

Bench Dragon Ever-living: Using Ritual Design to Shape the Localized Mode of Tree Burial in China

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ABSTRACT

Although tree burial has been proposed for decades, it is not yet widely accepted in China, mainly due to the lack of recognition of its embedded ecological ethics and the not fully localized practice. The article suggests that localizing tree burial activities in China should consider regional urban-rural relationship and combine tomb-sweeping activities with the renewal of local traditional ceremonies in rural areas, thus engaging urban residents.

The site selected in this article, Youlong Village of Anhui Province, is located at the origin of the Xin'an River, which is an endowed advantage to attract downstream urban residents. Taking the Bench Dragon as the case study subject, the article analyzes its existing ritual sections and spatial nodes to sort out its ritual structure. Based on this analysis, the article proposes a design of the ritual sections and the marching route of the Bench Dragon for the Chinese Tomb-sweeping Festival, guiding the place-making of tree burial sites and the development of daily management strategies for the ritual landscape.

Appropriate ritual design in rural areas can help perforate the evaluation items in strictly categorized cultural ecosystem services, which, through embodiment, calls for a holistic landscape experience. Additionally, ritual design is supposed to activate the potential aesthetic value in the countryside today, while the ecological ethics it carries may also introduce new meanings to the traditional view of life and death in Chinese culture, ultimately opening a new horizon for contemporary rural construction.

HIGHLIGHTS

- The method of structural analysis and re-composition can transform traditional ceremonies into renewable cultural resources
- The productive landscape in rural areas may accumulate its place spirit through ritual behaviors occurred on festival occasions
- Ritual design focuses on the issue of embodiment and has the agency of perforating the disparate evaluation categories in cultural ecosystem services

KEYWORDS

Ritual Design;
Tree Burial;
Ecological Tomb-sweeping;
Localization;
Bench Dragon Ceremony;
Cultural Ecosystem Service;
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1 Introduction

Under the pressure caused by land use and more, Chinese local governments have made great efforts to promote ecological burials in recent years, in which tree burial^① is foregrounded as a typical example. However, its implementation process has faced social resistance^{[1][2]}. Fundamentally, the cause may be that tree burial has not been localized yet in conformity to traditional Chinese view of life and death. Geographically, tree burial cemeteries are often found in cities but less in rural areas. Apparently, the current planning of ecological funeral facilities lacks the consideration of urban residents' need for tomb-sweeping at the level of regional urban-rural relationship^[3].

If tomb-sweeping activity were regarded as an opportunity for urban residents' return to the countryside, then setting up tree burial sites in rural areas would have the potential of reinforcing the spiritual bond between urban and rural residents. Through bodily involvement, the localized design of tree burial sites situates the collective behavior on festival occasions to drive place-making. Using the custom of "Bench Dragon" (板凳龙) held on the Lantern Festival in Youlong Village as an example, this research attempts to construct a new version of its ceremony^② for the Tomb-sweeping Festival, so that the original cultural meaning of Bench Dragon could be expanded. Potentially, such renewal of burial tradition would bring new ecosystem services, which would play an irreplaceable role in both saving land resources and updating

funeral ethics. The ecological tomb-sweeping culture led by the ritual design of Bench Dragon would also improve social well-being in common for urban and rural residents.

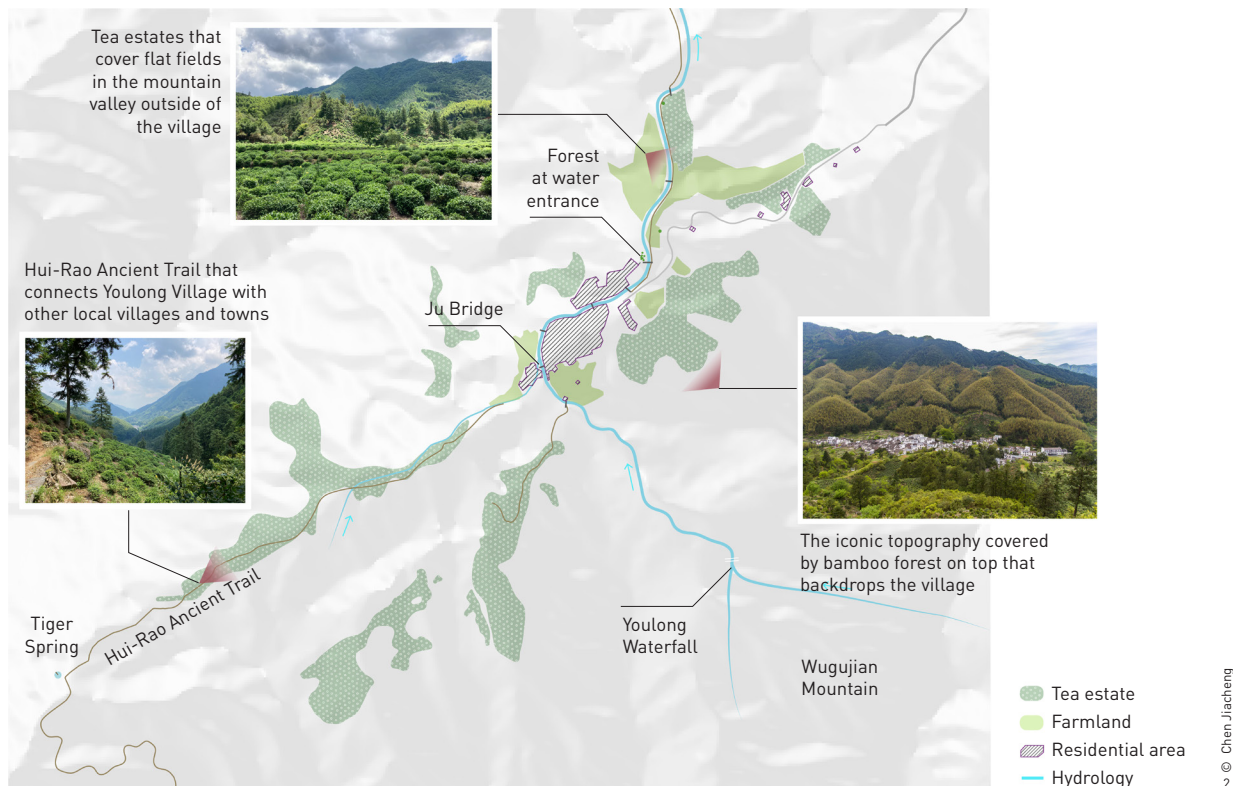
2 Investigation on Site Condition and Ceremony of Youlong Village

Youlong Village is located in Hecheng Town of Xiuning County in Huangshan City, Anhui Province of China. The forest coverage rate of the town reaches up to 96%, and there is a large number of aged trees in local conservation, providing a high biodiversity^{[4][5]}. Therefore, large-scale tourism development is strictly regulated. The northern slope of the nearby Liugujian Mountain is considered the main origin of the Xin'an River, which constitutes a unique geographical advantage of Youlong Village as irreplaceable landscape resource. Historically, Youlong Village was located in the ancient Huizhou region. The Hui-Rao Ancient Trail ran across the village toward the ancient Raozhou area in the west, on which a huge amount of goods were once transported by carrying poles^[6]. Today, the planting and initial processing of organic tea are the main income sources of local villagers. In terms of topography, Youlong Village is situated in a valley that stretches from northeast to southwest (Fig. 1), generally maintaining the historical spatial pattern of residence and production—contiguous residential houses and vegetable plots occupy the central position, while tea estates are located on the slopes of

- ① Different from the traditional tree burial practiced in China which places the remains of the deceased on a tree for weathering, the tree burial in this article refers to a sort of ecological interment, in which the remains are placed in a degradable vessel and co-planted with a young tree as the nutriment, ultimately returning to nature in all.
- ② In this article, all activities about the "Bench Dragon" custom are referred to as "ceremony," while "ritual" is used for broader discussions on the design objectives involving "ceremony."

1. Youlong Village is located in a long and narrow valley, and the ancestors of the villagers are believed to be the warfare refugees from the North at the end of Tang Dynasty.





2. The land use categories of Youlong Village mainly include tea estates, farmland, and residential areas.
3. The dragon's head, tail, and some of the benches are stored in the ancestral hall of the village when the ceremony is not held.

surrounding hills (Fig. 2).

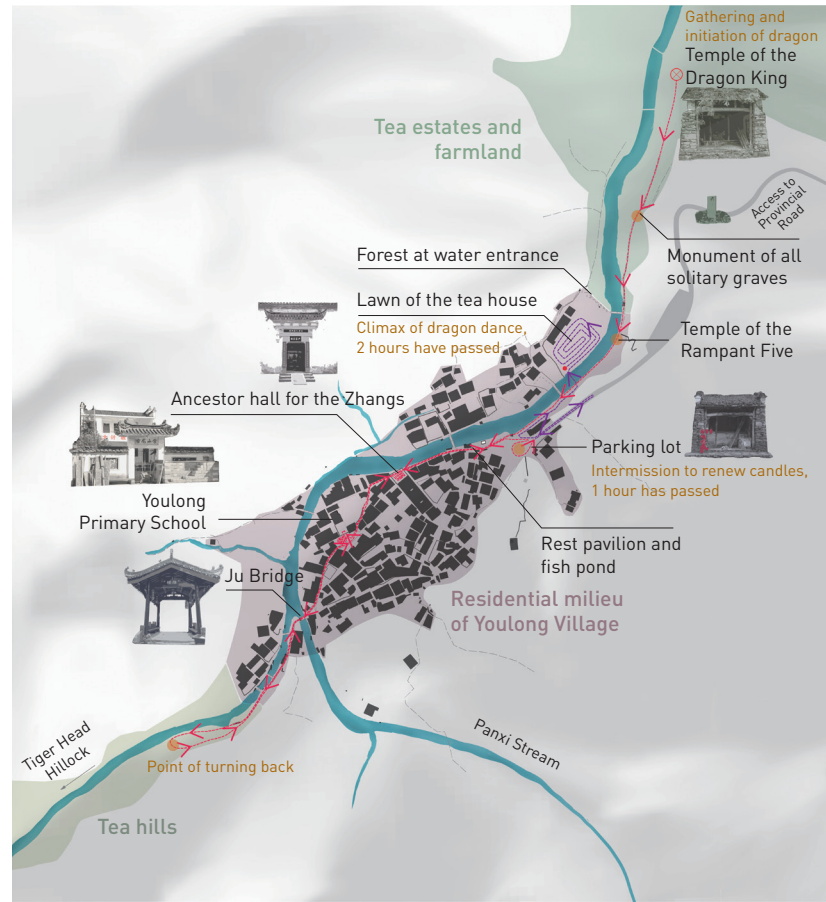
Youlong Village is known for the annual Huizhou Bench Dragon held during the Lantern Festival as a tourism program (Fig. 3). The ceremony evolves from the ancient ritual that prays for rain against harsh natural conditions—few arable plots within hilly areas. It has lasted for more than 500 years and was formally enlisted as one of the Intangible Cultural Heritages in China in 2021^[7].

Research in social sciences points out that a ceremony is

a combination of non-functional procedural movements with symbolic meanings^[8]. The whole ceremony of Bench Dragon consists of three sections: initiation, procession, and coiling of the dragon (i.e. 起龙, 游龙, and 盘龙, respectively), which embody the villagers' wish for favorable weather, safety, and prosperity^[9]. As shown in Figure 4, the ceremony team mainly marches across “tea estates and farmland,” “residential milieu of village,”^③ and “tea hills.” The dragon's body consists of specially-made benches

③ The term “milieu” used in this research denotes a term in Buddhism (“baddha- sīmā” in Pali language), which means a tied-off territory and shelter for a community. In the context of ritual study, the milieu of Youlong Village refers to not only the physical environment but also an invisible territory that is inhabited and protected by spirits.





- The existing Bench Dragon Ceremony of the Lantern Festival has three sections and the team passes by several spatial nodes in the village, mainly including “tea estates and farmland,” “residential milieu,” and “tea hills.”

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kept by each household on non-festival days. The number of participating benches varies yearly from 60 to 120^[10]. At the start of the ceremony for the Lantern Festival, the participants would gather around the Temple of the Dragon King in the north-east of the village before sunset, connect all benches by inserting wooden sticks into the holes at two ends of each bench, and light up candles in the lanterns on the benches as the initiation. The team then marches with firework and gong and drum performance, towards southwest and passes by the Monument of all solitary graves, the Temple of the Rampant Five (Wu-Chang Temple), the ancestral hall, and the Youlong Primary School, finally arriving outside the Ju Bridge and turning around to the residential area. This section is known as the procession. Lastly, the team arrives at a plot of open lawn near the Forest at water entrance, where the dragon coils around a campfire. It takes about two hours to reach the ceremony’s climax at this moment. After dragon coiling, the head and the tail of dragon would be carried back to the ancestral hall, and each bench would be taken back by the household to which it belongs. Till the candles in lanterns burn out at midnight,

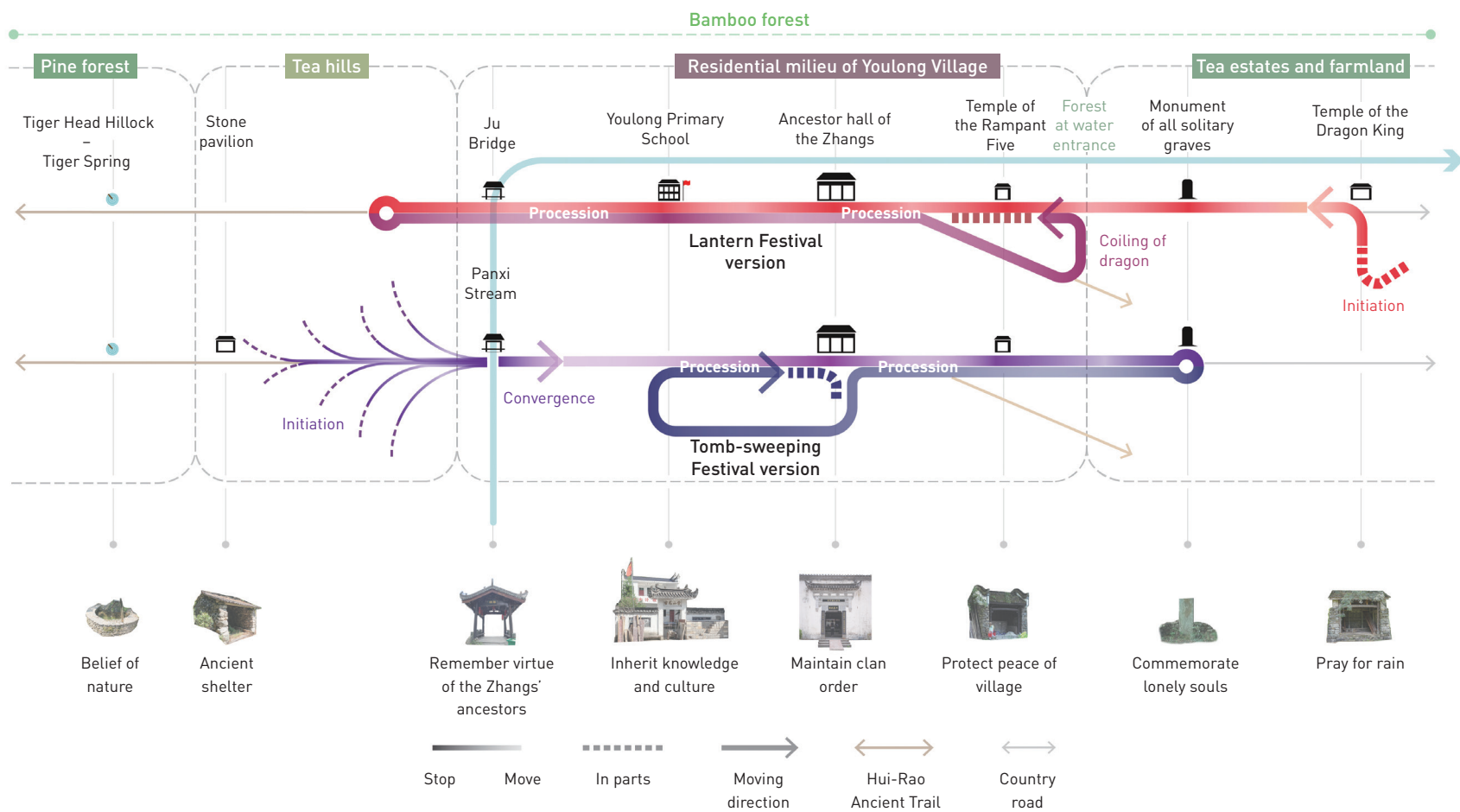
the ceremony finally finishes.

Given the existing condition of the location and traditional ceremony of Youlong Village, there is potential in invigorating the communication between urban and rural areas along the Xin’an River through ritual design. The local industry of organic tea could also be integrated with the design of tree burial sites, attracting the downstream urban residents to travel upstream, thus benefiting sustainable local development.

3 Ritual Design Proposal

3.1 The Ritual Design of Bench Dragon Ceremony

The design proposal is shaped around tree burial activities, which in core demands the ritualization of tomb-sweeping. In essence, this is a process of “inventing tradition” in modern society^[11]. The marching route of the ceremony is supported by structured connotations, which could be understood clearly through the visualized comparison of ritual structure (Fig. 5). The new ceremony could be divided into the initiation, convergence, and



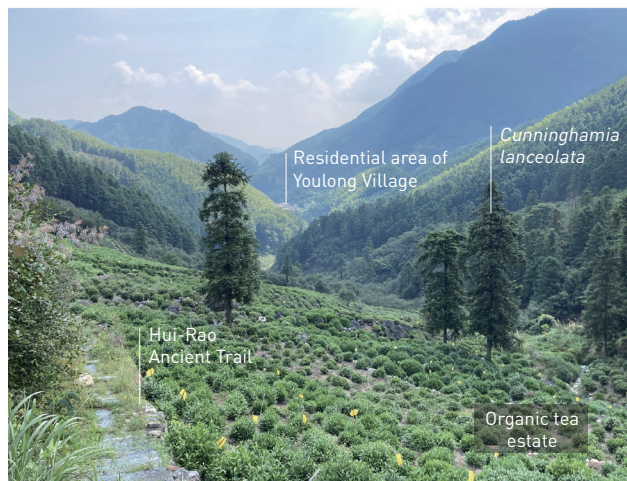
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procession of the dragon (i.e. 起龙, 合龙, and 游龙, respectively), which are guided by three general strategies.

1) To extend the marching route to the tea estates west of the village and close to the Hui-Rao Ancient Trail (Fig. 6). This is because the new ceremony considers the milieu of the village as a gradient field, which includes the natural environment for an

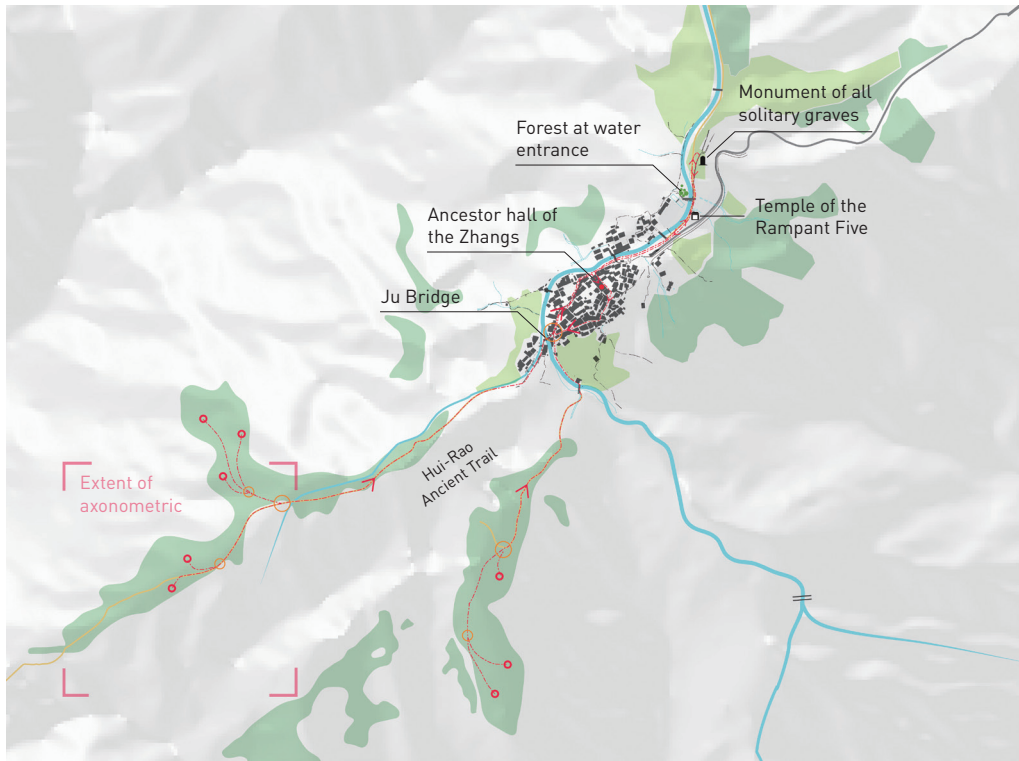
expanding boundary. The locals are accustomed to burials on the tea hills, and the sparse Chinese fir (*Cunninghamia lanceolata*) trees in the tea estates inspired the planting layout of the proposed tree cemeteries. Thus, the route of the new ceremony starts at these tea estates.

2) To change the direction and choreography of the ritual team



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5. The visualized comparison of ritual structure
6. An existing grave on hill slope and the nearby agricultural landscape of organic tea production



④ Locally, the Temple of the Rampant Five near the water entrance is believed to guard the village against the strange spirits from transgressing.

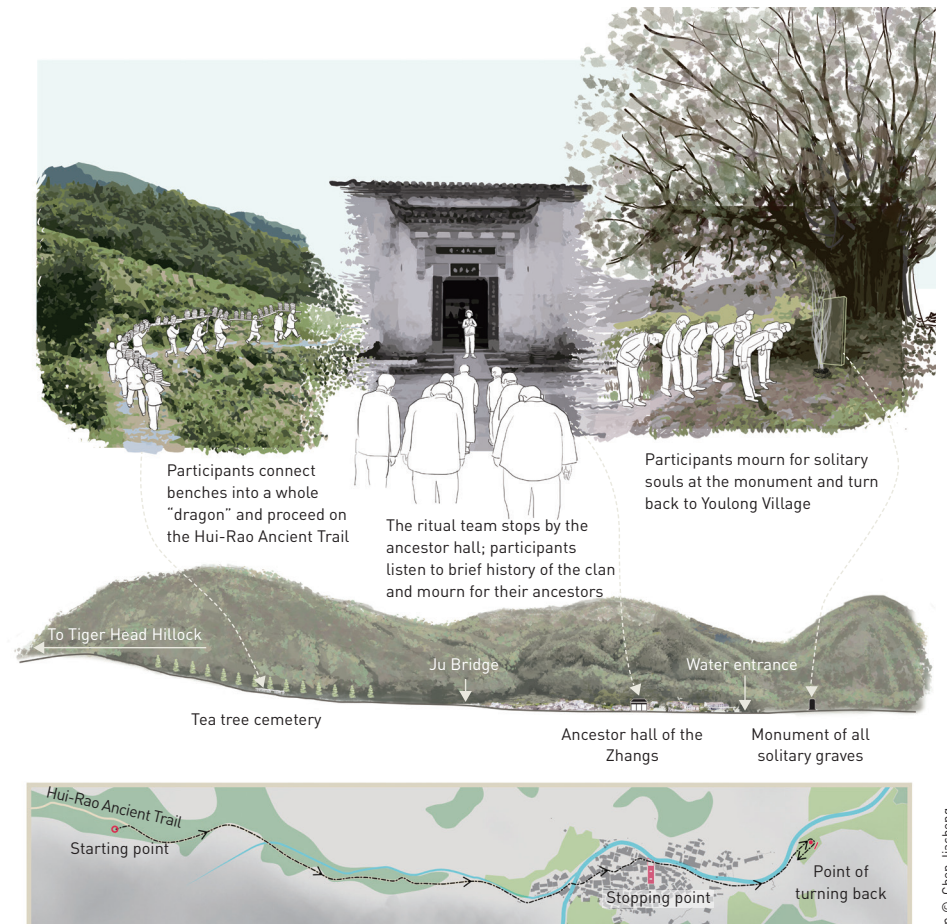
7. The route design of the Bench Dragon Ceremony for the Tomb-sweeping Festival
8. In the new ceremony, participants' behaviors are choreographed according to more specific codes, which reflects the attitude of treating all the deceased fairly.

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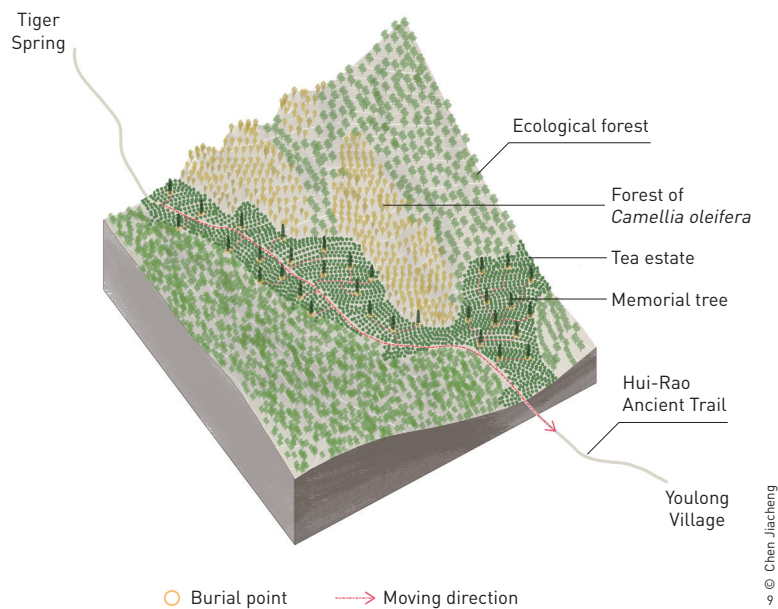
in procession. Different from the original one, the new ceremony is meant to commemorate for the deceased. Switching the marching direction to west-to-east would further distinguish itself from the original one (Fig. 7). Besides, in the new ceremony, the marching members gather and depart as small groups at each tree burial site, assemble the benches while converging into one team, and enter the village, showing more flexibility and mobility than assembling all benches at the initiation of the dragon. Participants remain silent throughout the ceremony, with no fireworks or joyful dragon coiling.

And 3) to treat all the deceased in fairness. While the ancestral hall is set inside the village to secure the peacefulness of native spirits, the Monument of all solitary graves is placed outside the village for two reasons: to console the spirits of the outsiders and to prevent them from entering the village milieu^④. In the modern view of life and death, however, it is rather conservative to treat the deceased differently according to their birthplace. As a response, the new ritual route turns around at the Monument to pay sympathy to those strange traveling traders who passed away in Youlong. Via such a route for collective procession, the graves of the natives and travelers are connected across the village (Fig. 8).

According to Catherine Bell, the key of ritualization strategies



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9. In the tree cemetery on the tea hill, the burial points are set in matrix, each planted with a tree as the starting point of the procession on the Tomb-sweeping Festival.

lies in the body, embedded within the dynamics of the body defined with a symbolically structured environment^[11]. Since all participants of the Bench Dragon Ceremony have to carry their benches all the time, which considerably restricts the dynamics of their body in actual operation, the strategies above only take the overall procession of ritual team into account and therefore lack detailed design at the scale of an individual. For other ceremonies, the final performance would be richer in effect, if individual movement could be choreographed in a more specific manner.

3.2 The Ethical Lesson Given by Rural Ecosystem

When designing the tree cemeteries on tea hills, the proposal intends to let ritual occasion drive place-making. Tree cemeteries do not merely provide spaces for tomb-sweeping, but also make up the main scenes that backdrop ritual behaviors. In these cemeteries, the memorial trees, nourished by the remains of the deceased, are planted in rows of tea (*Camellia sinensis*) bushes by an interval of 30 meters, forming a matrix as the starting points of the ceremony (Fig. 9). Therefrom, the originally production-oriented site would evolve into a unique ritual place because of the periodical ritual occasion. The memorial trees and the surrounding tea bushes are adopted by the family members of the deceased,

forming a symbiotic relationship on the same hill that ultimately becomes part of the ecosystem of Youlong Village.

The traditional view of life and death in Chinese culture is influenced by practical rationality, in which the comfort for the death of an individual should come from his/her consanguinity in the clan. In traditional Chinese custom, death is avoided in discourse of daily life, even disguised as “life in another world” in funeral, so that a sense of “everliving” is set up in the clan, especially in rural society^[12]. The classic *Xi Ci I of I-Ching (The Book of Change)* explains that the interchange between Yin and Yang leads to ever-living. In this proposal, the involvement of the lost life in the operation of the macro ecosystem exactly means a complete exchange of Yin and Yang. From the perspective of ethics, the design idea of sustainability also extends the ritual connotation from the original “rain-praying” to a more profound philosophical idea of “ever-living,” which annotates the traditional view of life and death in a modern way.

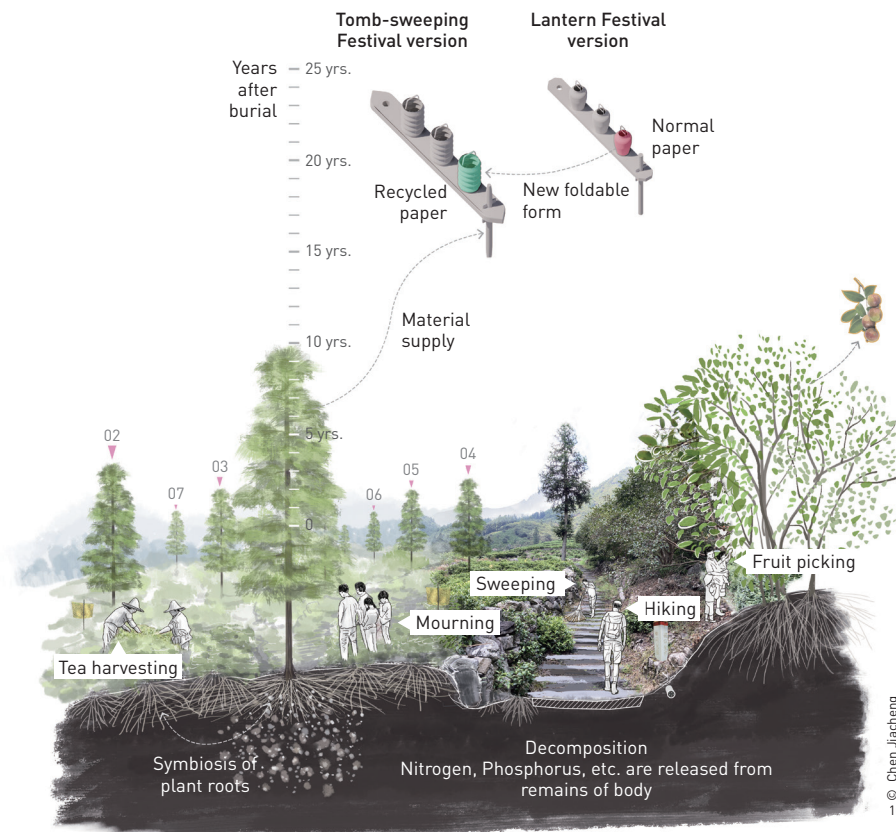
3.3 The Daily Management of Landscape

Besides ritual design, daily landscape management on site is also vital, through which effective integration of ceremony with local industries could produce an economic spillover effect. As for the ritual props, the proposed bench appears more rounded than the current one, and the updated lantern is foldable and easy to take along as souvenirs. Regarding site management, the adopted tea bushes and memorial trees would be looked after by local villagers. When the Tomb-sweeping Festival comes, family members of the deceased could engage in tea harvesting and tasting before the ceremony, while hiking and tomb-sweeping bring about new cultural value to the Hui-Rao Ancient Trail (Fig. 10). When urban residents from the Xin’an River, Fuchun River, and Qiantang River visit Youlong Village to enjoy the tea brewed with the spring water from the rivers’ origin, the daily managed landscapes are likely to recall a spatiotemporal connection between the water use downstream and the memorial ceremony upstream.

4 Discussion

4.1 The Agency of Ceremony that Perforates Evaluation Categories

In recent years, scholars from China have been building knowledge about cultural ecosystem services in rural areas and attempted to propose a more localized system to utilize these services^{[13][14]}. The categorized evaluation criteria, a paradigm that constitutes cultural ecosystem services, are beneficial to



10. Centered on the daily management of the tree burial sites, needs for new space appear by two sides of the Hui-Rao Ancient Trail. The ceremony on Tomb-sweeping Festival also allows for more synthetic programming of onsite production and recreation.

refining research works, but also likely to break the wholeness of landscape experience. It would perform poorly if applied rigidly in design practice, such as the improvement of rural landscape performance^[15].

First of all, such evaluation criteria assume that human uses landscape in a number of fixed ways, implying a framework of ecosystem services that emphasizes the duality between ecological system and cultural system, while ignoring the fact that cultural ecosystem services are outcomes co-produced by human and the environment^[16]. Second, human in reality usually perceives and experiences landscapes in an embodied form, in which his/her body and mind constantly interact with the environment and culture^[17]. This requires introducing the body as a design objective in addition to the environment—one solution is the design centered on ritual occasions, which highly concentrates

on the embodiment of procedural performance of collective behaviors, linking the connotations of the related landscapes and guiding the participants to perceive them. In this manner, items of all categories in the ecosystem service evaluation criteria could perform harmoniously in a ritualized body-environment relation^[11].

4.2 A New Vision for Contemporary Rural Construction

Corresponding to the categories of “aesthetic inspiration,” “cultural identity,” “spiritual experience,” and so on in cultural ecosystem services, there is a fairly long tradition of picking out sceneries and giving them names in Chinese culture^[18]. Such enumeration of scenery commonly picks Eight Sceneries, which is advocated by some scholars as a planning method even for today^[19]. In history, the Eight Sceneries in Youlong Village were Tiger Head Mountain, Elegant Mountaintop, Tablet Stone, Waterfall Spring, Tiger Spring, Elephant Mound, Luoxing Mound, and Stone Gate, which defined sceneries of aesthetic value from a literati’s perspective^[20]. More often than not, however, the enumeration of sceneries is reduced to a postured play on words, which cannot reflect the rich connotations of contemporary sceneries and deviates from a truthful human-land relationship. Indeed, it would be too conservative to follow this planning method and forge “Eight New Sceneries.”

To activate the contemporary aesthetic value of ancient villages, the designer could examine rural areas from the perspective of Anthropology, editing the selected human behavior through design and maintaining it by certain mechanisms of management. Such design agenda does not carry a viewfinder, but deeply engages local communities to discover the stories of human livelihood, extracting cultural values that advocate the functionality of rural landscape from the rural lifestyle and material production^[21]. In addition, it fully exploits the agency of inherited ceremony and might expand the meaning of village life at the depth of collective unconscious. While conserving the continuum of rural history, such a working method also extends the aesthetic vision to realize a holistic landscape experience.

5 Epilogue

The ecological metaphor observed in tree burials possesses deep philosophical thinking, and its universal appeal is able to shift the ethical views in traditional Chinese culture. For this purpose, the renewal of a ceremony that has been long passed down in rural areas could also help with the localization of tree burial culture in

China, further establishing a long-term mechanism that connects the festival life of urban and rural residents at watershed scale. When these changes were achieved, the rural culture of China might sustain its local identity in the process of creating new memories.

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生生不已的板凳龙： 用仪式设计塑造中国本土的树葬模式

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摘要

尽管树葬传统已有多年历史，但在中国社会的普及度仍然不高，其原因在于树葬所蕴含的生态伦理尚未被公众完全接纳，其实践形式尚未完成本土化的进程。本文提出中国本土化的树葬活动需要放置在区域城乡关系中考量，并将祭扫活动与乡村地区传统仪式的更新相结合，从而吸引城市居民的参与。

本文所选取的场地安徽省右龙村位于新安江源头，这一水源地区区位优势可吸引下游城市居民到此游访。以当地的“板凳龙”仪式为例，本文通过分析其现有的仪式环节、空间节点和意义指涉，从而梳理得出其仪式结构。以此为参照，本文的提案设计了“板凳龙”仪式在清明节的主要环节和行进路线，并提出三个策略：1) 扩大仪式路线的范围至周边的茶园；2) 改变仪式队伍的行进方向与组织方式；3) 公平对待来自本土与异乡的所有逝者。原本以生产为主的场地由于仪式场合的周期性出现而衍生为独特的仪式性场所，并由此引领村外树葬场所的营造。在伦理学上，可持续的设计理念拓展了原本单一的仪式内涵，使其从求雨祈福延伸到哲学层面更为深刻的“生生”理念，为传统的生死观作出了现代注解。对场地景观的日常管理可以与当地产业相结合，从而在经济上发挥仪式所带来的溢出效应。

恰当的仪式设计可以贯通乡村地区生态系统文化服务中条分缕析的评价分类，以具身的形式回应景观的整体性特征。同时在仪式研究的视阈下，设计师不再因循选取“八景”的传统做法，而能以人类学的视角审视乡村的生活与文化，进而回归真实的人地关系。最终，仪式设计有望在伦理迁移的过程中推进树葬文化在中国的本土化改造，促使中国的乡土文化更好地赓续下去。

文章亮点

- 结构分析和重组的方法有助于传统仪式成为可被持续更新的文化资源
- 乡村地区生产性景观可以借由仪式行为积累基于节日场合的场所精神
- 专注于具身性议题的仪式设计可以贯通生态系统文化服务中条分缕析的评价分类

关键词

仪式设计；
树葬；
生态祭扫；
本土化；
板凳龙仪式；
生态系统文化服务；
具身性

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1 引言

受到用地紧张等方面的压力，中国地方政府近年来大力推行以树葬^①为代表的生态葬方式，但其实际推行过程频频遭遇社会阻力^{[1][2]}。究其根本，可能是树葬这种殡葬形式还未开启顺应中国传统生死观念的本土化进程。从地理空间分布上看，树葬墓园往往集中在城市，而较少出现在乡村地区，可见现有的生态化殡葬设施规划还未将城市居民的祭扫需求放在区域城乡关系的层面上予以考量^[3]。

如果将清明祭扫视作城市居民回归乡野的契机，可以发现在乡村地区设置树葬场地可以加强城乡居民之间的精神纽带。本土化的树葬场所设计将集体行为置于节日场合中，用身体的投入驱动场所的营造。本文的提案以安徽省黄山市休宁县右龙村每年元宵节举行的“板凳龙”习俗为例，试图为这个仪式^②构建一个适用于清明节的版本，延展其原有的文化内涵。殡葬传统的更新有望带来新的生态系统服务，并且无论是在节约土地资源还是在迭代殡葬伦理方面都能发挥不可替代的作用，由板凳龙仪式设计所引导的生态祭扫文化亦可增进城乡居民共同的社会福祉。

2 右龙村场地现状与仪式调查

右龙村地处休宁县鹤城乡，全乡森林覆盖率达96%，保有大量珍贵的高龄树木^[4]。为保护其较高的生物多样性，大规模的旅游开发被严格管制^[5]。村庄附近的六股尖山北坡被认为是新安江的正源所在，因而右龙村的水源地角色无可替代。历史上的右龙村地处古徽州，徽饶古道穿村而过，向西可通往古饶州，曾有担夫在此肩挑货物，往来不绝^[6]。如今有机茶的种植与粗加工是当地村民的主要经济来源。在地形空间上，村庄地处自东北向西南的山谷之中（图1），大体上沿袭了历史上的人居和生产格局，以连片的村舍和菜地为中心，茶园则分布在较远的山坡上（图2）。

在现有的旅游项目中，右龙村以每年元宵节举办的徽州板凳龙而出名（图3）。“板凳龙”源自多山少田的艰难环境所产生的求雨仪式，至今已传承五百余年，并于2021年被正式认定为中国非物质文化遗产^[7]。

根据社会科学研究，仪式是含有象征意义的流程式动作的组合，具有非功能性的特点^[8]。在板凳龙仪式中有起龙、游龙、盘龙三个环节，整体承载着乡民群体祈求风调雨顺、人畜平安、家族兴旺的愿望^[9]。如图4所绘的路线所示，仪式队伍经过“茶园菜地”“居住结界”^③和“茶山”等区域。龙身由各家平日存放的仪式专用板凳拼接而成，参加仪式的板凳数量每年都会有变化，少则60节，多至120节^[10]。在元宵节的仪式开始前，仪式参与者会在日落之前在村庄东北侧的龙王庙旁集合，将板凳两头的洞口和木棍依次接起，同时点亮灯笼里的蜡烛，是为“起龙”。而后，队伍一路朝西南方向行进，经过孤坟总祭碑、五猖庙、祠

堂、右龙小学，在屙桥外调头后再折返回村，期间会伴有锣鼓奏乐与烟花燃放，是为“游龙”。最后，队伍回到水口林旁的一块露天草地上绕着篝火“盘龙”，整场仪式在此时达到高潮，至此总共用时约2小时。盘龙完毕，龙首和龙尾被抬到祠堂，组成龙身的板凳则被各家带回。待灯笼内的蜡烛在深夜燃尽，当年的板凳龙活动才算完全结束。

鉴于场地区位和传统仪式的基本现状，笔者认为可以尝试在右龙村通过板凳龙仪式的更新激活沿新安江的城乡交流。当地有机茶产业也可以融入对树葬场所的设计之中，使得下游地区居民逆流溯源的旅程能持续性地助益乡村发展。

3 仪式设计方案

3.1 板凳龙仪式设计

提案的核心任务是围绕树葬活动将乡村的祭扫行为仪式化，本质上是一个在现代社会中“发明传统”的过程^[11]。仪式的行进路线有其结构化的含义支撑，对仪式结构的可视化对比有助于更清晰地理解这一特点（图5）。新版本的仪式分为“起龙”“合龙”“游龙”三个环节，设计的指导策略如下。

1) 扩大仪式路线的范围至村西侧徽饶古道旁的茶园（图6）。在清明节版本的仪式中，村庄的结界被视为一种渐变的场域，试图将生态环境纳入其中以扩展其边界。村民已习惯将墓葬修建在茶园所在的山坡上，同时也正是茶园中不时出现的单棵杉树（*Cunninghamia lanceolata*）启发了本案的树葬植物布局原型。新的仪式路线即以这些茶园为出发点；

2) 改变仪式队伍的行进方向与组织方式。与原仪式的意旨不同，清明节仪式的目的在于纪念逝者、寄托哀思。为在仪式的规则上显示对比，提案将板凳龙队伍的行进方向改为自西向东（图7）。不同于现有仪式在起龙时就完成整体拼接，清明节仪式先分成小队从各个树葬点出发，继而由分到合汇入村内，充分发挥板凳拆合方便、机动性强的特点。仪式

① 本文所指的树葬与中国传统的树葬不同，并不将逝者的遗体置于树上任其风化，而是指将逝者的遗体放入可降解的容器中与树苗一起种下，使之成为树苗生长的养料，从而最终完全回归自然的殡葬形式。

② “仪式”一词有多种英文翻译，如“ritual”“ceremony”“rite”等。本文中的板凳龙仪式被视为一种“仪典”，故其名词形式更准确的翻译为“ceremony”，而“仪式设计”所涉及的对象类型更为宽泛，所以采用“ritual design”的译法。

③ 本研究的“结界”（milieu）一词借用佛教用语（巴利语：baddha-sīmā），原意指对一个社群领域的绑定与庇护。在仪式研究的语境中，右龙村的“居住结界”不仅指物理层面上的环境，还指向有神灵栖居保护的隐形领域。

全程保持静默，不燃放烟花，也不上演欢庆意味强烈的盘龙环节；

3) 公平对待所有逝去的生命。如果说在村内设宗祠是为了保障本族人的灵位安然无虞，那么将孤坟总祭碑设在村外有两个原因——既是对异乡亡灵的安抚，也是对客死亡魂的防范^④。在现代生死观念中，因来处不同而区别对待逝者生命的做法未免过于保守。新设置的仪式路线选择在孤坟总祭碑处调头，用隆重的礼节向从前客死此地的徽商行者们致意。在一次穿行仪式中，集体的行走将勾连起村庄两头的新坟旧冢（图8）。

依照凯瑟琳·贝尔的观点，仪式化策略的关键根植于身体之中，并嵌入在符号结构化的环境中被定义的身体动态里^[11]。由于参与板凳龙仪式的所有成员必须一直扛着板凳道具，在实际操作中对身体动作有较大限制，所以以上策略只考虑了仪式队伍的整体移动形式，而不涉及个体尺度上的细化设计。对于其他仪式而言，如果能对个体动作有进一步的编排，那么其最终效果将更为丰富。

3.2 乡村生态系统带来的伦理启示

以茶山树墓园为基点，提案试图用仪式发生的场合驱动场所的营造。茶山树墓园并非只是祭扫空间，更是发生仪式行为的主要场景之一。园中茶树（*Camellia sinensis*）成排，其间每隔约30m就栽植一棵以逝者骨灰滋养的亡人树，按阵列排布成为仪式的起点（图9）。由此，原本以生产为主的场地将由于仪式场合的周期性出现而衍生为独特的仪式性场所。亡人树与四周的茶树一同由逝者的亲属认养，在同一片山坡上形成共生关系，最终嵌入右龙村的生态系统中。

中国传统生死观受到“实用理性”思维的影响，认为关于个体死亡的讨论需要从集体的血缘纽带中获得安全感。在中国传统习俗中，人们平日里避谈死亡，葬礼时事死如生，并借此在其乡村宗族中求得社会地位层面的“生生不已”^[12]。古籍经典《周易·系辞上》有云“生生之谓易”，阴阳相易方有“生生”。当逝去的生命参与到宏观的生态系统运行中，其存在完成了一个阴阳易换的过程。从伦理学的角度讲，可持续的设计理念拓展了原本单一的仪式内涵，使其从求雨祈福延伸到哲学上更为深刻的“生生”理念，为传统的生死观作出了现代注解。

3.3 景观的日常管理

在仪式设计之外，对场地景观日常管理的考虑同样重要，而与当地产业的有效结合可以在经济上发挥仪式所带来的溢出效应。至于仪式所用道具，提案中板凳本身的外形比现有的更加圆润，灯笼更改为折叠样式，便于逝者亲属当作纪念物携带。在场所经营上，茶山树墓园中的茶树与亡人树平时由当地村民负责打理。当清明节来临，可以组织逝者的

④ 在当地，水口附近的五猖庙被认为可以守护村庄。

亲属在祭扫仪式开始前参与明前茶的采摘与品鉴，而徒步、祭扫等活动内容亦能赋予徽饶古道新的文化价值（图10）。当新安江、富春江和钱塘江沿线的城市居民到访右龙村，品味用水源地的山泉冲泡的茶叶，对仪式景观的日常管理便造就了一个回溯下游地区的日常用水与上游水源地纪念仪式之间时空联系的契机。

4 讨论

4.1 贯通评价分类的仪式能动性

近年来，中国学者对乡村地区生态系统文化服务的研究逐渐丰富，也已试图提出更加本土化的应用体系^{[13][14]}。作为一种构成生态系统文化服务的范式，分类评价固然有利于细化研究，但如果在设计中对对应着分类指标去提升一个乡村项目的景观绩效，将违背景观体验的整体性特征，其实际效果也较为有限^[15]。

首先，这种评价体系假定人是按照若干固定的方式来使用景观的。由此设定的生态系统服务框架在认知上强化了文化系统与生态系统之间的二元性，而忽视了生态系统文化服务实际上是人类与环境共同产生的结果^[16]。其次，现实中的人往往是以具身的形式整体性地投入到对景观的感知和体验中的，期间环境、文化、身体与心灵等要素持续处于一种联动的状态中^[17]。这一事实要求我们不能再单一地以环境为设计目标，更要将目光转向人的身体。以仪式场合为中心的设计做到了这一点，通过高效地专注于具身性的问题，在集体行为的流程化演绎中串联并引导参与者感知景观及其背后的意义指涉，从而构建出一个仪式化的身体-环境^[11]。在这样的身体-环境关系中，生态系统服务评价的各个类别得以整合与贯通。

4.2 当代乡建的新视野

中国文化中选景起名的传统自古有之，大致对应着生态系统文化服务中“审美启发”“文化身份”“精神体验”等类别^[18]。风景枚举的形制以“八景”最为常见，也被一些学者倡导为可资当代借鉴的规划思想^[19]。右龙村自古亦有“八景”（虎首山、秀峰尖、榜石、瀑布泉、虎泉、象邱、罗星墩、石门）之说，其以文人之眼定义了村内具有审美价值的风景名胜^[20]。然而在更多的情况下，风景枚举的做法更像是一种附庸风雅的文字游戏，在当代的景观认知中已经无法反映景观的丰富内涵，也偏离了真实的人地关系。以复古的心态打造“新八景”的做法实不可取。

为了激活古村落在当代的潜在美学价值，设计师不妨以人类学的视角审视乡村的生活与文化，用设计的手段编排所选定的人类行为，并通过管理机制将其延续下去。一方面，这种“非取景式”的设计议程要求设计者深入当地去发现有关人的生存故事，从乡村的生活方式与物质生

产中挖掘文化价值，从而反映乡土景观的功用性特征^[21]。另一方面，它充分利用传承而来的仪式的能动性，有望在集体无意识的深度上打开村居生活的意义。这样的工作方法在维护乡村历史延续性的同时，也会拓宽原本的审美视野，以回应景观体验的整体性特点。

5 结语

树葬活动所包含的生态隐喻蕴含着深刻的哲思，其所具有的普遍感召力或可迁移中国传统文化中的伦理观念。以此为目的，设计师在更新乡村传承已久的仪式的同时能推进树葬文化在中国的本土化改造，进而在流域尺度上建立联系城乡居民节日生活的长期机制。当这样的改变到来时，中国乡村便能在创造新记忆的过程中更好地赓续自有的乡土文化。

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- 图 1. 右龙村所在的地形是一个狭长的山谷，相传其村民的祖先是唐末战乱时迁居至此的北方民众。
- 图 2. 按用地类型划分，右龙村所在的环境大致可分为茶园、农田和居住区。
- 图 3. 板凳龙仪式的龙首、龙尾和一部分板凳平时存放在村中的祠堂内。
- 图 4. 现有的元宵节板凳龙在三个环节中穿过村内不同的空间节点，范围大致为“茶园菜地”“居住结界”和“茶山”三个部分。
- 图 5. 仪式结构的视觉化对比
- 图 6. 山坡上一座现存的墓地及其附近有机茶生产形成的农业景观
- 图 7. 清明节板凳龙路线设计
- 图 8. 在新仪式中，参与者的行为按照更具体的规范进行编排，这反映了公平对待所有逝者的态度。
- 图 9. 茶山树墓园呈阵列式的空间布局，每个埋葬点都种有一棵树，并成为清明时节仪式行进的起点。
- 图 10. 围绕树葬场所的日常管理，徽饶古道的两侧出现了新的空间需求。清明节仪式也赋予了场地更为综合的生产与休闲功能。