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主編 勞格文

# 贛南地區的廟會與宗族

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## PREFACE

John Lagerwey

The present volume is composed primarily of contributions to the third regional conference of the CCK — funded project “The Structure and Dynamics of Chinese Rural Society.” Held November 8 — 10, 1995, under the auspices of the Gannan Teachers College, this conference of ethnographic reports on the customs of the Gannan Region was organized by Luo Yong and Lin Xiaoping, both assistant professors in the college and officers of the Gannan Hakka Studies Society. Even more than the first meeting on Meizhou, this conference was almost exclusively focused on the Gannan region, indeed on its eastern half: the counties of Ningdu, Shicheng, Ruijin, Huichang, Anyuan, Yudu, Nankang, and Ganxian (a subsequent conference and volume will concentrate on the western half).

Like the Meizhou volume, this volume gives pride of place to the description of temple festivals, especially those celebrated in the county seats, although not to the neglect of village festivals and those which took place in countryside pilgrimage centers. Of the county seat festival papers, three — those of Li Deyang, Wu Renlong, and He Boda — are focused on a single festival; that of Zhang Zhiyuan describes several. The essays of Cao Chunrong/Luo Zhenpo and Deng Wenjin cover major festivals of both the county seat and countryside. Xiong Zuo's paper

describes one of the most important festivals of the entire eastern half of Gannan; that of Ziyu (Li Yaohua) focuses on the Duanwu festival in a series of villages. Of the three papers on lineages, two — those of Zhu Zuzhen and Yan Enxuan — are primarily concerned with lineage history and customs and that by Zhang Sijie with a festival for an ancestor who is also a god. Of the two original papers on Taoism, that of Lai Shengting is exclusively devoted to a description of Taoist ritual practice, while that of Liu Jingfeng places that practice in its village context. My own paper, kindly — and competently! — translated by Zhong Hongwei, is the only one of the entire collection not focused on Gannan; it is included here because it describes the Taoism of Minxi, just across the border from southeastern Gannan, and therefore makes comparison possible<sup>①</sup>. The introduction will summarize the papers and focus attention on the patterns they reveal.

## County Seat Temple Festivals

Li Deyang's paper holds a particular fascination because of both the relative earliness of its primary source — an inscription dated 1395 — and the glimpse it gives of a form of Song Buddhism remarkably like that of Fujian in general and Minxi in particular<sup>②</sup>. The inscription tells the story of a Buddhist monk of the

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<sup>①</sup> The article first appeared in *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Hakkaology*, ed. Hsieh Jiann and Chang Chak Yan (Chinese University of Hong Kong, Overseas Chinese Archives, 1994), 311–343.

<sup>②</sup> See my *《Dingguang Gufo: Oral and Written Sources in the Study of a Saint》*, *Cultes des sites, cultes des saints*, ed. Franciscus Verellen (Cahiers d'Extreme — Asie, 1998), and Xu Xiaowang, *Fujian minjian xinyang yuanliu* (Fuzhou, Fujian Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993).

early Song who apparently predicted the rise to power of the Zhao family and came to be called a 《living Buddha》(Shengfo) after his 《younger brother in the Dharma of Nan — an》— later known as Dingguang gufo — sent him a fan, and he selected it from among many similar fans when it was presented to him. His career after death was also reminiscent of that of the Minxi Gufo: his body was lacquered; he was prayed to for rain, an end to epidemics, and protection from bandits; he was given a string of titles by successive Southern Song emperors; and his temple became the focus of a major regional pilgrimage. As with Gufo, the date of Shengfo's annual festival is the anniversary of his death, the sixth day of the first month in Gufo's case, the sixth day of the sixth month in Shengfo's. But 6/6 is also a date of far more general significance in the Hakka area, linked in particular to the worship of Pangu (see the article on Aizi in the Meizhou volume): Shengfo is thus a typical example of Hakka religiosity, with roots both in local, pre-Han culture and in the Song penchant for transformation of Buddhist and Taoist masters into local gods.

The Huichang temple described by Wu Renlong is Taoist and dates to the mid-15th century. Local legend makes out its main god, Laigong, to be from the Jin (4th century), a theme which is primarily of interest because it has probably been influenced by the pan-Jiangxi tales of Xu Zhenren, Xu the Perfected, also a Taoist "man of the Jin." Laigong's cult is a very important one throughout the southeastern part of Jiangxi, and we shall encounter him again below in the articles by Ziyu (Yudu) and Liu Jingfeng (Anyuan). Like Zhanggong in Ziyu's account,

moreover, Laigong is said in Huichang to have learned the Tao on Qishan, stated here to be in Gansu and there to be inhabited by Lishan laomu, a divine instructress also not infrequently encountered in Minxi Taoism. Like the living Buddha of Yudu, Laigong is prayed to for rain (by Wang Yangming!) and drives off rebels (the Taiping, but not the Red Army of Zhu Dehuai in 1931!). Wu's article contains much more of interest: tales of magic warfare *doufa* between Laigong and Xiaogong, a village Taoist, and of Laigong's appearance in dreams to show his face so that a likeness may be sculpted, or to inform a medium *tongzi* how to sculpt the likeness of an acolyte; an account of the link between the original temple and three local lineages, as well as of the role in the festival of bare-breasted, red-turbanned *majue* and of merchant guilds from Nanchang. Laigong's birthday being on another classic festival day, the seventh day of the seventh month, his festival, including four days of parading the god through the streets of the county seat, takes place then.

From start to finish, the Chenghuang temple of Anyuan described by He Boda<sup>①</sup> was inseparable from the state: built in 1372 by imperial order, its statue was destroyed personally by Jiang Jingguo in the 1940s, although not before explaining to the god that "this is Mr. Jiang who wants to destroy you; if you are responsive, blame me alone, it has nothing to do with anyone else." He Boda, who was a middle-schooler at the time, recalls

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① The news of He Boda's sudden death reached me as this volume was going to print. Personally involved in the restoration of Anyuan's temple to Xu zhenjun, He Boda has left us here an eloquent proof of how vital to our understanding of pre-1949 China is the memory of the old. I count it an extraordinary privilege to have known He Boda; may he rest in peace!

that the whole county was alive with talk about this event: "The people concluded that, inasmuch as Jiang was prefect in this world, while the Chenghuang was but county magistrate in the other world, it was normal that the latter could not defeat the former". The Chenghuang procession used to take place on the 24th day of the fifth month, on the last day of the three-day festival whose prime features seem to have been Hunan opera (Qiju) and mass gambling. He Boda's article, though short, gives rich insight into the social role of the Chenghuang cult and an extremely precise account of the festival.

Zhang Zhiyuan presents the fascinating case of Shicheng, where no fewer than ten major temples divided the county seat into as many parishes. For the Duanwu festival, each temple originally had its own boat: already on the eighth day of the fourth moon, the Houji temple parishioners carried their boat in procession down to the river; the people lined the streets and used peach branches to throw insects gathered inside their homes into the boat (cf. the account of Luokou in the *Meizhou diqu* volume, p. 237). On the first day of the fifth month, the Chenghuang temple (built in 1368) held its festival and procession; on the third day, it was the turn of the Dongyue temple; and finally, after the races on the fifth day, all the other temples held one-day Taoist Jiao to invite and then expel, by burning of paper boats down by the riverside, the spirits of pestilence *wen-shen*. Zhang recounts how, at the Tianfu (Heavenly Talisman) temple, where the presiding deity was Nuocha taizi, the Taoist sang a song describing the beautiful regions through which the boat would pass so as to get the demons to board. The nine oth-

er temples had to burn their boats earlier so as to be present at the destruction of the Tianfu boat by the river outside the south gate of the city, where the Taoist sent the "pestilence spirits of the ten wards off to Western Heaven".

Two other details in Zhang's article merit special mention: the tale of the daughter of a Taoist, Lady Hu, who falls in love with Houji and then fails to respond to all her father's attempts to exorcise her; when Hu goes to Longhushan to complain, he is given a "five thunders" seal in his left hand, but children playing at the temple door block his entry and force his fist open, with the result that the thunder—clap destroys only the temple gate. Hu's daughter dies, Houji appears to the temple caretaker in a dream telling him to sculpt a statue of Hu's daughter, now Houji's wife, and Hu tells his lineage never again to worship Houji. The other concerns the Chenghuang laoye who is said, when an emperor fled south (such stories are usually told of the last emperor of the Song), to have sent out "underworld soldiers" *yinbing* with flags reading "the Peach Blossom Grotto of Shicheng"; the enemy turned heel and ran, and the Laoye received a two—character title. The Peach Blossom Grotto is an actual site, west of the city and also known as "disorderly burial ridge," that is, ridge where the bones of the unfortunate dead are buried. The Peach Blossom Grotto is also the place to which the Yao people go when they die.

Deng Wenqin and Cao Chunrong/Luo Zhenpo both treat of festivals associated with Dongping wang (cf. also the article by Zhang Guoyu in the *Minxi miaohui* volume), that is, Zhang Xun, a heroic general who died defending the town of Suiyang



during the An Lushan rebellion. In Ningdu, Zhang Xun and his affiliate Xu Yuan were worshipped in the Shuangzhong (Loyal Twins) temple as the patron saints of one of the gate-related wards *fang* of the county seat<sup>①</sup>; the festival began with a procession on the afternoon of the 21st day of the second month and included seven days of Qiju opera. The Ruijin temple, built at the end of the Ming, is near a unilineage village 25 kilometers north of the county seat; the Luos begin by cleaning out their main ancestral hall on the seventh day of the first month; on the tenth day, the males of the village go to the temple to "welcome the gods" into their village and hall, also for seven days of Qiju (and gambling). When the gods are sent off on the 16th day of the month, the epidemic spirits are sent off in a paper boat set burning on the river behind the temple.

The village cult presented by Deng Wenqin is at once a remarkable combination of ancient survivals and a fascinating example of a by — now familiar sociological pattern in the Hakka countryside, namely, a god — — here, a whole collection of gods — — that travels from village to village every year, from the second to the 16th of the first and from the 11th to the 17th of the ninth months. The chief god thus carried about is Huaguang, known locally as Fuzhu laoye (Old Man Lord of Happiness). He shares his temple and procession with the three Taoist divine

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① We have just seen that in Shicheng, temples were linked to wards; in Ningdu, that link is even more explicit; the gods of key temples are the patron saints of the wards affiliated with the four city gates. We have found a similar phenomenon in Minxi, in the counties of Wuping, Qingliu, and Mingqi; see the essays of Zhong Desheng and Li Shengbao in the fourth volume in this series, *Minxi di chengxiang miaohui yu cunluo wenhua*.

generals popular among the Yao and the Miao, Tang, Ge, and Zhou, as well as with the demon-queller Chongkui. When the gods arrive in a village, they are treated either to masked Nuo theater—this is apparently the only surviving example of Nuo in all Gannan—or to Mu'ou or Qiju, while the Chongkui mask-bearer enters the local lineage hall to exorcise it. The Nuo manuscripts mention not only Huaguang and Chongkui, but also one-legged Mowang demon-kings, and a whole series of Taoist masters *xiansheng* named Guo; the Nuo of Huangshi township is clearly Taoist.

The county seat festival recounted by Luo and Cao is also dedicated to a *fuzhu*, called Fenghou, or Marquis Feng; during the Huang Chao rebellion, three brothers Feng set out to save the emperor; the two younger brothers died in battle, and the eldest was assassinated by a jealous retainer. His corpse then floated upstream till, during a drought, it ran aground on an islet. The locals thought it a god, buried the corpse, and built him a temple. The brothers were given the "marquis" title in the Southern Song; in the Yuan, a travelling palace *xingci* was built 15 kilometers northeast of the county seat, in Rentian zai, at a point of passage for travellers from Shicheng and Changting. The annual festival in both Rentian and the county seat comprises several weeks of Qiju (or Mu'ou); it ends on the 11th of the ninth moon in the city, on the 13th in Rentian. In the city, separate lineages handle each of the three brothers. As for Rentian, it is noteworthy its festival ends the day before Changting's greatest festival, in honor of Fuhu chanshi.

## Temple Festivals in the Countryside

The origin of the Xu zhenjun cult in Huangwuqian is also miraculous: a cowherd fished a tree trunk from a nearby river, placed it on a hill, and worshipped it. Miracles led to the construction of a small temple, in which, during the Kangxi era, a literatus on his way to the capital to pass the exams stopped to pray. When he became a military *jinshi*, he built, as he had promised, a much larger temple. Control of the temple was originally contested by three lineages: the Pans, who had given the land; the Songs, who had originally built it; and the Huangs, the largest local lineage. The Huangs won a competition and thenceforth organized the festival with the help of wealthy fellow —lineage members in Ningdu. The theater offered Xu the Perfected during the first 12 days of the eighth month begins with a trip to the Pan ancestral hall to perform "The Eight Immortals Cross the Sea" in order to thank the Pan family on behalf of Xu. In 1995, over 100 "flowery assemblies" *huahui* of from ten to 100 pilgrims came, accompanied by a Taoist, whose principle duty was to present a memorial *shangbiao*, from the surrounding counties of Shicheng, Ningdu, Ruijin, Yudu, and Ninghua.

With Ziyu (Li Yaohua), we are introduced to yet another set of shared gods, the Sangong ("three grandpas"), Zhang—, Gao—, and Laigong, who go by turns to 15 villages during the first half of the fifth month in a valley ten kilometers east of the Yudu county seat. Every year, by rotation, a different village is first to welcome the gods into their lineage hall; the day they come to a given village is considered locally to be the Duanwu

festival (the same is true of the Chongyang festival of Huaguang in Huangshi township in Ningdu). In each village, after lunch, on a rice-drying area, five camps are staked out with flags and a Taoist, sword in hand, first invites the soldiers of each camp and then runs in a figure-eight pattern around the camps. Next all the gods in their sedan chairs are carried running around the same area, chasing five boys carrying the flags of the respective camps; this is called "fixing the camps" *zhaying* or "practicing *lian* with the Pusa". On the last day, the year's final village invites a Taoist to do a one-day "incense ritual" *xianghuo*, complete with a *shangbiao*, and accompanied by Mu'ou. One of several marvellous tales told by Ziyu of the chief god, Zhangyegong, shows him going to Qishan to get the Tao from Lishan laomu. The story, which has Zhanggong washing the purulent sores on the legs of Laomu disguised as a beggar, is reminiscent of Minxi tales in which such as Tugong and Laigong, on their way to Lushan to "learn the methods" *xuefa*, are put to the test by being asked by an old man to suck the pus from a festering wound on his neck; we are clearly in the same Taoist universe of myth and ritual.

### Lineages

The case of the Xiao lineage of Shahekou, near Ganzhou city, is unclassifiable if we insist on contrasting, as the facts of Han Chinese society usually oblige us to do, ancestor and god worship; throughout the year, three gods sit in what the Xiaos consider to be their ancestral hall, chief among them being Shui-

fu laozu or "Old Ancestor of the Water Yamen", the god in charge of the corporation of these "on — the — water people" *shuishang ren*. On the 13th day of the first month, having already prepared a huge papier — mache dragon — boat said to be that of their ancestor, a high Five Dynasties official from Changsha, Xiao Jue, the Xiaos carry in from the house of the person in charge of their statues in the previous year 15 other statues, including that of Lao laozu (Dear Old Ancestor), that is, Xiao Jue, but also those of Guanyin laomu, Wenchang laozu, several *tongzi* ("youths") and *taizi* ("princes"), Xianfeng laozu (Old Ancestor of the Vanguard, patron saint of lumber — raft floaters), and several probable lineage ancestors. Among the latter is one Fabian laozu — Fabian ("at the edge of the Dharma") is a *zouming* or "name used by Taoists when presenting memorials" — probably an ancestor of the Qianlong period. Both Xianfeng and Lao laozu occasionally take possession of their "descendants", and a special "mad running" rite is performed with their sedan chairs on the 15th day of the first month in front of the ancestral hall in the hopes they will "seize" one of the chair — bearers and make him their medium *majiao* ("horse — foot": mount?). Clearly, there is total "confusion" here between "ancestors" and "gods".

Already on the 14th, at dawn, a pig had been sacrificed to the dragon god and its blood poured onto the dragon — boat's head. The pig's bladder was then hung on the dragon's tail, and on it was written, "Capture epidemics, snare poisons". The boat that is then carried down to the waterfront at dawn on the 16th to be burned, as a way of sending off Xiao Jue, is also carrying

off epidemics, making the Xiao "lantern festival" a conflation of ancestor and god worship not only, but also of the Duanwu practice common throughout southeastern China of "sending off the gods of epidemics" *song wenshen*. The stories told of these intermingled gods and ancestors by Zhang Sijie reveal them to be at once lineage protectors and patron saints of the lineage corporation of fishermen and lumber raft-floaters. I suspect, in particular, that Xiao Jue is in fact none other than the Xiaogong from Nanchang referred to in Zhu Zuzhen's article. ①

Zhu Zuzhen describes the history and customs of his home village, whose ancestor, he writes, first came to the area from Fujian at the end of the Song. The two main gods in the five Zhu villages are Xiaogong and Huaguang, and their respective festivals are celebrated on the 8th and 16th of the first month. From year to year the "table head" *anshou* rotates among those families whose ancestors originally gave money or land to the temple. Xiaogong, himself originally said to have been a boatsman *chuanfu*, was imported from Nanchang in the Qianlong era by a Zhu engaged in the lumber business. Huaguang's origins are apparently unknown, but it is known he is "optimistic and lively" and likes to flip upside down, as when he is carried out to a pool for bathing and when he enters a house (if he stays upright, it is

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① There are also many overlaps with the Xiaogong—identified as one Xiao Rui, enfeoffed for heroism by the founder of the Tang—described by Tong Jin'gen in his article on the Xiao of Dongshan in Qingliu county (also in the fourth volume in this series; see preceding note). The degree to which the tales of origin of these Jiangxi *shuishang ren* resemble those of the "boat people" of Hong Kong and elsewhere in southern China is also worth noting; see especially the doctoral thesis of Beatrice David, "Du bateau à la maison, ou comment ne plus être 'Tanka' (Université de Paris VII, 1995), chapter 2.

most inauspicious, because it is thought this means he is unhappy); when he crosses a bridge, however, he flips upright again. Zhu also notes that each village has its own *shegong*, usually at the water exit, and gives an excellent account of the sequence of events in local women's lives after they turn 50 and begin to "recite Amitofo's name" *nian Fo* using a rosary with 108 beads. The ritual of entry into what is a veritable sorority is called "meeting Guanyin" or "receiving the rosary". It requires 18 years of annual ceremonies and regular practice before a woman may *dian Fo*; invite a *zhaigong* or a Taoist to recite scriptures for from five to seven days, ending with a Pudu ritual on the last night; an orchestra is also invited.

The Dongs of Fenggang described by Yan Enxuan and Dong Yuanlai belong to the wave of immigration into Gannan by the Hakka of Guangdong in the early Qing. The Dongs came from Xingning in 1680 and became instantly wealthy when their quilt — making ancestor was rewarded for his honesty in returning the gold found in cotton sold him by the wastrel son of a rich official from Hubei. By the time the founder died in 1738, he had seven sons and 25 grandsons (three more were born later); he had 111 great — grandsons and 370 great — great — grandsons. By 1819, the Dongs had surpassed the 1000 mark and by 1881 the 2000; in Nankang county they now live in 32 different places and in Jiangxi are scattered through ten counties (some also moved to Guangxi in the 19th century). Thanks to the early creation of lineage schools, the founder had ten grandsons who were "county students" *yi xiangsheng*, and the lineage produced a military *jinshi* in 1752. One large home, built in 1810, has a place for

Guanyin in the central hall, a custom no doubt imported from Xingning. The village's main festivals are in the first month—when each segment of the lineage parades for half a month with its dragon—lantern *longdeng*, beginning on the second with a visit to the main ancestral hall to "salute the ancestors" *baizu*—and the fifth, on the fifth day, when Wugu is carried from the local Sheguan temple to each house's gate in order to be worshipped by its inhabitants. At the end of the Ming, a temple and stage were built in the Fenggang market to honor Kangwang, whose annual festival was organized by the local merchants.

### **Taoism Among the Hakka**

The three articles on Taoism show clearly that Gannan, like Minxi Taoism is essentially of the Lüshan variety. This implies considerable similarity in both rituals and pantheons, but I shall here also underline some of the differences; on the Shicheng county paintings described by Lai Shengting, the Song emperor Renzong figures, a fact which calls to mind the role played by this emperor both in popular literature and in Yao myth—history (as the origin of their charter of distinctiveness); an emperor also appears on a Yongding painting I describe, but the local Taoist was unable to identify him. The same Yongding painting and that described by Lai both show Guanyin on level two, just below the Three Pure Ones in the first case, below Yuhuang in



the second<sup>①</sup>. The Anyuan county paintings described by Liu Jingfeng show Pangu, dressed in leaves, as well as the marshals Tang, Ge, and Zhou, engaged in warfare with demons; both features are reminiscent of Yao Taoism. In all three areas, the tiger — riding Wuchang wulang would seem to be the principal demon — eaters, rewarded always with "blood — wine" *xuejiu* (this is also true of Lushan Taoism in Taiwan). Paintings in all three areas, of course, include the Three Ladies (Sannai).

Lüshan invitations of the gods integrate local gods into the Lüshan pantheon. In Shicheng, the local gods invited include Huaguang and Dingguang; in Anyuan, Xu Zhenjun, Xianshi (the Immortal Master, a late Song Taoist whose cult is very strong in the Minxi counties of Shanghang and Wuping), Laiye (= Laigong), Pangu, Luo Zu (Patriarch Luo, Ming founder of a major sect of lay Buddhism), and Han Gaozu (cf. Liu Jingfeng's article in the *Meizhou diqu de miaohui* volume for an example of his cult in Ningdu). As regards Lüshan divinities, both Shicheng and Anyuan Taoists invite Longshu and Zhenwu (also depicted on Lüshan paintings in Jianyang, northwest Fujian), Lüshan fazhu (the ritual master of Lüshan, called Maoshan fazhu in Anyuan), Wangmu, Sanguan, Nuocha, and Fantan pomiao shi (the master who destroys temples and overturns altars, called not "master"

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① The Yongding painting included the entire pantheon on a single painting, while the Shicheng scroll was one of a set of three paintings. On the uppermost level of the lefthand painting Yuanshi tianzun was depicted, together with the sun, with Taishang laojun and the moon figuring on the top of the righthand painting. In Liancheng I have seen, placed alone on the main altar, a small painting of Yuhuang (the Jade Emperor) holding in his left hand the sun and in his right the moon. The Shicheng painting would seem to have combined this Lüshan representation of the Jade Emperor with the Three Pure Ones of the more standard Taoist tradition.