 筆者雖無親眼看過，但據報導人 Z 口述得知；美濃祭三喪儀式，係以稻草綁出四肢，並著亡者上衣，儀式後置於靈柩上，楷同靈柩一同火化。若一年內（一說法為半年）家族有兩人死亡，則需進行此儀式。

三 杖棺: 在廳下內，反服父（母），以青竹（上繫紅布條）敲打棺材頭三下，而後將竹杖丟出廳下。敲打時儀式引導者會念口白，告知亡為何要杖棺，象徵譴責小孩未盡到養老、送終之責任，反而讓白髮人送黑髮人。

4.2 調查結果與鎮誌之差異

對比美濃鎮誌喪葬篇三十年前之流程及禮俗與現今美濃三家葬儀社之流程差異，本章僅探討經懺、入殮與出殯之禮俗流程，臨終階段與埋葬則未來另文討論。

4.2.1 豎靈

據報導人 L 口中得知，早期美濃並無豎靈習俗，待還山前才會再簷頭下設案祭奠，如今也僅是依家屬想法，是否於臨終後請經生做安靈。

一 神主: 鎮誌中提到製作木主牌，也呼應到研究的起源-是否靈堂有神主牌，依田調顯示，如今美濃的喪葬禮俗，有葬儀社會於豎靈時設置神主，但多數並不會設立。

二 守靈: 早期一對時（二十四小時）及需入殮，據報導人 X 指出；早期係於廳下內鋪草蓆，並將遺體擺放於草蓆上。並且為防止動物上前擾動大體，故需守靈。如今因為有了冰櫃，多數在出殯前一日進行入殮儀式，也將守靈改做早上打開廳下門，晚上關起。亦有者為日夜皆關半扇門，若依照現實層面推測，頭擺人以門板放置大體，故一扇門板拆下後，也只能關半扇門，演化下來才有關半扇門的習俗。

三 壽衣: 美濃禮俗為，六十一歲生日時，由出嫁女兒購置予父母。依訪談推測，此俗於三、四十年前仍盛行，至今已改由葬儀社操辦。

四 制中布條: 如今美濃少有人門口處張貼寫有忌中亦或是制中之白紙，若紙條作用係為告知鄉親此夥房在辦喪事的話，如今皆改用各式顏色區分亡者性別的寶蓮燈亦或是喪燈座告知。但若以布條的角度來說，如今改掛至於廳下門上，並依照亡者年齡對應不同顏色，男喪書嚴制，女喪書慈制。若以現實面來說，筆者認為用意為遮住大體，防止弔唁者一進入喪宅就看到大體。

五 報喪: 早期為父喪報本族，母喪報外家，如今已少有親臨叔伯、外家府上報喪，多以電話通訊聯絡。

六 兇死: 鎮志中記載；「若是在外因病死亡或意外橫死，其遺體不可移入正廳甚至不允許回庄，需在禾埕前或橫死地另設靈堂超渡死者」。據報導人 L 口述：「凶死做毋得入夥

房，除了老死、病死，其他都做毋得入夥房」。但報導人 L 也同時提到：「在夥房死就做得在夥房辦，凶死也做得」。以筆者觀點而言，就現實層面來說，凶死一般家屬會希望送醫急救，亦可能需驗屍，一但送出夥房，不管是否死亡，皆變成「在外凶死」，並且通常遺體出伙房後，就不得再移入，故才有“在家凶死可在廳下操辦”此一說法。

4.2.2 入殮

在報導人 Z 口中得知；早期美濃係一對時即入殮，並由鎮誌；「並請地理師擇期入殮出殯撰寫訃文（入殮又有稱之「落斂」），入殮後即關上廳門，直至鳴鑼開孝時方開廳門」。

可得知三十年前美濃喪葬的入殮是盡快擇日舉行，如今因為有了冰存大體的冰櫃，則演變為還山前一下午入殮。筆者推測其可能性為；早期無冰櫃防腐，故需盡快入殮。然而早期常有旅外遺族趕赴不回，導致無法見到尊長最後一面，故如今固定於出殯前一日入殮，遺族、親友皆能聚集，瞻仰遺容。

一 買水: 與鎮誌所說之；「至河邊取水並放一紅包」有所改變。如今皆改為孝媳手捧面盆，內放置毛巾一條、壽金一只、紅包一封，率眾女眷至家門口處，跪地，手持三柱清香面朝水源，向水神買水，後禮儀社工作人員將水桶內的水倒至臉盆中

二 大殮: 前文提到之；「1. 大體由冰櫃移上水床時，蓮花水被之下被置於水床上，而後兒子、長孫、女婿拉下被，將大體移入棺木內，並覆上蓮花水被之上被。2. 執事先將下被置於棺木內，並搬大體之頭、身、腳部，由水床移入棺木內，最尾覆上蓮花水被之上被」。其中做法 2 也與鎮誌提到之符合，故由此可知，執行大殮的主角，有逐漸從“家屬”轉變為葬儀社的趨勢。

三 祖堂前香案: 於內文提到之；「祖堂前則設香案擺四果，由經生唸經修墳」。筆者認為此處指的香案，及是今日的大靈堂靈前。

四 提謚法: 如今謚法皆由禮生及葬儀社訂定，早期為達官貴人題四字，平民百姓兩字，如今改作六十歲以下兩字，六十歲以上則四字（六十歲過世，但其父、母尚存者亦同）。

4.2.3 出喪

在早期的美濃，還山儀式皆由禮生操辦，但在十九世紀桃竹苗人隨三五公司移民至南隆農場開墾後，逐漸轉化為「先生頭，經生尾」的儀式分工，而國民政府於 1966 年成立中華文化復興運動委員會，並於 1970 年正式頒佈國民禮儀條例，將婚喪喜慶等禮儀訂定為全國統一，導致俗話說的：十里不同風，百里不同俗，變成舉國統一，此舉也讓美濃在喪葬禮俗的三獻禮轉變成「國民禮儀-家祭」。

一 開廳下門: 早期係依照亡者性別，由本族（外家）將緊閉的廳下門開啟，開啟後女眷跪地爬入廳下，扶棺痛哭。但如今觀察到，皆係由禮儀公司執行此儀式，其中兩場係攀鉢者尚未至廳下門口，門已開啟，另一場則係攀鉢者至門口，葬儀社才將廳下門打開。

二 安祖公: 筆者觀察下來，如今美濃皆於開孝前先安祖公，但據鎮誌記載，安祖公係於開廳下門後進行，筆者認為在順序上的差異有種可能；

1. 因早期皆以土葬為主，如今改火葬為主流，通常開孝時間為卯時六點，若於開孝後安祖公可能會耽誤到火葬時間，進而有所拖延，故如今改先安祖公。
2. 頭擺人認為，廳下門沒開，祖先無法出來至臨時祖公牌處接受祭祀，故則於開孝門後安祖公。

三 站立點主: 如今美濃點主皆為站立點主，不分歲數、輩分。筆者認為是因高齡化之下，身體因素導致跪地點主不方便，故以生者方便為先。

四 告亡時程: 據鎮誌紀載，早期安亡與告亡係分開儀式。不過田調發現，如今亦有儀式專家將兩者合併，而成服後僅在靈堂行叩首禮，未誦唸祭文。

五 天神牌位: 田調下來，皆未見於告天時有做天神牌位，此項仍有待考察。

六 移棺轉柩放鞭炮: 如今僅有開孝與出喪時有打紙炮，移棺轉柩時僅有鳴鑼與吹噓。

七 行三獻禮: 如今美濃的喪葬儀式，以完全轉化為做國民禮儀的家祭，祭奠順序為直系血親-旁系血親-姻親，以獻花、果、酒來祭奠亡者。或許這算是演化之下另類的三獻禮，此

處亦是與鎮誌記載差異最大之儀式。如今僅有土葬者會行孝子禮，但後續之六親禮與本族禮則以國民禮儀-家祭的方式進行。並據報導者 Z 口述得知，行三獻禮需辦「剛鬣柔毛」(豬羊)，此副牲儀可沿用至路祭。也據報導人 J 口述得知；「頭擺行禮都要請先生寫文，現在都毋了」。由此節可見，美濃喪葬在三十年間的演變，無疑是土葬改火葬，三獻禮變家祭。

八 子孫釘供靈桌香爐：經調查與鎮誌記載得知，早期美濃有返主安靈之俗並於滿七除靈，但如今美濃已改做當日合爐，故子孫釘在大多禮儀公司，僅是「執行儀式物」，而不在富有宗教意涵，如今大多改為重複性使用。

九 靈車繫帶：鎮誌中指到的；靈車兩旁繫有兩條帶子，媳婦們便拉著帶子表示對亡者的不捨，一直到路口。如今係由子孫執持，於《禮記·曲禮上》也記載：「適墓不登壟，助葬必執繩」。故此也能得知，在歷經各代演化下，執繩依舊是美濃喪葬重要的一環。

十 路祭：如今女婿改作家祭時一同祭祀，不再行半路祭。**十一 告河神：**筆者觀察下來，如今已無此俗。但以各地喪葬禮俗來推測的話，筆者認為係過橋時置放金紙，跟河神買路，如今美濃於出喪時經橋、伯公廟皆會丟一把香紙（一把香，上以紅布綁一只壽金），推測為告河神此俗演化。

十二 返主安靈：如今美濃係將神主與靈柩一同火化，經訪問得知，神主有幾種處理方式：

1. 哀家若選擇於殯儀館燒庫錢，因靈柩同時在火化，故牌位則於燒庫錢時與庫錢一同焚化。
2. 若亡者出殯時遇農曆九月，因美濃習俗是「九月不上主」，故需將神主置放於廟內，亦或是先將牌位焚化，待滿七時再以香請亡者返主合爐。殊值一提的是，據報導人 W 口述得知，若採此方式，在上祖前需每日準備早點呼請亡者來食用，無需上香、跌筭，拜飯地點為自家廚房。
3. 據「傳統美濃客家三獻禮記錄片」內容得知，土葬者係回到夥房做七，待做七法會後於空地與孝服一同焚化。但其中最大的差異就是安靈，安靈就代表需安置牌位，所以由此與採訪得知，早期美濃是有返主後於祖堂奉祀神主之俗，而非如今的「返祖即上祖」。

4.2.4 做齋

一 做七時程：據鎮誌紀載，百日係做八殿及九殿，但據調查得知，如今美濃多以；百日八殿，對年九殿，三年十殿，較多為百日獨自做，對年與假三年合併做。推測亦有可能係以三年為儀式結尾，故對年提前與百日做。此推測可能性僅是儀式專家個人之習慣。

4.3 葬儀社之差異性

基於如今民眾普遍對於喪葬知識理解較少，故各家葬儀社都有套餐式的統一流程，並同時以此配套與家屬商量儀式進行內容與佈置，在依家屬想法做刪減或增加。因而各家葬儀社在儀式方面衍伸出各自的特色與特性，如；客家古禮，現代化的簡單隆重…，而村莊中有人往生，也將成為其最好的廣告，筆者也觀察到，美濃某一禮儀公司會固定聘請舞台車，儀式時以舞台車的音響做傳播。從儀式流程來說，田調時有兩家葬儀社延請同一禮生，雖說儀式流程未有差異，但在儀式細節就有些許差異，家屬參與方式上仍有些許不同，顯示出儀式專家相同，但葬儀社的整體運作模式與風格仍會對儀式產生細微影響與調整，筆者認為此現象對於未來美濃的喪葬禮俗，將會出現甚大差異與影響。

4.4 儀式專家-分工顯現

這次的開頭依舊是那句；「早期的客家人排佛拒道，婚喪喜慶皆由禮生操辦」。若說到早期係完全由禮生操辦，筆者認為不然，而是其各自出現的時間點。筆者認為最大的可能性是；出殯前一日做齋是由經生負責，出殯儀式則由禮生負責，故兩者也不會有所接觸及儀式上的衝突，但因美濃地區如今在出殯儀式上，係由禮生負責開頭的「行禮類」儀式，而經生則係負責後期的落葬、出喪儀式。故筆者稱此現象為「禮生頭，經生尾」。

4.4.1 儀式專家-分類

- 一 禮生：負責儀式整體流程，讀誦祭文、儀式內容，類似如今的司儀、主持人。
- 二 經生：誦唸經懺者，多以退休後的婦女為主，皆穿黑色海青，無披縵衣。
- 三 主懺：站於經生之中者，以男性為主，著黃色海青，較多儀式皆由其執行，如加持淨水，並以全職者為主，亦有兼職者，無須剃頭，可結婚生子，類似北部正一派的「伙居」道士。儀式當日是否需持齋仍有待調查。
- 四 道士：美濃地區較少延請道教一門之道士操辦喪事，筆者曾聽過一種說法是；「兇死要請道士超渡」。但訪談之下也證實，美濃並無此俗例。據筆者了解，高屏地區也以靈寶派的道士為主，俗稱南路靈寶。
- 五 僧尼：平時於廟中修行，遇有喪家延請前來做齋，才會下山跑經懺。

4.4.2 協作方式

如今較少儀式專家係由喪家延請，皆已葬儀社之合作對象為主。早期則係以村莊內或親友熟識者介紹、指派，因無需豎靈，故其延請時程相對較充裕，如今若喪家要求自行延請的部分，以延請經生做齋為多。禮生部分筆者未見過，經生則係聯繫做幾日齋及法事內容等，時程以入殮當日為主。

4.4.3 師承

在禮生的部分，美濃大多係世襲制，亦有傳給女婿的「家族傳承」，師徒制在如今相對較少，其中也得知一條線索係禮生分做好事跟壞事的，早期不可相做，不過如今儀式專家相對稀缺，故亦有皆做者。

經生師承則較普遍，有至大雄山朝元寺學習者，亦有法師於某廟開課，集體傳授，亦有自行拜師者，亦或不拜師單學法。所以經生也相對禮生普遍，但大多皆係紅白事都有接，其中師兄弟間亦會相互支援。

4.4.4 顯現於儀式流程的差異

如今美濃大多延請經生於入殮前超拔亡者，入殮時以經生、葬儀社為儀式執行者，買水與接棺大多由葬儀社執行，亦有由經生充當禮生者。不過執行儀式時著常服，念經時換海青，工作時程不衝突。但若是還山當日，禮生與經生就需分開，其中開頭的儀式皆由禮生負責，直至靈柩出廳下前，開始由經生負責，可以理解為；禮生-葬儀社-經生，其中兩者同時出現點就係打子孫釘時，此時經生會站於靈堂旁，待禮生完成儀式，方始唸誦佛號領家屬繞棺，若以現今美濃喪葬來說，禮生的工作至此結束，由經生領亡者出門落葬。若喪家特別指定道士主持，其差異僅在語言與誦經禮懺的內容，基本流程則無太大影響，僅將原由經生執行的部分改由道士執行而已。因此，我認為早期美濃喪葬中並未普遍存在道士的角色，但仍可能因原鄉習俗而有個別延請道士的情況，此處仍有待考察。

5 結論

美濃地區的喪葬模式，原深植於宗族社會的結構。然而，隨著人口老化、外移，宗族力量逐漸式微，辦理喪事的場域也逐漸出現由夥房轉向殯儀館的趨勢。早期能否行路祭禮，係取決於家族財力，僅有經濟條件優渥的家庭才能舉行，但在生活水準普遍提升的今日，縱使大多數家庭皆有能力行路祭，但因社會需求改變，繁複的儀式已不再是重點，取而代之的是以簡單、莊重為原則的殮葬模式。若對照《美濃鎮誌—喪葬篇》與現今的流程，清晰

可見美濃喪葬禮俗在三十年間的演化。傳統禮俗逐漸簡化，但仍有部分核心禮俗獲得保留，形式雖有所轉變，卻仍是不可或缺的價值展現。

現代人對於喪葬的思維，也展現出世代之間的觀念差異。中年族群多半會在遵循古禮的前提下，接受追憶的元素，年輕族群則更傾向以簡單追思為主，古禮能省則省。同時，葬儀社的「套餐化」服務，也使得傳統禮俗逐漸壓縮並標準化。故所，儀式專家與家屬的協調、殯葬業者的提醒與把關，仍是美濃喪葬禮俗是否得以延續的重要關鍵。

透過區域、時間與思想三個層面的分析，可以發現美濃的喪葬文化並非靜止不動，而是在不同時空背景之下不斷調整，儀式的存續與流失，正是地方文化在現代化影響下所展現的調適。

如今的美濃，雖仍可見些許「排佛拒道」的痕跡，但隨著時空發展所引發的種種問題，使得儀式呈現出「禮生頭、經生尾」的分工樣貌。二十世紀初北客南遷，將桃竹苗的喪葬禮俗帶入南隆地區，戰後國民政府推行的國民禮儀，將原本的「一地一俗」改寫為「舉國統一」，其中美濃家祭行的三獻古禮更被改做獻花果酒禮。直至 1990 年後火葬制度的普及，美濃喪葬禮俗更逐步喪失原本的姿色。由此可見，「排佛拒道」雖具堅持性，卻無法完全阻絕外部影響，反而在歷史變動中被迫與外來因素協商，進而形成新的文化樣貌。這些現象既反映了地方文化面對變遷的堅持，也揭示了其內部的彈性與調整能力。

整體而言，美濃喪葬禮俗的核心精神，仍以「敬祖尊天，恭誠追遠」為主。這類核心儀式在歷經改朝換代後依舊穩固。然而，隨著社會組織與生活型態的轉變，部分儀式流程、祭品及儀式執行者皆出現調整及改變，如；由禮生執行的買水，改作由葬儀社主導，及女兒木盛的豬頭五生改作三牲…。這些變遷既反映地方社會的現代化，也展現出禮俗在社會變遷下，無奈的彈性與再詮釋能力，好比由女婿主祭的路祭，改與家祭一同辦理、圓七上祖改作還山當日上祖…等等。雖然在儀式的形式上產生差異，但核心精神依舊延續，成為當代美濃喪葬禮俗在演化下的一個重要特質。

下圖所呈現的時間軸，為筆者根據田野調查與文獻比對所推測出美濃喪葬禮俗的演變脈絡。由此可見，美濃的喪葬禮俗並非一成不變，而是隨著不同時空背景而持續演化。例如，曾接極父親，將北部客家釋教傳入美濃，美濃此時開始由「非僧尼者」做齋。而葉元福則師承中國鼓山派，在曾接極父親進入美濃後，亦於美濃做齋，並培育諸多學生。時至今日，這一傳承仍於美濃地區盛行，並仍然進行著做齋及禮斗等經懺法事。可見，美濃由非出家眾主持齋儀的現象，與上述兩者傳入時間有著密切關聯，而主事者的出生年代，更為此一轉變的重要線索。此「可能性」的出現，蘊含著地方社群在面對時代與社會變遷時，如何調整與再詮釋傳統儀式的歷程。未來，筆者將另文深入探討，並進一步比對口述資料、文獻紀錄與田野觀察，以釐清不同時期及南、北美濃之間於喪葬、經懺禮俗的差異，期望能更全面的理解美濃喪葬禮俗與經懺發展的脈絡與演化。



Figure 2 時間軸為筆者根據田野調查與文獻比對所推測出美濃喪葬禮俗的演變脈絡

參考書目

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報導人代號與職稱

Table 1 報導人代號與職稱以年紀排序

報導人代號	採訪日期	年齡	性別	職業
L	8/20	90	男	經生
C	8/24	75	男	在地文史學家
H	3/03	75	男	看見，美濃三百年作者
Z	8/19,21	60	男	經生
X	8/25	55	男	返鄉自耕者
Y	8/01,09	55	男	返鄉自耕者
J	7/17	55	男	儀式專家
W	9/03	55	女	美濃媳婦
V	8/03,13,28	50	男	美濃鎮誌-喪葬篇撰寫者

墓誌銘拓片的研究與保存—以南山公墓吳家墓為例

Research and Preservation of Epitaph Rubbings:
A Case Study of the Wu Family Tomb in Nanshan Cemetery

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摘要

南山公墓為臺灣本島歷史最為悠久的漢人墓葬群，因其獨特的地理條件，成為臺南府城先民數百年來的風水寶地。隨著日治時期城市空間的向外擴張，許多家族面臨祖墳遷移的壓力。在南山公墓內存有眾多歷代/累代家族墓塚，反映著墓塚南移的趨勢，其範圍變化與城市發展息息相關，南山公墓可謂是臺南府城先民最後的長眠之地。

本研究分為兩部分。第一部分聚焦於研究對象吳家墓的家族史與墓塚描述。吳家墓建於昭和十三年（1938），為兩墓合一區的漢日混合式墓塚，是臺南百年紙行「益勝行」的祖墳。

其建築風格融合漢、日、洋式語彙，造型典雅精緻，具高度藝術與歷史價值。另一特色在於碑體採雙面碑形式，陽面陰刻墓主、年代及後代子孫，陰面刻有墓誌銘，記載墓主生平，以及日治時期因應當局遷葬政策歷經多次遷移，最後擇址於此。透過墓誌銘內容的爬梳，不僅可見以風水視角，描繪南山公墓的地形環境，亦呈現臺灣墓葬文化由自由營葬風氣轉向官方遷葬政策的轉變，顯示民間在有限埋葬區域中仍追求理想安葬地點的文化實踐。

第二部分記錄墓誌銘的拓碑與保存過程。由於碑體為洗石子材質，拓印不易，且拓片呈現顆粒狀凹凸與密集破損痕跡。經現況分析後，先行整平處理，再進入裝裱方式的選擇。拓片亦可結合各式裝裱技術作為其保存方式，如：鏡片、掛軸、手卷或是冊頁等形式，而裝裱形式通常取決於畫面大小、外形與拓印效果作為選擇的基準。綜合保存與檢閱便利性，採用冊頁形式中的「蓑衣裱」，透過對拓片內容重新編排、剪裁再拼接成冊，將大型拓片製作為便於保存與閱讀的拓本，提供後續研究與展示之用。

本研究不僅補充南山公墓個別家族墓葬之史料，亦透過拓碑與裝裱技術建立墓誌銘保存的實務經驗，期望能為未來墓葬文物保存與文化景觀研究提供參考。

關鍵詞：南山公墓、臺南、吳家墓、殯葬文化、日治時期、墓誌拓碑、洗石子碑體、保存與裝裱、文化景觀

Abstract

The Nanshan Cemetery is the oldest Han Chinese burial ground on the main island of Taiwan. Due to its unique geographical conditions, it became a fengshui sanctuary where the early settlers of Tainan Prefecture chose to rest for centuries. During the Japanese colonial period, as the city expanded outward, many families faced increasing pressure to relocate ancestral tombs. Within Nanshan Cemetery, numerous multi-generational family tombs remain, reflecting a historical trend of tomb migration southward. The spatial transformation of the cemetery is closely intertwined with the city's development, making it the final resting place of Tainan's early inhabitants. This study is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the family history and architectural analysis of the Wu family tomb. Constructed in 1938 (Shōwa 13), this double-tomb complex represents a unique fusion of Han and Japanese funerary architecture and serves as the ancestral tomb of Yi Sheng Hang, a century-old paper merchant in Tainan. The tomb exhibits an elegant synthesis of Han, Japanese, and Western stylistic elements, possessing high artistic and historical value. A distinctive feature of the structure is its double-sided stele: the front face bears inscriptions of the tomb owners, date, and descendants, while the reverse contains an epitaph narrating the life of the deceased and the multiple relocations undertaken in response to Japanese colonial burial policies before finally settling at this site. Analysis of the epitaph not only reveals how the Nanshan Cemetery was perceived from a fengshui perspective, but also illustrates a broader shift in Taiwan's funerary culture—from privately chosen burial grounds to those regulated by official relocation policies—demonstrating how local communities continued to seek ideal burial sites within constrained urban spaces.

The second part documents the process of rubbing (拓碑) and preservation of the epitaph. As the stele is made of terrazzo, the rubbing process proved challenging, resulting in grainy impressions and visible surface deterioration. After assessing its condition, flattening and conservation treatments were conducted, followed by the selection of an appropriate mounting format. Various mounting techniques—such as framed scrolls, hanging scrolls, handscrolls, or album leaves—were considered based on the size, shape, and quality of the rubbing. For both preservation and accessibility, the “straw-raincoat” (蓑衣裱) album for-

mat was adopted. Through reorganization, trimming, and recomposition, large rubbings were transformed into compact, book-form rubbings suitable for long-term preservation, study, and exhibition.

This research not only supplements the historical documentation of individual family tombs within Nanshan Cemetery but also contributes practical experience in epitaph rubbing and mounting techniques. It is hoped that these findings will serve as a reference for future efforts in funerary artifact conservation and the study of Taiwan's cultural landscape of burial sites.

Keywords: Nanshan Cemetery, Tainan, Wu Family Tomb, funerary culture, Japanese colonial period, epitaph rubbing, terrazzo stele, conservation and mounting, cultural landscape

高雄地區喪葬儀式中的完形觀及其功能

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摘要

俗云「生死之外無大事」，深刻地強調了漢人文化中「慎終追遠」之高度重視，故而在處理人之亡歿的過程中，發展出一套繁複精密的喪葬儀式，以安定親人離世後的魂魄。但近年來，在環保意識抬頭的進步思潮之下，傳統的喪禮卻普遍遭受到「鋪張浪費」、「吵鬧擾民」或「迷信反智」的嚴厲抨擊，另為因應傳統生活型態改變及遭受社會環境變遷等各種因素的分進合擊，致使傳統喪禮文化隨著外在的實踐形式的改變，而使意欲體現的核心精神式微，甚為可惜。

首先，筆者先就本文所探討高雄地區傳統喪葬型態等研究背景作一基本操作性定義。其次，以筆者參與觀察及深度訪談所採集的田野調查資料中，劃分出喪禮前、中、後等三個階段所呈現的宗教、喪儀及民俗等面向，進行各類描述。再次，輔以文化人類學中的禁忌及過渡儀式理論為分析進路，勾勒出高雄傳統葬禮中的「完形觀」，以及其為生、亡之間所設下的「可」與「不可」之界線，建構而來的和諧與統整之重要意義。

透過上述的討論，筆者試圖爬梳出傳統喪禮的運作過程中，對於有形物件及無形精神層面中的「完整」及「圓滿」之心理需求，在這些元素的交互串聯之下，亦將生者與亡者的所處位置，過渡到兩相安然的嶄新境地，以達到其冥陽平衡的宇宙觀。此外，筆者也期盼從文化功能價值的角度，為現代社會所詬病的傳統喪葬型態，提供另一個具人文意義的思考方向。

關鍵字：高雄喪葬、禁忌、過渡、完形觀

一、前言

在台灣的喪葬儀式中，受到了族群文化、宗教信仰、風俗習慣、空間環境、歷史過程及宇宙觀的各項因素影響之下，產生了大傳統及小傳統所相互交融而成的多樣且綿密之型態風貌。做為存於物質世界的生物性之必然且終極滅失--「死亡」，向來即是人類最深層的心理恐懼：一方面擔憂親友的逝去，另一方面更懼怕自身直面死亡之彼日到來。然無論何種對象的死亡樣態，其於人類現實生活環境的關係網絡中時，則將與所處的社會及文化脈絡發生相對應的運動變化，進而使這份因某人失落所產生的衝擊，從發生巨變而至接受事實，乃至透過種種手段與實際，將轉化並重整原有的關係模式，而這種調整過程是饒富社會性及文化性意涵的，同時也意味著生死兩種狀態的本質轉化。

作為社會及文化承載個體的人類，涉及生命狀態變動及身分轉化的相關討論中，則以法國人類學家范傑納 (A. Van Gennep) 對於生命禮俗的「通過儀式」(the rite of passage) 學說最具代表性。通過儀式又稱為過渡儀式，旨在分析人類在經歷出生、成年、婚姻及死亡等各類階段的性質轉化，范傑納將通過的過程歸納為「分離」(separation)、「過渡」(transition) 及「再統合」(incorporation) 等三個階段，上述階段流程則透過各類方法的設計與操作，使人類的團體身分及社會角色得以順利完成轉變，這一系列的實踐則稱之為「儀式」(ritual)。¹在各類生命禮俗的類型裡，處理人類死亡的喪禮，其之於生命消亡的不可逆，以及對於難逃死亡的恐懼心理，使人們對於喪禮的處置有著相對其他生命禮俗穩定的發展背景。

有關本文的討論意旨，在於以高雄地區的喪葬儀式為田野範圍，並參採范傑納的通過儀式理論，作為本文論述主題的分析架構，探討高雄的喪葬風俗中，如何透過哪些儀式手法的實踐，體現其試圖「完形觀」(Holism)，乃至於達到生死兩相安的理想境界。在此必須先說明的是，本文所使用的「完形」字眼係具動詞意涵，是指儀式實踐過程中試圖促使圓滿及完整化，企圖通過外顯的物質及內隱的象徵意義，使生物性的死亡的永別，轉化成和諧存在，以符合其臻於至善的宇宙觀。在此先行揭示本文的研究目的，接下來分別就本文的田野背景做一簡述，並爬梳現有與本文主題相關的研究成果；其次，就田野環境的參與觀察、影像紀錄及深度訪談等以文化人類學視角及方法所採集的第一手資料，以喪葬儀式的線性時間發展為型態描述及初步分析，包含嚥氣之初、蓋棺捧飯、回魂功德及返主三年等四大階段；再次，以過渡儀式的理論框架進行綜合討論，探討高雄喪葬儀式對於逝者與生者之間，彼此完形觀的形塑手段，進而使雙方如實過渡到相對應的角色與位置，俾利展開全新的社會關係。最後，筆者試圖從功能性的方向，闡述喪葬儀式的當代價值及存續意義。

¹ 黃智慧，〈宗教與儀式〉，收於莊英章主編，《文化人類學》（台北：國立空中大學，1992），頁80-83。

二、研究概況及田野背景

關於喪葬通過儀式及高雄喪葬文化的相關討論，謹臚列如下：林素娟則是以中國古籍中的喪禮規範為討論對象，分析其過程所運用的各類飲食之象徵意義，藉以探討以食物為核心的過渡手法及生死觀，以達到「倫理及分位重整」的功能意義。²鐘美芳從心理學門的角度，探討喪禮儀式及流程發展所能提供的哀傷治療意義。³張榮昌從保存紙紮文化及當代意義詮釋的角度，以高雄地區喪葬過程中所使用的各類紙糊用品為探討主題，最後針對喪葬紙紮的使用及周邊影響對象，諸如：喪家、學界、政府機關、殯葬業者及糊紙業者等對象，提出政策及文化面向的相關建議。⁴張譽薰以高雄路竹區的某一場道教五朝拔度為研究主體，從「科儀手抄本」及「拔度儀士」為兩大分析文本，探討其所呈現的生死觀，並參照中國古代道教的拔度科儀安排，提出並期盼極少見規模高達五朝的道教超度的可能科儀安排方向，對於道教拔度精神建構出一套古今互相參照的範本。⁵楊順安以原屬高雄縣的旗山鎮為討論範圍，先就道教於該地的發展為切入點，再以區域內所採用道教科儀的喪葬儀式 探討該地的道教喪葬禮俗流變及觀念轉化⁶

本文係以文化人類學的角度為討論模式，故而筆者須以大量的田野資料為分析探討的文本，然必須在此先予以說明的是，本文田野調查的範圍是以流行於高雄地區的「南路靈寶」道派為主軸，筆者這樣的研究設計係基於南路靈寶流行區域，大致以屏東以北而至高雄左營以南為主要範圍，且相較於「制度型宗教」(*institutional religion*)與民眾的互動情形，深具「擴散型宗教」(*diffused religion*)特質的南路靈寶道派，其與民眾的互動具有相當程度的互融特質，並能與各地風俗進行適度的配合及調適，更重要的是其入世性格，儼然扮演著高雄地區民眾對於喪葬習俗經驗或認知的指導角色。以下則是筆者針對本文主題所整理的歷年田野資料來源的基本概況。

表 1：本文田野調查基本概況表

時間	亡者	地區	法事類型
2025 年 08 月	顯考孫府公諱偉智官魂儀	高雄市苓雅區	一朝宿啟
2024 年 07 月	顯考劉府公諱宏常官魂儀	高雄市林園區	午夜功德
2020 年 04 月	顯考莊府公諱英欽官魂儀	高雄市旗津區	一朝宿啟

² 林素娟，〈喪禮飲食的象徵、通過意涵及教化功能—以禮書及漢代為論述核心〉，《漢學研究》，27（4）（2009），頁1。

³ 鐘美芳，〈台灣道教喪葬文化儀式與悲傷治療之探討〉，《台灣心理諮詢季刊》，1（2）（2009），頁11。

⁴ 張榮昌，〈糊紙工藝品在臺灣喪葬儀式中的角色與轉型探究-以高雄地區為例〉（屏東縣：大仁科技大學文化創意產業研究所碩士論文，2019），頁133-136。

⁵ 張譽薰，〈道教「五朝」拔度儀式中的生死觀研究-以台灣高雄市拔度儀為文本〉（嘉義縣：中正大學中國文學研究所博士論文，2018），頁270-272。

⁶ 楊順安，〈臺灣道教喪葬禮俗之研究—以旗山鎮為例〉（臺南市：臺南大學台灣文化研究所，2011），頁157-161。

2020 年 01 月	顯考林府公諱榮春官魂儀	高雄市鼓山區	午夜功德
2018 年 01 月	萬龍宮功德主眾先亡宗親	臺南市仁德區	一朝宿啟
2014 年 06 月	顯妣莊門郭氏月霞娘魂儀	高雄市旗津區	一朝宿啟

(資料來源：筆者整理)

綜合以上初步的文獻回顧及歷年田野調查成果，筆者試圖就田野資料擷取其中的「完形觀」實踐，依照高雄喪葬禮俗的行進流程，包含嚥氣之初、蓋棺捧飯、回魂功德及返主三年等四大主題，記述各階段所呈現的「過渡」手法。

三、嚥氣之初而至倚靈捧飯

漢人文化中所追求的「五福」，乃出自《尚書·周書·洪範》所提到的：「一曰壽，二曰富，三曰康寧，四曰攸好德，五曰考終命。」⁷其中的「考終命」意指人得以長壽且安詳地無疾而終；放到現代的詮釋認知，通常是說老人家內外子孫滿堂、身體康健，且在不受「死亡臨到的恐懼情緒」之下，於家宅中睡夢平靜離世，這同時也是漢人生命觀的終極理想之一。隨著時空背景變遷與生存條件的差異，使本就難得的「考終命」益顯珍貴，現代人多受到各類環境污染，致身體疾病叢生而亡。因而現代人的生命在醫療機構走至最終的情況，儼然成為一種常態。

在「落葉歸根」的文化理念及心理需求影響下，即便病人無法如「考終命」般地安詳離世，家屬也希望臨終者能留著最後僅剩的一絲氣息回到家中「過氣」(kuè-khuì)，一方面既撫慰臨終者回到最熟悉的生活環境，另一方面也免除了人於客地斷氣的遺憾。因此，無論是醫生專業評估預計於何時結束生命徵象，甚至是院中搶救無效而遭醫生宣告不治，臨終者（或亡者）從醫院返回而至家中大廳的過程中，皆須裝置鼻導管 (nasal cannula) 及氧氣面罩 (mask)，台語稱之為「鬥送束」(tàu sang-sok)，以象徵臨終者是具有自主呼吸功能的形態「轉來」(tíng--lái)。

臨終者到家之後，則進入家族其他親友事先協助將家中或宗祠大廳清理出來的豎靈空間，稱之為「摒廳」(piànn-thiann)；除了在院死亡的情況，經隨行醫護人員的專業確認，確定留最後一口氣的臨終者已結束呼吸及停止心跳脈搏後，正式宣告死亡時間，也意味著該家戶即將展開一連串的治喪事宜。在確認生理性及文化性等兩種性質的死亡後，由殯葬禮儀人員於亡者腳邊地上放置插有一對竹筷的簡易碗菜飯，是為「拜跤尾飯」(pài kha-bué-pīng)，以作為亡者在陽間的最後一餐；接續於門外燒化「魂轎」(hūn-kiō)，所謂魂轎係指以紙糊製之小轎子，前後各黏有兩位轎夫，其目的在於提供亡者前往陰間報到的交通工具。接續由孝男（長子）持亡者生前所用之碗，並於靈堂前大喊「碗破家圓」後摔碎，象徵亡

⁷ 中國哲學書電子化計劃，《尚書》。資料檢索日期：2025 年 11 月 7 日。網址：<https://ctext.org/shang-shu/great-plan/zh>。

者已不再以活人飲食型態享用人間的物質食物。自此直至亡者大殮之前，須由孝女於靈堂門口燒化銀紙，稱為「燒跤尾紙」(sio kha-bué-tsuá)，以作為亡者赴往冥界的路途旅費。

值得注意的是，如若亡者於生前因病而有截肢或其他外觀不全的情形，孝家眷則會特別提醒聯絡禮儀公司，在處理臨終者小殮更衣時，則需準備相對應的軀肢，置於缺陷的部位，將生前殘缺的身體部位予以補全，期望以完整的全屍姿態，體面地「見公媽」(kinn kong-má)⁸。在某種程度上，這種喪俗認知與文化，意味著亡者在陽世的最終型態樣貌，可直接影響其在陰間的形象，因而以「復體全形」的理念為訴求，為亡者補足身體上不完整所帶來的缺憾感。

在將原本或人工補足之後的完整遺體大殮「入木」(jip-bók)之後，則正式進入「倚靈」(khiā-líng)的治喪階段，意即安設亡者專屬靈堂，由孝家眷負責每日的祭拜事宜；靈堂中除了放置於側邊的靈柩之外，空間中央則安置一香案，依照宗教信仰的不同，案桌最上層通常設置西方三聖（阿彌陀佛、觀世音菩薩、大勢至菩薩）、三清道祖（元始天尊、靈寶天尊、道德天尊）或其他與亡者信仰相應的神佛塑像，下方則安奉亡者遺照及書有亡者相對應字樣（例如：顯考、顯妣、故考、未室等可顯示亡者生前社會地位及宗族輩份等資訊）及姓名的「魂帛」(hûn-péh)或臨時木製牌位，以及象徵可讓亡者靈魂依附的人形紙像，稱之為「魂身」(hûn-sin)。牌位前則有提供祭祀焚香插置的香爐或香環爐，以滿足傳統習俗中認為治喪期間香火不可斷的需求。

在倚靈捧飯的階段重點與內涵，筆者姑且以「事死如生」四字概括之，期間以宛如亡者在世的景況侍奉之，例如：早上六時至七時左右請亡者起床梳洗的「叫起」(kiò-khí)，夜間八時至九時左右請亡者盥洗安睡的「叫睏」(kiò-khùn)，靈桌旁也有安放臉盆毛巾、盥洗用及換洗衣物等配置；此外，在本時期最能體現過渡性質的祭祀行為，即體現在針對亡者的日常飲食祭祀，稱之為「拜飯」(pài-pñg)，堪稱為這個階段的重點探討項目。所謂拜飯又稱為「捧飯」(phóng-pñg)，係指除了靈桌上常設一至兩天才更換的四菓及鮮花之外，須由孝家眷參酌亡者生前的飲食習慣或喜好，例如：農曆初一十五或早上持齋、厭惡哪種食物、偏好那些店家、鍾情什麼地方名產吃食等條件，都是孝家眷必須納入拜飯內容物揀擇的重要考量，據以準備俗稱「菜碗」(tshài-uánn)的系列熟食，然基於喪葬風俗的禁忌，則一律不祭拜象徵長長久久的麵線（條）類的食材，以避免產生喪事拖延或穢氣綿延的不吉隱喻。而筆者之所以主張拜飯係此階段過渡考察重點，則是在於拜飯的「頻率」；不同於活人一日三次正餐的飲食習慣，針對亡者所提供之拜飯則是一日早晚兩次，中午時段深刻地展示了靈堂內外有吃、沒吃的生死兩種飲食時段差異，同時也凸顯了生人與亡者正在從飲食的向度上，拉開陰陽兩隔的距離。

拜飯的祭祀行為將從本階段延續到整套完成的喪禮結束，僅是隨著祭祀目的的不同而有調整，諸如：作旬、薦祖、百日、對年或三年而有相對應的規制、種類及數量的差異，然其對於亡者生前飲食關懷之精神核心是不變的。

⁸ 張榮昌，〈糊紙工藝品在臺灣喪葬儀式中的角色與轉型探究-以高雄地區為例〉，頁 67-68。

四、回魂功德而至返主三年

整個治喪流程進行到倚靈第六天凌晨，將由道士帶領孝家眷於靈堂前朝外，呼請當境境主及福德正神做主，將死者亡魂引領回家中靈堂，孝家眷也以對亡者生前的稱謂，聲聲呼喚亡魂儘速回到家中省親，稱之為「叫魂」(kiò-hûn) 或「叫更」(kiò-kinn)；道士則於靈堂門口及靈柩、靈桌底下等處放置沙盤，如亡魂如實回到家中，則可於隔天的沙盤上，得見與亡者生肖動物相對應的足跡掌紋，而叫更的橋段則須於靈堂中供奉一碗不配置湯匙或筷子的湯圓，相傳亡者因不得餐具而直接用手取食湯圓，湯圓的黏性將亡者的指甲粘下剝落，亡者此時才真正了解到自己已經去世的事實，或可將之視為遺族對亡者的婉轉死亡宣告。

叫魂隔天即進入緊鑼密鼓的「做旬」(tsò-sûn) 及「做師公」(tsò sai-kong) 的活動，由於本時期將展開宗教意味濃厚且具體的拔薦超度儀式，故而筆者將之囊括納入「做功德」(tsò kong-tik) 階段。值得注意的是，無論是做旬或做師公之初，除了最初的啟聖請神之外，接續所安排的第一部讀誦經典，必以《太上洞玄靈寶元始無量度人上品妙經》(下稱《度人經》) 為開端。關於《度人經》對於濟度亡魂的宗教意義，我們或可參閱李豐楙的觀點：「以《道藏》整編道教一切經為例，其核心具現於首經：《度人經》，所謂的濟度精神，既度生亦度亡。亦即認為人之生死攸關星命，生命一旦終結即從南宮轉北宮，而歷經煉度後得以重生。」⁹凸顯了道教的生命觀是一套具系統性的意義架構及流程，人於死後歸入「北宮」，再透過道力而入「南宮」接受煉度而重生為一個嶄新個體，我們不妨回歸《度人經》的原文脈絡中，端詳其所呈現的完形觀：

道言：「昔於始青天中，碧落空歌，大浮黎土。受元始度人，無量上品，元始天尊，當說是經。周迴十過，以召十方，始當詣座。天真大神，上聖高尊，妙行真人，無鞅數眾，乘空而來。飛雲丹霄，綠輿瓊輪，羽蓋垂蔭。流精玉光，五色鬱勃，洞煥太空。七日七夜。諸天日月，星宿璇璣玉衡，一時停輪，神風靜默，山海藏雲，天無浮翳，四氣朗清。一國地土，山川林木，緬平一等，無復高下土，皆做碧玉，無有異色。眾真侍座，元始天尊，懸座空浮於五色獅子之上。說經一徧，諸天大聖同時稱善，是時一國男女聾病，耳皆開聰。說經二徧，盲者目明。說經三徧，喑者能言。說經四徧，跛痖積逮，皆能起行。說經五徧，久病痼疾，一時復形。說經六徧，白髮反黑，齒落更生。說經七徧，老者反壯，少者皆強。說經八徧，婦人懷姪，鳥獸含胎，已生未生，皆得生成。說經九徧，地藏發泄，金玉露形。說經十徧，枯骨更生，皆起成人。是時，一國是男是女，莫不傾心，皆受護度，咸得長生。」¹⁰

⁹ 李豐楙，〈道教：神道之教與人道之教〉，《人文與社會科學簡訊》，26 (2) (2024)，頁 120。

¹⁰ 維基文庫，〈靈寶無量度人上品妙經〉。資料檢索日期：2025 年 11 月 6 日。網址：<https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E9%9D%88%E5%AF%B6%E7%84%A1%E9%87%8F%E5%BA%A6%E4%BA%BA%E4%B8%8A%E5%93%81%E5%A6%99%E7%B6%93/1>。

上述引文係《度人經》經文的最開端，以無上的「道」為發言主體，首先描述了元始天尊講述《度人經》的莊嚴環境場景，再提到元始天尊所講述十次的《度人經》，分別使聾者得聞、盲者得視、啞者得說、跛者能行、久病得癒、髮齒還原、老壯少強、妊娠平康、地生金玉及枯骨復形等徵兆，體現了道教「仙道貴『生』，無量度人」的終極關懷核心。

此外，如何透過宗教儀式使亡者病殘的身體內外得以痊癒，也是拔度科儀的一項重要課題。亡者生前遭受病苦折磨的場景，向來是遺族的一項心理壓力，即便亡者出院時不斷向其叮嚀「病已經好了，準備出院回家」之類云云安慰言語，但亡者因病而逝世卻是不爭的事實，實難以使遺族完全平復心中的遺憾傷感，更深怕生前的身苦病痛延伸至亡者死後的世界，故而儀式中安排了俗稱「藥懺」(iōh-tshàm) 的醫治亡魂病體儀式，道士於藥王神農大帝面前擺放象徵藥方的雞蛋及七星燈，輔以煎煮完畢的中藥材，由孝家眷跟隨拜懺，並於科儀結束後將經過藥懺功德加持的湯藥，捧至靈堂裡由道士餵食予孝家眷所請的亡者魂身，並以手指沾湯藥輕撫魂身前後上下，象徵藥力遍覆亡者身體內外，更在藥懺結束之後將所用的藥壺於靈堂外砸碎，意味著亡者死後再無病痛而能安適於冥界。根據藥懺所使用的科儀本《無上十王琉璃藥師寶懺》所描述的，人類之所以身體諸多病苦的原因及解救方式：

……下土兆民喪死，天良誣詐，強弱務凌，徧染六根，恣縱三業，因此三業，遂生十惡種病，罪深何以救之？王曰：謹付良藥，下凡救治，戒於罪根，將惡為善，脫離苦病，加倍泰然。然後世之人，不可不信，今將懺文陳列書寫，傳於後世。若有善信男女，書傳此章，身無病苦，七祖父母，離苦昇天，實可憐息。¹¹

通過上引藥懺文字的敘述，我們可以了解到所謂的病苦根源，在於造惡業所得之報應，所謂的良藥即是藉由懺悔而斬斷罪業，方可脫離痛苦的折磨；但從整個藥懺科儀的外顯行為來看，係以仙丹妙藥療癒亡者的形式呈現，亦即採用物質形式的直觀操作，進而說服並給予孝家眷「亡者已經透過藥懺功德而病體痊癒」的心理撫慰感受。換句話說，藥懺功德是對於亡者的無形宗教靈性及有形虛擬軀體復原的雙重需求滿足。

除了藥懺功德之外，「拍盆」(phah-phûn) 亦可觀察到對於亡者身體療癒的期望。拍盆又可稱為「搖盆」(iō-phûn)，在高雄地區的喪葬習俗與認知中，「血盆池」(hiat-phûn-tî) 並非產難女性的專屬苦難，但凡是男女過世皆須糊製「盆城」(phûn-siânn)，請道長舉行此項儀式，將亡魂從血污池中救出，在藉由擲筭或神意的意思展現而確認已將亡魂救回至陽間後，則由道長再次以藥懺使用的湯藥餵食魂身，並以象徵太上老君敕過的「五龍吐出真炁水」，彈指灑水並輕撫於

¹¹ 不著撰人，《無上十王琉璃藥師寶懺》（屏東縣：普照道壇黃合寶重抄，年代不詳），頁 2-3。

魂身之上，藉以象徵清洗亡魂在盆池中所沾染的污血穢氣，以達到亡魂靈性的清淨，與藥懺有著異曲同之妙的功能。

此外，「謝口願」(siā kháu-guān) 的形式主要呈現於頒赦（含九龍赦書及三天龍鳳赦書）、散花解結等，也是拔度科儀所用懺文中常見的文字。謝口願是指亡者於生前向某些神靈許願，或許願望已經達成而未還願謝神，又或者願望尚未滿足而成為一筆落空的承諾等情況，根據《太上慈悲道場滅罪水懺》的記述，這類空口不實的許願行為——無論是有意或無意——皆可構成亡者的失信妄言、違盟負約、辜天負地等種種嚴重罪責，而須為亡者懺謝口願，免致於死後遭受惡報。¹²透過各種形式的謝口願，則是為亡者彌補各種可能因各種理由所造成的言語不當，以及由此衍生而來的人格及道德缺失。

最後，關於高雄喪葬儀式中的完形元素，亦可見於「填庫」(thiām-khòo) 功德。關於燒化庫錢的說法根據，主要來自《靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經》所記載的：

天尊言：十方一切眾生，命屬天曹，身繫地府，當得人身之日，曾於地府所屬冥司，借貸祿庫受生錢財。方以祿簿注財，為人富貴。其有貧賤者，為從劫至劫，負欠冥司奪祿，在世窮乏，皆冥官所尅，陽祿填於陰債。是使貴賤貧富，苦樂不同，汝當省知……若有善信男女，意樂經法，布施貨財，依此經典，建立道場，嚴備香花，燈燭莊嚴，供養三寶大道、諸仙大聖，六時行道，十徧轉經，修齋設醮，準備所欠受生錢數，及許元辰之財，一一明具，合同疏牒，燒還本屬庫分者，即得見世獲福，榮貴果報，來生永無苦難。。

¹³

為了償還人在投胎前向地府的「受生錢」，故而為亡者舉行填庫科儀，向天曹地府「明算帳」，使亡者免於因拖欠受生錢而遭受討債的困擾。有趣的是，填庫並非純以還債為目的，還有為亡者置辦陰間生活所需的錢財，意即填庫科儀須準備經典中所提及的「疏牒」，稱之「牒據」(tiáp-kì) 的證明文件兩式（一式兩份，一份送往地府登錄立案，一份交由亡者申辦核對），以資亡者於陰間出具合同憑證兩件事情：一、償債：亡者在孝家眷的儀式安排下，清理了《無上道場貢王填庫科儀》中所述相對應的庫別、庫官及數額受生錢之償還事宜，亡者已經與地府兩相無欠，「使無欠負」；二、存款：此份牒據除了敘明亡者應償還的受生錢資訊之外，尚有註記做為寄庫錢人的孝家眷，依照親屬稱謂、姓名及交付於陰間使用的庫錢數額等相關資訊，這部分的庫錢即是亡者獨享，並以此牒據為憑向地府取款使用。在完成填庫儀式之後，並同庫錢、紙厝、孝男山及孝女亭等紙糊製品一起燒化轉交予亡者，祝福其在陰間能過上衣食無虞好安居的生活。

¹² 維基文庫，《太上慈悲道場滅罪水懺》。資料檢索日期：2025年11月9日。網址：
<https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E5%A4%AA%E4%B8%8A%E6%85%88%E6%82%B2%E9%81%93%E5%A0%B4%E6%BB%85%E7%BD%AA%E6%B0%B4%E6%87%BA>

¹³ 中國哲學書電子化計劃，《靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經》。資料檢索日期：2025年11月9日。網址：
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=636644>。

筆者透過上述兩個小節的篇幅，將高雄地區所行喪葬儀式中之完形元素，依治喪的時間序列，分別爬梳出其實踐手法。在下文中，筆者除了將繼續描述其他貫穿或無法歸納於喪禮前中後階段的完形手法之外，將試圖歸納出「使生者與亡者之間完整過渡的元素」。

五、從完形而至圓滿的過渡操作元素探悉

一如前文所提及的，筆者於本文所使用的「完形」，係指「使之完整」的動態意思，意在探討高雄地區的喪葬儀式中，如何透過系列的儀式安排，以及隱含於其中的民俗觀念及宇宙觀，使活人在面對親人死亡之後，循序漸進地處理這份內心地的空落與遺憾，以及未來生活秩序的重整；更重要的是，如何將不可見且未知的亡者狀態，安穩地推向所屬地區喪葬文化的生死價值觀，達成生死兩相安的。以下筆者即就「補足」、「獲得」、「維持」及「活化」等四大元素分別試析之。

(一) 補足 (complement)

在喪葬文化中的「補足」元素，是相當顯而易見的一個完形手法。在此必須特別說明的是，筆者之所以在此使用了補足一詞，一方面是預設「一個本來完整而受破壞，導致殘缺不全」之主體形態外；另一方面，則是為了凸顯通過儀式前後「性質轉化」的特質，其主要呈現在「接合」(join) 及「整合」(integrate) 二事。

所謂接合係就物質層面而論。有關對於物質的理解，我們不妨參考普列哈羅夫 (Plekhanov) 對於何謂物質的闡述：「物質就是獨立存在於我們意識之外的而又作我們感覺源泉的東西。」¹⁴倘由上述定義開展，物質既獨立於我們的意識之外，則不必然與我們的主觀意識產生絕對的一致化，甚至可能產生「非我所願」的悖逆感，但另一方面物質又能激發我們對於事物的感覺。例如前文所提到的，為生前肢體殘缺的亡者於小殮時，以紙糊的對應肢體安置於亡者患處，即便我們清楚地意識到這些不堪水濕火烤的紙製義肢，與亡者的真實血肉軀體有著本質上的差異，但基於完整化亡者軀體並希望其得以健全身體前往陰間，仍以物質形式的接合成全這份心理期望；又如希望亡者得以在陰間安居而給糊製的「紙厝」(tsuá-tshù)，在燒化之前須由孝家眷仔細檢查厝體，倘有發現破損之處，則必須由禮儀公司馬上以相同花色的紙張粘補，不使亡者在陰間居住破屋之中。

在物質層面上，滿足了視覺感官的補足後，則須另輔以無形的整合作業，其力量來自於傳統倫理規範、地方風俗文化或宗教性詮釋等面向，例如：以轉誦《度人經》的功德，藉以使亡者跳脫現有的各種殘缺，進而使各項身體機能獲得恢復，甚至達到重生的嶄新狀態；又或者亡者生前處於人間，基於各種原因所犯下的罪業，所導致的各種道德污點，則須透過頒降「九龍赦書」或「三天龍鳳赦書」的科儀，以戲劇性的奔跑形式，將赦免亡魂生前罪過的「赦書」(sià-su) 送往地府

¹⁴ 王特夫，《甚麼叫做物質》(上海：辛鑾書店，1932)，頁 48。

及天庭，經過赦除罪過的亡魂既補足了道德的缺失，也使人格回歸於完整的理想完善的境地。

總的來說，此處所提及的「補足」，筆者認為是以「象徵」(symbol)為「接合」及「整合」的接著劑，透過象徵所建構的意義，例如：使用儀式、肢體動作或物質等素材，藉以隱喻陽間的狀態可作為直接延伸，進而影響亡者於陰間的狀態。實踐「補足本來」的系列作為，其目的在於健全亡者順利進入過渡的第一步，同時也展現了陽間孝家眷的主動性，以及其對於圓滿的期望。

(二) 獲得 (receive)

在筆者的田野經驗中，語言的使用模式也是一個值得探析的元素，即台語中「得」(tik)的用法。「得」為動詞，根據「教育部臺灣台語常用詞辭典」的釋義，具有「獲得」及「能、可以」等兩種語義的使用。¹⁵以前文所提到的，亡者得以「返回家中嚥下最後一口氣」的事例為論：隨著現代居住型態的改變，治喪場所逐漸從家庭改以殯儀館為常態，但在傳統文化中的「落葉歸根」的深層觀念中，仍使「在家中或宗祠的正廳」被視為理想的斷氣之處，更是極有福份的表徵，稱之為「得大廳」(tik tuā-thiann)，早期只有意外而客死他鄉而有傳染病疑慮的情況下，才有「冷喪不入庄」的習慣，只能在庄頭外面搭設臨時棚架治喪。甚至在因宗族族親先後過世的時間差，不能進入大廳而只能挪至偏廳，亦足以讓孝家眷深感遺憾與惋惜，儼然饒富「占盡先機」的趣味意涵。王貴祥指出，漢人傳統空間的「統一性」與「秩序性」，分別從「社會政治性」及「地理巫術性」兩個方面開展，「其核心空間中都內蘊有『交通人神』的形而上的意義」。¹⁶而大廳則是漢人建築文化中的核心空間之一，除了是供奉神明與祖先的重要空間，也是家庭或宗族聚會辦理公眾事務的場所，透過進入大廳治喪與否，則可將其過渡儀式的意義及高度，抬升到一定程度的重要性，也變相成為強化其喪儀圓滿程度的關鍵之一。

此外，喪葬儀式中的「得」之口語用法，亦大量出現於焚燒庫錢的「化庫」(huà-khòo)階段。在完成請庫官及填庫等先備儀式之後，則接續於當晚所有科儀結束後，所有孝家眷前往燒化庫錢的空地，去程沿路依照對亡者生前的稱謂，口說某某某回來「得功果」(tik kong-kó)、「得庫錢」(tik khòo-tsînn)「得大厝」(tik tuā-tshù)云云，燒化準備作業完成後，由孝家眷牽起圍繞庫錢與紙厝的白絲線，意味著由親族防護圈內給予亡者的房屋及庫錢，以阻擋外部意圖搶奪財物的鬼魅，過程中仍由孝家眷不斷重複請亡者回來得此三得，庫錢燒化告一段落後，由孝男及孝孫提水壺，滴水繞行庫錢範圍三圈後，再沿路將水滴回家中大廳，回程仍須呼喚亡者回來得三得。筆者之所以將之納入過渡儀式討論的一環，主要是在田野資料採集的過程中，獲得某些有趣的傳說作為參照，例如：在該亡者先前

¹⁵ 教育部臺灣台語常用詞辭典，〈得〉。資料檢索日期：2025年11月9日。網址：<https://sutian.moe.edu.tw/zh-hant/su/7182/>。

¹⁶ 王貴祥，《文化・空間圖示與東西方建築空間》(台北市：田園城市文化事業有限公司，1998)，頁322-323。

治喪期間，因諸多原因而未燒化紙曆，通過具陰陽眼的人轉述，亡者無處可安居，只能於生前的房屋門口徘徊；另有在治喪期間，偶有透過神意傳達，早期先亡因故未獲得庫錢或庫錢已用完，致無法在陰間安心生活，故而央託神明轉達經濟窮困的窘況，通常孝家眷必須極其臨時地向金紙店追加庫錢，以盡量滿足其他先靈的需求。雖然靈學性質的民俗敘事，無法以科學的實證方式驗證，但這種傳說儼然成為一股深植人心的認知，意即若未能滿足亡者在陰間的住居或財物需求，亡者的不安則將與遺族產生最直接的影響或反映，無法獲得滿足而遊蕩於親族周圍的亡魂，又如何能如實地完成過渡的過程？

綜上所述，喪葬儀式中所使用「得」的口語意義及功能，主要展現在一下兩個面向：首先，以取得核心之公共空間為治喪空間的目的，進而使治喪過程的公眾性與民俗需求獲得滿足，而成為儀式性行為的順利推動助力之一。其次，係通過遺族的聲聲呼喚，先從稱謂確立自身與亡者的血緣關係，再請亡者來領收而獲得其在陰間所需的房子及財物，透過不斷地強調、叮嚀，祈求亡者能如實悉數點收，而能穩妥地過渡到另外一個世界，期望不要產生因漏收所致的陰陽兩界之相互不便。

（三）維持（maintain）與活化（activation）

除了上述以亡者為主體的系列分析之外，我們不妨將探討視角轉向遺族的相關作為，如何成為另一股推動通過儀式的力道，筆者在此以活人功能的維持與活化為分析內容。

在傳統民俗認知中，在辦理各類生命禮俗或宗教活動等「非常」時期，相當忌諱「跌倒」或突然「踉蹌」之類的動作型態，尤其在喪葬儀式的過程中，倘若出現這類情況，則常給人「心肝頭刺一个」的尷尬、芥蒂與恐懼感；但很遺憾是，筆者在歷次田野調查的訪談過程中，尚未採集到「何以在喪葬儀式過程中的跌倒或踉蹌，足以讓人膽戰」的民俗說法。對此，筆者參採林淑蓉在討論中國貴州侗人的身體、象徵性與自我認同的建構的研究成果為解釋框架，其認為侗人係「以語言與儀式化的行動來重複表述達成『人的構成』之社會理想，必須歷經社會交換的事實方得以達成；而神話、傳說、禁忌、儀式化的行動（吃相思、侗歌的對唱、祭 sa 儀式、以及百口儀式等），則是侗人用以傳遞其社會理想或文化價值觀的主要機制。」¹⁷倘由此關照喪葬儀式中對於人類行動的安穩需求，或可歸納為一項消極式的禁忌，其所傳達的觀念是人類行動功能之完成保持，進而確保「身而為人之狀態確立」，避免活人因正常功能缺失而狀態含糊不清的隱喻，更是確立將自身與亡者的狀態明確區分的同時，將過渡儀式的狀態轉化功能，如實且有效地確保彼此各自走向不同的形態。此外，活人功能的維持也凸顯在飲食樣態上，誠如前文所提到的，喪禮中的倚靈捧飯頻率為一天兩次，在喪禮結束後將牌位迎回祖先牌位旁繼續祭拜的「返主」（huán-tsú）而至「對年」（tuì-nî）之前，為亡

¹⁷ 林淑蓉，〈從夢、神話到儀式展演：中國貴州侗人的自我意象與象徵形構〉，《臺灣人類學刊》，10（2）（2012），頁 130。

者準備飯菜的拜飯祭祀，頻率則變更為農曆每月初一、十五各一次，直至對年正式將亡者獨立牌位及香火「結爐」(kat-lôo)至祖先牌位之後，方能結束拜飯的祭祀行為。這部分也可視為活人在維持一日三餐的生活習慣之前提下，通過對於亡者正餐需求頻率的操作，而將活人與亡魂之間進行性質轉化的狀態過渡手法。

除了活人個體的身體的功能及文化性解釋之外，我們也可以將喪葬儀式過渡的功能，延伸至活人的社會關係之討論分析。若以寬鬆的定義來界定，高雄地區南路靈寶的道教超拔儀式，可統稱為「做功德」；但「功德」成立與否，則是依法事規模差異而有認定上的區別。就高雄的喪葬超拔儀式規模，以「靈前繳」及「午夜」(表 2) 暨「一朝宿啟」(表 3) 等三種為最常見的規模，至於「三朝大齋」或「五朝大齋」則因耗費的財力及時間甚鉅，故而相當少見。以嚴格的定義而論，只有「午夜」以上規模方得稱為「功德」，其依據在於安排「放赦」儀式的有無；再進一步聚焦功德的性質，則以「一朝宿啟」以上規模可稱之為「功德清」(kong-tik tshing)；「清」(tshing) 有清理、結算或終結的意思，意指亡者的超拔儀式達一朝宿啟以上者，日後將無為其再行辦理超拔儀式的必要，因其放赦所頒降的赦書送達對象，除了午夜「放赦馬」前往地府的「赦地」之外，尚有前往天庭傳送「赦天」赦書的「三天龍鳳」，故而採用「功德清」一詞稱之。因此，常有夫妻某方或其他未符傳統倫理價值而先行離世的情況，先以相對簡易的靈前繳或午夜規模為之辦理喪儀，直至另一方過世時才透過「引魂」儀式，才將先亡的靈魂牽引回至家中靈堂，並同辦理一朝宿啟功德的情況，以期自身以上輩分的往生親族，得以獲得徹底的超度。

值得注意的是，功德清除了是親族之間的心理慰藉之外，同時也牽涉到了地方組織及社會參與的影響層面，此部分具體顯現在地方寺廟建醮的參加資格之篩選機制。在寺廟建醮籌備之初，醮務經費來源是一項重要考量，除了向境內信徒收取「丁口錢」之外，公開招募「會首」(huē-siú)，由其認捐以醮務重點項目的執行身分，例如：「主會」(tsú-huē)、「主醮」(tsú-tsiò)、「主事」(tsú-sū) 或「主普」(tsú-phóo) 等，或者以神明為名義的「斗首」(táu-siú) 等皆為建醮基金的主力。即便認捐這些會首或斗首所費不貲，但並非有錢即可隨心認捐，部分廟宇甚至明訂「家中祖先必須已完成功德清的超度儀式」為重要標準之一，方可參加會首或斗首的登記或篩選；此外，也有寺廟於正式啟動建醮大典之前，由廟方統一舉行一朝宿啟，為會首及斗首的祖先舉辦超度功德清科儀的案例：臺南市仁德區港崎頭「萬龍宮」在 2018 年舉辦「丁酉科啟建祈安五朝王醮大典」之前，先行於廟旁空地舉辦「無上拾迴拔度大齋壇」(即一朝宿啟)，形成廟埕緊鑼密鼓籌備謝神祈安醮典，一旁卻進行拔薦祖先科儀的有趣景況。整體而言，此種參加資格設定的邏輯，主要是基於漢人文化的孝道觀念使然，意即活人經由大型建醮活動來求取自身的福分時，必須先讓家中祖先獲得澈底的超渡功德，如若祖先未能獲得根本性的拔薦，在這種陰陽兩界家族成員狀態不對等之下所求取的福分，也稱不上圓滿。

基此，筆者在此所論述的「喪禮過程中的活人功能之維持與活化」面向，主

要體現在活人生理機能及其社會參與，其手段在於維持並保有活人的行動能力、飲食習慣，藉以確保人在實質意義上的正常存活文化意涵；此外，亡者所接受的超渡儀式規模也可影響陽世子孫的社會互動，只有讓亡者獲得足夠程度的功德，方可使活人在人間的組織參與及社會實踐趨向完整化，在這部分我們也可以發現到一個有趣的現象，即所謂的過渡可能並非純然直接從 A 至 B 的過程，而是可依實際需求決定程度之分的。

六、結語：慎終追遠而不離

本文以高雄地區的喪葬風俗為討論主題，從整個治喪過程中所體現的「完形觀」為析論元素，並輔以范傑納的通過儀式理論為解釋框架，藉以勾勒出其透過那些使之圓滿的操作，進而使亡者與生者的身分及狀態得以順利完成轉化，乃至於其過渡的運作範圍，甚至可延伸至地方組織與社會的運作參與，在在地體現過渡的過程與結果之影響力，不只是個人、家庭的基本個體，甚至超越到整個宗族或社會群體的層面。

綜觀高雄地區的喪葬模式，基本上是由傳統漢人儒家文化思想、高雄南路靈寶道派及地方喪葬風俗等大傳統及小傳統，共同交織而成的多元風貌。同時作為人類的四大生命禮俗，既蘊含著深刻的單一個體的性質轉變，與之相關的群體亦有隨之連動的變化產生，堪稱為一個兼具社會性及文化性的轉化結果。但我們必須了解到，出生、成年及婚姻等過渡，卻與喪葬有著本質上的截然不同，在於前者即便經過分離、過渡而至再統合的流程，其受渡主體仍回歸現實的人際互動網絡關係之中；然作為喪葬儀式超渡對象的亡者，其經歷過渡流程後的再統合，已然成為陰陽兩隔的狀態，故而相較於其他生命禮俗，喪禮中則運用了更大量的象徵手法，從感官、意念及文化詮釋的面向，藉以作為遺族與亡者之間，性質轉變及關係重新確認的依憑。即便「慎終追遠」的理念深植於漢人文化認知中，但隨著生活型態的轉變，以往的喪禮模式也逐漸趨向簡化，甚至在外在表徵的形式展現或宗教儀式，已然發生質與量的大幅變化，例如：在筆者的訪談經驗中，時常聽聞五甲地區早期辦理喪葬儀式，時常見到三朝大齋的規模，然至今已難見這般的景況。足見傳統喪葬禮儀已不受現代社會人們的普遍認可，其與現代工商業社會的生活型態、經濟條件、民俗及文化認知轉向等條件的相牴觸之下，結果就是傳統喪葬遭受鋪張浪費、環境汙染、繁雜瑣碎、曠日費時等負面評價。

基上，筆者除了企圖透過此文的擬撰，一方面期盼透過走進儀式的田野現場，為日漸式微的高雄在地的喪葬文化面貌；另一方面則是試圖提出「為了自己的悲傷負責」之概念。誠如本文所探討的喪葬儀式中，充斥著大量的完形手法，企圖讓整個過渡過程，由內到外且如實地以圓滿的狀態，使亡者順利且不留遺憾地離開這個世界，而亡者在陰間的安穩，也是亡者得以保佑陽世親人的民俗解釋根據。但作為喪葬執行者的孝家眷，大多全然地將亡者定位為過渡的對象，乃至忽略了孝家眷自身同時也是過渡的主體之一，而疏於反己的情緒關照與心理整合需求。

筆者不只是進入田野的觀察者，也曾成為喪葬儀式中的參與者及實踐者，而能深刻體會到親人逝去的遺憾感，以及喪葬儀式過後的失落感；其失落來源除了是家庭結構的崩解之外，更多的是未能滿足亡者生前的願望，也有喪禮過程中的不周全等因素，隨著一系列喪葬儀式結束之後——也許在夜深人靜的時候，也可能在某個場景的瞬間——「為什麼當初沒為祂多做一點」的感受不禁油然而生，事過境遷後再多的補償，也難以補足當時該做而未做的缺憾。透過本文各類田野資料的歸納整理，筆者認為在符合所屬文化脈絡及功能價值的前提下，喪葬儀式的設計及運作，其所過渡的不只是社會關係的整合，同時也是「遺族悲傷心理療育的最後一道防火牆」；透過喪葬儀式的實踐，拼湊出其完形化的圓滿理想觀，為個體未來冷不防出現的傷感，建構出一套承接身心失落的防護網。對此，筆者建議可從強化生命禮俗的角度出發，透過觀察記錄、研究及探討的深化，更需與生命禮俗文化的傳承者結合，使各項禮俗的外在形式及其所蘊含的意涵，成為豐富一般大眾的民俗知識之知識泉源，或可使讓人避之唯恐不及的喪葬文化，賦予更深一層的人文思考與關懷。

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附錄

表 2：午夜功德、靈前繳科儀流程表

無上金書拔度淨齋壇（午夜功德）		（靈前繳）	
第一天		第一天	
科儀	內容目的	科儀	內容目的
起鼓	擊鼓通天、大開法筵 告盟三界、超度亡魂	起鼓	擊鼓通天、大開法筵 告盟三界、超度亡魂
發表	三界高真、同臨法會	祝聖	祝白大道、普告群真 奉請神聖、證明功德
祝聖	祝白大道、普告群真 奉請神聖、證明功德	宣誦	靈寶洞玄度人妙經 度升度死、悟道登真
宣誦	靈寶洞玄度人妙經 度升度死、悟道登真	演拜	十王琉璃藥師寶懺 太乙真人降下、醫療亡魂
拜禮	三元慈悲滅罪水懺 三官大帝、懺雪業障	打盆	自然死亡之亡魂 道長牽引出離血水盆
演拜	十王琉璃藥師寶懺 太乙真人降下、醫療亡魂	打城	意外往生之亡魂 道長牽引出離枉死城
解結	解冤釋結、和冤罷對 消除三業六根、退願消愆	沐浴填庫	招魂聽法、引參三寶天尊 亡者沐浴更衣 繳庫錢至庫官院
請庫	奉請十二位庫官、十殿冥王 填繳原案，完交夙債	焚化 冥路庫財	燒化庫錢、紙曆、衣服 亡者享用
鬧廳	樂奏清音、鈞天妙樂	謝壇	功德圓滿 奉送天尊神聖各歸本位
放赦	頒降太乙救苦天尊九龍赦書 奉請赦官、地府赦亡魂		
打盆	自然死亡之亡魂 道長牽引出離血水盆		
打城	意外往生之亡魂 道長牽引出離枉死城		
沐浴填庫	招魂聽法、引參三寶天尊 亡者沐浴更衣 繳庫錢至庫官院		
焚化 冥路庫財	燒化庫錢、紙曆、衣服 亡者享用		
過橋 煉度宗旨	水火煉度、坎離宗旨 皈依三寶天尊引歸往生橋		

	接引[到道教東方長樂世界]		
謝壇	功德圓滿 奉送天尊神聖各歸本位		

(資料來源：整理自旗津中洲應元道壇「午夜功德法會科儀法事表」及楠梓百福堂應會道士壇「靈前繳（藥懺）法事表」)

表 3：一朝宿啟科儀流程表

無上拾迴拔度大齋壇（宿啟功德）			
第一天		第二天	
科儀	內容目的	科儀	內容目的
起鼓	擊鼓通天、大開法筵 告盟三界、超度亡靈	早朝	奉請甘湯、求哀懺悔 消諸罪愆、諸聖接引
玉壇	三界高真、同臨法會 發符遣將、總召萬靈	豎幡	升旗祭祖、濟度眾生 普渡十方、敬奉上蒼
啟白	祝白大道、普告群真 奉請神靈、證明功德	午供	九陳異品、獻敬進寶 敬遶奇花、呈聖降福
召魂	請靈就位、聽法聞經	祀觀音 薦祖	觀音大士、開光點眼 慈航普渡、荐拔祖魂
宣誦	靈寶無量、度人妙經 度生度死、悟道登真	解結	解冤釋結、和冤罷對 消除三業六根、退願消愆
演拜	無上十王、藥師寶懺 太乙真人、神農大帝 降下妙藥、病體解除	請庫	奉請十二庫官 填繳原案、完交夙債
朝禮	無上冥王、拔罪法懺 先靈蒙赦、消除業障	鬧廳	樂奏清音、鈞天妙樂
鬧廳	道壇奏樂、音達虛無	三天龍鳳	頒降三天龍鳳赦書 奏詣泰玄都省府 至天庭、地府、水府 赦除亡魂之愆尤
放赦馬	頒降太乙救苦天尊 九龍赦書 赦官地府、赦出亡魂	沐浴填庫	召魂聽法、引參三寶 亡魂沐浴更衣 繳納庫錢至庫官院
打盆	慎終往生之亡魂 道長牽引出離血水盆	焚化冥路 庫財	燒化庫錢 紙曆衣服、亡者享用
打城	意外往生之亡魂 道長牽引出離枉死城	過橋宗旨	煉度朱陵、坎离宗旨 皈依三寶天尊引歸往生橋 接引道教東方長樂世界
分燈捲簾	奉請南方、火德星君	謝壇	禮謝諸聖、各返寶所

	道光顯照、上荐亡靈		奉送天尊神聖歸位
宿啟玄科	啟師謁聖、拔超幽冥 朝禮十方、四靈護衛		

(資料來源：整理自高雄市旗津區中洲應元道壇「宿啟功德法事表」)

公墓作為文化資產之困境

——談南山公墓文化景觀訴訟案現況

Nanshan Gravesite not designated as a cultural landscape?!

— Update on a current lawsuit against the Tainan City Government

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摘要

南山公墓自 2018 年爆發遷葬爭議以來，民間陸續展開以各式保存倡議，提出南山公墓的保存價值，其中一條途徑為嘗試透過法定文化資產提報，為墓葬保存尋求合法且制度化的保護。然而，墓葬作為文化資產之價值論述在臺灣仍屬初步階段，頻頻在文化資產審議過程中窒礙難行，多數案例最終僅能依靠民間自發性搶救僅存墓碑及構件。

本文將以南山公墓為案例，回顧其自提報文化景觀至審議否決的歷程，分析所遭遇的制度性與實務性困境，以及不登錄文化景觀的後續現況，檢視公墓作為文化資產所面臨的挑戰，反思臺灣文化資產保存制度在多元文化價值辨證與運作。

關鍵詞：南山公墓、文化景觀、文化資產保存法、訴願、行政訴訟、臺南、台灣

Abstract

In early 2019, citizen groups proposed to the Tainan City Government to include the Nanshan Gravesite, situated in a sandy land area around 100 hectares ($1,000,000\text{ m}^2$) at the southern outskirts of Central Tainan, into the list of registered cultural heritage sites. This kicked off a series of site studies, field surveys, public hearings, and review committee meetings which culminated in April, 2025, with the decision of Tainan City Government to not register the site as a cultural landscape. In this article we outline a timeline of events leading to this decision. We also provide some information about a current lawsuit against the Tainan City Government.

Keywords: Nanshan Gravesite, Cultural Landscape, Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, Administrative Appeal, Administrative Litigation, Tainan, Taiwan

1 南山公墓保存爭議

南山公墓自 1990 年公告部分禁葬，2008 年公告全區禁葬，近年臺南市政府將「零公墓」納入與「治水」、「捷運公共運輸」、「土地通盤檢討」、「工業區活化再生」作為市府的五

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Figure 1 臺南市政府為規劃遷葬已在南山公墓劃設 A、B、C、D、E 五區域。

大重大政策基本功。2018 年臺南市政府以「促進都市發展，增進公共利益及安全」、「營造城市入口景觀」、「殯葬設施不敷使用」與「降低居民鄰避性、增加市民可親近性」等理由，將南山公墓部分區域劃設 A、B、C、D 四區，2020 年再新增 E 區，採分年、分期、分區進行遷葬作業 (Figure 1)。於公告期限內遷葬可申請遷葬補助，未於期限內認領則將由殯葬管理所代為處理。

在民政局所提出的願景規劃中，將南山公墓部分區域規劃為「六合一」殯葬專區，包含火化場、殯儀館、納骨塔、環保自然葬區、環保庫錢爐、生命博物館、緩衝綠帶等，此外，因墓區內原先已擁有四座市定古蹟，特別劃設古蹟古墓保留區 (Figure 2)。

作為臺灣本島歷史最悠久且保存規模仍具完整性的漢人墓葬群，南山公墓在官方的整體規劃中卻被以無差別方式切割劃分，忽略其所蘊藏豐富的文化及自然資源。此外，大規



Figure 2 臺南市政府所規劃的南山殯葬專區。

模遷葬的推行，勢必引起墓主後代反彈與不安。自 2018 年以來，從在地再至全國各界關心文化保存議題的團體與人士，陸續聲援並提出南山公墓保存倡議，呼籲政府正視南山公墓的保存價值。

2 南山公墓文化景觀提報過程

臺灣現有墓葬類文化資產，因價值判斷、保存範圍及標的類型的差異，涵蓋多元類別。其中包含定著土地範圍內有墓葬或是與墓葬相關之事物。根據統計，現行法定文化資產體系中，共有八種類別涉及墓葬相關標的，合計達一百一十九處（案）。

整體而言，臺灣墓葬類文化資產呈現多樣化趨勢，但仍以古蹟類為多數，多處案例是在尚未新增歷史建築類別時期之前所指定，近年則有逐漸朝向登錄歷史建築的趨勢。另在文化景觀類別中，僅有「戒嚴時期政治受難者墓園」一例獲得登錄。該案例雖取得法定身分，其登錄理由與文化景觀之定義並非完全契合，而是透過區域性保存類型的文化景觀類型予以認定。

在現行制度下，公墓要成為法定文化資產，仍是高度困難之事。所面對的挑戰不僅在於如何突破臺灣文化資產保存制度的既有框架，更在於保存之後的發展可能性，這也將是

能否取得法定文化資產身分的關鍵因素。

文化資產提報是南山公墓保存行動的重要途徑之一。透過法定遺產化的過程，不僅能將保存論述的戰場從民政部門轉移至文化部門，並藉由文化資產審議的時程，暫緩民政部門的遷葬作業，同時也為南山公墓帶來翻轉身分的契機，使其由城市公墓轉化為文化資產。由民間團體重現府城水文促進會發起的文化資產提報作業，分為全區的文化景觀與個別的古蹟、歷史建築及紀念建築。

2019 年 2 月 27 日由吳昭明先生（重現府城水文促進會代表）提報南山公墓全區作為「文化景觀」，同年 8 月臺南文化資產管理處公告「臺南市南區南山公墓遷葬範圍內文化資產調查計畫」，10 月文化資產審議會決議作成「列冊追蹤」。2020 年 4 月審議會決議調查計畫仍在執行，同意持續列冊追蹤，2022 年 4 月審議會提出適當列冊追蹤措施，2025 年 4 月審議會以 1 人同意，13 人不同意，決議不登錄文化景觀。

針對文化資產審議結果的不服，提報團體與後代家屬代表六人於 5 月 27 日向臺南市政府提出訴願，啟動行政救濟程序。訴願理由包括：審議會所認定「不具文化景觀價值」之理由不足；審議委員組成結構失衡，專業領域分布不均；以及在研究論述尚未充分完成前，即倉促作出決議等程序上之不當。然而，臺南市政府訴願審議委員會於同年 9 月 15 日認為「南山公墓不予登錄文化景觀」之決議，對外並不發生法律效果，亦未對訴願人權利或法律上利益產生影響，屬於觀念通知，而非行政處分。因此，本案訴願被以「不受理」結案。六名訴願人目前正準備對臺南市政府提出行政訴訟。

3 文化資產審議會組成疑慮

2016 年配合本法全文修正，《文化資產審議委員會組織準則》更名為《文化資產審議會組織及運作辦法》，規定文化資產類別組成二個以上審議會，審議會委員由主管機關首長遴聘，並增列民間團體代表。2019 年條文修正，將審議會設置數量由「二個以上」提高為「五個以上」，並明定至少一個須為「自然地景及自然紀念物審議會」。同時，也將委員構成之比例要求再行強化，專家學者及民間團體代表委員人數比例，自原本不得少於三分之二提升為四分之三。

雖然修法之後，提高了審議會組成條件，但各縣市仍保有相當彈性，分配各個審議會的審議類別，而類別劃分的方式，也會間接影響審議委員的組成，進而關係到後續審議過程的專業性與多元性。依現行制度，針對有形文化資產所設置之審議會，多數縣市將古蹟、歷史建築、紀念建築、聚落建築群、史蹟及文化景觀等類別合併為同一審議會。目前僅有新竹市、苗栗縣、高雄市、花蓮縣和連江縣等少數地方政府，將史蹟與文化景觀類別自建築類資產中獨立出來，另設專責審議會。

臺南市政府於 2022 年 1 月 6 日發布《臺南市政府文化局辦理各類文化資產審議會組成及委員遴聘作業要點》。依該要點規定，文化景觀被歸入「古蹟、歷史建築、紀念建築、聚落建築群、史蹟及文化景觀審議會」，與建築類文化資產併同辦理相關審議事項。委員資格與組成，則於第三至六點中明訂規範，凡具備一定學經歷條件或具相關領域專業知識或技術者，皆可取得委員資格，亦能以民間團體代表身分受聘。此制度在於展現審議會成員組成的多元性，避免委員背景侷限於特定領域。然而，在實務面上仍存有問題。「南山公墓登錄文化景觀案」所凸顯的，即在於現行審議委員的組成是否有足夠的專業性能夠評斷文化景觀價值。

文化景觀的概念雖最初源自地理學研究，但經歷不同領域學者的詮釋與拓展，已成為跨領域的研究議題。在《文化資產保存法》第三條對文化景觀的定義中，並未涉及建築價值，而是強調具有歷史、美學、民族學或人類學價值的場域。換言之，文化景觀與建築類文化資產所依循的價值論述與保存思維是截然不同，理應由不同性質的審議會進行審議，若將兩類納入同一審議架構，將產生由不具文化景觀專業的委員進行價值判斷，削弱對文化景觀整體價值的理解與判斷。

在臺南市現行的審議架構下，文化景觀因與建築類文化資產歸屬於同一審議會，審議委員組成仍以建築學背景者佔絕對多數。面對如南山公墓所涉及龐大且複雜的個案，本應廣納建築、歷史、人類學、考古、民俗、生態等多方面意見。然而，在 114 年 4 月 23 日召開「南山公墓登錄文化景觀審議案」，當天出席的 14 位委員中，有 11 位為建築專業背景。

雖然無法直接證實審議會成員組成，與個案是否具有文化資產價值兩者之間存在直接影響關係，但在與曾參與南山公墓審議案的委員對話中，其指出南山公墓若要成為文化資產，文化景觀牽涉的領域較為多元，相較於單一墓塚提報，有更廣泛的論述空間。另在本法中所提及文化景觀是具有民族學或人類學價值的場域，但在此次審議會中並無相關專業背景的委員，如關於風水哲學是否能作為文化景觀價值的判定，即需人類學背景委員進行討論。可知審議會的組成確實會是影響文化資產價值判斷的因素之一，亦顯示審議委員的組成缺乏多元觀點的平衡。

南山公墓的案例能夠呼應許育典與凌赫（2013）對於臺灣古蹟審議的質疑，雖然該文發表於《文化資產保存法》2016 年全文修正之前，但文中所提出的問題仍適用於現況。二人指出，專家參與的優點，在於理論上所有決定的作成是基於專業理性，排除了恣意的可能性。但若制度配套不足，外部政治力或是其他因素，仍有可能會危及其專業性與獨立性。

文化資產審議長期以「高度專業性」作為正當性基礎，但即便委員會形式上獨立，專家學者仍有其專業侷限以及立場偏見的可能。專家決議往往被視為權威依據，法院通常會基於「高度專業性的決定」，或「獨立專家或委員會所作成的決定」，而不介入審議結果。在臺

南文化局的訴願答辯書中，援引最高行政法院 112 年度上字第 240 號判決意旨，「審議會對於文化資產指定、登錄之判斷具有不可替代性、專業性及法律授權之專屬性，其所為之判斷決定應尊重其專業判斷餘地」。

4 結論

文化資產提報的目的不僅是保存文化場域，亦是一種面對開發與政策壓力的「抵抗手段」。透過將公墓納入法定文化資產體系，可暫時延緩拆除或遷葬的進程，並藉此爭取法定身分所帶來的制度性保障與外部資源支援。

然而，南山公墓的案例揭示了公墓作為文化資產在臺灣制度運作中的多重困境。文化資產審議過程的政治性在此案中表露無遺。在資訊不對等的情況下，民間保存團體往往只能被動回應，難以於程序中取得平等的發聲機會。

當文化資產被判定為不具保存價值時，後續行政救濟往往僅能針對審議程序中，是否存在行政瑕疵進行檢討，而不介入審議委員的價值判斷。若欲藉由行政訴訟改變既有判例，必須挑戰最高行政法院的既有見解。此外，雖可透過提出新事證重新啟動文化資產審議，但在委員組成不變的前提下，審議結果多半難以翻轉。現行制度高度依賴審議委員的決議，若欠缺外部監督與透明化機制，使審議結果難以被有效檢討，反而可能成為拆除文化資產的合法化工具，文化資產保存亦因此陷入制度性的困境。

參考文獻

許育典、凌赫（2013）。古蹟審議的法律分析。文化資產保存學刊，(23)，7–26。◎ [https://doi.org/10.6941/JCHC.201303_\(23\).0001](https://doi.org/10.6941/JCHC.201303_(23).0001)

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1 A Timeline

In Table 1, we outline a timeline leading to the decision by the Cultural Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government, to **not** register the Nanshan Gravesite, also called the Nanshan Public Cemetery (南山公墓), as a Cultural Landscape (文化景觀) into the list of cultural heritage sites to be officially recognized and protected in Taiwan. In preparing this timeline, we borrow two slides from the slideset used by the Cultural Affairs Bureau at the (Cultural

Heritage) Review Committee (審議會) meeting held on April 23, 2025 (Figure 3). This slideset from the Cultural Affairs Bureau is part of the meeting record (Figures 4, 6, 7). It was first proposed to the Tainan City Government to register the Nanshan Gravesite as a cultural landscape on February 27, 2019. The proposal was submitted to the Tainan Municipal Administration of Culture Heritage (臺南市文化資產管理處) by Mr. WU Chao-Ming (吳昭明), representing a historical society based in Tainan (重現府城水文促進會).

It would take more than six years for the Tainan City Government to decide not to register the Nanshan Gravesite as a cultural landscape. During the period, Tainan City Government would have commissioned three separate surveys on the site and held several meetings to receive public feedback. In the end, civil groups and cultural activists have been greatly disappointed by the decision, 13-to-1, made by the Review Committee to deny the Nanshan Gravesite the status of cultural landscapes which, by the definition of Taiwan's *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* (§3.1.7), are “locations or environments formed through longtime interactions between human beings and the natural environments, which are of value from the point of view of history, aesthetics, ethnology, or anthropology” (「指人類與自然環境經長時間相互影響所形成具有歷史、美學、民族學或人類學價值之場域」).

We produce in Figure 4 the first page of the record of the Review Committee meeting held on April 23, 2025. Note that there were three items to be discussed; Nanshan Gravesite was the first item of the three. About 100 people attended as observers of which 15 had preregistered to express their views before the Review Committee. The Review Committee, however, met in a separate room and discussed among themselves (as shown on the screen in Figure 5). The reasoning leading to the decision, the decision itself, and a supplementary resolution of the Review Committee, as kept on the meeting record, are shown in Figure 6 and 7.

One of the reasons for the Review Committee to not register the Nanshan Gravesite as a cultural landscape is that the site is “very large, with complex internal spatial textures, and relatively chaotic burial conditions and environments” (Figure 7, top of the page). The Review Committee nevertheless think that “Nanshan Public Cemetery carries significant historical and cultural meaning; however, the preservation of its cultural value shall not be limited by the forms of cultural assets.” The supplementary resolution of the Review Committee is quoted below in its entirety:

Although the landscape and environment of the Nanshan Public Cemetery do not

meet the various requirements stipulated in the Regulation on the Registration and Revocation of Cultural Landscapes (文化景觀登錄及廢止審查辦法), certain areas within the Cemetery still need to be designated for preservation. These areas shall be appropriately maintained to facilitate public access to and appreciation of the ecological, historical, cultural, and other values inherent in the Cemetery. Therefore, after some discussion by the members of this Review Committee, a supplementary resolution has been made, which is to request the City Government to assess “the possibility of preserving burial ground complexes” in order to present the historical texture and cultural value of the Cemetery.

2 The Lawsuit

In a letter dated April 30, 2025, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Tainan City Government sent Mr. WU Chao-Ming the record of the Review Committee meeting held on April 23, 2025. Besides the meeting record, the letter includes nothing else. Implicitly in the meeting record, of course, ones would learn about the decision of the Review Committee, hence the Taiwan City Government, to not register the Nanshan Gravesite as a cultural landscape.

After consulting lawyers specialized in the practice of cultural heritage preservation law, and with the blessing of Mr. Wu, a group of citizens filed an administrative appeal to the Taiwan City Government on May 27, 2025, asking it to revoke the decision made by the Review Committee. The administrative appeal was duly processed by the Department of Legal Affairs of the Taiwan City Government. On August 15, the Department of Cultural Affairs replied with a lengthy rebuttal and a brief resolution: The case shall not be entertained because the it “is filed against non-administrative action or other cases which are beyond the scope of administrative appeal remedies according to other Acts” (「對於非行政處分或其他依法不屬訴願救濟範圍內之事項提起訴願者」) (§77.8, *Administrative Appeal Act*). The Department of Legal Affairs agreed. On September 15, 2025, Taiwan City Government informed the people filing the administrative appeal its decision to not entertain the case.

The same group of people is now preparing an administrative litigation, to be filed to the Kaohsiung High Administrative Court, against the Taiwan City Government.

2019-02-17 The site of Nanshan Public Cemetery was proposed as a cultural landscape by the civil society.

2019-09-04 A field survey was conducted on the site. It was decided to enlist the site to be followed up for discussion in the Review Committee.

2019-10-31 The Review Committee met and decided to continue enlisting the site for more discussion.

2020-04-27 The Review Committee met and decided to continue enlisting the site for more discussion.

2021-04-01 The Review Committee met and decided to continue enlisting the site for more discussion. A guideline for voluntary re/dis-interment was created.

2024-11-18 The site was deemed an interim cultural landscape, according to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act.

2024-11-23 An informational session was held for the public. A field survey was conducted in preparation for the upcoming Review Committee meeting.

2024-02-04 A meeting was held with the civil society to discuss the site boundary of the proposed cultural landscape.

2024-03-30 A public hearing was held. A second field survey was conducted in preparation for the upcoming Review Committee meeting.

2024-04-23 The Review Committee met to discuss whether to register the site as a cultural landscape.

Table 1 *The timeline leading to the meeting on 2025-04-23, translated from Figure 3.*

案由及辦理過程

- 108.02.27 由民間團體提報南山公墓為文化景觀。
- 108.09.04 文資處辦理現場勘查及列冊追蹤審查，因範圍過大且具爭議性，爰提送本市文資審議會討論。
- 108.10.31 經本市文資審議會108年度第4次會議作成列冊追蹤文化景觀之決定。
- 109.04.27 經本市文資審議會109年度第2次會議決議持續列冊追蹤文化景觀。
- 111.04.01 因應民眾自主遷葬需求，提送審議會111年度第1次會議討論，決議持續列冊追蹤，並訂定適當處理措施。

3

案由及辦理過程

- 113.11.18 依據文資法列為暫定文化景觀。
- 113.11.23 辦理說明會及第1次文化資產審議前現場勘查。
- 114.02.04 提報單位針對提報範圍討論確認會議。
- 114.04.23 辦理公聽會及第2次文化資產審議前現場勘查。
- 114.04.23 提送本市文資審議會審議文化景觀。**

4

Figure 3 The timeline leading to the Review Committee meeting held on 2025-04-23.
(Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government. Note: The event 辦理公聽會及第 2 次文化資產審議前現場勘查 is wrongly dated. The correct date is March 30.)

臺南市古蹟歷史建築紀念建築聚落建築群史蹟及文化景觀審議會

114 年度第 1 次會議

會議紀錄

壹、 開會時間：114 年 4 月 23 日（星期三）下午 2 時 0 分

貳、 開會地點：南門勞工育樂中心 2 樓第一教室

參、 會議主席：

記錄：柯○軒

一、 依據文化資產審議會組織及運作辦法第 6 條第 2 項規定：「會議由召集人擔任主席；召集人不克出席或迴避時，由出席委員互推一人為主席。」

二、 另依同辦法第 7 條第 2 項規定，本次會議機關代表召集人林韋旭委員須迴避之審議案如下，並依上開規定經出席委員互推，由傅朝卿委員擔任各審議案會議主席：

(一) 臺南市南區「南山公墓」登錄文化景觀審議案（審議案一）

(二) 臺南市中西區列冊追蹤標的「赤崁東街 90 巷 1 號眷屬宿舍」納入歷史建築「赤崁東街日式宿舍」保存範圍審議案（審議案二）

三、 本次議案「臺南市新營區歷史建築『台糖新營糖廠宿舍群』公告更新審議案」（審議案三），機關代表召集人林韋旭委員請假，並依上開規定經出席委員互推，由傅朝卿委員擔任該審議案會議主席。

肆、 出席人員：

一、 本會委員：

(一) 出席委員：本會委員人數為 21 人，出席委員如下：林韋旭（審議案一、二迴避，審議案三請假）、吳玉成、吳秉聲、林蕙玟、張宇彤（審議案二、三請假）、張嘉祥、陳嘉基、傅朝卿、曾國恩、黃英霓（線上）、黃恩宇、詹翹、劉舜仁、賴美蓉（審議案二、三請假）、顏世樺。

(二) 未出席委員：林曉薇、陳惠民、曾憲嫻、戴文鋒、鍾心怡、蘇峯楠。

(三) 本次會議各案委員出席人數依迴避、請假狀況統計，均符合文化資產審議會組織與運作辦法第 6 條第 5 項全體委員過半數之出席規定。

二、 各審議案與報告案出席人員：

Figure 4 Record of the Review Committee meeting held on 2025-04-23 (p. 1). (Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government)



Figure 5 The Review Committee (in a separate room) and the observers (2025-04-23).

五、會議討論：

- (一) 南山公墓登錄文化景觀，地方意見分陳，大致為私產權人希望保存不希望遷葬、周邊居民希望環境改善，文史團體及工作者希望全區保留，並提出相關文化價值建議，相關資料跟陳述意見都已接收到。
- (二) 本案是否登錄文化景觀，其評估判斷仍需依「文化景觀登錄及廢止審查辦法」第2條所訂各款登錄基準判斷其文資價值。依據法的規定，文化景觀是以強調人類與自然環境互動影響的定著地景，並有三項登錄基準，就二、三項基準，審議委員皆有共識未符合；第一項強調人與自然互動的定著地景，不同於古蹟、歷史建築以建造物為標的，該區內部主要是墓葬，雖有竹溪流經及相關自然生態、風水，然未有明顯表現人類與自然環境「互動」的意涵。
- (三) 考量該區已有數座墓塚指定登錄為文化資產，而有墓葬群的特性，且透過墓葬群的保存，更能兼顧體現墓葬本體的文化價值，透過保存範

Figure 6 Record of the Review Committee meeting held on 2025-04-23 (p. 14, partial).

(Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government)

圍的劃定，更能有效進行維護管理。

- (四) 目前提報人申請文化景觀登錄的範圍非常大，內部空間紋理複雜，墓葬狀況與環境相對雜亂，且未來墓主後代若要進行遷葬，是否會有破壞文化景觀地景、違反文資法令的情形？要如何界定文化景觀保存區域，亦是困難，全區保留亦非對該區墓葬保存的最佳方式。
- (五) 南山公墓長年來承載的歷史記憶具有一定的文化意義，然文化價值的保存並非只能透過文化資產的方式，南山公墓雖不符合登錄文化景觀的基準價值，但仍可透過其他方式予以保存。
- (六) 南山公墓之保存應從自然環境、文化、歷史等不同面向綜合評估，選定適當的場域範圍進行適度環境整理，使民眾便於親近，以了解南山公墓所蘊含的自然生態、歷史、文化等不同面向之價值。
- (七) 國外墓葬的保存是採以公園化的保存方式，並就環境進行整理及管理，因此也建議可朝向公園化的保存策略。
- (八) 建議市府針對「墓葬群保存可能性」進行評估，以呈現南山公墓的歷史紋理與文化價值。

六、 決議：

審議會委員總人數 21 人，本案迴避人數 1 人，應出席委員人數 20 人，實際出席委員 14 人，逾半數委員出席。

「南山公墓」登錄文化景觀：

出席委員 1 人同意，13 人不同意，同意人數未達出席委員過半數，故本案決議不登錄文化景觀。

本會意見及附帶決議：

南山公墓全區所呈現之地景與環境雖未符文化景觀登錄及廢止審查辦法所訂各項基準，惟南山公墓內仍需劃設一定範圍予以保存，並適度整理，使民眾便於親近，以了解南山公墓所蘊含的自然生態、歷史、文化等不同面向之價值，爰此，經本會委員綜合討論作成附帶決議，請市府針對「墓葬群保存可能性」進行評估，以呈現南山公墓歷史紋理與文化價值。

Figure 7 Record of the Review Committee meeting held on 2025-04-23 (p. 15). (Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau, Tainan City Government)

試從「母」談「子」之性靈與孝道

Examining the Spiritual Nature and Filial Piety of the “Child” from the Perspective of the “Mother”

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摘要

殯葬文化是自古人們對生死與倫理觀念的體現，殯葬的主角是亡魂（亡者的靈魂），傳統民間信仰認為人有三魂，而靈魂不滅，靈魂轉世除了與累世因果業報有關，三魂中的「覺靈」更是牽涉到宇宙創造者對凡間子女照顧之安排，祖孫彼此的基因、血液有關聯性，故亡者的靈魂與活在陽世的人之間的聯繫一直是進行式，為人子的我們若能釐清本「性」、「性隨形骸」的涵義，了解靈的根源（母）與己（子）的關係，對孝道的實踐應有更踏實的認識。

關鍵字：性（覺靈）、炁、孝（孝）、靈魂不滅、性隨形骸

Abstract

Funeral and burial culture has long reflected human views on life, death, and ethics. The central figure in funerary practices is the soul of the deceased. Traditional folk beliefs hold that humans possess three souls, which are immortal. The reincarnation of the soul is related not only to the accumulated karmic consequences from past lives, but among the three souls, the “awakened soul” (jue ling) specifically involves the care and arrangements that the Creator of the universe provides for children in the mortal realm. Since the genes and blood of ancestors and descendants are interconnected, the bond between the deceased's soul and the living has always been ongoing. As children of our parents, if we can clarify the meaning of our “innate nature” and the concept that “nature exists with the body,” and understand the relationship between the source of the soul (mother) and the self (child), we can gain a more grounded understanding of the practice of filial piety.

Keyword : Filial Piety、Original Nature (awakened soul)、Qi (炁)、Immortal Soul、nature exists with the body

試從「母」談「子」之性靈與孝道

本文試著先整理性、靈之字義，再探討性靈的根源，靈從何處而來？性靈具有什麼本質？為何孔子會說「性隨形骸」？「母」與「子」的關係密切，如同祖孫彼此的基因、血液有關聯性，「母」老子是以「道」表達，「道」既是宇宙萬物的生根本源，又是根本法則，為人子要行孝道，若能理解此宇宙的法則、規範，體悟「母」對「子」的生養育之恩，對孝道的實踐應會有更踏實的認識。

一、性、靈字義初解

以下先分別就性、靈之字義整理：

(一)「性」之意涵

關於「性」，文獻紀錄如：

《說文解字》：人之陽氣，性善者也。¹

《禮記·中庸》：天命之謂性，率性之謂道。²

《教育部異體字字典》：人或物自然具有的本質、本能。³

《漢書·董仲舒傳》：性者、生之質也。質樸之謂性。天令之謂命，命非聖人不行；質樸之謂性，性非教化不成；人欲之謂情，情非度制不節。⁴

《漢書·翼奉傳》：觀性以歷。〔注〕張晏曰：性，謂五行也。⁵

本質是指事物所固有不變的、普遍的根本屬性，「人性」是屬於「內在」的，屬於精神層次，從「現象」外形上無法認知和了解。因此，要解析「人性」，必須從根源上探赜索隱，鉤深致遠。⁶

本質既具普遍性，又固有不變，即表示眾生皆自然具有，否則如何稱普遍性？且此本性是不會改變的，而萬物都來自於道，那麼老子所云：「孔德之容，唯道

¹ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》心部（臺北：中國文化學院出版部，1968年），頁5242。

² 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》心部，頁5242。

³ 性/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=14813&q=1> 2025.09.08 查詢

⁴ 董仲舒傳/中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/han-shu/dong-zhong-shu-zhuan/zh> 2025.07.05 查詢

⁵ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》心部，頁5242。

⁶ 轉引自趙中偉：〈從詮釋學看孟荀「人性論」的比較〉《孔孟學報》[1-30]，第96期，台北市：中華民國孔孟學會，2018年9月，頁2。

是從」，到底誰是唯道是從者？因為一般人難免有做錯或迷失的時候，若從表象來看，「具普遍性，又固有不變」與「有德者依道而行」似乎不是指同一範疇，故此具普遍性、固有屬性的有德者應指自然具有、不經學習、覺悟的意識體，此意識體謹遵、順從自然大道。

又如董仲舒所言，性者、生之質也，質樸之謂性，參考「性」的異體字之一「」⁷所顯示，可推理中庸的「天命之謂性」之意，此「性」是名詞，若天是有意志的、覺悟的意識體，那麼天之命令，命令的受詞不應當是無生命、物質性的名詞，而是有意識、覺悟、「直」（率性）、「樸」（自然、不做作）的靈體。

所謂符號、屬性有其背後代表的意義或意識，例如呂純陽祖師在解釋民間信仰常稱呼的護法神將「六丁六甲」⁸時，即曾說明了「甲」、「木」與「元性」的關係，如云：

甲子、甲戌、……名為「六甲」。丁卯、丁丑…，名為「六丁」。東方甲乙木，木為元性，甲為陽，乙為陰。……又「甲」為將士所披身者，「性」為「心、意、念」之統帥，故以「天將」稱為「六甲」者也。南方丙丁火，火為元神，「元神」亦云「心神」，心亦屬火故也。丙為陽，丁為陰，瞋恚一起，心火上升而化為陽火，陽火能傷人又傷己，低心下氣，心火下降而化為陰火，陰火明而溫和不傷人，亦不傷己，欲修心養性者，須心火下降。又「丁」為丁壯，「丁壯」聽令於將帥，故以「天兵」稱為「六丁」者也。又「六丁」暗示「修心」，「六甲」暗示「養性」，此行者必修養者也。⁹

李瑞烈先生接著說明：

「性」是「心、意、念」之統帥，我們性動以後就變心，心若分成兩個，就變成意，心是一，意是二，所以有時解釋性為無極，心為太極，意就是兩儀，這念就是成為萬物的道理，因為這心是一，這意生成善意與惡意，這意發出就是念，所以我們說妄念就變雜念，無論是念、意、心，這總源頭是從性發出來，所以天將稱為六甲。……。¹⁰

⁷ 性/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=14813&q=1>
2025.09.08 查詢

⁸ 天干地支是古代記錄時間的次序符號，十天干的順序分別對應著木、火、土、金、水五種屬性。「六甲」是指十天干中的六個，古代用天干地支相配計算時日，其中有甲子、甲戌、甲申、甲午、甲辰、甲寅，簡稱六甲。

⁹ 舊 32-六丁、六甲、打坐、不孝有三-全談道不談錢李瑞烈老師
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s176siKBs3s> 2025.09.08 查詢

¹⁰ 舊 32-六丁、六甲、打坐、不孝有三-全談道不談錢李瑞烈老師

在大宇宙天羅地網中的六甲（天將）與元性有關，身如小宇宙的我們也有不變的本性。萬物皆因「氣」的陰陽消長、轉化、運動而產生各種現象和變化，因氣的動態流轉而有了五行木火土金水相生剋的現象，也因此有春夏秋冬時序、方位等的關係，以及萬物成長消亡的變化規律。如《易傳·說卦》：「帝出乎震，齊乎巽，相見乎離，致役乎坤，說言乎兌，戰乎乾，勞乎坎，成言乎艮。¹¹」「神鬼神帝，生天生地」¹²天帝、鬼神都是因為有了道才能產生，而萬物從春雷震動、萬物萌生的震卦起始，對應於天干中代表開始與新生之意的「甲」，因為甲是天干的開端，表示新的開始，震（雷）代表著驚動、變化和成長、巽（風）代表著柔順、變化和無遠弗屆的擴散之力，春天草木發芽新生，故象徵著生長、發展和生機勃勃之意，故說木為元性（「本源的屬性」、「事物的開端」，如嬰兒般）。

（二）「靈」之意涵

靈學家荷嚴曾表示靈學是氣、頻率、聲波電、心靈、念力、光、生理的科學。

¹³

靈的異體字很多，以灵字為例，灵上面的 ，如同雪之雨下面的 ，雪之甲骨文如  ¹⁴  ¹⁵ 是畫羽毛，表示靈的輕靈，灵下面的火，代表的應是能量。但是神靈的能量大小不一，有些很薄弱，有些力量卻很強大，如颱風一般。

其他異體字如霧、靄、誓……¹⁶，雨部佔大部分，以「霧」而言，雨下面的弓，查詢道教的符令，可以發現符的樣式多變，許多符令最上面會用毛筆打「三」個勾，接著有「奉勒」神的聖號或宮廟名稱，接「如律令」，有很多會寫雷、或雨部有關的字，如：霆。符上會有一些圖案或彎曲線條，可能代表星象、劍鬚、結界或炁（炁字請看下節之解析）的流動……。如附圖一、二：

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s176siKBs3s> 2025.09.08 查詢

¹¹ 說卦/中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/shuo-gua/zh>

2025.09.05 查詢

¹² 《莊子·大宗師》/中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/great-and-most-honoured-master/zh> 2025.09.13 查詢

¹³ 荷嚴：〈靈界的事，不能用科學來否定〉，荷嚴專欄 6 版，《台灣新生報》1997 年 12 月 15 日。

¹⁴ 京津 3115 合 21023 启歷間/小學堂 雪之甲骨文

<https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=2441> 2025.08.11 查詢

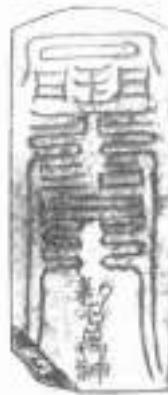
¹⁵ 乙 1441 合 21024/小學堂 雪之甲骨文

<https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=2441>

2025.08.11 查詢

¹⁶ 靈/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=49604&q=1>

2025.09.10 查詢

圖一：玄天上帝救苦救難符¹⁷圖二：玉牌符銘¹⁸

圖二左邊玉牌正面中的 ，學者王育成解釋：對應的彎曲線是“皇天降命玉璽急宣”，意為皇天降下命令，加蓋著璽印須迅速宣布。¹⁹

靈無論是寫成霤或霧、靈、靈、霧²⁰等都是與靈界、神靈有關，古代聖人以圖像(雨、口、囂)展現出「天命之謂性」之意涵，表現的是皇天下命令、加蓋著璽印、急宣的意象，天是意識體，命令的對象「性」也是意識體。

那麼性靈的源頭是什麼？

二、靈之根源

宇宙的造化有其規範，如同老子所描述的「道」，道既是宇宙萬物的生成本源，又是根本法則，如《道德經》云：

道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。萬物負陰抱陽，沖氣以為和
大道泛兮，其可左右。萬物恃之以生而不辭，功成而不有。衣養萬物而不
為主。常無欲，可名於小；萬物歸焉而不為主，可名為大。以其終不自為
大，故能成其大。

天之道，不爭而善勝，不言而善應，不召而自來，繹然而善謀。天網恢恢，
疏而不失。²¹

¹⁷ 蕭顥芸，〈臺灣命理師的符咒運用—以新北市兩德命理館為例〉，（新北市：輔仁大學宗教學系碩士論文，2025年），頁107。

¹⁸ 王育成：〈中國古代道教奇異符銘考論〉，《中國歷史博物館館刊》[25-50]，1997年12月，頁35。玉牌為中國歷史博物館收藏，王育成任職於中國社會科學院歷史研究所。

¹⁹ 王育成：〈中國古代道教奇異符銘考論〉，頁38。

²⁰ 靈/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=49604&q=1> 2025.09.09 查詢

²¹ 《道德經》，收入《正統道藏》第19冊，（洞神部，本文類，慕字號），卷上第4，（臺北市：

老子描述了「道」如何能成其大，且其是有意識的創造宇宙，「道」之法網看似寬大稀疏，但事實上是嚴謹、機密（善應、善謀）、不疏漏的，違法者難以逃脫。

我國傳統氣化宇宙觀即認為宇宙是組織嚴密的整體，萬物來自於同一個源頭——炁。炁同炁，為氣的異體字，氣字現今多指物質性氣體之意，但筆者認為氣的字素「气」表達的是流動概念，字素「米」描述的是其渺小狀，渺小、流動之現象未必只是純物質性之物。

「炁」字較「氣」字相對要單純些。大多數情況下，當涉及先天的元氣以及中醫概念中氣時，多用「炁」字。後世則多把「炁」字予以神秘化，特別是在風水和氣功等方面常把「炁」的概念神秘化和神聖化。²²

炁的字素「无」通元氣的「元」，「无」指虛空，「元」指源頭，如段玉裁註：

无，奇字無也。謂古文奇字如此作也。今六經惟易用此字。通於元者。……言人之精靈所感。上通元氣寂寞。引之者證莫爲虛無也。正本元字作无。謂虛無寂寞。²³

「人之精靈所感能上通元氣寂寞」，人之精靈、心智的最高層能感應元氣（炁），「正本元字作无」之「无」指的是宇宙源頭虛空狀態。那麼此炁究竟是物質還是精神？

（一）炁是精神還是物質？

現今科學家亦已接受虛空中充滿能量意識，無形的能量力場遍布整個宇宙²⁴，「炁」即是指虛空中之能量、氣息，宇宙由一炁（氣）所造化，炁既是萬物的源頭，人之靈魂亦當根源於炁。那麼炁究竟是什麼？達賴刺麻分析第一因的哲理，曾云：

世界形成之始，應該有兩件事或實體：一是有情（有覺知、有意識）；二是非有情。……最初的因必然是一個獨立的意識，在此基礎上生死相續的理論才得以成立。²⁵

當我們一世一世流轉時，意識也一世一世與身體分離，但意識從不與最微

²² 新文豐出版公司，1985），頁 216–7、221。以下所引《正統道藏》版本均同。

²³ 耿紀朋、鄭小紅：〈“炁”字考略〉，《鄂州大學學報》，第 22 卷第 6 期，2015 年 6 月 [53–54]，頁 53。

²⁴ [漢]許慎撰；[清]段玉裁注；李添富總校定：《新添古音說文解字注》標點本（臺北：洪葉文化，2022 年），頁 640。

²⁵ 袁康就：〈上帝粒子給內丹修煉的啟示〉，此論文於 2013 年 11 月 15 至 17 日在廣東道教文化節「道教文化與生態文明」學術研討會上發表。https://www.taichiyuen.org/t5_30.htm 2025.01.31 查詢

²⁶ 達賴刺麻(Dalai Lama)：Zara Houshmand, Robert B. Livingston, B. Alan Wallace 編，鄭振煌 譯，《意識的歧路：佛法 vs. 科學；心 vs. 腦》(Consciousness at the Crossroads)，(臺北縣新店市：立緒文化，2002 年），頁 54。譯自 Consciousness at the Crossroads，1999 年。

細的氣分離。²⁶

故「最初的因」——宇宙的源頭，其是有意識的炁（氣）、「生死相續」是因為時間是連續且循環的。

遍布整個宇宙的這種渺小的微粒子在《天上聖母經·體道章》是以「稽首禮法王。陰陽一氣藏。黍珠懸米大。照徹八千場」²⁷來形容，就如老子所描述道的狀態：「道常無名，樸雖小，天下莫能臣」²⁸，宇宙創造者自己本然（道法自然），自己以身作則，以自己為典範、榜樣，所以宇宙創造者是法王，是宇宙最高典範並擁有最高權威者（天下莫能臣），陰陽一氣藏即如老子所說的「萬物負陰而抱陽，沖氣以為和」，是炁（氣）使得陰陽和合（陰陽一氣藏）。黍珠懸米大，照徹八千場簡單地說即形容無所不在、「至大無外、至小無內」²⁹的道之「樸」及無比強大的能量。

談論炁是精神還是物質這根本問題，是因為若炁是有意識的，那麼「炁」此宇宙創造者、法王是藉著哪些現象和管道教導、指導眾生、傳達祂的意思？眾生若能與宇宙訊息交感，又該如何確認所收到的訊息是正確無誤的？

（二）關於宇宙本體與創造

「宇宙」依《中文大辭典》整理：

上下四方及古往今來也。按宇宙一語實含有空間及時間無限連續之意。就狹義言，即指物質世界之總體。就廣義言，為整個而有秩序且可解釋之體系之謂。³⁰

廣義的宇宙為整個、有秩序且可解釋的體系，那麼誰是擁有宇宙最終話語權者？《地母真經》是宇宙創造者——無上虛空地母至尊於西元 1883 年陝西漢中府城固縣地母廟以炁飛鸞³¹傳經，相較於其他提及宇宙問題的經書，《地母真經》作者是以第一人稱的視角介紹宇宙本體。經書中地母至尊用了 49 次「我」、1 次「吾」，還有「老娘」、「地母」來表達自己。

虛空地母的「虛」，《漢語大詞典》對「虛」的其一解釋：

²⁶ 達賴喇嘛(Dalai Lama)：《達賴生死書》；傑佛瑞·霍普金斯 (Jeffrey Hopkins, Ph.D.) 英文編譯；丁乃竺 譯（臺北：天下雜誌，2015 年），頁 112。譯自 *Advice on Dying: And Living a Better Life*, 2002。

²⁷ 《天上聖母經》（臺北版），（臺中市：瑞成書局，1998 年），頁 44。

²⁸ 老子：《道德經》，頁 215。

²⁹ 《莊子·天下》／中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/text.pl?node=3019&if=gb&show=parallel> 2025.09.10 查詢

³⁰ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》六部，頁 3845。

³¹ 道教運用「飛鸞」一詞，指稱神靈附於飛動的鸞筆書出天界的訊息。

謝聰輝：《新天帝之命：玉皇、梓潼與飛鸞》（臺北市：臺灣商務印書館股份有限公司，2013 年），頁 105。

道家用語。指清靜無欲的內心境界《老子》第十六章：“致虛極。”魏源本義：“虛者無欲也，無欲則靜，蓋外物不入，則内心不除也。”《韓非子·解老》：“所以貴無為無思為虛者，謂其意無所制也。”³²

又如《莊子·人間世》：唯道集虛，虛者心齋也。³³關於心齋，孔子回答顏回的提問時表示：

就是要集中精神，專心一致。用耳朵去聽，不如用心去聽；用心去聽，不如以氣去傾聽。耳朵聽的是沒有意義的聲音，心意領會的是無常的現象，唯有氣才是空虛而能夠容納一切。所謂的真道也就存在這虛空的境界之中。」這個『虛空』便是所謂的『心齋』。』³⁴

故「虛空」描述的是地母至尊「大」、「謙讓」、「寂寥」、「包容」……的狀態，「地母」有人解釋成「大地像我們的母親」，有人則是解成「大地的母親」，若解釋成「大地像我們的母親」，則是把大地比喻成母親，是文學上的譬喻修辭，若是解成「大地的母親」，則必再追問大地的母親是如何產出大地？而「地」如《說文解字》云：「地，元氣初分，輕清陽為天，重濁陰為地。萬物所陳也。」³⁵，「母」《說文解字》云：「牧也。从女，象裹子形。一曰象乳子也。」³⁶，「母」亦含有根本、根源³⁷之義。「地」是因元氣分判，其中重、濁、陰者為地，故天地未判前之元氣為天地之母。

無上虛空地母至尊以炁飛鸞完成的《地母真經》，內容即包含地母至尊介紹自己的特色、宇宙（時空）開創的工作及持續的努力與願力、宇宙毀壞的現象、並告訴眾生誦經的福報功德、地母至尊對眾生的期望及擔憂，並提醒對眾生自造孽自然而來的後果，經文中亦提及眾生祭拜儀式及說明建地母廟之因……。

關於宇宙本體，如《地母真經》云：

地母本是戊己土 包養先天與後天
神與氣和化天地 氣與神和產賢人
真氣為母母是氣 真神為子子是神

³² 虛/《漢語大詞典》<https://ivantsoui.myds.me/web/hydzd/orgpage.html?page=3015>

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³³ 《莊子·人間世》/中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/man-in-the-world-associated-with/zh> 2025.09.08 查詢

³⁴ 莊子(南華經)人間世/大雅講義 <http://www.jackwts.tw/06/06-04%20n1.2.htm>

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³⁵ 地/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=7595&q=1> 2025.09.08

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³⁶ 母/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=23059&q=1>

2025.09.08 查詢

³⁷ 母/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=23059&q=1>

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要知地母名合姓 鴻蒙未判老混沌
 本來土產生一物 無數包藏六道行
 世上只知天為大 地母敢大天一層……³⁸

「鴻蒙」義即自然元氣³⁹，「未判」是指未分天地之前，論及「老」，宇宙創造者是源頭，而「屯」含有囤積、聚結之意。「鴻蒙未判老混沌」不只是描述宇宙形成時的物理狀態，更有宇宙創造者創造天地萬物持久所付出的辛勞與用心。

如老子描述道的本體時云：

谷神不死，是謂玄牝。玄牝之門，是謂天地根，綿綿若存，用之不勤。⁴⁰
 視之不見名曰夷，聽之不聞名曰希，搏之不得名曰微。此三者不可致詰，故混而為一。其上不皦，其下不昧。繩繩不可名，復歸於無物。是謂無狀之狀，無物之象，是謂惚恍。迎之不見其首，隨之不見其後。執古之道，以御今之有。能知古始，是謂道紀。⁴¹
 寂兮寥兮，獨立不改⁴²，周行而不殆，可以為天下母。吾不知其名，字之曰道，強為之名曰大。大曰逝，逝曰遠，遠曰反。⁴³

「谷神不死，是謂玄牝」因為化育萬物的「道」如山谷般幽深而神奇，其是孕育天地萬物的根源，永恆存在，「玄」( ⁴⁴ 、  ⁴⁵)除了有幽遠⁴⁶之意，也表現了其旋轉運行狀態（詳見以下闡述）、「玄牝之門，是謂天地根」指的是天地未分判前。「夷希微」是描述道之隱微；「寂兮寥兮」是指无、虛空元氣寂寞；「獨立」即表示其為第一因；「周行而不殆」指道無所不在，且反覆運行，此皆是在描述宇宙本體的概況。

是炁的玄轉、化生出天地，創生出萬物，學者馬叔禮舉自然界的事物解析「玄」字：

³⁸ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》（高雄：瑞成書局，2012年），頁26~38。

³⁹ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》鳥部，頁16800。

⁴⁰ 老子：《道德經》，頁212。

⁴¹ 老子：《道德經》，頁213。

⁴² 老子楚簡版是寫獨立不”亥”，意指道獨立存在，無邊無際。

呂尚，《道德正經 老子到底寫了什麼？》【道經】，（臺北市：財團法人台灣水利環境科技研究發展教育基金會，2023年），頁26~8。

⁴³ 老子：《道德經》，頁214。

⁴⁴ 玄父癸爵 商代晚期或西周早期 集成8719/小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jinwen?kaiOrder=260> 205.09.08 查詢

⁴⁵ 玄 /《說文解字·大徐本》教育部異體字字典

<https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=27482&q=1> 2025.09.08 查詢

⁴⁶ 玄 /教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=27482&q=1>

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……一切奇妙的生命，都來自天地門的旋轉。「玄」字即天上(二)之日、月無數旋轉，如兩股「糸」線之交而來，故「玄」即「旋」字，……「玄」之又「玄」合為「茲」字。萬物之生是因日、月在天上，玄之又玄，又得「水」的「滋」潤，便能「孳」生孩「子」。……人有好生之德，使萬物皆能滋成長，便是「慈」悲心。地球鐵「石」之中有「磁」性，便來自天旋地轉之理。人頭頂與十指有「旋渦」，樹木有「年輪」，貝殼有「螺紋」，皆是天旋地轉的「規道」⁴⁷

「玄」除了玄妙、幽遠之意，以年輪、旋渦、絲繩等觀察反思，讓人們對道的規律有了較具象的對照。「玄之又玄」除代表了循環反覆，也提醒著人們對宇宙規律性的探尋應是不斷累積、追求與體認的過程。

老子所云：「綿綿若存，用之不勤」、「繩繩不可名，復歸於無物」、「能知古始，是謂道紀」，其中「綿綿」、「繩繩」、道「紀」的糸 1 、 1 ⁴⁸ 玄牝的玄 8 ，可以理解老子描述「道」的畫面：道如絲線般旋（玄）轉的運動方式，生生不息、綿綿不絕地創造，且其治理如「紀」之義，有個源頭（如繩之頭緒），有準則、典範、法度、刑罰……。⁴⁹

此絲線般的描述如同《靈魂的旅程》中其中一位被催眠者輪迴過好幾世，跨越了好幾千年。他具體的描述：

我被磁鐵般的力量拉動，僅僅享受這趟行程。

就像有人為你撥正收音機的電波，找到我正確的頻率。

我必須跟著這束光線的波動走……這些波動具有方向，我正跟著流動，這很簡單，他們為你安排了一切。

我們有能源——在一片能源場地中。所以，我們並不只是在路線上移動而已……我們自己產生能源……根據經驗運用這些力量。⁵⁰

另一位被催眠者則是說：

我被推進去，看到一束明亮而溫暖的光芒，以一種流質能量般的水流方式接近我。剛開始有一種……像煙霧般的蒸氣……在我身邊旋轉。⁵¹

⁴⁷ 馬叔禮，《方塊字的靈魂—水化文明》，（新北：策馬入林文化事業有限公司，2012 年），頁 168。

⁴⁸ 緣 816 合 20948 自歷間、乙 105 合 21306 自組，小學堂/系，
<https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=422> 2025.09.09 查詢

⁴⁹ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》宀部，頁 8007。

⁵⁰ 麥可・紐頓(Dr.Michael Newton)著，《靈魂的旅程》(Journey of souls:case studies of life between lives)，曾怡菱譯，（臺北縣淡水鎮：十方書有限公司），2003 年，頁 45。

⁵¹ Dr.Michael Newton 著：《靈魂的旅程》(Journey of souls:case studies of life between lives)，曾怡菱譯，頁 60。

被催眠者也是以光線、電波、頻率、能源、氣等來描述處在靈界的感覺。

「地母本是戊己土」、「本來土產生一物」，其中「戊者土也」⁵²的「戊」，在《中文大辭典》中即這樣解釋：

十干之第五位，方位在中央，五行屬土。〔說文〕 戊，中宮，象六甲五龍相拘絞也。戊承丁，象人脅。⁵³

說文解字註（段玉裁註）：

（戊）中宮也”註：鄭注《月令》曰：“戊之言茂也。萬物皆枝葉茂盛。”
《律歷志》曰：“豐楙於戊。”

「象六甲五龍相拘絞也」六甲者，《漢書》「日有六甲」是也。五龍者，五行也。《水經注》引《遁甲開山圖》曰：「五龍見教，天皇被蹟。」榮氏注雲：「五龍治在五方，為五行神。」《鬼穀子》：「盛神法五龍。」陶注曰：「五龍，五許行之龍也。」《盛神法》五龍。」陶注曰：「五龍，五許行之龍也」。莫候切，三部。俗多誤讀。

「戊承丁，像人脅」篆《大一經》。⁵⁴

《漢語大詞典》：

古代以十干配五方，戊居十干之中，因以指中央。《說文·戊部》：“戊，中宮也。”清江藩《六甲五龍說》：“予謂天數五，地數五，自甲至戊其數五，居十之中。《漢書·律曆志》：‘五六者，天地之中合。’故曰‘戊，中宮也’。”

「戊己」《漢語大詞典》註解：古以十干配五方，戊己屬中央，於五行屬土，因以“戊己”代稱土。⁵⁵

地母至尊居中位屬黃，《地母真經白話先天解》八卦祖師降駕，指出地母居中土戊己，統四方兼萬善⁵⁶——能統四方兼萬善的是「王」，《說文解字·黃部》：「黃，地之色也。」「黃」之意涵，如《中文大辭典》云：黃，中央、中和、日

⁵² 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，（嘉義市：南天直轄聖天扶鸞社明性堂，天運庚寅年三月廿三日接旨 辛卯年四月廿四日完成，2011年發行），頁114。（湖山三仙府薛主席 扶鸞註解）

⁵³ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》戊部，頁5528。

⁵⁴ 「六甲」是指天將（見第一節說明），「五龍」則通常指五行所對應的五「龍」，兩者結合則有「萬物相互交纏，形容作物茂盛」之意。

戊/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=16258&q=1>
2025.09.08 查詢

⁵⁵ 戊己/《漢語大詞典》http://www.kaom.net/book_hanyudacidian8.php 2025.09.08 查詢

⁵⁶ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁75。

光、土、君王服之色。⁵⁷「黃」的甲骨文  或  ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹，指的即是「王」統「四」方。

五行的「行」是指氣的流行，「土」行是元氣之體，元氣流行居方而成五行之氣，如學者鄧立光云：

《洪範》言「土爰稼穡」，已示土有生物之義，這顯然與其他四行的自身為用不同。

四行雖各有生化制約之能，必因「土」行之力而得以就其生化制約之功。「神」是五行生化萬物所以可能的形上根源。

五行之氣其實是元氣流行居方而成，此中「土」行是元氣之體，四行專氣是元氣之用。「土」行與四方專氣的關係猶如大海水與波漚，無論是四方、八方、十二方或二十四方的波漚都是同一大海之水的相狀。「土」行為大海水，專氣則為波漚，二者不相分離，即體即用。至於宇宙論的各種五行系統皆用以追摹元氣的流行。氣化不離時空，入於經驗界便有可與經驗相連繫的五行系統。五行只是追摹氣運的符號，至於元氣自身則無種種的差別。⁶⁰

「土」行是元氣之體，四行專氣是元氣之用，兩者不相分離，即體即用。如《地母真經》云：「真氣為母母是氣 真神為子子是神」，蘇俊源註解：

母子本是同體，子由母生，原本在母胎中孕育而生，真氣與真神，也就是元氣與元神，本是一家人，是二而一，一而二。子是為種子，乃萬物的根源，其中蘊藏著無窮的能量，等待成熟的機緣，生根發芽，這種生生不息的現象就是母性的作用。萬物的成長程序，從看不到的元神，在機緣成熟下，經過感觸得到的氣化階段，然後才變化成為可以見到、感觸得到的有形物體。是以在老子《道德經》第一章：『無，名天地之始；有，名萬物之母。』天地之始，無以名狀，猶如蘊藏於種子中的真神，凡人無以見其形狀，等到萬物成長為有形體之物，才知其乃真氣氣化的氤氳現象，是以稱其為母。⁶¹

另外參考《老子》云：「繩繩不可名，復歸於無物」、「有物混成，先天地生」，

⁵⁷ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》黃部，頁 920。

⁵⁸ 甲 1647 合 29687 何組/黃 小學堂

<https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=2921> 2025.09.07 查詢

⁵⁹ 明藏 57/黃 小學堂 <https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=2921>
2025.09.07 查詢

⁶⁰ 鄧立光：〈五行哲學新說〉《鵝湖學誌》(14)，1995 年[125-140]，頁 131、138-9。

⁶¹ 蘇俊源 註解：《地母真經白話註解》(新北：多識界圖書文化有限公司，2007 年)，頁 51-2。

及《莊子·大宗師》云：「夫道，……自本自根，未有天地，自古以固存；神鬼神帝，生天生地」⁶²，可知宇宙創造者化生「物」，其中之「物」——神鬼神帝乃先天地而有，參與天地的造化，如臺灣民間信仰所稱呼的三清道祖，三清分化有形，清輕之氣上昇，子會開天，三清再化五老（東華木公、西華金母、南華火精、北華水精、中華黃老），五老既成，五行全，重濁之氣下降，丑會地闢生。⁶³

炁生萬物的概念又如關尹子（生平不詳）云：

一炁生萬物，猶棄髮可換，所以分形。以一炁合萬物，猶破唇可補，所以合形。以神存炁，以炁存形，所以延形。合形於神，合神於炁，所以隱形。

⁶⁴

《太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經·生化品》亦描述氣化宇宙概況：

天地未分之時，混混沌沌，溟涬無形，元始妙化，運轉張開，清氣上澄，浮而為天；濁氣下凝，結而為地……，和氣為人，……附神立象。種類相因，合會生育，各有因緣，隨其業報，任命沉浮。……千殊萬品，稟道生形。⁶⁵

「附神立象」、「合形於神，合神於炁」，炁所化是神、是子，由神主導而成象，炁神相合，元始妙化，運轉張開，即是指炁的玄轉、化生。萬物得以生成亦如現今所見細胞分裂，小至如基因（控制生物或病毒性狀的基本遺傳單位，攜帶遺傳訊息的核酸序列）⁶⁶，基因載體是DNA（脫氧核醣核酸），DNA即是雙螺旋結構模型，表現即是交錯運行的狀態。

筆者曾訪談過的宗教人士也是相似的說法：

最原始是一炁，原本是一顆石頭，宇宙大爆炸，形成很多行星、小分子，後分陰陽之炁，再分天地，天上有許多的星球，像貪狼星、文曲星等等，整個宇宙繼續造化，在凡間，也有許多小小的分子、粒子（粒子有陰有陽），

⁶² 《莊子·大宗師》/中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/great-and-most-honoured-master/zh> 2025.09.09 查詢

⁶³ 濟公活佛 主著，聖筆 楊生 扶鸞，《天堂遊記》，臺中市：財團法人臺灣省臺中聖賢堂 聖賢雜誌社，天運丙辰年(1976)八月十五日奉 聖諭著作，天運戊午年(1978) 八月十五日奉 玉旨繳書。頁 41。

⁶⁴ [周]尹喜：《文始真經·六七》，收入《道藏輯要》第10冊，（臺北：新文豐出版公司，1977年），頁4220。

⁶⁵ 撰寫人不詳：《太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經》，收入《正統道藏》第10冊，（洞玄部，本文類，文字號），卷9第16（臺北：新文豐出版公司，1985年），頁421-2。

⁶⁶ 基因/教育部重編國語修訂本

<https://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=87292&q=1&word=%E5%9F%BA%E5%9B%A0>
2025.09.09 查詢

陰陽結合，魂魄進入，形成細胞，細胞分裂，分化……⁶⁷

「意識從不與最微細的氣分離」這種虛空中充滿能量意識、最微細的氣如何形成物質，在自動書記完成的《與神對話Ⅱ》宇宙造物者是這樣描述：

……沒有純粹的、「空虛的」、沒有任何東西在其中的空間。任何東西都是某種東西。即使最「空虛」的空間都充滿了「氣」——那麼稀薄，在無限的區域中如此之延伸……。

接著，在氣離開之後，是能。純粹的能。這能展現為振動、搖動。萬有以一種特殊的頻率而呈現的運動。

在初始，純粹的能——我！振動、擺動得如此之快，而形成了物質——宇宙中所有的物質！⁶⁸

靈魂與靈魂沒有分別，但那唯一的靈魂（之構成材料）卻確實是以不同的速度製造出不同程度的濃度，呈現為不同的物理實體。

一切生命都是振動，你們所稱的生命（你們也可稱之為神）是純粹的能。這能一直在不斷的振動，它以波在動。波以不同的速度振動，產生不同程度的濃度，或光。⁶⁹

靈以波在動，速度不同，故製造出不同程度、對宇宙能量或振動頻率的感知能力、靈敏度不同的物理實體。《莊子·逍遙遊》云：「生物之以息相吹也」⁷⁰，息即指氣息，即使是最空虛的空間也都充滿了「氣」，因宇宙創造者此大自然氣息的運作，宇宙萬物才得以孳生繁衍、活動著。

關於宇宙時空的開創，如《地母真經》云：

地是地來天是天 陰陽二氣緊相連
陰陽會合真造化 造化天地產賢君
東西南北四部洲 春夏秋冬我造成
江河湖海不離我 萬國九州我長成
歷代帝王不離我 大小皇官我養成
天下五嶽仙山境 山林樹木我造成

⁶⁷ 郭奕葳，〈臺灣民間的魂魄觀—以宗教人士的訪談為中心〉，(新北市：輔仁大學宗教系碩士論文，2020），頁 333。

⁶⁸ 尼爾·唐納·沃許(Neale Donald Walsch)：《與神對話Ⅱ》(The Conversation with God II)，王季慶、孟祥森譯（臺北：方智出版社，2012年），頁 96-7。

整套《與神對話》系列信息，都是經由尼爾在紙上自動書寫的方式進行，所寫下的文字。尼爾自己也寫了許多相關的書籍。他創辦了「與神對話基金會」和 Humanity'sTeam' 詳見 www.cwg.org 和 www.humanitysteam.org/email/neale@cwg.info.

⁶⁹ 尼爾·唐納·沃許 (Neale Donald Walsch)，《與神對話Ⅲ》(The Conversation with God III)，王季慶、孟祥森譯，(臺北市：方智出版社，2012)，頁 232-3。

⁷⁰ 《莊子·逍遙遊》/中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/enjoyment-in-untroubled-ease/zh> 2025.09.10 查詢

庶民百姓不離我 五谷六米我長成
七十二樣不離我 萬物草木我長成⁷¹……

世界一切的造化都是一炁分化之陰陽二氣在運動過程中有規律的交感會合（爻）－複製（爻）、創造所產生的作用，四大部洲都是地母至尊所化生……地球上的冷熱變化、四季亦是地母至尊所衍化創造的。在世界上的江河湖海、九州大地、萬物草木都是地母至尊所創造生成的。⁷²

西方瑤池金母扶鸞註解「地是地來天是天 陰陽二氣緊相連」時提到：天地雖有高低之分，而天之陽與地之陰，冥冥之中有著一股緊緊相繫之氣，否則天地萬物不能生長。⁷³「土，地之吐生萬物者」⁷⁴、「祇，地祇，提出萬物者也，如：

“神祇”⁷⁵，「土」之甲骨文有  ⁷⁶，示之甲骨文有  ⁷⁷、 ⁷⁸，祇這字含有「示」、「氏」兩個字素，「氏」又與「土」有密切關係，「氏」( ⁷⁸) 之字義：

林義光《文源》指出：氏，本義當為根柢……姓氏之氏，亦由根柢之義引申。

古代貴族標誌宗族系統的稱號。上古時代，氏是姓的支系，用以區別子孫之所由出生。……《左傳·隱公八年》：“天子建德，因生以賜姓，胙（酬答）之土而命之氏。

遠古傳說中人物、國名、國號或朝代，均系以氏。如：伏羲氏；神農氏。⁷⁹

所以「祇」含有「、」，表達的就是神祇、地祇的提出萬物與吐出萬物，其媒介即是氣，也是因天地之間這緊緊相繫的氣，萬物才得以生長。

「提」、「吐」必有來源，其中的施動者是「炁（氣）」，是炁（氣）運行的結果，分判出天地，創生出萬物。宇宙創造者以至誠之德以氣（炁）經歷長久的努力創造了萬物，就如宣聖孔子云：「天地之道，博也、厚也、高也、明也、悠也、久也。博厚，所以載物也；高明，所以覆物也；悠久，所以成物也。故至誠無息……

⁷¹ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁 26~30。

⁷² 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁 81~5。

⁷³ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁 74。

⁷⁴ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》土部，頁 2925。

⁷⁵ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》土部，頁 2948。

⁷⁶ 粹 907 合 36975 黃組/小學堂 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=40> 2025.09.07 查詢

⁷⁷ 甲 282 合 14885、乙 972 反 合 11423 反賓組／小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=280> 2025.09.07 查詢

⁷⁸ 氏/小學堂 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=146> 2025.09.08 查詢

⁷⁹ 氏/《漢語大字典》/氏部 頁 2283。

<https://ivantsoi.myds.me/web/hydzd/orgpage.html?page=2284> 2025.09.08 查詢

⁸⁰」，在漢文化的氣化宇宙論，中央土德牽涉到的是宇宙創造者對宇宙時空的規劃與創造，其中更是有宇宙之母對眾生無盡的付出與期待，而要謹記的是氣的運作有其既定的規律，因為那是浩然正氣。

(三) 大宇宙與小宇宙的聯繫

如前學者鄧立光所云：「土有生物之義，四行雖各有生化制約之能，必因『土』行之力而得以就其生化制約之功。『神』是五行生化萬物所以可能的形上根源。」在以第一人稱完成的《地母真經》中地母至尊即云：「地母本是戊己土 包養先天與後天」西方瑤池金母扶鸞註解：

地母至尊居中土戊己，統四方兼萬善，……包含著人類先天之靈性與後天之肉體，自性居人之中心地，支配著靈魂與四肢之行動。⁸¹

如蘇俊源說明：

十天干，是天上的磁場，運作著天氣；十二地支，是地上的磁場，運作著地氣。萬物生長在天干地支所形成的天羅地網中，五行分屬五方，戊己居中屬黃，其地位能力統攝四方而為五方的主宰……地母居戊己土的中位，屬於人的本性，是以無論先天和後天，都是心地的相互轉化。先天清淨之心性落入後天後受到汙染，後天的心性經修行淨化後升入先天……⁸²。

後天的心性經淨化能升入先天，即表示此「性」本具足如嬰兒般的純淨，就像佛教所強調的摩尼寶珠，東石港口宮天上聖母降駕註解《地母真經》的「三世諸佛從我出 菩薩不離母一身 各位諸神不離我 離我何處去安身」亦說明：

世間一切有情之物，皆從我而出。菩薩亦是由凡人修練而成道的。人乃由元靈與肉體結合的，故元靈屬地母至尊為總管轄，一切諸佛菩薩誰不由祂所出的？

一切萬靈從地母至尊而出，諸神菩薩亦是，可說地母是萬靈之源。如果萬物沒有了元靈，有軀體又有何作用呢？示人不可離棄根源，否則猶如斷線之風箏一去不回。⁸³

⁸⁰ 孔子：《中庸證釋輯要》（臺中市：光慧文化，2011年），頁137。

《中庸證釋》原出刊於1926~29年，由天津「醒世教會」宗主「呂祖純陽」及孔子等「列聖先賢」，扶鸞降筆共同講述完成。

《中庸證釋輯要》是從中輯取〈孔子講義〉，以闡明作聖之功，故曰：《中庸證釋輯要》。

<https://www.gh-book.com/product/detail/654641> 2025.09.10 查詢

⁸¹ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁75-6。

⁸² 蘇俊源 註解：《地母真經白話註解》，頁48-9。

⁸³ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁81-2。

學者蘇俊源則說明：

佛與眾生本是一體，本性的迷惑成為眾生，本性覺悟就是佛，都是本性一體的兩面，無論是佛或眾生的本性，都是從我地母娘娘所化生，因而三世諸佛的成就，都是累世以來，在本性上覺悟，明心見性，悟後起修，使得本性淨化，回歸本來面目。菩薩亦不例外，在眾生本性欲修成佛的過程中，經歷了菩薩這一階位，是以其靈性也是地母娘娘所生化，因而其性身不曾離開地母娘娘的性身。所有神靈都是地母娘娘所化生，所以其本質不曾離開地母至尊的基因，雖然散處各地各就神職，統治、管理、教化或服務眾生，其身上都秉持地母至尊的原性，都沒有須臾離開過地母娘娘……地母之道生化萬物，其道存於萬物之中，難以聽聞，所以視聽言動必須謹慎，眾生如果離道而行，必然受到報應，無情的折磨，眾生將寸步難行。⁸⁴

地母至尊居中位，是正炁（真氣），「無論是佛或眾生的本性，都是從我地母娘娘所化生」，如同第一節解釋性之字義時提到「性」有不變的本質，本質是指事物所固有的、普遍的，相對穩定的內部聯繫，母與子相連，故人之性靈其本質不曾離開地母至尊的基因，亦即如老子所云：「孔德之容，唯道是從」。

三、性隨形骸

性隨形骸的「性」是指性靈，而「元靈屬地母至尊為總管轄」、「一切萬靈從地母至尊而出」，如同孔子在《中庸證釋輯要》所提到的，人之性原於道，因炁（氣）之升沉自合之。

（一）性隨形骸的意涵

孔子在《中庸證釋輯要》指出性隨形骸之意：

人之性只是太虛渾元之氣，原於道，出於天，受於無形，成於有生。故未生之先，氣居真境；既生之後，性隨形骸；身死之後，神遊來處。此來去之情狀，生死之殊異也。

……太一者，太極之始。為萬有之先，人物之祖。鬼神所合、天地所同，莫非此也。是即中氣！

人之性命在吾身中，其太一之官則在天上。鬼神以二氣所成，各有所合。人之既生，亦不外乎二氣各有所通。故通於天為神，降於地為鬼。氣之升沉自合之也。人之不能無合也即由此。苟不求其故，而疑弗見、弗聞

⁸⁴ 蘇俊源 註解：《地母真經白話註解》，頁 61-3。

為弗我涉，是不知生之有始也。生之始也，同於天神而未賦形；既生之後仍宅形中。今執有形而忘無形，故謂與鬼神無涉，甚至謂無鬼神。皆惑也！

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人之「性」成於有「生」，是因氣之升沉自合之，生之始同於天神而尚未賦予身形；「天」生之後，其性靈宅於形中——性隨形骸。

先天玉虛宮關聖帝君註解「地能生萬物 如母養群生 慈悲德方厚 廣大無比倫」曾云：

大地化育一切生靈，長養一切萬物。如母親般含辛茹苦養兒育女。而天賦於生靈靈性，地育養生靈之體，兩者結合，人類萬物始有生命的開始。

地母至尊無私無為，恆心持久，載萬物、生萬物、長養萬物，地母至尊之博厚德澤無可比擬。⁸⁶

人之修行如老子所提醒：「載魂魄抱一。能無離乎。⁸⁷」人體中的魂魄（精神與形體）要與道合一，不游離，方能保全自身的本質，炁（道）是萬靈的源頭，「天賦於生靈靈性，地育養生靈之體，兩者結合」的施動者即是炁。魂魄的根源是炁，關於性靈的生成過程除了如孔子所云乃「氣之升沉自合之」，學者梅丹理則以「陰」「陽」之凝聚、發散特色說明，因為魂是屬擴散、發陽的，魄具有凝聚特色，其能量聚結形成物質，陰陽要調和，陽陰調和周旋過程要通過「氣」當作物質與精神之間的橋樑：

負陰抱陽是生命體的基本形態：內部要抱穩一股純陽的靈性，同時要承擔物質軀體的包袱，才可活在這個世界上，才可成為（生）物。

……陽會把陰帶活，同時陰會作為一種媒介，讓陽的運行有實質的表現。如果把精神性的陽假設為一道靈光，要怎麼讓它投身於這個軀體呢？它在無形界自來自去，不是很逍遙嗎？如果要它降格投入物質體，對它來說好像是一種‘自損’，但正因為它願意自損，才可能參與到更豐富的生命形態。……

……（陽陰調和）周旋過程要通過一種物質與精神之間的橋樑，那就是“氣”。有了氣的仲介，精神與物質可以通消息，可以互相調適，最後可以達到同振共波的效應。……‘沖’是一種虛極靜篤的狀態……“沖”是虛的同意詞。……‘沖’不是頑強的空，而是讓一些微妙的事情發生的空。‘沖’……也扮演生成者的腳色。讓氣在這種‘沖’的狀態中運作，就可以達到陰陽的‘和’。這個‘和’不是單純的和諧，而是道家喜歡談

⁸⁵ 孔子：《中庸證釋輯要》，頁 89–90。

⁸⁶ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁 51–2。

⁸⁷ 老子：《道德經》，頁 212。

的‘太和’（或者叫太初）。太和是生命的本源，是一種富有原創力的混沌局面。就個體生命來說，‘太和’可以理解為‘性靈’。⁸⁸

《道德經》帛書甲本、西漢竹簡皆是寫「中氣以為和」⁸⁹，《修訂本》將「沖」註解為謙虛、淡泊⁹⁰，學者梅丹理解釋「沖氣以為和」的沖不是頑強的空，而是讓一些微妙的事情發生的空，綜合言之，魂魄的源頭來自於炁，天賦於生靈靈性，地育養生靈之體，兩者結合的施動者（仲介、黃婆）是「炁（氣）」。魂魄在人體各有其任務，天賦於人之靈性居人之中心地，此性靈（人魂）進來指揮魄造就五臟六腑，第一個魄是長心臟，筆者以為由此所以可推理「性」之構成字素「心」「生」，應解釋成「人魂指揮魄造就人之臟腑，第一個魄長（生）的是心臟」，「性」的主角指的是性靈（人魂）。而人活著時容易受心魄之七情六慾影響，如筆者訪談的宗教人士表示：

七魄是魂的下屬單位，天魂與魄是同一主神的部屬，魄是同單位的次級小部屬、小小部屬。人魂進來指揮造人體，如果沒有人魂，如何變成人的形狀？人魂是來指揮的，一個月一魄，第一個魄是長心臟，魄造就我們的五臟六腑，受精卵在母體裡要長腦、眼睛、手腳，七個魄體必須在這七個月去完成。⁹¹

人魂負責主幹運作系統、情緒（七情六慾）方面，人魂跟心魄有關。人在世時會有些執著的念頭，人魂在人過世後，七情六慾會分開。所謂「死人直」，不是說祂執著，是說會變得比較純，像小孩子一樣，人魂的百善孝為先觀念是很深的紮根，脾氣很壞是指個性回復到小孩子，個性很直、天真，很古意。⁹²

人魂在人活著時，易受心魄影響，人死後，心魄離開，人魂會放下酸甜苦辣、貪瞋癡、感觸等七情六慾，人魂會幫地魂去了業。⁹³

故在世時沒做好，三魂之中的人魂（性靈）在人過世後，心魄離開，人魂「生之始也，同於天神而未賦形；既生之後仍宅形中」，人魂仍然存在，且人魂會放下酸甜苦辣、貪瞋癡、感觸等七情六慾，是覺悟的靈。

關於人有天地人三魂，在《雲笈七籤·魂神·說魂魄》是這樣描述：

⁸⁸ 梅丹理：〈老子所談的‘負陰而抱陽’〉道教學術資訊網站 <https://reurl.cc/WOMr70> 2025.02.06 查詢

⁸⁹ 呂尚，《道德正經 老子到底寫了什麼？》【道經】，（臺北市：財團法人台灣水利環境科技研究發展教育基金會，2023年），頁38-9。

⁹⁰ 沖/教育部重編國語修訂本

<https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=23427&q=1> 2025.09.09 查詢

⁹¹ 郭弈歲，〈臺灣民間的魂魄觀—以宗教人士的訪談為中心〉，頁190。

⁹² 郭弈歲，〈臺灣民間的魂魄觀—以宗教人士的訪談為中心〉，頁189。

⁹³ 郭弈歲，〈臺灣民間的魂魄觀—以宗教人士的訪談為中心〉，頁214。

夫人身有三魂，一名胎光，太清陽和之氣也；一名爽靈，陰氣之變也；一名幽精，陰氣之雜也。

第一魂胎光，屬之於天，常欲得人清淨，欲與生人，延益壽算，絕穢亂之想，久居人身中，則生道備矣；

第二魂爽靈，屬之於五行，常欲人機謀萬物，搖役百神，多生禍福災衰刑害之事；

第三魂幽精，屬之於地，常欲人好色、嗜慾、穢亂昏暗、耽著睡眠。

爽靈欲人生機，生機則心勞，心勞則役百神，役百神則氣散，氣散則太清一氣不居，人將喪矣……⁹⁴

筆者訪談之宗教人士亦說明：「人魂（爽靈）和地魂（幽精）是由天魂（胎光）去鑄造出來（道生一），主幹線是從一分出來的」⁹⁵。

人魂或說性靈的「性」指的是不變的本質，此天賦之本性究竟如何？三元三品三官大帝降駕云：

只要是有情有識之眾生，皆有孝之天性。孝乃天賦之本性，不經學習的，沒有人能將天性之孝道遺棄⁹⁶。

如上三元三品三官大帝的註解，可以知道孝是先天的，是人不變的本性，是不經學習的，沒有人能將天性之孝道遺棄，《易經》風澤中孚卦 ䷼ 九二爻，辭曰：「鶴鳴在陰，其子和之；我有好爵，吾與爾靡之」⁹⁷正是孝乃天賦之本性的實例寫照，「鶴鳴在陰」，陰是看不見的地方，⁹⁸鶴鳴在陰，其子和之，是指母鶴在看不見的地方一叫，小鶴看不見老鶴，但聽到了聲音便跟著叫，馬上答覆了。⁹⁹「孚」的本義為「孵」，母鶴孵卵不能延誤時期，在小鶴還未出世之前，母鶴已立下了誠信的榜樣（如老子描述道時所云：「其情¹⁰⁰甚真 其中有信」¹⁰¹），母鶴在遠方，心中時時警醒、掛念著，所以對天鳴叫，小鶴聽到了，直覺地知道是母鶴在關心牠

⁹⁴ [宋]張君房集，《雲笈七籤》，收入《正統道藏》第37冊，(太玄部，職字號)，卷54第1，(臺北市：新文豐出版公司，1985)，頁669-671。〈魂神 說魂魄〉開頭云：正一真人居鶴鳴山洞告趙昇曰夫人身有三魂。

⁹⁵ 郭奕葳：《臺灣民間的魂魄觀——以宗教人士的訪談為中心》，頁343。

⁹⁶ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁62。

⁹⁷ 《 中孚》/中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/zhong-fu/zh>
2023.08.12 查詢

⁹⁸ 南懷瑾：《易經繫傳別講》(上傳)，(臺北市：老古文化事業股份有限公司，1991年)，頁172。

⁹⁹ 南懷瑾：《易經繫傳別講》(上傳)，頁172。

¹⁰⁰ 通行本：其「精」甚真，老子帛書甲、乙版：其「情」甚真。

呂尚，《道德正經 老子到底寫了什麼？》【道經】，(臺北市：財團法人台灣水利環境科技研究發展教育基金會，2023年)，頁54。

¹⁰¹ 老子：《道德經》，頁214。

(是直覺、天生的)，所以立即回覆了母鵠，小鵠能體會母鵠的誠信、慈愛與關懷，故小鵠出生後對母鵠能盡到恭敬、順從的孝道。

此「性靈」即如《天上聖母經·成聖章》所云：「稽首禮真師，全我還大虛，上乘開覺路，黃婆育嬰兒」¹⁰²，真師（母）是子仿效、學習、徵驗的典範，眾生都有本自具足覺悟的靈性，黃婆即是指地母至尊，如老子云：「沖炁以為和」之炁（氣），《地母真經》云：「地母閃了空。嬰兒姹女無一個」¹⁰³。嬰兒是未被汙染的靈，修行就是為喚醒迷途的眾生洗滌塵垢，覺悟自性本俱足，老子才會提醒我們：「專氣致柔，能嬰兒乎？」¹⁰⁴

又「鶴鳴在陰」的「陰」是指看不見的地方，「看不見的地方」如《詩經·文王》云：「上天之載，無聲無臭」¹⁰⁵，《禮記·中庸》言：「君子之道，費而隱」、「鬼神之為德，其盛矣乎！視之而弗見，聽之而弗聞，體物而不可遺。……」¹⁰⁶，故推至極致，將論及人與大自然的關係，人的本性唯道是從。「我有好爵，吾與爾靡之」正是表達了人對道、對神的敬意、遵從、感念和互動。

如同臺灣民間信仰的說法，人之天地人三魂，人往生後，天魂回歸於天（神遊來處），性隨形骸——人魂隨骨骸，地魂則須先至地府報到，再依果報決定接下來的旅程。亡者不變的本性，覺悟的靈會去幫地魂了業，護佑子孫也是其陰德之一，因為靈魂的旅行最終目標是唯一的，如老子所云：「夫物芸芸。各復歸其根」¹⁰⁷，即歸於宇宙的根源，在世時沒做好，「人魂的百善孝為先觀念是很深的紮根」此靈魂內建機制會讓自己有自然的動力要去彌補，以成就莊嚴華麗的自己（行道、歸根）。

（二）性隨形骸之哲理

宇宙造物者提醒人們以宏觀角度了解「三個一組」的實相，如《與神對話 I 》：

……不論宇宙裡的點，或你自己房間裏各種不同的點，你都會認知到這兒、那兒及之間的空間。

然而在粗糙的關係中，你卻沒覺知到「之間」。那是由於粗糙的關係永遠是兩個一組的，但較高領域的關係無一例外，都是三個一組的。¹⁰⁸……

宇宙造物者解釋宇宙這個「一切萬有」，這個純粹能量——不可見、聞……，祂為了悟自己，則必須用一個在內的參考點。造物者進而用無、有、全體的概念解

¹⁰² 《天上聖母經》，頁 43。

¹⁰³ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁 39。

¹⁰⁴ 老子：《道德經》，頁 212。

¹⁰⁵ 《詩經·文王》/中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/decade-of-wen-wang/zh> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹⁰⁶ 《禮記·中庸》/中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/li-ji/zong-yong/zh> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹⁰⁷ 老子：《道德經》，頁 213。

¹⁰⁸ 尼爾·唐納·沃許：《與神對話 I 》，頁 48。

釋「任何部分都比全體要少」，如《與神對話 I》：

「一切萬有」分割他自己——在一個光榮的瞬間，他變成了這個及那個。這個和那個頭一回彼此分開的存在。但兩者仍然是同時存在，兩者皆非的所有其他一切也一樣同時存在。

……我是一切東西（All Things）——可見與不可見的——……那些相信「神是一切有及一切無」的人，才是那些有正確瞭解的人。¹⁰⁹

地母至尊說：「地母敢大天一層」，正是因為是全體支援著部分，如老子所云：「萬物負陰而抱陽，沖氣以為和」、《天上聖母經·體道章》所云：「稽首禮法王。陰陽一氣藏」，是炁（氣）使得陰陽和合。

又如學者范明公云：

它們（陰和陽）都是從同一個地方出來的，哪個都對也哪個都不對。你把它們分開了就是不對。……把陰和陽、「有」和「無」給融合起來，才能看到人事物的本質，這就是客觀性、整體性、全息性，是修道的起始處。

¹¹⁰

炁（氣）是精神也是物質，無與有、精神與物質和合、性隨形骸皆是陰陽和合之理，人魂其歸屬之處即在牌位或風水地，現今有些人主張「環保」葬，但萬物負陰抱陽，變動不停的環境（陰）其靈（陽）如何能安寧？

祖先與子孫彼此的基因、血液是有關聯性的，如《中庸證釋輯要》云：

神者，先聖之靈、先祖之魂。皆以二氣之原返於所始。人之有生固受天地之同氣，復感祖先之遺精。一靈斯通，萬古不滅。人之敬神，以其崇本始、敦仁孝，亦盡性之德而成道之行。¹¹¹

所謂「先祖崇拜」的基礎就是相信人死後靈魂不滅，並相信死者的靈魂繼續與活在陽世的人有著聯繫，這是原始信仰的一種歷史現象¹¹²。一靈斯通，萬古不滅，老子描寫道之生生不息、綿綿若存、繩繩不可名，即表達相似概念，因為炁是精神也是物質，靈魂不滅。神者，先聖之靈、先祖之魂，如一宗教人士所說明：「人魂可以繼續演化很多分身」，故一般人會說「神」主牌位、或稱祖先為家「神」。人魂會分身，且會去幫地魂了業，還會幫忙護佑子孫，神靈有分等級，家神是未

¹⁰⁹ 尼爾·唐納·沃許：《與神對話 I》，頁 39-40。

¹¹⁰ 范明公：《明公啟示錄：范明公解密道德經 1——從帛書《老子》談人生修行法則》（臺北：布克文化，2021 年），頁 48。

¹¹¹ 孔子：《中庸證釋輯要》，頁 135。

¹¹² 洪如玲：《祖先崇拜與祖先療育研究》（宜蘭縣：佛光大學宗教學研究所碩士論文，2022 年），頁 22。

受祿的善魂。¹¹³因人魂（爽靈）屬之於五行（爻），居人中心地，要調和陰陽，故常欲人機謀萬物，搖役百神。又如筆者訪談的宗教人士所說：

百善孝為「仙」，這句意思是在說人要祭祖，仙，有人才有山，有山才有
人，人要靠山才有辦法成仙，你要做仙，有這個山本了（指祖先），也要
靠人去努力。¹¹⁴

祖先風水的地方好比是基地臺，就像電臺或是砲彈的發射臺，沒有基地臺，「祖先本身所積的這些陰德，子孫沒辦法獲取」¹¹⁵，基地臺有問題，子孫也會受影響。人魂沒有一個終點站，無法入土為安，會到處飄，變成孤魂，無以使靈能安頓。
¹¹⁶

如學者梅丹理所分析，就個體生命來說，「太和」可以理解為「性靈」，對照《中庸證釋輯要》與《雲笈七籤·魂神·說魂魄》所云，可知人之性靈即指爽靈、性的異體字𢂔，覺靈或稱爽靈，覺有悟、直之義，爽亦有明、直之意涵，「德」字（𢂔¹¹⁷）右上亦是「直」，「內心正直、行為良好」，稱之為「德」¹¹⁸，直（𢂕¹¹⁹）字的「𢂕」有隱蔽之意，上面的十目，是指「有很多人注視著，就算隱藏起來，也定被發現而原形畢露、真相大白。」，「直」就是「沒有偏斜、遮隱地看到」¹²⁰。此十目在無形界即代表有很多神祇在監看著。因為此直是依正炁為依歸，中庸才會說率性之謂道。自性靈光彼此本質無明暗之分，如造物主表示人心智的最高層涉及每個生命體最重要的功能：「『個別化』與『無區分』之整合 (integration of the Individuation with the Non-Differentiation)」，——那是，單獨靈魂（the Single Soul）與唯一靈魂（the Only Soul）整合¹²¹。

故以人而言，道生一、天命的「性」即是指覺靈，覺靈不會消滅。從文獻可知，早在殷商時期，人們祭祀的對象除了天帝、風神、水神、山神及社（土地神）等，祖先也是重要的崇拜對象¹²²。從人有天地人三魂來理解，更可以體會宇宙創造者照顧世間人的安排是多麼的細緻，人之性靈（覺靈、爽靈）與宇宙創造者一

¹¹³ 郭奔歲：《臺灣民間的魂魄觀——以宗教人士的訪談為中心》，頁 214。

¹¹⁴ 郭奔歲，〈臺灣民間的魂魄觀——以宗教人士的訪談為中心〉，頁 223。

¹¹⁵ 郭奔歲：《臺灣民間的魂魄觀——以宗教人士的訪談為中心》，頁 214。

¹¹⁶ 郭奔歲：《臺灣民間的魂魄觀——以宗教人士的訪談為中心》，頁 213-4。

¹¹⁷ 甲 2304 合 20547 白組/小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=3824> 2025.08.14 查詢。

¹¹⁸ 蔣勳 張招祥 彭壽寧主編，《e 世代華文辭典》，（臺北：臺灣東華，2001），頁 419。

¹¹⁹ 恒鑑蓋 西周中期 集成 4199／小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jinwen?kaiOrder=1034> 2025.08.21 查詢

¹²⁰ 蔣勳 張招祥 彭壽寧主編，《e 世代華文辭典》，頁 829。

¹²¹ 尼爾·唐納·沃許(Neale Donald Walsch)：《重新定義神：2014 今日之神，第一部》(Tomorrow's God : our greatest spiritual challenge)；Jimmy 譯(臺北：淳鳴國際有限公司，2014 年)，頁 76。

¹²² 野蠻小邦周 著：《爆料商周：上古史超譯筆記》(新北：遠足文化事業股份有限公司，2020 年)，頁 23-47。

樣具有孝慈的本質，眾生性身不曾離開地母至尊的性身。

從許多案例可以看出祖先的人魂真實存在，祂們暗中護佑子孫，但祂們須遵守天律。如家父生前有一次，一時興起，約筆者一起去看看祖母的墓，那時非清明時節，我們開車去的路上車子一直熄火，到了那裡才發現墓地的草很長，家父好幾次險些跌倒，筆者一直勸家父不要再走過去了，家父才放棄。而回家的路上，車子就不再有狀況了，想必是祖母暗中護佑著。家父往生之後，曾託夢給一宗教人士，夢中家父帶領該宗教人士到公媽廳，家父手搖神桌，表達要請宗教人士想辦法解決神桌沒有緊靠牆的問題。

同年筆者去地母廟，有神明降駕提醒祖先的墓地風水浸水，並告知歷代祖先的墓地最多只能再維持三年，筆者因惦記前幾年曾夢到祖母，只因未能了解夢的涵義而盲目摸索好多年，故隨即想為祖先處理風水問題。宮廟住持教導筆者擲筊請示神明何時可動土，神明以三聖杯指示了神職人員提供的日子其中的一天。該宮廟的神職人員要筆者回家在祖先牌位前擲筊請示，以確認祖先是否同意破土移到納骨塔。結果不論是已埋近三十年尚未撿骨的祖母、或第一至五代的祖先都用三個聖杯表示願意，連要進哪個納骨塔、及後來的塔位都是以三個聖杯回答，只有一位祖先沒有賜聖杯。因為是筆者唸錯了該祖先名字，搞清楚後回祖先牌位前道歉，再擲筊請示，就有聖杯了，這時筆者才清楚原來祖先真的一直在，即使是擲筊請示距今三百年的第一代的祖先，祖先仍會以三聖杯回答筆者的提問，連名字叫錯都不行。在風水或牌位的祖先那條靈如果是會隨著環境的變遷而消失，為何那麼多年了，祖先還會在意子孫叫錯祂的名字？怎會在意子孫如何處置祂的骨骸，是否代表那並非只是物質性的存在？

筆者還曾聽聞一宗教人士提及她嫁入夫家後，有一次洗完澡上樓腳滑差點往後跌倒，轉頭突然看見夫家祖先扶著她。家中祭拜的神明和祖先在子孫遇到危險時，常會以異象警示。¹²³除了古文獻資料，依據宗教人士及 youtube 談話性節目被邀請的老師（如廖美然、周映君），皆表示「死人直」，人死後在牌位的那條靈即使在世時多麼不孝，死後都變得很重倫理，「靈魂（個性）很直，一就一、二就二」¹²⁴，「死者為大」尊重死者不是口號，¹²⁵王崇禮所談現世報案例，更是提醒世人處理先人風水問題切莫等閒視之的活教材¹²⁶。從廖美然、張其錚、于北辰所分享的親身經歷，也可以看出亡者注重倫理的執念，或是為了報恩¹²⁷，或是為了

¹²³ 王崇禮談生日被性侵後死亡案例 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NTCN6HzVNuo>
2025. 09. 09 查詢

王崇禮老師談避免劫難的徵兆案例
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I3vsSErFTdA> 2025. 09. 09 查詢

¹²⁴ 廖美然警世告別式禁忌 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vzNwmFfw5c> 2025. 09. 09 查詢

¹²⁵ 王崇禮老師談小孩戲謔喪家案例 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEtJNjToEN8>
2025. 09. 10 查詢

¹²⁶ 150531 驚爆新聞線：王崇禮老師談現世報案例
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nz8CJMx5B_M 2025. 09. 10 查詢

¹²⁷ 張其錚談 30 年後鬼魂報恩 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fam9AKkoqMc> 2025. 09. 03 查詢

照顧其子¹²⁸ ¹²⁹，許多案例在釐清案件根本原因後，可理解亡者之「直」與「執」並非如凡人以個人利益為考量，而是如赤子的直，經由適當的處理程序，最後即能將事情圓滿解決。

四、孝字探源

《孝經·開宗明義》：

夫孝，德之本也，教之所由生也。……身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷，孝之始也。立身行道，揚名於後世，以顯父母，孝之終也。夫孝，始於事親，中於事君，終於立身。《大雅》云：『無念爾祖，聿脩厥德。』

教育要先教孝，最終目的是要行道，如《詩經》提醒的無論任何情況，都要謹記、實踐祖先傳承下來的美德。

文字形式與概念間的緊密聯繫可說是中華漢字的特點，也就是具有明顯的表意功能，從孝的異體字孝，可以發現孝（孝）¹³⁰、教（教）¹³¹、學（學）¹³²三字關係密切，有共同的字素，即又、爻、子，以下即先就孝的字素又、爻談起。

(一) 字素又、爻

依目前的文獻資料，雖似乎尚未找到孝字的甲骨文，但從教、交、又、爻、學、覺等字，可以看出孝隱含著道的傳承概念，而非只談論小孝。

「教」《說文》作「教」（孝、爻、外）¹³³：教，上所施下所效也¹³⁴。

「學」《說文》作「學」，學（爻、外、爻）¹³⁵有覺悟、仿效之意¹³⁶。

¹²⁸ 于北辰將軍晚點名 0330#北極星詭話系列～夜歸的婦人

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6m1FjkQDXnk> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹²⁹ 亡魂入夢求助廖美然 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H9YvIpp5-XE> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹³⁰ 孝/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=10428&q=1>

2025.08.14 查詢

¹³¹ 教/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=18636&q=1>

2025.08.14 查詢

¹³² 學/異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=10536&q=1>

2025.08.14 查詢

¹³³ 甲 1251 合 31621 何組、前 5.8.1 合 5617 賓組、甲 206 合 20500 白組/小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=4184> 2025.08.14 查詢

¹³⁴ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》子部，頁 6121。

¹³⁵ 犝 1.458 合 30827 無名組、珠 522、餘 7.2 合 217 賓組/學/小學堂

<https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=4184> 2025.08.14 查詢

¹³⁶ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》子部，頁 3829。

「季」、「教」、「學」共同字素爻、爻之意涵：

字素爻，依學者蔡信發（1939~2024）研訂：

「爻」為「五」之異體。「五」之篆文作「」，大徐本《說文解字·五部》：「五行也。從二，陰陽在天地間交午也……「爻」字為「五」之異體，始見《集韻·姥韻》，以為「五」之古文」¹³⁷

爻代表中位，中央是發號司令、指揮的中心，依《中文大辭典》整理，又有治理、安定、平靜、懲創、懲戒、養等之意¹³⁸。這些詞義若站在宇宙創造者之角度思考皆可囊括在內。就如地母至尊所云：「包養先天與後天」、「說來說去都是我」¹³⁹。

字素爻之義，依《中文大辭典》整理主要有三：

1. 交也。《說文》：爻，交也。象《易》六爻頭交也。
2. 效也。《廣雅釋詁三》： 爻，效也。《易·繫辭下》：爻也者，效此者也。
3. 變也。《易·繫辭上》：爻者，言乎變者也。¹⁴⁰

正如學者馬叔禮（1949～）所分析：

天上（）日月交輝，便成天「文」，……。

日月交輝，文之不斷，便是「交」字。人肉體得自「父」母，而日、月之交是天上之「父」字，即《易經》「爻」字。《易經》六十四卦，每卦六爻皆有陰陽，是從頭兩卦「乾」、「坤」交感而來。乾為天，坤為地，天地之有日月升落，是因地球繞日為年，月亮繞地球為月，不斷旋（玄）轉而來。萬物有生命，必得天陽、地陰、日陽、月陰，陰陽平衡之理……¹⁴¹

字素爻指陰陽在天地之間交午，代表的是正、中（五），爻代表的是一炁分裂的陰陽二氣之交感（爻）、複製（爻）、創造，炁的化生過程有其的組織、架構及規律（道紀）。

自古聖人為探求事物深遠、幽隱的道理，經年累月不斷深入觀察、體悟，故創作出八卦，如《周易·繫辭下》：

¹³⁷ 教育部異體字字典，研訂者：蔡信發

<https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=585> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹³⁸ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》ノ部，頁 468。

¹³⁹ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁 26、35。

¹⁴⁰ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》爻部，頁 8902。

¹⁴¹ 馬叔禮：《方塊字的靈魂—水化文明》（新北：策馬入林文化事業有限公司，2012 年），頁 167。

古者包犧氏之王天下也，仰則觀象于天，俯則觀法于地，觀鳥獸之文與地之宜，近取諸身，遠取諸物，于是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情。¹⁴²

八卦是代表萬物變化因果關係分類的精簡符號，相當於近代科學上的定律、假設和學說¹⁴³。道法自然中的八卦符號象徵整體宇宙陰陽磁場與地球萬物的對應關係，八卦可說是一種溝通的媒介，異元次空間、時空隧道的神靈藉著八卦符號傳達訊息給地球上的人們，故人們常透過擲筭、解卦等方式，利用八卦這種古老的符號系統來解析、了解神示。而「爻」是構成八卦的基本要素，漢文化中，八卦是與陰陽、五行一體用來推演宇宙空間、時間各類事物關係的工具。「卦」的字素左邊的「圭」是「土」上有「土」，是古代測日影的器具。「臬」是指標準，人們以「圭臬」為準則，而「卜」筮者奉為「圭」臬的即是規範之意的易「卦」¹⁴⁴。

《地母真經》有一些句子即是敘述宇宙創造者對天地時空的規劃：「盤古初分我當尊 陰陽二氣配成婚」¹⁴⁵說出天地未分判本一團虛無飄渺（謂無極），盤古開天闢地以來，即由地母娘娘為至尊，無極而太極，太極生陰陽二氣緊緊相連¹⁴⁶，「統天統地統三光 包天包地包乾坤」¹⁴⁷地母至尊統御日月星辰，天地包羅萬象，一切不離無極之衍化。¹⁴⁸「坎離震兌當四柱 乾坤艮巽是為天」¹⁴⁹意指無窮的動力產生太極，生成陰陽兩儀，化為四象（太陽、少陰、少陽、太陰），組成乾、兌、離、震、巽、坎、艮、坤）等八單卦，……八卦成為宇宙形成的基本架構，¹⁵⁰八卦中坎離震兌統分配在北南東西四方，而成天地之柱。乾坤艮巽支配在西北、西南、東北、東南等，而成八卦，由八卦之衍化六十四卦，故天地之萬事萬物全在八卦衍化之中。¹⁵¹

在教導眾生方面，地母至尊早已派遣使者如伏羲、女媧、軒轅、神農氏等古聖先賢、五教聖人苦口婆心奉勸世人要修善立德以歸向大道，因為地母至尊知道人在世易迷失方向，為教育世間子女，除了天羅地網、陰曹地府的設置，「人間尚有聖堂，勸以教忠、教孝，捨凡進聖，修道立德立功，利眾生」，如《周易·彖傳·觀》云：「觀天之神道而四時不忒，聖人以神道設教而天下服矣」¹⁵²，神之代言者除了古籍中所列之聖人，古代的巫覡（類似現代臺灣民間信仰所稱的乩

¹⁴² 《周易·繫辭下》／中國哲學書電子化計劃

<https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/xi-ci-xia/zh> 2025.09.09 查詢

¹⁴³ 王一三 著：《易經科學通解》（臺中市：王一三，2000年），頁18。

¹⁴⁴ 馬叔禮：《方塊字的靈魂—水化文明》，頁147。

¹⁴⁵ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁25。

¹⁴⁶ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁72。

¹⁴⁷ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁26。

¹⁴⁸ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，西方瑤池金母 降駕註解，頁74。

¹⁴⁹ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁26。

¹⁵⁰ 蘇俊源，《地母真經白話註解》，頁48。

¹⁵¹ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，西方瑤池金母 降，頁75。

¹⁵² 《周易·彖傳·觀》／中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/guan1/zh>

童、靈乩)更是人們賴以與神明溝通、請示神明問題的代言人。¹⁵³世人不聽勸告，往往把紅塵看成樂園，不體悟真理，不修行大道，當今劫難頻傳的末日，地母至尊決定要實施現善惡分別法，地母至尊差下善惡之眾神靈，讓為善者有善神幫助而受福報，造惡者因惡神介入而受災難，¹⁵⁴如云：

地母要現善惡法 天下方方樂道真
 二十八宿斗柄轉 六十甲子安乾坤
 天干地支常擁護 九天星斗共微神
 八方雷神分六四 六四天下變化神
 丁甲庚辛成陣伍 天羅地網鬼魔精
 八大金剛來護法 四大天王守四門
 八大金剛來護法 搖天動地星斗行¹⁵⁵

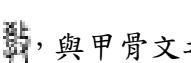
地母至尊為教化子女，創立十天干、十二地支，與世間一切運作綁在一起，維護著天地的秩序。¹⁵⁶十天干各階段各有其不同的能量、不同的作用，與世人的命運及環境變化，產生密切的關係，在我們剛出生時，身上的基因，就含有天干和地支的能量，所以命運常受天干地支的支配。¹⁵⁷而所謂二十八宿、六十甲子等都代表有眾天地神祇、天兵天將、護法神參與其中。

(二) ——子在爻、爻之下的意向

如學者潘悠表示：

在宗法制度已臻完備的殷代社會中，孝道是最重要的，祭祀乃是國之大事，如《禮記·中庸》云：“敬其所尊，愛其所親。事死如事生，事亡如事存，孝之至也。”

在卜辭中，卜祀之辭，占大部分，原因在此。

《說文》教作 ，與甲骨文之教  同，《說文》又有  字，“，放也。从子爻聲。”《尚書·文侯之命》“追孝于前文人”，傳云：“繼先祖之志為孝”曾運乾《尚書正讀》注：“孝為 ，形之訛也。”簡言之，孝即仿效有顯赫功績的祖先，而教即執杖鞭策使之仿效之意。¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，南鯤鯓代天府池府千歲 降駕註解《地母真經》「在生千祥集 死離地獄門」奉勸世人敬奉《地母真經》。

¹⁵⁴ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，阿里山受鎮宮玄天上帝降駕註解，頁 144-6。

¹⁵⁵ 地母至尊飛鸞傳經：《地母真經》，頁 54-5。

¹⁵⁶ 蘇俊源 註解：《地母真經白話註解》，頁 149。

¹⁵⁷ 蘇俊源 註解：《地母真經白話註解》，頁 151。

¹⁵⁸ 潘悠，〈說孝〉《中國古文字大系·甲骨文獻集成》第十八冊(原載《歷史教學問題》1986 年

孝應為「」，「放」是仿效之意，教（）之上施下效，學（、、）之覺悟、仿效，其中「效」亦有效仿、徵驗之意，¹⁵⁹子除了效仿，更須徵驗，學習、諮詢的典範源頭最為重要。學習是雙向交流的過程，那麼誰是我們主要的學習、交流對象？以「學」字提供的線索來看，「學」比¹⁶⁰多了左右手，一是學習之處，中間的爻代表教與學的主題或工具，古代常以蓍草卜卦，如《周易·說卦》云：「昔者聖人之作《易》也，幽贊於神明而生蓍」¹⁶⁰，聖人誠敬、專注，得神示而發明用蓍草卜卦的方法，甲骨文的「學」應是學習用雙手以蓍草、竹根等類神器占筮，如臺灣民間信仰中，神意的傳達藉由擲筴、扶鸞、託夢、籤詩等各種途徑來進行，占卜儀式中最常見的是擲筴，筴、為筴之異體字，學者曾榮汾註解

據《宋·程大昌·演繁露·卷三·卜教》所云，本以蛤殼為之，野廟則以竹根為之，明·張自烈《正字通·玉部·琰字》云：「按琰義，從琰為正。琰之從玉，象玉德，示珍重也。非必以玉為之。」當是。《正字通》更引《石林燕語》云：「高辛廟有竹桮筴，以一俯一仰為聖筴。」其字即從竹作筴。然則，隨材質不同，寫法或異，論其義則概同「琰」字。¹⁶¹

「」為「琰」之異體。琰字，《龍龕手鑑·玉部》云：「琰，古孝反。」

琰，古者以玉為之。」琰之制，據《宋·程大昌·演繁露·卷三·卜教》云：「後世問卜于神有器名盃琰者，以兩蚌殼投空擲地，觀其俯仰以斷休咎。自有此制，後人不專用蛤殼矣，或從竹，或從木，略斲削使如蛤形，而中分為二，有仰有俯，故亦名盃琰。盃者，言蛤殼中空可以受盛，其狀如盃也。琰者，本合為教，言神所告教，現于此之俯仰也。……今野廟之荒涼無資者，止破厚竹根為之，俗書竹下安教者是也。」據此，則「琰」

有以竹根為之，有書寫為「」者。¹⁶²

向神求證的占卜是自古普世皆有的文化現象，其中擲筴最不易為人所控制，下決定前記得做徵驗(效、效正)，回到「元、樸、虛空」。竹製的筴杯多以刺竹的節頭製成，竹子的筆直生長及空心的結構，即大自然藉著竹子象徵著天地之正直、虛空、堅韌，竹下的教字正意味著人民虛其心以擲筴請教神明問題，做雙向交流，

¹⁵⁹ 第2期），（成都市：四川大學出版社，2001年），頁418。

¹⁶⁰ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》支部，頁6105。

¹⁶⁰ 《周易·說卦》/中國哲學書電子化計劃 <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/shuo-gua/zh>
2025.09.09 查詢

¹⁶¹ 簣/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=63564>
2025.08.15 查詢

¹⁶² 簣/教育部異體字字典 <https://dict.variants.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=63562>
2025.08.15 查詢

以釐清問題，仿效、學習之典範來自神示，學習正知正見，才能「覺」。造字者似乎是想藉著「學」字提醒眾生要了解、體悟陰陽交感背後浩瀚的宇宙奧義。

故¹⁶³可推其理其一為子代表陰陽交午產生的結果，也可代表子守中之意，或說人子之魂屬之於五行（爻）；¹⁶⁴子在爻下應是指子遵守天律地規、效仿或徵驗「道」之意向。故造字者藉著爻、爻傳達出子遵守宇宙法則、規律之意向。

五、結論

學者鄭志明云：「殯葬學是以人性為本位的文化教養，肯定生命向善自我實踐的道德意志，以及開拓出與宇宙整體和諧的心靈境界。¹⁶³」現代人往往在面對死亡問題時，才不知所措，茫茫然只能任由當時的機緣物質性、表面性的處理亡者身後事。正如學者陳衛平所提醒：「宇宙如許浩瀚，人類只以人為主的人生觀是遠遠不夠的，若無視那無量層次的生命體升墮期間，狹隘的生命觀只會造就鄙俗、物化的人生觀。¹⁶⁴」

眾生之性身不曾離開地母至尊的性身，性靈（人魂）的百善孝為先觀念是很深的紮根，死亡不代表一切歸零，靈魂不滅，祖先的靈確實存在，且其性靈孝慈的本質並未改變，故處理祖先風水問題，首先應理解萬物負陰抱陽、性隨形骸之意涵，及殯葬其背後所蘊藏宇宙天律地規之道理。

《老子》云：「天下有始，以為天下母。既得其母，以知其子；既知其子，復守其母，沒身不殆。¹⁶⁵」子除了生身父母，更應清楚我們的靈來自於何處？宇宙創造者既是萬物生成的根源，亦是宇宙的根本法則，孝是德之根本，要深入了解道、德，若從文化層面入手，可先理解爻、爻與孝、教、學等字的關係，¹⁶⁶、教、斂、學四字其意象是一致的，關鍵的構字部件是爻、爻，陰陽結合的意象如伏羲女媧圖¹⁶⁶，圖中伏羲拿矩，女媧持規，即象徵子遵照宇宙規範而行。神之代言人「巫」(¹⁶⁷)的字素「工」亦隱含有規範，¹⁶⁸即知某物的規模照著做之意，

¹⁶³ 鄭志明，《當代殯葬學綜論》，(臺北市：文津出版社有限公司，2012年)，頁01。

¹⁶⁴ 劉漢初，《水鬼》，(臺北市：小魯文化事業股份有限公司，2020年)，頁36。

¹⁶⁵ 老子：《道德經》，頁218。

¹⁶⁶ 伏羲和女媧在武氏祠的三座石祠堂中都曾出現：伏羲拿矩，女媧持規

歷史文物陳列館 <https://museum.sinica.edu.tw/collection/5/item/653/>

2025.09.09 查詢

¹⁶⁷ 甲 216 合 21074/小學堂 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=571>
2025.08.17 查詢

¹⁶⁸ 中文大辭典編纂委員會：《中文大辭典》支部，頁4526。

靈的異體字𡇉亦明顯表示此意。

又和其異體字無論是刈、惣、五、艾、義，皆含有治理、割除、懲戒、法則等之義，爻則指涉的是天下萬事萬物錯綜複雜的動態，與爻字相關的詞自古皆與宇宙之結構（時間、空間）與運作、占卜、祭祀等活動有關。故從孝的異體字𡇉，可以推想子出自地母至尊（乂、𡇉），子在爻下，代表人生長在天干地支所形成的天羅地網中，無從遁逃，因為地母至尊為教化子女，故創立十天干、十二地支，與世間一切運作綁在一起，以維護著天地的秩序。十天干各階段各有其不同的能量與作用，與世人的命運及環境變化，形成密切的關係，我們剛出生時，身上的基因，就含有天干和地支的能量，所以命運常受天干地支的支配。何況如地母至尊云：「本來土產生一物 無數包藏六道行」，這塊「土」地經年累月生育了千萬之生靈，但隨著眾生累世所行的機緣而有六道之路，此六道之路也是地母至尊所管轄，¹⁶⁹宇宙創造者與眾生關係密切，隨時隨地與眾生同在。

𡇉亦是指子應向典範學習、仿效，宇宙之母以身作則，有著無限的智慧、也無所不在，其對眾生無盡的付出、孕育萬物的博厚德澤無可比擬，宇宙之母創造萬物有其自然的法則和道德規範，故人應學習了解、遵守天律地規、學習以神器占筮，向神徵驗自己的想法是否與道一致，決定重大事情、判斷是非善惡應以神之道說為準則（唯道是從），並確實將「道」理傳承、實踐，才是真正的孝行。

¹⁶⁹ 神佛扶鸞著書：《地母真經白話先天解》，頁 94。

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- 糸 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=422>
- 黃 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=2921>
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學 <https://xiaoxtue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/jiaguwen?kaiOrder=4184>
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Between Tomb and God: the interstitial social position of graves, remains, and tutelary deities in the Taipei basin

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Abstract:

The presence of a burial beneath the altar of a tutelary earth deity shrine in Taipei City's Neihu District sparked a question: why are there not more burials in earth deity shrines when it is so common to find earth deity altars at tombs in Taiwan? This question has led to this paper, an observation of the social position of graves, remains, and tutelary deities in Taiwan. In this paper I observe ancient Chinese patterns and comparative practices found in Cambodia and elsewhere to bring to light the social importance of the ancestor, burials, and tutelary deities. This paper is written less as an academic analysis and more of a stream-of-consciousness thought experiment, wandering through areas of fertility cults, ancient religious reforms, alternative knowledge systems, and the sociability of earth energy and ancestors. Ultimately, this discussion is about the way in which graves and remains fit into the interstices of Taiwanese social fabric.

1. Introduction: Tutelary earth deities and burials in Taiwan

It is common to find an earth deity altar at a tomb in Taiwan. It is rare to find a tomb in an earth deity temple. Common sense suggests this is because most people do not wish to come into contact with a gravesite when they are asking the earth deity for favors. Nevertheless, tombs and earth deity temples are two sides of the same cosmological coin. So we must take interest when we observe these latter instances of burials at temples. Why is it so rare to find tombs in an earth deity shrine?

This paper is a reflection that was inspired by a small temple I encountered in Taipei City's Neihu District called Qingfu Ci (慶福祠). It appeared to be an otherwise normal shrine dedicated to the tutelary earth deity Tudi Gong (土地公), except I was surprised to find an urn inserted into the floor beneath the altar. Burials and Tudi Gong temples are not uncommon in Taiwan. And their relative positioning to one another is also not unheard of. I have seen tombs and Tudi Gong shrines in close proximity in the Taipei basin, the area where I have conducted my doctoral and postdoctoral research. But to find a burial within the floor of a Tudi Gong temple told me that this was something special. Somehow these two persons, the deceased individual and the Tudi Gong, were interlinked in an intimate way. My initial hunch was that the burial was somehow manipulated in a manner to imbue auspicious qualities to the shrine, though I also began to wonder if the deceased was also drawing benefits from being placed in a Tudi Gong shrine. Nobody was on hand to answer my questions, as this temple was in a rather remote part of the Taipei basin, and so I chose to explore the themes surrounding this phenomenon in this paper. I am uncertain if I have a clear answer, but I hope that I am able to explore themes relevant to this unique shrine and burial.

To understand the relation between tombs, earth deities, their social roles, and how they can be manipulated, I will review historical trends that suggest what we observe at this Tudi Gong shrine is an expression of a very ancient but little-remembered tradition from which contemporary earth veneration and mortuary practices originate. My argument is organized as follows: First I will explore the patterns of the fertility cult and agricultural mentality of ancient China. Then I will explore how families often manipulate the remains of their ancestors for enhancing auspicious benefits for the lineage. Following that I will provide an overview of the traditions that often find Tudi Gong temples paired with shrines dedicated to the anonymous dead. And then I will discuss knowledge streams that explore the social tendencies of potent earth energies and their interactions with human systems. Finally, I will give an overview of the patterns I have observed in Taiwan where burial shrines for the anonymous dead appear to be slowly transforming into tutelary earth deity shrines. Doing so, I hope to better understand why this particular burial in Taipei's Neihu District was placed beneath this Tudi Gong altar.



Image 1. Qingfu Ci, a Tudi Gong shrine in Taipei City's Neihu District.

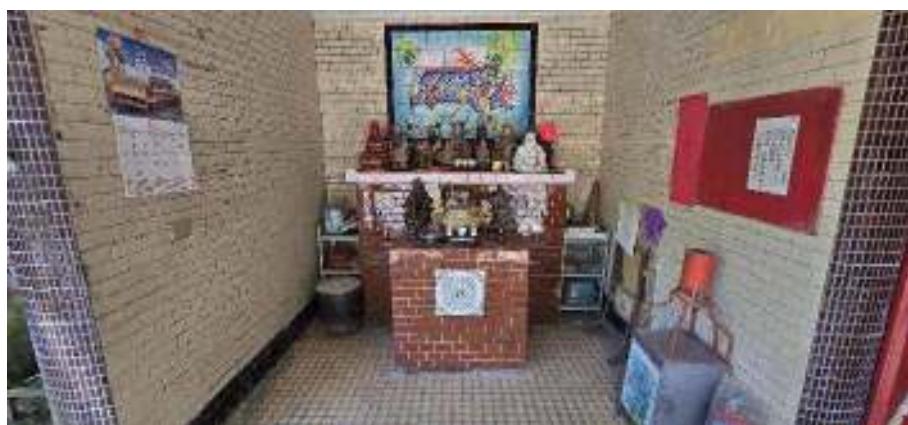


Image 2. The interior and altar of Qingfu Ci.



Image 3. The burial beneath the altar of Qingfu Ci

2. Origins: The agricultural mentality and the fertility cult

We may consider Taiwan's cult of the dead and cult of the earth deity as related traditions that originate from the same source in ancient China's fertility cult, itself a byproduct of the rise of agriculture in ancient China. The fertility cult observed the cycles of nature and drew together linkages between agriculture, fertility, and death (Eliade 1958). Observations of these cycles and flows of nature also influenced the rise of Taoism, and the understanding of death as a mode of change:

“[...] The ten thousand things rise and fall while the Self watches their return.

They grow and flourish and then return to the source.
 Returning to the source is stillness, which is the way of nature.
 The way of nature is unchanging.
 Knowing constancy is insight.
 Not knowing constancy leads to disaster.
 Knowing constancy, the mind is open.
 With an open mind, you will be openhearted.
 Being openhearted, you will act royally.
 Being royal, you will attain the divine.
 Being divine, you will be at one with the Tao.
 Being at one with the Tao is eternal.
 And though the body dies, the Tao will never pass away." (Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching 16, 2005).

Worldwide the ancient agricultural mentality was replete with notions of sexual regeneration. The fecund earth as a fertile womb, the plough as a phallic symbol that penetrated the earth, bringing forth plant life (Eliade 1958). The parallels to sexual reproduction were so strong that in ancient China young couples were encouraged to procreate in the fields in order to enhance the fecundity of the soil (ibid.: 352). Rydh (1931, cited in Eliade 1958) also identified instances in which Chinese women would be buried in their bridal robes (Eliade 1958: 350-351). Following this logic, the burying of the dead in the earth had the same reproductive associations as ploughing a field would. From the Chinese fertility cult we arrive at the concept of the earth deity as a feminine agent of fecundity, Houtu (后土), the earth mother, analogous to the western concept of Gaia. The earth-as-mother is inferred in an excerpt of the Tao Teh Ching:

"The beginning of the universe
 Is the mother of all things.
 Knowing the mother, one also knows the sons.
 Knowing the sons, yet remaining in touch with the mother,
 Brings freedom from the fear of death [....]" (Lao Tzu, Tao Teh Ching 52, 2005)

Taiwan's tombs are ritual assemblages that, at their simplest, feature a stone marker and an earth mound within which the remains of the dead are inserted. These mounds, it should be noted, carry an association as a womb. In fact, the practice of two burials that can still be observed in rural Taiwan today fits into these fertility cult patterns. A first burial is conducted in order to allow the flesh to decompose. After some time (often upwards of a decade) the bones of the deceased are collected and then placed in a burial jar arranged in a fetal position, and then reinterred into the "womb" of the earth mound.

Vestiges of the fertility cult can still be observed in some of Taiwan's earth deity altars, particularly those of the Hakka community in Meinong, where the shrines resemble earth mounds with altar stones set in front of them. It is suggestive that the Hakka settlers in Meinong retained traditional memories of a more ancient practice that had disappeared from Fujian Province by the time its settlers arrived on Taiwan.



Image 4. A Tudi Gong tablet sits next to a tombstone in Xindian First Public Cemetery, New Taipei City (2018).

3. Manipulating remains for auspiciousness

At burial, families will take care to ensure the deceased has received a proper burial in order to ensure their spirit will not be restless in the afterlife and create problems. As a result, many measures, including employing geomancy, are taken to mitigate against risks. The construction of the tomb and the arrangement of the remains of the deceased are both important factors. A tomb's geomancy and the manner in which a family interfaces with it can benefit the lineage. Some sources and informants indicate that auspicious qualities in the environment can be harnessed through the ancestor's remains as a conduit for the lineage, and others indicate that the ancestor themselves collects the auspicious qualities for distribution (Freedman 1966: 126; Ahern 1986: 175). In certain cases it appears that the manipulation of the bones is necessary. I have been informed that certain alignments are associated with the horoscope of the deceased, and therefore the positioning of the tomb and the arrangement of the remains within the grave are equally as important for a proper burial.

4. Tudi Gong and chthonic pairings

With the development of the imperial dynastic system in China we observe the rise of the earth deity as Tudi Gong, a name that means “landlord” or “master of the land.” Although the concept of a deity called Tudi Gong is quite ancient, our contemporary understanding of Tudi Gong owes its development to socio-religious reforms established in the Ming Dynasty that opened the way for a grassroots cooption of the reforms. At the start of the the Ming period (1368-1644) the religious systems of China had been found to be too unwieldy, and the state sought to reign in control over how religious activities were performed. The Taoist-Confucian traditions that the state followed recognized that adherence to ritual correctness was one way in which to structure and model a stable society.

In the Zhou period (1046 BC - 256 BC) the ancient soil spirit, Tu (土), became the soil spirit She (社) (Dell'Orto 2002: 173). She was later merged with the spirits of grains, ji (稷) (Yang 1994: 97). Sheji (社稷), now abstracted as the gods of soil and grain later became synonymous with Tudi (土地, the gods of the earth) though the origins of this conflation are unclear (Yang 1994: 97), and it is suggested that a process occurred similar to the contemporary conflation of Houtu and Tudi Gong in Taiwan's cemeteries (Morris 2023: 259). In the Han period (202 BC - 220 AD) the imperial

system had taken control over the responsibility for venerating the soil spirits as the dynastic ancestor (Dell'Orto 2002: 173). This system would eventually deteriorate until the Ming Dynasty found use for its patterns.

Ming reforms sought to restructure religious practices in a way that would bring the population and administration into a “vertically-oriented moral order” (Morris 2023: 260), one that would dissuade the population from participating in superstitious cults which were often the source of social unrest, peasant rebellions, and the domain of secret societies and other destabilizing social elements (Dean and Zheng 2010: 49), and sought to promote social order through reforms that emphasized correct (approved) rites (Weber 1968: 56). At the local level, the Ming sought to reinsert the imperial court as the center of religious activity where it could assert itself over both the living and the dead. It reasserted its prerogative over chthonic matters, including veneration of the earth, propitiation of the dead (whose domain was the soil), and revived correct ritual behaviors (Feuchtwang 2001, 1974: 126n). At the center of this new organization was the imperial earth altar where the emperor would perform rites annually. This ritual exemplar behavior would then be carried out by administrators in the provincial and prefectural capitals at their own earth altars (Feuchtwang 2001: 65; Zhu 2013: 149).

For denizens of the empire, these reforms were most noticeable at the City God temples, places of official worship for autochthonous tutelary spirits who existed as the celestial equivalent of city magistrates. The City God, known as Chenghuang Gong (城隍公) draws its “power, authority and justification as something inherent within the land” (Morris 2023: 255) rather than being established through branch temple systems that are common for other popular cults (such as today’s Matsu and Guan Gong temples), and is seen as able to straddle both the living and spiritual realms of the city (Feuchtwang 2001: 77; Morris 2023: 255). Important to these reforms were the establishment of two altars throughout every sub-canton in the empire for the veneration of the gods of soil and grain (社稷壇 sheji tan) and local ghosts without descendants to venerate them (厲壇 li tan) (Dean 1998: 33). These two altars would be strongly linked to the Chenghuang temples (Feuchtwang 2001: 65-66, 74-76). The result was that the fecundity of the earth and the disciplinary authority over troublesome elements (ghosts) were put squarely in the purview of the state. What cannot go unnoticed is that the Ming reforms also attempted to link back together the fecundity of the earth and the realm of the dead.

The Ming dynasty eventually weakened and collapsed, as did the subsequent Qing dynasty. Yet the consequences of the Ming era reforms are still noticeable throughout Taiwan and China. On the one hand, the veneration of the sheji has remained a popular practice in areas of the Pearl River Delta (Zhu 2013). My investigations of community shrines in Hong Kong and Macau in 2015 revealed that they could still be found outside of larger temples and in community alleyways. In Fujian Province and Taiwan the sheji tan slowly reverted back to pre-reform Tudi Gong temples found in each village, hamlet, and district (Hall 2009: 98), a practice that was first brought to Taiwan by Fujianese settlers starting in the 1600s.



Image 5. A Sheji altar in Pingshan, New Territories, Hong Kong (2015)



Image 6. A Sheji altar outside of the Kuan Tai temple in Macau (2015)



Image 7. An example of a chthonic pairing in modern Taipei. A Tudi Gong altar (right) sits next to a shrine containing a burial (left).

5. Communication with the earth deities

It has been well-noted that one of the first communal endeavors any Chinese community undertakes when settling a new place is to construct an altar to the earth deity (Weller 2007: 348; Dell'Orto 2002; Ahern 1986; Zhu 2014: 39-40). Tutelary earth deities such as Tudi Gong serve as social linchpins, fetishes before which agreements about community resource and responsibilities are made. On Taiwan, the triangular relations between the land base, the earth deity (who controls the land base), and the community (who relies on the land base for its survival) indicate something social, and the shrine itself becomes a sort of physical contract representing the terms surrounding the community's access to the earth deity's land (Morris 2023). Here, like the autochthonous Chenghuang, we find that the earth deity is an agent of power within the land, one that is social and seeks interaction with whoever exists upon its terrain. When this community is made of humans, communication can be established.

Here I will spoil the mystery as to why certain Tudi Gong temples contain burials: these burials serve as a medium through which the potent agent of the soil is embodied, enabling the agent to socialize, become tutelary, and create relations with the community. But it is not just human remains that can serve this purpose. Any object that is capable of expressing a modality of the other, a hierophany or a kratophany will suffice. Drawing on the explorations of Paul Mus (1975): The stone represents a microcosm of the land itself. The tree represents the fecund powers of the agent within the soil. But the body of the deceased is something special.

Abandoning the materialist-reductivist perspectives of rational scientific methodologies, we must turn to both indigenous knowledge systems and to the concept of "ontological flooding" (Hunter 2017) which allows for the validity of any methodological and theoretical approach that provides a valid answer to a question. Intricate systems, such as natural ecosystems, contain their own intelligences (Simard 2021: 294), something indigenous populations understood well.

Courtney Work's research on the neak ta in Cambodia presents us with an example in which the earth's potent energy as a social agent is ever-present and has the potential to insert itself into human social systems in complex ways (Work 2019: 76), including "human-style representations" (Work 2022: 76). The generative agency of the soil gives rise to the idea of the god of the soil. The god of the soil is then anthropomorphized as communities seek communication (Mus 1975: 11). It is suggested that the realization of the earth energy as a social actor is a result of the co-creation of hierophanic symbolism through "conversation between the body mind and the physical social environment" (Simmonds-Moore 2019: 124).

It is participatory eco-consciousness that yields communication between the community and the potent agent, the "body mind and the physical and social environment" (Simmonds-Moore 2009: 125). Some research has suggested that it is the commencement of human activity on the land that begins the process of communication with the environment (Work 2019; Luke 2019), and the presence of local fungi in the wake of clear cutting may have something to do with initiatory messages between the potent earth and the community (Luke 2019; Duda 2019: 140-141).

The community eventually recognizes the social intent of the potent agency within the earth. The next step is to initiate communication, and an interface is needed. In the model put forth by Mus, in order to establish communication, the earth agent must be given the necessary physical forms for doing so: eyes, ears, etc. (Mus 1975: 12). Ancestors who have already been buried may be chosen as delegates through which communication can be facilitated, though stones and other objects were equally used (Mus 1975: 12, 15-16). In Taiwan, it is rather common to find stones that resemble faces being used as a form of tutelary deity. In any case, these deities become "tutelary" when the community asserts a relational claim to the agent in the soil, often for the purpose of access to its resources (Mus 1975: 22-23; Dell'Orto 2002: 6).

Work's research on Cambodia's potent agents of the soil, the neak ta, even finds that the mass graves "mingle with the earth's energies" in time to produce "social effects recognized as neak ta" (Work 2019: 80). We find similar relations with the dead and the earth agents in ancient China, for example, prisoners and enemies would be executed at sites thought to be imbued with the power of the earth deity (Von Eschenbach 2002: 378).

I stop here for a moment to make a side comment on the earth deity as an ancestor and the relation between rulers and the soil. In Cambodia kings claimed as part of their duties the role of chthonic guardian and were understood to draw their authority from contracts with local deities (Work 2019: 77-78. In ancient imperial China the relationship between the dynasty and the god of

the soil was so intimate that the soil deity was said to be the ancestor of the emperors (Mus 1975: 16, 39). Under such patterns, ancestor worship and soil worship were one and the same (Morris 2023: 239). The soil ancestor of the dynasty was named Gou Long (勾龍) and was venerated at the imperial altar. This pattern carried down to the common people, whose soil ancestor was Tudi Ye (土地爺, “earth grandfather”) also known as Tudi Gong. Mus explains that this arrangement explains the patterns of earth veneration alongside ancestor veneration (Mus 1975: 16).

Why are there altars for the earth deity at tombs in Taiwan? It seems there are multiple reasons, some of which we have already hinted at. However it also appears that there is recognition that the ancestor and the soil in which they are buried are one and the same. In addition, whenever a new construction is about to occur in Taiwan, the spirits of a place are traditionally ritually propitiated, suggesting that, on the one hand, this is another reason why an earth deity shrine is among the first structures built in a new community, and on the other hand, this is why the spirit of the earth must be venerated at the tomb.

6. The Tudigongization of anonymous burials in Taiwan

Near cemeteries in Taiwan it is not uncommon to find any combination of altars for the propitiation of anonymous spirits, shrines for the veneration of anonymous remains, and small temples dedicated to Tudi Gong, who is understood to also patrol his land (and the cemeteries) in order to keep baleful spirits in line. These shrines for the anonymous dead are common throughout Taiwan, however, and don't necessarily need to be in the presence of a cemetery. They take names such as Wanshan Tang (萬善堂), “the Hall of Ten Thousand Virtues” and their inhabitants are often called names such as Baixing Gong (百姓公), “the Lords of One Hundred Names.” Many of these shrines will feature signboards and couplets reading “you qiu bi ying” (有求必應), “if you have a request, it will be answered.” Some of these shrines will feature small doors in their back walls for the interment of burial pots and remains. In other instances spirits and burials may gain the upper hand, shifting their relational position away from being an anonymous ghost, gaining recognition as a distinct personality, and straddling the line between ghost and minor deity. In these cases, tombs may be designed to resemble small shrines—for that is exactly what they are. And in certain cases, these anonymous and collective tombs may become ever-larger temples.

At certain shrines dedicated to the categories of Baixing Gong, a small Tudi Gong may be present. Although the Tudi Gong may be there in the same sense that a Houtu or Tudi Gong is found at a tomb, there are instances in which it becomes evident that the Baixing Gong or anonymous spirit itself is being seen more in the category of a Tudi Gong—a master of the land. This model appears to fit well with what has been explored by Work, Mus, and others.



Image 8. A Baixing Gong shrine in Taipei City's Wenshan District. Notice the small door placed at the back of the structure (right) for the interment of anonymous remains.



Image 9. The altar of the same Baixing Gong shrine. Note that a Tudi Gong image has been placed in front of the central worship tablet. A process of “Tudigongization” of a burial shrine.

7. Conclusions

The more I observe Tudi Gong shrines throughout the Taipei basin, the more I find hints that their origins may have included burial practices. Though still rare, certain shrines appear to feature inaccessible chambers behind the earth deity's altar, evidenced in some cases by small vents that do not necessarily open to the outside, but do resemble similar vents found at shrines that specifically contain anonymous remains. Other Tudi Gong shrines appear to feature odd receptacle objects attached to the bottom of their back walls. These spaces are typically sites from which the shrines derive their efficaciousness—axis mundi, hierophanies, kratophanies, or fecund elements. Behind many Tudi Gong shrines and temples I will observe this space is reserved for trees, gardens, stones, caves, pits, or outcrops. But the presence of odd receptacles features suggests that there may be something else, perhaps something contained within.

I return to the question of the Qingfu Ci Tudi Gong shrine in Taipei's Neihu District without a conclusive statement. It is evident that it displays characteristics of many developments in Chinese traditions related to the fertility cult, the cult of the dead, the cult of earth veneration, the soil as ancestor, etc. It is a very unique site. Its presence is paradoxical. It reflects patterns observed in other ritual assemblage structures in Taiwan. Its presence implies that there ought to be other arrangements like this one. But there are still more questions than answers. Does the burial benefit the efficaciousness of the Tudi Gong? Does the Tudi Gong benefit the efficaciousness of the ancestor? This hybrid site serves as a reminder that tombs in Taiwan, similar to spirits, exist on a sliding scale between yin (the realm of spirits) and yang (the realm of gods).

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《墓後》創作分享

Sharing the Creation of “Behind the Grave”

Roy HSUEH

摘要

《墓後》是我理解死亡與消逝的過程。2020 年南下求學前，我接連經歷身旁的親友離世，巨大的悲傷與無力讓我想要尋找「死亡之後，生活如何繼續」的答案。在這樣的心境下，我透過朋友的介紹來到南山公墓，一處正位處政策與都市開發夾縫的邊緣地景，並在那裡遇見了造墓師傅許庭禎。

最初，我只是以觀察者的姿態拍攝，想記錄這門逐漸沒落的行業與它所代表的文化記憶。然而隨著時間推移，我開始理解攝影機不僅是記錄工具，更是我與師傅之間交流與共鳴的橋樑。當我卸下觀察者的身份，開始與師傅分享自己的故事與疑問後，拍攝關係也悄然改變；我不再只是「記錄他人的勞動」，而是在他平凡的日常裡，看見了生命延續與消逝之間的流動。

對師傅而言，「造墓」只是一種生活方式；但對我而言，那是一種學習「如何凝視死亡」的修煉。

南山公墓的風景、破裂的磚瓦、靜默的墓門、飛機劃過上空的轟鳴，這些都成了我對時間與歷史斷裂的感受體現。墓不再只是承載死亡的空間，而是一種關於記憶、關於勞動、也關於我們如何與過往共處的場域。

《墓後》不只是一部關於死亡的影片，也關於死亡之後仍在的那些人，造墓師、公墓、以及我自己；是當我們在面對無可挽回的消逝時，如何藉由凝視予以回應。

關鍵詞：死亡與失落、記憶地景、墓園研究、民族誌式影像創作、文化記憶、都市邊緣空間、工藝勞動、凝視死亡、南山公墓、關係式拍攝

Abstract

Behind the Grave emerges from my personal attempt to understand death, disappearance, and the question of how life continues in the wake of irrevocable loss. In the years leading up to my departure for graduate studies in 2020, I experienced the successive deaths of several relatives and close friends. The weight of grief and helplessness compelled me to search for a way to engage with death not only emotionally but also reflectively. Guided by a friend, I arrived at Nanshan Cemetery – a marginal landscape shaped by the pressures of policy and urban development – where I met Xu Tingzhen, an experienced tomb builder. My initial intention was simply to document a fading craft and the cultural memory embedded within it. Yet, as time unfolded, the camera shifted from being a neutral recording device to becoming a medium of dialogue and resonance between myself and Xu. When I stepped out of the role of detached observer and began sharing my own stories and uncertainties, our filming relationship quietly transformed. I was no longer merely “recording someone else’s labor”; instead, within Xu’s everyday routines, I came to perceive the subtle movement between the persistence and disappearance of life.

For Xu, building tombs is a way of life. For me, it became a practice of learning how to look at death directly—how to acknowledge its presence without turning away. The landscapes of Nanshan Cemetery—the fractured tiles, the silent tombs, the roar of airplanes overhead—became material expressions of temporal rupture and historical discontinuity. In this space, the grave is not solely a container of the dead; it is a site of memory, of labor, and of ongoing negotiation with the past.

Behind the Grave is therefore not only a film about death, but also about those who remain: the tomb builder, the cemetery itself, and my own evolving understanding. It reflects on how, when confronted with irretrievable loss, we may respond through acts of patient contemplation and sustained attention.

Keywords: memorial landscapes, cemetery studies, ethnographic filmmaking, cultural memory, marginal urban spaces, craft labor, contemplating mortality, Nanshan Cemetery, relational filmmaking

澎湖營頭 介紹、概述與解讀

Penghu Generals: An Introduction, Overview and Interpretation

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and

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November 13, 2025

摘要

自 2010 年起，我們持續在澎湖群島進行田野紀錄與文化調查。澎湖以其由多座小島組成的群島地理特質，提供了一個觀察文化實踐與自然環境互動的理想場域。島嶼之間既共享共同的文化脈絡，又因環境條件、歷史發展與殖民經驗的差異而展現出豐富的變異。這樣的差異性，使我們得以從多層次比較的角度，探討文化實踐如何回應環境挑戰，並在地景與宇宙觀之間建立連結。

在比較金門、澎湖與臺灣三地時，澎湖的意義尤為突出。它不僅地處臺灣海峽的中央要衝，長達五十一年的日本殖民經驗更使其在文化形成上同時與金門及臺灣分屬不同的歷史脈絡。再者，澎湖自然條件嚴峻，氣候乾燥多風，土地貧瘠。正是在這樣艱難的環境中，當地社群透過文化與信仰實踐，發展出一套具高度適應性的空間概念與儀式佈局，使得文化與生態得以共構與延續。

*This paper partially builds on fieldwork done by Hanna Yaqing Zhan, Mandy To, James Morris, George Kang, Sara Wang and Lenno Streiter

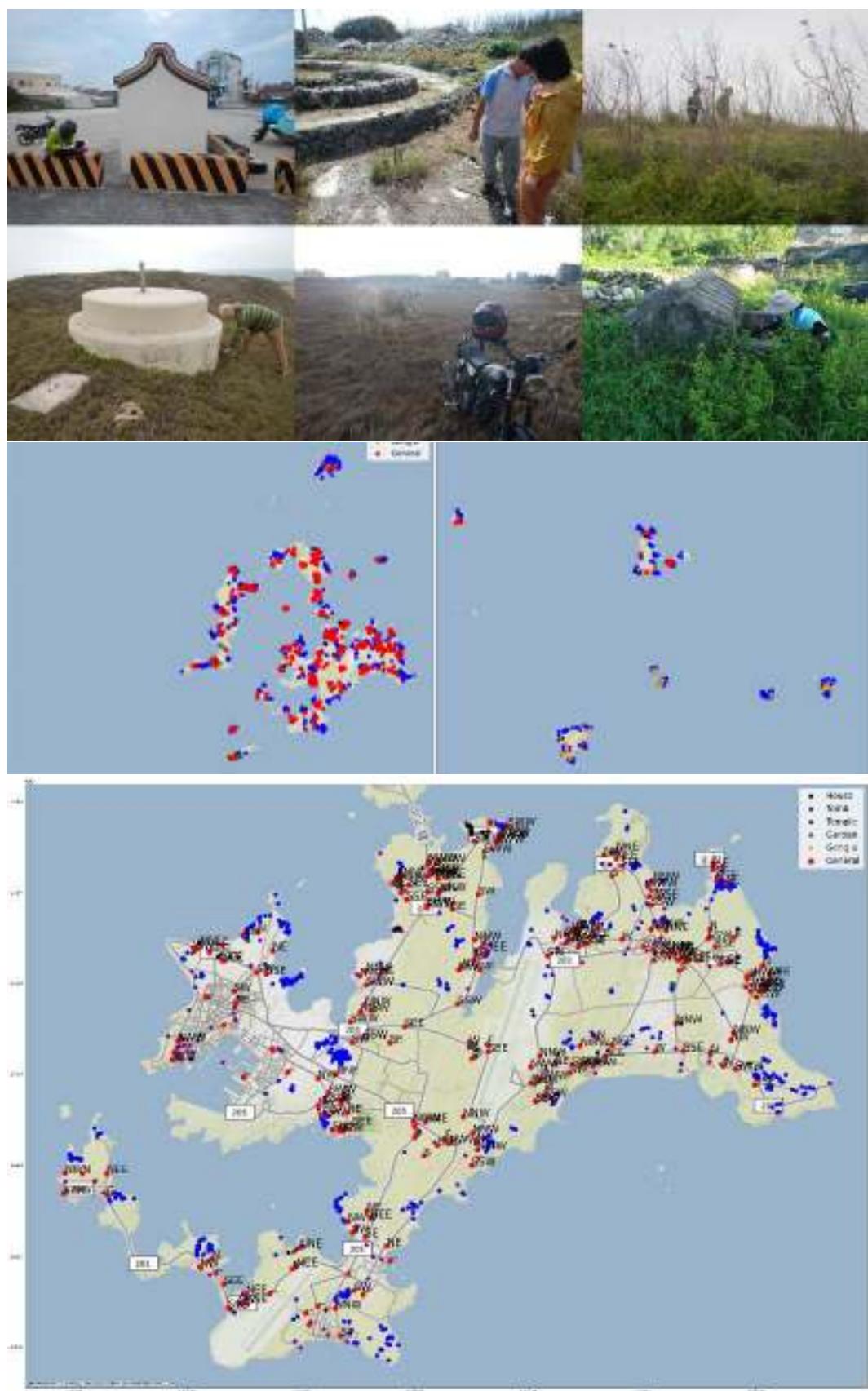


Figure 1 Six years of field work on Penghu, documenting the location of generals in their cultural and natural environment — 澎湖六年的田野調查，記錄將軍們在甘石仔的自然環境

本研究聚焦於澎湖村落普遍設立的五營將軍（General-Guardians）信仰系統。這些被視為村落守護者的「五營將軍」，環繞村落四周，構成了人群、自然與靈界之間的邊界與界面。透過長期的田野觀察與記錄——涵蓋超過三百七十處不同的將軍營地——我們分析了其空間佈局、數量、方位與命名方式，並揭示這些看似宗教性或宇宙論的配置，其實蘊含深刻的環境意識與生態智慧。

研究顯示，將軍的方位與地形、氣候之間存在密切的對應關係。許多村落的北營面向東北方，正對冬季強烈的東北季風；臨海的村落則沿著海岸線設置將軍，以形成天然與儀式雙重意義的防線；也有部分村落因應地勢變化，整體系統順時針旋轉四十五度、九十度甚至一百八十度，重新定義傳統的方位秩序。這些現象顯示，「五營將軍」不僅是宗教信仰的象徵，更是一種嵌入環境中的文化技術——透過儀式語彙對地景、風向與自然力量進行解讀與再現。

此外，澎湖地區的將軍信仰展現出高度的地方差異性與創造性。有些村落設有超過五位將軍；有些則將將軍系統與土地公、石敢當、王爺千歲等信仰混融，形成多重保護結構。這些變化不僅反映信仰的活性與在地轉化，也構成一種文化的「方言地圖」，揭示村落之間的互動、借鏡與環境對應關係。

綜觀而言，本研究主張：澎湖的五營將軍體系展現了一種結合宇宙觀與生態觀的文化佈局。它不僅在象徵層面上守護社群，更在實質上反映人群對環境威脅的觀察、理解與應對。這樣的儀式性空間，既是精神信仰的延伸，也是社會對自然的回應。透過「將軍」的定位與佈署，澎湖人以文化之名重塑了地景，使宗教信仰成為一種環境知識的載體，讓我們得以重新理解人類與自然互動的多重面向。

關鍵詞：澎湖群島；五營將軍；文化實踐；環境適應；宇宙觀與生態觀；避邪系統；空間概念化；儀式地理；島嶼研究；文化方言地圖

Abstract

Since 2010, documentary fieldwork in the Penghu archipelago has become a central focus of our research, both methodologically and thematically. The archipelagic setting—with its mosaic of small islands sharing a common cultural background but differing in environmental conditions and historical trajectories—offers a unique field for exploring the relationship between cultural practice, spatial conceptualization, and ecological constraint. In particular, Penghu provides a crucial comparative case between Jinmen and Taiwan: while all three share a cultural heritage rooted in Fujian, Penghu's colonial history, harsh environment,

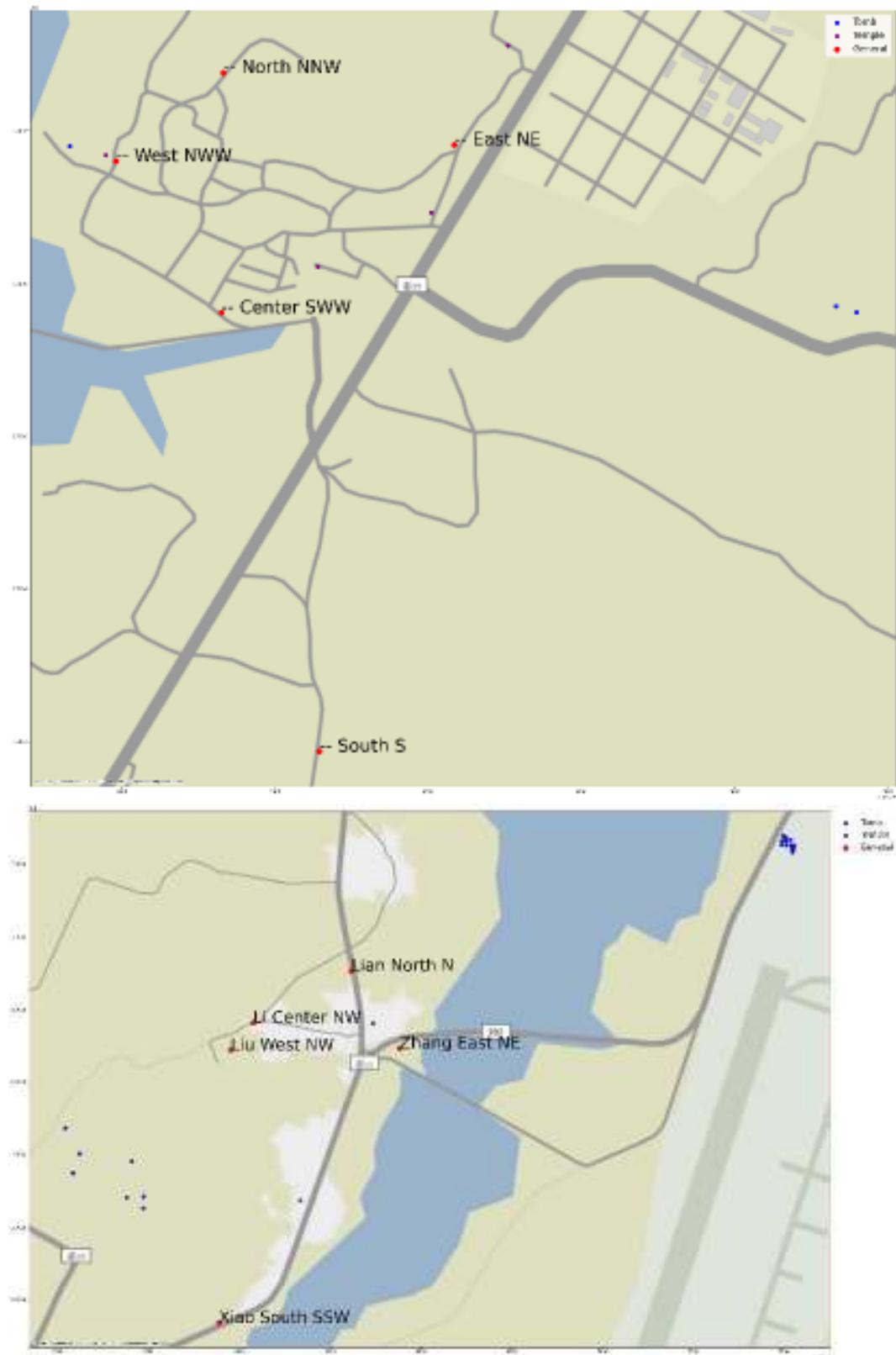


Figure 2 Normative arrangement of the General-Gardians around the villages Anzhai (above) and Chenggong (below). – 將軍守護者在「安宅村」（上圖）與「成功村」（下圖）周圍的規範性佈局。

and intermediary position along migration routes across the Taiwan Strait have given rise to distinctive local transformations of shared cultural forms.

This study focuses on one such form—the system of General-Guardians (五營將軍) that encircle Penghu’s villages. These apotropaic guardians, commonly referred to as the Five Generals, constitute a dynamic interface between the cultural, spiritual, and natural environments of the communities that install them. Through extensive field documentation—over 370 individual sites across multiple villages—our research examines how the arrangement, number, and orientation of these generals articulate a cosmological order that mirrors environmental realities.

The analysis reveals that the positioning of the generals is far from arbitrary or merely symbolic. Their alignment often correlates with prevailing climatic and geographical conditions: northern generals facing the fierce winter monsoon winds from the NNE; coastal generals reinforcing the natural line of defense along the shoreline; and some entire village systems rotated by 45, 90, or even 180 degrees relative to cardinal directions, presumably to adjust to local topography or environmental stress. These variations suggest that what appears to be a cosmological arrangement in religious or ritual discourse is simultaneously a cultural technology of environmental adaptation, encoding empirical spatial knowledge within spiritual language.

The study further identifies significant local differentiation in the number and naming of generals—villages with more than five generals, hybridized forms merging with Earth Gods (土地公), Shigandang (石敢當), or Wangye (王爺千歲) cults, and evolving configurations that adapt to environmental and social transformations over time. Mapping these variants produces what may be called “dialect maps” of cultural practice, showing that spatial organization and protective systems are influenced most strongly by the immediate neighboring communities and their shared environmental experiences.

Through this investigation, the paper argues that Penghu’s Five Generals embody an interface of cosmology and ecology—a spatial semiotics through which communities conceptualize, domesticate, and negotiate the natural forces shaping their environment. The generals’ positions thus represent not merely religious iconography but a culturally embedded environmental ontology, revealing how ritual structures can operate as both symbolic defense and ecological adaptation in island societies.

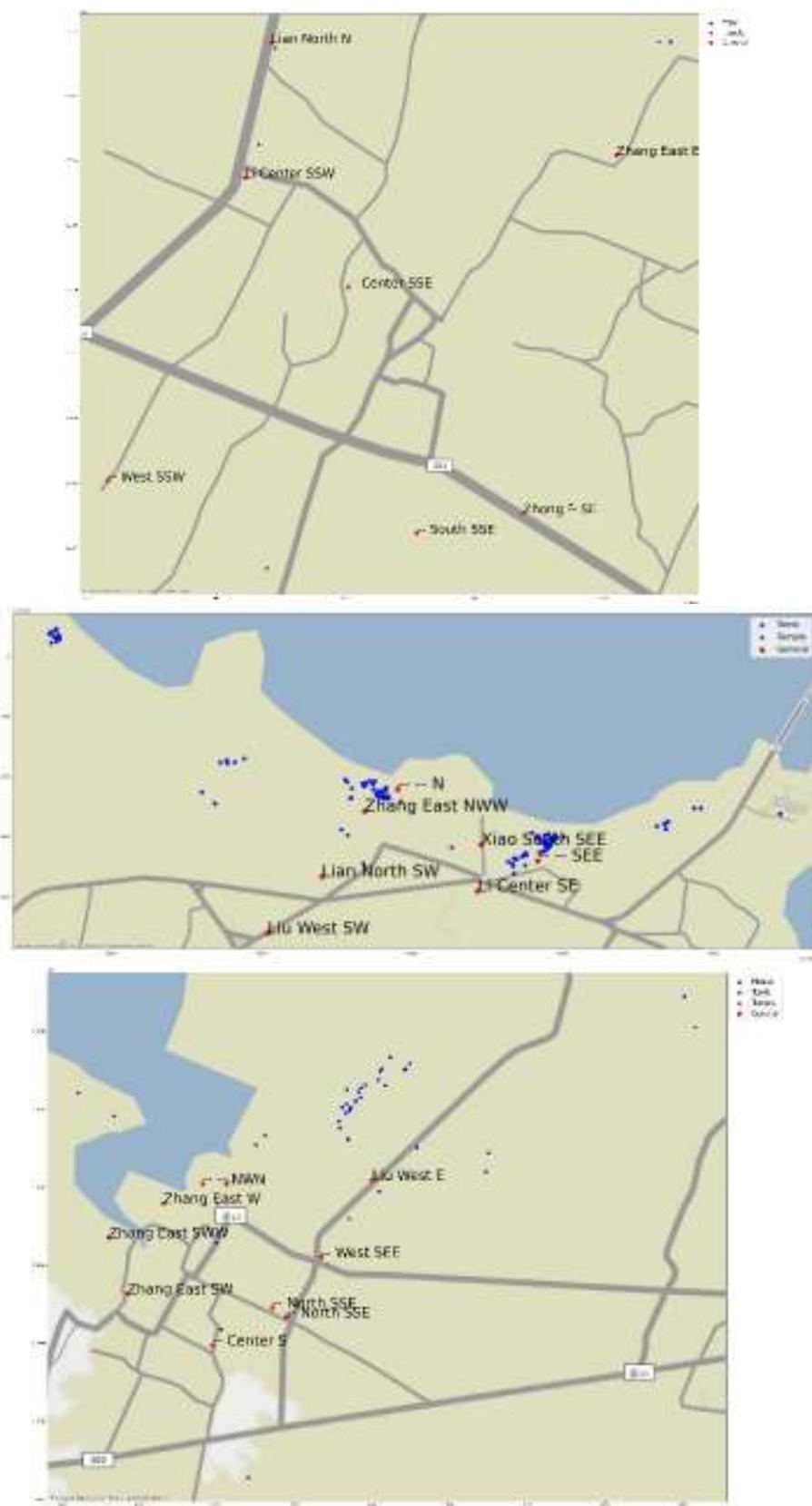


Figure 3 Non-normative arrangements of the Gardian-Generals, turned clockwise with respect to the geographic north: 45 degrees for Nanliao (top), 90 degree for Hejie and 180 degrees for Honoluo. – 守護將軍的非規範性排列，相對地理北方順時針旋轉：「南睿」

Keywords: Penghu Archipelago, Five Generals, General-Guardians, Cultural Practices, Environmental Adaptation, Cosmology and Ecology, Apotropaic Systems, Spatial Conceptualization, Ritual Geography, Island Studies

從法國到台灣，探索陶瓷磚的使用和生產系統：澎湖、金門和台灣的案例研究

Mapping the use and production systems of ceramic tiles from French to Taiwanese Contexts:
Explorations across Penghu, Jinmen, and Taiwan

Inès MINFRAY

摘要

陶瓷磚在臺灣生活環境中隨處可見，覆蓋於老屋、民宅、廟宇、墓碑、墓園，甚至家具表面。若超越其裝飾功能來觀察，本研究指出陶瓷磚所承載的象徵與儀式意涵，並揭示技術與物質實踐如何與社會、文化及地域性的信念交織。在此，陶瓷磚被視為一種具調和功能的物件，連結神聖與日常、材質與象徵意義、技術流程、地方領域與集體想像。

既有研究多著重於裝飾圖案或功能類型，較少探討生產與使用如何共同形塑陶瓷磚的社會與象徵價值；例如陶瓷磚如何被製作、圖案如何構思、工業與手工藝的實作方式如何與在地儀式與社群互動。本研究關注：陶瓷磚何時、如何成為象徵性或神聖性的載體？工業生產者、工藝匠師與在地社群的觀點又如何影響陶瓷磚在臺灣的使用模式與生產方式？我們的核心假設為：陶瓷磚的價值既在生產過程中形成，也透過其後續的社會、象徵與文化再詮釋而持續累積。

超越法國生產系統常見的技術與象徵分離、追求效率與標準化的思維，本研究旨在探討臺灣陶瓷磚生產系統如何賦予技術與物件不同的價值。透過在澎湖、金門與臺灣的田野調查，本研究記錄陶瓷磚在工業與工藝場域中的功能、圖案、使用方式與生產體制。包括老屋、廟宇、墓園、墓葬以及如「傳說」寺廟等工坊等場域，揭示了生產、信仰與價值創造之間的混融關係。田野調查進一步分析圖像選擇、陶瓷磚功能、儀式用途與技術身體性如何反映

技術物件在文化價值系統中的角色。

本研究強調：當設計被置於工業典範之外來理解，它可作為重新思考意義與價值如何在製作行為中被嵌入的重要工具。研究將運用設計方法建構一部「圖誌（atlas）」，匯集在地觀察、田野筆記與視覺資料，並製作一系列「敏感地圖（sensitive maps）」，記錄技術、圖案與意義於不同場域間的流動。

本研究重新思考西方中心的生產、工藝與象徵假設。透過陶瓷磚的例子，本文主張設計能揭示製作、圖像與信念之間的關係，並探索技術實踐如何形塑社會與象徵系統。

關鍵詞：陶瓷磚、物質文化、設計人類學、生產系統、儀式與象徵、工業與工藝實踐、文化價值系統、澎湖、金門與臺灣田野調查、圖像學與技術身體性、調和性物件（mediating objects）

Abstract

Ceramic tiles are omnipresent in Taiwanese environments, covering old houses, domestic buildings, temples, gravesites, cemeteries, and even furniture. By looking beyond their decorative role, this research highlights how ceramic tiles embody symbolic and ritual significance, showing how technical and material practices intersect with social, cultural, and territorial beliefs. Here, the tile is conceived as a mediating object, that connects the sacred and the everyday, material and symbolic meanings, technical processes, territories and collective imaginaries.

While most existing research focuses on decorative motifs or typologies of functions, few studies have examined how production and use together construct the social and symbolic values of tiles; how tiles are produced, how motifs are conceived, and how industrial and craft-based practices interact with local rituals and communities. The project seeks to understand how and when tiles come to embody symbolic or sacred value ? How the perceptions of industrial producers, artisans, and local communities influence the uses and modes of production of ceramic tiles in Taiwan ? We hypothesize that the value of ceramic tiles is constructed both during production and afterward, through social, symbolic, and cultural engagement.

Looking beyond the French system, which often separates technique from symbolism in favor of efficiency and standardisation, the aim is to examine the value systems that Taiwanese production accord to technique and its objects. Fieldwork in Penghu, Jinmen, and Taiwan documents the functions, patterns, uses, and production systems of ceramic tiles across both industrial and craft-based contexts. Sites such as old houses, temples, cemeteries, tombs, and workshops - for example the *Chuanso* (傳說) temple factory - reveal hybrid relationships between production, belief, and the creation of value. The aim of those field survey is to analyse how iconographic choices, functions of ceramic tiles, ritual uses or technical gestures reveal how technical objects shape and reflect cultural value systems.

It proposes that design, when understood beyond industrial paradigms, can serve as a tool for rethinking how meaning and value are embedded in the act of making. Design tools will be used to produce an atlas - compiling localized observations, field notes, and visual materials - and a series of sensitive maps to document the circulation of techniques, motifs, and meanings between sites.

This research reconsiders Western-centric assumptions about production, craft, and sym-

bolism. It proposes that design, when understood beyond industrial paradigms, can serve as a tool for rethinking the value in the act of making. Through the study of ceramic tiles, this project explores how design can reveal the relationships between making, motifs, and beliefs, showing how technical practices shape social and symbolic systems.

Keywords: Ceramic tiles; material culture; design anthropology; production systems; ritual and symbolism; industrial and craft practices; cultural value systems; fieldwork in Penghu, Jinmen, and Taiwan; iconography and technical gestures; mediating objects

殖民亡者與後殖民之聲：

八田與一與山岡榮在臺灣身後史

Colonial Dead and Postcolonial Voices:

The Afterlives of Hatta Yōichi and Yamaoka Sakae in Taiwan

天江喜久 – Yoshihisa Amae

摘要

本論文探討兩位日本殖民時期人物——烏山頭水庫的工程師八田與一，以及於 1930 年在台中為搶救受困學生而殉職的教師山岡榮——如何在當代臺灣的記憶文化中被重新召喚與再現。二戰結束後，日本人皆被遣返，但「殖民亡者」則留在臺灣。他們的墳墓在戰後初期一度荒廢、毀損，此後卻被修復為「記憶之地」(sites of memory)，並在 1990 年代民主化後成為形塑臺日關係的重要地標。本文主張，這些紀念活動形塑了對日本殖民過去的「親殖論述」(pro-colonial discourse)。日本象徵與歷史人物的「正面挪用」——往往缺乏對其殖民統治與戰時動員角色的批判性反思——揭示了一種更深層的意識形態運作。在當前臺灣建構自身國族認同、並與中國進行區隔的過程中，「日本時代的臺灣」被視為想像獨立共同體的歷史錨點，同時也成為臺灣在空間上與中國 (PRC) 劃清界線的象徵。其結果是，「殖民現代性」中所蘊含的暴力、階層與生命政治控制，經常被淡化或邊緣化。透過追溯這些墳墓與紀念地點從廢墟到文化符號、再到「友誼象徵」的歷史轉變，本文進一步檢視此類紀念實踐究竟構成「歷史和解」抑或正如荊子馨 (Leo Ching) 所稱的「另一種和解」(reconciliation otherwise)——一種繞過殖民責任的情感性協調。最終，本文指出「殖民亡者」的身後生命揭示了當代臺灣在記憶、認同與後殖民欲望之間錯綜複雜的政治糾葛。

關鍵詞：八田與一、山岡榮、殖民遺產、記憶政治、臺日關係、後殖民認同、殖民現代性、歷史和解

Abstract

This paper examines how two Japanese colonial figures—Hatta Yōichi (八田與一) , the engineer of the Wushantou Reservoir, and Yamaoka Sakae (山岡榮) , a schoolteacher in Taichung who died in 1930 while attempting to rescue students stranded on a mid-stream sandbar—have been resurrected in Taiwan’s contemporary memory culture. While living Japanese were repatriated after 1945, the colonial dead remained. Their graves, neglected and often in ruins in the immediate postwar period, have been restored as “sites of memory” that play an active role in shaping Japan–Taiwan relations, particularly after democratization in the 1990s. The paper argues that these commemorations participate in the invention of a “pro-colonial” discourse that celebrates Japan’s colonial past. The positive appropriation of Japanese symbols and historical actors—often without sustained critique of their roles in colonial governance and wartime mobilization—reveals a deeper ideological process. In the ongoing construction of Taiwanese national identity vis-à-vis China, Japanese Taiwan becomes a temporal anchor for imagining an independent community and a means of distancing Taiwan from the PRC. As a result, the violence, hierarchy, and biopolitical control embedded in “colonial modernity” are frequently downplayed or rendered peripheral. By tracing the historical transformation of these graves and memorial sites—from ruins to cultural icons and symbols of friendship—this paper interrogates whether such practices constitute “historic reconciliation” or what Leo Ching calls “reconciliation otherwise,” a form of affective alignment that bypasses colonial accountability. Ultimately, it highlights how the afterlives of the colonial dead illuminate the entangled politics of memory, identity, and postcolonial desire in contemporary Taiwan.

Keywords: Hatta Yōichi, Yamaoka Sakae, colonial legacy, politics of memory, Japan–Taiwan relations, postcolonial identity, colonial modernity, historical reconciliation

