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贛南宗族社會與道教文化研究

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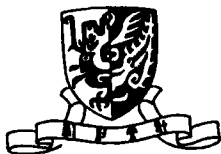
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**TRADITIONAL HAKKA SOCIETY
SERIES VOLUME ⑧**

General Editor: John Lagerwey

**STUDIES OF LINEAGE SOCIETY AND
TAOISM IN GANNAN**

by Liu Jingfeng



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Introduction

John Lagerwey

The seven essays gathered in this book are entirely composed of first — hand material collected by Liu Jingfeng in the course of his fieldwork over a four — year period (1996 — 1999). The primary focus of the first three essays is lineage history and of the last three Taoism; the fourth essay combines both foci and thereby serves as a transition between the first and second halves of the book. Behind all the essays lies an overriding concern that may be formulated as follows: in what way, if any, is Gannan Hakka society specific? Aware that, in order to answer this question, he had to take into account both the geographic diversity of the Gannan region and the well — known problem of “old” and “new Hakka” populations, Liu selected sites of radically contrasting types: the Dus of Xiutian in Anyuan County represent one of those very old lineages that preceded the massive influx of Hakka migrants from Guangdong and Fujian from the mid — Ming on, and the Shicheng county township of Zhukeng, on the border with Fujian, constitutes a geographic opposite to the Shangyou county township of Wuzhifeng, contiguous with Hunan. The contrast between the Taoism of Anyuan and Chongyi counties is of the same order, as the first has direct links with the southwestern Fujian county of Shanghang and the second with the northwestern Guangdong county of Ruyuan.

That the Dus of Xiutian represent an old and a major lineage

there can be no doubt; now in their 36th generation, they represent some 20,000 persons. Even if one questions, as Liu rightly does, the veracity of their account of descent from one Du Jian, said to have come to Anyuan between the two Songs, a lineage register preface dated 1670 and signed by an 18th-generation descendant, who cites a 1564 register, already makes that claim. The local Dus enter the historical record in the person of their tenth-generation ascendant, Zhongzhi, said in the local monograph to have been honored with a title in the year 1474. Half of the Dus descend from this Zhongzhi, about whom many marvelous tales are told, including that he committed suicide in order to beat his fifth brother to a grave that had been designated by a geomancer as extraordinarily auspicious. The mid-19th century local monograph mentions a whole series of Anyuan bridges, pavillions, and temples built with the help of generations 11-18 of the Du lineage; it also lists many who passed the exams or became officials in generations 13-18. Generations 11-14 of the various segments are described, in an extraordinary document copied by Liu from the lineage register, as cooperating in the construction of a lineage hall; after first discussing it in 1501 during a gathering on the day of the midsummer sacrifice to the ancestors (7/15), they began building in 1502 and finished over half a century later, in 1574. Careful counting of male children enables Liu to show that population peaked in generations 18-20 (early to mid-Qing) and that the sixth of the six segments descended from Zhongzhi's six sons represented by then nearly half of the total numbers. As a result of this population growth,

Xiutian itself became a unilineage village by the end of the 17th century, and the Dus at the same time expanded throughout the area.

The lineage hall continued to be regularly restored throughout the Qing and the lineage register brought up to date. Most segments also had their own halls, called not *ci* but *zhongting*, common halls. The Dus accumulated a large amount of land, much of it jointly owned in the name of the main hall (in an appendix Liu copies a lengthy list of this land which he dates to 1872). Management of the land was confided to an elected head; assistant managers and auditors were selected from each of the main segments. The main lineage segments also rotated annual sacrifices according to an order determined by lot in the year 1609. The 1754 register was the first to include segments of the lineage outside Xiutian and functional ancestors prior to Zhongzhi (the 1992 register, in expanding its coverage to the Dus of five provinces, pushed back temporally behind Ancestor Jian as well). It also added new lineage rules that included the interdiction of funeral banquets and rough treatment of the bride such as fumigating the bridal chamber, smearing her face with soot, and even simulating gang rape. The 1816 register added items against adoption from outside the lineage and rules for recording wives' remarriages and lineage members who became Taoist or Buddhist monks.

As Liu Jingfeng says in the introduction to his article on Zhukeng, old lineages in Shicheng County, those going back to the Song and Yuan, tend to live in single lineage villages along

the main river or in a large plain, while the Ming—Qing arrivals live in the poorer, hilly parts of the county, in smaller villages composed of many lineages. If the Xiutian Dus fit perfectly the first category—Xiutian is located in the main Anyuan valley, hard by the county seat—Zhukeng belongs to the latter; located 16 kilometers from the Shicheng county seat, on the border with Huaitu Township in Ninhua County, Fujian, it has a population of nearly 14,000 divided between 32 surnames. Ten of these surnames are “major”, but even they are fragmented; the 1800 Zhangs, for example, constitute the largest surname group, but they come from six different origins, the largest of which, in Tangtai, has but 700 persons. This group arrived in the late Ming, built its first hall and edited its first register in 1751, and is now in its 13th generation. The other five groups all came from Ninghua, and several even came, albeit at different times, from the same village. By the mid—Qing, these groups had organized themselves into two hall—focused lineages, each of which now has around 600 members. But the Zhangs regrouped around these three lineage halls have always intermarried!

Of the other major surname groups Liu treats, the Wangs, who number 750, are composed of three groups who have neither joint hall nor register. The Luos, who number 1400, have one major group of 500 that came in the early 18th century as laborers attached to a Wen household; they built a hall in 1757, contributed to an academy in 1802, and in 1808, after fighting a three—year court case, won the right to be registered as a local, as opposed to a guest household. The Kongs, who arrived in the

early Qing and now number 800, set up their first hall in 1724 and fought for and obtained local status already in the Yongzheng era by buying half a household from a Cheng family in a different ward. But the Weis of the villages of Tangtai and Xintian are perhaps the most interesting group; the 500 Weis of Tangtai trace their lineage back nearly as far as the Dus of Xiutian and like them show a population peak in the late Ming/early Qing, but their 1913 register, said to be the 12th, contains no text prior to 1782, about the time they built a hall for their first demonstrably historical ancestor. They produced few scholars, had little joint land, and by the 1940s half were tenant farmers. By contrast, the Xintian Weis, a lineage alliance now numbering 1000, derives from three different ancestors, the first of which arrived in the late Ming. They built a hall in 1740 and edited their first register in 1741. In 1748, they went back to Ninghua to fetch what a 1942 document claims was a Song—era ancestor common to them and the Tangtai Weis, and in 1795 they organized themselves by written contract into ten teams responsible by rotation for paying taxes on all lineage land. But while they built their hall with money from Weis as far away as Ningdu and Guangchang counties, they never made any move to join with the Weis of Tangtai.

Zhukeng, in short, even it has some relatively old lineages, has all the characteristics of an immigrant society; lineages “of many origins, living mixed through each other.” Not surprisingly, one of the standard features of its religious organization is jointly owned temples whose gods are paraded annually through

mixed lineage territory: Huaguang is shared by five surnames, Handi by five others, and General Zhao by six. Qilang and Guanyin temples are dominated by single lineages, but in the latter case at least, they are Lais of different origins. Most of these are village temples built at the water exit. But the most interesting temple is the Furen miao located on a mountain of the same name to the northwest of Tangtai; while the annual festival on 8/18 draws Lüshan Taoists from Changting, Ruijin, and Anyuan counties, the goddesses are carried in procession to the Wei hall alone. Why this is so no one knows, though the Daoguang monograph says that a woman née Wei and married to a Chen once lived there, and the Weis are said locally to have led in the building of the temple sometime before the Qing.^① What all this points to is that the Taoist cult of the Ladies on this mountain is a relatively old one, older in any case than most of the local lineages, with the exception of the Tangtai Weis.

In the township of Five-Finger Peak, there is no need laboriously to read lineage register prefaces to know that this is immigrant society, for this is in the heart of the area where the 1508-21 revolt of the Yao was suppressed by Wang Yangming. Five-Finger Peak, moreover, is contiguous with the township of Yingqian described by Luo Yong in volume 7 of the present series and shares many of its characteristics. 90% of this mountainous township is covered by forest, and the one crop of late

① According to Lai Shengting, the Taoists of the area go annually to report the names of the children whom they have "adopted out" to the Three Ladies; see volume 3 of the present series, *Gannan diqu di miaohui yu zongzu*, p. 181.

rice is barely enough for local consumption. Of the 38 surnames in Wuzhifeng, Liu Jingfeng gathered information on 28; they have 83 different lineage origins, of which 63 (76%) come from Guangdong. The most common scenario is an early Qing immigration from Xingning County to Yingqian followed by a move to Wuzhifeng in the mid-Qing. Of the eight surnames who have upwards of 700 persons, the Lais are the most numerous, but the 1900 Lais have six different origins. The founder of the largest group is said in an 1894 register to have been born in 1681. By the sixth generation, the younger of two segments counted 126 males; now in its 14th generation, it numbers 1500 persons, half of whom live in Wuzhifeng, the other half in Yingqian and another adjoining township. Like the Dus of Xiutian, these Lais used their wealth to feed the famished, build bridges, and bury the poor. The third generation already founded an academy and set aside land to sustain it. In 1758 and 1774, they had two *wuju* and through the seventh generation won many academic titles. In 1813, the younger segment bought out the older's half of the ancestral house and rebuilt it as an ancestor hall; in 1823 they produced their first lineage register. Their own segment now firmly established as a bone fide blood-based lineage, these Lais began to link up with two other local Lai groups; in 1851 they built a hall focused on an invented father, and in 1894 compiled a joint register.

Liu gives similar thumbnail sketches of the development of five other major surname groups in Wuzhifeng, of which the most interesting is the Huangs; of the 800 people of eight differ-

ent origins, 700 trace their ancestry back to two brothers said to have come in the early Qing from Xingning. In the early 19th century, each of these two lineage segments set up its own ancestor hall and then together fetched from Guangdong the bones of the two brothers' mother in order to have a joint object of worship. By the end of the Qing, they had also joined with Huangs in neighboring townships to edit a common register. Once again, recourse was had to invention — in this case of brothers — to facilitate a process of fusion not completed until 1949.

Numerous gods in small temples by the water exit characterize the villages of the western part of Wuzhifeng, and Bogong are located at the head and tail of every gully. The festival of the rice seedlings, on 6/6 as in much of Shaoguan to the south, is an occasion for one — day Taoist Jiao and also for hanging paper money dipped in cock's blood on the Bogong altars. In the eastern part of the township, Shegong replace Bogong, head Shegong occupy the strategic water exits, and temples are located on village margins. On 6/6, hamlets or lineages organize processions that are led by a Taoist and go from temple to temple to pray for good fortune. When they "hang the field paper" on 7/15, they do so individually, not collectively. There are also four major area — level temples, dedicated to Pangu, Xu Zhenjun, Wuxian, and one Deng Tong Sanlang. The Pangu temple is on a mountain where it is said immortals gather and from which mortals who have achieved immortality must ascend. Mountain and temple alike are called 'Pangu the Immortal' — an appellation

common in Lechang and Ruyuan counties just across the Guangdong border as well. Liu Jingfeng found in this temple the remnants of an inscription referring to a Jiao performed in 1866, and he was able to decipher the names of 219 contributors of 27 surnames. Like so many Zhenjun temples in Gannan, Wuzhifeng's was in the marketplace and had an eighth month festival of Qiju theater paid for by merchants. The Wuxian temple, originally built by four lineages, was moved to a marketplace water exit around 1912 and also had annual festival with theater, in the ninth month. (Liu quotes a 77-year old Anyuan individual to the effect that "a market without a temple cannot last.") As for the Deng Tong Sanlang Temple, an elderly informant of the Deng lineage explained it was originally dedicated to his eighth-generation ancestor, a Taoist master of considerable magic power who died young and without an heir. His wandering soul caused trouble, so the Dengs decided to set up a small temple for him outside the village. But when, early in the 20th century, they discovered the unrelated Deng Tong Sanlang from a village temple over a mountain in Suichuan County to be more powerful, they stole his "incense seat" and brought it to their temple. He was seated to the left of their own master, but the temple was renamed after the new one. According to Liu, cults of this kind dedicated to Taoist shamans are common throughout the area.

On the other side of the Gannan region, in the township of Gaoyunshan in Anyuan County, we find a very similar world of shamanism and multiple lineages. The township seat of this mountainous area bordering on the counties of Xunwu and

INTRODUCTION

Huichang is 27 kilometers from the county seat, and Xugang is on the northeast edge of the township and has a population of which 37% is officially classified as She. The two oldest lineages, the Zhongs and the Suns, are respectively in their 20th and 19th generations and number but 10 and 80 individuals. Both the Suns and the Wangs lost earlier influence because of the unsocial behavior of lineage members. The 19 remaining surnames, numbering altogether some 1100 people, came beginning in the 18th century to work in the paper-making industry. Lineage sentiment is not strong; there is not a single lineage hall worthy of the name in the village. As regards shamanistic culture, perhaps the most telling detail is the Three Immortals Temple at the Huangkeng village water exit; its three Pusa are said by others to have been brought there by the Lan (considered She). The central figure covered his ears, the second pulled in his head and crouched at his feet, and the third sat on his lap and hid his head in the central figure's bosom. These three "brothers" are said to have gotten on well and to have been good persons but lacking in courage. They were especially terrified of thunder, and when they once rushed to help someone cross a river in a thunderstorm, they themselves drowned. Guanyin, moved by their compassion, converted them into gods who could protect the people. The Lans, however, deny there ever were such statues.

Xugang has three joint temples. One is dedicated to Guanyin, a second to Xu Zhenjun, and the third, called both Pavillion of the Returning Dragon and Water Exit Temple, con-

tains images of the Three Immortals and several other gods. The worship of the Three Immortals comes from Shanghang County, but a local Lüshan Taoist identified them as disciples of Taishang laojun worshiped in Xugang as Lord of Wealth Granddads. Although all three went with Lüshan wangmu to study with Laojun, Huang Qilang was the best student and was therefore given charge of the Lüshan seal and whip. Huang Balang liked to wear masks, was good at exorcisms, and so became patron saint of marionette theater. Xing Shisanlang liked to blow the conch, excelled in terrifying devils, and hence led the troops in battle. Their temple involves villagers from a large area that spills over into neighboring Huichang County. The area was originally divided into eleven *pai* said to have bought shares in the temple when it was first built. Rituals are performed three times a year: in the second month, a Taoist does a ritual to protect the rice seedlings (also called “spring earth god ritual”); in the fifth month, beginning on the fifth, a twelve-day procession of all the gods winds its way through all the *pai* in accord with a rotation sequence determined by lot; and in the eleventh month, after the harvest, a Taoist comes to “thank the earth god”. The Jiao on which Liu Jingfeng reports was supposed to be done every third year, but was in reality irregular. In 1995, it lasted five days.

The main Taoist was a Lan of the Lüshan school who said that his ancestors had come in the Yongzheng era from Shanghang and that he had himself studied with his maternal uncle and received from him his Thunder Altar. The ritual began and end-