

STUDIES ON HONG KONG JIAO FESTIVALS

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I. Introduction

According to Liu Zhi-wan, there are various types of Jiao festivals which are celebrated regularly in the south and irregularly in the north of Taiwan.¹ In Hong Kong, many Jiao festivals are “Tai Ping Qing Jiao 太平清醮” [literal meaning “the Purest Sacrifice celebrated for Great Peace”], which are a type of “Qi An Jiao 祈安醮” which pleads for peace.² There are many such festivals, in the agrarian communities in the New Territories of Hong Kong often celebrated in a once-in-a-decade cycle.³ The festival has different ritual and symbolic meanings as well as different social and economic significance for the different groups of participants, namely the priests, the organizing committee members, the villagers and outsiders like the hawkers, the beggars and the researcher. For the villagers themselves the Jiao festival is the most important community-wide event. Often millions of dollars are poured into the celebration. For example, in the Lam Tsuen Jiao in 1990 about HK\$2,000,000 was spent of which HK\$260,000 was used for the construction of temporary mat-sheds, HK\$150,000 for the engagement of Taoist priests and \$460,000 was paid to the opera troupe.⁴ It is not at all uncommon for villagers who have emigrated to charter flights to return to Hong Kong for the celebration. Emigrant villagers of Fanling, a single lineage community, chartered three flights from England for the Jiao celebration in 1990.⁵ No villager would disagree that the Jiao is the most important religious activity in their community. The significance of the Jiao festival is not only enhanced by complicated rituals performed by the Taoist priests during the festival, but also by the extensive social activities that bond members and alliances of the community together. However, systematic study of the event did not begin until the 1960s. Even then, cross-community comparative studies of the festival are extremely rare.

This paper will review previous studies of Hong Kong Jiao festivals. I will show what we can learn of the various local traditions by a synchronic study comparing the Jiao festival celebrated by different communities and also by studying the social and organizational changes within a particular community over a period of time by a diachronic study comparing the Jiao of one single community over that period of time.

II. Studies on Jiao festivals in Mainland China & Taiwan

One of the most striking indicators of the revival of the traditional religious activities which were labeled as "feudal superstition" and prohibited in China after 1949 is the reappearance of the large scale Jiao festival in southern China. According to Dean, small scale religious activities were secretly practised by some small villages in Fujian during the Cultural Revolution. Large scale Jiao celebrations were seen in many parts of southern China only after 1980, the decade following the fall of the "gang of four".⁶ Dean's study in Fujian is one of the pioneering studies of the revival of Jiao festivals in mainland China. In his paper Dean asked whether or not the revival of Jiao festivals will lead to the restoration of local tradition and eventually encourage local autonomy. This, according to Dean, "only time will tell".⁷

Records of Jiao festivals on the mainland are very limited but Jiao festivals in Taiwan have been widely studied since the 1960s. One of the earliest systematic studies is Liu Zhi-wan's ethnographical account of the 1963 Jiao festival in Song Shan, Taipei.⁸ Though severely criticized by Li,⁹ the study successfully drew the attention of many scholars to the study of such festivals. Besides descriptive ethnography, two approaches should be mentioned here. One looks at the Jiao festival from its religious and symbolic significance. Li Xian-zhang pointed out in 1968 that the Jiao in ancient China was a "rite of transition".¹⁰ Saso suggested that the Jiao is a rite of cosmic renewal closely related to the theory of Yin and Yang. He wrote "[Jiao] is to restore Yang, that is, life, light, and blessing, to its pristine state of growth, and to expell the forces of Yin, darkness, evil, and death".¹¹ Saso's theory was adopted by many scholars to define the Jiao festival. For instance, Ward wrote that objectives of the Jiao festival are "... the wiping away of evil, the restoration of peace, and the renewal of life for the entire population and of a sizable group of villages".¹²

Another approach studies the festival from its social aspects. It focuses on the organizing community's internal structure and its relationship with a larger society. Okada's studies on "religious area" were done in the 1930s.¹³ They argue that the religious area is an area in which people interact through common religious activities which focus on a temple or a religious object.¹⁴ A religious area is also a sphere of social life which may coincide with marketing or marriage areas. The festival is seen as a mechanism to consolidate or to re-confirm

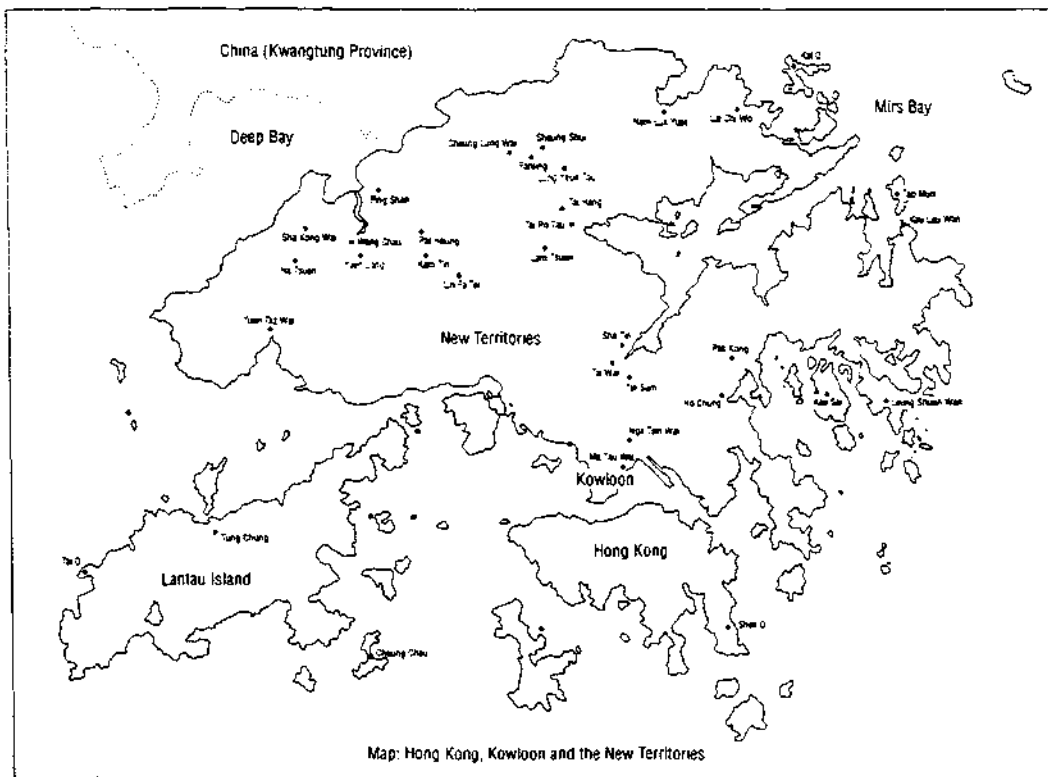
membership of an alliance.¹⁵

III. Studies on Jiao Festivals in Hong Kong: the 1980s

a. Trend

There are not as many studies of Jiao festivals in Hong Kong as in Taiwan. The earliest study in Hong Kong is probably Taylor's 1953 ethnographical essay on the Cheung Chau Jiao festival. The article was re-printed in every issue of the special annual bulletin for the Bun festival in Cheung Chau until the beginning of the 80s.¹⁶ The late Prof. B.E. Ward noticed very early the importance of the Jiao festival to the understanding of rural society.¹⁷ Her account of the festival itself, however, appeared only briefly in her introductory guide book on festivals in Hong Kong.¹⁸ Dr. James Hayes has also noticed the importance of the celebration during his studies on rural communities in the outlying islands and new towns in Kowloon. However, only some of the celebrations were given brief mention in his 1983 book.¹⁹ Mathias' study on the 1975 Kam Tin Jiao festival is probably the earliest comprehensive study of the festival. It is a pity, however, that it has not been published.²⁰ Kani, Obuchi and Yoshihara are probably the earliest Japanese scholars to realize the significance of Jiao festivals in Hong Kong. Kani, in his study of boat people in Hong Kong regards the Jiao on Cheung Chau island as an event, like the Hungry Ghost Festival, to feed wandering ghosts.²¹ Obuchi, working with a Taoist priest, Mr. Chan Wah, studied the symbolic meanings of different Taoist rituals performed in the 1975 Shatin Jiao festival.²² Yoshihara in a section of his paper on religion in Hong Kong briefly described the 1977 Tai Wai, Sha Tin, event.²³ Beginning in 1979, Tanaka and Segawa commenced active data collection on the festival. Tanaka began his extensive research in Hong Kong in 1979. At least 14 different Jiao festivals were recorded in his three books.²⁴ Segawa joined the research later, from 1983 to 1985, and several articles have since been published in Japanese.

The nineteen eighties saw a growth in interest in Jiao festivals among local institutions and scholars. In 1980, students and lecturers of the History Department (Dr. D. Faure),²⁵ the Sociology Department (the late Prof. B.E. Ward), the Anthropology Department (Dr. S.H. Wang) and the Music Department (the late Dr. B.C. Lu) of the Chinese University of Hong Kong [CUHK] began concurrent studies on Jiao



festivals in the New Territories.²⁶ Besides Faure's 1986 book *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society* which touched on the festival, printed work by local scholars arising from these studies is yet to appear.²⁷

Two museums, first the History Museum of Hong Kong, and later the Sam Tung Uk Regional Council Museum, have taken photos and videos of the festivals since 1983, following Mr. Hugh Gibb's film of the Ha Tsuen Jiao, taken in 1974. However, only the Jiao festival in Cheung Chau and the 1985 Kam Tin festival have been fully recorded. These are not as yet available in print.

Following the sad deaths of Prof. Ward and Dr. Lu, the 1980s also saw the quick decline in interest in Jiao festivals in Hong Kong. This is, perhaps, due to two not completely unrelated reasons: firstly, Jiao festivals in Hong Kong are studied only for their contribution towards the understanding of rural society. Therefore, when a researcher changes his interest to societies of another locality, study of Jiao festivals in Hong Kong becomes irrelevant. Another reason perhaps is a matter of "time". Whether it is a diachronic or synchronic study, or even an independent ethnographical report, the physical demands of observing a Jiao are often considerable. Planning for a Jiao festival may take one whole year, starting from fixing the date and selection of representative worshippers to the final purification of the community and households rituals. Moreover, if one intends to observe Jiao festivals held at different times, a long term commitment and interest is necessary since many Jiao festivals in the New Territories are celebrated only once in ten years. A comprehensive study of Jiao festivals cannot be done by a short term survey.

During my visits to two Jiao celebrations in 1990 (Lam Tsuen and Fanling), the only other researchers I met were a scholar from the Music department of the CUHK, and some members of an amateur research group.²⁸

b. Sources

Schipper noted that "... [Jiao festival] simply was ignored in the writings of the bureaucracy, and remained an immensely important factor in the lives of the common people ...".²⁹ Studies of Jiao festivals in Hong Kong have so far depended heavily on ethnography

and oral history collected in the field. Though oral history traces Jiao festivals to as early as the beginning of the Qing dynasty,³⁰ written records relating to the Jiao festivals in Hong Kong before the Japanese occupation (1941-1945) are rare. Written attacks on the Jiao by missionaries in the area, however, are quite common from the 1850s — the missionaries recognised fully the importance of the Jiao as the most important religious event in the villages they were interested in. These attacks rarely supply detail, but confirm the central place of the Jiao in the mid nineteenth century villages in the area. The Jiao in Tai Wai, Sha Tin, is mentioned as a once-in-ten-years event in a poem written by a Sha Tin village about 1897.³¹

Besides ethnography and oral tradition, three types of local documents are invaluable sources to the study of Jiao festivals. The first are the Taoist texts used for rituals performed at Jiao festivals in the New Territories. These texts, mostly copied by hand, can be found in the 11-volume *Fanling Wenxian* [Historical Literature of Fan Ling] and the 4-volume *Xinjie Zhongjiao Wenxian* [Historical Literature of Religion in the New Territories] collections of written documents found in the New Territories.³² As most of the Jiao festivals of the leading communities in Hong Kong are performed by the same Zhengyi Taoist group and the villagers rarely interfere in the work of the Taoist priests, there is a high level of uniformity in the rituals.³³ The following are all standard rituals: (1) reporting to and inviting the deities of all directions and levels, (2) fetching water to cleanse the festival area, (3) the daily offering and repentance, (4) the opening of the name-list, (5) welcoming the highest saints, (6) the small and great offerings, (7) letting free birds and fishes and (8) receiving amnesty from the Heavenly Emperor etc. The rituals are performed differently only when the Taoist group hired is different, or when the ritual has to be shortened due to a tight schedule. Different communities may request to have more or fewer rituals performed.³⁴ However, the basic Jiao rituals are always the same. Given either a 3-day or 5-day Jiao one can predict, quite accurately, the approximate schedule and content of the daily rituals.

A second type of document, again mostly hand-written, are records that detail preparations for the festival. These are kept by the villagers themselves. The earliest such which still survive are probably the records of the Gengzhi year (1960) Jiao celebration in Fanling compiled by a local Taoist priest Peng Bing.³⁵ Minutes of the preparatory

committee's meetings provide details of the preparations for the festival. The minutes of the 1972 Lam Tsuen Jiao festival recorded details of nine meetings from March 11 to December 9 including information on the following: (1) establishment of an organizing committee, (2) choosing representative worshippers, (3) regulations and methods for collecting contributions, (4) methods for registration of members, (5) choice of auspicious dates, (6) contracts with Taoist priests, opera troupes, and for construction and supply of utilities, (7) security measures, food, control of hawkers during the celebration, (8) a list of those who will be invited to participate in the ceremony on the main day, and (9) schedule of daily worship by different member villages.³⁶ As these documents are either kept by individuals or as common property of the whole community, they are seldom available to outsiders.

The third type of local documents are special memorial bulletins published for each festival by the organizing committee. Systematic collection of such bulletins is not being done. They are not included in the collection of New Territories Historical Literature mentioned above. However, these bulletins provide important information about the changes in social networks and values of a community. Table 1 is a comparison of three memorial bulletins published respectively for the 1963, 1972 and 1990 Lam Tsuen Jiao festivals. It shows that the role of recreational operas to attract villagers is gradually being replaced by an emphasis on participation and contribution to community affairs. Local leadership is impressed on readers through photos of leaders in the bulletins, and essays on their role in community activities. The 1990 issue also included a record of the Lam Tsuen Fellow Villagers' Association (Lin Cun [Lam Tsuen] Tongxianghui) which was established in Manchester, England in 1983, and details of donations from emigrant fellow villagers. This indicates the importance of the emigrants' contribution to the maintenance of traditional values through donation and participation.

The history of the Jiao festival is recorded in the bulletins. Members of the organizing committee are also listed. However, not one of the three issues provided information on rituals performed at the festival. Rituals, though essential to the Jiao, are formalities that are the sole responsibilities of the priests and those chosen to represent the villages as worshippers. The organizational recreational elements of a Jiao are, at least to the villagers, as important as its ritual and symbolic aspects.

Table 1 Comparison of three Lam Tsuen Jiao Bulletins

	1963	1972	1990
Format:			
Total no. of pages	20	20	64
Colour	black & white [b/w]	b/w	colour
Content (columns relating to)			
the festival	1	3	6
the community	1	5	6
the opera	11	1	9
greetings from:			
commercial organizations	1	7	6
the community	—	—	2
other communities	—	8	2
individuals	—	6	4
Government officials	—	—	4
Advertisements	21	3	9
Photos:			
Committee members	—	3	43
other community members	—	—	3
guests	—	—	4
community	1	20	14
opera performers	—	9	8

Sources:

Lin Cun [Lam Tsuen] Xiang Taiping Qingjiao Shenghui Tekan (Lam Tsuen, 1963)

Renzhi nien Lin Cun Xiang Taiping Qingjiao (Lam Tsuen, 1972)

Gengwu nien Lin Cun Xiang Shinién Yijie Taiping Qingjiao (Lam Tsuen, 1990)

c. *Approaches to the study of Hong Kong Jiao Festivals*

In general, Saso's "cosmic renewal" is the view most commonly accepted by researchers of Hong Kong Jiao festivals. Instead of looking at the rituals, there is a strong tendency to study the social and organizational aspects of the festival.

Tanaka recorded more than 14 different Jiao festivals in his three comprehensive volumes on Chinese ritual theatre.³⁷ Starting from the quest to uncover the origin and the route of diffusion of Chinese ritual theatre, Tanaka gradually moved his focus to social and structural complexities of the Jiao festival.³⁸ This shift in focus is likely to have resulted from his expanding his scope from immigrant

societies to indigenous agricultural communities. His second book concentrated on descent and territorial groups and ritual theatre. It analyzed the basic structure of worshipping groups, examined their organizational concepts and the structures of rites and customs, and, finally, speculated on how different aspects of rites and operas are reflected unconsciously.³⁹ In his 1985 book Tanaka analyzes different festivals celebrated in the New Territories. He categorized those festivals which focus on the worship of "local deities" as "Gaishin Saishi" (Worship of external deities). Such festivals are organized according to the territorial connections of different groups. Contrasted to this, he uses the term "Naishin Saishi" (worship of internal deities) to describe festivals dedicated to ancestors.⁴⁰ Tanaka attempts to establish a theatrical and worshipping strata which is closely related to the complexity of a society's structure. The structural complexity of a society can be examined by three indicators: the society's worshipping area, members and economic capabilities. The rural communities are categorized into different levels according to complexity. In the lowest level is the single-lineage village community where conservative Confucianist rites are performed during worshipping. As the structure of community becomes more complicated the role of recreational theatre becomes more important, and the emphasis on traditional rituals declines.⁴¹ Jiao festivals celebrated by village alliances or market town districts are placed by Tanaka in the most complex stratum.

An undeniably significant contribution of Tanaka's work to the study of Jiao festivals is his detailed information. His books provide field records which are invaluable to students of the festival.

Faure, in his study of Chinese rural societies in the New Territories, sees the festival as a means to set up community bonds. Recognizing the complexity of the festival, he concentrated his interest on how the territorial community is represented in the Jiao festival "... through the layout of the (festival) ground, through the interaction between the priests and the villagers and through the villagers' own rites".⁴²

Close to Faure's study on the Jiao festival is Segawa's work on the Ha Tsuen Jiao festival. He illustrated a "dualism" in the villager's world. This he refers to interactions between and coexistence of the secular and sacred world, and between the local deities and the higher level gods, the great and little traditions of Chinese culture. Through

an analysis of the rituals performed, Segawa shows that observation of the Jiao festival reveals not only traditional territorial alliances, but also past rival relationships among communities.⁴³ Looking at the case of Pat Heung as an example, he illustrated that the Jiao closely reflects the past feuds between a village alliance and its neighbouring landlord community, Kam Tin. He argues that, besides its ritual and symbolic meanings, the Jiao can be seen as a "rite of solidarity". That is, the community maintain its unity through regular worship of the heroes and feud victims, at the Jiao festival.⁴⁴

Besides traditional alliance-rival relationships, a study of a Jiao festival also reveals a society's internal social conflicts. Group consciousness and inter-group competition, which are obscured by modern city life, can be observed from the Jiao's organizational and symbolic representation.⁴⁵ The deliberate exclusion from the "Hang Fu" [a ritual to purify every household at the end of the Jiao festival] ritual of some households in Lung Yeuk Tau reminds one of the existence of "Hahu" or bondservants in the community in the past. In Cheung Chau, the Tanka boat people are denied participation in some rituals. The festival area that is to receive the purification, blessings and protection from the gods does not include the site of traditional Tanka settlement.⁴⁶

My paper in *Bunka Jinrui Gaku* (Cultural Anthropology) no. 5 shows the family structure and kin relationships of different communities through a study of name lists posted at Jiao festivals. Through a comparative analysis of the name lists of three communities, it was shown that the structure of a community is clearly reflected in their name lists. The names of members of a single lineage community are written according to the principle of lineage. In other words, members of a registered unit are linked by a focal ancestor. On the other hand, in a typical name list of a multi-lineage community, be they settled in one or more localities, names are listed in the structure of a family, extended or nuclear, whose members are related to a surviving parent.⁴⁷

Studies of Jiao festivals provide an excellent source of reference to the understanding of social and political changes. A Jiao festival shows not only the ritual and social lives of the villagers, it reveals also the community's internal and external relationships. As shown in table 2, at least 28 communities in Hong Kong celebrated Jiao

Table 2:
Some Jiao Festivals celebrated in Hong Kong in the 1980s

Community	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Cheung Chau	1	3	M	H	v	m	1989,1990	E
Cheung Lung Wai	10	5?(*2)	A	P	v	s	1988	e
Fanling	10	3	A	P	vc	s	1980,1990	E
Ha Tsuen	10	5	A	P	a	sm	1984	E
Ho Chung	10	5	A	P	vc	m	1980,1990	E
Kam Tin	10	5	A	P	vc	sd	1985	E
Kat O	7	5?	F	T	v	m	1980,1986	E
Kau Sai	1	1	F	T	v	m	1981	E
Kau Lau Wan	7	3	F	T	v	m	1980,1987	E
Lai Chi Wo	10	5?	A	P	vc	sm	1983	E
Lam Tsuen	10(*1)	5	A	P	a	sm	1981,1990	E
Leung Shuen Wan	2	1	F	P?	vc	m	1980	E
Lin Fa Tei	5	3?	A	P	vc	m	1982,1987	T
Lung Yeuk Tau	10	5	A	P	vc	s	1983	E
Nam Luk Yeuk	10	5	A	P	a	sm	1983	E
Pak Kong	10	?	A	P	v	m	1980	E
Sha Kong Wai	7	?	A	P	v	m	1981,1988	T
Shek O	10	3	A	H/P	a	m	1986	O1
Sha Tin	10	4	A	P	a	sm	1985	E
Tai Hang	5	3	A	P	vc	s	1985,1990	E
Tai O	30	?	A/F/M	T	vc	m		T/O3
Tai Po Tau	10	5	A	P	vc	s	1983	E
Tai Wai	10	4	A	P	vc	sm	1987	O2
Tap Mun Alliance	10	3(*3)	F	T	a	m	1980,1990	O3
Tin Sam	10	4	A	P	vc	sm	1986	O2
Tuen Tsz Wai	10	3	A	P	vc	sd	1986	O2
Wang Chau	7	?	A	P	vc	sm	1981,1988	T
Wang Chau	3	?	F	T	v	m	1986,1989	T
Yuen Long	10	5	M	P	v	m	1983	E

NOTES TO TABLE 2

- A = yearly cycle claimed
- B = celebration period (one-day, three-day, five-day), (refers only to main rituals started from the ritual "Qi Tan" [Opening of the Jiao] and ended with the "Da You" [Great Offering])
- C = predominant occupation of the community
 m = market town
 a = agricultural
 f = fishery
- D = majority ethnic groups:
 P = Punti Cantonese
 H = Hakka
 T = Tanka
- E = Territorial type:
 v = village
 vc = village cluster
 a = local alliance
- F = Descent type:
 s = single-lineage
 sd = single-lineage dominated
 sm = single-lineage village, multi-lineage community
 m = multi-surname in one community
- G = year celebrated
- H = Sources: Either seen by myself [E = from beginning to end, e = only partially], recorded in other scholars' work [O], or provided by villages or Taoist priests [T].
 O1 = Chan, "Jiu festival"
 O2 = see note 37
 O3 = Tanaka, *Village Festival*, 99, 816

Note:

- *1 In fact, it is held every ninth year, as the year of celebration is counted into both the outgoing and incoming decade.
- *2 Photos taken on 1989.3.10. A poster was written "Cheung Lung walled-village of Ping Kong Tsuen village, ten years' once Taiping Qing Jiao". The notice recorded the Year Mu Wu (1988).
- *3 This alliance include the following fishing villages in the northeastern part of Hong Kong: Tap Mun, Kau Lau Wan, Sham Wan, Wong Wan, Kat O, Sam Mun Tsai. See Tanaka, *Village Festival*, 99, 816.

festivals in the nineteen eighties.⁴⁸ These communities are of different occupational (agricultural, fishery, market town), ethnic (Punti Cantonese, Hakka), territorial (a village, village cluster, local territorial alliance) and descent (single-lineage, dominated, multi-lineage) natures. Diachronic and synchronic comparative studies of Jiao festivals celebrated by communities of different natures in Hong Kong before and after 1997 will show how local traditional values and customs are preserved and modified in changing social and political environments. Moreover, such studies can also pinpoint which elements are essential to the lives of the villagers.

IV. Jiao Festivals after 1997

As Dean suggested, the impact Jiao festivals have on the communist mainland can only be observed through a comparative study of the same Jiao (celebrated by the same community) over different time periods. A different situation exists in Hong Kong where the approach of 1997 threatens the survival of the Jiao. Scholars like Segawa, asked an essential question as to whether or not the festival will continue to be celebrated after 1997 when Hong Kong is officially returned to China.⁴⁹ A villager in Fanling told me that they certainly would continue to celebrate the Jiao festival once every ten years even after 1997. "However", he said, "the magnitude of the celebration may be more restrained unless the Chinese government is totally 'open'". To terminate a religious activity like the Jiao festival is not an easy thing, for no villager would like to bear the sole responsibility. After the 1981 celebration, rumours spread that committee members of Lam Tsuen had decided not to celebrate the Jiao festival any more. On Dec. 1 1990 when I arrived at the Jiao area of Lam Tsuen, I saw rituals and decorations not very much different from the 1981 one. The only notable difference was the the priests were replaced by some younger ones. Mr. Cheung [Zhang] the JP and senior elder of Lam Tsuen told me that in fact not one of the villagers dared to speak out about discontinuation of the festival.

We do not have sufficient evidence to prove that every village in the New Territories celebrated the Jiao festival, as an independent community or as a member of an alliance at one time or another. We know however, that Jiao festivals developed differently from one community to another. Some communities, such as Ping Shan and Pat Heung, have completely abandoned the festival. Others like

Kat Hing Wai and Wing Lung Wai terminated their own independent Jiao but continue to participate actively in the Jiao of the whole Kam Tin community. Still others, like Tai Wai and Tin Sam, celebrate their own Jiao festivals on the one hand but also participate as members in the Jiao celebrated by the Sha Tin Kau Yeuk (Sha Tin Village alliance). Reasons such as the Japanese occupation or economic recession given by villagers themselves cannot explain the diversities found in the New Territories. All villages experienced the Japanese occupation. With regard to economic constraints, a community like Ping Shan, though as prosperous and powerful as Kam Tin and Ha Tsuen, stopped the celebration for some unknown reason. Therefore, the continuity or discontinuity of the Jiao festival depends on the effectiveness of the festival's communal structure and organization. In Lam Tsuen, the Jiao festival is a means to reconfirm the roles of its alliances (the Luk Hap Tong [Lui He Tang] "Hall of the Six [Sc. Village Clusters] United"). In Kam Tin and other single lineage communities, the Jiao plays an essential role in re-establishing the structure of the segmented lineage as well as in re-confirming membership in the branches. The question of whether Jiao festivals will survive after the 1997 take-over is in fact a question of whether or not there is a need to preserve such a tradition in the community.

NOTES

¹ Liu Zhi-wan, "Taiwan Taibeixian Zhonghexiang Jianjiao Jidian" *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 33 (1972): 135-64.

² Tanaka, Issai, *Chugoku Kyoshon Saishi Kenkyu: Chihogeki no Kankyo* [Village Festival in China: Background of Local Theatres] (Tokyo: Tokyo Univ. Press, 1989), 799. Some fishing villages in Hong Kong like Kau Lau Wan, Tap Mun and Kat O name their Jiao festivals "An Long Qing Jiao" meaning the Jiao celebrated to pacify the earth dragon.

³ Tanaka claimed that originally "Qi An Jiao" was celebrated only when there was need to pray for peace (Ibid., 799). However, evidence in Hong Kong, at least, shows that the festival is celebrated in a regular cycle. The shortest cycle is the Jiao of Cheung Chau where it is celebrated yearly. The longest is Sheung Shui and Shuen Wan where the Jiao is said to be celebrated once every 60 years. In some fishing villages in the New Territories, it is celebrated once every two or seven years. A five-year cycle is also practised in some agrarian communities like Tai Hang. However, a ten year cycle is the most popular in agrarian communities. Nonetheless, the method of counting also differs from one community to another. For instance, Lam Tsuen claims to celebrate the Jiao once every ten years but they actually celebrate it once in nine years. Their Jiao festival was celebrated in the following years: 1963, 1972, 1981, 1990.

⁴ Mr. Cheung Chi-fan (Zhang Zhi-fan), JP, and Mr. Chung Chi-leung (Zhong Ji-liang), interviewed by author, Lam Tsuen, Dec. 1, 1990. According to Dean, about 80,000 Chinese yuan was spent on the Jiao in a village in Zhangzhou, Fujian in 1986. See

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Dean, Kenneth "Revival of Religious Practices in Fujian: a Case Study" in Pas, Julian F. (ed.) *The Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society & Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 72.

⁵ Mr. Pang Cheng-chuen (Peng Zheng-chuen), interviewed by author, Fanling, Dec. 30, 1990.

⁶ Dean, 54. A student of the University of Hong Kong told me on Feb. 3, 1991 that he saw, by chance, a Jiao festival in 1990. He could not recall the exact date and location. However, he was very sure, from the celebrating flower boards, that it was a Jiao festival.

⁷ Ibid., 776.

⁸ Liu Zhi-wan, *Taipei-shi Songshan qi an jian jiao jidian*, Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica Monograph, no. 14, (Taipei: The Institute, 1967). Besides Liu, the research team from the Academia Sinica included Song Lung-fei and Xu Jia-ming. Song's paper concentrated on aspects of folk architecture and decoration while Xu focused on the economic and social aspects. See Song Lung-fei "Song-shan jian jiao jiao tan jianzhu di zhuan shi Yi shu" *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica 25 (1968): 157-217; Xu Jia-ming: "Songshan jian jiao yu shequ" *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica 25 (1968): 109-153.

⁹ Li Zian-zhang, "Daojiao jiaoyi di kaizhan yu xiandai di jiao" *Sinological Researches* 5 (1968): 261.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 201.

¹¹ Saso, Michael R., *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal* (Washington: Washington State Univ. Press, 1972), 34.

¹² Law, Joan & B.E. Ward, *Chinese Festivals* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1982), 83.

¹³ Okada, Yuzuru, *Kiso Shakai* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1949).

¹⁴ See Brim, John A. "Village Alliance Temples in Hong Kong" in Wolf, A.P. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1974), 93-103; and Suenari, Michio "Sonbyo to sonkyo: Taiwan Hakka shuraku no jirei kara" [Village temple and village boundary: a case study of the Hakka communities in Taiwan] *Bunka Jinrui Gaku* [Cultural Anthropology] (1985) 2:255-260.

¹⁵ Ueno, Hiroko, "Taiwan nanbo no osho to sonraku: Tainanken hito saishiken no sonraku aida kankai" [Wang Jiao and villages in southern Taiwan: worshipping area and village relationship] *Bunka Jinrui Gaku* 5 (1988): 64-82.

¹⁶ Taylor, W.A. "The Spirit Festival" *Bulletin of the Cheung Chau Bun Festival 1980* (Cheung Chau: n.p., 1980), 39-41, (reprinted from *Wide World Magazine*, Dec. 1953). The annual Cheung Chau Jiao festival is better known to westerners as the Bun festival because of the three tall "bun mountains" erected at the ritual area. The festival is the most studied Jiao festival in Hong Kong probably due to the fact that (1) the island is comparatively easy to get to, (2) it is celebrated every year and (3) it is widely publicized by the Hong Kong Tourist Information Bureau. Besides Tanaka's accounts (see note 36), see also Jonathan Chamberlain and Ian Lambot's photographic account, *The Bun Festival of Cheung Chau* (Hong Kong: Studio Publications, 1990).

¹⁷ I owe my interest in the Jiao festival to Prof. Ward who first introduced me to Jiao festivals in 1980. She then suggested that I participate in the Jiao festival in Kau Lau Wan.

¹⁸ Law & Word, 83-84.

¹⁹ Hayes, James W., *The Rural Communities of Hong Kong: Studies and Themes* (Hong

Kong: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 156-160 & 163-164, on the Jiao festivals celebrated between 1964 and 1972 in Ma Tau Wai, Nga Tsin Wai, Tung Chung and Tai O.

²⁰ Mathias, John R.G., *Study of the Jiao: a Taoist Ritual in Kam Tin in the Hong Kong New Territories* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1977-78).

²¹ Kani, Hiroaki, "Hon Kon Chugokujin no shukyo shiso no ichidan nitsuite" *Shigaku* 40, no. 2 & 3 (1967).

²² Obuchi, Ninji, "Hon Kon no tokyo girei" [Daoist ritual in Hong Kong] in *Ikeda Sueri Hakase Koki Kinen Toyo Gaku Ronshu* (Tokyo, 1980), 753-769.

²³ Yoshihara, Katsuo, "Shukyo" [Religion] in Kani Hiroaki (ed.) *Motto Shiritai Hon Kon* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1984), 184-191.

²⁴ See note 37.

²⁵ I have been told that Dr. Faure had a manuscript on the Jiao festival sent to a publisher in Hong Kong. However, due to whatever reasons, it has not yet been published. See also Hayes, 164, about Faure's book on Jiao festivals.

²⁶ I was probably the only researcher who participated in the 1980 Kau Lau Wan Jiao festival when I was first introduced by the late Prof. B.E. Ward and Dr. S.H. Wang to the Jiao festival celebrated by the fishing village. In October the same year, Dr. Faure and I attended the Jiao festival at Pak Kong, Sai Kung. In November, the late Dr. Lu Bin-chuan of the Music Department of CUHK, Dr. Lu's student Mr. Chan Wing-Hoi and I attended the Jiao festival in Fanling. Dr. Faure, Prof. Ward and Prof. Tanaka also came. The Jiao festival of Fanling and that of other areas are mentioned here and there in Faure's 1986 book. In December 1980 students of CUHK under the guidance of Dr. Faure, Dr. Wang and Prof. Ward started an ethnographical research on the Jiao festival in Ho Chung, Sai Kung. A detailed report of daily rituals was written by Lee Lai-mui and Cheng Shui Kwan, two CUHK students majoring in History and minoring in Anthropology. The report was sent to interested scholars. Unfortunately it has never been published. Two students of the CUHK at that time should perhaps be mentioned here: Chan Wing-hoi, who specializes in music and computer, was employed by the History Museum of Hong Kong to study the Kam Tin Jiao festival in 1985, a report of which was published in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 29 (1989). Chan's master's thesis on folk music in Hong Kong also includes a chapter on the ritual music played by the Taoists at the Jiao festival. Chan also has an ethnography on the 1986 Shek O Jiao festival published in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. 26 (1986), 78-101. The master's thesis of Leung Chor-on, now Ph.D candidate of Cambridge University, submitted to the Anthropology Department of the CUHK gives a good account of the ritual symbols of the festival. Chan, Leung and I held a seminar on Jiao festivals on Dec. 11, 1988 for the "Research Circle of the Regional Society of Southern China" focusing on musical, ritual and social aspects of the festival.

²⁷ Locally published works besides those by Faure and my own are:

(a) Chamberlain, Jonathan, "Introduction" in Chamberlain J. and Iam Lambot *The Bun Festival of Cheung Chau* (Hong Kong: Studio Publication, 1990). This is largely a collection of photos. Chamberlain's introduction is very descriptive but no sources are quoted.

(b) Chan Wing-hoi, "Observations at the Jiu [Jiao] festival of Shek O and Tai Long Wan, 1986" *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. 26 (1986), 78-101. Chan recorded meticulously what he was told and observed about the 'settlement', the 'participants', the 'ritual site', the 'local gods' and the 'events'.

(c) Xiao, Kuo-jian (Anthony K.K. Siu), *Xianggang Xiandai Shehui* [Pre-modern society of Hong Kong] (Hong Kong: Chung Wah, 1990), 86-97. Xiao attempts to illustrate three reasons why the communities in Hong Kong celebrate the Jiao. The first reason is to plead for fortune, to pay sacrifices to the gods, to drive away evils and to prevent

disasters, the second is for those who died because of plague. The final reason is to thank the benevolent governors Wang Lai-ren and Zhou You-de of the beginning of the Qing dynasty. In my opinion, all these reasons can be integrated into the first one.

(d) Chan Wing-hoi "The Tangs of Kam Tin and their Jiao festival", *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 29 (1989) 302-375, a rich and detailed account of the lineage, its temples and villages, and the festival which draws them together.

²⁸ Dr. Faure gradually switched his interest to the Pearl River Delta while Prof. Tanaka, as I was told, is now looking at Sichuan province. Talk on publishing a book on Hong Kong Jiao festivals has been going on for years by members of the "Research Circle of the Regional Society of Southern China". In 1990, the editorial board of the society set up a schedule to compile a book focusing on the Jiao festival. It is expected that papers on various aspects will be completed by the end of April 1991. (Correspondence from the society dated 28.12.1990)

²⁹ Schipper, Kristofer M., "The Written Memorial in Taoist Ceremonies" in Wolf, Arthur P. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 324.

³⁰ For example, according to Chan Wing-hoi, villagers of Shek O celebrated their 16th Jiao in 1986 (Chan, 78). The Dengs in Kam Tin claimed to have celebrated their Jiao since 1684 (Tanaka, 918).

³¹ See for instance Basel Mission Archives, doct. AI-6, No. 51 (1869), and doct. AI-7, No. 51 (1870) and *Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, July 1867, in which a missionary describes how he was forced to go to the Magistrate to get his support before he could avoid having to pay his share of the Jiao expenses. All these cases are from Hsin An County. The Sha Tin poem will, it is hoped, shortly be published by Dr. P.H. Hase.

³² These two series are part of the 15 series of historical documents collected by Dr. D. Faure and others in the New Territories. Copies of the collections are kept in the libraries of CUHK, Hong Kong University, Sha Tin Regional Council Library, and Institute of Oriental Culture, Tokyo University.

³³ Tanaka *Chugoku no Sozoku to Engeki* [Lineage and Theatre in China] (Tokyo Univ. Press 1985), 608. Jiao festivals celebrated by the powerful communities in Hong Kong like Kam Tin, Ha Tsuen, Lung Yeuk Tau etc., were all performed by the Zhengyi Taoist group, led first by the late Master Lin Pei and now by Master Chan Kau. Another Zhengyi Taoist group is led by Master Chan Wah. However, many Taoist priests work for both groups. There are also other Taoist groups who performed for the Jiao festivals, like a Cantonese group which performed for Ho Chung and a Hoklo group for Cheung Chau. In 1983, four out of five Jiao festivals were performed by monastery Taoists. It is not clear whether it was because of tradition or out of economic reasons. A comparison of the two Taoist groups has yet to be made.

³⁴ Choi Chi-cheung "Sho matsuri no jinmei risuto ni mirareru shinzoku han'i" [Kinship as seen in the name lists of Jiao festival] *Bunka Jinrui Gaku* 5 (1988): 131, table 1.

³⁵ "Shinshi men" [Section of Believers] in *Fanling Wenxian* (Historical Literature of Fanling) vol. 8. This brief account records details of the arrangement of the Jiao area, including the contents of couplets, names of deities invited, location and direction of matched stages, and the sacrifices prepared etc.. See n. 32 for the depositories of *Fanling Wenxian*.

³⁶ See (1972) Lin Chuan [Lam Tsuen] *Xiang Taiping Qingjiao huiyi jilubu in Dapu [Taipo] Wenxian* [Historical Literature of Tai Po] vol. 1. (see n. 32 for depositories)

³⁷ Tanaka Issei's three books, all published by the Tokyo Univ. Press are: *Chugoku Saishi Engeki Kenkyu* [Ritual Theatres in China] (1981), *Chugoku no Sozoku to Engeki* [Lineage and Theatre in China] (1985), and *Chugoku Kyoson Saishi Kenkyu: Chihogeki*

no Kankyo [Village Festival in China: Background of Local Theatres] (1989).

The Jiao festivals studied by Tanaka are as follows:

Communities	Year	Recorded in
Cheung Chau	1979	1981:74-99
	1979, 1983	1985:227-302
Ha Tsuen	1984	1985:199-226
Hung Hom, Kowloon *1	1978-80	1981:771-780
Kam Tin	1985	1989:915-996
Lam Tsuen	1981	1985:359-528
Leung Shuen Wan, Sai Kung	1980	1981:99-113
Lin Fa Tei *2	1967	1985:558-572
Lung Yeuk Tau	1983	1985:609-720
Sha Tin, Kau Yeuk	1985	1989:1041-1112
Sha Tin, Tai Wai	1987	1989:977-1040
Sha Tin, Tin Sam	1986	1989:1040
Tai Po Tau	1985	1985:121,131-138
Tuen Tsz Wai	1986	1989:817-913
Yuen Long	1983	1985:139-198

*1: From the context, this festival, held on the 14th of the seventh moon, can be best seen as a ghost festival organized by the Hoklo dialect group.

*2: Tanaka did not attend this festival. Analysis of the festival was mostly based on the 1967 account collected by H. Baker.

See map for the location of places.

³⁸ Tanaka, *Ritual Theatres*, 5.

³⁹ Tanaka, *Lineage and Theatre*, 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, i-ii.

⁴¹ Tanaka, *Village Festival*, i-iii.

⁴² Faure, David, *The Structure of Chinese Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), 81.

⁴³ Segawa, Masahisa, "Daa Chiu: matsuri ni arawareru Hon Kon no mura no sugao" [Da Jiao: facets of villages in Hong Kong as shown in the festivals] *Kikan Minzoku Gaku* [Ethnography Quarterly 33 (1985): 21-35.

⁴⁴ Segawa, Masahisa "Ta-tsiu [Da-Jiao], feuds, and village alliances: the case of Pat Heung" (unpublished manuscript, 1991).

⁴⁵ Choi, Chi-cheung, "Chi o arai ekibyō o harau taihei shinsho" [Jiao festival: to wash the land and remove illness] *Kikan Minzoku Gaku* 40 (1987): 90-105.

⁴⁶ Choi, "Jiao festival", 104f.

⁴⁷ Choi, "Kinship", 147-149.

⁴⁸ Though Tanaka wrote that only a few communities in the New Territories celebrated the festival during his seven and a half years' observation (Tanaka, *Lineage and Theatre*, 608), we are still unclear as to how many communities continue to celebrate it. For instance, the Cheung Lung Wai case was not mentioned by any informants. It was known only by an occasional visit to the village. A likely source is the Police since theoretically every festival celebrated in Hong Kong has to receive permission from the police for security measures. The district offices in the New Territories are another source of information. Certainly there were in the past other celebrations which have now ceased for one reason or another (e.g. at Sha Tau Kok, Shuen Wan and Ta Kwu Leng).

⁴⁹ Segawa, "Daa Chiu", 35.