

閩西的城鄉廟會與村落文化

主編 楊彥杰



國際客家學會
海外華人研究社
法國遠東學院



TRADITIONAL HAKKA SOCIETY
SERIES ④

ed. John Lagerwey

TEMPLE FESTIVALS AND
VILLAGE CULTURE IN MINXI

ed. Yang Yanjie



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



This book is a partial result of the project "The Structure and Dynamics of Chinese Rural Society" funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. Publication was jointly funded by this project and the Chongzheng Association.

本書為蔣經國國際學術交流基金會補助“中國農業社會的結構與原動力”計劃的部分成果。本書出版費用承蔣經國基金會及崇正總會補助，謹此致謝。

閩西的城鄉廟會與村落文化

主編 楊彥杰

出版 國際客家學會
海外華人研究社
法國遠東學院
印刷 傳真廣告印刷公司
香港灣仔譚臣道 114 號
廣亞大廈十樓 A 座
書號 ISBN: 962-7433-07-1
850 × 1168 毫米 32 開本
14.69 印張 33.84 千字
版次 1997 年 4 月第 1 版
印數 1-1000 冊
定價 港幣 120 元

版權所有 不准翻印

閩西的城鄉廟會與村落文化

主編 楊彥杰



國際客家學會
海外華人研究社
法國遠東學院



目 錄

序論	勞格文[1]
一、城關廟會	
寧化縣城區的天后宮廟會	葉興林 張國玉(1)
連城縣城關的城隍廟會	林水梅 謝濟中(18)
武平縣城關的廟會與醮會	鍾德盛(34)
清流縣城區廟會集錦	李升寶(58)
汀州城區的廟會大觀	張鴻祥(80)
二、鄉村廟會與節慶活動	
連城縣姑田鎮正月游大龍	華欽進(114)
連城縣廟前鎮芷溪正月游花燈	黃元瑩 楊啓縣 黃 森(140)
連城縣河源十三坊的輪祀公太	張展文(161)
寧化縣湖村鎮店上山的廟會	黃瑞儀 張國玉(184)
清流縣東山肖氏的宗族傳說及其廟會	童金根(208)
長汀縣平原山伏虎祖師十鄉輪祀圈	周立方(232)
三、宗族與村落文化	
武北湘村的宗族社會與文化	劉大可 劉文波(253)
連城縣四堡鄉馬屋村民間習俗	馬傳永(299)
清流縣余朋鄉東坑村民俗調查	江椿福 陳立忠(344)
寧化縣泉上鎮延祥村的宗族與文化	劉善群(379)
永定縣古竹鄉高頭江氏與媽祖信仰	楊彥杰(397)
后記	楊彥杰(416)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface John Lagerwey

County Seat Temple Festivals

The Festival of the Palace of the Queen of Heaven in Ninghua
..... Ye Xinglin Zhang Guoyu

The Festival of the City God in Liancheng
..... Lin Shuimei Xie Jizhong

The Temple Festivals and Jiao of Wuping
..... Zhong Desheng

Temple Festivals in Qingliu Li Shengbao

Survey of the Temple Festivals of Tingzhou
..... Zhang Hongxiang

Village Festivals

The Dragon Parades of the First Month in Gutian, Liancheng
..... Hua Qinjin

The Decorated Lantern Parade of Zhiqi, Liancheng, in the First
Month Huang Yuanying Yang Qixian Huang Sen

The Thirteen—Village Rotating Worship of Gongtai in Heyuan,
Liancheng Zhang Zhanwen

The Temple Festival of Dianshan Shan, Ninghua
..... Huang Ruiyi Zhang Guoyu

The Festivals and Myths of the Xiao Lineage of Dongshan,
Qingliu Tong Jin'gen

The Ten—Village Worship of Fuhu of Pingyuan Shan, Changt-
ing Zhou Lifang

Lineage and Village Culture

The Lineage Society and Culture of Xiangcun, Wuping
..... Liu Dake Liu Wenbo

The Customs of Ma Village, Liancheng
..... Ma Chuanyong

The Customs of Dongkeng Village, Qingliu
..... Jiang Chunfu Chen Lizhong

Lineage and Culture in Yanxiang Village, Ninghua
..... Liu Shanqun

Mazu Worship Among the Jiangs of Gaotou, Yongding
..... Yang Yanjie

PREFACE

John Lagerwey

The present volume is composed primarily of contributions to the fourth regional conference of the CCK — funded project "The Structure and Dynamics of Chinese Rural Society". Held in Ninghua 29 June—1 July 1996, it was organized jointly by Yang Yanjie of the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences and Liu Shanqun, head of the local Hakka Studies Association. The many others who helped in each county to find local participants are named and thanked individually by Yang Yanjie in his postface; I wish here simply to add a personal expression of my gratitude to the many friends throughout Minxi who have so consistently welcomed and aided us in every way in the course of our fieldwork. I would also like to thank the editor Prof. Fang Xuejia, computer specialist Ms. Ye Cuiqiong, and Eriberto Lozada for their help in producing this book. As in the Gannan volume, the introduction will provide summaries of the papers and focus attention on the patterns they reveal.

County Seat Temple Festivals

The history of the Tianhou temple whose procession on successive nights in the middle of the eighth month is described by Ye Xinglin and Zhang Guoyu is most revealing; originally called

Furen miao (Temple of the Ladies, that is, the Three Ladies Chen, Lin, and Li), it was built in the Yongle era of the Ming in the Chen family ward (Chenjia fang); having been destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt in the Kangxi era on a new site, near a market outside the southern gate of Ninghua.

The authors suggest that the name change also dates to that period a most plausible suggestion insofar as it is precisely during the Qing that markets and Tianhou temples become inseparable in Minxi. In living memory, however, in spite of the fact that Lady Lin, now locally identified as Mazu, was seated in the middle instead of Chen Jinggu, it was to the latter that children continued to be "contracted"; clearly, one goddess with very different proprietors and connections, had come to replace another (cf. the preface to the Gannan volume in this series, where both the "contracted" children and the local festival date, the 18th of the eighth month, are discussed). The organization of this festival is also of some interest; every night, from the 13th through the 16th, a different *peng*, as committees are often called in Ninghua, put on a procession whose centerpiece was a large lantern^①. On the 18th, after a day of rest, an all-day Jiao is performed by Taoists and Shigong—it includes the climbing of a

① Three of these lanterns, whose fabrication is said to go back to the Jiaqing era, were composed of seven stories and stood a total of some 15 meters tall. They were called "tall *peng*", a word which the authors write in the same manner as the term for "committee". If they are right, it may be speculated that these committees took their names from their most spectacular offering to the gods. But there is little agreement, in Ninghua and the other areas where this word is used to refer to "committees", about how it should be written. Suffice it to say that the standard way of organizing such *peng* is not by ward or by lineage segment, but rather by the drawing of lots so that each *peng* is composed of an equal number of individuals drawn at random from different parts of the town or village. In this way, competition is not between wards or lineages, but between groups created, literally, by chance.

sword ladder and other Lüshan rituals—and at night, all the floats go out together, followed by the Three Ladies, themselves accompanied by two Taoists or *wushi* blowing on their meter—and—a—half long horns. When the parade reached a Taoist temple just across the bridge from the Tianhou gong, that year's head *anshou* transferred responsibility to the next year's, and the Ladies were then rushed back to their temple. "Like the Pusa returning to their temple" was a local idiom for saying, "very quickly".

The Chenghuang temple of Liancheng was first founded in the Shaoxing era, but was moved to its present site in 1372. According to Lin Shumei and Xie Jizhong, behind the main hall there was a long, dark corridor which represented the Naihe Bridge; it was there that people came to "summon the souls" of the sick, before they crossed into the underworld. The festival had both a lineage and a territorial component: the organizing committee had one "good fortune head" *fushou* from each of Liancheng's seven major lineages, who also paid for the festival with rent from "sacrificial land" and, if necessary, a lineage-imposed tax; but when all was ready, the committee informed the four main gates of the city, so that each of the four sectors could prepare its segment of the parade, including at least one *gushi peng* (a "float" carrying young children, usually a girl and a boy, dressed and made up to look like a god, a goddess, or a famous operatic persona), one horse, and an orchestra. In the procession on the eighth day of the fourth moon, these ward segments came after the Chenghuang laoye, as opposed to the many vow-paying "criminals" and "beggars", who preceded him.

Zhong Desheng gives a particularly complete account of all the major temple festivals (*huijing* or *huiqi*; a festival without Taoist or Buddhist officiants) and Jiao (a festival with officiants and covering a larger territory) of Wuping county. Little Wuping, he writes, with a population of fewer than ten thousand, had more than 80 temples, of which 35 were Buddhist, Taoist, or vegetarian, and 28 were recognized by the state; it also had 20 ancestral halls. The local Tianhou temple held its festival on the sixth day of the sixth month. The Guandi temple south of the city was run by the beggars guild, and on the 13th of the fifth month, children who were hard to raise or often sick were brought there to recognize the head of the beggars as their surrogate father and receive from him a new name. In case of drought in Wuping, it was Dingguang who was exposed to the sun, because he was the most powerful of all local gods. Zhanggong taizi could also be prayed to for rain in the Taizi temple; this required sacrificing a dog and throwing its corpse into a lake. Participation in festivals was determined by territory, but lineages did tend to live together; the Zhongs in the southern sector, the Lis in the northern, the Wangs in the western, and the Zhongs and Wangs in the eastern. Each of these four sectors had its own "ward lord of happiness" *benfang fuzhu*, either a Tudi temple or a *shetan*.

Zhong describes a massive Jiao "for the preservation of peace" *bao'an Jiao* performed by each of the sectors in turn in the eighth month (8/13–27) of the year 1948: the eastern sector began, at the Guandi temple, then the Ersheng temple in the south, the Furen temple in the west, and the Dong'an Bridge

temples to Guanyin, Dingguang, Caishen, and Tianhou in the north. A major Jiao of this kind required inviting the gods of all major temples in the area, especially Taiping shan's Mazu, considered the *gupotai* of the local Lins, together with Jixiang ("auspicious") pusa, a small boy-god whose genitals could be rubbed in order to ask for a son, Qitian dasheng (Sun Wukong) from Shanghang, and Dagufu and Sangufo from Liangye shan. Dingguang was placed in the center. This Jiao also involved competition between Buddhist and Taoist (called *shangong*) officiants—Zhong tells a *doufa* tale involving a Buddhist monk and a Maoshan Taoist—as well as a third group of practitioners of martial arts who belonged to Filial Piety Scripture halls (*Xiao-jing guan*). The latter divided Wuping county into five sectors and therefore came in separate groups to recite the *Xiao-jing* and climb sword ladders^①. The procession of each sector took place in the afternoon: it went first, according to a fixed route, through the city, out the east gate to a "scattered burial" *luan-zang* ground, where a Pudu was performed, next to the south gate to "float river lanterns" *fang hedeng* or "release live creatures" *fangsheng* at twilight, and then back to the temple.

Li Shengbao likewise recounts both Jiao and temple festivals in the county seat, which was divided into ten wards *fang*, each with its own temple. Both the Fangong temple festival and the Ouyang zhenxian Jiao were organized by each of the wards in turn and involved competition to have the best *gushi*, orchestra, and opera. Fangong was a Five Dynasties official who died fight-

^① For an account of one of these halls, see the second volume in this series, by Yang Yanjie, *Minxi kejia zongzu shehui yanjiu*, p. 210.

ing bandits from Jiangxi; in the early Song, he again protected the city from Jiangxi bandits by sending the bandit leader a dream in which the latter saw the city protected by troops. Ever since 1576, his festival has been held on the 28th day of the eighth month and coincided with a fair that drew people from as far off as Jiangxi. Yang xiangong, as Ouyang zhenxian is more familiarly called, is a Taoist whose cult center is on Dafeng shan on the Qingliu/Liancheng border. Every year, on the third day of the fourth month, the ward in charge would send carriers and an orchestra to fetch Ouyang and bring him back to the city. He was carried first to the house of the head of the Jiao, where all ward heads gathered to decide by lot the order in which Jiao would be performed that year. In addition to each ward's Jiao, celebrated in the ward temple, individuals would also invite Ouyang to their houses for a brief offering. Two other gods, Dingguang and Guanxian, accompanied Yangxian gong on his progress through the city. These Jiao went on until the second day of the fifth month, on the evening of which a *zuotai* ("sitting on the platform"), also called a *dugu* ("salvation of the solitary souls"), was performed. On the morning of the following day, after circling the city, Ouyang set out after lunch by boat to return to his mountain.

Quick note must also be taken of the Jinlian si four kilometers east of the city: it had a special hall for Dingguang, where people came "in search of a dream". In the first month, people used to follow opera troupes singing "popular songs" *xiaoqu* up the hill to the temple; these troupes then sang in the temple courtyard, from dawn till noon, returning home after lunch. On

the 16th day of the month, Dingguang was invited down to villages for a "rice seedling *hemiao* Jiao"; according to a fixed route and schedule, he would go from village to village, even into Ninghua county, and would not return to the Jianlian si before the third month. On the 18th day of the sixth month, because Dingguang was said to be in charge of their weddings, families, and childbearing, women would come to recite their Amitofo rosaries while orchestras played music. In fact, many came already on the afternoon of the 17th to burn paper pagodas for the deceased and then spend the night in the temple to receive a dream regarding a beautiful future life and to be the first to light incense in the morning.

Zhang Hongxiang gives a lively account of the festivals of Tianhou (it lasts two months!), Fuhu (see below), Chenghuang (a festival complete with a parade, like Liancheng's, of "criminals" and "beggars"), Guanyin (essentially for women), and Wutong in the prefectural capital of Tingzhou. Changting had 13 wards, each divided into ten *peng*, and it was in general these *peng* that, by rotation, organized the festivals, except that of Wutong, in the hands of merchants and gentry in the vicinity of the temple. This festival is particularly amusing, as it begins with Wutong gongwang "returning to his wives' home", the Palace of the Seven Saints (Qisheng gong): originally, says Zhang, a massive *zhang* tree was the object of worship, but it blew down one night at the end of the Ming; from its trunk was sculpted a two-meter high statue of Wutong, and from its seven main branches, the seven female saints. A Qisheng gong was built to house them all, but some time later

it was decided this gave Wutong a bad reputation, and a separate temple was built for him, two hundred meters away, not far from the riverside quai ①. When, on the 23rd day of the first month, after 12 days in his wives' home, he was carried back, it was a typical Minxi *yuanxiao* parade of lanterns of all kinds that accompanied him.

Village Festivals

Of the six essays in the second section, the first two, both from Liancheng, describe two different kinds of lantern parade done in the first month. The authors of both essays, moreover, give painstakingly detailed descriptions of how their very unique lanterns are made. Interestingly, both are said to have been introduced from outside, the dragon lanterns from Chaozhou in the Wanli era, the "flower lanterns" from Suzhou in the year 1705. In both cases, explicit links are made between these lanterns and "adding a boy" *tianding*. Both parades also provide unique insight into the relationships between the lineages and the gods in local society. The dragon lantern described by Hua Qinjin is a joint undertaking of two lineages, the Huas and the Jiangs, who alternate parading. As being in charge of the dragon's head or tail is most prestigious, the Huas divide their lineage into ten *peng* and, once every tenth year, decide by lot who will be in

① It should be noted, however, that, as Ursula Cedzich has shown, the Wutong had just such a "bad reputation" to begin with; see her "The Cult of the Wu-t'ung/Wu-hsien in History and Fiction: The Religious Roots of the Journey to the South", in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies*, ed. David Johnson (Berkeley, Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1995), 137-218.

charge of the dragon's head and tail for each of the five Hua years in the coming decade①. Preparations for such a charge begin a year ahead of time and involve a fascinating series of "gift exchanges" involving both friends and relatives.

Preparations begin in earnest on the first day of the New Year, when the person in charge of the head goes to a nearby temple to fetch Gongdie ("granddad"), also called Dongshan fuzhu (Lord of Happiness of the Eastern Hill). This temple in fact has five statues of the same Gongwang, one who "keeps the temple", one who "goes out" *chu an*, and three small ones for each of three dragons, the Hua-Jiang, the Jiang, and the Chen-Lai-Sang dragons. It takes a full 15 days to make the head, and lanterns must also be made, one for each household *hu* in the *peng*; the latter will be carried by children, either behind or in front of the dragon. On the 12th, the "head" and "tail" households send to learn the total number of sections; on the 13th, lots are drawn to determine the order of these sections; on the 15th, at 10 a. m., the *chu an* Gongdie is fetched. At 3 p. m. a sacrifice is made to the dragon by killing a pig and a cock at both the head and tail's houses; at 4 p. m., the dragon's head having been brought to the Hua ancestral hall (or to the Jiang hall if it is a Jiang year) and set on a table at the door to wait, the segments of the body set out from the individual houses. After the Jiang lineage has offered its congratulations, the dragon segments are linked together, and the dragon sets out on a tour of local temples, starting with that of Gongdie. On the morning of the 16th,

① Hua says these *peng* were originally coterminous with lineage segments *fang*; but due to changes in the relative size of the segments, the link was later abandoned.

at 9 a. m. , the dragon is once again put together, but this time in front of the Jiang lineage hall (or the Hua hall if it is a Jiang year). It goes straight to the Gongdie temple and there circles, with the head first moving clockwise into the circle, then reversing direction and moving out; this is called "the dragon head enters (or leaves) the bag". As the head emerges from the bag, the body begins to break up, but the head continues to move until its carriers are tired, when it goes back to the temple to salute Gongdie one last time before the body is thrown in a heap and burned. In 1946, the Hua dragon had 173 sections and was 700 meters long!

In Zhiqi, according to Huang Yuanying, Yang Qixian, and Huang Sen, each decorated lantern has 99 small glass lanterns; the main purpose of the procession is to honor Hongfu gongwang (Duke—King of Great Happiness) and Mazu, whose temples are placed respectively at the "head of the village" and its "water tail". Hongfu's temple belongs to four lineages, and whichever of the lineages is in charge in a given year must organize his worship on the 11th day of the first month. Hongfu is represented in the same manner as the more famous god Zhenwu, but legend says he was a local person who, while lying on his bed, sent his soul to "study magic" at Lüshan. A rival came to kill him just as his soul was returning, and a great magic battle *doufa* ensued (the story is told in all its fascinating and humorous detail). Hongfu's second brother is a Gongwang in Jiangxi, and his little brother a Gongwang in Putian. The lantern procession is organized on an eight—year cycle, in which some lineages are in charge but once, others twice. Each of the four lineages divides

by segment to produce each lantern; the processions usually go on for nine days, with each household *hu* being responsible for carrying its lantern for one or two days. Lots are drawn in front of Hongfu to determine the order of responsibility; those who are in charge for the first day of the year are particularly lucky, because that is auspicious for having a son.

Zhang Zhanwen's article, on the 13—village alliance built around the worship of Gehu houwang, overlaps to some degree with Yang Yanjie's article in the second volume of the present series; that is hardly surprising, as Zhang, a retired school teacher from Zhangjiaying, received us in his home for three weeks over the Chinese New Year in 1995 and became one of our own primary sources of information. In particular, he had at that time just finished editing a new edition of his village's lineage register and knew, therefore, about the vital information it contained concerning the names of ancestors placed in the belly of the god. For Zhangjiaying, the four names were those of the ancestors—most of them Ming—of the four segments of the Zhang lineage, each of which would have charge of Gehu for a trimester when he came to "the military camp of the Zhang family". Zhangjiaying also gave the god one of his wives, a young girl who fell in love with Gehu when he came in procession to her village. Zhang Zhanwen tells well the tale of the Jiangxi geomancer whose stool determined the orientation of the Gehu temple gate and gives the whole range of theories concerning the origin of the Gehu cult; some say he is the spirit of a bullfrog who, having aided Tang Taizong, was enfeoffed by him, others that he is Wang Shen zhi, the Five Dynasties founder of the Kingdom

of Min; a local literatus derived from spirit writing *fuluan* the view Gehu had come to the aid of Liu Yu of the Liu—Song dynasty. This latter view still influences parallel phrases used in Gehu's worship, as well as the text of the sacrificial prayer read when he comes to Zhangjiaying. Most important of all, perhaps, is the description of Gehu's army and the regular rituals of "sending out the soldiers" *chu bing* and "bringing the soldiers back" *shou bing* when Gehu comes to stay in a lineage hall.

The temple festival of Dianshan shan introduced by Huang Ruiyi and Zhang Guoyu is also built around a lineage alliance, between the Guans and the Zhangs, whose founding ancestors arrived in Ninghua in the early Ming. By means of a close, statistical examination of their respective registers, Huang and Zhang show both their demographic evolution and their marriage links: the first marriage between them occurred in the second generation; the 318 marriages recorded between the sixth and 22nd Zhang generations represents 5% of their total and 16.3% of the Guan total. By comparison, the Zhangs married 569 Lis and 554 Chens in the same period. Their joint temple, the Shuangzhong miao, dedicated to Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan (cf. the Cao Chunrong article in volume three of this series, on Gannan), was built in 1611; the temple festival, which culminates on the 25th day of the seventh month, has been closely linked since the Qianlong era to a fair for the sale of water buffalo that drew people from as far away as Yudu in Jiangxi and Meixian in Guangdong. They could not only buy buffalo said to grow fat quickly and never get sick—even people who had no intention of selling them brought their buffalo to the fair! —but watch the

Qiju opera paid for by the Zhangs and the magnificent *gushi* prepared for the parade by the Guans. When not parading, the Pusa also watched the opera from their matshed in the marketplace. So successful was the fair that it came to be said Zhang and Xu preferred strangers over locals, who one day therefore decided to fill up one of the two wells representing the eyes of the "crab-shaped" land on which the temple was built, and thereby prevent its crawling away.

Tong Jin'gen's essay is rich in both myth and social detail. It tells the tale of the Xiao, whose murky history claims arrival in the area in 1191 and descent from one Xiao Yu, enfeoffed by the founder of the Tang. Xiao was once saved by his beloved companion, a yellow dog, but Xiao, mistaking the dog for an enemy, kicked and killed him. The people of Dongshan therefore worship at the grave of the Yellow Dog General and eat "dog porridge" during the festival in honor of their "ancestor", whose "main day" *zhengri* was the ninth of the first month. The Xiaos, all of whom have dogs for hunting, have a taboo against eating dog meat. When the county seat of Qingliu was built, the geomancer was from Dongshan, and the magistrate feared he would keep the best site for his lineage, so he forbade the Xiaos to have an ancestral hall in town; the angry response of the Xiaos to this interdiction led the magistrate to accede to Dongshan's demands for lighter taxes and a status equal to that of the county seat. All of this sounds uncannily like what Zhang Sijie tells us in the third volume of this series about the fishing and raft—floating lineage corporation named Xiao in Gannan. The Xiao Bida tale told here by Tong Jin'gen reinforces the impression of a "minori-

ty" context; a small-time peddler, Bida was once on his way to Tingzhou to sell his rice and beans when a door suddenly opened in a mountainside; he entered, and when he returned home three years later, told his wife he had been to Maoshan to "learn magic" *xuefa*. The people demand a demonstration, which Bida gives them on the day of the Duanwu festival; having gone into the fields to plant seedlings, he sees the god of the soil (Shegong) turn into a long snake who bars his path and wants to fight *doufa*; Bida uses thunder to cut the snake in two, and it rolls off Big Shaman Gully into the flooding waters. Bida's tomb now occupies the original site of the Shegong's *tan*.

After the sacrifice to Xiaogong on the ninth of the first month, a sacrifice is made to the Yellow Dog on the tenth, and then Xiaogong, his wife, and his stone dog companion are carried in procession, first to the hall of the founding ancestor, then to the main lineage hall, where they will stay until the 16th. From the 12th to the 15th, the people of Dongshan will parade with "decorated lanterns" and "dragon lanterns" much like those described in the Liancheng essays and, like them, linked to "adding sons": "When a decorated lantern enters the hall, you can raise the beam and add a son." After a sacrifice to the dragon head inside the ancestral hall, under the watchful eye of Xiaogong, the dragon lantern is linked together in front of the hall. The procession goes first to the hall of the founding ancestor, on to Xiaogong's temple, and then returns to the hall. On the evening of the 15th, by the river in front of the temple, a Big Messenger (Dashie) presides over a Taoist—and Buddhist—of-ficiated ritual to save "solitary souls" *guhun*. The "dispersal of

the sacrifice" *sanjiao* is done the next day in the same place and involves a ritual act designed to send off the epidemic gods *wen-shen*.

Zhou Lifang's study of the ten-village alliance focused on the Fuhu cult of Pingyuan shan should be read together with Zhang Hongxiang's narrative of that same cult in Tingzhou; according to the villagers, the townspeople have the right to carry off their god only since Fuhu was stolen by someone from Jiangxi and recovered by someone from Yingbei street in Changting; according to the townspeople, Fuhu comes to sweep his parents' grave near town, and the rain that inevitably falls when Fuhu departs for the mountain on the 13th of the first month are his tears of sadness at leaving Changting. (There are also differences between the authors—this highlights the problems posed by reliance on oral sources—as to where Fuhu stayed when he came for his annual four-month stay in the prefectural seat.) If Fuhu's arrival in Changting on the 14th of the ninth month set the scene for the capital's biggest festival, his return to the country set in motion a long sequence of village festivals. Already on the 14th, Fuhu was carried down the streets of the market village of Pengfang to the main temple, where a Jiao was held on the 15th. On the 16th, Fuhu left for Dabu, where first the whole village and then its component lineage parts held Jiao. Fuhu went then to Xiakeng before returning to Dabu in order to preside over the dispatch of the epidemic gods at the "water exit" *shuikou* on the second day of the second month.

In the process of his survey of the ten villages, Zhou Lifang tells some excellent tales, of geomantic stealth and lineage

strife. And he ends with an appendix of the best collection yet of Fuhu tales, the best of which is that of Fuhu and his companion monk Dingguang engaged in a magic fight over the site of Pingyuan shan; they agree to sleep back to back for three years, but the sly Fuhu, after a mere three days, puts a large stone in his stead and goes off to build the temple. When Dingguang wakes and realizes he has been tricked, he calls in the hills of Jiangxi to crush the temple, but Fuhu's disciple, by pointing his broomstick while exclaiming his wonder at the moving hills, stops them dead in their tracks; that is why high hills block the view of this temple in its ravine cul de sac. Just as remarkable is Zhang Hongxiang's description of the "halls" *tang* of Changting youth coming en masse to fetch Fuhu and walking over the hills through a torchlit—night the 35 kilometers to Changting on the night of the 13th—14th of the ninth month. Worth noting also is the competition in Changting between the two merchant streets of Yingbei and Shuidong which led to the latter finding its own Fuhu to import from the White Cloud temple (Baiyun an) of Shifu village some ten kilometers from town. Common to both Fuhu statues is that they must be "bounced" in their parade chair at specified spots, so as to show their vitality and hence their capacity to drive away the evil summarized by the god's name and founding myth: Tiger—tamer.

Lineage and Village Culture

Liu Wenbo and Liu Dake give a scintillating demonstration of what a partnership between a village elder and his academic

son can produce; indeed the rich detail of this essay makes it virtually impossible to summarize. One tale of geomancy should suffice as an example; the 17th—generation ancestor of a then—flourishing lineage, the Zhus, founded a market and built a virtual palace *tingtang* for each of his seven sons. But he was arrogant and offended someone from the village of Wangwu, who then sent him a famous geomancer to convince him to build a stone wall by a good grave on a buffalo—shaped plot; the wall was to represent the buffalo's horn, and a bridge over a stream in front of the grave the buffalo's nose, and all this should lead to the rich Zhu's growing even richer. In fact, the bridge represented a tether and the horn a place to attach it; tethered, the buffalo would no longer be able to produce wealth. The ancestor of the now most flourishing lineage, the Lius, is said to have come from Ruijin in the Yuan, carrying with him his stolen ancestor's bones! Their rise began in the Wanli era, when they moved to the Xiangcun of the essay's title; the two sons of the Wanli founder are the origin of the two segments of the local lineage, who live respectively in the Upper and Lower villages of Xiangcun and have known contrasted destinies; the younger brother's segment is said to owe its better fate to this brother's successful use of a ruse to get his elder brother to cede to him an excellent spot at the village water exit for his grave. Another geomancer's tale, identical to one told by Zhang Zhanwen about the Gehu temple gate, tells how the lucky gate orientation of this segment's ancestral hall was determined.

The Lius describe a 22—year lineage war *xiedou* that led to eleven deaths on either side; the refusal of their lineage to marry

Dengs ever since, at the end of the Ming, a Deng wife produced an idiot whom the enraged Liu father beat to death before sending his wife back to her native village; village methods for settling disputes, of which the most solemn form is going before the Loyal and Sincere (Zhongcheng) Pusa, also called the Snake—king (Shewang) Pusa, to swear before heaven that, if the oath—taker is lying, he accepts that his line be snuffed out; a marriage distribution map basically congruent with the map of local markets frequented by the Lius. For help from Mazu during a difficult childbirth, local women must call out "Mazu jiatai" (Grandma Mazu), not "Tianhou shengmu" (Saintly Mother and Queen), because a queen takes too long to dress and comb her hair. Sons are sought by praying first to Guanyin or Mile, then to Auspicious Brother (Jixiang ge): "Don't stay in this cold temple," the women say while rubbing Jixiang's exposed scrotum; "come into my belly." The local Sanguan tang (Hall of the Three Officers) is founded on a myth that makes these three Taoist officers out to be the early Tang offspring of the grandson of a rich man from Guangdong and the three daughters of a dragon king, all of them specialists of martial arts and the "living Pusa" of three mountain temples before they are smitten by the grandson's handsome good looks and carry him off by turns to their mountains and there give birth each to a son, respectively, on the 15th days of the first, seventh, and tenth months. But the main local gods are Shi'er gongwang (Duke—king Twelve) and Da gufo (Eldest Brother Old Buddha); the latter comes annually from Liangye shan for a Jiao, first in Lower Village on the 21st, then in Upper Village on the 22nd of the first month; the

former, the younger of two brothers who has his *tan* at the water exit, is worshiped every year on the 15th day of the eleventh month at a Duke—king Jiao that involves rock fights between the children of the two Liu villages and, once every twelve years, a large *Fang yankou* (Pudu) Jiao.

Ma Chuanyong's account of the customs of his village and lineage, the famous printers of Sibao, is equally rich. His village, like that of of Dianshang shan in Ninghua, occupies a geomantic position called "five horses gallop to the trough". At first, the "dragon vein" *longmai* behind the ancestral hall produced many officials, until a woman, on the advice of a geomancer, dug a grave on the dragon vein hill and, at its foot, to represent the dragon's eyes, two wells; as predicted, the men of the lineage came home, there was an increase in the number of sons, but there were no more officials. The founding ancestor, Qilang gong, is said to have come as a day—laborer in the 12th century; after a dispute with his employer, a geomancer tells him where to build a hut and set up on his own. He does, and soon he has prospered and married into the Zou family, which the Mas will continue to do down to the present. The printing business began in the late Ming and reached its peak in the late 18th century; 60% of the Mas were involved in the business, and every year just after the New Year there was a book fair in Mawu that drew people from all southern China.

60% of the Mas marry Zous, but they also fight with them, over the grave of the sixth—generation Qianwulang, for example, in Taoyuan (Peach Blossom Spring); in 1598, the Zous dug there for minerals, producing a court case that went to the pre-

fectural level. Qianwulang's wife was buried at the water exit of a Zou village and was said to be responsible for the rapid increase in the Ma population. Around 1800, the Zous built a Tianhou temple right in front of it, and the last confrontation over this grave occurred in 1962 (it has since been dug up). Curiously, the Mas main temple is not that to Magong (Ma Yuan), built only in 1745, but that to Zougong, built by all the people of Sibao township in the Ming. Zougong is said to be Zou Yinglong of the Northern Song; when Ma Xun, the 11th-generation ancestor who achieved high office and came home to produce the first lineage register in 1496, was on his way to the capital for the exams, he saved a white dog from drowning in a river; that night, Zou Yinglong appeared to him in a dream to explain that it was he who had appeared as a dog and to tell him to be as compassionate with the people later as he had been with the dog. When Ma Xun came back to Mawu, he had a statue of Zougong made, and it was later placed next to that of Magong in the latter's temple. From the 10th to the 12th of the first month the Mas parade dragon lanterns, after first linking the segments in front of the relevant lineage hall and worshiping the spirit of the dragon; from the 13th to the 15th decorated lanterns also go out. On the morning of the 14th, all Pusa, especially Zougong and Magong, are carried in procession to the Zougong temple, and on the 15th, the dragon lanterns—to which have just been added the lamps representing the sons born in the previous year—must also go there to worship.

The first month festival described by Jiang Chunfu and Chen Lizhong in Dongkeng village is an equally complex conflation of

lineage myth history and geomantic revitalization. Already on the last day of the year, the statue of Gupo—a goddess considered to be a local maiden who died an unfortunate death—is moved from her normal place in the founding ancestor's hall (!) to the outer room. On the first and second days of the new year, Gupo is carried, together with the "old" and "new lords of the people" (Minzhu), in procession throughout the village; in the evenings, the lanterns parade. On the third day, each of six territorial segment (*jia*) heads having organized a team of nine young men, a relay race is organized to imitate the "five horses descending to the trough" landscape. From that day till the end of the month, the gods go by turns to one of the heads' houses for the day. On the 14th of the month, all Pusa are carried to the Linshui gong (Palace of the Water—Edge Lady, Chen Jinggu), located at the village water exit. Like Magong in Mawu, Lady Chen would seem to be considered an ancestor in Dongkeng; the Chens, in any case, have a statue only of her in their temple, and the ladies Lin and Li have but a circulating incense burner. Lady Chen is thought locally to have learned magic in the early Tang from Lishan laomu (Old Mother of Lishan), and then to have helped the king of Min to open up Fujian before returning to Gutian to become an immortal. The day parade through the village on the 14th is led by the Old Lord of the People, with Lady Chen in the rear. On the 15th, the incense burners of ladies Lin and Li are set up on either side of Lady Chen's and their ashes mingled in such a manner as to give clear priority to the burner of Lady Chen. On the nights of both the 14th and 15th, decorated lanterns go out with the Pusa.