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梅州地區的廟會與宗族

主編 房學嘉



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TRADITIONAL HAKKA SOCIETY
SERIES ①

ed. John Lagerwey

TEMPLE FESTIVALS AND
LINEAGES IN MEIZHOU

ed. Fang Xuejia



INTERNATIONAL HAKKA STUDIES
ASSOCIATION
OVERSEAS CHINESE ARCHIVES
ECOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-
ORIENT



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PREFACE

In the year 1992 the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences launched a project for the study of traditional Hakka society. Its aim, succinctly put, was to try and make sense of Hakka society and history by looking at the various symbolic practices by means of which the Hakka traditionally expressed their value systems and sought to preserve and improve their lives. Among the questions we hoped, at the very least, to examine in a new light were the following: Who are the Hakka? what is the relationship between them and the Yao or She? In a word, what is the nature of "infra-Hanethnicity" in the polyglot, multiethnic land we so glibly call "China"?

We had more general questions in mind as well: is "China", when looked at from "close up", under the ethnographer's microscope, "Confucian", "Buddhist", or "Taoist"? Is it all of these or "none of the above"? To put it another way, which pantheon "defines" China: is ancestor worship the defining feature of Chinese society, or is it the polymorphous, polytheistic pantheon we cannot legitimately call "Buddho-Taoist" because it is far more inclusive than that? And what is the relationship—historical and sociologi

cal—between the ancestors and the gods? That is, insofar as worship patterns represent value systems and reveal sociological choices and realities, what can we learn about the logic of Chinese society and history by an examination, on the ground, of its evolving patterns of worship?

Having decided to seek our answers to these questions from fieldwork, we also decided to concentrate our attention on Hakka rural society, and that for several reasons: first, inasmuch as at least 95% of the Chinese population traditionally lived in villages—the figures now cited, after 15 years of frenetic urbanization, still hover around 70%—it seemed to us evident that our search for the "real China" could only lead us to the countryside. Second, while massive social change has occurred in rural China since 1949, that change has not wiped out the "old China" to the extent it has in the cities: few are the functioning temples in urban China and even fewer the religious festivals. In the cities, therefore, there is literally nothing left of traditional society to observe.

A third motive might be called the "antiquarian urge". Chinese rural society is now also beginning to undergo decisive change: a village cannot export a third of its population to coastal factories without being radically altered (one report below says 60% of the population has left the village to work elsewhere; Liu Jingfeng, P. 248). Now is, therefore, our "last chance" to interview the old men and women of

China and learn what life was like "before". The reader will soon discover that much of what is described in the pages that follow belongs to the irrevocable past.

In 1994, a generous three-year grant given the EFEO by the Chiang Ching - kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange enabled us to expand our cooperation to the entire Hakka "core area": to SW Fujian (Minxi), where we had worked, and NE Guangdong (Yuedong), where Fang Xuejia had already begun fieldwork along the same lines, we added northern Guangdong (Yuebei) and southern Jiangxi (Gannan). Our new partners were the centers for Hakka studies of Jiaying University (Meixian), Shaoguan University, and Gannan Normal University (Ganzhou). Subsequently, we also entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Gannan Regional Museum. In each of these four areas, teams of academics received on-site training and went to work according to a common model, in search of answers to the same questions. In each area, as well, we began actively to seek out partners — retired or not — in the local government offices of cultural affairs, the local monograph, and the political consultative committee.

Local participants in our project were asked to write on three subjects: local customs of burial and marriage, temple festivals, and their home village. Academics may be better at supporting library work, and they may be more systematic and sophisticated in their fieldwork, but no "participant ob-

server" can ever find his way in the halls of memory as precisely or as intimately as the "native sons" to whom it has been our privilege to listen each time we gather in conference to report our findings.

In the implementation of this plan, from its initial inception, to the drafting of research questions and application for financial support, Professor Hsieh Jiann of Chinese University of Hong Kong provided unwavering support and guidance. Professor Hsieh even personally introduced me to Professor Fang Xuejia of Mei Zhou's Jia ying University. At present, this research plan has developed very successfully, and has already reached a stage of positive accomplishment. Thus, on the occasion of the publication of these essays, we wish to express our sincerest gratitude to Professor Hsieh Jiann.

The present volume is the product of our first conference. Organized by Fang Xuejia, it took place from May 6 to 8, 1995, at Jiaying University, where we were cordially received by First Secretary Chen Baichuan and President Huang Lüqing. The conference focused on the Meizhou area—whence the title of the book—but included as well reports from academics working in the three other areas. Subsequent volumes will follow the same pattern. The reports here published include all those presented on temple festivals and one of those on local customs. Among the former, some articles are more mature than others, but all have the

essential quality of the authentic witness; of the latter, several papers are not being published because of the considerable overlap, from one place to another, in the processes of marrying and burying.

Specifically, this volume contains eight texts on Yuedong, one each on Yuebei and Minxi, and three on Gannan. All three Gannan texts concern villages in the same Ningdu county township of Luokou (as the county from which many Hakka ancestors entered Fujian, Ningdu and the county of Shicheng immediately to its south are particularly important in Hakka history; the reader will therefore take note that the putative origins of many of the Luokou lineages is much earlier than that of most Minxi or Yuedong lineages). Of the eight articles on the Meizhou area, four treat of temple festivals, one of local customs, and three of the symbolic practices in the author's own lineage. As surveys of temple festivals have a particularly important part to play in the overall argument of this and future volumes, they bear singling out here; while it is our aim, eventually, to cover the major festivals of both the county seats and the countryside in every county, we will always give priority, as here, to the festivals of the county seat because they, more than any other single event in traditional China, illustrate the unifying function of the gods as foci of local identity that transcended lineage particularity.

The reader need only compare Zhang Quanqing's mag-

nificantly detailed accounts of the festivals of Wuhua with Wang Xinling's description of the lineage equivalent of the countywide festival in honor of the Songyuan Wangs' fourth — generation ancestor to understand what is at stake here; in a society dominated by large lineages, where inter — lineage feuding was endemic — virtually every article at least alludes to this phenomenon — the importance of festivals which transcended lineage divisions, and which often provided occasion for ritualized competition between lineages (e. g. Zhang Quanqing, pp. 7, 8, 25, 26; Luo Kang, p. 123), can hardly be underestimated. Zhang Quanqing summarizes it nicely thus: "Most of Hutian is surnamed Zhang, and they have a temple dedicated to Lord Zhang (Zhanggong miao). But, whereas the Zhangs of the entire village participate in the Zhanggong miao festival, Jiao in Hutian are done separately by the Upper and Lower villages, and they do not center on the Zhanggong temple. This is because Jiao are determined by residence and territory, not lineage. All the lineages of Upper Village — the Zhangs, Wus, Yangs, Lais, and Zhus — participate in the Jiao, which is done once every ten years" (p. 23).

Zhang's observation regarding Wuhua festivals concurs entirely with David Faure's for the New Territories of Hong Kong; the gods and their Jiao are rooted in a China conceived of as autonomous territorial units indifferent to questions of lineage (see his *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1986). Ming

Taizu gave this China what might be called its official charter, but also its universalizing administrative definition, when he ordered the establishment of earth gods (she) in every village and gods of walls and moats (chenghuang shen) in every county seat and prefectural capital; the reader will find ample evidence in the pages that follow of the importance of these territorial gods, official or not, in the social life of the Hakka. It bears mentioning here as well that this religious conception of China as territorial units with a distinct administrative identity is a defining characteristic of Taoism, whose system of representation of the pantheon is, thus, consistent with — and no doubt derived from — the administrative vision of China. No wonder, then, that the central feature of the various festivals described here is the Taoist *shangbiao*, or presentation of a memorial to the gods bearing all the names of the paying faithful desirous of divine succor.

That this administrative "Taoist" China could come into conflict with a lineage "Confucian" China is illustrated clearly in an incident recounted by Liu Jingfeng (p. 266): in 1926, writes Liu, a local bully stole cotton from a fellow clansman and threatened him and his family with death if he were to report the matter to their common lineage head. The victim reported nonetheless, but the thief was the last of his line and had only just married and had a 70-year old mother to care for, so the lineage was unwilling to see him put to

death, The thief was ordered to pay an indemnity, but neither side accepted this verdict. Only when the injured party had agreed to adopt out a child to the thief and to provide land for the support of the mother did the lineage literati agree to turn the thief over to the government and the law.

The Taoist dimension of local society has a very distinctive coloring among the Hakka. This may be seen, for example, in the ubiquity of stories of ancestors going to Taoist mountains to learn exorcistic methods (Zhang Quanqing, p. 16, 17, 19, 20; Wei Donghai, p. 40; Yang Yanjie, p. 219^①). In Xie Meixing's native village, before the bride enters the door of her new home, a whole lineage of Taoist exorcists and gods, beginning with Taishang laojun himself, must first be invited (P. 163). By showing how the gods in Aizi at once reveal Taoist and Yao influence, Zeng Xiangwei (p. 185 ff.) provides the key to understanding this unique coloration of Hakka Taoism: first, like the Hakka of Aizi, the local Yao call their gods Agong, or "granddad" (in Minxi, another term for "grandpa", Gongtai, is common); second, the main gods in Aizi, from Pangu to the various "gentlemen" (*lang*), not only bear Taoist titles (such as *lang*), they are portrayed iconographically as Taoists; third, the canonical god of agriculture, Shennong, is in Aizi, among both the

① Cf. my "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village", in *Minjian xinyang yu Zhongguo wenhua guoji yantao hui lunwen ji* (Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, Taipei 1993), PP. 742—45

Hakka and the local Yao, a goddess (!) called Wugu (the same Wugu—barefoot and clad only in a loincloth and necklace of leaves—is found throughout Minxi, but we have yet to be told this boylike figure is a goddess)

Yang Yanjie's article treats of the highly sinicized Lan lineage of Guanzhuang, whose She origins have recently received official recognition. Remarkably, Yang finds among the Lans not only the same Taoist *lang* titles and worship of Taoist ancestors, but also the same valorization of the feminine, as seen in the singularly important rôle accorded the graves of ancestresses (Potai; pp. 216—217). Is this a vestige of non—Han culture that was not so resolutely patriarchal as Han Confucianism? It is worth adding that Lin Qingshui recalls a particularly severe instance of lineage feuding which resulted from a member of the Chen clan digging up the bones of a Lin Ancestress, Liao Taipo (p. 70). Separate burial of men and women seems, in any case, to have been the rule among the Hakka rather than the exception (cf. Lin, p. 62, who links scattered, as opposed to group, burial to the practice of second burial), and this in turn implies that the geomancy of an ancestress' grave might well be fully as important as that of an ancestor—again in obvious contravention of Confucian lineage ideology.

The importance of geomancy in Hakka society needs no demonstration. What the present volume has to offer in this regard is numerous concrete examples of the rôle played by

geomancy in the definition of local space and identity. Zhuo Shangji's detailed presentation of an ancestral hall in his native village (p. 45) and Wang Xinling's tales of geomantic strategems to block the development of rival lineages (p. 134—135) deserve special mention. According to Lin Qingshui (p. 98), "The belief in geomancy and the teasing of the women [of other lineages] were frequently the cause of inter-lineage fighting". Two other features recur with sufficient regularity to merit underlining: the *shuikou*, or water exit, and Yang Taipogong. The latter is in fact the deified founder of one of the main schools of geomancy, Yang Yunsong, of Ningdu county in Jiangxi (cf. Liu Jingfeng, p. 282); little wonder that his worship is nearly universal among the Hakka, and that he is given a permanent place in some ancestral halls (Lin Qingshui, pp. 73, 75, 86) and a temporary place in the process of tomb (and house) construction (Lin, p. 85), or that he is a part of the Taoist exorcism described by Luo Yong (p. 243). This exorcism takes place at the village water exit, which in Luokou is at the particularly crucial nexus of the confluence of two rivers (cf. Zhang, p. 29, and Zeng, p. 178). In other places, the water exit is closely guarded by a temple or open-air altar (cf. Lin, p. 87; Yang, p. 218; Liu, p. 285; Zeng, p. 178; Wang, p. 148). The reason for all this is that "water is wealth", and tombs and ancestral halls alike are positioned and built so as not to see water disappearing (Lin, p. 60;

Zhuo, p. 48). (By contrast, the kitchens in Lin's village all face the main ancestral hall!)

And Buddhism? In some places, Buddhists and Taoists both participate in Jiao (Zhang, p. 23); in others, monks alone perform them (Wei, p. 38). Guanyin, of course, is worshiped everywhere, primarily in temples (Zhang, p. 14; Luo, p. 125), but also, on occasion, in ancestral halls (Lin, pp. 73, 75; the same practice is found in Yongding). More generally, major Buddhist temples are found throughout the area, often on the hills outside town or village (Lin, p. 86; Liu, p. 284; Wang, p. 149), and famous Chan monks have become the object of worship in Yuedong and Minxi alike (Xiao, p. 151; Yang, p. 219). One of Buddhism's most important functions in Chinese rural society, not dwelt on here, is the *chaodu*, or funeral service, almost everywhere in Hakka areas performed by Buddhist practitioners.

Each of the three nameable religions of China occupies, in short, a specific niche in the overall system of social organization and symbolic representation. They are parts of a whole, a whole which we can do no better than to call "Chinese folk religion" and which is best conceived of as at once including the three "higher" religions—often in highly specific local form—and as representing a universal substratum; not a syncretism of the "three religions" but something unique in its own right. Concretely, this refers to the universal importance of mediums and of gods unknown elsewhere.

One local feature of this religion without a name is the multiplication of individual gods to satisfy the needs of distinct communities either inter — or intra — lineage: Lin Qingshui writes of five Gongwang, each of which is carried off in a different direction at the time of the annual festival (p. 88); Wang Xinling relates how a temple which originally had but three images later had seven more sculpted so that all villages that wished to could invite them (p. 141); the multiple gods in Aizi's temples served the same function, with different lineages controlling different statues (pp. 174, 182); the Taibao and Taizi of Guxia and Nanling's temples dedicated to Handi allowed for the expression of lineage and territorial segmentation (Lin Xiaoping, p. 229; Liu Jingfeng, p. 282) in the context of a common festival. ^① And everywhere lots are cast or drawn in order to decide which group this year carries which god, and in what order. The importance of decision by lot in a society marked by intense competition for

^① An inverse variant on this is the single god statue which goes from place to place according to a fixed schedule. Such schedules may be annual (Xiao, p. 151), or they may be spread over a considerable period. The five Gongwang just mentioned actually combine both forms; the Gongwang which comes to Lin Qingshui's village goes first one year to Shangnancun, the next year to Huangyucun. After staying the night in the ancestral hall, it moves on the following day to yet another village, and so on, until it returns, together with the four other Gongwang, on the day before the Duanwu festival to the temple (Lin, pp. 89). In the Songyuan Wang lineage introduced by Wang Xinling, the same practice is transferred to the "big board" (*dapai*) inscribed with the honored ancestor's name and carried out annually in procession like a god; each of four lineage segments organizes by turns this procession and accompanying sacrifice involving altogether 20,000 people in 24 villages in two counties; after the sacrifice, the "ancestral seat" (*paivei*) is transferred to the caretaker of the year, an honor which comes to Jingkou village but once in 12 years.