

Inland Hakka and Coastal Minnan: an Introduction

John Lagerwey

Founded quite recently—in 1530—Zhao'an is, of all the counties we have visited in our fieldwork, the county whose seat has preserved the largest number of temples and temple inscriptions.^① To walk and eat in its narrow alleys with their street markets and neighbourhood temples is like entering a time machine and going back to Taiwan two centuries ago.

How so? — does the Taiwanese population not derive above all from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou? Yes, but Zhangzhou and Quanzhou have been destroyed, while Zhao'an—for yet a little while? —lives on. Indeed, whether it be in the salt air along the coast or in the gusting winds off the inland mountains, in Zhao'an the voice of the frontier can still be heard.

^① One of the most important contributions of this volume is the 58 temple inscriptions painstakingly copied and punctuated by Li Yingsuo and his assistant, Lin Jianfa.

Zhao'an, of course, is a part of Zhangzhou, but a very wild and woolly, tangential part: a border region, where two provinces meet not only, but also two cultures—the Hakka, who live in the inland hills and mountains, and the Minnan, who occupy the coastal plain. Whatever the differences between them, however, they shared the region's endemic insecurity, as witnessed to by the many *tulou* inland and the fortresses along the coast, and by the recurrent tales of sea pirates and mountain contraband, of hidden surnames and a masked god defeating a female barbarian. While Zhao'an may not always have made for exquisite living, it certainly makes for exotic reading.

Inland Hakka

Lineage

The first three essays all concern the Hakka, who represented 25% of the 568, 156 individuals counted in the year 2000 census. Farthest from the county seat—62 kilometers—Xiuzhuan (秀篆) had a population of 42, 200 in the year 2005—18, 000 Wangs, 8000 Lis, 7000 Huangs, 6000 Yous, and 4000 Lüs. The Wangs are said to have come from Ninghua, via Zhangpu, in the early Ming. While Wang Nianqi chose the county seat and no doubt became a Minnan man, his brother Nianba settled in Xiuzhuan. A smithy (铁匠) by trade, he married Jiang Baniang but died when his only son was not yet one year old. Raised by You Xinzong, his son Yiniang's descendants became Wang-Yous (游), and are now in the 23rd generation. A 1716 text by a generation 8 descendant tells the story of the generation 5 Ruiqing (1529 – ca. 1591), who regularly helped beat back rebels and pirates

and, in the Longqing era (1567 – 1572), invited the famous Jiangxi geomancer Liao pi to select a good site for an ancestor hall. Fearful his descendants would not preserve the exact dimensions of the hall, Ruiqing had them inscribed on a stele. His great-grandson Tingyuan, after participating in the fight against the Qing, led many others from the area to join Zheng Chenggong in Taiwan. In 1992, the Taiwanese family contributed 800, 000 RMB to the restoration of the hall.

Huang Zhenxiu is said to have come from Shibi via Yongding and Raoping in the early Ming. Huang Yangxian, the ninth-generation descendant of the seventh of Zhenxiu's nine sons, began as a laborer for a wealthy man whose daughter he married. When one day a white horse came and lapped up all the water the daughter could draw and then galloped off, Yangxian went to where the horse had disappeared, dug down, found a casket full of silver, and came back to build a *tulou*. He had eight sons, and in 2002 the Taiwanese part of the family contributed 620, 000 RMB to the restoration of the *tulou*. Yangxian's second wife was a Lü, also from Shibi. In 1528, a downpour interrupted the burial of a father and then caused a mudslide that buried him. Because a trickle like a small boy urinating flowed out of the stone wall beneath this "celestial grave", it became a site for couples without a boy to come pray for one. As they were not necessarily of the Lü lineage, this is called "stolen worship". In 1560, mountain bandits attacked one of the Lü fortified villages and slaughtered 124 inhabitants. The hall built in 1714 was restored in the year 2000 with 900, 000 RMB from Taiwan. Of all the Hakka lineage stories in this volume, none is more complex than that of the Zhang-Liaos of Guanpi (官陂), 52 kilometers from the county seat. Scattered in 72 villages throughout the region and in Taiwan, they now number some 300, 000 altogether, and represent

96% of Guanpi's population of 45, 000. An 1870 genealogy traces their history back to one Zhang Hu, who came to Zhao'an with Chen Yuanguang. Many generations later, after a long stay in Henan, a new founder came to Yunxiao, and then five generations later, one Yuanzi came to Guanpi. Liao Sanjiulang saw he was unusual, invited him home, and gave him his daughter, and in 1375 they had a boy, called Youlai. When a member of the Liao family was being pursued by the authorities, Yuanzi offered to take his place, but the authorities made no move and Yuanzi, near death, told his son Youlai that, out of gratitude to the Liaos for taking him in, "you will be called Liao while alive, but when you die you will be a Zhang." Youlai is then said, by some, to have had four sons by a single wife, but by the fourth son Yongzu's descendants is said to have had each of the four sons by a different wife. Thus, when Yongzu's fifth-generation descendant built a hall for Youlai, he refused to allow the descendants of the other three to join, saying that "each has his own ancestor." Zhang Shua, an adopted son of Zhang Zike, ninth-generation descendant of the eldest brother Yong'an, led a huge revolt in 1644, joined Zheng Chenggong, was named head of Zhao'an by the Southern Ming emperor in 1653, and died attacking Nanjing in 1658. When in 1654 Dazong chanshi founded the Changlin Buddhist temple for the Heaven and Earth Society rebels in Guanbi, Zhang Zike contributed heavily. A first military exam success occurred in 1727, and Liao Guobao became the first military *jinshi* in 1761, Liao Jinhua the second in 1886. In 1749, two generation 14 descendants built the first ancestral hall for the entire lineage and divided the participants into 24 "families", each with its own head, from among which a chief was selected by lot. Lineage heads were chosen for their strength and prestige, not for their generational status. A first genealogy, produced in

1769, contains the first datable reference to "Liao while alive, Zhang when dead." Having noted that, of 174 ancestral halls in Guanbi, 156 are Zhang-Liao halls, and that a 2001 study counted 156 *tulou* in Guanpi, most of them with one to four halls inside them, Liu Jinfeng concludes that the *tulou* was the basic social unit of the Zhang-Liaos, not the lineage hall.

Xiage (霞葛), 45 kilometers from the county seat, occupies a fairly large valley surrounded by mountains. Out of a population in 2005 of 30, 713, it had 12, 000 Huangs, 9, 000 Jiangs, and 7, 000 Lins, representing 90% of the total. Generation 11 Huang Yin claimed, in a genealogy made for the Upper Huangs, that they came in 1314 from Shibi. According to a Republican genealogy of the Lower Huangs, their founder, Yingchang (1517 - 1573) came from the Minnan village of Xitan. There would thus seem to be no relationship between the Huangs of Xiage and those of Xiuzhuan (秀篆). The Jiangs, according to a 1656 genealogy had a rich ancestor called Shi'erlang. When, in 1326, a tax collector came knocking, the Jiangs killed him and were then on the verge of being wiped out, but Jiang Qichang, born in 1321, had gone with an elder sister to her village, and he and another, Yonglong, escaped. Jiang Shengyi (1624 - ?) became a wealthy merchant of grains and oil. In the year 1700, a geomancer chose for him a site for the Jingbei *tulou*, right across from the Huangs. The Huangs tried to stop him building by suing him, but before the investigation got underway, the Jiangs had finished the hall. From then on, there was friction between them, for the Huangs' hall was on a tiger site, the Jiangs' on a lion. The Lins, said to have come from Shibi in the Yuan, fought with the Qing against Zheng Chenggong, and so found themselves at odds with both the Huangs and the Jiangs.

Economy

Xiuzhuan's market, called Buffalo Horn, was at the confluence of three streams and four villages whose heads controlled the market in the Republican era. It had some 50 shops then, with the biggest, for the sale of cloth and miscellany, belonging to one Ayong (阿勇). There were Raoping druggists, three blacksmiths, and, above all, tea merchants. *Wulong* tea had been introduced by generation 13 You Zusong (1756–97) of Taiwan, and by the Republican era there were 20 brand names *shanghao* that sold to Shantou, Chaozhou, Hong Kong, and Thailand. As each tea enterprise employed up to 100, this was one of the most important sources of livelihood for a good portion of the local population. The tea was portered to Sanrao (上饶), from where it was shipped onwards. Together with a Li, the four sons of You Zusong founded a wok business in partnership with a Li that gained provincial recognition in 1832. The 84-year old Li Kunhe told the author Li Yingsuo how, aged 18, he went to learn the art of the blacksmith from a Xingning 兴宁 master; the 75-year old Li Binglin explained that, in that business, they worshiped an unidentifiable god called Seven-Treasure King 七宝王. If a woman in a worker's home had just given birth, he had to make an offering of wine to get rid of the most feared "filthy energy". Because charcoal was essential to both tea and iron production and because forests were plentiful in the hills around Xiuzhuan, charcoal was also a major local product, and teams of porters from Xiage and Taiping came to buy it for sale in Guangdong and the Zhao'an county seat. Iron products were carried, first to Jiufeng, then to Xiaoxi, and went from there by boat to Zhangzhou and Xiamen.

The Zhang-Liao produced litchis and *longyan*, pine, cedar, and

bamboo lumber, *mifen*, straw sandals, and charcoal. The biggest market, with 120 shops in the Republican era, was that of Lower Guanpi (官陂). Cloth from Shantou was sold there, rice and bamboo from Pinghe, and fish, beans, fertilizer cakes, and dye materials from Yunxiao. One way to get merchandise out was along the East River (东溪), but it had so many shoals upstream and irrigation dams all along, that of the 50 kilometers to the county seat, the boat had to be emptied, carried, and reloaded four times and the goods portered nearly one-third of the way. Another way out was by land, 30 kilometers to Daxi—to which porters brought salt and cloth and from which they brought rice and bamboo, 20 kilometers to the Maozhi or 40 to the Huanggang market in Raoping, or 35 kilometers to Yunxiao. Salt and seafood were brought back from the coast, rice, *mifen*, and charcoal carried out. All porters knew how to turn their carrying pole into a cudgel in order to defend themselves against bandits. But the biggest problem was salt, because the government sought to prevent all local production until 1691, and even when, in the Qianlong era, the government allowed sale of coastal salt in Pinghe, Longyan, and other nearby counties, it remained severely restricted. Because, all the way to Gannan, sun-dried coastal salt was preferred to salt from the River Huai region, the answer was contraband, and both Liu Jinfeng and Huang Muzun have stories to tell.

It was enroute to buy or sell salt, for example, that Zhang Shua met Zhang Yunlong (Dazong chanshi) and Cai Lu and formed the Ten-thousand Surname group that became the Heaven and Earth Society. One of Huang Muzun's informants, the 89 years old Huang Juzhang, began carrying 40 *jin* of salt at age 12. They went in teams of 50–60, even as many as 100, and the portering continued right till 1957, when

a road was finally put through. Xiage to Raoping was ten *pu* (1 *pu* = 5 kilometers) distant, so they left early in the morning and arrived at dusk. Having sold their charcoal and bought salt, they cooked rice, ate supper, rested a bit, and set out around 1 – 2 a. m. , arriving in Xiage 12 hours later if all went well. But often it did not, because either salt inspectors or bandits blocked the way and forced them to make detours. Once, having escaped the inspectors, they thought to drink in the dark from a spring, but it proved to be cow urine, and all vomited. Another time, they were held up by a band of robbers, who shot one woman porter and chopped a man. On day three, they would set out early again to the Xiuzhuan market, 4 *pu* distant, where they sold their salt to Maozhi buyers, who in turn sold it to Dabu. Huang Renpian, 77 years old, told, rather, of being waylaid by the police, who then sold the confiscated rice for private gain. Their only recourse was the gods, so porters often went to worship Xiangong laoye (仙公老爷) before setting out. In memory of their contribution, Huang Muzun lists the names of 123 porters: 95 men and 17 women who had died, 7 men and 4 women who were still alive when he did his research in 2005.

Customs

The worship of Guanyin, called locally Aniang, goes back in Xiuzhuan to the very earliest You immigrants, who carried her statue with them when they came. The statues in the three temples dedicated to her locally are thought of as sisters, and each is on a geomantically significant spot. That of Sister Three, the most powerful, who attracts worshippers from Guanbi, Xiage, and Raoping, was built in 1783 at the water exit of all Xiuzhuan. The other most important god is Wuxiandi, whom the Lis “like to carry.” His main temple, built by generation 6 Li

Liangfeng in the Longqing era, was to be built on a site found by Liao pi on the west slope of a hill. But when Liao told his friend Liangfeng of his discovery, the latter’s maternal nephew, a Lv, overheard them and rushed home to tell the Lüs, who started work on the temple the very next morning. Liao pi then told Liangfeng to go to the east slope of the hill and there, on the first and 15th of every month, invite a monk to do rituals: the bell and drum would draw back the energies of the dragon artery. So that night, Liangfeng carried off a Wuxiandi from another small temple and brought it to the east slope. He said Wuxian had “manifested his power” and chosen that site for his temple, which by the Wanli era was finished.

A retired 77 – year old teacher, Li Shulin, had many stories to tell of how the god, whenever bandits came to plunder, sent “underworld soldiers” to protect the Lis. Ten villages rotated carrying this god, and the 89 – year old Li Yingpao recalled carrying him as a child, “up to the source of the waters and down to the water exit” —phrase which also summarized the order of rotation of the villages strung out along both banks of the Qingshan River. An appendix written by Li Riyue of Lintian, the village farthest upstream from the temple, tells of how a worshiper from Guanpi, lost in a storm, was killed in the late Qing by one Li Kungao, who then dissimulated the corpse. But then all went badly in his family, Kungao died, and his wife remarried, unawares, into the murdered man’s village. When she told her story, a listener realized what had happened, and filed a complaint, but a famous lawyer, Li Panxian, quickly had the corpse dug up and reburied, with the result the court could find no evidence. Finally, when the Li lineage was hesitating whether to carry on with costly litigation, someone suggested they ask Wuxiandi whether they would win the court case. The answer was yes

and, by good fortune, just then, the Guanpi people decided to drop the case. The Lis then used the money set aside for the court case to buy land for an annual festival to thank Wuxiandi. Halted for over 30 years, the festival was restored in 1986, and in 2006 Li Riyue was festival accountant. On 12/22 in the morning, they went to fetch the god. That night at midnight they set out 18 tables of offerings in the inner area and 112 pigs and 8 goats draped on wooden frames outside. The sacrifice took place on the morning of the 23rd, with Lai Liangzhou, the great-grandson of the old monk from the temple both inviting and thanking the gods, while Li Riyue read the sacrificial writ.

A local saying has it that “the Yous dare to live, the Huangs to die, and the Lis like to carry Wangxiandi.” That is, the Wang-Yous were good at producing boys and had the custom of an annual dinner for the grandfathers and fathers with newborn sons on 1/15. As for the Huangs, they had many Filial Piety associations in their villages to pay for funeral rituals by local monks, especially the Destruction of Hell for women and the Carrying of Scriptures for men.

In Guanpi, on 7/15 village units did Pudu, with a Daoist inviting the solitary ghosts and a monk doing the ritual of passage (*chaodu*). Some say the annual Pudu went back to Dazong chanshi, who founded the Changlinsi in 1654 in the context of the Heaven and Earth Association: it was a ritual of salvation for the souls of the heroes of the anti-Qing resistance. The Longguang an Temple of Dragon Light, was built in 1567 on the dragon mouth of the main dragon artery of Guanpi, so as to ensure that the villages around would not fight over the site but work for common benefit. The Xiashantang, or Hall at the Foot of the Mountain, was founded as an academy but, when a statue floated down in a flood, was gradually converted into a temple for

Guandi, with an annual parade from 1/2 – 1/7, one day for each of the six major segments of the Zhang-Liao lineage. The Shanglong an Temple of the Ascending Dragon, shared by many villages, had an image of Zhusheng niangniang the Lady who Gives Children with a peachwood penis next to her; women without a child would drink a bowl of water used to wash the Peach Ancestor. Originally the Jingtian Palace was a snake-shaped rock. One day a Taiwan returnee hung an incense bag on a tree that grew out of the rock. When he prepared to leave, it told him it wanted to stay there. So he left it, and it became the Lord of Wealth of three villages. Then, one day, it answered a prayer for rain and became the god of many more and was identified by a medium as Liu Bei. Each village had its own earth god “dragon head temple” —so-called because they always occupied the best geomantic site, on the dragon head.

In Xiage there was a Wutong Palace founded in 1403 by a generation 2 Huang. In 1708, the Zhao'an magistrate made it the village compact site, with a place to remember Liu Xianggong, who had fought with Zheng Chenggong and been enfeoffed by the Southern Ming, and also Huang Diaoyang, who had fought against the Qing. The Zhenlong an Temple for Holding Down the Dragon, near the market, was founded in 1584 by another Huang. It is said a Shen geomancer found the site and had plans to use it for a Shen grave site, but when the people of Xiage got wind of the plan, in the middle of the night, they brought the slippers of a Wuxian dadi from a temple in a nearby village and left its prints all the way to the site. The next day they proclaimed the god had “manifested its power” and chosen the site, and the Shens had no choice but to desist. One of its plaques recalled the “devotion to Hongmen” of Huang Diaoyang, meaning this temple was a Heaven and

Earth Association center too. The hereditary monk in charge before 1949 did an annual 7/15 Jiao for the souls of those who had fought to restore the Ming.

When Guanyin put a stop to a smallpox epidemic in the Tongzhi era and villages all around competed for her visit, the magistrate invited the elders of all northern Zhao'an to discuss an appropriate order for the god's circuit during the first month (1/2 - 2/2). When she came to Nanpi on 1/20, all newlywed males went with flags to fetch Aniang and then fought for the privilege of carrying her, for she would bring them a son.

In the essays on both Guanpi and Xiage mention is made of the peculiar custom of bringing a dog in to eat as soon as someone dies. While he is eating, a bowl is smashed and broken on his head, and his yelping is the signal that mourning may begin. In Guanpi, "incense and flower" monks do the *chaodu*. The day before burial, he "sends off the bad energies" by walking with a rooster and money in his hand and strewing rice and salt as he proceeds, muttering, to an intersection, where he dumps out what is left of the rice and salt. He then goes back with the rooster to see the gods off. The burial takes place the next day in the morning. Upon return from the hills, the paper tablet is placed in the paper house, and that afternoon the *chaodu* begins. After three years, the paper tablet is removed from the paper house, which is burned inside a circle of rice wine so that "evil ghosts" will not steal it. Then the paper tablet is carried under a black cloth to the sub-segment hall, where the gate gods are asked for permission for the soul to enter. The paper tablet is now burnt and its ashes placed in the incense burner. The wooden tablet is dotted, the new brush thrown onto the hall roof, and the tablet inserted with the others in the *shenkan*. In Xiage, when a

parent died, a bamboo tree was dug out and placed upside down, its tail toward the sky, in the house, either in the courtyard or sticking out of a window, so that the "filthy energies" go off to a corner of the sky and descendants flourish. When the coffin was shut, it was carried out without being sealed. The monk used rooster crest blood to write a talisman on the head of the coffin to block all negative energies, then suddenly hollered and threw a mix of rice and salt inside the house. Then the coffin was sealed by putting in nails, starting at the head end. Burials were done in the afternoon.

Coastal plain Minnan

Lineage

According to Huang Jiaxiang's account of the major lineages of Sandu, the large coastal area including the county seat of Nanzhao, the Chens, Lins, Wus, and Shens all came in the Southern Song. The Chen Diaoyan resistance movement against the Yuan led to widespread massacres and, shortly after the county was created in 1530, the 1552 census registered but 20, 766 persons in 3452 *hu* for the entire county, about half of them living in Sandu. A good share of Sandu's land was forbidden in the early Qing, from 1661 till 1681. Total population of Sandu in 1829 was 110, 000, a figure that dropped to 70, 000 in 1935. In the early Qing there were 153 forts in Sandu. A long process of consolidation turned originally multi-lineage into unilineage villages; as of 1959, there were 205 villages in Sandu, most of them unilineage.

The Shen founding ancestor, Qiu, is said to have come from the same southwestern Fujian area as most of the lineage founders of the

Zhao'an interior. Moreover, Shen history has as many traces of extra-legal—or even outright anti-government—behavior as that of the inland lineages. And while the latter built *tulou* to ensure their defense, Official Ford (Shidu) was rebuilt as a fortress against pirate depredations in the Jiajing era. But what really distinguishes the two groups is the insistent mythical linkage of all major Minnan lineages to Chen Yuanguang and the destruction of the non Chinese indigenous society. This is clearest in the tale of Shen Yong as explored by Yang Yanjie: to make himself unattractive to the female chieftain of the native peoples' fort, he put on a mask, took Goose Fort, captured the chieftain, and went back to report to the emperor. But he had forgotten to remove his mask, and when the emperor burst out laughing, Shen Yong could no longer remove it. As a result, he is the Nuo exorcist of choice for the Duanwu festival in the county seat, when his fearsome axes must visit any household with problems in order to chase out the evil spirits causing the trouble. Geese are a necessary part of his worship because a flock of honking geese rose up and revealed his presence to the enemy. During the Cultural Revolution, when his worship was forbidden, an Anshang villager stole his statue from the TrueLordTemple in town and stored it in his attic. Word got out, and an Easttown villager stole it again and buried it in a yam field. A female cadre found out and had it dug up and thrown in a cane field where it was found by a peasant, who gave it to his work unit. They tried unsuccessfully to burn it till someone suggested dousing it with kerosene and a youth brought out an image of Mao to “inspect the burning.” Soon after, the kerosene man hung himself, the female cadre fell ill, and the youth of the Mao statue broke both legs. As a result, the prestige of the Marquis of Martial Virtue soared and, with the help of Overseas Chinese, in the early 1980s, a new image was

made and his ritual circulation restored.

According to Huang Jiaxiang, who quotes the local set phrase to the effect the “Shens constitute half the county population,” as of 2010, over 100000 of the Sandu population of 281000 were Shens. Their four branches live in some 120 villages, all listed by Huang. The Xus, Chens, Lins, and Wus each number about 30000, distributed respectively in 26, 51, 41 and 30 villages. None of these lineages seem ever to have had genealogies worthy of the name. In the case of the Shens, for example, who claim their ancestor Qiu came around 1160, the earliest available document is a preface by one Shen Lang dated 1469. He refers to the four lineage branches as Upper, East, West, and South—derived from four fifth-generation brothers—and notes that their original lineage records had perished in a fire in the year 1449. “Thereafter, small lineage groups edited and the clan collated, so that the human hearts of the thirteen households would be united in the single heart of Meishan,” the Southern Song founder. The founder himself is said to be buried just northwest of the county seat, and his grave was restored in the year 2007. The one of his four great-grandsons who lived in Nanzhao himself had four sons, the origin of the four branches that in turn divided into 13 “tax households”. In our fieldwork, we found a number of recently edited genealogies, all of them rudimentary and more remarkable for their lacunae than for any coherent account of lineage history. According to local informants, no complete genealogy of any group has ever existed.

Dated lineage history of the fourth of the Shen segments, referred to as Jielin (generation 8), begins with generation 17 Shen Xi (1517 – 1579), who was buried with his wife in 1609 “next to the Buddhist Temple for Repaying Grace…… The living images of the Ancestor and

his wife were worshiped in the Hall of Descendant Virtue in the county seat".^① Shen Xi is above all important as the father of Jie'an (1550 – 1633) who, after earning his doctorate in the year 1574, went on to a brilliant career. Jie'an's son, Qijin (*jinshi* 1626), is "the loyal official who resisted the Qing in order to restore the Ming. He contributed heroically to the organization of the anti-Qing resistance of the Association of Heaven and Earth in Zhao'an, Pinghe, Zhangpu, and Sanrao."^② Having in 1648 failed in an attack on Zhangpu, he withdrew into the mountains to carve out what amounted to a small kingdom. His final attack, on Huanggang in Sanrao, took place in 1661, when he was driven back to Xiuzhuan and there defeated.

In order to fill out lineage chronology for the Qing, we turn to the Eastown genealogy:^③ Danqing (generation 23), a famous calligrapher, obtained his *juren* degree in 1794; Shiliang (generation 23), after earning his *juren* degree in 1818, eventually became prefect of Ningbo^④; Lüyuan (1777 – 1860; generation 24) was an 1804 *juren* and his fourth son, Yulin, an 1849 *juren*; Junhao (generation 24) was buried in the year 1896; Yaoyuan (1883 – 1954; generation 27) founded a primary school in the year 1920 in the South Altar Temple that was soon moved to the Hall for the Veneration of Parents. Clearly, from the late eighteenth century on, the Eastown Shens had begun regularly to produce successful degree candidates and officials.

But the most intriguing dated event in the Qing is the burning

① See the *Shenshi zongpu* 《沈氏宗谱》 edited by Shen Zaoshang (沈藻上), Shen Yangfu 沈养福, and Shen Shuntong 沈舜通 in 1997 for the Guanyinshan segment, p. 35.

② Ibid., p. 37.

③ *Shenshi zongpu* 《沈氏宗谱》 (1992) edited by Shen Ruhuai (沈汝淮), pp. 152 – 61.

④ *Shenshi Shunqing tang jiapu* 《沈氏顺庆堂家谱》 (2002), p. 78.

down, by the authorities, of no fewer than ten Shen lineage halls in the year 1847. This event is mentioned in the context of a paragraph on Ancestor Daoshu (generation 23), a Daoguang era (1821 – 1850) *xiucai*. According to the genealogy, "At the end of the Qing, the government recklessly abused the people, and lineage fighting grew worse by the day." The first example is that of a government official who, having insulted the womenfolk while viewing the lanterns in the Eastown ancestor hall on 1/15, was beaten to death by the people. Hastily, Daoshu put up signs indicating separate sections for men and women and, when the magistrate arrived, explained the official had gone into the section clearly marked for women and had misbehaved. "Because men and women should not have direct contact, the magistrate had no choice but to acquiesce. Thus Daoshu, by his extraordinary wisdom and courage, avoided a major catastrophe."^① The second case involved a Shen lineage member who, thinking to forcibly recover an unpaid debt, unwittingly seized tribute grapefruit. By reverently explaining to the magistrate what had happened, Daoshu once again averted disaster.

The account carries on with Daoshu's unstinting efforts to get the men to plow and the women to weave and to teach the people to "respect the elderly and love the young." But the government extorted taxes violently, and the people could not make a living. Three times the people of Eastown revolted against the government and, to make matters worse, there was lineage fighting, and the government took sides. Finally, the authorities gave the magistrate permission to lead his soldiers

① *Shenshi zongpu* (1992), p. 153. Shen Meisheng gives essentially the same account in his essay in this volume.

to come destroy our village. It was in this context of a matter of life and death that Daoshu insisted everyone keep calm and told the villagers to keep farming and the women to keep weaving. Throughout the village there was nothing but the rising and falling of the sound of weaving shuttles and lesson recitation. When the magistrate in person made his undercover investigation, he sighed with surprise: "This is a village governed by rites. It cannot be exterminated!" So in the year 1847, the magistrate had ten Easttown-governed lineage halls burned down, rather than exterminating the entire village. ①

References to revolts, piracy, and inter-lineage fighting (*xiedou*) are frequent in Zhao'an history. In the Jiaqing gazetteer Ye Guanhai complains that "ne'er-do-wells" stir up trouble "because of a single incident", and a cycle of revenge from which no one can escape begins. In his 1832 *Wensu lu*, the magistrate Chen Shengshao says every village has a fortress with one heavily guarded gate. Huang Jiaxiang describes a fight between the Chens of Bushang and Xus of Xikeng that went on for thirteen years, and to this day they do not intermarry. Starting in 1853, local lineages divided into red versus white flag groups, and Huang describes conflicts between the two groups right into the Republican era. In one case involving the Shens, there were some 300 victims over a period of two years, and the fighting extended to the neighboring counties of Raoping and Yunxiao. In 1902, Easttown fought with people in the county seat. The magistrate led 40 soldiers to Easttown, which refused to submit. The magistrate called in reinforcements,

① *Shenshi zongpu* (1992), pp. 155 – 156. The legend to a picture of this hall on p. 7 of the genealogy adds that Ancestor Daoshu rebuilt the hall in the Xianfeng era (1851 – 1861).

nabbed three leaders, and put them to death in front of the yamen. Endemic fighting between Chens and Xus in 1906 was finally reported to the provincial governor, which took a hostage from each and beheaded them outside the city for all to see. That same year Meizhou and Macuo Cheng organized red versus white villages, the latter including Easttown, and 17 people were killed. In 1912 alone, there were five outbreaks of fighting, with 680 dead and wounded.

This background of piracy and rebellion is the most likely context for Zhao'an's most characteristic feature: massive lineage alliances, expressed and regularly consolidated by means of impressive parades.

Economy

Huang Jiaxiang begins his presentation of the coastal economy with a thumbnail sketch of seafaring history, forbidden through much of the Ming but carried on nonetheless. A first "route book" for the high seas was produced by one Wu Pu of Xiamei in 1537. Ten years later, when troops came south to destroy the port of Shuangyu, Zhao'an replaced it as the center for contraband. Only when the interdiction on private sailing was lifted in 1569 was endemic piracy finally brought to an end. At the end of the Ming, silk, cloth, pottery, tea, sugar, paper, and fruit were the goods shipped out of the main port of Gongkou, and incense, gems, leather, foreign cloth, and agricultural products the goods imported. In the Qing, access to the sea was forbidden until 1683, and the court remained very negative about commerce, especially with the Southern Sea, until 1717. When, in 1727, the private sale of rice and imports of rice from Burma and Vietnam in addition to Thailand were allowed, prices plunged, and imports of ivory, timber, swallow nests, and pepper began, together with exports of dried fruits, bamboo

products, rush mats, sea salt, pottery, and honey. By the mid-Qing, Taiwan began to export rice, sugar, tea, and fruits to China, and received women and miscellaneous goods in return. While in the Qianlong era Lu'ermen in Taiwan and Xiamen in Fujian became the main ports, private ports like Gongkou continued to thrive. Several wealthy Zhao'an merchants moved to Canton when it became the sole official port of entry in 1757, but a far more regular commerce was carried on to the north in Ningbo and Tianjin, with merchants sailing north in months five and six with cane sugar, peanut oil, and hemp and returning in months eleven and twelve, from Ningbo with cotton, cloth, and rice and from Tianjin with beans, wheat flour, corn, and herbal medicines.

In the late Qing in the county seat and environs there were ten major shipping companies, four of which were in Shen hands. The Shunqingtang (Hall of Prosperous Felicity) Shens, in the county seat, got its start in the Qianlong era when Shen Wengong moved from Official Ford. He set up shop inside Eastgate selling jewelry. When he died, two of his four sons moved not only into shipping but also into the production of cane sugar and oil. Their fleets carried red and white sugar, peanuts, and peanut oil north, and brought back cloth, wheat flour, beancake, and water urns. They became one of the biggest landlords in town, owning both land and houses. Likewise, Shen Jianbiao of Easttown grew so wealthy through shipping in the late Qing that he was called "Shen the millionaire". One of the most important docks in the seat was completely controlled by the Shens of Easttown. But if local shipping flourished for 150 years from Yongzheng to Tongzhi, when big seagoing vessels replaced junks, the Zhao'an port was too small, and in the Republican era, Shantou and Xiamen

completely replaced it.

During the war, with Shantou and Xiamen occupied, Zhao'an became a transport center for inland goods enroute to Guangdong, with some 500 porters. Women were also involved, especially those whose husbands, because of the war, were unable to send money home from Nanyang, as was the case of Huang's own mother. Carrying 100 *jin*, she would set out at midnight for fear of Japanese planes and soldier bandits. All bridges were blown up, so she had to ford the streams. At dawn she would stop for a breakfast of cold rice and yams. When she got home, she would heat bricks or tiles and place a dried turnip on them, and her feet on the turnip to reduce the swelling of her legs.

In his account of commerce in Sandu, Huang Jiaxiang goes into extraordinary detail, starting with the widening of Zhongshan Road in 1931 and the statement that, by then, there were ten *baihuo* shops on that street selling both local and imported goods. There was a special alley 200 meters long for pig butchers; fowl were raised near the East River Straw Temple, then shipped to Guangdong; two of the four fresh fruit markets were near temples. Lumber from the interior was lashed into rafts and floated, heavily weighted with charcoal, down the East River to a point where it could be charged on special boats. Inland products were sold not only in the county seat but in other major markets like Xinan and Xitan. Virtually all markets were held near temples, whose festivals became major social and economic events. According to Huang's table of Sandu markets, almost all were daily. Sale of buffalo and pigs was facilitated by brokers who knew how to talk and understood the animals, and who also knew the "tricks of the trade" as well as its unwritten rules.

On agricultural production, Huang is equally precise, explaining

rice types, the entire process of preparation, planting, transplanting, fertilizing, and weeding. For early rice, the harvest took place 80 days after transplanting, for late rice 100. Cane sugar production was transformed by the arrival of new species from Taiwan and Nanyang in the early Republican era. Huang goes into similar detail with regard to peanut production, water products, and fishing, done primarily from the late fifth to the mid-ninth month. Walled off areas of the sea were first layered with stones and tiles and then, after three to five years, planted with shellfish. Fresh water fish were fed grass and, conditions permitting, human and animal manure.

Artisans producing cloth, fish nets, water wheels, flour, umbrellas, boat varnish, stone building materials, cotton thread, oil presses, bamboo implements, and paper money, incense, and candles had each their own street or neighborhood. Before the war there were 130 households that produced or treated rice, 100 building materials, 90 sugar, 43 oil, 20 dyeing, ten flour, five wine, and four salt. In 1949 there were still 80 sugar cane presses, involving 500 workers. Pressing was done from the mid-twelfth to the end of the third month. Oil presses could press 500 kilograms of peanuts in a day and produce 150 of oil. The leftover was used for pig feed and fertilizer. Alcohol was made of rice, yams, fruit, and sugar cane. Huang Jiexiang also describes cloth-making, bleaching, and dyeing, and the plants used for dyeing. There were also 150 artisans making bamboo and other wood products, with some specializing in red wood furniture using wood from Nanyang. Finally, there were twelve blacksmiths, two pewter makers, and 140 traveling repairmen. Huang devotes a separate chapter to capital, including descriptions of the kinds of money in circulation before banks. There were twelve silver and gold shops, who would put their chops on

authentic coins. A good share of the ten registered pawnshops were run by Shens; Xitan alone had three such shops. Land could be pawned for eight to twelve year stretches. Sale of private land was not allowed without prior lineage agreement. Partnerships were common in shipping, fishing, and shops. In shops, the head was called *luzhu* incense burner chief, because he was also in charge of the regular sacrifices inseparable from doing business.

A fourth chapter deals with agricultural, artisanal, and commercial customs. When the gods returned from heaven on the fourth day of the New Year, water prepared with seven auspicious herbs and flowers was used to spray the rice seedlings. These were then placed in the kitchen to germinate, where pregnant women and drunks were not allowed lest they offend the stove god. Once germinated, sacrifice had to be made to the earth god in the fields to be planted. When transplanting was done, another offering of money was made. On 4/26, Wugu was worshiped so the drying seeds not ferment. Further sacrifices to the earth god were made on 5/4 and 8/14. Noodles, because they look like insects, could not be presented; the paper money was pressed into the earth, and more money offered when the rice was ripe. After the late rice harvest, pork and chicken were offered in the fields to the earth god. In some villages, when the harvest was good, opera was put on.

Rules for the color of boats were different for each province. In Fujian, boats had a white belly, green head, and black eyes. Throughout building, pregnant women and mourners were not allowed to approach it. Before putting the boat in the water, a sacrifice to the drowned was done next to the boat, and the boat head was worshiped. When the owner took possession of the boat, he went to worship Mazu

and took incense back in a red pouch and an image of Mazu for the boat. When praying on the ship, the name Mazu should be used, not Queen of Heaven, because a queen would take too long to get ready. Before a fishing boat went out for the first time, a Daoist or *saigong* exorcized it. Mazu was worshiped in her temple on the first and fifteenth of every month, and on the following day money was burned on the shore. Every year, on the first outing, boats went to a sandbar to worship the god of the sea, who had neither temple nor image. The sixth day of the sixth month was a day to "improve the boat's fortunes" with a sacrifice to Mazu and Guandi on an island. No one went out to sea on 7/29 because it was a day on which the god of the sea ran into trouble. That night, all put on new clothes and went to the sandbar to throw offerings into the sea. Every so many years, a sea offering was held. If someone died on board, the blood of a black dog had to be poured in the water and the whole boat washed. Women on board had to spit or urinate on the boat's left because the flag was on the right. If husband and wife were together on a fishing boat, they could not have sex lest the water gods be angry.

Huang Jiaxiang provides equally detailed descriptions for raising domestic animals. For example, men without sons raised male pigs. If a pig was slaughtered in the twelfth month, his ears were hung from the rafters; this meant "get rich" (*facai*). An egg that dropped while a hen was eating was a "ghost egg": the hen should be brought to the coop gate and beheaded while uttering auspicious phrases. A white-headed black chicken could make people sick. When a buffalo was old and given for slaughter, the owner should take home its rope and nose ring and not look back; there was no choice but to give it for slaughter, but this was very hard to bear.

Many villages specialized in a craft, whether as pottery or porcelain makers, blacksmiths, stonecutters, or the making of bamboo products. Competing teams were engaged to build ancestral halls and temples and were paid differently depending on how they did. Among patron saints there was Lu Ban for wood, stone, and tiles, Taishang laojun for pottery, gold and silver, iron, and pewter, Xuanyuan for tailors, Sun Bin for shoemakers, Leizu for weavers, Ge Hong for printers, Lu You for tea, Du Kang for wine, and Lü Dongbin for barbers. If a builder was not happy about his treatment, he might put a talisman under the threshold that would produce bankruptcy or even death. Roof tile layers, when they slept, had to set out their shoes one up one down, like tiles. Coffin makers could not also be furniture makers.

Shop gods included Wenchang for paper, Guangong for silk, Zhanwang for restaurants, and Yaowang for pharmacies. Most reopened on 1/2. If the first client was a woman, especially a pregnant woman, the shopkeeper had to burn paper money after she left. He should never turn over an abacus lest the source of wealth be destroyed, nor sweep toward the outside, nor step on the threshold lest the god of wealth not be able to enter, nor say goodbye if running a drugstore or a coffin store. Care should be taken to offend neither local toughs nor the beggars' association.

Customs

Huang Jiaxiang's account of customs covers the worship of the gods, seasonal customs, and rites of passage. One of the most important local concepts is that of the *ditou* god, who plays the role of the earth god in small villages. When someone under his territorial jurisdiction dies, for example, he must be informed. This is done by an elder, who

goes with a white lantern to inform key relatives, who then accompany him to the temple: "When we are born, we come via the *ditou*; when we die, we go via the *ditou*. This is the time for Laoye to know." Some such temples are at once a village and a lineage temple; others are the joint property of several lineages in a single village, or of several villages belonging to a single lineage. Those in the county seat itself all belong to several lineages, and Huang provides a table of all such temples in Sandu.

As for earth gods and their wives, they were found at every water exit, intersection, or where there are *sha*. A couplet says that he is just and fair, while she has the heart of a grandma. At the other end of the scale is Tiangong, the Lord of Heaven: the Jade Emperor. The stove god is his son-in-law and returns on 12/23 to report to him. For the next two days, the Jade Emperor comes down with his court to inspect, so on 12/25 all burn incense to welcome him. On his birthday on 1/9, many taboos had to be observed: the rooster sacrificed must be white; water used to wash the face must not be dumped outside, and children could not urinate where they pleased nor women's underwear be hung out to dry, as all of that would be disrespectful to Tiangong. Every so many years, a *haoshi* ("good ritual") had to be done: after 1/9 birthday worship, a Heavenly Bamboo with a Tiangong lantern affixed to it was set up in front of the local temple (as in northern Taiwan). The temple committee met that day at 4 a. m. to worship, then the whole village came, and all went with the lantern to float it downriver. Until the date of the *haoshi*, incense had now daily to be set out with tea by the temple keeper.

In 1562, when the county seat was under assault by pirates and was on the verge of falling, the magistrate dreamed that Guangong

"manifested his power" (*xianling*). He informed the troops, who were galvanized and saved the town. Many tales of his salvific interventions are told locally, as of the 1556 pirate invasion of Meiling: the fishermen had taken refuge in the fortress when suddenly Guandi appeared on the wall with a big blade and cut all the ladders laid against the wall. Then fire-carrying crows flew out of the Guandi temple and dropped them on the 23 boats of the bandits, which went up in smoke. Sworn brothers swore allegiance before him, as in the Tiandihui. He became a god of all purposes, who also healed the sick: one need only take his big blade home, wrap it in red, and burn incense before it daily. The Guandi parade was among the biggest in Nanzhao. Members of the martial arts "halls" (*guan*) all joined and displayed their prowess. Enroute, they were invited into houses to exorcise them. Tortoise longevity cakes were the most prized offering.

Mazu's temple in the county seat became the *sidian* temple in 1720. On every boat she had her seat on the poop, and a talisman on the prow. Men without a son fought to carry her in processions. If the right was not obtained, they would push through the crowd to rub her feet. When tuna gathered for her parade at the Tianhou Palace in Meiling, fishermen said they were coming to worship and could not be caught. Special cakes were thrown to them, and special noodles were eaten on that day because noodles are like threads and recalled how Mazu was weaving when she realized her father and elder brother were in danger on the sea. Holding the thread in her hands, she closed her eyes and went to the rescue: the thread became a strong rope, and the boat was saved.

In the Qianlong era, says Huang, there were twenty Daoist *tan* in Sandu, with one hundred Daoists. By 1937, this was down to seven *tan*

and thirty Daoists. Local Daoists worship Sanma (Three Mothers: Chen, Lin, and Li) and do exorcisms. Those who save the living are called redheads, those who save the dead black. Most famous *tan* were run by Shens (his own source was the Easttown *saigong* Shen Huoxing). For illness, Heavenly Master Zhang talismans were used. The Daoist summoned Tianpeng and Huiji jingang, then wrote the talisman. “Incense and flower monks” are traced back locally to Dazong and the Tiandihui he set up in 1674 to fight the Qing. After the Qing victory in 1681, he created *xianghua seng* to continue underground. A Qing manuscript called “the secret classic” (*midian*) was kept in Fengshan’s Baoguosi, and was used for rituals. They use loud percussion and flutes to attract attention, have beautiful *jiasha*, do military performances like climbing the sword ladder, use talismans and incantations, and often serve as temple keepers, though some live at home. Often children whose “eight characters” are in conflict with those of their parents, or who are often sick, or whose families are too poor to raise them, are turned over to monks for raising. (Here, Huang’s source was Shi Daoyu, abbot of the Baoguosi.) Usually they will enter a temple at age 7 and take vows at age 16. They also studied healing, fate calculation, physiognomy, and geomancy.

Many temple keepers were mediums, who also operated at home in “divine halls” (*shenguan*). Mediums engaged lowly spirits, while divinatory writing engaged higher gods. Usually, mediums first experienced a long illness and then were suddenly healed, but with altered speech and spirit. Some suddenly acted crazily, laughed and wept and neither ate nor drank nor slept. When they woke up after several days, they said they had been to a god’s place. Male mediums “inquired of the gods” (*wenshen*), female of ghosts (*wengui*). The latter

descended into the earthly yamen to talk to deceased relatives or ask about family matters. The time to do this was the evening of 6/16. The people surrounding the medium recited until she “fell asleep” and then announced that the soul had arrived but could not be seen, only questioned, because yin and yang can’t communicate. People learned the will of the gods from such as Guandi, Mazu, Xuantian, Rensheng dadi, and Guanyin, all of whose temples had divination slips. The night of 8/15 was the best for drawing such slips or throwing the divining blocks. That night women would also listen to hear people talking: this was called “listening to the incense.” Huang describes the old lady-led writing séances that come out of this environment.

It is normal to respect the gods and fear ghosts, but most people fear both and, express that fear through multiple taboos: for example, no children’s clothes should be hung out to dry at night, lest spirits take away their souls; one should not talk when eating lest one disturb the spirits of the food and attract hungry ghosts; one should not live in front of a temple or behind an ancestral hall lest one bump into the gods or ghosts (gods go through the front door; ancestors enter from the *houshan*); beds should have an odd number (yang), of planks and definitely not four (*si*) or six, as “six planks” refers to a coffin; when travelling, it is better to sleep in a cemetery than in a temple.

In his chapter on temple festivals, Huang begins with the tale which could be called Nanzhao society’s foundational myth: Originally, on Liangfeng Hill there was a Generals’ Temple dedicated to Chen Yuanguang and six of his generals. According to the Republican-era gazetteer, it was destroyed by pirates in the Jiajing period. Locals rushed in to save the statues, successfully, with the result that each lineage ended up with a god of a different surname: the Shens, for example, got

not their own “ancestor” Shen Yong but Ouyang Zhe, who was henceforth worshiped in a temple in Eastown. A new temple for Chen Yuanguang, inside Southgate, was built in 1640 and restored in 1739, when it became the official *sidian* temple. If local militia had to respond to an attack, they would first gather in this temple to make vows, invite the flags, and give each warrior an incense sachet. Its annual three-day festival, focused on Chen’s birthday on 2/16, required the magistrate to come read a prayer, a parade, and opera. A special dance was done by Eastown martial arts halls to recall Chen’s heroics. When finished, a *saigong* and a *saipo* led worship of Chen and his generals.

Shen Yong’s birthday is 2/22 and his death date 7/25. The wealthy Hall of Prosperous Felicity celebrated the former, Eastown the latter. The high point is a massive parade which, when it nears the ancestral hall, must rush in to imitate Shen’s defeat of the barbarians. Because the Chens saved Shen Yong’s statue from the Liangfeng fire, they carry him in the big parade on 5/5 described by Yang Yanjie. Another of the generals, Li Boyao, is worshiped in an Eastgate temple. His wife is said to be a local woman who took refuge from the rain in his temple, saw the god and prayed to wed someone like that. She began to worship regularly in the temple and to waste away—implying a sexual relationship with the god. Finally, the lineage head went to the temple to ask the god whether he wished to marry the girl, and the divining blocks said yes three times. That night she died, and a statue of the girl, now called Wangma or Wife of the King, was placed in the temple next to that of Li Boyao. In her native village there is a Grave of the Gupo.

Every third or fifth year in Nanzhao a great “prayer for peace” was done. A particularly big one was held in 1945, right after the end of

World War II. Supported by the magistrate in memory of all war dead, the ritual consisted in a four-day Jiao in the Eastern Peak Temple, followed by a four-day Pudu in the Chen Yuanguang temple done on the first eight days of the twelfth month. Traditionally, says, Huang, it was in these two temples that major rituals were done. Both Jiao and Pudu were done by local “incense and flower” monks under the leadership of Master Suzhi from the Gaoyin Buddhist temple of neighboring Pinghe County. Before beginning, a team of locals was sent out to collect the bones of the dead who had no sacrifices, wrap them in thick paper, place them in urns, and bring them for burial to the charitable cemetery on Liangfengshan. The yamen for its part buried all the bones of the war dead at the foot of the same hill and set up a memorial. Two days before the Jiao, all streets were swept and each household hung out a Lord of Heaven lantern. Day 1 was for the invitation of the gods. Day 2 included the ascent of a sword ladder by a “military monk”. On Day 3 the five monks bearing different colored flags did an interweaving “run” to invite the gods of the five directions to come chase away demons. On Day 4 a great parade through the city was done. Its chief feature was Brothers One and Two, two four-meter tall papier-machégods carried by strong young men, and Shorty Demon (Aizigui), a fierce-looking made-up man hopping on stilts leading two Yaksha figures with pitchforks. Where invited, they went into houses to grab pestilence demons and throw them in the “bucket for the suppression of demons”. Some women would tap their children on their backs three times with paper money, then throw it in the bucket. That afternoon the epidemic gods, called Wangye as in Taiwan, were driven to the river along a route where all shops and houses were shuttered. On the shore of the river, the Wangye were invited to board a five-meter

long, two-meter high papier-maché boat, the people threw paper images of “Japanese devils” on board, the Wangye were asked to chase off all demons, and the boat was pushed into the water.

The Pudu required a four-meter tall papier-maché Dashi (Big Officer), also called Guiwang or King of the Demons, with a Guanyin on his head. On Day 1 the buddhas were invited to the inner altar (*neitan*), which was first purified and turned into a Pure Land. Then the fallen heroes were invited and a list with their names on it handed to a large white papier-maché horse with a monk on it representing the Pardon Official going to hell. After dawn, all relatives of the dead, with the monks, went to the site at the foot of Liangfengshan where the magistrate was waiting to read a writ of sacrifice (*jiwen*), after which the monks did a *Fang yankou* (Release of the Flaming Mouths). On Day 2 family members paid money for the rebirth of the dead as they crossed for them the Naihe Bridge. Day 3 included a visit to the Xuantian shangdi Palace to ask the Buddha of compassion to give passage to the dead and prosperity to the living. Fish and turtles were released at a point where streams converged. At dusk, lanterns were set afloat to Welcome the Underworld Guests. After these special lotus lanterns had floated a bit, boys rushed in to grab them because, by homophony, having a “lantern” *ding* could bring a baby boy *ding* to the family. On Day 4, Hell was destroyed by monks doing acrobatics and chasing Yaksha. Afternoon worship of Dizang was followed in the evening by the ritual to Succor Souls in Darkness. Mountains of paper money and many “soul houses” (*lingwu*) were prepared, the chief monk leaped onto a platform, imagined himself as the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Beginning—the highest Daoist god!—transformed the food with “the true words of the skeletons” and then distributed the offerings, after

which all was brought to a set place for burning. Big Officer had to be turned around to face north for burning, and this had to happen before the *hai* hour lest it bring harm to participants.

All day on New Year's Day new brides had to stay in the bedroom, waiting for presents from her family to arrive. On Red Dog Day (3/3), those with recent dead in the family made sacrifices to his soul; only close relatives could come. It was also a day to send off the devil of poverty by sweeping filth out of the house and bringing it to the fields outside the village to burn, light incense, and send the devil off to be replaced by the star of fortune. An elderly woman led all in offerings to the well god, to open the well. The gods returned to earth the next day; firecrackers were set off and offerings set out at midnight, after which people went to the temples to burn incense. Observation of taboos stopped on 1/5, and parents could once again get angry with their children. It was also Zhao Gongming's birthday, and all shopkeepers worshiped him. On 1/5, the birthday of Zhusheng niangniang, newlyweds and new mothers, the latter with their sons, went to the ancestral hall to hang lanterns; thus were the newborn introduced to the ancestors and did newlyweds pray for a son. New brides were accompanied by their *popo* and after three days brought the lantern home to hang, but on the evening of 1/15 they walked slowly among the hanging lanterns “to ask the ancestors to help her to quickly give birth to a son who would carry on the line.” That same evening, elderly women brought new brides to temples to worship. The City God temple had scenes of good and evil for the instruction of men on the east and women on the west. This was also the time for puppet theater in Guandi and Mazu temples and, from 1/13 to 1/15, for people to carry images of their local territorial gods

and their founding ancestors to the village of the latter and then to villages derived from it.

The fourth month, around Buddha's birthday (4/8), brought to an end the period begun on 1/5, when monks began to go from house to house to recite scriptures. A family in which a death had occurred that year should do a *chaodu* rite on 6/5. The following day, women could ask female mediums about the dead. On 7/7 children under 15 worshiped the "grandparents" of the bed, while 15-year olds were led by the father in a rite to "leave the flower garden" of childhood. All hung out Pudu lanterns for the entire seventh month, and neighborhood temples did rotating Universal Salvation rituals. On "ghost day" (*guijie*, 7/15) itself, a Pudu was done by a ritual master on a platform in front of the main Chen Yuanguang temple. Women led children in worshipping the moon on 15th, Aug. Special glutinous rice balls had to be eaten and ginger tea drunk on the day of the winter solstice, lest one become a sprite (*jing*). Animals could also become sprites, so some of the ginger drink was given to buffalo and pigs. This was also a day to sweep graves and worship in the ancestral hall. On 12/24, the people of Zhao'an send all gods—not just the stove god—to heaven to see the Jade Emperor. It is said that this custom began in 1661, when the Qing court, in forcing locals to move inland 25 kilometers, in effect forced them to abandon their gods, so before departure they sent them all back to heaven, welcoming them back only when they were allowed to return to the coastal region some twenty years later.

On their wedding day, bride and groom wore white cotton inner clothing they would keep on for three days and not wear again until they were prepared for burial. Once the bride was dressed, her father took her for the only time in her life to the ancestral hall to say goodbye. She

was given a special purse containing money, rice, and sugar, the coins and rice to be placed in the rice urn in the groom's house, and the sugar in the well and water urn. As the bride left her home, she had to weep, for good luck, or to prevent demons from being jealous. As the sedan chair set off, she dropped a "rest-assured fan" for the family to pick up before hurriedly shutting the gate: she thus promised to stay in her husband's family and not long for her home. When she arrived at the groom's house, usually before noon, the groom tapped the chair lightly with a fan and kicked open its door. With a rice sieve above her head, the bride stepped down into a bamboo basket, for her head must not see heaven nor her feet touch the earth lest she offend gods and ghosts. Auspicious phrases accompanied each dish at the noon banquet, after which the bride was visited in her room by female relatives who were not pregnant, widows, in mourning, remarried, well on in years without yet having given birth to a son, or of an incompatible year. When, on the third day after marriage, she returned home for a noon meal and then, toward evening, went back to her new home, torches had to be lit, and on the groom's side, too, people had to go out to greet her with torches, lest the torches pull good fortune away from one side or the other. Going, the groom went behind; returning, the bride.

“In Sandu people do not think of pregnancy and birth as a natural, physical process but one controlled by the gods, by means of which souls are reincarnated. There are gods who protect but also demons who attack. Pregnant women, children, relatives, and friends must all respect certain rules, lest the gods be unhappy and the demons cause trouble, bringing misfortune to individuals, families, and even whole villages.” Thus a pregnant woman had to protect the womb god and avoid offending it: she must not touch dust in the house, no nails could be

planted in the walls, and she must not step over a cow tether (because cows are pregnant for twelve months) or take part in either red or white rituals. A wife who had been long wed without giving birth went to worship Bixia yuanjun in the Eastern Peak temple, or else Guanyin. A maid behind the former, called Zhushengma (Mother who Gives Children), held a baby boy from whose penis women would scrape some clay and take it home to drink. Yearly, the penis had to be replaced. Help was also sought from mediums, who would fetch a child from the Flower Garden.

If the birth proved difficult, Sanguan (Three Officers) was invited into the parlor. After the husband went to report the birth to his in-laws, they would send a gift of noodles if it was a boy ("may you continue to have boys") and a pig's stomach if it was a girl ("may you change your stomach" and next time have a boy). If the mother died in the first month, her soul fell into Blood Lake hell and would have to wait for her son to grow up to do a Buddhist ritual to save her. After bathing the child on the third day to wash away all karmic filth, he was dressed in new clothes supplied by the maternal grandmother and then carried in the arms to worship the Elder Sister, goddess of the bed who protects infants. The mother was impure and could participate in no worship of any kind. Even her husband could not go visiting during the first month lest he bring with him "foul energies" (*huiqi*). At the end of the first month, some families went to worship the Mother who Gives Children, bringing back incense ashes and flowers to wash the child. The child's lineage generational name was given him by a lineage elder during a visit to the ancestral hall to report the birth. If a child's fate was calculated as full of dangers, he would be given a ritual name by a monk or a Daoist, often with the word *guan* in it, for Guanyin. A child whose

eight characters were in conflict with his parents would be adopted out.

The souls of the deceased were thought to wait in the underworld to be reborn, so "to care for the living was not a big deal; seeing the dead off was." A death in the family brought everything to a halt for seven days. If the deceased was over 50 or a grandparent, he could be placed in the parlor, where the gods and ancestors had to be covered with a red cloth or a rice sieve and the Lord of Heaven lantern removed "to avoid gods and ghosts running into each other." If a cat or dog jumped over the corpse, it might sit up. If the death occurred in the seventh or the twelfth month, pork had to be hung up outside to prevent "wild ghosts" (*yegui*) from eating the corpse's flesh. Shortly after death, the body was washed, and all the deceased's medicine pots smashed so that his illness not be transmitted. The death had to be reported expeditiously by a family elder to the city or the earth god: "From the earth we come, to the earth we return. I come to inform Grandpa (Laoye) of the time (of birth and death)." If it was a mother who had died, when the maternal family came, the elder son went out to greet them with a red envelope: her flesh had been married out; now her bones had to be purchased.

Before dressing the corpse, the son went through a complex process in which he stood on a bamboo bench with a bamboo hat on, to say that he could not see blue Heaven (the Qing) on high nor touch the yellow (sovereign; Ming) earth below. It is also said that Wu Sangui's condition for surrender to the Qing was that "while alive he would wear Qing clothes but in death Ming." Anti-Qing sentiment, already evoked above, would seem to have been particularly strong in Zhao'an.

Only close male relatives went to the grave, with sons-in-law taking the lead and strewing mock money as they went so "wild ghosts" would not block their path. The soul tablet was dotted by a lineage elder in

front of the grave. First he put two red dots on either side of the tablet while muttering, "May both ears hear well, male descendants be numerous, and exam successes come often." Then he dotted the character *wang* to convert it into *zhu* (lord). The return home was called "bringing the dragon back": the tablet was placed in a small chair, behind which was a lantern and a son with the soul banner, calling on his parent to "come home." The womenfolk went out to the nearest intersection to welcome the Lord home. Some families then invited *saigong*, Daoist or Buddhist, to do rituals on the odd-sevens, first, third (done by married daughters), fifth (married granddaughters), and seventh. By then the dead person had found a place to be reborn, so a more festive ritual was done, with friends as well as family. Throughout the 49-day period, family members could not go to other people's houses. If a person had died away from home, he could not be brought back into the village, and all rituals had to be done outside it, as did the subsequent annual rituals. Babies who died were buried in the wilds and covered with a rice sieve to keep dogs away. If a fisherman died at sea, his soul was summoned home from the shore by a Daoist or a Buddhist, accompanied by god statues. Parents were thereafter worshiped on both their birth and death days, grandparents only on the latter.

Two Shen villages near the county seat are described in separate essays. The first is Shidu (Official Ford), described by native son Shen Rongbo with the help of Liu Jinfeng. According to Shen Rongbo, the first Shen to come to Nanzhao was Shen Meigang, of the eighth generation after Ancestor Qiu. A friend of Liu Bowen, he was a late Yuan intellectual who came to Nanzhao to escape corrupt government. Official Ford Shens had two *jinshi*, Yikui in 1676, who became prefect

of Huizhou, and Zuoli, a 1701 military *jinshi*. Official Ford was built on a tortoise, facing the sea to the south. Southgate was the main entry, but all four gates in this fortress-village had their own water exits and earth god temples to keep dragon energies and wealth inside. The village also boasted three temples and 19 ancestral halls. So as not to block the county seat's access to the sea, only one of each was built high. The best geomantic site was occupied by the main temple, called Linghuimiao (Temple of Efficacious Giving), which faced west toward the seat's ancestral hill. Also called Big Temple, it was the ancestral temple of all Shens of Official Ford, dedicated to the worship of Zhang Boji (Wanggong, Grandpa King) —whose statue the local Shens had saved during the legendary fire—and his wife (Wanggongma, Grandma King). The temple contained separate altars for Three Officers, the earth god, and their wives. Itself composed of five *jia*, Official Ford shares this temple with three other villages, each of which is one *jia*.

Official Ford did a "spring prayer" on from 1/13 – 1/15, with three days and nights of Chaozhou opera and a massive parade on 1/15. Wanggong's birthday was celebrated on 2/18 and Wudehou's on 7/25. The most *longzhong* was the 1/15 event, with an eight-man palanquin for Wanggong and his wife Wangma and a two-man chair for Three Officers and his wife. A big blade was also carried in this morning parade and invited in to exorcise houses suffering misfortune. One year, Sanguanye and his wife expressed the desire to go out again in the evening to see the lanterns. The King tried to dissuade them, but they said that, even if they were to lose an arm or a leg, they wanted to go out. So the keeper of the temple chose some 20 youths as their bodyguards on 2/1, and at 5 p.m. on 1/15, drunk, the youths hollered and clapped, grabbed the two gods, ripped off their clothes,

and headed out into a crowd eager to rip off an arm or a leg and so obtain their “happy energies” (*fuqi*), whether a boy or a fat pig. The youths could make no headway, so they ripped off the arms and legs and threw them one after the other deep into the crowd. Each time the crowd rushed to get it, the youths could move ahead. Those who got one of the eight detachable items took it home, washed it carefully, wrapped it in red silk, and placed it on the family altar for three days of worship before bringing it back to Big Temple.

When the Liangfengshan temple burned down, Shen Yong’s statue was rescued by the Xus of Northgate and placed in their Perfect Lord Temple.^① On 6/30 every year, Zugong (Ancestor) was carried out from that temple by the Shens and began his annual tour of some 70 Shen-surnamed halls and villages.^② Official Ford’s turn came on 9/3–4. They went to fetch him from the village of Pingzai, then ran to place him in Big Temple, where each of the eight *jia* had its set time for worship. Each *jia* had to offer a fat black pig and a fat goose, because the goose was his enemy. The old circuit has now broken up, and there are two images which circulate separately, that of Easttown and that of Official Ford. The latter statue visits 16 villages descended from Meigang between 7/14 and 10/26.

Traditionally, every fourth year a Daoist Jiao was done in Big Temple. The organizing committee would meet on 12/24 the day for the send off of the gods. On 12/30 locals went to Perfect Lord Temple to solemnly invite the Marshal of Martial Virtue. They stayed that night

① This is a local version of the legend. See below for Yang Yanjie’s historical analysis.

② The *Shenshi zongpu* (《沈氏宗谱》) (1992), pp. 37–38, provides a list of 71 halls and villages visited by the Marquis of Martial Virtue every year between 6/29 and 10/28.

in the temple (*shousui*) so as to be sure, at the first (*zi*) hour of the new year, to be first in line to invite the god. Twelve days before the Jiao, percussion groups went to fetch the Marshal and to two other temples to get Mazu and Guanyin. On the first day of the Jiao, the gods were placed in the main seat, and paintings of the Three Pure Ones, Four Yamen, and marshals Zhao and Kang were hung up. At the temple door there was a double-decker Three Realms table and, outside, a high stage for the Pudu and another for Dashanren, Big Mountain Man. On the fourth day of the Jiao, the Daoists went out in five teams, each with five “generals” —local youths whose souls had been “hidden” —in a different direction. While one Daoist in each team spewed wine on burning oil in a wok to burn off all “foul energies”, a second went into the kitchen of each house along the way to settle its stove god. As soon as they left, the master of the house would shut the gate and a Daoist would paste up a “chase-filth symbol” on the outside. This exercise brought all “solitary souls” out into the open and prepared for another parade with *jiaomian guiwang*, the demon king of burning face, that is, Dashanren, to herd these souls to Big Temple for the Pudu, whose special feature was the food sculpture offerings. At the end, a well-paid old widower climbed a ladder to cut off Dashanren’s head, and all rushed to the riverbank to burn it. Worship of the Lord of Heaven took place the next day at dawn, after which the Daoist sent the gods off.

Eastgate, according to Shen Meisheng, was founded in the late Yuan by a ninth generation individual known simply as the ancestor of Easttown. In generation ten, two individuals called Liaodong and Houling went to Liaodong to fight. Both had two sons, source of the four local segments which ultimately spread to 20 villages. Their ancestral hall, he claims, was built in the Chenghua era (1465–1487) but

modified for geomantic reasons by Ancestor Jie'an. In the late Qing, Eastown had eight sugar producers, two oil presses, three dyers, two inns, some 50 shops, four opera troupes, and one of puppet theater. It also had many boats involved in the trade north. A huge 12-day Jiao was done in 1899, when Eastown was at its height, apparently by both Buddhists and Daoists. The Lantern Festival required food sculpture: pigs made with pig fat, lions with lean meat and squid, mile from a pig's head, and flour-molded animals. As elsewhere, the moon cakes for 8/15 are explained as the means to secretly order the massacre of Mongol soldiers stationed in every house, but the uprising is here said to have been organized by Liu Bowen. The annual Pudu rotation began in the village of Linzhong on 7/1 and ended with Shiya on 7/30; Eastown's turn came on 7/22. Heads of the ten big *jiashē* and the eight "divine houses" were decided on in the *ditou* temple on 1/5.

On the Zugong circuit, which Shen Meisheng says went from 6/28 to 10/28, Eastown's turn came on the Marshal's birthday, 7/25. On 7/24 a small group went to Dongshen (East-Shen) to fetch Zugong. When he arrived by boat at 4 p. m., he was received with thunderous percussion, and a massive parade began to bring him to the hall. The last 50 meters had to be run at high speed (*paowang*). The following day, all killed fowl—especially geese—and went to worship in the hall. According to Shen Meisheng, in pacifying the southern barbarians Shen Yong destroyed 36 forts (*zai*), the most difficult of which, because of its complex shape, was Goose Fort. When Zugong went to a slope to reconnoiter it, a flock of white geese rose up and, calling, awakened the soldiers in the fort. Zugong escaped by hiding in a field of beans and ultimately took the fort but ever after liked to eat goose meat and avoided cakes wrapped in bean leaves. On the fourth day, the village of Tangxi

came to fetch the Ancestor.

Chen Yuanguang, writes Yang Yanjie, received titles on ten different occasions in the Song, between 1075 and 1168. His six generals, by contrast, are not to be found in the *Song huiyao*. The "Running with tribute for the king" (*paogong wang*) rite described by Yang involves two *ditou* temples: the Perfect Lord Temple of Northgate, where Shen Yong's statue was first placed in 1755, and the Palace of Protection and Salvation (Hujigong) for the worship of Li Boyao. As according to the 1691 gazetteer the two gods were then worshiped together in a common temple, Yang suggests the 5/5 Running ritual originally involved just that temple. Be that as it may, Shen and Li are sworn brothers, with Li being the civil god and Shen, with his mask, the martial. A 1640 stele refers to them going together to see Chen Yuanguang. But an 1802 gazetteer manuscript says this encounter took place in the Northgate temple and no longer involved Chen. Today the Perfect Lord Temple has six *jiashē*, the Salvation Palace five. Li Boyao is paraded only in the palace's five sectors, while Shen Yong proceeds through all eleven. Shen carries fearsome axes used to exorcise houses that have requested it along the parade route. When the two gods meet, the carriers deploy giant fans between them to ensure they don't see each other: "Kings don't see kings," lest there be a fight. As the rite no longer involves running with tribute, its name has become a misnomer, and the rite is now about the more typical Nuo-like expulsion of epidemic spirits on 5/5.

Concluding remarks

Two things deserve particular mention in conclusion. The first is

Zhao'an's links with Taiwan Daoism, only alluded to in the Introduction. It was in 1987 that I first discovered that members of the Lin family of Nanbi had moved to Taiwan around 1820 and taken with them the manuscripts that lie at the basis of Daoist rituals in Northern Taiwan. The descriptions of Jiao in the present text show further links: the Heavenly Bamboo with the Tiangong (Lord of Heaven) lantern attached to it, the worship of the Lord of Heaven on the last day of a Jiao, and the role played by the Dashanren are all familiar from Daoist Jiao in Northern Taiwan.

The second is the utterly unique nature of Zhao'an lineages, whether it be the hyphenated lineages of the inland Hakka or the massive lineage alliances of the coastal Minnan. In both cases, they have little to do with Confucian ideology, and even less with Confucian practice. Funeral rituals, for example, have remained completely in Buddhist hands. But the fact they seem to have functioned more like military alliances than like lineages is what is most striking. This feature is clearest among the Minnan, with each major lineage group tying its fortunes to an ancestor (*zuzong*) who was a general of Chen Yuanguang, but without making any attempt to show a lineage tie. These *zuzong* are not "founding ancestors", for whom other myths have been created.

上册

诏安山区与平原的 传统社会