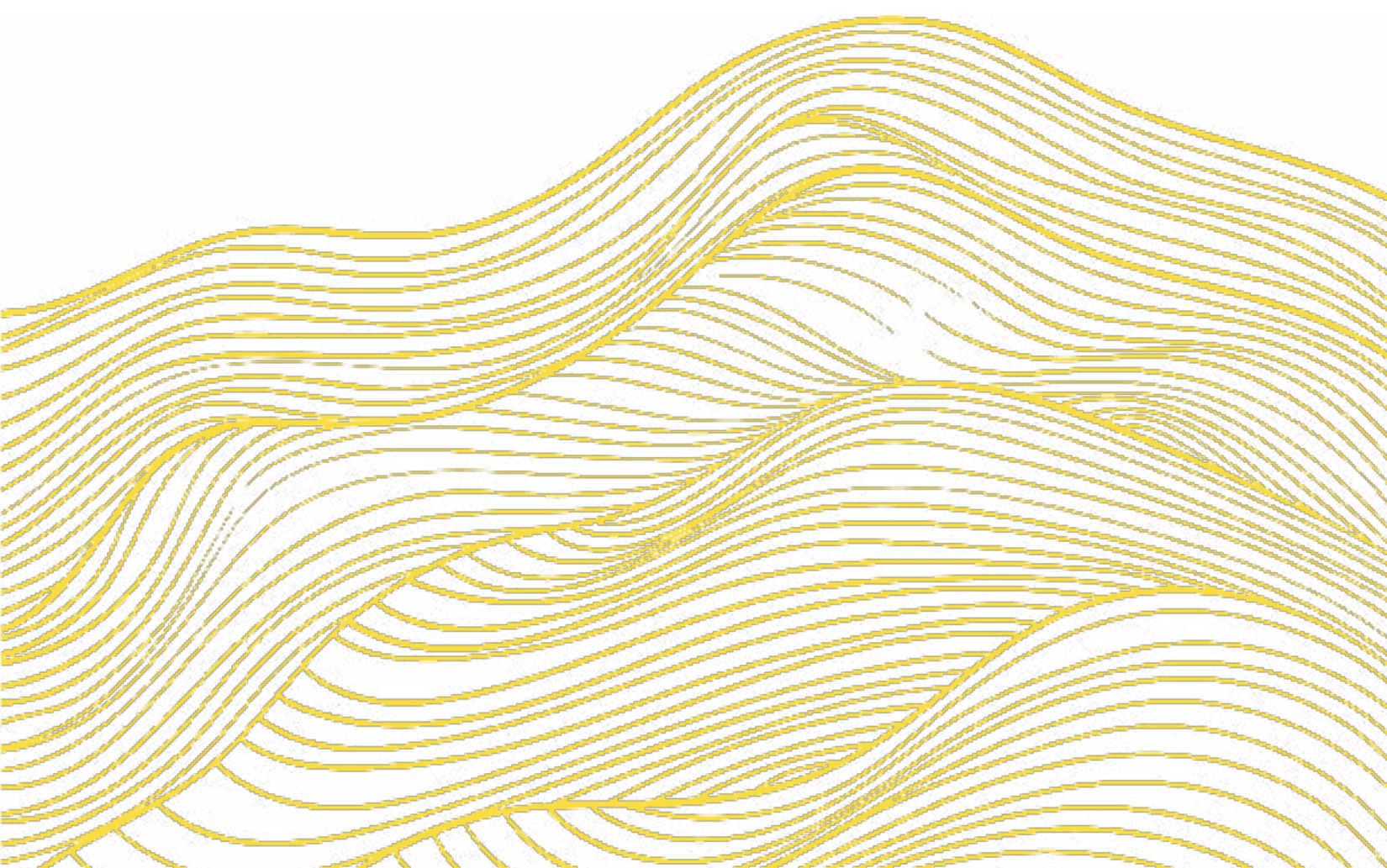
九皇文化

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore: Heritage, Culture, and Community

新加坡九皇文化: 社群，信仰与传统

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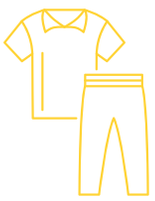


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Abbreviations and Conventions
缩写

DZ ***Zhengtong Daozang*** **《正统道藏》**

The order of entries from the 《正统道藏》 (1445, includes 《万历续道藏》, 1607) follows the order in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). When specific references are made, the exact page numbers of the digitized manuscripts archived in the online Kanseki Repository 汉リポ are provided.

《正统道藏》（1445年，《万历续道藏》，1607年）的条目顺序与施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）和傅飞岚（Franciscus Verellen）所编的三卷本《道藏通考》（*The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*）（芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，2004）的顺序一致。文中出现具体的参考文献时，将提供汉籍全文影像数据库（Kanseki Repository 汉リポ）中收录的数字化文本的确切页码。

T ***Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*** **《大正新修大藏经》**

For the 《大正新修大藏经》 (first published and standardized around 1924-1934), catalogue numbers and specific in-text references are generated using the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) database.

引自《大正新修大藏经》（校勘和首次印行于1924-1934年左右）中的内容，目录编号和所引内容检索自中华电子佛典协会数据库（Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association，简称 CBETA）。

JY ***Chongkan Daozang Jiyao*** **《重刊道藏辑要》**

The catalogue order for the 《重刊道藏辑要》 (c. 1906) is based on 黎志添编《道藏辑要．提要》（三册）(香港: 香港中文大学出版社, 2019). However, the Kanseki Repository has yet to upload complete scans of many manuscripts, although Optical Character Recognition (OCR) has been performed for the cited entries. Interested readers may consult scanned copies from the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), although comprehensive OCR is still pending for most of the texts.

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Scriptures 经文

DZ ***Zhengtong Daozang*** 《正统道藏》

DZ1032 云笈七签
DZ0217 太乙火府奏告祈禳仪
DZ0218 清微玄枢奏告仪
DZ0507 太上黄箓斋仪
DZ1126 洞玄灵宝道学科仪
DZ1127 陆先生道门科略
DZ1205 三天内解经
DZ1220 道法会元
DZ1221 上清灵宝大法
DZ1265 北帝七元紫庭延生秘诀
DZ1288 元辰章醮立成历
DZ1367 上清河图内玄经
DZ1392 上清曲素诀辞箓
DZ1396 上清河图宝箓
DZ1411 洞玄灵宝长夜之府九幽玉匮明真科
DZ1452 先天斗母奏告玄科
DZ1456 北斗九皇隐讳经
DZ167 洞玄灵宝真灵位业图
DZ177 太上洞真智慧上品大诫
DZ197 玉皇十七慈光灯仪
DZ199 南斗延寿灯仪
DZ200 北斗七元星灯仪
DZ201 北斗本命延寿灯仪
DZ202 三官灯仪
DZ203 玄帝灯仪
DZ219 灵宝无量度人上经大法
DZ352 太上洞玄灵宝赤书玉诀妙经
DZ371 太上洞玄灵宝三涂五苦拔度生死妙经
DZ45 玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经
DZ524 洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪
DZ547 灵宝玉鉴
DZ615 赤松子章历
DZ621 太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经
DZ622 太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经
DZ629 太上北斗二十八章经
DZ640 洞神八帝妙精经
DZ750 太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注
DZ751 太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注解
DZ786 太上老君经律
DZ854 太上三皇宝斋神仙上录经
DZ858 太上洞神玄妙白猿真经
DZ937 大还丹金虎白龙论

T ***Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*** 《大正新修大藏经》

T87 佛说斋经
T1060 千手千眼观世音菩萨广大圆满无碍大悲心陀罗尼经
T1256 佛说摩利支天陀罗尼呪经
T1305 北斗七星念诵仪轨
T1306 北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨
T1307 佛说北斗七星延命经
T1309 七曜星辰别行法
T1310 北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨
T1311 梵天火罗九曜
T1331 佛说灌顶经
T1336 陀罗尼杂集
T1484 梵网经
T1509 大智度论
T1796 大毘卢遮那成佛经疏
T206 旧杂譬喻经
T2110 辩正论
T2127 释氏要览
T2879 普贤菩萨说证明经
T450 药师琉璃光如来本愿功德经

JY ***Chongkan Daozang Jiyao*** 《重刊道藏辑要》

JY100 先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵妙真经疏解
JY101 九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经
JY237 张三丰先生全集
JY247 忏法大观

第1章 Introduction 导言



Introduction

Every year, towards the end of the eighth lunar month, crowds dressed in white or yellow, often with their heads covered in white cloth, gather at different locations on the beaches or river banks in Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia, to receive and welcome the Nine Emperor Gods. This marks the beginning of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, which lasts until the evening of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month or the morning of the tenth day. During this period, the Nine Emperor Gods visit their devotees and confer blessings upon them. The festival participants and devotees are expected to adhere to a strict vegetarian diet and regime of ritual purity. Various rituals and events will also take place for the blessing and well-being of the community. The festival's highlight will be the grand ceremonies by the sea or rivers to send off the deities.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the largest Chinese religious festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia in scale, duration, and the communities involved. The strict vegetarian dietary and ritual purity requirements for its followers also make the festival unique compared to other Chinese deity festivals. The festival in Southeast Asia is also different from that in China, not only in terms of its scale but also in terms of its rituals, ritual paraphernalia, apparel, its association with the sea or rivers, and level of community participation and organization. Although the festivals in China, especially those observed in the Daoist temples, have tended to focus on the ritual propitiation of the Northern Dipper constellation deities, there is evidence to suggest that the festival in certain parts of China, especially the Chaozhou and Zhangpu regions, has been influenced by Southeast Asian traditions and practices. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia is unique to the region. It highlights the history of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, their experiences and memories of China and migration, other maritime flows between China and Southeast Asia, and the maritime and riverine environments where they lived.

This is Singapore's first nationwide study of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Between 2016 and 2018, student teams under the supervision of our faculty documented the festival at 15 major festival sites and temples in Singapore. Over 80 students undertook field research at these temples per year, allowing them to engage with the temple and festival communities. We have supplemented this field research with library and archival research to chart the long-term history of the festival, not only in Singapore but also in other parts of Southeast Asia and China in the past two centuries and beyond. This provides an important historical context for the festival today. Nevertheless, our research focuses on the temples and communities dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore. Our book is a dedication to their faith, devotion, and community and to preserving the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and its associated values and traditions.

Ultimately, the project aims to promote greater awareness of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and engagement with its communities and traditions, especially among our youth. It was intended to bring youth, culture, and community closer together through research, documentation and participation. By having our research team, especially the students, engage with festival’s organizers, management, participants, ritual specialists, and devotees and participating in the festival community and process, we hope to create a foundation and framework to further future engagement and participation by youth in this important event and tradition in Singapore’s intangible cultural heritage.

导言

每年农历八月末，新加坡、马来西亚、泰国和印度尼西亚各地的海滩或河岸上，通常聚集着身穿黄色或白色衣服、头戴白色头巾的人群。人们在水边恭迎九皇大帝圣驾光临，九皇胜会由此拉开序幕，节日会一直持续到农历九月初九的晚上或初十的早晨才结束。在此期间，九皇大帝降临人间，为信徒赐福消灾。庙宇会举行各种仪式活动，为社区祈福。节日参与者和信徒必须严格持斋茹素，确保参与仪式时身心洁净。整个九皇胜会的高潮是在海边或河边举行盛大的仪式恭送神明回銮。

就其节日规模、持续时间和社区参与程度而言，九皇胜会是新加坡乃至东南亚最盛大的华人宗教节日。与其他华人宗教节日相比，九皇胜会的独特之处在于参与者必须遵循十分严格的斋戒，以保持仪式性的洁净。尽管东南亚与中国的九皇胜会都要求信徒进行斋戒并保持仪式性的洁净，两者在许多方面存在差异，不仅体现在其规模上，也包括仪式、法器、服饰、与海洋或河流的联系以及社区的参与程度和组织水平等。中国的九皇胜会，尤其是道观中举行的法会，多是进行朝真礼斗科仪，但有证据表明，在中国的某些地区，特别是潮州地区和漳浦地区，这一节日的传统和习俗受到了东南亚的影响。东南亚的九皇胜会具有一定的独特性，它承载着东南亚华人社区的历史、华人社群的移民经验和对中国的记忆，也反映了他们如今所生活的海洋和河流环境。

本研究是首次在全国范围内对新加坡九皇胜会进行的研究。2016年至2018年期间，学生团队在院系教授的指导下，在新加坡15处主要节日场所对九皇胜会的情况进行记录。每年有逾80名学生到这些庙宇进行实地考察，这也为他们提供了一个与庙宇和节日社区接触的机会。除了田野调查，研究团队还进行了图书馆研究和档案研究，以补充说明节日的长时段历史。文献研究的内容在空间上包括新加坡、其他东南亚国家以及中国部分地区，在时间上涉及过去两个世纪乃至更长的时段，文献研究为理解如今的九皇胜会提供了重要的历史背景。然而，本研究的重点仍是新加坡庆祝九皇胜会的庙宇和社区。他们为延续和传承九皇胜会及其相关的价值观和传统作出了巨大的贡献，研究团队希望将本书献给这些庙宇和社区，以示感激之情。

此外，本研究旨在提高社会对九皇胜会的认识，鼓励人们尤其是年轻人参与到九皇胜会的传统传承和社区建设中。通过研究、记录和参与观察九皇胜会，青年有更多机会近距离接触九皇文化及其社区。通过让研究团队，特别是学生研究助理，与节日的组织者、管理者、参与者、仪式专家和信徒接触，并参与到节日社区和仪式中，我们希望为年轻人创建参与节日的基础，以期未来有更多年轻人参与到这一重要的活动和传统中，共同保护新加坡的非物质文化遗产。

State of the Field

Although the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia received much mention in the first half of the twentieth century in Chinese and English newspapers in Singapore, dating back to the late nineteenth century, it was only after 1945 that we see the first scholarly mentions and more in-depth studies of the festival. Despite the festival's popularity today, few book-length studies of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore or Southeast Asia exist. Nevertheless, several important works have inspired and informed this study in terms of its scope, approaches and methodologies.

In his 1955 monograph on spirit-mediumship in Singapore, Alan J. A. Elliott included accounts of the festival at two temples during his fieldwork here in 1950 and 1951. However, he did not publish his photos of the festival.[1] An article by Ruth Inge-Heinze in 1981 examined the festival in Singapore, where she noted its syncretistic character and multi-faceted forms of worship. Her fieldwork took her to three Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore: Hougang Tou Mu Kung, Hong San Temple and Leong Nam Temple.[2]

The first monograph on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was published in 1988.[3] It was a revised version of Cheu Hock Tong's dissertation based primarily on his fieldwork at Nan Tian Gong temple in Ampang, Malaysia.[4] His study and several later articles on the festival in Malaysia and peninsular Southeast Asia documented many practices unique to the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods in the region. They sketched the broad contours of the festival's rituals in Ampang.[5] Like Inge-Heinze, Cheu traced the festival's origins, beliefs, and ritual systems to symbolisms, numerology, and cosmologies in Chinese religion and traditional knowledge systems. He had also observed the festival at several temples in Singapore, with his fieldnotes notes included in the dissertation's appendix. His dissertation was recently published in its entirety.[6]

The following decades saw a growing body of scholarly work in English on the festival, especially in Malaysia and Thailand. Jean DeBernardi, in her studies of Chinese religion in Penang in 2004, also noted the festival's significance to the Chinese in Penang. She argued that the scale of processions and festivities during the festival constituted one of the most salient markers of the Chinese community's organisational power and identity.[7] In their fieldwork in southern Thailand, Erik Cohen and Jovan Maud also emphasized the festival's socio-cultural significance to the Chinese communities in Phuket and Hat Yai.[8] In Phuket, Cohen noted that the festival had become intertwined with local tourism, with the processions and self-mortification feats of deity-mediums associated with the festival becoming important tourist attractions.[9] He also highlighted the close ties between the Nine Emperor Gods festival and Thai civic religion in Thailand.[10] Similarly, Annette Hamilton argued that the festival was a primary site for Thais of Chinese ancestry to perform, assert and negotiate their hybrid identities of "Thai" and "Chinese".[11]

Alongside this literature in English, there was also a growing body of Japanese scholarship on the festival.[12] In 1979, Masumi Harada published a lengthy article on the festival in Malaysia, based on his fieldwork in Ampang Nan Tian Gong and data on other festival sites in Malaya. Harada's research described the festival's scale, popularity, and unique characteristics in the region and identified different origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods. He also sought to explain various aspects of the festival through canonical sources.[13]

[1] Alan J. A. Elliott, *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore* (Monographs on Social Anthropology. London: Published for Dept. of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science by Royal Anthropological Institute, 1955).

[2] Ruth-Inge Heinze, "The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981):151-171. Part of her findings were integrated into her monograph *Trance and Healing in Southeast Asia Today* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997), 161-168. Also see the short report by Kim Edwards, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods," *The North American Review* 275:1 (1990): 4–8.

[3] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988).

[4] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982).

[5] Cheu Hock Tong, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Malaysia: Myth, Ritual, and Symbol," *Asian Folklore Studies* 55:1 (1996): 49-72; Cheu Hock Tong, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," in Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, ed. Cheu Hock Tong, (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993), 17-58.

[6] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods Festival: Myth, Ritual and Symbol* (Singapore: Partridge Singapore, 2020).

[7] Jean DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 182-215. Also see "Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-Yang Festivals in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang, China," in *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 49-67.

[8] Jovan Maud, "The Nine Emperor Gods at the Border: Transnational Culture, Alternate Modes of Practice and the Expansion of the Vegetarian festival in Hat Yai," in *Dynamic Diversity in Southern Thailand*, ed. Wattana Sugunnasil (Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 162-170; "The Sacred Borderland: A Buddhist Saint, the State and Transnational Religion in Southern Thailand," (PhD diss., University of Macquarie, 2007), chapter 8.

[9] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001); "Body Piercing in "Modern Primitivism" and in Thailand's Vegetarian Festival: A Comparative Study," *Tourism, Culture & Communication* 12 (2013): 51-68; "Spirit Possession and Tourism at Thai Festivals: A Comparative Study," *Tourism Recreation Research* 34:1 (2009): 45-54; and "Kuan To," 68-88.

[10] Erik Cohen, "The Vegetarian Festival and the City Pillar: The Appropriation of a Chinese Religious Custom for a Cult of the Thai Civic Religion," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10:1 (2012): 1-21.

[11] Annette Hamilton, "Kwan Im, Nine Emperor Gods and Chinese 'spirit' in Southern Thailand" (paper presented at 7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam, July 1999); "Performing Identities: Two Chinese Rites in Southern Thailand," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5:2 (2008): 161-185.

[12] For example, see 山下博司 Hiroshi Yamashita and 岡光信子 Nobuko Oka, "混在する宗教，融合するエスニシティータイ・プーケットの華人系寺廟における「菜食の祭り」の調査から," 东方 19: 192-205; 村嶋英治 Murashima Eiji, "20 世紀タイ国における華僑華人社会の実相と役割ー未利用中国語タイ語資料を用いて研究課題名," 科学研究費補助金研究成果報告書 (2010): unpaginated; and 山下博司 Hiroshi Yamashita, "デイアスポラにおける民族宗教の変質と再編- ヒンドゥー教と道教の動態的側面を中心に," 科学研究費補助金研究成果報告書 (2015): unpaginated。

[13] Masami Harada, "マレーシアの九皇信仰（马来西亚的九皇信仰）," 东方宗教 1 (1979) : 1-21。

研究现状

自19世纪末到20世纪上半叶，新加坡的中英文报纸上已有许多关于东南亚九皇胜会的报道。但直到1945年以后，学术界才开始出现对这一节日的深入研究。尽管如今的九皇胜会十分盛行，迄今为止，学界对于新加坡乃至东南亚的九皇胜会篇幅较长的研究仍屈指可数。其中几部重要的著述在研究视野、研究方法和方法论上启发了本研究，并为本研究提供了重要的参考。

1955年，Alan J. A. Elliott出版了一本关于新加坡乩童的专着，其中载有1950年和1951年他在新加坡进行实地考察期间，两座庙宇举办九皇胜会的情况，但他没有展示他所拍摄的照片。[1] 1981年，Ruth Inge-Heinze发表了一篇研究新加坡九皇胜会的文章，她在新加坡三座九皇庙进行了田野调查，分别是后港斗母宫、凤山宫和龙南殿。她指出九皇信仰具有融合性和多样性。[2]

第一本关于九皇胜会的专着于1988年出版。[3] 周福堂（Cheu Hock Tong）基于他在马来西亚安邦南天宫寺的实地调查，撰写了博士论文并修订出版。[4] 在博士论文以及后来几篇关于马来西亚和东南亚半岛九皇胜会的文章中，周福堂记录了该地区九皇信仰的许多独特实践，并描述了安邦九皇胜会仪式的大致框架。[5] 如同Inge-Heinze，周福堂也借助中国宗教的象征主义、命理学和宇宙观以及传统知识体系来理解九皇胜会的起源、信仰和仪式系统。他也在新加坡几座庙宇观察了九皇胜会，他的田野笔记收录在论文的附录中。完整的论文前段时间才出版。[6]

在随后几十年中，学界相继出现许多关于九皇胜会的英文著述，尤其是对马来西亚和泰国的九皇胜会的研究。白瑾（Jean DeBernardi）在2004年对槟城华人宗教的研究中论述了这一节日对槟城华人的意义。她指出，九皇胜会期间游行和庆祝活动的规模体现了华人社区的组织能力和身份认同。[7] Erik Cohen和Jovan Maud分别在泰国南部进行了田野调查，他们揭示了九皇胜会对普吉岛和合艾华人社区的社会文化意义。[8] Cohen指出，普吉岛的九皇胜会与当地旅游业密切相关，与节日有关的游行以及乩童显示其有神力保护的自残行为吸引了许多游客。[9] 他还强调了九皇胜会与泰国公民宗教之间的密切联系。[10] 类似地，Annette Hamilton认为，九皇胜会是泰国华人表现、宣扬和维护多元身份认同的主要场域，他们既是“泰国人”，也是“华人”。[11]

除了英文学界，有一部分日本学者也关注并研究了九皇胜会。[12] 原田正己（Masumi Harada）在1979年发表了一篇关于马来西亚九皇胜会的文章。基于他在安邦南天宫的实地考察以及他所了解到的马来亚其他节日场所的信息，原田记载了当地九皇胜会的规模、特点和流行程度，并且记录了不同版本的九皇大帝起源故事。他还利用典籍文献佐证九皇胜会的方方面面。[13]

[1] Alan J. A. Elliott, *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: Published for Dept. of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science by Royal Anthropological Institute, 1955).

[2] Ruth-Inge Heinze, “The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981): 页 151-171. 部分研究成果编入她的专着 *Trance and Healing in Southeast Asia Today* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997), 161-168. 亦请参阅 Kim Edwards 的简短报告, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival,” *The North American Review* 275:1 (1990): 页 4–8.

[3] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988).

[4] Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982).

[5] Cheu Hock Tong, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Malaysia: Myth, Ritual, and Symbol,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 55:1 (1996): 页 49-72; Cheu Hock Tong, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” in Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, ed. Cheu Hock Tong (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993), 页 17-58.

[6] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods Festival: Myth, Ritual and Symbol* (Singapore: Partridge Singapore, 2020).

[7] Jean DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 182-215. 亦请参阅“Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-Yang Festivals in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang, China,” in *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 49-67.

[8] Jovan Maud, “The Nine Emperor Gods at the Border: Transnational Culture, Alternate Modes of Practice and the Expansion of the Vegetarian festival in Hat Yai,” in *Dynamic Diversity in Southern Thailand*, ed. Wattana Sugunnasil (Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 页 162-170; “The Sacred Borderland: A Buddhist Saint, the State and Transnational Religion in Southern Thailand,” (PhD diss., University of Macquarie, 2007), chapter 8.

[9] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001); “Body Piercing in “Modern Primitivism” and in Thailand’s Vegetarian Festival: A Comparative Study,” *Tourism, Culture & Communication* 12 (2013): 51-68; “Spirit Possession and Tourism at Thai Festivals: A Comparative Study,” *Tourism Recreation Research* 34:1 (2009): 页 45-54; and “Kuan To,” 页 68-88.

[10] Erik Cohen, “The Vegetarian Festival and the City Pillar: The Appropriation of a Chinese Religious Custom for a Cult of the Thai Civic Religion,” *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10:1 (2012): 页 1-21.

[11] Annette Hamilton, “Kwan Im, Nine Emperor Gods and Chinese ‘spirit’ in Southern Thailand” (paper presented at 7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam, July 1999); “Performing Identities: Two Chinese Rites in Southern Thailand,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5:2 (2008): 页 161-185.

[12] 例如，请参阅：山下博司Hiroshi Yamashita，冈光信子Nobuko Oka，<混在する宗教，融合するエスニシティータイ・プーケットの华人系寺庙における「菜食の祭り」の调查から （宗教混合，民族融合——基于泰国普吉岛华人寺庙“素食节”的研究）>，《东方》第19期，页192-205；村嶋英治 Murashima Eiji，<20 世纪タイ国における华侨华人社会の実相と役割ー未利用中国语タイ语资料を用いて研究课题名（20世纪的泰国华侨华人社会）> ，《科学研究费补助金研究成果报告书（2010）》，未标明页码；山下博司 Hiroshi Yamashita，<ディアスポラにおける民族宗教の变质と再编- ヒンドゥー教と道教の动态的侧面を中心に（离散族群民族宗教的演变与重组——以印度教与道教为例）> ，《科学研究费补助金研究成果报告书（2015）》，未标明页码。

[13] 原田正己Masami Harada，<マレーシアの九皇信仰（马来西亚的九皇信仰）>，《东方宗教》1979年第1期，页1-21。

In another study, Hiroshi Yamashita examined two festival sites in Southeast Asia. Using Hougang Tou Mu Kung in Singapore and the festival in Phuket as case studies, he argued that the festival provided opportunities for blurring inter- and intra-ethnic divisions. In his opinion, the festival in Singapore, especially at Hougang Tou Mu Kung, was almost a pan-Chinese event akin to the Lunar New Year, as it attracted Chinese devotees of different dialect backgrounds and from all walks of life, despite an early association with the Hokkien and Teochew communities. In Phuket, although the Vegetarian Festival was originally observed by Chinese communities there, the occasion's popularity transcended the ethnic association of the event. It became a festival representative of the region.[14]

In 2006, Miyata Yoshiya also examined the establishment and growth of the Malaysian Federation of Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Gong Temples, as a case study of the institutionalization of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temple landscape, arguing that the federation's momentum in recent years was stimulated by the growing popularity of the festival and the number of participants.[15]

There have also been interesting Chinese works on the Nine Emperor Gods and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by scholars in China and Southeast Asia. This scholarship can be broadly divided into several different but overlapping approaches. The first approach focused on the Nine Emperor Gods' worship history. It is dissemination in China and Southeast Asia, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, charting their major centres and popularity among various communities such as the professional opera (Liyuan) and Taoist ritual music groups in China.[16]

Scholars adopting this focus have tended to combine epigraphic (stele) sources, oral history, and ethnography collected through fieldwork with local and regional gazetteers and religious tracts and scriptures disseminated locally. This approach can be seen in the work of Chen Jingxi on the Nine Emperor Buddhas in the Chaoshan region.[17] Other mainland Chinese researchers have also used these methods to study the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples in Southeast Asia, particularly in parts of Malaysia and Thailand, and trace the spread of Nine Emperor Gods worship between China and Southeast Asia.[18]

Another approach has focused on the cosmologies, beliefs, rituals, and worship surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods (as embodied in the Northern Dipper deities) and Dou Mu through philological research into religious tracts and the contexts of their composition and formation as seen in the works of Taiwanese scholars such as Xiao Dengfu, Xiao Jinming and Xie Shiwei.[19]

[14] 山下博司 Hiroshi Yamashita, "シンカ、、ポール華入社会における九皇爺崇拝一后港斗母宮における「菜食の祭り」の事例山下博司," 267-278. Yamashita's methodology is somewhat limited in that his study was based almost entirely on the activities of a single temple but attempted to draw conclusions for an entire region.

[15] 宮田义矢Yoshiya Miyata, "宮田义矢マレーシア华人の九皇大帝信仰," アジア游学 84 (2006): 76-80.

[16] See the list of temples compiled in 吕芳员, "清末民初斗姆（九皇）信仰的发展及传播," 广州社会主义学院学报1 (2014): 59-63; and 李全中, "从江西'九皇斋'到川西'九皇节'—客家地域文化传承与流变一例," 成都大学学报: 社会科学版5 (2006): 110-112; Daniel L. Overmyer, *Local Religion in North China in the Twentieth Century: The Structure and Organization of Community Rituals and Beliefs* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); 沉玉斌and 陈国卿, "京剧行会之沿革概况," in 京剧与中国文化传统—第二届京剧学国际学术研讨会论文集 (2007), 208-218; 姜斯轶, "特殊的戏神—1949 年之前北京梨园界'九皇'信仰浅探," 艺海 6 (2013): 49-52. Also see the works by 陈志勇, "戏曲行业'九皇神'信仰考," 中华戏曲 2 (2008): 309-322; and "道教'九皇神'与民间戏神信仰考," 宗教学研究3 (2009): 8-13; 蒋燮，"赣南乡村宗祠中的道教音乐祭礼考察——以星村朱氏祠堂"朝九皇"为例，" 歌海 4 (2014): 7-13.

[17] 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 潮学研究11 (2004): 271-296.

[18] 宋燕鹏, 马来西亚华人史: 权威, 社群与信仰 (上海: 上海交通大学出版社, 2015, 151-173; and 马来西亚吉隆坡福建社群史研究: 籍贯, 组织与认同 (北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 2020吴霞, "九皇斋节的仪式特征和功能研究 – 以泰国普吉地区为例" (硕士论文, 云南民族大学, 2017); 邹由, "浅论泰国甲米府九皇斋节活动仪式—抬神巡游," 佳木斯职业学院学报 1 (2017): 444-445; 范军, "「北斗信仰」与泰国华人的「九皇斋节」信俗" [泰国第二届国际中国学学术研讨会2019 年, 199-212; and 郑飞羽, 陈欣妍, 关玉安与 张文耀, "中式神庙对社区发展的作用 – 以普吉府内杼镇内杼斗母宫为例，" 第二届全国本科生人文社会科学学术研讨会, 宋卡王子大学, 合艾校区, 2019)；何谭光, "泰国九皇大帝信仰的来源及民俗文化的传播和现状," 华侨华人文献学刊 1 (2017): 218-236; 康海玲, "泰国九皇斋节华语戏曲演出探析," 戏剧: 中央戏剧学院学报4 (2013): 90-97; 高伟浓, "华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说," 东南亚纵横 3 (2002): 93-97.

[19] 萧进铭，"从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神——斗姆信仰源流考察，" 道经神祇学术研讨会论文集IV（台北：台北保安宫，2011）： 5-28；谢世维，"早期斗姆摩利支天文本探讨：以《先天雷晶隐书》为中心>，" 成大中文学报，2014，47：209-239；邓昭，"道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用，" 国立台湾大学美术史研究集刊，2014，36，59-100；陈省身，"仪式僧侣礼斗法会研究，" 印顺导师思想之理论与实际学术会议（第十五届），B173-B190； 萧登福，"《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述，" 宗教学研究 1997，3： 49-65；"《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述 （下），" 宗教学研究，1997，4：30-39；萧进铭，"唐宋玄灵法璇玑玄一停轮，'太玄三一' 之道试探《北斗经》之版本，源流，经旨及宗派归属问题新思考，" 华人宗教研究，2016，7： 67-131；太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经，Kanseki Repository，accessed： June 22， 2022，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0003/000.

在另一项研究中，山下博司（Hiroshi Yamashita）考察了东南亚两处节日场所。他以新加坡后港斗母宫和泰国普吉岛为案例进行研究，认为九皇胜会模糊了族群内部和族群之间的界限。尽管早期主要是福建人和潮州人庆祝九皇胜会，如今的九皇胜会吸引了不同方言群和各行各业的华人信徒。新加坡的九皇胜会，尤其是后港斗母宫的九皇胜会，俨然成为类似于农历新年的泛华人节庆。在普吉岛，最初是华人社区庆祝素食节，但随着时代变迁，这一节日突破族群界限，成为普吉岛各族群共同庆祝的节日。[14]

2006年，宫田义矢（Miyata Yoshiya）以马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会的成立和发展为例，考察了九皇胜会和庙宇景观的制度化。他认为，总会近年来的蓬勃发展是因为越来越多人了解并参与到九皇胜会中。[15]

中国学者和东南亚华人学者也有许多关于九皇大帝及九皇胜会的中文著述。这些研究遵循几种不同但相关的研究方法。第一种研究方法重点考察九皇信仰的历史发展及九皇信仰在中国和东南亚的传播，特别关注19世纪和20世纪的情况。这一类研究关注九皇信仰主要中心的分布以及九皇信仰在中国不同群体中的流行程度，例如专业戏曲演员（梨园）群体和道教仪式音乐团体。[16]

采取这一研究路径的学者们不仅利用地方志以及当地流传的宗教善书和经文等文献材料，也进行民族志田野调查获取金石碑文和口述史材料，例如陈景熙对于潮汕地区九皇佛祖崇拜的研究。[17] 其他中国大陆的研究者也以这一方式考察东南亚地区（特别是马来西亚和泰国部分地区）的九皇胜会和九皇庙，研究九皇信仰在中国和东南亚之间的传播。[18]

另一种研究路径是对宗教文献进行语言学研究，考察经文编撰和形成时期的社会背景，重点关注与九皇大帝（北斗星君）和斗姆相关的宇宙观、信仰、仪式和崇拜。这类研究可参见一些台湾学者的著作，例如萧登福、萧进铭和谢世维等学者的研究。[19]

[14] 山下博司 Hiroshi Yamashita，《シンカ、ポール华入社会における九皇爷崇拝一后港斗母宫における「菜食の祭り」の事例（新加坡华人社会的九皇爷崇拜——以后港斗母宫的"素食节"为例）》，页 267-278。山下博司的研究方法有一定的局限性，他的研究几乎完全基于单一庙宇的活动，但他的结论却是对整个地区而言的。

[15] 宫田义矢Yoshiya Miyata，<マレーシア华人の九皇大帝信仰>，《アジア游学（亚洲研究）》，2006年第84期，页76-80。

[16] 具体庙宇请参阅：吕芳员，<清末民初斗姆（九皇）信仰的发展及传播> ，《广州社会主义学院学报》，2014年第1期，页59-63；李全中，<从江西"九皇斋"到川西"九皇节"——客家地域文化传承与流变一例>，《成都大学学报：社会科学版》2006年第 5期，页110-112; Daniel L. Overmyer, *Local Religion in North China in the Twentieth Century: The Structure and Organization of Community Rituals and Beliefs* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); 沈玉斌，陈国卿，<京剧行会之沿革概况>，《京剧与中国文化传统—第二届京剧学国际学术研讨会论文集（2007）》，页208-218；姜斯轶，<特殊的戏神—1949 年之前北京梨园界"九皇"信仰浅探> ，《艺海》，2013年第6期，页49-52。亦请参阅：陈志勇，<戏曲行业"九皇神"信仰考> ，《中华戏曲》2008年第2期，页309-322；及<道教"九皇神"与民间戏神信仰考>，《宗教学研究》2009年第3期，页8-13; 蒋璧，<赣南乡村宗祠中的道教音乐祭礼考察——以星村朱氏祠堂"朝九皇"为例> ，《歌海》2014年第4期，页7-13。

[17] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页271-296。

[18] 宋燕鹏，《马来西亚华人史：权威，社群与信仰》（上海：上海交通大学出版社。2015），页151-173；及《马来西亚吉隆坡福建社群史研究：籍贯，组织与认同》（北京：中国社会科学出版社，2020）； 吴霞，《九皇斋节的仪式特征和功能研究——以泰国普吉地区为例》，云南民族大学硕士学位论文，2017年；邹由，<浅论泰国甲米府九皇斋节活动仪式——抬神巡游>，《佳木斯职业学院学报》2017年第1期，页444-445；范军，<"北斗信仰"与泰国华人的"九皇斋节"信俗>，论文发表于泰国第二届国际中国学学术研讨会（2019 年），会议出版物页199-212；郑飞羽，陈欣妍，关玉安，张文耀，<中式神庙对社区发展的作用——以普吉府内杼镇内杼斗母宫为例>，论文发表于第二届全国本科生人文社会科学学术研讨会，Prince of Songkla University, Hat Yai Campus, 2019（研讨会日期并不清楚，根据文中引用的资料来源推断）；何谭光，<泰国九皇大帝信仰的来源及民俗文化的传播和现状>，《华侨华人文献学刊》2017年第1期，页218-236；康海玲，<泰国九皇斋节华语戏曲演出探析> ，《戏剧：中央戏剧学院学报》2013年第4期，页90-97；高伟浓，<华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说>，《东南亚纵横》2002年第3期，页93-97。

[19] 萧进铭，<从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神——斗姆信仰源流考察>，《道经神祇学术研讨会论文集IV》（台北：台北保安宫，2011），页5-28；谢世维，<早期斗姆摩利支天文本探讨：以《先天雷晶隐书》为中心>，《成大中文学报》2014年第47期，页209-239；邓昭，<道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用>，《国立台湾大学美术史研究集刊》2014年第 36期，页59-100; 陈省身，<仪式僧侣礼斗法会研究>，《印顺导师思想之理论与实际学术会议（第十五届）》，B173-B190; 萧登福，<《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述>，《宗教学研究》1997年第3期，页49-65；<《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述 （下）>，《宗教学研究》1997年第4期，页30-39。关于这份真经的起源，请参阅萧进铭的精彩论述，<唐宋玄灵法"璇玑玄一停轮"，"太玄三一"之道试探《北斗经》之版本，源流，经旨及宗派归属问题新思考>，《华人宗教研究》2016年第7期，页67-131； 《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0003/000.

Chinese Malaysian scholars such as Li Qingnian,[20] Li Yongqiu (also known as Lee Eng Kew),[21] and Wang Chenfa (also known as Ong Seng Huat)[22] adopt the third approach in their work, which focuses on the unique characteristics of the Nine Emperor Gods and its festival in Malaysia and other parts of Southeast Asia. They aim to contextualize its traditions, rituals, and origin stories within the historical experiences, religious traditions, and organizational/institutional structures of Chinese communities in the Nanyang region. Similarly, Li Fengmao from Taiwan situates the festival within the context of Chinese society and politics during colonial Southeast Asia. He draws comparisons between the Wangkang Festival and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, particularly in the latter's burning of a ritual ship or dragon ship as part of the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods.[23]

The 21st century has seen many ethnographic case studies of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples in Southeast Asia, especially in Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore, by students in tertiary institutions in these countries.[24] They have documented the continuity and changes in the roles and social functions played by these temples and festivals and their present-day adaptations to changing social, cultural, economic, political, and technological environments. Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore and Malaysia have also been documenting their histories and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival through their commemorative magazines. Furthermore, the last decade has also seen growing attention by scholars to the role of social media and new technologies in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today.[25] Several theses in sociology, history, and art/design (photography) were conducted and completed by student members of our research and documentation team with the support and assistance of our research project.[26]

[20] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇：九皇爷考证>，《炎帝文化》2006年第 6期，页49-54; <北斗信仰扭转乾坤——九皇大帝掌管时空命运（九皇爷驾到系列1）>，《光华网》，2017年10月19日，https://www.kwongwah.com.my/20171019/北斗信仰扭转乾坤-九皇大帝掌管时空命运.

[21] Lee Eng Kew is a prolific writer, and his works can be easily accessed online. He has also contributed many articles to the official publication of the Malaysian Federation of Doumugong and Nine Emperor God Temples, the *Douxun*. Several of his works were archived at Lee Eng Kew, "李永球-Lee Eng Kew," accessed May 1, 2022, https://leeengkew.blogspot.com/. A feature essay of his personal interests and current research was also authored by Kow Gah Chie, "How a Self-taught Historian Learnt the Past through Headstones," *Malaysiakini*, March 19, 2017, https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/376237; 李永球, "持素穿白衣是戴孝?," November 30, 2008, http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/. While Lee Eng Kew recognised that different incarnations of the Nine Emperor Gods existed, he conceptualised of them as the nine stars of the Northern Dipper and wrote several articles in support of his hypothesis. Besides drawing upon his own fieldwork, Lee had also referenced Chinese gazetteers and scriptural sources from the Daoist and Buddhist Canons to prove his point. See "太上北斗二十八章经," page 000-021a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 20, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0010/000. The scripture is translated as the "Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-Eight Chapters," and introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 954.

[22] 王琛发,"从北斗真君到九皇大帝：永不没落的民族意象（吉隆坡：马来西亚道教组织联合总会，2008); "国殇: 隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会"（发表于"第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路"，1-6-2008); and "由孝现忠: 马来西亚华人怎样过 '不明显' 的重阳节?," 民俗研究 2 (2015): 67-73.

[23] 李丰楙，"王船，船画，九皇船：代巡三型的仪式性跨境，" 空间移动之文化诠释国际学术研讨会（台北市：汉学研究中心，国立台湾大学文学院，国立中兴大学文学院，中央研究院中国文哲研究所，2008年3月26-28日）；李丰楙, 从圣教到道教, 207-274.

[24] Kaewkarn Silphiphat, "The Origin and Development of the Phuket Vegetarian Festival" (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2006); 郭淑娟, "马来西亚九皇爷信仰的多样性: 槟城二条路斗母宫个案研究" (M.A. Thesis, Universiti Tuku Abdul Rahman, 2012); 陳昭慧, "廟宇的宗教功能與社會功能—以怡保斗母宮為研究物件" (Hons. Thesis, Universiti Tuku Abdul Rahman, 2016); 李柔蒽, "北海斗母宫與拉惹烏達的經濟發展" (Hons. Thesis, Universiti Tuku Abdul Rahman, 2018); 袁绮嫘, "大山脚斗母宫九皇大帝庙的历史沿革与信仰考察," (Hons. Thesis, Universiti Tuku Abdul Rahman, 2018); Chaopreecha Jakraphan, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand" (PhD diss., Hiroshima University, 2018); M. Amri Pranata P., "Makna Festival Vegetarian Sembilan de wa Kaisar di Titipapan Medan Titipapan" (Hons. Thesis, Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 2018); Kittinan Krueaphat, "Cultural Preservation of Mahayana Buddhism Identity in the Dimension of Chinese Shrines: Case Studies of Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province" (M. A. Thesis., Prince of Songkla University, 2018); and Panuwat Chanasakun, "Double identity Representation of Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District," (M.A. thesis, Chinese Studies, Prince of Songkla University, 2017).

[25] Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* 8:1 (2019): 117-151; Alvin Eng Hui Lim, "Between the Sea and the Shore: Mediating the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 34:1 (2019): 117-134.

[26] Teh Ka Kiong, "Changed and the Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post-Independent Singapore" (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017); Tan Chongsheng Micah, "The Resilience of Ritual in Singapore: Taoist Ritual and its Implications on Spirituality and Modernity" (Hons. Thesis, National University of Singapore, 2017-2018); Chia Jielin, "State Regulations and Divine Oppositions: An Ethnography of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore" (Capstone Final Report, Yale-NUS Singapore, 2018); Chia Jielin, "State Regulations and Divine Oppositions: An Ethnography of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore," *Religions* 11:7 (2020); Ho Dewei Dawin, "九九归一 [Nine Vessels, One Festival: The Nine Emperor Gods Festival]" (Project 16.20.U1630590B, Nanyang Technological University, 2020).

第三种研究路径见于李庆年、[20] 李永球[21] 和王琛发[22] 等马来西亚华人学者的研究中。这些学者关注马来西亚及东南亚其他地区的九皇大帝和九皇胜会的独特性，结合东南亚华人的历史经验、宗教传统以及华人社群的组织结构，将九皇胜会的传统、仪式和起源故事置于南洋的语境中加以考察。台湾的李丰楙也采取类似的研究方法，将九皇胜会置于东南亚殖民时期华人社会和政治的背景下，对九皇胜会中焚化法船的仪式与王船大游行进行比较研究。[23]

21世纪以来，在东南亚地区，特别是泰国、马来西亚和新加坡，越来越多高校学生对当地的九皇胜会和庙宇进行了民族志个案研究。[24] 他们的研究揭示了这些庙宇和九皇胜会所扮演的角色和社会功能的延续和变化，探讨了庙宇和节日如何适应不断变迁的社会、文化、经济、政治和科技环境。新加坡和马来西亚许多九皇庙也在纪念特刊中记载了庙宇的发展历史和九皇胜会。此外，在过去的十年里，学者们也越来越关注社交媒体和新技术在九皇胜会中的应用。[25] 在研究计划的支持与协助下，几位参与计划的学生成员也以九皇胜会为题，成功完成了几篇历史学、社会学与摄影领域的毕业论文。[26]

[20] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇：九皇爷考证>，《炎帝文化》2006年第 6期，页49-54； <北斗信仰扭转乾坤——九皇大帝掌管时空命运（九皇爷驾到系列1）>， 《光华网》，2017年10月19日，https://www.kwongwah.com.my/20171019/北斗信仰扭转乾坤-九皇大帝掌管时空命运.

[21] 李永球Lee Eng Kew是一位多产的作家，在网上可以很容易地找到他的文章。他还为马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会的官方出版物《斗讯》撰写了多篇文章。他的一些文章收录在"李永球-Lee Eng Kew"，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://leeengkew.blogspot.com/. 关于他的个人兴趣和目前的研究方向的专题文章见 Kow Gah Chie, "How a Self-taught Historian Learnt the Past through Headstones," *Malaysiakini*, March 19, 2017, https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/376237； 李永球，《持素穿白衣是戴孝？》，2008年11月30日，http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/； 李永球承认九皇大帝的来源有不同的说法，但他认为九皇大帝是北斗九星的化身，并就此撰写了一些文章以支持他的假设。除了进行田野调查，李永球还参考中国的地方志，并查阅道教和佛教相关经典著作。例如,《太上北斗二十八章经》，页000-021a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0010/000. 原稿被译为"Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-Eight Chapters,"并收录于Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 页 954.

[22] 王琛发，《从北斗真君到九皇大帝: 永不没落的民族意象》（吉隆坡：马来西亚道教组织联合总会，2008）；<国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会>，论文发表于第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路"（台湾，佛光大学，2008年6月1日）；<由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过"不明显"的重阳节？> ，《民俗研究》2015年第2期，页 67-73。

[23] 李丰楙，<王船、船画、九皇船：代巡三型的仪式性跨境>，论文发表于"空间移动之文化诠释国际学术研讨会"（台北市：汉学研究中心，国立台湾大学文学院，国立中兴大学文学院，中央研究院中国文哲研究所，2008年3月26-28日）；《从圣教到道教》，页 207-274。

[24] Kaewkarn Silphiphat, "The Origin and Development of the Phuket Vegetarian Festival" (M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2006); 郭淑娟 Koay Seok Kean，《马来西亚九皇爷信仰的多样性： 槟城二条路斗母宫个案研究》，拉曼大学硕士学位论文，2012年；陈昭慧，《庙宇的宗教功能与社会功能——以怡保斗母宫为研究物件》，拉曼大学荣誉学士学位论文，2016年；李柔蒽，《北海斗母宫与拉惹乌达的经济发展》，拉曼大学荣誉学士学位论文，2018年；袁绮嫘，《大山脚斗母宫九皇大帝庙的历史沿革与信仰考察》，拉曼大学荣誉学士学位论文，2018年； Chaopreecha Jakraphan, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand" (PhD diss., Hiroshima University, 2018);M. Amri Pranata P. 任时宇, "Makna Festival Vegetarian Sembilan de wa Kaisar di Titipapan Medan（棉兰Titipapan九皇大帝斋节庆典的意义）" (Hons. Thesis, Unversitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 2018); Kittinan Krueaphat, "Cultural Preservation of Mahayana Buddhism Identity in the Dimension of Chinese Shrines: Case Studies of Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province" (M.A. Thesis., Prince of Songkla University, 2018); and Panuwat Chanasakun, "Double identity Representation of Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District," (M.A. thesis, Chinese Studies, Prince of Songkla University, 2017).

[25] Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* 8:1 (2019): 页 117-151; Alvin Eng Hui Lim, "Between the Sea and the Shore: Mediating the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 34:1 (2019): 页 117-134.

[26] Teh Ka Kiong, "Changed and the Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post-Independent Singapore" (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017); Tan Chongsheng Micah, "The Resilience of Ritual in Singapore: Taoist Ritual and its Implications on Spirituality and Modernity" (Hons. Thesis, National University of Singapore, 2017-2018); Chia Jielin, "State Regulations and Divine Oppositions: An Ethnography of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore" (Capstone Final Report, Yale-NUS Singapore, 2018); Chia Jielin, "State Regulations and Divine Oppositions: An Ethnography of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore," *Religions* 11:7 (2020); Ho Dewei Dawin, "九九归一 [Nine Vessels, One Festival: The Nine Emperor Gods Festival]" (Project 16.20.U1630590B, Nanyang Technological University, 2020).

Method, Methodologies, and Motivations

Our project builds on earlier studies of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore, Southeast Asia, and China. It combines historical and anthropological methods and methodologies in documenting the festival and the temples involved. Besides participant observation, interviews, and audio-visual documentation at the temples and festival sites, we also conducted newspaper, archival, and online library research to trace the festival's history in Singapore and other parts of Southeast Asia and China. Social media and new audio-visual technologies were also important dimensions of our research and outreach. By combining these methods and approaches, our study aims to document the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples in Singapore today while locating them within regional, trans-regional, and historical contexts.

Rather than focusing on one temple or a small sample of temples, we adopted a multi-sited approach to cover all the major festival sites and temples in Singapore with more than three years of history. It was the first such documentation and survey of the festival on a national level. Over 80 students were deployed in 15 teams yearly to undertake ethnographic and participant-observation research at 15 temples and sites over two annual festival cycles in 2016 and 2017. The students were trained in basic fieldwork and ethnography methods and audio-visual technologies to prepare them for the field documentation and participant-observation work.

The project's main aim was to document the beliefs, traditions, and practices surrounding the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods in Singapore, as well as the voices, experiences, and memories of the communities in the temples and festival sites. Through these case studies, we sought to answer the following research questions: Who are the Nine Emperor Gods? What are the key rituals, traditions, and events in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival? What is the significance of the Nine Emperor Gods and the festival to practitioners, ritual specialists, devotees and their communities in the past and present? How are the festivals organized? What are the communities supporting and building around the festival? How have these communities' and temples' histories, traditions and rituals undergone continuity and change over time?

The project aimed to place the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore within the wider historical context of the festival in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaysia, Thailand, and China. This was achieved through detailed documentation and analysis of historical and scriptural sources related to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the worship of the deities. The rituals, traditions, and paraphernalia associated with the festival were also examined within Chinese religion and culture's broader cultural and historical environment.

This historical inquiry is not a search for origins, an original, or a pure form of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival or the Nine Emperor Gods. Instead, it aims to locate them in history regarding the practices, traditions, and perceptions of different communities in time and space. When dealing with ancient Chinese religious texts that refer to the Nine Emperor Gods, we are careful not to assume that they reflect a timeless truth. Instead, we strive to understand them in terms of their invocations of these deities in their respective historical contexts and their use by different communities in different historical periods.

We also do not privilege scripture over oral traditions, beliefs, and religious practices and emphasize the importance of both in our study. As Barend J. ter Haar had rightfully pointed out in his study of the deity Guan Yu, prioritising classical, scriptural and written sources essentially divorces the historian from the complicated reality of religious practice. Thus, the "relevance of historical and literary traditions cannot be assumed but must be demonstrated in terms of reception".[27] Furthermore, as the works of James Watson on "belief" and "practice" have shown, in the case of the worship of Tianhou, alias Mazu, in imperial China, "people at all levels of the social hierarchy [were allowed) to construct their representations" of Tianhou, regardless of whether they were fishermen, women, or local elites, in the context of state enfeoffment with imperial titles and "ritual and religious standardization".[28] To quote Adam Yuet Chau, we are interested in how different communities are "doing religion".[29]

[27] Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 12.

[28] James L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ("Empress of Heaven") Along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), " 323. Also see James L. Watson, "Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence and the Primary of Performance," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1-19.

[29] Adam Yuet Chau, *Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 73-76.

研究方法、方法论与动机

本项目以前人对新加坡、东南亚以及中国的九皇胜会的研究成果为基础，结合历史学和人类学的研究方法，对九皇胜会和九皇庙宇进行了研究。除了在庙宇和节日场所进行参与观察、访谈和田野记录外，我们还查阅了报纸、档案以及图书馆线上资源等资料，以追溯九皇胜会在新加坡乃至东南亚其他地区和中国的历史。我们也关注社交媒体和新媒体在九皇胜会中所扮演的角色。本研究旨在结合多种研究方法，记录新加坡的九皇胜会和九皇庙宇，并将它们置于区域、跨区域和历史背景中加以考察。

我们并未将目光集中于某一特定庙宇或少数几座庙宇上，而是在新加坡所有具有三年以上历史的主要节日场所和庙宇进行多地点考察。这是首次在全国范围内对九皇胜会进行记录和调查。在2016年和2017年，每年节日期间都有超过80名学生组成15个团队，分别前往15处庙宇和节日场所进行民族志研究和参与观察。学生们接受了田野调查和民族志基本方法的培训以及录音影像设备使用方法的培训，以便更好地进行实地考察和完成记录工作。

本项目旨在研究新加坡九皇崇拜相关的信仰、传统和习俗，记录庙宇和节日场所中社区的声音、经历和记忆。通过这些个案研究，我们试图回答以下问题：九皇大帝为何方神圣？九皇胜会有哪些主要仪式、传统和活动？九皇胜会对信徒、仪式专家以及他们所在的社区而言有什么意义？九皇胜会是如何组织的？九皇胜会的组织和庆祝形成了怎样的社区？随着时间的推移，这些庙宇和社区的历史、传统和仪式是如何延续的，又发生了什么变化？

本项目希望通过详细记录九皇胜会的方方面面，深入分析与九皇信仰相关的经典和史料，将新加坡的九皇胜会置于东南亚（尤其是马来西亚和泰国）以及中国的历史背景中加以考察。本项目也尝试结合更广泛的华人宗教文化和历史背景，探究新加坡九皇胜会的各种仪式、传统和法器。

本研究并非为了明确九皇胜会或九皇大帝的起源原型或礼仪正统，而是探究这一节日在特定时空背景下的实践与传统，以及不同社区对这一节日的认知。我们并未将提及九皇大帝的中国古代宗教经典奉为圭臬，而是将相关文本置于历史语境中，考察不同历史时期、不同社区所使用的词汇的含义有何不同。

我们并未将宗教经典置于口述史、观念和宗教实践之上，我们认为宗教经典与田野调查所获取的信息同样重要。正如田海（Barend J. ter Haar）在对关羽信仰的研究中所指出的，过分强调经典和书面资料，本质上使历史学家脱离了宗教实践的复杂现实。因此，“历史和文字传统的相关性并非不言自明，而是必须加以证明。”[27] 此外，正如华琛（James Watson）关于“信仰”和“实践”的研究所表明的，在中国古代的天后（即妈祖）崇拜中，国家通过赐予天后显赫封号进行“仪式和宗教的标准化”。在此背景下，无论是渔民、妇女还是地方精英，“社会各阶层的人都可以构建其天后崇拜的物化特征。”[28] 如周越（Adam Yuet Chau）所言，我们感兴趣的是不同社区“做宗教”的独特方式。[29]

[27] Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 页12.

[28] James L. Watson, “Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T’ien Hou (“Empress of Heaven”) Along the South China Coast, 960-1960,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985),” 页323. Also see James L. Watson, “Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence and the Primary of Performance,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 页1-19.

[29] Adam Yuet Chau, *Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 页 73-76.

Book Outline

These two volumes are the outcome of this interdisciplinary and multi-sited inquiry. The first volume explores the historical, regional, and cultural contexts of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The first two chapters chart the history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and beliefs about the Nine Emperor Gods in China and Southeast Asia, respectively. The remaining chapters then examine key facets of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival encountered in our fieldwork in Singapore, such as the representations of the deities, the significance of various ritual paraphernalia such as the censer, the heavenly lamps, the special palanquins used for carrying the Nine Emperor Gods, and dragon or ritual ships, as well as the vegetarian diet and *zhai* regime expected of the participants during the festival. These chapters shall situate these traditions within the wider historical contexts of Chinese religion, culture and society in China and Southeast Asia.

The second volume features the festival and its history in Singapore. While the first chapter provides a historical overview of the festival and the Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore, the remaining fifteen chapters, in the form of photo essays, feature the ritual structure and process, material culture and community underlying the festival at each of the fifteen temples covered in our documentation project.

Ultimately, our study is not a search for an "original" or "orthodox" way of Nine Emperor Gods worship or observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It is a documentation of the practices, beliefs, and traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore and the communities involved, situating them within the festival's history and Nine Emperor Gods worship in Southeast Asia, China and maritime Asia. We aim to understand the festival today in terms of its local and regional historical environments and its long-term historical contexts in China. It is a testament to the close rapport between history and heritage and the need to situate intangible cultural heritage in Singapore within wider regional and historical contexts.

History of the Nine Emperor Gods and Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China

The Warring States to Han Dynasty

One of the earliest references to the Nine Emperors or Jiu Huang[30] can be found in the *He Guan Zi*, an eclectic compilation of texts that were believed to date from the Warring States to the Han dynasty period, which referred to either a ruler or an era associated with primaeval rulers in prehistoric and ancient China as the "Nine Emperors".[31] However, it did not shed light on who these rulers were. Any clues on their identity only arose later in the *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, whose compilation was attributed to Dong Zhongshu (179 - 104 BCE), where Jiu Huang was mentioned as one of the titles given to one of these early rulers before the Xia dynastic period, namely Shennong.[32]

The belief that the Nine Emperor Gods were the nine sovereigns of ancient China continues to exercise some influence in Southeast Asia today. During Lee Eng Kew's fieldwork at the Kathu Shrine of Phuket, temple representatives intimated that the Nine Emperor Gods referred to "Fu Xi, Shen Nong, Huang Di, Shao Hao, Zhuan Xuan, Di Ku, Yao, Shun and Xia Yu". Another informant also referred to an entry on the 'Nine Emperors" in a dictionary in support of this belief. Nevertheless, he did not agree with this tradition.[33] Likewise, Xu Liying also argued that "the Nine Emperors (as the legendary rulers in ancient Chinese history) were not the Nine Emperors (who are worshipped by the Chinese in Southeast Asia)".[34] Despite the misgivings of Lee and Xu, descriptions of the "Nine Emperors" as the founders of Chinese civilisation in medieval China did inspire at least one tract that was eventually collated in the Daoist Canon. As we shall see, such notions likely provided the prototype for post-Tang conceptions of the anthropomorphised Northern Dipper stars under the same name. These similarities are iconographical in nature and resemble one another in terms of these deities' attributes and associated techniques.[35]

[30] In Chinese, *Jiu Huang* can be used in the singular or plural, while the English name is usually rendered in the plural. As the rest of the discussion shows, the Nine Emperor Gods have been remembered as nine deities or a singular deity, or as one of nine deities.

[31] "天则;" "泰鸿;" and "泰录" in 鹖冠子 (c. 3rd century BCE), Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/he-guan-zi. On the impact of this manuscript and its intersection with other thought systems in early China, see , Randall P. Peerenboom, "Heguanzi and Huang-Lao Thought," *Early China* 16 (1991): 169-186.

[32] 董仲舒 (179-104 BCE), "三代改制质文," section 1, in 春秋繁露, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/chun-qiu-fan-lu/san-dai-gai-zhi-zhi-wen/zhs; Marnix Wells, *The Pheasant Cap Master and the End of History: Linking Religion to Philosophy in Early China* (St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2013), 68.

[33] 李永球, "九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键," 炎帝文化 7 (2007): 42-43. These early emperors, such as Shennong, are still popularly worshipped in Southeast Asia today. For example, see 王琛发, "19世纪槟城闽南社群的神农信仰:从集体祖神到海疆守护神," 闽台文化研究 1 (2018): 30-40.

[34] 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫 (新加坡: 后港斗母宫, 2006), 24.

[35] Dominic Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns: From Local Lore to Institutional Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 106.

章节框架

本书两卷是跨学科和多点调查的研究成果。第一卷探究九皇胜会的历史、区域和文化背景。前两章分别阐述了中国和东南亚地区九皇胜会和九皇信仰的历史。后续章节考察了我们在田野调查的过程中所发现的新加坡九皇胜会的重要面向，包括神明的表现形式，各种仪式器具的意义，例如香炉、天灯、九皇大帝乘坐的特制神轿、法船或龙船等，以及节日期间参与者必须遵循的吃素持斋的规定。第一卷将上述传统和实践置于中国和东南亚的华人宗教、文化和社会的语境中加以思考，有助于我们理解这些传统和实践的地位和重要性。

第二卷关注九皇胜会本身及其在新加坡的历史。第一章为读者提供了新加坡的九皇胜会及九皇庙的历史概述，随后的十五章以摄影论文的形式，逐一介绍我们所研究的十五座庙宇的仪式结构、物质文化和社区历史。

本研究并不是一次寻求庆祝九皇胜会的"原始"或"正统"形式的努力，而是希望通过如实记录新加坡的九皇胜会及其相关社区的习俗、信仰和传统，理解新加坡的九皇胜会在东南亚、中国和海洋亚洲的九皇信仰历史中的位置。我们试图在新加坡、东南亚以及中国的历史语境中，探寻节日的意义。这种尝试将揭示历史与遗产之间的密切关系，证明结合更广泛的区域历史背景理解新加坡非物质文化遗产的必要性。

中国的九皇与九皇胜会

战国时期到汉朝

最早关于"九皇"[30]的记载之一见于《鹖冠子》，《鹖冠子》是一本收录战国到汉朝时期先哲圣贤的奇言奥旨的先秦典籍，其中将中国上古时期一位帝王或其所处的时代称为"九皇"。[31] 然而，《鹖冠子》并未提及"九皇"具体是何人，直到董仲舒（公元前179-104年）编《春秋繁露》，"九皇"的身份信息才首次出现。据称，"九皇"是夏朝之前中国上古时期首领神农的尊号之一。[32]

直到今天，认为"九皇"是中国上古时期九位帝王的观念在东南亚地区仍颇具影响力。李永球在泰国普吉岛内杼斗母宫进行实地考察时发现，庙方认为九皇大帝是"伏羲，神农，黄帝，少昊，颛顼，帝喾，尧，舜及夏禹"，有人以"字典里的'九皇'条目"来佐证这种观点。但李永球并不认同这种说法。[33] 徐李颖也认为"此九皇（中国上古时期九位首领）非彼九皇（如今东南亚华人社区供奉的九皇大帝）。"[34] 尽管李永球和徐李颖对这种联系表示怀疑，《正统道藏》中的确收录了一篇文章，将"九皇"称为华夏文明人文初祖。这些概念很可能为唐代以后的北斗星君形象提供了原型。这些相似性不仅在本质上是基于形象的，而且也与神明的属性及其技术有关。[35]

[30] 在中文语境中，"九皇"一词可以表达单数或复数，而英文名称通常是复数形式。正如后面的讨论所显示的，九皇大帝可能被认为是九位神明，也可能是一位神明，或者是九位神明其中之一。

[31] <天则>；<泰鸿>；<泰录>，见《鹖冠子》（约公元前3世纪），中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/he-guan-zi. 关于在中国早期这份典籍的影响及其与其他思想体系的相承，请参阅Randall P. Peerenboom, "Heguanzi and Huang-Lao Thought," *Early China* 16 (1991): 页 169-186.

[32] 董仲舒（公元前179年-前104年），<三代改制质文>，第1节，《春秋繁露》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/chun-qiu-fan-lu/san-dai-gai-zhi-zhi-wen/zhs.

Marnix Wells, *The Pheasant Cap Master and the End of History: Linking Religion to Philosophy in Early China* (St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2013), 页 68.

[33] 李永球，<九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键>，《炎帝文化》2007年第7期，页42-43。对华夏始祖的崇拜，尤其是对神农的崇拜，在今天的东南亚仍然很普遍。例如，请参阅：王琛发，<19世纪槟城闽南社群的神农信仰：从集体祖神到海疆守护神>，《闽台文化研究》，2018年第1期，页30-40。

[34] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页24。

[35] Dominic Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns: From Local Lore to Institutional Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 页106.



Emperors belonging to the Primordial Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640

洞神八帝妙精经.《九皇图》初三皇像



Emperors belonging to the Middle Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640

洞神八帝妙精经.《九皇图》中三皇像



Emperors belonging to the Latter Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640

洞神八帝妙精经.《九皇图》后三皇像

Six Dynasties (220-589 CE) to Tang (618-907 CE)

This particular Daoist text in medieval China using the appellation "Nine Emperors" would be the Chart of the Nine Emperors, which contained DZ640 (compiled c. sixth century CE).[36] This text contained portraits of nine emperors, depicted alongside information about their titles, names, powers, and respective spheres or planes of authority. They were divided into three groups of emperors, the Initial Emperors, Middle Emperors, and Latter Emperors, with each group consisting of a heavenly, earthly and human emperor, respectively. It was argued that "the main function of these images was to help the reader to visualize and focus on these deities" during the cultivation process to promote physical and spiritual health.[37]

The first three Emperors belonging to the Initial Tier all "adopted a human form and were represented in official garb with jade tablets in hand".[38] They were said to have evolved from the void, and although they looked human, they were similar but different. The adepts were to keep them in their minds and hearts and avoid any contact with the other sex and other ritually polluting actions. If the practitioners "did not commit any transgressions against these deities over three years, the deities will descend upon them, and present them with the techniques of longevity and the method of ascending to the Palace of the Three Pure Ones".[39]

The Middle Emperors "espoused striking theriomorphic forms",[40] where "the Heavenly Emperor had a human face resting on top of a snake's body with thirteen heads". The Earthly Emperor also had the body of a snake but only eleven human-faced heads. Finally, the "Emperor of Humankind was described as having a human face with a dragon's body, but with nine heads".[41] The Middle Emperors were the transformations of the three primordial essences. Adepts were to adopt a *zhai jie* regime, practice and spread the Dao, and provide deliverance from afflictions and calamities. They can do so by visualizing and keeping these three Emperors in mind, beseeching them to send the heavenly generals and armies (including the General of Middle Heaven and three other generals with their armies) to suppress and eradicate the evils and demons causing them, and strengthening the faith among the masses.[42]

Finally, the Latter Tier of Emperors included Baoxi (alias Fuxi) as the Latter Emperor of Heaven, Nuwa as the Latter Emperor of Earth; and Shennong as the Latter Emperor of Humankind. They were three figures believed to have exercised a significant and actual influence on the development of Chinese civilisation.[43] Nevertheless, all three divinities were described as part-human and part-animal, contrasting with the completely human-shaped Emperors from the Initial Tier. Fuxi and Nuwa, for example, were depicted with serpentine bodies despite possessing human faces, whereas Shennong has the "face of a cow and a human body".[44] The assignment of the last position among the Nine Emperors to Shennong in the Chart was probably not serendipitous, for the reference matched earlier conceptions in the *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals* where Shennong was known as the "Ninth Emperor".

The Nine Emperors Chart provided important insights into the later association of the Nine Emperors with the Northern Dipper constellation and their deities and the traditions and practices of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. These deities, notably the Later Emperors, were closely associated with observable constellations in the sky. For example, the Chart of the Nine Emperors noted that "the Later Emperors embodied the transformation of the three pure essences *qi*, *xuan*, *yuan* and *shi,* into the three *yuan* and further into the Three Platforms".[45] Although they appeared to be different in form, they ultimately led to the same unity. The adept or initiate in his practice should focus on the Three Platforms while cultivating the five virtues. Once he had attained these five virtues, they would synergize with the three platforms, removing all obstacles. He would become immortal.[46]

The reference to the Three Platform Stars (a constellation located close to the Northern Dipper) as the manifestation of the Latter Emperors suggests a close relationship between the Latter Emperors and the worship of stars.[47] Steavu, in his study of these texts with older texts like the *Records of the Grand Historian* compiled by Sima Qian, has hypothesised "a close connection if not an equivalence" between "the astral triad" of the Three Platform Stars and the Tai Yi deity residing in the Heavenly Pole (another designation for the Northern Dipper) mentioned in Sima Qian's text.[48] This historical relationship is important because it influenced later Daoist texts thatdesignated the Northern Dipper Star Deities as the "Nine Emperors".

[36] See "洞神八帝妙精经," pages 000-006a to 000-011b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0021/000. The text has been translated as the "Scripture of the Wondrous Essence of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon," and is introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 266-269.

[37] 谢世维, "中古道教史中的三皇文传统研究," 清华学报44:1 (2014): 34. Also see 谢世维, "真形、神图与灵符——道教三皇文视觉文化初探," 兴大人文学报 56 (2016): 23-57. See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of these representations.

[38] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.

[39] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-007a.

[40] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.

[41] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-008a.

[42] The Chart's description of the Middle Tier Emperors echoed other contemporaneous and later texts that were circulated in medieval China, hinting at a common source of inspiration between these seemingly independent textual traditions. The *Great Virtues of the Five Elements*, a manuscript compiled by Xiaoji (c. 525-614 CE), for example, noted that "the Heavenly Emperor had thirteen heads", whereas the Earthly Emperor had eleven heads, and the "Humanly Emperor had nine heads". The *Original Records of the Three Emperors*, which Sima Zhen (679-732 CE) compiled as an extension to the *Records of the Historian*, also stated that "the Humanly Emperor had nine heads". Sima Zhen's entry for the Human Emperor was immediately followed by the rule of "nine brothers, who divided themselves into nine regions. Each established a city and ruled for one hundred and fifty generations, totalling forty-five thousand six hundred years." 萧吉 (c. 525-614 CE), 五行大義, chapter 5, section 6, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=358218. 司馬貞(679-732 CE), 三皇本紀, in 知识图谱, accessed May 1, 2022, https://cnkgraph.com/Book/2180/KR7b0001_0001.

[43] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 102.

[44] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-009b.

[45] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-009b.

[46] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-009b。

[47] These deities were also venerated in later Daoist texts such as the DZ622 alongside the anthropomorphised Northern Dipper.

[48] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 106; 司马迁 (c. 145-86 BCE), "孝武本紀," section 25, in 史记, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=513922; and "天官書," section 2, in 史记, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=574568..

六朝（220年-589年）至唐朝（618年-907年）

中古时期提到“九皇”这一称谓的道教文献是收录于DZ640《洞神八帝妙精经》[36]（约成书于公元6世纪）之中的《九皇图》。《九皇图》记载了九皇的名讳、尊号与神力等信息，并为他们绘制了画像。九皇有初三皇、中三皇和后三皇之分，各三皇为天皇、地皇和人皇。据称，《九皇图》有助于修道者在修炼过程中存思九皇，从而促进身心健康。[37]

据《九皇图》载：初三皇皆为人形，身披锦服，手执玉策。[38]“初三皇是虚无空之变化中，应感同人，同而又异。学士存之，男女不得和混，勿履殉秽，有犯考由左官。三年不犯，神降对言，授长生之诀，登三清之宫也。”[39]

中三皇人面兽身，[40] 天皇君人面蛇身十三头，地皇君人面蛇身十一头，人皇君人面龙身九头。[41]“右中三皇，是玄元始之应变。学士斋戒，传道行法，救患消灾，存思启告，请此皇君，将从兵士，与中天大将军一人、三五大将军三人，兵士各百万众，一合同集，齐心并力，率某身中吏兵，各典所主，宣行神炁，布散威风。”[42]

后三皇为：后天皇庖牺（又称伏羲），后地皇女娲及后人皇神农。后三皇是对中华文明的发展产生重大实际影响的上古人物。[43] 然而，不同于前三皇完全是人形，后三皇都是半人半兽的形象，其中伏羲和女娲是蛇身人面，神农则是牛面人身。[44]《九皇图》中的后人皇是神农或许并非偶然，早在《春秋繁露》中就有以神农为“九皇”之一的论述。

《九皇图》对于理解九皇与北斗星辰及北斗星君之间的联系非常重要。九皇尤其是后三皇，与天空中的星宿密切相关。《九皇图》载道：“右后三皇，玄元始三炁化为三元，变为三台，[45] 应形以异，率异归同。学士建功，象效三台。仁礼信义智为五通，通此五德，三五炁和，八达六通，成真圣也。”[46]

文中的“三台”指三台星，三台星是靠近北斗的星座，这表明后三皇与北斗信仰密切相关。[47] 司马迁所编的《史记》中载：“中宫天极星（即北斗），其一明者，太一常居也。”Steavu对这些文献进行比较，认为“太一和三台之间存在密切的联系（如果两者不相同的话）。”[48] 这一历史关系非常重要，因为它可能启发了后来的道教经文，将北斗星君称为“九皇”。

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[36] 请参阅《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-006a to 000-011b，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0021/000。本经被译为“Scripture of the Wondrous Essence of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon,”并收录于Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 页 266-269.

[37] 谢世维，<中古道教史中的三皇文传统研究>，《清华学报》2014年第1期，页34。亦请参阅：谢世维，<真形、神图与灵符——道教三皇文视觉文化初探>，《兴大人文学报》2016年第56期，页23-57。关于图像的讨论，请参见本书第二章。

[38] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 页104.

[39] 《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-007a。

[40] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 页104.

[41] 《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-008a。

[42] 《九皇图》对中三皇的描述与其他同时代和中古时期中国流传的文本相呼应，表明了这些看似相互独立的经典之间有着共同的灵感来源。例如，萧吉（约525-614年）所撰的《五行大义》载：“天皇三十头，地皇十一头，人皇九头。”司马贞（679-732年）为补全《史记》（成书于约公元前96年）所作的《三皇本纪》中同样提到“人皇九头”。司马贞对人皇的描述是“兄弟九人，分长九州，各立城邑，凡一百五十世，合四万五千六百年”。请参阅：萧吉（约公元525-614年），《五行大义卷第五》，第6节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=358218；司马贞（公元679-732年），《三皇本纪》，见知识图谱，访问日期：2022年5月1，https://cnkgraph.com/Book/2180/KR7b0001_0001.

[43] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 页 102.

[44] 《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-009b。

[45] 《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-009b。

[46] 《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-009b。

[47] 在后来的道教经文中，例如DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》，后三皇也与北斗星君一同受到尊崇。

[48] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 106; 司马迁（约公元前145年-前86年），<孝武本纪>第25节，《史记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=513922；<天官书>第2节，《史记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=574568.

The Nine Emperors in DZ640 embodied key principles in Daoist cosmology, philosophy, and cultivation. The text emphasized that the Nine Emperors were originally one, differentiating into the initial, middle, and different tiers before returning to become one again after attaining their highest level. The Initial Emperors transformed through their silence, the middle-tier Emperors "guided and taught through 'subtle language'", while the Latter Emperors ruled through symbols.[49] To know and understand the Nine Emperors, the practitioner would first need to learn to be like the Later Emperors, to be able to use symbols, and then proceed to subtlety in language, and finally to silence, whereupon he will unite with the Dao.

The Nine Emperors' Chart and the DZ640 were also significant in their important parallels with later practices and traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, even today. As outlined above, the techniques of self-cultivation, discipline, abstinence, and purity associated with the deities in the Nine Emperors Chart and the DZ640 had important parallels in later methods of propitiating the "Nine Emperors" and observing their festivals.

By the later part of the Six Dynasties and the Tang, the "Nine Emperor Gods" had become a title for the nine stars of the Northern Dipper. While the constellation had long been an object of veneration in prehistoric China,[50] it remains unclear when exactly the anthropomorphized renditions of the seven stars were grouped with two 'invisible' stars. However, the *Book of Jin* (compiled by 648 CE) indicated belief in one accompanying star known as the "Fu star who guides the way in initiating *yang*, assists the Dipper in achieving success and thus becomes known as the minister's constellation. When the seven stars of governance [the Northern Dipper] are bright, the country is prosperous; when the Fu star is bright, the officials are strong."[51]

The representations of the Northern Dipper as nine stars could have been influenced by the significance of these numbers in Chinese cosmology, numerology, and popular religious beliefs. Schafer, in his study of "Tang, approaches to the stars", noted that the complementing of the seven Northern Dipper stars with two other semi-invisible and invisible stars may have been inspired by the worship of the Navagraha नवग्रह "Nine Planetary Deities" ["Nine Bright Shiners"], which also found its way into East Asia during the Tang dynasty.[52] In these accounts, "those who manage to glimpse these two stars are rewarded with a prolongation of three hundred years of life for the eighth and six hundred years for the hidden ninth star".[53] An equally likely source of numerical inspiration may be in Tang Xuanzong's (685-762 CE; reigned 712-756 CE) veneration of a set of deities known as the Noble Deities of the Nine Palaces. Besides the middle Palace, each of the Nine Palaces was associated with one of the Eight Trigrams and oversaw all celestial and earthly events in an "all-embracing cosmology".[54]

Tang and Song Transition

The earliest texts referring to the Northern Dipper stellar deities and representing them in their anthropomorphized forms as the Nine Emperor Gods can be dated to the Tang Dynasty. Many of these references were associated with the Shang Qing tradition, such as the DZ1392, where the humanized Dipper stars were depicted alongside their palaces. The DZ1392 not only furnished readers with one of the earliest drawings of the Nine Emperors (who were more commonly referred to as the "Nine Stars" in the text)[55] but also established these divinities' relationship with the Northern Dipper, as evinced by the constellation's appearance and the matching of each star with a talisman and names of the seven visible stars.[56]

To receive the protection of these divinities and their powers, adepts had to keep the Nine Star Chart constantly in mind. After they woke up at dawn and before they fell asleep at dusk, they had to recite the names of these stars nine times".[57] Similar drawings of the anthropomorphised Northern Dipper as the "Nine Emperors" may also be found in the contemporaneous DZ1396, where an inter-linked map of the "Perfected Men and their Palaces of the Nine Heavens" spanning across two pages could be found.[58]

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[49] The original phrase "后皇结绳而治" alludes to a line in the 周易, "上古结绳而治", which noted how in primordial times, before the advent of written language and literacy, knots were used to keep records. This phrase was later used to denote a peaceful society which did not use law as a mode of social ordering.

[50] A wealth of literature had developed on this topic. Among others, see 卜祥伟, "早期北斗信仰及其道教化探微," 江汉论坛 7 (2014): 124-128; 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 1-21.

[51] 房玄龄 (579-648 CE), comp., "中宫," section 4, in "志第一天文上," in 晋书, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=993298. Also see 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 17.

[52] Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 51, 75 and 78. In addition, see, for example, Stephen Allen Markel, "The Origin and Early Development of the Nine Planetary Deities (Navagraha) (Volumes I and II)" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1989); and the comprehensive study into similar Indo-Iranian icons and their transmission into China by Jeffrey Kotyk, "Astrological Iconography of Planetary Deities in Tang China: Near Eastern and Indian Icons in Chinese Buddhism," *The Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies*. 30 (2017): 33-88.

[53] Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 162.

[54] Victor Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong," *T'oung Pao* 82:4/5 (1996): 274. The functions of the Nine Palaces were extremely similar to the all-encompassing power of the Northern Dipper constellation that were documented in the *Book of Jin* (completed in the 7th century CE) where the "seven stars of the Northern Dipper were each responsible for various happenings", as noted in王琛发, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 16-17.

[55] Somewhat strangely, only a single reference to these stars as the "Nine Emperors" was made, when their secret names, alignment in the constellation of the Northern Dipper and talismanic representations were presented. In contrast, multiple references were made to them as the "Nine Stars" elsewhere in the text.

[56] See the drawings that are included in "上清曲素诀辞箓," pages 000-019a to 000-021b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0201/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Register for the Instructions on the Emanations from the Labyrinth, a Shangqing Text" and "Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart," and is briefly introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 607-609.

[57] "上清曲素诀辞箓," 000-023a.

[58] "上清河图宝箓," pages 001a and 001b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0205/000. The manuscript is translated as "Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart," and are briefly introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 601-602.

DZ640《洞神八帝妙精经》中的《九皇图》体现了道教宇宙观、哲学和修炼要诀。经文载道："右九皇君，其神本一，其应则殊，引初及中，阶级亦异，至于极诣，故复还同也。初皇不言为化，中皇微言以教，后皇结绳而治。学士谛识九皇，先学后三，须能结绳，次至微言，乃极无言，与道同。"

《九皇图》和DZ640《洞神八帝妙精经》中的描述也与后来的九皇胜会习俗和传统有着重要的关联。《九皇图》和《洞神八帝妙精经》中所载与神明有关的修炼、斋戒、禁欲和对洁净的要求，与后来供奉"九皇"的方法非常接近。

六朝后期和唐朝年间，"九皇"也被用以指代北斗九星。星辰一直是上古时期中国人民自然崇拜的对象，[49] 但神格化的北斗七星何时与辅弼二星合为九星，我们不得而知。《晋书》（成书于公元648年之前）中载有对辅星的占星表述："辅星傅乎开阳，所以佐斗成功，丞相之象也。七政星明，其国昌；辅星明，则臣强。"[50]

以北斗九星为自然崇拜的对象可能受到中国传统宇宙观和命理学对这些数字的重视以及民间宗教信仰的影响。薛爱华（Schafer）在他对唐代占星学的演技中指出，七显二隐的北斗九星可能源于对九曜的崇拜，九曜梵文作Navagraha，中国唐朝时传入东亚。[51] 据称，设法看见两颗隐星的人可延寿消灾，看到第八颗星可以延长寿命三百年，而看到第九颗星可以延长寿命六百年。[52] 以九为数的灵感也可能源于唐玄宗（685-762年，712-756年在位）对九宫贵神的崇拜。除了中宫，其余八宫都与八卦的方位一一对应，以包罗万象的宇宙观仰则观象于天，俯则观法于地。[53]

唐宋之际

最早提到北斗星君并将这些人格化的神明称为"九皇"的记载可以追溯到唐朝时期。这些记载大多与上清传统有关，比如DZ1392《上清曲素诀辞箓》，其中描绘了北斗星君及其授法宫观。DZ1392《上清曲素诀辞箓》不仅提供了九皇（在文中被称为"九星"）[54] 最早的画像之一，还附上北斗九星的排列及相应名讳，从而说明神明与北斗的关系。[55]

若想获得神明和神力的护佑，修道者应"九开星图及步时存思，并晨起夕卧，皆先叩齿九通，阴咒星名。"[56] DZ1396《上清河图宝箓》中也有"九皇"的画像，嵌于一份占据两页的"九天真人宫殿"图中。[57]

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[49] 关于这个话题，学界多有精彩论述。例如，请参阅：卜祥伟，<早期北斗信仰及其道教化探微>，《江汉论坛》2014第7期，页124-128；王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页1-21。

[50] 房玄龄（公元579-648年）编，<志第一 天文上·中宫>第4节，《晋书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=993298. 亦请参阅：王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页17。

[51] Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977),页51，75及78.亦请参阅Stephen Allen Markel, "The Origin and Early Development of the Nine Planetary Deities (Navagraha) (Volumes I and II)" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1989);；以及康杰夫（Jeffrey Kotyk）对印度-伊朗的神祇形象及其传入中国的演变脉络的详尽研究，见Jeffrey Kotyk, "Astrological Iconography of Planetary Deities in Tang China: Near Eastern and Indian Icons in Chinese Buddhism," *The Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 30 (2017): 页 33-88.

[52] Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 页 162.

[53] Victor Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong," *T'oung Pao* 82:4/5 (1996): 页 274. 九宫贵神的职责类似于《晋书》（成书于公元7世纪）所载的北斗星君包罗万象的职能，正如王琛发所说的"七星各司主管种种事物"，请参阅王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页16-17。

[54] 有些奇怪的是，"九皇"唯一一次出现见于"九皇内讳受者秘之真诀名口不传"。经文其他各处均称"九星"。

[55] 请参阅《上清曲素诀辞箓》中的图画，见页000-019a to 000-021b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0201/000. 原稿被译为 "Register for the Instructions on the Emanations from the Labyrinth, a Shangqing Text"及"Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart,"相关简要介绍请参阅Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 页 607-609.

[56] 《上清曲素诀辞箓》，页000-023a。

[57] 《上清河图宝箓》，页001a and 001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0205/000. 原稿被译为"Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart," 并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 页 601-602.



▲
The Nine Emperors and the Northern Dipper constellation as they are portrayed in the DZ1392 上清曲素诀辞箓. Note the similarity in the anthropomorphised stars' form vis-à-vis the Upper Tier of Sovereigns in the earlier Nine Emperors Chart.

DZ1392《上清曲素诀辞箓》中的九皇和北斗。可以看到其中神格化的星君与《九皇图》中初三皇的相似性。



▲
The Nine Emperors and their palaces as they are portrayed in the DZ1396 上清河图宝箓.

DZ1396《上清河图宝箓》中的九皇及宫殿 。

Similarly, in the DZ1367, references to the nine stars of the Northern Dipper as the "Nine Emperors" could also be found.[59] Like the DZ1396, the tract also referred to the Consorts of the Nine Emperors, whose attributes and "concealed names" in the form of talismans were also outlined in-depth and corresponded with their husbands' celestial abodes in the Northern Dipper.[60] Although there were no depictions of the Nine Emperors in the DZ1367, their wives in long flowing gowns, elaborate crowns and jade tablets in their hands were featured in a two-page print, indicating their importance in Tang China.[61] According to Edward Schaefer, such practices were characteristic of Daoism in Tang China, where "women (were given) more positions of eminence in the starry sky".[62] These goddesses, their titles and the benefits of visualising them during religious practice have also found their way into later Daoist compendiums such as the DZ1032 *Seven Satchels of the Hidden Cloud* (henceforth, "*Seven Satchels*").

This text, a Daoist compendium collecting works from the Tang dynasty until the 11th century CE, contained references to the Northern Dipper deities as the "Nine Emperors".[63] In another instance, it was explained that "the Northern Dipper served as the "divine seats of the Nine Emperors and their places of residences" before listing each deity's name.[64] Similarly, the DZ1456,[65] although only accepted as a canonical text in the *Supplement to the Dao Zang* (completed in 1607 CE), was also dated to the Tang dynasty, for its contents bore much resemblance to many sections contained within the *Seven Satchels*.[66]

While the "Nine Emperors" was certainly used to designate the nine stars of the Northern Dipper, the star deities were often represented differently and used different names within the same texts, suggesting that these texts could be the compilation of other texts.[67] The term also referred to a single deity rather than nine. In the *Seven Satchels*, the Northern Dipper Sovereign was also described as "having the surname Chen, name Feng, courtesy name Bai Wan, and hailed from the region of Jiangxia".[68] In chapter 24 of the *Seven Satchels,* the Northern Dipper deities were referred to as the Nine Emperors, with the titles of the star deities following the *Tian Shu* series.[69] However, in chapters 25 and 45, where the Northern Dipper stars were not referred to as the "Nine Emperors", their names corresponded to the *Tan Lang* series instead,[70] although they referred to the same constellation.[71]

Many tracts about the Northern Dipper star deities in their anthropomorphised forms had also emerged in the Tang Dynasty, although not all referred to them as the Nine Emperor Gods. Those that did were mainly from lesser-known texts within the Daoist Canon, such as the Shangqing manuscripts as discussed above, as well as the DZ750. The latter is an exegesis of the DZ622 which was attributed to Xu Daoling (14th century CE), who made a singular reference to the "Nine Emperors of the Northern Dipper."[72] Described by Kristofer Schipper as the "most revered of all modern Daoist scriptures"[73], the DZ622 was one of the key Daoist texts on these deities. It provided a list of the Northern Dipper constellation's attributes, the names of each personified star (and the Three Platform Stars), and a list of blessings that would be showered upon the faithful should they practice its tenets. It became very popular in Buddhist scriptural circles, becoming an "authoritative text on Greater Dipper worship".[74] This text was republished in the twentieth century by several Nine Emperor Gods temples and associations in Southeast Asia, with some of them including the name "Nine Emperors" or "Nine Emperor Gods" in the titles of these reprints. However, there was no reference to the Northern Dipper Sovereigns as the "Nine Emperors" in the original version that was included in the Daoist canon.[75]

[59] "上清河图内玄经," page 001-003b-001-004a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0176/001. The manuscript is translated as the "Book of the Interior Mystery of the River Chart, from the Shangqing Canon" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 595.

[60] "上清河图宝箓," pages 000-007b to 000-008a; and "上清河图内玄经," page 001-005a and 001-005b.

[61] "上清河图内玄经," page 001-005a and 001-005b.

[62] Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 138.

[63] 张君房 (964-1062 CE), comp., 云笈七签, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=152882. For context, parallel references and the dating of Zhang's texts, see Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 1203-1206; and Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 943-945.

[64] 张, 云笈七签, chapter 24, section 5, Chinese Text Project, accessed January 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[65] "北斗九皇隐讳经," Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5h0025/000.

[66] Compiled under the supervision of the 50th Heavenly Master Zhang Guoxiang (d. 1611) at the behest of the Wanli Emperor (1563-1620 CE) in 1585, the *Supplement to the Daoist Canon* comprised of 180 scrolls in 56 volumes. Unfortunately, the criteria which informed Zhang's selection of texts remain unknown, although Schipper and Verellen noted that "the presence of a great number of scriptures and hagiographies related to popular saints" were included within the *Supplement*. In this light, it was possible that Zhang's inclusion of the DZ1456 in the *Supplement* mirrored (and possibly perpetuated) popularity of the label among worshippers of the nine stars during the Ming dynasty. See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 38. On Zhang Guoxiang, see Marina Miranda, "Zhang Guoxiang: The 50th Master of Heaven Whom Matteo Ricci Spoke Of," *East and West* 44:2/4 (1994): 405–23.

[67] 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 12.

[68] 张, 云笈七签, chapter 24, sections 5 and 27, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[69] 张, 云笈七签, chapter 24, sections 5 and 13, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[70] 邱博舜, "贪狼诸词来历初探," 文资学报2 (2006): 1-35.

[71] 张, 云笈七签, chapter 25, section 34, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=841608; and chapter 45, section 25, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=426546.

[72] 徐道龄 (fl. 14th century CE, during Yuan China, 1271-1368 CE), "太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注," page 005-018b, Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0146/005.

[73] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, p. 951.

[74] Henrik Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 237.

[75] "九皇大帝北斗本命延生真经" has been reprinted in two versions: An orange booklet (undated) and a red folioed scripture (printed 1987).

如同DZ1396《上清河图宝箓》，DZ1367《上清河图内玄经》中也有将北斗九星称为“九皇”的记载。[58] 经文逐一介绍九皇的居所及其对应的星宿，紧随其后是皇君夫人的名讳，最后附上九皇九夫人图。[59] DZ1367《上清河图内玄经》中并未出现九皇大帝的画像，却收录有九皇九夫人身穿锦服、头戴凤冠、手执玉策的形象，印在两页纸上，这反映了唐朝时期对女神的重视。[60] 薛爱华（Edward Schaefer）认为“女性在宗教中（被赋予）比现实中更重要的地位”是唐代道教的特征。[61] 后来的道教经典中也收录了这些女神的名讳以及在宗教实践中存想女神的益处，例如DZ1032《云笈七签》。

《云笈七签》是一部辑录唐朝至11世纪经文的道教类书，其中也有将北斗星君称为“九皇”的记载。[62] 在《云笈七签》卷二十四中，北斗被称为“九皇之神席，天尊之偃房”，随后列述了北斗九星各自的尊号。[63] 类似的，DZ1456《北斗九星隐讳经》[64] 虽然收录于《续道藏》（成书于公元1607年）中，但此经可追溯至唐朝，因为经文内容与《云笈七签》中的记载大致相同。[65]

虽然北斗九星被称为“九皇”，但北斗星君在同一文本中可能具有不同的名讳和形象，这表明这些经文可能是多种道书的汇编。[66] “九皇”也可能单指一位神明，而非九位神明。在《云笈七签》中，北斗星君被描述为“姓陈名奉，字百万，江夏人。”[67] 在《云笈七签》卷二十四中，“九皇”是与以天枢星为首的各星相对应的北斗诸星君。[68] 然而在卷二十五和四十五中，北斗九星不再被称为“九皇”，并且与之对应的是以贪狼星为首的各星，[69] 但这些名称其实是同一星宿的不同称谓。[70]

唐代也出现了许多关于人格化的北斗星君的经书，但并非所有宗教经典都将北斗星君称为“九皇”。《正统道藏》中一些较少为人所知的经文中可以找到与“九皇”相关的内容，例如前述的上清派经书以及DZ750《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注》。 DZ750《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注》是徐道龄（约14世纪）为DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》所作的集注，他还特别提到了“北斗九皇天尊。”[71] 被施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）称为“现代道经中最受尊奉的经文”[72] 的DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》是有关九皇的重要道教经典之一。该经介绍了北斗星宿的属性以及每位北斗星君（及三台星）的名讳，并阐述了诵读此经的人会获得怎样的护持。这份经文在佛教中非常受欢迎，成为“北斗崇拜权威经典”。[73] 自20世纪以来，东南亚一些供奉九皇大帝的庙宇和组织重新出版了这部经文，一些出版物的标题还加上了“九皇”或“九皇大帝”的称号，但在《正统道藏》收录的原典中，北斗星君从未被称为“九皇”。[74]

[58] 《上清河图内玄经》，页001-003b-001-004a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0176/001. 原稿被译为“Book of the Interior Mystery of the River Chart, from the Shangqing Canon”并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 页 595.

[59] 《上清河图宝箓》，页000-007b to 000-008a；《上清河图内玄经》，页001-005a and 001-005b。

[60] 《上清河图内玄经》，页001-005a and 001-005b。

[61] Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 页 138.

[62] 张君房（公元946-1062年）编，《云笈七签》，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=152882. 相关背景，参考文献及张君房编校道书的时期，请参阅Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 页 1203-1206; and Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 页 943-945.

[63] 张君房，《云笈七签》，卷二十四，第5节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年1月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[64] 《北斗九皇隐讳经》，Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5h0025/000.

[65] 1585年，万历皇帝（1563-1620年）下诏编修《续道藏》，由第五十代天师张国祥（卒于1611年）所编。《续道藏》是一部道教典籍总汇，收书56种，共计180卷。张国祥以何标准选择道书不得而知，施舟人（Schipper）和傅飞岚（Verellen）指出，《续道藏》中收录了许多著名天师的传记和所撰经书。有鉴于此，张国祥将DZ1456《北斗九星隐讳经》收录于《续道藏》中可能反映了（并延续了）DZ1456在明朝北斗九星崇拜者中的流行。请参阅Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 38. 关于张国祥的生平，请参阅 Marina Miranda, “Zhang Guoxiang: The 50th Master of Heaven Whom Matteo Ricci Spoke Of,” *East and West* 44:2/4 (1994): 405–23.

[66] 王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页12。

[67] 张君房，《云笈七签》，卷二十四，第5节及第27节，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[68] 张君房，《云笈七签》，卷二十四，第5节及第13节，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=719492.

[69] 邱博舜，<贪狼诸词来历初探>，《文资学报》2006年第2期，页1-35。

[70] 张君房，《云笈七签》，卷二十五，第34节，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=841608； 卷四十五，第25节，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=426546.

[71] 徐道龄（约公元14世纪，元朝年间在世，公元1271-1368年），《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经注》，页005-018b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0146/005.

[72] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 页951.

[73] Henrik Sørensen, “Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 页 237.

[74] 《九皇大帝北斗本命延生真经》已再版为两个版本：一本橙色小册子（未标明日期）和一本红色对开本经文（印于1987年）。

Other texts on the Northern Dipper were noted to have influenced practices and traditions in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The DZ629, which was likely related to DZ622, recorded an encounter between the Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty and a lady who referred to herself as the star deity overseeing the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper, the Da Dao Yuan Jun. She went on to outline how the nine stars deities of the Northern Dipper can be invoked to protect the faithful from a variety of disasters, including plagues, illnesses, attacks by brigands, complicated deliveries during pregnancies, military violence, a lack of descendants and storms that threatened to capsize merchant ships in chapters twelve to twenty-two.[76] She then described what each of the nine stars of the Northern Dipper looked like, their divine responsibilities, and how they are best worshipped on each of the first nine days of the ninth lunar month.[77] The ninth day of the ninth lunar month is especially auspicious, where the faithful are advised to make offerings from the middle of the hour of *zi*. In addition, devotees should enjoin their family members to "undertake purification rites of *zhai*, bathe in scented water and be dressed in *su* clothing and hats" before preparing many forms of fragrant incense and composing ritual petitions to the Northern Dipper stars in vermillion ink. After this, they were to perform obeisance in three sets of three to make a total of nine.[78]

Some scholars have suggested that the instructions presented in the above text had informed the attire and practices of Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia today, where participants were expected to dress in white, follow a vegetarian diet, and follow a *zhai* regime of purification.[79] Furthermore, the designation of the first nine days and ninth day of the ninth lunar month as important days for rituals for the Northern Dipper provided interesting parallels. Nevertheless, like the DZ622, the nine stars of the Northern Dipper were never referred to as the "Nine Emperors" in the DZ629. Additionally, the text mentioned "*su* clothing, headgear and garments" rather than the wearing of white common in the festival in Southeast Asia today.

While there are no definite religious texts dedicated to deities with the name "Nine Emperors" within the Buddhist Canon,[80] there are two texts which referenced earlier Daoist representations of the "Nine Emperors" as the nine sovereigns of ancient China, namely the T2102. The second instance can be found in the T2110, where another reference was also made to the "The Scriptures of the Sacred Caverns", which noted that "there are three sets of Three Emperors, and thus were known as the Nine Emperors".[81]

Nevertheless, during the Tang dynasty, several tracts related to the propitiation of the Northern Dipper found their way into scriptures in the Buddhist Canon. However, they did not refer to the Northern Dipper stars as the "Nine Emperors" or "Nine Emperor Gods." While the worship of the Northern Dipper within Daoist rituals was already prevalent in early China, esoteric Buddhist specialists were invoking these gods in "their rites for longevity and protection, of both individual and state "by the eighth century".[82] Herbert Franke concluded that a Buddhist sutra that was possibly a prototype for the T1307 had drawn on Daoist antecedents.[83] A growing body of scholarship has also demonstrated how this text was translated into various languages on the overland Silk Roads during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 CE), including Mongolian and Uyghur.[84]

[76] "太上北斗二十八章经," page 000-006b to 000-012a.

[77] "太上北斗二十八章经," 000-014b to 000-022a.

[78] "太上北斗二十八章经," page 000-013a.

[79] See 李永球, "持素穿白衣是戴孝?," November 30, 2008, http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/.

[80] For instance, no entries on the "Nine Emperors" have been found in the Charles Muller, ed., *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/.

[81] "T2110 辯正论," CBETA 2022.Q1, T52, no. 2110, 498b13-14, accessed March 1, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2110_002.

[82] Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 172.

[83] Herbert Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," *Asia Major* (Third Series) 3:1 (1990): 110-111. An English translation of the T1307 can be found in Charles D. Orzech and James H. Sanford, "Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper" in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordan White (New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 389.

[84] See, for example, Johan Elverskog, "The Mongolian Big Dipper Sūtra," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29:1 (2006): 87-123; 王红梅, 杨富学, and 黎春林 ，元代畏兀儿宗教文化研究（北京:科学出版社, 2017), 75-83.

关于北斗的记载影响了九皇胜会的习俗和传统。与DZ622可能存在重要联系的DZ629《太上北斗二十八章经》记载了汉明帝与一名女子的奇遇。这名女子自称是北极七元掌籍"大道元君"。在第十二章至第二十二章中，大道元君讲述了如何祈求北斗护佑，无论是瘟疫侵扰、生产母子不分，还是战乱流离、商人行船遇险等，从者皆可长福消灾，免受各种苦难侵扰。[75] 接着，她一一描述了九位星君的形象和司职，并指示了如何在农历九月的前九天供奉星君。[76] 农历九月初九尤为特别，元君指示众人应于夜半子时朝拜北斗。信众和家人应"清斋行道，香汤沐浴，素衣冠裳，"准备各种名香，以朱砂写随愿。然后向朝北斗进行三组朝拜，每组三次，共九次奏拜。[77]

一些学者认为，如今东南亚九皇胜会的着装和实践受到上述记载的影响。例如，参与节日的信徒应穿着白色服装，遵循素食并进行斋戒。[78] 农历九月前九天和九月初九作为礼斗仪式的重要日子也与九皇胜会有相似之处。然而，如同DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》，DZ629《太上北斗二十八章经》中从未将北斗九星称为"九皇"。此外，经文中提到的"素衣冠裳"也不一定意味白色衣服。

尽管佛教中没有供养名为"九皇"的神明的经典，[79] 但有两篇佛经引用了早期道教对"九皇"的描述。T2102《弘明集》中提到九皇是中国古代的九位君主。T2110《辩正论》载："洞神经云，有三三皇，故曰九皇。"[80]

唐朝年间，一些有关北斗崇拜的经文被吸收到佛教经文中，但这些文献从未将北斗称为"九皇"或"九皇大帝"。道教的拜斗仪式很早就在中国盛行，到了公元8世纪，佛教密宗的礼仪专家在"为个人和国家消灾延寿的仪式中"也会向这些神明祈祷。[81] 傅海波（Herbert Franke）认为，一部可能是T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》原型的佛经借鉴了道教经典。[82] 越来越多研究表明，元朝年间（1271-1368 年），T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》被翻译成各种语言，包括蒙古文和维吾尔文，流传于陆上丝绸之路的沿线国家。[83]



◀ Depiction of the anthropomorphised Northern Dipper stars and their talismans in the T1307佛说北斗七星延命经. Note the similarity in the forms vis-à-vis their Daoist counterparts.

T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》中所绘的北斗星君和符箓。可以看到这些星君的形象与道经中的神明形象有些接近。

[75] 《太上北斗二十八章经》，页000-006b至000-012a.

[76] 《太上北斗二十八章经》，页000-014b至000-022a.

[77] 《太上北斗二十八章经》，页000-013a.

[78] 请参阅李永球Lee Eng Kew ，<持素穿白衣是戴孝？> ，2008年11月30日，http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/.

[79] 例如，《电子佛教词典》中并无关于"九皇"的条目，请参阅Charles Muller, ed., *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, 访问日期：2022年6月1日，http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/.

[80] T2110《辩正论》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T52, no. 2110, 498b13-14, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2110_002

[81] Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 页 172.

[82] Herbert Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," *Asia Major* (Third Series) 3:1 (1990): 页 110-111. T1307英文译文见Charles D. Orzech and James H. Sanford, "Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper" in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordan White (New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 页 389.

[83] 例如，请参阅Johan Elverskog, "The Mongolian Big Dipper Sūtra," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29:1 (2006): 页 87-123; 王红梅，杨富学，黎春林，《元代畏兀儿宗教文化研究》（北京：科学出版社，2017），页75-83。

In the T1307, which was attributed to a "Brahman monk" who introduced it to the Tang court, the Buddha lectured Manjusri on the virtues of worshipping the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and matched each of these stars' names (which were based on Daoist names) with that of a corresponding Buddha. Each star was not only associated with a specific grain but with a specific horoscope birth-year as well. The seventh star, who goes by the title of Destroyer of Armies, for example, was equated with the Medicine Buddha, who oversaw those born in the year of the horse and whose "sustenance are lentils". After enumeration, the Buddha listed the benefits of practising and expounding the sutra.[85]

Similarly, other Buddhist texts also advocated the worship and veneration of the Northern Dipper and the deities associated with them, such as the T1305,[86] T1306,[87] T1310, and T1311. Among these scriptures, T1305 and T1307 are particularly interesting to us, for they demonstrate clearly that their Daoist counterparts inspired the worship of the Northern Dipper under Buddhist auspices. The names of each deity within the Daoist tradition were reconfigured and reconceptualised within Buddhist auspices, not entirely unexpected, given the rich historical intercourse between Daoist and Buddhist systems.[88] As Xiao Dengfu and Mollier pointed out, the ideas outlined in the T1307 mirrored their earlier Daoist counterparts. Each star of the Northern Dipper was assigned a particular horoscope, a zodiac animal to oversee, and an affiliated grain.[89]

Much of these syntheses took place in the processes of translation and composition of texts, as well as interactions between figures in both religious systems. T1305 was attributed to the Indian monk Vajrabodhi (671-741 CE), who was said to have introduced the text into China.[90] T1310 and T1311 were attributed to the renowned astronomer, translator, and monk Yixing (683-727 CE).[91] Scholars have highlighted how he had drawn on Taoist texts preserved in the Buddhist Canon, testifying to the meaningful exchange between Daoism and practitioners of Tantric Buddhism during his time. He had previously studied under the Daoist master Yinchong (c. seventh to eighthcentury CE). Regarded as an "eminent exponent of Tantrism", Yixing may have "judged the Taoist cult of the *Bei Dou* [Northern Dipper] worthy of being translated in its authentic form and under its original designation".[92] Nonetheless, these texts did not refer to the Northern Dipper deities as the "Nine Emperors".

Yixing's recognition of Daoist techniques in his manuscripts is probably related to his renown as an astronomer. An interesting story about Yixing was retold in the *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang* (compiled ninth century CE). An elderly lady, who was Yixing's benefactor in the past, sought his help when her son was about to be executed for murder. Yixing sealed a group of pigs within a jar and "inscribed a length of Sanskrit characters in vermillion" on the vessel's lid. When this happened, the Northern Dipper constellation disappeared from the sky. When Emperor Xuanzong (712-756 CE) demanded an answer to this strange phenomenon, Yixing advised him to declare a grand amnesty, which he did. The constellation reappeared in the Heavens, and the lady's son was saved.[93] Given Yixing's astronomy talents, this account likely gained an additional legitimacy veneer. It probably echoed a similar precedence in the T1309, where he summoned the Twenty-Eight Star Deities from the Heavens.[94] The association of pigs or boars with the Northern Dipper constellation in China was closely related to the iconography of the Hindu goddess and bodhisattva Mo Li Zhi Tian/Marichi and Dou Mu and their retinues or mounts.[95]

[85] "佛說北斗七星延命經," CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1307, 425c28, accessed January 15, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1307.

[86] Like the T1307, the text begins with a lecture by the Buddha, who provided a mantra known as the "eight-star spell" for the faithful to recite. Having revealed the mantra, the Buddha then addressed his audience with a list of benefits that would be bestowed those who recited the mantra and worshipped these gods whom he addressed as the "Eight Ladies of the Northern Dipper". The first and seventh stars in the list were referenced by their Daoist names *Tanlang* and *Pojun* respectively. The quoted translations were adopted from Orzech and Sanford, "Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper," 392. Despite the title of "Seven Stars," it is not clear why a chant for eight stars was discussed, or why they were addressed as female deities in the text. Wuhui suggested that the eighth star may refer to the "Northern Pole Star," and how the reference of the seven stars as female deities might have been inspired by the DZ629. "北斗七星念诵仪轨," CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1305, 423c22, 424a15 and 424a23.; "北斗八女"考 – 另附汉译密教佛经中南斗北斗之汉化分析," 世界宗教研究, 2 (2008): 50-59.

[87] The third text known as the T1306北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨 was attributed to "Master (acharya) Guangding of the scripture translation bureau of the Great Qingshan Monastery". It was inspired in title and content by Hindu fire-offering rituals known as Homa. For the ritual, a "water altar" is to be constructed in a "pure room". In addition, besides a variety of fragrant woods and food, a specific grain is "to be prepared according to a person's (the patron's) natal star," similar to the T1307. Like a Homa, besides "reciting mantras for invoking the seven stars of the Northern Dipper", the one performing the ritual was also instructed to throw prepared sandalwood, grain, oil, and foodstuff into the flames. The English translations in quotations in this paragraph were drawn from Orzech and Sanford, "Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper," 393-394. The practices described here were also further transformed through time and assimilated into Shingon rituals in Japan. "北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨," CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1306, 424b10-16 and 424b26, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1306; Richard K, Payne, "The Homa of the Northern Dipper," *Tantric Traditions in Transmission and Translation*, ed. David B. Gray and Ryan Richard Overbey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 284-307.

[88] For instance, see Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra," 75-111.

[89] 萧登福, "《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述（下）," 30-39; Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra," 94-107; Mollier, "Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face," 139-152.

[90] Many monks who translated Buddhist texts into Chinese and introduced them into China were not always drawing upon Indian traditions or ideas in their teachings. For a full range of the debates that are described here, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., ed. *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

[91] T1310 shares many similarities with other Homa manuscripts, and presents a list of procedures , visualisations and benefits that can be derived from the performance of a Homa in the honour of the Northern Dipper. More fascinating was Yixing's magnum opus, the T1311, where he advocated the veneration of several astral constellations and deities alongside the Northern Dipper. Interestingly, Yixing's reference was the "Techniques of Immortal Ge for Venerating the Northern Dipper," a Daoist text that was only preserved, ironically, within the Buddhist Canon which Yixing quoted in verbatim.

[92] Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 144-145. Also see William T. Sanders, "Yixing and Buddhism in Manuals of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 12:1 (2019): 65-95.

[93] 段成式 (d. 683 CE), "卷一·天咫," section 2, in 酉阳杂俎, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=167784.

[94] "七曜星辰别行法," CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1309, 452c05-453a20, accessed May 1, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1309.

[95] For example, see 李耀辉, "从斗姥与摩利支天的融合看佛道文化的交涉," 中国道教 4 (2011): 16-19. On the iconography of pigs or boars, see 牟海芳, "中国古代北斗信仰与猪神崇拜之关系论考," 西南民族大学学报: 人文社会科学版26:2 (2005): 321-323; 冉景中, "北斗与猪神崇拜起源考," 世界宗教文化2 (2017): 139-145.

T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》据说由“婆罗门僧”引入唐朝。在此经中，佛陀向文殊师利菩萨传授礼拜北斗七星的好处，并将北斗七星与诸如来佛一一对应。每颗星以一特定谷物供养，并对应特定的出生年份。例如，第七颗星为南无破军星，是东方琉璃世界药师琉璃光如来佛，主宰马年出生的人，以小豆供养之。在将七星与七如来佛一一对应后，佛陀告以供养此经的好处。[84]

除此之外，其他佛经，例如T1305《北斗七星念诵仪轨》、[85] T1306《北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨》、[86] T1310《北斗七星护摩法》和T1311《梵天火罗九曜》，也提倡供奉北斗及与之相关的神灵。其中T1305《北斗七星念诵仪轨》和T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》尤其值得注意，它们清楚地表明佛教的北斗信仰受到道教的启发。道教传统中北斗七星的名字被整合到佛教系统中并被重新定义。鉴于历史上道教与佛教的频繁互动，出现这种交融并不意外。[87]正如萧登福和穆瑞明（Christine Mollier）所指出的，T1307中提出的观点与早期道教的观点相一致，北斗七星分别主宰某一特定的星宿及十二生肖之一，以某一特定的谷物供养。[88]

两种宗教传统的融合多发生在经文的翻译和编撰过程中，以及两个宗教体系的人物进行互动时。T1305《北斗七星念诵仪轨》据称由印度三藏金刚智（671-741年）翻译并引入中国。[89] T1310《北斗七星护摩法》和T1311《梵天火罗九曜》为著名天文学家、翻译家及僧人一行所编。[90] 学者们注意到一行借鉴了佛教经典中保存的道教文本，这表明了在那个时代，道教和密宗佛教之间发生了重要的交流。一行曾拜道士尹崇（约公元7-8世纪）为师，向尹崇习法。作为密宗高僧，一行可能“认为应当以其真实形式和原始称谓来翻译道教的北斗崇拜。”[91] 然而，这些经文也没有将北斗称为“九皇”。

一行对道教仪式的肯定与他作为天文学家的身份不无关系。《酉阳杂俎》（编于公元9世纪）中记载了一个关于一行的故事。一名老妇人曾在一行幼时出手相助，后来她的儿子犯杀人罪被捕，老妇人向一行求救。为制止行刑，一行将豕置于瓮中，覆以木盖，朱题梵字数寸。豕被困于瓮中，天空北斗不现。当唐玄宗询问昨夜为何出现异象时，一行建议玄宗大赦天下。唐玄宗听从他的建议，老妇人的儿子被释，北斗星又逐渐出现在天空中。[92] 一行精通天文，因此这一说法具有一定的合理性。在T1309《七曜星辰别行法》中也有类似叙述，称一行从天上召集了二十八宿。[93] 中国的北斗信仰与豕的联系，与对印度教神明摩利支天以及斗母的崇拜密切相关。[94]

[84] 《佛说北斗七星延命经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1307, 425c28, 访问日期：2022年1月15日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1307.

[85] T1305与T1307相似，开篇是佛说真言讲法，他为善男信女讲授持诵的“八星咒”，并告以每日诵此咒供养“北斗八女”的好处，第一颗星和第七颗星分别以其道教名称“贪狼”和“破军”为名。英文翻译引自Orzech和Sanford, “Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper,” 页 392。经文虽然题为“北斗七星”，但经文中出现的咒语是“八星咒”，并且神明被称为“北斗八女”，我们并不清楚其中原因。吴慧认为第八颗星可能是“北极星”，北斗八星为女神可能是受到DZ629《太上北斗二十八章经》的影响。请参阅：《北斗七星念诵仪轨》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1305, 423c22, 424a15 and 424a23; <“北斗八女”考——另附汉译密教佛经中南斗北斗之汉化分析>，《世界宗教研究》2008年第2期，页50-59。

[86] T1306《北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨》由“大兴善寺翻经院灌顶阿阇梨述”，其标题和内容都受到了印度教的火供仪式护摩（Homa）的影响。这一仪式须“于静室作一水坛”。除了檀香和饮食，还须备五谷，“随人命星相捡用之”，这可能受到T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》的影响。在护摩仪式上，施主“召北斗七星真言”，并取准备好的檀香、谷物、油和食物，扔于炉内火烧之。英文翻译引自Orzech和Sanford, “Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper,” 393-394。这一仪式随后发生变迁并被融入到日本真言宗仪式系统中。《北斗七星护摩秘要仪轨》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1306, 424b10-16 and 424b26, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1306; Richard K, Payne, “The Homa of the Northern Dipper,” *Tantric Traditions in Transmission and Translation*, ed. David B. Gray and Ryan Richard Overbey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 页 284-307.

[87] 例如，请参阅Franke, “The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra,” 页 75-111.

[88] 萧登福，<《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》探述（下）>，页30-39; Franke, “The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra,” 页 94-107; Mollier, “Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face,” 页 页 139-152.

[89] 许多据说将佛教经文引入中国或翻译佛教经文的僧侣并非总是直接套用印度传统和思想。关于此处提及的辩论，请参阅Robert E. Buswell, Jr., ed. *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

[90] 在T1310《北斗七星护摩法》中，一行列出了供养北斗七星的护摩仪式的程序和好处，这份经文与其他护摩经文有许多相似之处，更值得关注的是一行禅师修述的T1311《梵天火罗九曜》，他在经中提到对北斗七星附近诸星也应敬重。有趣的是，“葛仙公礼北斗法”是一篇道教经文，却被一字不差收录于佛教经典中。

[91] Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 页 144-145. Also see William T. Sanders, “Yixing and Buddhism in Manuals of Internal Alchemy,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 12:1 (2019): 页 65-95.

[92] 段成式（卒于公元683年），<卷一·天咫>，第2节，《酉阳杂俎》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=167784.

[93] 《七曜星辰别行法》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1309, 452c05-453a20, 访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1309.

[94] 例如，请参阅：李耀辉，<从斗姥与摩利支天的融合看佛道文化的交涉>，《中国道教》2011年第4期，页16-19。关于猪的图腾，请参阅：牟海芳，<中国古代北斗信仰与猪神崇拜之关系论考>，《西南民族大学学报（人文社会科学版）》2005年第2期，页321-323；冉景中，<北斗与猪神崇拜起源考>，《世界宗教文化》2017年第2期，页139-145。

In addition, there is an extracanonical scripture known as the *Miraculous Sutra where the Buddha Speaks of the Northern Dipper Ancient Buddhas in Heaven, who Absolve Disasters and Prolong Life* (henceforth, "*Miraculous Sutra*") that had also found its way throughout many temples that worship the Nine Emperor Gods under Buddhist auspices in Southeast Asia. In Singapore, this scripture was recited on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month at Zhun Ti Tang, just before the Nine Emperor Buddhas' censers were sent-off from Changi Beach.[96] The exact origins of this *Miraculous Scripture* are unknown, although the oldest copy we have consulted for this study is dated to the early eighteenth century.[97] The representation of the Northern Dipper Sovereigns as seven Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas likely drew upon the T1307 (compiled during the 14th century CE), for the names of the seven Buddhas are identical in these texts.[98] Notably, the seventh star of the Northern Dipper was venerated as Bhaisajyaguru, the Medicine King Buddha of Lapis Lazuli.[99]

Unlike most other texts in the Buddhist Canon related to the Northern Dipper star deities, the *Miraculous Sutra* singled out the ninth day of the ninth lunar month as a sacred occasion where the text is best recited, alongside other days such as the seventh day of the first lunar month (which was identical to the DZ622's revelation date),[100] the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, as well as the seventh and ninth days of each lunar month. The *Miraculous Scripture* never once referenced the Northern Dipper as the "Nine Emperors," even though some twenty-first-century reprints included the prefix "Nine Emperors" in their titles.

Exactly how and when the sutra was circulated in Southeast Asia is also uncertain, although the earliest indications of their appearance could be traced to the early twentieth century. The *Miraculous Sutra* was already recited as the Malacca Jiu Huang Gong's key ritual text when founded in 1928. Not only did all twenty founding members possess a copy each, but the scripture also "served as their main (source) of religious rituals and teachings".[101] In Hong Kong, a version with an appended commentary was also compiled by Huang Shengzeng in 1938, where the scripture and its floorplan for the veneration of various deities were (and still are) used during the worship of the Northern Dipper during the ninth lunar month by Hong Kong Mantra School for Lay Buddhists (founded 1926, registered in 1932) annually.[102]

The tract was also used by members of Guan Yin Gong in Cuff Street, Singapore, for their Dipper Worship ceremonies.[103] A copy of ritual instructions, including the *Miraculous Sutra,* was also jointly published by Ding Guang Tang and Fei Xia Jing She during the 1960s.[104] During the 1980s, it could also be found within some vegetarian halls affiliated with a Great Way of Former Heaven.[105] In recent years, the sutra was also reprinted by Sungai Patani Kean Peng Dou Mu Gong. The latter's history was related to an "old vegetarian aunt" from a vegetarian hall named Pu Fu Tang Guan Yin Miao. The temple's leadership may have come across the sutra from the same vegetarian hall.[106] The text's dissemination in Southeast Asia was, thus, likely facilitated in-part by the Great Way of Former Heaven institutions and temples, which might have performed ceremonies in honour of the Northern Dipper during the ninth lunar month with the help of this tract. Copies of the sutra were also found circulating in Chaozhou, with the earliest copy dated 1947.[107] In the late twentieth century, it was also republished by Buddhist temples in Bangkok, and scholars have noted its use during the Nine Emperor Gods' Festival there.[108]

[96] Three versions of the *Miraculous Sutra* are found and used in Zhun Ti Tang: 北斗真经 (新加坡: 洪长水, 林盛发敬印, 柯华印务出版公司承印); 佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经 (槟城: 释智胜, 殖群印刷有限公司承印, 2003); and 佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经（新加坡：云仙宫众弟子，国营印刷承印, 2015).

[97] For the version cited here, see the佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经（浙江：绍兴，1724）archived in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, Germany.

[98] See the subsequent sub-section on the T1307.

[99] This is not serendipitous. On the connections between the worship of the Northern Dipper and Bhaisajyaguru, see Raoul Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha* (Boston, Massachusetts: Shambhala, 1989); and Shi Zhiru, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life: Ritual Healing and the Bhaiṣajyaguru Cult in Fifth-and Sixth-Century China," in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 91-117. The Nine Emperors' *Zhai* in the Bangka Lungshan Temple on Taiwan island is also observed under similar auspices. See 杨璟惠, "龙山秋祭，琉璃映打钱：药师佛与礼斗信仰荟萃之美," 艋舺龙山寺秋季2017年，页 6-13.

[100] "太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经," page 000-001a.

[101] 叶鸿亿, "马六甲九皇宫掌故," 学文 1 (2020): 101, 105-106.

[102] 黄绳曾, comp., 佛说天中北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经略考(香港佛教真言宗居士林, 1938). The copy we consulted had a colophon that dated to the 1970.

[103] Show Ying Ruo, "The Blooming of the Azure Lotus in the South Seas: A Preliminary Investigation of Chinese Indigenous Scriptures in Buddhist Vegetarian Halls of Southeast Asia," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:2 (2020): 252.

[104] 北斗消灾延寿妙经 （新加坡：定光堂，飞霞精舍, c. 1960s), 4-8. Dating of this text is based on an estimate provided by Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," 96, footnote 111.

[105] 骆静山, "大马半岛华人宗教的今昔," in 林水檬，骆静山, comp., 马来西亚华人史（雪兰莪：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会, 1984）, 429-430. Although Luo connected the scripture's contents with a conceptualisation of the Nine Emperor Gods as seven Buddhas and two bodhisattvas, we do not know if he came to this relationship through deduction, or if he had witnessed the scripture being recited during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Malaysia.

[106] 陈, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 274-275.

[107] 陈, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 273.

[108] 范, "「北斗信仰」与泰国华人的「九皇斋节」信俗."

在东南亚许多以佛教传统供奉九皇大帝的庙宇中，未被列入正典的《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》（下文略之为《妙经》）广为流传。每年农历九月初九，新加坡准提堂会先诵读本经，然后在樟宜海滩恭送九皇佛祖的香炉。[95]《妙经》的确切起源无从得知，我们在研究中查阅到的最早版本可以追溯到18世纪初。[96] 北斗星君为七佛二菩萨的描述很可能借鉴了T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》（编于公元14世纪）的说法，因为两经中七尊佛像的名讳是相同的。[97] 值得注意的是，北斗第七星是药师佛琉璃光如来。[98]

与佛教正典中大多数与北斗有关的经文不同，《妙经》单独列出农历九月初九为最适合诵读此经的日子之一。其他日子包括农历正月初七（与DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》中的启示日子相同）、[99] 七月初七以及每月初七和初九。尽管21世纪一些重印版本的标题中有"九皇"的前缀，《妙经》从未将北斗称为"九皇"。

《妙经》何时如何流传到东南亚仍有待考据，但《妙经》的出现最早可追溯到20世纪初。马六甲九皇宫自1928年创立宫庙以来，一直将《妙经》作为持诵的主要经书。据称九皇宫二十位创办人各自有一本《妙经》，并以《妙经》为"九皇宫主要宗教仪式和内容。"[100] 在香港，黄绳曾于1938年为《妙经》进行注释并编辑出版。每年农历九月，香港佛教真言宗居士林（创建于1926年，注册于1932年）在供奉北斗时，都会使用该经经文以及经中的神明图像。[101]

位于新加坡Cuff Street的观音宫也会在拜斗仪式中使用《妙经》。[102] 20世纪60年代，定光堂和飞霞精舍联合出版了包含《妙经》在内的科仪指南。[103] 20世纪80年代，一些与先天大道有关的斋堂中也使用《妙经》。[104] 近年来，双溪大年甘边园斗母宫九皇大帝重印了《妙经》。双溪大年甘边园斗母宫九皇大帝的历史与普福堂观音庙斋堂一位老斋姑有关，宫庙领导可能是在同一斋堂中发现了这份《妙经》。[105] 由此可见，先天大道的斋堂和庙宇在农历九月期间使用《妙经》礼拜北斗，这可能在一定程度上促进了《妙经》在东南亚的传播。陈景熙发现潮州也流传着《妙经》，他所研究的最早的抄本是1947年的版本。[106] 20世纪后期，曼谷的佛教寺庙重新出版《妙经》，学者们注意到《妙经》也会被使用于泰国的九皇胜会中。[107]

[95] 准提堂的《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》有三种版本，分别是：（2002年以前的）《北斗真经》（新加坡：洪长水，林盛发敬印，柯华印务出版公司承印），《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》（槟城：释智胜，殖群印刷有限公司承印，2003），以及《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》（新加坡：云仙宫众弟子，国营印刷承印，2015）。

[96] 此处所查阅的版本为德国慕尼黑巴伐利亚州立图书馆藏《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》（浙江：绍兴，1724）。

[97] 请参阅T1307《佛说北斗七星延命经》后续内容。

[98] 这并非偶然。关于北斗信仰与药师琉璃光如来崇拜的联系，请参阅Raoul Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha* (Boston, Massachusetts: Shambhala, 1989)；Shi Zhiru释智如, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life: Ritual Healing and the Bhaiṣajyaguru Cult in Fifth-and Sixth-Century China," in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 页 91-117. 台湾龝舯龙山寺的九皇斋也可见到类似联系。请参阅：杨璟惠，<龙山秋祭，琉璃映打钱：药师佛与礼斗信仰荟萃之美>，《龝舯龙山寺秋季》2017年，页 6-13。

[99] 《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》，页000-001a。

[100] 叶鸿亿，<马六甲九皇宫掌故>，《学文》2020年第1期，页101，105-106。

[101] 黄绳曾编，《佛说天中北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经略考》（香港：香港佛教真言宗居士林，1938）。我们查阅的这本书尾页刊有该书出版年份为1970年。

[102] Show Ying Ruo, "The Blooming of the Azure Lotus in the South Seas: A Preliminary Investigation of Chinese Indigenous Scriptures in Buddhist Vegetarian Halls of Southeast Asia," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:2 (2020): 页 252.

[103] 《北斗消灾延寿妙经》（新加坡：定光堂，飞霞精舍，约20世纪60年代，页4-8。本经出版日期根据Franke的估计，请参阅Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," 第96页，脚注111.

[104] 骆静山，<大马半岛华人宗教的今昔>，见林水檬，骆静山编《马来西亚华人史》（雪兰莪：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会，1984），页429-430。尽管骆静山将《妙经》的内容与九皇大帝为七佛二菩萨的叙述联系起来， 我们并不清楚这种关系是他推导的，或是因为他曾在马来西亚九皇千秋期间见到庙宇持诵《妙经》。

[105] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，页274-275。

[106] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，页273。

[107] 范军，<"北斗信仰"与泰国华人的"九皇斋节"信俗>。

Dou Mu, Dou Fu, Mo Li Zhi Tian and the Nine Emperor Gods

Many temples dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia are known as *Dou Mu Gong*, or have given this name to their Inner Chambers. In the last three decades, Dou Mu images and sedan chairs were consecrated in many Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore. Hence, it is important to delve into the relationship between the two deities and the history of Dou Mu worship in China and Southeast Asia. The exact appearance of Dou Mu within the Daoist pantheon remains uncertain, although it has been approximated to the southern Song and Yuan dynasties. Scholars like Ong Seng Huat and Xiao Dengfu noted that the "Nine Emperors", as the Northern Dipper Deities, did not seem to have been associated with Dou Mu before this period.[109]

The earliest sources associated with the veneration of Dou Mu can be traced to the Daoist collection of rites known as the DZ1220, where Dou Mu, who went by the name "Heavenly Mother," was also known as the "mother of the Northern Dipper".[110] Throughout the DZ1220, several passing references were also made to the Northern Dipper stars and their consorts with the label "Nine Emperors," indicating a growing acceptance of the label among performers of Thunder Magic and Daoists who were affiliated with the Qing Wei and Shen Xiao traditions.[111] From chapters 83 to 87 of the text, in the "Hidden Manual for Former Heaven Thunder Crystal Rites", Dou Mu was one of the featured deities alongside the Emperor of Longevity, the True Ruler of the Jade Purity in the Heavenly Empyrean.[112] Despite its unclear dating and complex provenance, the DZ1220 is a fascinating source that sheds light on the evolution of Dou Mu's worship between the Song and Ming, where elements of the goddess's iconography and related rituals were based upon a Buddhist goddess by the name of Mo Li Zhi Tian.[113]

In addition, the dating of three scriptures, namely the DZ45 (late Song- early Yuan),[114] DZ621 (Southern Song),[115] and the DZ1452,[116] a late Yuan-early Ming set of ritual instructions for envisioning Dou Mu in meditation, suggested that the goddess's worship was only prevalent from the 12th century CE onward. The last two texts made at least one reference to the Northern Dipper stars as the "Nine Emperors". Two similar versions of Dou Mu's history and her role in giving birth to the stars of the universe were presented in DZ45 and DZ621, with a longer version in the latter.

In the first instance, Yuan Shi Shang Di explained how Dou Mu was once the consort of King Zhouyu in the Kingdom of Longhan. As the Lady of Purple Light, she "vowed that if she would ever be born in a world of dust and calamities, she would give birth to divine children to support the universe and assist creation".[117] Three thousand *kalpas* later, in spring, when flowers were in full bloom, she played in a garden before entering a pond filled with golden lotuses to bathe. Suddenly, nine lotus blossoms started to bloom, and each of them manifested into nine stars: The two elder sons became Tian Huang and Zi Wei Stars, whereas the seven younger sons became the constellation known as the Northern Dipper.[118]

In the DZ621, Tai Shang Lao Jun presented a longer retelling of the same account in the vocabulary of Daoist Inner Alchemy, an aspect of religious practice closely related to Dou Mu's worship in late imperial China. After entering a beautiful pond, Dou Mu ascended a "throne shaped like a *xie* [a mystical animal] atop a platform of tortoise white jade.[119] As she "cultivated her true *shen*, refined her *jing* and *po*, she captured her *qi*, passed her *qi* through the darkest of mysteries, coalesced a spiritual wind, and brought forth a luxuriant ray of purple". Once this was accomplished, she "radiated limitless rays of light from herself, which permeated the entire pond of flowers and manifested into nine golden lotus buds". The flowers passed through the human world for seven days and nights while the pond shimmered brightly. She ascended to heaven with the nine flowers, creating nine jewelled pavilions. In these pavilions, she mixed and condensed the "Brahman *qi*" of the nine lotuses,[120] which were then used to "create a nine-syllable spell that called forth the gods, (which eventually became) the Nine Emperors".[121] The names of two of the "Nine Emperors" had changed in the DZ621, where the two "invisible" stars from the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE) texts became the Tian Huang and Zi Wei Stars.[122]

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[109] 萧, "试论北斗九皇," 7-10; and 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 32-51.

[110] "道法会元," chapter 85, page 085-018a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/085. This was compiled between the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, but also included texts from the Song dynasty].

[111] "道法会元", passim.

[112] "道法会元", chapter 83, page 083-001a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/083.

[113] On the tentative dating of these manuscripts, see Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 316-319.

[114] "玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0045/000. The manuscript is translated as ""True and Unsurpassed Lingbao Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Spontaneous Origin of the Northern Dipper" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 1231.

[115] "太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0002/000. The manuscript is translated as "Book of the Heart for Prolonging Life of the Most Sacred Goddess Mother of the Dipper of Mysterious Power" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 952.

[116] "先天斗母奏告玄科," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5h0021/000. The manuscript is translated as "Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 1234. The date provided here is based on Kohn, "Dou Mu," 171.

[117] "玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经," page 000-002a.

[118] "玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经," page 000-002a 000-003b.

[119] "太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经," page 000-002a.

[120] This Hindu sounding reference was likely a nod to Dou Mu's history as Mo Li Zhi Tian. See a later section for more details.

[121] "太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经," page 000-002b.

[122] Kohn, "Dou Mu," 160.

斗母、斗父、摩利支天与九皇大帝

在东南亚，许多供奉九皇大帝的庙宇被称为“斗母宫”，或以此命名庙宇内殿。在过去三十年中，新加坡许多九皇庙开始供奉斗母神像和神轿。斗母和九皇有何关联，以及斗母信仰在中国和东南亚的发展历史值得探究。斗母具体何时成为道教神祇仍不清楚，南宋至元朝以后，民间斗母信仰盛行。根据王琛发和萧进铭等学者的研究，在此之前，作为北斗星君的“九皇”，似乎与斗母/斗姆/斗姥并无关联。[108]

最早有关斗母的记载见于道法文书汇编DZ1220《道法会元》， 其中称斗母为“天母”，即“北斗之母”。[109] DZ1220《道法会元》有几处在提及北斗七星二弼时以“九皇”指代，表明越来越多的修习雷法者和遵循清微和神霄传统的道士接受了这一名讳。[110] 在DZ1220《道法会元》卷八十三至卷八十七的《先天雷晶隐书》中，斗母与高上神霄玉清真王长生大帝同为主法神明。[111] DZ1220《道法会元》的创作年代不明，所收道法多达百种以上，此书提供了丰富的资料，揭示了斗母崇拜在宋朝到明朝时期的发展，彼时斗母的形象和相关仪式与佛教神祇摩利支天有关。[112]

除了DZ1220《道法会元》，DZ45《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》[113] （成书于宋末元初）、DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》[114] （成书于南宋）以及DZ1452《先天斗母奏告玄科》[115] （元末明初所编的观想斗母科仪）这三部经文的创作年代也表明了斗母崇拜从公元12世纪开始流行。后两部经文至少有一处在提到北斗时称之为“九皇”。关于斗母的历史以及斗母生九皇的经过，DZ45《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》和DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》的记载非常接近，后者的描述更为详细。

在DZ45《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》中，元始上帝称斗母原是龙汉年间国王周御的妃子，号紫光夫人。紫光夫人在尘劫中起誓，大发宏愿，“愿生圣子，辅佐乾坤，以裨造化。”[116] 此后，紫光夫人经历了三千劫，恰逢上春日百花齐放之时，紫光夫人在后苑游玩，来到金莲池中澡盥。忽有所感，莲花九苞应时开发，化生九子。其中二长子为天皇大帝、紫微大帝，其余七幼子为北斗七星君。[117]

内丹术是道教一种重要的修炼方法，与中华帝国晚期的斗母信仰密切相关。在DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》中，太上老君以道教内丹术语讲述了斗母生九皇的经历，其说法与前述大同小异。斗母“沐浴于九曲华池中，涌出白玉龟台，神獬宝座。[118] 斗母登于宝座之上，怡养神真，修炼精魄，冲然摄炁，炁入玄玄，运合灵风，紫虚蔚勃。”修炼以后，斗母“放无极微妙光明，洞彻华池，化生金莲九苞。经人间七昼夜，其华池中光明愈炽愈盛，其时一时上腾九华天中，化成九所大宝楼阁，宝楼阁之中，混凝九真梵炁。”[119] 九朵金莲随后化为九皇，“是九章生神，应现九皇道体。”[120] 在DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》中，“九皇”的组成发生了变化，唐代（618-907年）文本中北斗九星的“二隐”左辅右弼被替换为天皇和紫微。[121]

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[108] 萧登福，<试论北斗九皇>，页7-10；王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页32-51。

[109] 《道法会元》，卷八十五，页085-018a，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/085.《道法会元》成书于元末明初，其中也收录有宋代的文论。

[110] 《道法会元》，全文。

[111] 《道法会元》，卷八十三，页083-001a，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/083.

[112] 关于这些经文年代的初步推测，请参阅 Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 页 316-319.

[113] 《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》，Kanseki Repository,访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0045/000. 原稿被译为“‘True and Unsurpassed Lingbao Scripture from the Yuqing Heaven on the Spontaneous Origin of the Northern Dipper”并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 页 1231.

[114] 《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0002/000. 原稿被译为“Book of the Heart for Prolonging Life of the Most Sacred Goddess Mother of the Dipper of Mysterious Power”并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 页 952.

[115] 《先天斗母奏告玄科》，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0002/000. 原稿被译为“Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven”并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 1234. 此处提供的日期基于Kohn, “Dou Mu,” 171.

[116] 《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》，页000-002a。

[117] 《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》，页000-002a 000-003b。

[118] 《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》，页000-002b。

[119] “梵炁”听起来像印度教的术语，这或许反映了斗母历史上曾与摩利支天有关联。有关斗母与摩利支天关系的更多细节，请参阅后续章节。

[120] 《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》，页000-002b。

[121] Kohn, “Dou Mu,” 页 160.

The emergence of Dou Mu in these scriptures coincided with the gradual disappearance of the Northern Dipper Sovereigns' Consorts from religious texts. There were also passing references to "Dou Fu, the Heavenly Sovereign of Long Han" in the DZ1452. Still, like the consorts, the deity had no speaking lines or crucial functions to fulfil in-text, although his title preceded Dou Mu's when the "scattering of flowers" ritual was to be performed.[123] The latter, however, did make a small appearance in chapter 30 of the DZ1220, where he was venerated as "Sacred Father of the Northern Dipper of the North Pole, the Heavenly Sovereign of Long Han" alongside the "Sacred Mother of the Northern Dipper, the Heavenly Empress of Saintly Virtue, Purple Light".[124]

Dou Mu was also mentioned in non-religious texts from the Song-Yuan period. One widely cited account often attributed to the *History of the Song* (completed 1346 CE), for example, recorded that when "Emperor Gaozong (1107-1187 CE) was encircled by Jin soldiers, a goddess in purple and golden light rendered assistance. It was believed that Dou Mu manifested her power, and thus the worship of the goddess became increasingly popular among the masses."[125]

There are interesting similarities between Dou Mu and the Hindu-Buddhist goddess Mo Li Zhi Tian, not least in the iconography and representations of the goddesses, their powers of protection from evil and disasters, and the rituals for their worship. There is also an interesting chronological connection, with the appearance of Dou Mu in Daoist texts from the southern Song onwards coinciding with the gradual disappearance of Mo Li Zhi Tian from Buddhist texts from that period, despite the latter's influence in the Tang dynasty court.[126] Mo Li Zhi Tian was one of the many Buddhist and Daoist deities venerated by Wu Zetian to "enhance her visibility and political amplitude"[127]. In addition, Wu's reign was also closely associated with the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. On this day, she inaugurated the Zhou dynasty (690-705 CE) and used it to commemorate her regimes between 690 and 697.[128]

It was apparent that the Daoist iconography of the many-faced and multi-armed *Dou Mu* up till the present day was inspired partially by the Tantric Buddhist imagery of Mo Li Zhi Tian in the scripture T1257 . In chapter 83 of the DZ1220, she was described as possessing "three heads and eight arms, her hands wielding the sun and moon, a golden lance, a golden bell, an arrow, a sacred token and a sword". She was also "dressed in a sky-blue robe and rode a fiery carriage drawn by seven white boars".[129] Similarly, in the DZ1452, visualisations of Dou Mu also referred to her "four heads" and "eight arms".[130]

Crucially, it was only in these two texts that we see Dou Mu being characterised in the likeness of the multi-faced and many-armed Mo Li Zhi Tian. In contrast, such descriptions of her could not be found in the DZ45 and the DZ621, which suggests that Dou Mu's worship developed along two different but overlapping lines in late imperial China.[131]

While many aspects of her worship were probably informed by the prior venerations of Mo Li Zhi Tian, Dou Mu was also resituated within explicitly Daoist rituals, vocabularies, cosmologies, iconographies, and pantheons.[132] As practitioners visualized their transformation into Dou Mu as part of the Thunder Crystal Rites, the process was invested with multiple references to Inner Alchemy, a facet of Daoist practice with that Dou Mu seems to have a special relationship, as seen in the DZ621.[133]

Mo Li Zhi Tian was often associated with the sun and moon in Buddhist texts, although these celestial bodies were not depicted in her two-armed form, where she was shown holding a fan and a needle-and-thread. On the other hand, Dou Mu's representation in DZ1220 incorporated Mo Li Zhi Tian's iconography, including her multiple faces and arms, but her ritual implements were altered. In chapter 83 of the DZ1220, at the start of the Thunder Crystal Rites, Dou Mu was explicitly described as "wielding the sun and moon" in her hands.[134] This mirrored her position as a preeminent deity within the Shen Xiao tradition, where the rites of Thunder Magic were situated within the confluence of Yin and Yang (embodied by the moon and sun, respectively).[135]

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[123] "先天斗母奏告玄科," page 000-0014b.

[124] "道法会元," chapter 30, page 030-021b, Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/030.

[125] See 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 39; and "说神道事12: 斗姆元君救劫消灾有求必应," *ilifepost*, August 3, 2020, https://www.ilifepost.com/20200803/说神道事-12：-斗姆元君-救劫消灾有求必应/. This was probably an apocryphal reference to the Jingkang incident (1125-1127 CE) where the Song capital of Kaifeng fell to Jin forces, and the court was forced to relocate southwards.

[126] Hall, "Marishiten," 150-151; Among others, see Jonathan Karam Skaff, "Barbarians at the Gates? The Tang Frontier Military and the An Lushan Rebellion," *War & Society* 18:2 (2000): 23-35 for context.

[127] Harry N. Rothschild, "Daoist Elements in Wu Zhao's Reimagined Double Ninth Festival," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 14 (2021): 84.

[128] For an exhaustive treatment of this issue, see the monograph by Harry N. Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon of Devis, Divinities, and Dynastic Mothers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

[129] "道法会元," chapter 83, page 083-002b.

[130] "先天斗母奏告玄科," 000-012a.

[131] For two armed depictions of Dou Mu, see Kohn, "Dou Mu," 154, and Schuyler Cammann, "A Ming Dynasty Pantheon Painting," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 18 (1964): 40 [38–47].

[132] 萧, "从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神," 8-18; and Joshua Capitanio, "Sanskrit and Pseudo-Sanskrit Incantations in Daoist Ritual Texts," *History of Religions* 57:4 (2018): 353-374 [348-405]. Also see Florian C. Reiter, "Tao 道 and Fa 法 in the Taoist Cult of Marici 摩利支天大圣 and a Coastal Cult in Present-Day Northern Taiwan: Basic Aspects of the Study of Taoist Religion and Folk Religion," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 171:2 (2021): 459-478.

[133] 谢, "早期斗姆摩利支天文本探讨," 218-219, 221 and 223. Xie argues that the section 85 was a late addition to the manuscript, for there was no mention of Dou MuDou Mu up till then, and the techniques that were described in sections 84 were less esoteric as compared to 85.

[134] "道法会元," chapter 83, page 083-002b.

[135] 邓, "道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用," 79-80.

上述经书开始出现斗母的同时，九皇九夫人逐渐从道教经文中销声匿迹。DZ1452《先天斗母奏告玄科》中偶尔也有关于“斗父龙汉天君”的记载，如同九皇九夫人，斗父并没有发言，也不具备重要的功能。但在撒花科仪中，斗父列于斗母之前。[122] 在DZ1220《道法会元》卷三十中，斗父被奉为“北斗圣父北极龙汉天君”，与“北斗圣母紫光圣德天后”共同受到祀奉。[123]

宋元时期，非宗教文献中也有关于斗母的记载。例如，一段被附会出自《宋史》（编于1346年）并被广泛引用的记载称：“高宗（1107-1187年）为金兵所困时，有一女神现紫金巨光相救，被认为是斗姆显灵，于是世人供奉日隆。”[124]

斗母与印度教佛教女神摩利支天之间存在有趣的联系，两位女神不仅在形象、驱邪消灾的能力以及供奉仪式上具有相似之处，在年代上也有一定的关联。摩利支天崇拜在唐朝宫廷中有很大的影响，自南宋以来，斗母开始出现在道教文献中，与此同时，摩利支天在佛教文献中逐渐消失。[125] 武则天供奉众多佛教和道教神明以提高自己的知名度和政治影响力，摩利支天是其中之一。[126] 此外，武则天的统治也与农历九月初九密切相关，她在农历九月初九登基称帝。690至697年年间，武则天在每年九月初九这一天庆祝武周政权（690-705年）的成立。[127]

很明显，如今道教中多面多臂的斗母形象受到T1257《佛说大摩里支菩萨经卷》中所载的密宗摩利支天相的启发。DZ1220《道法会元》卷八十三载：斗母“三头八臂，手擎日月弓矢金枪金铃箭牌宝剑，着天青衣，驾火辈，辇前有七白猜引车。”[128] 无独有偶，在DZ1452《先天斗母奏告玄科》中，斗母的形象为“四头八臂”。[129]

值得注意的是，只有在DZ1220《道法会元》和DZ1452《先天斗母奏告玄科》中，斗母形象才类似于多面多臂的摩利支天，DZ45《玉清无上灵宝自然北斗本生真经》和DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》中并没有类似的描述。这说明了斗母崇拜在中华帝国晚期沿着两条并不相同但有所重叠的路线而发展。[130]

尽管斗母崇拜在很多方面受到摩利支天崇拜的影响，斗母的形象也在道教的仪式、词汇、宇宙观、造像和众神中被重新定位。[131] 修炼雷晶法时，修炼者必须存想自己化为斗母，这一过程常见于内丹术中，正如在DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》中所见到的，这反映了斗母与道教科仪的密切联系。[132]

佛教经文中关于摩利支天的记载通常与太阳和月亮有关，但当摩利支天以双臂的形象出现时，她双手分别持着扇子与针线，而没有出现太阳和月亮。DZ1220《道法会元》中的斗母形象融合了摩利支天造像的部分元素，包括多面多臂的形象，但所持法器发生改变。DZ1220《道法会元》卷八十三《先天雷晶隐书》的开篇明确载道，斗母“手擎日月”。[133] 这反映了她在神霄传统中的突出地位，在神霄传统中，雷法仪式位于阴阳（分别由月亮和太阳代表）交汇处。[134]

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[122] 《先天斗母奏告玄科》，页000-0014b。

[123] 《道法会元》，卷三十，页030-021b，Kanseki Repository,访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/030.

[124] 请参阅：王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页39；<说神道事 12：斗姆元君救劫消灾有求必应>，*ilifepost*，2020年8月3日，https://www.ilifepost.com/20200803/说神道事-12：-斗姆元君-救劫消灾有求必应/. 这可能是一段关于靖康事变（1125-1127年）的野史记载。靖康之变是指靖康二年，金朝南下攻取北宋首都、宋朝被迫南迁。

[125] Hall, “Marishiten,” 150-151; 相关背景请参阅 Jonathan Karam Skaff, “Barbarians at the Gates? The Tang Frontier Military and the An Lushan Rebellion,” *War & Society* 18:2 (2000): 页 23-35.

[126] Harry N. Rothschild, “Daoist Elements in Wu Zhao’s Reimagined Double Ninth Festival,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 14 (2021): 页 84.

[127] 对于这一议题的详细研究，请参阅Harry N. Rothschild的专着，*Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon of Devis, Divinities, and Dynastic Mothers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

[128] 《道法会元》，卷八十三，页083-002b。

[129] 《先天斗母奏告玄科》，页 000-012a.

[130] 关于双臂的斗母造像，请参阅Kohn, “Dou Mu,” 页154, and Schuyler Cammann, “A Ming Dynasty Pantheon Painting,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 18 (1964): 页 40.

[131] 萧进铭，<从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神>，页8-18；Joshua Capitanio, “Sanskrit and Pseudo-Sanskrit Incantations in Daoist Ritual Texts,” *History of Religions* 57:4 (2018): 页 353-374. 亦请参阅Florian C. Reiter, “Tao 道 and Fa 法 in the Taoist Cult of Marīci 摩利支天大圣 and a Coastal Cult in Present-Day Northern Taiwan: Basic Aspects of the Study of Taoist Religion and Folk Religion,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 171:2 (2021): 页 459-478.

[132] 谢世维，<早期斗姆摩利支天文本探讨>，页218-219，221及223。谢世维认为卷八十五是后来添加的，因为此前的经文中并未提到斗姆，并且卷八十四中所描述的法术比卷八十五的浅显许多。

[133] 《道法会元》，卷八十三，页083-002b。

[134] 邓昭，<道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用>，页79-80。

Finally, while many physical features and attributes of Dou Mu and techniques for her worship (such as Dharani reciting) were drawn from a pre-existing Buddhist corpus of texts related to Mo Li Zhi Tian's worship, the Buddhist goddess was only one among several other deities that informed Dou Mu's iconography. Dou Mu's imagery and beliefs were also built upon the veneration of the Queen Mother of the West. Dou Mu's title within the DZ621 (dated to the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties),[136] for example, corresponded with similar titles of the Queen Mother in the earlier DZ167,[137] a cosmogony of Daoist deities that was compiled by Tao Hongjing (456-536 CE).[138]

Furthermore, the concepts of Mo Li Zhi Tian and Dou Mu as omnipotent goddesses who could rescue their followers from any difficulty were also related to the worship and imagery of Guan Yin. In his analysis of the DZ1452, Xiao Dengfu observed that these characteristics had become so interchanged with one another that "by the Ming dynasty…the image of Dou Mu had been shaped by both Mo Li Zhi Tian and Guan Yin, becoming a mixture of two".[139]

Dou Mu's popularity was not only outlined in these canonical religious scriptures but also found its way into extracanonical works such as the precious scrolls of various sectarian religious traditions.[140] Several references to Dou Mu, which were almost certainly revealed by spirit-writing, eventually found their way into the *Essentials of the Daoist Canon*, which was compiled by Jiang Yuanting (1755-1819 CE) and his circle of associates in the early 19th century.[141] In the JY100, for example, even though the main deity that delivered the lecture was Emperor Zi Wei, Dou Mu played a vital role in exhorting devotees to practice of Inner Alchemy.[142]

Dou Mu also appeared in the JY247 . The latter was premised upon the DZ621, although segments of the manuscript also included incantations related to her worship from the Ming dynasty onwards.[143] Likewise, the JY237 includes the *True Scripture of Dou Mu Yuan Zun and the Nine Emperors*, in which Dou Mu sent Zhang Sanfeng to earth[144] and made him her messenger to transmit her teachings to save humanity.[145] In several ways, the scripture's structure was modelled after the DZ622, particularly in its closing stanzas.[146]

Nevertheless, not every text related to Dou Mu within the *Essentials of the Daoist Canon* finds a comparable or canonical counterpart within the Daoist Canon. In the JY101, for example, Dou Mu presented a novel soteriology related to the saving of animal lives before a heavenly audience.[147] When inquired about how humankind can be saved, Dou Mu replied that the slaughter of animals caused their plight. After Dou Mu explained why people kill animals, she presented a compromise for people who cannot afford to live without meat where they should shift towards gradually eliminating animal flesh from their diet. Interestingly, and in contrast with conventional Buddhist logic, where all animals were ontologically similar and thus equal in significance to human lives in some way,[148] Dou Mu indicated that some animals' lives were deemed more worthy of saving than others. For instance, she urged her followers to prioritise the lives of cows and dogs and abstain from consuming their flesh even if they could not stop eating meat altogether, for these animals have benefitted humankind the most.[149]

[136] "太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经," page 000-001b.

[137] "洞玄灵宝真灵位业图," page 000-007b, Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0168/000.

[138] 邓, "道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用," 67-68. Also see 萧登福, 西王母信仰研究 (台北市: 新文丰出版股份有限公司, 2012), 687-749.

[139] 萧, "试论北斗九皇," 17 and 21.

[140] For example, see 李建德, "清刊本《大梵先天斗母圆明宝卷》析论," 有凤初鸣年刊 9 (2013): 42-62. Several references were made to the practice of Inner Alchemy as well.

[141] Some of the best introductions to the history of this fascinating manuscript was authored by the late Monica Esposito 莫尼卡, *Creative Daoism* (Switzerland: University Media, 2013), 177-260; alongside万钧, trans., "清代道藏"—江南蒋元庭本《道藏辑要》之研究," 宗教学研究 3 (2010): 17-27. Recently, Lai Chi Tim 黎志添compiled an extensive three volume companion guide to the subject, 道藏辑要: 提要 (香港:香港中文大学中国文化研究所, 2021). Michael Stanley-Baker 徐源 had kindly loaned to me a complete collection of the latter work when I was preparing this manuscript.

[142] "先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵妙真经," Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0023/001. The manuscript is introduced by 高万桑 Vincent Goossaert, in 道教辑要: 提要, Volume I, 615-617.

[143] 萧, "从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神," 21. See "忏法大观," section 5, 05p001a to 05p013a, Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0076/005. The manuscript is introduced by 黎志添Lai Chi Tim, in 道藏辑要: 提要, Volume III, 1393-1404.

[144] Several dissertations and articles have been authored on this semi-legendary figure, who exercised a profound impact on Daoism in late-imperial China. For example, see Huang Zhaohan, "On the Cult of Chang San-Feng and the Authenticity of His Works" (PhD diss., The Australian National University (Australia), 1976).

[145] Vincent Goossaert, "Spirit-writing, Canonization and the Rise of Divine Saviours: Wenchang, Lüzu, and Guandi, 1700-1858," *Late Imperial China* 36:2 (2015): 97.

[146] "张三丰先生全集," section 11, pages 11p001a to 11p010a, Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0071/011. The manuscript is introduced by谢世维, De Baoèn 德保恩 [Pierre-Henry de Bruyn] and秋冈英行, in 道藏辑要: 提要, Volume II, 1287-1305.

[147] "九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经," Kanseki Repository, accessed June 22, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0024/001. The manuscript is introduced by 高万桑 Vincent Goossaert, in 道藏辑要: 提要, volume 2, 618-622.

[148] For example, see Steven Heine, "When there are no more Cats to Argue About: Chan Buddhist Views of Animals in Relation to Universal Buddha-Nature," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 43:3/4 (2016): 240; and Keith N. Knapp, "Noble Creatures: Filial and Righteous Animals in early Medieval Confucian Thought," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 80.

[149] Vincent Goossaert, "Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 187.

虽然斗母的特征、属性以及供奉斗母的做法（例如念诵陀罗尼）大多源于与摩利支天崇拜有关的佛教经文，实际上，摩利支天只是影响斗母形象的众多原型之一。斗母的形象和信仰也与西王母崇拜有关。例如，《洞玄灵宝真灵位业图》[135]是道士陶弘景（456-536年）所撰的道教众神谱录，其中西王母的名号为"紫微元灵白玉龟台九灵太真元君"。DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》[136]（可追溯至南宋和元朝时期）中斗母的名号为"九灵太妙白玉龟夜光金精祖母元君"，与前者颇为接近。[137]

此外，摩利支天和斗母同为全能女神，能够拯救信徒于各种危难之中的观念也与观音的形象和崇拜有关。萧登福在对DZ1452《先天斗母奏告玄科》的研究中指出，这些信仰相互交融，"到了明世，斗母塑造成摩利支天与观音的混合体。"[138]

斗母信仰的流行不仅见于权威的宗教典籍中，还体现在宗教正典以外的作品中，例如各种民间教门的宝卷。[139] 在19世纪早期，蒋元庭（1755-1819年）及其门生编纂了《道藏辑要》，其中有几处关于斗母的记载，基本都为神明降乩之作。[140] 例如，在JY100《先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵妙真经疏解》中，紫微大帝传授真经，斗母则劝说信徒修炼内丹术。[141]

斗母还出现在JY247《忏法大观》卷三《太上玄灵保命延生大梵斗姥心忏》的标题中。《太上玄灵保命延生大梵斗姥心忏》以DZ621《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》为基础，其中还收录了明朝以来与斗母信仰有关的咒语。[142] JY237《张三丰先生全集》中也收录了《斗母元尊九皇真经》，经中称斗母派张三丰[143]下凡，作为斗母信使，传播斗母的教义，拯救苍生。"[144] DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》在结构上与《斗母元尊九皇真经》非常接近，尤其是结尾部分。[145]

然而，并非《道藏辑要》中所有关于斗母的经文都能在《正统道藏》中找到相应的内容。例如，在JY101《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》中，斗母向天上众神述拯救生灵的救世神学。[146] 当被问及如何拯救人类时，斗母答道，人类的困境源于屠宰动物。斗母解释了人类杀害动物的原因并提出了折中之道：对于那些无法戒荤的人，他们至少应该逐渐减少食用动物产品。有趣的是，佛教认为众生平等，因此人类的生命与各种动物的生命没有高低贵贱之分。[147] 但斗母指出，有些动物比其他动物更值得被拯救。例如，她劝告信徒优先拯救牛和狗的生命，如果他们无法放弃肉食，应该避免食用牛肉和狗肉，因为这两种动物对人类的贡献最大。[148]

[135] 《洞玄灵宝真灵位业图》，页000-007b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0168/000.

[136] 《太上玄灵斗姆大圣元君本命延生心经》，页000-001b。

[137] 邓昭，<道教斗姆对密教摩利支天形象的借用>，页67-68。亦请参阅：萧登福，《西王母信仰研究》（台北：新文丰出版股份有限公司，2012），页687-749。

[138] 萧登福，<试论北斗九皇>，页17及21。

[139] 例如，请参阅：李建德，<清刊本《大梵先天斗母圆明宝卷》析论>，《有凤初鸣年刊》2013年9月，页42-62。其中也提到了一些关于内丹的实践。

[140] 已故的莫尼卡（Monica Esposito）对《道藏辑要》的历史有许多精彩的论述，请参阅*Creative Daoism* (Switzerland: University Media, 2013), 177-260; 万钧译，<清代《道藏》——江南蒋元庭本《道藏辑要》之研究>，《宗教学研究》2010年第3期，页17-27。近来，黎志添（Lai Chi Tim）主编《道藏辑要：提要》（三卷），为《道藏辑要》提供详尽且条理清晰的介绍，请参阅《道藏辑要：提要》（香港：香港中文大学中国文化研究所，2021）。 笔者撰写本书时，得到徐源博士（Michael Stanley-Baker）慷慨借予的一套完整的《道藏辑要：提要》，特此致谢。

[141] 《先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵妙真经》，Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0023/001. 高万桑（Vincent Goossaert）在《道教辑要：提要》中介绍了《先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵妙真经》，见《道教辑要：提要》卷一，页615-617。

[142] 萧进铭，<从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神>，页21。见《忏法大观》，卷五，05p001a to 05p013a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0076/005. 黎志添（Lai Chi Tim）在《道教辑要：提要》中介绍了《忏法大观》，见《道教辑要：提要》卷三，页1393-1404。

[143] 一些学位论文和文章对张三丰这位半传奇人物进行了研究，张三丰对中华帝国晚期的道教产生了深远的影响。相关研究请参阅Huang Zhaohan, "On the Cult of Chang San-Feng and the Authenticity of His Works" (PhD diss., The Australian National University (Australia), 1976).

[144] Vincent Goossaert, "Spirit-writing, Canonization and the Rise of Divine Saviours: Wenchang, Lüzu, and Guandi, 1700-1858," *Late Imperial China* 36:2 (2015): 页 97.

[145] 《张三丰先生全集》，第11节，页11p001a to 11p010a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0071/011. 谢世维、德保恩（Pierre-Henry de Bruyn）、秋冈英行在《道教辑要：提要》中介绍了《张三丰先生全集》，见《道教辑要：提要》卷二，页1287-1305。

[146] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，Kanseki Repository,访问日期：2022年6月22日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0024/001. 高万桑（Vincent Goossaert）在《道教辑要：提要》中介绍了《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，见《道教辑要：提要》卷二，页618-622。

[147] 例如，请参阅Steven Heine, "When there are no more Cats to Argue About: Chan Buddhist Views of Animals in Relation to Universal Buddha-Nature," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 43:3/4 (2016): 240; Keith N. Knapp, "Noble Creatures: Filial and Righteous Animals in early Medieval Confucian Thought," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 页 80.

[148] Vincent Goossaert, "Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 页 187.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chinese History

The Propitiation of Dou Mu and the Norther Dipper from the Ming to Qing

Although Dou Mu's position in Chinese religious texts had crystallised in the late Song and Yuan dynasties, the actual performance of rituals and the construction of temples in honour of her in China could only be convincingly dated to the late Ming and early Qing. One of the earliest references to the worship of Dou Mu, for example, was documented by Wang Xijue (Wanli, 1573-1620 CE) in the *Record of the Qian Yuan Temple* on Mao Shan. The temple's venerated deities included "a bronze image of Dou Lao and a scroll painting of her image".[150] Several shrines which gained their names through the worship of Dou Mu could be found on Mao Shan in Jiangsu (Jiaqing, 1796-1820 CE), Zhaoqing in Guangdong (Chongzhen's reign 1627-1644 CE), and Chengdu (which was destroyed during a fire in 1644 CE).[151] Several Qing scholars also noted the existence of landmarks erected in honour of Dou Mu in their compilations. Zhang Zhongxin's (during the reign of Guangxu, 1875-1908 CE) recompilation of epigraphy erected during the reign of Jiading (1208-1224 CE) on Huang Hu Shan in E Zhou city, Hubei, also noted a Dou Mu Ge devoted to Dou Mu's worship.[152]

Aside from these religious institutions, Dou Mu was also worshipped for other reasons throughout Ming China. For instance, Robert Antony noted how Dou Mu provided a rallying point for some of her devotees in Quanzhou city, Fujian, against the tottering Ming dynasty in 1642.[153] Dou Mu was also regarded as a protector of the populace against pirates in maritime China. After the infamous pirate Liu Xiang (d. 1635/1636 CE) was killed by his nemesis, the pirate-turned-state agent Zheng Zhilong (1604-1661 CE), Ming officials credited Dou Mu for bringing Liu's ravages to an end.[154] Recent work has suggested that there were prohibitions against the popular worship of the Dipper and even the petitioning of heaven and their related practices during the Ming and Qing dynasty, which were enshrined in the legal code of these dynasties. However, it is not clear if they were actively enforced. These rituals were considered to be the exclusive privilege of the imperial court.[155] Nevertheless, during the Qing period, the worship of the Dipper and star deities became increasingly popular, possibly due to the incorporation of Dipper and star deity worship into Buddhism.[156]

The late Ming and early Qing periods saw the emergence of various societies dedicated to worshipping the Dipper and Dou Lao or Dou Mu throughout the country.[157] These Dipper Societies were usually referred to as Dou She, Dou Hui (in Nanping), Dou Tan (Dipper Altars, in Hangzhou), and Dou Tang (Dipper Halls, in Fuzhou), depending on the region and the community involved. Most of the organizers and participants in these societies were local urban elites like scholars, officials, gentry and merchants, and the "new elites". The members of these societies and rituals were sometimes referred to as "Friends of the Dipper" (Dou You). These Dipper Societies were not formal religious sects but a rather loosely organized form of folk association. Many started in the homes of its founders and members and later moved to separate premises or a temple. They were believed to have developed by the elite Confucian circles among the gentry and merchants who highly regarded sacred rituals and traditional music. Their main motivation was to worship the Dipper through abstinence, offering incense and scriptural chanting to musical accompaniment. The ritual music was adapted mainly from Daoist musical traditions. They were to have an important influence on the development of local traditional music cultures and mediate the influence of Daoist music on these traditions.[158] The members would conduct all the rituals themselves and receive no remuneration even when commissioned outside the association, although the performers would expect to be treated hospitably. In certain cases, they were entertained with a feast. They distinguished themselves from the professional Daoist priests in this manner. Nevertheless, these societies would be supported by their members through monetary donations or by dedicating landed assets such as farmland and shops, which were rented out to support the expenses of the societies.

[150] 王锡爵 (1573-1620 CE), "千元观记" in 杨世沅 (1901-1908 CE) comp., 句容金石记, 131.

[151] 萧, "从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神," 19.

[152] 张仲炘 (1875-1908 CE), 湖北金石志, section 12, page 33.

[153] 泉州府志 (1870), cited in Robert. J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003), 30. Interestingly, in Republican China (1911-1949), there were similar sounding accusations levied against devotees who worshipped Dou Mu in "斗姥会与妖党," 民国日报, June 17, 1916, 1916 10.

[154] 明清史料一编, cited in Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*, 32.

[155] Daniel Overmyer, "Attitudes toward Popular Religion in Ritual texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5:1 (1989): 191-221; Yang Ch'ing-k'un, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1961), 183-184; Jiang Yonglin, trans., *The Great Ming Code/Da Ming Lu* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005), 112; and大明会典, Chinese Text Project, chapter 165, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=255523; 大清律例, article 161, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=919606.

[156] 陈章煌and 南熏窗, "灯燃北斗一天星 —浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜," *CN News*, ND. accessed May 1, 2022, https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3.

[157] Yu argued that Dipper worship was believed to have become an important folk tradition after the Song dynasty. Many scholars were involved in the worship of the Dipper. A prominent Confucian during the Southern Song dynasty, Zhen Dexiu, had written about the importance of the *Dou* (although here he refers to the seven star deity officials) in one of the eulogies he wrote for such a ritual. His background reflected the syncretic background of the elites involved. A prominent member of Neo Confucianism after Zhu Xi, he was also deeply influenced by the teachings of Buddha and Laozi, and often took part in Daoist prayer rituals, as well as writing the *Qingci* for them. Daoist music was an important part of Dipper worship ceremonies. 俞伦伦, "南平斗会: 善庆堂的历史与仪式 (1897-2016)" (福建师范大学硕士论文, 2017), 8.

[158] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 8, 11.

中国历史上的九皇胜会

明清时期的拜斗

尽管斗母在宗教文献中的地位在宋元时期已经变得明确且具体，然而，直到明末清初，中国才出现供奉斗母的仪式和庙宇。王锡爵（万历年间，1573-1620年）在《干元观记》中记载了茅山的斗母信仰，庙宇供奉的众神中有"斗姥铜像一尊，画像一轴。"[149] 一些神坛因为供奉斗母而闻名，分布在江苏茅山（嘉庆年间，1796-1820年）、广东肇庆（崇祯年间，1627-1644年）和四川成都（1644年毁于火灾）等地。[150] 一些有志于修编金石志的清朝学者同样记载了供奉斗母的神坛。例如，张仲炘（光绪年间，1875-1908年）为嘉定年间湖北省鄂州市黄鹄山修金石志，其中提到了一处供奉斗母的斗姆阁。[151]

在这些宗教场所之外，明朝年间，斗母也因其他原因受到祭祀。例如，安乐博（Robert Antony）指出，1642年，福建泉州一些信徒以斗母信仰为中心，试图反抗摇摇欲坠的明朝统治。[152] 斗母也被认为是保护民众不受海盗进犯的神明。海盗刘香（卒于1635年或1636年）被归顺朝廷的海上势力郑芝龙（1604-1661年）消灭，明朝官员认为是有斗母相助。[153] 最近的研究表明，明清两代的法典禁止民众拜斗或向天庭上书等行为，因为举行这些仪式是朝廷的特权，但我们并不清楚民众是否有遵守这些规定。[154] 然而，到了清朝年间，或许因为佛教中融入了北斗星君崇拜，北斗信仰越来越流行。[155]

明末清初，中国各地出现了许多供奉北斗以及斗姥或斗母的会社。[156] 不同地区对这些会社的称谓不同，这些会社通常被称为斗社，又称斗会（南平）、斗坛（杭州）和斗堂（福州）。斗社的组织者和参与者大多是当地城市精英，包括文士、官员、绅商及"新式精英"等。成员之间有时互称"斗友"。这些斗社开始是在创始人和成员的家中组织，后来转移到独立场所或庙宇中。斗社并非严格意义上的宗教组织，而是由崇尚圣洁科仪与传统音乐的士绅和商人发起的民间社团。斗社以"朝真礼斗"为宗旨，进行禁欲、供香及诵经礼忏。斗社对地方传统音乐文化的发展产生了重要影响，成为道教音乐对地方传统产生影响的中介。[157] 斗社的成员会在熟识亲友中进行礼斗拜忏，当受邀行持科仪时，他们并不会收取任何报酬，但会受到热情款待，有时还会受到宴请。斗社成员以此显示自身与职业道士不同。斗社的开支由其成员负责，或捐赠金钱，或捐赠土地，例如可出租的农田和商店，所获利润用以支持斗社开销。

[149] 王锡爵（1573-1620年），<干元观记>，见杨世沅（1901-1908年）编，《句容金石记》，页131。

[150] 萧进铭，<从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神>，页19。

[151] 张仲炘（1875-1908年），《湖北金石志》，卷十二，页33。

[152] Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*, 30. 有趣的是，在民国时期（1911-1949年），也有针对斗母信徒的类似指控，见<斗姥会与妖党>，见《民国日报》，1916年9月17日，第10版。

[153] 《明清史料一编》，转引自Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*, 页 32.

[154] Daniel Overmyer, "Attitudes toward Popular Religion in Ritual texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5:1 (1989): 页 191-221; Yang Ch'ing-k'un, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1961), 页 183-184; Jiang Yonglin, trans., *The Great Ming Code/Da Ming Lu* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005), 页112; 《大明会典》卷一百六十五，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=255523；《大清律例》第161条，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=919606.

[155] 陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNNNews*,访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3.

[156] 俞伦伦认为，拜斗在宋朝之后成为一种重要的民间传统。许多文士参与了礼斗。南宋时期，著名的闽儒学士真德秀曾在为礼斗所写的颂词中提到斗的重要性（但他指的是七星君）。真德秀的崇道倾向反映了当时儒家精英学道的现象。作为朱熹之后的理学代表人物，真德秀深受佛老二氏之说的影响，经常参加道教的祈祷仪式，也常撰写青词。道教音乐是礼斗仪式的重要组成部分。俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页8。

[157] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页8、11。

The first recorded Dipper societies seemed to have been part of new salvationist religious movements involving these urban elites, centred around deity-writing altars and traditions that were also engaged in Dipper worship. There were already specialized Dipper Societies in the Jiangnan area in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, known there as Dou Hui. They were very popular there.[159] They reflected the growing popularity of deity-writing altars among these Confucian elites during this period, usually dedicated to Lu Dongbin and Wenchang, and a salvationist way of thought". They represented the convergence of long-term processes such as the popularisation of Daoist ritual and music among the masses from the Song-Yuan dynasty onwards, a shift away from scriptural traditions and learning towards good works and compassion, and the psychological and spiritual trauma of the new Qing sumptuary laws on the hair and clothing of the Han population after the establishment of the new dynasty. The elites saw these deity-writing traditions as a channel for the revival of Confucianism and the proper transmission of Daoism. Scholar-officials' role in transmitting Daoist rituals and knowledge seemed to have become apparent in the Ming dynasty. The deity-writing texts printed by these altars showed the importance of Dipper worship in these altars and how they were closely related to the history of Dipper worship societies. These altars were also rather syncretic in combining Daoism and Buddhism alongside deity writing and Dipper worship.[160] These Dipper worship societies could have been an important channel through which Daoist music was popularized among the masses and beyond the temples. Many of the local Dipper Societies were often also the best musical groups in the area.[161]

Several Ming and Qing dynasty texts, including novels, noted the worship of the Dipper during the late Ming and early Qing periods. In a letter home, a late Ming official and book collector Qi Chenghan (1563-1628) related the story of his colleague who had begotten sons after worshipping the Dipper to encourage his son to be devout and sincere in following the Dipper *zhai* regime. According to the Qing accounts, the worship of the Dipper involved mantras of the Dou Lao and her portrait, as well as the worship of Dou Mu. Devotees were advised to be mindful of their behaviour and to observe a Dipper *zhai* or Zhun Ti *zhai* for a designated period. Incense offerings and scriptural chanting were performed in the home, and devotees wore yellow headwear and sometimes black robes during this period. Daoist robes were worn when worshipping Dou Lao, and Buddhist robes were worn when praying to Zhun Ti.[162] The worship of Dou Mu, a Daoist deity, and Zhun Ti, a Buddhist one, highlighted the religious syncretism underlying the practices surrounding the worship of the Dipper. Such mixing of Daoism and Buddhism was also seen in Liyuan rituals during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival during the late Qing and Republican eras. The ritual structure of the ceremonies closely resembles later practices and observances associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in late Qing and early Republican China.

Dipper societies became very popular throughout China, from Tianjin in the north to Wuhan in central China, as well as the Jiangnan (which included Jiangxi), Fujian, Yunnan and Guizhou regions.[163] One of the earliest Dipper societies emerged in Suzhou during the reign of the Kangxi emperor (or even earlier, during the emperor Shunzhi's reign). In the Jiangnan area, the societies from Hangzhou, Shanghai, Ningbo and other places also influenced each other. They remained active until the Republican period and, in some places, into the early 1950s. Despite their geographical locations and cultural differences, they were very similar to each other in terms of their use of deity-writing traditions and music in their rituals, their concentration in urban areas, and their popularity among the literati, officials, landed gentry, and merchants, who conducted the rituals during these ceremonies. They often drew on Daoist, Buddhist and Confucian traditions and were dressed in Daoist priest attire when they conducted the rituals. Yet, they distinguished themselves from professional Daoist priests by not receiving remuneration for their services.

[159] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 8、11.

[160] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 12.

[161] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 11.

[162] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 9-12.

[163] Locations discussed included Suzhou/Wumen, Changzhou, Shanghai, Shaoxing and Lin Hai in Zhejiang,

早期的斗社与新的救世主义宗教运动有关，城市精英群体中盛行鸾坛/扶鸾活动及礼斗仪式。明末清初，江南地区已经出现了专门的斗社，称为斗会，流行于江南各地。[158] 自明清以来，以吕祖、文昌为中心的扶鸾活动以及“宣扬救世渡劫的思想”在儒家精英中日益流行。这反映了明清儒家的宗教化倾向，例如道教的仪式和音乐自宋元以来开始世俗化，经教传统为劝善思潮所代替，以及清廷的剃发易服令对汉人产生了极大的心灵冲击与创伤。上层精英将扶鸾活动视为复兴儒学和传承道法的方式。士大夫在传承道法中的作用在明朝初现端倪。鸾坛所出的鸾书反映了礼斗的重要性以及礼斗结社的历史。《道藏辑要》中收录有吕祖扶乩的鸾书《先天斗帝敕演无上玄功灵宝真经疏解》和《九皇心经注解》等。这些鸾坛的扶乩和礼斗融合了道教和佛教的传统。[159] 斗社可能是道教音乐在群众和寺庙之外蓬勃发展的重要场所。许多地方的斗社往往是当地水平最好的雅乐团体。[160]

一些明清时期的文献，包括小说，记载了明清以来的礼斗活动。晚明官员和藏书家家祁承㸁（1563-1628年）在一封家书中讲述了同僚礼斗得子的事迹，借以鼓励其子“虔心奉斗斋”。清代小说中记载了礼斗时须学斗姥心咒，请斗姥画像供奉家中朝拜。供奉者必须安分守己，并吃一段时间斗斋。斋戒包括斗斋和准提斋，斋期时在家设香火礼拜诵经，“时而黄冠，时而黑衣”。礼拜斗姥时穿道衣，拜准提时穿海青，反映了礼斗活动兼习佛道二教。[161] 同时供奉斗母和准提的实践凸显了礼斗活动佛道融合。佛道交融的仪式特征也见于清末和民国年间梨园的九皇胜会中。清代小说中礼斗的仪式结构与清末民初九皇胜会的仪式非常相似。

斗社盛行于中国各地，从华北天津、华中武汉到江南地区（包括江西）、福建地区以及云贵地区都有斗社。[162] 早期的斗社形成于康熙年间（也可能早在顺治年间）的苏州。在江南一带，杭州、上海和宁波等地的斗社形制相仿，相互影响。这些斗社到了民国时期还很活跃，有些地方的斗社直到20世纪50年代早期还在发展。尽管地理位置和文化背景不同，各地斗社礼斗和供奉斗母/斗姥的形式非常相似，都有扶鸾的传统，并在仪式中使用音乐。斗社主要集中在城市地区，参加者多为文人、官员、地主士绅和商，他们参与礼斗和供奉斗母，并主持仪式。他们经常借鉴佛道儒的传统，并在举行仪式时身穿道服。然而，与职业道士不同的是，他们行持科仪并不收取报酬。

[158] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页8、11。

[159] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页12。

[160] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页11。

[161] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页9-12。

[162] 这些地区包括苏州/吴门、长洲、上海、浙江绍兴、临海以及福州。

Dipper societies in Tianjin, Hangzhou, Jiangxi, and Yunnan would conduct Dipper Worship ceremonies and rituals during the first nine days of the ninth lunar month or on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[164] However, many other Dipper societies in other parts of China did not hold these ceremonies during the ninth lunar month but instead worship the Dipper and Dou Lao/Dou Mu on selected days of each month (such as the sixth day in some and the first and 15th days in others), known in some places as the Yue Dou Ritual, or when commissioned to do so for families and individuals. In Hangzhou and Yunnan, besides the Jiu Huang Dou, there was also the Six Emperors Dipper Ritual (Liu Huang Dou), observed from the first to the sixth day of the sixth lunar month. The altar set-up, chanting, and worship were the same as the Jiu Huang Dou, just that it was not so crowded and popular. During the Qing dynasty, in the Wu region and Shanghai, there was also the custom of offering Dipper Incense in the eighth lunar month, on the night of the mid-autumn festival. In 1874, for example, Dipper altars were also reported to be erected on the 15 h day of the eighth lunar month during the mid-Autumn Festival. This was also the practice in Hangzhou, where the *Legacy of Hangzhou Customs* had a section on the Mid-Autumn Dipper Incense.[165] One of the Dipper societies in a temple in Jin Ze town around Shanghai would conduct ceremonies on the first day of the third lunar month (Qi Nian Chan), the Duan Wu (fifth day of the fifth lunar month) and the mid-Autumn (15th day of the eighth lunar month) respectively.[166] Others would conduct these Dipper worship ceremonies on other deities' birthdays.

Hu Pu'an's record of customs in Zhejiang in the 1920s, for example, mentioned that "from the first to the sixth days of the sixth lunar month, several devotees in Hangzhou would enter temples to worship and perform repentances, and honour Dou Lao." Yellow candles were used, and the rituals were commonly known as Dipper Worship. Some would also undertake vegetarian diets and observe *zhai* during the six days they abstained from killing. This practice was commonly known as 'Dipper Vegetarianism'. [167] Similar practices can be seen in worshipping the Six Emperors and the Six Emperors Vegetarian in other parts of China, such as the Wan'an Shatang Village in Ji'an City, Jiangxi province, where the inhabitants undertook vegetarian diets for three days during the sixth lunar month for health reasons.[168]

Despite these variations and the fact that the ninth lunar month often constituted only one of the occasions for Dipper and Dou Lao/Dou Mu worship among Dipper societies, their growing popularity in China through the Qing dynasty and the importance of Dipper and Dou Mu worship, as well as the close relationship between these two deity and ritual traditions, provided important insights into the popularity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China during the late Qing and Republican era and the traditions and practices associated with it. The importance of *zhai jie*, the role of the community in organizing the festival and conducting the rituals, their wearing of Daoist priest attire and the syncretistic use of Daoist and Buddhist rituals, scriptures, and music, also provided important insights into the ritual and social structure of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival during the later periods.

The growing popularity of these Dipper societies belied attempts to prohibit Dipper Worship in homes during the Ming and Qing, as seen in such entries in the Ming and Qing legal codes. Contemporaries explained these prohibitions as an attempt to avoid pollution. The masses were said to be "of lowly status, and their homes were not clean". Thus, to worship the Dipper, there was an act of pollution and desecration "in Confucian eyes", as the Dipper star deities were high-ranking heavenly deities of imperial status". Nevertheless, these Dipper societies comprised Confucian scholars and the bureaucratic/official, gentry and commercial elites in the urban centres of China were probably allowed to conduct such rituals through the patronage of these elites. Although several of these societies began in the founders' homes, they would move into separate quarters or temples. Despite legal prohibitions, their survival and growth through the Qing helped account for their prevalence in the late Qing and early Republican periods. However, the changes in regime and society between the Qing and Republic, in certain contexts, led to the decline of some of these societies. Nevertheless, they played an important role in the popularization of Dipper and Dou Mu/Dou Lao worship and its growth as a community-led and organized activity, which influenced the shape of the festival in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

[164] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 24.

[165] 范祖述, 杭俗遗风 (上海: 上海文艺出版社, 1989), 22 and 25. This based on the 1928 revised edition.

[166] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 19.

[167] 胡朴安, 中华全国风俗志（下）(台北: 启新书局, 1968), 14-15.

[168] 温发镀，"万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗"，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏 eds., 吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）(国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005), 362.

天津、杭州、江西、云南等地的斗社会在农历九月前九天或在农历九月初九举行礼斗仪式。[163] 其他地区的斗社通常不会专门在农历九月举行这些仪式，而是在每月的特定日子（初六或者初一十五）进行礼斗和拜斗姥/斗母，被称为月斗，或是在受家庭或个人所托之时举行仪式。在杭州和云南地区，除了九皇斗，还有农历六月初一至初六举行的六皇斗。六皇斗的斗坛陈设和吟诵拜忏与九皇斗一样，但人流较少，受欢迎程度较低。清朝年间，吴文化地区和上海也有在农历八月中秋之夜供斗香的习俗。例如，在1874年，有报道称在农历八月十五中秋节期间新设斗坛。据《杭俗遗风》中“中秋斗香”载，杭州也有类似做法。[164] 上海金泽镇的斗社会在农历三月初一(“起年忏”)、端午（农历五月初五）和中秋（农历八月十五日)举行仪式。[165] 也有一些斗社会在其他神诞大日子举行礼斗仪式。

胡朴安记载了20世纪20年代浙江供奉斗母的风俗：“又六月朔至初六，多有在庙宇礼忏，供奉斗姥， 燃黄色烛，俗称拜斗。一般迷信者于此六日中茹素持斋，戒杀生物，俗称吃斗素。”[166] 类似的实践也见于中国其他地区的六皇崇拜和六皇斋，例如，江西吉安市万安沙塘村的村民会在农历六月期间吃素三天。[167]

尽管存在不同的斋戒，斗社也不是仅在农历九月举行礼斗和供奉斗姥/斗母仪式，清朝年间，斗社在中国日益流行，礼斗和供奉斗母的重要性以及两位神明和仪式传统之间的密切联系，都反映了在清末和民国时期，九皇胜会及其传统在中国十分盛行。斗社强调斋戒的重要性，社区在组织节日和举行仪式方面发挥重要作用，主礼者身穿道服，融合道教和佛教的仪式、经文和音乐，这些方面都影响了后来九皇胜会的节日仪式和社会结构。

斗社的日益流行使得明清时期的法典中民众不得私自拜斗的规定成为空谈。时人解释，这些禁令是为了避免污染。“因从儒家祭礼立场认为斗星是天地之神”，而民众“地位低下，家中不净”。因此，在儒家看来，民众拜斗是一种污染和亵渎的行为。然而，斗社由文人儒士以及城镇官员、士绅和商业精英组成，并在这些精英的支持下举行礼斗仪式。有些斗社开始是在创办人的家中组织，后来转移到独立场所或庙宇中。尽管有法律禁止，斗社仍在清初逐渐兴起和发展，到晚清民国时期十分盛行，但政权和社会的变迁也导致了一些斗社的衰落。尽管如此，斗社作为社区领导和有组织的活动，其存在与发展推动了礼斗和供奉斗母/斗姥的普及，并影响了19世纪末和20世纪初的节日形态。

[163] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页24。

[164] 范祖述，《杭俗遗风》（上海：上海文艺出版社，1989年），页22、25。这一版本以1928年修订版为基础。亦请参阅：薛理勇，《上海原来这么过中秋，这些濒危风俗应列入“非遗”》，上海交大建筑遗产保护国际研究中心，https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/267389668. 感谢吴豫分享文章链接。

[165] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页19。《沪城岁事衢歌》中记载了农历八月十五上海蕊珠宫举行的礼斗仪式，焚烧斗香，许多外出赏月的文人仕女也参与其中，盛会一直持续到深夜才结束。

[166] 胡朴安<浙江>，见《中华全国风俗志（下）》（台北：启新书局，1968年），页14-15。

[167] 温发镀，<万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005），页362。

The worship of Dou Lao (also read as Dou Mu in ancient times) was a central facet of the rituals of the Dipper societies. Dou Lao and Dou Mu often appeared in the names of temples, buildings, and chambers in temple complexes. The worship of Dou Mu remained popular throughout China through the Qing dynasty. Dou Mu temples and Bai Yun Guan altars were also built during the Qing dynasty, including at least thirteen temples in the goddess's name.[169] Furthermore, in a list of temples worshipping Dou Mu in the late Qing and early Republican period, there were references to the worship of the "Nine Emperors",[170] suggesting the close relationship between these deities in late-imperial and early Republican China. A stele commemorating the Nine Emperor Gods Festival observance in the of Beijing in 1834 was dedicated primarily to Dou Lao and the blessings she bestowed on the community.[171]

The naming of Nine Emperor Gods temples after Dou Mu/Dou Lao was also seen among Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Several of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temples in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore were named Dou Mu's Palace (Dou Mu Gong). These include the Kathu Shrine on Phuket Island, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong on Penang Island, the Taiping Gu Wu Miao Dou Lao Gong in Taiping, the Yun Wu Shan Dou Mu Gong in Bagansiapiapi and the Hougang Tou Mu Kung in Singapore. In some temples not named after Dou Mu, such as Ampang Nan Tian Gong, their Inner Chamber was named Dou Mu Gong. Ong Seng Huat pointed out that this practice suggested that Dou Mu was the chief divinity venerated, whereas the Nine Emperor Gods were "accompanying deities".[172]

The reverence of Dou Mu was not limited to China but spread throughout East Asia, as various directories compiled by Western observers have indicated. In its 1873 edition of the *Directory and Chronicle for China*, *Japan and the Philippines* under the heading of "Japanese Festivals, Fasts and Observances", it was reported that "Tau-Mu Yuen-Kiun – the Mother of the Dipper" was worshipped "to obtain happiness and long life" on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[173] In 1874, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month of the Chinese calendar was described as the "birthday of a deified Daoist nun, a supposed incarnation of Chundee (Durga)", a recognition to the similarities in the representation of the deities.[174] Similarly, in the 1882 *Directory and Chronicle for East Asia*, the 20th of October was said to be the "Fête day of the goddess of the measure (Durga)" in its list of Chinese festivals.[175] From the Tang dynasty onwards, Mo Li Zhi Tian worship also made its way to Japan. The goddess not only became venerated by warriors for the mental discipline and martial powers that she was supposed to confer but also became affiliated with worshipping a Japanese deity known as Myōken Bosatsu. The latter is also associated with the Northern Dipper in many contexts.[176]

In 1905, a Zhejiang newspaper described the Dou Lao Zhai alongside other religious festivals in the region, exhorting devotees to worship the Dipper and undertake a *zhai* abstinence on the third day of the third month and the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. The abstinences and rituals were believed to restore their failing sight, rejuvenate them, and give them peace of mind and a regular diet while averting calamities and misfortunes.[177]

While the earliest references to the "Nine Emperors" could be found in religious texts since the Six Dynasties period, actual descriptions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, including mentions of the worship of Dou Mu, were only recorded much later, from the Qing dynasty onwards. Entries collected in biographies, miscellaneous jottings and annals of popular local traditions offer us a glimpse into the scale and popularity of the festival in different parts of China. Some of these would overlap with the histories of the Dipper societies and their activities.

Pan Rongbi, a Qing imperial court official in Beijing during the mid-18th century, provided an account of the festival in his memoir of life in the capital. He noted how various Daoist temples would erect altars and worship the Northern Dipper in the ninth lunar month. This was known as the Nine Emperors Festival. From the last day of the eighth lunar month until Chong Yang, which was also Dou Mu's birthday, the devotees would undergo ***zhai jie***. On that day, offerings and performances are organised, and many devotees lit lanterns in veneration. Offerings include Lu Hai Dong liquor, pine tea, jujube soup, and *mao cao* was burnt to create a thick cloud of fragrance.[178]

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[169] 萧进铭, "从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神," 19.

[170] 吕芳员，"清末民初斗姆（九皇）信仰的发展及传播"，61.

[171] This inscription recorded a donation by 62 firms in Beijing dedicated to Dou Lao, in gratitude for her blessings, which they had used to cover the costs of a building dedicated to the Dipper and a vegetarian or *zhai* hall. The money went to the purchase of a piece of land in Dong An county, with the rent income to be used to cover the cost of incense for future Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. "九皇会碑记," in 小柳司气太, comp., 白云观志: 附东岳庙志 (东京: 东方文化学院东京研究所藏收, 1934), 150–53. For context, see Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), 262-264; and Youmi Kim Efurd, "Baiyun Guan: The Development and Evolution of a Quanzhen Daoist Temple" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2012).

[172] 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 39.

[173] *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Philippines for the Year 1873, Corrected at the Different Banks, Offices and Institutions* (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office), 35-36. In the same reference, it was also mentioned that "Nan-Tau-Sing-Kun – Starry god of the south Pole" descends on the first day of the ninth lunar month.

[174] "October – 8th and 9th Moons," in *The China Directory for 1874* (Hong Kong: China Mail Office). Also see the notion that "the spirits of the southern bushel descend" on the first day, whereas the "spirits of the northern bushel descend" from the first to the nine days in the same reference. For a brief history of Zhun Ti, see Robert Gimello, "Icon and Incantation: The Goddess Zhunti and the Role of Images in the Occult Buddhism of China," in *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Columbia: University of British Colombia Press, 2004), 71-85.

[175] *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Philippines for the Year 1882* (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office), 32-33. It is perhaps also no coincidence that even today, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the Hindu festival of Navaratri (Nine Nights) are both held over the first nine days of the ninth lunar month, with Mother Durga the focus of propitiation over the last three days. For the Bengali community, the Durga Puja is held over the last three days of the festival, with the climax and sending off of the deities on the morning of the tenth day of the ninth lunar month.

[176] Hall, "Marishiten," 190-363; and Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 109-111. The quotation in the latter instance is from 109.

[177] "斗姥斋"，浙源汇报 3 (1905): 1.

[178] 潘荣陛，帝京岁时纪胜，sections 14 and 148-152, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=268472.

供奉斗姥（在古代也读作斗母）是斗社仪式的重要习俗。斗姥和斗母经常出现在庙宇、建筑和内殿的名称中。清朝年间，斗母崇拜在中国各地十分流行。清代修建了许多供奉斗母的庙宇和神坛，其中至少有13座庙宇以斗母庙为名。[168] 一份清末民初供奉斗母的庙宇列表中提到了九皇崇拜，[169] 这表明了在中华帝国晚期，斗母与九皇之间关系密切。北京市白云观有一块纪念1834年“九皇会”的石碑，碑文主要记载了斗姥为社区赐福。[170]

以斗姆宫或斗姥宫命名九皇庙的做法同样见于东南亚华人社区。在泰国、马来西亚、印度尼西亚和新加坡，一些古老的九皇庙便是如此，包括泰国普吉岛的内杼斗母宫，马来西亚的槟城香港巷斗母宫和太平古武庙斗母宫，印尼峇眼亚比的云武山斗母宫，以及新加坡的后港斗母宫。一些庙宇虽然不以“斗母”命名，例如安邦南天宫，但其内殿被称为“斗母宫”。王琛发指出：“在‘斗姆宫’中，正如其名，斗姆才是主神，九皇大帝则是配祀。”[171]

供奉斗母并不仅限于中国，许多西方观察家编的年鉴显示，斗母信仰传遍了整个东亚。在1873年出版的*Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan and the Philippines*中，在Japanese Festivals, Fasts and Observances条目下，据记载，人们会在农历九月初九祭拜斗姆元君（Tau-Mu Yuen-Kiun），祈求神明赐福延寿。[172] 1874年的年鉴称，中国农历九月初九是“一位神格化的道姑的诞辰，据称她是杜尔迦女神的化身”，这表明了两位神明的相似性。[173] 同样，1882年出版的*Directory and Chronicle for East Asia*中所载的华人节日也包括10月20日的“杜尔迦女神节”。[174] 唐朝以来，摩利支天崇拜传到日本。人们相信她能使信徒更加自律，并增强其军事实力，因此摩利支天广受武士们的供奉。摩利支天也与日本的妙见菩萨联系在一起，妙见菩萨在日本佛教神话中是北斗星神格化的天尊。[175]

1905年，一份浙江的报纸报道了当地的斗姥斋和其他宗教节日，劝诫信徒在农历三月初三和九月初九两天礼斗持斋。人们相信，进行斋戒和仪式可以恢复他们日渐衰弱的视力，使他们还年驻色，心平气和，饮食规律，同时还能消灾解难。[176]

尽管早在六朝时期，宗教文献中就出现了“九皇”，但有关九皇胜会的确切记载，包括斗母信仰的相关记录，直到清朝之后才出现。我们可以从传记、杂记及风俗志中一窥九皇胜会的规模和热烈程度，其中也有关于斗社的历史和活动的记载。

潘荣陛是18世纪中期一名生活在北京的清朝官员，他在回忆录中叙述了这一节日的盛况。他注意到很多道观会在农历九月设立斗坛拜斗。此为九皇胜会。信众会在农历八月的最后一天到重阳节期间进行斋戒，重阳节也是斗母诞辰，信众会在这一天献供演戏，燃灯祭拜。供品中有鹿醢东酒和松茶枣汤。人们还会焚烧茅草，为胜会增添浓郁的香气。[177]

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[168] 萧进铭，<从星斗之母到慈悲救度女神>，页19。

[169] 吕芳员，<清末民初斗姆（九皇）信仰的发展及传播>，页61。

[170] 石碑上的《九皇会碑记》记载了北京62家商号为答谢斗姥而捐资，修建了斗阁斋堂，并在东安县购置一块土地，租金收入用于九皇胜会香火之资。<九皇会碑记>，见小柳司气太《白云观志》(Tokyo: Toho Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyujo, 1934), 150–53. 相关背景，请参阅Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), 262-264; Youmi Kim Efurd, “Baiyun Guan: The Development and Evolution of a Quanzhen Daoist Temple” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2012).

[171] 王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页39。

[172] *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Philippines for the Year 1873, Corrected at the Different Banks, Offices and Institutions* (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office), 35-36. 其中还提到南斗星君也是在农历九月一日降临人间。

[173] “October – 8th and 9th Moons,” 见*The China Directory for 1874* (Hong Kong: China Mail Office). 据称，南斗星君下降日是初一，北斗星君下降日是初一到初九。关于准提菩萨的简史，请参阅 Robert Gimello, “Icon and Incantation: The Goddess Zhunti and the Role of Images in the Occult Buddhism of China,” in *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Columbia: University of British Colombia Press, 2004), 页 71-85.

[174] *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & the Philippines for the Year 1882* (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office), 页 32-33. 在今天，九皇胜会和印度教的九夜节都在农历九月的前九天举行，女神杜尔迦会在最后三天为众人赐福。孟加拉社区会在节日最后三天举行杜尔迦法会，节日的高潮是在农历九月初十的早上送走神灵。

[175] Hall, “Marishiten,” 190-363; and Bernard Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 页 109-111. 关于日本妙见菩萨见页109。

[176] <斗姥斋>，见《浙源汇报》，1905年，第3版，第1页。

[177] 潘荣陛（约公元18世纪），《帝京岁时纪胜》，第14节及第148-152节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=268472. “九月各道院立坛礼斗，名曰九皇会。自八月晦日斋戒，至重阳，为斗母诞辰，献供演戏，燃灯祭拜者甚胜。供品以鹿醢东酒，松茶枣汤，炉焚茅草云蕊真香。”

During the Ming dynasty, there was already a tradition of propitiating the Dipper deities in the imperial palace. This tradition was closely associated with the practice of "eunuch Daoist priests". The Jia Jing emperor, a staunch believer and promoter of Daoism, had constructed many halls for the propitiation of the Dipper and other deities, such as Qin An Dian, Dou Tan Ting, Bao Hua Dian, Tian Qiong Bao Dian, which were all built for "yellow-crowned" Daoist priests to set up their altars to worship the Dipper deities. The centre of these activities was the Guang Ming Hall. However, the power of the Daoist priests in the palace was greatly diminished after the end of the Jia Jing reign. The chanting of scriptures in the palace was taken over by the eunuchs, giving rise to the label of "eunuch priest".

After the Qing conquest of China, the practices of the palace adhered largely to Ming precedents. In all the different halls, a chief and deputy eunuch Daoist priest was appointed, eighteen in total. Every year, in the first, second, eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth months, for three days, they would build a Nine Emperors ritual area and a Dipper altar, and the supervisor/overseer of the internal affairs of the palace and royal household would listen to the chanting of the scriptures. The practice was discontinued after the Dao Guang reign.[179]

The worship of the Dipper was said to have been rather common and popular among the imperial family and high-ranking officials as a form of physical and spiritual enrichment. However, the Qing court did not officially promote it. There were records of the officials of the early Qing court engaged in the worship of the Dipper. In 1677 (16th year of Kangxi), a stele entitled *Inscription for the Dou Mu Tan of Tian Xian Gong* recorded how Tian Xian Gong in the capital city was built through the fundraising of the Zheng Yi ritual specialist and devotees. The Dou Mu altar had attracted the Manchu and Han officials, soldiers, and inhabitants from the two cities who had come to visit. It was "difficult to convey the crowd's exuberance and incense at the scene". Thus, the event attracted not only the Han but also the Banners, and both seemed to be devout believers of Dou Lao.[180] An official in Shanxi undertook *zhai jie* six times a month to pay respects to Dou Mu. He not only built a Dou Lao Ge in his official quarters, where he observed *zhai jie* and worshipped the Dipper but also went to the Yuan Tong Guan and other major temples to chant scriptures.

However, the Yong Zheng Emperor had ordered the construction of the Seven Dipper altars between late 1730 and early 1731. A serious illness had afflicted him between 1729 and 1730, and a Daoist priest from Long Hu Shan, who was at a temple (Da Guang Ming Dian) in the capital, had propitiated the Dipper for his recovery. The emperor recovered and appointed this priest to preside at Qin An Dian and to construct a Dipper altar there. The temple archives recorded that it would worship the Dipper six times each month and set up an altar platform to worship the Dipper on fixed days. Even in the late Qing, this custom of worshipping the Dipper seemed to have continued, as Zeng Guofan had recorded the Dao Guang emperor worshipping the Dipper on the first day of the first lunar month with an offering of Dipper Incense at the Tian Yi Gate in front of the Tian Di Tan, before heading to the Qin An Dian to worship the Dipper there as well.[181]

The propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods was still considered important in the Forbidden City during the late Qing period.[182] Yu Rongling (1889-1973 CE), one of Empress Dowager Cixi's (1835-1908 CE) ladies-in-waiting, described how many in the palace would assume "vegetarian diets in honour of the Nine Emperors" during the ninth lunar month. Yu not only noted that "for unknown reasons, eunuchs were extremely strict and rigorous about observing this regime of *zhai*" but also explained that Cixi would consistently "express her frustration in small tantrums" when her tastebuds became bored by the monotony of vegetarian food over 12 days.[183] The strict vegetarian diets observed by eunuchs described above could be connected to the founding of the Malacca Jiu Huang Gong during the 1920s, whose first ritual specialist, "Uncle Cai", was also a "eunuch from the late Qing dynasty". Uncle Cai found a painting of the Nine Emperor Gods that is still revered in the temple today and a copy of the *Miraculous Sutra* (as discussed above), which is used among many temples that worship the Nine Emperor Gods within a Buddhist cosmology and ritual system.[184]

[179] 孤雪, "太监道士", 实报, October 22, 1935; 鹤溪. "旧闻随录: 明末清初宫中之太监道士", 铁报, November 2, 1935. Eunuch monks were later appointed under subsequent Qing emperors to oversee the Buddhist temples and halls on the grounds of the different palaces, under the overall supervision of the Zhong Zheng Hall. Subsequently, young Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were also recruited for service in these temples. Nevertheless, during the reign of Dao Guang, it was said that the emperor had been angered by the crowds which had gathered to see a ritual procession led by the main eunuch Daoist priest, and did not acknowledge his presence when he decided to make an impromptu visit. He ordered an end to this practice of having eunuch priests and the young Buddhist monks and Daoist priests at the temples, leaving only the Lama priests.

[180] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 9.

[181] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 9.

[182] Tours of the Forbidden Palace in the 1920s showed that there were rooms designated as Dipper altar. "澄瑞亭斗坛[照片]: 故宫博物院前后五年经过记(续)," 故宫周刊 (3) 1929.

[183] 裕容龄 (1889-1973 CE), 清宫琐记 (北京: 北京出版社, 1957), 53.

[184] 叶, "马六甲九皇宫掌故," 101, 105-106.

明代已经有了在宫中礼斗的传统，这与“太监道士”的传统密切相关。嘉靖皇帝好道，修建了许多宫殿，包括钦安殿、斗坛亭、宝华殿和天穹宝殿，供黄袍道士设斗坛礼斗。这些宫殿的“大本营则在今之光明殿也。”然而，嘉靖以后，宫中道士的权力大大削弱，在宝殿中诵经的工作由太监接管，“太监道士”由此产生。

清军入关以后仍遵循明朝先例，各殿设有一大太监和一副太监，共十八人。每年正月、二月、八月、九月、十月和腊月，这些太监道士会建斗坛并设仪式区域供奉九皇大帝，为期三天，内务府总管大臣恭代听经。道光之后，这一实践便停止了。[178]

虽然清廷并未在官方层面上推崇礼斗，但礼斗活动在宗室和大臣中十分盛行，被视为一种丰富个人精神生活的方式。　　清初官员参与礼斗活动的记载颇多。据康熙十六年（1677年）《天仙宫斗母坛碑记》载，正一法官与众善信募建京城天仙宫，斗母坛吸引了内外两城的满汉官员和军民前来观光，“香火之盛，笔难殚悉”。因此，不仅汉人重视礼斗，旗人同样敬信斗母。[179]　山西一名官员每月斋戒六次，向斗姆行礼。他不仅在衙署内设斗姥阁，在那里持斋拜斗，还到圆通观玉皇大帝及各大寺庙诵经。

雍正皇帝从1729年至1730年生病时，　在京内大光明殿的龙虎山道士娄近垣礼斗为皇帝禳病。雍正痊愈后命娄近垣为钦安殿住持，并开始修建斗坛。据《钦安殿存留档》载，每月礼斗六次，定期建道场礼斗。1730年末到1731年初，雍正皇帝下令修建了七处斗坛。礼斗习俗延续到晚清，曾国藩记录了道光皇帝在农历正月初一礼斗的情景，皇帝在天地坛前、天一门拈斗香，并到钦安殿礼斗。[180]

晚清时期，紫禁城中仍十分重视供奉九皇。[181] 裕容龄（1889-1973年）是慈禧太后（1835-1908年）的御前女官，她记载道：农历九月期间，宫中许多人会吃九皇素，不仅“太监们对于这个斋期还遵守得很严”，就连慈禧太后也会因连续十二天吃单调的素食而烦躁，不停“发点小脾气。”[182]　这些严格遵循斋期的太监可能与20世纪20年代马六甲九皇宫的成立有关，相传该庙第一位礼仪专家材叔便是一位晚清太监。财叔不仅找来一幅九皇大帝画像，这幅画像直到今天仍供奉于九皇宫中，他还取得一份《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》，这份经文常常见于许多以佛教传统供奉九皇大帝的庙宇中。[183]

[178] 孤雪，<太监道士>，见《实报》，1935年10月22日；鹤溪，<旧闻随录：明末清初宫中之太监道士>，见《铁报》，1935年11月2日。不久后，清朝皇帝任命太监道士掌管不同宫殿的佛寺和庙堂，由中正殿统筹。此后，年轻僧人和道士应召到这些庙堂中服务。相传在道光年间，钦安殿的大太监组织了走香灯仪式，吸引众人聚集观看，皇帝被此激怒，未提前通知便临时出巡。他下令庙堂中不得有太监、僧人和道士，只留下喇嘛。

[179] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页9。

[180] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页9。

[181] 1920年代关于故宫的记载表明，当时有一些地方设置了斗坛。<澄瑞亭斗坛【照片】：故宫博物院前后五年经过记>，见《故宫周刊》，1929年第3期。

[182] 裕容龄（公元1889-1973年），《清宫琐记》（北京：北京出版社，1957），页53。

[183] 叶鸿亿，<马六甲九皇宫掌故>，页101，105-106。

Similar practices could also be observed in the region of Anping in Hebei province, located south of Beijing. The *Miscellaneous Jottings of Anping County* that was compiled during the Qing dynasty noted that from the first to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, the inhabitants followed the Nine Emperors' *zhai*, worshipped Dou Mu, the Stellar Sovereign, and recited her scriptures day and night, with candles and lanterns providing a brilliant backdrop and swirling smoke from burning incense."[185]

Southern Chinese communities also observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, which treated the occasion with much fanfare. Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang, witnessed the organisation of several religious groups devoted to worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods. Fan Zushu's *Legacy of Hangzhou Customs* provided an account of the "Nine Emperors' Dipper Altars" in the region, where "the Nine Emperors of the Dipper were worshipped from the first to the tenth day of the ninth lunar month"[186] and "the greater half of the inhabitants of Hangzhou were vegetarians [during this period] and cleansed their kitchens". There were more than three hundred Dipper Altars in the city and beyond, both in the mountains and the plains. Yellow silk was used in the homes to set up the offering tables. The table curtains, banners and candles used for this festival were all yellow. The observing households competed to do their best to prepare for the festival. Every evening, they conducted rituals and prayers late into the night and early hours of the morning. On the sixth and seventh days, the ritual of submitting petitions to heaven was arranged by those who were well-respected and particularly devout. They would put up public notices about this ritual and invite children to participate in the Guo Guan (Gate-Crossing) rituals they conducted. Another big event during the festival would be the visits to the different Dipper altars by scholars and women, which in the case of the temples and festival venues in the mountains, would overlap with the practice of ascending to high places (Deng Gao) for the Chong Yang Festival.[187]

There were other newspaper and journal reports on the festival in Hangzhou. They noted the prevalence of Dou altars in large temples from the first day of the ninth lunar month until the 10th day, with the chanting of scriptures during the day and prayers during the night for longevity and salvation from misfortune. Observers compared the thick incense smoke to another religious festival in Hangzhou on Tian Zhu mountain during the spring, the Tian Zhu Xiang Shi, and the austere atmosphere at these altars to the court of Dong Yue , respectively, as the devotes paid respects to the Dipper, with offerings of incense, food and drink.[188] They also followed a *zhai* vegetarian diet as part of their propitiation of the deities. The venue also conducted the *Du Guan* and *Zhuo Chao* rituals. The first was conducted mainly for the health and well-being of children and family members, while the second was an offering and worshipping ceremony dedicated to the deities. These rituals were reported to be particularly spectacular and popular, with very crowded scenes and participants competing to be the first to offer incense.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival from the Late Qing to the Republican Era

With the rapid expansion of print and the mass marketisation of periodicals in late Qing (especially the late 19th century) and Republican China, there was a growing coverage of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China. Although several of these articles were critical of the festival as part of a broader critique of superstition in intellectual circles, their laments reflected its popularity and significance in different provinces and cities in China and among various communities. Nevertheless, some authors tried to provide rather detailed ethnographic accounts of the festivals and the associated practices, traditions, and beliefs. While this period had previously been seen as an iconoclasm against all forms of Chinese religious practice and tradition in the name of 'modernity', present-day scholars have started to revise these blanket generalisations. As Paul Katz and Vincent Goossaert noted, the period between 1898 to 1949 was "the fifty years that changed Chinese religion".[189] Several researchers have pointed out how Chinese religious beliefs and practices continued to adapt and thrive during this period, with varying degrees of success.[190] The Nine Emperor Gods Festival continued to thrive in China up to the late 1940s and early 1950s, despite demands (and complaints) by radical modernists and journalists for "superstitions" to be eradicated.

[185] 安平县杂记, sections 29 and 567, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=991056.

[186] 范祖述, 杭俗遗风, section 121, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=739152.
Also see Vincent Goossaert, "The Local Politics of Festivals: Hangzhou, 1850-1950," *Daoism Religion, History & Society* 5 (2013): 51; and祝逸雯, "上海正一道教过关仪式初探," 道教研究学报: 宗教. 历史与社会*Daoism: Religion, History & Society* 9 (2017): 163 and 170.

[187] 范祖述, 杭俗遗风, section 104 and 105, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=739152.

[188] There was a religious festival in Hangzhou in the spring observed since the Northern Song dynasty which was referred to as Tianzhu Xiangshi. Tianzhu was the name of a mountain in Hangzhou the pilgrims would visit as part of the festival to make incense offerings. There were about three Buddhist temples on the mountain visited by the pilgrims. It was very popular before 1949. It has seen a revival with the recent economic liberalization with the growing affluence and the advent of tourism. The description of the festival is interesting. The devotees would wear clothes of greyish blue. Hanging on their shoulders would be an earthen yellow cloth bag, and they would wear green canvas shoes. They would tie yellow cloth around their waist, with a scarf wrapped around their heads, while a flower in their hair.

[189] Paul R. Katz and Vincent Goossaert, *The Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion,* 1898-1948 (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2021). Their periodisation was partially informed by an article authored by Vincent Goossaert, "1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65:2 (2006): 307–35.

[190] In roughly corresponding order, see Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 2010); Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou,* 1900-1937 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011); Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Philip Clart, David Ownby, and Wang Chien-chuan ed., *Text and Context in the Modern History of Chinese Religions Redemptive Societies and Their Sacred Texts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

北京以南的河北省安平县也有礼斗活动。清朝年间编撰的《安平县杂记》载道：“又九月初一日至九日止，人家吃九皇斋，拜斗母星君，朝夕讽斗母经，灯烛辉煌，香烟缭绕。”[184]

中国南方地区也有九皇胜会，人们会隆重庆祝这一节日。浙江杭州有许多供奉九皇大帝的宗教组织。范祖述的《杭俗遗风》记载了该地区供奉九皇斗坛的盛况，杭城人家在“九月初一至初十供九皇斗”，并且“有大半吃素净厨。”[185] 城里城外、山上山下共有斗坛三百多处。人们用黄色帷幔桌帏在家中布置斗坛，并献上供品，所用的布帷和蜡烛皆为黄色。家家户户竭尽全力为节日做准备，每晚都会拜忏直到三四更。斗坛亦有朝天上表，全城遍发招贴，并招儿童过关。节日的另一胜会是士女游历城中和山上各斗坛，这与重阳节登高的做法有些类似。[186]

其他报纸期刊上的相关报道进一步展示了杭州地区的节日习俗。据载，庙宇会在农历九月初一到初十设立斗坛，白天诵经，晚上拜忏，以求延生解厄。香客献上食物美酒供奉北斗，有人认为节日期间香火之兴盛与气氛之肃穆可与天竺之香市和东岳之朝审相媲美。[187] 信众在供奉神明时也会持斋茹素。斗坛还会进行“度关做朝两事”。度关主要是为孩子和家人祈求健康幸福，而做朝是向神明进献供品。据称，这些仪式十分盛行，场面壮观，人潮汹涌，人们争相成为第一个进香的人。

晚清和民国时期的九皇胜会

晚清（尤其19世纪末）和民国时期，中国的印刷行业迅速发展，刊物大规模市场化，这一时期涌现了许多关于九皇胜会的报道。这些文章中有一部分是对这一节日的批评，是精英阶层对群众迷信的批判，但他们的抱怨恰恰反映了九皇胜会在中国各地广受欢迎的情况及其重要的社会意义。除此之外，也有一些作者对这一节日以及与之相关的习俗、传统和信仰进行了相当细致的描述。学者们曾经认为，这一阶段的中国为了追求所谓的“现代性”，处于反对所有形式的宗教实践和偶像的时期。如今，学者对这种过于笼统的观念进行了修正。康豹（Paul Katz）和高万桑（Vincent Goossaert）在一篇研究称，1898年到1949年实际上是“改变中国宗教的50年。”[188] 正如一些研究者所指出的，中国的宗教信仰和实践在这一时期不断适应形势，蓬勃发展，并取得了不同程度的成功。[189] 尽管一些激进的现代主义者和新闻记者抱怨并要求破除迷信，直到20世纪40年代末50年代初，九皇胜会仍然十分盛行。

[184] 《安平县杂记》，第29节及第567节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=991056.

[185] 范祖述（清代），《杭俗遗风》，第121节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=739152.
亦请参阅Vincent Goossaert, “The Local Politics of Festivals: Hangzhou, 1850-1950,” *Daoism Religion, History & Society* 5 (2013): 页51；祝逸雯，<上海正一道教过关仪式初探>，《道教研究学报：宗教、历史与社会》2017年第9期，页163及170。

[186] 范祖述（清代），《杭俗遗风》，第104及105节。

[187] 自北宋以来，杭州每年春季香客云集成市，被称为“天竺香市”。天竺是杭州一座山的名字，香客在节日期间会去那里敬香，并朝拜三座佛教寺庙。天竺香市在1949年以前极盛。改革开放后，随着城乡间人们的生活日渐富裕，伴随着旅游业的兴起，杭州的香市，又蔚然成为古老民俗文化的壮观场景。关于天竺香市的描述很有趣。据称，香客身穿灰蓝布衫，肩挎土黄布袋，脚穿青帮布鞋，腰扎拧黄布带，头包帕巾，发髻上斜拈一朵艳丽绒花。

[188] Paul R. Katz and Vincent Goossaert, *The Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion,* 1898-1948 (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies). 他们的历史分期受到高万桑一篇文章的影响，请参阅Vincent Goossaert, “1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65:2 (2006): 307–35.

[189] 对应大致顺序，请参阅Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 2010); Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou,* 1900-1937 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011); Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Philip Clart, David Ownby, and Wang Chien-chuan ed., *Text and Context in the Modern History of Chinese Religions Redemptive Societies and Their Sacred Texts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

From the late Qing to the Republican period, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival appeared very popular in several provinces and cities, from Beijing to Hangzhou, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Nanjing, Chaozhou, Fujian, and Jiangxi, as well as the inland provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan. However, the coverage of the festival was relatively uneven. The festival was reported to be particularly popular and significant among opera performers and theatres in these places and regions, with evidence of performers from one city or region observing the festival and even conducting rituals in other cities and regions. Migration was an important channel through which the festival spread to different regions of China, especially in Sichuan, with Jiangxi migrant communities seen as playing important roles in transmitting these traditions inland. Another important feature of the festival, besides the ubiquitous presence in the abovementioned regions, would be the role of the community-at-large or specific segments of these regional communities in organizing and even conducting the rituals vis-à-vis the Daoist priests or Buddhist monks. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival also seemed to transcend the traditional institutional and ritual distinctions of Buddhism and Daoism, embodying the fusion of these traditions in the rituals, traditions, belief systems and religious iconographies and terminologies underlying the festival, in a manner approximating what is commonly regarded as popular Chinese religion or Chinese folk religion. Its relationship to the Chong Yang Festival also provides another interesting dynamic in terms of its place in the Chinese religious calendar and socio-scape in China.

While there were variations in the venue, form, and flow of the festival in different parts of China and for different communities, there were, nonetheless, important overarching themes in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, such as the dates and duration of the event and the restrictions, rituals, and arrangements associated with it. The festival, in all cases, would run from the first to the ninth or tenth day of the ninth lunar month, although the preparations and abstinences or restrictions might begin a few days earlier for some participants. Another important overarching theme would be yellow in the decorations and ritual paraphernalia for the festival from the paper artefact couplets. Invariably, for participants in the festival and devotees-at-large or sometimes the wider community, there would be strict adherence to a vegetarian diet and the adoption of *zhai jie* restrictions, which included abstinence from sexual relations and even intimacy. More devout practitioners or ritual assistants, especially those from the Liyuan and opera communities, might even resort to living in the festival area or ritual hall (instead of going home) during this period to avoid transgressions arising from co-habiting with their wives. In some festival venues, women might be prohibited from entering the core ritual areas. Participants would generally avoid wearing silk and luxurious clothing, leather shoes and accessories, or any animal-based products that involved killing animals when entering the ritual halls. These different forms of penitence and abstinence were expressions of contrition, repentance, and devotion to the Nine Emperor Gods.

Although there were different representations and manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods in different regions and communities, there were some important overlaps in these understandings of who the Nine Emperor Gods were and also in the rituals and ceremonies conducted during the festival. Beliefs surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods and the festival in the late Qing and Republican reflected the influences of different religious traditions in China and the syncretism that was typical of popular Chinese religion. These revolved mainly around the traditions and beliefs surrounding the worship of the Dipper deities, especially the Northern Dipper deities and the Dou Mu or Dou Lao Yuan Jun. These drew on a wider tradition of Dipper societies dedicated to worshipping these deities, especially popular among urban and Confucian elites in Ming and Qing China.

There were also other manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods, such as the emperors of the nine regions in China credited with establishing and transmitting early civilization in China. Still, even in these traditions, they also came to be related to the Dou Mu or Dou Lao Yuan Jun. Accounts of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival between the late Qing and early Republican periods also located the festival and its practices within new religious and social movements of the era, such as those advocating an end to the killing and releasing of animals. These abstinences and acts of compassion were encouraged as a form of penitence in the hope that their sins would be forgiven and to seek to prolong one's life and deliverance from calamities and misfortunes.

从清末到民国时期，九皇胜会盛行于许多省市，包括北京、杭州、上海、浙江、南京、潮州、福建、江西等地，以及内陆省份如四川和云南，但这些地区关于九皇胜会的记载详略不一。据报道，在这些地方的梨园伶界中，九皇胜会尤其受到重视，来自某一城市的演员会在其他地区庆祝九皇胜会，甚至举行仪式。移民是将节日传播到全国各地的重要渠道，据说江西移民将九皇胜会的传统带到了四川。这些地区的九皇胜会的另一特征是社区和宗教群体在组织和举行仪式等方面的作用。九皇胜会在传统和仪式上打破了道教和佛教原有的界限，体现了不同宗教在仪式、传统、信仰体系、宗教图像和术语上的融合，接近通常所言的华人民间宗教。九皇胜会与重阳节的联系提供了另一个有趣的视角，考察其在中国宗教日历和社会景观中的位置。

在中国不同地区甚至是同一地区的不同社区中，节日的地点、形式和流程各不相同，尽管如此，各地的九皇胜会具有众多相似之处，例如节日的日期和持续时间，以及与之相关的限制、仪式和安排。通常而言，各地都是在农历九月初一至初九期间庆祝九皇胜会，有一些参与者会提前几天进行准备或开始斋戒。节日期间，所有装饰和仪式用具皆为黄色，包括纸制品、对联、灯笼以及蜡烛。所有节日参与者，包括信徒以及更广泛的社区，都会严格遵守素食并进行斋戒，包括禁欲。更为虔诚的信徒或仪式助手，尤其是梨园伶界中的人，会在节日期间住在仪式区域或大堂，避免因与妻子同居而犯戒。在一些节日场所，女性可能会被禁止进入核心仪式区域。参与者在进入仪式大堂时，通常会避免穿丝绸和华丽的衣物，不穿皮鞋或佩戴首饰，以及不穿戴任何涉及杀生的动物制品。这些不同形式的忏悔和禁欲都是表达对九皇大帝的虔诚。

尽管九皇大帝在不同地方和社区有其独特的表现形式，但各地关于九皇大帝是何方神圣的传说以及节日期间举行的仪式具有重要的相似之处。晚清和民国时期的九皇信仰和九皇胜会反映了中国不同宗教传统之间的相互影响以及中国民间宗教的融合，主要是北斗信仰的传统和信仰，特别是供奉北斗星君和斗母/斗姥元君。这些信仰源于崇信这些神明的斗会，在中国明清时期的城市精英和儒家精英中尤其盛行。

有说法称九皇是中国上古九州的九位首领，他们建立并传播了中国早期文明。在这些传说中，他们也与斗母或斗姥元君有关。清末民初关于九皇胜会的记载也将这一节日及其实践置于新宗教和社会运动的时代背景中，例如反对杀生、提倡放生等新运动。人们鼓励这种节制和放生的善举，认为这样可以进行忏悔，从而减轻罪过并延生解厄。

The rituals associated with the festival would include the chanting of Daoist or Buddhist scriptures (sometimes both), especially those relating to Dipper worship. In certain instances, there were also wider community rituals, such as special rituals for children and their health, the petitioning of the deities, and the departed and wandering spirits. Longevity, blessings of fortune, and deliverance from calamity and misfortune were important motivations for the propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods and the festival. While priests and monks were involved in certain cases, the rituals for the festival were often conducted by select volunteers from the respective community with the necessary ritual and religious knowledge, skills and experiences, especially in the opera or Liyuan world.

The practices and traditions surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in late Qing and Republican China, while embodying earlier traditions and influences, also reflected the experiences, environments and religious and ritual histories of different communities and regions in China in that era. They provided an interesting background to understanding the festival and its forms in Southeast Asia, not as a standard for measuring the latter, but as a means to understanding the continuities and divergences between the festival in the two regions.

Daoist and Buddhist temples were some of the venues for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the different parts of China mentioned above through the late Qing and Republican periods. In the ninth lunar month of 1874, it was reported that a new Dipper altar was set up in the ninth month in the *Fu Hu Miao* which had just been completed in Hangzhou. It was especially crowded on the sixth day because of the *Du Guan* ritual. The people conducting the rituals and participants made up only one-fifth to one-third of the crowd, with the rest being onlookers.[191] In 1889, an article in a Shanghai newspaper noticed how it was a custom in the Chu region for the different Shan Tang temples to set up a Dipper altar in the ninth month.[192] The festival would last for nine days. Those participating in the festival and their whole families would be vegetarian during this period, and the prices of fish and meat would invariably fall appreciably, giving an idea of the scale of community participation in the festival. The festival was most lively on the night of the sixth day, especially at the Nan Yuan Dipper Altar outside one of the gates, where the lights from the candles shone brightly, and the venue was enveloped in thick incense smoke.[193]

In 1893, the Dong Hua Dao Yuan in Shanghai organized a festival for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods from the first to the ninth days of the ninth lunar month. They set up an altar for the chanting of scriptures and prepared nine parasol lamps to follow the Daoist priests in a procession through the streets, which attracted large crowds of onlookers where it passed through. Incense paper was also burnt to help and placate wandering spirits in the vicinity.[194] Likewise, the Beijing Bai Yun Guan also paid homage to Dou Mu during the ninth lunar month, a practice that likely dated to the early 19th century.

In a *Shen Bao* article in 1895, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was seen as a Han custom dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods as the Northern Dipper stars who governed death in the mortal world. These nine days were seen as the birthdays of the deities. Those observing the festival would start cleaning and clearing the interior of their houses and adopt a *zhai jie* regime for eight days as an act of devotion and to prepare for the upcoming festival. They would invite Buddhist monks or Daoist priests to chant scriptures to accumulate merit and avert calamities or misfortune. This was a long-standing practice. Married women were especially devout followers, especially in the villages and countryside. Even those who were particular about food on normal days would take fresh and simple meals during the festival.[195]

Dipper altars would dot the Hangzhou landscape at the beginning of the ninth lunar month. They would be set up in the large temples of the city to worship the Dipper. From the first to the tenth day, there will be the chanting of scriptures in the day and Dipper worship ceremonies in the evening to seek the prolonging of life and salvation from calamities. There were ten such altars throughout the city, competing to draw pedestrians' attention with special attractions. The altar at the Tai Sui Dian on Mount Wu was recognized as the grandest, although other grounds were also elaborately furnished. The members and participants in this altar were all officials, and its resources were rather abundant.[196] Besides the lanterns and banners, all sorts of antiques were displayed on the spacious grounds. Scholars and ladies streamed through the festival site. They will conduct a *Xun Tan* ritual on the last day of the eighth month. Many young people in colourful clothes will visit these altars in groups during these ten days.[197]

[191] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 17; "斗坛挤到游女", 申报, October 29, 1874.

[192] 范祖述, 杭俗遗风 (上海: 上海文艺出版社, 1989), 22. This based on the 1928 revised edition.

[193] "斗坛火警," 字林沪报, October 20, 1889. The scale was so large that it was difficult to imagine how they would clear the candles and flowers at the end of the festival.

[194] "九皇圣诞," 新闻报, October 19, 1893, 3.

[195] "九皇胜会," 申报, November 8, 1895.

[196] See also the 1928 revised edition of the 杭俗遗风. In a commentary on the entry for the "Jiu Huang Dou Tan", most of the members of the Hangzhou Dipper altars were officials from the traditional government, whose wealth had supported these altars. With the dissolution of the old government, the altars had fallen into decline, having lost their main pillars of support. By 1928, there were very little left in Hangzhou city. Mount Wu had also become quiet, and the market there desolate, as the foundations for the Dipper altars had been destroyed. 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 18.

[197] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 17-18; "斗坛纪盛," 申报, October 24, 1895.

九皇胜会的仪式包括念诵佛教和道教经文，尤其是与礼斗有关的经文。有时还会举办更广泛的社区活动，例如专为儿童举办的特殊仪式，向神明请愿，以及祭祀孤魂等。人们供奉九皇大帝，希望可以延寿祈福，消灾解难。仪式偶尔会由道士或僧侣主持，但一般而言，仪式是由社区中具有相关知识和经验的志愿者进行的，尤其在梨园界。

中国晚清和民国时期九皇胜会的习俗和传统反映了这一时期中国各地社区的独特经历、环境背景以及宗教和仪式历史，为我们理解东南亚的节日及其形式提供了重要的背景。我们并非将前者作为衡量后者的标准，而是通过对比理解两地九皇胜会的连续性和差异性。

晚清和民国时期，佛教和道教的庙宇宫观是举办九皇胜会的场所之一。1874年农历九月，杭州新建成的伏虎庙中有一座新设的斗坛。农历初六有度关仪式，人们纷至沓来，现场人潮涌动。主礼者和参与者只占人群的五分之一到三分之一，其余都是观光者。[190] 1889年，《字林沪报》上有一篇文章指出，每到九月，楚地各善堂庙宇都会设立斗坛。[191] 节日持续九天。在此期间，节日参与者及其家人都会吃素，导致鱼和肉的价格在这段时间里总是会明显下降。这反映了节日具有一定规模。第六天晚上是节日的高潮，保安门外的南缘斗坛灯火通明，整个会场笼罩在浓浓的香烟中。[192]

1893年农历九月初一至初九期间，上海东华道院为九皇大帝举办了诞辰庆典。人们设祭坛诵经，并准备了“凉伞灯九盏”，跟随羽士游行，穿街过巷，并“焚化冥镪以济孤魂”，吸引了大量群众沿街围观。[193] 北京白云观也在农历九月礼拜斗母，这一实践可追溯至19世纪早期。

1895年，《申报》一篇报道提到，九皇胜会被视为汉人的习俗，供奉掌管人间死亡的北斗星君，即九皇大帝。人们相信，这九天是神明的生日。庆祝节日的人会打扫和清理房屋内外，并斋戒八天，为即将到来的节日做准备，以示虔诚。人们会请僧侣或道士诵经，积累功德，消灾解难。这一做法由来已久。已婚妇女则更虔诚，特别是农村地区的妇女。即使是平日里对食物很挑剔的人，在节日期间也甘愿只吃粗茶淡饭。[194]

农历九月初，杭州随处可见斗坛。城中较大的庙宇都设有斗坛礼斗。农历九月初一到初十，斗坛白天诵经，晚上礼忏，以求延生解厄。城中有十处这样的斗坛，“无不斗巧珍妍，以悦游人之目”。每处斗坛都经过精心布置，但最为宏伟的要数吴山太岁殿的斗坛。[195] “坛中人皆系藩署、书吏，集资较厚。”[196] 斗坛除了摆设灯彩之外，还陈列各色古玩。士女纷至沓来，“旬日之中，红男绿女结队来游者，真不可胜数也。”[197]

[190] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页17。<斗坛挤到游女>，见《申报》，1874年10月29日（同治十三年九月二十日）。

[191] 范祖述，《杭俗遗风》（上海：上海文艺出版社，1989年），页22。这一版本以1928年修订版为基础。

[192] <斗坛火警>，见《字林沪报》，1889年10月20日。节日规模如此盛大，以至于难以想象节日结束时应如何清理蜡烛和鲜花。

[193] <九皇圣诞>，见《新闻报》，1893年10月19日，第3版。

[194] <九皇胜会>，见《申报》，1895年11月8日。

[195] 设在城隍庙中的斗坛称“玑衡坛”虽然面积不大，也装饰得极为美观，其他重要的场所，例如中兴观、神霄雷院、金龙阁、东园之机神庙东园以及中城之日新庙更是精心布置。

[196] 亦请参阅1928年版《杭俗遗风》。在“九皇斗坛”条目下有一评论：“斗坛之组织，大多衙署中人为之，自书吏裁撤，斗坛逐渐一蹶不振。”至1928年，杭州城中只剩少许斗坛。随着斗坛被毁，吴山变得冷清，市集也逐渐萧条。俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页18。引自范祖述原著、洪如嵩补辑，《杭俗逸风》（上海：上海文艺出版社，1989），页23-24。

[197] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页17-18。<斗坛纪盛>，见《申报》，1895年10月24日（光绪二十一年九月初七）。

In Hangzhou, the custom of being vegetarian during the first nine days of the ninth lunar month was commonly referred to as the Nine Emperors vegetarian diet (*Jiu Huang Zhai*). The establishment of Dipper altars on Mount Wu, and the knocking of the wooden fish made one realize that the Nine Emperor Gods, or Dou Lao, had arrived. Those assigned duties at the Dipper altars abstained from meat and wine and "had to be respectful and sincere in their prayers". Many colourful lanterns and banners were put up for the purpose, especially at Rui Gui Dian in the Tai Ji Dian on Mount Wu. Nevertheless, the furniture and furnishings at the event were all covered by yellow cloth. Laid out on the altar table were ritual utensils and paraphernalia of great elegance and value. The priests chanting the scriptures were all dressed in shiny Daoist robes of brightly coloured golden yellow. The incense and flowers offered and the burning candles over these nine days gave one the impression of a Dipper constellation. It was said that the festival would cost one to two thousand foreign silver dollars (including its dismantling).[198]

In 1896, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Hangzhou was described as a "very established custom". The city's inhabitants took the lead in setting up Nine Emperor Dipper Altars throughout the city. The incense offered to Dou Mu enveloped the city as ritual music played through the night till dawn. At least 20 altars within the city compete with the others for novelty and grandeur. On the fifth day, each temple will hold a *Zhai Tian*, which is especially bustling and lively. Those visiting the different altars would find it especially crowded on that day.[199]

The Dipper altars could also be found in the cities and towns around Hangzhou.[200] Every year, between the ninth and tenth lunar month, after the year's autumn harvest, the inhabitants, who largely followed Daoist traditions, would set up an altar to worship the Dipper to show their devotion and to pray for good weather, as well as peace and blessings for the coming year. Every bountiful year, they held the Nine Emperors Dipper (Jiu Huang Dou). The Fu Qing Dipper Altar in Mei Cheng Zhen in Jian De Town, Hangzhou was an example. Having been invited from the Cheng Huang Shan Dou Tan in Hangzhou, the altar was set up within the Lu Zu Dian, and members were referred to as "friends of the altar" and given a religious title and rank, such as *yuan*, *ming*, *zhi* and others. It had more than ten members. They would consecrate the altar between the first and sixth days of the sixth lunar month and from the first day to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month every year.[201]

Although the members were not Daoist priests, they would wear the headdress and robes of Daoist priests and preside over rituals and religious ceremonies. During the start of the festival, they would live on the premises of the festival and follow a *zhai jie*. The altar setup consisted of deity portraits, offerings, and ritual paraphernalia. Each ritual would involve five to seven people, with two teams rotating. The altars also conducted rituals to avert calamities and misfortune for children, to provide for wandering spirits or to pray for rain during this period. During lull periods, they would also organize a performance of the Mu-Lian play for leisure.[202]

In 1915, it was reported that a group of people were going around Bei Xiang in Hang Xian to raise funds to build Dipper altars in different temples and nunneries at the beginning of the ninth lunar month. They engaged wandering priests to propitiate the Dipper deities at these places day and night. They also conducted rituals such as *Guo Guan*, creating a lively atmosphere. A high stage was erected with a priest wearing a trigram robe and holding a sword, leading the devotees to rush across the bottom of the stage, a process called the Du Guan. The festival was noted to be larger in scale than in previous years, with more than 60 altars in one of the townships alone.

The festival was also reported to be very popular in the Wenzhou area in 1897. The inhabitants would conduct the Nine Emperor Gods' prayers for the Dipper, and on Chong Yang, and visit several temples in the region where they would join Daoist priests and Buddhist monks in holding a grand festival, chanting scriptures to worship the Dipper. On this last day of the festival, it will be especially crowded and lively. Devotees would not hesitate to travel several hundred miles away to participate in the rituals and ceremonies.[203]

[198] "斗坛纪盛," 新闻报, October 17, 1893.

[199] "斗坛纪盛,"新闻报, October 15, 1896. The Tai Sui temple on Mount Wu was the biggest centre.

[200] There were about four in San Dun Zhen, Xi Hu district.

[201] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 18. This account was found in 沈雍方, 沈梦翔, 王国平, comps., 西溪古镇古村落 (杭州: 杭州出版社, 2012), 62-63.

[202] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会,"18-19.

[203] "九皇斗忏," 申报, October 22, 1897.

杭州地区有在农历九月初一至初九吃素的习俗，通常被称为九皇斋。吴山上设有斗坛，木鱼声传到耳畔，人们便知九皇大帝或斗姥已经降临。负责侍奉斗坛的人不能喝酒或吃肉，他们必须十分虔诚。在吴山上的太极殿睿汎坛，彩灯横幅高挂，器具陈设全都用黄布覆盖。祭坛桌上摆放着各种精致贵重的仪式用具和礼器。诵经的道士都穿着亮丽的金色道袍。在这九天里，人们献上无数香火、鲜花和蜡烛，仿佛置身北斗众星之间。据说，节日从头到尾，包含拆除节日场所，共计花费一至两千外国银元。[198]

1896年，杭州城的九皇胜会据称是每年的惯例。全城的人家都会设九皇斗坛，献给斗母的斗香弥漫在整座城市，仪式的奏乐声持续到天明。城里至少有20座斗坛，无不争显风采。节日第五天，各庙宇会举行斋天，场面热闹非凡。当天，各斗坛都人潮涌动，十分拥挤。[199]

杭州周围的城镇也有斗坛组织。[200] 每年秋收之后的农历九十月间，镇民信奉道教传统，设坛拜斗以示虔诚，祈求来年风调雨顺、平安祥和。丰年则办“九皇斗”。杭州建德市梅城镇的“福庆斗坛”便是一例，系从杭州城隍山斗坛引来。斗坛设于吕祖殿，入坛者称坛友，有圆、明、志等法名字辈，坛友有十来位。每年于农历六月初一至初六以及农历九月初一至初九开坛。[201]

坛友虽非道士，均穿道冠道袍，行法事科仪。开坛期间，道友宿于坛内并行持斋戒。坛场设有神图、供品及法器，每场法事需5至7人，两班轮番礼拜。斗坛也会为儿童举办法事以禳灾解厄，还有“放焰口”、“施亡食”、“打醮求雨”等法事。空闲时，坛友也会组织目连戏娱乐。[202]

1915年，杭县北乡有一群人四处奔走，筹集资金，以于农历九月初在各寺庵设斗坛。他们请道士日夜在斗坛拜忏，并举行过关等仪式，气氛十分热烈。坛中设以高台，身着八卦袍的法师持剑带领信众从台下穿过，这一过程被称为度（关）。当年的节日规模比往年更盛大，仅在一乡就有60多处斗坛。

1897年，温州瓯东地区的九皇胜会也十分热闹。人们向北斗进行九皇拜忏。重阳节（农历九月初九）当天，人们还会到当地庙宇朝拜，参与羽士僧徒举行的无遮大会，诵经礼斗。这是节日的最后一天，许多信徒不辞辛劳前往几百里以外的庙宇参加仪式，场面特别拥挤热闹。[203]

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[198] <斗坛纪盛>，见《新闻报》，1893年10月17日。

[199] <斗坛纪盛>，见《新闻报》，1896年10月15日。吴山的太岁庙最为热闹。

[200] 西湖区三墩镇有吉祥、汇真、聚贤和上生四处斗坛。

[201] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页18。引自沈雍方，沈梦翔，王国平主编，《西溪古镇古村落》（杭州：杭州出版社，2012年），页62.

[202] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页18-19。原文引自方葆勋，<目连戏与福庆斗坛>，《建德文史资料》第12辑，1995年，页66-68。福庆斗坛至抗日战争时候活动中断。

[203] <九皇斗忏>，见《申报》，1897年10月22日。这些庙宇包括三官殿、施水寮、太王洞、地主殿、高殿和先锋殿。

In Changzhou, Jiangsu, the ninth lunar month also saw the setting up of Dipper altars to worship the Dipper over the first nine days of the month, up to the day of Chong Yang. The people officiating and conducting these rituals were not Daoist priests or Buddhist monks. Most of the participants came from the commercial world. It was said that propitiating the Dipper would grant longevity and help to prolong one's life. Thus, the people propitiating the Dipper not only could not expect any monetary remuneration or benefits but also had to contribute money to the event and rituals. Before they began, they had to bathe, start *zhai jie*, and eradicate sexual desire. It was an act of devotion, discipline and determination to worship the Dipper. The altar's set-up was meticulous and elegant, with an array of antiques. In one of these festival venues, there were scores of people, although only eight to nine people were needed to do the prayer rituals at the altar each time. They took rotating shifts and did not go home during the festival.[204]

Nevertheless, the festival was not always viewed positively by the press, reforming intellectuals, or the new Republican government, especially after the reunification of China by the Guo Min Dang. In 1929, an order was issued by the Zhejiang provincial government to the administrators of all the cities and counties banning the setting up of Dipper altars because of the misappropriation of money by people raising funds in the name of the ritual seeking to profit from it, and also for spreading superstition.[205]

Buddhist temples were also reported to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival during the Republican era**.** In October 1936, the Beijing special dispatch announced that the renowned Buddhist Master Fa Jing, the abbot of Miao Feng Shan, and the eldest disciple of the old Master Xian Ming of Guang Ji Si, was renovating the premiss and organizing a large-scale Nine Emperor Gods Festival, having engaged 60-70 senior monks to chant the scriptures and spread the teachings every day from the first to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. At the same time, many from the Chinese opera (Liyuan) world have come devoutly to offer incense.[206]

The festival was also hosted in other venues and institutions. In 1920, the Great World Amusement Park in Shanghai commemorated the occasion with much fanfare. While earlier advertisements provided details of the rituals to be performed,[207] subsequent entries spotlighted spectacular performances such as flying cymbals, stunts involving fire and aerial silk acrobatics during the festival.[208] That year, the festival was held in the Gong He Ting, where there was an altar to the Dipper deities, an incense censer, chanting of scriptures, and Daoist music. Every evening, the priest conducted rituals to pray for longevity, fortune, safety, and blessings of the families attending, the protection of the children, and deliverance from calamities and evil. They attracted male and female devotees alike, with the followers from the different Dipper altars also coming to pay their respects.[209]

In a Shanghai women's magazine about the double dates in the Chinese lunar calendar remembered how nine ladies came to worship the Dipper on the Double Ninth. An explanatory note highlighted a Northern Dipper Jiao altar would be set up on that day and a grand ritual performed, with many devotees coming to offer incense and worship the Dipper.[210]

In 1932, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was still an important part of the Shanghai religious calendar. "Buddhists" had set up a Jiao altar for the first nine days of the ninth lunar month. Participants will devoutly follow a vegetarian diet, with some even choosing to live at the altar venue during the festival. The report also indicated that the Dong Hua Dao Yuan was still observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival with a Jiao altar and rituals, followed by a procession on the night of the ninth day. The festival was organized and conducted by the Daoist priests. The order of the procession was similar to that of normal Jiao rituals, except for the addition of gongs and drums, strings of folded incense paper, as well as the nine parasol lamps being carried by the nine Daoist priests leading the procession, reminiscent of the 1893 account of the same event. The decoration of the paper-made lamps was exquisite and followed the style of those made in the Tong Zhi era . This annual event attracted huge crowds along its route, making for a very lively scene.[211] The festival was also observed at various Benevolence Halls (Shan Tang) in Shanghai. There, the rituals were conducted not by Buddhist monks or Daoist priests but by their followers.

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[204] 伯超, "斗坛中人语," 小报 10 (1923).

[205] 朱家骅, "五.公牍: (辛)宗教习俗:3.浙江省府民政厅训令刊字第一五二号 (中华民国十八年十月十四日) :令各市市长、各县县长(除建德): 通令禁止斗坛聚众敛钱宣传迷信," 浙江民政月刊 24 (1929).

[206] 旧燕, "妙峰山下之九皇会: 宗镜法师大发菩提心," 戏世界. October 20, 1936. The same abbot had established a branch of the temple at another location last autumn, when he had also specially conducted a Water and Land Ritual, which lasted for 49 days. He had subsequently organized this another three times because of the great heat that had ravaged the area for the past three years. This year, this calamity was finally eradicated, producing a great harvest.

[207] "大世界九皇大会," 时事新报, October 15, 1920, 7.

[208] "大世界九皇大会," 时事新报, October 19, 1920, 7; and "大世界九皇大会," 时事新报, October 21, 1920, 7.

[209] 天台山农, 仿兰亭序. "九皇大会记", 大世界, October 13, 1920. Part of the article was torn.

[210] 张耀奎 and 巧琴, "儿歌," 妇女杂志(上海) (1921).

[211] 海上漱石生, "沪儒话旧录: 九皇会中之凉伞灯", 金钢钻, October 5, 1932.

在江苏常州，人们也会在农历九月前九天设斗坛拜斗，一直持续到重阳节。主礼者既非道士，也非僧侣。大多数参与者来自商界。相传拜斗可以延年益寿，因此，拜斗的人不仅没有得到任何报酬或利益，还必须为法事和仪式捐款。他们事前须沐浴斋戒，屏绝色欲。坛内一切陈设都非常精致，并且摆着古玩。其中一处斗坛有众多人手，但上坛礼拜只要八九人，众人轮流值班，节日期间没有回家。[204]

然而，新闻界、改革派知识分子以及民国政府，尤其是国民党统一中国后的新国民政府，各界对这一节日的看法并不乐观。1929年，浙江省政府向各市县行政厅下达命令，禁止设立斗坛，原因是有人以拜斗为名义敛财牟利，并宣传迷信。[205]

佛教寺庙也庆祝九皇胜会。1936年10月，北京特派记者称，著名佛教法师法京是广济寺老法师现明的大弟子，时为妙峰山住持。1936年10月，他正在重新举办九皇胜会，请来六、七十位高僧，从农历九月初一到初九每天诵经传法。众多梨园界人士前来献香，以示虔诚。[206]

其他场所和机构也会庆祝九皇胜会。1920年，上海大世界游乐场举行了一场盛大的庆祝仪式。最初的广告宣传主要描述庆祝仪式的细节，[207] 随后的记录则着重强调精彩的表演，如飞钹表演、火术特技和空中杂技。[208] 当年的节日在共和厅举行，那里有一座斗坛和一个香案，法师念诵宝忏并演奏仙乐。每晚法师会举行仪式，为信众祈求好运平安，为家庭赐福，为儿童禳灾解厄。这些仪式吸引众多善男信女和其他斗坛的坛友前来致敬。[209]

上海的《妇女杂志》刊载了一首关于农历双日的儿歌，其中描绘了农历九月九日“九个娘娘来拜斗”的情景。注释提到，人们会在初九当天设北斗醮坛，并举行盛大的仪式，信众纷纷前来献香拜斗。[210]

1932年，九皇胜会仍是上海重要的宗教节日之一。农历九月初一至初九期间，佛教之徒设立一座醮坛，参与者均虔诚吃素，有些人甚至住在坛场。报道还称，东华道院也会庆祝九皇胜会，道士组织建醮坛并举行仪式，第九天晚上还有游行。游行队伍的组成类似于通常的醮仪，但增加了锣鼓和长锭，还有九名道士持九盏凉伞灯引领队伍前进，规模与1893年的活动相当。纸灯的装饰十分精美，遵循同治年间制作纸灯的规格。这场一年一度的活动沿途吸引了大量群众围观，所到之处都极为热闹。[211] 上海许多善堂也会庆祝九皇胜会。善堂的仪式由“在家之坛弟子”主持，而非佛教僧侣或道士。

[204] 伯超，<斗坛中人语>，见《小报》，1923年，第10期。

[205] 朱家骅，<五、公牍：（辛）宗教习俗：3.浙江省府民政厅训令刊字第一五二号（中华民国十八年十月十四日）：令各市市长、各县县长（除建德）：通令禁止斗坛聚众敛钱宣传迷信>，见《浙江民政月刊》，1929年第24期。

[206] 旧燕，<妙峰山下之九皇会：宗镜法师大发菩提心>，见《戏世界》，1936年10月20日。在前一年的秋天，这位住持在另一个地方建立了庙宇分支，当时他还专门为此举办了一场水陆道场，持续49天。随后他又组织了三场法事，因为在过去的三年中，该地区高温不断。当年，这场旱灾终于结束，并有了大丰收。因此，他的功劳巨大，为这个地区带来了繁荣。

[207] <大世界九皇大会>，见《时事新报》，1920年10月15日，第7版。

[208] <大世界九皇大会>，见《时事新报》，1920年10月19日，第7版；<大世界九皇大会>，见《时事新报》，1920年10月21日，第7版。

[209] 天台山农，仿兰亭序，<九皇大会记>，见《大世界》，1920年10月13日。文章部分内容散佚。

[210] 张耀奎、巧琴，<儿歌>，《妇女杂志（上海）》，1921年

[211] 海上漱石生，<沪儒话旧录：九皇会中之凉伞灯>，见《金刚钻》，1932年10月5日。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also observed in western Zhejiang before the 1930s. In one year, the Ningbo Association hosted a particularly huge festival, which organized rituals for the Nine Emperor Gods over nine days and nine nights. A tall pole was erected outside the entrance with nine lanterns raised on it and a long pennant attached. The lanterns were said to signify the Nine Emperor Gods' presence, while the pennant was intended for the salvation of wandering souls. Devotees visiting the festival were able to pray for blessings and longevity for themselves and the living and seek blessings for the departed and wandering spirits.[212]

Throughout the nine days, rituals for the propitiation of the Dipper were conducted, while scriptures for the Dipper were recited. *Yan Kou* ceremonies were also performed at night. An old ship was also hired to release water lamps into the river. On the final night, there was a *Da Zhai Xing* ritual, where tables were stacked to form an elevated platform, which was decorated on four sides with table dresses made of paper from the region of Xia Shi as well as many lanterns and banners.[213] It was a "rare sight to behold" and "befitting of a grand festival". It was reportedly very costly, and the ashes from burning the tin foil or incense paper were said to have been enough to fill two huge tanks. Although it was never celebrated on such a scale again during the author's residence there, there were many other smaller-scale Dipper events in the region during the annual Nine Emperor Gods Festival, which would cost at least one to two thousand dollars each.[214]

A news article in 1942 noted the popularity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Hangzhou, here referred to as Jiu Huang Dou. The festivals organized by the Daoist temples on Mount Zi Yang and Mount Yu Gong were very famous in the region. The festival had grown considerably in scale over the past few years because of these temples. However, it was not only the Daoist priests in these temples who hosted the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Hangzhou. There was also a band of amateur Daoist priests who were very interested in Daoism and functioned as Daoist priests during this period. They followed a vegetarian diet from the first to the ninth day and abstained from alcohol.[215]

According to this account, the festival was dedicated to the founder of Daoism. Hence, yellow candles were used during the festival, as yellow was believed to be one of the most solemn and dignified colours and associated with royalty in traditional society in China. From this, the author noted, one could surmise the supreme status of the Nine Emperor Gods in the Chinese pantheon of deities. On the night before the end of the festival, there was a large-scale open-air ritual around midnight. After the ritual, the Daoist priests would gather the ends of the yellow candles used over the nine days and the fruits and cakes/biscuits offered and apportion them into bags to be distributed to the devotees. These were said to be able to avert calamity and misfortune and functioned as a form of return gift from the temple for the devotees.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was often observed alongside the Chong Yang Festival in these cities and their environs. Special features on the Chong Yang Festival in newspapers such as the *Da Gong Bao* and the *Da Shi Jie* in the 1920s also carried articles on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in cities such as Beijing and Hangzhou. In Beijing, as part of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the actors and performers would go to the Song Bo An (at Nan Xia Wa) on the morning of the ninth day to pay their respects to the deities there, namely Tang Ming Huang (also manifested as one of the star deities), Wu Chang Ye, Ling Huang Di, Confucius and other deities. Most of them were very devout and were vegetarian for all nine days.[216] In a special segment on the latter in 1922, the *Da Gong Bao* observed how a temple's Daoist priests commemorated the double ninth with the "pacing of the constellations and worshipping of the Dipper".[217] A report on the "Nine Emperor Gods Festival" was hosted by a Liyuan opera troupe in the same city that year.[218]

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Hangzhou was also observed with the Chong Yang Festival. Altars for the propitiation of the Dipper were erected during the first nine days of the ninth month. They numbered more than ten, with many of them on Mount Wu. They were very elaborately and beautifully decorated, with yellow curtains and covers. Their followers were mainly scholars. During the festival, they would also submit petitions in the evening until midnight as part of the Zuo Cao ritual. They would be dressed in Daoist robes and star hats, giving them the solemn appearance of Daoist priests. These rituals would attract large crowds of onlookers, mostly women . The location of the altars on the mountain meant that many of the devotees, as well as the followers of the altars, primarily scholars and gentry, could combine their observance of the festival with the Deng Gao tradition on the double-ninth. Many who climbed Mount Wu for Deng Gao would also visit the Dipper altars.[219]

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[212] 珊, "浙西的九皇胜会," 福尔摩斯, September 24, 1934, 2. The author reminisced about the festival in an earlier article in the same newspaper on the festival in Sichuan. He described how he had also participated fervently in the festival as a child. The liveliness and scale of the event was said to be no smaller than the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chengdu described in 1934.

[213] 珊, "浙西的九皇胜会."

[214] 珊, "浙西的九皇胜会."

[215] 蝶羽, "九皇素的形形色色", 立报. October 31, 1942. The author adopted a satirical tone towards these amateur priests.

[216] 川, "九皇圣会," 大公报, October 28, 1922.

[217] "重阳节之片片录: 步罡拜斗," 大公报, October 28, 1922, 3.

[218] "重阳节之片片录: 九皇圣会," 大公报, October 28, 1922, 3.

[219] 舜屏, "九皇斗," 大世界, October 26, 1925.

20世纪30年代以前，浙西地区也会庆祝九皇胜会。有一年，宁波会馆十分隆重地庆祝了这一节日，在九天九夜的时间里，为九皇大帝举行了盛大的仪式。门外立着一根高杆，上面悬挂着九盏明灯，还系着一条长幡。明灯“标明九皇圣号”，而长幡可“超度孤魂”。参与节日的人们既可以为自己和生者求福求寿，也可以为孤魂祈福。[212]

节日期间，人们在斗坛进行拜斗忏诵斗经，并在晚上举行放焰口仪式，并用一艘旧船往河里投放水灯。九月初九晚上有大斋星仪式，桌子被堆叠起来筑成高台，四周装饰着碘石地区的纸张制成的桌围以及各种灯彩。[213] 这是“难得一见的胜会”。这一胜会花费巨大，焚化锡箔香纸剩余的灰据说足以装满两个七石缸。虽然作者并未亲眼见到如此规模盛大的庆祝活动，在九皇胜会期间，当地有许多规模较小的斗会，每处斗会花费至少一到两千美元。[214]

1942年的一篇报道记载了杭州九皇胜会的盛况，当地称之为九皇斗。紫阳山和玉宫山上的道观举办的节日在当地十分有名。李东来道士经营玉宫山的道观，日兴月盛。在过去的几年里，这些道观使得九皇斗的规模越来越盛大。在杭州，庆祝九皇胜会的除了道观中的道士，还有一群对道教感兴趣的人士，他们会在节日期间成为业余道士，从初一到初九茹素戒酒。[215]

这篇文章还称，九皇斗是为了纪念道教的祖师。在中国传统社会中，黄色是最庄严尊贵的颜色之一，与皇家密切相关，节日期间使用黄色蜡烛，由此可知九皇诸神的地位至尊无上。节日的最后一晚，午夜时分有一场露天的大型法事。撤坛后，道士会收集过去九天燃剩之蜡烛以及人们供奉的水果和糕点，将它们分装在袋子中分赠各位施主，作为道观的回礼，据说可以辟邪消灾。

在这些城市及周边地区，九皇胜会通常与重阳节一同庆祝。20世纪20年代，《大公报》和《大世界》等报纸上与重阳节相关的专题报道中，也有一些关于北京和杭州等城市的九皇胜会的文章。北京的九皇胜会期间，演艺人士会在初九早上到南下洼的松柏庵拜神，即唐明皇（翼星宿君）、武昌爷、伶皇帝、孔子和其他神明。他们中的大多数人都非常虔诚，连续九天吃素。[216] 1922年，《大公报》上刊登了一篇关于重阳节的特别报道，记载了一所道观的道士步罡拜斗庆祝节日的情景。[217] 同年，杭州的梨园也举办了九皇胜会。[218]

在杭州，九皇胜会又称九皇斗，与重阳节一同庆祝。农历九月初一至初九期间会出现十多处斗坛，其中大多位于吴山。斗坛装饰华丽精美，桌帏旛幔皆为黄色。供奉者多是文人。节日期间，每晚上表直至深夜，这是做朝仪式的一部分。在这些仪式上，士绅羽衣星冠，如同道士一般。这些仪式吸引了大量围观者，多闺阁之侣。山上的斗坛往往会吸引更多善男信女和坛友，多为文人士绅，在农历九月初九这天，上山既是拜九皇斗，也是重阳节的登高习俗。去吴山登高的人通常会顺便游览斗坛。[219]

[212] 珊，<浙西的九皇胜会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月24日，第2版。作者此前在同一份报纸的另一篇文章中追忆了四川的九皇胜会。他描述了童年时参与这一节日的热闹场景。据说，浙西地区的九皇胜会规模盛大，不亚于1934年成都的九皇胜会。

[213] 珊，<浙西的九皇胜会>。碘石街道（原为碘石镇）隶属浙江省嘉兴海宁市，以灯彩闻名。

[214] 珊，<浙西的九皇胜会>。

[215] 蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日。作者讽称这些业余道士重新吃肉是“荤打散”。

[216] 川，<九皇圣会>，见《大公报》，1922年10月28日。

[217] <重阳节之片片录：步罡拜斗>，见《大公报》，1922年10月28日，第3版。

[218] <重阳节之片片录：九皇圣会>，见《大公报》，1922年10月28日，第3版。

[219] 舜屏，<九皇斗>，见《大世界》，1922年10月26日。

Following a vegetarian diet during the nine days of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was an important festival requirement. Nevertheless, it was noted that this requirement was followed to a certain extreme in certain cities. A newspaper article in 1939 noted that the Nine Emperors' vegetarian diet in Shanghai could be divided into two types, the *Hua Jiu Huang* and *Chun Jiu Huang,* respectively. The first referred to eating nine days of vegetarian food without specifications. The second meant eating a "vegetarian fruit" that did not bear flowers, such as water bamboo, yam, and sweet potato over the nine days.[220] There was a similar custom in Hangzhou among a group of married women who were long-term vegetarians and particularly "purists" in their approach to the vegetarian diet during the festival. Likewise, they avoided vegetables that bore flowers at their heads and turned into fruits, believing that this meant that the vegetables were not purely vegetarian. Thus, they would eat only yam and tubers.[221]

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also popular further inland in provinces like Sichuan and Yunnan. In 1923, Yunnan inhabitants would worship the Northern Dipper from the first to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month to pray for the year ahead, observe Chong Yang by climbing, and consume seasonal wines and delicacies.[222] During this period, the regional custom of worshipping the Dipper was particularly fervent in the Teng Yue Zhou region of Yong Chang Fu in Yunnan.[223]

In 1924, a certain Bo Wan described the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Qu Jing in Yunnan during the first nine days of the ninth lunar month. He noted how, towards the end of the eighth lunar month, the district leaders, gentry (the landowners and retired officials) and commercial associations would discuss and arrange donations so that they could invite a few Daoist priests to come and chant scriptures and also buy some tea, wine, and fruits as offerings for the festival.[224] The chanting of scriptures began on the first day, and the music, chanting and prayers would continue day and night. The festival would be lively, with an average of one to two hundred people.

In Ping Yi, in Qu Jing, there will be a procession through the streets every evening of the festival (for nine days). A few hundred youths will be organized to form a single line, with their faces painted with some Wu Cai (five colours), and wearing red, yellow, blue, white and black clothes, their heads wearing paper flowers. They played the flute and pipa, chanted scriptures, set off firecrackers, held incense, or carried flags. They would kneel and bow three times every hundred steps. They made their way around the city and returned to the festival area. The festival was observed every year for the blessing and prosperity of the community and to avert any calamity and misfortunes. All the city's high-ranking officials and wealthy would give no less than 200 yuan each year to support the festival, amounting to several thousand yuan annually.[225]

James Hutson, in his account of the "Ninth Moon Feast" ("*Ch`ung yang chieh*") in early 20th-century Sichuan, had noted how the birthday of "*Chiu Huang*", "one of the nine stars of the Northern Bushel", was also celebrated in the ninth month. It was believed that if it rained on the first day, it would probably rain for the whole period. Most people were reported to eat "pulse or herbs" during this period. No animals were killed during this period, and yellow flag were raised "everywhere", including at "eating houses", where the flags would have the characters "*chiu huang su shih*". During this period, there was "the custom of worshipping the Northern Bushel to obtain long life" through the chanting of scriptures like the "*pei tou ching*" (Northern Dipper Scripture) or the "*chiu huang ching*" (Nine Emperors Scripture). There was also the concept of "*Chieh Shou",* through which one could add more years of life to one's parents from one's own. On the evening of the ninth, the "vegetarian feast is removed and burned at the door of the house", and the premises became "well stocked with pork and other flesh".[226]

In the *Chengdu Survey* (first published 1909), Fu Chongju (1875-1917) also noted that from the 29th day of the eighth lunar month, every restaurant would be washed and cleaned, with their stoves, pots and bowls placed separately. Each will have yellow couplets pasted on them, and yellow paper will be used to make colourful banners or yellow flags. Itinerant hawkers carrying their poles will do the same. During the festival, eight or nine out of ten male and female residents would light yellow candles at dawn and dusk and pay respects by burning incense and kowtowing. They also followed *zhai jie* restrictions and consume only vegetarian food."[227]

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[220] 洋红, "九皇素", 现世报 (1939). 10-11. The tone of the article was sarcastic. The author noted that only old ladies followed this custom and that if one only buys yam and the other only water bamboo, the vegetable pedlars from Pudong will raise the prices for these products significantly. The owners of the meat shops will be very unhappy.

[221] 蝶羽, "九皇素的形形色色," 立报. October 31, 1942.

[222] 胡朴安, 中华全国风俗志(下编) (河北: 河北人民出版社, 1986), 332.

[223] 胡朴安,中华全国风俗志(上编) (河北: 河北人民出版社, 1986), 354.

[224] 云南伯琬, "九皇会", 少年谈话会 (1924): 104.

[225] 云南伯琬, "九皇会", 少年谈话会 (1924): 105.

[226] James Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills* (Shanghai: Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, 1921), 180-182. Hutson drew on his observations in the "little city of Kwan Hsien…40 miles to the northwest of Chengdu in the province of Szechuan", which was the "hub of 'The Tibetan Foothills'"]

[227] 傅崇矩 (1875-1917), 成都通览(上) (成都: 巴蜀书社, 1987), 552-553.

九皇胜会期间须戒荤十日，在一些城市，这一要求格外严格。1939年，一篇报纸文章指出，上海的九皇素可分为花九皇和纯九皇两种。第一种只需吃素九天，没有其他条件限制。第二种则更为严格，在九天里只能吃不开花的素果，比如茭白，芋艿，山芋。[220] 杭州也有类似的习俗。有一批吃常素的太太们，她们在节日期间格外注意食物的洁净。他们同样会避免食用开花结实的蔬菜。她们认为开花结子意味着不洁净，因此她们只吃芋艿或薯类。[221]

九皇胜会在内陆省份，如四川和云南等地，也相当盛行。1923年，云南的民众会在农历九月初一至初九供奉北斗，为来年祈福，人们也会登高庆祝重阳，享受应季的美食佳酿。[222] 九皇胜会期间，云南永昌府腾越州地区的滇俗礼斗尤为热闹。[223]

1924年，伯琬描述了云南曲靖九皇胜会的情景。他载道，到了农历八月末，区长、绅士（地主和退休官员）以及各商会便讨论和组织募款事宜，以邀请道士诵经，并购买茶、酒和水果作为节日供品。[224] 从节日第一天起便开始诵经，昼夜不停地奏乐、诵经和祈福。这个节日非常热闹，通常有一两百人参加。

在曲靖平彝，节日期间，每晚都会有游行队伍穿街而过。几百名青年被组织成一队（一“路路”），他们脸上涂着五彩，身穿红、黄、蓝、白、黑的彩色衣服，头戴纸花。他们或吹笛，或弹琵琶，或诵经，或放鞭炮，或焚香，或举旗。每走一百步便跪下磕头三次。他们绕着城市游行一圈，然后回到节日区域。每年人们都会庆祝这个节日，为社区祈福，消灾解难。市里的高官和富人每人都会捐资超过200元以支持节日，每年集资多达数千元。[225]

戴德生（James Hutson）在他对二十世纪早期四川的重阳节的记载中，提到了人们也会庆祝九皇（即北斗九星之一）的诞辰。农历九月的前九天被称为“九皇”。人们相信，如果农历初一下雨，那么接下来九天都会下雨。大多数人会在节日期间吃豆类或草本植物，停止宰牲。城中到处都悬挂黄旗，各饮食店插上黄旗，上书“九皇素食”四字。九皇胜会期间有拜斗求寿的习俗，人们通过诵北斗经或九皇经以求延年益寿。此外还有关于借寿的说法，年轻子女希望将寿数借给父母，以求延长他们的寿命。在初九晚上，人们在家门口焚化金纸，斋戒结束，家家户户举桌享受各类肉食。[226]

傅崇矩（1875-1917年）所编的《成都通览》（首版于1909年）中也有类似的记载：“从八月二十九起，各饮食店均洒扫，即炉灶锅碗亦皆另置，各贴不通之黄对联，或黄纸作彩帐，或黄纸剪旗，即饮食小贩挑担者亦如之。”在九皇千秋期间，“居民无论男女，朝夕燃黄油烛，焚香叩首，斋戒茹素，十之八九。”[227]

[220] 洋红，<九皇素>，见《现世报》，1939年，第10-11期。作者语气略带嘲讽。作者注意到，只有老太太才遵循这种习俗，如果有人只买芋艿或茭白，浦东的菜贩就会大幅度提高这些产品的价格。肉店老板则会很不高兴。

[221] 蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日。“到了吃九皇素的时候，特别吃的干净，凡是蔬菜中如开花儿结实的，他们也不会去吃。这也是有些不洁净的，说是开花结子，当然是一种不洁净的举动，因此不去吃它。”

[222] 胡朴安，<云南总志>，见《中华全国风俗志（下编）》（石家庄：河北人民出版社，1986），页332。重阳登高的酒饮和食物包括“茱萸酒，以面簇诸果为花糕，亲识相酬馈。”

[223] 胡朴安，<云南：永昌（四则）>，见《中华全国风俗志（上编）》（石家庄：河北人民出版社，1986），页354。《滇略》中记载，明朝正德甲辰，永昌地震，许多房屋倒塌，伤亡惨重。只有真武观安然无恙。礼斗的人躲在真武观内，无一个人受伤。

[224] 云南伯琬，<九皇会>，《少年谈话会》，1924年，页104。

[225] 云南伯琬，<九皇会>，《少年谈话会》，1924年，页105。

[226] James Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills* (Shanghai: Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, 1921), 180-182. 戴德生（James Huston）根据他在“藏区山麓的中心”四川省灌县（位于四川省会成都市西北40英里处）的观察撰成此书。

[227] 傅崇矩（公元1875-1917年），《成都通览上》（成都：巴蜀书社，1987），页552-553。

In 1934, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was still described as one of Sichuan's most popular religious festivals, especially in Chengdu, where it was especially lively. It was said to be called the Jiu Huang Sheng Hui because of the grandness of the celebrations in the past.[228] Besides the oft-mentioned vegetarian diet, the purification and cleansing of oneself, and the chanting of scriptures, the streets of Chengdu also came alive with colour and activity during the festival. The liveliness of the temples and streets was likened to a *Da Jiao* ritual in Shanghai. Almost everybody was vegetarian for the nine days except the Muslims. Even the restaurants and drinking places on the streets mostly served vegetarian food and avoided alcohol. To prepare for the occasion, families and households would paste couplets made out of yellow paper outside of their households, and yellow flags and pennants with the title "Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods" would cover the streets, effectively transforming the entire city into a world of yellow.[229]

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival remained popular in Chengdu and Sichuan throughout the rest of the Republican period. Republican-era gazetteers also corroborated this observation and noted that the first nine days of the ninth lunar month were accompanied by the assumption of vegetarianism by Sichuanese communities in great numbers.[230] Many hawkers, restaurants and shops in Chengdu continued to serve vegetarian food, and the city was a sea of yellow during this festival. A reporter in 1947, for example, noted how the different vegetarian restaurants had put up yellow flags for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival to distinguish themselves and how even sellers of grain and water were displaying yellow flags to show that they were selling vegetarian products.[231] In the same year, the *Xi Fang Ri Bao* newspaper carried an announcement that the yellow flags with the characters "Jiu Huang Sheng Hui" started fluttering from the different restaurants in the city of Chengdu on the first[t] day of the ninth lunar month, signifying the start of the festival.[232]

There were interesting accounts of who the Nine Emperor Gods were in Sichuan. In 1946, a newspaper on the festival in Sichuan claimed that the Jiu Huang was the Jade Emperor and the Nine Emperors' *zhai* had begun as a way of paying respects to the Jade Emperor. On the last day of the eighth lunar month, the inhabitants would retrieve the Jade Emperor's tablet, made of yellow paper, from their altar frame to the altar table. This tablet had the characters "Hao Tian Jin Que Hua Shen Zhi Shen Wei" in the middle, and *Zuo Fu* and *You Bi* on each side, which closely resembled the setup of the Northern Dipper as the Nine Emperor Gods (with the seven-star deities of the Northern Dipper and the two invisible star deities). On the altar, they would also place nine plates of vegetarian food, nine cups of new tea, nine pairs of yellow candles, and one pair of large yellow candles. If the family was rich, they were expected to prepare a vegetarian feast as the offering. The Sichuan inhabitants of Jiangxi descent were especially devout in their adherence to the vegetarian diet. They took pains to clean the pots and stoves in their homes and other items used in the kitchen. Even the curtains will be washed before the first day of the ninth lunar month. Even the children in wealthy homes were very excited about eating the Nine Emperor God's vegetarian diet, as they were usually tired of eating fish, meat, and luxurious food. They found the delicacies made from vegetables and tubers fried with vegetable oil (such as tapioca) particularly tasty while looking forward to eating *you cha*, a snack made from rice noodles, for supper.[233]

Other traditions concerning the origins and manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods were collated in and around Chengdu in the 21st century. In one tradition, Jiu Huang was remembered as a filial son who was wrongfully executed by an emperor, who, regretting his mistake, had allowed the child's spirit to receive the honour of an emperor for nine days.[234] The second account remembered the Nine Emperors as the nine sons of the deity Zhang Guolao (seventh to eighth century CE), who was about to be punished for his extravagance in the mortal world. In response, he instructed his nine sons to prepare vegetarian food, hemp cloth and garments and to live frugally for nine days. After Zhang passed away, his sons found his corpse in a Dragon Robe with the crown of an emperor by his side. When the news spread, the emperor was furious that Zhang subverted his imperial prerogative and ordered the decapitation of his sons on the first day of the ninth lunar month. A ferocious thunderstorm brewed over the next nine days,[235] and the emperor, realising his mistake, gave each of the nine brothers the right to be an emperor for a day annually.[236]

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[228] 雷雷，"成都的九皇胜会，" 福尔摩斯，September 20, 1934, 2.

[229] 雷雷，"成都的九皇胜会，" 2. Also see Di Wang, *Street Culture in Chengdu: Public Space, Urban Commoners, and Local Politics, 1870-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 200. The author of the 1934 article noted that although that new ideas and thinking coming to the fore in Chengdu society seemed to have somewhat dampened the mood and scale of the festival that year, it was, nonetheless, expected to experience a revival that year due to the "recent" resurgence of interest in traditions in the city.

[230] 周芷颖 (fl. Republican China)，新成都 (1943)，40. Data was retrieved from the Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT) interface maintained by Dagmar Schäfer, Shih-Pei Chen, Sean Wang, and Calvin Yeh, "Rare Local Gazetteers at Harvard-Yenching Library (digitized collection), Berlin: Max Planck Institute for the History of Science," accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/research/projects/rare-local-gazetteers-harvard-yenching-library-open-access-collection.

[231] "锦城小景，" 西方日报, October 17, 1947, 2.

[232] 西方日报，October 14, 1947.

[233] 大公晚报, 28 September 1946, 2.

[234] 李，"从江西'九皇斋'到川西'九皇节，" 110.

[235] Thunderstorms were commonly treated as a sign of celestial displeasure in the context of Chinese society and religion. See Charles E. Hammond, "The Interpretation of Thunder," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53:2 (1994): 487-503.

[236] 李，"从江西'九皇斋'到川西'九皇节，" 110.

1934年，九皇胜会仍是四川地区最为流行的宗教节日之一，成都九皇胜会的规模尤其盛大，之所以称为九皇胜会正是因为其庆祝规模盛大。[228] 节日期间，人们吃素持斋、洁净身心和诵经，成都的街道"五光十色，花样百出"。庙宇和街道的热闹程度不亚于上海的打醮仪式。在这九天中，除了回教徒，几乎所有人都吃斋，连街上的大多餐馆和茶馆也只供应素食，不提供酒饮。为了迎接节日，家家户户都会在门外贴上黄色对联，街道上挂满了写有"九皇胜会"四字的黄幡和三角旗，放眼望去，整个社区"变成了黄色世界。"[229]

民国时期，九皇胜会在四川和成都地区一直十分盛行。民国时期的地方志记载证实了这一点，农历九月初一至初九，四川许多社区都吃素戒荤。[230] 节日期间，成都许多小贩、餐馆和商店会提供素食，整座城市变成黄色世界。1947年，一位记者注意到，素食餐馆会在节日期间插上黄旗，表明本店出售素食，就连卖粮食和水的摊贩也会如此。[231] 同年，《西方日报》报道，自农历九月初一至初九，成都市诸多餐馆挂上写着"九皇胜会"的黄旗，标志着节日的开始。[232]

四川有许多关于九皇大帝是何方神圣的记载。1946年，一篇关于四川九皇胜会的报道称，九皇大帝是玉皇大帝，九皇素逐渐成为供奉玉皇大帝的方式。在农历八月的最后一天，人们将黄纸制成的玉皇大帝牌位从神龛中请到供桌上。牌位的中间写着"昊天金阙玉皇大帝之身位"，两边分别写着"佐辅"和"右弼"，与作为北斗星君（七显二隐）的九皇大帝的设定十分相似。人们在桌上放上九盘素食、九杯清茶、九对黄色蜡烛和一对黄色大蜡烛。富裕人家还会准备一堂素席以作供品。江西籍四川移民吃九皇斋尤为虔诚，他们不辞辛劳地清洗家里的锅碗炉灶和一切厨具，就连窗帘也要清洗干净。富裕人家的孩子尤其喜欢吃九皇斋，他们平日里吃腻了大鱼大肉，节日期间用植物油炸成的蔬菜和薯类（如番薯）对他们来说格外美味。他们还想在晚饭时吃油茶，一种用米粉做成的小吃。[233]

21世纪，成都及周边地区还有其他关于九皇大帝的起源和表现形式的传说。一种说法称九皇是被皇帝错杀的孝子，皇帝忏悔，决定让童子魂灵做九日皇帝。[234] 另一说法称九皇大帝是张果老（约公元7-8世纪）的九个儿子，天神谴责张果老生活奢侈，将要治罪于他。张果老嘱咐九子为其备素食和麻布衣衫，并令九子节衣缩食度过九日。张果老故去后，儿子们开棺向父亲道别时发现其父身着龙袍，旁置皇冠。这一消息传开后，皇帝非常愤怒，认为张果老企图谋反，下令在九月初一将其九子斩首示众。行刑之后，狂风大作，暴雨连下九日。[235] 皇帝见状意识到自己杀错了人，于是决定每年让张果老九子各当一天皇帝。[236]

[228] 雷雷，<成都的九皇胜会>，《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月20日，第2版。

[229] 雷雷，<成都的九皇胜会>，《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月20日，第2版。亦请参阅Di Wang, *Street Culture in Chengdu: Public Space, Urban Commoners, and Local Politics, 1870-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 页 200. 雷雷指出，尽管在成都社会中出现的新思潮似乎在一定程度上抑制了1934年的节日氛围和规模，但由于"近期"人们重新关注城市传统，该年的九皇胜会可能再度兴起。

[230] 周芷颖（民国时期），《新成都》（1943），页40。文献源于数据库Local Gazetteers Research Tools (LoGaRT)，数据库由薛凤（Dagmar Schäfer），陈诗沛（Shih-Pei Chen），王修恩（Sean Wang）和叶桂林（Calvin Yeh）维护。"Rare Local Gazetteers at Harvard-Yenching Library (digitized collection), Berlin: Max Planck Institute for the History of Science," 访问日期：2021年5月31日，https://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/research/projects/rare-local-gazetteers-harvard-yenching-library-open-access-collection.

[231] <锦城小景>，见《西方日报》，1947年10月17日，第2版。

[232] 《西方日报》，1947年10月14日。

[233] 《大公晚报》，1946年9月28日，第2版。

[234] 李全中，<从江西"九皇斋"到川西"九皇节">，页110。

[235] 在中国社会和宗教中，雷雨交加通常被视为是天庭震怒的表现。请参阅Charles E. Hammond, "The Interpretation of Thunder," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53:2 (1994): 页 487-503.

[236] 李全中，<从江西"九皇斋"到川西"九皇节">，页110。

In 1947, the materials and scriptures used during the Nine Emperor Gods Jiao rituals in Ming Dao temple, Chengdu, to pray for the aversion of calamities in the world highlighted the importance of Zi Wei Emperor through the inclusion of the *Zi Wei Emperor's Edict* and the *Sincere Exhortation of the Emperor Zi Wei* in the rituals.[237] The Zi Wei Emperor was also closely associated with the Northern Dipper and other stellar deities in Daoist art and beliefs.[238]

Over time, the festival and its aims were adapted to meet changing environments, aspirations and world views. In 1946, an account of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Sichuan in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Sino-Japanese War noted how a special Nine Emperor Gods Jiao was held to pray for the aversion of calamity and to seek blessings for the world. It was held at the Nan Ming Dao Yuan outside Chengdu. The altar sat high and austere within a grand hall, with the premises elaborately decorated and the air filled with music and incense. Fragrant flowers were offered along with fruits and other items. Prayers and chants to Zi Wei Da Di were made as part of the ceremonies.[239]

The popularity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chengdu could have been due to the influence of the Hakka communities who migrated there from Jiangxi during the Qing dynasty, especially in towns such as Mulan, Longtan and Taixing.[240] A news article in 1946 noted how the inhabitants in Sichuan of Jiangxi descent were especially careful and assiduous in their observance of the Nine Emperor's vegetarian diet. All their pots, stoves, other utensils used in their home and kitchen, and even bed curtains, had to be washed, especially before the first day of the ninth lunar month. They even used sand to polish these items or changed their pots for the festival.[241] Fu Chongju's survey of Chengdu also indicated that Jiangxi native place associations were the most fervent organisers of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chengdu. The practice spread there through Jiangxi migrants.[242]

Despite its possible origins in Jiangxi, it was also said that the festival in Chengdu came to be accepted by the clan associations of migrant communities from other parts of China and the general indigenous populace there. A contemporary Chengdu city webpage on the festival remembered how from the first day of the ninth lunar month, all the clan associations would invite Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to chant scriptures and conduct rituals to welcome and invite the Nine Emperor Gods. Nevertheless, the most elaborate ritual was still at the Jiangxi clan association, which would host opera performances over ten days. The common populace, regardless of ethnicity or provincial origins, would erect a Nine Emperors flag and specially set up a Nine Emperors tablet, with flowers, candles, various vegetarian food offerings laid out, and rituals performed both night and day. As in other accounts, the eating places in the city area would be cleaned from the 29th day of the eighth lunar month. The abattoirs will also stop the killing of animals from the first day, and the population will follow *zhai jie* and a vegetarian diet. Daoist priests will be asked to go through the streets chanting the *Guo Jie* scripture on the lunar month's first, third, sixth, and ninth days. On the evening of the ninth day, they will clear the altars and burn incense to send off the deities. After sending off the Nine Emperor Gods, they will end their vegetarian diet and *zhai* regime.

Upon the end of the festival, the inhabitants of Chengdu would cook a large meat meal, a custom called Feng Zhai. On the morning of the ninth day, some families would already start to buy chicken, duck and fish to cook. Once they have burnt incense to send off the deities, the whole family will start cooking the meat heartily. These practices and the Jiangxi connections were commemorated in a sonnet from the Qing dynasty, *Zhu Zhi Ci*, describing the Nine Emperors Festival. It noted how the doors of households would have couplets or calligraphy to welcome the deities and how the practice of *zhai* for the Nine Emperors had originated from Jiangxi. After Chong Yang would be the day the *zhai* ended, the households would cook fish and kill a chicken, especially for this occasion.

Jiangxi province was, thus, also an important centre for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In 1914, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also listed as one of the festivals observed by the inhabitants of the Gan Nan region in western Jiangxi despite campaigns against popular religion in the urban areas by the former administrator of the region.[243] In 1947, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was mentioned as one of the festivals observed by inhabitants in the Gan Nan region on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Informants from Sha Tang Village in Wan'an County believed the Nine Emperors to be an ancestor of the Wen lineage (who settled in the area) during the Tang dynasty, Wen Tongbao. Thus, the lineage's members undertook a vegetarian diet for three days of the ninth lunar month annually to venerate this ancestor.[244]

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[237] 四川成都余鹤龄，"成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮启，" 新德善刊月报改版 45 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮重要文献：上陈紫微大帝恳辞，" 新德善刊月报改版47 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献:紫微大帝诏，" 新德善刊月报改版 49 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献: 三□ 分宫禳□朝斗证验，" 新德善刊月报49 (1947); "参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应，" 新德善刊月报改版 49 (1947).

[238] The growing importance of the Ziwei Star from the Song dynasty can also be inferred from the deity's portrayal in religious art in anthropomorphic forms, as in the Dazu grottoes in Chongqing of the Zi Wei Emperor seated on a dragon throne [dated to the reign of Shaoxing (1131-1162 CE) in the Southern Song) and in the Yongle Gong in Shanxi province during the Yuan dynasty, of the Zi Wei Emperor with his attendants . The Zi Wei deity was also patronised by the state during the "first year of the Zhengtong emperor's reign" (1435 CE), where "a temple was built in the honour of Ziwei. There, images were housed, and sacrifices were made to the deity. See 时玲玲, "北极紫微大帝神格与图像演变研究," 美术大观 6 (2019): 49; Lennert Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China*, 1200-1400 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 88-89; 张廷玉 (1672-1755 CE), sup., "志第二十六: 礼四"," section 24, in 明史, Chinese Text Project, accessed November 25, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=603800.

[239] 四川成都余鹤龄，"成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮启，" 新德善刊月报改版 45 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮重要文献：上陈紫微大帝恳辞，" 新德善刊月报改版 47 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献:紫微大帝诏，" 新德善刊月报改版 49 (1947); "成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献: 三□ 分宫禳□朝斗证验，" 新德善刊月报改版. 49 (1947) 7-8; "参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应，" 新德善刊月报改版 49 (1947). A similar event was organized in 1948.

[240] 李, "从江西'九皇斋'到川西'九皇节，" 110-112.

[241] 竹宫， "(旧历九月初的这几天有多少人) 吃【九皇素】，" 大公报, 28 September, 1946 2.

[242] 傅, 成都通览上, 553. Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills*, 181.

[243] "赣南民间会社." 前锋报. 14 January 1914. It was already an important centre for Dipper worship and Dipper societies in the Qing dynasty A survey of the gazetteers of the province from the Yong Zheng and Guang Xu reigns, for example, showed frequent mention of Dipper worship and Dipper altars.

[244] 温, "万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗," 362.

1947年，成都明道院在祈祷世界消灾获福的九皇大醮中使用的经文包括《紫微大帝诏》和《上陈紫微大帝恳辞》，反映了紫微大帝的重要地位。[237] 在道教艺术和信仰中，紫微大帝也与北斗以及其他星君有着密切的联系。[238]

随着时间的推移，节日的宗旨也发生了变化，以适应不断变迁的外部环境以及人们的看法和世界观。1946年，一份记载描述了在二战和抗日战争后的四川，成都南明道院举行了一场特别的九皇大醮/九皇胜醮，祈求神明赐福消灾。醮坛高而庄严，殿宇威而宏伟，空气中弥漫着音乐声和青烟。人们向神明献上香花、水果和其他物品，诵经供奉紫微大帝。[239]

九皇胜会盛行于成都可能是受到清朝年间由江西迁移到成都的客家人的影响，尤其是在木兰、龙潭和泰兴一带。[240] 1946年，一篇新闻报道提到四川的江西移民后裔十分虔诚地遵守九皇素。他们家中的一切用品，包括炉灶和锅碗瓢盆，乃至床上用品，都必须在农历九月初一之前进行清洁。他们甚至会用砂纸擦亮这些物品，或者干脆换上新的厨具。[241] 傅崇矩对成都的调查也表明，江西社团庆祝九皇胜会尤为虔诚，因为这一习俗正是由江西人带到成都。”[242]

成都的九皇胜会可能起源于江西社区，但后来这一节日逐渐为当地居民和来自其他地区的移民社区所接受。成都市政协网站上有一篇文章称：从农历九月初一开始，所有的会馆都会邀请佛教僧人和道士诵经并举行仪式恭迎九皇大帝。江西会馆的九皇胜会最为隆重，会举行为期十天的戏曲表演。普通百姓不论省籍或出身，都会在家中竖起九皇旗，并专门设立九皇牌位，奉上鲜花、灯烛和各种素食供品，在白天和晚上都会礼拜。自农历八月二十九日，城市里的餐饮场所就开始打扫卫生。从初一起，屠宰场停止宰杀动物，因为人们会斋戒吃素。在农历九月初一、初三、初六和初九，道士们走街串巷诵“过街经”。初九晚上，人们清理祭坛，烧香送神。在恭送九皇大帝之后，人们才停止斋戒。

节日结束时，成都人会做一顿荤菜大餐，这一习俗被称为封斋。初九早上，一些人家开始买鸡鸭鱼肉，一旦烧香送神礼毕，全家人就会尽情开荤。清代一首《竹枝词》描述了九皇胜会的实践与江西的联系：“门额恭迎圣驾题，九皇斋吃自江西。重阳后是开斋日，特特烹鱼又杀鸡。”

可见，江西省也是庆祝九皇胜会的重要地区。1914年，尽管当地前行政长官在城市地区开展反对民间宗教的运动，九皇胜会仍是江西西部赣南地区的居民庆祝的节日之一。[243] 1947年，有记载称赣南地区在农历九月初九庆祝九皇胜会。江西万安县沙塘村的一些村民认为九皇大帝是唐代温氏祖先温同保。因此，温氏族人在农历九月会吃三天素食，以祭祀祖先。[244]

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[237] 四川成都余鹤龄，<成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮启>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，第45期；<成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮重要文献：上陈紫微大帝恳辞>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，第47期；<成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献：紫微大帝诏>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，第49期，页6-7；<成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献：三□分宫禳□朝斗证验>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，第49期，页 7-8；<参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，第49期，页 16-17。

[238] 宋代紫微星日益重要的地位也体现在紫微星在宗教艺术中的人格化形象。在重庆大足石窟中，有一尊紫微大帝坐在龙椅上的雕塑【可追溯到南宋绍兴年间（公元1131-1162年）】。元朝的山西省永乐宫中也有描绘紫微大帝皇帝及其侍从的壁画。正统元年（公元1435年），紫微大帝受到国祀，朝廷建造一座庙宇供奉紫微大帝，一尊神像被供在庙宇中接受人们的朝拜。请参阅：时玲玲，<北极紫微大帝神格与图像演变研究>，《美术大观》，2019年第6期，页49；Lennert Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China*, 1200-1400 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 88-89；张廷玉（1672-1755年），<志第二十六：礼四>，第24节，《明史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年11月25日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=603800.

[239] 四川成都余鹤龄，<成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮启>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，1947年，第45期；<成都明道院丁亥秋祈祷世界消灾获福九皇胜醮重要文献：上陈紫微大帝恳辞>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，1947年，第47期；<成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献：紫微大帝诏>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，1947年，第49期，页6-7；<成都明道院丁亥秋九皇大醮重要文献：三□ 分宫禳□朝斗证验>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，1947年，第49期，页 7-8；<参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应>，见《新德善刊月报改版》，1947年，第49期，页 16-17。1948年也组织过一次类似的活动。

[240] 李全中，<从江西“九皇斋”到川西“九皇节”>，页110-112。

[241] 竹宫，<（旧历九月初的这几天有多少人）吃【九皇素】>，《大公报》，1946年9月28日，第2版。

[242] 傅崇矩，《成都通览上》，页553。Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills*, 页 181.

[243] <赣南民间会社>，见《前锋报》，1914年1月14日。在清代，赣南已是重要的礼斗和斗社中心。有研究表明，雍正到光绪年间该省的地方志经常提到礼斗和斗坛。

[244] 温发镀，<万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗>，页362。

Accounts of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Jiangxi before 1949 were collected by ethnographers in present-day ethnographers in Yongxin County. However, the setting up of Nine Emperor Gods altars essentially stopped after 1949.[245] They were grand *zhai jiao* rituals conducted for the safety and blessings of the locality. The Nine Emperor Gods, for this community, referred to the Northern Dipper stellar deities. In the past, every village and family would hold its own Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The participants were all volunteers, and they would form an association or committee among themselves to organize a festival and then choose nine leaders with the titles of "*xiang shou*, *xiang mo*, *hu shou*, *hu mo*, *jin tong*, *fu jin tong*" and others, who would take turns to cover the daily duties of the festival. The festival was financed from rent and other income from the community land donated by the committee or association members. The altar was usually set up in the ancestral hall. There was a distinction between a major altar and a minor altar. The major altar was grander in appearance and arrangements for the entire village. The minor altar was largely for each family and was simpler in form and process.

The setup and rituals for the major altar were more elaborate and detailed. In contrast, the minor altar's ritual sequence was simpler, consisting mainly of the commencement ritual, the ending, and the lowering of the lamps. The major altar also needed a larger array of deities, as they also had to conduct *Gong De* rituals. Behind the altar and facing the centre, they had to put up the portraits of the nine Heavenly Masters, including Zhang Daoling. On the two sides, they had Tai Shang Lao Jun, Yuan Shi Tian Jun, Tong Tian Jiao Zhu and the Emperors of the Three Realms. They also had to put up the images of the nine stellar deities from Tan Lang Xing Jun to the You Bi Xing Jun, along with the eight generals of the Thunder Department (namely the Generals Wang, Ying, Ma, Zhao, Wen, Kang, Zhu and Dai). If the village did not have enough images to make up the altar, they would have to commission drawings of the deities needed, which would take a month. Costs usually constrained the minor altars and only used the paintings of several deities to make up the numbers.[246]

The commencement of the rituals and altar began on the last day of the eighth lunar month, known as the consecration of *zhai*. In preparation for the nine days of vegetarian food ahead and the *zhai jie*, the different families would have a hearty meal with chicken and duck. There was also a large-scale and intensive cleaning and cleansing of the home and washing of all the cooking and eating utensils and other implements, just like the preparation for the New Year. From the first day of the ninth lunar month, each family had to prepare and send vegetarian food to the Nine Emperor Gods' altar daily. The altar would then give each family a return gift of three pieces of vegetarian food called *Hui Fu Zhai*. This referred to a round biscuit made of vermicelli of about six centimetres in diameter and one and a half centimetres in thickness. They would have designs with the characters *Fu Shou* "printed" on them. These biscuits were made by grounding the rice into powder before mixing it with water, kneading them into a dough, and using a wooden mould print the character *zhai* on the dough. After this, they were cooked by steaming them in a basket. The vegetarian food offered to the deities was usually eaten by the Daoist priest and the helpers, with the leftovers given to children and the poor or famished.[247]

The rituals for the nine days would begin with the commencement rituals, which involved the firing of firecrackers and the playing of music. After that, every morning, they would sing a petition and propitiate the Stellar Sovereign or the Nine Emperor Gods associated with that day. On the first day, it would be the Tan Lang Xing Jun followed by the Ju Men Xing Jun, Ji Lu Xing Jun, Wen Qu Xing Jun, Lian Zhen Xing Jun, Wu Qu Xing Jun, Po Jun Xing Jun, Zuo Fu Xing Jun and You Bi Xing Jun on subsequent days. They would sing another petition at noon and chant the Bei Dou scripture. Yet another petition will follow this in the evening, and they would propitiate the nine palaces (the rear palace of the Nine Emperors). Besides the singing of the three petitions each day, they would also conduct the purification ritual "*Xing Qing*" with the Daoist priest going to the different families expressing thanks for the vegetarian food on behalf of the deities and also to purify the premises by singing the "*Qing Bai Gao*" (purification chant) and sprinkling water skywards and on the ground to signify the cleansing of the premises and surroundings. The helper holding the incense censer from the altar would do a round of the living room to fill the house with sandalwood smoke to remove any bad air and signify the continuity of the incense ties. On the fourth or fifth day, they would have to issue the petition, which was essentially to prepare the petition for the Nine Emperor Gods. This had to include the names of all the inhabitants of the village and be read in a single go, to transmit the community's wishes to the heavens. Two or more priests usually did the singing. On the evening of the ninth day, the offerings and rituals were complete, constituting the concluding rituals. They will end their vegetarian regime on the 10th day.[248]

[245] 陈时霞, "永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济," in 刘劲峰，耿艳鹏 eds.,吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005）, 641.

[246] 陈时霞, "永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济," 639 and 641.

[247] 陈时霞, "永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济," 639 and 640.

[248] 陈时霞, "永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济," 640.

在永新县进行研究工作的民族志学者收集了1949年以前江西九皇胜会的记载，1949年以后，九皇坛基本上灭迹了。[245] 九皇坛是当地祈求合境平安的盛大斋醮仪式。对于这个社区来说，九皇大帝是北斗星君。在过去，每村每户都会自己庆祝九皇胜会。参与者都是志愿者，他们会组成一个协会或委员会共同组织节日，然后选出九名领导，分别成为“香首”、“香末”、“副首”、“副末”、“谨同”和“副谨同”等，轮流负责节日的日常工作。九皇胜会的资金来自公田租金和其他收入，公田通常由协会成员捐赠。九皇坛通常设在祠堂里。大坛和小坛是有区别的。大坛是为全村人准备的，因此更加宏伟庄严。小坛主要是为各房祈福，在外观上更简单。

大坛的布置和仪式更为复杂，小坛的仪式相对简单，包括“起坛”、“散坛”和“落灯”。大坛有众多神明，因此需要举行功德仪式。大坛之后，中间是包括张道陵在内的九位天师的画像，两侧分别是太上老君、元始天尊、通天教主以及天官、地官和水官。此外，还有从贪狼星君到右弼星君九位星君的画像。雷部八大元帅（即王、英、马、赵、温、康、朱、戴八元帅）也在恭请神明之列。如果村里没有足够的神像在大坛供奉，村民就必须委托工匠绘制所需的神像，这需要一个月的时间。小坛通常由于受到成本的限制，只使用几位神明的画像。[246]

仪式和祭坛始于在农历八月最后一天，被称为封斋日。为了迎接为期九天的素食和斋戒，有的家庭会在戒荤前一日吃一顿有鸡有鸭丰盛大餐，然后在家里进行大扫除，清洁所有厨具和餐具，如同为新年做准备那样。从农历九月初一开始，家家户户都会准备素食，献到九皇大帝祭坛上。九皇大帝会回赠三块素饼，称为回福斋。这种素饼是米粉制成的宽约6厘米、厚约1.5厘米的圆形饼干，上面印有“福寿”二字。这些饼干的制作方法是先将大米磨成粉，然后加水搅拌，揉成面团，再在面团上用木模印上“斋”字，最后将之放在蒸篮中蒸熟。献给神明的素食通常会给道士和帮工食用，剩下的分给孩子和穷苦人家。[247]

在鞭炮声和奏乐声中，第一场仪式为接下来九天的仪式揭开序幕。在此之后，每天早上人们都会诵唱文书，并祭祀值日星君或当天的九皇大帝，依次是贪狼星君、巨门星君、祭禄星君、文曲星君、廉贞星君、武曲星君、破军星君、佐辅星君和右弼星君。中午人们则诵唱另一份文书，并诵北斗经。到了晚上人们还会诵唱另一份文书，供奉九宫，即九皇的后宫。每天除了诵唱三份文书外，还须“行清”，道士会代表神明去到不同的家庭，感谢他们准备的素食，并一边唱“清白诰”一边向天空和地面洒圣水，以清洁房屋，象征乾坤清净。助手捧着祭坛上的香炉在客厅中走一圈，房子充满檀香青烟，以清除污浊的空气，象征香火的延续。在第四天或第五天，人们将“发文书”，为向九皇大帝请愿做准备。文书上包括所有村民的名字，必须一次性念完，将社区的愿望传达天庭。诵唱通常由两个或更多道士来完成。在第九天的晚上，所有的献供和仪式完成以后，诵唱则是最后的仪式。人们将在第十天结束斋戒。[248]

[245] 陈时霞，<永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005），页641。

[246] 陈时霞，<永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005），页639，641。

[247] 陈时霞，<永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005），页639，640。

[248] 陈时霞，<永新白鹭村的宗族社会与传统经济>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化（下）》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005），页640。

Thus, the region of Jiangxi and communal observations of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival may provide a promising area for future study. During Lee Eng Kew's fieldwork in southern Thailand, he came across a publication by the Kathu Shrine on Phuket island, tracing the temple's incense lineage to a Nine Emperor Gods temple in Jiangxi.[249] This was not necessarily surprising, for, despite its geographical distance from the coast of south-eastern China, several religious movements (such as the Great Way of Former Heaven and the Zhen Kong Jiao, also known as a Great Way Within Emptiness) in Jiangxi managed to find their way to maritime Southeast Asia.[250] Jiangxi's situation within these transregional religious networks thus deserves greater scrutiny. This understudied location may shed more light on the deeper significance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in southern China.

Liyuan and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival

Besides temples and community organizations, Liyuan (performing artistes) troupes, theatres, and the performing world constituted another important community associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in late Qing and Republican China.[251] While the Liyuan community was also known for their different religious festivals, including their different patron deities, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was of special importance. Regional newspapers and opera or Liyuan magazines and publications in different parts of China between the late 19th and mid-20th century noted how the members of the community, across different types of opera as well as different roles and functions within the industry, would follow the restrictions and requirements expected of them during the festival assiduously and fervently.[252] They also noted the elaborate arrangements and events organized by the performers, troupes, and theatres for the festival. It was said that as the date of the festival drew near, all the opera troupes in a city, no matter large or small, would start to make preparations, and the different theatre owners and actors in different roles would start donating to such a cause. As long as they made their livelihood from Chinese opera, whether as an actor or handling different aspects of the performances, they will be vegetarian for at least ten days.[253]

In 1939, observers noted how the festival organized by the performing world, in contrast, was especially grand and the members devout in their observances, compared to those organized by the other Buddhists and Daoists.[254] Even in the 1940s, it was still reported to be one of the grandest festivals for the Liyuan community and held in very high regard by its members.[255] In 1941, it was emphasized that from the first to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, all the seven roles, namely the Dan, Jing, Mo, Chou, Wen, Wu and the frontstage and backstage staff, would have to purify their bodies and go vegetarian. According to this account, among the Liyuan profession, those in scholarly roles would propitiate the Nine Emperor Gods. In contrast, the military role actors would propitiate the Wu Chang deity, but all would have to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, organized by profession as a whole for the Zhong Tian Da Sheng.[256]

While there were many reports of the observance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by the Liyuan troupes in the major cities in China, from Beijing to Shanghai, Hangzhou, and even Chaozhou, there were no records, thus far, of Fujianese opera troupes observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival until the 1990s, where Liyuan had come to be associated with Quanzhou opera in some quarters. Before 1949, the Chaozhou Liyuan Association "only possessed a spirit tablet without an image" of the Nine Emperor Gods, and an image of Dou Mu with ten arms was also worshipped. During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the deities were worshipped with the help of a "Dipper (bucket) filled to the brim with rice. A wooden pole with nine bronze rings was then used to hold an oil lamp. For the nine days, the lamps must remain lit and were not allowed to be extinguished". [257]

The Liyuan world's relationship with the festival was already documented in 1897 in Shanghai when a column in the You Xi Bao reported on how all the opera troupes in the Shanghai region would set up an altar on their premises every year from first day to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. They would undertake vegetarian diets and *zhai jie* regimes and worship the Dou Mu / Dou Lao. Lamps or lanterns would be hung over the doorway along with black-coloured Xuan Wu seven-star flags with pointed corners. The family members of the Liyuan members would also be vegetarian during this period.[258] In 1917, it was also reported that in the Shanghai opera world, in addition to the abstinences outlined above, the actors would also bathe and pray according to a strict schedule and avoid proximity and contact with women during this period, all great sacrifices for the performers who were used to luxury and extravagance.[259]

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[249] 李永球, "田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉?" 星洲, October 27, 2014, https://www.sinchew.com.my/20141027/田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？/.

[250] See危丁明, 庶民的永恒: 先天道及其在港澳及东南亚地区的发展 (台北市: 博扬文化事业有限公司2015); 许云樵, "空道教概论: 新兴的宗教 [The Religion of the Void: A New Religious Movement]," *Journal of the South Seas Society* 南洋学报 10:4 (December 1954): 25-32; and 罗香林, 流行于赣闽粤及马来亚之真空教 (香港:中国学社, 1962, 1962).

[251] The term "Liyuan" as a reference to Chinese opera in general was derived from the performing arts institution and musical academy that was established by Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (685-762 CE), and subsequently became a term for Chinese opera in general. Although the term "Liyuan" may also designate an opera tradition that was indigenous to Quanzhou in Fujian province, it was often used, including in Singapore and Malaya/Malaysia, as a general term for Chinese opera in general. 杨鹏涛, "唐代宫廷音乐机构梨园探究" (M.A. thesis, Xi'an Conservatory of Music, 2021); 罗金满, "泉州梨园戏与民俗文化研究" (M.A. thesis, 福建师范大学 Fujian Normal University, 2007).

[252] 南宫, "九皇圣会," 梨园秘笈社会日报, October 8, 1935.

[253] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会," 新闻报, October 18, 1939.

[254] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[255] "九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴," 友谊画刊, 1942.

[256] "今日梨园九皇会: 伶人需净身吃素," 实报, October 20, 1941.

[257] 广东汉剧志 (初稿), cited in姜斯轶, "特殊的戏神—1949 年之前北京梨园界"九皇"信仰浅探," 50. See also 陈景熙, 潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究, 277-279.

[258] "九皇会礼斗竭诚心," 游戏报, September 26, 1897, 2. The author also noted that these vegetarian diets and *zhai jie* regimes were similar to the practice of following a thunder vegetarian diet among the performing girls. These practices were said to have been started by priests in the ancient past to inculcate a sense of abstinence among these performing girls.

[259] "嚼舌头," 民国日报, October 19, 1917.

江西民间的九皇胜会有待学界进一步研究。李永球在泰国南进行的田野调查时发现了一本普吉内杼斗母宫出版的手册，其中称内杼斗母宫的香火源于江西一座九皇庙。[249] 这并不令人意外。尽管江西与华南沿海地区相距甚远，数次源于江西的宗教运动（例如先天大道和真空教，又称空中大道）的影响都远及东南亚地区。[250] 因此，江西在跨区域宗教网络中的位置值得深入研究，或许可以进一步揭示华南地区九皇胜会的意义。

梨园与九皇胜会

除了庙宇和社区组织外，晚清和民国时期，另一个与九皇胜会有关的群体是梨园和伶界。[251] 梨园供奉不同的祖师爷，庆祝各种宗教节日，其中九皇胜会尤其重要。从19世纪末到20世纪中期，中国各地的地方报纸和戏曲/梨园杂志和出版物都提到不同戏曲剧种以及不同行当的梨园成员在节日期间都会虔诚遵循斋戒。[252] 这些报道也记载了戏曲演员、戏班和剧院会为节日精心安排和组织活动。据称，随着节日的临近，城市里所有的戏班，无论大小，都会开始准备，剧院老板和演员们都会为此捐款。“只要是吃戏饭的，或是箱行场，或是靠戏馆吃饭者”，通通会吃素至少十天。[253]

1939年，有观察者指出，相比道教和佛教的信徒组织的九皇胜会，伶界的节日格外盛大和虔诚。[254] 即使在20世纪40年代，九皇胜会仍然是梨园界的一大盛事，受到其成员的高度重视。[255] 1941年，从农历九月初一到初九，七行七科，即旦、净、末、丑、文、武以及其他工作人员，都要净身和吃斋。据称，在梨园中，扮演文角的人供奉九皇大帝，而扮演武角的人则供奉斌猖神，但所有人都必须参与九皇胜会，这是整个行业为中天大圣庆祝的节日。[256]

中国许多主要城市，从北京、上海到杭州，甚至潮州地区，都有关于梨园庆祝九皇节的记载，但直到20世纪90年代才出现福建戏班庆祝九皇胜会的记录，而泉州本土剧种在一定程度上与梨园密切相关。1949年以前，潮州梨园公所供奉着一尊十臂斗母神像，九皇大帝仅有神主，无神像。九皇胜会期间，人们“用一谷斗装满米，插入一木棍，木棍上置九铜环，每环上放一油灯，九日祭祀期内灯火长明不熄。”[257]

早在1897年，上海已有关于梨园庆祝九皇胜会的记载。《游戏报》的专栏报道描述了沪江地区梨园庆祝九皇胜会的场景。每年农历九月初一到初九，梨园成员吃素持斋，设立祭坛并供奉斗姥。门口挂上灯笼，并插上带有尖角的黑色玄武七星旗。节日期间，梨园成员全家都会吃素。[258] 1917年的节日期间，上海伶界成员不仅吃素斋戒，还会沐浴更衣，每日按时拜忏，并避免接触女性，这对于习惯了享受和奢侈的伶人来说是巨大的牺牲。[259]

[249] 李永球，<田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？>，见《星洲》，2014年10月27日， https://www.sinchew.com.my/20141027/田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？/.

[250] 请参阅：危丁明《庶民的永恒：先天道及其在港澳及东南亚地区的发展》（台北市：博扬文化事业有限公司，2015）；许云樵，<空道教概论：新兴的宗教>，《南洋学报》1954年12月第4期，页25-32；罗香林，《流行于赣闽粤及马来亚之真空教》（香港：中国学社，1962）。

[251] 以“梨园”指代戏班的说法源于唐代，唐玄宗（685-762年）设立宫廷音乐机构，称为“梨园”，这一称谓后被用以指代戏班。“梨园”一词也可能指福建泉州本土的戏曲传统，但在新加坡和马来亚/马来西亚的语境中，它通常被用作华族戏曲的总称。杨鹏涛，《唐代宫廷音乐机构梨园探究》，西安音乐学院硕士学位论文，2021年；罗金满，《泉州梨园戏与民俗文化研究》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2007年。

[252] 南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇胜会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。

[253] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[254] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[255] <九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴>，见《友谊画刊》，1942年。

[256] <今日梨园九皇会：伶人需净身吃素>，见《实报》，1941年10月20日。

[257] 《广东汉剧志（初稿）》，转引自姜斯轶，<特殊的戏神—1949年之前北京梨园界“九皇”信仰浅探>，页50。亦请参阅：陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，页277-279。

[258] <九皇会礼斗竭诚心>，见《游戏报》，1897年9月26日，第2版。作者指出，这些持素和斋戒制度“与妓众六月食雷斋颇相似”，据说这些做法是由古代的卫道士倡导的，目的是向娼优灌输禁欲的意识。

[259] <嚼舌头>，见《民国日报》，1917年10月19日。

News reports in March and October 1922 also emphasised the festival's importance to the Liyuan community in Shanghai and Beijing. Performances were staged by the Shanghai Liyuan community as early as March to raise funds for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and also to provide relief for disasters. The reports also noted the strict adherence of the members of the Beijing Liyuan community to the vegetarian and *zhai jie* regimes during the festival and their custom of going to the Song Bo Si in the morning of the first day of the ninth lunar month to welcome the deities, namely Tang Ming Huang (their founder and patron deity, also associated with the star deity), along with other deities related to opera, for the festival.[260]

A detailed account of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival organized by the Yanjing Liyuan association in their association building at Ying Tao Street in Beijing in 1929 provided interesting insights into the Liyuan version of the festival, not only for Beijing but also in other parts of China. It was said that an image of the Nine Emperor God with "three heads, six arms, and was covered in fur and had palms like a beast" was enshrined within the Inner Hall of the Nine Emperors Festival in their association building.[261] The Nine Emperor Gods' image was usually covered under a yellow cloth. No one from the Liyuan association or circles was allowed to divulge its form, and outsiders could not view the statue. [262]

The abovementioned account also detailed the altars in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall before and during the festival at the Yanjing Liyuan Association building. In the Inner Hall, the usual setup for the deities and their tablets was as follows, with the Nine Emperor Gods as Zhong Tian Da Sheng in the middle, accompanied by deities such as Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, the Sacred Old Buddha (alias the Nan Hai Da Shi, or Guanyin Bodhisattva), on his left, and Guan Fu Zi and the Tai Shang Lao Jun to his right in the Inner Hall before the festival. On the outer altar, it will be the tablets of the Ling Guan deity, who sits in the middle of the altar table, and in the following order, namely the Jia Lan Bodhisattva, Si Zhi Gong Cao, the mountain deity, earth deity, Shui De Xing Jun, and Zhen Wu Da Di deities.[263]

For the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, a new altar was set up on the last day of the eighth lunar month to "receive the gods" and consecrate the deities. The tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods, represented here as the Zhong Tian Da Sheng, would be seated in the centre of the altar table, with the Jade Emperor (also known as San Shi San Tian) and Emperor Star Deity of Thunder (Lei Bu Zheng Huang Xing Jun), respectively, on his left, and the Tai Shang Lao Jun and the Buddha who Delivers from Calamities and Prolongs Life respectively to his right. On the walls of the new Liyuan association building, there were four large pieces of yellow paper with the characters "Jiu Huang Sheng Hui" written on them.

A pennant was raised on the morning of receiving, while the nine lotus lamps were raised at night.[264] Each of these lamps had nine containers in its middle, with six strings/extensions on each of their four sides, with each string having six containers. The receiving began at 8:30 P. M., with incense burning, offering tea, and chanting the Nine Emperor Gods scriptures at each altar.[265] The receiving of the deities and consecration of the tablets on the special altar took place in the main courtyard outside the Nine Emperor Gods Hall, with the congregation chanting the Nine Emperor Gods scripture as the Dipper incense was raised.[266] The image of the Nine Emperor Gods in the Inner Hall would be invited into the courtyard, where the deity would "sit in the position of the north, facing the south".[267] As this was done, a senior priest would kneel toward the north to present incense and chant an incense hymnal to the image. The inner and outer altar priests would then take turns and offer incense according to a designated order.[268]

After these offerings, the senior priest handling the ritual clappers would offer the Dipper incense. This involved 81 sticks of incense. All the priests in the hall would begin chanting the scriptures, such as the Heart Sutra and the Shakyamuni Buddha Great Compassion Sutra, followed by incense hymnals and others, to propitiate the Dipper. Following the completion of all the rituals, the congregation would kneel three times and bow nine times, formally ending the ceremony. The priests in charge of the outer hall would then replenish the tea, offerings, oil, and candles while sweeping the floor and cleaning the altar table. On the second hour of the first day of the ninth month, after the priests in the outer hall had offered oil, candles, and tea, the senior priests would offer Dipper incense again. After these rituals, they would go into the hall to chant scriptures until daybreak and then leave the hall.[269]

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[260] 燕子, "九皇会," 新世界日报, March 30, 1922; 川, "九皇圣会," 大公报, October 12, 1922. In the first newspaper article, it was announced that leading actors and managers of the theatres had just formed a Performers' Association, and established a school for the education of new talent.

[261] There was an interesting story regarding how the statue was moved from a royal residence to an opera troupe (Si Xi Troupe), and then to Song Bo An, and finally to the new association quarters. There was also an account of another set of three statues belonging to San Qing Troupe which were moved to Wu Dao temple, and the unsuccessful negotiations between the Liyuan association and the temple for them. 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 戏剧月刊 2:3 (1929): 135-142; 齐明. "燕京的九皇圣会", 半月剧刊 6 (1936): 19.

[262] Later accounts of the festival also mentioned this image, with slight variations in the description of its form. They concurred in how it had features of both human and beast, and in the secrecy surrounding it. In addition, they mentioned the weapons held by the image, and how it was covered by a piece of yellow satin. Later observers also noted how this form was very similar to Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the many-armed Goddess of Mercy. This raises the question of whether the statue was indeed that of the Nine Emperor Gods. Thus, notwithstanding the existence of this statue, the Nine Emperor Gods were also represented by a tablet during the festival, and on an everyday basis. 方问溪述 and 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 戏剧月刊 2:3 (1929): 135-136; "谈[九皇会]," 戏世界 6 (1947); 南宫, "九皇圣会."

[263] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 137-138. The Jia Lan Bodhisattva is the Buddhist manifestation of Guan Gong, who is the main deity protecting the temple premises and the devotees within. The four assisting deities are responsible, among other things, for conveying petitions by the priests and congregations to the heavenly deities. The following three deities are deities of the mountains, precinct, and water, and the Xuan Tian Shang Di.

[264] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记,"戏剧月刊 2:3 (1929): 137-138.

[265] "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (上)," 海报, October 29, 1942.

[266] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 137-138.

[267] This 1942 account noted how the central position of the Nine Emperor Gods vis-à-vis the other deities noted above, especially the Jade Emperor and the Tai Shang Lao Jun, signified his status, rank, and powers, and one could understand why he is propitiated. "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (上)," 海报, October 29, 1942.

[268] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 137-138.

[269] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 136; 南宫, "九皇圣会."

1922年3月和10月的新闻报道也反映了上海和北京梨园界对九皇胜会的重视程度。上海梨园早在3月就开始演出，筹集资金为九皇胜会做准备，并为灾难提供救济。北京梨园界的成员在节日期间坚持吃素和斋戒。他们会在农历九月一日早上前往松柏寺恭迎神明，即唐明皇（梨园的祖师爷和守护神，也与翼宿星君相关）以及其他与戏曲有关的神明。[260]

一份详细的记载向我们展示了中国各地梨园九皇胜会的盛况。1929年，燕京梨园公会在樱桃斜街的公会大楼中组织了九皇胜会，据载，燕京梨园公会大楼的九皇会内堂供奉着一尊“三头六臂被毛带掌形类兽”的九皇神像。[261] 神像通常用黄布覆盖着，梨园的人不得泄露九皇大帝的形象，外人更是不得窥探。[262]

上述记载还详细描述了燕京梨园公会九皇堂的神坛上供奉着哪些神明。内殿的神坛上供奉着这些神明及其牌位：位于中间的是中天大圣（即九皇），左边是地藏王菩萨、圣主老佛（又称南海大士，或观音菩萨），右边是关夫子和太上老君。外坛的中间是灵官的牌位，随后依次是迦蓝菩萨、四值功曹、山神、土地、水德星君和真武大帝。[263]

农历八月最后一天设新坛以接驾安神。供桌中央是代表九皇大帝的中天大圣牌位，其左是玉皇大帝（又称三十三天）和雷部正皇星君，其右则是太上老君和消灾延寿佛。梨园公会新会馆的墙上贴着四张黄纸，上书“九皇圣会”四个大字。

接驾当天，上午上幡，晚上则点燃九莲灯。[264] 每盏九莲灯的中间有九盏灯，四周各有6根弦/外延，每根弦上有六盏灯。晚上八点半，接驾仪式开始。道士轮流在每个祭坛上焚香，敬茶，并诵九皇经。[265] 为神明接驾和祭祀神坛的仪式在九皇堂外的大院举行。会众诵九皇经并上斗香。[266] 内殿的九皇神像被请到院子中，坐北面南。[267] 随后，大老道面北跪下敬香，并向神像诵香赞。内坛和外坛的道士依次轮流献香。[268]

献香过后，掌盘的大老道上斗香， 共有八十一柱香。香毕，众老道上堂诵心经拜忏，拜斗并诵释迦摩尼佛大悲咒，接着进行香赞等。礼成，会众跪拜三次，磕头九次，仪式正式结束。外堂的道士收拾茶供及油蜡，同时扫地拭桌。九月初一二更时，外堂的道士供上香油、蜡烛和茶，大老道再次上斗香。礼毕，众老道登堂诵经直到天亮，天明才下堂。[269]

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260 燕子，<九皇会>，见《新世界日报》，1922年3月30日；川，<九皇圣会>，见《大公报》，1922年10月12日。前一篇报刊文章宣布剧团的主要演员和经理成立了伶界联合会，并建立了一所培育新人才的学校。

261 关于神像如何从王府转移到戏班（四喜班），再到松柏庵，最后到公会大楼有一个有趣的故事。另有一则说法讲述了原属三庆班的三尊神像被寄祀于五道庙，梨园公会与五道庙交涉要求归还神像的努力以失败告终。方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页135-142；齐明，<燕京的九皇圣会>，见《半月剧刊》，1936年第6期，页19。

262 其他记载也有提及这幅神像，对其形象的描述不一，但这些记录一致表明神像同时具有人类和野兽的特征。此外，它们还提到了九皇大帝所持的武器，包括翻天印、斩妖剑和弓斗日月，并且有“黄缎披身”。正如一些后来的观察者所指出的，这种形象非常接近于斗姆元君和多臂观音。因此这幅神像是否真为九皇大帝像仍然存疑。除了这尊神像，在节日期间和平日里中还有一块九皇大帝牌位。方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页135-136。<谈【九皇会】>，见《戏世界》，1947年第6期；南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。

263 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1939年第3期，页137-138。迦蓝菩萨是关公在佛教中的化身，关公是保护庙宇和信徒的主神。四值功曹负责向天上神明传达道士和会众上表的疏文。山神包括以下三神：土地神、水神和玄天上帝。亦请参阅：南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。

264 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-138。

265 1942年的一篇文章对九皇胜会的描述与此非常相似，恭迎九皇大帝的时间为戌初，大约是晚上7点。戌时指的是晚上7点到9点之间。<神秘庄严的九皇圣会>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日。

266 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-138。1942年的一篇文章表明，这些仪式是连续进行的，首先是安位，然后是上斗香，在两场仪式之间会诵九皇经。

267 1942年的一篇文章指出，九皇大帝坐在前述其他神明（包括玉皇大帝和太上老君）中央，这表明了九皇大帝的尊贵地位、等级和权力，自然应该供奉九皇大帝。<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（上）>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日。

268 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-138。

269 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1939年第3期，页136；南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。

The schedule of events for the next nine days would be somewhat similar. The outer hall priests were in charge of changing the tea, offerings, and water offered on the altar every day. There will be Dipper Incense offerings on the first (evening), third (morning and evening), sixth (morning and evening) and ninth (evening) days.[270] On the ninth day, they would offer a table of sticky rice cakes. On the third, sixth, and ninth days, they would also change the offerings on the altar tables. They would also submit the petition in the morning chanting session on these days.[271]

Among the offerings laid out on the altar table would be the honey offering, which stood at four feet and eight inches, with a flower pavilion on the top. It comprised nine bowls of dried fruits covered by a spherical copper gauze, about a foot and eight inches tall, with a lotus lamp on the top made of copper. Oil and wax were on this lamp, and a copper pipe was on the wax. The pipe or tube was three feet tall and used to supply incense oil and thread. In addition, there were nine bowls of fresh fruits, with five in each bowl. There were also nine bowls with ten pieces of flower cakes in each. The other offering utensils included the heavenly lamp, the copper alms-bowl and Dipper lamps. The Dipper lamps were shaped like a Dipper, with a vertical pillar on the top, copper forks on its four sides, and copper lotus flower extensions on the forks. Each of these extensions had a small bowl used for carrying oil. There are 36 such Dipper lamps. The three bowls on the cover contained pomegranates, apples, peaches and other food items. Three bowls of tea were also offered. The ten treasures (ten jewelled and jade vessels) included ritual utensils such as an incense censer, chandeliers, incense pipes, and vases.[272]

The scripture table in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall was longer than two *zhang*.[273] On this table, one would find the Nine Emperor's scripture, as well as musical instruments for accompanying the chanting like Da Qing, Mu Yu, Ying Qing, Liu Zi, Nao Bo, Da Gu, Gua Zhong, Shou Gu and others. There will be a table of Dipper incense, with 81 sticks burning. Outside the Nine Emperors Hall, there was an incense pagoda (incense bound to form a pagoda, with 36 levels), Zi Wu Dipper incense (Zi Wu incense burning inside), a large incense censer (made of iron), and a yellow Seven Stars Command flag and a Square Command flag, with the latter having the characters "Jiu Huang Sheng Hui" sewn onto it in black.[274] In the same courtyard, an altar on the left was dedicated to the deity Ling Guan and called the Ling Guan Hall. The other deities included on the altar table were Jia Lan, Si Zhi Gong Cao and Huo De Xing Jun.[275] The Zhen Wu Da Di and other deities were propitiated on the altar to the right.

On the ninth day, a table of rice cakes will be offered, with the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods in the evening. In the courtyard, a carriage was prepared for the sending-off of the five main deities. The carriage had a pole about four *zhang* tall, with a yellow pennant three *zhang* tall attached to it. On the four sides surrounding it were smaller pennants of about one *zhang* each, all made of yellow cloth.[276] The large pennant had "Jiu Huang Sheng Hui" embroidered into it in black characters. At night, priests and devotees would kneel and send the deities off by burning a carriage "drawn by nine beasts". As the sending-off ceremony begins, the participants will all gather in the evening, kneeling in a congregation. The priests would make offerings to the chariot and chant scriptures. After the chanting, they would invite the deities to sit in the carriage, using a "Seven Stars Flag" for each. After this and the final offerings, the congregation would send off the deities by burning the carriage.[277]

This account detailed an important prototype of the ritual structure and set-up of the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival, with variations in other festival areas and locations. In other parts of China, there were, for example, other rituals and events on the third, sixth and ninth days, such as the vegetarian feasts. Participants contributing to these feasts would have their names in the petitions seeking blessing. After the nine days, the fruits will also be distributed among the participants to share their blessings and fortune. The recipients treasured them as if they were holding precious jade, saying that eating them would cure them of illnesses. The remaining candles were also regarded as rare treasures and were said to be able to dispel evil.[278]

Another account of the sending-off ceremony on the ninth day in another city mentioned how the sending-off ceremony took place after noon. The receiving, daily chanting and rituals during the festival, and the sending-off would take place in the outer altar, a temporary altar set up on the stage. The theatre leader or troupe had to join in the worship and prayers. After the petition was read and the deities sent off, firecrackers were set off, concluding the festival. The fruits, cakes, and biscuits left on the inner altar (in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall) and the candle stumps were also distributed among the community to share the blessings.[279]

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[270] In 1942, it was noted that the Dipper Incense would be offered in the evenings of the first and ninth days, and in both the morning and evening of the third and sixth days. "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (上)," 海报, October 29, 1942.

[271] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 136; 南宫, "九皇圣会:".

[272] 问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记,"137-138; "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (下)."

[273] A *zhang* is the equivalent of 10 feet, or 3.33 metres.

[274] 问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 139-140.

[275] This could be an error given that in the description of the outer altar earlier, which closely resembles this.

[276] There were said to be six of them in the 1942 account of this ceremonial set-up. "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (下)."

[277] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 139-140; "神秘庄严的九皇圣会 (下)." In the latter account, the author noted how the whole festival and its rituals were done in a very orderly, respectful, and solemn/strict fashion. The scale of the event was seen as analogous to if not greater than, in terms of grandeur, the ceremonies to pay respects to Confucius in Qu Fu.

[278] "九皇会," 菊部珍闻, 社会日报, October 28, 1930; 朱双云, "菊部小事记: 九皇会," 戏 (1938).

[279] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会,"; 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947.

接下来九天的活动安排大致相同。外堂的道士负责每天更换堂前所供之茶品和净水。初一晚上、初三早晚、初六早晚和初九晚上上斗香。[270] 初九这天，人们会准备一桌粘糕。每逢初三、初六、初九，人们会更换供桌上的供品，并在早堂焚表。[271]

斗坛供桌上的供品包括一份蜜供，高四尺八寸，最上层是一花亭，由九个碗干果组成，其上是一高约一尺八寸的铜丝网，顶部是一盏铜制的莲花灯。这盏灯上有油和蜡，一根三尺高的铜管插在蜡上，用来往内灌香油及线拈。此外，供品还有九碗新鲜水果，每碗五个。另有九个碗，每碗有十块花糕。其他供奉用品包括天灯、铜钵和斗灯。斗灯呈斗形，顶部立着一柱，四边插着铜叉，叉上有铜莲花。每个延伸出去的部分都带有一个盛油的小碗。这样的斗灯共有三十六盏。供桌上还有三个碗，碗中有石榴、苹果、桃子和其他食物，还奉上了三碗清茶。十宝（指十件饰有珠玉的物品）包括香炉、蜡签、香筒和花瓶等礼器。[272]

九皇堂的经桌长达两丈余。[273] 桌上有《九皇经》以及诵经时伴奏的乐器，包括大磬、木鱼、引磬、镲子、铙钹、大鼓、挂钟和手鼓等。桌上还有81柱斗香正在燃烧。九皇堂外，有一座香塔（线香绕成塔状，共有36层）、一座子午香斗（内焚子午香）、一个铁制的大香炉、一面黄色的七星督旗以及一面四方督旗，四方都绣上“九皇圣会”四黑字。[274] 院子的左边有一座供奉灵官的神坛，为灵官堂。堂上还有迦蓝、四值功曹和火德星君。[275] 右边也有一座神坛，供奉真武大帝和其他神明。

初九这天，人们会为晚上的恭送仪式准备一桌粘糕。院子中备有一座辇，用以恭送五位主神。辇前有一根约四丈高的杆子，杆子上挂着一幅三丈高的黄幡，四周插有几面约一丈高的小旗，皆为黄布所做。[276] 黄幡上印有“九皇圣会”四个黑字。晚上，“众跪送辇一座，驾辇骑兽九头”。恭送仪式开始，众人聚在一起跪拜行礼，道士向辇献上供品并诵经。诵经结束后，道士以七星督方旗恭请神明入辇安坐。最后一次献祭之后，众人焚化车辇送走神明。[277]

这篇报道详细描述了梨园九皇胜会的仪式和组织的情况，不同地区和节日场所略有不同。在中国其他地区，初三、初六、初九会有其他仪式，例如打斋。参与者每人“出资数十元，治素酌若干席，遍宴会众。会中则以斋主之姓名，列于表上，为之祈福，九日会毕，遒以所供之果品，分赠会众以为散福。”会众将果品视为金玉良药，声称吃了这些供品就能治愈疾病。燃剩的蜡烛也被视为珍宝，据说可以辟邪。[278]

关于另一座城市初九恭送仪式的一份记录提到了午后送驾的场景。恭迎仪式、诵经和仪式在在外坛举行，外坛是设在梨园舞台上的临时祭坛。剧院或戏班领导也要参加拜忏。上表之后便燃放鞭炮恭送神明，节日由此落下帷幕。九皇堂内坛上的水果糕点以及蜡烛头则分赠众人以散福。[279]

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[270] 1942年农历九月初一和初九的晚上，以及初三和初六的早晨和晚上，会有供奉斗香。<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（上）>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日。

[271] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页136；南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日；<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（下）>，见《海报》，1942年10月30日。

[272] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-138；<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（下）>，见《海报》，1942年10月30日。

[273] 一丈等于10尺，约等于3.33米。

[274] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1939年第3期，页139-140。1935年的记载中，是七星督旗（为鱼形，上有七个黑星）、四方督旗（为方形，上印有“九皇圣会”四个黑字）和其他物品。南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日；<今日梨园九皇会：伶人需净身吃素>，见《实报》，1941年10月20日；<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（下）>，见《海报》，1942年10月30日。

[275] 此处可能有误，在此之前，对外坛的描述与此非常接近，但是神明为水德星君。

[276] 据称，1942年的恭送仪式有6座辇。<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（下）>，见《海报》，1942年10月30日。

[277] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页139-140；<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（下）>，见《海报》，1942年10月30日。在后一篇文章中，作者记载了整个节日及其仪式以有序、恭敬和庄严的方式进行的情景。作者认为该活动在庄严程度上类似（若不是超过）曲阜的祭孔仪式。

[278] <菊部珍闻：九皇会>，见《社会日报》，1930年10月28日；朱双云，<菊部小事记：九皇会>，见《戏》，1938年。

[279] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日；张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日。在后一篇文章中，张古愚表示这好比祭孔结束后分享供品。

While several newspaper and magazine articles highlighted how little is known about the origin of the festival and who the Nine Emperor Gods were in the Liyuan festivals, several accounts did try to shed more light on both questions from the perspectives of members of the Liyuan communities.[280] Much of the debate derives from the secrecy and the great respect accorded to the deity such that the Liyuan members were unwilling to discuss who the Nine Emperor Gods were. Nevertheless, what is clear from the ethnographic descriptions would be the close association between the Nine Emperor Gods, the deities of the Northern Dipper and Dou Mu.

In 1948, a contributor suggested that Shen Nong and his predecessors were referred to as the Nine Emperors during the Zhou Dynasty.[281] More recent research, he noted, had suggested that the Nine Emperor Gods referred to the earlier emperors such as the Heavenly Sovereign, Earthly Sovereign, Human Sovereign and other early rulers, such as You Cao and Sui Ren.[282] There were also newspaper accounts in the Republican period which associated the Nine Emperor Gods with the founder deity of the Liyuan, Tang Ming Huang, who was also known as Lao Lang Jun and was himself associated with a star deity, namely the Yi Su Xing Jun. His altar was also located backstage in Liyuan theatres. He was one of the deities invited to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at the Song Bo Si when the festival was observed there. A sample stanza from a hymn that formed part of a Nine Emperor Gods scripture, which was shared in a newspaper report, was dedicated to Yi Su Xing Jun, and thus a hymn to the founding ancestor of the Liyuan.[283] Nevertheless, most accounts would distinguish between him and the Nine Emperor Gods, as well as their altars, and there was a separate festival for Lao Lang Jun.[284]

In another account, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was believed to be dedicated to the founder of Daoism. This was used to explain why the candles used during the festival were yellow, as yellow was "one of the most majestic and dignified of the colours in traditional Chinese society. Its use signified the supreme status of the Nine Emperor Gods".[285] There was also speculation that the Nine Emperor Gods statue in the Yanjing Liyuan Association approximated the description of Yin Jiao in the *Feng Shen Bang*. Another account pointed out that the form of the statue was closer to representations of Marichi Bodhisattva and Dou Mu Yuan Jun with the many arms and weapons held in them, including the sun and moon. The important place of the deity Zhong Tian Da Sheng and the True Emperor Star Deity of Thunder on the main altar of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival might also have been based on the pennant on one of Marichi's weapons which read "Zhong Tian Lei Sheng Da Di".[286] Even the carriage and mounts used in the Yanjing Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival for the deities could also be seen in the representations of Marichi and Dou Mu.[287]

In many Liyuan festival venues and halls, rituals, paraphernalia, and offerings for the worship of the Dipper, and certain cases, the Dou Mu or Dou Lao, were an important part of the event over the nine days.[288] The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was also commonly known as Nine Dippers Vegetarian Festival *Jiu Dou Zhai* or Nine Emperors Dipper Festival.[289] The Nine Emperors Dipper (*Jiu Huang Dou*), as one writer emphasized, was a form of ritual worship associated with Dipper propitiation in Daoism.[290] In a 1947 report, the incense censer on the festival altar was said to be an offering to the North Dipper Star Deity.[291] Dipper Worship was also reported to be one of the most important rituals during the festival, for which they would use Daoist scriptures. On the night of the first day, the morning and evening of the third and sixth days, and again on the morning of the ninth, they would offer the Dipper incense. As they did so, they would chant the scriptures, particularly the Nine Emperor Gods scripture.[292] The importance of the Dipper incense as one of the key offerings in the Liyuan's Nine Emperor Gods Festival is also a further testament to the close connections between the worship of these deities and Dipper Worship.[293]

Another account of the festival in 1934 saw the Nine Emperor Gods as star deities in the skies who had always governed the lives of humans in the mortal world. The author likened them to the star deities incarnated as the heroes in the *Water Margin*, who were all nevertheless under the authority of the Southern and Northern Dipper. This was also a theme found in Beijing opera, with one story having the main character "borrow life" from these Dipper deities. The Nine Emperor Gods, seen as Zi Wei, Tian Gang, Fubi and other star deities, governed life and death, as well as calamity and fortune. Paying respects to them and worshipping them promised to avert misfortune and calamity while granting fortune and blessings.[294]

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[280] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 136; "谈[九皇会]," 6; 石柳塘, "九皇会," 莫尘风 (1948).

[281] See also 儿妮黑, "闲人莫入, 荤腥勿入: 九皇会和后台神主," 海燕 (1946), 12.

[282] 儿妮黑, "闲人莫入"; 石柳塘, "九皇会", 莫尘风 (1948).

[283] 黑珍, "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔", 本埠增刊:戏剧, 时报, September 27, 1935; 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[284] 周郎, "伶界对与九皇会之外：老郎会、斌昌会," 京戏杂志 2 (1935)；儿妮黑, "闲人莫入、荤腥勿入: 九皇会和后台神主".

[285] 蝶羽. "九皇素的形形色色", 立报, October 31, 1942.

[286] "谈[九皇会]."

[287] "谈[九皇会]."

[288] There were some accounts which associated the Nine Emperor Gods with Tang Minghuang, the impearl founder of the Liyuan, most articles and descriptions of the festival and its meanings emphasized the importance of Dipper worship and the Dou Mu Yuan Jun.

[289] 蝶羽, "九皇素的形形色色", 立报, October 31, 1942；"九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴,"; "重阳节与: 梨园九皇圣会," 中华周报, 1944.

[290] 蝶羽, "九皇素的形形色色".

[291] 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947; 南来雁. "九皇会," 立报, October 13, 1945.

[292] 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948. Outside of the Dipper worship sessions, where they will chant the Nine Emperor Gods and Dipper scriptures, the priests would chant the Heart Sutra and the Great Compassion Sutra, etc which were all Buddhist sutras.

[293] 苦哈哈, "从吃九皇素说到礼斗坛中的斗香," 立报, October 30, 1947.

[294] 珊, "浙西的九皇胜会,"福尔摩斯, September 24, 1934.

正如一些报纸和杂志文章所强调的，我们对于九皇胜会的起源以及梨园的九皇大帝为何方神圣所知甚少，一些文章试图从梨园团体成员的角度来阐明这两个问题。[280] 出于保密和对神明的尊重，许多梨园成员不愿讨论九皇大帝是谁的问题。然而，从一些民族志记载中可以看到，九皇大帝和北斗星君以及斗母之间有着密切的联系。

1948年，一位撰稿人称，周朝称神农及其祖先为九皇。[281] 他指出，近来研究表明，九皇也指远古三皇，天皇、帝皇（可能是地皇）和人皇，以及早期统治者，例如有巢氏和燧人氏。[282] 民国时期有报纸报道将九皇与梨园祖师神唐明皇联系在一起，唐明皇被称为老郎君，通常也与翼宿星君联系在一起。唐明皇的神坛位于梨园后台，九皇胜会期间，他也会被恭请到松柏寺。一篇报纸报道记载了九皇忏的内容，其中有一小节翼宿星君赞，因此也是献给梨园祖师的。[283] 尽管如此，梨园祖师与九皇以及两者的祭坛通常是分开的，并且有专门的节日供奉老郎君。[284]

也有说法认为九皇胜会是为了纪念道教的祖师。黄色是传统中国社会中最尊贵的颜色之一，节日期间使用的蜡烛是黄色的，象征九皇大帝至高无上的地位。[285] 有推测称，燕京梨园公会的九皇神像近似于《封神榜》中所描绘的殷郊。另一种观点指出，神像的形象接近摩利支天菩萨和斗母元君，拥有多臂和多持器，包括太阳和月亮。九皇胜会期间，位于主坛上的是中天大圣和雷部正皇星君，两位神明的重要地位可能源于摩利支天菩萨所持的锦旗，上面写着“中天雷神大帝”。[286] 燕京梨园的九皇胜会中供奉神明的车辇和坐骑，都可以在摩利支天和斗母的画像中找到原型。[287]

梨园九皇胜会的重要环节包括与拜斗（在某些情况下是拜斗母或斗姥）相关的仪式、用具和供品。[288] 九皇胜会通常又称九皇斋或九皇斗。[289] 九皇斗是道教中移星踏斗的一种礼忏。[290] 1947年，一篇报道称，节日祭坛上的香炉供奉的是北斗星君。[291] 礼斗是节日期间最重要的仪式之一，念诵的是道经。在九月初一晚上，初三、初六两天的早上和晚上，以及初九早上，人们会上斗香，并在上斗香时诵九皇经。[292] 斗香是梨园九皇胜会的重要供品，这进一步证明了九皇信仰与北斗崇拜之间的密切联系。[293]

1934年的另一篇报道称，九皇是天上掌管人类寿命的星君，即命官。作者将他们比作《水浒传》中化身为英雄好汉的星君，他们都受到南北斗星君的管辖。京剧中也有相关的剧目，讲述了主角向南北斗星君借寿的故事。九皇大帝被视为是斗姻、紫微、天罡、辅弼等星君，掌管人类生死以及祸福命运。供奉九皇大帝可以消灾解难，并获得神明赐福。[294]

[280] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1939年第3期，页136；<谈【九皇会】>，见《戏世界》，1947年第6期；石柳塘，<九皇会>，见《莫尘风》，1948年。

[281] 亦请参阅：儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第12期。

[282] 儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第12期；石柳塘，<九皇会>，见《莫尘风》，1948年。

[283] 黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。翼宿星君赞内容为：“梨园教主。翼宿星君。金枝玉叶帝王尊。设教五方音。普渡古今。六律定乾坤。南无三圣老郎翼宿星君。南无三圣老郎翼宿星君。南无三圣老郎翼宿星君。”

[284] 周郎，<伶界对与九皇会之外：老郎会，斌昌会>，《京戏杂志》，1935年第2期；儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第12期。1947年，上海一座剧院举办了九皇会，除了供奉九皇大帝神位的坛桌外，另一张桌子上还有三块神位，写着“福德正君五大仙之位”的牌位供奉的是祖师爷，另外是文场神位和武场神位，武场神位也称“兵马大元帅之位”。在这张桌子上有一块尺板，通常被称为“老郎”或“祖师爷”。任何人都不得触碰这块尺板，外人尤其碰不得，否则会影响武术演员的表演。

[285] 蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日。

[286] <谈【九皇会】>，见《戏世界》，1947年第6期。

[287] <谈【九皇会】>，见《戏世界》，1947年第6期。

[288] 有些记载把九皇大帝与创办了梨园的唐明皇联系在一起，但大多数谈及九皇胜会及其意义的文章和说法都强调北斗七星崇拜和斗姆元君的重要性。

[289] 蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日；<九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴>，《友谊画刊》，1942年；<重阳节与梨园九皇圣会>，《中华周报》，1944年。

[290] 蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日。

[291] 张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日；南来雁，<九皇会>，见《立报》，1945年10月13日。

[292] 龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。礼斗时，道士除了诵九皇大帝和北斗经文外，还会诵《心经》、《大悲经》等佛经。

[293] 苦哈哈，<从吃九皇素说到礼斗坛中的斗香>，见《立报》，1947年10月30日。作者注意到斗香在江浙地区有不同的用法。在江苏地区，点斗香通常与八月期间的中秋祈福有关；但在浙江，点斗香似乎主要用于九月期间的礼斗。两地使用的名称也不相同，江苏地区称香斗，浙江地区则称斗香。作者认为斗香原用于拜斗，后被用于拜月，这一做法是从杭州传入江苏的。

[294] 珊，<浙西的九皇胜会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月24日。

The Nine Emperor Gods in the Beijing Liyuan association's main altar also had the title of "Great Sage in the Center of Heaven" (Zhong Tian Da Sheng).[295] Interestingly, while the identity of this deity and inquiries about the origins of the festival were met with many non-committal answers, with one account in 1942 even suggesting that the deity did not seem to have any scriptural basis, the appellation Zhong Tian was commonly used to designate the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and the Nine Emperor Gods in Daoist religious scriptures.[296] For example, in the DZ218, a collection of liturgical instructions compiled by the disciples of Ye Yunlai (c. 13th century CE), the deities went by the name "Great Sages located in Zhong Tian, the Nine Emperor Stellar Sovereigns".[297] The DZ1220 had many identical evocations of the same title.[298]

Several accounts of the festival organized by the Liyuan in 1930s Shanghai observed that the rituals and prayers were primarily for paying respects to the Dou Lao, the main deity on the main altar. The scripture chanted by the Liyuan priests was also a Dou Lao Scripture.[299] There was also an old actor from the Shanghai Liyuan community who commissioned the printing of the *Sacred Scripture of Dou Lao and the Nine Emperors*.[300]

In 1948, a report in the Zhong Yang Ri Bao also explained that the Nine Emperor Gods were the star deities of the Northern Dipper， namely Tan Lang, Ju Men, Lu Cun, Wen Qu, Lian Zhen, Wu Qu, Po Jun and the Fu and Bi stars. They were propitiated alongside a host of other deities, such as the three-star deities associated with the different sections of the stage (the upper-, middle- and lower stage), the Southern, Eastern, Western and Middle Dippers, and the founder and patron deity of the Liyuan, the Lao Lang Yi Shu Xing Jun. The main deity worshipped was the Great Sage of Middle Heaven and Nine Emperors Star Deities of the Northern Dipper who prolongs Life and Averts Calamities, and the full name of the Nine Emperor Gods scripture used in the festival, was the *Sacred Scripture of Dou Lao and the Nine Emperors*.[301]

This account also discussed two interesting other traditions regarding the origins of the festival and the reasons for the propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods. The first traced them to Chinese opera and its influence on China's popular imagination and worldview. A play in Beijing opera named *Zhao Yuan Qiu Shou* told the story of a person who was about to die but managed to live to a hundred after successfully propitiating the Northern and Southern Dipper star deities to prolong his life. Another play adapted the story from the Romance of the Three Kingdoms of how Zhuge Liang borrowed the easterly winds by propitiating the Dipper. He wore a Daoist priest's dress, unbound his hair while holding a sword, and paced the Dipper Constellation. These stories inspired the belief that they could propitiate the Dipper deities in like fashion for longevity, prosperity and success in their endeavours.[302]

The second tradition traces the festival's origins to the early years of the Qing with the fall of the Ming dynasty and the death of the Chongzhen emperor. It was used as a cover by Ming loyalists seeking to restore the dynasty to remember and mourn this emperor. Those who untied their hair pretended to be Daoist priests, and they venerated a spirit tablet emblazoned with the characters "May the Emperor Reign for Ten Thousand Years". After the fall of the Qing dynasty, the wording of this tablet was said to have been changed to *Min Guo Wan Sui*. The festival came to be associated with Jiu Huang because the Chongzhen emperor was said to be the ninth-generation emperor in the Ming dynasty. This tradition would find resonance with some Chinese communities in Southeast Asia observing the festival.[303]

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[295] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 139-140; "今日梨园九皇会: 伶人需净身吃素," 实报, October 20, 1941.

[296] For example, in the earlier DZ622 which was compiled during the Tang-Song interim, the nine personified stars of the Northern Dipper constellation were never addressed as the "Nine Emperors", They were invoked with the title "Great Deity located in the Middle of Heaven." See "太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经," page 000-006a, Kanseki Repository, accessed November 25, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0003/000.

[297] "清微玄枢奏告仪," page 000-013a, Kanseki Repository, accessed November 25, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0219/000. The text is translated as the "Xiangwei Ritual for Memorializing to the Mysterious Pillar [i.e., the Heavenly Chancellery]" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II,* 1102.

[298] Among others, see "道法会元," chapter 3, page 003-002b, Kanseki Repository, accessed November 25, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/003; and idem, chapter 194, page 194-003b and 194-017a, accessed November 25, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/194.

[299] 竹瘦, "从九皇会看出伶德," 罗宾汉, October 16, 1931; 黑珍, "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚 , 意义无非忏悔", 本埠增刊:戏剧, 时报. September 27, 1935; 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[300] 黑珍, "闲人莫入群不进内".

[301] 苏少卿, "关于九皇会", 中央日报, October 17, 1948, 8.

[302] 苏少卿, " 关于九皇会."

[303] 苏少卿, " 关于九皇会."

北京梨园公会的主坛上供奉的九皇大帝同样有“中天大圣”的称号。[295] 然而我们并不清楚中天大圣的身份以及节日的起源。1942年，有说法称宗教经典中并没有关于中天大圣的记录，但“中天”一词通常被用来指称道教经文中的北斗和九皇。[296] 例如，DZ218《清微玄枢奏告仪》是叶云莱（约公元13世纪）的弟子所编汇的科仪书，其中将九皇称为“中天大圣北斗九皇星君”。[297] DZ1220《道法会元》中也有许多相同的称号。[298]

关于20世纪30年代上海梨园九皇胜会的记录也表明，仪式和祈祷主要是供奉斗姥，斗姥是主坛上的主神，并且梨园道士所诵经文是《斗姥经》。[299] 还有一位来自上海梨园社区的老演员，委托印刷了《斗姥九皇圣经》。[300]

1948年，《中央日报》一则报道称九皇大帝是北斗星君，即贪狼、巨门、禄存、文曲、庆贞、武曲、破军、外佐辅和内右弼。他们与其他众神共同受到供奉，包括上台、中台、下台三位星君，南、东、西、中星君，以及梨园祖师三圣老郎翼宿星君。九皇胜会的朝礼主题是中天大圣北斗九皇消灾延寿解厄星君，所使用的经文全名是《斗姥九皇圣经》。[301]

关于节日起源和供奉九皇大帝的原因，这篇报道还提到两个有趣的说法。第一个说法将之追溯到中国戏曲及其对中国大众想象力和世界观的影响。京剧《赵元求寿》讲的是赵元原本阳寿将尽，但他设法从南北星君处求得延寿，最终活到一百岁的故事。另一出戏改编自《三国演义》，讲的是诸葛亮穿着道服，披发执剑，步罡踏斗，礼斗借东风的故事。这些故事激发了大众的想象力，于是人们争相效仿，希望求寿得寿，求福得福，求风得风，求雨得雨。[302]

第二种说法称九皇胜会“起源于清朝初年”，与明朝的灭亡和崇祯皇帝的死亡有关。亲明志士以九皇胜会为掩护，纪念和哀悼崇祯皇帝。他们披发装作道士，供奉一块刻有“皇帝万岁万岁万万岁”字样的牌位。据说清朝覆灭以后，牌位上的文字被改为“民国万岁”。这个节日称为九皇胜会，因为“崇祯是明朝第九代皇帝”。东南亚华人对这一说法更为熟悉，这正是他们对于节日意义以及九皇大帝为何方神圣的理解和记忆。[303]

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[295] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页139-140；<今日梨园九皇会：伶人需净身吃素>，见《实报》，1941年10月20日。

[296] 例如，唐宋之际编纂的DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》中，神格化的北斗九星从未被称为“九皇”，但它们被称为“中天大神”。请参阅《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》，页000-006a，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年11月25日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0003/000.

[297] 《清微玄枢奏告仪》，页000-013a，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年11月25日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0219/000. 经文被译为“Xiangwei Ritual for Memorializing to the Mysterious Pillar [i.e., the Heavenly Chancellery]”，并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 1102.

[298] 请参阅《道法会元》，卷三，页003-002b，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年11月25日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/003；卷一百九十四，页194-003b及194-017a，访问日期：2022年11月25日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/194.

[299] 竹瘦，<从九皇会看出伶德>，见《罗宾汉》，1931年10月16日；黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。1939年的文章将斗姆列为主神，但黄纸横幅仍称节日为“九皇胜会”。

[300] 黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日。已故的常春桓是一名虔诚的道教信徒，他曾委托邑庙翼化堂善书局印刷多份《斗姥九皇圣经》，直到1935年，这份经文仍在流传。

[301] 苏少卿，<关于九皇会>，见《中央日报》，1948年10月17日。

[302] 苏少卿，<关于九皇会>，见《中央日报》，1948年10月17日，第8版。

[303] 苏少卿，<关于九皇会>，见《中央日报》，1948年10月17日，第8版。苏少卿注意到，这一说法与朱天大帝和三点会的传说有些接近，这一点也与南洋的九皇胜会有着有趣的联系。

One of the most important elements of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for the Liyuan would be undertaking a vegetarian diet and avoiding any intimate or sexual relations to attain the purity of body and mind.[304] Most of the articles during the late Qing and Republican period would refer to the former as the Nine Emperors Vegetarian or *Zhai* and the latter as part of a wider ***zhai jie*** regime in the annual calendar.[305] This was regarded as an essential act of devotion to the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival and one that the members of the Liyuan and the performing world took very seriously. One or two days before the start of the festival, all the actors, troupe and theatre owners, managers, staff, and anybody in the opera world, especially those involved in ritual and altar duties, would bathe and cleanse themselves and abstain from meat and alcohol, while maintaining a vegetarian diet, as well as changing to simple clothing, to show their devotion. They called this the "cleansing of the stomach".[306] It was also aimed at removing any exposure to meat (hun xing) from one's body.[307] They would maintain this regime and chant scriptures for nine days and nights from the first to the ninth days of the ninth lunar month.[308] In some festival venues, they often start eating meat again on the tenth day.[309] Thus, they would be vegetarians for at least one day more than the regular devotee.[310] It was not only the actors and those in the industry who were vegetarian during this period, but also their families and employees.[311]

In 1933, it was said that from the 28th day of the eighth month, the actors in the Liyuan would have started bathing and changing their clothes, cleansing their minds and bodies, and ceasing the consumption of meat. Even those who had no duties in the prayer hall would normally maintain their vegetarian diets from the first nine days of the festival. It was even said that Muslims, Catholics, and Christians, among the actors, would follow this diet.[312] Those who could not maintain the vegetarian diet over the nine days or those who were more "reform-minded"[313] were said to follow the vegetarian diet for at least two days, especially the first and ninth days of the ninth lunar month.[314] Those following this regime were referred to as *Liang Tou* Vegetarian.[315] The participants would also take extra care to cleanse their bodies and minds in preparation for and during the festival, especially those involved in ritual and altar duties. They would not even utter the name of the Nine Emperor Gods unless they had to. When they had to, they would chant a special mantra to cleanse their mouths and one to cleanse their bodies before uttering the name of the deity.[316]

In most instances, these Liyuan members participating in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, especially those directly involved in the rituals and the upkeep of the Nine Emperor Gods Hall, were also prohibited from wearing silk clothing and leather shoes when they entered the Nine Emperor Gods Hall. They had to change into clothes of normal or coarse cloth or even, in some cases, hemp when they entered the room and change their leather shoes and socks for cloth or straw shoes. In some festival venues, the senior participants in charge of the chanting had to wear ritual clothing with wider sleeves.[317] Just as leather was avoided because it involved killing animals, the production of silk was prohibited because it involved the death of silkworms.[318] In 1936, senior performers from the Liyuan explained that these and the ***zhai jie*** abstinences, together with the vegetarian diet, were a form of repentance and penitence for their wanton extravagance and waste in the course of their careers, livelihood and lifestyles as performers, from the costumes and clothes that they wore, the peripherals they used, to the makeup and cosmetics that they had expended each year. These were seen as severe contradictions to the virtue of cherishing materials. Through these abstinences, the performers sought forgiveness and blessings from the Nine Emperor Gods for their extravagance and wastage. Hence, the emphasis on purity, simplicity, and frugality during the festival in their vegetarian diets and abstinence regimes.[319]

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[304] The vegetarian diet was mentioned in all the newspaper reports on the festival as a requirement of all the actors and professionals in the Liyuan or opera industry, which they took very seriously, much more than the man or women-in-the-street. 大琳, "九皇坛纪事," 立报, October 21, 1939.

[305] 秋雨, "[六]月里的功德: 吃雷斋素," 时事新报, July 23, 1935.

[306] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[307] "神秘庄严的九皇圣会".

[308] "九皇胜会志盛," 戏剧周报, 1936.

[309] 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔," 时报, October 4, 1935. There were various vegetarian regimes observed by the performing world at different times of the year. These include the 朱天素 and the Thunder vegetarian, while the kun performers would mostly follow the Guan Yin vegetarian diet. They were free to follow their own beliefs. It was not only the Nine Emperor Gods vegetarian diet that was compulsory for all.

[310] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[311] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[312] 百吟, "梨园习俗之九皇会," 北洋画报, November 4, 1933. In another account, it was said that all the members had gone vegetarian with the exception of the Muslims.

[313] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记"; 南宫, "九皇圣会." Those in the performing world who eat meat during the festival period were referred to as the "reform" faction, and they were a growing number in 1935.

[314] 百吟, "梨园习俗之九皇会"; "神秘庄严的九皇圣会". This was the "lowest limit tolerated" in terms of the vegetarian diet for Liyuan members during the festival. In other accounts, they were allowed to be vegetarian over the last two or three days.

[315] "释九皇会: 萧长华作如是谈," 讯报, October 29, 1939.

[316] 南宫, "九皇圣会," 梨园秘笈, 社会日报, October 8, 1935.

[317] "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素□之净肚？意无非忏悔", 本埠增刊, 时报. September 27, 1935. 103; 大琳. "九皇坛纪事" 立报。 October 21, 1939; "戏班中的九皇会", 南京晚报. 20 October 1947. 3; 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948. It was believed that the failure to keep to these abstinences and taboos would bring about retribution, even danger to life.

[318] "九皇会," 菊部珍闻, 社会日报, October 28, 1930; 朱双云, "菊部小事记: 九皇会", 戏 (1938).

[319] 竹瘦, 从九皇会看出伶德; 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔,"; 忆云, "谈谈梨园行的九皇会," 戏世界, October 23, 1936, 2; "释九皇会: 萧长华作如是谈", 讯报, October 29, 1939. This was also mentioned in陈, "戏曲行业'九皇神'信仰考," 319-322. The first article gave the example of a certain actor Lee Changsheng, whose physical stature was rather short and small, and the official costumes that he wore were deemed too long, and always dragging on the floor as he moved about. He was warned about this but chose not to listen. Although he had steadfastly chanted scriptures in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall every year for several years, he later died downtrodden. This was seen as punishment for his earlier transgressions and failure to cherish these material items.

梨园九皇胜会最重要的戒律是吃素戒欲以保证身心纯净。[304] 晚清和民国时期，许多文章将在九皇胜会期间吃素称为九皇素或九皇斋，九皇斋是一年中众多斋戒的其中之一。[305] 持九皇斋被视是节日期间表示虔诚的方式，梨园成员和演艺界非常重视。在节日开始前一两天，演员、戏班和剧院的老板、经理、工作人员等所有人，尤其是那些参与仪式和负责照料神坛的人，都会斋戒沐浴忌荤服素以示诚意，称为“净肚”，[306] 以排除体内任何荤腥。[307] 众人会在农历九月初一到初九整整九天九夜的时间里斋戒诵经。[308] 在一些节日场所，人们会等到初十才重新吃肉。[309] 因此，他们会比普通信徒至少多吃一天素。[310] 在这段时间里，除了演员和业内人士，他们的家人和帮工同样需要吃斋。[311]

1933年，据说从农历八月二十八日这一天起，梨园成员便沐浴更衣，净心净身，并忌荤吃素。即使是不用在大堂供神的人，通常也会在节日期间坚持吃素。有人说，演员中的穆斯林、天主教徒和基督徒也会一起吃素。[312] 据称，无法坚持吃素九天的人，或是“维新主义”者，[313] 也会至少吃两天素，尤其是九月初一和初九，[314] 称为“两头素”。[315] 整个节日期间，节日参与者会格外注意净身净心，尤其是参与仪式和负责清理神坛的人。除非迫不得已，人们通常不会提及九皇大帝的名讳。必要时，人们会先念净口咒和净身咒，之后才可说明神明的名讳。[316]

在大多数情况下，参加九皇胜会的梨园成员，特别是直接参与仪式和负责照料九皇堂的人，在进入九皇堂时不能穿丝绸衣服和皮鞋，他们必须换上普通或粗布衣服，有时是大布或麻制的衣服， 并将皮鞋和袜子换成布鞋或草鞋。在有的节日场所，负责诵经的年长成员则穿曲襟法衣。[317] 避免皮制品是因为制作皮革需要杀生，避免丝绸同样是因为丝绸生产涉及到蚕的死亡。[318] 1936年，一些资深梨园成员解释道，作为演艺人员，他们在演艺生涯和平日生活中所穿服装和所用物品非常耗费钱财，并消耗了大量化妆品，这些行为大背惜物之道。进行素食和禁欲是在为此忏悔，希望求得九皇大帝的原谅和赐福。因此，节日期间吃素和斋戒时，人们十分重视纯洁、朴素和节俭。[319]

[304] 许多关于九皇胜会的报道都有提到素食或九皇素，这是所有从事梨园或戏曲行业的人士都必须遵循的要求，他们远比普通民众更重视这一点。大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。

[305] 秋雨，<【六】月里的功德：吃雷斋素>，见《时事新报》，1935年7月23日。

[306] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[307] <神秘庄严的九皇圣会>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日。

[308] <九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》，1936年。

[309] 海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日。演艺界会在一年中的不同时候进行各种各样的吃素，包括朱天素和雷斋素，而坤伶则大多遵循观音素。他们可以自由遵循自己的信仰。对所有人而言是必须遵循的不止有九皇斋，还有农历六月初六的六皇斋，主要是为了保健康平安。温发镀，<万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗>，刘劲峰，耿艳鹏编《吉安市的宗族，经济与文化》（国际客家学会；海外华人资料研究中心；法国远东学院，2005）。

[310] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[311] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[312] 百吟，<梨园习俗之九皇会>，见《北洋画报》，1933年11月4日。另一篇报道称，除了穆斯林外，其他所有人都吃斋。

[313] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期；南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。在演艺界，那些在节日期间吃肉的人被称为维新派，1935年，他们的人数越来越多。

[314] 百吟，<梨园习俗之九皇会>，见《北洋画报》，1933年11月4日；<神秘庄严的九皇圣会>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日。这是梨园成员在节日期间吃素的“最低限度”。另一种说法称，他们可在最后两三天吃素。

[315] <释九皇会：萧长华作如是谈>，见《讯报》，1939年10月29日。

[316] 南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。

[317] <闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日；<戏班中的九皇会>，见《南京晚报》，1947年10月20日，第3版；龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。人们相信，如果不能遵守这些斋戒和禁忌，就会受到惩罚，甚至有生命危险。

[318] <菊部珍闻：九皇会>，见《社会日报》，1930年10月28日；朱双云，<菊部小事记：九皇会>，《戏》，1938年。

[319] 竹瘦，<从九皇会看出伶德>，见《罗宾汉》，1931年10月16日；海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日；忆云，<谈谈梨园行的九皇会>，见《戏世界》，1936年10月23日，第2版；<释九皇会：萧长华作如是谈>，见《讯报》，1939年10月29日。陈志勇，《戏曲行业“九皇神”信仰考》中也提到这一点。第一篇文章举了演员李长生的例子，他的身材相当矮小，他所穿的服装太长了，走动时总是拖着地板。有人提醒过他，但他选择忽略。虽然他每年都到九皇殿中诵经，但后来竟潦倒以终。人们认为这是九皇大帝惩罚他以前的过错和不珍惜这些物品的行为。

Another reason for the devotion and piousness of the Liyuan communities concerning the *zhai jie* abstinences during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was their frequent portrayal of deities and past emperors in the annual performance cycles. The transgressions might have inadvertently offended the deities during these performances.[320] It was also believed that failing to observe these abstinences and the festival would result in a bad year for the Liyuan actors (especially for their voices) and the troupes and theatres.[321] Finally, they also regarded these abstinences as a form of respect for their trade forebears.[322]

Another key feature of the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival, as noted by the various reports in the Republican era, was the preparation of a special altar room accessible only to select individuals in charge of their upkeep or the rituals to be conducted inside. Every year, as the ninth month approached, Liyuan opera troupes or their associations would prepare and maintain a clean room for the festival. In some places, this was known as the Nine Emperors Hall. Other names include the "inner altar". The room was usually backstage if the festival was held in a theatre, although there were references to the altar being prepared before the stage.[323] These rooms had to be thoroughly cleaned, and access was restricted. People outside the Liyuan circles could not peek into the room or enter them during the festival. The room was only accessible to those involved in the ritual chanting of scriptures and their upkeep. The community also had to prepare the appropriate decorations for these spaces and their environs for the festival.

In 1936, a journalist for the *Liyuan Gong Bao* came across several Shanghai troupes who were erecting altars to worship the Nine Emperor Gods. Before receiving the Nine Emperor Gods, each stage and performing troupe will prepare a clean room backstage to set up an altar for the gods. The entire room will be decked in yellow cloth or paper. In the middle of the room would be the deity tablets with their names written on yellow paper, about nine of them, and in front of these tablets would be a Jiu Ping Lian Tai made of tin for holding the burning yellow candles. On the side of the main altar would be smaller altars for the earth deity and the wandering spirits of deceased members of the Liyuan.[324] In the Huang Jin Grand Theatre, for example, several yellow lanterns are hung high backstage over the entrance of their Nine Emperor Gods Hall. In Shanghai Gong Wu Tai, one of the four most renowned Beijing opera theatres in Shanghai during the 1930s, the Hall and altar were not backstage, but rather on the rooftop, amidst countless lit lanterns hanging over it alongside a pole with a Heavenly Lamp. There was also a Nine Emperors Hall set up behind the Shanghai Da Wu Tai premises.[325]

In most of these venues, high over the hall's entrance or as couplets on both sides of the door, would be pieces of yellow paper with prohibitions against people who had consumed meat or alcohol and any trespassers as a warning against wanton noise and boisterous behaviour.[326] There were also more poetic couplets on the yellow paper on both sides of the door. Sometimes, the yellow paper over the doorway just announced the festival.[327] Other than the actors, nobody was allowed to view the rituals in the Inner Hall out of fear of any transgressions and disrespect, which could affect the business of the theatre, as well as the fortunes of the actors.[328] Outsiders could only enter these Halls or take part through the introduction and recommendation of the members of the respective troupes, theatres or, especially in the case of the Yanjing Liyuan association, its members.

In 1948, it was noted that the Nine emperors Hall at each theatre would be very quiet and isolated. On normal days, outsiders were not supposed to enter them out of fear that they might not be pure enough and defile the hall inadvertently. Stories of misfortunes and calamities befalling those guilty of such transgressions served as a warning and discouragement. Thus, during the festival, yellow paper announcing such restrictions will be pasted around the entrance to the halls, namely: no entry for outsiders or those who were not members of the Liyuan association or troupe, unclean/impure people (namely those who had eaten meat or drunk alcohol as well as those who did not abide by the abstinences), those who did not dress neatly are also not allowed, those wearing clothing made of animal parts. Many other rules were enacted. [329]

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[320] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[321] 香孙, "北平之九皇会". 戏世界. October 18, 1936.

[322] 儿妮黑, "闲人莫入, 荤腥勿入: 九皇会和后台神主," 海燕 (1946): 12.

[323] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[324] 大琳. "九皇坛纪事," 立报, October 21, 1939.

[325] 破铜, "梨园公报: 九皇胜会志胜," 戏剧周报 1:3 (1936): 10.

[326] 黑珍. "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚 , 意义无非忏悔", 本埠增刊:戏剧, 时报. September 27, 1935; "九皇胜会志盛," 戏剧周报. 1936.

[327] 大琳, "九皇坛纪事," 立报, October 21, 1939. "曜星辰, 北阙恩光辉绮席, 皇图巩固, 南山佳气接蓬莱".

[328] 大琳, "九皇坛纪事."

[329] 龙套. "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948. Another earlier account had it that outsiders were allowed to view these rooms or spaces before the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods. See 大琳, "九皇坛纪事," 立报, October 21, 1939.

九皇胜会期间，梨园成员如此虔诚斋戒的另一个原因是，他们在每年的表演中经常会扮演神明和已故的帝王，可能在无意中冒犯了神明。[320] 无论如何，人们相信，若是没有诚心斋戒和供奉神明，梨园成员（尤其关乎他们的声音）、戏班和剧院来年将诸事不顺。[321] 此外，他们认为坚持素食也是尊敬老祖宗的方式。[322]

民国时期，许多报道提到梨园九皇胜会的另一个特点是戏班会专门设一净室，只有负责清理净室或是举行仪式的人才可进入。每年，随着农历九月的临近，各戏班或梨园公会会在后台特辟净室，有些戏班称之为九皇堂，或曰内坛。如果节日在戏园中举行，净室通常是在后台，偶尔也会设于台前。[323] 房间必须打扫干净，不得随意进出。非梨园子弟不得进入房间，也不能偷窥其中构造。净室只对参与诵经仪式和照料神坛的人开放。梨园还会对净室及其周围进行适当的装饰。

1936年，一名《梨园公报》的记者记载了上海几个戏班设坛供奉九皇大帝的场景。在恭迎九皇大帝之前，每个戏班都会在后台特辟净室，以供神位。全室由黄布或黄纸装饰，净室中间是将神明的名字写在黄纸上而制成的神位，厥数凡九。神位之前是一座锡制的九品莲台，盛放燃烧的黄蜡烛。主坛两侧是较小的祭坛，供奉土地神和已故梨园成员的游魂。[324] 例如，黄金大剧院的后台有黄色灯笼数盏，高悬于九皇堂门首。上海共舞台是20世纪30年代上海四大京剧院之一，其九皇堂和祭坛并不在后台，而在剧院的屋顶，屋顶上高悬无数灯笼和一柱天灯。上海大舞台也是如此，其九皇堂不在后台，而设在戏园后院。[325]

通常而言，九皇堂入口的正上方或两侧上会有黄纸告示，禁止吃肉饮酒的人或闲人擅自进入，同时也警告众人不得随意喧哗吵闹。[326] 门口两侧有时会张贴上颇具诗情画意的对联，有时则仅是一张黄纸，宣告九皇胜会的到来。[327] 除了演员，其他人不能围观净室内的仪式，因为担心任何不小心地犯忌会影响剧团的业务以及演员的安危。[328] 外人若想进入这些净室或参加仪式，必须获得戏班或剧院成员的引荐，若想进入燕京梨园公会的九皇堂，必须有公会成员的介绍和推荐。

1948年，据称，各剧院的九皇堂通常位于冷静高僻的所在。平日里，外人不得进入九皇堂，因为他们可能不够纯洁，会在不经意间玷污了九皇堂。一些关于擅自传入的人遭遇不幸和灾难的传说起到了警示和劝阻的作用。因此，节日期间，九皇堂入口附近会贴有黄纸通告，告示众人注意遵守以下规定，例如：非会员者不得进入，不洁净者不得进入，衣服不整洁者不得进入，衣服有荤性者不得进入。[329]

[320] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[321] 香孙，<北平之九皇会>，见《戏世界》，1936年10月18日。

[322] 儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》，1946年第12期。

[323] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[324] 大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。

[325] 破铜，<梨园公报：九皇胜会志胜>，《戏剧周报》1936年第3期，页10。

[326] 黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；<九皇胜会志盛>，《戏剧周报》，1936年。

[327] 大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。“曜星辰，北阙恩光辉绮席，皇图巩固，南山佳气接蓬莱。”

[328] 大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。

[329] 龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。另一种更早的说法是，在恭迎九皇大帝之前，外人可以参观九皇殿。请参阅：大琳，<九皇坛纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。

Women in the Yanjing Liyuan association were prohibited from entering the Nine Emperor Gods Hall. Written on one of the pieces of yellow paper were the characters, "women were not allowed entry", which announced that ladies were not allowed into the chamber. This included female actors, namely those performing Kun roles. They usually did not attend the festival but would adhere to a vegetarian diet and other abstinences during the festival period. They also did not join the Liyuan association. Although they joined the association after the end of the Sino-Japanese/Second World War, they still did not visit or participate in the Nine Emperor Gods festival.[330]

Yellow was a very important colour for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and Republican-era observers noted that the Liyuan festival was no exception. The walls and even the ceiling of the Nine Emperor Gods Hall would be covered in yellow paper or cloth. In some festival sites, the "priests" overseeing the Hall's rituals, chanting, or upkeep would be dressed in yellow or have yellow sashes around their waists.[331] A description of the Nine Emperor Gods Hall in 1935 also noted how the deity tablets were all written on yellow paper, and the table skirt of the altar was also a piece of yellow cloth. The yellow candles were custom-made, with only vegetarian oil used to drain/sluice. Furthermore, the burnt sandalwood had to be of the highest quality. In the Beijing Liyuan Association building, even the cloth used to cover the Nine Emperor Gods statue in the Nine Emperor Gods Inner Hall to keep it from public sight was yellow.[332] In 1946, a yellow deity tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods sat backstage in one of the festival venues in Shanghai behind a screen (from an opera scene) with two pieces of yellow cloth hanging over the screen and big yellow candles lit on the offering table. Two pieces of yellow paper on the cloth declared the place out of bounds to outsiders and meat-eaters.[333] In 1947 too, an article noted how a yellow tentage/canvas, yellow candles, yellow lanterns hung outside the main entrance, and a yellow pennant was, as described in earlier accounts, all part of the set-up for the festival. There was a couplet written on two strips of yellow paper on the sides of the door, and hanging over the doorway was a horizontal piece of yellow paper with the characters "Jiu Huang Da Hui".[334]

Lanterns and lamps were also important to the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival. At the Yanjing Liyuan Association in Beijing, they would raise nine lotus lamps in the evening as they prepared to receive the Nine Emperor Gods. In one venue, nine lamps were arranged in a row and kept burning for seven days and nights without extinguishing. The entrance to the palace had round lanterns with the characters Jiu Huang Sheng Hui hanging over them. In many festival venues, a pole was usually outside the altar room or Nine Emperor Gods Hall, with nine lanterns or lamps hanging from the top. It was said that the Shanghai opera world had adopted this practice from the Beijing Liyuan community. These bright lamps or lanterns signified the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods. In the Ningbo association festival, a long pennant was attached to the pole that held the nine lamps for the salvation of wandering souls.

In contrast, at the end of the ceremony, water lanterns or lamps were released into the river. Many descriptions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Liyuan venues have expressed their admiration for the brilliance and grandeur of the many yellow lanterns decorating the Nine Emperor Gods Hall and their environs. The main altar rooms' lamps and tables were burning for nine days. This will include the Dipper Lamps, Dou Deng.[335]

Another important feature of the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival would be the role of the members of the troupes, theatres or Liyuan association in organizing the festival and conducting its rituals, rather than Daoist or Buddhist temples and Daoist priests and Buddhist monks. Rather, Liyuan members would be selected to perform these rituals or to help in various tasks in the Nine Emperor Halls and the festival altars. They include the artists and those in other roles and professions related to theatres and Chinese opera with the necessary experience in the festival and the ability to read and write. They must also be of the right moral calibre, character, and moral standing within the community. They would be designated as Daoist priests and undertook these rituals and supporting roles only during the festival, often in addition to their daily performance schedules.[336] This often entailed a rather taxing routine during this period, but observers often noted how they did not seem to be fatigued by these extra duties for the festival. In certain venues, there was a distinction, with those who were tasked to the chanting of scriptures in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall designated as "Daoists" (Dao Shi) and differentiated from the "Senior Daoists" (Lao Dao).[337]

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[330] "记梨园界九皇圣会," 大公报, October 15, 1947; 江天, "九皇圣会观光记: 天将森严，荤秽莫入，妇女进香，请勿登楼," 时事新报, December 12, 1935. In an earlier account, women were also prohibited from entering certain ritual areas.

[331] 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔?"; 南来雁, "九皇会," 立报, October 13, 1945.

[332] 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔." The sandalwood used had to be of the highest quality, and fruits were mainly used as offerings on the table to ensure their purity.

[333] 儿妮黑, "闲人莫入，荤腥勿入: 九皇会和后台神主," 海燕 (1946): 12.

[334] 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947.

[335] "九皇会礼斗竭诚心," 游戏报, September 26, 1897, 2; 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记"; 百吟, "梨园习俗之九皇会". 北洋画报, November 4, 1933; 珊. "浙西的九皇胜会,"福尔摩斯, September 24, 1934; 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔?"; 南宫, "九皇圣会". 梨园秘笈. 社会日报. October 8, 1935; "北平梨园界九皇圣会前后台执事人无不敬护奉行," 时报，October 22 1935. 时报本埠增刊第一张, 2; 儿妮黑, "闲人莫入，荤腥勿入: 九皇会和后台神主," 海燕. 1946. 12.

[336] 方问溪述，张次溪记，"燕京梨园九皇盛会记". The list of senior and junior priests for the festival that year included an outsider as the junior priest. He was a fruitseller outside the Wu Dao temple when the Si Xi troupe was still in business. During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival every year he would be tasked with buying the fruits. He was also very familiar with matters pertaining to the festival, and was a devout believer in the Nine Emperor Gods. He was thus invited to join as a junior priest.

[337] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记".

燕京梨园公会的九皇堂不允许女性入内。九皇堂门口有一张黄纸，上书“妇女止步”。因此戏曲女演员，即坤角，也不能进入九皇堂，所以她们通常不参与节日，但会坚持吃素和其他斋戒。，坤角也从未加入梨园公会成为其中一员。即使在抗日战争和第二次世界大战结束后，坤角得以加入梨园公会，她们仍然没有参加九皇胜会。[330]

黄色是九皇胜会上非常重要的颜色，对于梨园的节日而言同样如此。九皇堂的墙壁乃至天花板都会被黄纸或黄布覆盖。在一些地方，主礼、诵经或照顾九皇堂的“道士”会穿上黄色衣服，或在腰间系上黄色腰带。[331] 1935年，一篇对九皇堂的描述指出，神明牌位写在黄色的纸上，神坛的桌帏是一块黄色的布。黄蜡烛是专门定制的，原料必须用素油。此外，焚烧的檀香木必须是最高品质的。在燕京梨园公会会所中，就连九皇堂里用来遮挡九皇大帝神像的布帘都是黄色的。[332] 1946年，在上海某剧院，一尊黄色的九皇大帝牌位坐落在后台，即场景幕布之后，供桌上点着黄色的大蜡烛。两块黄布挂在幕布上，布上有两张黄纸，上面写着“闲人莫入”和“荤腥勿入”。[333] 1947年，一篇文章指出，节日的布置包括黄布、黄蜡烛、挂在入口外的黄灯笼，以及有黄色的三角旗。门口两侧还有一幅黄色对联，上方有一黄色横幅，上面写着“九皇大会”。[334]

灯笼和灯彩也是梨园九皇胜会的重要仪式用品。恭迎九皇大帝当天晚上，燕京梨园公会会升起九盏莲花灯。九盏灯排成一行，连续燃烧七天七夜。大堂入口挂着圆形灯笼，上面写有“九皇胜会”四个字。许多节日场所通常在内殿或九皇堂外竖一灯杆，上面悬挂着九盏灯笼或油灯。据说，上海梨园界借鉴了北京梨园的做法，这些明灯象征着九皇大帝的降临。宁波会馆的灯杆上除了九盏明灯，还悬挂着一条超度孤魂的长幡。

节日结束时，人们会将灯笼投放到河中。许多关于梨园九皇胜会的记载都描绘了九皇堂及周围黄色灯笼高照，流光溢彩的景象。大堂和供桌上也燃灯九天，其中包括斗灯。[335]

梨园九皇胜会的另一个重要特征是，组织节日和举行仪式等方面的核心人员是戏班、剧院以及梨园成员，而非寺庙庵院或僧人道士。梨园成员，无论是演员还是工作人员，无论具体从事的是哪一行当，只要他具备必要的经验和读写能力，具有良好的道德水平和品格，他便可能被委以重任，协助九皇堂或神坛上的各种仪式和任务。他们会在节日期间成为老道/道士，在日常演出之余的时间进行仪式，协助相关事宜。[336] 通常而言，节日期间的任务相当繁重，但梨园成员似乎没有因此感到疲惫。一般来说，负责在九皇堂诵经的人是道士，与老道有所区别。[337]

[330] <记梨园界九皇胜会>，见《大公报》，1947年10月15日；江天，<九皇圣会观光记：天将森严，荤秽莫入，妇女进香，请勿登楼>，见《时事新报》，1935年12月12日。在早期的记载中，女性也被禁止进入某些仪式场所。

[331] 海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日；南来雁，<九皇会>，见《立报》，1945年10月13日。

[332] 海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日。据载，九皇会所使用的檀木必须是最好的，水果通常是主要的供品，以确保足够纯洁。

[333] 儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第12期。

[334] 张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日。

[335] <九皇会礼斗竭诚心>，见《游戏报》，1897年9月26日，第2版；方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期；百吟，<梨园习俗之九皇会>，见《北洋画报》，1933年11月4日；珊，<浙西的九皇胜会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月24日；海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背惜物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日；南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日；<北平梨园界九皇圣会前后台执事人无不敬护奉行>，见《时报》，1935年10月22日，时报本埠增刊第一张第2版；儿妮黑，<闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第12期。

[336] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期。当年主持仪式的道士中有一名外行人任小老道。四喜班还在唱戏的时候，这名外行人在五道庙外卖水果。每年九皇胜会期间，他都负责采购瓜果。他非常熟悉节日相关事宜，十分虔诚。因此，他被邀请作为小老道。

[337] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期。

The actors/opera artists selected to enter the altar area not only had to *zhai jie*, bathe and eat vegetarian but were also expected to live and eat at the altar area every day, only leaving the altar area to perform onstage. They were not allowed to go home during this period. This restriction was aimed at maintaining their purity of heart and body. From the receiving of the deities to their sending off, these priests could only wear clothes woven with cotton, without any single strand of silk woven into any item on their body. They would only wear silk when performing onstage and needed to change back to cotton clothing when they entered the altar room. Even the shoes they wore during the festival were made of cloth on the sole and face. Furthermore, when they entered the altar area for chanting, they had to change into shoes made of grass. No leather shoes were allowed as they were made from the skin of an ox and thus not pure. [338]

In 1947, it was noted that the junior priests would bath, abstain from meat and alcohol and live in the same quarters with women from the last day of the eighth lunar month before the last hour of the day, while the senior priests would have to cleanse themselves, eat vegetarian, and to avoid wearing silk clothes, leather shoes, and to wear clothing and shoes of cloth from the first hour of the first day of the ninth lunar month. They would spend the rest of their time in the altar room beside the performances and only return to their normal life after the ninth day. They also had to do chanting three times a day during this period and fervently go about this. [339]

For those selected, their daily routines during the festival would revolve around their performance schedule and their duties at the altars, especially their chanting duties and roles in worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods and other deities each day, with the former often running continuously through the day and night. Once their performances had concluded, they would remove their opera costumes, put on a Daoist priest's robes and start playing the musical instruments, transforming themselves into monks and Daoist priests. Where there were extra matinee shows in the afternoon, in addition to the evening performances, it can be very tiring for these actors/priests. Yet, none of them has been heard to complain about the Nine Emperor Gods Festival or any talk that it made them tired.[340] Where the festival was hosted by their respective troupes or theatres rather than the Liyuan association for that city, only troupe members would be involved, especially in ritual roles. They did not invite people from outside the Liyuan profession or Liyuan professionals from different theatres.[341]

There was also a hierarchy among the Liyuan "Daoist priests" responsible for the rituals and maintenance of the Nine Emperor Gods Halls. The main distinction is between the senior and junior Daoist.[342] They usually began as junior priests, tasked to clean the premises and perform daily chores such as replenishing the oil for the lamps and the incense on the altar, assisting the other participants in the festival and helping the senior priests in their rituals with the tea and water. In contrast, the senior priests were tasked with reciting the scriptures and reading the petitions. To become a senior priest, a junior priest had to understudy a senior one for at least three years before being eligible to be selected as a senior priest. In the process, the aspirant need to be sufficiently trained in reciting scriptures by the senior priests. Few performers were literate. Hence the senior priests often taught the chanting of the scriptures orally, with their junior counterparts learning through listening.[343]

The senior priests were chosen from within the Liyuan community based on their moral character and standing among their peers rather than their popularity, role, rank or seniority in the opera world or troupe/theatre. They must also have wished to chant the scriptures and worship the deities.[344] What mattered was not their wealth but their moral character.[345] It was not strange to see a famous actor as a junior priest and a small-role actor as a senior priest. Those playing the Kun roles would, as a rule, also not take part in the chanting. It was said that those who were not sincere in their abstinences and duties at the Nine Emperor God Festival would almost surely encounter misfortune. Nevertheless, it was often noted how the priests would conscientiously and diligently conduct their chanting duties over the nine days, with some even losing their voices.[346]

[338] 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948.

[339] 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947; 南来雁. "九皇会," 立报, October 13, 1945. In 1945, the priests were described as wearing yellow monk robes and shoes, with a yellow waist sash.

[340] 竹瘦, "从九皇会看出伶德."

[341] 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948. In 1948, it seemed that there were some changes done to the chanting duties. It seemed that the regular chanting of other scriptures had been turned over to the monks, Daoist priests and nuns, but the opera performers will still do the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods themselves.

[342] 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教."

[343] "九皇会," 菊部珍闻, 社会日报, October 28, 1930; "伶界之九皇会," 东南日报, December 3, 1934, 13; 黑珍, "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚 , 意义无非忏悔", 本埠增刊:戏剧, 时报. September 27, 1935; 朱双云, "菊部小事记: 九皇会", 戏 (1938); 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[344] 南宫, "九皇圣会." This article emphasizes that the title of Dao Shi was reserved for those doing the chanting, i.e. the Great Senior Daoists (Da Lao Dao) in other accounts.

[345] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会."

[346] 黑珍, "闲人莫入群不进内, 伶界重视九皇胜会: 八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚 , 意义无非忏悔", 本埠增刊:戏剧, 时报, September 27, 1935; "九皇胜会志盛," 戏剧周报, 1936; 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会." The author of the 1939 article suggested that Dan roles were also excluded from the chanting or serving as the Senior Daoists (Lao Dao) or Daoists (Dao Shi). However, the article on the festival at the 1929 Beijing Liyuan Association included several Dan actors among the Great Senior Daoists (Da Lao Dao). The writer of the petitions, furthermore, was an actor in the Dan role. Practices might have changed in the decade since.

被选中上坛的演员必须斋戒、沐浴、吃素，除了到大殿演出外，每日饮食起居皆在坛中。节日期间，他们不能回家，以保持身心洁净。从迎驾到送驾，演员只能穿只能穿棉织的衣服。只有在上台表演时，他们才能穿上丝制衣物。进入内室时，他们必须重新换上棉布衣服，身上不能穿戴任何丝织物，甚至连鞋子也只能穿布鞋。上坛诵经时，他们还必须换上水草蒲鞋。他们不可以穿皮鞋，因为皮鞋是用牛皮做的，不够纯洁。[338]

1947年，小道（小老道）在农历八月最后一天亥时起便沐浴更衣，戒食酒肉，不与女人同住一屋，而老道（大老道）则在农历九月初一子时起洁净身心，持斋茹素，换下丝绸衣物或皮鞋，改穿布衣布鞋。除了表演，他们饮食起居皆在坛中，直到初九之后才还俗。在此期间，他们每天诵经三次，虔诚供神。[339]

对于被选为道士的人来说，节日期间，他们的忙碌身影穿梭于舞台和神坛之间，没有演出的时候，他们往往昼夜不断诵经供奉九皇大帝和诸神。演出结束后，他们便“脱却歌衫，披上羽衣，老实不客气敲磬击鼓，法器奏响夺取和尚道士的工作。”除了晚上的常规演出，有时下午还有额外的午后场演出，对这些演员/道士来说，这可能非常辛苦，但他们从未有过怨言或者表示自己感到疲惫。[340] 在一些城市，九皇胜会由各戏班或剧院自行举办，而不是由当地梨园公会主办。对于节日的仪式，戏班或剧院不会找戏曲行业以外的人或其他剧院的同行。节日相关事宜都由“自己同一个班里的人员自己承当”。[341]

梨园中负责参与仪式和照料九皇堂的道士也有等级之分，主要分为大老道/老道士和小老道/小道士。[342]他们通常从小老道做起，小老道负责打扫房屋和做杂务，例如添灯油、增添檀香、为举行仪式的大老道准备茶水等。而大老道/道士则负责在为九皇大帝举行的仪式上诵经。若想成为大老道，一个人须至少当足三年的小老道。梨园子弟大多不识字。因此，诵经通常是小老道聆听大老道口授来学习。[343]

大老道从梨园子弟中选出，依据的是他们在同行中的品德和在道德水准，而不是他们根据在演艺界或剧团/剧院的受欢迎程度、角色、级别或资历。大老道都是曾发心愿诵经供奉神明的人。[344] 选大老道时“不讲包银讲道衡”。[345] 名角担任小老道，不知名演员担任大老道，这样的情况并不出奇。通常而言，坤角也不参加诵经。据说，九皇胜会期间，没有虔诚戒欲持斋供奉神明的人几乎都会遭遇不幸。在这九天里，大老道和小老道总是十分虔诚地履行诵经职责，有些人甚至因诵经过度而失声。[346]

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[338] 龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。

[339] 张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日；南来雁，<九皇会>，见《立报》，1945年10月13日。1945年，道士们穿着黄袍和鞋子，系黄腰带。

[340] 竹瘦，<从九皇会看出伶德>，见《罗宾汉》，1931年10月16日。

[341] 龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。1948年，诵经似乎发生了一些变化。一些经文的常规诵经工作已经转交给了僧侣、道士和尼姑，但戏曲演员仍然会亲自供奉九皇大帝。“唯有我们唱戏的拜‘九皇忏’”。

[342] 龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。

[343] <菊部珍闻：九皇会>，见《社会日报》，1930年10月28日；<伶界之九皇会>，见《东南日报》，1834年12月3日，页13；黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；朱双云，<菊部小事记：九皇会>，见《戏》，1938年；许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[344] 南宫，<梨园秘笈：九皇圣会>，见《社会日报》，1935年10月8日。这篇文章强调“道士”专指那些诵经的人，即大老道，但1942年的一篇文章将初级和高级礼仪专家分别称为小道士和大道士。请参阅<九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴>，见《友谊画刊》，1942年。

[345] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日

[346] 黑珍，<闲人莫入群不进内，伶界重视九皇胜会：八月底沐浴茹素谓之净肚，意义无非忏悔>，见《时报：本埠增刊：戏剧》，1935年9月27日；<九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》，1936年；许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。许黑珍建议旦角也不参与诵经或担任老道和道士。然而，1929年关于燕京梨园九皇胜会的文章中，有几名旦角担任大老道。此外，上表的也是一名旦角。可能这一做法在后来的十年中发生了变化。

In 1932, in Tianjin, ten actors would be chosen each day from the Liyuan community to perform the roles of senior priest and chant scriptures in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall two times a day. They were the ones who could memorize and understand the scriptures and lead the chanting of these scriptures. Each senior priest would hold a designated ritual object during these ceremonies, and there was a distinction in their titles and rank, from the first senior priest to the tenth senior priest.[347] They were referred to as the ones "in-charge". The senior priests, especially those involved in the ritual chanting, sometimes chose to stay in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall during the festival. The junior priests had to live in the association quarters during the festival and could not go home.[348]

A 1941 account of the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Beijing mentioned a ritual master who oversaw the work of all the senior priests and junior priests. However, status and rank were not distinguished based on professional reputations. All listened to this ritual master. He had to be someone respected in the Liyuan circles. He led the ceremonies in a yellow robe, yellow socks, and a green Daoist hat. In this particular set-up, the junior priests would wear their normal clothes as they lined the hall's sides, worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods.[349]

At some Liyuan festival venues, there will be the ritual of "presenting the memorial" on the third, sixth, and ninth days. The participants saw this as one of the festival's grandest and most important rituals. The memorial would list the actors' names in the opera theatre/troupe. Those writing and reading the memorials were not expected to make the slightest mistake on the pain of strange afflictions. The fortunes of the troupe/theatre for the next year could also be foretold during the presentation of the memorial. If it flew upwards as burnt, this was taken as a sign that it would be an excellent year ahead for the business, while if the petition fell as burnt, it would signify impending troubles and failure for the troupe.[350]

Playing a central role in this ritual would be the senior priests. Those who were good at writing would be tasked with writing the memorial. The most important duty or role would be that of the senior priest commanding the *qing* (controlling the rhythm of the chanting), who is also in charge of presenting the petition and leading the chanting and worship. If the troupe did not have anybody to fulfil these roles, they had to look for itinerant or free-lance actors to undertake them.[351]

Another key feature of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in general and the Liyuan would be its religious syncretism, much like popular Chinese religion. It was common among followers of both Daoism and Buddhism.[352] The scriptures, hymnals and repentances chanted during the Liyuan festival were both Daoist, especially those relating to Dipper Worship and the Nine Emperor Gods, and Buddhist, such as the Heart Sutra and the Great Compassion Sutra. The Daoist scriptures and texts also included texts like the *Scripture of Dou Lao and the Nine Emperors*, but also *Zhen Yan*, *Xiang Zan* (altogether 30 of them), *Gong Zan* and invitation. The Buddhist scriptures also included the *Wang Sheng* Zou, *Hui Xiang Ji* and others.[353] It highlighted the Liyuan rituals for the Nine Emperor Gods and how Daoist and Buddhist traditions, scriptures, and terminologies indelibly shaped both.[354]

Despite similarities in the rituals and rationales for the festival across the Liyuan communities, there were important differences in the ways Liyuan opera troupes and the performing world or industry in each of the major cities in China organized the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Beijing and Shanghai were, in 1942, named as two of the biggest centres of the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods festival, organized at great expense. Tianjin was much smaller in scale but still an important event.[355] In Beijing, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival for the Liyuan community in the city was centralized. It was held first at the Song Bo An, at least in the early 1920s, and subsequently at the new Liyuan association premises on Ying Tao Street from 1924.[356] All the different opera troupes in the city will send selected members to the festival venue to perform the required ritual and assistant duties. The others would visit the festival hall only on the days of the receiving and sending-off.

Nevertheless, in 1940, it was reported that in the Beijing Liyuan world, the new National Theatre Professional Branch Association was holding its festival at the Song Bo An temple. It was also mentioned that in Beijing, there were usually three places hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, namely at Bai Yun Guan, Lu Zu Ge, and Song Bo An respectively. In 1941, the Liyuan festival was again at Song Bo An.[357]

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[347] 百吟, "梨园习俗之九皇会," 北洋画报, November 4, 1933.

[348] "九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴," 友谊画刊, 1942.

[349] "今日梨园九皇会: 伶人需净身吃素," 实报, October 20, 1941.

[350] "九皇会", 菊部珍闻, 社会日报, October 28, 1930; 朱双云, "菊部小事记: 九皇会", 戏 (1938); 大琳, "九皇坛纪事" 立报, October 21, 1939. In some areas or theatres, the presentation of the memorial would be done after the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods, and they would also try to predict the fortunes of the theatre or troupe from the trajectory of the burning memorial. If it was rising, it was taken as a good sign of fortune in the coming year, and they would have to pay even greater attention to their vegetarian and abstinence regimes during the festival.

[351] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[352] 许黑珍, "伶界虔奉九皇会".

[353] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 135-136; "九皇会", 菊部珍闻, 社会日报, October 28, 1930; 朱双云, "菊部小事记: 九皇会," 戏 (1938); 蝶羽, "九皇素的形形色色", 立报, October 31, 1942; 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947; 龙套, "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948.

[354] As an observer pointed out, the "priests" handling the rituals in the Liyuan festival were called Daoist priests, but terms like Boddhisattva was often used to refer to the deities, in as much as the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods was also sometimes referred to as the Nine Emperors' Repentance. In some venues, the priests were also dressed in Buddhist monks' robes and they also chanted from Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit. See also 南来雁, "九皇会," 立报. October 13, 1945.

[355] "九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴," 友谊画刊. 1942.

[356] Nevertheless, in 1936, a column announced that the Beijing Nine Emperor Gods Festival would be organized as before by the former San Qing Troupe. In that year, it would be held in the Liyuan Ancestral Shrine. 香孙, "北平之九皇会," 戏世界, October 18, 1936.

[357] The new association prepared the Nine Emperor Gods Hall (Jiu Huang Dian) in the temple. Members were selected as priests for the chanting of the scriptures. The Liyuan festival was also held at Song Bo An in 1941, while Beijing there were two other places hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Beijing, namely the Bai Yun Guan and Lu Zu Ge. "梨园九皇会昨日开始", 新天津画报, 1940; "今日梨园九皇会: 伶人需净身吃素," 实报, October 20, 1941.

1932年，天津梨园社区每天选出十名演员，担任九皇堂的大老道，每日诵经两回。大老道能够记住和理解经文，并带领诵经。在这些仪式上，每一位大老道手中持一种特定法器，他们的称谓和级别也不相同。[347] 他们被称为“掌钢的”。节日期间，老道，尤其是参与诵经的人，有时会选择住在九皇堂，以示虔诚。小老道则必须住在梨园公会的住所中，不可以回家。[348]

1941年，一则关于北京梨园九皇胜会的记载中提到了一位大法师，他负责监督所有大小道士的工作，但他们之间并没有基于行业的地位差别。所有人都听从大法师的指挥，因为他是梨园界中受人尊敬的人。他身穿黄袍黄袜，头戴绿色道帽，主持仪式。在这场仪式中，小道士们穿着平常的衣服，站在大堂的两侧，进行三拜九叩。[349]

一些梨园团体会在初三、初六、初九举行奉表仪式。这是节日期间最盛大、最重要的仪式之一。表上将列出该剧院/戏班全体演员的名字。写疏文和上表的人不能犯任何差错，否则必惟奇祸。焚化疏文可以预测戏班明年的命运。若疏文在燃烧时飞到空中，则表明来年生意兴隆，若疏文在焚烧时向下飘落，就意味着即将大难临头。[350]

在这一仪式中扮演核心角色的是大老道。疏文由善录疏文者书写。核心仪式由掌磬（控制吟唱的节奏）的大老道进行。他负责呈递疏文，并领导诵经和拜忏。如果戏班中没有人可以胜任这些角色，戏班必须寻找在野伶工来承担。[351]

道教信徒和佛教信徒都会庆祝九皇胜会，各界九皇胜会的宗教融合性正是中国民间宗教的缩影。[352] 节日期间梨园吟诵的经文、赞和拜忏既有道教的内容，尤其是在与礼斗相关的仪式上，也有佛教的内容，如《心经》和《释迦牟尼大悲经》。道教经文不仅包括《斗姥九皇经》，还有真言、香赞（共30篇）、供赞和祈请。佛教经文除了前述的《心经》和《释迦牟尼大悲经》，还包括往生咒、回向偈等。[353] 这反映了梨园的九皇胜会在传统、经文和术语上同时受到道教和佛教的影响。[354]

尽管梨园社区的九皇胜会在仪式和传说上有许多相似之处，但在各地梨园伶界组织九皇胜会的方式有所不同。1942年，北京和上海是梨园举办九皇胜会最为隆重的两座城市，皆以巨款举行。天津的九皇胜会规模较小，但节日仍然一大盛事。[355] 北京的九皇胜会是集中举办的，20世纪20年代初在松柏庵举办，1924年以后转移至樱桃斜街的梨园公益会场地中。[356] 各戏班都会派出成员前往会馆履行职责，其他成员只需在迎驾和送驾当天到梨园公益会的大堂献香烛和供奉神明。

然而，据报道，1940年，国剧职业分会在松柏庵举办九皇胜会。北京梨园界的九皇胜会通常会在以下三处举行，分别是白云观、吕祖阁和松柏庵。1941年，梨园的九皇胜会仍在松柏庵举行。[357]

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[347] 百吟，<梨园习俗之九皇会>，见《北洋画报》，1933年11月4日。

[348] <九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴>，见《友谊画刊》，1942年。

[349] <今日梨园九皇会：伶人需净身吃素>，见《实报》，1941年11月4日。

[350] <菊部珍闻：九皇会>，见《社会日报》，1930年10月28日；朱双云，<菊部小事记：九皇会>，《戏》，1938年；大琳，<九皇会纪事>，见《立报》，1939年10月21日。一些地区或戏班会在恭迎九皇大帝之后焚化疏文，并试图从灰烬的移动轨迹预测剧院或戏班来年的运势。灰烬上升被认为是来年好运的好兆头，他们会在节日期间更加重视吃素和斋戒。

[351] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[352] 许黑珍，<伶界虔奉九皇会>，见《新闻报》，1939年10月18日。

[353] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期，页135-136；<菊部珍闻：九皇会>，见《社会日报》，1930年10月28日；朱双云，<菊部小事记：九皇会>，《戏》，1938年；蝶羽，<九皇素的形形色色>，见《立报》，1942年10月31日；张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日；龙套，<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日。

[354] 一名观察者指出的，梨园的九皇会中进行仪式的人被称为老道/道士，但通常会以“菩萨”之类的佛教术语指代神明，九皇崇拜有时也被称为九皇忏。在一些节日场所，道士们会穿着佛教僧侣的长袍，并用梵语诵读佛经。请参阅：南来雁，<九皇会>，见《立报》，1945年10月13日。

[355] <九皇会：茹素九日不知底蕴>，见《友谊画刊》，1942年。

[356] 1936年，一个专栏宣布，北京的九皇会将照常由前三庆班组织。当年的九皇会在右安门内大街猪营的梨园先贤祠举行。香孙，<北平之九皇会>，见《戏世界》，1936年10月18日。

[357] 梨园公益会在庙宇中设立九皇殿，选出成员作为诵经道士。1941年，梨园九皇胜会也在松柏庵举行，除此之外，北京的白云观和吕祖阁也举办了九皇胜会，见<梨园九皇会昨日开始>，《新天津画报》，1940年；<今日梨园九皇会：伶人需净身吃素>，见《实报》，1941年10月20日。

In Shanghai, however, each large theatre would hold its own Nine Emperor Gods Festival. For example, although the new theatre opening at the ninth-mile plot in Shanghai was only very close to the Liyuan association at Dong Mu Bridge, they held it in their three-storey Nine Emperors Hall, behind the stage of their new theatre. For itinerant troupes, they would borrow the premises of a temple as the venue for their festival. They needed to plan and gather enough colleagues needed for the rituals. If they were already on the road and could not muster the people, they would go to a temple to offer incense and observe a vegetarian diet during the period. The popularity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the two provinces of Jiang Zhe meant that this was quite convenient as most of these Buddhist and Daoist temples would set up altars on their premises for the festival, and the Buddhist monks and Daoist priests were often on hand to conduct the rituals.[358]

In Tianjin, it had previously always been organized by the leader of the former Xia Tian Xian Cha Yuan troupe, Zhao Haiting. Nevertheless, in 1933, there was only one opera troupe in Tianjin with permanently employed actors, the Tian Hua Jing, which had organized the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival there for the past few years. Thus, all the actors in Tianjin would have to go there to offer incense. It was the liveliest during the sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods on the ninth day. One could discern how much the performers spend on this from how high the Dipper incense is. Some reached three to four feet in height, and those that were ten to 20 feet high.[359] In addition, there were also finely decorated paper carriages for the gods.[360]

For Kun troupes, a tall yellow cloth pennant would fly from the roof of the theatre building during the festival, somewhat like a Beijing opera troupe. Each artiste would use glutinous rice to make a small flower basket and other objects and offer them backstage to the Nine Emperors' altar. These creations reflected the unique styles and thinking of the artists, and they often competed with each other in terms of the skill and novelty that went into the making of these objects. They would bring these offerings back home, and people often specially came to see them because they had been previously offered to the deities. The Beijing troupes were, nonetheless, different from the Kun troupes in that each artiste was required to wear straw shoes and chant scriptures in front of the Nine Emperor Gods altar.[361]

In the Liyuan world, at times when the limitations of space or funding meant that they could not hold the festival at a particular venue or set up a Nine Emperor Gods Hall for the festival, each actor and the whole family would still go on a vegetarian diet, and make simple/pure offerings during the nine days before the patron deity of the opera backstage. Even when they did not come to the theatre or were not at home, they would still adhere to the diet, and their families would follow suit. They would also burn incense day and night and keep the lamps lit during this period. Those who were particularly devout would go to the altar to chant scriptures before and after each performance. And some would offer incense towards the heavens for nine days. They would resume their normal diet on the tenth day.[362]

Liyuan priests at the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in different regions were also dressed differently. Those in Nanjing, Jiangsu, were completely dressed in monk's robes made of grey cloth and straw sandals.[363] In Beijing, the senior priests wore robes and socks of yellow and green Taoist hats.[364] The junior priests would wear a yellow sleeveless shirt, yellow pants, yellow cloth socks, a yellow apron, and a green Taoist hat.[365] Those who could not wear yellow ritual robes were each given a yellow cloth belt, and they would tie it around their waist when they entered the altar room.[366] At the Huang Jin Grand Theatre in Shanghai in 1936, the senior priests wore blue clothes and white or straw shoes, with a yellow sash around the waist and Buddhist beads in their hands, and their mouths chanting.[367] At the Gong Wu Tai, Shanghai, the priests entering the Nine Emperors Hall were all clothed in golden yellow.[368] The Liyuan priests in Shanghai also wore ritual robes with special sleeves, straw shoes, and a yellow monk's headdress on their head, and a yellow sash around the wait.[369]

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[358] The author noted how this festival was not like the San Mao Hui which could only be observed in the itinerant troupe's quarters and not outside. "梨园行虔祀九皇会", 立报, October 4, 1948.

[359] These were usually donated by famous actors during the festival, and were custom-made, with some tall ones able to burn for an entire month. Such, it was said, was what made the Nine Emperor Gods Festival such a special occasion. In that year, a certain Meng Xiaodong had made a generous contribution of a Dipper Incense that cost over 100 yuan, and was regarded as a sign of his devotion. "今年九皇会：孟小冬供献香斗," 三六九图报 (1940), 17.

[360] 百吟, "梨园习俗之九皇会", 北洋海报, November 4, 1933.

[361] 庄螺庵, "昆班之九皇会: 记曲师陆巧先生生语", 戏迷传 (1939), 10.

[362] 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔".

[363] "戏班中的九皇会," 南京晚报, October 20, 1947.

[364] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记,"; 齐明. "燕京的九皇圣会", 半月剧刊 6 (1936), 19.

[365] 方问溪述, 张次溪记, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记".

[366] 海萍, "九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔".

[367] "九皇胜会志盛," 戏剧周报, 1936.

[368] "九皇胜会志盛," 戏剧周报, 1936.

[369] A 1942 account also described the senior priest as wearing robes and socks made of yellow cloth, with a green Daoist hat. The junior priest was said to wear a half sleeve, an apron, and trousers, with his hat and socks similar to the senior priest. In 1948, opera artistes conducting the rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival "put on the attire of Daoist priests." "神秘庄严的九皇圣会（上)," 海报, October 29, 1942; "九皇忏综合释道两教," 立报, October 8, 1948, 1.

在上海，每个剧院都会自己举办九皇胜会。例如，位于上海市区九英里处的新剧院距离东木桥梨园会馆非常近，但他们不会去梨园会馆庆祝节日，而是在新剧院舞台后面三层楼高的九皇堂里举办九皇胜会。流动的水路戏班一般会借用寺院庙庵的场地作为节日场所。戏班会提前规划，留足人手准备九皇胜会。若戏班正在巡回演出途中，不便组织九皇胜会，众人会在到庙宇上香，并坚持吃素。九皇胜会在江浙两省十分盛行，大部分寺庙庵院会设坛庆祝九皇胜会，由佛教僧侣和道士主持仪式。

[358]在过去，天津的九皇胜会以前一直是由下天仙茶园班剧团的前班主赵海亭组织。但在1933年，天津只有戏班天华景有固定演员，他们在过去几年里组织了梨园九皇胜会。因此，天津所有的演员都要到那里上香。初九送驾的时候最为热闹。人们可以从香斗的高度看出演员们为了节日豪掷千金。有的香斗高3-4尺，有的更是高达10 - 20英尺。[359] 此外，人们还为神明准备了精美的纸辇。[360]

节日期间，昆班会在戏园屋顶升起黄色布幡，随风飘扬，这与京剧戏班的做法相似。演员们会用糯米粘成小花篮等物献给九皇大帝。这些小物品的制作往往别出心裁．争奇逞巧取胜也，节日过后人们会将这些小物件带回家，经常有人上门来看这些物品，因为这些物品曾被献给神明。不同于昆班，京剧戏班的演员必须穿着草鞋，在九皇坛前诵经。[361]

有时受到空间或资金的限制，戏班无法举办九皇胜会或设立九皇堂。节日期间，演员及其家人仍会坚持素食，并在后台向祖师神献上简单/纯净的供品。演员们即使不在戏班或不在家中仍然会坚持茹素，其家人也是如此。他们还会日夜烧香，并在此期间保持燃灯。尤为虔诚的人会在每次表演前后到坛上诵经，有些人会连续九天上香，直到第十天才开荤。[362]

各地梨园的老道在九皇胜会时衣着不同。在江苏省南京市，梨园老道一律灰布僧衣草履。[363] 在北京，大老道诵经时则穿黄袍布靴，戴青道帽。[364] 小老道则穿黄布坎肩、黄布套裤、黄布靴和黄围裙，戴青道帽。[365] 没有黄衫的人则在进入九皇殿时分得一条黄布带系在腰间。[366] 1936年，上海黄金大剧院的大老道在表演结束后回到九皇殿诵经，他们身穿蓝色衣服，脚穿白鞋草履，腰间系着黄腰带，手捻佛珠。[367] 在上海共舞台，“是时适各老道列队入室，而所服者于黄金诸人同。”[368] 上海梨园的老道身穿曲襟法衣，脚踏草鞋，头戴黄僧帽，腰系黄腰带。[369]

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[358] 作者指出，九皇胜会不同于三茅会，三茅会是水路戏班的内部节日，外人没有机会观看。<梨园行虔祀九皇会>，见《立报》，1948年10月4日。

[359] 这些香斗通常是由著名演员在节日期间捐赠的，并且是专门定制的，有些香斗甚至可以燃烧整整一个月。这也使得九皇胜会成为一个特殊的节日。1940年，孟小冬供献了一座价值100多元的香斗。见<今年九皇会：孟小冬供献香斗>，《三六九图报》，1940年第17期。

[360] 百吟，<梨园习俗之九皇会>，见《北洋画报》，1933年11月4日。

[361] 庄蝶庵，<昆班之九皇会：记曲师陆巧先生生语>，《戏迷转》，1939年第10期。

[362] 海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日。

[363] <戏班中的九皇会>，见《南京晚报》，1947年10月20日。

[364] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期；齐明，<燕京的九皇圣会>，见《半月剧刊》，1936年.n. 6. 19.

[365] 方问溪述，张次溪记，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第3期。

[366] 海萍，<九皇会的另一种意义行头奢侈大背借物之道借此忏悔>，见《时报》，1935年10月4日。

[367] <九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》，1936年。

[368] <九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》，1936年。

[369] 1942年，有报道称大老道穿着黄袍黄袜，戴青道帽，少老道穿着半臂围裙记套袴，帽子和袜子与大老道相似。1948年，演员在举行九皇胜会仪式时“披上羽衣”。<神秘庄严的九皇圣会（上）>，见《海报》，1942年10月29日；<九皇忏综合释道两教>，见《立报》，1948年10月8日，第1版。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival continued to be an important event for the Liyuan in the capital and major port cities through the Sino-Japanese War and the Civil War.[370] Newspaper reports on the Liyuan Nine Emperor Gods Festival during this period emphasised how the Liyuan communities followed the restrictions closely and tried their best to organize the festival despite rising prices and material and personnel shortages.[371] By the mid-1940s, in as much as there was growing scrutiny of the behaviour of famous actors and actresses during this period, with stories of how many were trying their best to continue the observance of the vegetarian diet during the festival, there were also increasing reports of famous actors who chose to eat meat publicly during this period, whether because of conversion to Christianity or through personal disdain for these customs.[372]

Nevertheless, reports on the festival during this period showed how the Liyuan communities in Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing and Tianjin continued to view the Nine Emperor Gods Festival as an important event in their religious calendar and adhered to the vegetarian diet and abstinences. However, there was also more discussion of the more "reform-minded" taking a shorter period of vegetarian dieting and the abstinences (e.g. the first and last days of the festival). Newspapers and magazines assiduously reported on the change in personnel, institutional settings and festival arrangements. In Beijing, there were new actors' associations established. Still, they continued to observe the festival, if not in the old association building, then in the older centres like Song Bo An. Even where the theatres had been converted to cinemas, the owners had sometimes continued the tradition of setting up a high altar and censer for the festival while observing the vegetarian diets. [373]

The Republican period was one of change, revolution, modernization, and reform, which questioned many religious traditions and branded them as superstition. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival was no exception and was a frequent target in the press during this period. Nevertheless, these accounts also provided important ethnographic information. Some more nuanced observers also highlighted how the Nine Emperor Gods Festival differed from many other deity festivals in their emphasis on simplicity, frugality, and discipline in avoiding extravagance and protecting life. Those with more nationalistic leanings saw in the festival the possibilities of the festival in cultivating self-reliance (in the way all the Liyuan members undertook the duties and logistics of the festival among themselves without relying on people outside the profession or allowing them to profit from this) and also the making of model citizens with an independent spirit, without the use of foreign goods.[374] Alternatively, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and its traditions are situated within new political, religious and cultural movements and frameworks. In 1940, the festival was organized in Beijing during the Sino-Japanese War for peace and the remembrance of the war dead.[375] In 1942, the Nine Emperor Gods and their relationships with Dou Lao/Dou Mu and Marichi Bodhisattva in shaping Chinese civilization, as well as their teachings, were invoked and situated within a Buddhist discourse by Buddhist groups campaigning against the killing of animals and seeking to promote the release of animals-in-captivity.[376]

[370] "重阳节与梨园九皇圣会,"中华周报, 1944; 南来雁, "九皇会," 立报, October 13, 1945; "记梨园界九皇圣会", 大公报, October 15, 1947. In 1945, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was still very popular in the Jiangnan area. In 1947, the Liyuan community in Beijing was described as still very fervent in their observance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, which was held at the Liyuan ancestral shrine, which was essentially a cemetery in the southern suburbs of the city. They still managed to mobilize more than 30 priests from the Liyuan community.

[371] "记梨园界九皇圣会", 大公报, October 15, 1947. The overseers of the Yanjing Liyuan Association intimated that the festival for that year was much smaller. They had managed to raise about 6 to 7 million yuan, but they were worried that it was not enough as before the war, the annual festival would have cost 18 million yuan. All the items being used in front of the Nine Emperor Gods Hall were of old stock, as no one was able to give such contributions anymore.

[372] "九皇素中两出戏: 白玉薇炸蚂蚱, 萧长华炮羊肉," 立言画刊 217 (1942): 8; "么鸡的'二厂': 她唱过戏她吃九皇素," 戏世界 361 (1948): 3; "胡韵梅吃九皇素," 立报. October 15, 1947; 罗宾汉, "慧珠不吃九皇素 曹慧麟辛酸谈误会 李玉茹化装有进步 白玉艳排戏到天亮," October 5, 1946, 4; 红娘自喻名士风流，九皇斋饱餐大螃蟹：荀慧生说："我对这种习俗马马虎虎"，戏世界404 (1948): 4. For context, see Eric Robert Reinders, "Blessed are the Meat Eaters: Christian Antivegetarianism and the Missionary Encounter with Chinese Buddhism," *Positions: East Asia Cultural Critique* 12:2 (2004): 509-537.

[373] This was the case for the Empress Theatre in the Chang Jiang region, which had been converted to a cinema, but had assiduously continued the tradition of setting up a high altar with an incense censer. The overseer or owner of the cinema was very devout in his observance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. He not only continued with it but also continued to observe the vegetarian diets for the patron deity Lao Lang at the beginning and middle of each month, and Marshal Wu Chang. "剧界筹备九皇会," 实报, October 10, 1941; "梨园九皇会：设坛松柏庵", 实报, October 12, 1941; 张古愚, "谈九皇会," 戏报, October 15, 1947.

[374] 竹瘦, "从九皇会看出伶德."

[375] "九皇法会道场: 王委员长亲往礼坛", 实报, October 10, 1940; "九皇法会昨闭幕，余市长亲往礼坛," 实报, October 10, 1940.

[376] 黄维时, "九皇斗母说行善邀福定乱挽劫莫如放生之慈音与当前创建放生园之道," 莲池会闻 第4期.

中日战争和内战时期，九皇胜会仍然是首都和主要港口城市梨园界的一大盛事。[370] 在此期间，有关梨园九皇胜会的报道表明，梨园成员仍然虔诚斋戒，在物价上涨和物品短缺的情况下，依然尽最大努力组织节日。[371] 到了20世纪40年代中期，对著名演员的报道越来越多，仍有许多人在节日期间虔诚吃斋，但越来越多著名演员在节日期间公开吃肉，或是因为皈依了基督教，或是出于对这些习俗的鄙夷。[372]

尽管如此，北京、上海、南京和天津的梨园界仍坚持吃素和斋戒，但越来越多的“维新派”只在较短的时间内持斋茹素（例如节日的第一天和最后一天）。报纸上时常刊出梨园人员、机构设置和节日安排的变化。北京成立了新的梨园公会成立，他们依旧在以前的会馆或松柏庵庆祝九皇胜会。尽管有些地方的戏园被改建成影院，影院老板有时也会为节日设一高坛和香炉，并遵守节日的持斋茹素。[373]

民国时期是一个充满动荡、变革并转向现代化的时期，许多宗教传统受到质疑，并被贴上迷信的标签。九皇胜会也不例外，经常成为媒体攻击的对象。这些报道提供了重要的民族志资料，一些观察者注意到了九皇胜会与其他神明节日的不同之处，九皇胜会强调一切从简、避免奢侈和爱惜生灵。具有强烈民族主义情绪的人认为这一节日能够培养人们自力更生的美好品质（因为所有梨园成员都在自己力所能及的情况下承担节日期间的职责，而不依赖于行业外的人，也不从中获利），使人们成为不使用外国商品、具有独立精神的模范公民。[374] 此外，九皇胜会及其传统也被置于新的政治、宗教和文化运动的框架中重新定位。1940年，中日战争期间，北京举办了九皇胜会，祈祷世界和平并纪念战争亡灵。[375] 1942年，九皇大帝与斗姥/斗母以及摩利支天菩萨之间的关系及其教义形塑了中国的宗教文明，佛教团体援用了这些话语，反对捕杀动物，提倡放生。[376]

370 <重阳节与梨园九皇圣会>，《中华周报》，1944年；南来雁，<九皇会>，见《立报》，1945年10月13日；<记梨园界九皇圣会>，见《大公报》，1947年10月15日。1945年，九皇会在江南地区仍十分盛行。1947年，北京梨园界仍然非常虔诚地在梨园祠堂庆祝九皇会，梨园祠堂是北京南郊的一块墓地。梨园界有超过30名道士参与九皇会。

371 <记梨园界九皇圣会>，见《大公报》，1947年10月15日。燕京梨园公会的管理者表示，该年九皇会的规模比以往小得多。他们设法筹集了大约600-700万元，但他们担心这可能不够，因为在战前，平均每年的节日花费为1800万元。九皇殿所使用的全部物品都是旧库存，因为再也没有人能给出这样的供献了。

372 <九皇素中两出戏：臼玉薇炸蚂蚱，萧长华炮羊肉>，《立言画刊》1942年第217期，页8；<么鸡的“二厂”：她唱过戏她吃九皇素>，《戏世界》1948年第361期，页3；<胡韵梅吃九皇素>，见《立报》，1947年10月15日；<言慧珠不吃九皇素，曹慧麟辛酸谈误会，李玉茹化装有进步，白玉艳排戏到天亮>，见《罗宾汉》，1946年10月5日，第4版；<老红娘自喻名士风流，九皇斋饱餐大螃蟹：苟慧生说：“我对这种习俗马马虎虎”>，《戏世界》，1948年第404期，页4。相关背景，请参阅Eric Robert Reinders, “Blessed are the Meat Eaters: Christian Antivegetarianism and the Missionary Encounter with Chinese Buddhism,” *Positions: East Asia Cultural Critique* 12:2 (2004): 509-537.

373 长江地区的皇后剧院便是如此，它已被改造成电影院，但仍保留了设高坛和香炉的传统。盖该院之张镜寿（？）非常虔诚地庆祝九皇胜会。他坚持设高坛和香炉地传统，并在每月月初和月中持斋供奉老郎神和武昌兵马大元帅。<剧界筹备九皇会>，见《实报》，1941年10月10日；<梨园九皇会：设坛松柏庵>，见《实报》，1941年10月12日；张古愚，<谈九皇会>，见《戏报》，1947年10月15日。

374 竹瘦，<从九皇会看出伶德>，见《罗宾汉》，1931年10月16日。

375 <九皇法会道场：王委员长亲往礼坛>，见《实报》，1940年10月10日；<九皇法会昨闭幕，余市长亲往礼坛>，见《实报》，1940年10月10日。

376 黄维时，<九皇斗母说行善邀福定乱挽劫莫如放生之慈音与当前创建放生园之道>，《莲池会闻》，第4期。

Conclusion

The previous discussion has seen little in the festival in the southern maritime provinces that have accounted for the Chinese migration to the Nanyang, namely the Fujian and Guangdong provinces. The festival's history in these provinces would be important given that most Chinese in Southeast Asia claimed ancestry from these provinces. Given the importance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, to what extent was the festival a tradition brought to the region from China? What evidence is available is interesting in terms of understanding the historical flows of people, ideas, and traditions between China and Southeast Asia and the uniqueness of these regions vis-à-vis the other major centres of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China.

In Hu Pu'an's national survey of customs in Republican China, completed in 1923, there was an entry for the province of Guangdong. It noted that they would do a Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the first days of the ninth month.[377] Yet, there was little else in terms of detailed descriptions of the festival in the province. Nevertheless, there were interesting accounts of practices in these southern provinces during the Republican period, which highlighted the practices and observances there and how Southeast Asian traditions and ideas possibly influenced them.

In 1929, a Singapore-based *Nanyang Siang Pau* article noted that huge crowds had "sent the Nine Emperor Gods' censer into the sea" in Zhangpu, Fujian, by being dressed in "white clothes and straw sandals". These practices, in the funeral-esque garments and sending a censer into the sea, were very similar to Southeast Asia and different from other regions in China discussed earlier.[378] This similarity might suggest a common source of inspiration with their Southeast Asian counterparts. This may suggest that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was first observed in Zhangzhou before its traditions were brought to Southeast Asia, an interesting hypothesis given Zhangzhou is seen by some scholars to be where the Heaven-and-Earth Society was founded in the eighteenth century, in the light of what scholars observed to be close parallels between certain rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and these societies.[379] Nevertheless, there are no other earlier records to substantiate this hypothesis and claim. It was equally likely that Zhangpu sojourners in Southeast Asia brought these practices and traditions back home.

A 2013 online news article on the festival in the Zhangpu region today sheds further light on the possible origins of the festival above. It noted how a temple in a village in the Zhangpu region which observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival annually not only went by the name Dou Mu Gong but was said to have been founded "nearly a century ago, where locals who brought (the faith of the Nine Emperor Gods) back with them from Malaya".[380] Likewise, a 1921 article in the Chaozhou newspaper *Pingbao* noted the proliferation of associations observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chao'an, Chenghai and Raoping. When he searched for their origins, the author could not find any "Nine Emperor Buddhas" in the older Buddhist temples and nunneries in the region. He heard that these deities had entered Chaozhou via Siam".[381]

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[377] 胡朴安, 中华全国风俗志(下编), 246.

[378] "迷信神权惹起纠纷九皇帝在新社被毁 杨海潮背约受处罚," 南洋商报, November 14, 1929, 14.

[379] Dian H. Murray, collab. Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), but especially between 178-180.

[380] "九月初九信众吃斋拜斗马来西亚信仰漳浦传百年," 东方网 zz.fjsen.com, October 14, 2013, http://zzpd.fjsen.com/2013-10/14/content_12740924.htm. Also see "埭頭村(福建省漳州市漳浦縣深土鎮下轄村)," 中文百科 Chinese Encyclopaedia, accessed May 1, 2022, https://www.newton.com.tw/wiki/埭頭村/17958841.

[381] 陈志勇, "道教"九皇神"与民间戏神信仰考," 10.

结语

从上述的讨论中可以看到，对于华南沿海省份（即广东和福建）的九皇胜会的记载非常有限。探究广东和福建的九皇胜会的历史有助于我们理解东南亚华人社区的九皇胜会，因为这两个省份正是绝大多数南洋华人的祖籍地。东南亚的九皇胜会是该地区的重要节日，这一节日在多大程度上源于华南地区的传统？如何从现有资料中理解中国与东南亚之间人口、思想和传统的历史流动，探究华南沿海地区相较于中国其他九皇信仰主要中心所具有的独特性，是一个有趣的尝试。

1923年，胡朴安在《中华全国风俗志》中"广东总志"下载，"九月上日，建九皇会"。[377] 但关于这一节日的详细描述十分有限。然而，一些关于民国时期南方沿海省份的九皇胜会的记载不仅留下了当地习俗和仪式的相关记录，也显示了这些仪式和实践受到东南亚传统和思想的影响。

1929年，《南洋商报》的一篇报道称，福建省漳浦县的信众身穿白衣草履送九皇大帝神炉入海。葬礼式的服装以及送香炉入海的做法与东南亚的实践非常相似，与前述中国其他地区的九皇胜会传统截然不同。[378] 这或许反映了漳浦的九皇信仰与东南亚的九皇信仰有着共同的起源，很有可能九皇信仰最初是由漳州传到东南亚的。一些学者指出，天地会在18世纪创立于漳州，而九皇胜会的某些仪式与这些秘密会社的仪式颇为相似。[379] 然而，目前没有早期的记录可以证实这一点，也有可能是东南亚的漳浦移民将这些实践和传统带回中国。

2013年，一则关于漳浦地区九皇胜会的网络新闻反映了东南亚的九皇胜会对中国的影响。据称，漳浦埭头村每年举行九皇胜会的庙宇称为"斗母宫"，有村民称庙宇是"百多年前，当地人从马来西亚带回来的。"[380] 1921年，潮州的《平报》中有一篇文章提到潮安、澄海和饶平地区出现了许多庆祝九皇胜会的组织。报道者称"在各处底庵寺里头，却没有九皇佛祖的名目，听说是由暹罗输入的。"[381]

[377] 胡朴安，<广东总志>，见《中华全国风俗志（下编）》（石家庄：河北人民出版社，1986），页246。

[378] <迷信神权惹起纠纷 九皇帝在新社被毁 杨海潮背约受处罚>，见《南洋商报》，1929年11月14日，第14版。

[379] Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui*, 尤其见页178-180.

[380] <九月初九信众吃斋拜斗马来西亚信仰漳浦传百年>，见东方网zz.fjsen.com，2013年10月14日，http://zzpd.fjsen.com/2013-10/14/content_12740924.htm. 亦请查阅"埭头村（福建省漳州市漳浦县深土镇下辖村）"，见中文百科，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://www.newton.com.tw/wiki/埭头村/17958841.

[381] 陈志勇，<道教"九皇神"与民间戏神信仰考>，页10。

The propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods as the Northern Dipper in the Chao Shan region had reached certain proportions by the late Qing period and peaked in the 1930s and 1940s. The worship of the Nine Emperor Gods followed different traditions, being shaped by both scriptures and written sources circulating among the masses (such as the Bei Dou Jing), the institutions practising them, such as the Shantang, Liyuan, villages, Buddhist halls, and also individual cultivation. In his survey of the tradition in the Chaoshan region, Chen Jingxi noted that the references to the practices and traditions in the Shantang in this work were believed to be based on observations between the 1920s and 1940s, with the Liyuan references largely from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. After the establishment of the Beijing opera Liyuan association in 1884, the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas were named as one of the deities to be propitiated by the Wai Jiang Ban, besides Marshal Tian Du. There was also a silver inscription dated 1900 in the association commemorating the renovation of the Nine Emperor Buddhas temple. For the Chaozhou Opera Liyuan Association, a stone plaque in a temple dated 1894 noted that the association's name was "Nine Emperors' Temple". A later study also observed that the deities propitiated in the association were an image of Dou Lao and a tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods, respectively. There was also a detailed account compiled in the 1980s and 1990s of the "Nine Emperors' *Zhai*" observed by the Chaozhou troupes and their propitiation of these two deities during the first nine days of the ninth lunar month, and the observances, rituals, offerings, and material culture of the festival.

Outside of performing on stage, they would not tie their hair and wore simple clothes, almost like in mourning, strictly abstaining from meat consumption, scolding people, and breaking utensils. It was noted that while the Chaozhou Liyuan was similar to the Liyuan communities in other parts of China in their propitiation of the Nine Emperor and Dou Lao, their representations of the Nine Emperor Gods as a unified image of nine star deities were rather different from that in northern China where he was represented as an old Daoist priest with a beard. The naming of the Nine Emperors as "Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas" and "Nine Emperor Buddhas" was also very different from Liyuan communities in other parts of China, and similar to the Nine Emperor Gods traditions in Thailand. Several festival traditions and sites in the villages and Buddhist temples traced their origins to migrants to Thailand who invited paintings of the Nine Emperor Buddhas back for propitiation, along with the scriptures and the ritual traditions.[382]

The Chaoshan region became an important zone for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The Nine Emperor Gods were seen as seven Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas, who, together with the Zuo Fu and You Bi star deities, form the Northern Dipper constellation. The scriptures used for propitiating the Nine Emperor Gods included different versions of the Northern Dipper scriptures, namely the *Miraculous Sutra* and *Northern Dipper Scripture* (with one version having Thai pronunciations), spirit-written books,[383] and a Nine Emperor Gods scripture.[384] Studies of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the Chaoshan region of Guangdong have shown two possible strands in developing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the region.[385] The first seemed to have developed locally before being influenced by Southeast Asian return currents. It would have been closely related to the propitiation of the Dipper in the popular Chinese religion landscape, especially in the Dipper societies and the deity-writing movements and altars.[386] The second strand seemed to have derived from the influence of traditions and practices surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. Ultimately, both these strands seem to have been influenced by the Nine Emperor traditions in Thailand.[387]

Most of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival centres in the Chaoshan region today are in the Chao'an, Chenghai and Raoping counties, mainly in institutions like Shan Tang, Nian Fo She, and Ju Shi Lin. The temples and festival sites influenced by Southeast Asia included the Chenghai Gang Yu Fo Si, Chenghai Lian Hua Sheng An Lou and very likely Jieyang Jiexi Mianhu Ji Shan Tang, while the origins of the festivals at Chaozhou Jun Nan Pan An Shan Tang, Chenghai Ling ting Nan Shou Gu An, Chenghai Cheng Dong Fo An and other centres were not clear. For example, the venerated portraits of the Nine Emperor Buddhas in the Lian Hua Sheng An Lou in the Chenghai district of Chaozhou "were invited from Thailand in the past".[388] The festivals in these areas were all about a hundred years old, and they also shared much in terms of their rituals, with the strong possibility of being influenced by Nine Emperor Gods Festival centres in the Nanyang, especially from Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand.[389]

[382] 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 275-287.

[383] The version encountered dated from 1920 (third day of the ninth month), when the Nine Emperors Buddha descended at one of the deity-writing halls. It provided insights into the background of the Nine Emperor Buddhas, as one of the deities before Buddha who was sent in the form of a beggar to test a member of the gentry in Zhejiang. On the ninth day of the ninth month, he manifested his true form and brought the gentleman to heaven. 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 271-296.

[384] 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 273-274; 陈章煌and 南熏窗, "灯燃北斗一天星 —浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜," *CN News*, ND. accessed May 1, 2022. https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3.

[385] 陈章煌and 南熏窗, "灯燃北斗一天星 —浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜".

[386] 俞伦伦, "南平斗会." The representation of the Northern Dipper deities as the Nine Emperor Buddhas and Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas in the Chaoshan Nine Emperor Gods Festival had some interesting parallels with the Dipper propitiation societies and spirit-writing altars in the Fuzhou and Nanping areas, with the Buddhist traditions more prominent in the Chaoshan areas.

[387] 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 288-290.

[388] The deities and the instruments that they wielded resembled the Nine Emperor Buddhas' images from the temple known as Xin Xing Tan in Bangkok and Zhun Ti Tang in Singapore. Also see "汕头莲花山下有个'九皇斋'，深藏两个世纪红头船往事," 今日头条, January 8, 2020, https://www.toutiao.com/article/6779382536880521740/?wid=1654359619880.

[389] 陈章煌and 南熏窗, "灯燃北斗一天星 —浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜."

晚清时期，潮汕地区已有朝北斗供奉九皇大帝的传统，在20世纪三四十年代达到顶峰。潮汕的九皇崇拜有不同的传统，包括民间文书的制度性规定（如《北斗经》）、设坛祭祀九皇的本土社会团体（例如善堂、梨园、村寨和佛教庵堂），以及个人修持的东密居士等。在陈景熙对潮汕北斗九皇崇拜的研究中，潮汕地区善堂的九皇崇拜活动应该是20世纪20-40年代的事情，梨园对九皇的崇拜则主要是19世纪末至20世纪初的记载。1884年，外江戏梨园公所成立，外江班除供奉田都元帅，还供奉九皇菩萨。外江梨园公所的银碑（1900年）纪念九皇佛祖庙宇重新修缮。潮音梨园公所的石匾（1894年）称会所正名为"九皇庙"。有学者的研究称"梨园公所大殿供奉的是斗姆神像和九皇神牌"。上世纪80-90年代，有学者详细记述了潮剧戏班"食九皇斋"以及祭拜九皇菩萨和斗姥天尊的习俗。在农历九月初一至初九九天的时间里，除了上台演戏之外，戏班成员一概披头散发，衣着简朴，俨若居丧模样，斋戒素食，避免骂人或打破器皿。值得一提的是，虽然潮汕梨园供奉斗姥九皇的习俗与中国各地梨园相似，但潮汕梨园认为九皇大帝是由九位星君组成的集体神像，与华北梨园将九皇大帝描绘为长须老道的形象大不相同。潮汕梨园将九皇称为"九皇菩萨"和"九皇佛祖"，也与中国其他地方的梨园有很大不同，却与泰国的九皇传统相似。村寨和庵堂的一些节日传统可能由泰国传入，侨居泰国的潮汕移民将九皇佛像连同经文和仪式传统带回潮汕地区。[382]

潮汕地区是九皇崇拜的重要区域，九皇被视为七佛二菩萨，七佛指北斗七星，二菩萨为左辅右弼。九皇崇拜的经书包括不同版本的《北斗经》（即《佛说天中北斗消灾延寿妙经》，其中一个版本为泰语注音本），鸾书，[383] 以及《九皇佛祖经文》。[384] 对潮汕地区九皇崇拜的研究表明，九皇崇拜在潮汕地区可能沿着两个趋势发展。[385] 其一是在受到东南亚回流的影响之前，九皇崇拜在本土发展起来，可能与中国民间宗教中的北斗崇拜密切相关，特别体现在斗社和鸾坛中。[386] 其二是源自东南亚九皇胜会的传统和习俗回流的影响。这两者似乎都受到了泰国九皇崇拜的影响。[387]

潮汕地区的九皇信仰中心主要分布在潮安、澄海和饶平等地的善堂、念佛社和居士林。其中有一部分庙堂的九皇胜会受到东南亚的九皇信仰的影响，例如澄海港口玉佛寺、澄海莲华盛安楼以及揭阳揭西棉湖积善堂。据说，澄海莲华盛安楼"所供奉九皇佛祖画像，是当年从泰国请回来的。"[388] 也有一些庙堂的节日起源不甚清晰，例如潮州郡南盘安善堂、澄海岭亭南寿古庵和澄海澄东佛堂。这些地区的节日有近百年的历史，在仪式上也有很多共同之处，很有可能受到南洋地区九皇信仰中心的影响，尤其是马来西亚、新加坡和泰国等地。[389]

[382] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页275-287.

[383] 这篇鸾词是1920年九月初三九皇佛祖降鸾所作。这篇鸾词提供了九皇佛祖的来历，九皇佛祖原为"如来佛祖座前神"，化身乞丐考察浙江的金员外。九月初九九皇佛祖显化真身并度金员外上天庭。陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页271-296。

[384] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页273-274；陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNN News*，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3.

[385] 陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNNNews*,访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3。文章基于陈景熙和陈斯楷的研究，以及作者的实地考察，口述史研究和碑文研究。

[386] 俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年。潮汕地区九皇胜会将北斗星君认作九皇佛祖和九皇菩萨，与福州和南平地区的斗社和鸾坛有些相似，但潮汕地区的佛教传统更加盛行。

[387] 陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页288-290.

[388] 盛安楼的九皇大帝及其所持法器类似于曼谷新兴坛和新加坡准提堂的九皇佛祖神像。亦请参阅<汕头莲花山下有个"九皇斋"，深藏两个世纪红头船往事>，见《今日头条》，2020年1月8日，https://www.toutiao.com/article/6779382536880521740/?wid=1654359619880.

[389] 陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNNNews*,访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3，页2-3。

The former abbot of Kai Yuan Si temple in Chaozhou remembered that during the Republican period, each *shantang* would hold its own Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The followers would observe a vegetarian diet for nine days and clean their cooking and eating utensils and not mix them with those they used at other times. They would create a chanting table decorated with a yellow cloth, with the altar with incense censer also covered on the sides by yellow cloth. Those not on a *zhai jie* regime were not allowed to enter. Large lanterns would hang before the main altar, with the names of Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas and Dou Lao Tian Zun. Yellow paper with the characters *zhai jie* and *su jing* or other phrases in vermillion ink will be put up. Some Shantang might have a portrait of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas at the altar, and where there was one, it would depict a seated Bodhisattva in the middle, with eight or nine figures lined on either side. It was said that they were the sons of the one in the middle. On the altar, there will be nine lamps made of brass shaped like a tree with nine branches kept lit at all times during the nine days. There will be chanting on all nine days, usually Buddhist sutras, except for the *Northern Dipper Scripture*, which was not found in the Buddhist sutra corpus. The evenings are especially lively, and the festival ends with the sending off of the deities. The festival was popular in cities and the countryside (where it was usually hosted in big halls belonging to family lineages). Interestingly, in the countryside, the participants had to wear white clothes.[390]

The wearing of white, a special feature of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, was also observed in several temples in the Chaoshan region. In the Yu Fo Si in Gangkou, the devotees "covered their bodies in white garments and covered their heads in white cloth" at the start of the festival, when they received the Nine Emperor Buddhas by tossing divination blocks. However, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, devotees "changed into blue clothes and black pants before sending the Buddhas off from the Han River outside the village".[391] The Chaoshan observances of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival thus highlighted the fusion of two traditions, one local and probably connected to Dipper worship and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in other parts of China, and one connected to the circulatory return movement from the Nanyang to the Chaoshan region and the influence of the traditions from the south.

Another interesting trajectory involving both southern China and Southeast Asia can be seen in the history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Taiwan, especially in the Nan Tian Lian He Fu network of temples dedicated primarily to the Nine Emperor Gods, Tian Du Yuan Shuai (Marshal Tian Du) and Dou Sheng Zhan Fo (also known as Great Sage of Heaven). The first temple was started around the Bo'ai Road area in Taipei by a master from Fuzhou who arrived on the island in 1949. This temple Nan Tian Lian He Fu Ci Shan Zong Tang later moved to the Nan Gang district next to Academia Sinica today. Previous to this relocation, another branch had been established in Sanchong, Nan Tian Lian He Fu Ci Sheng Tang, now also known as San Chong Jiu Huang Gong, due to the growing popularity of the temple and the space constraints in the original location. Subsequently, another temple with the prefix of Nan Tian Lian He Fu was established in Taichung, the Feng Yuan Sheng Huang Gong.[392] According to the members of San Chong Jiu Huang Gong, they used to have the tradition of deity-writing in the temple. They also chant a version of the Northern Dipper scripture to receive and send off the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. This network could have developed from the tradition of Dipper worship and Dipper societies in Fuzhou and other parts of Fujian, like Nanping, moving to Taiwan after 1949.[393]

This historical survey of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China has highlighted several important themes that will be important for understanding the festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia. This is not intended as a statement of the "original" festival against which we would measure the festival in the Nanyang. It is not intended to emphasize the orthodoxy of one manifestation or form of the Nine Emperor Gods or one particular tradition of worshipping the deities. Like the divine in other religions, deities in Chinese religion are often manifested in different forms shaped by the experiences and environments of the communities worshipping them. Rather, they provided some insights into the historical background and origins of certain traditions and practices that we still find at the core of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today, especially in Southeast Asia, such as the emphasis on a vegetarian diet, *zhai jie* and purity. They also highlighted the influences of Southeast Asian traditions on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China. Just as the festivals in China evolved within their respective historical, geographical and cultural contexts, the different environments and historical trajectories in nineteenth and twentieth-century Southeast Asia will be very important in our understanding of the unique identities and traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the region.

[390] 陈章煌and 南熏窗, "灯燃北斗一天星 —浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜."

[391] The authors had drawn together an impressive array of secondary sources and appended a bibliography at the end.

[392] Sanchong Jiuhuanggong三重九皇宫, Facebook, accessed May 1, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/三重九皇宫-520966651629003; See also 南天联合府-圣皇宫, Facebook, accessed May 1, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/南天联合府-圣皇宫-1315373575219445 respectively. The names of the secondary deities are rendered a little differently in the latter, namely as 田都师帅 and 斗战圣佛.

[393] While these Dipper Societies in Fuzhou were devoted to the propitiation of the Dipper star deities and Dou Mu or Dou Lao, they did not seem to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival as the main festival or identify specifically with the Nine Emperor Gods as the name of the Dipper deities. Nevertheless, their growing popularity among urban elites in Fuzhou, as in different major urban regions in China, as well as their combination of Dipper worship with deity-writing, provided important insights into the history of this network of Nine Emperor Gods temples originating from Fuzhou. 俞伦伦, "南平斗会," 21-23.

原开潮州开元寺方丈曾回忆道，民国年间，各善堂都会举办九皇胜会。众善信持斋九天，称为九皇斋。他们会清洁厨具和餐具，并另置一套厨具餐具，与平日使用的器具分开。经坛外饰黄布，香案也用黄布围住。没有持斋的人不得进入神坛。坛前高悬灯笼，上书“九皇菩萨”和“斗姥天尊”。人们会在黄纸上用红墨水写下“斋戒”、“肃静”等联语并各处张贴。有些善堂供有九皇菩萨的画像，像中坐一菩萨，左右分列八、九人。坛上有九盏铜锡所制之灯，形状如树九枝，燃灯九天，昼夜常明。九皇胜会期间，人们每天都会诵经，所诵为佛经，以及不在佛教经典之列的《北斗经》。晚上尤其热闹，直到送走神明之后节日才算圆满落幕。九皇胜会在农村和城市都很受欢迎。在农村，九皇胜会通常在家族的大厅中举行。值得注意的是，在农村的九皇胜会，参与者必须穿白色衣服。[390]

东南亚九皇胜会的特点之一是信众须穿着白色衣服，这一点也可在潮汕地区一些庙宇中观察到。例如，港口玉佛寺的信徒会“身穿白衣，头扎白布”，通过掷筊恭迎九皇佛祖。然鹅到了节日最后一天，信徒“改着蓝衫黑裤，送佛至乡外韩江边”。[391] 由此可见，潮汕地区的九皇胜会融合了两种传统，一种源于当地，可能与中国其他地区的北斗崇拜和九皇胜会有关，另一种则与南洋地区与潮汕地区之间人员流动所带来的影响有关。

华南与东南亚之间的互动也可见于台湾九皇胜会的历史，尤其是供奉九皇大帝、田都元帅和斗胜战佛（又称齐天大圣）的南天联合府庙宇网络。1949年，一位大师从福州来到台北，在台北的博爱路建立了一座庙宇，即南天联合府慈生总堂。后来庙宇搬到中央研究院附近的南港。搬迁之前，由于庙宇的知名度越来越高以及原址的空间限制，庙宇在三重成立了分支，南天联合府慈生堂也被称为三重九皇宫。随后，台中也建立了另一座南天联合府分支庙宇，即丰原圣皇宫。[392] 据三重九皇宫理事分享，庙里曾有扶乩传统。九皇千秋时也以念北斗经恭迎与恭送九皇。南天联合府庙宇网络很可能源于福州和福建其他地区（如南平）的礼斗和斗社传统，在1949年后迁往台湾。[393]

研究九皇胜会在中国的历史对于理解新加坡和东南亚的九皇胜会而言具有重要的意义。我们并非将中国的九皇胜会作为正统来衡量南洋的节日实践，也不是为了强调九皇大帝的原型或九皇崇拜的某一特定传统。如同其他宗教中的神明，华人宗教中的神明通常有多种不同的形象和表现形式，这些形象与供奉神明的社区的独特经历和外部环境有关。相反，对中国九皇胜会的了解将为我们提供重要的历史背景，方便我们理解在东南亚的九皇胜会中观察到的某些传统和习俗，例如对素食、斋戒和纯洁的强调，这些传统和习俗直到今天仍是东南亚九皇胜会的核心。此外，我们可以看到，东南亚的传统对中国九皇胜会的影响。各地的节日是在不同的历史、地理和文化背景下发展而来的。因此，了解19世纪和20世纪东南亚地区独特的环境和历史对于我们理解该地区的九皇胜会而言非常重要。

[390] 陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNNNews*,访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3，页3-4；释慧原，《潮州市佛教志潮州开元寺志》（福建仙游县：潮州开元寺,1992），页977-978；陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004年第11期，页275-276. 这一说法源于上引陈景熙的文章所载的方丈的回忆。

[391] 作者收集了大量详实的二手资料，并在结尾处附上了参考书目。陈章煌，南熏窗，<灯燃北斗一天星——浅谈潮汕民间北斗九皇崇拜>，见*CNN News*，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3.

[392] 三重九皇宫，Facebook，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://www.facebook.com/三重九皇宫-520966651629003; 亦请参阅：南天联合府-圣皇宫，Facebook，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://www.facebook.com/南天联合府-圣皇宫-1315373575219445. 南天联合府的网页上，神明的名号略有不同，为田都师帅和斗战圣佛。

[393] 虽然福州的斗堂也是为了供奉北斗以及斗母或斗姥，他们似乎没有将九皇胜会视为主要节日，也没有把九皇大帝作为北斗星君的名号。然而，如同在中国其他主要城市或地区，斗堂在福州的城市精英中越来越受欢迎，并且越来越多地与礼斗和扶鸾联系在一起，这为我们理解这个起源于福州的九皇庙网络的历史提供了重要的见解。俞伦伦，《南平斗会：善庆堂的历史与仪式（1897-2016）》，福建师范大学硕士学位论文，2017年，页21-23。

第2章

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia

东南亚的九皇千秋



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia

Observers of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia today will find significant parallels with descriptions of the festival in late Qing and Republican China. They include the role of the community in its organisation, the use of yellow in the decorations and ritual paraphernalia and decorations, the vegetarian diets and *zhai* regimes expected of the participants, and the emphasis on ritual purity for participants in the festival. Nevertheless, there are also essential practices and themes unique to the festival in Southeast Asia. These include the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea or river, the presence of mediums for the Nine Emperor Gods, the restrictions associated with the Inner Chamber, the use of special covered palanquins and the importance of processions involving the palanquins or mediums, the wearing of white apparel (compared to plain-coloured clothes prescribed in China) and a piece of white cloth over the head, the particular significance of the nine lamps and the popularity of using a dragon or ritual paper ship for the sending-off ceremony in recent times.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia needs to be understood in terms of the histories, experiences, and environments of Chinese migration and settlement in Southeast Asia and the interactions between maritime China and the Nanyang. The spread of the festival and Nine Emperor Gods worship among Chinese communities in the mining frontiers and port towns in the Straits of Melaka. The preponderance in these frontier regions of certain types of mutual-aid associations drawing on Ming loyalist and anti-Qing ideologies, symbols and rituals came to shape the memories among these communities of who the Nine Emperor Gods were and the ritual structure and material culture of the festival, especially their unique features and the meanings associated with them. As such, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's history in Southeast Asia must be understood in context. It has to be framed against the preponderance of specific collective memories, ideological currents and social institutions among the Chinese communities in the region. The festival in Southeast Asia was more than an occasion for abstinence and purity as means of supplication for blessings, longevity, and protection from ill fortune. It was, and remains, an essential articulation of Chinese-ness and the historical consciousness of Chinese communities in Southeast Asia.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 19th-Century Southeast Asia

Today, southern Thailand is one of the major areas associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, with some of the oldest temples and sites, in provinces like Phuket, Trang, Krabi, and Phangna.[1] One of the oldest and most prominent temples associated with the festival today in Phuket is the Kathu Shrine or the Kathu Dou Mu Gong. Different dates are given for the founding of the temple and various versions of its early history. Nonetheless, the history of the temple and its festival was closely connected with the growing migration of Chinese capital, entrepreneurship and labour to Phuket, especially from Penang, to the island with the discovery of new tin deposits there in the early 19th century. The growing Chinese population and communities also made the island and district a critical node for the Chinese performing troupes from China or other parts of the Straits of Melaka region. The festival's origins on the island were closely connected to the epidemics afflicting the mining districts and communities on the island and the Chinese opera troupes which travelled to the island to perform for them. They highlighted the historical ties between Liyuan and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival noted in late Qing and Republican China, the importance of Jiangxi as an important historical centre for the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods, and the anxieties, dangers, and challenges faced by Chinese migrant communities on a mining and commercial frontier in Southeast Asia.

[1] 班农拉姆盖, "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究" (博士, 北京外国语大学, 2016), 215.

东南亚的九皇千秋

东南亚现今所见的九皇胜会与晚清、民国时期所载的节日有着重要的相似之处，例如九皇胜会期间社区所扮演的重要角色、黄色作为九皇大帝的象征色在仪式上的普遍使用以及节日参与者茹素和斋戒以清净身心的要求。不过，东南亚的九皇胜会也有其独特之处，包括在海边或河边进行迎驾和送驾仪式、九皇乩童的参与、内殿的各种限制、有盖圣轿的使用以及游行绕境的重要性。此外，白色装束（与中国规定的“素色”衣服相比）与白头巾、九盏天灯的特别意义以及恭送仪式上龙船或法船的使用也都是东南亚九皇胜会的独特习俗与仪式。

理解东南亚的九皇胜会习俗与文化，需要对东南亚华人的移民历史、经验和环境以及中国与南洋之间的互动和交流进行考察。九皇胜会和九皇崇拜最初盛行于马六甲海峡早期矿区和港口城镇的华人社区中。在这些地区中，采取反清复明意识形态、象征和仪式的互助会社以九皇崇拜为掩护的历史，塑造了当地社群对九皇来历的集体记忆以及节日的仪式结构和物质文化。因此，若要理解东南亚九皇胜会的历史，必须结合当地的语境，将之置于东南亚华人社群的集体记忆、思想潮流和社会制度的背景之中加以考察。东南亚的九皇胜会不仅仅是一个通过斋戒禁欲求福延寿和消灾解厄的特殊节日，它也是华人性以及东南亚华人社会历史意识的重要体现。

十九世纪东南亚的九皇胜会

如今，泰国南部是东南亚庆祝九皇胜会的主要地区之一，一些古老的九皇庙宇和法会场所分布在这些历史悠久的节日中心，如普吉岛、董里府、甲米府和攀牙府。[1]其中最古老、最著名的庙宇之一是位于泰国南部普吉岛的内杼斗母宫。关于该庙的起源有不同说法，但这些叙述都与华人资本、企业和劳工的迁入密切相关。19世纪初，新锡矿的开发吸引了各地（尤其是槟城）的华商与华工迁移到普吉岛，随着华人社群的壮大，普吉岛也成为来自中国及马六甲海峡区域各地的戏班表演的重要据点，岛上九皇胜会的起源与矿区社群内肆虐的瘟疫和至此巡演以驱瘟逐疫的梨园戏班有着密切的关系。这些叙述都反映了晚清民国时期梨园与九皇胜会之间的历史联系、江西作为九皇信仰主要中心的重要性，以及东南亚矿业与商业前沿地区的华人移民所面临的焦虑、危机与挑战。

[1] 班侬拉姆盖，《泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究》，北京外国语大学博士学位论文，2016 年，页215。

According to Chaiyut Pinpradub, a local Phuket scholar and Kathu Shrine's committee member, the Vegetarian Festival was introduced from China by a group of Chinese opera performers who arrived in Phuket in 1825 when an epidemic afflicted the tin miners in Kathu. The leader of the opera troupe believed that the epidemic had broken out because the inhabitants had "forgotten to conduct the Vegetarian Festival as practised in Kangsai (Jiangxi) in China". The troupe then conducted a "shortened version" of the festival in Kathu village. The epidemic ended, and the inhabitants of Kathu have been observing the festival ever since. The troupe also left three deity images in the shrine before they departed, the "Ti-Hu-Nguan-Soi, Lee Lochia, and Sam-Hu-Ong-Iah" respectively. The deities are still worshipped in the Kathu Shrine today and serve as the festival's "main deities". A few years after the festival's introduction, "a knowledgeable person" in the village believed that they were not observing the festival correctly and offered to travel to the temple in China where the festival had originated from to bring back an incense censer from the temple, which was "the symbol of the Nine Emperor Gods". He also returned with a "book of prayers" detailing how the rituals for the festival were to be performed.[2]

A 2014 newspaper account drawing on a Chinese-language publication by the Kathu shrine also traced the temple's history to 1824. It provided what similar account of the festival's origins. Its beginnings were closely connected to the migration of Chinese labourers to Phuket after the discovery of tin there. Members of a Chinese opera troupe performing in Phuket were suddenly afflicted by illness after they arrived in Kathu. Besides administering medicine to those affected, they also remembered their custom of following a vegetarian diet and *zhai* regime restrictions back in China, which they had neglected after arriving in the Nanyang. They saw the disease as a punishment sent by the deities for neglecting this tradition. Hence, they followed a vegetarian regime to propitiate these deities. After witnessing the recovery of those afflicted, the inhabitants of Kathu village became devout followers of this tradition. They began to observe the Vegetarian Festival yearly to pray for fortune and blessings, which continues today.[3] However, this tradition and festival did not follow a standard format until the early 20th century, when the festival came to have a fixed programme and structure under the patronage of Khaw Sim Bee, which has lasted to the present.[4]

The temple booklet also remembered how, two to three years after this event, someone had suggested that they go to the original Nine Emperor Gods temple in Jiangxi, China, to invite the incense and censer (*fen lu*) back to Phuket. The inhabitants approved this, and all contributed money to this project. In that same year, on the seventh day of the ninth month, the inhabitants learned that the people who had departed for the Nine Emperor Gods' ancestral temple in China to pay respects had returned, and gathered at the Wang Liao (Bang Niew) rock on the morning of the eighth day to receive them. The incense censer of the Nine Emperor Gods and several scriptures were enshrined in the Kathu Dou Mu Gong.[5]

In a historical account of the Nine Emperor Gods in Thailand and Malaya published by the Taiping Gu Wu Miao, the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods in Phuket was traced to 1828, when the Nine Emperor Gods incense was brought to Phuket by a Hokkien labourer from Jiangxi province. The following of the Nine Emperor Gods in Phuket was said to have increased only after 1855, with the rapid expansion of the tin-mining industry and the in-migration of large numbers of Hokkien labourers from Penang. With the spread of epidemics in the mining districts, especially that of cholera, the officials in the district had asked the populace to adopt a vegetarian diet for the Nine Emperor Gods to eradicate these misfortunes and disasters. Due to the efficacy of their vegetarian regime, the Nine Emperor Gods became increasingly popular on the island as a deity of worship.[6]

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[2] Chaiyut's history of the Kathu Shrine was published in an official history of the shrine published by the Tourism Authority of Thailand in 2013. Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," Southeast Asian Studies 8:1 (April 2019): 122-123; Chaopreecha Jakraphan, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand" (PhD diss., Hiroshima University, 2018), 114-115.

[3] 李永球, "田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉?" 星洲, October 27, 2014, https://www.sinchew.com.my/20141027/田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？/. The author emphasized how the same pamphlet had noted that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival had first followed Chinese migrants to the Malay peninsula before coming to Phuket. See also 班农拉姆盖, "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究".

[4] 班农拉姆盖, "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究", 215; Khoo Salma Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier: The Penang Connection and the Emergence of the Phuket Baba Community," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 82:2 (2009): 85 and 90.

[5] 李, "田野行脚: 吃九皇素源自普吉?"; Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 85 and 90. It is not certain when these events and the crystallization of the Kathu shrine took place, either as early as the 1820s, 1855, or as late as 1884.

[6] 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年 (太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993), 6; 骆静山, "大马半岛华人宗教的今昔", in马来西亚华人史, ed.林水檬 and 骆静山 (雪兰莪: 馬來西亞留台校友會聯合總會, 1984), 427-431.

普吉当地学者Chaiyut Pinpradub也是内杼斗母宫委员，据他所说，九皇斋节是由一群来自中国的戏班演员带到普吉岛的。1825年戏班抵达普吉岛时，内杼的矿区正值瘟疫肆虐之时。戏班班主认为，疫情爆发是因为当地居民"没有按照中国江西的习俗举办九皇斋节" 。戏班于是在内杼举办了 "精简版"的九皇斋节。瘟疫终于结束，自此以后，内杼的居民每年都会举行九皇斋节。戏班离开内杼前留下三尊神像在斗母宫，分别为杜府元帅、李哪咤及三府王爷。这些神明至今仍被供奉在内杼斗母宫中，并且是九皇斋节的主要神明 。节日传入几年后，村里的一位有识之士认为村民庆祝斋节的形式不对，主动提出到该节日在中国的发源地去，请回九皇香炉，香炉正是"九皇大帝的象征"。他还请回了一本详细说明节日仪式如何进行的经书。[2]

2014年一篇报纸报道参考了内杼斗母宫中文出版物，将庙宇历史追溯到1824年，其中关于节日起源的叙述与上述说法相似。据称，九皇斋节的起源与新矿区开发后华人劳工涌入普吉岛的历史有关。一个来到普吉岛演出的中国戏班在抵达内杼后染上瘟疫，戏班成员在吃药缓解病情之余，忆起到达南洋后并未履行过去在中国斋戒的习惯。他们认为疾病是神明对忽视这一传统的惩罚。于是，他们便重新茹素以安抚神明。见证了患者的康复后，内杼的居民也虔诚地遵循这一传统，每年都会举办斋节祈求福运，这就是九皇斋节的前身。[3] 这个传统与节日最初并没有一个规范的形式，直到二十世纪初，在许心美的资助下，节日才有了固定的流程和结构，并沿用至今。[4]

庙宇手册也记载，瘟疫发生两三年后，有人提议到中国江西的九皇庙，把香火和香炉请回普吉岛（分炉）。这个提议获得广大居民的支持，众人为此筹集了资金。同年农历九月初七，居民们得知前往中国朝拜九皇恭请香火香炉的代表即将归来，便于八日上午聚集在网寮岩迎接他们。九皇大帝的香炉和几本经文都被供奉在内杼斗母宫内。[5]

太平古武庙所出版的关于泰国和马来亚九皇信仰的历史记载称，普吉岛的九皇信仰可追溯到1828年，一名福建劳工将九皇大帝的香火从江西带到普吉岛。根据记载，1855年后，随着锡矿业的快速扩张以及大量来自槟城的福建工人的涌入，普吉岛的九皇信仰也迅速发展起来。矿区爆发瘟疫（霍乱尤为严重）后，当地官员要求居民持九皇斋以消灾解厄。他们的斋戒带来了灵效，于是九皇大帝在岛上越来越受崇敬。[6]

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[2] Chaiyut 对内杼斗母宫的历史记载取自泰国旅游局2013年的官方出版物。 Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* 8:1 (April 2019): 页122-123; Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand" (PhD diss., Hiroshima University, 2018), 页114-115。

[3] 李永球：〈田野行脚： 吃九皇素源自普吉?〉，《星洲网》，2014年10月27日，www.sinchew.com.my/20141027/田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？/ ，访问日期：2020年1月9日。作者指出，这份出版物也称九皇斋节最初由中国移民带到马来半岛，后来才传到普吉岛。亦请参阅班侬·拉姆盖，《泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究》，北京外国语大学博士学位论文， 2016年，页215。

[4] 班侬·拉姆盖，《泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究》，北京外国语大学博士学位论文， 2016 年，页215；Khoo Salma Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier: The Penang Connection and the Emergence of the Phuket Baba Community," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 82:2 (2009): 页85 and 90。

[5] 李永球：〈田野行脚： 吃九皇素源自普吉?〉，《星洲网》，2014年10月27日，www.sinchew.com.my/20141027/田野行脚：吃九皇素源自普吉？/ ，访问日期：2021年6月9日; Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 85 and 90. 目前尚不清楚这些事件和内杼斗母宫的建庙是何时发生的，有可能是早在19世纪20年代或1855年，也可能是在1884年。

[6] 《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年》(太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993), 6; 骆静山,〈大马半岛华人宗教的今昔〉,《马来西亚华人史》, 林水豪、骆静山编，（八打灵：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会，1984），页427-431。

The themes of Liyuan opera troupes and epidemics are critical in these different histories of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Phuket. Another rendition of the festival's origins in the Kathu district traced it to an epidemic among the rapidly growing Chinese community there, which increased to about 30,000 as a result of the development of the tin industry. There was a malaria outbreak in the Kathu district in the south of the island one year, and the elders decided the invitation of an opera troupe from China to drive away the epidemic demons and spirits through their opera performances. This had an immediate effect, and the opera troupe was believed to have brought this vegetarian festival tradition to the Nine Emperor Gods. The festival became famous among the Chinese in Phuket and southern Thailand and among the ethnic Thais, who have also come to follow this tradition. They see the vegetarian regime as an important opportunity to do charitable work and accumulate merit, primarily through avoiding killing. These histories and memories tied into the historical importance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival among Liyuan opera troupes in China.[7]

In her study on Hokkien communities in the mining frontiers of Phuket, Khoo Salma Nasution noted how the Kathu temple at Keat Ho was founded in 1825 when Chinese migration to the island was reviving after the cessation of the Burmese attacks on Thalang in 1809 and 1810. The new mining areas in the Kathu (also Naitu Valley) district in southern Phuket were a focal point of this new migration, with many hailing from Penang. By 1824, the governor had moved his capital from the north to Keat Ho in Kathu to tax the Chinese mines there.[8] Local tradition had attributed the beginnings of the Nine Emperor Gods (Vegetarian) Festival in the Kathu temple to a traditional doctor accompanying a visiting Chinese opera troupe to Kathu. During an epidemic in the mining community, he had advised the workers to follow a vegetarian diet and "observe certain religious rituals" associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. A signboard in the Kathu temple recorded 1855 as the year "when a complete form of the Nine Emperor Gods rituals, with ceremonial accessories brought from China" was first performed.[9]

In 1884, through the efforts of Tan Kuad, a new community leader and district chief in the Kathu district, funds were raised to allow "a devotee of the Kew Ong Tai Teh and Yok Ong Soong Teh (Jade Emperor)" to visit the original temple in Kangsai (Jiangxi) to bring back the censer, incense, and sacred couplets. Upon the latter's return to Phuket, Tan Kuad also held a "welcome parade at Bang Neow Pier to escort the pilgrim and sacred objects back to Kathu", which also became the precedent for the procession across Tongkah (now Phuket Town) for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today. A missionary who saw the procession in 1894 noted how it had begun only ten years prior. The shrine was also rebuilt in 1885.[10] These different narratives and dates for the missions to China suggested that representatives from the Kathu shrine could have been sent to the original temple in Jiangxi in China every 30 years to invite the censer, incense, and other ritual paraphernalia.

Among the other Nine Emperor Gods temples in Phuket, there were other narratives on the origins of the Vegetarian Festival and the Kathu shrine in Phuket and their histories. In a 1965 historical account of Phuket, the Kathu Dou Mu Gong was also said to be commonly referred to as a vegetarian hall and founded with incense from Taiping. In contrast to the other traditions, it was said to have been started by the founder of the Tongkah vegetarian hall in 1885 (first year of the Guangxu reign), first as a small attap-roof construction. The Tongkah Dou Mu Gong, another temple dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods, was then established with incense from the Kathu Dou Mu Gong. It was first housed in an attap house in Da Po Xiang, in an area commonly known as Hua Jian, often associated with prostitution. In 1914, this temple was destroyed in a fire during the *zhai jie* season. A year later, it was rebuilt in another location, this time, again as an attap building, adjoining the Shui Dui Guan Yin Ting temple. In the 1960s, it enjoyed the support of many prominent people and attracted many vegetarian devotees. Its ritual structure for receiving and sending off the Nine Emperor Gods was similar to that of the Kathu Dou Mu Gong.[11] The Bang Niew Shrine was said to have been established with incense from the Tongkah Dou Mu Gong for the convenience of the vegetarian devotees. Also initially built of attap, a brick and tile-roof temple replaced it. The construction costs were borne by a very prominent tin miner in the area, Tan Ki Leng.[12]

[7] 班农，拉姆盖. "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究 a Study on Pun Tao Kong Worship among Overseas Chinese and Chinese Thai in Thailand." 博士, 北京外国语大学, 2016. 216.

[8] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 84-85; Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 6-7.

[9] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 90.

[10] Tan Kuad had taken over the "former Ghee Hin constitutency in Kathu" in the late 1870s after the end of the conflicts between the Kian Teik and Ghee Hin" in the earlier decades. He became a community leader "through his patronage of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival", which had, by then, become an important focal point for the district's identity, although the Kathu district was, by then, a "declining mining centre". Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 90.

[11] The author noted how it was a miracle that there were no fires, given the density of the attap houses around the temple, and the scale of the fireworks and firecrackers in the vicinity in the evening of the festival. This was attributed to the efficacy of the Nine Emperor Gods. 王重阳, "泰国普吉省华人拓荒史," 南洋文摘6:5 (1965): 41.

[12] 王重阳, "泰国普吉省华人拓荒史," 41。

关于普吉岛九皇斋节的不同说法中，梨园戏班和瘟疫这两个主题尤为重要。有关内杼节日与瘟疫的渊源的另一种说法称，内杼锡业的发展使得当地华人社区不断扩大，人数多达3万人。有一年，普吉岛南部的内杼地区爆发疟疾，当地耆老决定从中国请来戏班做大戏以驱除瘟疫群厉。据说戏班带领人们吃斋守戒供奉九皇大帝，这一做法很快取得效果。这个节日不仅盛行于普吉岛和泰国南部的华人社区中，就连泰国人也遵循这一传统。人们认为吃斋是行善积德之举，因为此举避免杀生。这些历史和记忆也反映了九皇胜会对于中国梨园戏班的重要历史意义。[7]

Khoo Salma Nasution在对普吉岛矿产地的福建人社区的研究中指出，内杼斗母宫建于1825年，其时经历了1809年至1810年期间缅甸的塔廊县的攻击，华人往普吉岛的迁徙逐渐恢复如昔。位于普吉岛南部的内杼的新矿区是这股新移民潮的主要目的地，当中有许多来自槟城的移民。1824年，普吉岛总督将首府从北方迁到内杼吉河，以便对那里的华人矿场征税。[8] 当地口述传统称，吉河的九皇斋节起源于一名随同中国戏班来到内杼的传统医师。在当地采矿社区爆发瘟疫期间，他曾建议工人们茹素，并"遵守与九皇胜会有关的宗教仪式"。 内杼斗母宫中的一块告示牌载，1855年，庙宇首次"使用从中国带来的礼仪用品进行九皇胜会的完整仪式"。[9]

1884年，内杼新任社区领袖兼县长Tan Kuad筹募资金，让一位"九皇大帝和玉皇大帝的信徒"到江西的原庙恭请香火、香炉和对联。这名信徒回到普吉岛时，Tan Kuad在网寮码头举行欢迎游行，护送这位信徒和他请来的香炉及其他法器回到内杼，这也为通扣 （现今的普吉旧镇）"九皇斋节游行"奠定了先例。1894年，一位在观看游行的传教士载道，游行始于十年前，内杼斗母宫于1885年重建。[10] 关于庙宇到江西请香火的不同叙述表明，庙方可能每隔30年就会派代表前往中国江西的原庙恭请香火、香炉及其他仪式用具。

在普吉岛的其他九皇庙宇中，也有关于普吉岛的九皇斋节和内杼斗母宫起源的不同说法及庙宇自身的历史记录。一份1965年关于普吉岛的历史记载称，内杼斗母宫也被称为"菜堂" ，其香火来自太平。不同于其他相关记载，内杼斗母宫据称由通扣菜堂的创始人于1885年（光绪乙酉年）创建。后来， 通扣坡斗母宫成立，香火来自内杼斗母宫。最初是在大坡巷建一间亚答屋。这一带与卖淫有所联系，也被称为"花间"。1914年，斋戒期间一场火灾将庙烧毁，隔年通扣坡斗母宫重建于别处，并与水碓观音亭联合，但还是以亚答板盖成。在上世纪60年代，它获得了许多杰出人士的支持，并吸引了许多菜友。在迎接和恭送九皇大帝的仪式结构上，通扣坡斗母宫与内杼斗母宫有许多相似之处，也一样热闹。[11] 为了方便菜友，网寮斗母宫成立，香火源于通扣坡斗母宫（"本坡斗母宫"）。它最初也是一间亚答屋，后被砖瓦庙取代。施工费用由著名的锡矿商人陈启临赞助。[12]

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[7] 班依·拉姆盖，《泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究》，北京外国语大学博士学位论文，2016年，页216。

[8] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 页 84-85; Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media," 页 6-7。

[9] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 页 90。

[10] 19世纪70年代末，建德和义兴之间几十年的冲突终于结束，Tan Kuad接管了内杼的前义兴选区。他"通过赞助九皇胜会"成为了社区领袖，尽管内杼地区当时只是一个"衰落的采矿中心"，九皇胜会已成为展现当地身份认同的重要场域。Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 页 90。

[11] 考虑到庙宇周围亚答屋密集，以及节日当晚附近大规模烟花和鞭炮燃放的情况，没有发生火灾已是一个奇迹，这得归功于九皇爷的灵验。 王重阳，〈泰国普吉省华人拓荒史〉，《南洋文摘》，第五卷第六期（1965），页41。

[12] 王重阳，〈泰国普吉省华人拓荒史〉，《南洋文摘》，第五卷第六期（1965），页41。

Recent fieldwork on the festival also yielded other traditions on its history and the histories of the different Nine Emperor Gods temples in Phuket. In the Bang Niew Shrine, it was believed that "Chinese boxers" belonging to a secret society were the ones who brought the Vegetarian Festival to Phuket. On the other hand, the Jui Tui Shrine believed that prayer books or scriptures were passed down among Chinese families who moved to Phuket during the 19th century.[13] Furthermore, despite the general recognition that the Kathu shrine is the oldest in Phuket, recent fieldwork by Chaopreeha Jakraphan had oral traditions circulating among a group of mediums (*ma song*) and ritual specialists (*huatkuas*) who believed that the Kathu, Bang Niew and Jui Tui shrines were originally from an older shrine in Rommanee Street. A "conflagration" at this shrine and the burning of many ritual and sacred objects led to the establishment of the three separate shrines. These versions were also recorded in the Bang Niew and Jui Tui shrines inscriptions.[14]

In an inscription at the Bang Niew Shrine, it was recorded that the temple was established in 1904. In one account of its founding, incense was invited from China to "establish a new Tao Bo Geng temple in Bang Neow".[15] The stone tablet also noted how the Festival began when a "group of Chinese opera performers named "Kung-Chai-Hee" came from China to perform their shows at Makao Street (Rommanee today). The followers of a shrine in Phuket had brought their statue of Tian-Hu-Nguan-Soi (Lao-Iah) to make merit and "started to conduct the Vegetarian Festival". Later, there was a "conflagration which occurred at the shrine without cause". A new shrine "with wooden structures and a thatched roof" was built with the Tian-Hu-Nguan-Soi deity image enshrined there. This later became the Bang Niew Shrine. It was also referred to as a "Chai Tueng" (vegetarian hall).[16]

In the Jui Tui Shrine inscription, an opera troupe from China travelling in southern Siam/Thailand brought their deities with them for protection on their journey. They had arrived in Phuket and performed at Rommanee Street next to Mongkolnimit temple (*Ang-Ar-Lai* Street in local parlance). The troupe had observed the Vegetarian Festival during their stay in Phuket. The troupe leader had observed the inhabitants' devotion while observing the Vegetarian Festival and towards these deities. Thus, he offered the "Hiao-Hoi" and the ritual paraphernalia for the festival to the inhabitants.[17] A shrine was established at Rommanee Street, but a fire at the shrine caused the "Hiao-Hoi" (incense) to be brought to the Pud Jor Shrine (which translates as Buddha but can also refer to Guan Yin). During the festival, the Hiao-Hoi would be invited to the "new temporary shrine" constructed at Suan-Plu (betel garden in Thai) near the Pud Jor Shrine. The garden owner later offered the land to the Nine Emperor Gods ("Kiu-Ong-Tai-Te") to build the Jui Tui Shrine in 1911.[18]

Despite the differences in these narratives surrounding the founding of the Kathu shrine, there were important similarities, such as the role of opera troupes in transmitting this festival from China to Phuket, the importance of the censer, and the origins of the incense and censer from a temple in Jiangxi in China. In addition, an epidemic within the community or among the troupe members and how the Vegetarian festival was observed and transmitted by the troupe was instrumental in their recovery. The three deity images they brought remain synonymous with the festival in the shrine today. In many ways, there were important parallels with the festival in China. However, there were features and practices unique to Phuket, not least the significance of the censer, the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods (through the censer) by the sea, and the anti-Qing narratives connected to various types of Chinese mutual aid associations which became important institutions among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. In addition, the Northern and Southern Dipper deities are still invited separately from the Nine Emperor Gods on the third day. Their respective effigies represent them, while statues or images did not represent the Nine Emperor Gods, but by the "celestial umbrella", the censer, and the palanquin in which it is placed.[19]

[13] Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 114-115.

[14] Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 71.

[15] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 100.

[16] In a history of the temple on the Tourism Thailand webpage, there were two fires at the initial site of the shrine, which might be "conflagration" referred to. What became the Bang Niew Shrine was built after the first fire, as mentioned, with the thatched room". There was another fire four to five years later, and the shrine was rebuilt on the opposite side facing the original. It was later reconstructed and expanded as a result of the growing number of devotees attending the festival. Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 70-71; "Bang Niew Shrine", *Amazing Thailand*, accessed May 1, 2022, https://www.tourismthailand.org/Attraction/bang-niew-shrine.

[17] Chaopreecha translated "Hiao-Hoi" as the incense censer brought from Fujian, China, but a more literal transliteration would be the "incense fire". Both are probably correct in the sense that the incense was probably brought from China in a censer.

[18] Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 78.

[19] Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media", 78-86.

近期的田野调查也收集了有关该节日和普吉岛不同九皇大帝庙宇的历史的其他口述传统。在网寮斗母宫中，相传九皇斋节是由一名秘密会社的“中国拳师”带到普吉岛的。而水碓斗母宫则认为经书源于十九世纪移居普吉岛的华人家庭。[13] 此外，尽管人们普遍认为内杼斗母宫是普吉岛最古老的斗母宫，但Chaopreeha　Jakraphan最近的田野调查发现，据一群乩童和仪式专家口述，内杼斗母宫、网寮斗母宫和水碓斗母宫源于罗曼尼街的一座古老的神坛。这座神坛经历了一场大火，许多法器被烧毁，由此形成三座独立庙宇。这些说法也被记录在网寮斗母宫和水碓斗母宫的铭文中。[14]

据网寮斗母宫的碑文载，网寮斗母宫成立于1904年。一种说法称，人们从中国请来香火，以便“在网寮建立一个新的斗母宫”。[15] 据斗母宫的一块石碑铭文记载，一个名为“公仔戏”的中国戏班来到马考街（今天的罗曼尼街）演出，普吉岛一座神坛的信众将田府元帅神像请来做功德，并开始举办斋节。后来，神坛忽遭莫名火患，重建的新神坛为木质结构，以茅草为顶，供奉田府元帅，这即是后来的网寮斗母宫，也被称为“菜堂”。[16]

据水碓斗母宫的碑文载，有一个中国戏班在前往暹罗/泰国南部巡演时带上了他们供奉的神明以求旅途平安。他们来到普吉岛，在Mongkolnimit Temple (当地称为Ang-Ar-Lai 街)附近的罗曼尼街表演。该戏班在普吉岛逗留期间恰逢九皇斋节，戏班班主见到居民如此虔诚供奉九皇大帝，便把香火和礼仪用品赠予当地居民。[17]　罗曼尼街曾有一处神坛，因发生火患，香火被请到“佛祖庙”（Pud Jor可译为佛陀，但也可指观音）。节日期间，香火会被请到佛祖庙附近的槟榔园中搭建的临时神坛上。1911年，园主将这块土地献给九皇大帝，修建了水碓斗母宫。[18]

尽管这些关于内杼斗母宫来源的叙述有所不同，其中也有一些重要的相似之处，例如在九皇胜会从中国传播到普吉岛的过程中戏班所扮演的角色、香炉的重要性，以及香炉和香火源于中国江西一座庙宇的传说。此外，社区或戏班成员都曾遭遇瘟疫，戏班指导居民举办斋节及其仪式以期消灾祛病也是重要的共同点。戏班请来的三位神明至今仍与庙宇中的节日密不可分。在许多方面，内杼的节日与中国的节日之间有着重要的相似之处。然而，普吉岛也有其独特的特征和实践，尤其是将香炉作为在海边迎驾和送驾的重要载体，以及与各种华人互助团体相关的反清复明叙述，这些互助团体是东南亚华人社群的重要组织形式。此外，除了恭请九皇大帝，在普吉岛九皇斋节的第三天，庙方还会恭请南北斗星君。这两位神明都设有神像，但九皇大帝没有任何图像或塑像，而是以有“宝盖”的圣轿内放置的香炉作为其象征。[19]

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[13] Chaopreecha, “Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media”, 页 114-115。

[14] Chaopreecha, “Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media”, 页 71。

[15] Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 100。

[16]　据泰国旅游局网页上的庙宇历史载，神坛最初的位置发生了两次火灾，可能与此处所称的“火患”有关。后来的网寮斗母宫是在第一次火灾之后建造的，如前所述为一茅草屋。四五年后该地又发生了一场大火，神坛在原址的另一侧重建。后来，由于越来越多的信徒参与这一节日，神坛被翻修和扩建。　Chaopreecha, “Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media”, 70-71; “Bang Niew Shrine”, *Amazing Thailand*, 2023 年 5 月 1 日访问, https://www.tourismthailand.org/Attraction/bang-niew-shrine。

[17] Chaopreecha把 “Hiao-Hoi” 翻译成从中国福建请来的“香炉”，比较准确的译音应该是”香火”。 实际上两者都是正确的，因为香火应该也是安在香炉里。

[18] Chaopreecha, “Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media,” 页 78。

[19] Chaopreecha, “Revitalization of Tradition through Social Media,” 页 78-86。

The Nine Emperor Gods in Penang

From Phuket and other parts of southern Siam, the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods and the festival were believed to have spread to Penang and other parts of the peninsula. This was very much due to the especially close ties between Phuket and Penang and the pivotal role of the merchants, capital, and labour from Penang in the expanding regional tin economies and infrastructural development in Phuket and the surrounding region in the 19th century. Successive governors of Phuket had turned to Chinese capital and labour, especially from Penang, in developing the tin industry on the island and building the towns and infrastructure in the new mining districts. Penang was also the main outlet for the tin produced in Phuket and other parts of southern Siam. Even after Bangkok began asserting its presence and control in southern Siam/Thailand and Phuket began deriving some of the labour needed for the mines directly from China, ties between the Chinese communities in these two islands and their surrounding regions remained strong. Chinese magnates and their associates from southern Siam and Phuket also played important roles in Penang's political economy in the late 19th and early 20th century.[20]

In Li Fengmao's outline of the history of the oldest Nine Emperor Gods temple in Penang, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong, the temple and festival began when a tentage was raised in 1842 to worship the Nine Emperors Gods in the space outside the Tan Kongsi at Da Tie Jie.[21] Mr Khoo Poh Ong, an elder in the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong, shared a similar story. Although he also recalled being told that the temple "received its incense lineage from sailors", it is also very likely that the members of the Tan Kongsi were involved in the introduction of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and worship to Penang. [22]

When the Tan Kongsi decided to build an ancestral hall on the same spot in 1878, the Nine Emperor Gods altar was moved first to Kian Teik Tong at Ben Tou Gong Lane and subsequently to Tai Niu Hou Hong Kong Street, or present-day Cheong Fatt Tze Road, where it remains to this day. When the altar was at Kian Teik Tong, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was presided over by members of the Khoo lineage from Haicheng. This arrangement continued for several generations after the relocation of the temple to Tai Niu Hou and Hong Kong Street, Today, members of the Khoo family still play important leadership roles in the temple". [23]

The Taiping Gu Wu Miao temple's commemorative magazine also contained a similar account of Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong's founding in Penang. The incense for the Penang temple was believed to have come from Tongkah in Phuket. In Penang, the Nine Emperor Gods incense was first venerated at the Ying Chuan Hall Tan Kongsi, then Kian Teik Tong at Ben Tou Gong Street, subsequently Tai Niu Hou, and then Hong Kong Street. [24]





[20] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 100.

[21] 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教: 马华社会的节俗, 信仰与文化 (台北：台大出版中心、2018), 244.

[22] 槟榔屿香港路斗母宫九皇大帝 (@HongKongStreetTowBohKeongPenang), "The Legendary Qiu Macheng –English Version《邱妈诚传奇》– 英语版," Facebook Video, October 22, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=794411551348752.

[23] 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教, 244.

[24] 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年, 6; 骆静山, "大马半岛华人宗教的今昔," 427-431.

槟城的九皇大帝

九皇信仰和九皇胜会从普吉岛和暹罗南部其他地区传播到了槟城和马来半岛其他地区。这在很大程度上归功于普吉岛和槟城两地之间的紧密联系，以及十九世纪时槟城商人、资本和劳动力在推动区域锡业经济和普吉岛及周边地区基础设施发展中发挥的关键作用。普吉岛的历任总督通常会拉拢华人，尤其是来自槟城的华人资本和劳动力，以推动岛上锡矿业的发展和新采矿区市镇和基础设施建设。槟城也是普吉岛和暹罗南部其他地区锡矿的主要出口地。即使泰国当局加强了对暹罗/泰国南部的控制，普吉岛开始直接从中国引进一些采矿所需的劳工，普吉岛和槟城之间的联系仍然十分紧密。19世纪末20世纪初，暹罗南部和普吉岛的华人巨贾对槟城的政治经济也具有一定的影响力。[20]

在李丰楙对槟城最古老的九皇庙——香港巷斗母宫的历史概述中，庙宇和节日始于1842年，当时人们在打铁街陈公司外的空地上搭起帐篷供奉九皇大帝。[21] 香港巷斗母宫的邱保旺老先生的叙述与此类似。据他回忆，庙宇"从水手承香火"，陈公司的成员很可能也有参与到将九皇信仰及九皇胜会传入槟城的过程中。[22]

1878年，当陈公司决定在原址上建造宗祠时，九皇大帝圣坛首先被移至位于本头公巷的建德堂，随后移至台牛头香港巷（如今的张弼士路），直至今日仍在那里。在九皇被请到建德堂期间，九皇胜会由原籍海澄的邱氏族人主持，在庙宇迁往台牛头和香港巷后几代人的时间里，九皇胜会仍由邱氏族人主持。如今，邱氏家族的成员仍在庙宇中担任重要的领导角色。[23]

太平古武庙的纪念特刊也记载了槟城香港巷斗母宫的成立与早期历史。据载，槟城香港巷斗母宫的香火相传源于普吉通扣。在槟城，九皇大帝的香火最初供奉于颍川堂陈公司，后来被请到本头公巷的建德堂，随后又到台牛后，最后来到香港巷。[24]

[20] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 页 100。

[21] 李丰楙,《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗、信仰和文化》,（台北：台大出版中心，2018），页243-245。

[22] 槟榔屿香港路斗母宫九皇大帝 (@HongKongStreetTowBohKeongPenang), "The Legendary Qiu Macheng –English Version《邱妈诚传奇》– 英语版," Facebook Video, October 22, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=794411551348752。

[23] 李丰楙,《从圣教到道教》, 页 244。

[24]《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造舡辇纪念特刊1993 年》, 页 6; 骆静山,〈大马半岛华人宗教的今昔〉,《马来西亚华人史》, 林水豪、骆静山编,（八打灵：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会, 1984）, 页427-431。





The exterior, entrance and main altar of the Hong Kong Street Doumugong 香港巷斗母宫 today. The couplet is on both sides of the main altar in the third photograph.

香港巷斗母宫外侧、入口和主祭坛。注意第三张照片中有日月对联。

The attribution of the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong's founding incense to Tongkah and the erection of the first Nine Emperor Gods shrine outside the Tan Kongsi could be traced to the roles played by merchants of the Tan surname in the development of the Tongkah tin district in Phuket. Tan Gaik Tham, who started his business in Kathu, became a pioneer in the new tin district in Tongkah under the patronage of the Governor of the island. He built the town with the help of "materials and builders from Penang". He also became the Viceroy to the Governor in the district and managed the taxation of the tin ships to Penang. He also "encouraged the migration of other Tans" to the region to consolidate his power base in the town and mines. Five of the six mining bosses in the early history of Tongkah were of the surname Tan and from Tong An, namely Tan Gaik Tham, Tan Kim Jao, Tan Neo Yee, Tan Pai Wun, and Tan Cheng Sua. They were joined by others of their surname and from the same home region in China. Tan Wee Ghee (alias Tan Neo Yee) later became the headman of Kian Teik Tong.[25]

The earliest two surviving plaques and stone stelae in the Yin Chuan Hall of the Tan Kongsi, dating from 1878 and 1879, respectively, contained the names of prominent Chinese miners from Phuket who were also members of Kian Teik Tong. They included Tan Lian Kee, the son of Tan Gaik Tham, and the abovementioned Tan Wee Gee.[26] The former was one of the "five main donors and managing directors" referred to as the "Phuket Tans". He had then inherited control of the family business and donated $1,000 to rebuild the Tan Kongsi in 1878. Other major donors were Tan Wee Ghee and Tan Jao (Tan Kim Jao), both "leading strongmen of Tongkah".[27] The subsequent relocation of the Nine Emperor Gods shrine from the Tan Kongsi premises to the Kian Teik Tong was due very much to their close relations and the importance of these two institutions in the political economies of Penang and Phuket. After all, Tan Wee Gee was the new chief of the Kian Teik Tong when the Nine Emperor Gods' shrine at the Tan Kongsi was moved there.[28] The Hai Cheng Khoos, who came to preside over the rituals during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, were also one of the five major surnames *kongsi* connected to the Kian Teik Tong. [29]

These *kongsis* and associations were a vital part of the 19th-century political economies of the colonial port cities, and the mining and agricultural frontiers in Phuket, southern Siam, and other parts of the western peninsula, such as Kedah, Perak and Selangor. They were crucial in mustering the capital, labour, and political support for their members' economic and political enterprises, including the revenue farms in these areas, especially the opium farm. In Phuket, Penang, and Larut, in particular, there were intense rivalries between key Penang Chinese mutual-aid associations or societies, notably the Kian Teik Tong and the Ghee Hin, and their allies, on both these islands, as well as in the Malay states (like Larut in Perak) and the littorals of southern Siam.[30] Between the 1850s and 1870s, the Kian Teik Tong seemed to have gained ascendancy over their rival in Phuket.[31] Nevertheless, these associations and their leaders were involved in the establishment of schools, charitable associations, mendicant societies, hospitals, and theatres. These institutions, as well as their temples and "memorial houses", became increasingly important for the societies and their communities after the passing and enforcement of the Societies' Ordinance in 1889 and the closure of their headquarters.[32]

In the second half of the 19th century, other Nine Emperor Gods temples were established in other districts in Penang, and the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods also found its way into other Chinese communities in western Malaya, namely in Ampang, Selangor, and in Taiping, Perak, which were both important tin-mining districts.[33] Interestingly, despite the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and worship having first reached Penang earlier and the importance of Penang as a major port for the tin produced and as a financing and supply centre for the mining economy in the region, the incense for the foundation of the Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals in these locations were obtained from the Kathu Shrine in Phuket.

In 1880, the incense of the Nine Emperor Gods was invited up to the southwestern side of Ayer Hitam, on a high hill, to Chao Yuan temple, which had the characters Dou Lao Yuan Jun and Jiu Huang Da Di emblazoned on its plaques. It was said to be rarely frequented by devotees on normal days. Nevertheless, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, many Penang Chinese, especially young men and women, would ascend the famous "1200 steps", in an interesting parallel to the practice of going to high places during the Chong Yang festival which also falls on the same day.[34] In a 1953 article which dated the beginning of the temple's construction to 1878, it was also said that five Daoists meditating in Paya Terubong Hill, Ayer Hitam, Penang, had a vision which led them to a valley there, and with the help of a "necromancer", they had found a site for the establishment of this temple.[35]

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[25] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 85-86; 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教, 241-242.

[26] 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教, 244.

[27] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 87. Tan Jao was the new chief of Ho Seng, a society "closely allied to the Kian Teik".

[28] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 87-88.

[29] Wong Yee Tuan, "Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong: Economic and Political Influence in Nineteenth-Century Penang and Its Region," *Frontiers of History in China* 11:4 (2016): 607.

[30] Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873: The Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics* (Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[31] 王重阳, "泰国普吉省华人拓荒史," 41.

[32] Other societies like Ho Seng, which became an ally of Kian Teik, and the Phuket-based Pun-Tau-Kong believed to led by Tan Giak Tham 陈清淡formed a broader configuration of such societies. Furthermore, family and interpersonal relations often also cut across society lines. Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 87-88. Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (October 1960): 29-38; and Mohamed Nasir Kamaludeen, "Protected Sites: Reconceptualising Secret Societies in Colonial and Postcolonial Singapore," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29:2 (2016): 232-249; Mak Lau-Fong, *The Sociology of Secret Societies: A Study of Chinese Secret Societies in Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[33] J. M. Gullick, *A History of Kuala Lumpur, 1857-1939* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2017), 1-15. For an introduction to the history of Taiping, see Khoo Kay Kim, "Taiping (Larut): The Early History of a Mining Settlement," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 64:1 (1991): 1-32.

[34] 骆静山, "大马半岛华人宗教的今昔," 428.

[35] "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. According to this article, this temple, which had the longer name of Chao Yuan Dong Qing Guan Si 槟城朝元洞清观寺was established in 1878 (75 years prior to 1953 when the "first beam…was laid". Free lodging was given to devotees by the temple.

香港巷斗母宫的香火源于普吉通扣，九皇胜会的旧址位于陈公司门外，这些都反映了陈姓商人在普吉岛通扣锡矿区发展中所扮演的重要角色。陈清淡在内杼创立自己的产业，在普吉岛总督的帮助下，他成为通扣新锡矿区的开拓者，在“来自槟城的材料和建筑商”的帮助下建立了该城镇。他还成为了该地区州长的总督，管理通往槟城的锡船的税收。他鼓励其他陈氏同乡移民到通扣，以巩固自己在该城镇和矿区中的权力基础。在通扣早期历史上，六位矿业老板中有五位是姓陈的同安人，他们分别是合兴号的陈清淡、振盛号的陈锦灶、莲美号的陈威仪、陈启运与陈清沙。许多同一祖籍地的同行族人前来投靠、加入他们。陈威仪后来成为建德堂的领导之一。[25]

颍川堂陈公司中现存最早的两块石碑可追溯至1878年和1879年。石碑上列有普吉岛著名华人矿工的名字，他们也是建德堂的成员。其中包括陈清淡之子陈莲枝，以及陈威仪。[26]　陈莲枝是建德堂的”五大捐献者和董事”（俗称”普吉岛陈氏”）之一，他接管了家族生意并于1878年捐出1000元重建陈公司。其他主要的捐款人是陈威仪和陈灶(陈锦灶?)，他们都是通扣的领袖人物。[27]　九皇大帝神龛从陈公司迁到建德堂，正是出于这两个机构之间的密切关系以及它们在槟城和普吉岛的政治经济中的重要性。毕竟，当九皇大帝神坛从陈公司搬迁到建德堂时，陈威仪正是建德堂的新负责人。　[28]主持九皇胜会的海澄邱氏也是与建德堂有关的槟城五大姓之一。[29]

在十九世纪殖民地港口城市以及华人采矿种植区，例如普吉岛、暹罗南部、吉打、霹雳和雪兰莪及马来半岛西部地区等地，这些公司和协会都是当地政治经济的重要组成部分。它们对于召集成员的资本、劳动力和政治支持，以及推动成员的经济和政治企业，包括这些地区的税饷经营，特别是鸦片税饷，起着至关重要的作用。在普吉岛、槟城和拉律，槟城主要的华人互助协会或社团，尤其是建德堂和义兴公司，与它们在马来群岛、马来各邦（如霹雳州的拉律）和南泰国的海岸岛屿地区的盟友之间存在激烈的竞争。[30]　十九世纪50年代至70年代，建德堂在普吉岛的竞争更占上风。[31] 除了经济和政治斗争以外，这些互助协会及其领袖也捐款成立学校、慈善协会、乞丐会、医院和剧院等机构。1889年，随着《社团条例》（Societies’ Ordinance）的颁布和实施以及互助协会总部的关闭，这些机构、庙宇和祠堂的重要性逐渐增加，成为社区的重要组成部分。[32]

十九世纪下半叶，槟城其他区域也开始兴建九皇庙宇，九皇崇拜传入了马来亚西部其他华人社区，特别是雪兰莪安邦及霹雳太平，这些地区都是重要的锡矿开采区。[33] 有趣的是，尽管槟城是九皇信仰和九皇斋节最初传入的地方，并且槟城是该地区出口锡米的主要港口以及矿业的融资和供应中心，但这些新建的九皇庙宇和九皇斋节的香火均源于普吉岛的内杼斗母宫。

1880年，九皇香火被请到位于亚逸依淡西南面一座高山上的朝元寺，庙门牌匾上写着“斗姥元君”和“九皇大帝”。这座庙宇据说在平日里很少有信徒前来参拜。然而，在农历九月九日当天，许多槟城华人，尤其是年轻男女，会前来攀登著名的“1200级阶梯””，与重阳节登高的习俗有着异曲同工之妙。[34]　据一篇1953年的文章记载，庙宇建于1878年，五名道士在槟城亚逸依淡的巴耶德鲁邦山打坐时受到指点，引领他们到这座山谷。在一名灵媒的帮助下，他们找到了建造这座庙宇的宝地。[35]



◀ The Chaoyuan Dong Qingguan Si temple complex today.

槟城朝元洞清观寺

[25] Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 85-86; 李丰楙,《从圣教到道教》, 页241-242。

[26] 李丰楙,《从圣教到道教》, 页244。

[27] Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 87. Tan Jao是Ho Seng的新领袖，该会社与建德堂紧密结盟。

[28] Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 87-88。

[29] Wong Yee Tuan, “Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong: Economic and Political Influence in Nineteenth-Century Penang and Its Region,” *Frontiers of History in China* 11:4 (2016): 页 607。

[30] Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873: The Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics* (Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[31] 王重阳,〈泰国普吉省华人拓荒史〉，《南洋文摘》，第五卷第六期（1965），页41。

[32] 其他会社，如与建德堂结盟的合盛号，以及据称由陈清淡领导的普吉岛本头公会，共同组成了更广泛的社团组织。此外，家庭和人际关系也经常跨越社会界限。Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 87-88. Maurice Freedman, “Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (October 1960): 页 29-38; and Mohamed Nasir Kamaludeen, “Protected Sites: Reconceptualising Secret Societies in Colonial and Postcolonial Singapore,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29:2 (2016): 页 232-249; Mak Lau-Fong, *The Sociology of Secret Societies: A Study of Chinese Secret Societies in Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981)。

[33] J. M. Gullick, *A History of Kuala Lumpur, 1857-1939* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2017), 页 1-15. 关于太平的历史,请参考 Khoo Kay Kim, “Taiping (Larut): The Early History of a Mining Settlement,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 64:1 (1991): 页 1-32; *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873; the Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics* (Kuala Lumpur, New York,: Oxford University Press, 1972)。

[34] 骆静山,〈大马半岛华人宗教的今昔〉,《马来西亚华人史》，林水豪、骆静山编，（八打灵：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会, 1984）, 页428。

[35] “Temple of Cheng Jee Chan,” *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. 据这篇报道，槟城朝元洞清观寺建于1878年，比1953年“铺设第一根梁”早了75年。庙宇也为信徒提供免费住宿。

One of the key centres of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in western Malaysia today outside of Penang would be Nan Tian Gong at Ampang. It was said to have been founded in 1862, where the temple's founder and first medium, Lin'an, enshrined incense ashes that he had brought with him from the Kathu Shrine in Phuket.[36] In another account, the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods was said to have begun in Ampang due to the serious epidemics when the first Chinese came to work in the tin mines in the district. The inhabitants and workers had invited the incense of the Nine Emperor Gods from Songkhla to eradicate these demons of disease. They built one of the earliest Chinese temples in Selangor, Nan Tian Gong, which became an important religious centre for the Hokkien or *Minnan* communities and a major centre for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[37] Until today, the temple is renowned for its annual performance of fire-walking as a part of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's purificatory rites, where the deities' palanquins are carried over hot coals.[38]



Front view of the Ampang Nan Tian Gong 安邦南天宫 on the last week of the eighth lunar month, 2019.

2019年农历八月最后一周安邦南天宫的前视图

The Taiping Gu Wu Miao is another well-known Nine Emperor Gods temple in the Malay peninsula with a long history. Similarly, there are several versions of the establishment of the Taiping Gu Wu Miao temple. However, all of them trace the origins of its incense to the Kathu district in Phuket and date its arrival in Taiping to the mid-19th century. An inscription donated by the Kathu shrine to the Taiping temple commemorating their ties recorded that devotees from the temple had visited the Phuket temple in 1850 to invite the incense to their temple.[39] In another account, Wang Yiyu, a Tong-An native, was said to have invited incense ashes from the Kathu Shrine in Phuket and carried them with him for personal protection when he came to Taiping.[40] In 1880, after the establishment of the Wang Clan Association Taiyuan Tang [Persatuan Perak Ong Si Thye Guan Tong], Wang consecrated the incense ashes within the hall and called on his fellow kinsmen to undertake a "Northern Dipper vegetarian diet" and to worship the Northern Dipper. After a few years, during the reign of Guangxu, due to various disagreements with the management of the Hall, he found a piece of land in the Dou Bai district where he built a Dou Lao Gong dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods which later became the Taiping Gu Wu Miao Dou Lao Gong.[41]

[36] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊*Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang* (Kuala Lumpur: The Nine Emperor Gods Ampang Nan Tian Gong, 1992), 21.

[37] 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年, 6; 骆静山, "大马半岛华人宗教的今昔", 427-431.

[38] For example, see M. T. Yong, "Chinese Pay Homage To '9 Kingdom God,'" *Sunday Standard*, October 7, 1951, 4; "Fire walkers," *The Straits Times*, November 1, 1957, 7; and 记录的历史片段, "马来西亚九皇诞, Universal Newsreel 1967," Facebook Video, November 18, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/1466652790282369/videos/1635398310074482.

[39] 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫(@RouFoMaPoWuMaLuDouMuGong),拜访太平九皇大帝庙宇交流, Facebook, December 18, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/RouFoMaPoWuMaLuDouMuGong/posts/1273672472773680.

[40] 李桃李, "九皇大帝与秘密帮会," in 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊 (太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993), 20. It was believed to have been established a little over a hundred years before.

[41] 李桃李, "九皇大帝与秘密帮会," in 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊 (太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993), 20.



Entrance of the Chaoyuan Miao building within the Chaoyuan Dong Qingguan Si Complex.

朝元洞清观建筑群中的朝元庙入口

如今，安邦南天宫是槟城以外西马一带的九皇胜会主要中心之一。南天宫始建于1862年。 当年，该庙创始人兼首任乩童林庵从普吉岛内杼斗母宫请来香火安奉在庙里。[36] 另一种说法是，第一批华工来到安邦的锡矿场工作时，当地盛行严重瘟疫，居民和矿工从宋卡请来九皇爷的香火以驱除瘟疫，并在雪兰莪建立了最早的华人庙宇之一，南天宫。 南天宫不仅成为当地福建或闽南社群的重要宗教中心，也是九皇胜会的重要中心。[37] 直到今天，安邦南天宫仍以每年的“过火路”表演而闻名，轿脚抬着神轿从烧得火热的煤炭上飞驰而过，这是九皇千秋净化仪式的一部分。[38]



Titular plaque devoted to Doumu over Ampang Nan Tian Gong's Inner Chamber, 2019.

安邦南天宫内殿门槛上的斗母宫牌匾。

太平古武庙也是马来半岛历史颇为悠久的九皇庙宇之一。 古武庙的来源也有好几种说法，但这些说法都称该庙的香火来自普吉岛的内杼地区，香火在19世纪中叶传到太平。内杼斗母宫赠与太平古武庙一块石碑以纪念两庙关系，据碑文记载，太平古武庙的信徒曾在1850年到内杼斗母宫恭请香火。[39] 另一种说法称，同安人王奕(翼)鱼在普吉岛的内杼斗母宫请了香火，为了祈求平安他随身携带香灰来到槟城。[40] 1880年，王氏太原堂成立后，王奕(翼)鱼将香灰供奉于堂内，并号召宗亲吃“北斗星斋饭”，崇拜北斗星君。几年后，在光绪年间，王奕(翼)鱼与王氏太原堂管理层产生各种分歧，于是他在都拜区找到一块地，建造了一座供奉九皇大帝的斗姥宫，即后来的太平古武庙斗姥宫。[41]

[36] 《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊 *Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang*》(吉隆坡: 安邦南天宫, 1992), 页21。

[37] 《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年》，6；骆静山，〈大马半岛华人宗教的今昔〉，见林水檬，骆静山编《马来西亚华人史》（八达邻：马来西亚留台校友会联合总会，1984），页427-431。

[38] 例如，请参阅 M. T. Yong, "Chinese Pay Homage To '9 Kingdom God,'" *Sunday Standard*, October 7, 1951, 页 4; "Fire walkers," *The Straits Times*, November 1, 1957, 7; 记录的历史片段，"马来西亚九皇诞Universal Newsreel 1967 "，Facebook Video，2015年11月18日。

[39] 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫，〈拜访太平九皇大帝庙宇交流〉，Facebook， 2018年12月22日，https://www.facebook.com/RouFoMaPoWuMaLuDouMuGong/posts/1273672472773680, 访问日期：2021年11月9日。

[40] 李桃李，〈九皇大帝与秘密帮会〉 ，《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊》（太平：太平古武庙斗姥宫， 1993），页20。据称，太平古武庙建于100多年前。

[41] 李桃李，〈九皇大帝与秘密帮会〉，《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊》（太平：太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993），页20。

The early geographical distribution of early Nine Emperor Gods temples and festival centres in Southeast Asia was largely in the northern Straits of Melaka and its peninsular hinterlands. It paralleled the large-scale Chinese migration to and within the region in the 19th century and the expansion of trade and agricultural and mining activities. Chinese capital and labour played very important roles. The consolidation of the British presence in the Straits of Melaka through the ports of Penang, Melaka, and Singapore after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 was to lead to growing investments by European and Chinese merchants from the British Straits Settlements in the tin mining and commercial agriculture on the west coast Malay states in the 1840s and 1850s, like Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong, in collaboration with Malay rulers and elites in these parts, also saw the growing migration of Chinese labour to these areas.[42] The first Nine Emperor Gods temples in Taiping and Ampang were established well before British colonial intervention in Perak and Selangor in 1874.

The early histories of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples in Phuket, Penang, and the major mining centres in the peninsula also reflected their close ties with the mutual aid associations (local and trans-local) that constituted such an important feature of Chinese society, politics and economy in these areas. Mutual-aid organizations constituted a ubiquitous and central facet of the socio-political organization of Chinese migrant communities in southern China and colonial Southeast Asia.[43] They included clan/lineage or ancestral place/province associations, guilds and trade associations, and other societies created through ritual brotherhood. They helped Chinese migrants come to terms with the vagaries of life and livelihood in the port towns as well as the frontier regions and to protect and advance their collective interests. These migrants often relied on their membership in one or more such organizations for their livelihood, security, and community support. For the leading Chinese merchants, these associations were important means of mobilizing capital, connections, and manpower to protect and expand their economic and political interests.[44]

Merchants could utilise their associations to expand their business and political interests across the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Melaka regions. The leaders, members and branches of these mutual aid associations and societies helped to connect the political economies of the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Melaka regions and their respective islands, littorals and hinterlands. These regional connections and rivalries were exemplified in the histories of the Ghee Hin and Kian Teck Tong networks in Phuket and the west coast Malay states. Khoo Salma Nasution, for example, came across a report where many members of the Cantonese (including Chaozhou)-dominated Ghee Hin Society in Penang (founded 1825) moved to Phuket in sizable numbers by 1829, ostensibly to take advantage of tin deposits there.[45]

The same was also true for the Fujianese Kian Teik Tong, originally founded on Penang Island in 1844. In the mid-19th century, the organisation expanded to the tin-mining regions of Kedah and Perak in Malaya and "at least seventy branches in Burma, Southern Siam, and Sumatra".[46] In Penang, the leadership of the Kian Teik Tong, which members of the Khoo dominated [Qiu], Cheah [Xie], Yeoh [Yang], Lim [Lin] and Tan [Chen] families, were invested in various sectors of these port and frontier economies, such as the rice trade between Penang and Burma, revenue farming for the sale and use of opium,[47] and the mining and sale of tin in Thailand and Malaya. They dominated capital and trade in the region. They assumed the role of de facto political leaders for their respective communities who took responsibility for the well-being of their organisation's followers.[48]

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[42] Khoo, *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873*; Jennifer Wayne Cushman and Craig J. Reynolds, *Family and State : The Formation of a Sino-Thai Tin-Mining Dynasty, 1797-1932* (Singapore ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Wu Xiao An, *Chinese Business in the Making of a Malay State, 1882-1941: Kedah and Penang* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010); Wong Yee Tuan, *Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century: The Rise and Fall of the Big Five* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2015); Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 83; Neil Khor, Khoo Salma Nasution, Loh Wei Leng, Yeoh Seng Guan, eds., *Penang and Its Region: The Story of an Asian Entrepôt* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).

[43] Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore,"; David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1996); David Ownby and Mary Somers Heidhues (eds), *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Early Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015 (1993)).

[44] Wong, "Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong," 604; Pek Wee Cheun, "The Kong-Moon System in Larut: Chinese Social Relationships in Nineteenth-Century Perak," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 94:1 (2021): 34.

[45] Nasution, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 85.

[46] Wong Yee Tuan, "Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong: Economic and Political Influence in Nineteenth-Century Penang and Its Region," *Frontiers of History in China* 11:4 (2016): 607.

[47] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[48] Wong, "Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong," 600-627.

东南亚早期九皇庙宇和九皇胜会中心的地理分布主要集中在马六甲海峡北部及其半岛腹地。这与19世纪该地区华人移民的激增以及当地贸易、农业和矿业活动的扩大有关，其中华人资本和劳动力发挥了非常重要的作用。1824年《英荷条约》签订以后，槟城、马六甲和新加坡等港口城市的建立巩固了英国在马六甲海峡的影响力，19世纪40年代和50年代期间，来自海峡殖民地的欧洲和华人商人与当地的马来统治者和精英密切合作，加强对西海岸马来亚各州(如霹雳、雪兰莪和三邦乌鲁)的锡矿、商业喝农业的投资，吸引了大量华人劳工迁徙到这些地区。[42] 1874年，在英国殖民当局对霹雳和雪兰莪进行干预之前，太平和安邦就已建立了第一座九皇大帝庙。

普吉岛、槟城以及其他主要矿区的庙宇与九皇胜会的早期历史，反映了它们与本地和跨地华社互助会社的密切关系。互助会社是华南地区和东南亚殖民地华人移民社区中普遍存在和最主要的组织形式之一，在华人社会、政治和经济等方面扮演着重要的角色。[43] 它们包括宗亲会、同乡会、同业公会和商会等，以及其他通过结义仪式组成的社团。这些互助协会帮助移民适应港口城市和新开发地区变化无常的生活和生计，并保护和促进成员的集体利益。移民往往借助作为某个或多个组织成员的身份来谋生、保障安全和获得社区支持。对主要的华商来说，这些会社是动员资本、关系和人力以维护和扩大他们经济和政治利益的重要手段。[44]

华商们能够利用互助协会在孟加拉湾和马六甲海峡地区扩展他们的商业和政治利益。通过这些互助会社的领袖、成员和分会，孟加拉湾和马六甲海峡地区得以与各岛屿、沿海地区和内陆腹地实现政治经济上的连接。义兴会和建德堂的网络在普吉岛和马来亚西岸州属的互动历史便是这些区域联系和竞争的一例。Khoo Salma Nasution曾看到一份报告，其中指出：1829年，主要由广东人（包括潮州人）组成的槟城义兴会（成立于1825年）有许多成员移居普吉岛，开采当地的锡矿。[45]

同样的情况也见于以福建人为主的建德堂。建德堂于1844年在槟城成立。19世纪中叶，建德堂扩展到马来亚吉打和霹雳州的锡矿开采地区，“在缅甸、暹罗南部和苏门答腊至少有70个分支”。[46] 在槟城，建德堂的领导层由邱、谢、杨、林和陈等五大姓的成员主导，他们涉足各种行业，如槟缅之间的稻米贸易、鸦片种植和销售以及泰国和马来亚的锡矿开采和贸易等。[47] 这些人不仅主导着该地区的资本和贸易，还承担了实际政治领袖的角色，为其组织追随者谋求福祉。[48]

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[42] Khoo, *The Western Malay States, 1850-1873*; Jennifer Wayne Cushman and Craig J. Reynolds, *Family and State : The Formation of a Sino-Thai Tin-Mining Dynasty, 1797-1932* (Singapore, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Wu Xiao An, *Chinese Business in the Making of a Malay State, 1882-1941: Kedah and Penang* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010); Wong Yee Tuan, *Penang Chinese Commerce in the 19th Century: The Rise and Fall of the Big Five* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2015); Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 83; Neil Khor, Khoo Salma Nasution, Loh Wei Leng, Yeoh Seng Guan, eds., *Penang and Its Region: The Story of an Asian Entrepôt* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).

[43] Freedman, “Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore,”; David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1996); David Ownby and Mary Somers Heidhues (eds), *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Early Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015 (1993))。

[44] Wong, “Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong,” 页 604; Pek Wee Cheun, “The Kong-Moon System in Larut: Chinese Social Relationships in Nineteenth-Century Perak,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 94:1 (2021): 页 34。

[45] Nasution, “Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier,” 页 85。

[46] Wong Yee Tuan, “Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong: Economic and Political Influence in Nineteenth-Century Penang and Its Region,” *Frontiers of History in China* 11:4 (2016): 页 607。

[47] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)。

[48] Wong, “Hokkien Merchants and the Kian Teik Tong,” 页 600-627。



The titular plaque of the Kian Teik Tong (first photograph), currently hanging on the second storey of the Hock Teik Cheng Sin Temple 槟城福德正神庙, also known as Poh Hock Seah宝福社 (founded 1890), in Armenian Street, Penang.

建德堂牌匾（第一张照片），建德堂牌匾目前悬挂在槟城亚美尼亚街的槟城福德正神庙的二楼，该庙别名宝福社（成立于1890年）。

Yet, societies like the Kian Teik Tong and the Ghee Hin differ greatly from surname and/or place or provincial associations based on lineage, place, and cultural ties. Instead, these societies often transcended these connections (although a particular language or surname group could be seen as predominant) and were often constituted based on the rituals and cosmologies of anti-Qing societies and popular Chinese religion. Although the British regarded them as "secret societies", they were a well-known and important segment of the Chinese socio-political landscape. There were important overlaps in the 19th century between the memberships of these different types of mutual-aid associations.[49] By the late 1880s, with the consolidation of the British colonial state in the tin-mining states and the Straits Settlements, the Societies' Ordinance was passed and implemented, requiring all Chinese societies to be formally registered to remain legal entities. Ritual brotherhoods and societies such as the Kian Teik Tong, the Ghee Hin, the Hai San and other associations deemed dangerous to the social order were not allowed to be registered and thus outlawed. These societies were then driven underground, although they continued to function.

Contemporary observers in the 19th and early 20th centuries and later scholars have noted similarities between the rituals of such societies and those of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. Both drew on anti-Qing ideologies and Chinese religious traditions and rituals. Several scholars even posited close ties between the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and historical figures in the Heaven-and-Earth Society. Several oral traditions about the early history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Penang and the peninsular Malay states also remembered how the late 19th and early 20th-century festival was often mistaken for the ritual events of these "secret societies" or was used as a cover for them.

In one such tradition from Malaysia, a group of these anti-Qing political refugees in colonial Malaya disguised themselves as planters in Kuala Lumpur, from where they plotted against the Qing dynasty.[50] However, during an initiation ritual, their activities were discovered by the police. When questioned, a quick-thinking participant claimed that it was a religious event. When asked why there were no deity statues, he explained that the censer represented the Nine Emperor Gods.[51] While some scholars used this to explain how the Nine Emperor Gods Festival might have begun as a cover for a secret society initiation ritual, it might also signify how the festival and the fact that there were no images in the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods were common knowledge at that time. Thus, the participants in the ritual were appealing to the ubiquity of the festival in these parts to convince the police that they were conducting a religious ritual for the festival rather than a secret society initiation ritual. This story also suggested the close parallels between the ritual symbolisms and rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia and those of the secret societies due to their common anti-Qing symbols and themes and their drawing on the wider ritual traditions of popular Chinese religion.

[49] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire*; Wang Tai Peng, *The Origins of Chinese Kongsi* (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1994).

[50] Curiously enough, over a century's worth of chronological distance spanned between the death of Wan Yunlong vis-à-vis the British presence in Kuala Lumpur in this narrative, where the region not only transformed into an administrative hub but also became a center for tin mining operations. See, for example, J. M. Gullick, "Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28:4 (1955): 10-11; and Ernest Chew, "Frank Swettenham and Yap Ah Loy: The Increase of British Political 'Influence' in Kuala Lumpur, 1871-1885." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57:1 (1984): 70–87.

[51] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 24-25; and 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹: 后港斗母宫 (新加坡: 后港斗母宫, 2006), 27.





然而，建德堂和义兴会之类的互助会社与基于宗族、地域和文化纽带的姓氏/籍贯会社大有不同。这些互助会社往往超越了血缘、地缘关系 (尽管占主导地位的往往是某一方言、籍贯或姓氏群体)，而且经常围绕反清意识形态与民间宗教的仪式和传统而组织的。尽管英国殖民政府将这些组织视为“秘密会社”，这些会社是中国社会政治格局的重要组成部分。在19世纪，一个人通常可能是不同互助会社的成员。[49] 到了19世纪80年代末，英国殖民政权在锡矿开采州属和海峡殖民地得到巩固，《社团注册法令》通过并实施，要求所有华人社团必须进行正式注册成为合法注册团体。被殖民地政府视为有害社会秩序的建德堂、义兴会、海山等协会则不被允许注册，遂被定为非法团体。这些协会随后被迫转入地下，继续运作。

19世纪和20世纪初的记载以及晚近的学者著作都注意到这些互助会社的仪式与东南亚九皇胜会的仪式之间的相似之处，都与反清意识形态和华人宗教传统有关。也有一些学者认为九皇胜会与历史上的天地会有密切联系。在一些关于槟城和马来半岛九皇胜会早期历史的口述记录中，19世纪末和20世纪初的九皇胜会常被误认为是秘密会社的仪式活动，或被秘密会社用作掩护。

马来西亚的一段口述记载中称，一群流亡到马来亚的反清义士在表面上是吉隆坡的种植劳工，背地里谋划着反清复明大业。[50] 然在一次入会仪式上，他们的活动被警方发现。受到警官询问时，一名参会者急中生智，声称这是一场宗教活动。当被问及为何没有神像时，他解释说香炉便是九皇大帝。[51] 有学者以此佐证九皇胜会源于秘密会社入会仪式的掩护，但这个故事也反映了时人普遍了解九皇胜会以及九皇大帝不设神像的事实。因此，仪式参与者借助这种节日在这些地区的普遍性，试图说服警方他们正在进行宗教仪式，而不是秘密会社的入会仪式。这个故事也暗示了东南亚九皇胜会的仪式象征与秘密会社的仪式之间具有显着的相似之处，这是由于它们都有共同的反清象征和主题，并借鉴了中国民间宗教的仪式传统。

[49] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire*; Wang Tai Peng, *The Origins of Chinese Kongsi* (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1994)。

[50] 奇怪的是，在这一叙述中，从万云龙去世到英国人出现在吉隆坡，时间跨越了一个世纪，吉隆坡不仅转变为行政中心，而且成为锡矿开采的中心。例如，请参阅J. M. Gullick, “Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28:4 (1955): 页 10-11; and Ernest Chew, “Frank Swettenham and Yap Ah Loy: The Increase of British Political ‘Influence’ in Kuala Lumpur, 1871-1885.” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57:1 (1984): 页 70–87。

[51] Cheu, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 24-25; 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹》，页27。

Similarly, in 1911, having received a complaint that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at the Taiping Dou Lao Gong constituted "a secret society organisation", a British official from the Department of Chinese Affairs visited the temple to investigate. He sought why the devotees wore white clothing and pants with nine buttons, white cloth with the red print of the Eight Trigrams on their heads, and small pieces of yellow cloth on their wrists. He also asked if they were a secret society, as secret societies had similar dress codes.[52] While the festival's representative and the first leader of the temple, Wang Yiyu, managed to allay this visitor's suspicions, the official's questions suggested that the rituals he observed at the festival were very different from other Chinese religious festivals and also very similar to those adopted in secret society rituals.

These accounts highlighted the overlaps between the ritual and symbolic traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and certain types of mutual aid societies, especially those adopting the Anti-Qing and Ming Restoration ideologies and labelled as "secret societies". Anti-Qing societies and movements in China influenced the form and ideologies of these societies in Southeast Asia. This was partly due to the flight of members from the former to Southeast Asia between the 18th century in the face of state persecution and their subsequent influence on Chinese communities and forms of association in the region. In some narratives surrounding the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival noted by Cheu Hock Tong and Xu Liying, some followers of Wan Yunlong had fled to Southeast Asia after his death in a skirmish with Qing forces in Changsha, Hunan, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[53]

Southeast Asia was also a haven for anti-Qing refugees fleeing after failed rebellions in China in the 19th century. In 1822, after a rebellion in Zhangzhou, Fujian, by the Little Daggers Society was crushed by the Qing, several members fled first to Penang Island and subsequently to Phuket.[54] They include Tan Gaik Tham and Khaw Soo Cheang, who became prominent merchants in Phuket. Chen Dachuan (d. 1876 CE) was another such example, becoming one of the founders of the Ghee Hin Gongsi in Kathu.[55] A major riot within the Chinese communities in mid-1850s Singapore were also partly attributed to the flight of refugees from another failed rebellion by the Little Daggers Society in Xiamen a few years earlier.[56]

The ideologies and the organizational and ritual structures of Ming loyalist/anti-Qing societies in China also provided a useful framework for mobilizing, binding and ordering Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, beyond surname, lineage and ancestral place ties, and the broader provincial *bang* structures, as well as trade or craft specializations. They were also important in building the networks, resources, and manpower for their political and economic projects.[57] They also often overlap with other types of mutual aid associations. Together, they played important roles in organizing the Chinese and colonial political economy in Southeast Asia's colonial port towns and frontiers through the 19th century.[58] While their rituals drew on Chinese religious practices and belief systems, as well as Chinese literary traditions, their anti-Qing stance and persecution by the state often meant that their activities were often carried out in secret locations, away from the prying eyes of the state and the general public, with their ideologies and rituals embedded in verses drawing on traditional beliefs and folklore.

Graves and ancestral tablets in Singapore and Malaysia also suggested the presence, if not prevalence, of the identifications with these causes, beliefs and societies among the Chinese communities in the Nanyang. David Chng, in his study of the spirit tablets in the Ghee Hin Society's Five Tigers Ancestral Hall in Rochor, Singapore, found that they bore titles with strong anti-Qing overtones.[59] Some graves in Singapore and Malaysia cemeteries were marked with the character "Ming" to signify the affiliation of the deceased with these societies and their ideologies. Scholars have argued that despite their appeal to anti-Qing sentiments and their avowed aims of restoring the Ming, many such associations were concerned about their economic and political interests while also taking care of everyday issues for its members through financial assistance, help in settling down and ensuring their safety in a foreign land. Nevertheless, the ideological underpinnings provided an important alternative and additional basis for rallying support and organizing communities beyond parochial lineage/surname and place/province ties.[60]

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[52] 李桃李, "九皇大帝与秘密帮会," 20.

[53] Wan Yunlong, as Barend ter Haar and Dian Murray had pointed out, is of an uncertain provenance, even though he occupies a key position of prominence in retellings of the Heaven and Earth Society's founding. See Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Brill: Leiden, 1998), passim; and Dian H. Murray, collab. Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), passim. Murray also noted that some observers attempted to reconcile images of Wan with Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662 CE) in idem, 135 and 159.

[54] 李, 从圣教到道教, 241-242. Also see Khoo, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 85.

[55] 李, 从圣教到道教, 242. Also see 周南京, ed., 华侨华人百科全书: 社区民俗卷, Volume 10 (北京:中国华侨出版社, 2000), 379 and 381.

[56] Wilfred, L. Blythe, *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies on Malaya: A Historical Study* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

[57] Yen Ching-hwang, *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[58] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 87-116.

[59] David K.Y. Chng, *Heroic Images of Ming Loyalists: A Study of the Spirit Tablets of the Ghee Hin Kongsi Leaders in Singapore* (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 1999), 47.

[60] Ownby and Heidhues, eds., *Secret Societies Reconsidered*; Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China*; Claudine Salmon, *Ming Loyalists in Southeast Asia: As Perceived through Various Asian and European Records* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014).

同样地，1911年，华民政务司英籍大人收到投诉，称太平古武庙九皇千秋实是"秘密帮会组织"，英籍大人前往调查。他询问为何信徒一律白色衫裤，九粒布纽扣，头缠八卦红印白头布，手腕转小黄布等一致制服，质疑他们是否为秘密帮会，因为秘密帮会多有统一的服饰。[52] 虽然节日代表与宫庙领导王奕（翼）鱼最终消除了英籍大人的疑虑，但这位官员的提问表明九皇胜会与其他华人宗教节日不同，其仪式与秘密会社所采用的仪式非常相似。

从这些叙述中可以看到，九皇胜会的礼仪和象征与某些互助会社的仪式和传统存在相通之处，尤其是那些采取反清复明思想、被称为"秘密会社"的互助会社。中国的反清会社和运动影响了这些组织的形式和意识形态。造成这种情况的部分原因是，18世纪一些反清团体的成员因受到清廷迫害而逃往东南亚，影响了该地区的华人社区和结社形式。周福堂和徐李颖注意到一些关于九皇胜会起源的论述，据称，农历九月初九，亲明志士万云龙的队伍与清军在湖南长沙发生冲突，万云龙不幸丧生，随后他的追随者逃往东南亚。[53]

东南亚也是19世纪那些反清起义失败后逃亡的难民的避难所。1822年，福建省漳州市小刀会的起义被清军镇压，几名成员逃到槟城，最后到达普吉岛。[54] 他们当中包括后来成为普吉岛著名华商的陈清淡和许泗漳。陈大川（卒于1876年）也是一例，他是内杼义兴公司的创始人之一。[55] 19世纪50年代中期，新加坡华人社区发生了一场重大骚乱，据说起因是几年前厦门小刀会起义失败，导致许多难民涌入。[56]

中国反清复明团体的意识形态、组织结构和仪式形式为东南亚华人社群的动员、凝聚和规范提供了一个有用的框架，超越了姓氏、家族和祖籍地的联系，也超越了更广泛的帮群结构以及商业或行业公会。它们建立网络、资源和人力联系，以追求更大的经济和政治利益。[57] 它们与其他类型的互助会社也有相通之处。在整个19世纪，这些团体共同在东南亚殖民地港口城市和新开发区的华人和殖民政治经济中发挥了重要作用。[58] 尽管反清复明组织的仪式借鉴了中国的宗教习俗、信仰体系以及中国的文学传统，但他们的反清立场和当地政权对他们的打击使得他们的活动必须秘密进行，远离官方和公众的窥探，他们的意识形态和仪式植根于传统信仰和民间传说的诗句中。

新加坡和马来西亚的墓碑和祖先牌位表明了这些反清复明意识形态、信仰和会社在南洋华人社区中的存在或普遍性。庄钦永在研究新加坡梧槽实叻峨嘈五虎祠的灵碑时，发现它们带有强烈的反清色彩。[59] 新马地区一些墓碑上标有"明"字，表明死者与这些会社及其意识形态存在联系。　学者们认为，尽管这些会社以反清思想为号召，并公开宣称要恢复明朝，但它们主要关注现实问题，在照顾自身经济和政治利益的同时，也照顾到会员的日常事务，提供经济帮助协助会员在异国他乡落地生根和安身立命。尽管如此，意识形态基础超越了地方宗族和省份联系，为凝聚支持和组织社区提供了额外的重要基础。[60]

[52] 李桃李,〈九皇大帝与秘密帮会〉 ,《九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊》（太平：太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993），页20。

[53] 正如田海（Barend ter Haar）和穆黛安（Dian Murray）指出的，尽管在天地会成立的传说中万云龙占据重要的地位，但其来历并不明确。请参阅Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Brill: Leiden, 1998), passim; and Dian H. Murray, collab. Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), passim. 穆黛安也指出，一些人将万云龙与郑成功（公元1624-1662年）的形象合二为一。见前引，页135、159。

[54] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》，页241-242。亦请参阅Khoo, "Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier," 页 85。

[55] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》, 页242。

[56] Wilfred, L. Blythe, *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies on Malaya: A Historical Study* (Oxford University Press, 1969)。

[57] Yen Ching-hwang, *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1986)。

[58] Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 页 87-116。

[59] David K.Y. Chng, *Heroic Images of Ming Loyalists: A Study of the Spirit Tablets of the Ghee Hin Kongsi Leaders in Singapore* (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 1999), 页 47。

[60] Ownby and Heidhues, eds., *Secret Societies Reconsidered*; Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China*; Claudine Salmon, *Ming Loyalists in Southeast Asia: As Perceived through Various Asian and European Records* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014)。

Ultimately, the history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia and the beliefs and practices surrounding it, much like the histories of the Chinese communities in the region in which they were embedded, overlapped with these Ming loyalists and anti-Qing groups and their ideologies circulating among these communities. These convergences could be seen in the unique rituals and material culture of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the region, vis-à-vis the festival in China, and the traditions and memories in Southeast Asia of the origins and manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia: Ritual Structure and Community

In 1965, an article on the history of Phuket contained a detailed description of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at the Kathu Shrine. The grounds of the temple were very spacious. During the festival, a dormitory would be built next to the temple to allow the vegetarian devotees, called *cai you*, to participate and reside there. A large tentage was set up in front of the temple, as the *zhai* area, and in the square in front of it, a stage was erected for the opera to be staged for the deities. The first to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month was the period of *zhai jie*, and there will be many participants in the festival for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods who adhere to these restrictions, male and female, young and old. All the *cai you* wore white clothing, cloth shoes, and used a yellow strip of cloth to tie their hair. They would set up altars at home and burn yellow and white candles all day and night, emphasizing cleanliness and purity while abstaining from using leather items. The vegetarian food hawkers covered their shops with yellow cloth or paper, burnt incense to cleanse the air, and wrote "Jiu Huang Da Di (Nine Emperor Gods)" in large characters on the top part of the yellow cloth to signify that they were selling only vegetarian food. Cleanliness was of the utmost importance.[61]

The sixth day was the day of offering incense and receiving the Nine Emperor Gods. The temple communities and participants formed teams holding coloured flags, large gongs, *haochui*, and boards in the front, followed by the large flags, gongs, drums, *taiping luo*, big palanquins. The procession was akin to an inspection tour of an official. The vegetarian adherents in the procession "wore yellow kerchiefs on their head, white clothes, with a cloth sash on the waist with yellow cloth around the legs, and wearing either cloth or straw shoes, wrapped in yellow cloth, each with a large incense in hand, following behind". They would let off firecrackers along the way, moving in grand procession like an army on a long campaign. The procession would tour the districts on their way to the sea a long distance away to welcome the deity back to the temple. In the evenings, they would conduct a firewalking ritual, and there were also rituals like climbing the sword ladder, crossing the shore, and crossing the oil vessel. At about midnight on the ninth day, they formed teams again and sent off the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea. On the tenth day, they would give thanks to the lamps (*gao deng*), formally ending the festival.

This 1965 account of the festival in Phuket highlighted many important elements also seen in other parts of Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore today. In terms of ritual structure, the key ritual events would be the raising and lowering of the nine lamps and the receiving and sending-off ceremonies. Various other rituals would also be conducted during the festival, some of which might not be unique to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. However, some have become associated with it in certain regions, such as firewalking, street processions, and bridge- or gate-crossing ceremonies, mainly for cleansing, blessing and luck-changing. In addition, in some temples, there would be chanting and rites by Daoist priests and Buddhist monks (or lay chanting groups). There will also be the ritual propitiation of and remembering ancestor spirits and the salvation of wandering souls. The festival would end with the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods in the evening of the ninth day and the lowering of the lamps the next morning.[62] All these invite interesting comparisons and contrasts with the festival in Qing and Republican China.

[61] 王重阳, "泰国普吉省华人拓荒史," 41.

[62] This can be seen in the studies of the Ampang festival by Cheu Hock Tong as well as other accounts of the festival in Phuket and other parts of Thailand, as well as Malaysia and Singapore, and other parts of Southeast Asia, in older as well as recent ethnographic studies of the festivals, newspapers, and more general accounts of these places.

总之，东南亚九皇胜会的历史以及围绕着九皇胜会的信仰和习俗，如同本区域华人社群的历史，与反清复明团体及其意识形态密切相关。这些交汇见于东南亚九皇胜会的独特仪式和物质文化上，也体现在东南亚关于九皇大帝的起源和象征的传说和记忆中。

东南亚的九皇胜会：仪式、结构与社群

1965年，一篇关于普吉岛历史的文章详细地描述了内杼地区九皇胜会的场景。内杼斗母宫庙地广阔，庙旁兴建宿舍，供斋戒期间参与信众（也称“菜友”）留宿。庙前搭建了一个大帐篷，作为“聚斋场所” 。前面空地也建起一座戏台，供神明观戏。每年九月初一至初九，也是斋戒期间，许多 “虔诚持斋菜友”踊跃参加九皇宝诞。所有菜友不管男女老少都身穿白衣布鞋，黄绒结发。他们在家里也“均置主案”，朝夕燃黄色和白色的蜡烛，注重身心净化和纯洁，避免使用皮革物品，“一切以清洁为要”。素食摊贩用黄布或纸张遮盖店面，焚香净化空气，并在黄布上写上“九皇大帝”四字，表明他们只售卖素食。[61]

初六是献香日，也即迎接九皇大帝的日子。庙宇组织游行队伍，前面的人手持彩旗、大锣、号吹及展牌，抬着大旗、锣鼓、太平荜及圣轿的成员则紧随在后，有如官员出巡。队伍最后的菜友“头罩黄帕，身着白衣服，腰系布带，黄布绷腿，足蹬布鞋或草鞋黄布裹，手执大香”。游行队伍仪仗十分隆重，沿途放鞭炮，如同军队出征。游行队伍会游遍各个区域，前往远处的海滩恭迎九皇大帝回到庙里。到了晚上，庙宇还会举行过火坛、登刀梯、过岸、过油鼎等仪式。初九午夜时分，众人再次组织游行队伍，前往海边恭送九皇大帝回銮，回归天上。初十早上的“谢高灯”仪式过后，九皇胜会正式落下帷幕。

这份1965年的记载突显了普吉岛九皇胜会的许多重要元素，这些元素今天也可在泰国其他地区以及马来西亚和新加坡看到。在仪式结构方面，最关键的仪式是九盏天灯的升降、迎驾和送驾仪式。节日期间还会进行其他仪式，其中一些并非九皇胜会所独有。在某些地区，一些仪式已渐渐与九皇胜会联系在一起，例如过火坛、游行和过平安桥等仪式，主要用于净化、祈福和转运。此外，一些庙宇也会请道士和佛教僧侣（或诵经团体）诵经并举行宗教仪式，包括祭祀祖先和超渡游魂仪式。第九条夜晚恭送九皇大帝回銮，次日清晨降下天灯后，节日才宣告结束。[62] 上述的节日仪式与清朝与民国时期的节日形成了鲜明的对比。

[61] 王重阳，〈泰国普吉省华人拓荒史〉，页41。

[62] 许多相关记录都反映了这一点，例如周福堂对安邦节的研究，普吉岛和泰国各地、马来西亚和新加坡以乃至东南亚对九皇胜会的记载，对这些地方的九皇胜会的民族志研究，以及报纸和更普遍的描述。

There are important overlaps between the Nine Emperor God Festival in Southeast Asia and the festivals in China in the late Qing and Republican periods, namely the strict adherence to the vegetarian diet and *zhai jie* restrictions before and during the festival, as well as the use of yellow by the hawkers and by the participants and temples. Vegetarian devotees could also elect to stay at the festival area for the duration.[63] We can also see the avoidance of leather items and wearing cloth or straw shoes.[64] The nine lamps also take on special importance in the festivals in both regions, being raised at the beginning of the festival and lowered on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month. However, the use of bamboo seems to be unique to the festival in Southeast Asia. Other parallels with festivals in certain parts of China in the late Qing and Republication periods would be the importance of processions, the playing of music during the festival, and the crowds they attracted. Still, the use of firecrackers and the use of palanquins seemed to be unique to Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, this account highlighted important differences between East Asia and China. The wearing of white and the importance of the sea and water in the receiving and sending-off would be the most obvious and significant.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in Southeast Asia today are similar to the accounts above, with slight variations on these two main themes. Even in Phuket today, the main ritual participants in the festival are still dressed in white, although yellow is allowed in certain cases. In Singapore, devotees and participants will be dressed mainly in white and covering their heads with a white cloth. However, some temples have chosen to wear yellow shirts or wholly yellow clothing and headscarves, clothing in the colour of sackcloth (with actual sackcloth said to have been used in the past, with some still using this today), or yellow headbands. They will receive and send off the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea or by the banks of rivers or reservoirs connected to these seas.

References to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the early Chinese newspapers in Southeast Asia were few and far between and contained few details about rituals and the colour of the dress. One of the earliest accounts published in the *Lat Pau* newspaper in Singapore in 1907 under the heading of *yue ou*[65] recounted how the author came across the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by chance when passing by a Daoist temple, being attracted by its cleanliness, grand decorations and the very well-dressed and manicured crowd inside. He had inquired and found out that it was the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, a very popular festival dedicated to the birthday of the Northern and Southern Dipper Star Deities, who governed death and life, respectively. The participants would go on a strict vegetarian diet and strove to be as pure as they could during the festival as a form of repentance to seek blessings.[66] In an earlier newspaper article from Penang (1895), vegetarianism was also noted as one of the practices observed in different parts of China for the "nine emperors" at "a certain time of the year".[67]

In the intervening decades, newspaper reports in Singapore mentioning or reporting on the festival in Malaya or Singapore provided few references to the colour of the clothing worn by participants. Articles in Chinese newspapers in the 1920s noted yellow cloth being worn on the arms of male participants and used to tie the hair of women participants. In 1934, an account of the festival at Tan Chu Kang noted how the devotees wore a yellow cloth around the waist while the women used it to tie their hair. A 1937 account of the festival in Ipoh mentioned the wearing of yellow cloth sashes and yellow bands. In these reports, there was no indication of the colour of the clothes worn.[68]

Yet, dressing in white seems particularly important in various early festival photos since the mid-1920s, at least for the core ritual participants. In photos of a procession during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Ipoh in 1927, one could see the core contingent dressed in white clothes and wearing white headscarves walking behind the vanguard with the huge banner. Even the percussionists before them seemed to be dressed in white, although they wore hats of different colours.[69] The photo documentation of the festival at Shin Sen Keng in Singapore in 1949 or 1950 by Alan J. A. Elliott highlighted that most of the community ritual specialists, including the children vanguards, were dressed in white and with a white handkerchief on their heads. An English newspaper article in 1947 featured photographs of the temple devotees from Siglap dressed in white and accompanied by a Buddhist monk receiving and sending off the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea at Katong. The reporter noted that the wearing of white denoted purity. A Chinese account of the festival in Penang in 1934 also noted the sending off at sea.[70]

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[63] While this might be to avoid contamination or breaking the restrictions, it might also be out of convenience for those coming from longer distances to join the festival). While the same is mentioned of the Liyuan Festival, it is largely the troupe members involved in ritual chanting and other duties in the Nine Emperor Gods Hall who would do this. In Phuket, it seemed that this was a general practice among the devotees. While there was mention of devotees visiting temples holding the festival in outskirts of the city in China, there did not seem to be any mention of devotees spending the night or the duration of the festival at these temples, although it might be the case.

[64] These two works highlight a whole series of restrictions and abstinences in Phuket, from a vegetarian diet to not gambling, stealing/robbing, wearing gold, silver, or leather goods. Women during menstruation, pregnant women, and those in mourning were also advised not to participate in the festival. All utensils in the temple's kitchens would have to be cleaned. These related very much to the purity of body, mind, actions, and thoughts expected of the participants in the festival. They were also observed in many parts of Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore.

[65] A style of singing associated with the Guangdong Pearl River Delta region. 汉典， accessed，August 1, 2022, https://www.zdic.net/hans/%E7%B2%A4%E8%AE%B4.

[66] 子敏, "粤讴: 九皇胜会", 叻报, 1907, October 16, 2.

[67] "The So-called Vegetarians", *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, September 4, 1895, 3.

[68] "陈厝港坊众 昨演街戏庆祝九皇诞", 星洲日报, October 16, 1934, 9; "九皇诞辰在太和园", 南洋商报, October 9, 1937, 22.

[69] 华熙摄, "南洋及香港时事- 南洋怡保埠九皇庙出巡时街道上热闹状况", 良友 21 (1927): 9。

[70] "重九将届中", 星洲日报, October 11, 1934, 11; "Untitled", *The Straits Times*, 17 October 1947, 5; "Untitled", *Straits Budget,* 23 October 1947, 11.

东南亚的九皇胜会与中国清末民初时期的节日活动有重要的相似之处，例如：在节日期间，参与者必须严格茹素和斋戒，小贩、参与者和庙宇都使用黄色，并且持素的信众可以留宿在节日区域。[63] 此外，信众要避免使用皮革物品，换上布鞋或草鞋。[64] 九盏天灯在两地的节日中也占有特殊的地位，它们在节日开始时升起，九月初十才降下，但只有在东南亚才会使用竹子升起天灯。与中国清末民初的节日相比，东南亚的九皇胜会也会进行游行并演奏音乐，吸引众人驻足观看，但燃放鞭炮和使用圣轿似乎是东南亚所独有的。

然而，1965年普吉岛庆典的记叙也反映了东南亚与中国的节日活动之间存在重要区别，最明显的差异之一是，在东南亚的九皇胜会中，众人必须穿着白色衣物在水边迎驾和送驾。

今天，东南亚的九皇胜会与上述记叙非常相似，但两者之间略有差异。在今天的普吉岛，节日的主要仪式参与者仍穿着白色服装，在某些情况下也可以穿黄色衣服。在新加坡，信众和参与者通常会穿白色服装，头戴白布，但也有一些庙宇会选择穿黄色衬衫或全黄色的服装和头巾，或穿麻布衣服（据说过去都是使用真正的麻衣，今天仍有一些庙宇保持这一传统），戴黄色头带。人们会在与大海相连的河流或水库边迎接和恭送九皇大帝。

东南亚早期的华文报纸鲜少关于九皇胜会的报道，也很少对节日仪式和服装颜色等细节的详细介绍。1907年，新加坡《南洋商报》发表的一篇题为“粤讴”的文章，是最早期相关报道之一。作者偶然路过一座道观，被其干净整洁的内部装饰和衣着整洁的人群所吸引：“纯陈光洁，结彩张灯，粉白黛绿者罗列满堂”。他询问过之后得知他看到的是九皇胜会，一个非常受欢迎的节日，为主宰生死的南北斗星君庆祝诞辰。参加者在节日期间必须严格遵循茹素传统，努力保持自身纯洁，以求得赐福。[65] 1895年，槟城英文报也有报道称在中国的一些地区，人们每年会在某个时节为供奉“九皇”而持素。[66]

在随后的几十年里，新加坡的报纸上关于在新马地区九皇胜会的报道也鲜少提及参与者服装的颜色。20世纪20年代，中文报纸中的文章提到了男性参与者会在手臂上穿戴黄色布条，女性参与者则将之作为头发绑带。 1934年，有一篇关于陈厝港节日的报道指出，虔诚的信徒腰系黄色布条，而女性则用它来绑发髻。 1937年一篇有关在怡保节日的报道提到了佩戴黄色布带和腕带。然而，这些报道都没有提到参与者所穿衣服的颜色。[67]

从早期的节日照片来看，自20世纪20年代中期以来，穿白色衣服似乎对于核心仪式的参与者来说特别重要。在1927年怡保九皇胜会游行的照片中，可以看到核心队伍穿着白色衣服，戴着白色头巾，跟在举着巨大横幅的先锋队伍后面，后面尾随着巨大的旗帜。打击乐手似乎也穿着白色衣服，但戴着不同颜色的帽子。[68] 在Alan J. A. Elliott于1949或1950年所拍摄的新加坡神仙宫九皇胜会的照片中，大多数社区仪式专家，包括儿童先锋，都穿着白色衣服，并在头上戴着白色头巾。1947年的一篇英文报纸文章刊载了实乞纳一所庙宇的成员在佛教僧侣的主持下，在加东海边迎接和恭送九皇大帝的照片。记者指出穿白色代表着纯洁。一篇记述1934年槟城的九皇胜会的新闻报道也提到了在海边举行恭送仪式。[69]

[63] 信徒居住在节日区域可能是为了避免污染或犯戒，也可能是为了方便那些从很远的地方赶来参加节日的信徒。关于梨园九皇胜会的记载也提到梨园成员可以居住在节日区域，但主要是在九皇坛中参与诵经和其他任务的成员才会这样做。在普吉岛，大部分信徒会在节日区域留宿。关于中国庙宇举办九皇胜会的记载似乎没有提到节日期间信徒会在庙宇留宿，但这种情况可能存在。

[64] 吴霞，〈九皇斋节的仪式特征和功能研究〉，硕士论文， 云南民族大学，2017年，页18，23。 这篇文章提到了普吉岛的一系列限制和斋戒，包括吃素、不赌博、不偷窃/抢劫、不穿金戴银或使用皮具。处于经期的妇女、孕妇和正在服丧的人最好也不要参与节日。庙宇厨房里的所有器具都必须被清洁。这些都与对节日参与者保持身心纯净的要求密切相关。在泰国、马来西亚和新加坡的许多地方也可见到类似的要求。

[65] 子敏，〈粤讴：九皇胜会〉，《叻报》，1907年10月16日，页2。

[66] “The So-called Vegetarians”, *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, September 4, 1895, 3.

[67] <陈厝港坊众　昨演街戏庆祝九皇诞>，见《星洲日报》，1934年10月16日，第9版；<九皇诞辰在太和园>，见《南洋商报》，1937年10月9日，第22版。

[68] 华熙摄，〈南洋及香港时事- 南洋怡保埠九皇庙出巡时街道上热闹状况〉，《良友》，第21期， 1927年 9月，页9。

[69] <重九将届中>，见《星洲日报》，1934年10月11日，第11版；<无题>，见《*The Straits Times*》，1947年10月17日，第5版；“Untitled”, *Straits Budget,* 23 October 1947, 页 11。

The wearing of white (and, to a lesser extent, yellow) and the receiving and sending-off by the sea were also corroborated in the anthropological and sociological accounts of the festival in Southeast Asia from the 1970s to the present. Today, these practices have become ubiquitous in the festival in Singapore and many other parts of Southeast Asia. They distinguish the festival in Southeast Asia from that in China, although practices and meanings from the Nanyang have also influenced the festivals in certain parts of China, especially regions with a history of migration to Southeast Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries. While some explanations for such an attire of white noted its association with purity, others emphasized the association with mourning and noted the use of sackcloth and straw slippers in the past. These practices and their meanings, and the sea or river as the site of receiving and sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods, are ultimately closely related to the memories in Southeast Asia of who the Nine Emperor Gods were and their manifestations in history. These were, in turn, very much shaped by the experiences and memories of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, not only of their migration to Southeast Asia but also of their homelands.

Remembering the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia

While there are important similarities between the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia and the festival as observed in China past and present, namely in the emphasis on a vegetarian diet and ritual purity and the use of the colour yellow in the décor and set-up, there are also key differences in their ritual structures and ritual paraphernalia, the representations of the Nine Emperor Gods, and other features of material culture associated with the festival. These include the representation of the Nine Emperor Gods as tablets bearing their names, the wearing of all white (especially the covering of one's forehead with white cloth), the receiving and sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods by water, be it a river or the sea, the use of a unique couplet often represented in Nine Emperor Gods temples (although not universally adopted by all), the use of covered palanquins, and the meanings associated with the inner chamber. They are inextricably linked to the narratives on the origins and manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia. The intertwining of the rituals, practices, dress, and material culture with the origin narratives surrounding the Nine Emperor Gods reflected the histories and experiences of migration among the Chinese communities in maritime Southeast Asia, their memories of China and their articulations of Chineseness.

Though the conception of the Nine Emperor Gods as the nine-star deities of the Northern Dipper has become increasingly popular in recent decades, it was other historical and human manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods which seemed to have had a more profound effect on the popular imaginaries and ritual structures of the festival in Southeast Asia. Some remembered the Nine Emperor Gods as Ming loyalists who had lost their lives to the anti-Qing cause, the Southern Ming dynasty's last emperor(s), or the anti-Qing pirate and folk hero Zheng Chenggong respectively. Other origin narratives of the Nine Emperor Gods saw them as scholars or artisan musicians wrongfully killed by the Emperor, commoner rebels against the Emperor, Robin-hood like pirates and bandits robbing the rich to aid the poor, beggars who assisted the last Ming emperors or helped the coastal populace to fight pirates, and powerful bandits who turned over a new leaf before their death at sea. The Nine Emperor Gods could sometimes refer to a single deity bearing the title or a group of nine deities.

Death and mourning, in particular, take on special importance in these Southeast Asian narratives and ritual structures, alongside the emphasis on purity and abstinence. The Nine Emperor Gods, through their manifestations, embodied important memories of China among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, who were mostly from the southern coastal provinces, and their articulations of Chineseness, with respect to the Ming dynasty and the Ming loyalist cause vis-à-vis Qing China, especially cogent in colonial Southeast Asia as a frontier of opportunity as well as refuge. The importance of the sea and the coast also forms another thread running through these narratives, reflecting the importance of these spaces in the beliefs, memories, and world-views of Chinese migrant communities in Southeast Asia, both in their living and working environments in the Nanyang and in their hometown regions in southern China.

1970年代至今的，对东南亚九皇胜会的人类学和社会学记载也证实了白色服装（有时也会是黄色服装）和在海边迎送圣驾的传统的重要性。如今，这些习俗已经是新加坡以及东南亚其他地区的九皇胜会的核心传统，同时也成为南洋与中国两地九皇胜会传统的主要区别，但中国某些地区的九皇胜会也受到南洋传统的影响。关于白色衣着的要求，一些说法称与纯洁有关，而其他解释则认为与哀悼有关，并指出过去所使用的麻布和草鞋也是如此。这些传统及其意义，以及海洋或河流作为迎接和恭送九皇大帝的场所，都与东南亚信众对九皇大帝为何方神圣的记忆密切相关。这些记忆在很大程度上受到东南亚华人社区的经验和记忆的影响，尤其与他们的移民经验有关。

从东南亚忆九皇

东南亚华人与九皇东南亚和中国的九皇胜会虽然在庆祝方式有重要的相似之处，即强调茹素和维持礼仪的纯洁性，在装潢和摆设上使用黄色，但在礼仪结构和礼仪用具、九皇大帝的象征以及与九皇胜会相关物质文化等其他方面上，两地的九皇胜会也存在着重要的差异。这包括以立牌代表九皇大帝，信徒穿上全白装束（特别是用白布覆盖在额头上）、在海边或河边迎接和恭送九皇、使用独特对联（但并非所有的九皇庙都采用对联）、使用有盖的圣轿以及与内殿相关的含义。它们与东南亚九皇大帝的起源叙事与其显现的叙述密不可分。九皇大帝的起源叙事与仪式、传统、服装和物质文化的交织反映了东南亚华人社区的迁移历史和经验，以及他们对中国的记忆以及对华人身份的表述。

数十年来，虽然九皇为北斗星君的概念越来越流行，但在东南亚对九皇来源与化身的其他历史或口述记载似乎对东南亚九皇胜会的仪式结构产生了更深远的影响。九皇被铭记为南明末代皇帝、因反清事业失去生命的烈士、明朝的海盗和民间英雄郑成功。其他关于九皇大帝的起源叙事将他们视为被皇帝误杀的学士或乐士、反抗皇帝的平民叛军、罗宾汉式的海盗和土匪、劫富济贫的义士、协助明朝末代皇帝或帮助沿海民众打击海盗的乞丐，以及临死前改邪归正的强悍强盗。九皇大帝即可指一个带有这个头衔的单一神明，也可指由九位神明组成的群体。

在这些东南亚的叙事和仪式结构中，死亡和哀悼以及对纯洁和禁欲的强调具有特别重要的意义。九皇的出现，代表了东南亚华人社会对中国的重要记忆。这些记忆存在于来自中国的南部沿海省份的华人社区中，他们对于中国的认同表现在反清复明事业。这在殖民时期尤为重要，当时东南亚是作为机遇和避难的地带。海洋和海岸的重要性也是贯穿这些叙事的另一条主线，反映了东南亚华人移民社群的信仰、记忆和世界观中在这些空间中的重要性，既包括他们在南洋的生活和工作环境，也包括他们中国南方的家乡地区。

Scholars and Musicians in Qin-Han China

In two separate reports in the *Nanyang Siang Pau* by "Old Man" and the paper's Kuala Lumpur correspondent, Yuemin, respectively, the Nine Emperor Gods were nine brothers who refused to subordinate themselves to Qin Shi Huang's (259-210 BCE) tyranny. Frustrated with these malcontents, the Qin emperor sought the help of a ritual master, who beheaded them with magic and ensconced their corpses within a vessel that was sealed with a talisman before it was pushed out to sea. However, the nine brothers' remains were later released from captivity by a fisherman who came across the drifting vessel, and they reappeared before the terrified emperor. At his wit's end, the Qin emperor sent for the ritual master again, who advised Qin to placate them by granting them the title of "Emperor Gods". After they were worshipped and had temples erected in their honour, the nine brothers no longer troubled Qin.[71]

During his fieldwork in peninsular Southeast Asia in the 1980s, Cheu Hock Tong came across another retelling of the above account that was situated within the Han dynasty (202 BCE – 220 CE), where the Nine Emperor Gods were nine scholars who were also beheaded by a magician when an emperor tested the latter's supernatural powers. Horrified by the unintended outcome of his test, the emperor ordered the scholars' heads to be thrown into the sea. Nevertheless, their vengeful spirits continued to haunt the emperor, and he was forced to consecrate them as the Nine Emperor Gods to appease their spirits. The nine vessels eventually drifted to southern Thailand in a separate account that continued from the Nine Emperor Gods' divinization. There, their vessels were found by fishermen in Songkhla, who opened the seals on the jars. As the nine heads rose into the sky, the deities foretold of an incoming storm and urged their saviours to lash a flag inscribed with their names onto their ships' masts. However, only one fisherman obeyed the Nine Emperor Gods' instruction, and his ship was the sole survivor in the storm.[72]

Scholars have suggested a connection between these narratives and the traditions about the deities known as "Ong Yah" [or Wangye or Royal Lords]" in southern China. In Taiwan island, Paul Katz came across several accounts of these deities' origins, three of which resembled those of the Nine Emperor Gods outlined above. In the first instance, the Royal Lords were originally 360 scholars buried alive by Qin Shihuang during the burning of books and the burying of scholars in 213 BCE. In another account, these scholars were killed by the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling (34-156 CE) when his supernatural powers were tested by the Tang Emperor Xuanzong (712-756 CE). The deceased scholars were granted the title of "Royal Lords" to appease their souls and became worshipped throughout China.[73]

Another account of these Royal Lords' origins explained they were pro-Ming loyalists who refused to capitulate before the Manchu invaders. When they died, their souls ascended to heaven, and the Jade Emperor conferred upon them the title of the Royal Lords.[74] This account was very similar to one of the major traditions on the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods. Scholars have argued that this overlap had also led to the influence of Ong Yah traditions, like the Wangkang Festival in Melaka, on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, in how some Nine Emperor Gods temples adopted the ritual of burning and sending off a dragon ship or ritual ship during the sending-off ceremony by the sea. Nevertheless, despite some similarities, there are important differences between the ritual use of these vessels and the meanings attached to them.[75]

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[71] 老汉, "重阳时节记九皇", 南洋商报, 1947, 18 October, 7; 悦民, "九皇爷的来历是反对专制魔王的民族英雄", 南洋商报 , 1949, October 26, 7.

[72] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 26.

[73] Paul R. Katz, "Demons or Deities? The 'Wangye' of Taiwan," *Asian Folklore Studies* 46:2 (1987): 200-201.

[74] Katz, "Demons or Deities?" 201.

[75] 王琛发, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝 – 永不没落的民族意象 (马来西亚：道教组织联合总会宗教文化研究中心出版，1999年), 55.

秦汉时期的儒生与乐者

在《南洋商报》上，“老汉”和“本报驻隆记者-悦民”所载的两篇相似的报道中，九皇大帝相传是拒绝服从秦始皇（公元前259-210年）暴政的九兄弟。秦始皇对此感到不悦，请来一位法师，用法术将九兄弟斩首，并将他们的尸体置于瓮中，用符纸封住，然后投入海中。然而，渔民偶然发现了漂流的瓮并释放了九兄弟的灵魂，九兄弟来到秦始皇面前。秦始皇惊慌失措，派人求助法师。法师建议秦始皇赐予他们“皇爷神”的名号，并为九兄弟设庙供奉。九兄弟便不再骚扰秦始皇。[70]

1980年代，周福堂在东南亚半岛考察时，记录了另一个关于九皇的传说。相传在汉代（公元前202年-公元220年），九皇大帝是九名儒生，当皇帝试图考验一名法师的超自然能力时，他们被法师斩首。皇帝对此感到震惊，下令把儒生们的头颅丢进海里。然而，他们复仇的鬼魂仍然不断骚扰皇帝，皇帝不堪其扰，将他们奉为九皇大帝以安抚他们的鬼魂。在九皇大帝神化的另一则传说中，这九个瓮最终漂流到泰国南部并被宋卡水域上谋生的渔民发现。渔民们打开了瓮上的封印，九个头颅升上天空，并预言暴风雨即将到来。九皇大帝劝告渔夫将写有他们名号的旗帜系在船的桅杆上，只有一名渔夫遵循九皇大帝的指示，最终只有他的船在风暴中幸存下来。[71]

学者们认为，这些叙事与中国南方被称为“王爷”的神明传统之间存在某种联系。康豹（Paul Katz）在台湾发现了一些关于王爷起源的传说，其中有三则与上述的九皇大帝起源故事相似。在第一种说法中，王爷原是360名儒生，公元前213年秦始皇焚书坑儒时，这些儒生被活埋。在另一则说法中，当唐玄宗（712-756年）考验祖天师张道陵（34-156年）的超自然能力时，这些学士为张道陵所杀。为了安抚他们的灵魂，这些死去的儒生被授予“王爷”的称号，并在中国各地受到供奉。[72]

关于王爷来历的第三种说法是，他们拒绝降清的亲明志士。他们死后灵魂升天，玉皇大帝册封他们为王爷。[73] 这种说法与九皇大帝起源的口述传统之一非常相似。学者认为，王爷信仰在一定程度上影响了九皇胜会的传统，比如一些九皇大帝庙宇送驾仪式期间将龙船或法船送到海上焚化的传统可能是受到马六甲的王舡大游行的影响。尽管存在一定的相似之处，但这些船只的仪式用途和意义也有重要的差异。[74]

[70] 老汉：〈重阳时节记九皇〉，《南洋商报》，1947年10月18日，页7；悦民：〈九皇爷的来历是反对专制魔王的民族英雄〉，《南洋商报》，1949年10月26日，页7。

[71] Cheu, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 页26。

[72] Paul R. Katz, “Demons or Deities? The ‘Wangye’ of Taiwan,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 46:2 (1987): 页200-201。

[73] Katz, “Demons or Deities?” 页201。

[74] 王琛发，《从北斗真君到九皇大帝 – 永不没落的民族意象》，马来西亚：道教组织联合总会宗教文化研究中心出版，1999年，页55。

Ming Loyalists

In a commemorative volume published by the Ampang Nan Tian Gong in Selangor to celebrate its 130th anniversary, the Nine Emperor Gods were said to be nine pro-Ming martyrs and members of the Ming royalty who were beheaded after their capture by Manchu forces, and their heads sealed within a vessel that was left to drift into the ocean. When this container was found and unsealed by fishermen in Putian, Fujian, an outpouring of grief for the deposed Ming dynasty ensued. To commemorate the nine loyalists, a "grand funeral" was enacted in their honour, where "it was stipulated that each person must cover his head with white cloth and a white cloth strip on his hands as a reminder". Since the Nine Emperor Gods' devotees could not disclose these martyrs' identities without arousing the suspicion of Qing officials, the deities went by the depersonalised and collective title of the "Nine Emperor Gods" instead. In addition, for the duration of the festival, the workings of these temples' Inner Chambers were kept secret, for "various leaders would remain inside to formulate plans to overthrow the Qing dynasty".[76]

The Ampang Nan Tian Gong's narrative sheds much light on why the festival took on its unique form in Southeast Asia in terms of its rituals, set-up, and dress code in Southeast Asia. The funerary symbolism of the dress and practices associated with the festival, the rituals of receiving the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea or river, and through the receiving of the censer, as well as the designation of restricted spaces like the Inner Chamber, all had important parallels in Ming loyalist and anti-Qing historical narratives and the practices and traditions attached to these causes.

The role of the censer in the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods finds an interesting parallel in the Xilu Narrative and its account of the founding of the Heaven and Earth Society.[77] In this narrative, the Qing dynasty was once threatened by invaders who went by the name "Xilu barbarians", and the regime sought the help of the Shaolin Monastery.[78] While the invaders were successfully repulsed by reinforcements sent from the temple, Qing forces repaid benevolence with enmity by besieging the temple and burning the site to the ground. Only five monks (four in some versions), who were joined by either the semi-legendary Chen Jinnan or the equally enigmatic Wan Yunlong survived, and they swore to overthrow the Qing for their corrupt ways. As they gathered by a river, a censer floated into their sight from a river with the words "Overthrow the Qing and Restore the Ming" on its bottom. With Heaven as their witness, the five monks planted blades of grass to symbolise burning incense in the censer when taking their oaths and thus formed the Heaven and Earth Society.[79]

The Xilu Narrative's memory of the censer floating in on a river, as Ong Seng Huat rightfully noted, has an interesting parallel in the practice of receiving the Nine Emperor Gods, represented by a censer, from the sea or river in Southeast Asia. He also suggested that the absence of any deity images when the Heaven and Earth Society's founders took their oaths mirrored the representation of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, where several temples only dedicated a spirit tablet or empty altar with a censer to the deity's worship.[80] Nevertheless, the Xilu Narrative also suggested that the Heaven and Earth Society members drew freely from Chinese religious beliefs, traditions, and practices. [81]

[76] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊, 21.

[77] Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui*, 197-228; Barend J. ter Haar, "Messianism and the Heaven and Earth Society: Approaches to Heaven and Earth Society Texts," in *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Early Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, ed. David Ownby and Mary Somers Heidhues, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2015 (1993)), 153-176.

[78] On the historical basis of such a relationship, see Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 182-196.

[79] Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui*, 197-228.

[80] 王琛发, "国殇: 隐藏在马来西 亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会," 论文发表于第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路（台湾，佛光大学，2008年6月1日）.

[81] Among others, see the summary of examples throughout Chinese history in ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 306-324; and the classical article by Anna K. Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1981–1983), 291-371.

反清复明义士

在雪兰莪州安邦南天宫为了庆祝成立130周年而出版的一本纪念专刊上，九皇大帝被铭记为九名明朝烈士和皇室成员，他们在被满清军队俘虏后被斩首，清兵将他们的头颅被封入瓮内，沉入海里。福建莆田的渔民打开了这些瓮，发现了亲明志士的首级，不禁为明朝的覆灭感到悲伤。为了纪念九位志士，人们举行“开丧大集会”，“规定每人须头扎白布，手带白布条为记。”众人不能公开亲明志士的身份，以免引起清廷的怀疑，因此他们被统称为“九皇大帝”。此外，在节日期间，庙宇内殿的运作是绝对保密的，因为“首领级人物在内主持计议反清之谋”。[75]

安邦南天宫的叙述充分揭示了九皇胜会在东南亚采取了独特的形式，包括仪式、布置和着装规定的原因。与节日相关的实践和服饰有着葬礼象征，在海边或河边迎接代表九皇香炉的仪式，以及对内殿或暗房等空间的限制，与反清复明叙事有着重要的相似之处。

以香炉迎接九皇大帝的方式与《西鲁序》中所载天地会的创立有所相似。[76] 在《西鲁序》中，清朝曾受到“西鲁番”入侵，清廷向少林寺寻求帮助。[77] 少林僧众成功击退西鲁入侵，清朝皇帝却恩将仇报遣兵焚寺，将其夷为平地。寺僧仅有五人幸免于难（在一些版本中，只有四人逃过一劫，包括半传奇人物陈近南或同样神秘的万云龙），他们发誓要推翻腐败的清廷。当他们聚集在河边时，远处漂来一个香炉，底部刻着“反清复明”的字样 。五名僧人以天为证、拈草为香，从而组成了天地会。[78]

诚如王琛发所言，《西鲁序》中的香炉自河上漂来，与东南亚在水边迎接代表九皇的香炉的习俗相似。他还指出，天地会创始人在宣誓时没有神像，也与东南亚的九皇信仰一致。东南亚有几座庙宇仅供奉神位牌，空有香炉的神坛。[79] 尽管如此，《西鲁序》中的天地会成员也借鉴了中国的宗教信仰、传统和实践。[80]



◀ Members of Jiu Huang Dian inviting a consecrated censer into an awaiting palanquin, 2017.

九皇殿理事恭迎圣驾仪式后将的香炉置入圣轿中。

[75]《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》，页21。

[76] Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui*, 页 197-228; Barend J. ter Haar, “Messianism and the Heaven and Earth Society: Approaches to Heaven and Earth Society Texts,” in *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Early Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, ed. David Ownby and Mary Somers Heidhues, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2015 (1993)), 页 153-176。

[77] On the historical basis of such a relationship, see Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 页 182-196。

[78] Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui*, 页 197-228。

[79] 王琛发，〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉，《第五届台湾，东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会─台湾东南亚文化文学的发展与思路论文集》，宜兰：佛光大学，2008年。

[80] 关于中国历史上的其他例子，请参阅ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 306-324; and the classical article by Anna K. Seidel, “Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha,” in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1981–1983), 页 291-371。



Leong Nam Temple preparing to receive the Nine Emperor Gods, undated (possibly 1970s).

龙南殿理事在海边准备恭迎九皇大二帝，日期不详（1970年代左右）。

Other religious paraphernalia used in Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals also had strong Ming loyalist and anti-Qing connotations. A couplet playing on the character "Ming", which could be found with slight variations in Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang, and other Nine Emperor Gods temples in Malaysia and Singapore, also suggests a close association with the Ming loyalist narrative. According to a Daoist priest from the Hong Kong Street temple in Penang, the couplet should be read as: "the elite (or best) of the sun and moon (Ming) are to appear at Long Li" and "the wanderings of the moon and waves determine the fate of the universe".[82] While these couplets are typically associated with Nine Emperor Gods temples in Southeast Asia, they have also been used in other Chinese temples dedicated to other deities in Singapore and China.[83]



The "sun 日" and "moon 月" couplets at the entrance of the Hong Kong Street Doumugong.

槟城香港巷斗母宫入口处的日月对联。

[82] 王琛发, "国殇". In Hougang Tou Mu Kung, it is 弄里羡. Elsewhere, it was "日明精华龙里现，月朋浪荡定乾坤".

[83] 金太宫, "金太宫农历六月二十三日 – 恭送玉皇上帝回銮part 7", Facebook, August 19, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.2056048897739596. See Vincent Goossaert, "Ritual Techniques for Creating a Divine Persona in Late Imperial China: The Case of Daoist Law Enforcer Lord Wang," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 50:1 (2022): 45-76.



◀
Daoist priests performing the rituals by the sea at East Coast Park during Leong Nam Temple's receiving ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods.

道长在龙南殿恭迎九皇大典主持仪式。

用于九皇庙宇和九皇胜会的宗教道具也具有浓厚的反清复明色彩。在安邦南天宫、槟城香港巷斗母宫，以及马来西亚和新加坡的其他九皇庙宇中，都可以找到以“日”“月”二字（合而为“明”）作为上下联内容的“对联”，暗示庙宇与效忠明朝叙事有着密切的联系。槟城香港巷斗母宫一名道士称，对联应念为：“日月精华龙里羡(现)，月朋浪荡定乾坤”。[81] 尽管类似的对联通常见于东南亚的九皇庙宇中，但一些新加坡和中国供奉其他神明的华人庙宇也会使用类似的对联。[82]



◀
The “sun 日” and “moon 月” couplets in the Ampang Nan Tian Gong, 2019.

安邦南天宫大殿前的日月对联。

[81] 王琛发，〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉。

[82] 金太宫，〈金太宫农历六月二十三日 – 恭送玉皇上帝回銮part 7〉，Facebook，2018年8月19日，https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.2056048897739596，2021年8月9日读取；请看 Vincent Goossaert, “Ritual Techniques for Creating a Divine Persona in Late Imperial China: The Case of Daoist Law Enforcer Lord Wang,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 50:1 (2022): 页 45-76。



The "sun 日" and "moon 月" couplets in the Bin Cheng Tou Tiao Lu Dou Mu Gong.

槟城头条路斗母宫神龛两旁的日月对联。

In Singapore, three temples display these couplets on their premises: Hougang Tou Mu Kung (whose copy was donated to the temple by Wan Zhigao in 1925), Tao Bu Keng Temple in Choa Chu Kang, and Shin Sen Keng. Other temples in Malaysia also possessed a pair of this couplets within their grounds, such as the entrance of the Taiping Gu Wu Miao Dou Lao Gong and the Bin Cheng Tou Tiao Lu Dou Mu Gong (1902), where these were presented to the temple by a devotee named Yang Wengong from Krabi, as well as the Pak Tiam Keong in Malacca.[84]

Scholars have noted that the first four characters on both lines of the couplet play on the character "Ming", and suggested they represented the close association of the Nine Emperor Gods temples and festivals with anti-Qing and Ming loyalist sentiments and iconography. Nevertheless, as Ong noted, this couplet has different renditions and interpretations.[85] Furthermore, the characters were alternative renditions of the original characters intended to deflect attention from the rebellion it was connected with. As a reporter noted, his deciphering of the meaning behind this couplet provides interesting linkages between the anti-Qing rebellions, Dou Mu worship, the Heaven and Earth Society, the Hong society, and the Green Lotus Sect (which later branch into a host of syncretic religious movements such as Great Way of Former Heaven, Yi Guan Dao and Tong Shan She), as well as the perceived role of the Chinese overseas in these rebellions against the Qing. It also demonstrated how the Nine Emperor Gods' temples and worship were influenced by the broader circulation of ideas, people, and memories between China and Southeast Asia, connected to these movements, if not their members. [86]

Ong also points out how referred to a place in Guizhou where the leader of the whole rebellion, He Liao Ku (alias He Shi Yi), lived. Long Li Xian was, in turn, a call for the Heaven and Earth Society members and the Green Lotus Sect to gather at this place. It was also where the call to arms was issued. This leader also claimed to be an incarnation of Dou Mu or had become one with Dou Mu through his cultivation and training. Even if he died, he would become an immortal.[87] Furthermore, the association of Dou Mu with this couplet and call to arms was also evident in her imagery, with her holding the sun and moon in her outstretched hands. Furthermore, the second phrase, which translates to "the wanderings of the moon and waves determine the fate of the universe" can also be read as an exhortation to friends and allies overseas to prepare for action to carry the day.[88]

[84] 徐李颖.九皇圣迹, 30-31; "拜访太平九皇大帝庙宇交流", in 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫纪念特刊 (麻坡: 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫, 2004) ; 槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊 (槟城: 槟城头条路斗母宫, 2008), 16.

[85] 王琛发, "国殇"; 徐李颖.九皇圣迹, 30-31。

[86] 潘有文, "话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) "反清复明"关系最密切传说信仰结合为一", October 1, 2016, last accessed September 5, 2021, https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3; 王琛发, "国殇".

[87] Ter Haar, "Messianism and the Heaven and Earth Society," 164; 刘小萌, "清代民间的'反清复明'活动与'明室宗裔'旗号," 民族研究 6 (2017): 105-109.

[88] 潘有文: 〈话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) "反清复明"关系最密切传说信仰结合为一〉、2016年10月1日, https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3、2021年5月9日读取; 王琛发, "国殇".



The “sun 日” and “moon 月” couplets at the entrance to Tao Bu Keng in Chua Chu Kang.

蔡厝港斗母宫大殿门前的日月对联。



The “sun 日” and “moon 月” couplets at the altar of Hougang Tow Mu Kung.

后港斗母宫神龛前的日月对联。

在新加坡，有三座庙宇拥有这样的对联，分别是：后港斗母宫（对联是1925年由万志高捐赠）、神仙宫和蔡厝港斗母宫。马来西亚的其他庙宇也有此类对联，比如太平古武庙斗姥宫的入口处和槟城头条路斗母宫（1902年）（对联由来自甲米的信徒杨文恭捐赠），以及马六甲北添宫。[83]

学者们指出，这副对联上联和下联的前四个字分别组成“明”字，这表明了东南亚地区的九皇大帝庙宇和九皇胜会与反清复明意识形态和象征密切相关。[84] 但是，正如王琛发所指出的，对联有不同的版本和解释。此外，以对联中的字代替原字，旨在避免发现庙宇与反叛之间的潜在联系。正如一位记者所指出的，他对这副对联的解读，反映了反清复明起义、斗母崇拜、天地会、洪门、青莲教（后来分支为先天道、一贯道、同善社及其他支派）之间的有趣联系，以及海外华人在这些反清起义中的所扮演的角色。这也表明了九皇庙宇和崇拜如何受到在中国和东南亚之间流通的思想、人和记忆的影响，且与上述活动或其成员相关。[85]

王琛发还指出，龙里实际上指的是贵州的一个地方，那里是起义首领何了苦(别名何十一)的居住地。 “龙里现”则是号召天地会和青莲教成员到龙里集合的号令。这名首领也自称是斗母的化身，或声称自己是经过修炼与斗母合一。即使他死了，他也会成为一个仙人。此外，斗母与这首对联和号令的联系也表现在她的形象上，她举起的双手中各执日和月。[86] 此外，“月朋浪荡定乾坤“这个联句也可以解读为对海外友人和盟友的召唤，准备采取行动取得胜利。[87]

[83] 徐李颖：《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》，新加坡： 后港斗母宫，2006年，页30-31。〈拜访太平九皇大帝庙宇交流〉，《柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫纪念特刊》 （麻坡：柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫， 2004年）；《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》， 槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008年，页16。

[84] 王琛发，〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉； 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》，页30-31。

[85] 潘有文，〈话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) “反清复明”关系最密切传说信仰结合为一〉，2016年10月1日，https://cnnews.somenews.space/showArticle?main_id=afce574332b0a73e7d6bf9b336c0d4d3， 2021年5月9日读取：王琛发，〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉。

[86] Ter Haar, “Messianism and the Heaven and Earth Society,” 页 164; 刘小萌： 〈清代民间的 “反清复明” 活动与 “明室宗裔” 旗号 〉，《民族研究 》, 2017年，第6期，页105-109。

[87] 潘有文，〈话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) “反清复明”关系最密切传说信仰结合为一〉；王琛发，〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉。

This combination could have important influences on the organization of Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. It was also observed that many rebel groups (said to be 108) in China would have consisted of members from the Heaven and Earth Society and the Green Lotus Sect. With the suppression of such groups and the flight of many of their members to Southeast Asia, this collaboration and combination could have influenced the formation of similar associations in the region. They would have used the Heaven and Earth Society model to organize their new associations, pledging loyalty to Heaven and Earth. At the same time, their religious beliefs and rituals would be based on the Green Lotus Sect (or the Eight Trigrams Sect).[89] These linkages could have helped explain the altars for Dou Mu and the Nine Emperor Gods on the premises of many vegetarian halls in Southeast Asia, many of which were related to the Great Way of Former Heaven (one of the offshoots of the Green Lotus Sect). It also helped to explain the possible influences of the Heaven and Earth Society and the Green Lotus Sect on the rituals and material culture surrounding the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia.

Another version of the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival collected in Thailand highlighted how the ritual structure of the festival in Southeast Asia came to be influenced by anti-Qing and Ming loyalist and restorationist symbols and practices. With the Qing occupation of Beijing, Ming court officials and the loyalists launched religions everywhere. They had used religion as a cover, to organize meetings to plan these rebellions. As the Qing state expanded and consolidated its power through its realm, many of these former officials and loyalists fled to Southeast Asia. They would hold meetings and gatherings during religious events and festivals. Every Chong Yang festival, they would wear white and eat vegetarian to worship and remember the Nine Emperors of the Ming dynasty. The wearing of white was meant to mourn for the Ming emperors. They would also chant the Scripture of the Sun and Scripture of the Moon respectively, where sun and moon in the two characters yang and yin, forming a symbolic connection to the character Ming. Furthermore, the first sentence in the Scripture of the Sun, namely "Tai Yang Ming Ming Zhu Guang Fo", contained implicit references to the Ming Dynasty and to the imperial family name, Zhu. At the same time, Buddha's light was phonetically close to "restoration" (guangfu).[90]

[89] 潘有文, "话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) "反清复明"关系最密切传说信仰结合为一";; 王琛发, "国殇".

[90] 班农拉姆盖, "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究";; 高伟浓, "华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说," 东南亚纵横3 (2002): 96.

这种结合可能对东南亚华人社团的组织产生重大影响。据观察，中国的许多起义团体（据说总共有108个）都有来自天地会和青莲教的成员。由于这类组织受到镇压，许多成员逃往东南亚，可能影响到该区域类似组织的形成。他们效仿天地会组织新团体，宣誓效忠于天地父母，而他们的宗教信仰和仪式则以青莲教（或八卦教）为基础。[88] 这些联系可以进一步解释东南亚许多斋堂里都设有斗母和九皇神坛的现象，其中许多与先天大道（青莲教的分支之一）有关，同时还有助于解释天地会和青莲教对东南亚九皇崇拜和九皇胜会的仪式和物质文化可能产生的影响

在泰国所收集到的九皇胜会起源的另一个版本强调了该节日在东南亚的仪式结构受到反清复明象征和实践的影响。随着清军占领京师（今北京），明朝遗臣和效忠者在四处起义。他们利用宗教作为掩护，组织和召开会议策划这些“起义聚会”。随着清朝逐渐扩展为全国政权并巩固权力，许多这些遗臣和效忠者逃到了东南亚。他们将会议和集会安排在宗教活动和节日中。每逢重阳节，他们会穿上白衣且茹素，藉以祭拜和悼念明朝的九位皇帝，穿白衣是“对明代各皇帝‘戴孝’ “。他们还会诵《太阳经》和《太阴经》，其中“阳”和“阴”两个字中的“日”和“月”组成了“明”字。此外，《太阳经》的第一句话，即“太阳明明珠光佛”，包含了对明朝（明）和皇室姓氏朱（珠）的隐喻，而“光佛”与“光复”在发音上非常接近。[89]

[88] 潘有文,〈话说九皇爷诞(第二篇) “反清复明”关系最密切传说信仰结合为一〉；王琛发,〈国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识〉。

[89] 班依·拉姆盖.：〈泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究〉，博士论文，北京外国语大学， 2016 年; 高伟浓.： 〈华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说〉，《东南亚纵横》，第21期，2002年，页96。The Chinese renditions of the Nine Emperor Gods could signify both the singular or the plural. “九皇大帝“ 与“九皇”可表示单数或复数。

The Last Rulers and Regents of the Ming Dynasty

Among the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Nine Emperor Gods, in the singular rendition as *Jiu Huang Da Di* or *Jiu Huang* , are also remembered as the last emperor of the Ming dynasty, or more specifically, one of the emperors of the Southern Ming dynasty.[91] A version of this remembrance of the Nine Emperor Gods recorded in Thailand had associated him with the ninth prince, who was involved in a meeting of anti-Qing Ming loyalists in a mountain city in Fujian. The loyalists working to restore the Ming dynasty had arranged a meeting in this city to coincide with Deng Gao "to ascend to a summit" of the Chong Yang festival, with the tradition of climbing mountains and holding social gatherings in high places. However, the Qing court found out about their plans, and the ninth prince, one of the leaders of this gathering, decided to sacrifice his life to protect the city's inhabitants. The inhabitants then mourned this ninth prince by organizing a funeral and setting up altars to perform chants for salvation, as typical of funerary practices. The city's inhabitants ate vegetarian food and wore white clothes for funerary rituals. The festival lasted for nine days and nine nights. When the Qing soldiers entered the city to investigate, the inhabitants unanimously told them they were attending a religious festival. They then withdrew to avoid disrupting a community festival. From then on, the inhabitants of this mountain city would observe the festival in memory of the prince.[92]

In Singapore, this tradition of remembering the Nine Emperor Gods as the last Ming emperor can be seen in Shin Sen Keng. He was believed to have travelled throughout China to marshal troops to restore his fallen dynasty against the Qing forces. During his sojourn in different parts of China, he was assisted by beggars and pirates. When he was in trouble, he disguised himself as a beggar and wandered among them. He fled to the Shaolin Temple, later burnt to the ground.[93] After Manchu forces captured his brothers, the emperor fled China by ship, but he died *en route* and was buried at sea.

This remembrance of the Nine Emperor Gods as the last Ming emperor is also found in other temples in Southeast Asia. The identity of the emperor remains a secret. Li Fengmao, in particular, believes that the emperor would be Prince Lu, who was named "Ninth Lord".[94] Besides Prince Lu, there were at least four possible candidates from among Ming royalty, and a fifth in the form of the Ming loyalist-cum-pirate Zheng Chenggong, who received the royal surname *Zhu* and a royal title. With the suicide of the Chongzhen Emperor (1611-1644 CE, reigned 1627-1644 CE), and the subsequent Qing takeover of the capital of Beijing in 1644 CE, Ming royals fled to the south and overseas, where at least three separate Southern Ming states were founded (1644-1662 CE) under various rulers: Hongguang Emperor (reigned 1644-1645); Longwu Emperor, alias Prince Tang (1645-1646 CE) and Yongli, alias Prince of Yongming (1647-1662 CE).[95] Their capitals were all in the frontier regions of China, from Fuzhou and Guangdong on the southern coasts to Nanning and Yunnan in the mountainous southern regions. The access of these areas to the maritime and overland routes to different parts of Southeast Asia also intersected with the histories of migration and circulation between these regions in China and the Nanyang.[96]

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[91] The Chinese renditions of the Nine Emperor Gods could signify both the singular or the plural.

[92] 班农拉姆盖,"泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究".

[93] This seems to be a trope that was drawn from the Xilu Narrative, as discussed in an earlier section.

[94] 李, 从圣教到道教, 245-246.

[95] To the best of our knowledge, no potential relationship with this ruler had been identified vis-à-vis accounts of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia.

[96] Lynn A. Struve, "The Southern Ming, 1644–1662," in *The Cambridge History of China*, *Volume 7*, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 665.

明朝末代帝王

在东南亚华人社群中，九皇大帝（或九皇）也被铭记为明朝末代皇帝，或更具体地说，是南明其中一位皇帝。[90] 泰国田野记载其中有个说法，指说九皇与明末九皇子有关。他曾在福建的一个山城参加反清复明集会。重阳节有登山举行聚会的传统，忠于明朝的义士想利用重阳节的登高活动，在节日的掩护下举行大会。不料，清廷知道了他们的计划，集会领袖之一的九皇子决定牺牲自己来保护全城百姓。随后，市民"立即为九皇子设灵吊祭， 建立法坛诵经普渡， 举行宗教仪式大典"。为了哀悼这位皇子，城里百姓都茹素并穿上白色衣服，持续了九天九夜。当清军入城调查时，城里百姓一致告诉清军他们正在举行宗教节日。清军随后撤退，以免干扰社区节日。从此以后，这座山城的百姓每年都会举行九皇会纪念这位九皇子。[91]

在新加坡，这种将九皇视为明朝最后一位皇帝的传统可以在神仙宫中看到。据传，这位皇帝曾在中国各地奔波，招募军队，以抗击清军并兴复明朝。在此期间，他得到乞丐和海盗的协助。当他陷入困境时，他便伪装成乞丐，以此作为掩护。他曾逃到少林寺，但少林寺后来被烧毁了。[92] 在他的兄弟们被清军俘虏后，这位皇帝乘船逃离中国，但在途中去世去并葬身大海。

在东南亚其他庙宇中，也可以发现将九皇大帝作为明朝末代皇帝的传统。这位皇帝的身份至今仍是个谜。李丰楙认为，"九皇大帝" 可能是"九王爷"鲁王。[93] 除了鲁王之外，至少还有四位明朝宗室可被视为明朝最后一任皇帝的。此外，被赐国姓"朱"的"国姓爷"——明朝忠臣兼海盗郑成功，在某些情况下也被认为是九皇大帝。崇祯帝自杀后（1611-1644年在位，统治期间为1627-1644年），清朝在1644年攻占京师，明朝宗室逃往南方和海外，至少成立了三个独立的南明政权（1644-1662年），由不同的皇帝统治：弘光帝（1644-1645年在位）、隆武帝（即唐王，1645-1646年在位）和永历帝（即永明王，1647-1662年在位）。[94] 他们定都在中国的边疆地区，从南部沿海的福州和广东到南部山区的南宁和云南。这些地区通往东南亚不同地区的海路和陆路交通与这些地区下南洋的移民的流通历史交织在一起。[95]

[90] "九皇大帝" 与"九皇"可表示单数或复数。

[91] 班农拉姆盖, "泰国华侨华人本头公信仰研究,"; 高伟浓, "华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说," 东南亚纵横3 (2002): 页 96。

[92] 这说法可能源于前面讨论过的《西鲁序》。

[93] 李丰楙, 《从圣教到道教》, 页245-246。

[94] 据我们所知，在东南亚关于九皇胜会的记载中，没有发现与这位统治者的潜在关系。

[95] Lynn A. Struve, "The Southern Ming, 1644–1662," in *The Cambridge History of China*, *Volume 7*, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 页 665。

The manifestation of the Nine Emperor Gods as the last Ming emperor embodied the importance of the Ming in articulating Chinese identities in Southeast Asia. The Qing conquest of China saw a flow of refugees to different parts of mainland and island Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia remained an important refuge for later Ming loyalists and other rebels in Qing China or for religious groups mixed with them. In many ways, these flows help to explain the significance of anti-Qing tropes and sentiments in the cultural life of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, including the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. As such, the donning of white garments and consuming vegetarian food constituted an expression of anti-Qing sentiment through mourning for the death of Prince Lu and the Ming dynasty, with the participants still seeing themselves as Ming subjects under Qing rule.

Given that several princes might have claimed the title of the last emperor of the Ming dynasty, it is useful to survey them in rough chronological order. Li Qingnian argued that the "Nine Emperor God" remembered by the Chinese in Southeast Asia was Zhu Yujian, the prince of Tang who established himself as the Longwu Emperor (1602-1646 CE) in Fuzhou, after the fall of Nanjing to Qing forces. Fujian, he argued, was an important place of origin for worshipping the Nine Emperor God(s) in Southeast Asia. Drawing from official histories, secondary retellings and his analysis, Li also argued that the Longwu emperor's lifestyle and beliefs were consistent with many practices that can be observed in today's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Thus, devotees observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today adhere to a vegetarian diet and wore white apparel because the Longwu emperor followed a frugal lifestyle, where he only wore loose white clothing and abstained from meat and alcohol due to his concern for the state of the country. However, since white also doubled as a signifier of mourning, "many commoners also dressed in white to express their grief. Thus, while every worshipper of the Nine Emperor God is dressed in white, some also cover their heads with white cloth, imitating funeral mourning garments".[97]

Zhu Yujian was decapitated after his capture in Fujian by advancing Qing forces. This account was described in several dynastic histories. The *History of the Ming* recorded that "Yujian met his end in Fuzhou". In contrast, the Veritable Records of the Qing stated that "Zhu Yujian and his entourage were captured and executed in Tingzhou".[98] Li also suggested that the Nine Emperor God(s) in Southeast Asia was never represented in the form of an image because Zhu was beheaded after his capture by Qing forces.[99] In the place of an image, a censer was used, for "once incense was planted into the censer, it serves the function of summoning deities and spirits; once complete, it was necessary to send the deities away from a dragon boat".[100] Furthermore, the white dress and headcloth worn by the devotees were not only an emulation of his frugality for the country also signified their grief and mourning in remembrance of the emperor.[101]

Other scholars, such as Cheu Hock Tong and Li Fengmao, have also noted how Prince Lu, Zhu Yihai was regarded as the Nine Emperor God remembered in Southeast Asia.[102] He was recognized as Regent but never declared himself an emperor. Prince Lu's base shifted southwards through several provinces in maritime southern China, namely Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong. Towards the end of his life, Prince Lu sought refuge with Zheng Chenggong in the islands of Xiamen and Jinmen after Qing forces had invaded the province of Zhejiang.[103] The exact relationship shared between Prince Lu and Zheng was ambiguous. While Zheng was said to have treated Prince Lu with respect due to his princely status, Zheng did not give him a place of prominence in his leadership apparatus.

[97] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇: 九皇爷考证," 炎帝文化 6 (2006): 53。

[98] 张廷玉 (1672-1755 CE), sup., "列传第六: 诸王三," section 24, in 明史, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=98130.

[99] Yet, other historical heroes who were beheaded were deified with images, such as Guan Sheng Di Jun.

[100] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇", 54.

[101] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇", 53.

[102] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia."; 李, 从圣教到道教, 245-246.

[103] Struve, "The Southern Ming," 641-725.

九皇大帝是明朝末代皇帝的传说，体现了明朝在东南亚华人身份认同中的重要性。清朝征服中国后，大批难民涌入东南亚各地，东南亚成为明朝忠臣、反叛分子，或与他们混在一起的宗教团体的重要避难所。在许多方面，这些人员的流动有助于解释反清思潮和情绪在东南亚华人文化生活（包括九皇胜会）中的意义。通过披上白衣和茹素来悼念鲁王和明朝的灭亡反映了参与者的反清情绪，他们仍将自己视为清朝统治下的明朝臣民。

关于谁是明朝末代皇帝有不同的说法，在此按照大致的时间顺序梳理这些人物与九皇信仰的关系。李庆年认为，华人在东南亚所纪念的“九皇爷”是隆武皇帝唐王朱聿键（公元1602-1646年），南京沦陷后，隆武帝在福州自立为帝。福建是东南亚九皇大帝崇拜的重要发源地。根据官方史料、二手文献和分析，李庆年认为，隆武帝的生活方式和信仰与今天见到的九皇胜会的许多习俗是一致的。隆武帝因为忧虑国家多难，所以过着俭朴的生活，只穿宽松的白色衣服，不吃肉也不饮酒。所以如今庆祝九皇胜会的信徒们都效仿他，茹素持斋，穿着白色服装。不过，白色在中国传统文化中也与丧事有关。因此，“百姓必然有人为之披白戴素致哀，因此九皇爷信徒无不穿白着素，有些还头缠白布，更像是祭奠的装束了”。[96]

清朝攻入福建时，朱聿键被俘，后被斩首。有几部史书记载了这一事件。例如，《明史》（成书于约公元1739年）载：“聿键死于福州”；《清实录》云：“擒斩伪唐王朱聿剑等于汀州”。[97]李庆年推论道，东南亚的九皇大帝从未以具体形象出现，因为朱聿键被清军俘虏后被斩首了。[98] 取代神像的是香炉，因为”香与插上香的炉, 都有引领神魂的作用; 完成后又必须将之用纸扎龙舟送走”。[99]此外，信徒们所穿的白色衣物和头巾，不仅是模仿朱聿键为国家而实行的简朴生活，也象征着他们对皇帝逝去的悲痛和追悼之情。[100]

其他学者，如周福堂和李丰楙，也指出监国鲁王朱以海在东南亚被认为是九皇大帝原身。[101] 鲁王在绍兴监国，从未称帝，他的权力基础主要在中国南方沿海省份，即浙江、福建和广东一带。在清军入侵浙江之后，鲁王赴厦门和金门地区寻求郑成功的庇护。[102] 关于鲁王和郑成功的确切关系众说纷纭。一说郑成功以鲁王为明朝宗室礼待颇恭，但郑成功并没有在自己的领导机构中给鲁王一个突出的位置。

[96] 李庆年：〈东南亚华人的独特神祇 – 九皇爷考证〉，《炎黄文化》，第六期，2006年6月，页53。

[97] 张廷玉（公元1672-1755年）编，《列传第六：诸王三　》，第24节，《明史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=98130.

[98] 也有被斩首的历史英雄有设神像供奉，例如关圣帝君。

[99] 李庆年，〈东南亚华人的独特神祇 – 九皇爷考证〉，《炎黄文化》，第六期，2006年6月，页54。

[100] 李庆年，〈东南亚华人的独特神祇 – 九皇爷考证〉，《炎黄文化》，第六期，2006年6月，页53。

[101] Cheu, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia.”; 李丰楙,《从圣教到道教》, 页245-246。

[102] Struve, “The Southern Ming,” 页 641-725。

In 1979, an extensive article by Zhu Fei was published in the *Nanyang Siang Pau* newspaper, which sought to explain why the Nine Emperor Gods in Singapore was the Ninth Royal Lord, Prince Lu. He claimed that Prince Lu was the ninth-generation descendant of the ninth son of the first Ming Emperor. Hence, he was known in popular tradition as the Ninth Royal Lord. Elsewhere, he was said to be the ninth-generation descendant of the tenth son of the first Ming emperor.[104] Prince Lu had brought his anti-Qing followers southwards via the sea, hoping to join up with Zheng Chenggong, but Zheng not only refused to treat him with propriety and had him drowned". [105] His followers were shocked by Zheng Chenggong's actions and took to Southeast Asia, where they established temples honouring the Ninth Royal Lord as the Nine Emperor God.[106] The inhabitants of Fujian thus worshipped Prince Lu for his "efforts to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and restore the Ming". He was represented in Nine Emperor Gods temples using a spirit tablet rather than an image or portrait due to the absence of any such depiction of him, and his body was submerged in the ocean". At the temple where Zhu Fei observed the festival, the Ninth Lord will also appear as an incense censer floating in from the sea on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month when the temple's congregation would gather by the seaside to receive the deity. [107]

While the Longwu Emperor and the Regent Prince Lu were identified as the possible identities of the last Ming emperor remembered as the Nine Emperor Gods in Singapore and Southeast Asia, another Southern Ming Emperor, Yongli (1623-1662 CE), despite his relatively longer reign among the different Southern Ming emperors and regents, was never explicitly mentioned as such. In his fieldwork on Penang island, Cheu Hock Tong encountered a tradition which roughly corresponded with the Yongli Emperor's journey through southeastern and southwestern China and to Southeast Asia via the overland route as he resisted and fled from the Qing advance. However, the emperor was not numbered the Nine Emperor Gods. In this account, "the last prince of the Ming dynasty" was helped by nine brothers from a fishing village in Fujian, who were said to have helped the prince escape by escorting him from Fujian to Songkhla on the coast of southern Thailand via Yunnan.[108] They were guided by nine northern stars. Upon reaching Songkhla, the stars "gradually dwindled and disappeared", along with the "nine divine brothers" and the prince.[109] Shortly after, nine censers "were found floating in the sea near Songkhla". In other versions of the same account, the censers were found near Phuket. These censers were "believed to be the revelations of the Nine divine brothers who had since ascended to the southern heaven". However, they will visit the Chinese communities in the Nanyang during their "annual tour" of the area. This was also used to explain the importance of censers in the welcoming and sending-off ceremonies in Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia, as the "vehicles of the Nine Emperor Gods' spirits".[110]

Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) (1624-1662)

Another important figure associated with worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods is Zheng Chenggong. His father, Zheng Zhilong, was a prominent trader and pirate leader on the Fujian coast who first worked closely with the Dutch East India Company in Taiwan in raiding the waters off southern China but later came to terms with the Ming state, which "purchased his fleet's services to patrol the regional coastline, clearing it of pirates" in 1628. The elder Zheng and his brothers supported the Hongguang and Lungwu emperors and their courts, receiving titles and obtaining favourable appointments for his kin and followers, even having his eldest son adopted by the Lungwu emperor. This child was given a new name, Chenggong, and the imperial surname Zhu.[111] Nonetheless, he responded positively to the new Qing state's overtures but failed to convince his son Zheng Chenggong to do the same. The latter continued the war against Qing forces, first from his initial base in Xiamen, to which he gave the name ("Prefecture in Memory of the Ming"), and later to Taiwan, after driving the Dutch Company from the island in 1661. He pledged allegiance to the Longwu and Yongli emperors and resisted the Qing through piracy and trade. He was granted the surname of the imperial family by the former, coming to use the title of Koxinga. He even established the kingdom of Dongnin in Taiwan, although he died soon after.[112]

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[104] 朱飞, "九王爷," 南洋商报, May 28, 1979, 19; Richard C. Rudolph, "The Real Tomb of the Ming Regent, Prince of Lu," *Monumenta Serica* 29 (1970): 487.

[105] See Cheu Hock Tong, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong, (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993); 张廷玉, "列传第四:诸王," section 46, in 明史, Chinese Text Project, accessed May 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=146669; 张廷玉 (1672-1755 CE), sup., 杨家骆, ed., 新校本明史并附编六 , volume 5 (台北: 鼎文书局, 1978), 2627.

[106] 朱飞, "九王爷".

[107] 朱飞, "九王爷". Cheu, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 23. Nevertheless, the receiving ritual Zhu described, presumably for Hougang Tou Mu Kung, seems to be rather different from the ritual at the temple today. He claimed that the temple and its huge congregation went to Punggol or Kangkar by the sea in the early morning (sunrise) of the ninth day, the birthday of the Ninth Royal Lord, to receive and welcome the deity manifesting in the form of an incense censer. The censer was invited into a palanquin and carried to Serangoon Gardens for the invitation of the deity through "fire".

[108] Struve, "The Southern Ming," 708-710.

[109] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 24.

[110] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 24.

[111] Struve, "The Southern Ming," 666-667.

[112] Joseph MacKay, "Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China," *Social Science History* 37:4 (2013): 560-561. Despite his fiery anti-Qing rhetoric, the younger Zheng also negotiated with the Qing on several occasions and came very close to carving a semi-autonomous sphere of maritime influence for himself. This is the subject of a monograph length study by 吴正龙, 郑成功与清政府间的谈判 (台北市: 文津出版社, 2000). See also Cheng Wei-chung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Tonio Andrade, and Xing Hang, *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

1979年，朱飞在《南洋商报》刊登了一篇长文，解释为何新加坡的九皇爷是九皇子鲁王朱以海。他声称鲁王是明朝开国皇帝第九子的第九代后裔。因此，他在民间传说中被称为九王爷。也有说法称他是开国皇帝第十子的第九代后裔。[103] 鲁王曾率众泛海而南与郑成功会合，郑成功不但不礼待九王爷，反而将他沉海致死。鲁王的追随者对郑成功的行为感到震惊，于是他们来到东南亚，建立庙宇以纪念九王爷。[104] 福建人民崇拜鲁王，因为他致力于反清复明。[105] 由于他沉海没有尸首，所以只能在庙里立神位而不是塑立偶像。在朱飞进行观察的庙宇，九月九日信众在海边迎驾时，九皇大帝也会以香炉的形式出现，冉冉浮海而来。[106]

在新加坡和东南亚，隆武帝和监国鲁王都在一些说法中被认为是明朝末代皇帝并被神化为九皇大帝，而另一位南明皇帝永历帝(1623年- 1662年)，尽管在位时间较长，却从未被明确提及。周福堂在槟城进行田野调查时，听到一则关于九皇大帝起源的叙述，大致与永历皇帝在位的最后几年躲避清军进击，穿越中国东南、西南，最后经由陆路流亡至东南亚的经历相符。但永历皇帝并未被称为九皇大帝。在这个叙述中，明朝最后一代宗室得到了来自福建一个渔村的九个兄弟的帮助， 他们在北斗九星的引导下，护送皇子从福建经云南逃到泰国宋卡。[107] 到了宋卡，星星“逐渐隐去消失”，那九位兄弟和皇子也一起消失了。[108] 不久之后，宋卡附近的海面上发现九个漂浮着的香炉。在同一故事的其他版本中，这些香炉是在普吉岛附近发现的。这些香炉“被认为是已经升天的九位兄弟的显灵”，他们每年都会在出巡期间到访南洋的华人社区 。这也被用来说明新加坡、泰国和马来西亚的迎接和恭送仪式中香炉的重要性，即香炉时“九皇大帝灵魂的载体”。[109]

郑成功 [国姓爷] (1624–1662)

另一个与九皇大帝崇拜有关的重要人物是郑成功。他的父亲郑芝龙是福建沿海著名的商人和海盗头目，最初与台湾的荷兰东印度公司密切合作，突袭中国南部海域，后来接受明廷招抚，任海防游击巡逻海岸线以清除海盗 。郑芝龙有兄弟五人，他作为兄长与其兄弟们奉弘光帝、隆武帝为南明正朔，为他的亲信获得了有利可图的册封和任命，甚至让隆武皇帝收养了他的长子。他的长子不仅获得了一个新名字——成功，还被赐予国姓“朱”。[110] 尽管如此，郑芝龙最终降清，但未能说服儿子郑成功归顺清朝。郑成功继续与清军对抗，最初以厦门为基地，将厦门命名为“思明州”。1661年，郑成功将荷兰东印度公司驱逐出台湾，势力转移至台湾。他通过亦商亦盗的方式抵抗清廷，宣誓效忠隆武帝和永历帝。他曾获隆武帝赐姓“朱”，并获得“国姓爷”的称号。他在台湾建立了东宁王朝，但不久后便去世了。[111]

[103] 朱飞,〈九王爷〉，见《 南洋商报》，1979年5月28日，第 19版 ; Richard C. Rudolph, “The Real Tomb of the Ming Regent, Prince of Lu,” *Monumenta Serica* 29 (1970): 页 487。

[104] 请参阅 Cheu Hock Tong, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong, (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993); 张廷玉，<列传第四：诸王>，卷四十六，见《明史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年5月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=146669; 张廷玉 等撰，杨家骆主编，《新校本明史并附编六 》，第5册（台北：鼎文书局，1978），页 2627。

[105] 朱飞,〈九王爷〉。

[106] 朱飞,〈九王爷〉; Cheu, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 23. 然而，朱飞所描述的后港斗母宫的恭迎仪式似乎与庙宇如今的仪式有很大的不同。他声称，庙宇及信众会在初九清晨（日出时）前往位于海边的榜鹅或港脚，迎接以香炉形式显现的神明，这一天也是九王爷的生日。香炉被邀请到轿子上，并被带到实龙岗花园，通过“揭火”来请神。

[107] Struve, “The Southern Ming,” 页 708-710。

[108] Cheu, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 页 24。

[109] Cheu, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 页 24。

[110] Struve, “The Southern Ming,” 页 666-667。

[111] Joseph MacKay, “Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China,” *Social Science History* 37:4 (2013): 560-561。 尽管郑成功曾有激烈的反清言论，年轻时的郑成功也曾多次与清朝谈判，为自己谋求一个半自治的海上势力范围。关于这一主题的研究专着，请参阅吴正龙,《 郑成功与清政府间的谈判)，台北: 文津出版社, 2000 年。亦请参阅： Cheng Wei-chung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Tonio Andrade, and Xing Hang, *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History, 1550-1700* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016)。

After his death, Zheng Chenggong came to be venerated as a deity in Taiwan and southern China. Several traditions on the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival also sought to explain why Zheng Chenggong was remembered as the Nine Emperor God(s) in Southeast Asia.[113] In two similar narratives, Zheng had to visit Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in Fujian with the help of monks from the Shaolin monastery to marshal troops and coordinate his forces against the Qing dynasty. Since he was a wanted man, his hosts had to shield him from curious eyes with the help of a canopy once he arrived on a boat. He was then escorted into a temple, where he resided in a room that was out-of-bounds to all except those central to Zheng's war plans. This room inspired the establishment of an Inner Chamber in every Nine Emperor Gods temple. It drew upon Dou Mu's iconography, for the sun and moon wielded in her outstretched arms spelt the character "Ming". When Zheng departed, provisions were prepared for him to use on his journey, and this explained why the Nine Emperor Gods' ships had to be loaded with rice and other necessities during the sending-off ceremony.[114] Thus, the festival today also commemorates Zheng Chenggong and his journeys to the Fujian coast to resist the Qing.[115]

Zheng Chenggong embodied important themes in the history of the festival and the collective memory of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia. Besides his status as a Ming loyalist and also as a member of the extended imperial family through the conferment of the imperial surname who established his kingdom to continue the resistance to the Qing, he was an iconic folk hero in the world of maritime China, especially in the southern maritime provinces, through his achievements as a successive pirate leader who was able to galvanize his followers and local communities in the Ming cause. It was not only Zheng Chenggong but also other pirates from this maritime world of southern China and Southeast Asia who also came to be associated with the Nine Emperor Gods among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia.

Pirates and Bandits

Temples and devotees in Southeast Asia also remember the Nine Emperor Gods as nine Robin Hood-like pirates who robbed the rich to aid the poor.[116] In an account from Kuantan, Pahang, the deities were originally nine brothers who lived in maritime China during the Qing dynasty.[117] From time to time, the brothers plundered from "wealthy foreigners" who traded in China and kept what they needed for subsistence before disturbing the rest of their gains to their needy neighbours. However, Qing forces eventually arrested them and "chopped off their heads, one by one, and threw them into the sea".[118] Later, nine incense censers in boxes drifted into the midst of the maritime communities which had benefited from these brothers' deeds from the sea. Since then, "the people took this as a sign that the brothers had become gods" and venerated them in a festival spanning nine days, where devotees came to honour their heroic deeds.[119]

Pirates were ubiquitous in the world of maritime/littoral China. Between the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, they became an increasingly potent force linking up with Japanese pirates and traders as well as Chinese and Southeast Asian mercantile and political elites to organize systematic raiding of the Chinese coasts, especially when the state and its naval or littoral presence were weak.[120] Although they constituted a threat to the lives, property and livelihoods of the inhabitants on these frontiers, successful pirates who were able to lend themselves to patriotic and just causes have also become important heroic figures for these littoral and maritime communities, especially the merchants, peasants, artisans and labourers, as well as the poor, acting as their protectors against other pirates and violent actors in these frontier zones, as well as the state and traditional hierarchies. For the growing Chinese communities in Southeast Asia between the 17th and 19th centuries, most of whom came from maritime southern China and these socio-economic groupings, pirates would enjoy a special status in their collective memories and traditions.

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[113] Despite his resistance against the Qing and support for the southern Ming emperors, the Qing Emperor Kangxi had recognized his achievements and loyalty to the latter. See Ralph C. Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth and the Hero* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1977), 28-49; 高致华, "郑成功信仰研究" (厦门大学博士论文, 2004); Chen Fei, "Loyalist, Patriot, or Colonizer? The Three Faces of Zheng Chenggong in Meiji Japan and Late Qing China," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 12:1 (2018): 26.

[114] 黄瑞桦, "九皇大帝的另则传说," 斗讯 1 (2001): 65-66.

[115] Today, an image of Zheng Chenggong is seated on the main altar of Hougang Dou Mu Gong in Singapore, again reflecting his relationship with the reverence of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia. 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹, 29。

[116] On the historical basis for the semi-legendary Robin Hood, see R. H. Hilton, "The Origins of Robin Hood," *Past & Present* 14 (1958): 30–44. On the concept of "social banditry," see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, new ed. (London: Abacus, 2001), passim; and the critique by Pat O'malley, "Social Bandits, Modern Capitalism and the Traditional Peasantry: A Critique of Hobsbawm," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 6:4 (1979): 489-501.

[117] Kim Edwards, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods," *The North American Review* 275:1 (1990): 5.

[118] The brutality of the punishment in this account echoed actual legal regulations in Qing China, although in most cases the bodies of the executed would be displayed in public as a warning to would-be pirates. See Robert J. Antony, "Bloodthirsty Pirates? Violence and Terror on the South China Sea in Early Modern Times," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16:6 (2012): 493; and "The Suppression of Pirates in South China in the Mid-Qing Period," *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 1:1 (1992): 110-113.

[119] Edwards, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival," 5.

[120] Robert J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003); and *Unruly People: Crime, Community, and State in Late Imperial South China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016); "Aspects of the Socio-political Culture of South China's Water World, 1740-1840," *The Great Circle* 15:2 (1993): 75–90; James Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981).

郑成功过世后在台湾和中国南方被尊为神明。关于九皇胜会起源的几个口述传统解释了郑成功在东南亚被视为九皇大帝的原因。[112] 在两种相似的叙述中，郑成功在少林寺僧人的帮助下，前往福建的漳州和泉州召集军队，共同对抗清朝。由于他是朝廷通缉犯，所以当他一上船，船主必须用凉伞来掩护他，将他护送到一座庙宇。在他的居所，除了他抗清计划中的关键人物之外，闲杂人等不得入内。郑成功这个房间后来演变为九皇庙的内殿，斗母的形象也与此息息相关，因为斗母双手所举的太阳（日）和月亮（月）合在一起意味着“明”。郑成功离开的时候，人们为他的征程准备了粮食，因此在恭送仪式上，九皇船上满载大米和其他必需品。[113] 因此，今天的九皇胜会也是为了纪念郑成功的福建沿海之行。[114]

郑成功在东南亚九皇胜会的历史和集体记忆中是一个重要的主题。他不仅是明朝的忠实拥护者并被赐予国姓，他也建立了自己的王朝，继续抵抗清廷。他是中国尤其是南方沿海省份的民间英雄。他担任海盗领袖的成就，成功地激励了众多追随者和当地社区参与明朝复辟事业。除了郑成功，还有其他来自中国南方和东南亚海洋世界的海盗，也开始与东南亚华人社会中的九皇大帝联系在一起。

海盗与土匪

东南亚一些庙宇和信徒也将九皇大帝视为劫富济贫的海盗。[115] 根据彭亨州关丹的记载，这些神明原来是清朝时居住在中国沿海的九兄弟。[116] 这些兄弟不时地从在中国做生意的“有钱的外国人”手中抢掠，留下他们得以生存的数量，然后把剩下的钱财分给贫苦百姓。然而，最终清军逮捕了他们，并“将他们的头砍下，投入海中”。[117] 后来，有九个装着香炉的盒子漂到九兄弟生前所在的沿海社区中。从那时起，人们相信这意味着九兄弟已成仙，于是在一个为期九天的节日里供奉他们，以此节日纪念他们的英雄事迹。[118]

海盗在中国的海洋和沿海世界无所不在。在元明清时期，他们成为一股日益强大的力量，与日本海盗和商人以及中国和东南亚的商业和政治精英联系在一起，有组织地劫掠中国沿海地区，尤其是在国家及其海军的沿海军力薄弱的时候。[119] 虽然海盗对这些沿海地区百姓的生命、财产和生计构成威胁，但能够为爱国和正义事业奉献的成功海盗也成为了该地区百姓，特别是商人、农民、工匠和劳工以及穷人心目中的英雄人物。他们是这些前沿地区的保护者，对抗其他海盗和暴力行为以及国家和传统的等级制度。在十七世纪到十九世纪之间，东南亚的华人社群越来越多，其中大部分来自中国南部的海域，也来自这些社会经济群体。海盗在他们的集体记忆和传统中享有特殊地位。

[112] 尽管郑成功反对清朝，支持南明政权，但清朝康熙皇帝对他的成就和对南明的忠诚表示认可。请参阅Ralph C. Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth and the Hero* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1977), 页 28-49; 高致华 ,《郑成功信仰研究》，厦门大学博士论文， 2004年 ; Chen Fei, “Loyalist, Patriot, or Colonizer? The Three Faces of Zheng Chenggong in Meiji Japan and Late Qing China,” *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 12:1 (2018): 页 26。

[113] 黄瑞桦,〈九皇大帝的另则传说〉，《斗讯》 第一本 (2001), 页 65-66。

[114] 如今，新加坡后港斗母宫的主坛上供奉着一幅郑成功的画像，再次印证了他与东南亚九皇信仰的关系。徐李颖,《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》，页29。

[115] 关于半传奇英雄罗宾汉（Robin Hood）的历史基础，R. H. Hilton, “The Origins of Robin Hood,” *Past & Present* 14 (1958): 30–44. 关于“社会侠盗（social banditry）”的概念，请参阅 Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, new ed. (London: Abacus, 2001);以及Pat O’malley的评论文章Pat O’malley, “Social Bandits, Modern Capitalism and the Traditional Peasantry: A Critique of Hobsbawm,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 6:4 (1979): 页 489-501。

[116] im Edwards, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods,” *The North American Review* 275:1 (1990): 页 5。

[117] 这种残忍的做法反映了清代中国的实际法律法规，在大多数情况下，被处决者的尸体会被公开示众，以儆效尤。请参阅Robert J. Antony, “Bloodthirsty Pirates? Violence and Terror on the South China Sea in Early Modern Times,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 16:6 (2012): 493; 及 “The Suppression of Pirates in South China in the Mid-Qing Period,” *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 1:1 (1992): 页 110-113。

[118] Edwards, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods,” 页 4-8。

[119] Robert J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*; and *Unruly People: Crime, Community, and State in Late Imperial South China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016); Robert J. Antony, “Aspects of the Socio-political Culture of South China’s Water World, 1740-1840,” *The Great Circle* 15:2 (1993): 75–90; James Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981)。

The belief that the Nine Emperor Gods manifested themselves as pirates who robbed the rich to give to the poor may have been modelled upon the activities of actual pirates who were believed to live up to such noble causes in late Qing China. Besides the case of the Zheng family in the 17th century outlined above, the Fujianese pirate Cai Qian (1761-1809 CE) and his band of pirates had refrained from harming the less well-off during their expeditions, and they only chose to abduct and pillage who were deemed wealthy. In effect, Cai became seen as a defender of the economically marginalised during his time.[121] Robert Antony also came across references to the activities of the pirate Zhang Bao (1783-1822) along the Guangdong and Fujian littorals and seas (especially the former). Zhang imposed a strict code of conduct upon his followers. They were forbidden from harming the communities and traders who supplied them with provisions and equipment or to assault or committing adultery with women captured during their raids. Zhang got his men to "not only treat villagers fairly but pay them to double the market price" for their goods and services.[122]

Besides Zheng Chenggong and Cai Qian, another prominent pirate figure who was an important part of maritime southern China and Southeast Asia folklore would be Lin Daoqian (fl. 16th century CE), who terrorised south-eastern Chinese waters and the Nanyang with the help of *wokou* pirates. Lin was born and raised in the Guangdong and Fujian frontier and organised many pirate attacks with Japanese help. He fled to Taiwan after an expedition led by the Ming general Yu Dayou (1503-1579) was sent after him.[123] Lin later relocated to Patani in southern Thailand and continued to harass traders there. Lin was described as "especially lawless" in the *Verifiable Records of the Ming*.[124] Still, he became a prominent figure in local folklore from different parts of maritime Southeast Asia, achieving heroic status in the eyes of the Chinese and local communities in the region, inspiring both fear and respect.[125]

Another interesting account in Southeast Asia on the festival's origins has pirates as adversaries, namely Japanese pirates. In this narrative, the coastal communities in Fujian started observing the festival after they were saved from the scourge of Japanese pirates ravaging the coast during the Tang dynasty. According to the head of Long Nan Szye temple in Singapore, the Tang emperor was perplexed by the failure to protect the coasts from these pirates. He consulted a prominent monk named Yi Xing, who advised him that they should conduct rituals to propitiate the Northern Dipper deities along the coast to pray for divine assistance. They raised lamps on bamboo poles as part of these rituals. When the Japanese pirates saw the lights along the coasts prepared for the ritual, they were deterred from attacking, believing that huge forces had gathered in anticipation of their attack. They hesitated. They could wait no longer due to the impending change in the weather and wind patterns (usually between August and October) and decided finally to attack. However, they were struck by the storms and hurricanes usually afflicting the waters and coasts of southern China during this period, and their fleets were destroyed. This coincided with the end of the lunar eighth lunar month. Out of gratitude, the communities on the coast commemorated this event annually at this time of year by paying respects and giving thanks to the Nine Emperor Gods (as the nine star deities of the Northern Dippers). They lit lamps raised on bamboo poles during the festival. The use of bamboo was also significant, as many inhabitants had hidden in bamboo forests from the pirates during their attacks. For this festival, they wore white to mourn their family members and relatives who had died during the pirate attacks.

Furthermore, for the poor and marginalized in these littoral and maritime communities, violence and organised crime, such as robbery, theft, and kidnapping, were not only dangers they had to live with, but also provided extra-legal avenues for negotiating these economic pressures and righting social wrongs by force.[126] As several late-imperial Chinese contemporaries and present-day scholars have rightfully noted, economically or politically marginalised communities who lived on the brink of subsistence had to turn to petty forms of piracy to survive. Fishermen, for example, were the "most oppressed group", forced to bribe various levels of the Chinese bureaucracy to obtain their licenses. They readily "oscillated between illegitimate and legitimate work or even carried on both activities simultaneously".[127] For these communities, some of these criminal figures could become folk heroes protecting them from oppression by other powerful groups in society or various disasters.

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[121] 叶志如, "试论蔡牵集团的成分起反清斗争势志?" (paper presented at 60th Anniversary of the First Historical Archives, Beijing中国第一历史档案馆, 1985), cited in Robert J. Antony, "Peasants, Heroes, and Brigands: The Problems of Social Banditry in Early Nineteenth-Century South China," *Modern China* 15:2 (1989): 123–48. For a less flattering account of Cai Qian's life and activities, see 杨国桢 and 张雅娟, "海盗与海洋社会权力—以19世纪初'大海盗'蔡牵为中心的考察," 云南师范大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) 3:43 (2011): 1-8。

[122] Antony, "Peasants, Heroes, and Brigands," 137.

[123] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇", 53. For context, see G.威廉·史金纳, "古代的退罗华侨," 南洋问题资料译丛2(1962): ; and Xu Ke, "Piracy, Seaborne Trade and the Rivalries of Foreign Sea Powers in Southeast Asia, 1511 to 1839: A Chinese Perspective," in *Piracy, Maritime Terrorism and Securing the Malacca Straits*, ed. Graham Gerard Ong-Webb (Leiden, The Netherlands : International Institute for Asian Studies, Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006), 236.

[124] "中央研究院历史语言研究所:汉籍电子文献史/编年/明实录/穆宗/卷十六/隆庆二年正月/28日(P.451)," in 明实录, Institute of History and Linguistics, Academia Sinica: Chinese Electronic Documents, accessed June 1, 2022, http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mqlc/hanji_book?1^80481781^0211001^DD125MSL0093000451. Also see Geoff Wade, comp. and trans., "Long-qing: Year 3, Month 7, Day 23 3 Sep 1569," Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu, accessed June 1, 2022, https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/long-qing/year-3-month-7-day-23.

[125] Claudine Salmon, Ming Loyalists in Southeast Asia: As Perceived through Various Asian and European Records (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014); Mary F. Somers Heidhues, *Chinese Presence in Malay-Indonesian Narratives: Founders and Heroes or Merchants and Wife-Givers?* (Hamburg: Hamburger Sudostasienstudien, 2011).

[126] Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*; *Unruly People*.

[127] Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 99. Also Dian Murray, *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790-1810* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press,1987), 14-19, 23-26, 263 and 165.

有关九皇大帝劫富济贫的传说，可能以某个真实的海盗为原型。除了上述十七世纪郑氏家族的例子外，福建海盗蔡牵（公元1761年-1809年）及其海盗团伙在进行劫掠时，都避免伤害贫寒人家，只绑架和掠夺富裕的人。实际上，蔡牵在那个时代就被视为弱势群体的捍卫者。[120] 安乐博（Robert Antony）还提到了海盗张保仔（公元1783年-1822年）在广东和福建沿海和海域（尤其是前者）的活动。张保仔要求他的随从遵循严格的行为准则，不能伤害向他们提供物品和设备的社区和商人，不得殴打或奸淫被掳获的妇女。张保仔让手下“不仅要公平对待村民，还要按市场价格的两倍支付他们的商品和服务费”。[121]

除了郑成功和蔡牵之外，在中国南部海岸和东南亚的民间传说中另一个著名的海盗人物是林道干（活跃于16世纪）。他在倭寇的协助下，在中国东南沿海和南洋一带进行海上劫掠活动。林道干在广东和福建边境出生和长大，在日本的帮助下组织了多次海盗袭击。后来他为明朝都督俞大猷（1503-1579年）所败，逃往台湾。[122] 林道干后来定居泰国南部的北大年，继续从事海盗活动。《明实录》称其为“尤肆猖獗”。[123] 但在东南亚不同海域的民间传说中，他的形象却是当地社区和华人眼中的民间英雄，让人又惧又敬。[124]

在另一个来自东南亚有关九皇胜会起源的故事中，福建沿海社区在唐代被日本倭寇劫掠后，便开始庆祝九皇胜会。据新加坡龙南寺主持的叙述，唐朝皇帝因无法保护海岸免受海盗侵扰感到困惑，于是请教著名高僧一行，一行建议皇帝在海岸一带举行祭祀仪式，祈求北斗星君的护佑。为举行仪式，人们用竹竿竖起灯笼。日本倭寇看到海岸上为仪式做准备的灯火，深信对手已经集结了巨大的力量来迎接他们的袭击。由于天气和风向即将改变（通常在8月至10月之间），他们犹豫不决，最终认为无法再等了，决定发动攻击。然而，他们正好遇上在这个时期通常困扰中国南部水域和海岸地区的风暴和飓风，全军覆没。这恰逢农历八月底，出于感激，海岸上的社区每年这个时候都会举行纪念活动，向九皇大帝（北斗星的九位星君）表示敬意和感谢。他们在节日期间将灯盏挂在竹竿上。竹子的使用也具有重要意义，因为许多居民在海盗袭击期间躲在竹林中。在这个节日里，他们还穿着白色，以哀悼在海盗袭击中丧生的家人和亲戚。

此外，对于这些沿海社区中的贫困和弱势群体而言，暴力和有组织的罪行，如抢劫、盗窃和绑架，虽然对他们的生命与生活造成威胁，但也为他们提供了通过武力对抗这些经济压力和纠正社会不公的法外途径。[125] 正如几位中华帝国晚期及当代学者所指出的，这些社群，经常因为生活艰难，不得不求助于小规模的海盗活动来生存。比如，渔民经常是“受压迫最严重的群体”，他们被迫贿赂中国各级官僚机构以获取许可证，并“在非法和合法工作之间徘徊，甚至同时从事这两种工作”。[126] 对这些社群而言，有些海盗、强盗或其他在法律边缘的人物也可成为民间英雄保护社区，救济民众，受到爱戴和崇拜。

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[120] 叶志如，<试析蔡牵集团的成份及其反清斗争实质>，论文发表于中国第一历史档案馆建馆六十周年庆祝活动暨明清档案和历史研究学术讨论会，1985年，转引自Robert J. Antony, “Peasants, Heroes, and Brigands: The Problems of Social Banditry in Early Nineteenth-Century South China,” *Modern China* 15:2 (1989): 页 123–48. 对于蔡牵的活动相对负面的评价，请参阅杨国桢、张雅娟，<海盗与海洋社会权力——以19世纪初“大海盗”蔡牵为中心的考察>，《云南师范大学（哲学社会科学版）》，2011年第3期，页1-8。

[121] Antony, “Peasants, Heroes, and Brigands,” 页 137。

[122] 李庆年：〈东南亚华人的独特神祇 – 九皇爷考证〉，《炎黄文化》，第六期， 2006年6月 ，页53。相关背景请参阅：施坚雅（G. William Skinner），<古代的暹罗华侨> ，《南洋问题资料译丛》1962年第2期，页107-108；Xu Ke, “Piracy, Seaborne Trade and the Rivalries of Foreign Sea Powers in Southeast Asia, 1511 to 1839: A Chinese Perspective,” in *Piracy, Maritime Terrorism and Securing the Malacca Straits*, ed. Graham Gerard Ong-Webb (Leiden, The Netherlands : International Institute for Asian Studies, Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006), 页 236。

[123] 中央研究院历史语言研究所：汉籍电子文献史/编年/明实录/穆宗/卷十六/隆庆二年正月/28日（P.451），见《明实录》，中央研究院历史语言研究所：汉籍电子文献，访问日期：2022年6月1日，http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mqlc/hanji_book?1^80481781^0211001^DD125MSL0093000451.亦请参阅Geoff Wade, comp. and trans., “Long-qing: Year 3, Month 7, Day 23 3 Sep 1569,” Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu, accessed June 1, 2022, https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/long-qing/year-3-month-7-day-23。

[124] Claudine Salmon, Ming Loyalists in Southeast Asia: As Perceived through Various Asian and European Records (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014); Mary F. Somers Heidhues, *Chinese Presence in Malay-Indonesian Narratives: Founders and Heroes or Merchants and Wife-Givers?* (Hamburg: Hamburger Sudostasienstudien, 2011)。

[125] Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*; *Unruly People*。

[126] *Chinese Presence in Malay-Indonesian Narratives: Founders and Heroes or Merchants and Wife-Givers?* (Hamburg: Hamburger Sudostasienstudien, 2011)。
Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*; *Unruly People*。
Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 99。 也看 Dian Murray, *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790-1810* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press,1987), 页 14-19, 23-26, 263 与165。

Thus, bandits, like pirates, had a similar Janus-faced status in these societies. In as much as they might terrorize both the common folk and the state machinery, powerful bandits who lent themselves to just cause or helping local communities also came to be associated with the Nine Emperor Gods among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. In a story shared by Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Qing Nang Lao Yu Lou Chun in Singapore, which has interesting ties to Chinese opera, the Nine Emperor Gods was originally a powerful bandit who ravaged the nine provinces of China. In each province, he escaped his pursuers until he was cornered on the coast in the last province. When he was about to be beheaded, Dou Mu intervened and mediated an agreement with his pursuers and the local community. In return for not beheading him and allowing him to die with a complete body, he agreed to take his own life by entering the sea. He had also agreed to return to bless the community the same day the next year.

The following year, a group of scholars and performers living in the area (who did not do well enough for the Han Lin Yuan during the imperial examinations) remembered the promise. It went to the beach to see if it would be kept.[128] True enough, the former bandit, appeared from the sea with Dou Mu Yuan Jun to bless the inhabitants with a good harvest, and they had brought fish as offerings to express their gratitude. He had refused to take the offerings and asked for vegetables instead, as he had an abundance of fish and meat in the sea. Dou Mu Yuan Juan also divulged to those present that he had realized the evil of his past misdeeds and had gained immortality under her tutelage and guidance. He had been given the title of the Nine Emperor Gods. Since the Nine Emperor God had no children when he was alive, Dou Mu advised his followers to pay respects to and mourn him as his children would, and this accounted for why the festival was modelled after a funeral up till the present day. They had also wanted to invite him to their homes to be propitiated for their blessing, but he refused, saying that it was enough for them to receive him yearly by the sea. Interestingly, this account of the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods highlighted the position of bandits in the social and cultural lives of communities in coastal China, and was used to explain many features and practices of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today, including the relationship between Dou Mu Yuan Jun and the Nine Emperor Gods.

Beggars and Lepers

The Nine Emperor Gods were also believed to have manifested themselves in various other human forms and guises, often as social outcasts, in the form of beggars and lepers. In an account related to a journalist reporting on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 1947, the Nine Emperor Gods were said to be the Northern and Southern Dipper Sovereigns transforming themselves into nine lepers who turned up at a wedding hosted by a local philanthropist for his son. While their host welcomed their presence, other guests expressed displeasure at their presence. It was then that torrential rain began. Sensing unease, the nine 'lepers' excused themselves and requested lodging at an old house owned by their host. On the sixth day, when they were invited for a feast, the lepers were nowhere to be found, but the downpour continued.

On the ninth day, two "clean-looking individuals" appeared and advised the philanthropist to let his guests leave once the nuptials ended. Except for the philanthropist and his family, all his guests drowned in the floods that swept the entire village away. Manifesting themselves before their host as the Southern and Northern Dipper deities, they recommended their hosts purify themselves throughout nine days of the year. They also instructed that they could be invoked by facing a river along the north-south axis with the help of nine sticks of incense in hand.[129] More than thirty years later, Cheu Hock Tong documented a similar account from the then-owner of the Hougang Tou Mu Kung but involving only one beggar (rather than nine).[130] Furthermore, in 1987, devotees of two Nine Emperor Gods temples in Lemongrass Village (present-day Tai Seng and Paya Lebar) also related this story. Still, the Nine Emperor Gods were said to be manifested themselves as "beggars" in disguise.[131]

[128] This may be a reference to the history of Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan, whose history was intertwined with several Chaozhou opera troupes. For the history of the Han Lin Yuan as part of the imperial academy, see Benjamin A. Elman, "Imperial Politics and Confucian Societies in Late Imperial China: The Hanlin and Donglin Academies," *Modern China* 15:4 (1989): 379-418. Interestingly, the name "Han Lin Yuan" is also given to the name of temples or altars that are maintained in the honour of Marshal Tiandu, a patron deity of opera actors, as noted by 谢国兴, "台湾田都元帅信仰与宋江阵仪式传统," 民俗曲艺175 (2012): 9-18; and Keith Stevens, "The Han Lin Academy and a Chinese Deity," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 36 (1996): 231-233; and "Chief Marshal T'ien, Patron of the Stage, of Musicians and Wrestlers—East and South East China," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1975): 303-311.

[129] M. T. Leong, "Kew Ong Tai Tay," *Singapore Free Press*, October 22, 1947, 4.

[130] Cheu, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia," 27.

[131] "九月皇爷诞两庙香火旺," 新明日报, October 25, 1987, 7.

同样的，盗匪在社会也有双面性的地位。尽管势力强大的盗匪对老百姓和国家机制都可能造成恐慌，但有能力支持正义事业或帮助当地社区的强大盗匪，也开始与东南亚华人社区中的九皇大帝联系在一起。新加坡玄武山翰林院，一间与戏班有浓厚关系的庙宇，流传着一则关于九皇大帝来历的故事。在这叙述中，九皇大帝曾是一个非常有权势的强盗，横行中国九省。在每个省份，他都能逃脱追捕，但他在最后一个省份的海岸被逼入绝境。当他即将被斩首时，斗母出面调解，与追捕他的人和当地社区达成协议。为了不被斩首，以保他全尸，他同意在大海中献出自己的生命。这盗匪也承诺在隔年的同一天回来赐福予社区。

那一带有一班儒生，因为考不进翰林院，经常以唱戏打发时间。一年后，他们想起盗匪的承诺，便到海边等候，看看他是否遵守诺言。[127] 果不其然，这位前盗匪与斗母元君出现在海上。他随后为居民赐有好收成，而居民为了感恩则带来鱼和其他肉类作为供品。他拒绝接受供品，仅接受蔬菜，因为他在海里已经有了足够的鱼和肉。斗姆元君也告知信众他在海中，已受到感化，修成正果，被封为九皇大帝。 由于九皇大帝在世时没有子嗣，斗母吩咐信众可像他的子孙一样去敬拜和悼念他，这也解释了为何这个节日至今仍以丧礼的方式举行。他们还想邀请九皇大帝到自己家里来，为他们赐福，但他都拒绝了，称他们每年到海边来迎接他就足够了。有趣的是，这段有关九皇大帝来历的故事不仅显示了盗匪在中国海域社会文化的地位，也包含了当今九皇胜会的许多特色和习俗，包括斗母与九皇大帝的关系。

乞丐与麻风病人

九皇大帝也以各种其他的人类形象和化身出现，且往往是作为社会的弃儿，如乞丐和麻风病人。1947年，一位记者报道了后港斗母宫的九皇胜会，据称，九皇大帝由南北斗星君化身为九个麻风病人，出现在本地一位善人为儿子举办的婚礼上。虽然主人对他们表示欢迎，但其他宾客对此感到不满。一场倾盆大雨突然降临，九名“麻风病人”请求借宿在主人的老房子里。第六天，有人来请他们去用餐的时候，麻疯病人已无处可寻，而大雨仍未停歇。

到了第九天，两位”相貌清净的人”出现了，他们建议善人在婚礼结束后让他的宾客离开。洪水席卷了整个村庄，除了这位善人和他的家人，所有宾客都死于洪水中。此时南北斗星君在主人面前显灵，建议他在一年中的九天里净化自己。他们还指示他若有事相求，便手持九支香，面朝南北流向的河流，便可召唤两位神明相助。[128] 事隔三十多年，周堂福记录了后港斗母宫宫主讲述的类似故事，但在宫主的叙述中，只有一名乞丐，而不是九人。[129] 此外，在1987年，葱茅园一带（今大成和巴耶利峇）两座九皇大帝庙的信徒也讲述了这个故事，只是故事中九皇大帝乔装打扮成“叫化子”。[130]

[127] 这或许与玄武山翰林院的历史有关，玄武山翰林院与一些潮剧团关系密切。关于作为宫廷机构的翰林院的历史，请参阅Benjamin A. Elman, “Imperial Politics and Confucian Societies in Late Imperial China: The Hanlin and Donglin Academies,” *Modern China* 15:4 (1989): 379-418. 有趣的是，供奉戏曲行业守护神田都元帅的庙宇或神龛也被命名为“翰林院”，请参阅：谢国兴，<台湾田都元帅信仰与宋江阵仪式传统>，《民俗曲艺》2012年第175期，页9-18；Keith Stevens, “The Han Lin Academy and a Chinese Deity,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 36 (1996): 页 231-233; “Chief Marshal T’ien, Patron of the Stage, of Musicians and Wrestlers—East and South East China,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1975): 页 303-311。

[128] M. T. Leong, “Kew Ong Tai Tay,” *Singapore Free Press*, October 22, 1947, 页 4。

[129] Cheu Hock Tong, “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” 页 27。

[130] 〈九月皇爷诞两庙香火旺〉，见《新明日报》，1987年10月25日，第 7版。

The Nan Shan temple elders also related an account of the manifestation of the Nine Emperor Gods as beggars. These beggars had bravely fought pirates who were afflicting their community. Unfortunately, the pirates captured and killed them, with their bodies disposed of at sea. Dou Mu Yuan Jun, moved by their heroic deeds, accepted them as her disciples. The littoral communities they were fighting to protect also decided to mourn and worship them out of gratitude. However, as anonymous beggars and having lost their bodies at sea, the likenesses of these local heroes were lost. As such, in several temples that venerated the Nine Emperor Gods, the deities were represented by one image rather than nine. In Nan Shan Hai Miao, white candles were used out of mourning for these heroes, while yellow candles were used for their high status as deities.

Nine Emperor Gods temples today often provide free vegetarian food during the festival, and thus, they also attract vagrants seeking food and alms.[132] An elder from Nan Shan Hai Miao in Singapore remarked that since beggars shared a special connection with the Nine Emperor Gods, the festival's temples and venues would never chase away beggars seeking food.[133] At Shin Sen Keng, beggars appearing at the festival site are also not turned away out of gratitude for their assistance to the last Ming emperor, as he was said to have hidden among beggars when fleeing Qing forces.

Beggars, lepers, bandits and pirates were all characterised by their marginality in Chinese society and their itinerant lifestyles. As noted above, from the start of the Qing conquest and up until the 19th century, different types of associations involving river pirates, local strongmen, and beggars continued to rally people to support the restoration of the Ming dynasty.[134] These marginal groups also played important roles in resisting and challenging Qing rule. Beggars, particularly as itinerant and unidentified strangers, were likely seen as a potential threat to Qing order and authority. Like the pirates and bandits, beggars were treated with pity, fear, suspicion, and disdain in late imperial Chinese society. They were seen as dangerous threats to society and order, which needed to be appeased or placated through alms. In times of social panics, economic pressures and the proliferation of gossip, itinerant beggars, partially due to their status as strangers without their communities, also became scapegoats.[135] Yet, they could be important informants and assist other communities or individuals in need. In popular literature and folk traditions, just as the Nine Emperor Gods had done, other deities often manifested themselves as beggars, lepers, and mendicant monks, to test the moral mettle of mortals.[136]

The narratives in Southeast Asia surrounding the origins and manifestations of the Nine Emperor God(s) and the Nine Emperor God(s) Festival are thus rather different from those in late Qing and Republican China. Besides the star deities of the Northern Dipper constellation, the Nine Emperor God(s) are also remembered as Ming loyalists, the last southern Ming emperor, and Robin Hood-like pirates. In addition, the Nine Emperor Gods have also been remembered in their manifestations as bandits, beggars, and lepers. In the past, the Ming loyalist, emperor, and pirate manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods seemed to have been the most prevalent and important in Southeast Asia and exerted the greatest influence in shaping the ritual and material structure of the festival and their meanings. The pre-eminence of these narratives and traditions reflected the experiences, environments, and world views of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, especially with respect to their memories of China and its maritime environments.

There have also been important fusions between these narratives from Southeast Asia and China. In Thailand, Duan Lisheng noted that the Nine Emperor Gods, or the Nine Emperor Buddhas as they are referred to locally, were said to be the nine stars of the Northern Dipper. During the Qing invasion of China, it was believed that the stars had become mortals in this world, and they became Ming loyalists. Despite their efforts, they failed in their mission. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival thus served to commemorate the manifestations of the Northern Dipper deities as Ming loyalists.[137]

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[132] "一家9口出动行乞," 联合晚报, October 7, 2000, 10.

[133] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cult in Malaysia," 46-48.

[134] Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 115-118; Hanchao Lu, *Street Criers: A Cultural History of Chinese Beggars* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005), 34-53 and 108-132.

[135] Barend J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), passim, but especially between 122-153 and 334-342.

[136] Examples include Lü Dongbin and Guan Yin. Lü Dongbin's representations and disguises are listed in their entirety in Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 62-65. Also see 洪迈 (1123-1202 CE), "夷坚甲志," section 1, paragraph 36, in 夷坚志, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849; Rostislav Berezkin, "The Precious Scroll of Watermelons in the Modern Performance Tradition of 'Telling Scriptures' in Changshu County, China," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 75:1 (2022): 99-121.

[137] 段立生, 泰国的中式寺庙 (曼谷: 泰国大同社出版有限公司, 1996), 34.

南山海寺的长老也讲述了九皇大帝化身为乞丐的故事。这些乞丐勇敢地与侵扰他们社区的海盗作战。不幸的是，他们被海盗俘虏和杀害，尸体被扔进海里。斗母元君被他们的英雄事迹所感动，将他们收为弟子。那些他们曾经保护的海岸社区也决定感恩悼念和崇拜他们。然而，由于这些当地英雄是无名的乞丐，并且他们的尸体被扔进了海里，他们也就没有肖像留下来。因此，在几座供奉九皇大帝的庙宇里，神明只有一尊金身，而非九尊。南山海庙在祭拜九皇时使用的蜡烛有黄色与白色。白色蜡烛是为九皇哀悼，而黄色蜡烛代表他们在神明中的崇高地位。

九皇大帝庙宇在节日期间经常免费提供素食，因此也吸引了不少来讨饭吃的乞丐。[131] 新加坡南山海寺的一位长老说，乞丐与九皇有着特殊的联系，因此在九皇胜会期间，主办庙宇和法会场所都不会把他们赶走。[132] 在神仙宫的传说中，明朝末代皇帝在逃离清军时，曾藏身于乞丐之中，因此在庙宇或法会现场出现的乞丐也不会被驱赶，以感激他们为九皇大帝提供的帮助。

乞丐、麻风病人、土匪和海盗都以其在中国社会中的边缘化社会地位和流浪生活为特征。如上所述，从清朝开始到十九世纪，各种涉及海盗、土匪和乞丐的社团不断号召人们支持明朝的复辟。[133] 众所周知，这些边缘群体在抵抗和挑战清朝统治方面也发挥了重要作用。乞丐，尤其是流动的、身份不明之人，很可能被视为对清朝秩序和权威的潜在威胁。乞丐、海盗、土匪和麻风病人，在晚清都受到怜悯、恐惧、怀疑和轻蔑的对待。他们被视为对社会和秩序的危险威胁，需要通过施舍来平息或安抚。在社会恐慌、经济压力和流言蜚语泛滥的时代，流浪乞丐由于其社会边缘人的地位，也成了替罪羔羊。[134] 不过，他们也可以是重要的情报人，并在有需要时为其他社群或个人提供援助。在通俗文学和民间传统中，就像九皇大帝一样，其他神明也常以乞丐、麻风病人、行乞僧侣的姿态出现，以考验凡人的道德品质。[135]

东南亚围绕着九皇大帝及其九皇胜会起源和显现的论述与回忆，与中国晚清和民国时期有所不同。除了北斗星君之外，九皇大帝也被东南亚信众视为是明朝的忠臣、反清复明义士、南明末代皇帝及劫富济贫的海盗。此外，九皇大帝也以盗匪、乞丐和麻风病人的身份被信众铭记。在东南亚，明朝的忠臣、皇帝和海盗等九皇大帝的显现，似乎是最普遍和最重要的，在塑造九皇胜会的仪式和物质结构及其意义方面也发挥了很大的影响。这都反应了东南亚华人的经历、环境与观点，尤其是他们对中国与海域的历史回忆。

有些关于九皇大帝与九皇胜会来历的叙述也融合了东南亚与中国九皇传统的特点。例如，段立生提到，泰国的九皇菩萨传说是北斗九星。然而，在满清入关之际，人们相信北斗九星转世为忠明义士拯救明朝，但他们的起义最终失败了，九名义士被清军处决。九皇胜会就是为了纪念他们的英雄事迹。[136]

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[131] 〈一家九口出动行乞〉，见《联合晚报》，2000年10月7日，第10版。

[132] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cult in Malaysia," 页46-48。

[133] Philip, A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 页 115-118; Hanchao Lu, *Street Criers: A Cultural History of Chinese Beggars* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005), 页 34-53 and 108-132。

[134] Barend J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), passim，但特别是在页122-153 and 334-342。

[135] 类似的例子还有吕洞宾和观音。关于吕洞宾的化身和伪装，请参阅Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 62-65. 洪迈，〈夷坚甲志〉，《夷坚志》，第1卷，第36章，Chinese Text Project, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849; 访问日期：2022年3月1日；Rostislav Berezkin, "The Precious Scroll of Watermelons in the Modern Performance Tradition of 'Telling Scriptures' in Changshu County, China," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 75:1 (2022): 页99-121。

[136] 段立生,《 泰国的中式寺庙》（泰国：泰国大同社），页34。

In a similar account from Thailand collected by Gao Weinong, the "Nine Emperor Buddhas were said to be the sons of the Queen Mother, who sent them to this world to help (the Ming dynasty) resist the Qing invasion. Unfortunately, they were captured by Qing soldiers who beheaded them and sealed their corpses within "pottery jars" that were thrown into the sea. Later, when these vessels drifted to Fujian, fishermen opened the containers, where the "Nine Emperors' spirits were allowed to return to the heavens". After receiving wind of the incident, and in an attempt to "soothe anti-Qing sentiment among the Han Chinese", the Qing emperor ordered the construction of temples in the honour of the Nine Emperors.[138]



Images of the Nine Emperor Buddhas and Doumu in Xin Xing Tan, Bangkok, Thailand. Note how the image of Doumu resembles the Queen Mother of the West, instead of the multi-armed and many faced deity.

泰国曼谷新兴坛的九皇佛祖和斗母像。斗母的形象与西王母相似，而不是多手多面的神明。

The belief that constellations could incarnate themselves as men to fulfil divine obligations in the mortal world has long been in China. It also strongly influenced the worlds of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, especially among the mercantile and labouring classes. For example, the protagonists of the popular work *Water Margin*, authored by Shi Nai'an (c. 1296-1372 CE) and set in the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127 CE), were described as the reincarnation of 36 Heavenly Constellations and the 72 Earthly Spirits.[139] The work's opening chapter explained how they were only allowed to reincarnate as humans after being released from captivity.[140] Likewise, the incorruptible official Bao Zheng (999-1062 CE), whose life inspired many ballads performed in late-imperial China, was also described as the incarnation of the fourth star of the Northern Dipper, Wen Qu.[141]

Aside from these accounts, many other localised traditions of the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia do not fall neatly into the overarching themes described above. In 1953, an article in *The Straits Times* related how at the Chao Yuan Dong Qing Guan Si on Paya Terubong Hill, Ayer Itam, Penang, they believed that the Nine Emperor Gods were nine brothers who were emperors when they were alive, and having performed good deeds, rose to divinity. However, while seven of the brothers "ascended to heaven, …the eighth had completed half the journey up", whereas the "ninth decided to remain on earth to protect the people".[142] Interestingly, this account found its way into one among many other traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods' origins documented by the Hong San Temple in their commemorative volume.[143]

[138] 高伟浓, "华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说," 96.

[139] 施耐庵, 水浒传, Chinese Text Project, accessed June 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=47184.

[140] Also see Mark Meulenbeld, "Vernacular 'Fiction' and Celestial Script: A Daoist Manual for the Use of Water Margin," *Religions* 10:9 (2019).

[141] Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Judge Bao and the Rule of Law: Eight Ballad-stories from the Period* 1250–1450 (Singapore: World Scientific Press, 2010), xxix and 7.

[142] "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9.

[143] 凤山宫三庆大典 (新加坡: 凤山宫理事会, 2005), 33.

高伟浓在泰国实地调研过程中也收集到类似的说法：“九皇佛祖是王母的儿子，明朝时曾下凡帮助抵抗满清的入侵。”不幸的是，清兵俘虏了他们并将他们斩首，然后将尸首封入陶罐并沉入海中。陶罐漂流到福建被渔民发现并打开，“九皇的灵魂遂得返天庭。”清廷闻讯，为“化解汉族的反满排满情绪”，皇帝下令建造庙宇以供奉九皇大帝。[137]

星宿可以化身为人履行人间神圣使命的信仰在中国有着悠久的历史，并对东南亚的华人社群，尤其是工商阶层的民间文化世界，产生了强烈的影响。例如，施耐庵（约1296-1372年）的《水浒传》讲述的是北宋时期（960-1127年）一百零八条梁山好汉的故事，据说他们是三十六天罡和七十二地煞的转世。[138]这　　部作品的开篇便说明了他们是如何被误放并转世成人的。[139]　类似地，中华帝国晚期有许多民间传说讲述了清官包拯（999-1062年）的事迹，他被描述为北斗第四颗星文曲星的转世。[140]

除了以上记载，东南亚各地还有许多关于九皇胜会起源与九皇大帝来历的不同说法。　这些传说与叙述难以归入上述主题。1953年，《海峡时报》刊登了一篇文章，讲述在槟城亚依淡垄尾的朝元洞清观寺信众相信九皇大帝是九个在世时为皇帝的兄弟，他们因行善积德，死后得以升天为神明。然而，他们升天之时，七位兄弟已经顺利升天，第八位兄弟完成了一半的升天历程，而第九兄弟“决定留在世上保护人民”　。[141]有趣的是，这也是新加坡凤山宫在纪念刊所记载的众多九皇大帝起源的说法之一。[142]



The main building of the Qingguan Si 清觀寺 temple complex and altar to Doumu (centre), the Nine Emperor Gods (right) and Xuan Tian Shang Dai (left).

清观寺寺庙的主建筑和供奉斗母（中央）、九皇上帝（右侧）和玄天上帝（左侧）的神龛。

[137] 高伟浓,〈华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说〉，《东南亚纵横》，第21 期，2002年，页96。

[138] 施耐庵,《 水浒传 》, Chinese Text Project, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=47184， 访问日期：2022年6月1日。

[139] 请参阅 Mark Meulenbeld, “Vernacular ‘Fiction’ and Celestial Script: A Daoist Manual for the Use of Water Margin,” *Religions* 10:9 (2019)。

[140] Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Judge Bao and the Rule of Law: Eight Ballad-stories from the Period* 1250–1450 (Singapore: World Scientific Press, 2010), 页xxix and 7。

[141] “Temple of Cheng Jee Chan,” *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 页9。

[142] 唐嘉林主编，《凤山宫三庆大典》(新加坡： 凤山宫理事会，2005年)， 页 33。

Conclusion

The history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia highlighted important continuities from the historical development of the festival in China and the unique environments in which it developed in Southeast Asia. The importance of opera troupes at the beginning of the festival in early centers like Phuket reflected the festival's significance for Liyuan groups in China, as discussed in the festival's history in China. Nevertheless, unlike the prevalence of the festival in urban centers and among the scholarly, mercantile and gentry elites and Liyuan groups, the festival became popular in the mining and migration frontiers among the labourers. However, mercantile and mining capital elites also played an important role in sponsoring and organizing the festival. It was through these mercantile and mining capital networks moving through different types of mutual aid associations, such as ritual brotherhoods like Kian Tek Tong and surname kongsis like the Tan Kongsi or the Khoo Kongsi, that the festival and worship of the Nine Emperor Gods came to Penang, and later Taiping and Ampang. By the 20th century, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia was to become somewhat different from those in China regarding ritual, material culture, and memories of who the Nine Emperor Gods were. It came to reflect the histories, experiences, and environments of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, their memories of maritime and littoral China, and their articulations of their identity and Chineseness.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the Nanyang drew on the practices and traditions associated with the festival in China. These included the dates and duration of the festival, the strict vegetarian diet and *zhai jie* regime expected of the participants, the emphasis on purity of body and mind, the use of lanterns, and the use of yellow as the colour of decoration for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Nevertheless, there were important rituals, traditions, and features of material culture that were unique to Southeast Asia, such as the wearing of white (including the wearing of white cloth around the head), the conducting of the receiving and sending-off rituals by the sea, the use of the "sun"-and-"moon" couplets in the oldest temples in Malaysia and Singapore, the significance attached to the nine heavenly lamps, and more recently the burning of a dragon or ritual ship as part of the sending-off ceremony. They are very much related to the memories surrounding the origins and manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods that were unique to the region, especially the importance of the Ming dynasty and the sea in these narratives.

Among the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Nine Emperor Gods were remembered primarily as the last Ming emperors, Ming loyalists, and Robin Hood-like pirates who protected the poor and vulnerable segments of society. They have also been remembered in their manifestations as bandits, beggars, and lepers, who became heroes by helping the communities around them. Despite the apparent disparity of these categories and themes, they were very much connected, partly through their positions on the margins not only of the Qing empire and state and also the socio-political order in Chinese society, a position occupied by the Chinese migrant communities in Southeast Asia between the 18th and early 20th centuries. There were also very close ties between these categories of social and political actors in the maritime frontiers of southeastern China, as seen in the overlaps and entanglements between the histories of Ming loyalists, the Ming emperors, pirates, bandits, and beggars that we had discussed earlier. The stories or histories surrounding these manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods also reflected the theme of the violent death of heroic or powerful figures and their propitiation and deification, which is important in popular religion. Many narratives depict the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods by sea, whether in the form of a censer or urns or jars with their heads or remain. All these themes shaped the uniqueness of the rituals associated with the festival in Southeast Asia as described above.

结论

东南亚九皇胜会的发展历史既突出了中国九皇胜会的历史延续性，也反映了东南亚的独特环境。在早期的信仰中心，如普吉岛，戏班在节日兴起时的重要性延续了中国九皇胜会对梨园团体的重要性。但不同于中国九皇胜会兴起于城市中心以及儒士、商人和士绅精英和梨园群体中，东南亚的九皇胜会盛行于采矿区和移民聚居区的华人劳工中。然而，商业和矿业资本精英在赞助和组织节日方面也发挥了重要作用。正是通过这些商业和矿业资本网络，通过不同类型的互助会社，比如像建德堂这样的兄弟会和像陈公司或邱公司这样的姓氏公司，九皇胜会和九皇崇拜传至槟城，后来又传到了太平和安邦。到了二十世纪，东南亚的九皇胜会在仪式、物质文化和对九皇大帝的记忆方面与中国的九皇胜会有所不同，它反映了东南亚华人社区的历史、经历和环境，他们对中国沿海地区的记忆，以及他们对自己身份和华人性的表达。

南洋的九皇胜会借鉴了与中国节日相关的习俗和传统，包括节日的日期和持续时间，参加者须遵循严格的素食和斋戒，强调身体和心灵的纯洁，使用灯笼，以及使用黄色作为节日的装饰颜色。然而，东南亚也有其独特的重要仪式、传统和物质文化特征，例如穿白衣(包括戴白头巾)，在海上进行恭迎和恭送仪式，马来西亚和新加坡最古老的庙宇所使用的日月对联，对九盏天灯的重视，以及近来人们在恭送仪式上焚烧龙船或法船。这些东南亚地区所独有的实践与当地关于九皇大帝的起源和显现的独特记忆密切相关，特别是对明朝的追忆以及海洋在这些叙述中的重要性。

在东南亚的华人社区中，九皇大帝传说是明朝最后的皇帝、明朝的效忠者和罗宾汉式的海盗，他们保护着社会上的穷人和弱势群体。人们也相信九皇大帝以土匪、乞丐和麻风病人的形象显现，他们帮助周围的社区并被视为英雄。尽管这些关于九皇大帝来历的传说存在明显的差异，但不同的形象之间有着密切的联系，即它们不仅处于清朝帝国和国家的边缘，而且处于中国社会的社会政治秩序的边缘，这正反映了18世纪至20世纪初东南亚华人移民社区的地位。在中国东南部的海上世界，这些社会和政治角色之间也存在着非常密切的联系，正如前面讨论的明朝效忠者、明朝皇帝、海盗、强盗和乞丐之间错综复杂的关系。九皇大帝显现的故事也反映了英雄或强大人物的暴死及其赎罪和神化的主题，这是民间宗教的重要组成部分。许多叙述都描述了九皇大帝从海上而来，无论是以香炉或是装着他们遗骸的瓮或罐子的形式。如上所述，所有这些主题塑造了东南亚与节日相关的仪式的独特性。

The remembrance of the Nine Emperor Gods as Ming Emperors and Ming loyalists and the importance of the Ming dynasty among the Chinese in Southeast Asia also reflected the importance of Southeast Asia as a region of refuge for former officials of the Ming dynasty and Ming loyalists fleeing the Qing state during the Qing advance and in succeeding centuries after failed rebellions or persecution by the Qing state. These refugees also included those syncretic religious groups and movements often associated with Ming loyalist and anti-Qing movements. These migrations influenced the ideological and socio-political structures of Chinese social organizations and the cultural and religious life of the Chinese in Southeast Asia. This was especially so in the region's expanding commercial, mining and agricultural frontiers in the 18th and 19th centuries, where such organizations became important in the mobilization of manpower for production and for protecting their respective economic and political interests. Although most of these associations did not have to overthrow the Qing dynasty as their aim in Malaya or southern Thailand and were oriented more towards local or regional political and economic objectives, their ideologies and rituals were built on the memory of the Ming and anti-Qing sentiments.

The parallels between the rituals of these societies and those of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, especially the significance of mourning and the abstinence and purity often associated with these rituals, mirrored the memory and manifestation of the Nine Emperor Gods as the last Ming emperors or Ming loyalists. Through these connections, the Nine Emperor Gods became important expressions of Chineseness and China among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, embodied in the censers (and even tablets), which represented the Nine Emperor Gods as the last Ming emperors or the loyalists who sacrificed their lives in their struggle against the Qing to restore the Ming. The mourning for the Nine Emperor Gods as Ming loyalists or the Ming Emperor became necessary for a certain conception of a Chinese "nation" in the diaspora constructed around the Ming and against the Qing. Ong Seng Huat noted that it revolved around "mourning for the nation".[144] The nation not only referred to the conquered Ming dynasty but the last emperor's (as the proverbial body politic and rallying icon for Han Chinese patriots) ignominious end.[145] As we have seen, comparable dynamics could be found in the rituals of various mutual aid societies that proliferated in southern China and Southeast Asia, who tapped upon slogans and symbols that challenged the Manchu presence in China, with important overlaps between the rituals, signs, and traditions of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and various types of anti-Qing mutual aid societies such as the Heaven-and-Earth society, as seen in the overlaps between the narratives surrounding the censer floating in from the sea or river.

The manifestation of the Nine Emperor Gods as pirates, bandits, beggars and lepers was also the importance of these figures for the inhabitants in the southeastern coastal provinces of China, such as Fujian and Guangdong, where many of the Chinese migrants to Southeast Asia in the 18th and 20th centuries hailed from. While they were seen as a threat to the socio-political order, they could also become heroic figures for the lower and mercantile classes, for those who came to protect the community. They represented both the anxieties and the hopes of these communities. Hence, the manifestation of the Nine Emperor Gods as such heroic figures by the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia reflected the backgrounds of these communities and their anxieties and hopes. Ultimately, the importance of the sea in the rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia also reflected the geographical environments from which many Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia had originated, namely the coastal regions. The influence of the maritime environment can be seen in the predominance of the memories of the Nine Emperor Gods as Robin Hood-like pirates. The receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods by the sea or rivers, and the important role of fishermen in the histories of the Nine Emperor Gods, especially as those who discovered and uncovered the remains of their human forms and release them to the heavens, also reflect the maritime environments in which these migrants moved and lived.

[144] 王琛发, "国殇".

[145] Several anthropological and historical studies have been performed on the intersection of political power, the charisma of political elites and the body politic. Among others, see Stephan Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Suffolk and New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); and Irene Stengs, *Worshipping the Great Moderniser: King Chulalongkorn, Patron Saint of the Thai Middle Class* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).

在东南亚华人社区的叙事中，九皇大帝被铭记为明朝皇帝或亲明志士，明朝具有一定的重要性，这反映了在清朝建立及随后几个世纪中，东南亚一直是起义失败或受到迫害的明朝遗老或亲明志士的避难所，并接纳了许多通常与反清复明意识形态有关的宗教组织或团体。这些移民影响了东南亚华人社会组织的意识形态和社会政治结构，以及东南亚华人的文化和宗教生活。18和19世纪，随着该地区的商业、矿业和农业不断扩张，这些组织成为调动劳动力和保护各自的经济和政治利益的重要力量。[143] 尽管马来亚或泰国南部的华人会社并不是以推翻清朝为目的，更多地是以当地或区域的政治和经济目标为导向，但他们的意识形态和仪式是建立在对明朝的追忆和反清情绪之上的。

这些会社的仪式与东南亚九皇胜会的仪式有众多相通之处，尤其体现在服丧、斋戒和纯洁的重要性与将九皇大帝作为明朝末代皇帝或亲明志士的联系。通过这些联系，东南亚的华人社区将华人性和对中国的追忆寄托在九皇大帝之上，以香炉（甚至是神位）为载体，这些香炉代表了作为明朝末代皇帝或在为反清复明大业牺牲的亲明志士。东南亚九皇大帝起源故事背后的民族政治意识，对于理解这些流传至今的叙述的意义十分关键。正如王琛发所概括的，大多数叙述的主题是“国殇”。[144]“国殇”既指明朝覆亡，也暗示末代皇帝（汉人所拥护的政权统治者）的悲惨结局。[145]正如我们所看到的，那一时期中国南部和东南亚各地涌现的各种互助团体的仪式也有与此类似的思维，他们通过口号和符号来反对满清政权。

九皇大帝显现为海盗、土匪、乞丐和麻风病人，说明了这些人物对中国东南沿海省份(如福建和广东)居民的重要性，18世纪和20世纪许多前往东南亚的中国移民都来自这些省份。虽然这些人物被视为对社会政治秩序的威胁，但他们也可能成为下层和商业阶层百姓的英雄人物，成为保护社区的人，在某种意义上，他们代表了社区的焦虑和希望。因此，东南亚华人社区将这些形象作为九皇大帝的显现，反映了东南亚华人社区的背景以及他们的焦虑与希望。东南亚九皇胜会中海洋的重要性也揭示了东南亚许多华人移民所生活的地理环境，从16世纪到19世纪一直到20世纪，许多华人从沿海地区向外移民。将九皇大帝作为罗宾汉式海盗的传说便体现了海洋环境的影响。人们从海上或河流恭迎九皇大帝，在九皇来历传说中一个重要的角色是的渔民，尤其是那些发现九皇大帝的遗骸并将其释放归天的人，这些都与华人移民迁徙过程中的海洋环境息息相关。

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[143] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》；Nasution，“Hokkien Chinese on the Phuket Mining Frontier”。

[144] 王琛发，<国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会意识>。

[145] 关于政治权力、政治精英的魅力以及国家的交叉，已有几项人类学研究和历史研究对此进行讨论。例如，请参阅Stephan Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Suffolk and New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); and Irene Stengs, *Worshipping the Great Moderniser: King Chulalongkorn, Patron Saint of the Thai Middle Class* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009)。

The littorals and seas of southern China, the maritime spaces between China and Southeast Asia, and the seas, littorals and rivers of Southeast Asia are the major environmental factors shaping the experiences, memories, and historical identities of Chinese communities Southeast Asia. The seas, the maritime and riverine environments and habitats of the Chinese migrant communities in Southeast Asia (be it the littoral, port-town, and the riverine contexts of life and livelihood) thus also came to shape how their memories of the Nine Emperor Gods' manifestations and arrival in the region were so closely connected with the sea and rivers. In the past 30 years, many temples in Malaysia and Singapore have begun to see the Nine Emperor Gods as the deities of the Northern Dipper constellation and emphasise the Dipper propitiation rituals. However, even in these temples, they would wear white (and cover their head with white cloth), and many will still conduct their receiving and/or sending-off ceremonies by the sea or river. Participants and devotees in these temples and other temples would still invoke these other memories of who the Nine Emperor Gods were, as Ming loyalists, Ming Emperors, and as heroic pirates, as well as the meanings of mourning closely tied to the ritual observances and dress adopted during the festival.

The different memories of who the Nine Emperor Gods were and their manifestations in history reflected a fundamental and universal feature of religions worldwide, namely how communities in the same religion often see and represent the divine and even the same divinity differently according to their historical and cultural experiences and traditions. This is all the more so for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival as one of the most important events in the calendar of Chinese popular religion among the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Rather than the traditional formal Daoist and Buddhist temples, monasteries and nunneries managed by Daoist priests or Buddhis monks, the festival has been organized mostly by lay communities and in their temples and religious institutions, and even syncretic or sectarian religious movements, especially those emphasizing vegetarian diets and abstinences like the Vegetarian Halls (zhaitang) and Benevolence Halls (shantang). In many ways, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is deeply embedded within Southeast Asia's wider Chinese community and popular religious landscapes.

In the following chapters, we will examine key features of the ritual structure and material culture of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia. These include the representations of the Nine Emperor Gods, the nine heavenly lamps, the significance of the censer, the receiving and sending-off of the deities by water, the uniqueness of their palanquins, the adopting of a vegetarian diet and *zhai*, the use of yellow and white, and the place of the dragon or ritual ship in the festival. We shall situate the histories of these practices and traditions and their meanings during the festival within the context of their cultural meanings in Chinese history, the memories in Southeast Asia of who the Nine Emperor Gods were, and the histories of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia observing the festival.

中国南部的沿海和海域、中国和东南亚之间的海洋环境以及东南亚沿海、海域与河流是塑造东南亚华人经验、记忆和历史认同的主要环境因素。因此，东南亚的海洋和河流环境以及华人移民聚居的地方（无论是沿海、港口城镇还是谋生的河流环境）也塑造了华人移民社区的记忆。因此，他们对九皇大帝在该地区的显现和到来的记忆与海洋和河流密切相关。在过去的三十年间，马来西亚和新加坡的许多庙宇开始将九大帝神视为北斗星君，并重视礼斗仪式。即使在这些庙宇中，他们也会穿白色的衣服（带白头巾），并在海洋进行迎驾和送驾仪式。参与者和信众也明白关于九皇大帝的其他传说，例如作为亲明志士、明朝皇帝，以及英雄般的海盗，以及与节日期间所采用的仪式和服装密切相关的哀悼含义。

这些关于九皇大帝的记忆和理解，其不同的化身形象，以及与节庆相关的仪式和物质结构的独特特点，反映了世界范围内宗教的本质特征，即同一宗教的社群，往往根据其历史文化经验和传统的不同，以不同的方式理解宗教和描绘神明。这在东南亚的华人社群中尤为明显，特别是在华人民间宗教中更是如此。九皇胜会是个很好的例子，它在东南亚往往是由世俗社区的庙宇和宗教机构进行组织，这当中还包括其他进行融合或宗派性宗教运动，特别是那些强调素食和禁欲的运动的斋堂或善堂。在中国，九皇胜会的组织则是由道士或僧侣管理的传统正规道观或佛教寺庙、寺院或尼姑庵主导。在许多方面，九皇胜会已经深深扎根于东南亚华人社区与其华人宗教景观中。

在后续章节中，我们将探讨新加坡和东南亚九皇胜会的核心特征，包括九皇大帝的显现、升起九盏天灯的重要性、香炉的意义、在水边迎驾和送驾的独特仪式、圣轿的特殊性、茹素和斋戒的履行、黄色和白色的使用以及龙船或法船在节庆中的地位。我们会将这些习俗和传统的历史以及与之相关意义，置于中国历史文化、东南亚对九皇大帝的记忆，以及东南亚华人社群庆祝九皇胜会的历史背景之中，探究它们的文化意义。

第3章 Representation 形象



Introduction

In several temples dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, one finds a spirit-tablet emblazoned with their name and title rather than deity-related images. After all, the former display has since been deemed one of the defining features associated with Nine Emperor Gods temples. Despite this general correlation, such displays are not universal. Common across temples in Singapore which observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is instead the latter scenario with the veneration of image(s) representing one or all of the Nine Emperor Gods. The second half of the twentieth-century also witnessed the commissioning of carvings and consecrations of nine different images representing the Nine Emperor Gods in some of these temples in Singapore. Image(s) aside, censers and mediums have been noted to represent the Nine Emperor Gods, especially during the festival.[1] Visible, no doubt, is the sanctity around the palanquins which transport the censers and sacred objects.



The main altar of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng in the present day.

蔡厝港斗母宫正殿

[1] Among others, see Alan J. A. Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics, Department of Anthropology, 1955); Raymond L. M. Lee. "Continuity and Change in Chinese Spirit Mediumship in Urban Malaysia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 142:2/3 (1986): 198-214; Jean DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011); Kenneth Dean, "Spirit Mediums and Secular–Religious Divides in Singapore," in *The Secular in South, East, and Southeast Asia*, ed. Kenneth Dean and Peter van der Veer (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 51-81; and Adam Yuet Chau and Liu Jianshu, "Spirit Mediumism in Shaanbei, North-central China," in Spirit Possession and Communication in Religious and Cultural Contexts. Ed. Caroline Blyth (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 92-118.

前言

在东南亚的一些九皇庙中，人们通常会看到一块刻有九皇大帝称号的神位，而不是神明的塑像。这是九皇庙的标志性特征之一，但并非所有九皇庙都是如此。许多新加坡庙宇在庆祝九皇千秋时供奉着一尊神像，或是代表全体九皇大帝，或是代表其中一位九皇大帝。自20世纪下半叶以来，在新加坡，有的庙宇请人雕刻了九尊独立的塑像，分别代表一位九皇大帝。此外，在一些情况下，香炉以及运送这些香炉或与之相关的礼器的神轿，也是九皇大帝的化身。一些庙宇还有九皇大帝乩童。[1]



The medium of the First Emperor God at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, undated (likely during the late 1980s and 1990s). Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

蔡厝港斗母宫九皇大帝乩童，日期不详（可能在 1980 年代后期和 1990 年代）。 照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

[1] 请参阅Alan J. A. Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics, Department of Anthropology, 1955); Raymond L. M. Lee. "Continuity and Change in Chinese Spirit Mediumship in Urban Malaysia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 142:2/3 (1986): 198-214; Jean DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011); Kenneth Dean, "Spirit Mediums and Secular–Religious Divides in Singapore," in *The Secular in South, East, and Southeast Asia*, ed. Kenneth Dean and Peter van der Veer (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 51-81; and Adam Yuet Chau and Liu Jianshu, "Spirit Mediumism in Shaanbei, North-central China," in Spirit Possession and Communication in Religious and Cultural Contexts. Ed. Caroline Blyth (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 92-118.



The nine mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng today.

在蔡厝港斗母宫为九皇大帝服务的九位乩童







The First and Second Emperor God medium at Leong Nam Temple, undated (likely during the 1960s and 1980s). Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿九皇大二帝乩童 (额头上有一粒黄色花球)，日期不详 (可能是在 1960 年代和 1980 年代). 照片由龙南殿提供.


九皇大帝



◄▲
Medium of the Nine Emperor Gods at Nan Shan Hai Miao, 1991. Photograph courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

在南山海庙九皇大帝乩童，1991. 照片由南山海庙提供.



▲
Village procession involving a Daoist Priest, the Nine Emperor Gods medium on a nail-covered sedan chair, and the lay entourage, 1950—1951. Photograph from the Alan J. A. Elliot collection, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge

九皇大帝的乩童坐钉轿上游甘榜，1950-1951年。照片来自剑桥大学考古学和人类学博物馆（MAA）的Alan J. A. Elliot收藏。







The Nine Emperor Gods medium at Shin Sen Keng during the sending-off of the Jade Emperor on the ninth day, 1990. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, courtesy of the National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，神仙宫的九皇乩童和善信理事在送天公途中。照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

A crucial feature in Nine Emperor Gods temples, including those in Singapore, is the particular preparation of their respective Inner Chambers for the festival. Considering that these Inner Chambers are the holding sites for the Nine Emperor Gods' representations—censers of the Nine Emperor Gods, Dou Mu Yuan Juan and other sacred objects, and thus, their essences, they are highly restricted to all save for a select few. These dedicated rooms, vehicles and the abovementioned objects or written titles of the Nine Emperor Gods constitute the different ways and forms the deities are represented in these temples.

This chapter discusses the different representations of the Nine Emperor Gods. It attempts to shed some light on the following questions: How are the Nine Emperor Gods unique in their different representations, especially in terms of a spirit-tablet? What are the possible motivations behind the portrayal of the Nine Emperor Gods as a tablet rather than an image? How can we understand these representations in the context of local religious practices and beliefs throughout Chinese society, culture and history? How do the histories, traditions and beliefs of temples and communities hosting the festival in Singapore influence how the Nine Emperor Gods are represented in their temples and altars?

Indeed, the representations of the Nine Emperor Gods draw on wider traditions, practices, and beliefs about the depictions of deities and ancestors, as well as communication and interaction with them. That said, one cannot overlook the influence of the different stories and histories of the Nine Emperor Gods, the conceptualizations of these deities and their wider cosmologies, their relations with devotees and participants in the festival, as well as the expectations of purity, sanctity, separation and abstinence imposed upon festival participants.

Representations of Chinese Divinities in History and Society

Today, gods, spirits and ancestors in temples across China are physically represented in statuettes or images. What is unclear, however, is the exact period when these representations became normalised. In prehistoric China, most of what we know about how ancestors and gods were represented comes from oracle bone inscriptions whose contents revolved around the beliefs and activities of political and social elites. Researchers in this field agree that spirit-tablets were characteristic of ancestral worship and Chinese religion during the Shang (c. 1600—1046 BCE) and Zhou (c. 1046—256 BCE) dynasties. Often, deceased individuals and their predecessors are memorialised in ancestral shrines by engraving their names on spirit-tablets. The overarching basis for this practice is the capacity of these forebears to influence this-worldly happenings. Given the recognition of these forebears as straddling within the grey areas of gods and spirits, oracle bones were used to communicate with them.[2]

[2] David N. Keightley, "The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy," in *Religion and Chinese Society, Volume I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong and Paris: The Chinese University of Hong Kong and École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 3-64; 李彤彤, "周代天子观探研" (M. A. thesis, 河北师范大学, 2020); and Robert Eno, "Shang State Religion and the Pantheon of the Oracle Texts," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 41-102.



◀
Present-day medium with a vest and ceremonial sword in the service of the Nine Emperor God at Shin Sen Keng, similar to his predecessor.

现今的九皇乩童在神仙宫中，身着背心和手持法剑，为九皇大帝服务，与他的前任相似。

类似地，在节日期间，新加坡所有九皇庙都设有内殿，保存着九皇大帝的香炉，在一些庙宇中，还有斗姆元君的香炉，以及其他与神明有关的神圣物品。除了少数特定人员之外，其他人不得进入内殿。人们还相信，九皇大帝和斗姆元君逗留人间时会居住在内殿中。这些专用的房间、神轿、礼器或九皇大帝的名号共同组成了神明不同的表现方式。

本章探讨的是九皇大帝的不同表现形式，试图探讨以下几个问题：九皇大帝的不同表现形式有何独特之处，尤其是以神位为表现形式时？以神主牌而非神像代表九皇大帝的可能原因是什么？如何在更广泛的华人传统宗教、文化和社会背景中理解神明不同表现形式的信仰和实践？在新加坡，庆祝九皇千秋的庙宇和社区的历史、传统及信仰如何影响节日中九皇大帝的表现形式？

九皇大帝的表现形式不仅受到祖灵崇拜的传统、实践和信仰的影响，并与之产生交流和互动，同时也受到许多来自其他方面的影响，包括九皇大帝本身不同的传说和历史、九皇大帝的概念及与其相关的更广泛的宇宙观、神明与信徒和节日参与者的关系，以及关于节日纯洁、神圣和信徒须禁欲的观念。

历史和社会中华人神明的表现形式

关于在史前中国祖先和神明崇拜的形式，我们所了解到的信息大多来自甲骨，其上的甲骨文记载了政治和社会精英的信仰和活动。如今，许多华人庙宇通常以牌位的形式供奉神灵和祖先，但我们仍不清楚这一转变由何时兴起。研究人员一致认为，牌位是商（约公元前1600年-前1046年）周（约公元前1046年-前256年）时期祖先崇拜和中国宗教的特征。逝去先人的名字会被刻在牌位上，通过仪式将其灵魂引于牌内，将牌位请至祠堂供奉之。例如，人们也会通过甲骨文请先人指示现实世界中发生的事情。[2]

[2] David N. Keightley, "The Making of the Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy," in *Religion and Chinese Society, Volume I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong and Paris: The Chinese University of Hong Kong and École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), 3-64；李彤彤，<周代天子观探研>，河北师范大学硕士学位论文，2020年；and Robert Eno, "Shang State Religion and the Pantheon of the Oracle Texts," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 41-102.

This was similarly depicted in later periods. As John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski have noted, celestial phenomena strongly influenced Chinese cosmology and, by extension, early religion. "Celestial symbols such as the sun and moon, in swirling *qi*" and the Four Celestial Constellations started to appear in tombs dated to the Western Han dynasty (202 BCE—9 CE). However, by the Eastern Han (25 CE—220 CE), the prominence of these constellations was displaced "with an increase in anthropomorphic gods: personified representations of the gods of thunder and lightning, wind and rain, who also had a place on the altar of the Eastern Han imperial sacrifice to Heaven, no doubt in tablet form, however".[3]

Previously, it was believed that the introduction of Buddhism into China from the Han dynasty (202 BCE—220 CE) gave rise to the notion that images "not only represented deities but were also deities themselves, capable of profoundly affecting the lives of those around them".[4] However, as recent research by Eric Greene demonstrates, the "worship of sacred icons was seen as a generic religious practice (in early China), not something specifically associated with Buddhism".[5] A case in point is the example of the filial son Ding Lan, whose lifetime was within the Eastern Han dynasty. Ganbao's (fl. 336 CE) notes in the *Search for Deities* of Ding's respectful treatment of an image "as though it was living" that he had personally carved of his mother after losing her at age fifteen. As the account goes, the image of Ding's mother expressed displeasure when a neighbour borrowed something from Ding and bled upon being stabbed by that neighbour who had stolen it out of spite. Ding not only "entombed the image as though it was a human corpse, but reported the neighbour for the transgression as well".[6] Ganbao's anecdote indicates that some commoners may have represented their ancestors via statues sculpted in their likenesses. That said, the extent of this practice remains open to debate.

A similar situation surfaced in the *Book of Curiosities* by compiler Zhang Hua (232—300 CE) regarding the post-death situation of the Yellow Emperor. According to Zhang, "after the Yellow Emperor (2711—2599 BCE) ascended to divinity, his minister Zuo Che carved wood to resemble the Yellow Emperor, and led various marquises to worship (the image) ".[7] It is pertinent to recognise that Zhang's account might not have been a faithful characterisation of events that took place more than two millennia before his lifetime. More vital, here, is the suggestion that carvings and reverences for images representative of one's forebears, cultural heroes and divinities were a consistent part of his time. From the fifth and sixth centuries CE onwards, Daoists and Buddhists also "regarded images as significant aids to veneration and visualization", where veneration and intense concentration upon a deity's image realised the divinity's presence in this world.[8] Despite ancestors, spirits and deities being increasingly represented via physical statuettes and images, spirit-tablets did not completely disappear from use. They continued to remain in use—albeit in different contexts.

While these sources demonstrate that deities and ancestors were represented via images in early China, there remains little insight into everyday religious practices until the Song dynasty (960—1279 CE).[9] As articulated by Valerie Hansen, gods were commonly represented in the form of human-shaped images by the Song dynasty—a practice that continues today.[10] Many accounts collected in Hong Mai's (1123—1202 CE) *Record of Yijian* reflect this practice and highlight how these statuary images came to embody the deities themselves. In one anecdote, an older woman from Huzhou experienced pain in her arm. She dreamt of a "lady in white" who promised that if "my (her) arm is healed, I (she) will cure yours (the old lady's) in return ". Following the apparition's instruction, the senior lady arrived at Chongning Si, where she found "an image of Guanyin...with a damaged arm". Noteworthy is the miraculous healing of the elderly lady's arm after she had commissioned craftsmen to restore the said image of Guanyin.[11]

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[3] John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, introduction to *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 30. Also see the archaeological summaries by 王大有, "6500年前的蚌塑四象二十八宿浑天盖天系统—美学考察引出旷世大发现," 濮阳教育学院学报15:2 (2002): 1-2; and 李学勤, "西水坡 '龙虎墓' 与四象的起源," 中国社会科学院研究生院学报 5 (1988): 75-78.

[4] John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 59. Also see the arrangement of the table of contents and emphases of Buddhism in China as an unspoken turning point in the comprehensive studies undertaken by Angela Falco Howard, Li Song, Wu Hung, and Yang Hong, *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven, London, and Beijing, Yale University Press, 2006); and Ann Paludan, *Chinese Sculpture: A Great Tradition* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 155-260.

[5] Eric M. Greene, "The 'Religion of Images'? Buddhist Image Worship in the Early Medieval Chinese Imagination," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138:3 (2018): 472. As we shall see, the use of spirit-tablets to represent gods and deities in attendance, did not completely disappear despite their personification.

[6] 干宝, 搜神记, supplemental material, section 13, Chinese Text Project, accessed January 6, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=708253.

[7] 张华(232-300 CE), 博物志, chapter 8, section 1, Chinese Text Project, accessed January 6, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=33231.

[8] Quotation from Cheng Hsiao-wen, "Deviant Viewers and Gendered Looks: Erotic Interactions with Images and Visual Culture in Song Popular Religion," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 23. Also see Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Art in Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Center, 2012), 25.

[9] This was partially due to greater accessibility to print, commercialisation and the socio-economic transformations accompanying these processes. Among others, see Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 130-256; "The Song Transformation: Song China (960-1279)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54:5 (2011): 773-780; and Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

[10] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 52-57.

[11] 洪迈 (1123—1202 CE), "夷坚甲志," section 10, paragraph 30, in 夷坚志, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849.

后来渐渐出现以神位代表神明的方式。劳格文（John Lagerwey）和马克（Marc Kalinowski）指出，天象对中国宇宙哲学以及早期宗教都产生了强烈的影响。“在具有流动特性的气当中的天体，如太阳和月亮”，以及四象开始出现在坟墓中，这种现象可追溯至西汉时期（公元前202年-公元9年）。然而，到了东汉时期（公元25年- 220年），这些星宿的突出地位“随着拟人化神明的出现”逐渐被取代了。“东汉皇帝祭天时，掌管雷电风雨之的神明塑像在祭坛上也有一席之地，只不过是以牌位的形式出现。”[3]

据称，汉代（公元前202年-公元220年）佛教传入中国，也带来了这样一种观念，即神像“不仅代表神明，而且本身也是神明，能够深刻影响周围人的生活。”[4] 然而，葛利尹（Eric Greene）在最近的研究中指出：“（在中国早期）对图像的崇拜被视为一种普遍的宗教行为，而不是仅仅与佛教相关的东西。”[5] 东汉时期(公元25年-公元220年)的孝子丁兰就是一个很好的例子。干宝（卒于公元336年）在《搜神记》中记载了丁兰刻母的故事。丁兰十五岁丧母，他刻木奉母，“供养如生。”有邻人来借东西时，如果木像表情不满，丁兰则不愿借出物品。为了报复，邻人恶意偷走木像，并以刀砍之，木像应刀血出。“兰乃瘐殓,报雠。”[6] 这一典故表明，一些平民可能依照先人的模样刻成雕塑，以此供奉祖先，然而这一做法有多普遍仍有待讨论。

同样的，在《博物志》中，张华（公元232年-300年）载道：“黄帝（公元前2711年-前2599年）登仙，其臣左彻者削木象皇帝，帅诸侯以朝之。”[7] 尽管张华难以如实描述发生在他生活时代之前两千多年的事件，但这一记载仍表明，在他的时代，人们为祖先、文化英雄以及神明塑像并供奉之。自公元5-6世纪以来，道教和佛教也“将塑像视为供奉的对象和神明的化身”，对神像的崇拜和关注体现了神明的世俗存在。[8] 尽管祖先、鬼魂和神明越来越多地以有形的塑像出现，牌位并未完全消失，仍在不同的情况下被使用。

虽然这些资料表明，在早期中国，神灵和祖先以塑像的形式呈现，但我们对宋朝（公元960-1279年）以前的日常宗教活动知之甚少。[9] 韩森（Valerie Hansen）指出，宋朝时，神明通常以人的形象出现，这种实践一直延续到今天。[10] 洪迈（公元1123-1202年）的《夷坚志》中所载的许多故事反映了这一点，并强调这些人形神像如何具象化神明的存在。在一则奇闻轶事中，湖州一位老妇人手臂伤痛久不愈。一天夜里，她梦到一“白衣女子”向她保证“尔能医我臂，我亦医尔臂。”依照白衣女子的指示，老妇人来到崇宁寺，见到一“观音像……果一臂损。”她请人修缮观音像，不久后她的手臂也痊愈了。[11]

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[3] John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, introduction to *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 30. 相关考古研究请参阅王大有，<6500年前的蚌塑四象二十八宿浑天盖天系统——美学考察引出旷世大发现>，《濮阳教育学院学报》2002年第2期，页 1-2；李学勤，<西水坡“龙虎墓”与四象的起源>，《中国社会科学学院研究生院学报》1988年第5期，页 75-78。

[4] John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 59. 亦请参阅Angela Falco Howard, Li Song, Wu Hung及Yang Hong的详细研究中目录的安排及佛教在中国得到重视的转折点，见 *Chinese Sculpture* (New Haven, London, and Beijing, Yale University Press, 2006); 及Ann Paludan, *Chinese Sculpture: A Great Tradition* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 155-260.

[5] Eric M. Greene, “The ‘Religion of Images’? Buddhist Image Worship in the Early Medieval Chinese Imagination,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138:3 (2018): 472. 正如我们将看到的，以神位代表神明在场的做法并未局限于宗教当中，同样见于祖先崇拜中。

[6] 干宝（生活于晋朝年间，公元265年-420年），《搜神记》，<补遗> ，第13段，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年1月6日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=708253.

[7] 张华（公元232年-300年），《博物志》，卷八，第1节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年1月6日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=33231.

[8] 引自Cheng Hsiao-wen, “Deviant Viewers and Gendered Looks: Erotic Interactions with Images and Visual Culture in Song Popular Religion,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 23. 亦请参阅Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Art in Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Center, 2012), 25.

[9] 这在一定程度上是由于宋代社会印刷技术的普及、商业化以及随之而来的社会经济转型。相关研究请参阅Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 130-256; “The Song Transformation: Song China (960-1279),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54:5 (2011): 773-780; and Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

[10] Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 52-57.

[11] 洪迈（公元1123年-1202年），<夷坚甲志>第10卷第30章，《夷坚志》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849.

Not only Buddhist divinities, such as Guanyin, were venerated via images. Local deities were represented by human-shaped sculptures crafted in their likeness. Hong Mai's father-in-law, a former official in Yidu, Hubei, once tasked locals to model Deity Song's image after the likeness of a woman in his dreams. Before this, there was uncertainty about the gender of the said deity whom the locals had prayed to and celebrated in the Temple of Deity Song after she came to the region's rescue from "a drought in the summer" with a sudden thunderstorm. Specifically, the grateful devotees were impeded in commissioning an image in the deity's likeness in the refurbished temple as "no one knew whether the deity was male or female, (and despite) consulting various illustrated gazetteers and seniors, no knowledge of the deity's iconography surfaced". Notably, although Deity Song's "reputation for efficacy was heard far and wide" in the region, nobody knew what he or she looked like, indicating that locals may have represented or worshipped her in other forms, or more likely, a spirit-tablet engraved with her name.[12]

Aside from spirit-tablets and physical images, deities were also represented via portraits, murals and paintings in their likenesses.[13] In his study of murals in Yongle Gong (built over the 13th to 14th century CE), Shanxi province, Paul Katz argues that these paintings demarcated ritual spaces, where gods and goddesses depicted in these murals symbolised their attendance at ceremonies that were performed in their honour.[14] Elaborating on Katz's findings in a recent monograph, Lennert Gesterkamp states thus: Paintings of gods and goddesses from the Daoist pantheon, while decorative, were meant to serve religious functions and facilitate the performance of ritual .[15] Similar displays, albeit of reduced extravagance, remain today in Buddhism and Daoism. These include portable portraits of various gods and deities temporarily displayed during key rituals, such as the performance of *zhai* and *jiao* by the latter and the Water and Land Dharma Assembly by the former.[16] Likewise, at "deity receiving stations" related to Nine Emperor Gods temples in contemporary Singapore, such as Kew Huang Keng, paintings of the Nine Emperor Gods, Song Da Feng Zu Shi and Gan Tian Da Di are used to represent these deities.

The various representations of ancestors or patron deities via spirit-tablets, physical sculptures, or paintings are subject to the beliefs and practices of local communities. In present-day Hunan, many "household altars include statues of ancestors" and "ancestral figures who belong to other lineages from other localities, with other surnames". Interestingly, these patron deities-cum-ancestors have been "Daoist ritual masters" who are better characterised as "regional ancestors more than family or village ancestors".[17] In contrast, scholars have noted the lack of veneration of ancestors via images among the southern Chinese and their settlements outside East Asia. Spirit-tablets have, instead, been dedicated in the names of these ancestors. One can posit that such a decision surfaced due to cost efficiency, spatial constraints, and religious-ritual grounds.[18] Moreover, spirit tablets are personalised with the names and particulars of deceased individuals and are always treated with reverence and respect by descendants. The basis of this rests on the belief that the "soul (of the deceased) […] occup[ies] the tablet at times; and at all times the tablet is reserved solely for his use".[19]

[12] 洪迈, "宜都宋仙," in夷坚志, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=114214. To the best of my knowledge, given the massive nature of Hong's work, not every anecdote was compiled into a single text online. Referenced in this citation is a different version of Hong's manuscript drawn from a different source vis-à-vis the previous footnote.

[13] Other physical representations of Chinese deities can be found in wall carvings, paintings, and murals, as evinced by various studies performed on the Mogao Caves located in Dunhuang, Gansu Province (fifth to 14th century CE) and the Longmen Grottoes in Luoyang, Henan (fifth to 12th century CE), among others. An excellent survey of these landmarks and forms of religious art can be found in Roderick Whitfield, Susan Whitfield, Neville Agnew, Lois Conner and Wu Jian, *Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Getty Museum, 2000); 李振刚, 李随森, 张全有and 张丽明, 龙门石窟 (郑州市: 河南人民出版社, 2006); and Ann Paludan, *Chinese Sculpture: A Great Tradition* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2007).

[14] Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 142−149.

[15] Lennert Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China*, 1200-1400 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

[16] For context, see Stephen Little, introduction to *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago and the University of California Press, 2000), 28. Also see 王振武, 民乐佛画瑰宝—水陆画," 丝绸之路, 3 (2012): 47-48; an 柳建新, "泰山岱庙馆藏水陆画初探," 民俗研究 3 (2008): 206-208.

[17] Mark Meulenbeld, "Dancing with the Gods: Daoist Ritual and Popular Religion in Central Hunan," *Comparative Ethnography of Local Daoist Ritual* (2013): 117. A similar framework where the categories of patron deities and ancestors are blurred in Hunan can also be found in Alain Arrault, "Analytic Essay on the Domestic Statuary of Central Hunan: The Cult to Divinities, Parents, and Masters," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 36:1 (2008): 1-53.

[18] 庄英章, "闽客祖先崇拜的比较研究,"中央研究院民族学研究所集刊 69 (1990): 133-160; Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1958), 77-91; 彭俊, "台湾民间供奉的祖先牌位书写之研究,"空大人文学报 29 (2020): 113-138; and Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), passim. Confer with the ethnographic study of ancestral worship ceremonies and the use of spirit-tablets among the Tujia people in Hubei province by Melissa J. Brown, "Ethnic Identity, Cultural Variation, and Processes of Change: Rethinking the Insights of Standardization and Orthopraxy," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 91-124, et passim, but especially from 105-108.

[19] Emily M. Ahern, *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 146.

除了观音等佛教神祇以塑像的形式受到供奉外，当地神明也以与之相似的人形塑像受到供奉。在另一则故事中，洪迈的外舅（岳父）曾在湖北省宜都任职。“盛夏不雨”，邑人向宋仙祠祀神求雨。不久即大雷雨，邑人感激神恩，踊跃出钱修缮庙宇，并想为神明塑像。然而，“莫知仙之为男为女。考诸图志，问于父老，皆无所适从。”后来，洪迈的外舅梦一妇人乘大舆而来。醒来后，他便命人按其梦中所见塑一女仙像。值得注意的是，虽然宋仙祠“极着灵响”，但在当地没有人知道他或她的容貌，这表明时人可能以其他形式代表或崇奉她，很有可能是一个刻有她名字的神位。[12]

除了神位和塑像，神明也可能以肖像、壁画和绘画的形式出现。[13]康豹（Paul Katz）在他对山西省永乐宫（建于13世纪-14世纪）的研究中提出：这些壁画将宗教空间划分出来，壁画中描绘的神明象征着他们出现在宗教仪式上。[14]葛思康（Lennert Gesterkamp）的近着进一步阐述了康豹的论点：道教殿堂中的神明图像虽然具有装饰性，更重要的是其宗教功能，与宗教仪式的进行有关。[15] 时至今日，我们仍然可以看到类似的图像，比如在关键仪式中临时展示的神明画像，见于道教的斋醮科仪以及佛教的水陆法会。[16] 在新加坡，九皇千秋期间，九皇宫的“迎神站”也以九皇大帝、宋大峰祖师以及感天大帝的图像代表神明。

如何呈现祖先或守护神，无论是以神位、塑像还是绘画的形式，往往取决于当地社区的信仰和实践。时至今日，在湖南省部分地区，许多“家庙供奉着祖先的塑像”，以及“其他地区不同血统、不同姓氏的祖宗的塑像。”有趣的是，这些守护神兼祖先是“道教法师”，他们更接近“地区性的先祖，而不是家庭或村庄的祖先。”[17] 相比之下，学者们注意到，在华南地区以及东亚以外的华人聚居地中，华人的祖先很少以塑像的形式受到供奉。相反，人们供奉刻有祖先名字的神位，这可能是基于成本效率、空间限制和宗教仪式的考虑。[18] 神位上刻着先人的姓名和详细资料，后人尊重并奉祀这些神位，因为“人们认为（逝者的）灵魂附着于牌位上；在任何时候，牌位都只属于他。”[19]

[12] 洪迈，<宜都宋仙>，见《夷坚志》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=114214. 据笔者所知，鉴于《夷坚志》规模庞大，并非每则奇闻轶事都被收集到网络上同一文本中。此处所引《夷坚志》来自于与上一脚注不同的版本。

[13] 华人神明的其他有形表现见于石刻、绘画及壁画中，对于甘肃省敦煌市莫高窟（公元5世纪-14世纪）及河南省洛阳市龙门石窟（公元5世纪-12世纪）的研究都证实了这一点。对这些遗址及宗教艺术表现形式的精彩研究，请参阅 Roderick Whitfield, Susan Whitfield, Neville Agnew, Lois Conner and Wu Jian, *Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Getty Museum, 2000)；李振刚，李随森，张全有，张丽明，《龙门石窟》（郑州市：河南人民出版社，2006）；Ann Paludan, *Chinese Sculpture: A Great Tradition* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2007).

[14] Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 142−149.

[15] Lennert Gesterkamp, *The Heavenly Court: Daoist Temple Painting in China*, 1200-1400 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

[16] 相关背景请参阅Stephen Little, introduction to *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago and the University of California Press, 2000), 28. 亦请参阅王振武，<民乐佛画瑰宝——水陆画>，《丝绸之路》2012年第3期，页47-48；柳建新，<泰山岱庙馆藏水陆画初探>，《民俗研究》2008年第3期，页206-208。

[17] Mark Meulenbeld, “Dancing with the Gods: Daoist Ritual and Popular Religion in Central Hunan,” *Comparative Ethnography of Local Daoist Ritual* (2013): 117. 在湖南也可见到守护神和祖先之间界线模糊的情况，请参阅 Alain Arrault, “Analytic Essay on the Domestic Statuary of Central Hunan: The Cult to Divinities, Parents, and Masters,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 36:1 (2008): 1-53.

[18] 庄英章，<闽客祖先崇拜的比较研究>，《中央研究院民族学研究所集刊》1990年第69期，页133-160；Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1958), 77-91；彭俊，<台湾民间供奉的祖先牌位书写之研究>，《空大人文学报》2020年第29期，页113-138；Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 全文皆有涉及。请参阅Melissa J. Brown对湖北省土家族的祭祖仪式和牌位使用的民族学研究，“Ethnic Identity, Cultural Variation, and Processes of Change: Rethinking the Insights of Standardization and Orthopraxy,” *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 91-124, 全文皆有涉及，尤其见页105-108。

[19] Emily M. Ahern, *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973), 146.

It cannot be denied that social and political circumstances have greatly influenced decisions on how to best represent honored individuals, ancestors, or deities. The representation of Confucius (551—479 BCE) in worship, for example, has been subject to consistent debate and regulation amongst the prominent members of the literati and policymakers in late-imperial China. During the Tang (618—907 CE) and Song dynasties, it was not uncommon to find images of Confucius and his disciples being revered .[20] Nevertheless, an evident shift to name-inscribed spirit-tablets occurred in 1530 after the Jiajing emperor's (1521—1567 CE) revision of the status of Confucius and his disciples in state-sponsored sacrifices. An exception, however, was made for the Confucius Temple in Qufu, Shandong, where a seated image of the sage in the garments of an emperor was revered alongside a spirit-tablet until the destructions that occurred during the Cultural Revolution (1966—1976).[21]

A common sight in contemporary temples in China is the veneration of both a spirit-tablet and an image of the same deity on altars. This highlights the possibility of the coexistence of different representations of identical divinities.[22] This practice has been sustained to the present day in some Chinese institutions in Southeast Asia, such as Singapore's Gangzhou Huiguan [Kong Chow Wui Koon] (founded 1839)—which worships both images and spirit-tablets dedicated to Guan Di and other deities.[23]

In other contexts, using a spirit tablet the written word to symbolise the attendance of deities and ancestors remains apparent. Despite the possibilities of gods assuming the forms of sculptures, these also occur via inscribed spirit-tablets or papers. Gao Bingzhong and Ma Qiang note in their study of the Dragon Tablet Fair in Fanzhuang Town, Hebei Province, that alongside the veneration of various deities in the ceremony, "the dragon god alone is portrayed on a tablet; all other spiritual entities are depicted in portraits" up till today.[24] Similarly, in his survey of Peranakan families in Northern Kelantan between 1977 and 1980, Tan Chee-Beng came across many households who did not venerate consecrated images but merely inscribed the names of their patron deities on a piece of red paper. In several households in Kampung Kasar, for example, "only the Chinese character *shen*, i.e. god, is written on the red sheet of paper", and this was likewise the case for Chinese families in Bangkok, Thailand.[25] The understanding is that this was a common arrangement of deity representations in less well-to-do households. However, the mass production of deity images in the present has compromised this pattern.[26] In many instances, the absence of an image on an altar characterised the worship of local gods or shrines dedicated to the vicinity's wandering spirits.[27]

Additionally, Chinese deities have taken the form of natural phenomena. Witnessed in ancient China were altars comprising mounds of earth in honour of *the* deity. This practice originated from worshipping the deity Zouwei from the Xia (c. 2070—1600 BCE) till the Zhou dynasties.[28] The later *Conference of the White Tiger Hall*, a collection of debates and findings compiled by Ban Gu (32—92 CE), similarly established that "the expanse of land is vast, and it is impossible to honour all of it… (thus), the establishment of *she* is premised on a mound of earth to show esteem to it".[29]

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[20] Julia K. Murray, "Confucian Iconography," in *Modern Chinese Religion, Volume One: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 801-802.

[21] Julia K. Murray, "'Idols' in the Temple: Icons and the Cult of Confucius," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68:2 (2009): 371–411. Also see Deborah Sommer, "*Images into Words: Ming Confucian Iconoclasm*," National Palace Museum Bulletin 29 (1994): 1-24; and "Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian temple," in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Temple of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 95–133.

[22] For example, see 汤毓贤, 两岸共仰漳台圣宗, (福州: 福建教育出版社, 2012 Fuzhou: Fujian Education Publishing, 2012), 26, cited in Tang, "长乐漳港显应宫出土开漳圣王神像之探究," 34.

[23] Kenneth Dean and Hue Guan Thye, *Chinese Epigraphy in Singapore* 1819-1911, 1819-1911, volume II, (Singapore: NUS Press; Guilin City: Guangxi Normal University, 2016), 781.

[24] Gao Bingzhong and Ma Qiang, "From Grassroots Association to Civil Society Organization: A Case Study of the Hebei Province Dragon Tablet Fair," in *Social Scientific Studies of Religion in China*, ed. Yang Fenggang and Graeme Lang (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 200-201. Also see 岳永逸 Yue Yongyi and 蔡加琪 Cai Jiaqi, "庙会的非遗化, 学界书写及中国民俗学: 龙牌会研究三十年" 民族文学研究 35:6 (2017): 36-52. Why the deity was represented in such a form, however, remains unclear.

[25] Tan Chee-Beng, "Peranakan Chinese in Northeast Kelantan with Special Reference to Chinese Religion," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 55:1 (1982): 44-45. Also see the case of the Fengshan Huiguan in Singapore (founded 1873) where their patron deities and ancestral spirits were only depicted as spirit-tablets, as noted in Dean and Hue, *Chinese Epigraphy in Singapore*, volume II, 751.

[26] For example, see Aaron K. Reich, "In the Shadow of the Spirit Image: The Production, Consecration, and Enshrinement of a Daoist Statue in Northern Taiwan," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:2 (2021): 265-324.

[27] On the lack of any images in shrines devoted to wandering ghosts and spirits, see Lin Wei-Ping, "Mother Ghost Seeks a Human Son-in-Law: Ghost Shrines in Taiwan," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 13:2 (2018): 198-204; and Robert P. Weller, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: The Macmillan Press, 1987), 60-89. Exceptions, however, can exist during unique rituals that are performed to ensure the salvation of these spirits, as noted by李慧国, "河西走廊水陆画中的 '无主孤魂图' 略论," 贵州大学学报 (艺术版) 31:4 (2017): 84-88.

[28] Kominami Ichirô, "Rituals for the Earth," *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 206-207.

[29] Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE), "社稷," paragraph 1, in 白虎通, accessed March 1, 2022, Chinese Text Project, https://ctext.org/bai-hu-tong/she-ji/zh.

以塑像或神位的形式来代表受尊敬的个人、祖先或神明的做法也受到当时社会和政治环境的影响。例如，祭孔行为中如何呈现孔子（公元前551-479年）一直是中华帝国晚期文人和决策者们争论的主题。唐（公元618-907年）宋（公元960-1279年）时期，祭祀孔子及其弟子的塑像的现象并不罕见。[20] 公元1530年，嘉靖皇帝（1521-1567年在位）整改朝廷举行的祭拜孔子仪式，下令将孔子的塑像换为刻有名字的牌位。然而，山东曲阜的孔庙却是个例外，在那里，穿着皇帝服饰的孔子坐像被供奉于神位旁，直到文革期间（1966-1976年）才被烧毁。[21]

直到今天，在中国许多庙宇中，祭坛上供奉着神位和同一位神明的塑像是很常见的现象，这表明同一神明的不同表现形式可以同时存在。[22] 在东南亚的华人团体中也是如此，例如，新加坡的冈州会馆（建于1839年）同时供奉着关帝及其他神明的塑像和牌位。[23]

尽管神明常以塑像的形式出现，但也可以以写有称号的神位或纸张的形式出现。在某些情况下，使用神位或文字来象征神明和祖先的做法也很常见。高丙中和马强在研究河北省范庄镇龙牌会时注意到，在龙牌会上会祭拜各种神灵，“只有龙神被刻在碑上；所有其他神灵都是以图像的形式出现。”[24] 类似地，陈志明（Tan Chee-Beng）在1977年至1980年期间对吉兰丹北部土生华人家庭的调查发现，许多家庭只把守护神的名字写在一张红纸上，并不设神像祭拜。例如，在Kampung Kasar和泰国曼谷的一些华人家庭中，中“用红色的纸上书写汉字‘神’以供奉。”[25] 在不太富裕的家庭中，这也是一种常见的表示神明存在的方式。在今天，随着神像的大量生产，这种方式逐渐被取代。[26] 通常而言，供奉当地神灵或是附近地区的孤魂野鬼时则不设神像。[27]

除了以雕塑、图像和神位的形式出现，华人供奉的神明也可能以自然现象的形式呈现。在中国古代，祭祀社神的祭坛是一堆泥土，这一习俗起源于夏朝（约公元前2070年-前1600年）到周朝（约公元前1046年-前256年）对被称为莅位的神明的崇拜。[28] 相似地，班固（公元32年-92年）整理的经学辩论和结果称“土地广博，不可遍敬……祭也。故封土立社，示有土尊。”[29]

[20] Julia K. Murray, “Confucian Iconography,” in *Modern Chinese Religion, Volume One: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 801-802.

[21] Julia K. Murray, “‘Idols’ in the Temple: Icons and the Cult of Confucius,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68:2 (2009): 371–411. 亦请参阅Deborah Sommer, “*Images into Words*: *Ming Confucian Iconoclasm*,”《故宫通讯》1994年第29期，页1-24；“Destroying Confucius: Iconoclasm in the Confucian temple,” in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Temple of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 95–133.

[22] 例如，请参阅汤毓贤，《两岸共仰漳台圣宗》（福州：福建教育出版社，2012），页26，转引自汤漳平，<长乐漳港显应宫出土开漳圣王神像之探究>，页34.

[23] Kenneth Dean， Hue Guan Thye，*Chinese Epigraphy in Singapore* 1819-1911， (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016), 781.。

[24] Gao Bingzhong and Ma Qiang, “From Grassroots Association to Civil Society Organization: A Case Study of the Hebei Province Dragon Tablet Fair,” in *Social Scientific Studies of Religion in China*, ed. Yang Fenggang and Graeme Lang (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 200-201. 亦请参阅岳永逸，蔡加琪，<庙会的非遗化，学界书写及中国民俗学：龙牌会研究三十年>，《民族文学研究》2017年第6期，页36-52。以龙牌表示龙神的原因尚不清楚。

[25] Tan Chee-Beng, “Peranakan Chinese in Northeast Kelantan with Special Reference to Chinese Religion,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 55:1 (1982): 44-45. 新加坡丰顺会馆（Foong Shoon Fui Kuan，成立于1873年）的守护神和祖灵只以神位供奉，请参阅Dean and Hue, *Chinese Epigraphy in Singapore*, volume II, 751.

[26] 例如，请参阅Aaron K. Reich, “In the Shadow of the Spirit Image: The Production, Consecration, and Enshrinement of a Daoist Statue in Northern Taiwan,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:2 (2021): 265-324.

[27] 关于神坛中不为无主孤魂设像，请参阅Lin Wei-Ping, “Mother Ghost Seeks a Human Son-in-Law: Ghost Shrines in Taiwan,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 13:2 (2018): 198-204; and Robert P. Weller, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: The Macmillan Press, 1987), 60-89. 然而，在一些专为超度无主孤魂的特殊仪式中也有例外，请参阅李慧国，<河西走廊水陆画中的“无主孤魂图”略论>，《贵州大学学报（艺术版）》2017年第4期，页84-88。

[28] Kominami Ichirô, “Rituals for the Earth,” *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han* (1250 BC–220 AD), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 206-207.

[29] 班固（公元32年-92年），<社稷>第1段，见《白虎通》， 访问日期：2022年3月1日，中国哲学书电子化计划，https://ctext.org/bai-hu-tong/she-ji/zh.

Aside from earth mounds, a single prominent tree or a cluster of trees or stones have also been symbolic of the *she* deity. While these beliefs and practices survived in some form up into late imperial China, they were also subject to anthropomorphisation, adaptation and change.[30] In his study of the divinity's worship in western Fujian, for example, Kenneth Dean describes a complaint registered by the Neo-Confucian Hu Bingwen (1250—1333), who bemoaned the languishing practice of establishing *she* altars in accordance with old customs. To Hu's displeasure, there was a noticeable aesthetic shift in which the said shrines increasingly took the form of buildings with walls covered with paintings of the deity and his wife in human form.[31]

Taking into account the premise that divinities can be symbolically represented and invoked, there is an observable trend wherein practitioners of Daoist rituals during the Han dynasty (202 BCE—220 CE) depicted multiple deities as talismans inscribed with "figurative signs and formal symbols." In this form, they "might serve as a manifestation of cosmic energies, a geomantic chart, the representation of a deity, an edict from the spirit world", among other possible functions.[32] By exercising religious discipline and consistent practice, Daoist adepts sought to conceptualise the "true form " of the divinities that they wished to visualise, where "the inner, invisible, and formless quality of an entity, in contrast to its outer, visible, and concrete attributes" could be comprehended in its entirety.[33] Many sacred landmarks and deities in the Daoist pantheon, such as the Five Sacred Mountains and the seven stars of the Northern Dipper, have been represented in talismanic writings.[34]

Complementary to civilian worship, state rituals performed by emperors in imperial China also represented deities via symbols. Such practices have a long antecedent that dates to early China, where the Sons of Heaven and the bureaucrats under their supervision were charged with periodically presenting sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, and other celestial phenomena.[35] For example, no images of any sky deities were found within the premises of the Temple of Heaven, constructed for the said purpose during the reign of the Yongle emperor (1402—1424) in Beijing. Instead, the temple was designed and coloured to express "the limitlessness, loftiness and extensiveness of the sky, impressively visualizing the imagery of a supreme heaven".[36] Later Qing emperors and even Yuan Shikai (1859—1916 CE) also worshipped at the Temple of Heaven, where they mediated this-worldly and celestial powers through performing various rituals.[37] Till today, in many Chinese temples in Southeast Asia, the Jade Emperor is rarely venerated as an image despite the belief that the deity occupies the highest seat in the heavenly pantheon.[38] Across various temples, regardless of the method of veneration chosen, there has been a consistent prioritization of venerating the Jade Emperor by worshipping in the direction of the sky, before incense is offered to other honored deities.

[30] Ichirô, "Rituals for the Earth," 204-220. Also see 田文德, "先秦时期土地神, 社神信仰浅析, 青年文学家35 (2017): 53-55; and the detailed study by 沈阳, "唐宋土地神信仰研究" (M. A. thesis, 南京大学, 2015).

[31] Kenneth Dean, "Transformations of the *she* 社 (Altars of the Soil) in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998): 25-26 [19–75]. In postcolonial Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaysia and Singapore, tutelary deities known as Datoks are also venerated by Chinese devotees in the forms of sacred stone and rock formations. That said, they may also be venerated as human images dressed in traditional Malay clothing as well. See Cheu Hock Tong, "The Datuk Kong Spirit Cult Movement in Penang: Being and Belonging in Multi-ethnic Malaysia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23:2 (1992): 381-404; and Goh Beng-Lan, "Malay - Muslim Spirits and Malaysian Capitalist Modernity: A Study of Keramat Propitiation among Property Developers in Penang," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46:3 (2005): 307-321.

[32] Catherine Despeux, "Talismans and Diagrams," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 538.

[33] Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 135. In this regard, several aspects of Daoist practice and belief differ from their Chinese Buddhist counterparts, where the Buddha and his attendants are almost always rendered in concrete and humanised forms, in idem, 136. Confer with James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 48:2 (2008): 130-169.

[34] Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 135- 188. Also see 姜生, "东岳真形图的地图学研究," 历史研究6 (2008): 34-51.

[35] For a detailed treatment of this issue, see Lester James Bilsky, "The State Religion of Ancient China" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1971).

[36] Guo Huadong, *Atlas of Remote Sensing for World Heritage: China* (Beijing, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, and London: Science Press and Springer, 2013), 31.

[37] For example, see 李光伟, "康熙天坛祈雨的历史书写与史实考析—兼论康熙雍正灾异观念演变及其影响," 清史研究 1 (2022): 1-20; and Aida Yuen Wong, "Monarchist Ambition in China's New Republic: Illustrated Manual of Dress for Ritual Sacrifice for Yuan Shikai's Presidency," in *Fashion, Identity, and Power in Modern Asia*, ed. Kyunghee Pyun, Aida Yuen Wong (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 69-89.

[38] As observed from exploring various temples in Singapore, this is a recent trend. Some temples used to only venerate a spirit-tablet dedicated to the Jade Emperor of Heaven. Now, temples harness an image in addition to the title of the worship deity. See, for example, the case of Hai Lam Sua Tee Kong Toa (founded 1904) in Singapore, where a physical image of the Jade Emperor of Heaven was consecrated after their refurbishment in the 2000s.

除了石头之外，社神还可能以其他形式来表现，比如一棵大树，或者从泥土中生长出来的树丛。虽然这些信仰和实践以某种形式延续到中华帝国晚期，但它们也受到了人格化的影响，逐渐适应并发生变化。[30] 例如，丁荷生（Kenneth Dean）在对福建地区社神信仰的研究中记载了胡炳文（公元1250-1333年）的抱怨，他哀叹福建西部的社坛不再按照旧俗设于屋外。令胡炳文不满的是，这些社坛被建成庙宇的形式，庙内墙上挂满了社神及其妻子的人格化绘画。[31]

自汉朝以来，在神明可以通过象征形式表现的前提下，道教仪式专家用“具象的符号和正式的象征”，将某些神明绘于符纸上。符纸“可能作为宇宙能量的表现、风水图、神明的化身或来自灵界的律令”，以及其他可能的功能。[32] 通过实行宗教戒律和一致的实践，道家专家试图将神明可见的“真形”概念化，从而呈现“神明内在的、不可见的和无形的品质，相对于其外部的、可见的和具体的属性。”[33] 许多道教中的神圣地标和神明，例如五岳和北斗七星，都以符箓的形式呈现其真形。[34]

在中国古代帝王祭祀天地的仪式中，神明也以象征的形式出现。这种做法可以追溯到中国早期，天子及其官员定期举行祭祀天、地和其他天象的活动。[35] 例如，在明永乐年间（公元1402-1424年）为祭祀天地修建的天坛中，并没有任何天神的图像。相反，天坛的设计和色彩体现了“天空的无垠、崇高和广阔，极大地展现了壮丽的天堂意象。”[36] 后来的清朝皇帝，甚至袁世凯（公元1859-1916年）也在天坛祭天，通过各种仪式来调解世俗和天上的力量。[37] 直到今天，在东南亚的许多华人庙宇中，尽管人们相信玉皇大帝是天庭的最高统治者，但很少有人以神像供奉玉皇大帝。[38] 信徒通常先面朝天空向玉皇大帝表示敬意，然后才向祭拜庙宇内其他神明。

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[30] Ichirô, “Rituals for the Earth,” 204-220. 亦请参阅田文德，<先秦时期土地神、社神信仰浅析>，《青年文学家》2017年第35期，页53-55；详细研究请参阅沈阳，《唐宋土地神信仰研究》，南京大学硕士学位论文，2015年。

[31] Kenneth Dean, “Transformations of the *she* 社 (Altars of the Soil) in Fujian,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998): 25-26 [19–75]. 在后殖民时代的东南亚，尤其是马来西亚和新加坡，被称为拿督的守护神也受到华人信徒的崇敬，通常以石头等自然物的形式出现，也可能是身穿传统马来服装的老者形象。请参阅Cheu Hock Tong, “The Datuk Kong Spirit Cult Movement in Penang: Being and Belonging in Multi-ethnic Malaysia,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23:2 (1992): 381-404; Goh Beng-Lan, “Malay - Muslim Spirits and Malaysian Capitalist Modernity: A Study of Keramat Propitiation among Property Developers in Penang,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46:3 (2005): 307-321.

[32] Catherine Despeux, “Talismans and Diagrams,” in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 538.

[33] Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 135. 在神明“真形”这一点上，道教的实践和信仰与汉传佛教有所不同，在汉传佛教中，佛陀多是以人的样貌出现的，见前引，页136。请参阅James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48:2 (2008): 130-169.

[34] Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 135- 188. 请参阅姜生，<东岳真形图的地图学研究>，《历史研究》2008年第6期，页34-51。

[35] 关于天子祭天的详细讨论，请参阅Lester James Bilsky, “The State Religion of Ancient China” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1971).

[36] Guo Huadong, *Atlas of Remote Sensing for World Heritage: China* (Beijing, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, and London: Science Press and Springer, 2013), 31.

[37] 例如，请参阅李光伟，<康熙天坛祈雨的历史书写与史实考析——兼论康熙雍正灾异观念演变及其影响>，《清史研究》2022年第1期，页1-20；Aida Yuen Wong, “Monarchist Ambition in China’s New Republic: Illustrated Manual of Dress for Ritual Sacrifice for Yuan Shikai’s Presidency,” in *Fashion, Identity, and Power in Modern Asia*, ed. Kyunghee Pyun, Aida Yuen Wong (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 69-89.

[38] 笔者在实地考察时发现，供奉玉皇上帝神像的现象是最近才在新加坡变得常见。一些庙宇过去只以神位供奉，如今改为以神像供奉玉皇上帝。例如，新加坡海南山天公坛（建于1904年）在2000年代整修后开始供奉玉皇上帝的神像。请参阅《庙宇文化》第二卷。

As such, in most instances, no two depictions of the same deity are exactly alike, and divinities were usually represented in forms that spoke most clearly to their devotees within a specific historical context. To be sure, this is not unique to Chinese religion and has been commented upon extensively by scholars working in other religions, be it from the front of animistic, institutional, or personalised belief systems.[39] Such variations can be illustrated through studies of Bi Xia Yuan Jun's worship in imperial China. Despite the extensive worship of the deity that transcended class and gender—peasants, eunuchs, courtesans, and women, visible were the varied conceptualisations of the deity. These witnessed conceptualisations echoed different ideals embraced by the communities venerating her. When represented as a young woman, her devotees "dressed her gaudily", but she had also been depicted as "much older, staid and matronly but still rather lavishly attired." Paintings of the same goddess at a Daoist monastery that was "patronised by Qing court women" described "a simply clothed woman without jewels who did not look at the viewer and seemed neither sexual nor maternal".[40]

The proliferation of different representations of Bi Xia Yuan Jun was extremely common in late imperial China. As James Watson, Prasenjit Duara, and other scholars had noted in various case studies of various Chinese divinities, it was entirely possible for distinctive and separate depictions of the same Chinese divinities to co-exist with one another, a process that was facilitated partially by the influence of the imperial Chinese state. In his study of Tian Hou, for example, Watson demonstrates how devotees were able to express "diametrically opposed representations" of the same goddess, which he traced to the machinations of the imperial Chinese state that "promoted symbols and not beliefs".[41] Elaborating on Watson's hypothesis, Duara argues that Qing patronage of Guan Di's worship superscribed new roles, iconographies and identities upon the deity's popularity across many segments of Chinese society. By super-imposing its understanding and intentions upon local followings of the same deity, the Chinese state "sought to draw on their symbolic power even while it established its dominance over them". This was as opposed to campaigning for their eradication. In this manner, the Chinese state introduced some cultural homogeneity in areas of deity worship while allowing local traditions to co-exist with the narratives, values, and icons the state championed.[42]

Considering the potential for different interpretations and representations of a single deity across religions, these apply to the diverse centers of Nine Emperor Gods worship in Southeast Asia. Beyond China, the Nine Emperor Gods have since been illustrated via spirit-tablets, statue(s)—a single consolidated version, nine separate sculptures, paintings, or a combination of the mentioned. Distinctive of the Nine Emperor Gods worship was the autonomous and contrasting development from the Qing state's (1644—1911 CE) control and regulation as opposed to the cases of Tianhou and Guan Di as per Watson and Duara's discussion.[43] In many ways, as we shall see, several stories of the Nine Emperor Gods emphasised their opposition against the Qing dynasty, efforts to restore the Ming, and by extension, resistance towards foreign imperial authority. In several instances, the symbolism of the Nine Emperor Gods also became associated with pirate figures reminiscent of Robin Hood, who opposed the concentration of commercial wealth and control over maritime spaces. While additional research and exploration are needed, these reinterpretations possibly explain the diverse representations of the titular deities in Southeast Asia, independent of Qing influence.

Nevertheless, regardless of the varied representations of the Nine Emperor Gods beyond China, one consistent practice has been interwoven across all of the fifteen temples documented in Singapore—the representation of the deities' arrival via a consecrated censer. The closing of the eighth lunar month usually sees the preparation of at least one censer to represent the deities' arrival, testifying to its importance in signalling the beginning and end of the festival. These censers' symbolism will be addressed in detail in the following chapter.

As this brief survey has demonstrated, multi-fold representations exist of any single deity—not only in Chinese religion but also across all religions. The broader contextual circumstances and significances underlie these various symbolisms. Specifically, the representation of the Nine Emperor Gods via spirit-tablets draws on older ancestor- and deity-worship practices. It is intimately connected to stories about the deities' origins in their different manifestations. This chapter seeks to delve into the depictions of the Nine Emperor Gods and the contexts behind the illustrations selected by the various temples and communities. Light will also be shed upon the shared forms of deity-representation witnessed across these temples, including objects (censer that is discussed in the next chapter), other deities (Dou Mu Yuan Juan), and spaces (Inner Chamber).

[39] Among others, see Vineeta Sinha, *A New God in the Diaspora?: Muneeswaran Worship in Contemporary Singapore* (Singapore and Leifsgade, Denmark: NUS and NIAS Press, 2005) 39-90; David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1997); Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); and Richard Olaf Winstedt, "'Karamat': Sacred Places and Persons in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2: 3 (1924): 264–79.

[40] Kenneth Pomeranz, "Orthopraxy, Orthodoxy, and the Goddess(es) of Taishan," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 24. On the popularity of the goddess and her evolution, see王元林and孟昭锋, "论碧霞元君信仰扩展与道教, 国家祭祀的关系,"世界宗教研究1 (2010): 104-113.

[41] James L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ("Empress of Heaven") along the South China Coast, 960–1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 292–324. In addition, see Michael Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56:1 (1997): 113-135.

[42] Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 783. Confer with the notion of "reverberation" outlined by Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 114-116; and *Images of the Immortal*, 23, 50, 192 and 198 where varying conceptions of a Chinese deity may occur at and feedback into various parts of imperial Chinese society, instead of the state alone.

[43] Confer with the notion of a Chinese "religious Zomia" in postcolonial Southeast Asia as per one characterisation by 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗、信仰与文化 (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2020), 22, 358, 400, 487, 498, 516. While Li's characterisation is a useful heuristic, his observation can still be refined even further. We will address this in greater detail in our subsequent peer-reviewed publications.

因此，在大多数情况下，对同一神明的呈现没有两种完全相同的形式。神明通常以最能与其信徒沟通的形式呈现。可以肯定的是，这一特点并非华人宗教所独有的，无论是泛灵论、制度化的宗教还是个人信仰，都是如此，宗教研究的学者都对此进行了广泛的讨论。[39] 中华帝国时期对碧霞元君的崇拜便体现了这一点。农民、宦官、各个阶层的妇女包括名妓都供奉碧霞元君。然而，不同群体对这位女神的认识并不一致，所信奉的观念也不尽相同。如果信徒认为碧霞元君是年轻女性，她"被打扮得花枝招展"，相反地，她则被描绘成"年纪较大、保守沉着，但仍然穿着华丽的主妇"。而在"清朝后宫女性拜访的"道观中，碧霞元君的画像是"一位衣着朴实、不戴珠宝的女人，她望向别处，看起来既不性感也没有母性。"[40]

在中华帝国晚期，碧霞元君具有不同表现形式是相当普遍的。正如华琛（James Watson）、杜赞奇（Prasenjit Duara）以及其他学者在对华人神明的个案研究中所指出的，同一神祇可能具有不同而独特的描述，这在一定程度上受到了中华帝国政府的影响。例如，华琛在他对天后的研究中展示了天后对于地方上不同人群具有"截然相反的象征意味"，他将之总结为中国帝国晚期中国政府"倡导的是象征而非信仰"的策略。[41] 杜赞奇拓展了华琛的假设，他认为清朝时期的关帝崇拜刻画了（superscribed）关帝在中国社会许多阶层中广受欢迎的新角色、形象和身份。通过将官方阐释加诸神明既有民间阐释之上，中国政府"试图在收编神明的基础上，利用他们的象征力量"，而不是彻底消灭这些神明。通过这种方式，中国政府在崇拜这些神灵的地方注入了文化统一性，同时允许当地传统与国家支持的叙事、价值观和图标共存。[42]

同一神明能以不同形式呈现的观念也见于东南亚的九皇信仰社区。在中国之外，九皇大帝出现的形式可能是神位、一尊雕像或九尊独立的雕塑、绘画，或以上的组合。然而，与华琛讨论的天后以及杜赞奇讨论的关帝个案不同，某种程度上，东南亚的九皇信仰是在清朝（公元1644-1911年）的控制和规范之外自主发展起来的。[43] 正如我们将看到的，有关九皇大帝起源的几种说法突出了他们反清复明的情结，进而延伸为对外国政权的抵抗。在一些故事中，绿林好汉式的海盗九皇爷也反对通过控制海洋空间从而控制商业财富。虽然现在下结论还为时过早，但这些叙述表明了九皇大帝在东南亚具有不同的描述，且不受清朝的影响。尽管在中国之外，代表九皇大帝的方式不一而足，但我们所研究的15座新加坡庙宇在一点上是一致的——随着农历八月接近尾声，每座庙宇都会准备至少一个香炉，以象征神明的到来。这证明了香炉具有标志节日的开始和结束的重要性。这些香炉的象征意义将在下一章中详细讨论。

如上所述，同一神明可能会有不同的表现形式。这不是华人宗教独有的现象，在其他宗教传统中也很普遍。表现形式通常反映了更广泛的意义和内涵。因此，以神位呈现九皇大帝借鉴了古老的实践，在今天，牌位通常只代表祖先。以神位而不是（人格化的）雕像来代表九皇大帝的实践与其起源故事密切相关。本章接下来将讨论九皇大帝的其他表现形式，不同表现形式体现了特定社区或庙宇的传统，以及他们对九皇大帝的身份及起源故事的不同理解。尽管如此，人们关于九皇大帝和九皇千秋的重要性及其传统存在一定的共识，因此在节日中也能看到了某些一致的现象，例如香炉（将在下一章讨论）、内殿，以及斗姆元君。

[39] 相关研究请参阅Vineeta Sinha, *A New God in the Diaspora?: Muneeswaran Worship in Contemporary Singapore* (Singapore and Leifsgade, Denmark: NUS and NIAS Press, 2005) 39-90; David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1997); Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); and Richard Olaf Winstedt, "'Karamat': Sacred Places and Persons in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2: 3 (1924): 264–79.

[40] Kenneth Pomeranz, "Orthopraxy, Orthodoxy, and the Goddess(es) of Taishan," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 24. 关于碧霞元君信仰的流行和变迁，请参阅王元林、孟昭锋，<论碧霞元君信仰扩展与道教，国家祭祀的关系>，《世界宗教研究》2010年第1期，页104-113。

[41] James L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ("Empress of Heaven") along the South China Coast, 960–1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 292–324. 此外，请参阅Michael Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56:1 (1997): 113-135.

[42] Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 783. 参考康豹（Paul R. Katz）提出的"回响（reverberation）"的概念，请参阅*Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 114-116; *Images of the Immortal*, 23, 50, 192 and 198. 在中华帝国社会的不同阶层中，华人神明的形象和概念可能有所不同，而不仅仅是针对国家而言。

[43] 有关后殖民时期东南亚的一个特点，即华人"宗教Zomia"的概念，请参阅李丰楙，《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗，信仰与文化》（台北：国立台湾大学出版中心，2020），页22, 358, 400, 487, 498, 516。虽然李丰楙的描述具有启发性，但他的观察仍有待修正，我们将在随后的同行评审出版物中更详细地讨论这个话题。

Representations of the Nine Emperor Gods in China

Unlike the gods described above, there are few definite references to the Nine Emperor Gods. Expected, thus, is also the lack of varied representations of the said deities in China. The earliest portraits of references to these deities can be found in the "Chart of the Nine Emperors" contained within the DZ640 (compiled late fifth to early sixth century CE). In the Chart, the Nine Emperors were graded according to a scale of Initial, Middle, and Latter Emperors and were charged with overseeing Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. Instructions were also appended on visualising these gods for personal protection and longevity.[44] These accompanying portraits served a purpose beyond mere decoration or chance; they were intended to assist the adept in visualizing the arrival and presence of the gods, ensuring longevity and protection from demonic attacks and illnesses.[45]



[44] "洞神八帝妙精经," pages 000-006a to 000-011b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0021/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Scripture of the Wondrous Essence of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon" and introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 266-267.

[45] 谢世维, "中古道教史中的三皇文传统研究," 清华学报44:1 (2014): 34; and Dominic Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns: From Local Lore to Institutional Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 102-105.

九皇大帝在中国的表现形式

与上述其他神明不同，在中国，有关九皇大帝的记载少之又少。最早有关九皇大帝的画像见DZ640《洞神八帝妙精经》（编于公元5世纪末-6世纪初）中的《九皇图》。在这副画像中，九皇被分为初、中、后三皇，分别监督天、地、人。图像旁还附有指示，说明如何能最好地呈现这些神明，以保佑个人并延长寿命。[44] 经文中附有肖像并非偶然，也不是为了装饰。图像能帮助人们想象神明的出现和降临，从而使人免受恶魔和疾病的攻击，并延长人的寿命。[45]



Emperors belonging to the Initial Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640.

DZ640 《洞神八帝妙精经》《九皇图》中的初皇

[44]《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-006a to 000-011b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0021/000. 原稿被译为"Scripture of the Wondrous Essence of the Eight Emperors, of the Dongshen Canon"并收录于Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 266-267.

[45] 谢世维，<中古道教史中的三皇文传统研究>，《清华学报》2014年第1期，页34；Dominic Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns: From Local Lore to Institutional Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 102-105.



Emperors belonging to the Middle Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640经.

DZ640 《洞神八帝妙精经》《九皇图》中的中皇





◂
Emperors belonging to the Last Tier in the Chart of the Nine Emperors, DZ640经.

DZ640 《洞神八帝妙精经》《九皇图》中的后皇

[46] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.

[47] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.

[48] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-007a and page 000-008a.

[49] "洞神八帝妙精经," page 000-009b.

The first trio of Emperors belonging to the Initial Tier all "adopt[ed] human form[s] donned in official garb[s] [whilst] holding jade tablets".[46] As for the Emperors in the Middle Tier, they "espouse[d] striking theriomorphic forms" where "the Heavenly Emperor had a human face resting on top of a snake's body with thirteen heads". [47] The Earthly Emperor also had the body of a snake and eleven human heads. Similarly, the "Humanly Emperor was a human-faced individual with a dragon's body and nine heads".[48] Finally, the Latter Tier of Emperors included Baoxi, alias Fuxi (2000 BCE), as the Latter Emperor of Heaven; Nuwa as the Latter Emperor of Earth; and Shennong as the Latter Emperor of Humankind. In contrast to the Initial Tier, all three divinities of this Latter Tier were described as part human and part animal. Fuxi and Nuwa, for example, had serpentine bodies and human faces, whereas Shennong had the "face of a cow and a human body".[49]

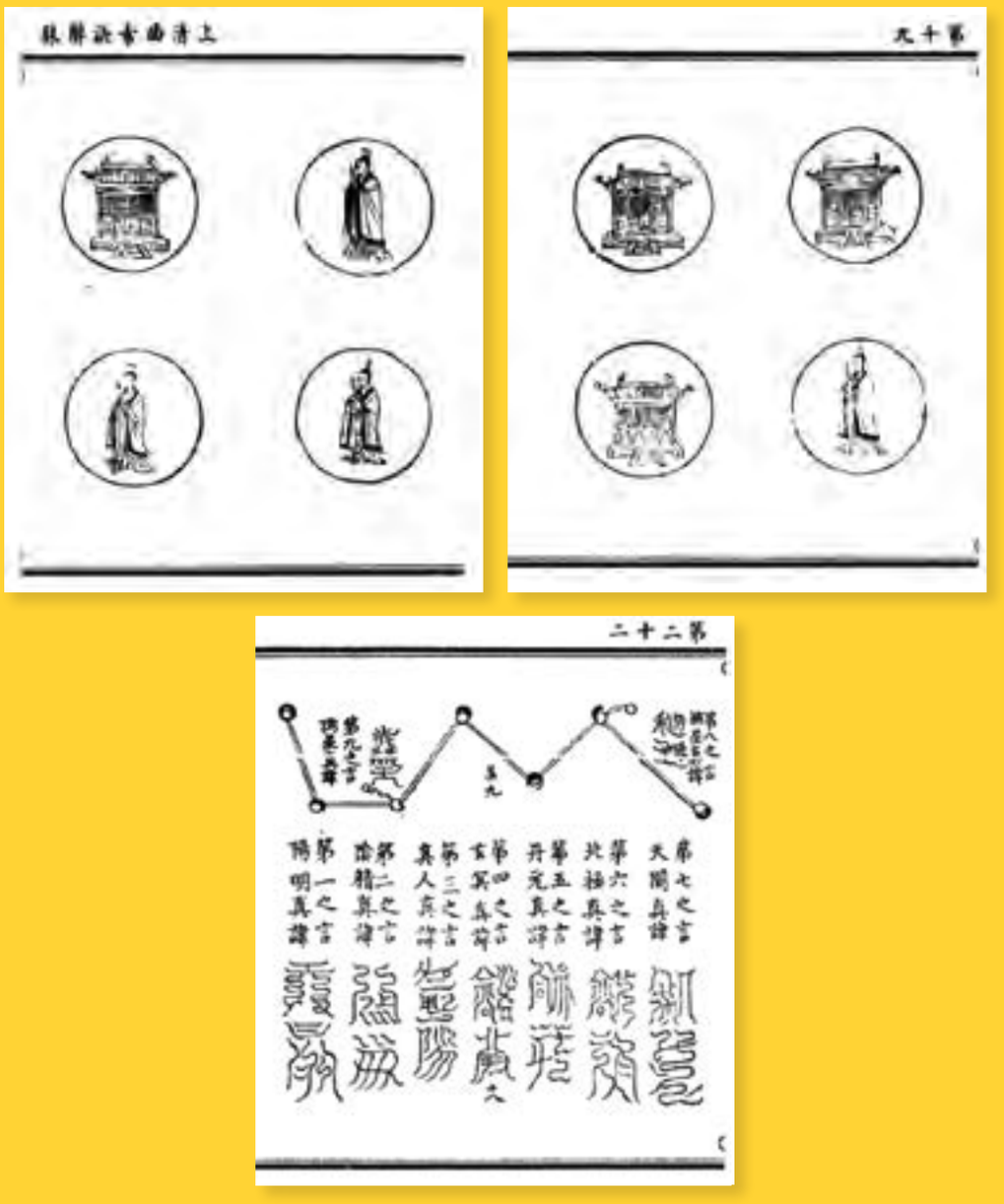


▲
Depiction of the Nine Emperors and the Northern Dipper constellation in the DZ1396. Note the similarity in the anthropomorphised stars' form vis-à-vis the Upper Tier of Sovereigns in the earlier Nine Emperors' Chart.

DZ1396 《上清河图宝箓》中描绘了九皇和北斗星座。请注意星君的人形化形态与早期《九皇图》中的初皇之间的相似性。

前三皇称为初皇，他们“皆为人形，身着锦服，手执玉策。”[46] 中皇则是“不同寻常的兽形模样”，[47] 其中“天皇君人面蛇身十三头，人皇军人面龙身九头。”[48] 后皇分别为：后天皇庖牺（又称伏羲，所处时代约公元前2000年），后地皇女娲及后人皇神农。不同于前三皇完全是人形，后三皇均为半人半兽。例如伏羲和女娲是蛇身人面，而神农则是牛面人身。[49]

[46] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.
[47] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 104.
[48]《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-007a及页000-008a.
[49]《洞神八帝妙精经》，页000-009b.



▲
Depiction of the Nine Emperors and the Northern Dipper constellation in the DZ1392. Note the similarity in the anthropomorphised stars’ form vis-à-vis the Upper Tier of Sovereigns in the earlier Nine Emperors’ Chart.

DZ1392《上清曲素诀辞箓》中描绘了九皇和北斗星座。请注意星君的人形化形态与早期《九皇图》中的初皇之间的相似性。

Daoist tracts associated with the Shangqing tradition between the later part of the Six Dynasties (220—589 CE) and the Tang dynasty alluded to the Northern Dipper stars as the "Nine Emperors" and depicted them in anthropomorphised forms. Drawings of the Northern Dipper stars (within their respective stellar palaces) as the "Nine Emperors" in the DZ1392 and the DZ1396 greatly resembled the Initial tier of Emperors in the DZ640, where the deities were all dressed as court officials and held jade tablets in their hands.[50] Given their shared namesakes and the relative proximity of their compilation in early medieval China, it was likely that the "Chart of the Nine Emperors" in the DZ640 provided an initial prototype for later renditions of the Nine Emperors.[51] Interestingly, although the DZ1367 refers to the nine stars of the Northern Dipper as the "Nine Emperors", only the latter's consorts were portrayed in prints across two pages. In this incarnation, each of the Nine Emperors' Nine Consorts was lavishly dressed, wore intricate crowns on their heads, held jade tablets in their hands and, like their husbands in the DZ1392, were completely human in form.[52]

Aside from these drawings of the Nine Emperors and their consorts in the Daoist Canon, very few accounts have venerated the deities as physical images or statuettes until Republican China (1911—1949 CE).[53] Indeed, the seven stars of the Northern Dipper alongside the Tianhuang "Heavenly Emperor," Ziwei "Purple Subtlety" or Zuofu "Left Attender" and Youbi "Right Supporter" stars in various combinations have been represented as talismans,[54] sculptures,[55] printed figures, paintings and murals.[56] However, most of these representations did not refer to these divinities as the "Nine Emperors" but instead were specified as the "Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper", "Nine Stars", or individual members with unique titles.[57]

[50] Refer to the drawings included in "上清曲素诀辞箓," pages 000-019a to 000-021b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0201/000; "上清河图宝箓," pages 001a and 001b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0205/000. The manuscripts are translated as the "Register for the Instructions on the Emanations from the Labyrinth, a Shangqing Text" and "Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart," and are briefly introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 607-609 and 601-602.

[51] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 106.

[52] "上清河图内玄经," page 001-005a and 001-005b, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0176/001. The manuscript is translated as the "Book of the Interior Mystery of the River Chart, from the Shangqing Canon" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 595.

[53] Although the appellation "Nine Emperors" has been used to characterise the nine stars of the Northern Dipper in specialist religious texts since the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE), it was only in the nineteenth century that explicit references to the term's actual use among ordinary devotees and festival sites surfaced. In addition to this volume's introduction, see 卜祥伟, "早期北斗信仰及其道教化探微," 江汉论坛7 (2014): 124-128.

[54] For example, see the manuscript dated to the seventh and tenth centuries CE titled "北帝七元紫庭延生秘诀," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0074/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Secret Instruction for Prolonging Life, of the Purple Court of the Seven Origins [Subject to] the Northern Emperor?" and introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 485.

[55] For example, see "元妙观建戏棚碑文," cited in李永球, "九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键," 炎帝文化7 (2007): 42.

[56] Many examples of this form of representation have been discussed earlier.

[57] James Robson, "Strange Parallels: Consecrated Chinese Buddhist Images in Context" (webinar, Cornell University, December 3, 2021). For context, see James Robson, "The Buddhist Image Inside-Out: On the Placing of Objects Inside Statues in East Asia," in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore and New Delhi: ISEAS and Manohar, 2009), 291-308.

在六朝后期（公元220-589年）和唐朝（618-907年）年间，与上清传统有关的道教典籍也将北斗星称为“九皇”，并将之描绘为人格化的形象。DZ1392《上清曲素诀辞箓》和DZ1396《上清河图宝箓》中所绘（在其相应星宫中的）北斗星“九皇”，与DZ640《洞神八帝妙精经》中的初皇非常相似，[50] 神明都是朝廷官员模样，手里拿着玉策。鉴于他们名称相同且编纂时间相近（中古中国早期），很有可能《洞神八帝妙精经》中的《九皇图》为后来版本的“九皇”提供了原型。[51] 有趣的是，在DZ1367《上清河图内玄经》中，九皇的配偶也出现在版画中，占据两页。每位九皇九夫人都衣着华丽，头戴锦冠，手执玉策，和DZ1392中的丈夫们一样，完全是人类的形态。[52]



◀ Depiction of the Nine Emperors’ consorts in the DZ1367.

DZ1367 《上清河图内玄经》中描绘的九皇夫人。

除了《道藏通考》中关于九皇及九夫人的画像之外，在中华民国（公元1911-1949年）以前，很少有关于用画像或雕像来供奉这些神明的记载。[53] 尽管北斗七星与“天皇”、“紫微”或“左辅右弼”等可能组成不同组合，以不同形式出现，例如符咒、[54] 雕塑、[55] 版画、绘画或壁画，[56] 但这些组合通常没有被称为“九皇”，而是称为“北斗七星”、“九星”或某一神明所具有的特殊称号。[57]

[50] 请参阅《上清曲素诀辞箓》中的图画，页000-019a至000-021b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0201/000；《上清河图宝箓》，页 001a-001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0205/000. 原稿被译为“Register for the Instructions on the Emanations from the Labyrinth, a Shangqing Text” 及 “Precious Shangqing Register of the River Chart,”相关简介见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 607-609 and 601-602.

[51] Steavu, *The Writ of the Three Sovereigns*, 106.

[52]《上清河图内玄经》，页001-005a及页001-005b, Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0176/001. 原稿被译为“Book of the Interior Mystery of the River Chart, from the Shangqing Canon” 并收录于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I*, 595.

[53] 自宋代（公元960年-1279年）以来，“九皇”这一称谓一直被用以指代北斗九星，这一术语被实际用于普通信众和节日场所的情况直到19世纪才明确出现。除了本卷的介绍，请参阅卜祥伟，<早期北斗信仰及其道教化探微>，《江汉论坛》2014年第7期，页124-128。

[54] 例如，请参见编于公元7世纪-10世纪的《北帝七元紫庭延生秘诀》，Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0074/000. 原稿被译为“Secret Instruction for Prolonging Life, of the Purple Court of the Seven Origins [Subject to] the Northern Emperor?”并收录于Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 485.

[55] 例如，请参见《元妙观建戏棚碑文》，转引自李永球，<九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键>，《炎黄文化》2007年第7期，页42。

[56] 大部分壁画在前面章节中已作探讨。

[57] James Robson, “Strange Parallels: Consecrated Chinese Buddhist Images in Context” (webinar, Cornell University, December 3, 2021). 相关背景请参阅James Robson, “The Buddhist Image Inside-Out: On the Placing of Objects Inside Statues in East Asia,” in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore and New Delhi: ISEAS and Manohar, 2009), 291-308.

However, instead of assuming *a priori* that all depictions of the stellar divinities listed above constituted the "Nine Emperors" in a timeless manner, this section will only examine representations unambiguously referred to as the "Nine Emperors" in China. This is partially a methodological limitation resulting from the lack of substantiative sources from artisans and ordinary practitioners. By extension, we actively refrain from foisting present-day preconceptions of the Nine Emperor Gods in an anachronistic manner. Scant references to the "Nine Emperors" in religious art and practice to designate the anthropomorphised seven Northern Dipper stars and their counterparts until the nineteenth century indicate that this term did not enter everyday parlance until a relatively late period in imperial Chinese history. Instead of reiterating the historical trajectories of these deities, this section will only discuss explicit references to images designated as the "Nine Emperors" until Republican China before undertaking an in-depth discussion of Southeast Asian developments.

Interestingly, although many temples and organisations in China observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in late Qing China, little has been said about related images or paintings. The silence is striking. To date, what is known is an image of the Nine Emperor God in the Yanjing Association of Liyuan performers. Either descriptions of these deities' imagery did not survive, or, more likely, representations of the divinities took temporary and modest forms during the festival, such as censers, written titles, spirit-tablets, incense paper constructs, or Dipper Lamps, rather than an image.[58] The latter, we suggest, is a more plausible explanation, for the scale of festivities since the 1800s have been well publicised in newspapers and periodicals. Consequently, it would be almost impossible that something as symbolic and significant as a sculpture of the deity would escape eyewitnesses.

A case in point is the oral testimony of Li Hongchun (1898—1991 CE), an opera performer in Beijing who observed the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. According to Li, the said deity was described as "a bearded old man who wears a Daoist crown, decked in the garments of a Daoist priest, holds a *ruyi* sceptre in his hand," and "rode a carriage drawn by nine boars (pigs with tusks, legend states that among nine pigs one is a boar)". His insightful account aside, more crucial, however, was his emphasis that the stated image was ephemeral although tangible. The material which comprised of the image, boars and carriages, were paper and glue—paper-mâché, as opposed to wood carvings or reusable scrolls. The image was subject to "incinerat[ion]" at the end of each festival "during the send-off […] [in] a wide and spacious area".[59] Li also indicated that this was commonplace among many other opera troupes of his time, all of whom would engage a maker of papier-mâché offerings to satisfy the same request. The festival-specific gatherings and the burning of paper-mâché items associated with the Nine Emperor Gods could potentially explain the absence of explicit representations of this deity, as there was never a dedicated permanent shrine assigned to this divinity.

Regarding the Nine Emperor God worshipped by the Liyuan performers in Yanjing, the image has been described as possessing "three heads, six arms, covered in fur and had palms which looked like a beast'". In addition, the image is also detailed as "wielding a heaven overturning seal, a sword for slaughtering demons, a bow, a dipper and the sun and moon".[60] In an article on the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods by Liyuan performers, Chen Zhiyong hypothesised that these characteristics were similar to Dou Mu's and suggested that the image represented the latter.[61] However, the image described also fit into characterisations of the two other "invisible" Zuofu and Youbi stars that are represented in Taiwan today.[62] Republican journalists also offered contradictory interpretations of the said image, where the same image was identified as the Heavenly General, Yinjiao, whose defining traits resembled the described image.[63] Unlike Li Hongchun's account, this multi-faced and many-armed figure of the Nine Emperor God was permanently enshrined in an eponymous chamber known as the Nine Emperors Hall ever since the Yanjing Liyuan's headquarters at Cherry Street was opened in 1924.[64]

[58] For more details, see the later chapter on lamps.

[59] 李洪春, 刘松岩ed., 京剧长谈 (北京: 中国戏剧出版社, 1982), 404-405. On the iconography of the boar in Northern Dipper worship, aside from the references that are cited in the study of Doumu and in the previous chapter, see 牟海芳, "中国古代北斗信仰与猪神崇拜之关系论考," 西南民族大学学报: 人文社会科学版26:2 (2005): 321-323; and 冉景中, "北斗与猪神崇拜起源考," 世界宗教文化2 (2017): 139-145.

[60] 方问溪and张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 戏剧月刊2:3 (1929): 135. Also see "九皇法身三头六臂伶人奉祀虔诚八月底起至重阳止伶人通宵诵忏," 社会公报, October 8, 1935, 4.

[61] 陈志勇, "戏曲行业"九皇神"信仰考," 中华戏曲2 (2008): 314.

[62] Bonjie Huang, "斗母元君.mpg," YouTube video, 7:28-7:55, accessed February 20, 2022, https://youtu.be/cFabfi-SQPA.

[63] 龙套, "九皇说商殷传是代郊," 立报 , October 5, 1948, 4. For an introduction to Yinjiao's worship, see David J. Mozina, *Knotting the Banner: Ritual and Relationship in Daoist Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021), 75-160.

[64] 方and张, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 137.

本节将只考察在中国被明确称为“九皇”的形象，而不考虑上述所有星君，他们可能在某一时段被视为“九皇”之一。这在一定程度上是由于研究方法上的局限，因为我们缺乏来自工匠和普通信徒的资料，而这些资料对阐明哪些神明构成了“九皇”必不可少。再则，我们尽量避免以一种不合时宜的方式，将对九皇大帝的先入之见带入研究中。在19世纪以前，在宗教艺术和实践中，很少以“九皇”来表示拟人化的北斗七星等意象，这清楚地表明，直到中华帝国晚期，这个术语才进入日常用语当中。关于这些神明的历史，本节不作赘述。本节只讨论民国（1911-1949年）以前被明确指定为“九皇”的形象，然后再对其在东南亚的发展进行深入探讨。

有趣的是，虽然清朝末年中国有许多庙宇和组织庆祝九皇千秋，但这些组织似乎很少谈及其九皇信仰的塑像或绘画。除了梨园燕京公会的九皇大帝神像外，几乎不见其他关于九皇大帝塑像的记载。一种可能的原因是这些记录没有被保存下来，另一种可能是，在节日期间，九皇大帝以一种临时而不显眼的形式出现，例如香炉、书写的称号、神位、纸糊器具或斗灯，而不是神像。[58] 我们认为，后者或许更为合理。自19世纪以来，报纸和期刊对庆祝活动的规模大加报道，诸如神像等引人注目的物品一定会受到重视。

北京一戏曲演员李洪春（1898-1991年）的口述便是一例。他形容道：九皇大帝“是个头戴道冠，身穿道衣，手抱如意的长须老人，坐在由九个犇（有角的猪，传说九猪出一犇）拉着的辇上。”他强调这尊神像是临时的。九帝大帝神像既不是木制的，也不是可重复使用的肖像或卷轴，而是完全用纸糊的，“不管是人、犇和车辇，都是纸糊的，糊得非常逼真。”在节日最后，“送驾是把纸像送至宽敞的地方烧掉。”此外，他还提到在那个时代，这种做法在剧团中很常见，所有剧团都会聘请专人制作纸糊供品和器具。[59] 这一说法表明，九皇大帝神像只在节日期间出现在剧团中，随后便被焚化，并不存在专门供奉九皇大帝的神坛，这或许是缺乏神明表现形式相关记载的原因。

另一则关于燕京梨园戏曲表演者供奉九皇大帝的详细描述表明，九皇大帝神像“三头六臂，被毛带掌，形类兽”，并且“手持翻天印，斩妖剑，弓斗日月。”[60] 陈志勇在研究戏曲行业“九皇神”的文章中假设上述九皇大帝的特征与斗母相似，并认为这其实是斗母的神像。[61] 然而，这一描述也符合在今天台湾见到的另外两位“隐星”星君左辅右弼的形象。[62] 民国时期的记者们对这一形象的解释也相互矛盾，有人认为这一神像为天神殷郊，因为其特征相符。[63] 不同于李洪春的描述，自从樱桃斜街梨园新馆于1924年开放以来，这尊三头六臂的九皇大帝一直被供奉在一个称作九皇堂的密室里。[64]

[58] 更多细节，请参阅本卷关于灯具的章节。

[59] 李洪春，刘松岩，《京剧长谈》（北京：中国戏剧出版社，1982），页404-405。关于北斗信仰中犇的形象，除斗母研究相关文献及前章所引的文献外，请参阅牟海芳，<中国古代北斗信仰与猪神崇拜之关系论考>，《西南民族大学学报（人文社会科学版）》，2005年第2期，页 321-323；冉景中，<北斗与猪神崇拜起源考>，《世界宗教文化》2017年第2期，页139-145。

[60] 方问溪，张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页135。请参阅<九皇法身三头六臂 伶人奉祀虔诚 八月底起至重阳止 伶人通宵诵忏>，见《社会公报》，1935年10月8日，第4版。

[61] 陈志勇，<戏曲行业“九皇神”信仰考>，《中华戏曲》2008年第2期，页314。

[62] Bonjie Huang, <斗母元君.mpg>, YouTube video, 7:28-7:55, 访问日期：2022年2月20日，https://youtu.be/cFabfi-SQPA.

[63] 龙套，<九皇传说是商代殷郊>，见《立报》，1948年10月5日，第4版。有关殷郊崇拜的介绍，请参阅David J. Mozina, *Knotting the Banner: Ritual and Relationship in Daoist Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021), 75-160.

[64] 方问溪，张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，页137。

Representations of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia

Postcolonial Southeast Asia witnessed many ways of representing the Nine Emperor Gods—spirit-tablets, images, or censers. It is worth noting the distinct practice of representing deities through spirit tablets or pieces of paper inscribed with their names. That said, no statuettes of the Nine Emperor Gods can be found in its oldest religious centres in Southeast Asia—the Kathu Shrine on Phuket island, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong on Penang island, the Ampang Nan Tian Gong in Kuala Lumpur and the Guwumiao Dou Lao Gong in Taiping, Perak.



The main altar of the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong today.

今日香港巷斗母宫的大殿。

The absence of images or imagery dedicated to the likenesses of the Nine Emperor Gods did not escape the scrutiny of some reporters in post-war Malaya. A report dating to 1938 articulated that the spirit of the Nine Emperor Gods had appeared to be invisible.[65] In 2001, Erik Cohen noted that in Phuket, the site of his research, some believed that the deities "are too high gods to have a form[s] or image[s]." Thus, the deities can only be represented in-proxy as the Nine Heavenly Lamps and a consecrated censer.[66] Although this does not seem to be a common claim in Singapore, Cohen's findings suggest that the deliberate absence of an image devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods can perhaps be found in the conceptualisation and understanding of the deities and their origin stories.

[65] "Malayan Chinese Are Ending Nine-Day Fast In Honour Of God Of The Sea," *The Straits Times*, October 30, 1938, 7.

[66] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 23-24.

九皇大帝在东南亚的表现形式

在后殖民时期的东南亚，九皇大帝有许多种表现形式，例如神位、神像或香炉。虽然用神位或写有“九皇大帝”字样的纸来代表九皇大帝的做法很常见，但这在东南亚的其他神明信仰中似乎相对少见。然而，东南亚供奉九皇大帝历史悠久的宗教中心，例如普吉岛内杼斗母宫、槟城香港巷斗母宫、吉隆坡安邦南天宫及霹雳太平古武庙斗姥宫等，并没有九皇大帝神像。



◀
Inscription regarding the Nine Emperor Gods on a creased yellow paper displayed in Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple, 2019.

在2019年于安邦南天宫庙的一张黄纸上代表九皇大帝的铭文。

在战后的马来亚，一些记者也注意到了九皇大帝没有图像或神像的事实。在1938年的一篇报道中，据说九皇大帝的灵魂是无形的。[65] 2001年，科恩（Erik Cohen）在研究中发现，在他进行田野调查的地点普吉岛（Phuket），一些人认为九皇大帝“是如此的崇高，因此无形无影，”只能以九盏天灯和香炉象征九皇大帝。[66] 尽管这种说法在新加坡并不普遍，但科恩的研究结果表明，在人们关于神明身份及其起源的概念化和理解中，或许可以找到民间不为九皇大帝设像的原因。

[65] “Malayan Chinese Are Ending Nine-Day Fast In Honour Of God Of The Sea,” *The Straits Times*, 1938年10月30日，第7版。

[66] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 23-24.

Representing the Nine Emperor Gods as a Spirit-Tablet



Altar devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods at Shin Sen Keng, 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

在神仙宫供奉九皇大帝的神龛， 1990. 照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

In temples throughout Southeast Asia and Singapore, including the aforementioned temples, the veneration of paper inscriptions or spirit-tablets bearing the name(s) of the deity, either as a collective or individual, is a common practice. Based on this observation, these practices are potentially one of the key distinguishing features of the Nine Emperor Gods worship in the region. Spirit-tablets are widely used in Singapore temples. In particular, four out of the fifteen temples surveyed—Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Qing Nang Lao Yu Luo Chun, Shin Sen Keng, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Temple and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si—have chosen to only represent the Nine Emperor God(s) via spirit-tablet(s). Many of these spirit-tablets are positioned on the main altars of these temples and often placed back-to-back on a wall that separates the Inner Chamber from the public's view.[67]



The exterior of the Inner Chamber at the festival site of Xuan Wu Shan today.

今天在玄武山的九皇千秋场地上建造了内殿的外部结构。

[67] In some cases, it was possible for a temple to only worship a title of the Nine Emperor Gods. Images were only included later in the temple's history. Hong San Temple, for example, worships an image of the Nine Emperor Gods on its main altar. However, positioned behind the image is a mirror emblazoned with the title of the Nine Emperor Gods. Considering that it is dated to 17th year of Republican China (1928), one can likely conclude that the worship of the said mirror preceded the image.

以神位代表九皇大帝



Altar devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods at Shin Sen Keng today.

今日在神仙宫供奉九皇大帝的神龛

除了上述庙宇，新加坡和东南亚其他地区的许多庙宇，都没有供奉九皇大帝神像，而是祭拜空的神坛，或是写有神明称号的纸张或神位。这似乎是东南亚九皇大帝信仰的主要特征之一。在新加坡，许多庙宇以神位代表九皇大帝，在我们研究的15座庙宇中，有4座便是如此，分别是玄武山翰林院、神仙宫、蔡厝港斗母宫和洪水港斗母宫。神位通常被安置在庙宇的主祭坛上，靠墙而立，墙体将内殿与公众的视线隔开。[67]



The altar, with a tri-storeyed palanquin and two censers in the backdrop, is devoted to the Nine Emperor God and Dou Mu in the Inner Chamber of the Xuan Wu Shan temple, c. the 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

玄武山在九皇千秋节期间在内殿里的三层轿子与九皇神炉，约1980s. 照片由Ronni Pinsler提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的Ronni Pinsler收藏。

[67] 一些庙宇过去只是供奉九皇大帝的名号，后来才设神像。例如，凤山宫在主神坛上供奉着一尊九皇大帝的神像，神像背后是一面绘有九皇大帝称号的镜子，可追溯至民国十七年（1928年），镜子的出现很可能早于神像。

To comprehend the lack of visual representations of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, it is necessary to consider multiple factors. A 1947 article by the Kuala Lumpur correspondent of the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Yuemin, explained that the Nine Emperor Gods comprised of nine dissidents who refused to subordinate themselves to Qin Shihuang's (259—210 BCE) tyranny. Despite Qin's attempts at beheading them with the aid of magic by a ritual master and disposing of their corpses in a vessel sealed with a talisman at sea, the nine dissidents managed to return before Qin. Frightened, Qin sought to placate them by conferring upon them the title of the Nine Emperor Gods. The lack of any imagery in their likenesses occurred "since the Nine Emperor Gods lacked heads, whichever temples were erected in their honour do not display their true forms". Although some devotees who had received their beneficence wanted "to construct an image [of the Nine Emperor Gods] to facilitate worship by later generations", this offer was "refused" by the deities.[68]

That said, it is pertinent to realise that some Southeast Asian temples that worship the Nine Emperor Gods do use an image or images to symbolise the deities. Yuemin's account still stands out as one of the earliest narratives that accounts for the purposeful absence of an image to represent the Nine Emperor Gods. Importantly, the absence of visual representations arises from the perceived inappropriateness of portraying the decapitated gods in physical form, as well as the deities' personal disapproval of devotees' attempts to depict them in such a manner. Granted, the lengthy article was published after the Second World War (1942—1945). However, scattered references which assumed that the Nine Emperor Gods were already headless were evident. English journalists who documented the grandeur of the festival in the Ampang Nan Tian Gong, for example, also described the deity as the "headless god" in 1938, which testifies to the prevalence of this belief.[69]

In a slightly different retelling, which dates to 1979, the journalist, Zhufei, authored an extensive article in the *Nanyang Siang Pau* explaining why the Nine Emperor God, whom he identified as Zhu Yihai (1618—1662 CE), better known as Prince Lu or Regent Lu (reigned 1646—1653) of the Southern Ming dynasty (1644—1662), only manifested as an incense censer during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In Zhufei's retelling, "the Nine Emperor God brought his entourage southwards by sea to cooperate with Zheng Chenggong, but Zheng not only refused to treat him with propriety, and had him drowned". In the face of Zheng Chenggong's treachery, Prince Lu's remaining entourage took to Southeast Asia, where they established temples in his honour.[70]

Like Yuemin, Zhufei noted the absence of any images carved in the deity's likeness, for the "(Nine) Emperor God's body was submerged in the ocean and, thus, could only be represented by a spirit-tablet instead of a carved image". The deity manifested as an incense censer during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, which "gradually rose to the ocean's surface to indicate the deity's arrival. As such, on the birthday of the (Nine Emperor God), devotees would gather in the wee hours of the morning to receive the censer, which was unique to the deity's worship".[71]

Of interest is the continued endorsement of similar perspectives throughout Southeast Asia today. As observed by Li Qingnian in 2006, many Nine Emperor Gods temples only possessed "a shrine swathed in yellow satin cloth that was empty". Li identified the Nine Emperor Gods as a single entity—the Longwu Emperor, Prince of Tang, Zhu Yujian (1602—1646, reigned 1645—1646 CE), who was decapitated by the Qing dynasty. The aversion to portraying the deity as an image ensued from the realisation that devotees would "definitely feel unnerved" to "see a headless corpse".[72] Nevertheless, crucial to note is Li's disclaimer of his scepticism about this train of thought "since the legendary Guan Yu, too, was headless post-decapitation, yet, was enshrined in temples endowed with a complete body."[73] In short, the accuracy of Li's judgement is not vital at this point. The main significance of Li's account, similar to Yuemin's and Zhufei's, was its indication of the Nine Emperor Gods' origin stories outside of China. As these different contexts informed the resulting narratives, they explain the absence of images in their worship. Specifically, unlike Guan Yu, who was posthumously venerated and worshipped with a complete body, the Nine Emperor Gods' origin stories in Southeast Asia directly informed the lack of any imagery in their representations.

[68] 悦民, "九皇爷的来历是反对专制魔王的民族英雄," 南洋商报, October 26, 1949, 7.

[69] "Chinese Miners' Self-torture before "The Headless God," *Straits Budget*, November 3, 1938, 14; and "Straits Budget Pictorial Section," *Straits Budget*, November 10, 1938, 17.

[70] 朱飞, "九王爷," 南洋商报, May 28, 1979, 19.

[71] 朱飞, "九王爷."

[72] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇: 九皇爷考证," 炎帝文化 6 (2006): 49 and 53.

[73] 李, "东南亚华人的独特神祇," 49. On Guan Yu's decapitation in history and this account's significance in his worship, see Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 23-27, 43-44, 122-123, 158-160. Also see the case of the Hunanese divinity known as Zhang Wulang, who was also believed to have been decapitated by Taishang Laojun [the semi-legendary founder of Daoism and deified Laozi (fl. 6th – 4th century BCE?)] but had his head restored (albeit on the wrong side) by Laojun's daughter in Meulenbeld, "Dancing with the Gods," 125-138.

东南亚九皇信仰不设神像有几个原因。早在1947年，《南洋商报》刊登了一篇由“本报驻隆记者-悦民”撰写的长篇报道，其中认为九皇大帝是九位反对秦始皇（公元前259年-前210年）暴政的志士。为了报复他们，秦始皇求助一位法师，这位法师用魔法将这些异见者斩首，并将他们的尸体封于瓮中，用符纸镇住，再将此瓮沉入大海。后来，九位志士重获自由，出现在秦始皇面前。秦始皇大惊失色，为了安抚他们，秦始皇册封他们为九皇大帝。“由于九皇爷没有头颅，所以无论哪间庙宇，都没有他们的真身的。后来一般沐恩弟子，善男信女，要想替他们造个金身，以便后人膜拜，可是他们不肯。”[68]

尽管东南亚也有一些九皇庙供奉着九皇大帝的神像或图像，但悦民的记载是最早说明九皇大帝不设神像原因的叙述之一。人们认为以实物形式表现被斩首的神明是不合适的，并且神明本身也明确反对信徒设像的请求。这份详细的报告发表于二战（1942-1945年）后，在那之前，也有零星的文献提到九皇大帝是无头的。例如，1938年，记录安邦南天宫节日盛况的英国记者也将九皇大帝描述为“无头神明”，这证明了这种观念盛行。[69]

1979年，记者朱飞在《南洋商报》上发表了一篇内容详实的文章，解释了九皇大帝在九皇千秋期间以香炉的形式出现的原因。他认为九皇大帝是九王爷朱以海（公元1618-1662年），即南明（公元1644-1662年）鲁王或鲁监国（1646-1653年在位）。“九王爷率众泛海而南与郑成功会合，郑成功不但不礼待九王爷，反而把他沉海致死。”面对郑成功的背信弃义，九王爷的随从前往东南亚，建立庙宇纪念九王爷。[70]

如同悦民，朱飞也注意到九皇大帝没有神像，“因王爷沉海没有尸首，所以只立神位不塑立偶像。”九皇千秋期间，神明以香炉的形式出现，而非神像。香炉“冉冉浮海而来，是为神降，以后每年王爷生日那天清晨要至海边迎接香炉，成为众神中特有的仪注。”[71]

今天，东南亚一带仍然认同这一观点。2006年，李庆年注意到许多庙宇在供奉九皇大帝时只有“一个神龛，外面裹以黄色绢缎，里头空无一物。”李庆年认为九皇大帝是被清斩首的隆武皇帝唐王朱聿键（公元1602-1646年，1645-1646年在位）。若信徒“看到的是没有脑袋的尸体，心中一定产生震撼，”因此神明不具神像。[72] 不过，李庆年对这一说法持保留态度，“因为传说中的关羽也是没有首级，然而庙宇中供奉的关羽却是完整无缺的。”[73] 李庆年的判断并不是重点。更重要的是，就像悦民和朱飞一样，他记载了在中国之外关于九皇大帝起源的故事，这些故事表明了九皇信仰不设神像的原因。

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[68] 悦民，<九皇爷的来历是反对专制魔王的民族英雄>，见《南洋商报》，1947年10月26日，第7版。

[69] “Chinese Miners’ Self-torture before “The Headless God,” *Straits Budget*, 1938年11月3日第14版； “Straits Budget Pictorial Section,” *Straits Budget*, 1938年11月10日第17版。

[70] 朱飞，<九王爷>，见《南洋商报》，1979年5月28日第19版。

[71] 朱飞，<九王爷>。

[72] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇—九皇爷考证>，《炎帝文化》2006年第6期，页49及53。

[73] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇>，页49。 关于关羽被斩首的历史及这一说法对关帝信仰的持续影响，请参阅Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 23-27, 43-44, 122-123, 158-160. 亦请参阅湖南民间信仰的神明张五郎的案例。相传张五郎被太上老君（传说中道教的创始人，神格化的老子）斩首，后来太上老君的女儿为他把头接上，但安在了错误的一侧，请参阅 Meulenbeld, “Dancing with the Gods,” 125-138.

Moreover, the absence of any imagery dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods can be traced to the deities' interwoven histories with anti-Qing mutual aid societies in China and Southeast Asia. According to the Ampang Nan Tian Gong's retelling of events, fishermen in Putian, Fujian, attempted to commemorate the lives and deeds of nine pro-Ming martyrs and members of the Ming royalty whose nine decapitated heads were found in a vessel at sea after the Qing conquest of China. To commemorate their deeds, the festival was modelled after a funeral in their honour. Since the Nine Emperor Gods' devotees were unable to disclose these martyrs' identities without arousing the suspicion of Qing officials, and lacked a deity image, "the quick-witted organisers invited an image of Marshal Tian, a deity venerated by opera troupes into their altar for worship".[74] Intriguingly, this account suggested that the original Nine Emperor Gods Festival organisers were worried that the absence of any deity images would have betrayed their actual motives and intentions. By extension, this retelling implies the overarching expectation that Chinese deities had to be worshipped as an image. As such, the Nine Emperor Gods' aniconic representation is a unique feature.

Cheu Hock Tong and Xu Liying's research on the historical affiliation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival with Ampang, Kuala Lumpur, also reveals another angle regarding the lack of images of the Nine Emperor Gods' likenesses. It hints at the representation of the deities solely with a censer during the festival. According to this account, the followers of Wan Yunlong,[75] a pro-Ming martyr from the 18th century CE, sought refuge in Kuala Lumpur, colonial Malaysia, following his death during a conflict with Qing forces in Changsha, Hunan, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[76] To evade police scrutiny after being searched in the midst of an initiation ritual and formulating strategies against the Qing, they pointed out that they were worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods in the form of a censer.[77] While different in many ways from the version retold in Ampang's commemorative volume, one similarity is interwoven across the different versions—the lack of representation of the Nine Emperor Gods in the form of an image to obscure their clandestine relationships with pro-Ming mutual aid societies which drew on the festival's unique traditions to further their cause.[78]

[74] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊 *Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang* [The Nine Emperor Gods Ampang Nantiangong 130th Anniversary Commemorative Volume] (Kuala Lumpur: The Nine Emperor Gods Ampang Nantiangong, 1992), 21.

[75] Wan Yunlong, as Barend ter Haar and Dian Murray point out, is of an uncertain provenance, even though he occupies a key position of prominence in retellings of the Heaven and Earth Society's founding. See Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Brill: Leiden, 1998), passim; and Dian Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), passim. Murray also noted that some observers attempted to reconcile images of Wan with Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662 CE) in idem, 135 and 159.

[76] Curiously enough, over a century's worth of chronological distance spanned between the death of Wan Yunlong vis-à-vis the British presence in Kuala Lumpur in this narrative, where the region not only transformed into an administrative hub but also became a center for tin mining operations. See, for example, J. M. Gullick, "Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28:4 (1955): 10-11; and Ernest Chew, "Frank Swettenham and Yap Ah Loy: The Increase of British Political 'Influence' in Kuala Lumpur, 1871-1885," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57:1 (1984): 70–87.

[77] Cheu Hock Tong, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1997), 24-25; and 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹: 后港斗母宫 (新加坡: 后港斗母宫, 2006), 27.

[78] As Li Fengmao points out in a recent study of the Nine Emperor Gods' main religious centres in Southeast Asia, these locations were hotbeds of mutual aid organisations which were believed to harbour anti-Manchu sentiments in the past. It is likely, therefore, likely that these outlooks refracted unto the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. See 李, 从圣教到道教, 239-251.

在其他一些传说中，九皇大帝没有神像可能与其来历有关，相传九皇信仰过去与中国和东南亚反清复明的秘密会社有关。根据安邦南天宫的叙述，明朝覆灭后，九位反清复明的义士被斩首，他们的首级被封入瓮中，投于海上。 福建莆田的渔民发现并打开了这个瓮，人们悲痛欲绝。为了悼念九位义士，人们以九皇千秋作为他们的葬礼祭拜他们。信徒不得公开九皇大帝的身份，以免引起清朝官员的怀疑，由于不设神像，“急智由戏班所恭奉之田府元帅请入坛恭拜。”[74] 有趣的是，这个说法表明，最初九皇千秋组织者担心，没有任何神像会招致怀疑，这暗示了人们普遍认为供奉华人神灵须设神像，因此九皇大帝不具神像是其独特之处。

周福堂和徐李颖也研究了九皇千秋与吉隆坡安邦地区的历史联系，对九皇大帝不设神像，只在节日期间以香炉出现作出了另一番解释。亲明志士万云龙（约公元18世纪）的队伍在农历九月初九与清朝军队在湖南长沙发生冲突，万云龙丧生后，他的追随者逃往东南亚。[75] 在殖民时期的马来亚，这些政治难民表面上是吉隆坡的种植劳工，背地里谋划反清复明大业。[76] 然而，在一次入会仪式上，警方突击检查他们的活动。一名参会者急中生智，告诉警察他们是在用香炉祭拜九皇大帝。警察接受了这种说法，随后便离开了。[77] 这种解释虽与安邦南天宫纪念手册中所载的版本有所区别，但至少有一个方面是相似的，即九皇大帝并未以神像的形式出现，以掩盖其与反清复明互助会的秘密联系，这些秘密会社在九皇千秋的掩护下商讨他们的事业。[78]

[74]《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页21。

[75] 田海（Barend ter Haar）和穆黛安（Dian Murray）指出，尽管相传万云龙在天地会成立的过程中占据重要地位，但他来历不明。请参阅Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Brill: Leiden, 1998), passim; and Dian Murray, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), passim. 穆黛安还指出，一些信徒试图将万云龙与郑成功（1624-1662年）联系起来，见前揭书，页135及159。

[76] 奇怪的是，在这一叙述中，从万云龙去世到英国人出现在吉隆坡，时间跨越了一个世纪，吉隆坡不仅转变为行政中心，而且成为锡矿开采的中心。请参阅，J. M. Gullick, “Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28:4 (1955): 10-11; and Ernest Chew, “Frank Swettenham and Yap Ah Loy: The Increase of British Political ‘Influence’ in Kuala Lumpur, 1871-1885,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57:1 (1984): 70–87.

[77] Cheu Hock Tong, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia,” in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1997), 24-25；徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页27。

[78] 李丰楙在对东南亚重要的九皇庙的研究中指出，这些庙宇是秘密会社的聚集处，这些组织通常具有反满色彩，很可能深入到九皇信仰中。请参阅李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》，页239-251。



The main altar within the Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si, undated (possibly late 1970s and 1980s). Photograph courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si

在洪水港斗母宫里的正殿，日期不详（可能是 1970 年代末和 1980 年代）。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

Representing the Nine Emperor Gods via a spirit-tablet potentially testifies to the closely-knit relationship which they shared with their devotees. As demonstrated in the previous section, spirit tablets are markers of ancestral worship and serve as symbolic seats for the soul(s) of the deceased whose names were engraved onto them. For example, patrilineal descendants are expected to care for their forebears' spirits, remains and tablets. After all, a spirit tablet symbolises the deceased's soul in funerals and other commemorative rituals.[79] To understand why the Nine Emperor Gods are depicted in the form of a spirit-tablet, it is necessary to examine the background of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia.

While the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia are also symbolically represented with spirit tablets, there exists a significant difference when compared to the conventional understanding of ancestors: the former are not believed to have descendants. In these conceptualisations—be they as anti-Qing rebels or Robin Hood-esque pirates, the Nine Emperor Gods are ultimately childless bachelors who died without family or patrilineal descendants or lived at the margins of society. Shin Sen Keng views the Nine Emperor Gods as a single entity—the last emperor of the Ming dynasty—who perished at sea without descendants. This belief is further exemplified in Xuan Wu Shan, where Dou Mu instructed her worshippers to mourn on behalf of the Nine Emperor God. This instruction stems from the understanding that the latter, being a persecuted bandit, lacked children who would traditionally fulfill the duty of mourning. Consequently, this prompted scholars and coastal communities to mourn his death annually in return for blessings and good harvests. Therefore, the representation of the Nine Emperor Gods as spirit tablets by devotees in Southeast Asia highlights their endeavor to take on the role of surrogate mourners.[80] This is particularly significant in regions where the Nine Emperor Gods are believed to be pro-Ming martyrs or the last rulers of the Ming dynasty. As observed by Ong Seng Huat, this expression of grief transforms into a tangible memorial and mourning for the former Ming dynasty as well.[81]

[79] This has been commented upon by many researchers of Chinese society and religion. Inter alia, see Yang Ching-Kun, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 16-64; 庄 , "闽客祖先崇拜的比较研究," 133-160; Melissa J. Brown, "Ethnic Identity, Cultural Variation, and Processes of Change: Rethinking the Insights of Standardization and Orthopraxy," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 91–124; and Tong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, passim. While rare, it is possible for individuals with some special connections to their worshippers or mourners to be represented in the form of an image. See, for example, a "clay figurine" worshipped in Singapore in Tong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, 82; and the worship of Daoist priests turned ancestor-protectors in Hunan by Meulenbeld, "Dancing with the Gods," 113-84.

[80] For context, see王琛发, "由孝现忠: 马来西亚华人怎样过'不明显'的重阳节?" 民俗研究 2 (2015): 69.

[81] 王琛发, "国殇:隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会" (paper presented at the 5th International Symposium on Taiwan and Southeast Asian Culture and Literature: "The Development and Thinking of Taiwan and Southeast Asian Culture and Literature," Fo Guang University, Taiwan, June 1, 2008).



◀
The main altar at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong with a symbolic spirit-tablet and sans Nine Emperor Gods imagery, 2016 and 2017.

沙水港斗母宫的正殿供奉的神主牌，没有九皇大帝的形象，日期为2016年和2017年。

以神位代表九皇大帝也反映了九皇大帝与信徒之间关系紧密。正如我们在前一节中所讨论的，神位是祖先崇拜的标志物，将逝去先人的名字刻在神位上，象征其灵魂依托在神位内。在葬礼和其他悼念亡人的仪式中，神位代表死者的灵魂。男性后代需要祭祀祖宗，供奉祖先的牌位。[79] 要了解以神位代表九皇大帝的原因，首先应考察东南亚九皇信仰的历史背景。

不同于祖先崇拜中逝去先人被后代尊为祖先，在东南亚九皇大帝的起源传说中，他们享受不到这种特权。无论是为反清复明事业而牺牲的义士，还是劫富济贫被处决的绿林好汉，他们都生活在社会边缘，没有后代，因此在死后无法得到家人或子孙的祭祀。例如，在神仙宫，相传九皇大帝是明朝最后一位皇帝，他葬身海上，没有后代继承遗志，驱除鞑虏。[80] 玄武山翰林院的叙述与此相似。九皇大帝在世时是侠盗，没有子女，在他去世后，斗姆建议信徒悼念九皇大帝。儒士和居于海边的社区每年都会纪念九皇大帝，答谢神明的祝福和好收成。因此，通过模仿葬礼仪式，以神位代表九皇大帝，东南亚的信徒替九皇大帝守丧。正如王琛发（Ong Seng Huat）在其他地方指出的，在一些起源传说中，九皇大帝被认为是明朝的先烈或明朝最后的统治者，因此怀念九皇大帝实际上是对明朝的纪念和哀悼。[81]

[79] 许多中国社会和宗教研究者对此进行了论述。例如，请参阅Yang Ching-Kun, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 16-64; 庄英章，<闽客祖先崇拜的比较研究>，页133-160； Melissa J. Brown, "Ethnic Identity, Cultural Variation, and Processes of Change: Rethinking the Insights of Standardization and Orthopraxy," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 91–124; and Tong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, passim. 在特殊情况下，人们也可能设像供奉，但相对罕见。例如，在新加坡有人供奉一尊泥塑，请参阅Tong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, 82; 在湖南，道士成为祖先守护神并受到供奉，请参阅Meulenbeld, "Dancing with the Gods," 113-84.

[80] 相关背景请参阅王琛发，<由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过"不明显"的重阳节？>，《民俗研究》2015年第2期，页69。

[81] 王琛发，<国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会>，论文发表于第五届台湾与东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会"台湾与东南亚文化文学的发展与思考"（佛光大学，台湾，2008年6月1日）。



The committee and members of Jiu Huang Dian kneeling and bowing on both sides of the altar as the Nan Shan Hai contingent pays their respects.

九皇殿理事在坛位两旁跪着叩首以接受来访南山海团队的参拜。



Nan Shan Hai Miao hosts in a full body bow whilst awaiting visitors from Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong to complete their prayers.

南山海庙的理事善信们等待龙山岩斗母宫的来宾完成祈祷仪式时向他们跪拜。

The sentiments of mourning and loss indirectly informed other practices associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. During our fieldwork, we observed several cross-temple visits during the festival (*yew keng*), which paralleled the reception of guests during funeral wakes. From the outset, a clear similarity stemmed from the donning of completely white attire—the traditional colour associated with mourning, including white headdresses, by both the host and visiting temples.[82] Furthermore, similarities in rituals include the hosts' awaiting the completion of the payment of respects by guests with bowed heads touching the ground. In addition, some temple visits involve the performance of three kowtows before the hosts' altar dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods as led by a master of ceremonies. During funerals, visitors perform a similar act of paying their final respects by conducting three bows as part of the ceremony.[83] Such practices were observed in temples that venerated the Nine Emperor Gods as spirit tablets and at organisations that venerated the deities in the form of images. Recognising these, it is easy to realise how these rituals were modelled after practices commonly associated with funerals.

In several ways, these ideas and rituals memorialised, expressed and reinforced the dialectical relationship that Chinese communities in Southeast Asia shared with their ancestral homeland and places of origin in China. Commemorations of the Nine Emperor Gods' passings manifested these tensions of being Chinese in Southeast Asia, where religious communities expressed their unwavering fidelity to cultural heroes (such as Robin Hood-like pirates or a bandit who had reformed his ways, among others) or the Ming dynasty (1368—1644 CE). The latter, which was perceived to be the last political dynasty headed by Han Chinese [in contrast to the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271—1368 CE) and Manchu Qing regimes] in collective memory and the popular historical imagination, provided a convincing basis for identifying as Chinese in a Southeast Asian setting.[84]

[82] See the chapter on colour and dress in this volume.

[83] See the detailed treatment of this topic by Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, 33; and to a similar effect, Adam Yuet Chau, "Hosting Funerals and Temple Festivals: Folk Event Productions in Rural China," *Asian Anthropology* 3:1 (2004): 39-70.

[84] In theory, as noted by Chen Sanping, "Succession Struggle and the Ethnic Identity of the Tang Imperial House," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6:3 (1996): 379–405, this would also apply to the Tang ruling house. However, in contrast to the Yuan and Qing dynasties, the Tang dynasty was rarely seen as "foreign" ruling house in Chinese historiography and has even become a designation for Chinese communities worldwide, such as "people of the Tang " as a term of self-address, and ethnic enclaves such as "Street of Tang People[Chinatown]."



◀
Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang hosts bowing whilst awaiting the completion of prayers by visitors.

玉皇殿玉海棠的理事善信们等待来宾完成祈祷仪式时向他们跪拜。

除了这些起源故事，九皇千秋的仪式同样受到哀悼和悲伤情绪的影响。例如，在我们的田野调查中，我们参与了游境期间庙宇的互访，这一仪式与在葬礼上接待前来吊唁的客人一致。首先，传统上丧服主要是白色的，互访期间，主庙和友庙的成员身穿白衣白裤，在大多数情况下还会配戴白色头巾。[82] 其次，在访客祭拜九皇大帝时，主人陪同在旁，低头等候。一旦访客完成敬拜，他们就会被带到一旁享用素食。最后，当庙宇代表团来到其他节日场所时，一名礼仪专家会带领在主人的九皇大帝神坛前磕头/敬拜三次。这种做法类似于在葬礼上的仪式，前来吊唁的访客通常会三鞠躬，向死者致以最后的敬意。[83] 无论是以神位供奉九皇大帝的庙宇，还是供奉九皇大帝神像的庙宇，都采取类似的做法，这表明庙宇采取的做法模仿了与葬礼相关的仪式实践。

在许多方面，这些观念和实践表达并强化了东南亚华人社区与他们在中国的祖籍地之间既对立又统一的关系。哀悼九皇大帝体现了身为东南亚华人的身份张力，这些宗教组织表达了他们对文化英雄（如绿林好汉的海盗或行侠仗义的侠盗等）的认同以及对明朝（公元1368-1644年）的忠诚。在集体记忆和大众的历史想象中，明朝是最后一个汉人统治的封建王朝[与蒙元政权（公元1271-1368年）和满清政权（1644-1911年）形成对比]，[84] 明朝为东南亚华人的认同提供了基础。

[82] 关于服饰的颜色将在下一章中讨论。

[83] 有关葬礼礼仪，请参阅Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore*, 33; 类似地，请参阅Adam Yuet Chau, "Hosting Funerals and Temple Festivals: Folk Event Productions in Rural China," *Asian Anthropology* 3:1 (2004): 39-70.

[84] 理论上，唐朝（公元618-907 年）不算正统汉族王朝。然而，与元、清时期相比，唐朝在中国史学界很少被视为"外来"政权，甚至成为世界各地华人社区的一个代名词，如华人自称为"唐人"，以及成华人聚居的区域为"唐人街"等。请参阅Chen Sanping, "Succession Struggle and the Ethnic Identity of the Tang Imperial House," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6:3 (1996): 379–405。

The concept of individuals without descendants to care for their souls and bodies, as seen in the conceptualizations of the Nine Emperor Gods, reflects the realities and experiences of Chinese migrants in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Southeast Asia. Historical sociologists have noted that most Chinese sojourners to Southeast Asia during the late Qing dynasty were single men who comprised the bulk of miners, plantation workers and coolie labour.[85] It is understandable that these migrants had no intention of permanently settling in Southeast Asia. Rather, they had hoped to return home to start a family with their earnings. Regrettably, however, their dreams were rendered futile as many of them, instead, perished abroad.[86] Few of these largely illiterate men have left written records of their lives, concerns, and fears of sojourning in Southeast Asia. However, it is not hard to imagine that the Nine Emperor Gods' posthumous fates—perishing at sea without any descendants in this-life to mourn for them—struck a chord, especially with these sojourner devotees.

Ultimately, the unique utilization of various representations of deities and ancestral worship, such as spirit-tablets and inscribed papers, to symbolize the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, particularly in Singapore, Malaysia, and southern Thailand, stands out. This practice becomes even more notable when considering the various origin stories associated with these deities. When understood in the context of the origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods, they suggest strong connections to ideas about ancestor worship, mourning, and commemoration. Stories which characterised the Nine Emperor Gods as anti-Qing heroes and martyrs reveal strong correlations between the deities and Ming China, and by extension, to China and Chinese identities in the context of foreign invasion and conquest. Their manners of death and their positions on the margins of the extant political order formed the basis of the explanations regarding the lack of anthropomorphic image(s) and the use of a form that strongly connects to ancestor worship among the Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Representing the Nine Emperor Gods as an Image or Images



▶ Image of the Nine Emperor Gods (left) in Qingguan Si.

在槟城朝元洞清观寺中的九皇神像 (左)

In addition to spirit tablets, another way of representing the Nine Emperor Gods is through statuettes crafted in their likeness. Through statuettes, the deities are represented as a single collective or distinct individual deities. For example, one of the earliest representations of the Nine Emperor Gods on Penang Island can be found in the Chao Yuan Dong Qing Guan Si. This representation possesses "four faces and eight hands", two of which "are clasped in prayer, one holds the sun, another the moon. The fifth hand holds the great Emperor seal, the sixth a sword, the seventh a spiked club and eight a bow and arrows".[87]

[85] Women, in contrast, only entered the region in greater numbers with the imposition of the Aliens Ordinance in 1933, that excluded them from quotas set on Chinese migrants arriving in the region. Before that, however, colonial states with Chinese populations, like those of Malaya and companies (*gongsis*) which were run by Chinese managers in the Dutch East Indies, as well as those in southern Thailand, were by-and-large dominated by men. Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (October 1960): 26.

[86] The reasons for these migrants' inabilities to fulfil their ambitions were many. Opium addiction, gambling and ill health, coupled with frequent bouts of intercommunal violence between different *gongsis* in postcolonial Southeast Asia increased the mortality rates of Chinese workers. These workers also had to pay off their debts for the costs of transport from China and living expenses in Southeast Asia under the credit ticket system. Several papers have been authored on the social history of these communities. Among others, see Carl A. Trocki, "Opium and the Beginnings of Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 33:2 (2002): 297-314; W. L. Blythe, "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20:1 (1947): 64–114; James Francis Warren, *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore, 1880-1940* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2003).

[87] "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9.

九皇大帝是未婚男子，没有后代祭祀他们的故事也与19世纪和20世纪初下南洋的华人移民的经历产生了共鸣。正如历史社会学家所指出的，晚清时期，大多数在东南亚谋生的华人都是单身男性，他们为矿业和种植园提供了大量劳动力。[85] 这些旅居者大多不打算在东南亚落地生根，而是希望利用他们的收入回国组建家庭。遗憾的是，他们中有许多人还未等到实现梦想的那一天便客死他乡。[86] 这些苦力大多数不识字，因此很少有文字记录他们在东南亚的生活、担忧和恐惧。然而，不难想象，九皇大帝死后没有后代祭祀，引起了这些信徒的共鸣，他们身居海外，也无家人可以料理后事。

在过去，神位和祭坛上写着名字的纸张被用于供奉神明和祖先，但在东南亚，尤其是新加坡、马来西亚和泰国南部，以此象征九皇大帝的做法具有独特性。结合九皇大帝的起源故事，可以发现，神位和写着名字的纸张与祭祖和葬礼的实践有相似之处。这些起源故事暗示九皇大帝是反清复明的义士，九皇大帝与明朝之间有很强的关联，进而与外国侵略背景下的中国和华人身份认同相关。九皇大帝的牺牲以及他们在现存政治秩序的边缘位置，表明了在东南亚华人的九皇信仰不设神像且与祖先崇拜相似的原因。

[85] 相比之下，1933年《外国人条例》（Alien Ordinance）实施后，女性才大量进入马来亚地区。根据该条例，女性被排除在进入该地区的华人移民的配额之外。然而，在此之前，有华人人口的殖民地，包括马来亚、荷兰东印度群岛中由华人管理的公司（*gongsis*），以及泰国南部，基本上都是男性人口占绝大多数。请参阅Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (October 1960): 26.

[86] 华人移民无法实现落叶归根心愿的原因有很多。华人劳工通过"赊单制"以契约形式下南洋谋生，他们须做苦力以偿还船费和生活费。鸦片成瘾、赌博、水土不服，再加上后殖民时期东南亚不同公司之间经常发生族群间冲突，大大降低了华工的存活率。关于华人社区的社会史已有许多文章问世。请参阅，例如Carl A. Trocki, "Opium and the Beginnings of Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 33:2 (2002): 297-314; W. L. Blythe, "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20:1 (1947): 64–114; James Francis Warren, *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore, 1880-1940* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2003).

[87] "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan," *The Straits Times*, 1953年10月16日，第9版。

以塑像或画像代表九皇大帝



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods (back) and Numinous Officer Wang (front) were venerated in Hong San Temple, c. 1969. Photograph from the Keith Stevens collection, courtesy of Ronni Pinsler.

九皇大帝（后方）和王灵官（前方）在凤山宫的正殿中，约为1969年。照片来自 Keith Stevens 收藏，由 Ronni Pinsler 提供。

神位是代表九皇大帝的常见方式之一，除此之外，人们也仿照九皇大帝的形象为神明设像。一尊神像可那个代表全体九皇大帝，也可能代表其中某一位九皇大帝。例如，槟城最早出现的九皇大帝神像是槟城朝元洞清观寺所供奉的神像。神像有"四面八手"，其中两手"合十祈祷，一手托日，一手托月，一手握玺，一手握剑，一手持狼牙棒，一手持弓箭。"[87]

▶
Veneration of the Nine Emperor Gods in Hong San Temple today.

九皇大帝在凤山宫的正殿中



▶
Veiled image of the First and Second Emperor God at Leong Nam Temple, 1966. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿供奉的九皇大二帝的蒙面金身，1966。照片由龙南殿提供。



▶
Image of the Nine Emperor God at Nan Shan Hai Miao today.

今天在南山海庙的九皇九大帝金身





The image of the First and Second Emperor God at Leong Nam Temple, undated (likely between the 1970s and 1980s). Photograph courtesy of Xuan Wu Shan.

龙南殿供奉的九皇大二帝金身，日期不详（可能是在1970年代和1980年代之间）。照片由玄武山提供。



Image of the First and Second Emperor God, the Southern Dipper Sovereign (right) and Northern Dipper Sovereign (left) in Leong Nam Temple today.

今天在龙南殿的九皇大二帝金身，以及南斗星君（右）和北斗南斗星君（左）。



▲
Devotees from Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng ferrying an image of the Nine Emperor Gods to the coast on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, undated (possibly the late 1960s and 1970s). Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee from Kew Huang Keng.

在农历九月初九，葱茅园九皇宫的信徒们将九皇大帝的金身运接到海岸边，日期不详（可能是1960年末和1970年代）。照片由葱茅园九皇宫的吕序奎提供。



◀
Devotees from Kew Huang Keng ferrying an image of the Nine Emperor Gods to the coast on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, undated (possibly the late 1970s). Photograph courtesy of Mr Wu from Kew Huang Keng.

农历九月初九，葱茅园九皇宫的信徒们将九皇大帝的金身运接到海岸边，日期不详（可能是1970年代末）。照片由葱茅园九皇宫的Mr Wu 提供。



▲
Ferrying of the Nine Emperor Gods to the coast on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month today.

农历九月初九， 九皇宫的信徒们将九皇大帝的金身运接到海岸边。

Temples in Singapore, such as Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Kim San Tze, Leong Nam Temple, Long Nan Szye and Nan Shan Hai Miao, represent the Nine Emperor Gods via a single image. Since Leong Nam Temple's establishment in Geylang Serai, an image of the Nine Emperor Gods has been worshipped on its main altar—specifically positioned between two images of the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns. Rather than representing all the Nine Emperor Gods, however, interestingly, the image only depicts both the First and Second Emperor Gods.

Many of the Nine Emperor Gods' images manifested within oral testimonies and physical representations that resonated with their places-of-origin and local traditions. In Hong San Temple, the image of the Nine Emperor Gods wields a sword and holds a rooster in his hand. According to a senior's recollection, the image was made in the likeness of the temple's medium of old, who would slit the comb of a white rooster and use its blood to write talismans. Similarly, in Nan Shan Hai Miao, the deity on the temple's altar is believed to represent the Sixth Emperor God. Long Nan Szye's image of the Nine Emperor Gods likely reflects the temple's Buddhist leanings as it is portrayed with a Vairocana crown.[88] Typically, the image is displayed on the temple's main altar for all to worship. Nevertheless, the image is hidden for the course of the festival within the temple's Inner Chamber, away from public eyes.

▼
Image of the Nine Emperor Gods venerated in Long Nan Szye, undated (pre-1990s). Photographs from the Keith Stevens collection, courtesy of Ronni Pinsler.

龙南寺的九皇大帝金身，约为1990年 前。照片来自 Keith Stevens 收藏，由 Ronni Pinsler 提供。





▶
Veiled image of the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival in Long Nan Szye.

在龙南寺庙的庆典期间，九皇大帝的金身被帆布帐篷蒙着。

More rarely, temples have chosen to represent the Nine Emperor Gods as nine distinct entities. Three temples have undertaken this in Singapore: Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, Yu Hai Tang and Zhun Ti Tang. In the first two instances, all nine images are usually kept in the Inner Chamber, away from public eyes. In Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, only an image of the Fifth Emperor God is available for public veneration. However, all nine images of the Nine Emperor Gods are invited to an open altar in a tentage erected adjacent to the temple during the festival. Some of these images' iconography is believed to have been directly inspired by the deities themselves. They instructed the temple leaders on how they should be represented in the physical world through various channels. In the case of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, the founder received instructions and glimpses of the deities' appearances in a dream. As a result, the current customised carvings of the Nine Emperor Gods are based on his recollection of that dream.

[88] The uses of such headgears to reflect affiliations towards Buddhist iconography and rituals have not only been limited to Long Nan Si among the Chinese in Southeast Asia. These have also been visible in vegetarian halls associated with the Great Way of Former Heaven, as noted in Show Ying Ruo, "Chinese Buddhist Vegetarian Halls (zhaitang) in Southeast Asia: Their Origins and Historical Implications," *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper* 28 (Jul 2018): 4.

在新加坡，有的九皇庙供奉着一尊神像，代表全体九皇大帝，例如凤山宫、九皇宫、金山寺、龙南殿、龙南寺和南山海寺。龙南寺坐落在芽笼士乃（Geylang Serai），主祭坛上供奉着一尊九皇大帝神像，两旁分别是南北斗星君像。有趣的是，这尊神像代表的是九皇大二帝。口述史中的九皇大帝以及实物的九皇大帝神像都清楚反映了庙宇九皇信仰的起源和独特传统。在凤山宫，九皇大帝神像手持公鸡并挥舞宝剑。据一位长者回忆，这尊神像是仿照凤山宫过去的乱童制作的，他会割开一只白公鸡的鸡冠，用鸡血写符。类似的，南山海寺祭坛上的九皇大帝神像据说是九皇六（九）帝。在龙南寺，九皇大帝神像戴着毗卢帽，这可能反映了庙宇遵循佛教传统。[88] 平日里，神像通常被供奉在庙宇主祭坛上供人们祭拜，但在节日期间，神像会转移到内殿，远离公众视线。

相对罕见的，一些庙宇可能有九尊神像，分别代表一位九皇大帝。在新加坡，这样的庙宇有三座，分别是：龙山岩斗母宫、玉海棠和准提堂。在龙山岩斗母宫和玉海棠，九尊神像通常安奉在内殿中，避免公众打扰。在龙山岩斗母宫中，平日里只有九皇五帝在祭坛上受公众祭祀。然而，在节日期间，所有九皇大帝都被请到庙宇旁帐篷中的开放祭坛上受供奉。据说，一些神像是由神灵授意塑造的，神明通过不同的渠道指示工匠应如何刻画他们的形象。例如，九皇大帝在龙山岩斗母宫庙宇创办人的梦中显灵。醒来后，创办人根据记忆画出梦中九皇大帝的形象，并委托工匠以他的草图为据雕刻神像。



◀ Standing images of the Fifth Emperor God were venerated on the public altar of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong (in the centre and on the right).

在龙山岩斗母宫公共神殿上受供奉的九皇五帝金身（位于中间和右侧）。



◀ Nine seated images of the Nine Emperor Gods in the main hall of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong before they are invited to the festival site.

九尊九皇大帝的坐像在龙山岩斗母宫的二楼大殿，代请到九皇千秋场地。

[88] 使用毗卢帽以表示其仪式遵循佛教的实践，这种做法在东南亚华人社会中不仅见于的龙南寺，也见于先天大道的斋堂。请参阅Show Ying Ruo, "Chinese Buddhist Vegetarian Halls (zhaitang) in Southeast Asia: Their Origins and Historical Implications," *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper* 28 (Jul 2018): 4.



The display of two sets of Nine Emperor Gods (standing and seated) statues and a multi-armed and multi-faced Dou Mu on Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's festival altar.

在龙山岩斗母宫的节日场地上，展示了多尊九皇大帝金身（站立和坐姿），以及一尊多臂多面的斗母元君，安置在神龛上, 2016

In the recent decade, Zhun Ti Tang commissioned nine images of the Nine Emperor Buddhas to mirror the iconography of these deities venerated in its mother temple, the Xin Xing Tan, in Bangkok, Thailand. Each deity wields a specific item corresponding to the Five Elements and four-time measures (year, month, day, hour). For instance, one of the Nine Emperor Gods is illustrated with flames in his hand—symbolic of the element of Fire.[89] Since these images are seen as physical representations of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu, they are also regarded as important channels of exchange and reciprocity amongst Nine Emperor Gods' temples. In Zhun Ti Tang's case, when the temple returned to Bangkok to renew its incense linage with Xin Xing Tan, a set of images originally consecrated in Singapore in 2017 was presented to the Qing Fu Tan building adjoining the Long Lian Si complex in Bangkok.[90]



Ten images of the Nine Emperor Buddhas and Dou Mu were gifted to Qing Fu Tan by Zhun Ti Tang in 2017.

准提堂向清福坛斗母宫赠送了十尊九皇佛祖和斗母元君的形象, 2017

[89] Confer with 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 17. The images were supposed to be seated on lotus thrones akin to their counterparts in Bangkok. However, according to the head of Zhun Ti Tang, the carver sat the gods on dragon thrones after permission was sought from the gods via the casting of divination blocks.

[90] Regarding this temple, which boasts the reputation of being one of the oldest Mahayana Buddhist temples in Thailand, see Wolfgang Franke and Liu Lifang, 泰国华文铭刻汇编 (台北: 新文丰出版公司, 1998), 76-99; and 卢慧圆 (Wannakorn Muntanajaru) Lu Huiyuan, "泰国曼谷华人寺庙的文化变迁研究 – 以龙莲寺为例," (M. A. thesis, Guangxi University, 2018)

近年来，准提堂仿照主庙泰国曼谷新兴坛的九皇佛祖神像，制造了九尊神像。每一尊神像都挥舞着一种特定物品，与五行和四柱（年，月，日，时）相对应。例如，其中一尊九皇佛祖手握火焰，代表五行中的火元素。[89] 由于这些神像被视为九皇大帝和斗母的化身，它们也成为供奉九皇大帝的庙宇之间交流互动的重要载体。以准提堂为例，当代表团前往曼谷到新兴坛更新香火时，代表团向曼谷龙莲寺附近的清福坛赠送了一组神像，这组神像自2017年供奉在新加坡。[90] 同样地，玉海棠最初也有九尊九皇大帝神像，后来与友庙交换。如今玉海棠内殿供奉的九尊神像是新雕刻的，庙宇原本的神像现在在泰国。



◀
Original Nine Emperor Buddhas and Dou Mu venerated in the Qing Fu Tan complex located within the Long Lian Si compound in Bangkok, Thailand, 2017

在泰国曼谷龙莲寺院内的清福坛斗母宫区域中，供奉原始九皇佛祖和斗母元君, 2017



◀
Images of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu in Xinxing Tan, Bangkok, Thailand.

泰国曼谷新兴坛供奉着九皇大帝和斗母元君的形象

[89] 请参阅王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页17。准提堂的神像原本应仿照曼谷新兴坛而造，但据准提堂的堂主称，工匠掷筊询问神明意见后，将众神安奉在龙座上。

[90] 龙莲寺据称是泰国最古老的大乘佛教寺庙之一，请参阅傅吾康（Wolfgang Franke），刘丽芳，《泰国华文铭刻汇编》（台北：新文丰出版社，1998），页76-99；卢慧圆 （Wannakorn Muntanajaru），《泰国曼谷华人寺庙的文化变迁研究——以龙莲寺为例》，广西大学硕士学位论文，2018年。



In this version, a temple in Bangkok, Thailand, features the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu, with the latter bearing a resemblance to the Queen Mother of the West, as depicted in 2017.

在泰国曼谷的一座寺庙中，供奉着九皇大帝和斗母元君，后者类似于西王母， 2017

Reverence towards the nine images of the Nine Emperor Gods likewise occurs beyond Singapore in Thailand and Malaysia. In Bangkok, many temples venerate nine images of the Nine Emperor Buddhas and the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns and Dou Mu.[91] Of interest is the fashioning of Dou Mu as a crowned empress wielding a *ruyi* sceptre whilst being waited upon by two attendants, as this design is akin to the Queen Mother of the West.[92] This appearance contrasts with the usual representation of Dou Mu with the multi-armed and many-faced imagery of Molizhutian.[93] Understanding this requires looking at a localised retelling of the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods née Buddhas Festival collected by Gao Weinong. Gao notes that several beliefs in Thailand indicated that "the Nine Emperor Buddhas were said to be the sons of Wangmu (the Queen Mother of the West), who sent them to this world to help (the Ming dynasty) resist the Qing invasion".[94]

Lee Eng Kew's survey of some of the oldest temples devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods on Penang Island also found that the Nine Emperor Gods were depicted as nine human figures. Seven of the Nine Emperor Gods' images in Taishang Miao (founded in 1901) are adorned with Daoist crowns, whereas the remaining two are decked in Zhuangzi head scarfs.[95] Lee also witnessed the possession of a scripture and an illustrated scroll featuring the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu during his visit to the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong. Representations of the Nine Emperor Gods as nine separate images are also present on Penang Island, such as those in the Tian You Gong Zi Zai Guan. Two figures are portrayed with beards, whereas the other seven images are clean-shaven.[96]



[91] In most instances, however, these images seemed to be newly-consecrated.

[92] The worship of this goddess is extremely ancient, and many works have been authored on her worship in China up till today. Among others, see the comprehensive two volume work by 萧登福,西王母信仰研究 (台北市：新文丰出版股份有限公司, 2012 Taipei City: New Wenfeng Publishing Co., Ltd., 2012), who covered the goddess' origins in early China and subsequent evolution and interaction with other deities in imperial China. The goddess's present-day influence in Chinese sectarian traditions can be found in David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[93] See, for example, 薛克翘, "摩利支天—从印度神到中国神," 东方论坛: 青岛大学学报5 (2013): 89-94; and 张宏书, "摩利支天造像及其崇拜浅谈," 理财: 收藏6 (2015): 20-25.

[94] 高伟浓, "华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说," 东南亚纵横3 (2002): 96.

[95] These refer to headdresses donned by Daoist priests.

[96] 李, "九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键," 39. In the same article, Lee proposes that the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods is divisible into the earlier " Fujianese" and the later "Hakka" approaches, where the former worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods along the lines of a Wangye , whereas the latter represented the Nine Emperor Gods as an image or images in temples respectively. Confer with the closing discussion in 王, "国殇," where Ong mentioned that "in the past, temples overseen by Hakka Daoist priests or the temples of Hakka folk religious movements were different from Fujianese religious organizations which worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods, for there was no indication of significant influence of Hongmen traditions". However, I have not been able to find any comprehensive sources to substantiate their characterisations. Moreover, this topic is still open for further research and discussion.





▲
Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu at the Zhun Ti Tang festival site, 2017.

准提堂的场地上供奉着九皇大帝和斗母元君的金身，2017

除了新加坡，泰国和马来西亚也流行九皇信仰。在曼谷，许多庙宇供奉着九皇佛祖，以及南北斗星君和斗母。[91]有趣的是，在曼谷的大多数九皇庙中，甚至在一些较新的庙宇中，斗母的形象都是带着皇冠的女皇，手执如意，两旁各有一侍从侍奉，外形酷似西王母，[92] 而不是像其他地方多臂多面类似摩利支天的形象。[93] 高伟浓研究了泰国当地关于九皇大帝/九皇佛祖起源的传说，其中一种说法是“九皇佛祖是王母的儿子，明朝时曾下凡帮助抵抗满清的入侵。”[94]

李永球调查了槟城一些古老的九皇庙，也发现了不同庙宇的九皇大帝形象不同。太上庙（建于1901年）有七尊九皇大帝神像身穿道袍，其余两尊神像头戴庄子巾。[95] 他还注意到，香港巷斗母宫不仅有一尊神像，还有一幅卷轴，上面画着九皇大帝和斗母。天有宫自在观以九尊不同神像代表九皇大帝，其中两尊神像蓄着胡须，其余七尊设像则不具胡须。[96]

[91] 然而，这些神像通常是新近才塑造的。

[92] 对西王母的崇拜历史悠久，已有许多研究西王母信仰的著作问世。相关详细研究，请参阅萧登福，《西王母信仰研究》（台北市：新文丰出版股份有限公司，2012）。萧登福考察了中国早期西王母的起源，以及随后的演变。关于西王母对中国民间教门传统的影响，请参阅David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[93] 例如，请参阅薛克翘，<摩利支天——从印度神到中国神>，《东方论坛：青岛大学学报》2013年第5期，页89-94；张宏书，<摩利支天造像及其崇拜浅谈>，《理财：收藏》2015年第6期，页20-25。

[94] 高伟浓，<华夏九皇信仰与其播迁南洋探说>，《东南亚纵横》2002年第3期，页96。

[95] 庄子巾指道士头上佩戴的头巾。

[96] 李永球，<九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键>，页39。在文章中，李永球还提出九皇大帝信仰可以分为较早的“福建九皇派”和后来的“客家九皇派”，前者沿袭王爷信仰的方式供奉九皇大帝，而后者在庙宇中供奉九皇大帝的神像。请参阅王琛发的文章<国殇> ，他指出“在过去由道人主持的客家人道庙或属客家民间教派的庙宇内，就和一般闽南系的九皇信仰组织有分别，不见得有太强烈的和洪门传统复合的迹象”。笔者尚未找到任何全面的材料以证实以上学者所述特征，这一话题有待进一步研究和探讨。



◀
Nine separate images of the Nine Emperor Gods and spirit-tablet on the third floor of the Bincheng Toutiaolu Dou Mu Gong.

在槟城头条路斗母宫的三楼，供奉着九尊九皇大帝金身和九皇大帝的神主牌位。

Aside from Lee's observations, apparent is the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods as nine distinctive images by many other temples in Malaysia. The Bincheng Toutiaolu Dou Mu Gong worships nine images devoted to each of the Nine Emperor Gods on the third storey.[97] Since its inception in 1928, the Kew Huang Keng in Malacca has venerated a "watercolour painting" of the Nine Emperor Gods as "nine individuals with long bears, compassionate faces, and dressed in the robes of emperors or the attires of civil court officials" in its Inner Chamber.[98] Likewise, in the recently refurbished Hailongsi in Miri, an image of Dou Mu can be seen from behind nine images of what can be interpreted as the Nine Emperor Gods.[99] Sam Siang Keng in Johor Bahru used only to venerate a single image of the Eighth Emperor God. That said, nine individual images of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu have been included among the temple's deities since 2010.[100] Indeed, Lee's argument is valid in contesting the sweeping generalization that temples devoted to the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods uniformly lack the display of their images. However, his insights have certain limitations as they do not fully explain the specific reasons and historical context behind the use of nine distinct figures to represent the Nine Emperor Gods in these temples.

Despite similarities in venerating images of the Nine Emperor Gods, temples still differ in practices. Evident across some temples is the public veneration of a portion of all their images and, in turn, the deliberate keeping of at least one image in the Inner Chamber. Considering that the latter is isolated, the amount of sanctity projected on it remains unsurprising—the said stored image only emerges during special circumstances and is usually viewed only by select members of the temple's leadership and ritual specialists who are privileged to enter the Inner Chamber. For instance, according to a 2005 commemorative magazine published by Hong San Temple, it can be inferred that the temple houses a smaller image of the Nine Emperor Gods from the Inner Chamber. This smaller image is concealed within a palanquin and is transported during the festival's receiving and sending-off ceremonies. Additionally, the temple also prominently displays a larger standing image of the deity in the main hall, which is publicly known and venerated.[101]

Inner Chamber

On top of spirit-tablets and images, during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the deities are believed to reside within a special room or partitioned tentage known as the Inner Chamber. The Inner Chamber is also where the censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods or Dou Mu are venerated during the festival. It serves as an architectural extension of the deities' presence. Recognising this, most formal temple premises in Southeast Asia are designed with a room for this purpose. Temples without formal premises, such as home temples or temples facing space constraints, instead designate a portion of their festival tentage as a restricted space for these censers during the festival.[102] During the festival, a select number of ritual specialists and, in certain temples, the censer masters, who are placed on a longer period of *zhai* and regime of abstinence, are allowed to enter the Inner Chamber to perform rituals and everyday tasks, including the changing of tea, offerings, and oil.

Besides the receiving and sending-off of the deities in Singapore, the only occasions where the Nine Emperor Gods' or Dou Mu's censers exit the Inner Chambers during the festival are the *yew keng* processions. During the *yew keng* procession tours around present-day neighbourhoods or villages in the past or during cross-temple visits, these censers are concealed within their respective palanquins to be transported around. Even when they are out of the Inner Chambers, the censers continue to be treated with utmost respect and are not removed from the palanquins. Only incense sticks are exchanged during *yew keng*. For Kew Huang Keng, however, the Nine Emperor Gods censer ventures out in its palanquin during its *yew keng* tours to other temples. Additionally, the temple engages in *yew kampong* or "tour of the kampong", which involves the visiting of the various "deity receiving stations" by former inhabitants from the old Lemongrass Village kampong (Chaozhou: *Cang Mao Herng*) by the Nine Emperor Gods' and Dou Mu's censers.

[97] 槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊 (槟城: 头条路斗母宫, 2008), 37.

[98] 叶鸿亿, "马六甲九皇宫掌故," 学文 1 (2020): 106.

[99] See 马来西亚斗姆宫九皇大帝总会,美里省海龙寺斗姆宫九皇大帝罗汉三皇龙公举办庆祝九皇殿落成开幕大典, 盛庆35周年纪念特刊 (美里: 马来西亚砂拉越美里市海龙寺斗姆元君九皇大帝罗汉三皇龙公, 2013), unpaginated.

[100] 苏泉铭, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文 (2019," Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

[101] 凤山宫三庆大典 (新加坡：凤山宫委员会, 2005), 28 and 62.

[102] In some temples situated within homes, an Inner Chamber is specially built into the apartment's floorplan. For example, since the 1970s, one such Nine Emperor Gods temple in Margaret Drive, Singapore, managed to devote some space within the home's living quarters to the *am pang*, where "shrines to special deities and the ancestral tablet of the old medium" are kept. See Koh Keng We, "The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes: The Vicissitudes of a Chinese Temple in post-1965 Singapore," in *Singapore: Negotiating State and Society, 1965-2015*, ed. Jason Lim and Terence Lee (New York: Routledge, 2016), 134.

除了李永球的记载外，马来西亚还有许多庙宇也以九尊神像供奉九皇大帝。例如，槟城头条路斗母宫在庙宇三楼供奉着九尊九皇大帝神像。[97] 马六甲九皇宫自1928年成立以来，一直在内殿供奉着一幅九皇大帝“水墨画画像”，图上是“九位有长胡须，面容慈祥，各自都身穿皇爷袍或类似朝廷文官的官服”的九皇大帝。[98] 同样地，在最近才翻修的美里省海龙寺，一尊斗母神像被安奉在九尊九皇大帝神像之后。[99] 柔佛新山三善宫过去只供奉九皇八帝，自2010年以来，三善宫也开始设九尊九皇大帝神像和斗母像供人祭祀。[100]正如李永球所反驳的，九皇庙均不设神像这种说法以偏概全，然而，庙宇用九尊独立的神像来代表九皇大帝的具体时间和原因仍不得而知。

在一些庙宇中，九皇大帝神像可能被供奉在祭坛上，但至少还有一尊神像会被安奉在庙宇内殿中，只有在特殊情况下才会被请出内殿。在大多数情况下，只有少数宫庙领导和礼仪专家有权进入内殿，接触神像。凤山宫2005年出版的纪念册显示，虽然大殿内供奉着九皇大帝的立像，在进行恭迎和恭送仪式时，一尊较小的九皇大帝神像会被请到神轿中，跟随队伍出行。[101]

[97] 《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》（槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008），页37。

[98] 叶泓亿，<马六甲九皇宫掌故>，《学文》2020年第1期，页106。

[99] 请参阅《马来西亚斗姆宫九皇大帝总会，美里省海龙寺斗姆宫九皇大帝罗汉三皇龙公举办庆祝九皇殿落成开幕大典，盛庆35周年纪念特刊》（美里：马来西亚砂拉越美里市斗姆元君九皇大帝罗汉三皇龙公，2013），未标明页码的。

[100] 苏泉铭,<柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文>，九皇文化计划，2020年1月25日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

[101] 《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫委员会，2005），页28 及62。

[102] 有的家庙专门在公寓中开辟一处作为内殿。例如，自20世纪70年代以来，新加坡玛格烈道（Margaret Drive）一座九皇庙设法在其住所内留出空间作为暗房，那里供奉着“神明的神龛以及过去乩童的祖先神位”。请参阅Koh Keng We, “The Deity Proposes, the State Disposes: The Vicissitudes of a Chinese Temple in post-1965 Singapore,” in *Singapore: Negotiating State and Society, 1965-2015*, ed. Jason Lim and Terence Lee (New York: Routledge, 2016), 134.

内殿

人们相信，在九皇千秋期间，神明会降临人间，居住在一个特殊的房间或被隔开的帐篷中，通常称为内殿。内殿中也存放着代表九皇大帝和斗母的香炉。东南亚许多有土地的庙宇都会专设一间房间作为内殿。一些庙宇没有土地（如家庙），或没有足够的空间，仍然在节日期间搭设的帐篷中划出一部分作为内殿，专门安置这些香炉。[102] 在九皇千秋期间，只有严格遵循持斋戒律的礼仪专家及炉主可以进入内殿执行仪式和日常照料，例如更换茶水、供品和香油。

在新加坡的九皇千秋期间，只有在恭迎仪式和恭送仪式以及游境时，庙宇才会将九皇大帝或斗母的香炉从内殿请出，安坐在神轿中，到附近区域和村庄绕境游行（在过去比较常见），或拜访其他九皇庙（今天更常见）。在出巡时，庙宇通常不会移动香炉，只交换檀香。在九皇宫游境时，九皇炉会随队伍拜访新加坡东部的其他九皇庙，而当游甘榜时，九皇炉和斗母炉会出巡各个“迎神站”，这些迎神站由过去葱茅园甘榜（潮州话：*Cang Mao Herng*）的居民建立。



◀ The Inner Chamber at Long Nan Szye, 2017.

龙南寺的内殿, 2017



Palanquin bearers of Nan Shan Hai Miao escorting the Nine Emperor Gods into the temple's Inner Chamber.

南山海庙的抬轿人护送九皇大帝入场地的内殿。

While the origins of the Inner Chamber are unclear, noticeable parallels can be found in the practices of professional performers and opera troupes collectively known as "Liyuan (Pear Orchard)" in late imperial and Republican China. First and foremost, it is important to clarify that several Liyuan Associations are devoted to the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods and actively participate in the observance of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Since 1924, the Yanjing branch of Liyuan performers had designated a permanent room within its premises as the "Hall of the Nine Emperors". Covered with yellow paper and decorated with banners emblazoned with the characters "Sacred Association of the Nine Emperor Gods", the room not only venerates an image of the eponymous deity (also regarded as the Great Sage in the Centre of Heaven) but also included the spirit-tablets of other gods, namely Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, the Sacred Old Buddha (alias the Saviour of the Southern Seas, Guanyin Bodhisattva), Guan Yu, and the Supreme Elder Sovereign [the deified Laozi (sixth to fourth century BCE)] as well.[103] In relation to the Liyuan's worship of the Nine Emperor Gods, a correspondent highlighted the practice of performing artists in Shanghai creating designated ritual spaces and constructing altars in various parts of the city towards the end of the eighth lunar month.[104] Similar to the Inner Chambers designated for the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu in present-day Southeast Asia, there are strict restrictions and meticulous attention given to the demarcated zones or rooms and the confinement of sacred contents in China. Only the religious specialists and associates of the Liyuan are permitted access to these sacred areas.



Main altar without Nine Emperor Gods imagery, and the entrance to an adjoining Inner Chamber at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Kung, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Kung.

蔡厝港斗母宫，1992年。正殿没有九皇大帝的形象，以及一个相连的内殿的门口。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

[103] 问溪 and 张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记,"戏剧月刊 2:3 (1929): 137-142. Interviews with members of Fujianese opera troupes in Singapore suggested that this practice was not prevalent among them, with Marshall Tiandu being their patron deity. There was a suggestion that it might have been practiced by the Teochew troupes. The case of Lau Chit Kee Hiang, now ensconced in Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Lao Yu Lou Chun, suggests that this was a possibility.

[104] 破铜, "梨园公报：九皇胜会志盛,"戏剧周报1:3 (1936): 10.

尽管我们并不清楚内殿源于何时何地，但可以看到，帝国晚期和民国时期统称为“梨园”的专业戏曲演员和剧团的实践，与内殿的设置有相似之处。燕京梨园的戏曲演员自1924年便在戏园内设一“九皇堂”，以黄纸覆盖，挂有一幡，上书“九皇圣会”。九皇堂中不仅供奉着九皇大帝（又称中天大圣）的神像，还供奉着其他神明的神位，包括地藏王菩萨、圣主老佛（又称南海大士，观世音菩萨）、关夫子和太上老君[相传老子（约公元前6世纪-前4世纪）升天成仙，成为太上老君]。[103] 许多戏曲表演者都庆祝九皇千秋。1936年，一位记者注意到，农历八月快要结束时，上海不同地区的梨园都划定了仪式空间，建造了祭拜九皇大帝的祭坛。[104] 如同今天东南亚九皇庙中的内殿，在梨园的九皇盛会中，内殿也不对外开放，只有礼仪专家和助手可以进入。内殿还会受到特别照料，防止其中奥秘泄露给外人。



A Hougang Tou Mu Kung committee member escorting the censer representing the Nine Emperor Gods to the second floor of the temple’s premises. The sign on the left warns all non-authorised individuals to avoid the stairway on the right.

一位后港斗母宫理事护送代表九皇大帝的香炉到庙宇的二楼，也是内殿所在。右侧的标志警告所有非授权人员避免入后殿。



After the Nine Emperor Gods have been received, a senior volunteer of Hong San Temple stands guard at the entrance of the Inner Chamber to prevent unauthorized entry, and helps devotees with the offering of incense in the chamber.

当九皇大帝迎接进宫后，凤山宫的炉主头家与特定理事会轮流驻守在内殿入口处，不仅闲人进入，也替善信进香。

[103] 问渠，张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，见《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-142。对新加坡福建剧团成员的采访表明，这种做法在他们当中并不普遍，他们的守护是神田都元帅。有一种说法称这可能是潮州剧团的做法。老一支香，今玄武山翰林院老玉楼春便是一例。

[104] 破铜，<梨园公报：九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》1936年第3期，页10。

Many temples, such as Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong, Kim San Tze, Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, have constructed a permanent Inner Chamber on their premises, situating it behind the main altar of the Nine Emperor Gods. The enforced separation by a wall, door, or curtains allows devotees to worship the Nine Emperor Gods without coming into direct contact with the deities' censer. An octagonal tower above the temple's main altar is found in Hougang Tou Mu Kung. The second storey of the said tower serves as an Inner Chamber during the festival and on normal days. Past practices included permitting males into the structure's second storey to be blessed by Daoist priests on certain occasions. However, the practice ceased due to the increase in worshippers with the growth of the temple's popularity. Most religious activities held within the temple had to be relocated to the temple's courtyard.[105] As mentioned above, not all temples have specially designed rooms like the Inner Chambers. Home temples, such as Xuan Wu Shan, Long Nan Szye and Nan Shan Hai Miao, lack this feature. These temples continue the practice by consciously designating a section of their festival tentage as the Inner Chamber to house the Nine Emperor Gods' censer during the festival. At the festival tentage erected by Leong Nam Temple during the festival, a section of its premises will be reserved for the establishment of an Inner Chamber. Within this partitioned space is where the Nine Emperor Gods' censers will be enshrined.

The evolution of the Inner Chamber at Nan Shan Hai Miao in 1991 (first photograph), 1996 (second photograph), 1997 (third to fifth photographs) and the present day. The first five photographs are courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

1991年（第一张照片）、1996年（第二张照片）、1997年（第三至第五张照片）以及现今，南山海庙内殿的外貌演变。前五张照片由南山海庙提供。



[105] Lee Cheuk Yin and Ji Ling, eds., *Sacred Site of the Nine Emperor Gods: The Kew Ong Yah Temple Upper Serangoon* (Singapore: Superskill Graphics Pte. Ltd., 2019), 62.

许多庙宇都在供奉九皇大帝的主祭坛之后修建了内殿，例如洪水港斗母宫、金山寺、凤山宫、九皇宫和蔡厝港斗母宫。内殿通常以墙、门或布帘隔开，信徒可以在不接触到香炉的情况下朝拜九皇大帝。在后港斗母宫，无论是在节日期间还是在平日里，内殿位于庙宇主祭坛之上八角楼的第二层。在过去，男性信徒在特定的场合可以进入内殿接受道士的祝福。随着庙宇香火越来越旺，信徒不再可以进入内殿，大多数宗教活动转移到庙宇院子中。[105] 一些家庙没有足够空间设置内殿，尽管如此，节日期间，他们会指定节日帐篷的一部分作为内殿，用以存放九皇大帝的香炉，例如玄武山翰林院、龙南寺和南山海庙。龙南殿也会在节日帐篷中划出一部分作为内殿，在节日期间，九皇炉被保存在内殿中。

[105] Lee Cheuk Yin and Ji Ling, eds., *Sacred Site of the Nine Emperor Gods: The Kew Ong Yah Temple Upper Serangoon* (Singapore: Superskill Graphics Pte. Ltd., 2019), 62.









The Inner Chambers likewise are addressed by many names, including "Dou Mu's Palace".[106] For instance, a large plaque (dated 1954) emblazoned with the character "Dou Mu's Palace" is displayed at the entrance of the Nan Tian Gong's Inner Chamber in Ampang, Kuala Lumpur.[107] There are several notable instances in Bangkok, Thailand, where temples temporarily adopt the title "Dou Mu's Palace" by placing gauzed lanterns with the title above their doorways. This practice bears interesting similarities to temples in imperial China with similar names, where Dou Mu emerged as the primary deity of reverence while the Nine Emperor Gods were worshipped as secondary deities.[108] During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival observed by Nan Shan Hai Miao at its Jalan Ang Teng premises, a makeshift Inner Chamber was created by surrounding the designated space with yellow cloth, symbolizing "Dou Mu's Palace." Uniquely, the temple's Inner Chamber is entitled "Dipper Mountain Palace" in Kim San Tze. According to a senior's recollection, this resulted from the failure to attain the gods' permission to change the title of the Inner Chamber to "Dou Mu's Palace" via the throwing of divination blocks. Permission, however, was secured when an alternative—the current title—"Dipper Mountain Palace", which draws on characters from "Dou Mu's Palace " and "Kim San Tze"—was proposed.



▶ Image representing the Second of the Nine Emperor Gods on the main altar of Kim San Tze today.

在金山寺的正殿上代表九皇二帝的金身。



▶ Dou Shan Gong 斗山宫, the inner Chamber in Kim San Tze.

金山寺的内殿斗山宫。

[106] Some temples in Singapore, such as Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, Hougang Tou Mu Kung, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, are also known as "Dou Mu's Palace".

[107] Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaysia Press, 1982-1987), Volume I, 101.

[108] See 王, 从北斗真君到九皇大帝, 39-40; and the list of temples which gained their appellations from Dou Mu in China by 吕芳员, "清末民初斗姆 (九皇) 信仰的发展及传播," 广州社会主义学院学报44 (2014): 59-63.



◀
Gauzed lanterns bearing the characters “Dou Mu’s Palace” above the threshold of Xin Xing Tan in Bangkok, Thailand, 2017.

在泰国曼谷新兴坛的门槛上，悬挂着带有“斗母宫”的纱灯，2017。

许多内殿被命名为“斗母宫/斗姥宫/斗姆殿”。[106] 例如，安邦南天宫的内殿门口悬挂着一块巨大匾额（可追溯至1954年），上面刻着“斗母宫”。[107] 笔者注意到，九皇千秋期间，泰国曼谷的一些庙宇会在门口放上写着“斗母宫”字样的纱灯，表示庙宇暂时易名为“斗母宫”。这种做法类似于中华帝国时期的斗母宫，斗母是最受尊崇的主神，九皇大帝则作为陪祀。[108] 南山海庙在Jalan Ang Teng庆祝九皇千秋时，庙宇会在节日场所设置临时内殿，用黄布围出一处空地作为“斗母殿”。金山寺的内殿比较特别，称为“斗山宫”。根据一位前辈的回忆，庙宇曾掷筊询问神明意见，希望将内殿命名为“斗母宫”，但未获神明批准。直到有人提出分别从“斗母宫”和“金山寺”中借用一字，以“斗山宫”为名，神明才表示许可。



◀
Plaque inscribed with the unique title of Kim San Tze’s Inner Chamber atop a palanquin bearing the Nine Emperor God’s censer.

在扛着九皇大帝的香炉的轿子上，有一块刻有金山寺内殿特殊称号的匾额

[106] 新加坡一些九皇庙也称斗母宫，如洪水港斗母宫，后港斗母宫及蔡厝港斗母宫。

[107] Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaysia Press, 1982-1987), Volume I, 101.

[108] 请参阅王琛发，<从北斗真君到九皇大帝>，页39-40；以斗姆命名的庙宇清单，见吕芳员，<清末民初斗姆（九皇）信仰的发展及传播>，《广州社会主义学院学报》，2014年第44期，页59-63。

Access to the Inner Chamber of any Nine Emperor Gods' temple is highly restricted and tightly guarded. As such, ordinary members of the public, devotees, and the majority of helpers or volunteers at the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals are forbidden from entering or even peeking in. A myriad of reasons exist to substantiate the strict imposition of secrecy regarding these Inner Chambers in Southeast Asia, as well as the basis of the perpetual concealment of the Nine Emperor Gods' censers in some temples. One retelling by Nan Tian Gong in Ampang reveals that "secrecy was important" when it came to the workings of the Inner Chamber, for it was the location where "various leaders hid to formulate plans to overthrow the Qing dynasty".[109]

Working within a similar vein, the Inner Chamber's sanctity ensued from its protection of Zheng Chenggong (1642—1662 CE), which some believe was the Nine Emperor Gods in human form. An anti-Qing activist and, hence, a wanted man, Zheng had hidden in the Inner Chamber of a temple during his nine-day visit to coastal Fujian to devise plans to overthrow the Qing. As the censer represents the Nine Emperor Gods, and, thus, Zheng, the isolation of the censer must be understood as the concealment of Zheng's identity. Naming the Inner Chamber after Dou Mu was a further nod to the motivations of Ming loyalists, for the goddess had two arms wielding a solar and lunar disc representing the "sun" and "moon," which symbolised the "Ming" dynasty.[110] In addition, as noted in a previous chapter, several scholars noted that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival draws heavily from the iconography of Wangye worship. Li Fengmao suggests that the Inner Chamber that housed the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia was analogous to a Wangye's residence. As divine emissaries, these Inner Chambers were necessary "to maintain the majesty of the (Nine) Emperors".[111]



▶
Palanquin bearers waiting to escort the censers of the Nine Emperor Gods out of the temple's Inner Chamber in the present.

抬轿人等着将九皇大帝的香炉护送出神殿内殿

[109] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊, 21. Confer with 王, "国殇."

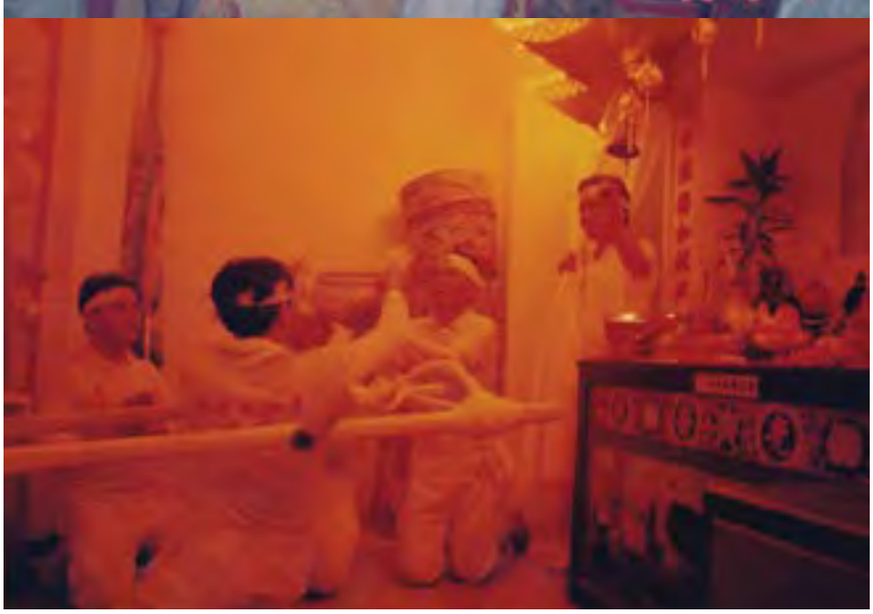
[110] 黄瑞桦 , "九皇大帝的另则传说," 斗讯 1 (2001): 65-66. A similar account is provided in 徐, 九皇圣迹, 29.

[111] Li, 从圣教到道教, 268. Li's observation was partially premised on his study of how Nuo 傩exorcisms were gradually edged out in prominence by the reverence of Wangye deities before the latter shaped the Nine Emperor Gods worship in Southeast Asia. Despite the convincing parallels that Li drew, to my knowledge, the Inner Chamber remains a feature unique to the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in Southeast Asia. For additional context, see 李丰楙, "礼生与道士：台湾礼仪实践的两个面向" (paper presented at 儒家思想在现代东亚国际研讨会, 台北市，中央研究院中国文哲研究所筹备处主办 , 1999 Taipei City, Preparatory Office of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 1999). For an overarching comparison of the features of the Wangkang Festival and the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in Southeast Asia, see Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 369-372.

内殿入口有专人看守，公众、信徒和大多数节日期间的助手或志愿者都不得进入或围观内殿。在东南亚，内殿需要严格保密，在一些寺庙中，九皇炉总是被隐藏起来，其中原因，人们有不同的解释。安邦南天宫的说法是：在内殿的工作保持“秘密（很）重要”，因为“首领级人士在内主持计划反清之谋。”[109]

与此类似的一种说法是，九皇大帝是郑成功（公元1624-1662年），他曾在福建沿海奔走九日，与各路豪杰商议推翻清朝，遇到危险时躲在内殿中。由于郑成功被清廷通缉，因此必须隐藏代表他的香炉，以免泄露他的真实身份。将内殿命名为斗母宫也表明反清阵营对明朝忠心耿耿，因为斗母两手各托一盘，分别代表太阳（“日”）和月亮（“月”），两者结合象征着“明”王朝。[110] 此外，如前一章所述，一些学者认为九皇千秋效仿王爷崇拜。其中，李丰楙认为，东南亚九皇大帝的内殿类似于王府。九皇大帝作为替天巡狩的神圣使者，内殿是“为了维持大帝的威严”所必不可少的。[111]





◀ Palanquin bearers waiting to usher the censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods into their respective palanquins at Leong Nam Temple. The interior of the temple’s old premises was transformed into an extension of the Inner Chamber during the festival in the first photograph (1992) and an Inner Chamber was built behind the temple’s altar in the second photograph (1997). Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

抬轿人正在等待将代表九皇大帝的香炉护送到各自的轿子中。第一张照片（1992年）显示旧庙的内部在节日期间被改造成了内殿的延伸，而在第二张照片（1997年）中，在庙内的正殿后方建造了一个内殿。照片由龙南殿提供。

[109]《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》，页21。请参阅王琛发，<国殇>。

[110] 黄瑞桦，<九皇大帝的另则传说>，见《斗讯》2001年第1期，页65-66。类似说法也见于徐李颖，《九皇圣迹》，页29。

[111] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》，页268。李丰楙的结论部分基于他对古老傩仪如何逐渐被王爷信仰取代的研究，后者塑造了东南亚的九皇大帝信仰。尽管李丰楙所提的两者相似之处颇具说服力，但据笔者所知，内殿仍是东南亚九皇千秋的独特之处。相关背景请参阅李丰楙，<礼生与道士：台湾礼仪实践的两个面向>，论文发表于儒家思想在现代东亚国际研讨会（台北，中央研究院中国文哲研究所筹备处主办，1999）。关于东南亚的王舡大游行和九皇千秋的详细比较研究，请参阅Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 369-372.

A consensus regarding the basis of restrictions in relation to the Inner Chamber exists amongst temples in Singapore. Primarily, this is due to the special status of the Nine Emperor Gods. As such, individuals who serve them have to undergo rigorous *zhai* regimes of vegetarianism and cleansing in preparation for the encounter. Championing this belief that the Inner Chamber is the epitome of serenity, sanctity, cleanliness and purity, Kim San Tze barrs ordinary devotees from entering the Inner Chamber.[112] Many cautionary tales about the Nine Emperor Gods' powers are related to the Inner Chamber, where the recalcitrant and arrogant have earned the censure of the Nine Emperor Gods.[113] To Xuan Wu Shan, for example, there is a belief in the preference of the Nine Emperor God for a peaceful environment and, hence, the need to prevent interruptions of his rest. Devotees who wish to enter the Inner Chamber to take pictures must gain permission by tossing divination blocks. It is said that a photographer who omitted this critical step received developed images that were pitch black. Another individual who entered the Inner Chamber without observing vegetarianism whilst wearing black (in contrast to white and yellow) during the festival also suffered a gradual loss of eyesight before passing away.



Selected visitors from Kim San Tze were welcomed into the Inner Chamber erected at Xuan Wu Shan's festival site.

玄武山的内殿欢迎金山寺的香客进入参拜

Those privileged to enter the Inner Chamber are expected to commit themselves to the strictest regimes of *zhai*. Temples, including Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Nan Shan Hai Miao, allow the censer masters and ritual specialists from other Nine Emperor Gods entry into these Inner Chambers during the *yew keng* component of the festival to worship the Nine Emperor Gods. Nevertheless, the sustained norm is the barring of even the temple's leadership and committee members from entry into the Inner Chamber, for the duty of care for the Nine Emperor Gods' or Dou Mu's censer is the sole prerogative of the censer master. To ensure the purity of the space, temples usually prohibit ladies from entering the Inner Chamber in case they are on their periods.[114] However, such restrictions are not universal. Women, for example, are allowed to enter the Inner Chamber of Xuan Wu Shan to carry the tri-storeyed palanquin. In the present day, for Nan Shan Hai Miao, elderly women are occasionally allowed to enter the Inner Chamber to serve the Nine Emperor Gods. One notable exception to the prohibition rule is Yu Hai Tang: Ordinary devotees are permitted into the tentage, the "Nine Emperors' Palace", to pay their respects to the deities for an hour before the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas are escorted back to the sea on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

[112] 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化（新加坡：金山寺，2013），16.

[113] This was mentioned in passim by 徐, 九皇圣迹, 32.

[114] The literature on this observation is immense. Among others, see Shih Feng-yu Patricia, "Female Pollution-in Chinese Society" (M. A. thesis, McMaster University, 1978); Cordia Ming-Yeuk Chu, "Menstrual Beliefs and Practices of Chinese Women," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 17:1 (1980): 38–55; and Beata Grant and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Escape from Blood Pond Hell: The Tales of Mulian and Woman Huang* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011).

在新加坡，大多数庙宇都认为内殿紧闭是为了维护九皇大帝的特殊地位，只有那些严格持斋身心清净的人才能进入内殿服侍九皇大帝。金山寺也遵循这种观念。内殿是清净的神圣之地，普通信徒不能进入内殿。[112] 许多警示性故事都与内殿中九皇大帝的神力有关，态度傲慢和举止不敬都会受到九皇大帝的惩罚。[113] 例如，玄武山翰林院的九皇大帝喜欢清净，不喜被人打扰。想要进入内殿拍照的信徒需要掷筊征求九皇大帝许可。有一位摄影师跳过这一关键步骤便拍摄图片，当她冲洗照片时，她发现所有照片都是漆黑一片。还有一个人没有持斋仍进入内殿，并且在节日期间穿着黑色衣服（而不是白色和黄色），这个人后来逐渐失明。



◀
Selected visitors from Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong were allowed entry into the Inner Chamber erected at Yu Hai Tang's festival site.

玉海棠的内殿只允许龙山岩斗母宫的特定香客进入参拜



◀
A representative from Shin Sen Keng pays his respects to the Nine Emperor Gods at the threshold of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's Inner Chamber on the second storey of the premises.

神仙宫的代表在龙山岩斗母宫内殿的门槛上向九皇大帝致敬，该内殿位于庙宇建筑的二楼。

进入内殿的人必须遵循最严格的斋戒制度。在一些庙宇中，例如龙山岩斗母宫、后港斗母宫和南山海庙，在节日期间前来拜访的友庙炉主和礼仪专家可以进入内殿祭祀九皇大帝。然而，在大多数情况下，即使是宫庙领导和庙宇委员会成员也不能进入内殿，因为照顾九皇大帝或斗母的香炉是炉主的特权。作为完全纯净的空间，女士通常不能进入内殿，理由是人们不知道她们是否处于经期。[114] 然而这并不是绝对的。例如，存放于玄武山翰林院内殿的三层神轿便是由妇女负责抬轿。如今，南山海庙允许年长的女性信徒偶尔进入内殿祀奉九皇大帝。玉海棠是一个值得注意的例外：农历九月初九，在恭送九皇菩萨被之前一个小时，普通信徒可以进入帐篷（被称为"九皇殿"）向神明致敬。

[112]《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》（新加坡：金山寺，2013），页16。

[113] 关于这则警示性故事，请参阅徐李颖，《九皇圣迹》，页32。

[114] 已有许多文献对这一点进行探讨，请参阅Shih Feng-yu Patricia, "Female Pollution-in Chinese Society" (M. A. thesis, McMaster University, 1978); Cordia Ming-Yeuk Chu, "Menstrual Beliefs and Practices of Chinese Women," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 17:1 (1980): 38–55; Beata Grant and Wilt L. Idema, trans., *Escape from Blood Pond Hell: The Tales of Mulian and Woman Huang* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011).

Even outside of festival settings, Inner Chambers of Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore are closely regulated and tightly controlled. However, the intensity of the rules varies from temple to temple. The Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong on Penang Island only cordorns off the temple's main hall with yellow curtains to form an Inner Chamber during the festival. In Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, devotees can worship and visit the Inner Chamber outside the festival period. Embroidered curtains are drawn to conceal the room from the public's sight upon receiving the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. The Bincheng Toutiaolu Dou Mu Gong also enforces a similar rule towards the "Hall of Purity and Simplicity" located on its third storey. While accessible to the public for the worship of the nine images of the Nine Emperor Gods on a typical day, access is only restricted to those "who observe vegetarian diets" during the festival.[115] However, not all temples possessed an Inner Chamber. During the author's visit in 2017 to Xin Xing Tan in Bangkok, Thailand, the consecrated censer (in yellow) of the Nine Emperor Buddhas was displayed on the main altar for all to worship during the festival. Additionally, Duan Lisheng's floorplan of the premises did not indicate any special room or niche designated as an Inner Chamber.[116]



▶ Censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods and various deities enshrined in the main hall of the Xin Xing Tan temple in the absence of an Inner Chamber, 2017.

在没有内殿的情况下，代表九皇大帝和各种神灵的香炉供奉在新兴坛的正殿上, 2017.

[115] 槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊, 37.

[116] 段立生, 泰国的中式寺庙 (曼谷: 泰国大同社出版有限公司, 1996), 93.



◀
Devotees queuing to pay their respects to the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas in the Inner Chamber 九皇殿 of Yu Feng Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang on the evening of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

在农历九月初九的晚上，信徒们排队进入玉封玉海棠观音堂的内殿（即九皇殿）来向九皇菩萨致敬。

一般来说，在新加坡大多数九皇庙中，内殿极为隐密，即使不是节日期间，外人也不得随意踏足。然而，这些规则因庙宇而异。例如，在槟城香港巷斗母宫，只有节日期间，庙宇正殿才用黄帐隔开，作为内殿。在安邦南天宫，信徒在平日里可以自由进入内殿参观和朝拜。只有在迎接九皇大帝之后，庙宇才会围上刺绣布帘，维持内殿隐秘性，不让公众看到。位于槟城头条路斗母宫三楼的“净素殿”也是如此。平日里人人都可以在三楼厅堂中祭祀九皇大帝，但在节日期间，只有“持素者”才可以进入三楼。[115] 然而，并非所有庙宇都有内殿。笔者于2017年拜访泰国曼谷新兴坛，发现主坛上安奉着九皇佛祖的黄色香炉，供所有人在节日期间祭拜。段立生所绘的庙宇平面图中也没有指出作为内殿的特殊房间或壁龛的存在。[116]

[115]《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》，页37。

[116] 段立生，《泰国的中式寺庙》（曼谷：泰国大同社出版有限公司，1996），页93。

Conclusion

Comparable to other deity followings throughout Chinese history, there are multiple ways of representing the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia. Many temples, some of which are among the region's oldest religious centers, have chosen not to designate physical images of the deities. Instead, they represent the Nine Emperor Gods through spirit tablets or inscribed pieces of paper. This distinctive practice sets apart the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods from the typical image-driven worship of Chinese deities. Various explanations within Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival shed light on the absence of physical depictions of the deities. These accounts imply that the lack of imagery is deliberate rather than coincidental. One reason is that the aniconic forms employed reflect the unique origin stories associated with the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia. These stories encompass the necessity of avoiding potential persecution by Qing or British officials and the perceived insensitivity and unsuitability of portraying the deities due to their decapitation prior to their divinization.

Furthermore, the representation of the Nine Emperor Gods through spirit tablets holds profound significance in highlighting the symbolic bond shared between the deities and their devotees in Southeast Asia. By examining the historical context of Chinese communities in Southeast Asia in relation to China, we can better understand the themes of ancestor worship, mourning, and commemoration that emerge. The tales that trace the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods back to anti-Qing heroes and martyrs imply a deep connection between the deities and Ming China, and by extension, Chinese identities in the face of foreign invasions and conquests. These stories suggest that the manner of their deaths and their marginalized positions within the existing political order contribute to the absence of anthropomorphic images. Moreover, these circumstances have fostered strong associations between the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods and ancestor worship practices among the Chinese community in Southeast Asia.

Curiously enough, despite the popularity of the festival in late Qing and Republican China, only a few unambiguous references to the Nine Emperor Gods' imagery exist—most of which are traceable to professional performers who affiliated themselves with the Liyuan label. This suggests that the Nine Emperor Gods were rarely depicted as an image for veneration. This also reveals the potentially ephemeral nature of these images, especially considering that these were crafted from paper-mâché and incinerated after that to mark the festival's conclusion. It was equally possible that the deities' presence during the festival may have been represented in the form of other unostentatious objects or paraphernalia, such as lamps or spirit tablets, thereby escaping the scrutiny of Republican journalists and observers.

That said, some Southeast Asian temples represent the Nine Emperor Gods via a single image (either as a collective representation of the deities, to denote one of the represent the deities collectively, or to denote one of the Nine Emperor Gods) or nine separate human-shaped images. Regardless of their different methods of representing the Nine Emperor Gods, common across all of the fifteen temples we have documented is the establishment of an Inner Chamber, especially for the duration of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This highly restricted room serves as an extension of the Nine Emperor Gods' or Dou Mu's physical embodiment in this world, where the deities' very presence is embedded in the layout of the festival site or architecture of the temple itself. During the festival, these Inner Chambers become the foci of various rituals and ceremonies. They house the sacred censers symbolic of the Nine Emperor Gods or Dou Mu once the deities have been received from a water source.

结语

如同中国历史上的神明崇拜，在东南亚，九皇大帝的表现形式不止一种。其他华人神明通常设有神像供奉，然而在许多九皇庙中，包括东南亚一些历史最悠久的宗教中心，很少见到九皇大帝神像，只以一块牌位或一张写有九皇大帝称号的纸张代表神明。这是九皇大帝区别于其他华人神明的一个显着特征。东南亚九皇千秋的起源说明了九皇大帝不设神像的原因。以神位代表九皇大帝，表示九皇大帝的无形无影，人们对此有不同的解释，例如，这是为了避免清朝或英国官员的怀疑和迫害，或者是由于神明在神格化之前被斩首，因此不便为其塑像。

最重要的是，以神位代表九皇大帝说明神明与东南亚的信徒之间有象征性的亲缘关系。若置于东南亚华人社区与中国的历史情境中理解，九皇大帝的起源故事也突出了祖先崇拜、哀悼和纪念的概念。在暗示九皇大帝作为反清复明义士的故事中，九皇大帝与明朝关系密切，进而关乎外国侵略背景下的华人身份认同。九皇大帝的死亡方式以及他们在现存政治秩序中的边缘位置，都被用以解释不设神像而立牌位的原因，这一做法与东南亚华人的祖先崇拜也有密切联系。

值得注意的是，在清末和民国时期，尽管许多人会庆祝九皇千秋，但关于九皇大帝神像仅有的几条记录，都与梨园戏曲表演者有关。这表明民间很少以神像供奉九皇大帝，只在节日期间供奉纸糊的临时神像，随后焚化，以标志节日的结束。九皇大帝也可能以其他较为平常的器物的形式呈现，如九皇灯或神位，因此不被民国时期的记者和观察者注意到。

在东南亚也有一些庙宇以神像供奉九皇大帝，可能只设一尊神像代表全体九皇大帝或其中某一位九皇大帝，也可能设九尊神像分别代表一位神明。无论庙宇以何种方式供奉九皇大帝，在九皇千秋期间，我们记录的十五座庙宇都设有一封闭房间作为内殿。九皇大帝或斗姆在节日期间降临庙宇，正驾端坐于内殿之中，只有少数人可以进入内殿，其他人不得进入。在节日期间，内殿是各种重要仪式的焦点。自水边恭迎神明之后，九皇大帝和斗姆的香炉便安奉于内殿之中。

第4章

Censer
香炉



Introduction

Devotees and delegations from Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore gather at coastal areas, riverbanks, or by water bodies to welcome the said deities during the last week of the eighth lunar month for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Central to this receiving ceremony and throughout the festival are the temples' incense censers—particularly, the censer's display, role and function. At a glance, the censer symbolises the Nine Emperor Gods upon their sojourn to the mortal world during the festival. The welcoming ceremony involves consecrating or receiving the incense censer at water bodies to symbolise the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. Similarly, the sending-off of the incense censer on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month represents the deities' departure.

A commonly shared practice across the Nine Emperor Gods temples is the immediate enshrinement of their respective consecrated censers away from public view and contact in a separate closed space—the "Inner Chamber"—that has restricted access. Only a select few deemed to be 'pure', given their adherence to strict physical and mental regimes of abstinence and a vegan diet, are allowed access to the said chamber. Devotees depend on these chosen intermediaries to carry their offered incense into the Inner Chamber to place within the censer. A significant amount of responsibility rests on these intermediaries, which include conducting rituals surrounding the censer and its transportation (usually in covered palanquins) during neighbourhood or cross-temple tours and visits aimed at proliferating blessings across the wider community.

The importance of the censer in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival raises the following questions: What are the meanings and roles of incense censers in Chinese society and religion? How are the Nine Emperor Gods incense censers and the practices and perceptions surrounding them unique in these ritual and cultural environments? The significance of incense censers also lies in the accumulation of incense dedicated to the deities by community members. As such, both have come to embody the sacred presence of the deities which they are dedicated to and the communities who propitiate them. They also constitute the means of establishing new temples and communities across space and time. Recognising this prompts the emergence of other questions: What are the roles played by incense in the history and rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia? How has incense connected Nine Emperor Gods temples across Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Southeast Asia? How are these networks maintained today through various practices surrounding incense?

Incense Censers in Chinese Society and Religion

Censers have played a vital role in traditional Chinese religion and culture, within and beyond China, including Southeast Asia. Given that they serve as a holder for burning incense dedicated to a deity, ancestor, or spirit, the censers inevitably became regarded as the embodiments of and symbols for these entities. Communities, ranging from religious establishments, such as temples, to everyday families, have since centred their worship around the use of censers. Families with household altars are united in their worship of common deities and ancestors through their shared use of these censers. Expanding on this in relation to Taiwanese practices, Stephen Feutchwang states, "The simplest domestic altar has just two permanent installations, an incense burner and a pair of divination blocks".[1] Across Southeast Asia, including Singapore, the practice of using a shared incense censer occurs with the displaying of it before the spirit tablets of venerated forebears in lineage and ancestral halls.

[1] Stephen Feutchwang, *Popular Religion in China: The Imperial Metaphor* (Surrey: Curzon Press Richmond, 2005), 133.

前言

每年农历八月的最后一周，新加坡许多庆祝九皇千秋的善信和寺庙代表团将聚集在海边、河畔或与海相连的水域恭迎九皇大帝。香炉在恭迎圣驾的仪式乃至整个节日庆典中扮演着重要的角色。在海边迎请并祭祀香炉标志着九皇大帝莅临人间。在节庆期间，香炉是巡视人间的九皇大帝的化身。而在节庆的第九天，香炉将被隆重地送回海上，以此象征九皇大帝的离开。

当迎神队伍回到宫庙或举办节庆仪式的场地后，香炉通常被供奉于远离公众视线和接触的位置，安放在一个独立的封闭圣殿中，只有少数严格遵循禁欲和持斋（斋戒）规定、确保身体足够洁净的理事者才得以接近。其他信众依靠这些理事将香带入内殿上香祭祀。庆典活动举行期间，这些理事肩负照料并护送香炉的责任。在九皇节庆期间，九皇大帝可能通过香炉乘御由幔帐遮盖住的圣轿绕境游神或拜访友庙，将九皇大帝的祝福带给更多的信徒。

香炉在九皇千秋中的重要性引出了以下几个问题：香炉在华人社会和宗教中有什么特殊的意义和作用？九皇大帝的香炉与相应的仪式和宗教理念在信徒们的实践和所处在的文化环境中有何独特之处？香炉的意义在于为信仰九皇大帝的信徒积累香火。因此，香炉及香火既代表着神明的神圣化身，也凝聚了供奉这一神明的信众这两者还构成了跨越时空建立新庙宇与社区的方式。香火在东南亚九皇千秋的历史和仪式中扮演着什么样的角色?香灰是如何将新加坡、马来西亚、泰国及东南亚其他地区的九皇神庙联系在一起的?不同神庙之间的联系如何通过与香火相关的各种实践来维持的?



◀
The censer master and key ritual specialists (from the *Lao Cai You* association) of Hong San Temple returning to shore after the successful receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods in a censer emblazoned with their name.

大成巷葱茅园凤山宫的炉主与老菜友会成员在海水中用九皇香炉恭迎九皇大帝之后逐步回到岸边。

华人社会与宗教中的香炉

不论是在中国，还是在东南亚或世界其他地区的华人社区里，香炉在传统华人宗教文化中扮演着重要的角色。香炉供祭祀诸神与祖先的信徒插线香之用，承载焚香的香灰。作为祭祀礼器，香炉既是诸神的象征与化身，同时也凝聚着供奉同一神明的信众。拥有家庭神龛的家庭因与祭祀相同神明或共同祖先的成员共享香炉而团结在一起。学者王斯福（Stephen Feutchwang）在谈到台湾的民间宗教时提到：“最简单的家庭神龛只包含两种必不可少的对象——一个香炉和一对筊杯”。[1] 在新加坡和东南亚的宗祠中，在祭祀祖先的神主牌前，也能发现成员共享同一香炉的情况。

[1] Stephen Feutchwang, *Popular Religion in China: The Imperial Metaphor* (Surrey: Curzon Press Richmond, 2005), 133.

Similarly, tutelary gods, village temples, guilds, and associations associated with the Seventh Month Festival typically organise their practices around their respective incense censers and images of their patron deities or a standalone censer. Kristofer Schipper, who studied these "liturgical associations" in traditional Tainan, notes that despite the different backgrounds of devotees of the various associations, "their basic anatomy was essentially the same", where they, "like temples…were always founded in relation to an incense pot".[2] Some mutual aid associations in China and Southeast Asia have also organised their rituals around their respective incense censers, such as initiation ceremonies by prospective recruits.[3] As scholars of Chinese religion and society have rightfully noted, an incense censer is the ritual centre of any community.

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrations at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si involve a large earthenware censer, which maintains burning sandalwood blocks in an open sedan chair for devotees to bless themselves. A paper tablet, with the title of the Nine Emperor Gods, is burnt in the censer on the festival's final day before the censesr is sent off at sea to mark the deities' departure. Undated (likely 1990s). First three photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

九皇胜会期间，洪水港斗母宫会将一个大型的陶制香炉安置在圣轿上，以大块的檀香木在香炉中不断燃烧，供香客祈福。到节庆最后一天，一块代表九皇大帝的纸质牌位将焚烧于香炉中，并被随着龙船送到海中，象征九皇大帝圣驾回銮。未注明日期（可能是1990 年代）。前三张照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



[2] Kristofer Schipper, "Neighbourhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 654.

[3] Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1998), 55-63. Also see Kwee Hui Kian, "Nexus of Mobility: Chinese Economic Migration to West Borneo, c. 1740–1850," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 14 (2018): 171-172.

类似情况也可见于守护神、村庙、行会以及组织中元节的协会。这些组织通常围绕着香炉和守护神的塑像进行组织，有时仅仅围绕着香炉来组织。学者施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）研究了传统台南的这种仪式组织，他指出，虽然这些组织服务的是不同信仰的信徒，但“它们的基本结构本质上是相同的”，那就是“像寺庙一样……这些组织的建立，离不开香炉”。[2] 中国和东南亚的一些互助团体，也以香炉为中心，举行各种各样的仪式，例如为希望加入某组织的新成员举办的入会仪式。[3] 香炉，正如这些研究华人宗教与社会的学者所指出的，是各类团体的仪式中心。





[2] Kristofer Schipper, “Neighbourhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 654.

[3] Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1998), 55-63. 亦可参考Kwee Hui Kian, “Nexus of Mobility: Chinese Economic Migration to West Borneo, c. 1740–1850,” *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 14 (2018): 171-172.





Whilst acknowledged as an important symbol and embodiment of deities and communities, a censer must be viewed in relation to the ritualised burning of incense. Smoke, vapours, and scents created by the burning of different substances to communicate with gods and ancestors have had a long history in China, pre-dating the arrival of Buddhism in the final years of the Eastern Han dynasty (25—220 CE). Several Buddhist texts emphasise the manifold importance of incense burning, such as environmental cleansing or demarcating boundaries for ritual performances. It is unsurprising, thus, that these Buddhist notions dovetailed neatly with the then-pre-existing Chinese ideas. These beliefs have facilitated the continued popularity of burning incense and scented substances up to the present day.[4] Today, incense remains an indispensable offering in every Chinese temple or shrine. Devotees communicate with the gods and ancestors by planting incense sticks into a base of ashes within censers. This practice was bolstered by the development of better incense sticks from the Ming dynasty (1368—1644 CE).[5]



Nan Shan Hai Miao's censer master carried a tray of sandalwood powder and logs, as well as incense shavings during the temple's *yew keng* in 2017.

2017年南山海庙进行绕境游行，南山海庙炉主手捧托盘，托盘盛着檀香粉、檀香木和香屑。

[4] Olivia Milburn, "Aromas, Scents and Spices: Olfactory Culture in China before the Arrival of Buddhism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136:3 (2016): 454-458. On the relationship between Buddhism and incense burning in China, see the exhaustive review by 张梅雅, 佛教香品与香器全书 (台北市: 商周出版, 2010).

[5] Habkirk and Chang, "Scents, Community, and Incense in Traditional Chinese Religion," 161.



Preparations by Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong to send off the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods in a ritual ship, undated (likely late 1990s or early 2000s). Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫为恭送九皇爷香炉而准备的法船，未注明日期（可能是1990年代末或2000年代初）。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供”

香炉虽是神明与信众的重要象征和体现，若没有焚香仪式，它也是不完整的。焚烧不同物质产生的烟。蒸汽或气味在空中散去，成为人们与诸神和祖先进行交流的寄托，这一实践在中国有着悠久的历史，甚至早于东汉（公元25-220年）末年佛教的传入。一些佛教经典也强调了焚香之于某些目的的重要性，例如净化周围环境或划定举行仪式的场地。这些见解与中国已有的观念相吻合，并在后来的几个世纪使焚香和其他具有香味的物质变得大众化。[4] 时至今日，香仍是华人寺庙或神坛中不可或缺的供品，香客通过将香插入香炉的香灰中来寄托心愿，这种做法自明朝（公元1368-1644年）以来随着柱香的发展变得普遍。[5]



A basket of sandalwood powder and logs, and incense, is kept at the main altar table of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong for the exchange of incense with visiting temple contingents.

在龙山岩斗母宫的主坛上，托盘盛着檀香粉、檀香木和香屑，以便与来访庙团换香。

[4] Olivia Milburn, “Aromas, Scents and Spices: Olfactory Culture in China before the Arrival of Buddhism,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136:3 (2016): 454-458. 有关中国佛教与焚香之间的关系，请参阅张梅雅的详尽综述：张梅雅，《佛教香品与香器全书》（台北市：商周出版，2010）。

[5] Habkirk and Chang, “Scents, Community, and Incense in Traditional Chinese Religion,” 161.

Indeed, as Jean DeBernardi rightfully points out in her study of Chinese Penangites, "No act of worship is more fundamental than the offering of incense".[6] Throughout the festival, it has been established that devotees make offerings of incense to the Nine Emperor Gods. Noteworthy is their prominence during cross-temple exchanges—*can bai* or *yew keng* tours. The significance of incense in these ceremonies is closely tied to the principles of reciprocity, friendship, and mutual exchange that underpin the rituals.

However, incense and incense ashes also play critical roles in spreading the Nine Emperor Gods' worship, as many believe they embody the power of the worshipped deity. Consequently, such beliefs prompt worshippers to accumulate them within censers continuously and consciously.[7] So ingrained is the belief that individuals even carry a small sachet of incense ashes from censers belonging to their patron deities for personal protection. These ashes are typically retained by their human owners, as they are seen as symbols of the deities' vigilant presence and protection over them. They might be venerated as representations of the deities' powers elsewhere.[8] The ritualistic practice of enshrining incense ashes within new censers involves a ceremonial process known as "incense division" or the invitation of incense. These processes hold significant importance in the consecration of new temples. Predictably, therefore, the establishment of many existing Nine Emperor Gods temples likewise occurred in the same manner.[9] For now, let us focus on the role of incense censers in various temples that worship the Nine Emperor Gods and how the incense censer constitutes the centrepiece in many key rituals performed to mark the festival's beginning and end.

The Nine Emperor Gods Censer

Censers are important in the founding of several Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore and Malaysia. A case in point is the origin story of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Temple. In the 1920s, a villager named Cai En from Kampong Sungei Tengah along Chua Chu Kang Road, specifically at the 12½ milestone, was inspired to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at his home. This decision came about after he had a dream in which he realized that an incense censer he had found while fishing actually belonged to the Nine Emperor Gods. Assisted by fellow villagers after the Japanese Occupation (1942—1945), Cai established a temple—now known as Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng—dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods in his environment.

Ling Ying Dian's journey in hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Kelantan, Malaysia, commenced after the miraculous arrival of an incense censer in 1960. True to the predictions of a medium possessed by a deity, the medium's followers found the Nine Emperor Gods arriving in the form of an "Emperor's Censer" floating along Sultan Pier, located on a bank of the Kelantan River, on the first day of the ninth lunar month. Instructions to worship the Nine Emperor Gods prompted the followers to keep the censer enshrined within a small wooden building along Old Market Street—which later expanded to accommodate the establishment of Ling Ying Dian.[10]

Similarly, the Melaka Nan Tian Gong temple had a similar experience of discovering a floating censer that arrived from a river—five years after its founding in this case. A copper incense censer was found floating along a river by a medium of the Nine Emperor Gods and the temple's leadership on the night of the last day of the fifth lunar month. To commemorate the exceptional circumstances and timing of the Nine Emperor Gods' arrival (as represented by the incense censer), unique only to the Melaka Nan Tian Gong, is the commemoration of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival on the sixth lunar month instead of the usual ninth month.[11]

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[6] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012), 91.

[7] Habkirk and Chang, "Scents, Community, and Incense in Traditional Chinese Religion," 161.

[8] The processes described here have been contextualised in greater detail by Hue Guan Thye 许源泰, "中华传统宗教信仰在东南亚的蜕变: 新加坡的道教和佛教研究" (PhD diss., Nanyang Technological University, 2011), 75-76; and Kwee, "Nexus of Mobility: Chinese Economic Migration to West Borneo, c. 1740–1850," 171-172.

[9] Much has been written on this process, and how individual temples are connected to one another in a complex web of intermeshed ritualised hierarchies that are constructed around the incense ashes enshrined within these censers. For example, see Philip Clart, "Chinese Popular Religion," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Chinese Religions*, ed. Randall L. Nadeau (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 228-229.

[10] "吉蘭丹靈應殿九皇大帝史略," in 九皇爺安邦南天宮一百卅週年紀念特刊 *Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang* (吉隆坡: 九皇爺安邦南天宮, 1992), 59.

[11] This was possibly a reference to the "Six Emperors *Zhai*" that is observed in honour of the Six Emperors (believed to be the Southern Dipper Sovereign) in Ji'an, Jiangxi, China. 马六甲南天宫 ， "马六甲帆加南马南天宫的香火，据悉是源自安邦南天宫，成立于1942年。70多年前在九皇爷降乩指示下，南天宫成为国内唯一一间在农历六月庆祝九皇爷诞，规模一点也不逊色。", Facebook, June 28, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/namtiangong/photos/a.1506557476303794/1740110469615159/. Also see 温发镀, "万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗," in 吉安市的宗族、经济与文化 (下), ed. 刘劲峰 and 耿艳鹏 (国际客家学会: 海外华人资料研究中心;法国远东学院, 2005), 362.

事实上，正如Jean DeBernardi在她对槟城华人的研究中所指出的那样，“最基本的敬拜行为莫过于供香”。[6] 节庆期间，不仅信徒会以香烛供奉九皇大帝，不同宫庙之间也会在到友庙进香/参拜或进行大型绕境游行时交换檀香。正如这些仪式的名称所暗示的，在这些互惠、友好和相互交流的仪式中，香是不可或缺的。



◀ Hougang Tou Mu Kung representatives paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods at Shin Shen Keng. Their baskets hold sandalwood pieces to be burnt in the former’s censer during the ceremony.

拜访友庙时，后港斗母宫的代表们向神仙宫的九皇大帝致敬。一名后港斗母宫的成员手捧装有檀香块的传统礼篮。檀香块将会被放在友庙的香炉里燃烧。

不仅如此，香和香灰在九皇大帝信仰的传播中也起着至关重要的作用。许多信徒相信香灰代表着被敬拜的神明的力量（灵），因此他们在香炉中不断积攒焚香所落下的香灰。[7] 有的信徒会随身携带一小袋取自某一神明的香炉的香灰，以求神明保佑平安。作为神明对其信徒的护佑，香袋通常不离主人，但它们也可能在其他地方成为神明的分身而受到供奉。[8] 通过“分香”或“请香火”的方式，将香灰仪式性地供奉在新香炉中，是兴建新寺庙的一个重要过程。很多九皇神庙便是以这样的方式建立起来的。[9] 现在，让我们先关注香炉在供奉九皇大帝的不同寺庙中的重要作用，以及它们如何在标志节庆开始与结束的一系列重要仪式中扮演举足轻重的角色。

九皇炉

香炉在新加坡和马来西亚的九皇神庙的建立中有着重要的地位。20世纪20年代，一位名叫蔡恩的村民在钓鱼时发现了一个香炉，他把香炉请回位于蔡厝港路12英里半的内东成村（Kampong Sungei Tengah）的家中供奉。他随后梦见这个香炉是属于九皇大帝的。于是他开始在家里举行九皇大帝庆典。在日据期间（1942-1945），蔡恩在村民的帮助下成立了一座供奉九皇大帝的宫庙，即蔡厝港斗母宫。

在马来西亚吉兰丹州，一座被称为吉兰丹灵应殿的宫庙在香炉奇迹般到来后开始举办九皇千秋。1960年，一位神明曾通过降乩引导他的信徒在农历九月的第一天到吉兰丹江畔苏丹码头迎接九皇大帝。根据乩童的指示，大约凌晨三点，九皇大帝将以香炉的形式随着河流漂浮而至。信徒顺利接驾后，香炉被恭请到老巴刹街一间小板屋内，这间小木屋随后扩建成为现在的灵应殿。[10]

无独有偶，马六甲南天宫的成立（1942年）与此类似，但有别于马来西亚其他九皇神庙，马六甲南天宫是在每年农历六月的前九天举办九皇千秋的。大约七十年前（约1947年），九皇大帝通过乩童传达指示，在农历五月的最后一天带领宫庙领导来到河边。当晚，一个铜香炉如约而至，宫庙领导在震惊中将其请回庙中。为了纪念九皇大帝（以香炉为代表）在特殊日子中不一般的降临，南天宫随后将九皇千秋定于农历六月，而非普遍上的农历九月。[11]

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[6] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012), 91.

[7] Habkirk and Chang, “Scents, Community, and Incense in Traditional Chinese Religion,” 161.

[8] 许源泰将这一过程置于更详细的背景中进行分析，参见许源泰《中华传统宗教信仰在东南亚的蜕变：新加坡的道教和佛教研究》（新加坡：南洋理工大学中文系博士学位论文，2011年），页75-76; 与Kwee, “Nexus of Mobility: Chinese Economic Migration to West Borneo, c. 1740–1850,” 171-172.

[9] 学界已有许多著作探讨了“分香”与“请香火”的具体过程，以及在通过香火传递建立起来的复杂网络中，各个宫庙如何仰赖这套仪式性的等级制度相互联系。如Philip Clart, “Chinese Popular Religion,” in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Chinese Religions*, ed. Randall L. Nadeau (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 228-229.

[10] <吉兰丹灵应殿九皇大帝史略>，见《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页59。

[11] 这也许反映了在中国江西省吉安市观察到的祭祀（据信是南斗星君的）六皇爷的“六皇斋”。 马六甲南天宫， “马六甲帆加南马南天宫的香火，据悉是源自安邦南天宫，成立于1942年。70多年前在九皇爷降乩指示下，南天宫成为国内唯一一间在农历六月庆祝九皇爷诞，规模一点也不逊色。” Facebook， 2017年6月28日， https://www.facebook.com/namtiangong/photos/a.1506557476303794/1740110469615159/. 见温发镀， <万安沙塘村的宗族与民俗>， 收入刘劲峰、耿艳鹏主编《吉安市的宗族、经济与文化 （下） 》，（国际客家学会：海外华人资料研究中心：法国远东学院，2005），362.

These temples' histories mirror a key aspect of some of the origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia—the arrival of the deities by sea. In Southeast Asian accounts of the Nine Emperor Gods, especially those involving human manifestations of the deities as Ming loyalists or Robin Hood-esque pirates, fishermen in south-eastern Thailand on the Kra isthmus and peninsula found their decapitated heads or bodies concealed in urns or containers floating in the sea from China. Upon releasing them, these fishermen were tasked with propitiating them.[12] The Nine Emperor Gods' arrival from the sea or a waterway during their annual festival thus parallels the manner of their original arrival, and subsequent veneration by their discoverers and their communities. Over time, these findings, coupled with divine instruction, paved the way for establishing temples and unique practices dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods.[13]

Interestingly, the trope of a censer floating in the sea is also traceable to the foundational narratives of other types of ritual communities. For example, the creation of the Heaven and Earth Society stemmed from the finding and keeping of a censer inscribed with the characters "Overthrow the Qing and Restore the Ming", which was later kept by its five founders.[14] Furthermore, the arrival of foreign religions and divinities are often equated with sacred objects or powerful and learned individuals arriving from the sea, as witnessed in related historical accounts and narratives.[15]

The censer is also the ritual focus of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia. The festival begins with the consecration of the censer by a water body—sea or river to signify the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. The consecrated censer is believed to embody the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival and is treated with great respect and care. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival plays a significant role in creating a sense of community and communitas. The temples themselves revolve around the consecrated censer, which serves as a central focus during the festival. It is sent off at a water body once again on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month to signal the departure of the deities. Visible after the sending-off ceremony is the dispersal of the community—only for the cycle to repeat the following year with the arrival of a newly consecrated censer.[16]

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[12] For stories that were set in China, see "重阳时节记九皇," 南洋商报, October 18, 1947, 7; and 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊, 21. For accounts where the containers drifted to Southeast Asian Chinese communities, see Cheu Hock Tong, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong, (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993), 26.

[13] Some of Cheu Hock Tong's informants, likewise, believed the Nine Emperor Gods "arrived in the form of a censer (*dou*) with the design of a dragon which annually floated downstream 'by itself' on the last day of the eighth moon" every year. The past has witnessed unique measures being taken deliberately to recreate the symbolic arrival of the deities by water. An elderly informant once told Cheu that "a tortoise (painted white) was planted upstream" during the receiving ritual in Ampang, before "it was scooped up downstream" to signify the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods. Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 50, footnote 16.

[14] 王琛发, "国殇: 隐藏在马来西 亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会," 论文发表于第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路（台湾，佛光大学，2008年6月1日）. Also see ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 58-63. This has been discussed in an earlier chapter in this volume. The conferring of objects of celestial origins through miraculous means upon human subjects are common across the Chinese society and religion. The process sees artefacts, such as swords and seals, being used to authenticate claims to power and rule. For other examples of objects with divine provenance in Chinese society and religion, see Anna K. Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1981–1983), 291-371.

[15] For a broader anthropological survey, see Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988). Specific examples include the cases documented by Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 245-255; Abe Yasuro, "Buddhas from Across the Sea: The Transmission of Buddhism in Ancient and Medieval Temple Narratives (*engi*)," in *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan: Aspects of Maritime Religion*, ed. Fabio Rambelli (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi and Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018) 121-122; and accounts of the Hainanese goddess known as Sacred Mother of the Water's Edge as described in Keith Stevens "The Popular Gods of the Hainanese," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41 (2001): 55-56.

[16] For context, see Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (New York, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), particularly 231-271. Scholars have modified Turner's hypothesis within the framework of Chinese society and religion. For example, see Susan Naquin and Yu Chun-Fang, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (California: University of California Press, 1992). A short essay was also authored by Charis Cho, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival: Community and Communitas," Singapore Heritage Festival 2020, accessed February 1, 2022, https://www.sgheritagefest.gov.sg/shf2020home/programmes/the-nine-emperor-gods-festival-community-and-communitas.

这些宫庙的历史反映了东南亚地区九皇大帝的起源，即他们从海上降临。许多关于九皇大帝的记载，特别是在那些关于神明最初以明朝拥护者或罗宾汉式海盗等人类形式出现的记载中，都记述了他们的身体或首级被密封于骨灰盒或其他容器中，连同盒子被抛入海里。这些容器漂浮向南，被泰国东南部、克拉地峡和半岛上的渔民发现。他们奉命迎接这些容器，并安抚供奉其中的神明，以求神明的庇护。[12] 香炉从海上漂来象征着九皇大帝从海上或水路到达，发现香炉的人们将其请回并供奉起来，从而建立宫庙并形成独特的供奉仪式。[13]

有趣的是，香炉从海上飘来的说法也可见于其他宗教社区的基础叙述中。例如，据说一个印有"反清复明"字样的香炉从海上漂流到五位天地会的创始人手中，从而促使他们成立了天地会。[14] 此外，有关外国宗教或外来神明传入的历史记录与叙述往往将它们等同于由海路抵达的神圣物件或有学问的个人。[15]

香炉也是新加坡和东南亚九皇千秋庆典的祭祀重点。节庆通常始于在海边或河边（或与之相连的水域）进行请水仪式祭拜香炉，象征着为九皇大帝迎接圣驾。香炉被视为节日期间九皇大帝的化身，受到人们极大的崇敬和照料。九皇千秋期间所集合的社区和共同体以及各宫庙都以这些神圣的香炉为中心。在农历九月九日，这些香炉将被送回来时的水域，以示九皇大帝圣驾回銮，标志九皇千秋庆典正式结束。宫庙理事、信徒人群散去，只等明年新的香炉到来，人们再相聚庆祝。[16]



▲
Long Lian Si in Bangkok, Thailand, rested two brass consecrated censers on sedan chairs in its Qing Fu Tan complex during the 2017 Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Both the censers and sedan chairs differ in terms of materials from those used in Malaysia and Singapore.

2017 年九皇千秋期间，泰国曼谷的龙莲寺在清福坛的圣轿上安放了两个黄铜开光香炉。 香炉和圣轿的材质与马来西亚和新加坡的不同。

[12] 关于以中国为背景的故事，见<重阳时节记九皇> ，见《南洋商报》，1947年10月18日，第7版；《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》，页21。关于装有反清义士尸首的容器漂流至东南亚华人社区的记载，参阅Cheu Hock Tong（周福堂），"The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Peninsular Southeast Asia," in *Chinese Beliefs and Practices in Southeast Asia: Studies on the Chinese Religion in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, ed. Cheu Hock Tong, (Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1993), 26

[13] 周福堂的一些访谈对象也相信， 九皇大帝会在每年"八月份的最后一天自动出现，以龙形香炉（斗）的形式顺流而下"。在过去，有些宫庙会采取特殊的措施，象征性地重现神明从水边到来。一位年长的受访者告诉周福堂：在安邦的迎接圣驾仪式时，人们会把"一只被涂成白色的乌龟放置到上游"，然后"它将被舀起放到下游"，以此象征九皇大帝的驾临。见Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 50, 脚注16。

[14] 王琛发， <国殇:隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会> ，论文发表于第五届台湾与东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会"台湾与东南亚文化文学的发展与思考"（佛光大学，台湾，2008年6月1日）。亦参阅 ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 58-63. 本卷前文已对这一记载进行探讨，本节不作重复论述。在华人社会和宗教中，通过超自然的方式将神器授予人类的情况是很常见的，例如宝剑和印玺等器物被视作权力和统治者的象征。有关华人社会和宗教中受命于天的信物的其他例子，见Anna K. Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf* A. Stein, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1981–1983), 291-371.

[15] 参阅Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988). 具体情况详参以下学者在著作中的记录，见Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 245-255; Abe Yasuro, "Buddhas from Across the Sea: The Transmission of Buddhism in Ancient and Medieval Temple Narratives (engi)," in *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan: Aspects of Maritime Religion*, ed. Fabio Rambelli (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi and Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018) 121-122; 以及Keith Stevens对海南女神水尾圣娘的描述，见Keith Stevens "The Popular Gods of the Hainanese," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41 (2001): 55-56

[16] 关于宗教中的象征性行为，参阅Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (New York, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 特别是页231-271。学者们在华人社会和宗教的框架内对Turner的假设进行了修正，可参阅Susan Naquin and Yu Chun-Fang, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (California: University of California Press, 1992)；另见Charis Cho所撰的短文：Charis Cho, "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival: Community and Communitas," Singapore Heritage Festival 2020, 2022年2月1日访问，https://www.sgheritagefest.gov.sg/shf2020home/programmes/thenine-emperor-gods-festival-community-and-communitas.



▲
Preparations by Xuan Wu Shan temple to receive the Nine Emperor Gods at East Coast beach. The Xuan Tian Shang Di medium and devotees receiving the Nine Emperor Gods, c. 1980.

玄武山理事和善信为恭迎九皇而筹备。玄天上帝乩童和理事信众在东海岸沙滩恭迎九皇大帝，大约1980年。

There are notable similarities between the methods of consecrating the censers and the ceremonial receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods. A noticeable aspect of the censer's consecration in temples is the gathering of water from a nearby sea, river, or other water bodies, or the collection of sand from the beach. This water or sand is used in the consecration process of the censers dedicated to the Nine Emperor Gods. Additionally, some temples may burn a special talisman specifically written for this purpose in the Nine Emperor Gods censer. For Nan Tian Gong, in Ampang, Malaysia, the censer master typically lowers the censer he carried into the middle of a stream. As the water level rises to the rim of the censer, the censer master "tilts its mouth to scoop up a 'ball of water'" before the censer is allowed to "rise…and float a while longer on the running water".[17] The Bincheng Toutiaolu Dou Mu Gong on Penang Island performs a variation of the receiving ritual known as "inviting fire". After the Nine Lamps have been raised, under the instruction of a medium, the temple's leadership burns incense paper at a specific location at the beach. As part of the ceremony, the smouldering cinders are carefully collected and combined within a censer transported by a palanquin. The ceremony is considered complete only after the ashes have been incorporated into the censer, signifying the culmination of the ritual.[18] Yet, not all the Nine Emperor Gods temples conduct their receiving ceremonies at the beach or by the sea. In recent years, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong on Penang Island also received the Nine Emperor Gods from an altar placed outside the temple without going to the sea. This altered process includes the recitation a hand-copied scripture in the temple's possession on the festival's first day.

Like in Malaysia, the censer is a fundamental ritualistic feature of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore. Not only do they play an important role in the receiving and sending-off rituals, as well as other key festival events, but they also embody the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods in the mortal world during the festival. However, the form of the Nine Emperor Gods' censers differ across temples in Singapore. Some temples harness censers made from earthenware that have wider openings to accommodate greater amounts of incense.[19] Other temples' censers are conversely either smaller and made of metal or unknown, secret material and form. The number of censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods also varies from temple to temple.

[17] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 42. This account is based on an interview with a medium who observed the invitation ritual.

[18] 槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊 (槟城: 槟城头条路斗母宫, 2008), 53. This variant of the invitation ritual was probably inspired by similar rituals practiced by older Penang temples, namely the Snake Temple (dedicated to Qingshui Zushi) and the Precious Prosperity Society Baofushe (dedicated to Tua Pek Kong). Jean DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 76-77.

[19] 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化 (新加坡：金山寺，2013), 17.



This receiving ritual by Xuan Wu Shan at Changi Beach involved two censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang respectively, each bearing sprinkles of clean beach sand and ten cups of specially prepared tea.

玄武山翰在樟宜沙滩举行的恭迎仪式，有九皇大帝香炉和斗母娘娘香炉。两个香炉上都撒着沙滩上的干净沙子，旁边还有为这个场合准备的十杯清茶。

不同宫庙的请水仪式有许多重要的相似之处。许多寺庙会收集海水、河流、水体的水或沙滩上的沙子，装进供奉九皇大帝的香炉里，而有的寺庙只会在九帝大帝的香炉里焚烧请神的符咒。马来西亚安邦的南天宫，炉主会将香炉捧到河中央，然后慢慢地把香炉浸泡在水中。当水位上升到香炉的边缘时，炉主会“倾斜香炉接一捧水，任其在水面上漂流一会儿”。[17] 槟榔屿的槟城头条路斗母宫执行的是恭迎仪式的一种变体，即“请火”。九皇灯升起之后，乩童便引导宫庙领导在沙滩上的指定位置焚烧香纸。他会取一把仍冒烟的香灰，放入安置于圣轿上的香炉中。一旦香灰放入香炉，恭请仪式就完成了，队伍启程回庙。[18] 尽管如此，并非所有的九皇神庙都在沙滩或海边恭迎圣驾。近年来，槟榔屿的香港巷斗母宫并不出海，而是在节庆的第一天，在宫庙外的一处祭坛案前诵读手抄的经文，恭请九皇大帝。

在新加坡，香炉同样是九皇千秋的主要仪式重点。与马来西亚的情况相似，香炉不仅在请神和送神等重要仪式中扮演不可或缺的角色，也是节庆期间九皇大帝在人间的化身。新加坡的九皇炉造型各异。有的宫庙的香炉是陶制的，开口较宽以容纳更多的柱香。[19] 其他宫庙的香炉可能较小，由金属制成，其形状也可能是不为人知的。九皇炉的数量也因各宫庙而异。

[17] Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 42. 这则记录是基于对一位参与了请水仪式的灵媒的采访。

[18]《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》（槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008），页53. 这种特别的恭迎仪式可能是受到槟城其他古老寺庙类似仪式的启发，包括蛇庙（供奉清水祖师）和宝福社（供奉Tua Pek Kong）。见Jean DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 76-77.

[19]《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》（新加坡：金山寺，2013），页17。

Most temples typically use a single censer to symbolize the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. That said, a few temples, such as Kew Huang Keng, Xuan Wu Shan, and Jiu Huang Dian, have prepared two censers. The first two temples venerate the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun (or Dou Mu Niang Niang). Since the 1970s, Xuan Wu Shan has referred to the two censers as the "Nine Emperor Buddhas" and "Heavenly Parents," showcasing the effects of both change and continuity in their labels. In Jiu Huang Dian, the two utilised censers during the receiving ceremony represent the Southern Dipper Sovereign and the Northern Dipper Sovereign. A further minority of temples, such as Leong Nam Temple, adopt nine censers—representative of each of the Nine Emperor Gods—and nine palanquins for transport.

In the case of Kew Huang Keng, each of the "deity receiving stations" established by former inhabitants from the old Lemongrass Village kampong (Cang Mao Herng) has its own dedicated censer to welcome the temple's deities. The annual Nine Emperor Gods Festival includes the consecration of the station censers via lit incense sticks derived from the main Nine Emperor Gods' censer in the temple's Inner Chamber.

Similarities can be derived when reviewing how the various Nine Emperor censers across Singapore are consecrated for the festival. A survey conducted across the temples examined in the project reveals that the majority of censers are consecrated through the ritual transfer of water from the sea, river, or reservoir into the censer. However, it would be incomplete to consider these general patterns as the sole methods employed. Not all temples consecrate their censers through direct contact with these water bodies, despite the fact that the receiving ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods occurs in their vicinity.



▶ Members of the "deity receiving station" 迎神站 at Bedok North inviting a censer from the Inner Chamber of Kew Huang Keng to its station after the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods. This is in preparation for Kew Huang Keng's annual *yew kampong* on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month. A yellow-wrapped bundle with three portraits of the temple's main deities is also invited from the Inner Chamber to be displayed as part of the station's main altar for the temple's visit and for the surrounding communities to pay their respects.

勿洛北迎神会的成员在迎接九皇大帝回宫之后，准备公顷请储藏在九皇宫内殿的香炉回到迎神站地点设坛。这主要是为了筹备九皇宫一年一度的游甘榜仪式。同时，他们也从内殿恭请一个黄色包裹，里面藏有三幅九皇宫主要神明的神画。神明的画像就陈列在迎神站的主祭坛上。

大多数宫庙在节庆期间会有一个香炉，代表九皇大帝。有的宫庙会准备两个香炉，例如九皇宫，玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春和九皇殿。九皇宫和玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春的两个香炉分别代表九皇大帝和斗姆元君（或斗母娘娘）。其中玄武山的两个香炉在二十世纪七十年代分别供奉九皇佛祖和天地父母，如今供奉的是九皇佛祖和斗母娘娘。九皇殿的两个香炉在恭请仪式中分别代表南斗星君和北斗星君。也有宫庙会准备九个香炉及九顶圣轿，以恭迎并承载九位皇爷。例如龙南寺便供奉九个香炉，分别代表九位皇爷。

在葱茅园九皇宫，以前居住在葱茅园（*Cang Mao Herng*）甘榜的村民建立了数个“迎神站”以迎接九皇大帝和斗姆元君。这些迎神站也会有供奉九皇大帝与其他神明的香炉。每年庆典时，宫庙会用供奉内殿中九皇炉的香来供奉这些迎神站的香炉。



◀ In contrast to Nan Shan Hai Miao’s receiving ceremonies today, many censers (rather than a single censer) were used in past ceremonies. The ceremony was also usually overseen by either the Tua Ya Pek 大爷伯or the Li Ya Pek 二爷伯, as seen in the photo above, from 1988. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

南山海庙过去迎接九皇圣驾仪式时运用许多香炉，现今只用一个香炉。就如这张1988照片显示，迎接仪式早期也通常由大二爷伯主持。照片由南山海庙提供。

在新加坡的九皇诞期间，九皇炉被供奉的方式也有重要的相似之处。在本计划所研究的大部分宫庙中，九皇炉通过到海边、河畔或水库迎接圣驾而受到供奉。然而，如何进行这一仪式因庙而异。此外，尽管九皇大帝的请水仪式一般在水边进行，并非所有宫庙都是从大海、河流或水库中请水。



The altar set-up at the Bedok North deity receiving station ready for the *yew kampong* on the night of the 6th day of the 9th lunar month.

勿洛北迎神站为初六晚上恭迎圣驾与游甘榜团队所设布置和装饰的坛位。

It is noteworthy that Kew Huang Keng emphasizes the significance of the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer as the central element in the receiving setup and ritual at the beach, even though it is received alongside the Nine Emperor Gods. The process involves the temple's censer masters and representatives from the ritual team filling a yellow coconut husk with seawater while standing in waist-deep water, followed by burning a talisman into the water. The deliberate act of securing the talisman-infused water for the large yellow earthen censer of Dou Mu Yuan Jun indicates the censer's importance. Additionally, the subsequent step of temporarily placing incense into the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer before transferring it to the Nine Emperor Gods' metal censer for consecration further suggests the elevated sanctity attributed to the presence of the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer.[20]

[20] The conclusion of this main ritual sees the temple's ritual specialists returning to the sea again with the husk to invite water into it. The newly filled husk would be transported back to the temple and kept in the Inner Chamber for ritual purposes during the festival.





◀
Devotees at the Block 511 deity receiving station expecting the arrival of the *yew kampong* procession on the 6th day of the 9th lunar month. The opera performers on stage stop their performance to pay respects to the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun in their palanquins as the procession arrives.

九月初六，大牌511迎神站的信众恭候九皇大帝与斗姆元君。游甘榜团队抵达511时，台上演出的演员暂停表演跪下参拜，给九皇大帝和斗姆元君敬礼。

对于葱茅园九皇宫而言，斗姆元君香炉是在海滩上进行的迎驾仪式的焦点。九皇大帝和斗姆元君将被恭迎到各自的香炉中，这一仪式所需的水来自大海。九皇宫的正副炉主和宫务组将一个黄色的椰子壳带入海里（恭迎队伍的所有成员共同捧着椰子壳）。当他们到达齐腰深的海水中，便齐力倾斜椰壳装载海水，并焚烧一张符纸到所取的水里，表明九皇大帝和斗姆元君已随海水被恭迎到椰壳中。符水被护送到沙滩上，倒入一个贴满符纸的黄色陶制香炉，即斗姆元君的香炉。一根香被仪式性地安插在斗姆元君香炉中，随后被转移到一个位于圣轿上代表九皇大帝的金属香炉中，以示对九皇大帝的尊敬和献祭。[20]

[20] 在这个主要仪式之后，宫庙中的仪式专家会再次用椰壳请水，椰壳中的水将被带回宫庙，并保存于内殿中，在节日期间的仪式中派上用场。



The main and deputy lu zhu guided by the members of the ritual section in Kew Huang Keng as they offered tea and incense before the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer, as part of the rituals for inviting and receiving the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun at East Coast beach.

在恭迎九皇大帝与斗姆元君的仪式中，葱茅园九皇宫的正副炉主在宫务组成员的引导下向代表斗姆元君的香炉供奉茶和香。

In Kim San Tze, a ceremonial jug that is typically kept in the Inner Chamber fulfils the same purpose, where ashes from a burnt talisman is mixed with seawater that had been collected from the sea. It is crucial to recognize the evolutionary and dynamic nature of the consecration ritual. An example of this can be observed in the consecration ceremonies of Leong Nam Temple in 2016 and 2017. In 2016, a specially-prepared water censer was used to transfer seawater into the nine individual censers of the Nine Emperor Gods before their return to the palanquins. However, in 2017, the censers remained in their palanquins while the talisman water was transferred using a bamboo tube.



After they are waist-deep in seawater, the censer master and ritual specialists of Kim San Tze draw a vessel full of seawater before mixing a burnt talisman into it. When not in use, the jug is kept within the temple's Inner Chamber.

金山寺的炉主与礼仪主持一行走到海水中。到了齐腰深处，他们小心翼翼用礼器请水，然后在水里焚化灵符。礼器平日保存在寺庙内殿中。





金山寺一个存放在在内殿的仪式用壶起到了同样的作用。焚烧符纸的香灰被收集起来，与在海边取来的海水在水壶中混合均匀，宫庙领导步行护送水壶回到海边，小心将符水慢慢注入九皇炉中。在龙南殿，2016年，礼仪主持用一个特制的盛水的香炉运送海水，倒入被供奉在祭坛上分别代表九位皇爷的九皇炉，随后这些香炉被请回各自的圣轿上安坐。2017年，香炉被供奉于圣轿上，礼仪主持将海水与焚烧后的符纸灰烬混合在一起，然后通过竹筒注入香炉中。

◀
The *Lu zhu* and temple ritual experts in Kew Huang Keng inviting and receiving the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun Similar using a yellow coconut husk, past and present. First photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

昔日与当今，不同年代的葱茅园九皇宫的炉主宫务用黄色的椰壳碗到海中恭迎斗母元君和九皇大帝。照片由吕序奎提供。

The receiving and invitation ritual for the Nine Emperor Gods at Leong Nam temple involves the use of two different vessels—a “water censer” and a bamboo tube— which were used to “invite” water from the sea in 2016 and 2017 respectively.

龙南殿的恭请九皇仪式运用不同器皿。这包括了2016年所使用的“水炉”和 2017年所使用的“竹筒”，都用来“请水”与其恭请九皇。







The Nine Emperor Buddhas censer at Zhun Ti Tang.

准提堂的九皇佛祖香炉。





The receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods at Yu Feng Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang also involves the “inviting” of water using a ceramic censer by an adolescent boy and two adult representatives.

玉封玉皇殿玉海堂观音堂的恭迎圣驾仪式由一名青少年男性代表，在另外两位成人的帮助下，手持陶器香炉到海里请水.

In contrast, Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong first invites seawater via a ceremonial pail before transferring them into ten censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu, respectively. Meanwhile, Xuan Wu Shan collects sand, rather than water, within the Nine Emperor God's and Dou Mu's censers for the receiving ritual. Yu Hai Tang's censer consecration involves two steps. Firstly, a male adolescent is designated to retrieve seawater in a censer. To complete the ritual, two oranges are dropped into a seawater-filled censer before the censer is returned to their palanquin to be transported back to the temple.



The Xuan Tian Shang Di medium and devotees from the Xuan Wu Shan temple preparing to receive the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang at the beach. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

玄武山的理事善信与玄天上帝乩童在东海岸海滩上准备恭请九皇大帝和斗母娘娘。照片由Ronni Pinsler提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的Ronni Pinsler收藏。



Two vessels representing the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang during the receiving ritual by Xuan Wu Shan temple. Clean sand from the beach is scattered on top of these censers and ten cups of tea are prepared for the occasion.

图为玄武山恭迎圣驾仪式，代表九皇大帝和斗母的两个礼器。香炉上撒着的是沙滩上的干净沙子，香炉前面还有为这仪式准备的十杯清茶。

在龙山岩斗母宫，宫庙成员先将一个木桶礼器沉入海中，将取得的海水倒入十个香炉中，分别代表九位皇爷与斗母。玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春则是用两个分别刻着斗母和九皇大帝的香炉存取沙子，作为恭迎仪式的一部分。在玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂的请水仪式中，一个少年被指定到海边请回盛满海水的香炉。往香炉中投入两个橘子，然后把香炉请到圣轿上，护送回宫庙。



During the 2017 Nine Emperor Gods Festival, members of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong used a pail as the ritual vessel for inviting water, and used the water, in turn, to consecrate ten censers symbolizing Dou Mu and the individual Nine Emperor Gods.

2017年，龙山岩斗母宫理事以木桶为礼器在海中请水，再把桶里的海水分别转入代表九皇九位与斗母的十个香炉里。

It is worth noting that certain temples do not involve the transfer of water or material from the beach into the censer during the receiving ritual of the Nine Emperor Gods. Hougang Tou Mu Kung marks the arrival of the Nine Emperor Gods at the coast by burning sandalwood logs in a censer with the help of incense paper. That said, the sending-off ceremony undertaken by Hougang Tou Mu Kung still sends-off the censer by water and, thus, the Nine Emperor Gods on the evening of the ninth day of the festival.

The significance of the censer in both the receiving and sending-off rituals has led to the adoption of the colloquial terminologies "receiving the censer" and "sending-off the censer" to describe these ceremonies. The colloquial flair of the receiving rituals has been further enhanced with the increasing use of the term "inviting water" to describe these rituals. The interchangeable use of terms related to the "invitation of water" possibly stems from two sources. Firstly, as many scholars have noted, certain aspects of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival have been inspired by the worship of deities known as Wang Ye in southern China and Taiwan. The term "invitation of water" in Taiwan is not aimed at inviting the main deity of the festival but, rather, that of rainmaking. This includes the marshalling of spirit soldiers or the collection of holy water to purify ritual spaces, among other possible reasons.[21] Secondly, "inviting water" is also used to describe a mortuary ritual where the deceased's body is cleansed using water that has been ceremonially obtained from a water source, such as a river or a standpipe.[22] Along the same vein, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival across Southeast Asia has been intertwined with loss, grief and funerary rites stemming from certain held origin stories and practices—attire colours, diet, physical and mental regimes, as well as rituals. Recognising these, observers have posited that the adoption of the term "inviting water" perhaps surfaced as a result of this said funerary connotation on top of the receiving ritual associated with the festival.



A vase containing water from a well next to the main building of Hougang Tow Mu Kung and from the sea next to Punggol beach after the "inviting water" ritual on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month, alongside a paper spirit-tablet dedicated to Emperor Dan Lin from the Shui Fu (水府).

花瓶中盛的水，是农历九月初六"请水仪式"中从后港斗母宫的一口井和榜鹅海边取来的井水和海水。花瓶旁边是供奉水府丹霖大帝的纸质神主牌。

[21] 周宗杨，台南请水仪式研究（台南：台南市政府文化局, 2019). Although he did not use the term "inviting water", Daniel L. Overmyer reported that these practices were similar to the rainmaking rituals in *Local Religion in North China in the Twentieth Century: The Structure and Organisation of Community Rituals and Beliefs* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 18-31.

[22] Zhou, 台南请水仪式研究, 16-19. Also see Tam Wai Lun, "Unity in Diversity: The Deliverance of Soul Ritual in South China," *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:1 (2013): 116-119; and James L. Watson, "Funeral Specialists in Cantonese Society: Pollution, Performance and Social Hierarchy," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 124.

也有一些宫庙在迎请九皇大帝时，并没有将海水或海滩上的其他物质转移到香炉中的仪式。例如后港斗母宫会将一个装满檀香木的香炉从宫中带到海岸，借助金银纸将檀香木点燃，以此告示九皇大帝莅临人间。尽管如此，宫庙仍会在九皇千秋最后一天晚上来到海边，奉送九皇大帝圣驾回銮。



◀
Hougang Tou Mu Kung consecrates an incense censer containing sandalwood inscribed with the names of notables and sponsors. This is done through the burning of incense paper at the seaside.

后港斗母宫的成员在海边借助金银纸点燃并供奉香炉。值得注意的是，香炉内的檀香木上写有宫庙的主要人物和赞助商的名字（红色字样）。

过去有的宫庙将恭迎仪式和恭送仪式分别俗称为“请炉”和“接炉”，从中也可看出香炉在庆典仪式中的重要性。近年来，考虑到水在仪式中的重要性，恭迎仪式也被俗称为“请水”。与恭迎仪式相关的不同术语可能有两个来源。首先，正如许多学者所指出的，九皇大帝庆典的某些方面受到了华南和台湾地区王爷神信仰的影响。在台南地区，“请水”的目的并不是为了恭请某一节庆的主神，而是为了求雨、召集灵兵或收集用以净化宗教仪式空间的圣水，以及其他可能的原因。[21] 其次，“请水”是殡仪馆一项仪式的委婉用语，指用从河流或水管中取得的清水洁净大体。[22] 由于九皇千秋的主色、饮食习惯、禁欲状态以及对九皇信仰在东南亚的起源的一些解释容易唤起人们关于逝世和丧葬相关的悲伤情感，一些观察者指出，“请水”一词被用于表示恭迎仪式可能与其丧葬内涵相关。

[21] 周宗杨，《台南请水仪式研究》（台南：台南市政府文化局，2019年）。尽管Daniel L. Overmyer未使用“请水”一词，但据他记载，类似做法可见于求雨仪式中，详参*Local Religion in North China in the Twentieth Century: The Structure and Organisation of Community Rituals and Beliefs* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 18-31。

[22] 周，《台南请水仪式研究》，页16-19。亦见Tam Wai Lun, “Unity in Diversity: The Deliverance of Soul Ritual in South China,” *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:1 (2013): 116-119; 与James L. Watson, “Funeral Specialists in Cantonese Society: Pollution, Performance and Social Hierarchy,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 124.

Despite seeming similarities, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's receiving ritual ultimately differs in meaning and intent from the abovementioned "inviting water" ceremonies. After all, the gathered water is not aimed at achieving purification or the invitation of spiritual armies. Fundamentally, the receiving ritual seeks to welcome the deities—the Nine Emperor Gods and/or Dou Mu—to the mortal realm. It is also accompanied by a ritual and ceremony to send off these deities by escorting their censers to sea. Most of the temples in Singapore which were interviewed emphasised that the formal terms for these rituals and ceremonies should be "receiving the Nine Emperor Gods" and "sending-off the Nine Emperor Gods".

Furthermore, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong and Hougang Tou Mu Kung do distinguish between the receiving and sending-off ceremonies and the "inviting water" ceremony. To these two temples, the latter occurs in the early hours of the sixth day of the ninth lunar month, where water is often invited or "borrowed" from a well (and in the case of Hougang Tou Mu Kung the invitation of seawater from the site of the receiving ceremony) to be used for purification during the *jiao* ritual conducted on the same day.[23]

▶
In the past, the temple and devotees of Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong invited water on the 6th day from a well in the old Jia Zhui Kang kampong (1992). Today, the temple invites water from the Hock Huat Keng temple located in Yishun Industrial Park. First four photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

1990年代，洪水港斗母宫每年九皇千秋期间九月初六会从旧洪水港甘榜一口井中请水。当今，庙方会在义顺工业园的福发宫举行请水仪式。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。



[23] For more coverage of the rituals at Hougang Tou Mu Kung Gong and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, see "Women Pray For Faithful Husbands," *The Straits Times*, October 13, 1950, 5; and "步行1公里 井里取'圣水,'" 新民日报, October 18, 1997, 11.

尽管如此，九皇千秋庆典的恭迎仪式在意义和目的上与上述的“请水”仪式有很大差别，即：它并不是为了净化的目的而请水或“借”水，也不是为了召集灵军，而是为了恭迎九皇大帝或斗母的到来。相应地，庆典还有一个恭送仪式，将九皇大帝或斗母的香炉送回水边，恭送神明离开人间。大部分受访的新加坡宫庙强调，这些仪式的正式术语分别是“恭迎九皇或恭迎圣驾”与“恭送九皇或恭送圣驾”。

对于洪水港斗母宫和后港斗母宫而言，他们区分了恭迎仪式和恭送仪式与请水仪式，后者指的是发生在农历九月初六凌晨的仪式。[23] 在这一仪式中，水是“请”或“借”自一口井（在后港斗母宫，水取自一口井以及恭迎圣驾的位置），所取得的水将在随后的庆祝活动中用于净化环境。







[23] 更多关于后港斗母宫及洪水港斗母宫的仪式的报道，见 “Women Pray For Faithful Husbands,” *The Straits Times*, October 13, 1950, 5；<步行1公里 井里取“圣水”>，见《新民日报》，1997年10月18日，第11版。



Water being invited from a well and Punggol beach during the “inviting water” ceremony at Hougang Tou Mu Kung on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历九月初六在后港斗母宫举行请水仪式时，也分别从一口井和榜鹅海边请水。









◂

Leong Nam Temple's Nine Emperor Gods Festivals' *yew keng* palanquin processional tours to Kwan Im Thong Hood Cho Temple (1993), Nan Shan Hai Miao (1996) and Xuan Wu Shan (2017). The first photograph is courtesy of Leong Nam Temple, and the second and third are courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

龙南殿分别于1993年、1996年和2017年绕境（四马路观音庙、南山海庙、玄武山）的一部分，到新加坡的几间庙宇参拜。第一张照片由龙南殿提供；第二张和第三张照片由南山海庙提供。

[24] "九皇爷是香炉吗?," 联合晚报, November 1, 2009, 40.

The consecration of the Nine Emperor Gods censers is vital as it transforms them from mere representations to embodiments of the deities themselves. As articulated in a 2007 account of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival observed at Hougang Tou Mu Kung, this sentiment of regard was highly prevalent among some devotees.[24] This mindset serves as the foundation for the temples' strong emphasis on isolating the censers within Inner Chambers. Only a select group of ritual specialists, who have undergone strict dietary and *zhai*, are allowed access to these censers. The censers are only taken out of the Inner Chamber for significant processions and tours, carried in covered palanquins which are shielded from public view or contact.

The Nine Emperor Gods descent to the mortal world—that is, to the temples which worship them—during the festival inevitably requires their departure from this world. Therefore, it is important to understand that the sending-off ceremony typically takes place at the same location where the deities are received, such as the designated water sources chosen by the temples. The procedure involves ritual specialists and, occasionally, censer masters from the respective temples carrying the censer as far away from the shore or coast as possible, with the help of assistants who possess strong swimming abilities. In certain cases, temples may even go to the extent of chartering speedboats to increase the distance between the censers and the shore or coast when they are at sea or in the water bodies.





▲
Subsequently, Kew Huang Keng employed a speedboat decorated with the stalk and branches of a bamboo plant wrapped in yellow cloth and yellow flags for the sending-off of the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer, as seen in these photos from 1993 and 2017 respectively. The leaves and stalks of the bamboo used came from the same larger bamboo used for the Lamps of the Northern and Southern Dipper in front of Kew Huang Keng temple during the festival. The first photograph is courtesy of Sunny Lian.

九皇宫后来使用一艘装有黄色包裹竹枝竹叶和黄色旗帜的快艇使用快艇分恭送斗母元君香炉。以上照片分别于 1993 年和 2017 年。所用的竹枝竹叶都来自庙里为九皇千秋所设置的南北斗星君灯所运用的竹柱。 第一张照片由梁有生提供。

Some temples, such as Hong San Temple and Nan Shan Hai Miao, initiate the commencement of the sending-off ceremony even before they depart from the temple or festival site. Specifically, the start of the ceremony is determined by the time their possessed incense sticks undergo a sudden combustion in the censers on their altars. The significance of the process is so intense that both devotees and the crew eagerly anticipate another round of combustion. This occurs when the incense sticks within the censer combine with those added by community members at the sending-off water sites.

当九皇炉被上香敬拜后，九皇炉不仅代表着九皇大帝，更成为九皇大帝的化身。例如，一则对2007年后港斗母宫庆典的第一人称记录提及，一些信徒认为香炉就是九皇爷。[24] 香炉被请到幔帐遮盖的圣轿中，然后被护送到宫庙内殿中，节庆期间，香炉将在此安座，不受打扰。大多数情况下，只有少数严格执行斋戒古例的礼仪主持和当年的炉主，才能够接近香炉。只有在进行拜访友庙和绕境游行的活动时，香炉才会暂时离开内殿。出行过程中香炉被安置在用黄布遮盖起来的九皇圣轿中，确保香炉的清静，避免大众的视线或打扰。



◀
Unlike today, where a speedboat is used, the censer masters, ritual department, and other committee members of Kew Huang Keng used to personally accompany the Dou Mu Yuan Jun censer into the sea in 1985. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

1985年，九皇宫炉主宫务与其他理事亲自护送斗姆元君香炉入海。后期，该庙使用快艇完成这仪式。照片由梁有生提供。

在农历九月初九，宫庙会在海边、河畔或其他水体边送走香炉，恭送九皇大帝回銮。恭送仪式的地点与恭迎仪式相同。主要礼仪长老，以及某些宫庙的正副炉主，会将香炉抬到水中尽可能远的地方，送走香炉，这一仪式通常会由庙里擅长游泳的成员陪同。有的宫庙也会租来快艇，成员将香炉护送到海上，送别九皇大帝。



◀
The sending-off ceremony by Jiu Huang Dian involving two censers representing the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns.

图为九皇殿在海边恭送九皇大帝。图中有两个香炉，分别代表南斗星君和北斗星君。

有一些寺庙，如凤山宫和南山海庙，会在主祭坛的香炉中的香和香灰突然燃烧（发炉）时举行恭送仪式。恭送队伍来到海边后，当众人安插在香炉的香柱再次发炉时，香炉便被抬到海中，将神明送回水上。

[24] <九皇爷是香炉吗?>，见《联合晚报》，2009年11月1日，第40版。








2



In the Nan Shan Hai Miao, the Nine Emperor Gods' censers were only sent off after every single censer in the temple had burst into flames 发炉 (a homonym for "prosperous censer"). This practice still holds in the present day. The first four photographs (dated to the 1990s) are courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

在南山海庙，初九傍晚要等到每一个香炉燃起熊熊烈火，即"发炉"后，才开始恭送圣驾仪式。这种做法依然延续到今天。前四张照片（上世纪90年代）由南山海庙提供。



Nan Shan Hai Miao's sending-off ceremonies, in the years 1991, 1996 and 1997. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.
南山海庙分别于1991、1996和1997进行的恭送圣驾回銮仪式。

During the Nan Shan Hai Miao sending-off ceremony, the committee members will gather the incense from the devotees present and place as many as they can into the censer. They then attach a long rim of yellow cloth to secure the incense sticks in the censer. This is done to prevent any scattering of the contents onto the censer master or into the sea.

在恭送仪式的过程中，南山海庙炉主会在理事的帮助下把香炉送到海中。之前，理事们会收集善信手持的柱香，插满香炉。为防止香柱倾倒，南山海庙理事会用黄布条将香炉中的香柱绑紧。



The function of the censers as embodiments of the Nine Emperor Gods do not end after the sending-off ceremony. Noteworthy is the potential for the return of the sent-off censers to shore, as has been experienced and witnessed by many. These returned censers have become objects of veneration in the homes of devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods who managed to chance upon them. When reflecting on the water-related origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, it becomes tempting to draw a connection between the natural retrieval of censers from the water bodies after the sending-off ceremony and the notion that existing Nine Emperor Gods temples might have emerged from similar serendipitous experiences in the past.

A prominent example of the return of the censer occurred in 1967. Madam Goh found the censer on the shore five days after the sending-off ceremony conducted by Kim San Tze. She had even kept it at home for home worship after offerings were made to the censer and approval was sought from the deities via the tossing of divination blocks. Madam Goh's case becomes even more intriguing due to the belief that the Nine Emperor Gods intervened to prolong her life by twelve years following a severe health crisis she experienced later in life.[25]

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng also bears stories of devotees locating the sent-off censers after the sending-off ceremony. A case involved a temple assistant who was granted permission by the first of the Nine Emperor Gods to bring the found censer home to worship. We learnt that the censer continues to be venerated on his home altar today. Beyond Singapore, Sam Siang Keng temple in Johor Bahru, Malaysia, was informed by a businessman about his discovery of a Nine Emperor Gods censer on the shore of Johor Bahru. After the censer was enshrined within his store, his business prospered.[26]

[25] 邱东成，"金山寺九皇大帝显灵降乩施法把老信女从鬼门关带回来，" in 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化，142-144.

[26] 苏泉铭，"柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文(2019)，" Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.



◀
Sending-off of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas by Yu Feng Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang temple and devotees.

玉封玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂恭送九皇菩萨回銮。

即使神明已被送往海上，香炉仍然代表着九皇大帝。香炉可能随水流漂到岸上或海边，被偶然发现香炉的信徒请回家中供奉。正如本章开篇所描述的，这些香炉被意外发现可能成为建立新九皇庙的基础。

1967年，也就是金山寺在樟宜村庆祝九皇千秋的最后一年，宫庙会众在住在附近的吴女士的屋前举办了恭送仪式。五天后，农历九月十四日，吴女士和她的两个孩子在退潮时的岸边发现了送水仪式送走的九皇炉，于是她把香炉请回家中供奉。在给九皇大帝敬茶后，她在九皇炉前摔筊杯并取得了九皇大帝的 认可，允许她在家中敬拜。据说当吴女士后来曾遭遇严重的健康危机，正是九皇大帝的介入，使她的寿命延长了12年。[25]

在蔡厝港斗母宫，一名宫助在近海发现了一个九皇炉。当他向宫中的九皇大帝请示时，神明告诉他香炉是宫庙之前送到海上去的，并指示他可以将香炉请回家敬拜。香炉至今仍被供奉在他家的祭坛上。马来西亚新山的三善宫也有类似的记载。某年的九皇大帝庆典之后，一名商人在新山的海岸边找到了一个香炉。他与三善宫的宫庙领导确认后，发现是上一年九皇千秋被送走的香炉。他将香炉供奉在他的店中，后来商店生意十分兴隆。[26]

[25] 邱东成：<金山寺九皇大帝显灵降乩施法把老信女从鬼门关带回来>，收于《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》，页142-144。

[26] 苏泉铭（Soh Chuah Meng Esmond）：<柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文 (2019)>，九皇文化计划，2020年1月25日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng。

The Censer Master



A censer master of Zhun Ti Tang and his family posing for a photo beside their table of offerings. In 2017, Zhun Ti Tang concluded its yew keng to other temples in Singapore during the festival, pausing at the homes of the three censer masters on the way back to the festival tentage.

图为准提堂炉主与他的家人在他们为迎接九皇大帝准备的供桌前合影。2017年，准提堂完成了对友庙的拜访之后，游行队伍在回程中路过三位炉主的家。

Other than ritual specialists, some temples delegate core rituals, particularly those related to the Nine Emperor Gods censer, to the main and possibly even deputy or assistant censer masters if they are present. Given the need to work with the censer(s), the main and deputy censer masters are usually included in a select group allowed in the Inner Chamber during the festival.[27] Interlaced with their indispensable roles are expectations of their ready presence for key rituals before and during the festival, and the more routine tasks of presenting fresh offerings to the Nine Emperor Gods and ensuring the sustained burning of the incense in the Inner Chamber.

Besides serving the Nine Emperor Gods or Dou Mu's censer in the Inner Chamber, the censer master also represents the temple's community during the year of their selection. They lead rituals during the festival and are entrusted with a portable censer symbolizing their temple and community during events outside of the temple. These events include formal *yew keng* tours, official cross-temple visits, and smaller-scale can bai events or "offering incense" events. Additionally, they actively participate in the exchange of gifts and incense during these visits.[28]

[27] Besides the works by Habkirk and Chang as cited above, see Stephan Feuchtwang, "Welcoming Dangerous Benefactors: Incense, Gods and Hospitality in North-Eastern Taiwan," *L'Homme* 231/232 (2019): 139-140; *The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 77-99. Many academic studies conducted on the roles of the censer-master are set in Taiwan. In the latter, the censer-master is entirely responsible for the funding, execution, and stewardship of the festival that revolved around the censer and deities in their care. In Singapore, many of these operational responsibilities fall under the jurisdiction of the temple's committee members and ritual specialists. Older temples who were affiliated with a kampong in the past, such as Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng, have specialised divisions who were responsible for a specific element of the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods, as we will discuss in the second volume of this compilation.

[28] This smaller censer would only leave the Inner Chamber when its presence is required for the performance of key rituals or when the temple organizes a procession or visit to other temples during the festival. Unlike most temples, the smaller censer carried around by the censer-master attached to Hong San Temple is made out of terracotta and resembles a shallower version of the Nine Emperor Gods' censer that is carried about in a shielded palanquin. See the photographs in新加坡大成巷葱茅园凤山宫庆祝三庆大典：九皇大帝寿诞，凤山宫创建一百零八周年，理事会成立五十周年金禧（新加坡：大成巷葱茅园凤山宫，2013), 106-119.

炉主

在一些宫庙中，炉主是庆典重要仪式的关键人物，特别是那些涉及九皇炉的仪式。虽然炉主这一职务并非是为九皇千秋而专设， 但在大多数情况下，正副炉主在九皇千秋中是不可或缺的。[27] 他们通常是少数被允许进入内殿的人之一，这意味着他们需要协助筹备节庆并出席关键仪式。他们负责轮流到内殿上香祭祀，为九皇大帝献上新鲜贡品，并确保内殿香火不断。



◀
The censer master of Kim San Tze leads a group of devotees from the temple to participate in the *can bai* ritual at other Nine Emperor Gods temples during the festival.

金山寺炉主在九皇千秋期间带领金山寺理事信众到其他九皇庙宇进行参拜。

除了侍奉内殿的九皇炉或斗母的香炉之外，炉主还是当年宫庙社区的代表。因此在节日期间的各种仪式场合上，总能在队伍前端看到他们忙碌的身影。通常在节日期间，他们还会被委托保管一个便携式香炉，在恭迎和恭送仪式或友庙互访时代表宫庙及其社区。[28] 在宫庙举行非正式的绕境游行时，或者当宫庙在游境过程中无法拜访到某间友庙时，宫庙便会派出小型代表团，到“进香”或“参拜”活动中上香祭祀，并与主庙交换礼物和檀香。在大多数情况下，炉主都会在场。

[27] 除了前面提到的Habkirk和Chang的作品外，可参阅这些学者的著作：Stephan Feuchtwang, “Welcoming Dangerous Benefactors: Incense, Gods and Hospitality in North-Eastern Taiwan,” L’Homme 231/232 (2019): 139-140; *The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 77-99. 许多关于炉主角色的学术研究都以台湾为背景。在台湾，炉主负责与香炉和庆典相关的所有工作，包括资金、执行和管理。在新加坡，类似的管理工作由宫庙委员会和礼仪专家主持。过去与甘榜有联系的年代较久的宫庙，例如凤山宫和九皇宫，都有专门的部门负责九皇千秋节庆的特定部分。我们将会在本书的第二卷中进行讨论。

[28] 这种较小的香炉只有在举行重要仪式、宫庙组织游行或访问友庙时才会离开内殿。与大多数寺庙不同的是，凤山宫的炉主所带的小香炉是用赤陶土做的，形状类似于被安置在用黄布遮盖住的神轿中的九皇炉。照片请见《新加坡大成巷葱茅园凤山宫庆祝三庆大典：九皇大帝寿诞，凤山宫创建一百零八周年，理事会成立五十周年金禧》（新加坡：凤山宫，2013年），页106-119。

The Ampang Nan Tian Gong in Kuala Lumpur allocates a special room in its western wing for the year's censer master and a separate room in the eastern wing for the Daoist priest.

在吉隆坡安邦南天宫的西侧，有一个专门为炉主准备的房间"炉主房"。另在东侧有专为道士设置房间，位置在南天宫的。



As briefly alluded to earlier, heavy expectations are imposed upon the main and assistant censer masters. Hong San Temple maintains strict expectations of full concentration and purity during the festival. As a result, individuals involved in festival affairs are required to reside on the temple's premises in a reserved container building.[29] They observe their *zhai* regimes in preparation for the welcoming ceremony and throughout the entire duration of the festival. The daily tasks of lowering and raising the Nine Lamps, as well as clearing and refilling them, are carried out in the temple's courtyard at dawn and dusk. These duties are performed by the censer masters and representatives from the temple's oldest association known as the "Senior Vegetarian Friends".[30] Kew Huang Keng also demands the presence of its censer masters in the temple to serve the Nine Emperor Gods in the Inner Chamber and assume responsibility for the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu censers. The temple also allocates a container for temporary rest for the censer masters and staff on night duty. In neighbouring Malaysia, especially in the Ampang Nan Tian Gong, a similar residential arrangement is also made for its censer master on the grounds of the same reasons of purity and timely and ready presence for rituals.

Not all temples require their censer masters to reside on the premises. Nevertheless, the censer masters are subject to the same high expectations of being present for ritual and routine duties. By and large, their roles are deemed to have ceremonial undertones. Ultimately, the number of censer masters selected varies across temples—from temples without any censer master-*towkay* system to temples with multiple assistant censer masters. Generally, most temples operate based on one main censer master with two deputies. An example of an alternative approach can be found in Kim San Tze, which selects one main and eight deputy censer masters on the fifth day of the ninth lunar month to attain a collective of nine censer masters—a number which matches that of the Nine Emperor Gods.

[29] 凤山宫三庆大典, 102.

[30] 凤山宫三庆大典, 103-104.

例如，在大成巷葱茅园凤山宫，正副炉主在节日期间需要留宿在宫中一个专为他们预留的房间，他们将在九皇千秋的筹备阶段开始斋戒，直至庆典结束。[29] 安邦南天宫的炉主也遵循相似的安排。住在宫庙并持斋确保了炉主的身体足够洁净，以便参与重要节日仪式，其中包括九皇灯的升降。每日黎明和黄昏时刻，炉主需要在宫庙庭院中升降九皇灯，并协助宫庙中的老菜友清洁九皇灯，为其添油。[30]九皇宫的炉主同样需要到宫中侍奉九皇大帝，并照料九皇大帝和斗母元君的香炉。九皇宫中也有一间侧室，供炉主和在宫中守夜的人休息。在邻近的马来西亚，特别是在安邦南天宫，也有类似的居所安排，以清净和适时出席法事为由，为其炉主作出类似的安排。





◀
A member of Shin Shen Keng bears a censer with burning incense when they visit other temples to pay respects.

神仙宫理事端着香炉带领善信与其他理事参拜友庙。

在其他宫庙，炉主在节日期间不需要住在庙里，但在九皇灯降下和添油时他们需要到场协助，同时他们也负责内殿的日常祭祀仪式。他们通常只需要出席重要仪式，如恭迎和恭送九皇大帝、道醮仪式，以及出游拜访友庙等。他们的存在主要是仪式性的。此外，不同神庙的炉主数量也各不相同。有些神庙不设头家炉主，也有的寺庙，如金山寺，会在农历九月初五挑选一名正炉主和八名副炉主，共位炉主。不过，一般来说，大多数神庙都有一个主炉主和两个副炉主。

[29]《凤山宫三庆大典》，页102。

[30]《凤山宫三庆大典》，页103-104。



The prosperity censers in Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng after their cleansing and reconsecration, waiting for their delivery to the homes of the different *lu zhu*.

蔡厝港斗母宫发财炉清理更新后等待送回炉主住宿。

Choosing the principal and deputy censer masters is a crucial and usually public event in Nine Emperor Gods temples who possess the censer master system. Typically present at these selections are the temples' committee and members. In general, these roles are fulfilled by throwing divination blocks before the Nine Emperor Gods in each temple by a representative from the temple's senior leadership or the incumbent censer master. The temple's secretary reads out the names of potential applicants, and for each name, divination blocks are tossed. This process continues until a "no" response is obtained after a series of consecutive "yes" responses. The selected main censer master is the applicant who scores the highest number of positive responses when the numbers are tallied. The roles of the deputies and *towkays* are assigned to the position of runner-ups and those who have achieved a "yes" response during the tossing of divination blocks.[31] In Kim San Tze, a distinctive practice is observed, where the temple's gong is sounded six times whenever a candidate receives six consecutive "yes" responses. In some temples, the divination blocks are tossed in the Inner Chambers, which may limit the level of transparency in the process. This highlights that practices can vary across different temples. That said, despite the potential secrecy of the process, what remains clear is that the results are made public immediately after the ritual's conclusion.

Different temples have varying practices regarding the types of applicants they accept. Some temples only allow applications from their own members, while others may accept applications from general devotees and supporters. Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong requires potential applicants to contribute a token sum to fund the subsequent festival's operations. In contrast, Hong San Temple's selection process is more stringent as it only permits its members to apply for the roles of the censer masters. Primarily, membership in Hong San Temple is derived from direct and indirect historical ties to the old Lorong Tai Seng *kampong*—the latter involving the descendants of former residents. That said, membership is still potentially attainable for those not affiliated with the old *kampong* if the interested individuals have served three years in the temple and festivals and are nominated by existing members and approved at the temple's Annual General Meeting (AGM). Such strict regulations on membership are unique to Hong San Temple. These practices underscore the strong bonds and sense of identity associated with the temple and its *kampong* community of old. Despite the strictness observed in certain aspects, the temple demonstrates openness towards expanding its membership beyond traditional birth and proximity rights.

[31] The process has been discussed in detail by Schipper, "Neighbourhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan," 653-655; and Judith Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981), 95-96. Strauch's findings were derived from an anonymised temple who worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods in western Malaysia.

对于实行炉主制的九皇神庙而言，正、副炉主的选任是一项重要的公共活动。大部分宫庙通过在九皇爷面前掷筊来确定新一任的炉主。宫庙理事在九皇大帝案前根据事先准备好的炉主名单，依次报上参与炉主选拔的成员姓名。从宫庙领导团或当值的炉主中派出一名代表在神明面前掷筊，神明通过一连串的圣杯来选出他们中意的人选。获得最多肯定回复的人即被选为来年九皇千秋的炉主，尾随其后的人将被选为副炉主，名单中其他获得圣杯的人将被指定为头家。[31] 金山寺的炉主挑选仪式别具一格。当候选人的名字在征询九皇大帝意见时连续获得六次肯定的答复，金山寺的锣将被敲响六次。在大多数情况下，选择炉主是一个非常公开的过程和仪式，也有些神庙可能选择在隐秘的内殿里进行。然而无论如何，选举结果都会在选举过程结束后立即公之于众。通常情况下，宫庙的理事会和成员都会在场见证这一过程。





◀ In Hong San Temple, the selection of the coming year's censer masters involves the tossing of divination blocks before the Nine Emperor Gods as each member's name in the membership register is read. The consecutive "yes" responses received by each member is tallied, and the person with the highest number is designated the *lu zhu*。

凤山宫的挑选炉主过程，通过在九皇大帝面前大声念出庙宇会员名单里的名字，并掷筊杯来确定新一年的炉主。赢得最多圣杯的会员既是明年的炉主。 在下图中，一位宫庙领导正在记录各会员所得到圣杯的次数。

有的宫庙在选举炉主时只考虑庙宇成员，而其他宫庙则欢迎感兴趣的香客和信徒参与选拔。在汫水港斗母宫，任何希望参与竞选炉主的人必须象征性地捐一笔钱（头份），用以资助来年的节庆。农历九月六日，宫庙将在九皇大帝面前掷筊选拔炉主。当三名炉主（一名正炉主，两名副炉主）被选出之后，其他获得肯定回应的候选人则成为宫庙的"头家"。与汫水港斗母宫相反的是，凤山宫只允许本庙成员报名参选炉主。如果一个人来自过去的大成巷村或者是村民后代，他/她可以自动成为宫庙成员。否则他/她需要在凤山宫和九皇千秋服务三年，才有资格成为宫庙成员。此外，新成员还必须由现成员提名并在年度大会上获得通过，才能最终成为宫庙正式成员。这样严格的成员入会条例，是凤山宫所独有的，强调了旧甘榜/村的认同感和凝聚力及其与宫庙的密切联系，同时也扩大通过竭诚服务扩大成员资格的空间。

[31] 这一过程已被学者详细讨论过，请参见Schipper, "Neighbourhood Cult Associations in Traditional Tainan," 653-655; 和Judith Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1981), 95-96. Strauch根据在西马一座供奉九皇大帝的不知名庙宇的调查研究而得出结论。

It is the norm that censer masters undertake a central role in the sending-off ritual to escort the Nine Emperor Gods and/or Dou Mu's censer(s) into the sea with the help of the temple's leadership, as noted in Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Kim San Tze and Zhun Ti Tang. In Hong San Temple, the censer master is assisted by "members of the committee who are skilled in swimming". Members and leadership of Hong San Temple have long held a belief that the successful departure of the Nine Emperor Gods from the earthly realm is associated with the bursting of flames among the incense sticks within the censer.[32]



Xuan Wu Shan representatives sending off the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang incense censers at sea during the set auspicious hour on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初九吉时，玄武山代表恭送九皇大帝和斗母娘娘回銮。

Notwithstanding the practices undertaken by most temples, some temples, including Shin Sen Keng, regulate the responsibilities of the water-related aspects of the sending-off ceremony to the leader of the temple, the *gongzu*, and his delegation of temple assistants (chosen by the Nine Emperor God). Still, these individuals are also further assisted by ritual specialists when the censer is escorted into the open waters.

Censer masters, similar to the core temple assistants involved in the festival, are only allowed to conclude their vegetarian regimes after the final lowering of the Nine Lamps on the morning of the tenth day of the ninth lunar month—which marks the official conclusion of the festival.

Incense and Religious Networks

The incense censer is not merely a holder for burning incense. Rather, it also contains ashes symbolic of the presence and power of deities.[33] As this-worldly, material, and tangible manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods' power, incense ashes invariably form key components in rituals performed to establish new centres of the deities' worship. Although the serendipitous appearance of incense censers prompted the establishment of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Ling Ying Dian, most Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore attribute their founding (or the start of their observation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival) to the invitations of incense from older Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore or Malaysia. Enterprising leaders of new potential Nine Emperor Gods temples or temples wishing to consecrate a new Nine Emperor Gods altar in their respective temples are required to attain permission from an established temple to perform a ritual known as the "division" or "scraping" of incense. This ritual involves the collection of ashes from an older temple's censer for enshrinement elsewhere. Symbolically, it is believed that the transfer of the Nine Emperor Gods' power for worship in new locations takes place during this process.[34]

[32] 凤山宫三庆大典, 103.

[33] In several temples, the initiation of hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival has been attributed to deity-derived instructions received by the temple's leadership. For example, at Nan Shan Hai Miao, the Great Uncle (Tua Ah Pek) instructed the temple leaders to organize and host the festival annually. The deity not only gave instructions on hosting the festival but also provided guidance to the temple management regarding the necessary processes involved.

[34] In addition to Clart, see the case of 艾茉莉, "从「分香」，「刈香」仪式论保生大帝信仰传播及其「地域化」过程：以台南学甲地区为例," in 台湾与各地保生大帝之信仰研究, ed. 陈益源 (台北：里仁书店, 2018 年), 225-254.



◄
In 2017, the committee members of Kew Huang Keng determining the censer master for 2018 by determining who had received the most “auspicious” responses from the casting of divination blocks before the Nine Emperor Gods.

九皇宫的理事们在统计各会员圣杯数以确认2018年炉主。

对某些宫庙而言，例如凤山宫、九皇宫、金山寺与准提堂，炉主是恭送仪式中的核心人物，他们将在宫庙领导的协助下，护送九皇大帝或斗母的香炉到海上，恭送神明圣驾回銮。在凤山宫，“泳术高明的理事”将协助炉主，共同把香炉送回海上。在过去人们相信，当安插在香炉中的许多香柱突然燃烧起来（发炉），这意味着九皇大帝成功离开尘世，回到天上。[32]

有的寺庙的炉主并不是恭送香炉的人。例如在神仙宫，是宫庙领导，即宫主，率领由九皇大帝挑选出的宫庙助手组成的代表团，将香炉送回海上。在礼仪主持的协助下，香炉被护送到开放水域，然后随着水流没入黑暗之中。

在大多数宫庙，如同参与庆典的主要宫庙助手，炉主在恭送仪式过后仍不能结束斋戒。他们需要保持茹素到农历九月十日的清晨，那时九皇灯最后一次降下，标志着节日正式结束。

香火与宗教网络

香炉除了安插燃烧的香柱之外，香炉中还承载这代表神明的存在与威灵的香灰。[33] 作为九皇大帝的神威在俗世的物质化有形表现，香灰是新神坛成立仪式的关键所在。虽然香炉的偶然出现，促成了蔡厝港斗母宫和灵应殿的成立，但新加坡大多数九皇神庙（或庆祝九皇千秋的庙宇）都源于从新加坡或马来西亚年代悠久的庙宇“请香火”而成立。新成立的九皇神庙或有意在祭坛上祭拜九皇大帝的庙宇，它们的宫庙领导通常需要向现有庙宇寻求认可并执行一种意识，这种仪式被称为“分香”或“割香”。在分香仪式中，古老庙宇的香灰被收集并供奉在异地，意味着将九皇大帝的灵力转移到一个新地点，供人们崇拜。[34]

[32]《凤山宫三庆大典》，页103。

[33] 有的庙宇是在原本供奉的神明的指引下开始举办九皇千秋庆典的。比如南山海庙，是大爷伯降乩指示宫庙领导在本庙庆祝九皇千秋，大爷伯也指导宫庙理事如何庆祝每年的九皇庆典。

[34] 除了Clart的研究，其他案例可见：艾茉莉，<从「分香」，「刈香」仪式论保生大帝信仰传播及其「地域化」过程：以台南学甲地区为例>， 收于陈益源编，《台湾与各地保生大帝之信仰研究》（台北：里仁书店, 2018 年），页225-254。

The lack of existing temples in early Singapore meant that most of the incense invited was secured from established temples in Malaysia. Many of the early Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore were established by this method, where its founders brought incense ashes from temples in Malaysia. Ashes from the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang Island, for example, were enshrined within the home of Ong Choo Kee when he returned to Singapore in 1902 before being transferred to Hougang Tou Mu Kung after construction was complete in 1921.[35] Hong San Temple underwent a similar "incense division" process as Hougang Tou Mu Kung, except that the ashes were from the Ampang Nan Tian Gong. In particular, the said incense ashes were "enshrined temporarily within a thatched cottage" by three men from Zhangzhou, Fujian, who travelled between Lemongrass Village and Kuala Lumpur in 1906.[36] Likewise, Shin Sen Keng's incense lineage can be traced to Ampang in Kuala Lumpur—the ashes were brought to Singapore by a medium and his wife.

Such ties, to be sure, are not only limited to Malaysia but later expanded to include Thailand. Interestingly enough, the two temples with such incense lineages are Chinese Buddhist in terms of their background. Shortly after they were instructed to start hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the leaders of Yu Hai Tang were tasked by Guan Yin Da Shi to go to Hat Yai to look for a Nine Emperor Gods temple. They did not know the name of the temple. Nevertheless, they met somebody by chance, and brought them to a Buddhist Nine Emperor Gods temple there, where the abbess happened to be a disciple of the same teacher as the medium from their temple. They obtained their incense for the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas from there. Similarly, although Zhun Ti Tang was originally devoted to the worship of Zhunti Bodhisattva, it also started to worship the Nine Emperor Buddhas in the 2000s after incense from a temple known as Xin Xing Tan in Bangkok were enshrined in Singapore.

Apart from inter-regional "invitation of incense", intra-national transfers also occur amongst local temples. As the second volume of this book will show, Kew Huang Keng's establishment in the southern region of Lemongrass Village during the Japanese Occupation of Singapore was only made possible with the "invitation of incense" from Hong San Temple in the north. Although the entire village was united in its worship of the Nine Emperor Gods, geographical and dialect differences existed between the northern and southern parts of the village. The former, where Hong San Temple was located, was dominated by members of the Zhao'an community, whilst the latter area, where Kew Huang Keng was to be established, largely comprised of Chaoshan and Cantonese residents.[37]

Similarly, the establishment of Kim San Tze in 1948 was facilitated by the invitation of Hong San Temple's incense ashes from the northern Lemongrass village for enshrinement within Kim San Tze's original premises in Chai Chee. This intra-national "invitation of ashes" persisted even after the Japanese Occupation. The leaders of Kim San Tze were motivated by the strong desire to alleviate the burden of travel for their devotees who had to undertake a long journey to reach Hong San Temple in order to participate in the festival. The most convenient way to achieve this, therefore, was for Kim San Tze to be able to host its own Nine Emperor Gods Festivals.[38]

Nine Emperor Gods temples which were founded based on logistical considerations are not confined to Singapore. The Xin Ba Guan Yin Ting Bei Hai Dou Mu Gong was founded in Butterworth, Penang, on a similar basis. Shi Guangru, the abbot of Guan Yin Ting at the time, felt compelled to invite incense ashes from another Guan Yin Ting temple that worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods on Penang Island's Burma Road. This decision was made to better accommodate the devotees of Xin Ba Guan Yin Ting who had to cross the strait to Penang Island during previous Nine Emperor Gods Festivals.[39] The Nan Tian Gong in Sabah, East Malaysia, likewise, not only shares its namesake from the Nan Tian Gong in Ampang but also, perhaps unsurprisingly, received its incense Nan Tian Gong, Ampang, in 1988.[40]

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[35] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》(新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006), 3-4.

[36] 凤山宫三庆大典 （新加坡：凤山宫理事会，2005年）, 27.

[37] 南洋大学东南亚华人史调查小组（历史系），巴爷里岩葱芽园村史 (新加坡: 南洋大学历史系, 1969), 10-23. Gatherings amongst Chinese migrants of similar origins and shared dialects have been common since the nineteenth century in Singapore, as noted by Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (1960): 40 and 43. Also see Lawerence W. Crissman, "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities," *Man* 2:2 (1967): 185 and 187; and Philip A. Kuhn, "Towards a Historical Ecology of Chinese Migration," in *The Chinese Overseas: Volume I*, ed. Liu Hong (New York, London: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 69-73 for an overview of the same phenomenon.

[38] 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化, 6-7.

[39] 吉打双溪大年甘边园斗母宫 ：马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会， 第九任(2006年)掌玺圣宫纪念特刊 （吉打: 吉打双溪大年甘边园斗母宫, 2006), 133. It is possible that there has been a typographic error in this citation. Chronologically, Shi Guangru's invitation of the Nine Emperor Gods' incense from Penang Island should have been 1966 (the year was instead cited as 1996).

[40] 吉打双溪大年甘边园斗母宫, 145.

新加坡早期的九皇神庙，很多是通过其创建者从马来西亚已建立的庙宇请来香灰而成立的。例如，槟榔屿香港巷斗母宫的香灰最初是王珠玑于1902年请回新加坡的家中时供奉，后来在1921年后港斗母宫成立后，香灰被转移到新建成的后港斗母宫。[35] 凤山宫也经历了与后港斗母宫类似的分香仪式。根据凤山宫的记载，1906年，三个来自福建漳州、经常往来于葱茅园（横跨今天的芽笼士乃，大巴窑和大成地区）与吉隆坡的男士，将吉隆坡南天宫分出的香灰暂时供奉在一间茅屋中，随后演变成凤山宫。[36] 神仙宫的香火同样来自吉隆坡，由一位乩童与其妻子从安邦南天宫请香到新加坡。



◀
One of Xing Xing Tan's leaders retrieving ashes from the main censer devoted to the Nine Emperor Buddhas as a part of Zhun Ti Tang's "incense invitation" ceremony in 2017. The yellow censer also representing the deities during the festival period can be partially seen in the right foreground.

2017年，准提堂到新兴坛"请香火"仪式的一幕，一名新兴坛理事正从供奉九皇佛祖的主香炉中取出部分香灰。右下角处隐约可见的黄色香炉便代表着庆典期间被供奉的九皇佛祖。

可以肯定的是，这种香火的联系不仅限于马来西亚，后来也扩大到泰国。有趣的是，存在这种香火联系的两间庙宇都有中国佛教的背景。在接到举办九皇大帝庆典的指示之后不久，玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂的宫庙领导获观音大士指示，前往泰国合艾寻找一座九皇神庙。他们并不清楚神庙的名字，幸运的是，他们在途中遇到一个人将他们带到一座佛教九皇庙，那里的女方丈与玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂的乩童正是同一位师傅的弟子。在那里，他们顺利获得九皇菩萨的香火。虽然准提堂最初供奉的是准提菩萨，自从准提堂于21世纪初从曼谷新兴坛分香以来，准提堂也开始供奉九皇佛祖。

"分香"同样也发生于新加坡的庙宇之间。正如本书第二卷将展示的，葱茅园村原本只有一座供奉九皇爷的庙宇。在日本占领新加坡期间（1942-1945年），为了方便南部居民，位于甘榜北部（俗称"上芭"）的凤山宫的香灰被请到甘榜南部（俗称"下芭"）一座新成立的庙宇敬拜。尽管整个村庄都是九皇大帝的信徒，从地理位置而言，上芭区的村民多为诏安人，他们通常前往凤山宫祭祀九皇大帝，下芭区的村民大多祖籍潮汕或广东地区，他们倾向于到九皇宫敬拜九皇大帝。[37]

请香活动在1945年以后仍有发生。当时金山寺的七位宫庙领导注意到，许多居住于菜市（Chai Chee）的信徒不得不长途跋涉到葱茅园北部的凤山宫参与九皇大帝千秋庆典。为了方便信徒，金山寺于1948年从凤山宫请香到庙中供奉，然后自行庆祝九皇千秋。[38]

在马来西亚槟州北海，新芭观音亭北海斗母宫的成立也是出于相同的考虑。当时观音亭的主持释广如注意到，许多九皇大帝信徒需要跨越海峡到槟榔屿庆祝九皇千秋。于是他从槟榔屿供奉九皇大帝的车水路观音亭请香到北海，原先的观音亭成为新芭观音亭北海斗母宫。[39] 与此类似的还有东马的沙巴南天宫，它不仅与安邦南天宫同名，也于1988年从安邦南天宫传承了香火。[40]

[35] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页3-4。

[36]《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫理事会，2005年），页27。

[37] 南洋大学东南亚华人史调查小组（历史系），《巴爷里峇葱茅园村史》（新加坡：南洋大学历史系，1969年），页10-23。自19世纪以来，新加坡来自相似祖籍地、有着相同方言的华人移民聚居在一起是很常见的，可参见Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:1 (1960): 40 and43. 也可参阅 Lawerence W. Crissman, "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities," Man 2:2 (1967): 185 and 187; and Philip A. Kuhn, "Towards a Historical Ecology of Chinese Migration," in *The Chinese Overseas: Volume I,* ed. Liu Hong (New York, London: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 69-73 for an overview of the same phenomenon.

[38]《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》，页6-7。

[39]《吉打双溪大年甘边园斗母宫：马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会，第九任(2006年)掌玺圣宫纪念特刊》（吉打：双溪大年甘边园斗母宫，2006年），页133。所引文献中似乎有一个印刷错误。按时间顺序来看，释广如从槟榔屿请香的时间应为1966年，但引文的记录是1996年。

[40]《吉打双溪大年甘边园斗母宫》，页145。

The insights revealed so far establish undeniable connections between many Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore and older temples in Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore. Their determination to continue honouring, strengthening and renewing these historical ties has since propelled some local temples to organise overseas trips to their temples of origin. For example, Hong San Temple sends a delegation to Nan Tian Gong, Ampang, during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival every three years—coinciding with the leap years in the Chinese lunar calendar. Hong San Temple also conducts the "scraping of incense" ritual, which involves the installation of new ashes from Nan Tian Gong within its temple during their visit.[41] It is important to note that local temples have adopted this tradition even without a direct incense lineage connection to Nan Tian Gong. Similarly, Kim San Tze undertakes overseas trips to Nan Tian Gong, Ampang, to conduct the same ritual (as Hong San Temple) every Chinese lunar leap year.



Hong San Temple's 1991 visit to the Taiping Guwumiao alias Dou Lao Gong commemorated through the presentation of a congratulatory banner on the Taiping temple's 105th anniversary.

1991年，凤山宫理事会拜访古武庙（又称太平斗姥宫），并献上一幅庆祝太平古武庙一百零五周年庆的横幅。

One possible reason for the appeal of overseas destinations such as Nan Tian Gong in Ampang and Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang is their relative proximity to Singapore. Temple leaders and devotees from Singapore can easily make day trips to pay their respects during the festival. Interpersonal ties, introductions, and exchange visits have fostered connections between temples in Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia, leading to cross-temple event participations and a shared regional temple scene. Hong San Temple also visited the Guwu Temple alias Taiping Dou Lao Gong in 1991 and presented that temple with a congratulatory banner to commemorate the occasion. Successful organisations of overnight visits to Sam Siang Keng in Johor Bahru during the festival by Kew Huang Keng and Jiu Huang Dian have since occurred.[42] Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng also occasionally organises visits to Long Yin Dou Mu Gong. For instance, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's drum and cymbals troupe recently participated in a *yew keng* procession by the latter temple in Batu Pahat. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang Island made a deliberate trip to Singapore to commemorate the restoration of Hougang Tou Mu Kung in 2019 and presented a plaque for the occasion.[43]

[41] 凤山宫三庆大典, 27. Also see the case regarding temples which travelled back to Meizhou, Fujian, to reconnect with the main temple devoted to Mazu in Zhang Yanchao, "Transnational Religious Tourism in Modern China and the Transformation of the Cult of Mazu," *Religions* 12:3 (2021); as well as temples devoted to the worship of Guangze Zunwang in Singapore and Malaysia as discussed by Jack Meng-tat Chia, "A Recent Quest for Religious Roots: The Revival of the Guangze Zunwang Cult and its Sino-Southeast Asian Networks, 1978–2009," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 41:2 (2013): 91-123.

[42] 柔佛新山三善宫 , "新加坡葱茅园九皇宫前来本宫参拜, " Facebook, October 1, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/sam.siang.keng/photos/a.780710235317724/748523428536405/.

[43] 郭欣慧, "后港斗母宫 庆修复竣工," 新民日报, September 22, 2019, e-copy retrieved from Factiva.





▲
Nan Shan Hai Miao visiting the Ampang Nan Tian Gong in 1995.

1995年，南山海庙参拜位于安邦的南天宫。



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Visitors from Kim San Tze, Singapore, posing for a photograph outside the Inner Chamber at the Nan Tian Gong Temple in Ampang, 2017.

2017年，新加坡金山寺的拜访者在吉隆坡安邦南天宫内殿前合照留念。

因此，新加坡许多九皇庙宇都与马来西亚、泰国或新加坡的其他古老寺庙有联系。为了增强对这些历史联结的认同感，新加坡的一些庙宇会组织代表团前往马来西亚和泰国朝圣，以维系加强它们与祖庙的联系。每隔四年，通常是农历的闰年，凤山宫会在九皇大帝千秋时派代表团前往安邦南天宫。这一仪式以凤山宫从南天宫获取新的香灰结束，又称为“割香”。[41] 有的庙宇即使与南天宫并没有直接香火传承关系，也会沿用这一传统。金山寺从凤山宫请得供奉九皇大帝的香火，但每个农历闰年，金山寺也会派代表前往安邦南天宫进行同样的“割香”仪式。

安邦的南天宫和槟榔屿的香港巷斗母宫（尤其前者）的影响力是如此之大，以至于在节日期间，新加坡的宫庙领导和信众会前往这些庙宇敬拜。此外，新加坡、马来西亚和泰国的庙宇也可能通过人际关系或介绍而建立联系，并在节日期间进行互访，有时甚至参与彼此的活动。如1991年，香港巷斗母宫拜访了古武庙（又称太平斗姥宫），并献上一幅祝贺横幅，以示纪念。此外，葱茅园九皇宫与九皇殿的成员曾在节日期间组织到新山的三善宫进行夜间参拜。[42]蔡厝港斗母宫偶尔会组织成员拜访龙引斗母宫，他们的金鼓队最近还到峇株巴辖参与龙引斗母宫的绕境游行。在2019年，为纪念后港斗母宫的修缮竣工，槟榔屿香港巷斗母宫的宫庙领导不仅来到新加坡参与仪式，还赠送了一块牌匾以资纪念。[43]

[41] 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页27。关于庙宇回到福建湄洲寻找妈祖主庙的案例，见Zhang Yanchao, “Transnational Religious Tourism in Modern China and the Transformation of the Cult of Mazu,” *Religions* 12:3 (2021); 以及对新马地区崇拜广泽尊王庙宇的讨论，见Jack Meng-tat Chia, “A Recent Quest for Religious Roots: The Revival of the Guangze Zunwang Cult and its Sino-Southeast Asian Networks, 1978–2009,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 41:2 (2013): 91-123.

[42] 柔佛新山三善宫，<新加坡葱茅园九皇宫前来本宫参拜>，Facebook，October 1，2014，https://www.facebook.com/sam.siang.keng/photos/a.780710235317724/748523428536405/.

[43] 郭欣慧，，<后港斗母宫 庆修复竣工>，见《新民日报》，2019年9月22日，见从Factiva上获取的电子版。

Conclusion

The censers and incense hold a central position in key rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. They serve as representatives before consecration and embody the Nine Emperor Gods afterward, symbolizing their presence in the human world during the festival. To maintain purity and sanctity, the censers are kept in the Inner Chambers of temples, avoiding unsolicited interactions with the public. Given their symbolic significance, temples integrate the censers into *yew keng* processions and formal cross-temple exchanges.

The roles and functions of the censers and incense in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival draw from older ideas and practices in the Chinese religion, traditional Chinese communities, and even the Chinese state. Nevertheless, unique distinctions related to the Nine Emperor Gods censers exist as well—overarching restrictions and regulations, such as a mandatory regime of *zhai* before and during the festival. Main and deputy censer masters bear the responsibility of caring for the censers in the Inner Chambers of temples, along with other ritual and routine performances. Thus, some temples enforce a strict *zhai* regimen and require censer masters to temporarily reside on the temple premises before and during the festival to fulfil their duties.

The significance of the Nine Emperor Gods' censers cannot be decoupled from the incense its holds. Temples and their believers hold the perspective that the power of the Nine Emperor Gods manifest and materialise within the incense burning within these censers. It is not surprising that these two religious paraphernalia, the censers and incense, have played significant roles in the establishment and consecration of new temples. The need for the "invitation of incense" from older established Nine Emperor Gods temples to create new Nine Emperor Gods has led to the development incense lineages within and beyond national borders. Apart from the significance of incense, the physical interactions and ongoing communication required in maintaining and honouring these ties have fostered strong connections and bonds between temples across Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand.

结语

香炉和香火在九皇千秋盛会中扮演着不可或缺的角色。九皇大帝和斗姆元君的香炉作为神明节日期间巡视人间的化身，是主要仪式的中心。为保证节日期间的洁净肃穆，香炉被请入内殿，并根据规定严格限制信众接近香炉。作为神明的化身，香炉也是九皇大帝绕境游行以及与友庙进行互访时的重要组成部分。

从华人宗教的古老观念和实践来看，香炉和香火对于传统华人社区乃至国家而言，发挥着类似作用，无论是在仪式上，还是在作为社区和国民的集中体现上。九皇炉的作用与此相似，但在规则限制上，特别是对仪式纯洁性的要求方面，更为讲究。在有些宫庙，炉主是节日庆典中的重要角色，肩负照料内殿的重任。他们需要严格遵循宫庙的斋素规戒，某些宫庙甚至要求炉主在筹备阶段和节庆期间住在庙里。过去的宫庙要求如此，如今负责照料香炉与内殿的主要执事或代表团也需要这么做。

九皇千秋的历史与实践也围绕着九皇炉的香火展开。九皇大帝的形象与灵力通过香火得以具象化，因此香炉与香灰在宫庙的成立和参拜仪式中至关重要，而香火的传承使不同宫庙产生联系，有时甚至超越国界。新加坡、马来西亚、泰国及东南亚其他地区许多宫庙同过“请香”与“分香”彼此相连，在发展历程中所形成的网络成了今天纪念和再现这些联结的仪式基础，使各宫庙得以维系跨地域与跨国界的友好关系和联结。

第5章 Lamps 九皇天灯





▲
The Nine Lamps that are raised by Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang (Yu Hai Tang) ahead of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas Festival 1998. Note the bamboo stalk, flag and nine lamps attached to the construct. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1998年九皇千秋前，玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂 （玉海棠） 升起的九盏斗姆灯。注意附在灯柱上的竹秆、旗帜和九盏灯。 照片由龙南殿提供。

Introduction

Integral to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore is the erection of the Nine Lamps (also known as the Nine Dou Mu Lamps, Nine Emperor Lamps or Nine Heavenly Lamps) outside temples or ritual spaces. Comprising various materials, including old bamboo wrapped in yellow fabric, the raising and lowering of the Nine Lamps signify the festival's beginning and culmination. To date, however, devotees and volunteers have the misconception that the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods typifies the latter. Even after the Nine Emperor Gods depart, the temples' censer masters and ritual specialists are still required to maintain their *zhai* regime for another night. The actual conclusion of the festival occurs on the morning of the tenth day of the ninth lunar month, with the lowering of the Nine Lamps across various temples.





◄ ▲
The Nine Lamps are raised by Yu Hai Tang ahead of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas Festival today. The lamppost is the tallest among all the Nine Emperor Gods temples that observe the practice in Singapore.

玉海棠升起的九盏斗姆灯。灯柱是新加坡所有九皇庙中最高的。

前言

在新加坡，几乎每一座庆祝九皇千秋的庙宇，都会在庙宇或者仪式场地之外升起九盏灯（也称九皇灯或天灯）。拥有众多名号的九皇灯被悬挂在一根由竹子或其他材料制成、并裹着黄布的灯杆上，是使九皇千秋有别于华人宗教日历上其他节日的重要特征。然而，它最重要的功能是宣告节日的开始与结束。虽然许多信徒和义工认为恭送圣驾标志着节日达到高潮并进入尾声，但许多在节日期间升起九皇灯的庙宇认为，九皇灯的熄灭才意味着节日的真正落幕。庙宇的炉主与礼仪主持的斋戒必须多坚持一个晚上，直到农历九月初十清晨，九皇灯最后一次被降下，节日才正式结束。







▲
Raising of the Nine Lamps at Hong San temple at the start of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The ritual takes place before the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods in the evening. Public access around the vicinity of the lamps is restricted, as noted in the photograph.

凤山宫理事在傍晚迎接九皇大帝之前升起九盏天灯。九皇天灯周围有设路障禁止信徒接近灯座。

Strict restrictions concerning the Nine Lamps exist during the Nine Emperor God Festival. Only a handful of selected temple staff appointed as caretakers are allowed to approach the lamps for daily cleaning and re-filling. The lamps must remain lit throughout the entire course of the festival. The Nine Lamps are regarded as sacred, and so is the area surrounding it. Devotees take care to behave respectfully and solemnly around the lamps. Temples, such as Hong San Temple and Kew Huang Keng, also have barriers to ensure the public does not wander too close to the lamps during the festival.



◀
Adjustments of the Nine Lamps' kerosene emission by the censer master and ritual specialists from Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng (Kew Huang Keng) before they are raised to ensure steady flames.

九皇宫宫务组在九盏灯升起之前切换煤油的排放，以保持稳定的火焰。

九皇灯还需遵循诸多规矩。在节日期间，九皇灯不能被随意移动，只有一小部分被指定照料九皇灯的人员才可以接近、触摸并清洁九皇灯。在大多数庙宇中，九皇灯下面的空间也很神圣，需要保持清净，非专门维护九皇灯的人不得靠近。香客也需要被提醒注意在九皇灯的附近区域保持清静，避免发表不必要的言论以犯不敬。在大成巷葱茅园凤山宫和葱茅园九皇宫（以下简称九皇宫），宫庙会设置临时围栏，防止公众靠近九皇灯，特别是在每日降下九皇灯进行清洁并添油的时候。



The Xuan Wu Shan visiting contingent and the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang sedan chair pay their respects at the Nine Lamps raised by Leong Nam Temple.

玄武山理事与九皇斗母圣轿到龙南殿参拜时在九皇天灯前敬礼。

The Nine Lamps play a fundamental role as ritual components in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. They serve as the initial destination for visiting temple delegations during festival-related inter-temple interactions. Furthermore, temple representatives also worship at the Nine Lamps within their respective temples before embarking on external visits. As a result, these lamps distinctly differentiate the Nine Emperor Gods Festival from other Chinese religious festivals in Southeast Asia and Singapore.

In general, the significance of lamps is universal across all religions. Though differing in design, form or surrounding ritual environment, religions often share and espouse similar generic concepts of lamps. For instance, lighting lamps are part of the offertory process to particular gods, divinities or deities. Nevertheless, each lamp's inherent purposes and meanings are context- and location-specific. Within Chinese religion and society, lamps are not only used in celebratory contexts but also in funerary rituals. In the case of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, there are multiple interpretations of the Nine Lamps. Most generally, they symbolise the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods and their armies and provide a means for ghosts to seek redress. Apart from this, the lamps are also thought to allude to the gods' origin stories. Additionally, some believe the lamps denote the uniting factor behind the close ties between the festival and mutual aid societies amongst the Chinese, particularly across Southeast Asia.

This chapter examines the significance of the Nine Lamps in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia and Singapore. Firstly, it will study the general significance of lamps within the history of Chinese culture. Following that, the review of the Nine Lamps seeks to address in detail their evolving historical and contemporary functions, purposes and meanings in relation to the festival and to the temples and Chinese community that partake in the festival.



◀
Hougang Tou Mu Kung visiting contingent pay their respects to the Nine Lamps at Leong Nam Temple.

后港斗母宫参拜团队在龙南殿的九盏天灯前敬礼。

每当庙宇进行游境或参拜仪式时，前来拜访的庙宇会首先参拜庙里的九皇灯。相反地，每当宫庙派出代表团拜访友庙时，代表团在出发前会先祭祀本庙的九皇灯。从这些实践中可以看出，九皇灯并不仅仅是九皇千秋的附属特色，实际上，它是九皇千秋庆典现场一个重要的仪式中心。它的存在也使得九皇千秋有别于东南亚和新加坡其他华人神明节日。

如同其他宗教信仰的许多方面，灯具有多种用途。在不同仪式环境中或以不同的形式出现的灯可能发挥不同的作用。实际上，这些概念是相互重叠和相互补充的。点燃的灯既可以作为供品，也可以象征着神明的降临。灯也可能提醒神明此地正在举行醮仪以祭祀诸神。灯还在华人的丧葬仪式中占有一席之地。在九皇千秋的语境中，灯不仅具有上述提及的作用，也在这一节日背景中被进一步阐释。九皇灯象征着九皇大帝和五营军队的存在，同时也为孤魂野鬼提供寻求超度的途径。在某些情况下，九皇灯还可能体现了九皇信仰的渊源。此外，九皇灯也表明了九皇千秋与互助性秘密会社之间的密切联系。

本章旨在探讨九皇灯在东南亚及新加坡的九皇千秋中的意义。灯在华人社会和宗教史上意味着什么？为什么要在节日期间升起九皇灯？将其置于九皇千秋的节日背景中，九皇灯的功能和意义是什么？时至今日，这些实践经历了怎样的传承与演变，它们对九皇神庙和九皇圣诞而言意味着什么？

Lamps in Chinese History, Society and Religion

Sources from the Daoist Traditions

Lamps have a long social and cultural history in China, although few detailed studies have been conducted.[1] Besides providing a source of illumination before the age of electricity, lamps were imbued with many religious meanings. Texts preserved in the Daoist Canon describe the belief in much detail. In their survey of the Daoist Canon, Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen suggested that the DZ1411 (dated to the fifth century CE) was one of the earliest sources which prescribed the lighting of lamps.[2] The lighting of lamps served two ritual purposes, according to the text. Firstly, it "saved the souls of the dead from the 'darkness of the Long Night'". Secondly, lamp-lighting promised protection from calamities that arose from many sources, including disease, disharmony in the four seasons, imbalances between the cosmic forces of *yin* and *yang* and the threat of warfare.[3] Such rituals required the "successive lighting of a symbolic number of lamps" and called for the "confession of sins and expression of wishes" by participants.[4] By the Tang dynasty (618—907 CE), in the DZ0507 authored by the renowned Daoist master Du Guangting (850—933 CE), he insisted that "the most important matters in a *zhai* ritual are the burning of incense and the lighting of lamps".[5]

Lamps have also been lit as an offering before various astral divinities whenever their power and presence are evoked. In the DZ1288 compiled during the Six Dynasties (220—589 CE), whenever one wished to perform a ritual to invoke their "stars of destiny", it was necessary to erect altars to represent the constellations, such as the Five Dipper Lords and the 28 Lunar Constellations. In an appended floor plan, an entire altar is devoted to seven lamps with the names of the seven visible stars of the Northern Dipper.[6] When grander rituals are performed, lamps may also be lit to mimic Daoist cosmography. The "Section of Lighting Lamps" in the DZ547 (undated, but likely compiled after the 12th and 14th centuries) and the "Plan for Lamps Outside of the Altar" of the DZ219 (c.13th century), for example, outlined a lengthy list of features, entities and gods that were to be represented with the help of 159 lamps. Among these divinities, the Ten Directions, the Nine Palaces, the 28 Lunar Constellations and the Five Sacred Mountains are represented as lamps.[7]

Over time, the significance and performance of lamp-lighting likely increased in popularity, as manifested by many ritual instructions devoted to the subject throughout the Southern Song (1127—1279 CE) and Yuan dynasties (1279—1368 CE).[8] In this period, lamps may also be used in exorcisms to cure the sick.[9] Aside from the Southern Dipper (DZ199) and Northern Dipper (DZ200 and DZ201), whose connection with the appellation "Nine Emperors" has been discussed, lamp-lighting rituals could also be performed in honour of the Jade Emperor (DZ197), the Emperor of the Dark Heavens (DZ203), and the Emperors of the Three Departments (DZ202), among others.[10]

[1] For a general discussion on the history of lamps and its fuel in China, see Zhu Zhiqiang and Qingxuan Zhan, "Study on the Structures and Illumination Characteristics of Chinese Ancient Oil Lamps," in *ICO20: Illumination, Radiation, and Color Technologies*, vol. 6033 (Proceedings of the Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers, 2006), https://doi.org/10.1117/12.668063; and Feng Lianyong, Yan Hu, Charles A. S. Hall and Jianliang Wang, *The Chinese Oil Industry: History and Future* (New York: Springer, 2013), 1-4. The technology of kerosene lamps will be discussed in the penultimate section of this chapter.

[2] "洞玄灵寶长夜之府九幽玉匮明眞科," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0220/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Liturgy of the Sworn Alliance with the Zhenren, Kept in the Jade Chest of the Nine Realms of Darkness, in the Department of the Long," and introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 225-256. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of texts catalogued the Daoist Canon are adapted from the two-volume publication companion guide by Schipper and Verellen (see below for second volume).

[3] "洞玄灵寶长夜之府九幽玉匮明眞科," page 000-016a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0220/000. Translated section of this text (in English) is adapted from Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 962.

[4] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962.

[5] "太上黃籙斋仪," page 056-001a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0210/056. Translated section of this text (in English) is adapted from Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962.The manuscript is translated as the "Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 578-580.

[6] "元辰章醮立成历," page 001-003b, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0097/001. The manuscript is translated as the "Practical Almanac for the Offering of the Memorial of the Original Star" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume I*, 135-136. Also see Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Art in Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Center, 2012), 196-198.

[7] "灵宝玉鉴," page 014-009b, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0250/014. The manuscript is translated as the "Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1017-1021. The dating for this text is still uncertain, although one such manuscript by the same name was mentioned by Bai Yuchan (12th—13th century CE). On the second text, see "灵宝无量度人上经大法," page 047-001b, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0220/047. It is translated as the "Great Rites of the Book of Universal Salvation" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1028-1032. A similar commentary is also offered by Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 196

[8] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962-963.

[9] Florian C. Reiter, "Exorcist Taoism, Shamanism and Buddhism in the Analysis of Religious Taoism in the Periods Sung to Yüan," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 170: 1 (2020): 200-202.

[10] These texts are introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962-971, and can be found in the Kanseki Repository Database. To minimise repetition, only the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereign Lamp Rituals are described in subsequent detail.

华人历史、社会与宗教中的灯

道教传统中的灯

灯在中国有着悠久的社会和文化历史，但迄今为止，关于灯的研究相对有限。[1] 除了在电气时代之前作为主要的照明工具，灯还被赋予了许多宗教意义。道教经典对此有详细的记载。在他们对道教经典的研究中，施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）和傅飞岚（Franciscus Verellen）认为，DZ1411《洞玄灵宝长夜之府九幽玉匮明真科》（可追溯至公元5世纪）是关于点灯规定的最早来源之一。[2] 根据经文，点灯有两个仪式目的。首先是"开度死魂令出长夜"。其次，灯光可以保证人们免受来自各方面的灾难，包括疾病、四季失调、宇宙中阴阳之间力量的不协调以及战争的威胁。[3] 这些仪式不仅要求"连续点燃象征性数目的灯"，还要求参与者"忏罪祈福"。[4] 到了唐代（公元618-907年），唐末著名道教科仪大师杜光庭（公元850-933年）编集的《太上黄箓斋仪》载："礼灯夫礼灯之法出金箓简文几修斋行"。[5]

当诸位星君降临且显现神力时，灯被点燃作为祭品献给神明。六朝时期（公元220-589年）编纂的DZ1288《元辰章醮立成历》中，当一个人想要举行仪式祈求"元辰"时，他/她必须建立代表星宿的祭坛，比如五斗星君和二十八星宿。从所附平面图可以看到，祭坛上共有七盏灯，上面有北斗七星的名号。[6] 当举行更盛大的仪式时，灯被点亮以模仿道家的宇宙观。例如，DZ547《灵宝玉鉴》（未标明日期，但可能汇编于12和14世纪之后）的"坛灯章"及 DZ219《灵宝无量度人上经大法》（约13世纪）的"坛外灯图"记述了利用159盏灯代表的特征、存在和神明。在这些神明中，十方、九宫、二十八星宿及五岳，均可用灯来表示。[7]

随着时间的推移，到了南宋（公元1127-1279年）和元朝（公元1279-1368年）期间，正如大量祭祀指示所表明的，灯的重要性和表演功能可能越来越流行。[8] 在这一时期，灯也可能被用于驱魔仪式，以治疗病人。[9] 除了南斗（DZ199《南斗延寿灯仪》）和北斗（DZ200《北斗七元星灯仪》与DZ201《北斗本命延寿灯仪》）——二者与九皇大帝的联系已被讨论过——灯仪同样可以用来祭祀玉皇大帝（DZ197《玉皇十七慈光灯仪》）、玄天上帝（DZ203《玄帝灯仪》）、三官大帝（DZ202《三官灯仪》）及其他神明。[10]

[1] 有关中国灯及其燃料的历史，请参阅Zhu Zhiqiang and Qingxuan Zhan, "Study on the Structures and Illumination Characteristics of Chinese Ancient Oil Lamps," in *ICO20: Illumination, Radiation, and Color Technologies*, vol. 6033 (Proceedings of the Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers, 2006), https://doi.org/10.1117/12.668063; 及 Feng Lianyong, Yan Hu, Charles A. S. Hall and Jianliang Wang, *The Chinese Oil Industry: History and Future* (New York: Springer, 2013), 1-4. 有关煤油灯的技术将在本章倒数第二节中讨论。

[2] 《洞玄灵宝长夜之府九幽玉匮明真科》，Kanseki Repository, 2022年3月1日访问, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0220/000. 原文被译为 "Liturgy of the Sworn Alliance with the Zhenren, Kept in the Jade Chest of the Nine Realms of Darkness, in the Department of the Long," 并首见于 Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 225-256. 除另有说明外，本书所收录的道教经典文本译文均改写自Schipper和Verellen出版的参考指南两卷本(第二卷见下文)。

[3] 《洞玄灵宝长夜之府九幽玉匮明真科》，页000-016a, Kanseki Repository, 2022年3月1日访问, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0220/000. 节选片段翻译(英文)改编自Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 962.

[4] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962.

[5] 《太上黄箓斋仪》，页056-001a, Kanseki Repository, 2022年3月1日访问, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0210/056. 节选片段翻译（英文）改编自Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962. 原文被译为 "Liturgical Manual for the Yellow Register Retreat"，并首见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 578-580.

[6] 《元辰章醮立成历》，页001-003b, Kanseki Repository, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0097/001. 原文被译为 "Practical Almanac for the Offering of the Memorial of the Original Star" 并首见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume I*, 135-136. 也可参阅 Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Art in Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Center, 2012), 196-198.

[7] 《灵宝玉鉴》，页014-009b, Kanseki Repository, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0250/014. 原文被译为 "Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure"并首见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1017-1021. 虽然白玉蟾（公元12-13世纪）曾提到过一份同名的手稿，但这原稿的年代仍不确定。第二段文本见 《灵宝无量度人上经大法》，页047-001b, Kanseki Repository, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0220/047. 原文被译为 "Great Rites of the Book of Universal Salvation"并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1028-1032. Huang也有类似论述，见 *Picturing the True Form*, 196.

[8] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962-963.

[9] Florian C. Reiter, "Exorcist Taoism, Shamanism and Buddhism in the Analysis of Religious Taoism in the Periods Sung to Yüan," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 170: 1 (2020): 200-202.

[10] 这些文本都可见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 962-971, 并可在Kanseki Repository数据库中找到。为了减少行文重复，后文只详细描述南斗延寿灯仪与北斗延寿灯仪。此处所引用的文本将包括在本卷卷末的参考书目中。

As the references to "longevity-prolonging" in the titles of DZ199 and DZ201 imply, whenever lamps were lit as an offering to the Southern and Northern Dippers, they served primarily to extend the lifespans of their practitioners and sponsors.11 While the ability to bestow such blessings was not limited to a single deity, these two texts mirrored—and likely accentuated—the widespread belief that these two constellations were responsible for longevity. The belief that lamp-lighting invoked the power of astral divinities—such as the Southern and Northern Dipper—who controlled one's destiny also made their way into popular literature. In the semi-historical novel, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (first published c.1522 CE), the strategist Zhuge Liang (181—234 CE), fell ill when he led a northward expedition. [12] To prolong his life by a decade, he lit lamps as an offering to the Northern Dipper and ordered 49 soldiers dressed in black—the colour of the North and in seven sets of seven—to be stationed around his ritual space. To perform the ritual, 57 lamps were used: "On the ground, seven large lamps are lit, outside were 49 small lamps and within the ritual space he consecrated a lamp for his personal (star of) destiny".[13]

Sources from the Buddhist Tradition

Lamp lighting also played an important role in Buddhist rituals. Among the most important divinities worshipped with lamp offerings in Chinese religion and society is the Bhaisajyaguru, the Medicine King Buddha of Lapis Lazuli.[14] Even though Indian manuscripts of the Bhaisajyaguru Sutra prescribed the lighting of 49 Lamps, they "are hardly the core ritual in the original context".[15] Rather than serving as a form of "healing therapy," lamp-lighting was "one of several Buddhist observances intended to accrue merit for…the seriously sick and dying". In addition, the number 49 also possesses a "numerology that links them to death or intermediate existence" in India.[16] However, when the scripture entered China during the fifth and sixth centuries CE as the 12th chapter of the T1331, lamp-lighting was recast as a key means of prolonging life, among other functions.[17] Alongside "five coloured banners that are 49 feet in length", the faithful should prepare "seven layers of lamps, where seven lamps are lit on each tier".[18] In a later translation of the Bhaisajyaguru Sutra by Xuanzang (602—650 CE), the T450, lamp-lighting was also included in a long list of instructions for the sick to get better.[19] To evoke the healing power of Bhaisajyaguru, practitioners were advised to "recite the sutra 49 times, and light 49 lamps". Afterwards, "seven images of the Buddha were to be built, and before each image, seven lamps—each of the size of a cartwheel—were to be kept burning for 49 days".[20] Beliefs and practices revolving around the veneration of the Seven Buddhas of Healing (the seventh which is Bhaisajyaguru himself) thus found much common ground with lamp-lighting rituals that are used to evoke the Northern Dipper and blended into one another, from Tang China (618—907 CE) till today, in various forms and sources, including Tantric Buddhist practices and extracanonical scriptures.[21]

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[11] Refer to the first chapter in this volume for an extended discussion. "南斗延寿灯仪," Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0200/000; and "北斗本命延寿灯仪," Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0202/000.

[12] For a broad discussion on how popular Chinese literature drew upon historical chronicles in this instance, see McLaren, Anne E. "History Repackaged in the Age of Print: The 'Sanguozhi' and 'Sanguo Yanyi,'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 69:2 (2006): 293–313. An excellent discussion of Zhuge Liang's characterisation is authored by Anne E. McLaren, "Zhuge Liang, Daoism and the Textual History of The Narrative of the Three Kingdoms," in *A Daoist Florilegium: A festschrift dedicated to Professor Liu Ts'un-yan on his eighty fifth birthday, ed. Lee Cheuk Yin and Chan Man Sing* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002), 235-286, who argued that Zhuge defied clear-cut archetypes of a Confucian Minister or Daoist Master.

[13] 罗贯中 (Yuan-Ming dynasty), "上方谷司马受困, 五丈原诸葛禳星," in 三国演义, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/sanguo-yanyi/ch103. For additional context, see Yan Xu-Lackner. "*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Historical Allusions and Oracles," in *Coping with the Future: Theories and Practices of Divination in East Asia*, ed. Michael Lackner (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 162-176.

[14] Many studies have been performed on this divinity. Among others, see Raoul Birnbaum, "Seeking Longevity in Chinese Buddhism: Long life Deities and their Symbolism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 13:1 (1985): 143-176; *The Healing Buddha* (Boston, Massachusetts: Shambhala, 1989); and Gregory Schopen, "The Bhaisajyaguru-Sutra and the Buddhism of Gilgit" (PhD diss., Australian National University, 1978).

[15] Shi Zhiru, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life: Ritual Healing and the Bhaiṣajyaguru Cult in Fifth and Sixth Century China," in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 91.

[16] Shi, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life," 93. Despite Shi's referencing of Schopen (see the above footnote) during her discussion on the numerological significance of 49, I have not been able to find that exact reference in the latter citation. Also see Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 71.

[17] Shi, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life," 94-95.

[18] 《佛说灌顶经》 CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1331, 535b13 and 535b14, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1331_012, last accessed March 1, 2022.

[19] There exist many translations of the Bhaisajyaguru Sutra. See Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 52-72; and Shi, "Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life," 109, footnote 9.

[20] "药师琉璃光如来本愿功德经," CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1331, 535b13 and 535b14, https://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T14n0450_001, last accessed March 1, 2022. The translation here is my own.

[21] Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 69-72. For present-day studies, see阎奕铮, "佛教拜斗仪式'药师斗'初探," 福建省社会主义学院学报6 (2010): 67-71; and陈省身, "仪式僧侣礼斗法会研究," in印顺导师思想之理论与实践学术会议 (第十五届) (2017玄奘大学宗教与文化学系, 财团法人弘誓文教基金会, 2017), section B, 173-190. On the historical front, see Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 134-173; Herbert Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," *Asia Major* (Third Series) 3:1 (1990): 75-111; Charles D. Orzech and James H. Sanford, "Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper" in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordan White (New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 383-395.

正如 DZ199《南斗延寿灯仪》和DZ201《北斗本命延寿灯仪》标题中的“延寿”所表明的，当灯被点燃以供奉南斗和北斗，它们的作用是延长供奉香火的人的寿命。[11] 虽然赐予这种祝福的能力并不局限于某一位神明，但这两份文献都反映了人们普遍认为这两个星宿可以延长人的寿命。 灯火可以激发掌管命运的星君的灵力的信仰，比如南斗星君和北斗星君等，也被写入了通俗文学之中。在历史演义小说《三国演义》（首次出版于公元1522年前后）中，军事家诸葛亮（公元181-234年）在率军北伐时鞠躬尽瘁，殚精竭虑，自知命不久矣。[12] 为祈求延寿十年，他设下七星灯阵祭拜北斗，并命令七七四十九名身着黑衣的士兵在拜斗仪式空间中布阵。为举行这一仪式，诸葛亮一共使用了57盏灯：“地上分布七盏大灯，外布四十九盏小灯，内安本命灯一盏”。[13]

佛教传统中的灯

点灯在佛教仪式中也具有重要的作用。对于华人宗教与社会而言，在众多需要点灯供奉的重要神明之中，药师琉璃光如来是其中一位。[14]尽管《药师琉璃光如来经》的梵文原稿记载了点亮四十九盏灯，但是它们“在最初的语境中并非核心仪式”。[15] 点灯并不是“康复治疗”的一种方式，而是“为重病和濒死之人祈福的佛教仪式之一”。此外，数字49在中国语境里是北斗七星的典型标志，但在印度，它意味着“将其与死亡或中阴联系起来的数字命理学”。[16] 然而，当T1331《佛说灌顶经》第12章的经文于公元5世纪到6世纪传入中国时，点灯被赋予新的意义，成为一种可以延长寿命的重要仪式。[17] 除了“神幡五色四十九尺”，信徒还需准备“七层之灯一层七灯”。[18]在《药师琉璃光如来经》后来的翻译版本，即由大唐三藏法师玄奘（公元602-650年）奉诏翻译的T450《药师琉璃光如来本愿功德经》中，点灯被包括在一系列让病人好转的仪式指示当中。[19]向药师佛祈福，祈愿者必须“读诵此经四十九遍，燃四十九灯”，然后“造彼如来形象七躯，——像前各置七灯——灯量大如车轮，乃至四十九日，光明不绝”。[20]因此，自中国唐朝（公元619-907年）以来，无论是在密宗的佛教实践或经典以外的经文记载中，供奉药师七佛（其中药师流琉璃光如来为第七位）的信仰和实践与供奉北斗的灯仪具有众多相同之处，并互相交融。[21]

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[11] 更详细的讨论请参阅本卷第一章。《南斗延寿灯仪》，Kanseki Repository，最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0200/000； 与《北斗本命延寿灯仪》，Kanseki Repository，最近一次访问于2022年3月1日， https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0202/000.

[12] 关于在《三国演义》这一案例中，中国通俗文学如何借鉴编年体史书的编着模式的讨论，请参阅 Anne E. McLaren, “History Repackaged in the Age of Print: The ‘Sanguozhi’ and ‘Sanguo Yanyi,’” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 69:2 (2006): 293–313. 关于诸葛亮人物性格的精彩探讨，请参见 Anne E. McLaren, “Zhuge Liang, Daoism and the Textual History of The Narrative of the Three Kingdoms,” in *A Daoist Florilegium: A festschrift dedicated to Professor Liu Ts'un-yan on his eighty fifth birthday, ed. Lee Cheuk Yin and Chan Man Sing* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002), 235-286, 她认为诸葛亮打破了儒道的清晰分界。

[13] 罗贯中（元末明初），<上方谷司马受困 五丈原诸葛禳星>，《三国演义》，Chinese Text Project，最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/sanguo-yanyi/ch103. 另请参见Yan Xu-Lackner. “*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Historical Allusions and Oracles,” in *Coping with the Future: Theories and Practices of Divination in East Asia*, ed. Michael Lackner (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 162-176.

[14] 目前学界已有许多关于药师佛的研究，其中可参阅 Raoul Birnbaum, “Seeking Longevity in Chinese Buddhism: Long life Deities and their Symbolism,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 13:1 (1985): 143-176; *The Healing Buddha* (Boston, Massachusetts: Shambhala, 1989); 及 Gregory Schopen, “The Bhaisajyaguru-Sutra and the Buddhism of Gilgit” (PhD diss., Australian National University, 1978).

[15] Shi Zhiru 释智如, “Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life: Ritual Healing and the Bhaiṣajyaguru Cult in Fifth and Sixth Century China,” in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 91.

[16] Shi, “Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life,” 93. 释智如在讨论数字49的命理意义时引用了Schopen（见上文脚注），但笔者并未在后者文中找到确切的引用范围。另请参见 Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 71.

[17] Shi, “Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life,” 94-95

[18]《佛说灌顶经》 CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1331, 535b13 和 535b14页，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1331_012, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日。

[19]《药师琉璃光如来经》有许多译本。见Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 52-72; 及Shi, “Lighting Lamps to Prolong Life,” 109, 脚注9。

[20]《药师琉璃光如来本愿功德经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T14, no. 450, 407c7-8 和 407c8-10 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0450, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日。

[21] Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 69-72. 关于当今的研究，见阎奕铮<“佛教拜斗仪式‘药师斗’初探>，见《福建省社会主义学院学报》，2010年第6期，页67-71; 及陈省身<仪式僧侣礼斗法会研究> ，发表于《印顺导师思想之理论与实践学术会议（第十五届）》，（2017玄奘大学宗教与文化学系，财团法人弘誓文教基金会，2017年），B部， 页173-190。历史方面的研究，见Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 134-173; Herbert Franke, “The Taoist Elements in the Buddhist Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching),” *Asia Major* (Third Series) 3:1 (1990): 75-111; Charles D. Orzech and James H. Sanford, “Worship of the Ladies of the Dipper” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordan White (New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 383-395.

Aside from specific rituals geared towards prolonging life and curing illnesses, ritual instructions within the Buddhist Canon also called for lighting lamps when invoking Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Earlier, we have seen how the worship of Mo Li Zhu Tian (later assimilated into the Daoist tradition as Dou Mu) included lighting oil lamps for seven days and seven nights to evoke her protection in the T1256 (c. sixth century CE).[22] Lamp-lighting also found a place in the invocation of Guanyin Bodhisattva, where texts such as the T1060 called for lighting. [23] The *Miraculous Sutra where the Buddha Speaks of the Northern Dipper Ancient Buddhas in Heaven, who Absolve Disasters and Prolong Life* a scripture that is recited in temples which conceived of the Nine Emperor Gods as seven Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas, also prescribed the lighting of lamps as an offering before these gods. Perhaps uncoincidentally, the seventh visible star of the Northern Dipper was conceptualised as the Bhaisajyaguru Buddha in this text, possibly referencing the divinity's long history and affiliation with longevity rites that called for lamp-lighting.[24]

Dipper Lamps and Dipper Worship Rituals



Dipper Lamps offered at Leong Nam Temple, 1997.

龙南殿九皇胜会的斗灯，1997. 照片由龙南殿提供。

While oil lamps can be offered individually, they are more commonly found as part of an assemblage known as the Dipper Lamp. Today, while the Dipper Lamp's contents vary according to temple and occasion, it usually includes a bushel (*dou*, which is homonymous with "constellation") containing uncooked rice, weighing scales, wooden rulers, a pair of scissors, almanacks, a mirror, a sword, and an oil lamp. The assemblage is commonly associated with Dipper Worship ceremonies.[25] Since the Tang dynasty, these ceremonies became increasingly commonplace, probably spurred by the printing and dissemination religious texts that extolled the Northern Dipper's worship.[26] For example, in the DZ1221, a lengthy manuscript of ritual instructions compiled during the 12th century CE, when an altar dedicated to many divinities was erected, "nine try-squares and Dipper Lamps" should be prepared for the "Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper [which (seven) lamps are assigned to] and the two Ancillary Stars".[27]

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[22] "佛说摩利支天陀罗尼呪经," CBETA Online, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1256, last accessed March 1, 2022.

[23] "千手千眼观世音菩萨广大圆满无碍大悲心陀罗尼经," CBETA Online, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T060, last accessed March 1, 2022. A thorough treatment of the worship of Guanyin Bodhisattva with the help of various rituals is undertaken by Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[24] 佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经 (浙江: 绍兴, 1724), unpaginated. Many copies of this manuscript are circulated in temples that worship the Nine Emperor Gods as seven Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas in Southeast Asia. Refer to the previous chapter for a list of scriptures, their publishers and temples that use the manuscript in rituals.

[25] The significance of these items varies from temple to temple. In some cases, the rice grains represent the multitude of stars, and the bushel a universe. The wooden ruler represents the green dragon of the east, the scales the white tiger of the west, the scissors the vermillion bird of the south and the mirror the tortoise-snake constellation of the north. The same items, as Barned J. ter Haar pointed out (in footnote 42), are also imbued with apotropaic power, and are used in exorcisms or to ward off evil. For other interpretations, see the references that are described in subsequent footnotes of this section.

[26] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 638-350.

[27] Since these references do not explicitly describe their Dipper Lamps, it was possible that the term was a catch-all for any lamps that are lit when propitiating the Dipper. As such, we do not know if these texts were describing the assemblage that we are familiar with today. "上清灵宝大法," pages 012-017a and 012-017b, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0030/012. The text has been translated as the "Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1021-1024.

除了延年益寿和治疗疾病的特定仪式外，佛教经典中也要求人们在向佛陀和菩萨祈祷时点灯。前面的章节探讨了在T1246《佛说摩利支天陀罗尼咒经》（约公元6世纪左右）中，对摩利支天（后融入道教传统成为斗姆）的祭祀包含燃灯七天七夜以祈求她的保佑。[22] 在向观世音菩萨祈祷时，点灯同样必不可少。佛教经文如T1060《千手千眼观世音菩萨广大圆满无碍大悲心陀罗尼经》便指出，在神圣的仪式空间内除了其他宗教用品，还需要点灯。[23] 在一些将九皇大帝视为七位佛陀和两位菩萨的寺庙中，经常被诵读的经文《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》也规定了在佛前必须点灯作为供品。在这篇经文中，北斗七颗明亮可见的星星被视为药师七佛，也许并非巧合，可能说明了药师佛信仰的历史悠久及其与祈求延寿的点灯仪式的密切联系。[24]

斗灯和拜斗仪式



◀ Dipper Lamps are offered in Leong Nam Temple today.

当今龙南殿九皇胜会的斗灯。

虽然油灯也可作为供品单独祭祀，但更常见的是作为斗灯出现。如今，灯与其他法物的组成因寺庙和场合而异，它通常包括盛有生米的斗、秤、木尺、剪刀、黄历、镜子、剑和一盏油灯。这是拜斗仪式常见用品。[25] 自唐朝（公元618-907年）以来，由于有关北斗信仰的宗教经文的大量印刷和传播，这些仪式变得越来越普遍。[26] 例如，DZ1221《上清灵宝大法》，公元12世纪期间编纂的仪式说明手稿指出，在建立供奉神明的祭坛时，应该为“北斗七元（七）左辅右弼”准备“曲尺斗灯九位”。[27]

[22]《佛说摩利支天陀罗尼咒经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1256, 262a1-12 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1256, 最后一次访问于2022年3月1日。

[23] 《千手千眼观世音菩萨广大圆满无碍大悲心陀罗尼经》, CBETA 2022.Q1, T20, no. 1060, 108a20 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1060, 最后一次访问于2022年3月1日。于君方对祭拜观世音菩萨的各种仪式进行了详尽的考察，请参阅Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[24]《佛说北斗古佛消灾延寿妙经》（浙江：绍兴，1724年），无页码。该手稿的许多副本在东南亚供奉 九皇大帝为七佛和二菩萨的寺庙中流传。在前面的章节中列出了一份清单，包括经文、出版者及在仪式中使用该经文的寺庙。

[25] 这些物品的重要性因庙而已。在某些情况下，生米可能代表星宿，而斗代表乾坤，木尺代表东方青龙，铜秤代表西方白虎，剪刀代表南方朱雀，镜子代表北方玄武。正如 Barned J. ter Haar所指出（见脚注42），同样的物品也具有辟邪的力量，并被用于驱魔或驱邪。有关其他解释，请参阅本节后续脚注中提及的参考文献。

[26] Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 638-350.

[27] 由于这些参考文献并未明确描述斗灯，所以这一术语可能是一个包罗一切的术语，用来描述拜斗仪式时点燃的所有灯。因此，我们并不清楚这些经文是否描述了我们今天所熟悉的斗灯集合。《上清灵宝大法》，页012-017a及012-017b, Kanseki Repository, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0030/012. 这一经文被译为 “Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao”，见Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1021-1024.

The Dipper Lamp was also mentioned in DZ1452 [dated to the Yuan and Ming dynasties (1368—1644 CE)]. In the sub-section titled "Incantation for the Transformation of the Lamps that is to be recited by all attendees", the last stanza established that a transformed "Dipper Lamp can radiate brilliance throughout one's entire body and residence".[28] The assemblage was also mentioned in the Qing (1644—1911 CE) novel, the *Chronicles of the Peach Blossom Girl's Yin-Yang Duels*.[29] In one episode, the Peach Blossom Girl advised Pengjian to prepare "seven cups of clear water and seven Dipper Lamps" before encountering the Northern Dipper on the "Zhongyuan Festival on the 15th day of the seventh lunar month".[30]

However, while Dipper Worship rituals are commonly performed in the autumn throughout the first nine days of the ninth lunar month in the past and present, its performance is not restricted to this period.[31] As a rule of thumb, temples which offer the service also perform the ceremony in the spring (lasting from the first to fifth days of the third lunar month).[32] As supplementary ceremonies, they can also be performed throughout the year. They can also be performed in conjunction with other religious events of significance – such as renewal rites known as *jiaos* – to the communities which organise them.[33] For example, the Renshou Gong (founded during the Guangxu era, c. 1871—1908 CE) in Taiwan performs frequent Dipper Worship rituals on the first and 15th day of every month, starting from the second to the 12th lunar month.[34] To commemorate the temple's renewed premises temple in 2013, the temple's leadership hosted a *jiao* and "consecrated Dipper Lamps" at the start of the occasion on the 19th day of the tenth lunar month.[35] In the Zhenghua Village Jin Fu Gong, Singapore, as a part of the temple's annual *jiao* during the third lunar month, Dipper Worship rituals will be performed on behalf of their devotees.[36]

Dipper Worship may also be performed on an ad hoc basis. Hsieh Shu-Wei, who documented healing rituals in Tainan, Taiwan, noted that the ceremony is among many other ceremonies that individuals can participate in. True to its name, the ritual draws upon the *Scripture of the Five Dippers*, "whose purpose is to extend longevity and resolve problems with one's fortune".[37] The lighting of Dipper Lamps also takes place throughout the year. In the Zhen Dong Gong located in Taiwan, Dipper Lamps were prepared as offerings for its "annual temple fair" observed from the 13th to 15th day of the tenth lunar month in 1997. Like many temples which offer the service in Singapore, devotees could sponsor the lighting of Dipper Lamps on behalf of themselves, their families, or their companies.[38] A common item found on many altars and consecrated spaces, the Dipper Lamp was among many other items found during the performance of funerary rituals, noted by Kenneth Dean in his study of funerals in Fujian during the 1980s.[39]

[28] "先天斗母奏告玄科," Kanseki Repository, page 000-008a, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5h0021/000. It is translated as the "Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1234. The line also makes an appearance in the DZ0217 "太乙火府奏告祈禳仪 ," page 000-008b, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0218/000; and the DZ0218 "清微玄枢奏告仪," page 000-007a, Kanseki Repository, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0219/000.

[29] Although this text was published in the Qing dynasty, it likely drew upon theatrical and textual prototypes since the Yuan dynasty. For example, see 刘艺, "元代后期南方道教图景的真实展现—《桃花女》的宗教文化蕴含及价值," 宗教学研究4 (2006): 13-18; and 艾炬, "元杂剧《桃花女》中儒道关系论析," 哈尔滨师范大学社会科学学报2 (2015): 108-110.

[30] 桃花女阴阳斗传 (Qing dynasty), Chinese Text Project, accessed January 6, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=610389. Curiously, the 15th day of the seventh lunar month, the Zhongyuan Festival, also marked the climax of Ghost Festival in imperial China and among present-day Chinese communities. The increasingly blurred boundaries between this world and the otherworld on the day itself may have made it easier for Pengjian to encounter the Northern Dipper. See Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); Lü Pengzhi, "The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes and the Daoist Middle Prime Festival: A Critical Study of the Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Sanyuan Pinjie Jing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 35-61; and Tan Chee-Beng, *Chinese Religion in Malaysia: Temples and Communities* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 83-95.

[31] Among others, see 艾自修 and王云校, comp. and ed. in the Ming dynasty, 重修邓川州志 (洱源县志办公室, 1986), 21, where it was reported that "Dipper Worship rituals are performed on the first to ninth day during the ninth lunar month". In the present-day, see Daniel M. Murray, "The City God Returns: Organised and Contagious Networks at the Xiamen City God Temple," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 19:4 (2018): 281-297; and Jean DeBernardi, "Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-yang festival in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang Mountain, China," in *Religious Commodification in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 49-67.

[32] 张家麟, "宗教仪式的认知与感受- 以「拜斗」参与者的宗教经验为焦,"真理大学人文学报 6 (2008): 34-35.

[33] Many important reviews of the social and religious functions of *jiao* ceremonies have been authored. Inter alia, see Choi Chi Cheung, "Studies on Hong Kong Jiao Festivals," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1990): 26-43; Kenneth Dean, "Field notes on two Taoist 'jiao' observed in Zhangzhou in December 1985," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986): 191-209; and Michael Saso "The Daoist Jiao Celebration," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 8 (2015): 204-211.

[34] 张静芳, "民间信仰与地域社会: 以桃园大园仁寿宫为例" (M.A. thesis, National Central University, 2015), 172-173. Dipper Worship rituals have also been performed to mark the start of the Lunar New Year, as noted by Christian Jochim, "Flowers, Fruit, and Incense Only: Elite versus Popular in Taiwan's Religion of the Yellow Emperor," *Modern China* 16:1 (1990): 13.

[35] 张, "民间信仰与地域社会," 184-188.

[36] 梁伟利, "新加坡道教斋醮功能性研究: 以正华村金福宫与南洋梁氏公会"保安清醮"为田野个案," (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2011), 21-25.

[37] Hsieh Shu-Wei, "Possession and Ritual: Daoist and Popular Healing in Taiwan," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 9:1 (2016): 90.

[38] Chao Shin-Yi, "A 'Danggi' Temple in Taipei: Spirit-Mediums in Modern Urban Taiwan," *Asia Major* 15:2 (2002): 150-151. McCreery, "Why Don't We See Some Real Money Here? Offerings in Chinese Religion," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18:1 (1990): 14-15 suggested that the performance of Dipper worship and lighting of Dipper Lamps took place to "subver[t] the highest gods". The lighting of Dipper Lamps before netherworld deities or ghosts have yet to be observed to date.

[39] Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 37, 44 and passim. As noted in Rostislav Berezkin's survey of Jiangsu, Dipper Lamps are not only used in funerals, but are also found in the backdrop of "scripture telling" ceremonies. Such rituals, which combine religious content with performance, are still practiced by ritual specialists who are well versed in the narrative of vernacular scriptures known as precious scrolls. Rostislav Berezkin, *Many Faces of Mulian: The Precious Scrolls of Late Imperial China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017), xvii-xviii. Also see the works of Show Ying Ruo, which are cited throughout this volume.

追溯至元朝和明朝（1368-1644年）的《先天斗母奏告玄科》同样提到了斗灯。标题为<法众念变灯咒>一节中，最后一段经文证实了组成后的"斗灯一照身宅光明"。[28] 清代（1644-1911年）小说《桃花女阴阳斗传》中也记载了斗灯组合。[29] 在其中一章，桃花女建议彭剪在"七月十五中元胜会"见到北斗之前，他必须准备"另要净水七杯，斗灯七盏"。[30]

尽管拜斗仪式通常在秋季农历九月的头九天进行的，但并不仅限于这段时间。[31]一般来说，举行这项仪式的庙宇也会在春天（农历三月的第一天到第五天）进行这项仪式。[32] 作为附加仪式，拜斗仪式也可于全年任何时候进行。拜斗仪式可能与其他的宗教组织活动一同进行，例如各种祈福谢恩的醮礼。[33] 每年农历二月到十二月的初一，十五，台湾的仁寿宫（建于清朝光绪年间，公元1871-1908年）定期举行拜斗仪式。[34] 2013年，为纪念仁寿宫修缮完毕，宫庙领导在该年农历十月十九日组织一场醮仪，并在庆典开始前进行"安斗灯"仪式。[35] 在新加坡正华村金福宫，每年农历三月宫中进行醮仪时，宫庙将代表信众进行拜斗仪式。[36]

拜斗仪式也可不定时举行。谢世维（Hsieh Shu-Wei）记载了台湾台南的治疗仪式，他指出，这一仪式是个人可以选择参加的众多仪式之一。如其名所示，拜斗仪式以《五斗经》为依据，"其目的是延寿消灾"。[37] 斗灯同样可于全年进行供奉。在1997年农历十月十三到十五，台湾镇东宫庆祝"法会"的期间，庙宇准备了斗灯作为祭祀用品。新加坡许多庙宇也提供斗灯，信徒可以为自己、家庭或公司点燃斗灯，祈求好运。[38] 作为祭坛和祭祀场所的常见物品，正如丁荷生（Kenneth Dean）在他对20世纪80年代福建葬礼的研究中所指出的，斗灯也常出现在葬礼仪式上。[39]

[28]《先天斗母奏告玄科》，Kanseki Repository, page 000-008a, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5h0021/000. 原文被译为"Prayer Mystery Ritual of the Mother of the Bushel of Former Heaven"，见Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume II*, 1234. 这一行描述也见于 DZ0219《太乙火府奏告祈禳仪》，页000-008b, Kanseki Repository, 最近一次访问于2022年3月，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0218/000; 及 DZ0218 《清微玄枢奏告仪》，页000-007a, Kanseki Repository, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0219/000.

[29] 虽然这部小说出版于清朝，但它可能借鉴了自元朝（公元1271-1368年）以来的戏剧和文本原型。例如，请参见刘艺<元代后期南方道教图景的真实展现—《桃花女》的宗教文化蕴含及价值>,《宗教学研究》，2006年第4期，页13-18；及艾炬<元杂剧《桃花女》中儒道关系论析> ，《哈尔滨师范大学社会科学学报》，2015年第2期，页108–110。

[30]《桃花女阴阳斗传》（清朝）， Chinese Text Project, 访问于2022年1月6日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=610389. 奇怪的是，农历七月十五日，即中元节，也是中国封建社会和现代华人社会的"鬼节"的高潮。在这一天，阴阳两界的界限逐渐模糊，这可能使彭剪更容易遇到北斗星君。请参阅 Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); Lü Pengzhi, "The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes and the Daoist Middle Prime Festival: A Critical Study of the Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Sanyuan Pinjie Jing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 35-61; Tan Chee-Beng, *Chinese Religion in Malaysia: Temples and Communities* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 83-95.

[31] 除其他外，请参阅艾自修和王云校编辑的《明朝重修邓川州志》（崇祯1627-1644年，洱源县志办公室，1986年），页21。据报道："九月朔至九日拜斗。"在当今，参见Daniel M. Murray, "The City God Returns: Organised and Contagious Networks at the Xiamen City God Temple," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 19:4 (2018): 281-297; 与 Jean DeBernardi, "Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-yang festival in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang Mountain, China," in *Religious Commodification in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 49-67.

[32] 张家麟<宗教仪式的认知与感受：以"拜斗"参与者的宗教经验为焦>，《真理大学人文学报》，2008年第6期，页34-35。

[33] Many important reviews of the social and religious functions of *jiao* ceremonies have been authored. Inter alia, see Choi Chi Cheung, "Studies on Hong Kong Jiao Festivals," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1990): 26-43; Kenneth Dean, "Field notes on two Taoist 'jiao' observed in Zhangzhou in December 1985," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986): 191–209; and Michael Saso "The Daoist Jiao Celebration," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 8 (2015): 204-211.

[34] 张静芳《民间信仰与地域社会：以桃园大园仁寿宫为例》，国立中央大学硕士论文，2015，页172-173。拜斗仪式也标志着农历新年的开始，见Christian Jochim, "Flowers, Fruit, and Incense Only: Elite versus Popular in Taiwan's Religion of the Yellow Emperor," *Modern China* 16:1 (1990): 13.

[35] 张静芳《民间信仰与地域社会》，页184-188。

[36] 梁伟利《新加坡道教斋醮功能性研究：以正华村金福宫与南洋梁氏公会"保安清醮"为田野个案》，南洋理工大学荣誉学士学位论文，新加坡，2011，页21-25。

[37] Hsieh Shu-Wei, "Possession and Ritual: Daoist and Popular Healing in Taiwan," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 9:1 (2016): 90.

[38] Chao Shin-Yi, "A 'Danggi' Temple in Taipei: Spirit-Mediums in Modern Urban Taiwan," *Asia Major* 15:2 (2002): 150-151. McCreery, "Why Don't We See Some Real Money Here? Offerings in Chinese Religion," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 18:1 (1990): 14-15. 作者指出，人们进行拜斗仪式、点亮斗灯是为了"颠覆最高的神"。这听起来有些夸张，我们尚未发现斗灯在冥界其他神明或鬼魂前被点亮的情况。

[39] Kenneth Dean, "Funerals in Fujian," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 37, 44 and passim.除了葬礼，在"经讲/讲经"仪式作为背景的祭坛上，也可能看到斗灯，正如 Rostislav Berezkin在他在江苏的调研中所注意到的那样。这些仪式将宗教内容与表演形式结合起来，由精通宗教经典《宝卷》的礼仪专家奉行。见Rostislav Berezkin, *Many Faces of Mulian: The Precious Scrolls of Late Imperial China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2017), xvii-xviii. 相关研究请参阅本卷所引Show Ying Ruo的研究。



Dipper Lamps also perform a function similar to an incense censer, where they signify the existence of a religious community. Many temples in China and Southeast Asia maintain a permanent Dipper Lamp representing their patron deity's protection on their main altars. As a feature common to many Chinese religious communities, Dipper Lamps and their arrangement may also serve as an impromptu reflection of a neighbourhood's power dynamics. During his research in Taiwan, Donald Sutton observed that these lamps not only contained "a flame that signifies the life of its owner" but were also positioned in a sequence that privileged the village's distinguished families, "thus inscribing a version of local history into the temple space".[40] The same feature may double as a territorial marker. For example, Jean DeBernardi reported that command flags (representing spirit armies) had been planted within Dipper Lamps in some medium temples in Penang, Malaysia, as well.[41] Aside from temples, secret societies have also displayed Dipper Lamps on their altars and tapped upon the assemblage's symbolic power. The lamp became an indispensable feature in initiation ceremonies. It was also identified as the "City of Willows", which Barend J. ter Haar characterised as a "complex mythical place that occurs both in underworld geography and old messianic traditions".[42]

[40] Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-century Taiwan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 21.

[41] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 136.

[42] Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1998), 63, but see the complete discussion from 63-80; and David Ownby, "The Heaven and Earth Society as Popular Religion," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54:4 (1995): 1029-1030.



Xuan Wu Shan ritual specialists preparing two Dipper Lamps ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the present day.

玄武山理事为九皇胜会筹备两盏斗灯。

斗灯也发挥着类似香炉的功能，象征着宗教社区的存在。直到今天，中国和东南亚的许多寺庙在主祭坛上长期供奉着一盏斗灯，代表庙宇的守护神为人们赐福。作为许多华人宗教社区的共同特征，斗灯及其布置也反映一个社区的权力分布。。例如，在台湾进行研究的苏堂栋（Donald Sutton）发现，这些斗灯不仅包含“象征其主人命运的火焰”，其摆放顺序也体现了村里的权贵家庭享有的特权，“从而在庙宇范畴内记录下当地的历史”。[40]同样的特征也可作为领地标志。例如，Jean DeBernardi记载道，在马来西亚槟城的一些有乩童的庙宇，代表五营将军的令旗会被安插在斗灯中。[41] 除了庙宇，秘密会社也会在他们的祭坛上设置斗灯，并利用斗灯的象征意涵以祈福。斗灯不仅在入会仪式上占据重要地位，同时也被当作“木杨城”。田海（Barend J.ter Haar）将其描述为“出现于黑社会话语和古老宗教传统中的复杂而神秘的地方”。[42]

[40] Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-century Taiwan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 21.

[41] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *The Way that Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 136.

[42] Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual & Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1998), 页63，但请参阅页63-80的完整讨论；与David Ownby, “The Heaven and Earth Society as Popular Religion,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54:4 (1995): 1029-1030。



A Dipper Lamp was lit on behalf of all devotees at Zhun Ti Tang before the Medicine Buddha during the 2017 Nine Emperor Buddhas Festival.

2017年九皇胜会期间，准提堂在药师佛前为所有信徒点亮斗灯。

Lighting Dipper Lamps also featured in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. Since the autumnal Dipper Worship rites spanned the same period of time as the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, it was likely that the practice of offering Dipper Lamps had informed the latter in the present day.[43] Some temples also believe that the Nine Emperor Gods are stars of the Northern Dipper, and as such, light a Dipper Lamp to commemorate the deities' visit to the human world. In Singapore, some temples will light Dipper Lamps on behalf of sponsors. In Kim San Tze, shelves and tables which hold lit consecrated Dipper Lamps can be found flanking the left and right wings of the temple's main altar.[44] In Zhun Ti Tang's festival space, to reference the seventh of the Nine Emperor Buddhas' identity as the Medicine Buddha, Dipper Lamps are lit before a standing image of the said divinity. In many temples, the Dipper Lamp is only lit for the festival's duration, and its contents are reused for future rituals. One notable exception is Jiu Huang Dian. Once the festival ends, its devotees are encouraged to bring the entire setup home for continued worship. Those with domestic altars are encouraged to keep the lamp within the bushel lit with fresh offerings of oil. In contrast, those who cannot keep the lamp perpetually lit at home are advised to cook and share the rice with their family. It is believed that consuming the rice grains—which had scriptures recited upon them throughout the festival—would bless the sponsors and their families.

[43] 郭淑娟, "马来西亚九皇爷信仰的多样性： 槟城二条路斗母宫个案研究" (M.A. thesis, University of Tunku Abdul Rahman, 2012), 41.

[44] 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化（新加坡：金山寺，2013), 74.



◀
Dipper Lamps are prepared ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Kim San Tze in the present day.

金山寺为九皇胜会准备的斗灯。

东南亚的九皇庆典上也有点斗灯的仪式。由于秋季进行的拜斗仪式与东南亚的九皇庆典时间接近，如今的九皇庆典很可能受到拜斗仪式的影响。[43]有的庙宇认为九皇大帝就是北斗星，所以点燃斗灯以庆祝神明下凡巡视人间。在新加坡，一些寺庙会代表善信点燃斗灯。在金山寺，主祭坛两翼的架子和桌子上供奉着斗灯。[44] 在准提堂，第七位九皇佛祖被认为是药师佛，因此其神像前点燃并供奉着斗灯。在许多寺庙中，斗灯只在节庆期间被点亮，斗灯所包含的法器等到来年的仪式时会被重复使用。一个值得注意的例外是九皇殿，节庆结束后，信徒可以将斗灯请回家中供奉。家中设有祭坛的信徒可用香油来点燃斗灯，而无法在家里长期点燃斗灯供奉的信徒则可以煮平安米并与家人分享。人们相信，食用在节日期间经过诵经的平安米，可以得到神明的庇佑。

[43] 郭淑娟《马来西亚九皇爷信仰的多样性：槟城二条路斗母宫个案研究》，拉曼大学硕士论文，2012，页41。

[44]《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》（新加坡：金山寺，2013），页74。



Dipper Lamps are offered before an altar to the Nine Emperor Gods at Jiu Huang Dian in the present day.

九皇殿为九皇宝诞准备的斗灯。



Dipper Lamps (in the background) and lamps connected by rice streams in the shape of the Northern Dipper constellation (in the foreground) at the main altar of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong erected for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

龙山岩斗母宫道场的斗灯（背景）和由生米连接的北斗星座（前景）的灯。

Interestingly, although the ubiquity of lighting lamps to establish lines of communication with divinities has been well-established in religion and popular literature, such practices were officially proscribed during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Drawing from a precedent in the *Great Ming Code*, statute 161 in the *Legal Codes and Articles of the Qing dynasty* prohibited "anyone from performing Dipper Worship, petitioning to Heaven, burning incense at night, lighting Heavenly Lamps and (petitioning to Heaven) with seven(-star) lamps". The prohibition mandated the caning of miscreants who "blasphemed the gods by performing Dipper Worship rituals" with eighty strokes of the cane.[45] Referencing a commentary appended to this statute, Yang Ch'ing-k'un suggests that Qing remained reluctant to surrender their "strict monopoly over the performance of rituals in worshipping Heaven". As an imperial prerogative, commoners were forbidden from usurping this privilege. Yet, such prohibitions were rhetorical rather than practical, for they had been contradicted multiple times in practice.[46]

[45] See Jiang Yonglin, trans., *The Great Ming Code/Da Ming Lu* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005), 112; and 大明会典, Chinese Text Project, chapter 165, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=255523. On the Qing's preservation of the previous dynasty's injunction, see大清律例, article 161, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=919606. For context, see Daniel Overmyer, "Attitudes toward Popular Religion in Ritual texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5:1 (1989): 191-221. In addition, if women be caught violating the law, their families' heads would have to bear legal responsibility on their behalf. The statute's singling out of women was a possible reference to the stereotype that females were over-represented in religious life. Vincent Goossaert, "Irrepressible Female Piety: Late Imperial Bans on Women Visiting Temples," *Nan Nü* 10:2 (2008): 212-241.

[46] Yang Ch'ing-k'un, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1961), 183-184. To date, this author could not locate the commentary cited by Yang.



◀
Preparing Dipper Lamps at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

龙山岩斗母宫主持与理事为九皇圣诞筹备斗灯。

有趣的是，尽管点灯作为与神明建立联系的手段常见于宗教和通俗文学中，但这种做法在明（1368-1644年）清（1644-1911年）时期曾遭到官方禁止。借鉴《大明律》中的先例，《大清律例》第161条明令禁止“凡私家告天拜斗焚烧夜香燃点天灯（告天）七灯”。该禁令规定了对“拜斗亵渎神明”的不法之徒施以八十大板的严厉惩罚。[45] 参照对该法令附加的评论，杨庆堃（Yang Ch’ing-k’un）指出，清廷不愿放弃他们“对祭天仪式的绝对垄断”。祭天作为帝王的一种特权，平民被禁止涉足。然而，这些禁令通常只是流于书面，而非实际上的，因为在实践中，这些规定多次被违反。[46]

[45] 见Jiang Yonglin, trans., *The Great Ming Code/Da Ming Lu* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005), 112; 及大明会典, Chinese Text Project, chapter 165, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=255523. 关于清朝沿袭明朝律令，见*Legal Codes and Articles of the Qing dynasty*大清律例, article 161, Chinese Text Project, 最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=919606. 有关这一律令的背景，见Daniel Overmyer, “Attitudes toward Popular Religion in Ritual texts of the Chinese State: The Collected Statutes of the Great Ming,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 5:1 (1989): 191-221. 此外，如果女性被发现违反法律，其一家之主必须代替她承担法律责任。法令对女性的区别对待可能体现了在宗教生活中女性比例过高的刻板印象。Vincent Goossaert, “Irrepressible Female Piety: Late Imperial Bans on Women Visiting Temples,” *Nan Nü* 10:2 (2008): 212-241.

[46] Yang Ch’ing-k’un, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1961), 183-184. 笔者未找到杨庆堃所引的评论。

Lamps in Funerary Rituals

Apart from prolonging life, curing illness and symbolising the attendance of divinities, lamp-lighting also illuminated the path for the deceased. As we have seen in the DZ1411, lamps were attributed with this dual function since the fifth century. In the DZ371, compiled during the Tang dynasty, the light from lamps can be seen by the dead. As part of the ritual, devotees were urged to construct a "lamp tree that could hold Nine Lamps which must remain lit for seven-seven (49) days". After the lamps were lit, "the constant light (emitted from these lamps) would be able to penetrate the nine realms of the netherworld". If "souls who were trapped in a state of constant suffering in the netherworld" managed to "witness the radiance of these lamps, they would be able to achieve liberation" from their torturous fates.[47]

A similar prescription for a "lamp tree made from catalpa wood" was also echoed in the lengthy DZ1221 compiled during the 12th century. In chapter 34, the text stressed that "before a grand *zhai* can be performed, it was necessary to dispel the darkness (of the netherworld) with a source of continuous light, where all forms of sinners that are trapped within the hells can be". The lamp tree should be "divided into nine segments, and on each segment, a lit lamp should rest".[48] As this small sample of texts within the Daoist Canon suggests, lamps functioned as a beacon for lost souls to partake in rituals performed to secure a better afterlife on their behalf.[49]

Given such connotations, it was unsurprising that the practice found its way into Chinese funerary rituals or Salvation Rites. At many Chinese funerals, an oil lamp is kept perpetually lit near the corpse or underneath the coffin of the recently deceased. Known as the "Lamp at the Foot (of the Coffin)", it has been reported in many studies conducted in East and Southeast Asia. Like its counterparts in the Daoist Canon, the lamp is a source of illumination for the deceased's soul to find its way around the otherwise dark and unnavigable netherworld.[50] Present-day ethnographers in south China have also noted the significance of lamps during salvation rituals, which are performed to guide wandering souls to a better afterlife. At the climax of such occasions in Jiangxi and Guangxi, ritual leaders would lead followers to a water body, where a small lamp or candle is released (usually with the help of a miniature paper boat).[51] In the context of mortuary rituals performed by a wide range of religious specialists, lamp-lighting functions as a guide to summon, guide and lead souls—either the deceased at a funeral or wandering ghosts in the vicinity—to a better afterlife.

As the earlier sections have shown, lamps have been used in various rituals in Chinese society and religions throughout history. Both Daoist and Buddhist texts highlight their importance in their respective ritual systems. Dipper Lamps, one of the most important ritual uses, are believed to prolong one's lifespan. They also represent the presence of a deity. In these cases, a specific number of lamps and setup is prescribed, often one, three or seven (in the case of Dipper Lamps), but rarely, if ever, nine. More rarely, they also find a place in funerary rites, where they serve to guide the soul throughout the netherworld.

[47] "太上洞玄灵宝三涂五苦拔度生死妙经," page 000-007a, Kanseki Repository, last accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0055/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Marvelous Scripture of Salvation from Life and Death in the Inferior Ways and the Five Sufferings" and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume I*, 547-548. An excellent discussion has been undertaken by Hsieh Shu-Wei谢世维, "破暗烛幽:古灵宝经中的燃灯仪式," 国文学报 47 (2010): 99-130. On the Lingbao tradition, see the works of Stephen R. Bokenkamp, such as "The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Daoist Monasticism," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 95-124.

[48] "上清灵宝大法," page 034-001a and 034-001b.

[49] In addition, lamps were also representative of a certain hell that required "br[eaking] into" during rituals to save the souls of the deceased from suffering. For examples, refer to DZ1221 which devotes an entire section to "Lamp Ritual Performed to Break Open the Nine Layers of Darkness in the Netherworld".

[50] Inter alia, see 李翰林、张荣昌、黄栋铭, "殡葬习俗与乡土文化的关联," 现代桃花源学刊8 (2018): 26; 李期耀, "晚清潮汕中美文化融通中的基督徒丧葬礼," [深圳大学学报 (人文社科版)] 34:2 (2017): 24; 黄雅铃, "女性在客家丧礼的性别阶序与文化意涵:以苗栗地区为例" (M.A. thesis, National Central University, 2015), 12. Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 31, observed a similar feature known as the "longevity lamp." He explained that "light (emitted from the lamp) allows the deceased to see in the dark".

[51] Tam Wai Lun, "Unity in Diversity: The Deliverance of Soul Ritual in South China," *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:1 (2013): 123; and Jian Xie, "Local Community Ritual Theatre in Guangxi, South China," *Asian Theatre Journal* 36:1 (2019): 213. For a broader historical case study and discussion, see 林仁昱, "台湾日治时代「放水灯」风俗面貌探究," 文学新钥20 (2019): 27-54.

点灯与葬礼仪式

在上述的宗教语境下，点灯被认为可以延长寿命、治疗疾病或召唤神明降临，同样的仪式也可为死者提供照明。正如 DZ1411《洞玄灵宝长夜之府九幽玉匮明真科》之中提到的，自公元5世纪以来，灯就具有这种双重功能。在唐代（618-907年）编纂的 DZ371《太上洞玄灵宝三途五苦拔度生死妙经》中，灯光不仅可被死者看到，也能帮助减轻他们来世的痛苦。作为仪式的一部分，信徒被督促"宜造一灯树然九盌灯自初终亡至于七七"。灯被点亮之后，人们相信"灯光相继下照九幽"。若在"冥暗之间经诸拷掠"的亡魂得以"睹此光明当即解脱"，他们便能从痛苦的命运中得到救赎。[47]

在公元12世纪期间修纂的DZ1221《上清灵宝大法》中，也有一段类似的记载"用梓木作一灯树"。在第34章，经文强调："建大斋须当破暗续明开赦诸狱赦诸罪"，灯树须"上分九盌每盌安一灯"。[48] 正如所引的道教经典中的经文所表明的，灯是为亡魂指路的灯塔，引领亡魂参加为他们举办的仪式，祈求他们拥有更好的来世。[49]

考虑到灯有这样的内涵，灯出现在葬礼或超度仪式上就不足为奇了。在中国的许多葬礼上，死者的尸体附近或棺材下方会有一盏油灯一直燃烧。在东亚和东南亚进行的许多研究都有提到这一现象，它被称为"脚尾灯"。这盏灯，如同道教经典中的灯，为亡魂提供照明，帮助他们在黑暗且难以通行的阴间中找到出路。在华南地区进行研究的民族志学者也注意到灯在超度仪式中的重要性。在江西和广西地区，超度仪式进行到高潮时，师傅会引导众人到水边，将一盏小灯或蜡烛（通常借助一个小型纸船）轻轻放到水面上。[50] 在由宗教专家进行的各种丧葬仪式中，灯光起着向导的作用，不管是葬礼上的死者，还是在附近区域的游魂，都能在灯光的召唤和指引下，走向更好的来生。[51]

如上文所述，在华人社会与宗教历史上，灯被用于各种仪式。道教和佛教经典都强调了灯在其仪式体系中的重要性。首先，灯被认为可以延长人的寿命，例如拜斗仪式中的斗灯，这也是灯最重要的仪式用途。其次，灯代表着神明的存在。在这些情况下，灯有特定的数量和形制。通常是一盏、三盏或七盏灯（例如斗灯），相对少见的情况下，也可能有九盏灯。更为罕见地，灯也出现在葬礼仪式上，为亡魂提供引导，帮助他们在阴间前行。

[47]《太上洞玄灵宝三途五苦拔度生死妙经》，页000-007a，Kanseki Repository,最近一次访问于2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0055/000. 原稿被译为"Marvelous Scripture of Salvation from Life and Death in the Inferior Ways and the Five Sufferings"并见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon Volume I*, 547-548. 谢世维（Hsieh Shu-Wei） 对此进行了精彩的讨论，见谢世维<破暗烛幽：古灵宝经中的燃灯仪式>，《国文学报》，2010年第47期，页99-130。有关灵宝古经的研究，请参见Stephen R. Bokenkamp的研究，如"The Early Lingbao Scriptures and the Origins of Daoist Monasticism," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 95-124.

[48]《上清灵宝大法》，页034-001a与034-001b。

[49] 此外，在超度亡魂使其免受痛苦的仪式中，灯也被用于象征须由礼仪专家"破狱"的地狱。例如在 DZ1221 中，有一部分专门记载"九幽破狱灯仪"。

[50] 相关研究可参阅李翰林，张荣昌，黄栋铭<殡葬习俗与乡土文化的关联>，《现代桃花源学刊》，2018年第8期，页26；李期耀<晚清潮汕中美文化融通中的基督徒丧葬礼>，《深圳大学学报（人文社科版）》，2017年第34期第2版，页24；黄雅铃《女性在客家丧礼的性别秩序与文化意涵：以苗栗地区为例》，国立中央大学硕士学位论文，2015，页12。 唐志强（Tong Chee Kiong）注意到类似的特征，被称为"长命灯"，他解释道"（长命灯发出的）光让死者在黑暗中能看清路"，见Tong Chee Kiong, *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 31。

[51] Tam Wai Lun, "Unity in Diversity: The Deliverance of Soul Ritual in South China," *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:1 (2013): 123; and Jian Xie, "Local Community Ritual Theatre in Guangxi, South China," *Asian Theatre Journal* 36:1 (2019): 213. 更详细的历史案例研究和讨论，见林仁昱<台湾日治时代"放水灯"风俗面貌探究>，《文学新论》，2019年第20期，页27-54。

Lamps and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China and East Asia

While many religious traditions have testified to the importance of raising lamps as part of their rituals and ceremonies, the feature known as the Nine Lamps in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia has few antecedents in China. Instead of remaining lit on altar tables like Dipper Lamps, the Nine Lamps are raised high in the sky in open spaces within the festival area. In recent years, ethnographers have observed that among Yao practitioners of Daoism in southern China, a series of "Seven Star Lamps" are raised to represent the seven visible stars of the Northern Dipper.[52] However, unlike the Nine Emperor Gods Festival formations that commonly use nine lamps, the Yao formation, similar to the Dipper Lamp formations, utilizes only seven lamps.

Nevertheless, reports on the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Republican China (1911—1949 CE) note that a pole with lamps was erected at some sites to mark the beginning of the festival. On the last day of the eighth lunar month, professional performers affiliated with the Liyuan branch in Yanjing would first raise a pennant to mark their commemoration of the festival. At night, just before an image of the Nine Emperor Gods was invited to the "Nine Emperor's Hall", where it was venerated, nine lotus lamps were raised into the sky to accompany the pennant.[53]

Locations outside of northern China also maintained a similar feature on their grounds during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. After reading about the scale of festivities in Chengdu, Sichuan, a reporter mused about his childhood in western Zhejiang. He recounted how at the "door of the festival site, a tall pole with nine lanterns would be raised". To this pole, "a long pennant is attached; the lit lamps represented the sacred names of the Nine Emperor Gods, and the long pennant [wa]s for the salvation lonely souls". While the lamps signified the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods, the reporter goes on to explain how its main purpose was to attract spirits in the vicinity. On the one hand, he emphasises, "human beings can request blessings and longevity". On the other hand, participants can also "seek blessings on behalf of the dead".[54]

The Nine Lamps used in the present-day Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia may also have their origins in the ritual installation known as "Deng Gao," which is commonly found in China. Today, whenever *jiao* ceremonies are to be performed, some temples—particularly those in Taiwan—will erect the feature to signal the start of the occasion. To assemble the Deng Gao, lanterns, lamps, and pennants are attached to the stem of a bamboo plant, which is then raised into the sky on a stem that is planted vertically into the ground (this can take the form of another bamboo plant, or a pre-prepared lamppost to ensure sturdiness). The Deng Gao, once raised, signals to gods, ghosts, and spirits in the area that rituals will be performed at the site in the coming days and that their attendance is invited. In form and function, as we shall see, the feature strongly resembles the Nine Lamps raised during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. However, the number of lanterns and lamps raised can vary from temple to temple, contrasting the Nine Lamps. Unfortunately, there are few detailed historical records of the practice and much of what we know is derived from present-day ethnographic observation and reports.[55]

Elements of Deng Gao found their way into colonial Malaya, where similar rituals are still performed as a part of the Wangkang Festival hosted by Yongquan Dian in Malacca today.[56] J. M. Middlebrook, who observed the re-opening of the related Qinghua Gong in 1938, described the ritual in detail. Two bamboo plants are planted into holes dug in the ground outside the temple, where lit lamps are hung "about eight feet from the ground". The main function of the lamps, like that of the Denggao, served to "show the way to the heavenly spirits, who see the light and after hovering round it slips down the bamboos into the temple". The number of spirits summoned was directly proportional to the height of the raised lamps: "The higher the bamboo and the stronger the lights, the more spirits are attracted and the greater the luck to the temple". The lamps are not allowed to go out at night, for they will "bring great misfortune to the temple" if any of them were extinguished.[57] Aside from raising lamps on bamboo plants to mark the beginning of the event, Cheu Hock Tong picked up other similarities in his dissertation, where he compared some of the key features that characterised both the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the Wangkang Festival.[58]

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[52] 徐祖祥, "瑶族挂灯与道教北斗七星信仰," 云南民族大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) 23:2 (2006): 102-107; 张继驰, "瑶族星斗崇拜及其文化特质探析," 世界宗教文化3 (2018): 153-158; and 陈锦均, "盘瑶挂七星灯仪式考察——以广西昭平仙回瑶族乡小林香屯为例," 柳州师专学报 1 (2013): 4-7; [Manuscript is in English] Michel Strickmann, "The Tao among the Yao: Taoism and the Signification of South China," in *Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen no kai, eds., Rekishi ni okeru minshū to bunka: Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen ronshū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1982), 23-30.

[53] 问溪 and张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," *Xiju Yuekan* 戏剧月刊2:3 (1929): 137-142. Whilst revealing that the Nine Lamps mark the start of the festival, sources remain silent as to the underlying meaning as well as the process of raising them.

[54] 珊, "浙西的九皇胜会" 福尔摩斯, September 24, 1934, 2.

[55] For example, see 江志宏, "无形文化资产的再生产以嘉义城隍庙九大柱中元普度为例," 民俗曲艺211 (2021): 27-38.

[56] Hong Ying-fa, "威显南邦:马来西亚马六甲勇全殿的王醮," 民俗曲艺 184 (2014): 66, 73-75 and 94. In addition, see the discussion and epigraphic material compiled by Soo Khin Wah, 代天巡狩:勇全殿池王爷与王船 (马六甲怡力勇全殿, 2005); and Li Fengmao, 从圣教到道教: 马华社会的节俗, 信仰与文化 (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2020), 155-205.

[57] S. M. Middlebrook, Ceremonial Opening of a new Chinese temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 17:1:133 (1939): 101.

[58] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 369-372. Perhaps uncoincidentally, some temples that observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, such as Shen Sen Keng in Singapore (which derives its incense-lineage from the previous) also address its feature by the same name. However, it is still not known when the term entered popular parlance.

中国与东亚的九皇千秋和九皇天灯

虽然许多宗教传统都证明了点灯在仪式和庆典上的重要性，但在东南亚的九皇庆典上被称为九皇灯的特色在中国几乎没有先例。不同于被供奉在祭坛上的斗灯，九皇灯被高高地升起在节日区域的空地上，直指天空。近年来，民族志学者发现，华南地区瑶族的道教徒会升起象征北斗七星的“七星灯”。[52] 然而，如同斗灯的构造，瑶族的七星灯中只使用了七盏灯，而不是九皇 诞通常使用的九盏灯。

尽管如此，民国期间（1911-1949年）有关九皇千秋的报道提到，一些地点会竖起一根灯杆，宣告节日的开始。在农历八月的最后一天，燕京梨园的职业戏曲演员会上幡，表明他们开始庆祝九皇千秋。到了晚上，他们会在布幡旁边升起九莲灯，然后将九皇大帝的神像请到九皇堂接受朝拜。[53]

中原地区以外的其他地方在庆祝九皇千秋时也有类似的特征。一位记者在了解了四川成都的庆典规模以后，回忆起了自己在浙西的童年。他记述道“门外竖一高杆，上悬九盏明灯”，在高杆上还有“一条长幡；明灯是标明九皇圣号，长幡是超度孤魂”。尽管灯通常象征着九皇大帝莅临人间，但这位记者补充道：灯的主要目的是聚集附近区域的亡魂。人们“一面可以为自己求福求寿，一面可以替死鬼祝福”。[54]

在中国的一些庙宇中被称作“灯篙”的仪式设备也可能是当今东南亚九皇庆典中九皇灯的原型。每当庙里举行醮礼的时候，一些庙宇，尤其是台湾地区的庙宇，会竖起灯篙表明仪式开始。灯篙由灯笼、油灯和长幡挂在竹竿上，然后将竹竿垂直插在地面上，灯篙的顶端直指天空，通常会借助另一根竹竿或提前准备好的灯柱固定住灯篙。灯篙一旦竖起，便是向这一地区的神明和鬼魂发出信号，告诉他们此地将在第二天举行仪式，并邀请他们参加。可以看到，这些庙宇的灯篙与东南亚九皇庆典中的九皇灯在形式和功能上非常接近。然而，与九皇灯不同的是，这些庙宇升起的油灯与灯笼数量各不相同。可惜的是，这一实践缺乏详细的历史记录，目前了解到的大部分信息来自民族志田野调查与报告。[55]

灯篙的元素流传到马来亚，今天马六甲勇全殿的送王船活动中，也会举行竖灯篙仪式。[56] 马六甲清华宫于1938年重新开放，J. M. Middlebrook对此进行了研究，并详细记录了节日的仪式。在庙外空地上挖两个洞，将两根竹竿插入洞中，竹竿的顶端悬挂着灯，距离地面约有八英尺。灯的主要作用如同灯篙，为天上的神明指明道路， 神明着灯光前来，然后沿着竹竿来到寺庙。被召请的灵魂的数量与竖起的灯的高度成正比，竹竿越高，灯光越强，召请来的天神和游魂就越多，庙宇得到的好运也越多。这些灯到了晚上也不能被熄灭，因为如果其中任何一盏灯熄灭了，就会给 庙宇来巨大的不幸。[57] 除了竖起竹竿点燃天灯以标志节日的开始之外，在周福堂（Cheu Hock Tong）比较九皇千秋与送王船的论文中，他还指出了两者的其他相似之处。[58]

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[52] 徐祖祥<瑶族挂灯与道教北斗七星信仰>，《云南民族大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》，2006年第23期第2版，页102-107；张继驰<瑶族星斗崇拜及其文化特质探析>，《世界宗教文化》，2018奶奶第3期，页153-158；陈锦均<盘瑶挂七星灯仪式考察——以广西昭平仙回瑶族乡小林香屯为例>，《柳州师专学报》，2013年第1期，页4-7。 [原稿为英文] Michel Strickmann, “The Tao among the Yao: Taoism and the Signification of South China,” in *Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen no kai, eds., Rekishi ni okeru minshū to bunka: Sakai Tadao sensei koki shukuga kinen ronshū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1982), 23-30.

[53] 问溪，张次溪<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，《戏剧月刊》，1929年第2期第3版，页137-142。然而，除了标志节日的开始，信息来源并未提及九皇灯还意味着什么，关于九皇灯是如何被升起的，我们也不得而知。

[54] 珊<浙西的九皇胜会>，《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月第24期，第2版。

[55] 例如江志宏<无形文化资产的再生产：以嘉义城隍庙九大柱中元普渡为例>，《民俗曲艺》，2011年第211期，页27-38。

[56] 洪莹发，《威显南邦：马来西亚马六甲勇全殿的王醮》，《民俗曲艺》184（2014年）：页66，73-75和94。此外，请参阅苏庆华编纂的讨论和铭文资料，《代天巡狩：勇全殿池王爷与王船》（马六甲怡力勇全殿，2005年）；以及李丰楙，从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗，信仰与文化（台北：台大出版中心，2018），页155-205。

[57] S. M. Middlebrook, Ceremonial Opening of a new Chinese temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 17:1:133 (1939): 101.

[58] Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 369-372. 东南亚一些庆祝九皇圣诞的庙宇，例如新加坡的神仙宫（它从以前的庙宇请香祭祀），也使用“灯篙”一词，尽管这一术语何时成为流行说法仍不确定，这也许并非巧合。

The Nine Lamps in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia



▲
Preparing for the lamp raising ceremony at Leong Nam Temple, undated (possibly 1960s). The crank and pulley system at the base of the lamp post can be found in the left of the photograph. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿理事准备升天灯，无日期（应该是 1960 年代）。照片左侧灯柱底部有操作的曲柄和滑轮系统。照片由龙南殿提供。

The Nine Lamps constitute an important feature of Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It occupies a central place in the ritual setups for the festivals in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Like the Deng Gao and Nine Lamps for the festivals in China, they consist of the raising of lanterns and lamps on a pole, usually made of bamboo, accompanied by flags and other paraphernalia. Similar ritual prescriptions are followed, such as maintaining the lights on the lamps throughout the festival and the importance of the lamps' raising and lowering to signify the festival's start and end. There are, nevertheless, important variations in the setups, depending on the locale and the cultural backgrounds of the communities hosting the festival. In Singapore, changes in the physical environment have also led to changes in the setups of the Nine Lamps over the years.

新加坡和东南亚九皇千秋中的九皇天灯

九皇灯是东南亚九皇千秋的一个重要特色，它在马来西亚、新加坡和泰国的节庆布置中占据关键位置。如同中国一些节日中的灯篙与九灯，九皇灯通常由在竹竿制成的灯篙上悬挂灯笼或油灯，以及旗帜和其他仪式用品构成。九皇灯也遵循类似的仪式规定，例如灯火在节日期间必须保持点燃，以九皇灯的升降宣告庆典的开始与结束。然而，九皇灯的设置与形制，会因地区和举办节日的社区的文化背景而有所不同。在新加坡，外在环境的变迁也导致了九皇灯的变化。



▲
The First and Second Emperor Gods medium leads the devotees of Leong Nam Temple in raising the Heavenly Lamps, 1979. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

九皇大二帝带领善信主持升天灯仪式， 1979. 照片由龙南殿提供。





◀
Members of Leong Nam Temple clean and refuel the nine lamps. In the third photograph, a devotee beats a gong when the lamps were raised again.

龙南殿的理事为九盏灯添油。一位理事会在升九皇天灯时敲锣。

Preparing the Bamboo Plants for the Nine Lamps



Members of Jiu Huang Dian preparing and installing the bamboo for the Nine Lamps at the festival site.

九皇殿理事在九皇胜会场地修剪与安置竹子，以筹备举升九皇天灯。

In temples that raise the Nine Lamps during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the process begins with selecting and treating bamboo plants that will be used to hang the Nine Lamps from. For many temples, their ritual specialists would devote an entire day to the activity, harvesting the plants and spending the rest of the day cleaning and consecrating them. The selection and cutting of a bamboo stem ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are significant. Sometimes, temples grow a small bamboo bush within the temple's grounds for the said purpose. In other cases, temples rely on their contacts, such as landscaping or arboreal companies, for permission to harvest bamboo plants from their compounds.

九皇天灯灯篙



对于在九皇千秋期间会升起九皇灯的庙宇而言，节日准备工作的一个重要环节是挑选和处理用于悬挂九皇灯的竹子，通常庙宇礼仪专家需要一整天的时间来完成这项工作。他们首先对竹子进行挑选，并将被选中的竹子运回庙宇，然后清洁并修剪竹竿。有些庙宇为了方便取竹，会在庙宇的场地内种植一些竹子备用。其他庙宇则通过自己的关系，比如与园艺公司或林业公司的联系，获得采购竹子的许可。

The bamboo's length and the Nine Lamps' height are very important considerations. In the past, Hong San Temple had a medium that worked in the service of the Nine Emperor Gods. During the eighth lunar month, when preparations for the festival are underway, the Nine Emperor Gods will issue instructions on how the festival should be conducted via their medium.[59] Among these instructions is the length of the bamboo plants and the height from which the Nine Lamps should be hung. Today, most decisions made in advance for the subsequent year's event—including the height of the lamppost which the Nine Lamps are hoisted from—are performed by the tossing of divination blocks by the year's censer master before the Nine Emperor Gods.[60]

While the rituals performed while chopping bamboo plants vary from place to place, they follow a general sequence of felling, cleaning, consecration, and erection. As a rule of thumb, most temples do not indiscriminately choose bamboo plants for the lampposts but approach a growth of bamboo with certain dimensions of length and girth in mind. The age of the bamboo is also very important, as younger bamboo tends to break more easily. Once a potential candidate has been identified from a thicket, a small offering of incense paper, tea and food is presented to the spirit of the bamboo plant in exchange for the entity's relocation. In most instances, only men can participate in the proceedings and touch the bamboo pole. Many other taboos are also enforced during the process of bamboo cutting for fear of offending the vicinity's spirits, including abstaining from idle speech or joking for the duration of the ritual.[61] In certain instances, the offering is made to the local deity of the area to notify them about the removal of the bamboo. Some interviewees also indicated that a string is tied around the bamboo to indicate the chosen bamboo.

[59] This was later shifted to the sixth lunar month. Some accounts suggest that this coincided with the "Opening of Heaven's Door" on the seventh day of the sixth lunar month. Regardless, such a shift provided more buffer time for permit applications by temples.

[60] The responsibilities of the temple's *gongwu* would not only prepare a number of dates for the deities to choose from when deciding the start of the coming year's festival but would also supply a list of potential measurements for the height of the Nine Lamps as well.

[61] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 60, footnotes 11-13. On the fear of monsters, spirits, and untamed beasts in wild and unexplored places in the history of Chinese religion and society, see Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 78-97.



竹子的长度和九皇灯的高度是挑选竹子时非常重要的考虑因素。在过去，凤山寺有位九皇大帝的乩童，每年农历八月开始进行节日的准备工作时，九皇大帝会通过乩童指示庙宇节庆该如何举办，[59] 包括竹子的长度和九皇灯的高度。如今，关于来年庆典如何举办的大多数安排——包括悬挂九皇灯的竹竿的长度——都是由当年的炉主在九皇大帝面前掷筊决定的。[60]

虽然取竹过程中的具体仪式因地而异，但其顺序通常是砍竹、清洁、供奉和竖起竹竿。一般来说，大多数庙宇不会任意选取竹子作为灯柱，他们会仔细考量竹子的长度及粗细。竹子的年龄同样是重要的考虑因素，因为新竹更容易折断。一旦他们在竹丛中确定了某一株竹子，便会向竹子献上香纸、茶和食物，以表示感谢。在大多数情况下，只有男性被允许参与这项活动并触碰竹竿。在砍竹过程中，还有许多其他的禁忌，例如不能在仪式期间闲言碎语或开玩笑，以免犯不敬。[61] 有的时候，供品是献给那片区域的土地神，并告知神明竹子被砍。一些受访者表示，他们会在被选中的竹子上绑一根绳子作为标记。

▲
The Nine Lamps at Hong San Temple. In the first photograph, multiple bamboo plants are lashed to one another with the help of yellow cloth. The altar table cloth is emblazoned with the titles of the Nine Emperor Gods, the Southern Dipper Sovereign and the Northern Dipper Sovereign.

凤山宫的九皇天灯灯篙，由几株竹子用黄布捆绑构成。祭台桌布有九皇大帝、南斗星君和北斗星君的称号。

[59] 后来九皇大帝降临给予指示的时间改为农历六月（一些说法认为这与农历六月初七“天门开”相吻合），因为庙宇需要更多时间来申请许可证。

[60] 在节日期间，庙里的宫务不仅会准备一些来年举办庆典的可能日期，而且还会准备一份列有九皇灯不同高度的清单，以供神明决定。

[61] Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 60, footnotes 11-13. 有关在华人宗教和社会历史上对怪物、鬼神及未被驯化的野兽的恐惧，见Richard Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 78-97.



The Nine Lamps outside Zhun Ti Tang on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初十，准提堂九皇宝诞场地外的九皇天灯。

After the bamboo plants have been transported back to the temple, they must be prepared for use. In Kew Huang Keng, helpers first strip the stem of protrusions and trim the top such that it rises into an arrowhead-shaped crown. The smaller branches and shoots are kept to decorate the top of the bamboo pole in the Nine Lamps installation and for various ritual purposes during the festival. To cleanse and consecrate the plant, holy water is sprinkled over the stem with pomegranate leaves before talismans printed with the temple's name are glued onto the stem.[62] In Leong Nam Temple, besides trimming the bamboo stem, an embroidered pennant decorated with the title of the First and Second of the Nine Emperor Gods on one side and the title of the occasion on the other is attached to the lamppost's masthead. In some temples, such as Kew Huang Keng and Zhun Ti Tang, festive lights may be woven into the crown of the bamboo plants to mark the celebratory nature of the occasion.



The Nine Lamps that are raised outside of Shin Sen Keng's festival site, 1950—1951. Photograph from the Alan J. A. Elliot collection, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge.

1950-1951 年在神仙宫道场外升起的九盏九皇天灯。 照片来自剑桥大学考古与人类学博物馆 (MAA) Alan J. A. Elliot 收藏。

[62] Small sprigs of bamboo are saved during the trimming process to make command flags. These flags are for devotees to "invite [peace and safety] home". Moreover, it is a practice of Jiu Huang Dian to saw bamboo stems into smaller pieces for bamboo spirit soldiers at the end of the festival.



当竹子被运回庙宇后，它们还需要被进一步处理。在九皇宫，助手们首先除去竹竿上的突出部分并修整顶部，使其成为一个指向天空的箭头状尖顶。修剪下来的竹枝和新芽会被用于装饰竹竿的顶部，以及节日期间其他仪式上。为了洁净和圣化竹子，人们将浸泡石榴叶的圣水洒在竹竿上，然后将印有庙宇名称的符纸贴在竹竿上。[62] 在龙南殿，除了修剪竹竿，灯柱的桅顶上还会挂上一条长幡，长幡的一边绣有九皇大帝和九皇二帝名号，另一边绣有法会名目。一些庙宇，例如九皇宫和准提堂，还会用彩灯装饰竹竿，以营造节日的庆祝氛围。

▲
A bamboo plant is sprinkled with holy water and covered with talismans by the members of Kew Huang Keng before it is raised.

九皇宫理事用圣水净化九皇天灯竹子，也在灯篙竹身粘上灵符。

[62] 在修剪竹子的过程中，一些小竹枝会被保留下来制成令旗，信徒可以将令旗“请回家”，祈求平安。在九皇殿，节日结束时，竹竿会被锯成小块，制成竹军。



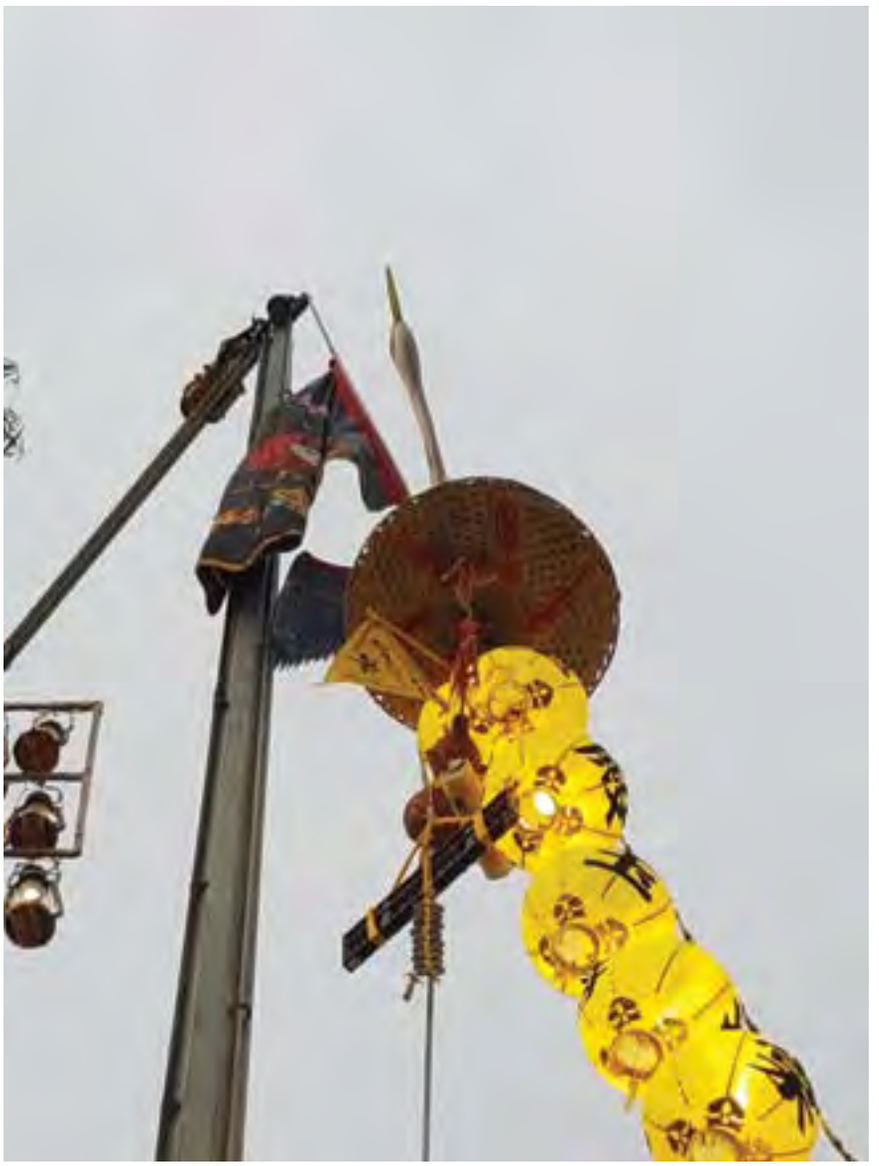
The secret package and the command flags attached to the post of the Nine Lamps are cleansed with burning incense in Shin Sen Keng before the lamps are raised.

神仙宫理事在九皇天灯上升前用檀香净化灯篙的秘密包裹和五方令旗。



The Nine Emperors Heavenly Lamps at Shin Sen Keng today. An areca tree sapling is used in its construct.

神仙宫现今的九皇天灯，在顶端使用了槟榔树树苗。



◀
Items that Yu Hai Tang raised along with the Nine Lamps today. These include a straw hat, a paper crane, a writing brush, a calabash gourd, an abacus, a coin sword, and yellow lanterns.

当今玉海棠斗母灯的相配祥物。 这些包括草帽，纸鹤，毛笔，葫芦，算盘、硬币剑和黄色灯笼。

Other temples might add other ritual paraphernalia to the Nine Lamps installations. In Shin Sen Keng, five command flags (in the colours of the five spiritual armies) and a bundle wrapped in yellow cloth are also attached near the top of the feature. In contrast, in Yu Hai Tang, a paper crane, a calabash gourd and an abacus is included. In addition to Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si (Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong) as of late, both temples include a straw hat among the items raised alongside the Nine Lamps.[63] This accessory in the Nine Lamps' setup can also be observed in the Nine Lamps raised by the Wan Shou Gong (founded in 1960) in the Cameron Highlands, where "one straw hat" is included.[64]

Observers have noted the straw hat's importance among mutual aid societies that had adopted anti-Qing symbols. Gustave Schlegel, for example, noted that members of the Heaven and Earth Society would "hold it (the straw hat) with the top outwards and three fingers in the crown of it". Song Ong Siang (1871—1941) also noted the straw hat's symbolism at the funerals of Heaven and Earth Society members, where one of the oldest "male representative(s)" among the deceased's children would be present at the dressing of the corpse. To instil in "the children of the dead the duty of recovering the national heritage from the Manchus," an undertaker would place a straw hat on the representative before "declaring that the dead would not be under the same heaven (as the Qing)".[65]

The exact shape and components of the structure of the Nine Lamps may also vary from place to place. Two of the oldest temples in Singapore, namely Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Hong San Temple, use more than one bamboo plant to construct the lamppost's stem. In Hougang Tou Mu Kung, a yellow pennant emblazoned with the temple's name and the festival is also displayed alongside the Nine Lamps. Due to the height and weight of the stems, the temple engages cranes and lorries to lift the assemblage upright before the festival. To provide the feature with additional support, the lamppost's bamboo stem is lashed onto a metal pole before it is raised. In Hong San Temple, in contrast, only a lamp rack is raised into the sky, and no pennants or flags are used. To lift the Nine Lamps into the sky, a basic bamboo frame is first constructed with three stalks of bamboo. In both cases, different stalks of bamboo are connected with the help of yellow cloth pieces and long ropes controlled by the temples' ritual specialists whenever the masthead where the Nine Lamps hang from has to be raised or lowered.



▶ Raising the Nine Lamps at Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

后港斗母宫升九皇天灯。

[63] Similar to other temples, Kim San Tze harnesses a small hat in its Nine Lamps. That said, the hat is, instead, attached to the top of a trail of nine lanterns lit with electricity and painted with the characters "金山寺庆祝九皇大帝千秋". They lead from the top of the lamppost to ground level, instead of the lamp rack where the Nine Lamps hang from. See the photographs in 金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化, 72.

[64] 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊（柔佛: 麻坡五马路斗母宫, 2004), 109.

[65] Gustaaf Schlegel, *Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-league, Or Heaven-earth-league, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India* (Batavia: Lange, 1866), 170; and Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1923), 71.

庙宇可能会在安装九皇灯时增加其他的仪式用品。在神仙宫，灯杆顶部还会插上五面令旗（分别是代表五营的五种颜色）和一捆黄布。而在玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂九皇菩萨（此后简称“玉海棠”），还包括一只纸鹤，一个葫芦和一副算盘。玉海棠与洪水港斗母宫，都会在九灯旁放置一顶草帽。[63] 同样的仪式用品——“笠帽一顶”——也可在金马伦万寿宫（建于1960年）升起的天灯上看到。[64]

研究早期反清互助会的研究员，在研究中注意到了草帽的重要性。例如，荷兰汉学家施列格（Gustave Schlegel）指出，天地会的成员“拿着草帽，帽顶朝外，三只手指放在帽顶上”。宋旺相（Song Ong Siang）也提到草帽在天地会成员的葬礼上的象征意义。在葬礼上，死者孩子中最年长的“男性代表”会给死者穿上寿衣。为了“给死者的子女灌输反清复明的大义”，主持葬礼的人会给死者戴上草帽，然后“宣布死者与清朝不共戴天”。[65]

九皇灯的确切形状和结构组件也可能因庙而异。新加坡最古老的两座庙宇，即后港斗母宫和凤山宫，使用不止一种竹子来制作灯杆。在后港斗母宫，九皇灯的灯柱上会悬挂一面绣有庙宇和盛典名称的黄色旗幡。为了提供额外的支撑，竹竿被捆绑在铁杆上组成灯杆。由于灯杆又长又重，庙宇在节庆前需要借助起重机和卡车才能将灯杆立起来固定住。相比之下，凤山宫只有一个灯架直指天空，没有幡幔或旗帜。为了将九皇灯升到空中，首先要用三根竹子搭建一个基本框架。不同的竹竿用黄色布条和长绳衔接起来并固定住。长绳连接九皇灯的顶部，升降九皇灯的时候，便由庙里的礼仪专家控制长绳，降下或升起九皇灯。



◀ Today, the post on which the Nine Lamps are hoisted from is raised with the help of cranes at Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

现今，后港斗母宫用起重机竖立九皇胜会的九皇天灯灯篙。

[63] 金山寺的九皇灯中也有一顶草帽，但它放置在九灯的顶部。金山寺使用的是电灯点亮的灯笼，上面还写有“金山寺庆祝九皇大帝千秋”的字样。金山寺的九盏灯笼垂直排列从灯柱顶端垂至地面，而不是将灯笼悬挂在灯架上。图片请参阅《金山寺香亭会弘扬九皇大帝传统文化》，页72。

[64] 《柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊》（柔佛：麻坡五马路斗母宫，2004年），页109。

[65] Gustaaf Schlegel, *Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-league, Or Heaven-earth-league, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India* (Batavia: Lange, 1866), 页 170; and Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1923), 页 71。

Given the difficulty of procuring bamboo plants of sufficient length and girth, in some temples, a single bamboo stem is elongated by connecting them with the help of the yellow cloth. In Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, before 2017, the yellow cloth connects two bamboo plants of sufficient girth. This elongated piece of bamboo would serve as the stem from which the Nine Lamps would be hung. In some temples, only certain parts of the plant are used, and a stem consisting of a different material serves as the feature's pole. In the Wan Shou Gong located in Cameron Highlands, Malaysia, an areca palm is used as the Nine Lamp's stem, although a horizontal bamboo sapling is still used for its masthead.[66] As for Shin Sen Keng, because the rig and pulley system which the Nine Lamps would be hoisted from is a different accessory to the main bamboo shaft, both must be tightly connected with yellow cloth. In Zhun Ti Tang, a bamboo sapling is lashed to a lamppost (with a cement block to weigh the feature down). Only a small flag emblazoned with the title of the Nine Emperor Buddhas and the temple's logo is attached to the crown of the sapling. In Sam Siang Keng, Malaysia, a bamboo plant serves as the mast for a flag which bears the temple's name and occasion. Before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival commences, the flag is first secured onto a latch attached to a permanent metal lamppost when raised into the sky.[67]



Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong members preparing their Nine Emperors Lamps.

汛水港斗母宫理事准备九皇天灯过程中。

[66] 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊, 109.

[67] Esmond Chuah Meng Soh , "柔佛新山的九皇盛会: 三善宫摄影论文 (2019)," Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

由于难以获得长度足够和粗细合适的竹子，有的庙宇会用黄布将两根竹子连接起来，确保竹竿长度达到要求。2017年以前，汕水港斗母宫便用黄布将两根粗细合适的竹子连接起来，并将九皇灯悬挂在竹竿顶端。有些庙宇只利用植物的某些部位，所以灯杆由不同材料组成。例如在马来西亚的金马伦万寿宫，九皇灯的灯杆是用槟榔树做的，而桅顶是用置横的竹苗做的。[66] 至于神仙宫，由于用来吊起九皇灯的装置与作为灯杆的竹竿是不同的配件，两者必须用黄布紧密固定在一起。在准提堂，一根竹苗被绑在灯柱上，通常还会用水泥块来加固。在竹杆顶端会悬挂一面旗幡，上面印有九皇佛祖名号和宫庙的徽标。在马来西亚柔佛新山的三善宫，一面印有宫庙和庆典名称的旗帜被悬挂在竹子上。在九皇盛会开始前，旗帜被固定在金属杆上并被升到空中。[67]







[66]《柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊》，页109。

[67] 苏泉铭（Soh Chuah Meng Esmond）：<柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文 (2019)>，九皇文化计划，2020年1月25日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng。



The triangular lamp rack at Hougang Tou Mu Kung.

后港斗母宫的三角灯架。

How the Nine Lamps are hung also varies from temple to temple. In two of Singapore's oldest temples which have observed the festival for more than a century, namely the Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, the Nine Lamps are hung in a single file on a triangular and circular rack, respectively. Other temples arrange the Nine Lamps vertically before raising them into the sky. In Hong San Temple, the lamp rack for its Heavenly Lamps takes the form of a pyramid, where two lamps form the top, three in the middle and four at its base. In contrast, Shin Sen Keng and Yu Hai Tang have square racks where the lamps are suspended in a three-by-three sequence. In the 1950s, the lamps in Shin Sen Keng were arranged in a conical formation of 2-3-4 (from the top). In the 1980s, Ronni Pinsler photographed a Nine Emperor Gods' temple in the Chua Chu Kang area, which installed the Nine Lamps within a structure of three by three boxes.[68] Unlike many temples, no bamboo parts were used in the stem. Instead, the temple hung the Nine Lamps from a living palm tree. Kew Huang Keng in Singapore and Sam Siang Keng in Malaysia, in contrast, do not use a conventional lamp rack and adopted unique ways of raising the Nine Lamps.



The Nine Lamps at Shin Sen Keng today.

神仙宫现今的九皇天灯。

[68] This temple's provenance remains a mystery, but it is different from the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.



A three-by-three lamp rack in the shape of boxes raised outside of an unknown Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Chua Chu Kang. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

在蔡厝港一座不知名的九庙外，竖起了一个三乘三箱的灯架。 照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。

九皇灯的悬挂方式也因庙宇而异。在新加坡历史最悠久的两座寺庙，即后港斗母宫和汫水港斗母宫，九皇灯分别被挂在三角形和圆形的架子上。其他庙宇将九皇灯垂直排列，然后将它们升到空中。在凤山寺，天灯按金字塔的形式排列，顶行两盏灯，中间三盏灯，底行四盏灯。神仙宫和玉海棠则采用方形的架子，每行挂三盏灯，一共三行。但在20世纪50年代，神仙宫的灯也是按2-3-4（从上往下）的顺序排列的。在20世纪80年代，Ronni Pinsler拍摄了在蔡厝港地区的一座九皇神庙，在那里，九皇灯按三乘三的方式排列为一个方形。[68] 不同于其他庙宇，该庙并没有使用竹子作为灯杆，而是将九皇灯悬挂在一棵棕榈树上。新加坡的九皇宫和马来西亚的三善宫并没有使用传统的灯架，而是采用独特的方式升起九皇灯。

[68] 具体为哪间庙宇尚不清楚，但可知不是蔡厝港斗母宫。

The Significance of the Nine Lamps in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival

The meanings and functions of the Nine Lamps reflect community beliefs about the Nine Emperor Gods and the festival. They also have comparable antecedents in Chinese history and religion and parallels with the ritual use of lamps in other festivals. Duan Lisheng, who performed fieldwork in Bangkok, notes that the Nine Lamps "represent the souls of the Nine Emperor Gods".[69] In some Malaysian temples, the Nine Lamps are believed to represent the heads of the Nine Emperor Gods. In this retelling, the Nine Emperor Gods were pro-Ming martyrs executed by Qing forces. After they were decapitated, the heads of the Nine Emperor Gods were publicly displayed on a pole, which are symbolised by the Nine Lamps that are raised during the festival today.[70]

In most temples which commemorate the festival in Singapore, it is believed the Nine Lamps drew the attraction of divinities who dwelt in the heavens to the festival in the mortal world. Some temples also noted that the lamps also signified the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods and their spiritual armies. As such, there are important restrictions and taboos pertaining to the lamps and the spaces around them. In Shin Sen Keng, in addition to announcing the festival to the deities in heaven and the surrounding region, the raising of the Nine Lamps signals the "marshalling of troops and the buying of horses (for military purposes)" by the Nine Emperor God. The straw hat on the temple's lamppost represents the recruitment and attendance of soldiers. Devotees are advised not to loiter around the Nine Lamps if they have no business, lest they say or do something wrong that earns them the ire of the stationed spirits. In the past, whenever the lamps were lowered to be refuelled at 5:45 A.M. and 5:45 P.M daily, gongs were sounded to announce to the spirit soldiers in attendance that the Nine Emperor God had just woken up at cockcrow and had gone to rest during twilight respectively.[71]

Furthermore, in announcing the presence of the deities and their armies, it is also believed that the lamps also signalled the possibility for spirits in the vicinity to seek redress from the Nine Emperor Gods. In the Ampang Nan Tian Gong, on the one hand, it is believed that harmless spirits would "slip smoothly down the tree-trunk [of the lamppost], thus ushering luck and blessing to the temple". On the other hand, "hungry ghosts who are not fed or attended to by descendants" also gather at the Nine Lamps. Spirits of people who perished due to violent and unjust circumstances also congregate near the feature so that they can present their cases to the Nine Emperor Gods.[72] It is believed that the height of the Nine Lamps must be commensurate with the number of offerings the temples can afford for the year. Should the lamps be raised too high, they would draw in too many souls beyond the temple's ability to cope. These spirits may wreak havoc on the festival site if not properly accommodated.[73]

Xu Liying, who discussed the history of the Nine Lamps in Hougang Tou Mu Kung, recounted a belief that the lamps on bamboo functioned as a beacon for members of the Hong Society. Being visible from a distance at night, the lamps served to mobilise loyalists from afar to "Overthrow the Qing and Restore the Ming".74 Such an observation would not be out of the extraordinary, for the key Nine Emperor Gods temples in Southeast Asia, such as Phuket in Thailand, as well as Ampang, Taiping and Penang Island in Malaysia, was believed by some to be related to mutual aid societies who adopted anti-Qing beliefs and ritual practices in the distant past. These historical contexts may have refracted into the symbolism and significance of the Nine Lamps.75

[69] 段立生, 泰国的中式寺庙 (曼谷: 泰国大同社出版有限公司, 1996), 34.

[70] 李永球, "九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键," 炎黄文化 7 (2007): 42. On the socio-cultural history of public executions and the display of dead criminals in China as well as the moral and political ideologies that informed this practice, see Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Chen Song-Chuan, "Strangled by the Chinese and Kept 'Alive' by the British: Two Infamous Executions and the Discourse of Chinese Legal Despotism," in *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpse*, ed. Richard Ward (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 201-205.

[71] The construction of the temple's ritual space within a residential estate inevitably necessitated alterations of some temple practices. Namely, the cessation of the 5:45 A.M. gong in light of noise complaints by neighbouring residents. On the dynamics discussed here, albeit within a different religious context, see the case study by Lee Tong Soon, "Technology and the Production of Islamic Space: The Call to Prayer in Singapore," *Ethnomusicology* 43:1 (1999): 86–100.

[72] Cheu, *The Nine Emperor* Gods, 35.

[73] Cheu, *The Nine Emperor* Gods, 49, footnote 10.

[74] 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹: 后港斗母宫 (新加坡: 后港斗母宫, 2006), 88.

[75] 李, 从圣教到道教, 239-251.

皇灯在九皇圣诞中的重要性

九皇灯的意义和功能反映了社区对九皇大帝和九皇千秋辰的信仰。九皇灯可以从华人历史与宗教中找到先例，并与在其他节日中作为仪式用品的灯具有相似之处。在曼谷进行田野调查的段立生指出，九皇灯“代表九皇的灵魂”。[69] 马来西亚的一些庙宇认为九皇灯代表了九位九皇大帝的头颅。在这种叙述中，九位反清复明的义士被清军处决，死后化作九皇大帝。在他们被斩首后，他们的头颅被公开展示在一根柱子上，这是如今节日期间升起九皇灯的由来。[70]

在新加坡庆祝九皇千秋的庙宇里，据说九皇灯可以召请天上的神明降临人间参与庆典。一些庙宇也认为九皇灯象征着九皇大帝及五营将军的到场。因此，关于九皇灯及其周围的仪式空间有着重要的限制和禁忌。在神仙宫，竖起九皇灯不仅是向天上和附近的神明宣告节日开始，同时也象征着为九皇大帝“招兵买马”。庙宇中的草帽代表了兵马的募集与存在。信徒需要注意若无要事，不要在九皇灯周围徘徊，以免他们说错话或做错事，惹怒驻扎在此的神明和灵兵。在过去，每天早上5点45分和傍晚5点45分九皇灯被降下添油时，庙宇会鸣锣告知灵兵九皇大帝起床或休息的消息。[71]

此外，九皇灯告示九皇大帝与灵军的存在，也预示着附近的游魂可以藉此向九皇大帝伸冤。在安邦南天宫，人们相信，一方面，神灵会“顺着树干（灯柱）来到庙宇，从而为庙宇带来好运和祝福”，另一方面，孤魂野鬼也会被召集而来。死于暴力或不公的亡魂会聚集在九皇灯前，向下凡巡视的九皇大帝陈情。九皇灯升起的高度取决于庙宇当年能提供的供品数量。[72] 如果九皇灯升得太高，将会召来太多孤魂，超出庙宇的接待能力。如果孤魂太多而供品不足，可能会激怒这些孤魂，对节日场地造成严重破坏。[73]

徐李颖在讨论后港斗母宫的历史时指出，悬挂于竹子上的灯对洪门会成员而言仿佛灯塔。在晚上，即使是远处的人也可以看见灯光，从而动员抗清义士为“反清复明”而斗争。[74] 这样的结论并非例外。在东南亚一些地区，例如泰国普吉岛，马来西亚安邦、太平及槟榔屿，那里的九皇神庙，被认为与过去具有反清色彩的互助性秘密团体有关。这些历史背景可能反映在九皇灯的象征意义和重要性上。[75]

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[69] 段立生《泰国的中式寺庙》（曼谷：泰国大同出版有限公司，1996年），页34。

[70] 李永球<九皇大帝不是明王朱聿键>，《炎黄文化》，2007年第7期，页42。关于中国公开处决和展示死刑犯尸体的社会文化史，以及影响这种做法的道德和政治意识形态，见 Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008); 及Chen Song-Chuan, “Strangled by the Chinese and Kept ‘Alive’ by the British: Two Infamous Executions and the Discourse of Chinese Legal Despotism,” in *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpse*, ed. Richard Ward (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 201-205.

[71] 自从庙宇被建于住宅区之内，在接到一连串的噪音投诉后，早晨5点45分的锣声便停止了。关于这里讨论的宗教实践与住宅区之间的动态，尽管是在不同的宗教背景下，可参考Lee Tong Soon, “Technology and the Production of Islamic Space: The Call to Prayer in Singapore,” *Ethnomusicology* 43:1 (1999): 86–100.

[72] Cheu, *The Nine Emperor* Gods, 35.

[73] Cheu, *The Nine Emperor* Gods, 49, footnote 10.

[74] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页 88。

[75] 李，《从圣教到道教》，页239-251。

While the Nine Lamps are generically known as the "Heavenly Lamps" or the "Nine Emperor Lamps," individual temples may adopt other terms like "Deng Gao" to designate them. In Kew Huang Keng, for example, the feature is known as the "Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereign Lamps". While raising the Nine Lamps, a Daoist priest would invoke the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns and request the divinities to bestow blessings upon the temple's devotees. Interestingly, although the Nine Lamps are known as the "Heavenly Lamps" in Hong San Temple, the tablecloth that is used to decorate the Nine Lamps' altar is also emblazoned with the titles of the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns and the Nine Emperor Gods.[76] Today, many in Hong San Temple believe that the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns are two generals who accompanied the Nine Emperor Gods. The raising of the Heavenly Lamps signified the attendance of the said deities. The temple also has a metal burner stamped with the names of the two Dipper Sovereigns, which is used to incinerate incense paper used to handle and clean the Nine Lamps when they are refuelled twice a day.

In some temples, the Nine Lamps may also be named after Dou Mu Yuan Jun, the mother of the Nine Emperor Gods. Yu Hai Tang, renowned in Singapore for erecting one of the tallest lampposts (five storeys in height) to raise the Nine Lamps, refers to them as the "Dou Mu Lamps".[77] They always raise the lamps on a separate day before the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas are received from the sea. This was based on the temple's leadership's beliefs that since "water and fire do not mix", it was necessary to schedule the said rituals on different days to minimise any conflict in the elements.[78] In Sam Siang Keng, Malaysia, the Nine Lamps are known as the Dou Lao Lamps, which trail on a long chain from the temple's permanent lamppost. Located adjacent to the Bridge of Peace and Blessing, devotees would worship in the direction of the Dou Lao Lamps when they were crossing the bridge. The Dou Lao Lamps are believed to signal to the goddess that the temple is observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and that her presence is requested to bless and protect the faithful.[79]

[76] See the photograph and discussion in 凤山宫三庆大典 (新加坡: 凤山宫理事会, 2005), 103.

[77] "5层楼高巨杆 9大天灯高高挂," 新明日报, October 25, 2001, 12.

[78] This is premised on the theory of the Five Elements, where one element interacts with another in either a creative or destructive manner. For additional historical context, see Yuan Chen, "Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 325-364. Cheu Hock Tong reported that women were not allowed to perform fire-walking during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival hosted by Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, on the grounds that they were *yin* and thus closely associated with the element of water. "For a woman to walk over fire (i.e. yin over yang) would be tantamount to engaging herself in ritual combat with a *yang* force." Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 145.

[79] 苏, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会." A triangular lamp rack was used by the temple to raise the Nine Lamps in the past.

九灯通常被称作“天灯”或“九皇灯”，个别宇庙可能采用“ 灯篙”之类的其他名称。例如在九皇宫，这一竖起的灯被称为“南北斗星君灯”。在升起南北斗星君灯时，道士会念经召请南北斗星君，祈求神明赐福于宫庙的信徒。有趣的是，尽管凤山宫的九灯被称作“天灯”，但用来装饰九皇灯坛的桌布上却印有九皇大帝和南北斗星君的名号。[76] 时至今日，许多凤山宫的成员认为南北斗星君是伴随九皇大帝的两位将军，天灯的升起标志着神明的出席 。凤山宫还有一个印有两位星君名号的金属香炉，用来焚烧每日添油时处理和清洁天灯的香纸。

在一些庙宇中，九灯也可能以九皇大帝之母斗姆元君命名。新加坡的玉海棠以竖起最高的灯柱（达五层楼高）而闻名，庙宇成员将九灯称为“斗姆灯”。[77] 他们通常会在到海边迎接九皇菩萨的前一天升起斗姆灯，宫庙领导表示，由于“水火不融”，因此有必要将燃灯仪式与请水仪式安排在不同的日子，以尽量减少冲突。[78] 在马来西亚三善宫，九灯被称作“斗姥灯”，斗姥灯悬挂在庙宇的灯柱上延伸出来的一根灯杆上。斗姥灯设置在平安桥附近，信徒过平安桥时会停下祭拜斗姥灯，祈求斗姥娘娘的保佑。斗姥灯告知斗姥娘娘庙宇正在庆祝九皇圣诞，祈请斗姥娘娘降临并赐福和保佑信众。[79]

[76]《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫理事会，2005年），页 103。

[77] <5层楼高巨杆9大天灯高高挂>，《新明日报》，2001年10月25日，第12版。

[78] 这种说法基于五行学说，两种属性不同的物质之间存在相生或相克的关系。有关五行理论的历史背景，见Yuan Chen, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 325-364. 周福堂记载道，在安邦南天宫，女性不能参与走火路仪式，因为女性属阴，五行属水，与火相克。“若女性走火路（即阴阳相克），就如同让她与阳力进行仪式上的战斗。” Cheu Hock Tong, *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), 145.

[79] 苏泉铭，<柔佛新山的九皇圣会>。在过去，三善宫使用一个三角形的灯架来升起九皇灯。

The bamboo plant with lantern used for the Nine Emperors Lamps at Xuan Wu Shan brought to the coast as a part of the sending-off ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods undated. Photograph courtesy of Xuan Wu Shan.

玄武山理事在恭送圣驾时，把用于九皇天灯的竹子与灯笼带到海边。图片由玄武山提供。





◀
Bamboo plant with lantern and nine lanterns used in the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang by Xuan Wu Shan, circa. 1980s. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980 年代，玄武山灯篙竹子与灯笼在恭送圣驾的同时也送到海中。

Raising the Heavenly Father and Earthly Mother Lantern into the sky at Xuan Wu Shan's festival site, 2016. The unlit Nine Heavenly Lamps can be found in the middle of the second photograph.

2016年，天父地母的灯笼在玄武山的节日道场前高高举起。在第二张照片的中间可以找到未点亮的九盏天灯。







The Nine Lamps in the background of the charging palanquin in front of Kew Huang Keng temple during the festival. Palanquin bearers running outside of Kew Huang Keng. The sun-shaped lamp rack in the left background of the photograph is similar to that used today. Photograph courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

照片左侧背景的九皇天灯所用的太阳形灯架，与现今的九皇天灯灯架大为相似。 照片由吕序奎提供。



Raising the Nine Lamps outside of the Kew Huang Keng compound, 1992. Note the sun-shaped lamp rack. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

1992 年，在九皇宫大院外升起九皇天灯。九皇天灯灯架的太阳形状的灯架和当今的天灯灯架形状相似。 照片由 梁有生提供。



The sun-shaped lamp rack that is raised in Kew Huang Keng today.

现今九皇宫竖起的太阳形九皇天灯灯架。

In addition to serving critical ritualistic and symbolic functions, the different styles of rendering the Nine Lamps and its bamboo construct represent a temple's unique identity, history, and traditions. In Xuan Wu Shan, in a strong nod to the temple's Chaozhou roots, a lantern decorated with the characters "Heavenly Father and the Earthly Mother" is also raised into the sky alongside the Nine Lamps. In the 1980s photo, they also raised a lantern on a bamboo pole in the sea. In Kew Huang Keng, the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereign Lamps hoist the Nine Lamps from a rack shaped like a star. One kerosene lamp is suspended from its hub, whereas the other eight are attached to its spokes. Since the temple's founding in the southern portion of the Lemongrass Village, the lamps have been raised in this manner. Shaped like a star, the feature symbolically beams the Nine Emperor Gods' blessings upon the village.



除了关键的仪式和象征功能，竹竿的不同形制和九皇灯的不同风格也体现了庙宇独特的认同、历史与传统。在玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春，为了表达庙宇潮州根源的强烈认同，一盏印有“天公地母”的灯笼被悬挂在九皇灯旁。根据该庙20世纪80年代的照片，他们在海边的一根竹杆上也升起一盏类似的灯笼。在九皇宫，南北斗星君灯悬挂在一个星形灯架上。一盏煤油灯挂在灯架中心，其他八盏灯挂在周围的辐条上。自从九皇宫在葱茅园甘榜南部成立以来，九皇灯就以这种方式升起。它的形状如同一颗星星，象征着九皇大帝对整座村庄的祝福。

Continuity and Change



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Nan Shan Hai Miao in Jalan Ang Teng with the Nine Heavenly Lamps to the left of the main entrance. Photograph courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

南山海寺在Jalan Ang Teng 的九皇道场。 左侧带有九皇天灯的灯柱。照片由南山海庙提供。

While remaining a common and important fixture in the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in Singapore and Southeast Asia, the Nine Lamps have also overseen much continuity and change over time. Some temples have replaced bamboo stems with metal or other forms of wood, partly due to the difficulties of procuring strong, tall bamboo in Singapore but also to make the structure more stable and less impervious to strong winds and other natural elements. Others have begun using new fuel and energy to light the lamps. Nevertheless, various considerations and practices have remained. Hence, there is a strong emphasis on the need for material of non-animal origin to be used at the altar of the Nine Lamps, its implements and the space surrounding it.



The Master of Zhun Ti Tang consecrates a Dipper Candle before installing it into a lamp rack.

准提堂堂主为斗烛进行加持，然后将其安至灯架上。

延续与变迁



◀
The nine oil lamps before the Nine Emperor Gods statue in Nan Shan Hai Miao today

九皇胜会期间南山海庙在九皇神像前面点燃的九盏油灯。

九皇灯是新加坡和东南亚的九皇庆典中一个常见且重要的仪式用品。随着时间的推移，九皇灯既有一定的延续性，也逐渐发生变化。有的庙宇会用金属或其他木材代替竹竿，因为在新加坡很难买到又高又坚固的竹子，而且使用金属或其他更结实的木材能让结构更稳定，不受强风和其他自然因素的影响。有的庙宇使用新燃料和新能源点灯。尽管存在不同的做法，与九皇灯相关的注意事项仍然存在。九皇灯周围的环境中以及九皇灯的祭坛上所需的用品，仍必须使用非动物来源的材料，持斋持素。

Some temples in Singapore have continued to use kerosene to light their Nine Lamps. In these temples, ritual specialists are trained to trim the lamps' wicks and adjust the flame's intensity so that it lasts before it has to be refuelled (approximately twice a day). In Zhun Ti Tang, for example, although the feature goes by Heavenly Lamps, nine Dipper Candles are inserted into a lamp rack with nine niches. Twice a day, whenever the lamps are raised or lowered, candles that are still lit are transferred onto the temple's main altar to finish burning.



The Nine Star Lamps outside Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng today.

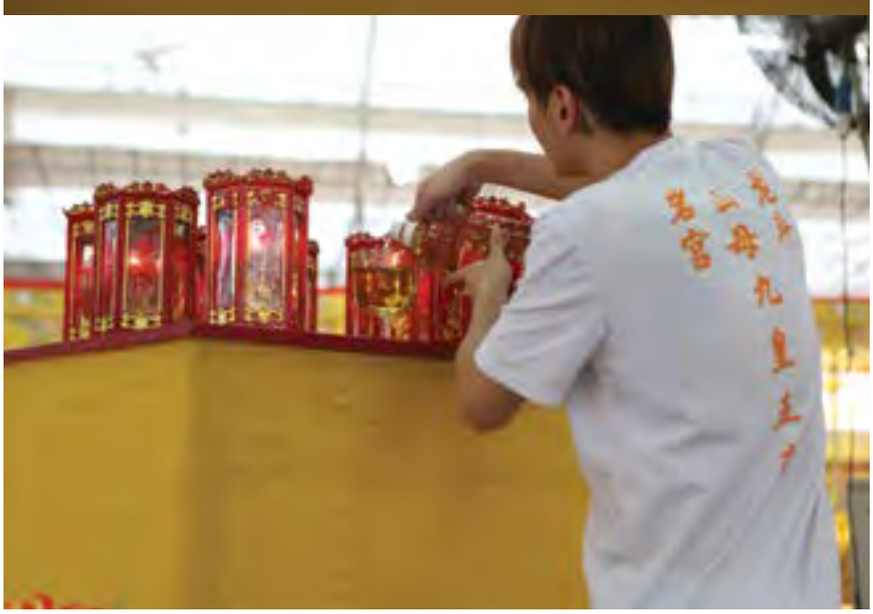
蔡厝港斗母宫现今的九星灯。

Other temples have started using electricity to light the Nine Lamps. In Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, the Nine Star Lamps—nine lanterns that trail from a tall bamboo plant—are lit with electricity outside the temple's premises. The same also holds for Yu Hai Tang, Xuan Wu Shan, Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong and Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, where the Nine Lamps are lit outside the temple's immediate compound with electricity.[80] However, in the final instance, an original set of nine oil lamps has been preserved and is placed on its own altar located within the festival tentage's periphery. The lamps are also cleaned regularly, and the oil is replenished daily to keep the flames in the lamps burning.

[80] Although having briefly switched to electric lamps, Shin Sen Keng and Jiu Huang Dian have resumed their original practice of using kerosene ones.

新加坡的一些庙宇仍然使用煤油点燃九皇灯。在这些庙宇中，礼仪专家需要接受培训，学习如何修剪灯芯，调整灯芯燃烧的强度，以使其能持续燃烧到下一次添油时（一般一日添油两次）。也有不用煤油点燃九皇灯的例外，例如准提堂在有九个壁龛的灯架上插入九根斗烛，以此作为天灯。每日两次降下天灯更换斗烛时，仍在燃烧的斗烛会被转移到庙宇的主祭坛上完成燃烧。





◀
Nine oil lamps are lit on a separate altar within the Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong festival site today.

当今龙山岩斗母宫九皇胜会道场内有特置的坛位供奉点燃的九盏油灯。

有的庙宇已经改为使用电力来点亮九皇灯。[80] 在蔡厝港斗母宫，位于宫庙外面高悬在竹竿上的九星灯便是通电点亮的。玉海棠、洪水港斗母宫、 玄武山翰林院、和龙山岩斗母宫也是如此。不过，在使用电灯的龙山岩斗母宫里，原先用的九盏油灯依然被保留着，并在节庆区域的主祭坛旁设有祭坛供奉它们。每天都会有人为九盏灯清洁并添油，确保煤油灯保持燃烧，并得到恰当的维护。

[80] 神仙宫和九皇殿曾短暂地用电灯代替煤油灯，后来他们又重新使用煤油灯。

Finally, while the Nine Lamps are still raised on tall bamboo or metal poles (or a combination of both) in many temples, some temples have rendered this ritual installation in novel forms. In Long Nan Szye, the Nine Lamps and the bamboo plant do not feature in the temple's account of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In its place, the temple offers devotees the choice of lighting lamps in the shape of lotuses before the Nine Emperor Gods or Guanyin Bodhisattva, along with packages of offerings. In the second instance, in Nan Shan Hai Miao, the Nine Lamps were once raised during past Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. However, the frame from which the Nine Lamps hung from has proven difficult to stabilise in the face of strong winds. As such, in the face of safety considerations, nine oil lamps are lit in front of the image of the Nine Emperor Gods in the temple's tentage instead.



Longevity Lamps (Lotus candles) are part of the blessing and longevity packages prepared for devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods at Long Nan Szye today.

现今龙南寺为理事善信准备祈福长寿祥物当中有包括一盏生命灯(莲花蜡烛)。

Conclusion

The centrality of the Nine Lamps to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival cannot be denied. They play a fundamental role in heralding the commencement and conclusion of the festival. Temples, unlike devotees, consider the final lowering of the lamps in the late morning of the tenth day of the ninth lunar month as the official end of the festival. These lamps symbolize the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods and serve as an invitation for deities and spirits in the surrounding area to partake in the festival rituals, especially for seeking redress.

Ritualisations of the lamps have deep roots in Chinese religion and society, ranging from texts collated within the Daoist and Buddhist Canons and ceremonies in community festivals. Whilst distinct parallels exist amongst open-air raised lamp formations in the late Qing dynasty and Republican China and various Chinese community events, the Nine Lamps are distinct from the others, such as the Dipper and altar lamps. Although some historical antecedents in form and interpretation can be discerned within other East and Southeast Asian Chinese communities, much more research is required to understand these parallels and correlations better.[81]

Form, arrangements and associated terminologies aside, a general consensus exists about their sanctity and ritualistic importance amongst temples hosting the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. To date, restrictions of accessibility and speech in relation to the surrounding spaces are enforced by temples to maintain reverence for the Nine Lamps.

[81] It is also noteworthy that the raising of flags and lamps or lanterns on bamboo poles and structures of other materials are also part of other religions. One of the central ceremonies at the Nagore Darga Shrine would be the flag-raising ceremony, and flags are also raised at Hindu temples such as the Sri Mariamman temple whenever there is an important public ritual or festival. Similarly, for other Chinese deity festivals, some temples also raise flags and lanterns (usually in terms of a single lamp or lantern or three) on bamboo poles for celebrations. In the case of Por Tiong Beo temple, a similar structure is erected for the birthday of the Three Loyal Kings of the Song Dynasty, although lately a metal pole has replaced the bamboo in this set-up.

此外，虽然在许多庙宇中，九皇灯仍然是悬挂在竹竿或金属杆（或两者的结合）上，但也有一些庙宇选择其他方式设立灯篙。例如，龙南寺的九皇庆典中并没有九皇灯及悬挂九皇灯的竹竿。庙宇为信众提供了可在九皇大帝或观音菩萨面前点燃的莲花灯及其他供品。南山海庙曾经在九皇庆典期间升起九皇灯，然而九皇灯在强风中很难保持稳定。出于安全考虑，南山海庙改为在庙宇内的九皇大帝神像前点燃九盏油灯，代替在室外升起九皇灯。

结语

九皇灯是九皇千秋中的重要角色，宣告着节日的开始与结束。尽管信徒多将送神仪式当作节日的结束，实际上，对于许多庙宇而言，九皇千秋的正式落幕要等到农历九月十日上午，九皇灯最后一次被降下。九皇灯召请该地区的神明和孤魂前来参与未来几天将举行的仪式。九皇灯也象征九皇大帝的在场，附近的游魂可以借此机会向九皇大帝陈诉他们的情况。

在华人宗教与社会中，灯的仪式性使用具有悠久的历史。灯作为仪式用品不仅出现在道教和佛教的经典与仪式中，也出现在社区节日里。然而，九皇灯与斗灯及其他仪式中的灯有着根本性的不同。尽管如此，九皇灯与其他在清末民初的报道中提到的露天升起的灯，以及如今各地华人社区节庆期间所使用的灯有着重要的相似之处。在东亚与东南亚的华人社区中，我们可以看到关于灯的使用与阐释的历史渊源，但不同灯之间的共同特征和可能存在的联系尚不清楚，有待进一步的研究。[81]

尽管九皇灯的形制及名称因庙宇而有所差别，但关于九皇灯在九皇庆典中的圣洁和重要性，以及在九皇灯周围需要注意的接近、言语和行动限制，庆祝九皇千秋的各庙宇之间存在着普遍共识。

[81] 同样值得注意的是，其他宗教也有在竹竿或其他材料制成的灯杆上悬挂旗帜和油灯或灯笼的做法。印度回教文化遗产中心Nagore Dargah Shrine的重要仪式之一就是升旗仪式。每当有重要的公共仪式或节日时，印度教寺庙（例如Sri Mariamman寺）也会升起旗帜。同样，在其他华人神明的节日中，一些寺庙也会在在竹竿上悬挂旗幡和灯笼（通常是一盏或三盏油灯或灯笼）以示庆祝。在普忠庙，在大宋三忠王圣诞时，一个类似的灯篙会被竖起来，过去灯杆使用的是竹竿，如今已被金属杆取代。

第6章

Vegetarian and Zhai

斋戒



Introduction

Given the sanctity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, participants, particularly ritual specialists and festival volunteers, are mandated to adhere to strict regulations and protocols, including a regime of abstinence and a vegetarian diet regarded by some temples as the "Nine Emperor Gods' *zhai*", or "Nine Emperor Gods' *su*".[1] During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, a vegetarian diet and regime of abstinence are prescribed for participants, especially for ritual specialists and festival volunteers. Many temples in Singapore encourage their devotees and visitors to undertake vegetarian diets, either for the festival or during the days of their visits to the festival sites. For the convenience of devotees, these Singapore-based temples also provide free vegetarian food to visitors on days leading up to the festival. Often, the provided meals comprise vegetarian rice noodles and a side of curry. Other vegetarian meals have also been offered and have become specialities of specific temples. Elsewhere, in Malaysia and Thailand, devotees and visitors are provided with vegetarian dishes from various street hawker booths set up in temple fairs around the temples for the festival.



▶ Visitors partaking in vegetarian bee hoon offered by Hougang Tou Mu Kung Temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival

九皇胜会期间，后港斗母宫的香客正在享用庙宇提供的素食米粉。

[1] 近年来有许多相关报道，见《强调简单着重干净-九皇素不忌刺激性蔬菜》，2017年10月21日， https://www.kwongwah.com.my/20171021/强调简单着重干净-九皇素不忌刺激性蔬菜/；及《今日北马头条-素料酱料素菜-样样涨-九皇斋又贵些》，2019 年 9 月 27 日，https://penang.chinapress.com.my/20190927/【今日北马头条】—素料酱料素菜-样样涨-九皇斋又/.

前言

九皇胜会是一个神圣的节日，因此在九皇诞期间，参与者特别是礼仪专家和节日义工必须遵循严格的戒律，包括吃素和禁欲。一些庙宇称之为“九皇斋”或“九皇素”。[1] 在九皇诞期间，参与者必须吃素和禁欲，特别是礼仪专家和节日义工。新加坡的许多庙宇会鼓励善男信女和香客在整个节日期间，或者在他们拜访庙宇的那一天吃素。为了方便信众，许多庙宇会从迎接九皇大帝那天起为访客提供免费素食，通常是素食米粉搭配咖喱。有的庙宇也会提供其他素菜并以这些素菜而闻名。在马来西亚和泰国，节日期间，信徒和香客也可在庙宇周围的街头小贩处买到各种素食。



Provision of vegetarian food to visitors in Leong Nam Temple during the 2016 Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

2016年九皇胜会期间，龙南殿的义工为香客提供素食。

[1] 近年来有许多相关报道，见《强调简单着重干净-九皇素不忌刺激性蔬菜》，2017年10月21日， https://www.kwongwah.com.my/20171021/强调简单着重干净-九皇素不忌刺激性蔬菜/；及《今日北马头条-素料酱料素菜-样样涨-九皇斋又贵些》，2019 年 9 月 27 日，https://penang.chinapress.com.my/20190927/【今日北马头条】—素料酱料素菜-样样涨-九皇斋又/.

The terms *zhai* and *su*, as well as *shu*, are often used interchangeably to refer to vegetarian food and diets.[2] Today, Minnan and Chaozhou speakers generally regard *zhai* as popular parlance for "vegetarian diet". Nevertheless, a quick perusal of historical literature surfaces the insight that *su* was, too, commonly used in Mandarin conversational dialogues or on signboards of vegetarian eateries. The term *zhai*, however, not only refers to a stricter form of vegetarian diet compared to *su*, but also to a physical and mental regime that extends beyond consumption to include the prohibition of potentially tainted behaviour and thoughts.[3] Similarly, multiple meanings of *su* exist. Vegetarian diet aside, it also implies simplicity, plainness, and avoidance or abstinence from flamboyance, gaudiness and spectacle. Some temples commonly enforce the start of *zhai jie*, indicated by various signs and regulations, several days before the festival.

Crucial here is the reiterated understanding that *zhai* and *su* possess meanings beyond a vegetarian diet. Their expanded meanings cover regimes of abstinence and avoidance for ritual and personal/communal purity, solemn social and emotional situations such as grief-filled funerals , personal cultivation and merit accumulation. The following sections trace the terminology's history and associated ideas and practices concerning adherent regimes, histories of Chinese religion in China and Southeast Asia, and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in these said regions.

Questions that the latter point attempts to tackle include the following: How is the concept of *zhai* related to the Nine Emperor Gods festival? What are the relationships between these different concepts of vegetarian diets and wider physical and mental regimes? What did these terms mean, and how were they used in earlier historical periods in Chinese religion and society? What do their appearances in historical texts suggest or imply? What are the roles of these concepts and practices in the history of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia and Singapore today? How have these ideas, practices, and (re-)representations transformed over time?

Zhai: A Brief History and Practice of the Concept

To date, the multiple translations of the term "*zhai*", ranging from "A vegetarian diet", "Retreat", "Fast" "Levees" and "Abstinence", have since prompted researchers to appreciate its multifaceted nature.[4] Other than being used as a process ("I am undergoing *zhai*") or ritual titles (Great Yellow Register *Zhai*), the ritualization of *zhai* has also been observed with its conduct in honour of deities or, more rarely, on behalf of deceased individuals for securing better afterlives.[5] Sundry uses aside, fundamental to *zhai* is the overall compliance of strict regimes of mental, spiritual, and physical discipline and abstinence by all participants.

Historically, although the Buddhist term "poṣadha" and its practice in China had interacted with indigenous notions of *zhai* by the sixth century CE, the concept is an ancient one that predated Buddhism in China. The *Zhuangzi* (compiled around the fourth century BCE), for example, described a dialogue between Confucius (551—479 BCE) and his student Yan Hui (521—481 BCE), outlining the demands that are placed on an individual during the process. When a ruler of the Wei state turned lax in governance and despotic in his ways, Yan asked Confucius for permission to reform him. Confucius gave Yan his conditional blessing and urged Yan to undertake *zhai* before proceeding with his venture.[6] Yan questioned if this was necessary since his "family is poor, thus (he) had not consumed alcoholic drinks, prohibited foods and meat for many months". In response, Confucius stressed that such practices were only fit for the "*zhai* that one undertakes before sacrifices are offered and did not constitute the *zhai* of the mind ". To practice the *zhai* of the mind, one needs to "harmonise every action that one wills. If one doesn't listen with one's ears, one listens with the heart; if one doesn't listen with one's heart, one listens to the *qi*. Allow listening with the ears to cease, and let the mind align itself. As of the *qi*, release it from everything else, and seek only to accumulate vacuity. Those who do so can experience the *zhai* of the mind".[7]

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[2] 关于这些术语的使用问题，以及它们功能的重叠，请参阅 Wong Hon Foong, 'Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context: Clarifying misconceptions about Chinese vegetarianism' (Msc. thesis, London Centre for History of Science, Medicine, and Technology, 2010), 1-2. 尽管一些学者主张区分这些术语的差别，但在新加坡的闽南和潮州方言的通俗说法中，"斋"更多是作为素食的总称，而在华语中，"斋"和"素"的概念不同。"斋"指的是一种更为严格的饮食制度，通常包括不吃牛奶和鸡蛋，在某些情况下，还忌食五辛。道家以薤、蒜、韭、葱、胡荽为五荤；佛家以葱、蒜、韭、薤、兴渠为五荤。关于五辛的历史会在下节进行讨论。

[3] 请参阅本章倒数第二节所引用的研究，如李永球的著作。

[4] 关于这一术语的不同翻译，见施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）和傅飞岚（Franciscus Verellen）编的《道藏通考》；傅飞岚的专着；本章下文提及的 Charles Benn 的著作章节；以及 Robert Ford Campany, 'Abstinence Halls (*zhaitang* 斋堂) in Lay Households in early Medieval China,' *Studies in Chinese Religions* 1:4 (2015): 323-343.

[5] 张泽洪<济生度死：道教斋醮的内涵与功能>，《동아인문학 [东亚人文学]》，2022 年第 2 期页 387-411。原文为中文。

[6] 庄子（公元前 368 年-前 286 年），<人间世>第 1 段，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/man-in-the-world-associated-with/zh. 有关庄子思想与佛教思想对斋的理解的比较研究，请参阅陈丁瑞《庄子（心斋，坐忘）与佛教（戒，定，慧）功夫的会通》，国立屏东大学硕士学位论文，2021 年。

[7] "气"这一术语很难准确地译成英语词汇。见 Michael Stanley-Baker, 'Qi in Critical Terms for Religious Studies'（论文发表于"华人宗教研究关键术语国际学术研讨会"，香港理工大学，2019 年 6 月 20-22 日），论文对"气"的不同翻译以及"气"在不同语境中的"同质性"进行了批判。

“斋”、“素”以及“蔬”经常被用来指代素食和吃素的饮食习惯，并且往往可以相互替换使用。[2] 如今，在闽南和潮州方言中，“斋”通常是吃素的通俗说法。但只需快速浏览一下历史文献就会发现，“素”也经常出现在话语对话或素食餐馆的招牌上。然而，相比于“素”，“斋”不仅指一种更为严格的素食形式，还包括超越饮食之外的身体和精神上的禁欲制度，禁止一切可能污浊身心的行为和想法。[3] 同样的，“素”的含义也不仅仅是素食，它还意味着简单、朴素，避免炫耀、华而不实和铺张浪费的行为。通常而言，一些庙宇会在节日开始前几天便开始实行斋戒。

因此，“斋”和“素”不仅指素食及持素，也指禁欲和节制，无论是出于仪式和个人/群体纯洁的需要，还是特定社会场合或情绪状态的表达（例如葬礼上的悲伤），或是为了个人修养和积累功德。在本章的讨论中，我们将追溯这两个术语的历史，探讨斋戒制度与素食习惯与中国和东南亚的华人宗教历史的联系，以及九皇胜会期间与之相关的观念和实践。

本章试图阐释以下问题：“斋”的概念与九皇胜会有何关联？不同素食制度与更广泛的身心禁欲制度之间有何关系？这些术语的含义是什么，它们在早期华人宗教与社会中是如何被使用的？出现在历史文本中的这些术语意味着什么？这些观念和实践在今天东南亚和新加坡的九皇胜会历史中扮演着什么样的角色？这些思想，实践和（再）呈现是如何随着时间的推移而改变的？

“斋”的历史与实践

迄今为止，“斋”有众多的英文翻译，包括“A vegetarian diet”、“Retreat”、“Fast”、“Levees”或“Abstinence”等，反映了学者们对这一术语有多种解读。[4] 本节的关键是理解“斋”的用法和形式的复杂性和多面向。“斋”可以指一个过程（例如：“我正在持斋”），也可以用来描述某种仪式（例如：“黄箓大斋”）。人们可以通过持斋来祭祀某位神明，或相对罕见一点的，代替已故的人持斋，为他/她祈求更好的来生。[5] 无论人们的目的是什么，正在进行斋戒的人都必须在思想、精神和生理上遵循严格的禁欲制度。

从历史上看，尽管在公元6世纪以前，佛教术语“posadha”及其在中国的实践与中国本土“斋”的概念已经相互影响，但在中国，“斋”是一个历史悠久的概念，早在佛教传入之前就存在了。例如，成书于约公元前4世纪的《庄子》记载了孔子（公元前551年-前479年）与其弟子颜回（公元前521年-481年）之间的对话，提出了在持斋过程中对个人的要求。当卫国（约公元前1117年—公元前209年）国君变得疏于管理和专横独裁时，颜回向孔子请辞出使卫国。孔子持保留意见并建议颜回在开始他的冒险之前要先进行斋戒。[6] 颜回表示“回之家贫，唯不饮酒不茹荤者数月矣”，询问这样是否可以代替斋戒。孔子表示这“是祭祀之斋，非心斋也”。所谓心斋，应该是“若一志，无听之以耳而听之以心，无听之以心而听之以气。[7] 听止于耳，心止于符。气也者，虚而待物者也。唯道集虚。虚者，心斋也”。[8]

[2] 关于这些术语的使用问题，以及它们功能的重叠，请参阅 Wong Hon Foong, “Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context: Clarifying misconceptions about Chinese vegetarianism” (Msc. thesis, London Centre for History of Science, Medicine, and Technology, 2010), 1-2. 尽管一些学者主张区分这些术语的差别，但在新加坡的闽南和潮州方言的通俗说法中，“斋”更多是作为素食的总称，而在华语中，“斋”和“素”的概念不同。“斋”指的是一种更为严格的饮食制度，通常包括不吃牛奶和鸡蛋，在某些情况下，还忌食五辛。道家以薤、蒜、韭、葱、胡荽为五荤；佛家以葱、蒜、韭、薤、兴渠为五荤。关于五辛的历史会在下节进行讨论。

[3] 请参阅本章倒数第二节所引用的研究，如李永球的著作。

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[5] 张泽洪 <济生度死：道教斋醮的内涵与功能>，《동아인문학 [东亚人文学]》，2022 年第 2 期页 387-411。原文为中文。

[6] 庄子（公元前 368 年-前 286 年），<人间世>第 1 段，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/man-in-the-world-associated-with/zh. 有关庄子思想与佛教思想对斋的理解的比较研究，请参阅陈丁瑞《庄子（心斋，坐忘）与佛教（戒，定，慧）功夫的会通》，国立屏东大学硕士学位论文，2021 年。

[7] “气”这一术语很难准确地译成英语词汇。见 Michael Stanley-Baker, “Qi in Critical Terms for Religious Studies”（论文发表于“华人宗教研究关键术语国际学术研讨会”，香港理工大学，2019 年 6 月 20-22 日），论文对“气”的不同翻译以及“气”在不同语境中的“同质性”进行了批判。

Despite the relative brevity of the account, as mentioned earlier, it establishes that the process of *zhai* was not synonymous with abstinence from rich foods or the consumption of alcohol. The dialogue also confirms that *zhai* is performed with varying degrees of intensity, and separate *zhais* fulfilled different functions.[8] The exchange implies that *zhai* can be undertaken before official sacrifices and religious ceremonies. Later texts, such as the *Mencius* (compiled 340—250 BCE) , use the self-purification regimes of *zhai* as a metaphor for self-correction. For example, he noted that "while there may be wicked people, (so long) as they are willing to undergo *zhai*, observe Precepts and bathe, they may also be allowed to sacrifice to Heaven ". [9] Before one enters the presence of a divinity or ancestor, absolute purity from within and without one's body and spirit must be ensured.

One of the earliest dictionaries, the *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters* (dated to the first century CE), likewise described the character *zhai* as the following: "(maintaining) [p]recepts, and purity. From (the character's) appearance, it takes after the Chinese character 'neatness'". [10] As this entry implies, ritual precepts, cleanliness, and purity in these *zhai* regimes are emphasised, and they continued to inform the performance of imperial rites and sacrifices. *Zhai* was also undertaken to demonstrate the ruler's faith and sincerity in appointing ministers to critical positions. At the advice of his officials, the founder of the Han Dynasty, Liu Bang, "selected an auspicious day, underwent *zhai*, erected an altar and prepared sacrificial vessels" before he conferred the military strategist Han Xin with the title of commander-in-chief of his armies.[11]

The later *Book of the Liu-Song Dynasty*, likewise, explained that emperors were required to undergo two stages of *zhai*: "for seven days, he could not listen to music, approach women, mourn the dead or ask about the sick" in what is known as "relaxed *zhai*", before taking up "strict *zhai*" for three days. The ruler "focused his attention on the sacrificial rites" in the latter. Once the ten days of *zhai* have been complete, the emperor would be "filled with sincerity and trustworthiness" and "able to nourish and revere the deities to whom the sacrifices are made".[12] These beliefs, where one undertakes *zhai* in preparation for an encounter with a divinity or an honoured individual, were likely assimilated into the practices of specialists known as *fangshi* and practitioners of Daoism later on.[13]

[8] 庄子，<人间世>第 2 段，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/man-in-the-world-associated-with/zh. 鉴于庄子对儒家现世观和改良主义的批判，这一论述的史实性受到当代学者的质疑。关于《庄子》中孔子与其弟子颜回之间的互动的史学分析，请参阅 Ann-Ping Chin, *Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), 文中处处有所提及，尤其是 75-76, 86-87, 100-109, 114 和 221.

[9] 孟子（战国时期，公元前 340 年-前 250 年），<离娄下>，见《孟子》，第 53 段，https://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-ii/ens#n1724, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日。英文为笔者所译。此处所引原文使用汉字"齐"，但许多其他翻译使用汉字"斋"。关于"齐""斋"两字含义的区别，请参阅下一脚注所引的字典网址"说文解字"对"斋"的解释。

[10] 许慎（创作年代：东汉，公元 100-121 年），《说文解字》卷二，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日，https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/shi-bu/zhs#n26191.

[11] 司马迁（公元前 145 年-前 86 年），<淮阴侯列传>第 5 段，见《史记》，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日，https://ctext.org/shiji/huai-yin-hou-lie-zhuan/zhs. 据《史记》前段所载，韩信觉得自己怀才不遇，决定离楚归汉。刘邦的部下注意到他的才华，建议刘邦在重用韩信之前进行斋戒，这可能是帝王通过放弃身体享乐留住人才的一种方式

[12] 沈约（公元 441-513 年），《宋书》卷十四，第 60 和 68 段，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=765793. 此处所引英文翻译及节选讨论改编自 Chen Shuguo, 'State Religious Ceremonies,' in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume One*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 77. 原始文献中有一系列冗长的仪式指示，可在所引的链接中查阅到完整的信息。

[13] 关于这些传统在中国早期和中古时期的融合、重叠和相互影响，请参阅 Lü Pengzhi, 'Daoist Rituals,' in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume Two*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 1247-1349. 有关方士的具体例子以及他们的生活，请参阅 Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

尽管上述对话的描述比较简短，但它证明了“斋”并不等同于不吃油腻食物和不喝酒。对话也证实了“斋”的实行可以有不同的程度，不同的斋具有特定的功能。正如他们的交谈所暗示的，斋可以在官方祭祀和宗教仪式之前进行。在后来的文献中，例如编纂于公元前340-250年的《孟子》，斋作为自我净化机制被用来隐喻自我修正。例如，孟子指出“虽有恶人，齐斋沐浴，则可以祀上帝”。[9] 一个人在进入神明和祖先所在的区域之前，必须保证身体和精神、内在与外在的绝对纯洁。

最早的字典之一——《说文解字》（可追溯至公元1世纪）对斋的解释是：“戒，洁也。从示，齐省声”。[10]正如这一条目所暗示的，在斋戒中，强调的是戒律、清净及纯洁，并且它们持续影响着皇室的仪式和祭祀。在任命大臣等关键职位时，统治者会进行斋戒来展示其信念及诚意。汉朝开国皇帝刘邦在其部下的建议下，在任命韩信为大将军之前“择良日，斋戒，设坛场，具礼”。[11]

类似地，后来的《宋书》记载，皇帝需要进行两种斋戒，“散斋七日，致斋三日”。散斋期间，皇帝七日不举乐，不近女色，不吊丧或过问病人。致斋期间，皇帝专心于祭祀礼仪。十日斋戒结束，表明皇帝“十分虔诚且值得信赖”，因此“能够供奉和祭祀神明”。[12] 在这些观念中，人们进行斋戒以表虔诚，从而拜访神明或受尊敬的人，这种观念很可能为后来的方士以及道教所吸收。[13]

[8] 庄子，<人间世>第 2 段，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/man-in-the-world-associated-with/zh. 鉴于庄子对儒家现世观和改良主义的批判，这一论述的史实性受到当代学者的质疑。关于《庄子》中孔子与其弟子颜回之间的互动的史学分析，请参阅 Ann-Ping Chin, *Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), 文中处处有所提及，尤其是 75-76, 86-87, 100-109, 114 和 221.

[9] 孟子（战国时期，公元前 340 年-前 250 年），<离娄下>，见《孟子》，第 53 段，https://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-ii/ens#n1724, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日。英文为笔者所译。此处所引原文使用汉字“齐”，但许多其他翻译使用汉字“斋”。关于“齐”“斋”两字含义的区别，请参阅下一脚注所引的字典网址“说文解字”对“斋”的解释。

[10] 许慎（创作年代：东汉，公元 100-121 年），《说文解字》卷二，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日，https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/shi-bu/zhs#n26191.

[11] 司马迁（公元前 145 年-前 86 年），<淮阴侯列传>第 5 段，见《史记》，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 15 日，https://ctext.org/shiji/huai-yin-hou-lie-zhuan/zhs. 据《史记》前段所载，韩信觉得自己怀才不遇，决定离楚归汉。刘邦的部下注意到他的才华，建议刘邦在重用韩信之前进行斋戒，这可能是帝王通过放弃身体享乐留住人才的一种方式

[12] 沈约（公元 441-513 年），《宋书》卷十四，第 60 和 68 段，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=765793. 此处所引英文翻译及节选讨论改编自 Chen Shuguo, “State Religious Ceremonies,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume One*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 77. 原始文献中有一系列冗长的仪式指示，可在所引的链接中查阅到完整的信息。

[13] 关于这些传统在中国早期和中古时期的融合、重叠和相互影响，请参阅 Lü Pengzhi, “Daoist Rituals,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume Two*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 1247-1349. 有关方士的具体例子以及他们的生活，请参阅 Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

The Buddhist and Daoist Synthesis

With the Han dynasty's introduction of Buddhist ideas and texts into China, some ritual innovations in the term *zhai* can be observed. On the Buddhist front, as noted by Li Jing, the term "*zhai*" has undergone multiple translations and re-translations within different ritualistic, linguistic, and historical contexts. While "*zhai*" has been used as a generalised translation for "poṣadha," its significance has transformed, and it became localised in China from the third to sixth centuries CE. [14] Buddhist forms of *zhai* can be divided into two general categories: For monastics and lay practitioners. *Zhai* performed by clergy members includes "a ceremony of confession and repentance of sins and the recitation of the monastic code (*pratimoksa*)," a highly-formalised practice with specific gesticulations observed on the first and fifteenth days of every lunar month.[15]

Zhai for lay Buddhists, on the other hand, varies more in relation to performance dates. "[O]ther days and other lengths (of zhai) was accepted", although they were generally associated with six days of each month, namely on the "eighth, 14th and 15th of each fortnight, and the annual three long periods were the first fortnight of the first, fifth, and ninth months". [16] Interestingly, poṣadha for lay practitioners was "introduced to China much earlier" from the third century CE onwards as the T87. In contrast, the monastic form of the practice was "not translated in their entirety until the early fifth century".[17] Discussions of three categories of *zhai* surfaced in the latter, namely: "cowherd's *zhai*, the Jain's *zhai* and the Buddhist *zhai* ".

The first instance is characterised by its ad hoc nature, "just like a cow-herd who seeks good water and grass to drink and feed his cows, returning in the evening thinking of the abundance of the wild, and returning at dawn". In the second instance, although indicating that "Buddhism had no monopoly on the term" poṣadha (as *zhai*), adherents who followed the Jains' methods would ultimately "not be blessed and would not gain true enlightenment". [18] In the place of these two forms of *zhai*, the Buddha recommends devotees observe Buddhist *zhai*. As a part of the process, he proposes that laypeople undertake the Eight Precepts, where they were to "abstain from killing, avarice, lust, false speech, consuming alcoholic drinks, abstaining from cosmetics and dancing, sleeping on fine beds and abstaining from food after noon." By extension, they had to perform Five Recitations on behalf of the "Buddha, the Dharma, Monastics, their Precepts, and divinities who roamed the heavens". [19]

Even though the T87 outlined the base elements of Buddhist *zhai*, the rituals, precepts and length are subject to context and location. Li Jing, for example, demonstrates how the practice was adapted in early China. By the sixth century CE, "a vegetarian diet replaced the half-day fast as one of the Eight Precepts".[20] More importantly, she argued that after the concept of *poṣadha* was introduced into China as *zhai*, "the entire event as a long-running program could involve rituals that were not necessarily related to the poṣadha/*zhai*".[21] Despite modification in rationale and organised rituals, most Buddhist *zhai* still revolved around rites of self-purification, confession, and re-iteration of one's faith in the Three Jewels, among others.

We still observe such adaptations in rituals today. Even temples that observe the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods along Buddhist lines, such as Long Nan Szye and Zhun Ti Tang, follow rituals not directly relevant to the occasion. For instance, the receiving and sending-off ceremonies of the Nine Emperor Gods/ Buddhas from a water body, the veneration of Guanyin Bodhisattva and *yankou* rituals, among others, have been incorporated into these temples' schedules of rituals and spread across the festive period of nine days.[22]

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[14] Li Jing, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China (third—sixth centuries CE)," *Buddhist Studies Review* 36:1 (2019): 71-74; 亦可参阅 Sylvie Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume Two*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 1213.

[15] Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," 1213-1215.

[16] Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," 1215-1216.

[17] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 77. 由于篇幅的删减，本文的论述未能充分体现佛教视角下关于"斋"的经典资料的多样性。相关原始资料的参考书目见侯冲，<中国宗教仪式文献中的斋意类文献——以佛教为核心>，《世界宗教文化》2019 年第 5 期，页 26-32。

[18] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 79.

[19]《佛说斋经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T01, no. 87, 911a4-9 和 911a17-c4 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0087, 最近一次访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日。这些戒律出自不同段落，为方便阅读，此处引文节选各段首句组成。关于每段经文更为详细的讨论，请参阅聂鸿音<西夏本《近住八斋戒文》考释>，《台大佛学研究》2012 年第 101 期，页 161-200。

[20] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 94.

[21] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 95.

[22] 本卷前面章节已讨论了恭迎仪式和恭送仪式。关于这些神明和节日仪式，请参阅 Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); 吴华<佛教放焰口仪式杂说>，《宗教学研究》2014 年第 2 期，页 109-115；Hin Hung Sik and Fa Ren Sik, "A Case Study of the Decline of the Buddhist Funeral Ritual, the Guangdong Yuqie Yankou," *Contemporary Buddhism: An International Journal* 17:1 (2016): 116-137. 如同北斗信仰，放焰口仪式虽然通常与佛教相关，但也被道教吸纳。请参阅 Charles Orzech, "Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity," in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual, ed. Livia Kohn and H. D. Roth* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 213-224; 及周作奎， 张全晓<道教的施食科仪放焰口>，《中国宗教》2007 年第 10 期，页 51-53。

佛教与道教的交汇

汉朝时期，随着佛教思想和典籍传入中国，“斋”发生了一些仪式上的创新。在佛教方面，正如Li Jing所指出的，“斋”一词在不同的仪式、语言和历史背景下，被多次地翻译和再翻译。虽然“斋”可作为“posadha”的概括性翻译，但在公元3世纪至6世纪“posadha”传入中国时，它的意义已经发生了变化并逐渐在地化了。[14] 佛教的斋戒可大致分为两类：一类是僧侣的斋戒，另一类是普通信徒的斋戒。对于僧侣而言，他们履行的斋戒包括“坦白、忏悔以及诵经（*pratimoksa*）仪式”，这是每月农历初一十五都会进行的高度正式化的仪式，并伴随着特定的手势。[15]

另一方面，而对普通信徒而言，斋戒的形式更为多样，“何时进行斋戒以及斋戒多长时间都是可以接受的”。平常可见的是六日斋（即每月初八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日）以及三长斋（即每年一月、五月、九月的前两个星期）有关。[16] 有趣的是，在更早的时候，从公元3世纪开始，对于世俗信徒的“posadha”就被引入到中国。而规定了僧侣“posadha”的T87《佛说斋经》直到公元5世纪早期才被完整地翻译成中文。[17]《佛说斋经》提到了三种斋：“一为牧牛斋，二为尼犍斋，三为佛法斋”。

第一种斋的特点是其临时性质。“牧牛斋者，如牧牛人求善水草饮饲其牛，暮归思念何野有丰饶，须天明当复往”。对于第二种斋，佛经指出“posadha”（即“斋”）的戒律并不为佛家独有，但斋戒者若贵文贱质，也“不得大福，非大明”。[18] 相较于前两类斋，佛教提倡信徒进行第三种斋。作为佛法斋的一部分，佛教提倡信徒受持八戒，即“无有杀意；无贪取意；无淫意；无妄语意；不饮酒；不传脂粉，不为歌舞倡乐；不卧好床；过日中后不复食”。再者他们应当修习五念：“一当念佛；二当念法；三当念众；四者念戒；五当念天”。[19]

实际上，尽管T87概述了佛教斋戒的基本元素，但其仪式、戒律和时间长短因地而异，视情况而定。Li Jing论述了早期这一实践在中国是如何适应的，到了公元6世纪，“素食取代了半日斋戒，成为了八戒之一”。[20] 她指出，更重要的是，“posadha”作为“斋”的概念传入中国后，“斋戒作为持续时间较长的活动，也会包括与posadha/斋不那么相关的仪式”。[21] 尽管在基本原理和组织仪式上有一定的调整，大部分佛教的斋戒依然以自我净化、忏罪和重申三宝信仰等仪式为重要内容。

直到今天，我们仍能在仪式中看到这些因地而异的痕迹。即使在以佛教传统供奉九皇大帝的寺庙，例如龙南寺和准提堂，与斋戒不直接相关的仪式也被纳入庙宇的仪式安排中，并贯穿整个九皇千秋，例如九皇佛祖的迎接和恭送仪式、供奉观世音菩萨和放焰口仪式。[22]

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[14] Li Jing, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China (third—sixth centuries CE)," *Buddhist Studies Review* 36:1 (2019): 71-74; 亦可参阅 Sylvie Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD), Volume Two*, ed. John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2010), 1213.

[15] Hureau, "Buddhist Rituals," 1213-1215.

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[17] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 77. 由于篇幅的删减，本文的论述未能充分体现佛教视角下关于“斋”的经典资料的多样性。相关原始资料的参考书目见侯冲，<中国宗教仪式文献中的斋意类文献——以佛教为核心>，《世界宗教文化》2019 年第 5 期，页 26-32。

[18] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 79.

[19]《佛说斋经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T01, no. 87, 911a4-9 和 911a17-c4 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0087, 最近一次访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日。这些戒律出自不同段落，为方便阅读，此处引文节选各段首句组成。关于每段经文更为详细的讨论，请参阅聂鸿音<西夏本《近住八斋戒文》考释>，《台大佛学研究》2012 年第 101 期，页 161-200。

[20] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 94.

[21] Li, "The Transformation of Poṣadha Zhai in Early Medieval China," 95.

[22] 本卷前面章节已讨论了恭迎仪式和恭送仪式。关于这些神明和节日仪式，请参阅 Yu Chun-Fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); 吴华<佛教放焰口仪式杂说>，《宗教学研究》2014 年第 2 期，页 109-115；Hin Hung Sik and Fa Ren Sik, "A Case Study of the Decline of the Buddhist Funeral Ritual, the Guangdong Yuqie Yankou," *Contemporary Buddhism: An International Journal* 17:1 (2016): 116-137. 如同北斗信仰，放焰口仪式虽然通常与佛教相关，但也被道教吸纳。请参阅 Charles Orzech, "Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity," in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual, ed. Livia Kohn and H. D. Roth* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 213-224; 及周作奎， 张全晓<道教的施食科仪放焰口>，《中国宗教》2007 年第 10 期，页 51-53。

In the history of Chinese religion and society, lay devotees have participated in Buddhist *zhai* in many ways. In the Wei dynasty, for example, less well-off Buddhist lay followers contributed to and joined in the observation of Associations for the Observance of the Eight Precepts hosted by wealthier members who assumed the "Chief Sponsor of the Zhai". [23] The motivations of its participants also varied. We can infer from these sources such as the T206 (translated in the Three Kingdoms period, c. third century CE) —which extoll the virtues of *zhai* and confer a list of blessings upon those who participated or contributed to such occasions, including, but not limited to: "five sources of happiness: less illnesses, a body at peace, possessing few evil ideas, getting by with little sleep, being reincarnated among the gods in the heavens and possessing knowledge of deeds in one's past life." It suggests that adherents engage in *zhai* to secure both worldly and otherworldly benefits for themselves.[24]

As many scholars have noted, since the introduction of Buddhism to China, its traditions have influenced and interacted with other systems of belief through cycles of encounter, cooperation, and competition.[25] Among these exchanges, by the fifth century CE, Buddhist interpretations of *zhai* refracted into Daoist beliefs and rituals, such as those belonging to the Lingbao Tradition. While many rituals are known as "*zhai*" in the Daoist Canon, no convincing discussion is complete without examining innovations in the practice's ethical and moral implications by the Lingbao Daoist Lu Xiujing (406–477 CE).

In addition to his many accomplishments, Lu was responsible for synthesising elements of the Buddhist *poṣadha* with Daoist notions of *zhai*. As we have seen, in China, *zhai* is a rite of self-purification that practitioners undergo before presenting themselves before a divinity, ancestor, or, in Liu Bang's case, an esteemed individual. Conceptions of *zhai* (according to Charles Benn) were modelled after "formal court audiences", where worshippers as officials entreated the presence of deities/ancestors as rulers .[26] Lu broadened and integrated Buddhist concepts into this primary function of *zhai*. He believed that in a reformed Lingbao *zhai*, "the focus on the self (and on the recovery of its pristine nature)…[can be] placed in a framework of the collective ritual and subordinated to the doctrine of universal salvation". [27]

This renewed belief system outlined in the Lingbao *zhai*, according to Franciscus Verellen, also drew upon Mahayana Buddhist logics (alias, the Great Vehicle), where they "conceded a central place to the Great Vehicle concept of merit transfer through offerings for the salvation of others." [28] In addition, the declaration of one's observation of Precepts, a key part of the Buddhist *zhai*, also shaped the Lingbao reimagination of the practice under their auspices. For example, in the DZ352 (c. fifth century CE) and the DZ177, two manuscripts that Lu included in his catalogue of the Lingbao canon, many Precepts resembling their Buddhist counterparts of *zhai* are observed.[29]

In Lu's work, the DZ524, among the Ten Precepts, one "maintains no evil thoughts, is compassionate and free from non-killing, is free of avarice and offers help freely, is without lust and desires, is free of evil speech, abstains from alcohol and bellicosity, is without jealousy, does not criticise the teachings in scriptures, does not let their tongues wag freely, and undertakes every venture even-handedly".[30] These noticeable broad conceptual overlaps of some of these Daoist Precepts with their Buddhist counterparts testify to the intertwined histories of these two religions in Chinese society.[31]

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[23] Liu Shufen, "Art, Ritual, and Society: Buddhist Practice in Rural China during the Northern Dynasties," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 8:1 (1995): 43-44.

[24] 康僧会（三国时期，公元 220 年-280 年）译，T206《旧杂譬喻经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T04, no. 206, 513a8-11 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0206, 最近一次访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日。

[25] 关于这一主题已有许多研究著作，被大致归类为"佛道（Buddho-Daoism）"，尽管也有学者对这一术语提出异议 [例如，见 Grégoire Espesset, "The Invention of Buddho-Taoism: Critical Historiography of a Western Neologism, 1940s—2010s," *Asiatische Studien-Études Asiatiques* 72:4 (2018): 1059-1098]。更多相关研究，请参阅 Livia Kohn, "Buddhist—Daoist Interactions in Medieval China," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*, ed. Mario Pockeski (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 340-360; Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 194-284; 及 Joshua Captainio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43:2 (2015): 119-160; 及"Buddhist Tales of Lü Dongbin," *Toung Pao* 102:4/5 (2016): 448—502.

[26] Charles Benn, "Daoist Ordinations and *Zhai* Rituals," *in Daoism Handbook* ed. Livia Kohn (Brill: Leiden, Boston, and Koln, 2000), 332.

[27] Franciscus Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies: The Daoist Quest for Deliverance in Medieval China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 135.

[28] Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 148.

[29] 《太上洞玄灵宝赤书玉诀妙经》，页 001-002b 至 001-003a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0036/001#txt; 及《太上洞真智慧上品大诫》，页 000-001b 至 000-002b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0178/000.原稿被译为"Lingbao Scripture of the Jade Instructions on Red Writing," "Lingbao Scripture on the Supreme Great Rules of Wisdom Concerning the Roots of Guilt," 并分别见于 Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 216-217 与 223。除另有说明外，所有收录在《道藏》中的文本英文译文均改编自 Schipper 和 Verellen 出版的两卷本《道藏通考》。

[30] 《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》，页 000-008b 至 000-009b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0036/001#txt.原文篇幅较长，为方便阅读，此处引文有删减。原稿被译为"Observations on the Lingbao Retreat, [Especially on] Lights, Beacons, Rules, Punishments, Lamps, and Vows"并收录于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 254-255.

[31] Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 160-164.

在中国宗教史和社会史上，普通信徒以多种方式参与佛教的斋戒。例如，北魏时期，较不富裕的佛教信徒会捐助和参与“八关盛会”，这些活动由较为富裕并担任“大斋主”的信徒组织。[23] 参与者的动机各不相同。我们可以从宗教文献中推断，信徒参与斋戒活动是为了保证他们自己的世俗利益和来世的利益。例如T206《杂难譬喻经》（翻译于三国时期，约公元3世纪）颂扬了持斋的美德，并赐福于参与和捐助斋戒活动的人，包括但不限于“五福：一曰少病，二曰身安隐，三曰少淫意，四曰少睡卧，五曰得生天上常识宿命所行也”。[24]

正如许多学者所指出的，佛教传入中国以来，其传统一直与其他信仰体系发生碰撞、合作与竞争，彼此互动交流并相互影响。[25] 在这些交流中，到公元5世纪，佛教对斋的诠释渐渐渗透到道教的信仰和仪式中，例如《灵宝》中所记载的科仪。在道教经典中有许多被称为“斋”的仪式，若要对这一主题进行有说服力的讨论，不能不提及灵宝派道士陆修静（406－477年）对斋醮科仪在实践伦理和道德意义上的创新。

陆修静对道教做出卓越贡献，他将佛教“posadha”的元素与道教“斋”的概念进行综合。正如我们看到的，在中国，斋戒是一种自我净化的仪式，人们会在拜见神明或祖先前，或者像刘邦拜将时那样，先持斋受戒。Charles Benn指出，“斋”是模仿“正式的朝廷仪式”，即作为官员的持斋者请求作为统治者的神明或祖先降临。[26] 陆修静将佛教的概念扩展并整合到斋的这个主要功能中。他相信，经过改革的灵宝斋，“关注自身（并恢复原始本性）……（可被）置于集体仪式的框架中，并服从于普遍救赎的教义”。[27]

根据傅飞岚（Franciscus Verellen）的说法，《灵宝斋》中更新的信仰体系也借鉴了大乘佛教的逻辑，大乘佛教“承认大乘概念的核心地位，即通过救度他人来转移功德”。[28] 此外，宣告持斋作为佛教“斋”的一个关键部分，也影响了灵宝派对斋仪的重新诠释。例如，DZ352《太上洞玄灵宝赤书玉诀妙经》（约公元5世纪）与DZ177《太上洞真智慧上品大诫》被陆修静收录到他所考订的《灵宝经》中，其中许多斋仪与佛教斋法相近。[29]

在陆修静所撰的DZ524《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》 中，十戒为“心不恶妬；守仁不杀；不淫不盗，常行善念，损己济物；不色不欲；口无恶言；断酒节行，调和气性；不嫉人胜己；不得评论经教；不得斗乱口舌；举动施为，平等一心”。[30] 这些戒律与佛教戒律在概念上的广泛重叠是值得注意的，这再次证明了道教和佛教在中国社会和宗教中相互交织的历史。[31]

[23] Liu Shufen, "Art, Ritual, and Society: Buddhist Practice in Rural China during the Northern Dynasties," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 8:1 (1995): 43-44.

[24] 康僧会（三国时期，公元 220 年-280 年）译，T206《旧杂譬喻经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T04, no. 206, 513a8-11 页, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0206, 最近一次访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20日。

[25] 关于这一主题已有许多研究著作，被大致归类为“佛道（Buddho-Daoism）”，尽管也有学者对这一术语提出异议 [例如，见 Grégoire Espesset, "The Invention of Buddho-Taoism: Critical Historiography of a Western Neologism, 1940s—2010s," *Asiatische Studien-Études Asiatiques* 72:4 (2018): 1059-1098]。 更多相关研究，请参阅 Livia Kohn, "Buddhist—Daoist Interactions in Medieval China," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*, ed. Mario Pockeski (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 340-360; Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 194-284; 及 Joshua Captainio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43:2 (2015): 119-160; 及"Buddhist Tales of Lü Dongbin," *Toung Pao* 102:4/5 (2016): 448—502.

[26] Charles Benn, "Daoist Ordinations and *Zhai* Rituals," *in Daoism Handbook* ed. Livia Kohn (Brill: Leiden, Boston, and Koln, 2000), 332.

[27] Franciscus Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies: The Daoist Quest for Deliverance in Medieval China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 135.

[28] Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 148.

[29] 《太上洞玄灵宝赤书玉诀妙经》，页 001-002b 至 001-003a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0036/001#txt; 及《太上洞真智慧上品大诫》，页 000-001b 至 000-002b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5a0178/000.原稿被译为"Lingbao Scripture of the Jade Instructions on Red Writing;" "Lingbao Scripture on the Supreme Great Rules of Wisdom Concerning the Roots of Guilt," 并分别见于 Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 216-217 与 223。除另有说明外，所有收录在《道藏》中的文本英文译文均改编自 Schipper 和 Verellen 出版的两卷本《道藏通考》。

[30] 《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》，页 000-008b 至 000-009b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0036/001#txt.原文篇幅较长，为方便阅读，此处引文有删减。原稿被译为"Observations on the Lingbao Retreat, [Especially on] Lights, Beacons, Rules, Punishments, Lamps, and Vows"并收录于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 254-255.

[31] Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 160-164.

Some injunctions preserved in Lu's writings stress the austere nature of the practice and may be familiar with practitioners of the Nine Emperor Gods *zhai* today. In the DZ524, a list of guidelines was appended for observation by practitioners of *zhai*, where "children who are not practising *zhai* are not allowed to approach the hall to interfere with the process". In addition, those undergoing *zhai* are expected to conduct themselves with caution and utmost seriousness, where they "take emptiness as their body, tranquillity as their career, honesty and humbleness as their foundation, and show respect for everything they do". Likely mirroring the Buddhist belief that multiple divinities are observing every single detail of *poṣadha*, the same text concluded that "the Great Eye of the Dao can see every form of good and evil under the sky, with no exceptions." [32] By the mid-eighth century, *zhai* entered the everyday lexicon of Daoist monastics, where they referred to the vegetarian meals which they consumed daily. Besides referring to eponymous grand ceremonies performed in the honour of one deity, community or individual, the term "came to indicate a 'vegetarian feast' either offered to the gods or shared among the religious community".[33]

Since *zhai* is meant to cleanse participants' minds, bodies, and souls, it is equally important to consider the sources of ritual pollution to understand better what the regime entails. Some of the taboos retained in temples which observe the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia share many similarities with descriptions of ritual impurity outlined in the DZ615 (dated to the Six Dynasties). The document suggests that ritually impure people are forbidden from "undertaking *zhai*, observing a *jiao* and transmitting petitions". Manifesting in many forms, pollution encompasses death—the duration of pollution corresponds to the different degrees of closeness and importance. For example, deaths within the household causes one to be tainted for a hundred days. Smaller transgressions, such as the deaths of children, animals, or servants, result in shorter lengths of pollution in a month.[34]

[32] 《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》，页 000-018b。

[33] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 124.相关历史先例，请参阅 Terry Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 2016), 365-390.

[34] 《赤松子章历》，页 002-023a 至 002-023b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0320/002. 原文被译为The Petition Almanac of Chisong zi"，见 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 354-355.

陆修静的著作中的一些斋醮科仪强调了这一做法的严肃性，今天进行九皇斋的人们可能对这些斋仪非常熟悉。DZ524《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》中有一系列持斋者须遵循的指示："若有小儿未堪执斋，不得不得令触近治堂，干预斋次。"此外，执斋者行事必须谨慎且严肃，"正以清虚为体，恬静为业，廉卑为本，恭敬为事"。如同佛教信仰中众佛陀观察着"posadha"的每一个细节，这篇斋仪指出"太上道眼，恒洞观诸天下之善恶，无有毫遗也"。[32] 到了公元8世纪中期，"斋"成为道教的日常用语，指道教徒每天吃的素食。除了指为向某位神明、某个团体或个人致敬而举行的盛大斋仪外，这个词"后来表示一种'素食盛宴'，要么是供奉给神明的，要么由宗教团体共享"。[33]

"斋"是为了净化持斋者的心灵、身体和灵魂，因此，为了更好地理解持斋蕴含的内容，我们需要了解污染的来源。东南亚庆祝九皇胜会的庙宇所保留的一些禁忌与DZ615《赤松子章历》（可追溯至六朝时期）中的记载有众多相似之处。被认为不洁净的人"不可修斋，设醮，上章"。污染表现为多种形式，包括死亡。死亡造成的污染的持续时间根据一个人与死者亲密程度的不同而有所差异。例如，一个人的近亲去世意味着这个人在100天内都不洁净。程度较轻微的，例如儿童、动物或仆人的死亡，会导致一个人不洁净的时间较短，为一个月。有趣的是，正如在被许多庆祝九皇胜会的庙宇可见到的，与女性分娩和经期有关的生理上的分泌也被认为是潜在的污染："生产，女子伤身，殗一百日。入产妇房，殗三日"。[34] 这些禁忌也规范着中古时期道士的日常生活。除了避免吃肉饮酒，他们还禁止接触"最近有生产或死亡的家庭、强盗或奸淫之人"提供的食物，以及"任何不洁净的、腐烂的、发霉的、破损的、烧焦的或被鸟弄脏的东西，还有被孩子们碰过并归还母亲的食物"。[35] 其中一些传统至今仍在东南亚地区流传。除了要求他们的信众和义工持斋外，许多庙宇还禁止女性进入其仪式场所，因为女性可能正处于经期。但这并不是绝对的，有的庙宇也允许女性进入内殿。[36] 如果男性接触过新生儿或出生未满一个月的婴儿，他们也不被允许开进九皇大帝的神轿和节日主要祭祀场所。[37]

[32]《洞玄灵宝斋说光烛戒罚灯祝愿仪》，页 000-018b。

[33] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 124.相关历史先例，请参阅 Terry Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 2016), 365-390.

[34]《赤松子章历》，页 002-023a 至 002-023b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5b0320/002. 原文被译为The Petition Almanac of Chisong zi"，见 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 354-355.

[35] Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 127.

[36] 新加坡的玄武山翰林院、南山海庙、九皇殿和龙南寺都允许女性进入内殿，只要她们持斋并遵循必要戒律。其他庙宇也可能在特定情况下允许女性进入内殿。龙南寺的宫庙领导认为，佛教没有性别歧视。请参阅 Alice Collet, "Buddhism and Women," in *The Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, ed. Daniel Cozort and James Mark Shields (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 552- 566.

[37] 与在南非的案例研究相似，请参阅 Rachel K. Jewkes and Katharine Wood, "Problematizing Pollution: Dirty Wombs, Ritual Pollution, and Pathological Processes," *Medical Anthropology* 18: 2 (1999): 163-186. 在一次实地调研中，接触出生未满一个月的新生儿被认为可能会使九皇诞的主要仪式参与者变得污秽。

Interestingly, and reflective of many temples observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, bodily secretions relating to birth and menstruation are deemed potentially polluting. These taboos also informed the everyday discipline of medieval Daoist monastics. Besides avoiding the consumption of meat and alcoholic drinks, they were prohibited from coming into contact with food that came from "from families with a recent birth or death, from robbers, or lascivious people" and "anything unclean, rotten, mouldy, broken, burnt, or defiled by birds; as well as any foodstuffs that children touched and returned to their mothers," among others.[35] Some of these traditions are still observed in Southeast Asia today. Besides requesting their devotees and volunteers to embark on a vegetarian diet, many temples also prohibit women from entering their ritual space in case they are on their periods. Still, this is not universal, as some temples allow women to enter their Inner Chambers.[36] Even men in contact with pre-one-month-old newborns are prohibited near the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins and core ritual spaces.[37]

The evolutionary nature of Daoist zhai performances has become evident. For one, their association with *jiao*, grand renewal rites, have been observed since the Tang dynasty.[38] Largely independent, the two are usually "performed sequentially and developed much in tandem with one another".[39] For example, the Six Dynasties witnessed different ritual instructions for religious spaces erected and consecrated to perform *zhai* and *jiao* rituals. On the one hand, *zhai* altars were constructed as microcosms of the universe. On the other hand, *jiao* altars were erected to indicate the attendance of different deities in the Daoist pantheon. However, from the end of the Tang, these once separate ritual instructions started to overlap and amalgamate. As a result of "the simplification of ritual spaces," these realms and rituals became interchangeable, to the extent that *jiao* altar layouts started to replace their *zhai* counterparts by the Qing dynasty.[40] Until today, *jiao* ceremonies are still performed in East and Southeast Asia, albeit infrequently. They typically occur every three, five, nine or twelve years in conjunction with religious events of significance to the communities which sponsor them.[41] Participants of these rituals are also made to undergo the process of *zhai* in preparation for encountering the various gods and divinities.[42]

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[35] Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 127.

[36] 新加坡的玄武山翰林院、南山海庙、九皇殿和龙南寺都允许女性进入内殿，只要她们持斋并遵循必要戒律。其他庙宇也可能在特定情况下允许女性进入内殿。龙南寺的宫庙领导认为，佛教没有性别歧视。请参阅 Alice Collet, "Buddhism and Women," in *The Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, ed. Daniel Cozort and James Mark Shields (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 552- 566.

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[38] 如同"斋"一次，"醮"也有其古老的起源，在汉代之前的许多仪式指南和手册中便有所记载。例如，《仪礼》（可追溯至战国时期）载："醮"最初指的是"在及冠和婚礼仪式中祭脯祭酒"，后来才发展出祭祀功能。《仪礼》（战国时期，<士冠礼>，第 19-29 段, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://ctext.org/yili/shi-guan-li/zhs. 原文篇幅较长，此处脚注所引内容改编自 Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 48.

[39] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 227. 近年来，学者们关于醮及其在民族志语境中的表现发表了许多重要研究，尤其是Choi Chi-Cheung 蔡志祥，"Studies on Hong Kong Jiao Festivals," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1990): 26-43;《酬神与超幽：节日和香港的地域社会》（香港：中华书局，2019 年），两卷本；及蔡志祥与韦锦新合编，《沿续与变革：香港社区建醮传统的民族志》（香港：香港中文大学，2014 年）；Kenneth Dean, "Field notes on two Taoist jiao observed in Zhangzhou in December 1985," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986): 191—209; 及 Michael Saso "The Daoist Jiao Celebration," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 8 (2015): 204-211.

[40] 张超然<斋醮坛场与仪式变迁：以道教朝科为中心的讨论>，《华人宗教研究》2014 年第 4 期，页 1-41。所引内容引自第 28页。

[41] 有关更普遍的研究，请参阅谭伟伦<中国东南部醮仪之四种形态>，《历史人类学学刊》2005 年第 3 期第 2 版，页 131-156。一些庙宇甚至一年举行一次斋醮仪式。请参阅梁伟利<新加坡道教斋醮功能性研究：以正华村金福宫与南洋梁氏公会"保安清醮"为田野个案>，南洋理工大学荣誉学士学位论文，新加坡，2011，页 20-26。其他庙宇以三年、五年、六年或十二年（或更长）为一个周期举行斋醮仪式。见林科宏<"上承帝令，下佑群生"：新加坡朱，邢，李大人信仰"神人关系"模式之研究>，南洋理工大学硕士学位论文，新加坡，2016，页 142-146。

[42] 尽管所有的醮仪都要求参与者保持纯洁和精神上的洁净，但并非所有的醮仪都对禁止饮酒和吃肉的问题上含糊其辞。在一些被保存在《道藏》中的经文中，酒肉被规定为理想的祭品。在DZ854《太上三皇宝斋神仙上录经》（可追溯至唐朝时期，公元 618-907 年）中<醮仪>一节，参与者设"三大长盘，三瓯酒，昆布为脯，南粽，果随时珍，酒三斗，省肉脯。"见《太上三皇宝斋神仙上录经》，页 000-005a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，http://kanripo.org/text/KR5c0251/000. 原文被译为"Rituals of the Retreat of the River Chart for Atonement to the Thirty-six Heavenly [Emperors] and Earthly Sovereigns, of the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon," 并见于 *The Taoist Canon, Volume I*, 504-505.

道教的斋戒不断演化，唐朝以后，斋戒通常与被称为“醮”的大型祭祀法事结合起来。[38] 尽管斋和醮在很大程度上是相互独立的，但两者通常是“同步发展，相辅相成”。[39] 例如，六朝时期，围绕建立进行斋仪和醮仪的宗教空间逐渐形成不同的仪式指示。斋坛被建造成道教宇宙观的一个缩影，而醮坛被建立以象征道教中众神祇的在场。然而，从唐末开始，这些曾经不相关的仪式指示逐渐相互重叠和融合。“简化仪式空间”的结果是，斋仪和醮仪可以互相替换，以至于到了清朝，醮坛的布局完全取代斋坛的布局。[40] 直到今天，醮仪依然在东亚和东南亚举行，尽管举行仪式的频率不高（通常每三、五、九年或十二年举行一次），并且通常与其他重要的宗教节日一同举行。[41] 参与这些宗教活动的信众也要持斋，为在节日中拜见不同神明做准备。[42]

[38] 如同“斋”一次，“醮”也有其古老的起源，在汉代之前的许多仪式指南和手册中便有所记载。例如，《仪礼》（可追溯至战国时期）载：“醮”最初指的是“在及冠和婚礼仪式中祭脯祭酒”，后来才发展出祭祀功能。《仪礼》（战国时期，<士冠礼>，第 19-29 段, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://ctext.org/yili/shi-guan-li/zhs. 原文篇幅较长，此处脚注所引内容改编自 Verellen, *Imperiled Destinies*, 48.

[39] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 227. 近年来，学者们关于醮及其在民族志语境中的表现发表了许多重要研究，尤其是Choi Chi-Cheung 蔡志祥，“Studies on Hong Kong Jiao Festivals,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1990): 26-43; 《酬神与超幽：节日和香港的地域社会》（香 港：中华书局，2019 年），两卷本；及蔡志祥与韦锦新合编，《沿续与变革：香港社区建醮 传统的民族志》（香港：香港中文大学，2014 年）；Kenneth Dean, “Field notes on two Taoist ‘jiao’ observed in Zhangzhou in December 1985,” *Cahiers dExtrême-Asie* 2 (1986): 191—209; 及 Michael Saso “The Daoist Jiao Celebration,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 8 (2015): 204-211.

[40] 张超然<斋醮坛场与仪式变迁：以道教朝科为中心的讨论>，《华人宗教研究》2014 年第 4 期，页 1-41。所引内容引自第 28页。

[41] 有关更普遍的研究，请参阅谭伟伦<中国东南部醮仪之四种形态>，《历史人类学学刊》2005 年第 3 期第 2 版，页 131-156。一些庙宇甚至一年举行一次斋醮仪式。请参阅梁伟利<新加坡道教斋醮功能性研究：以正华村金福宫与南洋梁氏公会“保安清醮”为田野个案>， 南洋理工大学荣誉学士学位论文，新加坡，2011，页 20-26。其他庙宇以三年、五年、六年或十二年（或更长）为一个周期举行斋醮仪式。见林科宏<“上承帝令，下佑群生”：新加坡朱，邢，李大人信仰“神人关系”模式之研究>，南洋理工大学硕士学位论文，新加坡，2016，页 142-146。

[42] 尽管所有的醮仪都要求参与者保持纯洁和精神上的洁净，但并非所有的醮仪都对禁止饮酒和吃肉的问题上含糊其辞。在一些被保存在《道藏》中的经文中，酒肉被规定为理想的祭品。在DZ854《太上三皇宝斋神仙上录经》（可追溯至唐朝时期，公元 618-907 年）中<醮仪>一节，参与者设“三大长盘，三瓯酒，昆布为脯，南粽，果随时珍，酒三斗，省肉脯。”见《太上三皇宝斋神仙上录经》，页 000-005a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，http://kanripo.org/text/KR5c0251/000. 原文被译为Rituals of the Retreat of the River Chart for Atonement to the Thirty-six Heavenly [Emperors] and Earthly Sovereigns, of the Dongxuan Lingbao Canon,” 并见于 *The Taoist Canon, Volume I*, 504-505.

Besides occurring with *jiao*, *zhai* has also experienced other ritual and ethical changes in relation to the Daoist and Buddhist fronts post-Tang dynasty. For example, altars erected to perform *zhai* between the Tang and the Song dynasties involved the veneration of portraits and images. [43] The same timeframe also saw Daoist practitioners assimilating novel elements into their observations of *zhai*. These included the techniques wielded by Thunder Magic practitioners and methods affiliated with the Divine Empyrean and Heavenly Heart traditions.[44] Lai Chi-Tim, for example, explains how the Yellow Register Retreat—linked to Du Guangting (850–933 CE), particularly the original compilation of the 40-section ritual instructions—remained entrenched within the Daoist tradition throughout the Southern Song.[45] The ritual essentially maintained its Daoist core. During the Song, the "exorcistic rituals of investigating and summoning, Thunder rites and salvation through sublimation are grafted" onto the tradition. These practices exhibited influences from local religious sources and Tantric Buddhism, reflecting the intense inter-religious competition of the time.[46]

Manuscripts recovered from Dunhuang (sealed during the early 11th century CE, but include materials from the fifth century CE onwards) also demonstrate that *zhai* was a consistent part of religious life, where laymen Buddhists undertook the practice on the eighth day of the first lunar month between the Tang and Song dynasties.[47] Like their Daoist counterparts, *zhai* underwent many ritual innovations across the centuries. These changes are not only observable by living participants but have also constituted a segment of mortuary rituals. Documents recovered from the Dunhuang Caves, for example, indicate that seven-seven (49-day) *zhai* were observed by Buddhist families on behalf of the recently deceased.[48] Such practices were believed to smoothen the dead's passage into the afterlife, where the judgment of the Ten Kings of the Netherworld may be influenced by the posthumous merit generated by such rituals.[49] Musicals, including orchestra performances, were also important parts of these rituals and were, too, featured in the Yuan dynasty's Daoist *zhai* performances.[50]

In Ming and Qing China, *zhai* assumed a new significance of possessing transformative powers to help fulfil this-worldly goals. Often *zhai* took shape through rituals, including Dipper Worship and reciprocal vows in exchange for blessings. For instance, the Qing dynasty's Jiangnan gazette provides insight into the experiences of Mdm. Wu, the wife of Song Guoxiang from Haizhou. She initially searched in vain for a cure for her poisoning but ultimately found remedy through her son's performance of *zhai*. Specifically, her son resorted to "maintaining a regime of *zhai* and performed Dipper worship" and "authoring a petition with his blood, before incinerating it as an offering when sacrificing to the God of the Stove".[51] The successful recovery was argued to have resulted from her son's filial deeds. While not as dramatic as using one's blood to trigger a divine intervention, the *zhai* regime and Dipper Worship ceremonies observed by Mdm. Wu's son was not an everyday occurrence. Rather, these were performed under extraordinary circumstances to invoke divine assistance. Consequently, it is unsurprising that it became noteworthy enough to appear in the local gazette.

Vegetarian Diets

Let us now turn to the history of vegetarian diets in Chinese society, culture, and religion. Although the term "vegetarian" is a convenient catch-all for many forms of dietary preferences in English, it is less specific in the Chinese vernacular as to what is entailed or excluded.[52] Many terms are used to distinguish the observation of vegetarian diets, including "foods suitable for *zhai*/*zhai shi*", "eating *zhai*/*chi zhai*", "vegetable foods/*shu shi*", and "plain eating/*su shi*". While *su* primarily refers to vegetables, *su*, as *zhai* discussed earlier, has several meanings beyond vegetarianism.[53] *Su* also connotes "plainness" and "simplicity". The assumption, therefore, is the synonymity of vegetarian food and abstinence from meat with plainness and simplicity. Just as *zhai* has been in popular parlance, the values and attitudes associated with it is not synonymous with a stricter vegetarian diet than *su*. Still, it includes the disciplining of body, mind, and spirit.

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[43] 张超然<唐宋道教斋仪中的"礼师存念"及其源流考论——兼论道教斋坛图像的运用>，《清华学报》2015 年第 45 期第 3 版，页 381-413。有些令人意外的是，这些画像被认为是多余的，因为它们不能移动或反映道士在召唤神明或供奉宗教祭坛时的特征。

[44] 相关研究请参阅张泽洪<论宋朝道教斋醮科仪的时代特点>，《社会科学研究》2001 年第 6 期，页 82-85；及张超然<援法入道：南宋灵宝传度科仪研究>，《台湾宗教研究》2014 年第 13期第 2 版，页 99-139。

[45] 这一仪式最初是为了超度冥界的亡魂。Susan Shih-shan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Art in Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Center, 2012), 243-280.

[46] Lai Chi Tim, "The Daoist Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song: A Case Study of Jin Yunzhong's Great Rites of Lingbao," *Cahiers dExtrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 63—93. 引用内容 见页 93。 关于黎志添所论述的不同教派之间的交叉的背景，请参阅 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 115-152; and Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*.

[47] 关于这些洞窟封印时间的初步推测，请参阅荣新江译，Valerie Hansen, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing," *Cahiers dExtrême-Asie* 11 (1999): 247—75. 谭 蝉雪<唐宋敦煌时岁佛俗——正月>，《敦煌研究》2000 年第 4期，页 65-71。

[48] 关于数字 49 在印度语境中作为生与死之间的中间阶段，及其在东亚语境中解释的复杂性，已在有关灯的章节中讨论过。

[49] 杜斗城<"七七斋"之源流及敦煌遗书中有关资料的分析>，《敦煌研究》2004 年第 4 期，32-39；及郑志明<敦煌写卷亡文的生命教育>，《普门学报》2004 年，页 105-136。有关佛教中对这些神祇的信仰和对斋戒的遵循，以及佛教在中国的在地化和转变，请参阅 Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), especially 51-56.

[50] 曾楨，普亨强<元代的道教斋仪音乐>，《黄钟：武汉音乐学院学报》2017 年第 3 期，页 37-41。

[51] 黄之隽（清代），《江南通志》卷 184 第 752 段，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 25 日， https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=379986. 有关背景请参阅 Jimmy Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 37-61. 亦请参阅 James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).

[52] 由于大多数寺庙都要求从饮食中去除动物产品，一些人认为在九皇诞期间的"素食（vegetarian diets）"更应该被称为"纯素食主义（veganism）"。然而，veganism 一词在汉语词汇中并没有完全对应的概念，而且与二十世纪的欧美知识分子运动紧密交织在一起。Leah Leneman, "No Animal Food: The Road to Veganism in Britain, 1909-1944," *Society & Animals* 7:3 (1999): 219-228.

[53] 相关文献综述及研究领域，请参阅 Wong, "Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context," and 及陈爱梅，严家健<马来西亚华人宗教素食观之宗教教育意义与实践>，《哲学与文化》2016 年第 43 期第 6 版，页 137-152。

唐朝之后，除了斋醮融合成为道教科仪，道教和佛教中的斋在仪式和伦理上的其他创新也开始出现。例如，唐宋时期的斋坛见证了对神像和画像的崇拜。[43] 在同一时期，道士在进行斋仪时也吸纳了新的元素，包括奉行雷法、神霄法、天心法传统时会运用到的科仪。[44] 例如，黎志添解释了《黄箓大斋》（杜光庭是《黄箓大斋》的集大成者，他最初搜集、编纂了40节科仪）如何在南宋期间成为道教传统。[45] 尽管斋仪保持其道教内核，宋朝时期，诵经、雷法和超度等外来仪式也被引入到斋仪传统中，这既体现了民间宗教和佛教密宗的影响，也反映了当时宗教间激烈竞争的特点。[46]

敦煌文献（封印于公元11世纪早期，但收录有5世纪以后的文献）中的宗教文本也证明了斋一直是宗教生活的一部分。唐宋时期的佛教信徒会在农历正月初八进行斋戒。[47] 如同道教的斋仪，佛教的斋戒在过去几个世纪里也经历了许多仪式创新。佛教的斋不仅可以由生者奉行，也可作为丧葬仪式的一部分代替死者进行。例如，敦煌文献中的佛教经典记载了信仰佛教的家庭为死者进行的“七七斋”。[48] 人们相信这些做法可以让死者顺利往生，因为仪式积累的功德能够影响十殿阎王的宣判。[49] 奏乐也被视为这些仪式的重要组成部分，是元代道教斋仪的特色。[50]

到了明清时期，“斋”被赋予新的意义，即拥有变革性的力量来帮助实现某种世俗追求。很多时候“斋”以互惠的承诺的形式出现的，人们持斋以换取神明的赐福，正如我们在北斗信仰中看到的那样。例如，清代出版的《江南通志》中记载了宋国祥妻吴氏海州人氏，在她丈夫去世后，她的手臂中了毒，多年来一直无法痊愈。为寻求治疗方法，她的儿子不仅“持斋拜斗”，还“瑄刺血书表，于祀灶日焚之”。[51] 他的孝行最终治愈了他母亲的手臂。 尽管不至于像这个例子中用人血来唤请神迹那样戏剧化，吴氏的儿子采取的持斋拜斗并非日常进行的仪式，而是在特殊情况下奉行以寻求神明的帮助。这件事引起人们的关注，因此被记录到当地的通志中。

斋素食

现在我们来看看华人社会、文化和宗教中素食饮食的历史。在英语中，“vegetarian”一词可以概括各种饮食偏好，但在中文中，“素/斋”所包含或排除的内容并不是那么明确。[52] 许多术语被用来区分素食饮食，包括“斋食”、“吃斋”、“蔬食”和“素食”。尽管“蔬”主要指蔬菜，“素”，如同前文讨论过的“斋”，具有超出素食之外的含义。[53] “素”还意味着“朴素”和“简单”。因此，一个合理的假设是：素食和不吃肉等同于朴素和简单。如同通俗说法的“斋”，与之相关的观念和态度并不仅仅意味着一个更加严格的素食饮食习惯，还包括身体、心灵和精神上的约束。

然而，鉴于很少现存的原始资料能够提供有关在中国历史上，“素食”的构成抱括什么，必须指出的是，“素”这一词也被用于讨论主要由纯植物产品构成的饮食。根据具体的文化和历史背景，“素”也可能包括或排除五辛、各种乳制品或蜂产品的使用。我们将分析禁食动物食品的文献及素食的例子，探讨这一概念在东南和东南亚的华人社会、文化和宗教历史上的差异，以及关键的延续和变迁。

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[43] 张超然<唐宋道教斋仪中的“礼师存念”及其源流考论——兼论道教斋坛图像的运用>，《清华学报》2015 年第 45 期第 3 版，页 381-413。有些令人意外的是，这些画像被认为是多余的，因为它们不能移动或反映道士在召唤神明或供奉宗教祭坛时的特征。

[44] 相关研究请参阅张泽洪<论宋朝道教斋醮科仪的时代特点>，《社会科学研究》2001 年第 6 期，页 82-85；及张超然<援法入道：南宋灵宝传度科仪研究>，《台湾宗教研究》2014 年第 13期第 2 版，页 99-139。

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[46] Lai Chi Tim, "The Daoist Identity of the Yellow Register Retreat in the Southern Song: A Case Study of Jin Yunzhong's Great Rites of Lingbao," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 63—93. 引用内容 见页 93。 关于黎志添所论述的不同教派之间的交叉的背景，请参阅 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 115-152; and Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*.

[47] 关于这些洞窟封印时间的初步推测，请参阅荣新江译，Valerie Hansen, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999): 247—75. 谭 蝉雪<唐宋敦煌时岁佛俗——正月>，《敦煌研究》2000 年第 4期，页 65-71。

[48] 关于数字 49 在印度语境中作为生与死之间的中间阶段，及其在东亚语境中解释的复杂性，已在有关灯的章节中讨论过。

[49] 杜斗城<“七七斋”之源流及敦煌遗书中有关资料的分析>，《敦煌研究》2004 年第 4 期，32-39；及郑志明<敦煌写卷亡文的生命教育>，《普门学报》2004 年，页 105-136。有关佛教中对这些神祇的信仰和对斋戒的遵循，以及佛教在中国的在地化和转变，请参阅 Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), especially 51-56.

[50] 曾楨，普亨强<元代的道教斋仪音乐>，《黄钟：武汉音乐学院学报》2017 年第 3 期，页 37-41。

[51] 黄之隽（清代），《江南通志》卷 184 第 752 段，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 25 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=379986. 有关背景请参阅 Jimmy Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 37-61. 亦请参阅 James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).

[52] 由于大多数寺庙都要求从饮食中去除动物产品，一些人认为在九皇诞期间的“素食（vegetarian diets）”更应该被称为“纯素食主义（veganism）”。然而，veganism 一词在汉语词汇中并没有完全对应的概念，而且与二十世纪的欧美知识分子运动紧密交织在一起。Leah Leneman, "No Animal Food: The Road to Veganism in Britain, 1909-1944," *Society & Animals* 7:3 (1999): 219-228.

[53] 相关文献综述及研究领域，请参阅 Wong, "Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context," and 及陈爱梅，严家健<马来西亚华人宗教素食观之宗教教育意义与实践>，《哲学与文化》2016 年第 43 期第 6 版，页 137-152。

However, given that few extant primary sources offer convincing insight into what constituted "vegetarian food" in Chinese history, it must be stressed that the term *su* is also used to discuss *predominantly* plain vegetable-based diets. Conversely, depending on the exact cultural and historical context where the term is used, *su* can include or exclude, among others, the consumption of the five pungent vegetables and all kinds of dairy and beef products. For analysis, we will examine references in relation to abstinence from animal-based foods and instances of "*su shi*". Where appropriate, we will flesh out the differences, key continuities, and discontinuities of the concept in the history of Chinese society, culture, and religion in East and Southeast Asia.

Pre-Tang dynasty's descriptions of vegetables were usually in the context of subsistence livelihoods in which the financially devoid were forced to live on cereals and plants.[54] Necessity aside, some cases exist in which involuntary vegetarian diets were deemed virtuous. A case in point is the example of Duanmu Ci and Yuan Xian, who were Confucius's students. Whilst the former was eloquent and accumulated much wealth in his lifetime, the latter "wore tattered clothes and subsisted on vegetable(s)". Although called out by Duanmu Ci over his meagre lifestyle, Yuan Xian countered that "he was only poor (in lifestyle), but not 'sick'" to the extent that he had forgotten to cultivate himself.[55] The underlying idea of virtue being associated with scarcity is evident in this context.

One can find instances of voluntary plant-based diets with the rejection of meat and alcohol associated with mortuary rituals in pre-Han China. Such practices persisted till late imperial China and still exist in Chinese communities beyond China, such as contemporary Southeast Asia. Surfaced in the *Book of Rites*, compiled by Confucius, is the understanding that mourners were expected to undergo a period of social withdrawal and abstinence corresponding with their station to the dead and their physique. The same text cautioned against excessive mourning at the expense of one's health, lest "he ma[de] himself unable to perform his mourning duties, and that [would be] akin to being unkind and unfilial". Sons who were infirm, for example were "allowed to eat meat and drink wine," the implication being that they were not allowed to do so if they were healthy.[56]

Similarly, senior mourners, who in these accounts were likely in need of the nutrition from meat and alcoholic drinks, were exempt from this regulation: "At seventy, he will only wear the unhemmed dress of sackcloth, and will drink and eat flesh, and occupy (the usual apartment) inside (his house)".[57] The *Book of Rites* also prescribed a gradual return to normalcy after mourning. Individuals whose diets were originally confined to barebone meals were to gradually take up vegetables and fruits before consuming meat and alcoholic drinks over several years. Essentially, the duration of morning and intensity of abstinence directly corresponded to the degree of closeness one had with the deceased. In more intensive regimes of mourning, mourners were expected to abstain from meat and finer forms of vegetables and fruits.[58]

While the *Book of Rites* does not go into detail about the significance of these practices, a corresponding account in the *Analects* fleshed out Confucius's position in a discussion he had with his disciple, Zaiwo (522—458 BCE) over the required practice of three years of mourning the death of one's parents. Confucius's assertion that Zaiwo was "devoid of virtue" upon hearing that the latter remained at ease with returning to normalcy after only a year of mourning underscores the former's dismissal of the latter's apparent lack of gratitude to his parents' primary care for him during infancy.[59] Such a forceful response invariably reflects the importance of the practice to the former. The *Analects* and the *Book of Rites* make it clear that funerary and post-mourning practices involved a Spartan diet as a visible expression of grief for the deceased.[60]

These ideas persisted until the Ming and Qing dynasties, particularly with the publication of *Family Rituals* by the Neo-Confucian scholar and official Zhu Xi (1130—1200 CE).[61] According to Patricia Ebrey's discussion of the manuscript's history (and its multiple re-publications), many families in late-imperial China possessed a copy on their persons even if they did not necessarily follow these instructions to the letter.[62] Included in the reference was a similar injunction against the pleasuring of one's tastebuds with meat and fine-tasting foods: "The presiding mourner and his brothers eat coarse vegetables and drink water, refraining from finer vegetables or fruit. They sleep on finer mats and use pillows of wood".[63] Till today, the association of vegetarian meals with funerals and mourning continue. For example, guests who attend funeral wakes are still treated to euphemistic beancurd meals where only vegetarian fare is served. Although a luxury for many peasants in imperial China, the eponymous dish is related to notions of simplicity, frugality, and grief associated with mortuary rituals.[64]

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[54] Wong, 'Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context,' 29. 亦可参阅：赵荣光《中国饮食文化史》（上海：上海人民出版社，2006），页 72-74。

[55] <七十二弟子解>第 6 段，见《孔子家语》（现存最早版本可追溯至约公元三世纪），中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/kongzi-jiayu/qi-shi-er-di-zi-jie/ens. 更早期的《庄子》（公元前 369 年-前 286 年）中有类似记载，<让王>第 9 段，《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日， https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/kings-who- have-wished-to-resign/ens. 在某种程度上，吃简单的食物与道德修养的联系一直延续到宋朝，并以某种形式保留至今。已有两篇论文对这个问题进行探讨，它们均明确指出，保持贫乏的饮食（粗茶淡饭）并不排斥偶尔食用肉类。请参阅 Isaac Yue, 'Coarse Tea and Insipid Rice: The Politics of Food in the Northern Song Period,' *The Chinese Historical Review* 24:2 (2017): 113-130.; 及Andrea Montanari, 'The Soup of the Scholar: Food Ideology and Social Order in Song China,' *Food and Foodways* 28:2 (2020): 117-140.

[56] 孔子（约公元前 551 年-前 479 年）编，<曲礼上>第 64 节，见《礼记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/liji/qu-li-i#n9533. 本节所采用的英文译文改编自理雅各布（James Legge 公元 1815-1897 年）。

[57] 孔子，<曲礼上>第 64 节。

[58] 孔子，<丧大记>，第 29 节及第 30 节，见《礼记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/liji/sang-da-ji/ens.

[59] <阳货>第 21 段，见《论语》（成书于战国时期，约公元前 475 年-公元前 221 年），中国哲学书电子化计划, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日， https://ctext.org/analects/yang-huo/ens#n1557.

[60] 关于这一实践的持久性，请参阅张雅丽《唐宋时期素食习俗研究》，陕西师范大学硕士学位论文，2016 年，页 44-45。

[61] 有关朱熹著作的其他应用，请参阅 Francesca Bray, 'Technics and Civilization in Late Imperial China: An Essay in the Cultural History of Technology,' *Osiris* 13 (1998): 11—33.

[62] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, introduction to *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), xxviii-xxix.

[63] 朱熹（公元 1130-1200 年），《家礼》第 4 节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699. 本节所采用的英文译文改编自 Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 68. 然而，中文原文指不食水果蔬菜，而非不食较好的水果蔬菜。

[64] 陈志荣，李众喜<办丧事为何要吃豆腐>，《民间传奇故事（A 卷）》，2013 年，未标明页码；何云芳，虞小萍，雷哲超<浅析丧葬酒席对于"吃豆腐"意义转变的影响>，《现代语文》2014 年第 34 期，页 145-146。有趣的是，在新马华人社区中，"吃咖喱鸡"（闽南话：*Jiak ka li kuay*），与"素食"形成对照，是对葬礼守丧的一种委婉用语。 这一说法的起源已不可考，尽管这可能是一种半开玩笑的说法，它反映了在新马地区的多民族背景下，豆腐作为唯一一种被广泛使用的蛋白质，为所有客人所接受。

在唐代之前，蔬菜食物大多数情况下指的是不太富裕的人们被迫赖以维持生计的谷物和植物。[54] 然而，取决于叙事的框架，非自愿的素食可能被视为一种美德。孔子有两名弟子，端木赐和原宪，他们在生活中有着不同的志向。端木赐能言善辩，积累了很多财富。而原宪"衣弊衣冠，并日蔬食"。端木赐去看望原宪的时候，当他看到原宪的清贫生活，他问原宪为何病成这样。原宪答道："吾贫也，非病也"，表示自己并未因此忘记修身。[55]

一个人将自己的饮食限制于植物并拒绝酒肉的做法也可见于丧葬仪式中，这种做法可追溯至汉代以前，并一直持续到晚清时期，直到今天也可见于东南亚及其他地区的华人社区中。在由孔子（约公元前551年-前479年）编纂的《礼记》中，守丧者需要遵循与他们和死者的关系及他们的体格相匹配的祭祀礼仪。《礼记》告诫人们要避免伤感情绪过度，伤害了自己的身体，否则"不胜丧，乃比于不慈不孝"。[56] 例如，丧葬之礼中有一条特殊情况下的规定：身体虚弱的儿子"则饮酒食肉"，言下之意是若他们身体健康便不能如此。同样的，在这些规定中，可能需要从酒肉中获得营养的年长者也可免于这一限制："七十唯衰麻在身，饮酒食肉，处于内"。[57]《礼记》也规定了居丧之后逐步恢复正常状态。个人的饮食最初仅限于粗茶淡饭，渐渐开始吃蔬菜水果，几年之后才重新吃肉饮酒。一个人与死者的关系越近，他必须放弃更多的物质享受，相应地，他的居丧时间也就越长。在更为严格的丧葬礼制下，守丧者不仅不能食用肉类，也不能吃较好的蔬菜水果。[58]

尽管《礼记》没有详述这些做法的意义，但《论语》中载有孔子和弟子宰我（公元前552年-前458年）对于为父母守丧三年的看法。当听到宰我表示为父母居丧一年就能恢复正常生活的时候，孔子斥之为"不仁"，表明孔子认为宰我没有表现出对父母养育之恩的感激。[59] 由此可见，孔子重视居丧的实践和意义。从《论语》和《礼记》中可以发现：在丧葬期间以简朴的饮食代替了美味的食物和肉体的享乐，是人们表达对死者的哀悼的方式。[60]

这些观念一直延续到明清两代，特别是伴随着南宋官员和理学家朱熹撰写的《朱熹家训》的出版。[61] 根据伊沛霞（Patricia Ebrey）对这份文本的历史（及其数次再出版）的研究，中华帝国晚期的许多家庭都有一份《朱熹家训》，即使他们不一定严格遵循其中的指示。[62]《朱熹家训》中有一个类似的劝诫，反对人们用肉和美味的食物来愉悦自己的味蕾："主人兄弟蔬食水饮，不食菜菓，寝席枕木"。[63] 直到今天，素食与丧葬仍相关联。例如，参加葬礼的客人会被招待以素食食品，美其名曰"豆腐餐"。尽管豆腐餐在中国封建时代对许多农民而言是一种奢侈品，但它与简朴、节俭的观念及丧葬仪式中的哀思有关。[64]

[54] Wong, "Vegetarianism in the pre-Tang Context," 29. 亦可参阅：赵荣光《中国饮食文化史》（上海：上海人民出版社，2006），页 72-74。

[55] <七十二弟子解>第 6 段，见《孔子家语》（现存最早版本可追溯至约公元三世纪），中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/kongzi-jiayu/qi-shi-er-di-zi-jie/ens. 更早期的《庄子》（公元前 369 年-前 286 年）中有类似记载，<让王>第 9 段，《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日， https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/kings-who- have-wished-to-resign/ens. 在某种程度上，吃简单的食物与道德修养的联系一直延续到宋朝，并以某种形式保留至今。已有两篇论文对这个问题进行探讨，它们均明确指出，保持贫乏的饮食（粗茶淡饭）并不排斥偶尔食用肉类。请参阅 Isaac Yue, "Coarse Tea and Insipid Rice: The Politics of Food in the Northern Song Period," *The Chinese Historical Review* 24:2 (2017): 113-130.; 及 Andrea Montanari, "The Soup of the Scholar: Food Ideology and Social Order in Song China," *Food and Foodways* 28:2 (2020): 117-140.

[56] 孔子（约公元前 551 年-前 479 年）编，<曲礼上>第 64 节，见《礼记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/liji/qu-li-i#n9533. 本节所采用的英文译文改编自理雅各布（James Legge 公元 1815-1897 年）。

[57] 孔子，<曲礼上>第 64 节。

[58] 孔子，<丧大记>，第 29 节及第 30 节，见《礼记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/liji/sang-da-ji/ens.

[59] <阳货>第 21 段，见《论语》（成书于战国时期，约公元前 475 年-公元前 221 年），中国哲学书电子化计划, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日， https://ctext.org/analects/yang-huo/ens#n1557.

[60] 关于这一实践的持久性，请参阅张雅丽《唐宋时期素食习俗研究》，陕西师范大学硕士学位论文，2016 年，页 44-45。

[61] 有关朱熹著作的其他应用，请参阅 Francesca Bray, "Technics and Civilization in Late Imperial China: An Essay in the Cultural History of Technology," *Osiris* 13 (1998): 11—33.

[62] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, introduction to *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), xxviii-xxix.

[63] 朱熹（公元 1130-1200 年），《家礼》第 4 节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699. 本节所采用的英文译文改编自 Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 68. 然而，中文原文指不食水果蔬菜，而非不食较好的水果蔬菜。

[64] 陈志荣，李众喜<办丧事为何要吃豆腐>，《民间传奇故事（A 卷）》，2013 年，未标明页码；何云芳，虞小萍，雷哲超<浅析丧葬酒席对于"吃豆腐"意义转变的影响>，《现代语文》2014 年第 34 期，页 145-146。有趣的是，在新马华人社区中，"吃咖喱鸡"（闽南话：*Jiak ka li kuay*），与"素食"形成对照，是对葬礼守丧的一种委婉用语。 这一说法的起源已不可考，尽管这可能是一种半开玩笑的说法，它反映了在新马地区的多民族背景下，豆腐作为唯一一种被广泛使用的蛋白质，为所有客人所接受。

The Daoist Tradition

Similar challenges to the notion of meat offerings and vegetarian requirements for devotees have been witnessed in Daoist tracts. In an anecdote collected within *In Search of Deities* (compiled by the 4th century CE), the Northern and Southern Dipper Sovereigns, who are in charge of the length of human life, gladly accepted wine and meat offered by Yan Chao, and extended his lifespan in return. Accounts like these in the "popular imagination", according to Terry Kleeman, frustrated "(t)he Daoists, who accepted the existence of these supernal entities, (but) could not believe that they were so venal.[65]

Aside from the Southern and Northern Dippers, other deities have been invoked by traditional and present-day Chinese communities with the aid of meat, wine and blood offerings. In one episode mentioned in the *Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu* (first compiled in the 13th century CE), the deity Li Erlang was integrated into the Daoist pantheon of gods in Sichuan, China and given the title of "True Sovereign". Despite his elevated position, Li complained that the situation compromised his powers, for he was only offered vegetarian food and lacked offerings of meat and blood necessary for him to work miracles to benefit his devotees.[66] Accounts like these, where meat offerings can tempt gods in exchange for one favour or another, suggest corruption and parallel the exchange of bribes between rulers and governed in this world. [67]

Detractors of these beliefs challenged the assumption that gods, like their human counterparts, can be bribed by offerings of meat and alcoholic drinks. In their place, these "critics sought from the gods' moral absolutes in the form of unvarying codes of conduct, enforced without partiality".[68] These reformist sentiments started to gain traction through what Terry Kleeman saw as the "ethnicization" of Daoism as early as the Warring States Period of China. Later Daoist texts also furthered similar arguments against the veneration of gods with meat and alcoholic drinks.[69] In the DZ786 (dated to c. third century CE), for example, exhorted against the "consumption of bloody foods just to take delight in their taste".[70] Another form of criticism came in the form of the DZ1205 (compiled c. 421—478 CE), where "Mr Xu, a disciple of the Three Heavens", railed against the proliferation of popular deity cults, as well as the debauchery, for instance, among religious specialists and infighting. In a long list of injunctions, the faithful are cautioned from "cooking and killing livestock for food, praying for frivolous requests, singing and dancing and hankering for meat and wine".[71] Another equally polemical criticism, among many others, came in the familiar form of Lu Xiujing in the DZ1127, where he criticised the belief of the need to feed gods and deities with meat and wine. According to Lu, gods and their this-worldly human agents were immune to bribery's machinations, for "gods do not feed and (human) masters do not receive money". [72] These small samples of references suggest how Daoism started to distance itself from meat offerings, which humans and lowly spirits desired, up to the fifth century.

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[65] Terry F. Kleeman, "Feasting Without the Victuals: The Evolution of the Daoist Communal Kitchen," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. by Roel Sterckx (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 148.

[66] <鬼神>第 80 节，见《朱子语类》（约公元 13 世纪），访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuzi-yulei/3/zhs#n586397. 有学者也讨论了同一案例，见 Terry F. Kleeman, "Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 7, no. 1 (1994): 190-191.

[67] 关于赠送礼物的主要著作仍为 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* [New York and London: Routledge, 2001 (1925)]. 关于 Mauss 的理论假设在一神论和华人宗教中的应用和修正，请参阅 Simon Coleman, "On Mauss, Masks, and Gifts: Christianities,(in-)dividualities, Modernities," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 5:1 (2015): 295-315; 及 David A. Palmer, "Gift and Market in the Chinese Religious Economy," *Religion* 41:4 (2011): 569-594.

[68] Kleeman, "Feasting Without the Victuals," 147.

[69] Kleeman, "Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals," 185-211.

[70] 《太上老君经律》，页 001-001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0183/000. 原文被译为 "Canonical Rules of the Most High Lord Lao"并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 131-132.

[71] 《三天内解经》，页 001-001b to 001-002a, DZ Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0014/001. 原稿被译为 "Explanations of the Essentials of the Three Heavens" 并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 131-124.

[72] 《陆先生道门科略》，页 000-001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0029/000. 原稿被译为"Master Lu's Summary of Taoist Liturgy"并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 126-127.

道教传统

道教传统同样拒绝将肉作为祭祀品，并强调信徒茹素的必要性。成书于公元4世纪的《搜神记》中记载了这样一则轶事：掌管人类寿命长短的南北斗星君欣然接受了彦超供奉给他们的酒肉，彦超因此延长了阳寿。祁泰履（Terry Kleeman）表示，像这样的"大众想象"让道家感到沮丧，他们承认这些神明的存在，却不相信他们会是如此流于世俗，唯利是图。[65]

除了南北斗星君，传统的和当今的华人社区也会侍奉其他神明，通过好肉好酒和鲜血来向神明祈愿。《朱子语类》（最初编于公元13世纪）其中一节记载了蜀中神李二郎初封为王，后因徽宗好道，改封为真君。尽管他的地位得到提高，但李二郎抱怨道，这种情况损害了他的威福，因为人们只用素食供奉他，他缺乏必要的肉和血来为他的信徒降灵赐福。[66] 在这样的描述中，人们可以通过向神明供奉肉食以换取某种恩赐，这暗示了神明的腐败，并与世俗世界中统治者和被统治者之间的贿赂相类似。[67]

这些观念的反对者反驳了这种假设，即神明与人类一样，可以通过提供酒肉来贿赂。相反地，这些"批评者认为神明具有绝对的道德观念，这种道德准则不为所动且绝不有失偏颇"。[68] 从中国的战国时期以来，这些批评者的观点逐渐在祁泰履（Terry Kleeman） 所称道教的"道德化（ethicization）"中受到支持。后来的道教经典进一步提出类似观点，反对用酒肉来供奉神明。[69] 例如，道藏786《太上老君经律》（可追溯至约公元3世纪）载道"戒勿食含血之物，乐其美味"。[70] 在DZ1205（约编纂于公元421-478年）中，三天弟子徐氏谴责了民间轻信邪道，而本道堕落混乱的局面（"信邪废真，本道乖错"）。他在一长串劝告中告诫信徒不要"或烹杀六畜，祷请虚无，谣歌鼓舞，酒肉是求"。[71] 另一则类似的批评则见于DZ1127《陆先生道门科略》，陆修静（公元406-477年）反驳了神明需要被侍奉以酒肉的观点。陆修静认为神明及其在人间的乩童并不在乎这些供品及贿赂，因为"神不饮食，师不受钱"。[72] 从这些可以追溯到公元5世纪的文献中可以看出，道教对于人类和游魂所渴望的肉食的态度是疏远的。

[65] Terry F. Kleeman, 'Feasting Without the Victuals: The Evolution of the Daoist Communal Kitchen,' in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. by Roel Sterckx (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 148.

[66] <鬼神>第 80 节，见《朱子语类》（约公元 13 世纪），访问日期：2022 年 3 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuzi-yulei/3/zhs#n586397. 有学者也讨论了同一案例，见 Terry F. Kleeman, 'Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China,' *Asia Major (Third Series)* 7, no. 1 (1994): 190-191.

[67] 关于赠送礼物的主要著作仍为 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* [New York and London: Routledge, 2001 (1925)]. 关于 Mauss 的理论假设在一神论和华人宗教中的应用和修正，请参阅 Simon Coleman, 'On Mauss, Masks, and Gifts: Christianities,(in-)dividualities, Modernities,' *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 5:1 (2015): 295-315; 及 David A. Palmer, 'Gift and Market in the Chinese Religious Economy,' *Religion* 41:4 (2011): 569-594.

[68] Kleeman, 'Feasting Without the Victuals,' 147.

[69] Kleeman, 'Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals,' 185-211.

[70] 《太上老君经律》，页 001-001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0183/000. 原文被译为 'Canonical Rules of the Most High Lord Lao'并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 131-132.

[71] 《三天内解经》，页 001-001b to 001-002a, DZ Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0014/001. 原稿被译为 'Explanations of the Essentials of the Three Heavens' 并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 131-124.

[72] 《陆先生道门科略》，页 000-001b, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0029/000. 原稿被译为'Master Lu's Summary of Taoist Liturgy'并见于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: Volume I*, 126-127.

Evidence exists of vegetarian diets sans the five pungent vegetables in Daoist monastics manuscripts from the end of the eighth century. As scholars have noted, these institutions reflected the impact of the Buddhist establishment on Chinese religion and society, where notions of karmic retribution and a vegetarian diet as a form of religious practice had influenced Daoism in many ways.[73] In the DZ1126 (compiled c. Tang dynasty), for example, the consumption of the five pungent vegetables was explicitly prohibited because they compromised the physiological and metaphysical well-being of one's body.[74] More importantly, ingesting these vegetables resulted in bad breath, which "is especially harmful when one attends Daoist services, sends a petition to the gods, or lectures to a group of commoners".[75] With the advent and crystallisation of the Quanzhen tradition from the 12th century, vegetarianism and abstinence from harming animals became formally codified in monastic rules. Some of the earliest Quanzhen patriarchs, such as Ma Danyang (1123—1183 CE) and Qiu Chuji (1148—1227 CE), for example, were believed to be strict vegetarians who dedicated themselves to the practice "as an expression of wisdom and compassion". [76] Till today, Quanzhen monastics are still associated with vegetarian diets, alongside the expected adherence to many other codes of conduct.[77]

The Buddhist Tradition

Predictably, many references to vegetarian diets can be found in Chinese Buddhist texts. Drawing on the concept of ahimsa, non-killing, common in many South Asian traditions, many Chinese Buddhist scriptures frame taking life without reason as a sin and exhort the faithful to abstain from consuming animal flesh. Despite this general injunction, enforcements of proscriptions regarding meat consumption have not been observed in Theravada Buddhism-dominant India or Southeast Asia. Monastics have been noted to accept meat offered to them by lay devotees, so long as "'one has (not) seen, heard or suspected'" that the animal was killed and meat specially prepared for the sake of mendicant monks.[78]

The Buddhist injunction against the consumption of meat and the use of animal products appears to have entered China at a relatively early phase of its introduction into East Asia.[79] In a new hypothesis, Eric Greene suggests the normalcy of vegetarianism amongst Buddhist practitioners since the second century CE. Whilst the degree of strict adherence remains uncertain, what is clear is the practice's existence in the memory of historical contemporaries.[80] The abstinence from killing in Buddhism is one of the first of the Eight Precepts required during *zhai*, and this testifies to its ethical, cultural and religious significance. In essence, being part of the cycle of samsara, humans and animals share ontological similarities despite their differing this-worldly forms, bodies and faculties. [81] Nevertheless, exceptions to this strict injunction have been noted, especially during illnesses. For example, ill Buddhist monks were allowed to consume meat and wine if these were deemed "necessary as medicine". [82]

Aside from rejecting alcoholic drinks, the five pungent vegetables are typically included in the list of injunctions. Alcoholic drinks were rejected in pre-Buddhist notions of *zhai* because they signified luxury and material comfort, and they were also refused in the Buddhist tradition for their intoxicating properties. As many scholars have noted, the last recommendation for the faithful to abstain from the five pungent vegetables is common in many South Asian religious traditions.[83] Their introduction to Chinese notions of *zhai*/*su* vegetarian diets reflect the influence of Buddhism on East Asian society, culture, and religion.[84]

[73] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 122-132. 素食的执行可能是逐步发展的，因为一些早期的文本允许人们食用肉类，并在一定程度上提供了如何采购肉类的指导。请参阅 Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 241, footnote 20.

[74] 《洞玄灵宝道学科仪》，页 000-026a-000-026b，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0028/000. 原稿被译为 "Instructions for the Study of the Tao of the Sacred Treasure Register," *The Taoist Canon, Volume I*, 464.

[75] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 127.

[76] Louis Komjathy, *The Way of Complete Perfection: A Quanzhen Daoist Anthology* (New York: SUNY Press, 2013), 7, footnote 17.

[77] 值得注意的一点是，一些宗教文献敦促那些寻求长寿（甚至成仙）的人逐渐戒掉对谷物和固体食物的依赖，支持更清淡的植物性饮食，而停止支持全面素食主义。对这一说法的探讨，见Robert Ford Campany, *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory in Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 62-87. 这种观点很可能导致了后来根据"养生"的科学化思路对这一实践进行重新解释和重新概念化。本章倒数第二节将对此进行更详细的讨论。相关背景请见郭秀娟<道教生命观之研究>，《中华礼仪》2006 年第 12 期，页 6-9；Devin K. Joshi, "The Way of Longevity: Blue Zones as Unselfconscious Models of Daoist Living," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 14:14 (2021): 133-141; David Dear, "Chinese Yangsheng: Self-help and Self-image," *Asian Medicine* 7:1 (2012): 1-33.

[78] 例如，见 John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 22-28; "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 191–205. 所引内容见后一篇引文页 188。

[79] 丝绸和皮革的作用将在颜色和服装一节中讨论。

[80] Eric M. Greene, "A Reassessment of the Early History of Chinese Buddhist Vegetarianism," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 29:1 (2016): 1—43.

[81] Keith N. Knapp, "Noble Creatures: Filial and Righteous Animals in early Medieval Confucian Thought," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 80. 道教中也有相似的逻辑，请参阅 Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Rebirth as an Animal in Early Medieval Buddhism and Daoism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 80:2 (2020): 419-454.

[82] Kieschnick, "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China," 200; Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 65.

[83] 例如，请参阅 Colleen Taylor Sen, "Jainism and Food," in *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics*, 2nd edition, ed. David M. Kaplan (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), 1687-1688; 及 Pat Caplan, "Crossing the veg/non-veg divide: commensality and sociality among the middle classes in Madras/Chennai," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 31: 1 (2008): 128-129. 在南亚戒食五辛的原因，如同在东亚的情况一样，多是不确定的，并且依赖于互相竞争的权威。

[84] 实际上，五辛有不同的定义和种类，一些经文源自于中国。相关文献，请参阅方广锠<五辛经（拟）>，《藏外佛教文献》2010 年第 3 期，页 217-221; 及 Ann Heirman and Tom De Rauw, "Offenders, Sinners and Criminals: The Consumption of Forbidden Food," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59:1 (2006): 62-71. 具体案例研究请参阅 Ann Heirman, "The Consumption of Garlic: Vinaya Rules," *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 34 (2021): 63-89.

有证据表明，自公元8世纪开始，不含五辛的素食饮食已被写入道士的道学规范中。正如学者们所指出的，这些制度反映了佛教对中国宗教和社会的影响，因果报应的观念和作为宗教实践的吃素在许多方面影响了道教。[73] 例如，在DZ1126《洞玄灵宝道学科仪》（编纂于唐代）中，食用五辛被明令禁止，因为五辛会损害一个人的生理和形而上的整体健康。[74] 更重要的是，食用五辛会导致口臭，“当一个人参加道教科仪、向神明请愿或向信众讲道时，这尤其有害。”[75] 从12世纪开始，随着全真传统的出现和具体化，素食主义和禁止杀生成为正式的修道法则。一些早期的全真道长，如马丹阳（公元1123-1183年）和丘处机（公元1148-1227年），是严格的素食主义者，他们认为这是“一种智慧和慈悲的表现”。[76] 时至今日，在一系列他们必须遵循的准则中，全真派仍提倡吃素。[77]

佛教传统

在中国的佛教文献中可以找到许多关于素食饮食的文献。遵循南亚传统中普遍存在的“不杀生”的观念，许多中国佛教经典将无端杀生视为一种罪孽，并告诫信徒不可食用动物。尽管有着这一普遍禁令，在以小乘佛教盛行的印度和东南亚，并不存在对食肉的绝对禁止。僧侣可以接受化缘所得的肉，只要“那个人没有看到、听到或怀疑”动物被杀害，并且肉是专门为托钵僧而准备的。[78]

佛教禁止食用肉类和使用动物制品的规定似乎是在传入东亚的早期阶段就已进入中国。[79] 根据 Eric Greene 提出的新假设，自公元2世纪以来，佛教徒持素已成为常态。虽然他们是否严格遵守吃素仍不确定，但可以肯定的是，这一实践存在于历史同代人的记忆中。[80] 普通信徒在斋戒期间必须遵循八戒，其中第一项便是戒杀生，这说明了斋在佛教伦理、文化和宗教方面的重要性。人类和动物都是轮回的一部分，尽管他们拥有不同的世俗形态、外形和能力，他们在本体论上都是相似的。[81] 当然，这也存在例外，尤其是当佛教僧侣生病时，他们被允许食肉饮酒，如果这些是“必要的药物”的话。[82]

除了酒精，五辛通常也被包含在禁止的列表中。在佛教以前的“斋”的观念中，酒精是被禁止，因为它意味着奢侈和物质上的享受。佛教传统也拒绝酒精，因为它会令人沉醉。正如许多学者所指出的那样，在很多南亚宗教传统中，告诫信徒忌食五辛是很常见。[83] 中国的斋素观念对五辛的禁止反映了佛教对东亚社会、文化和宗教的影响。[84]

[73] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 122-132. 素食的执行可能是逐步发展的，因为一些早期的文本允许人们食用肉类，并在一定程度上提供了如何采购肉类的指导。请参阅 Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 241, footnote 20.

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[75] Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 127.

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[77] 值得注意的一点是，一些宗教文献敦促那些寻求长寿（甚至成仙）的人逐渐戒掉对谷物和固体食物的依赖，支持更清淡的植物性饮食，而停止支持全面素食主义。对这一说法的探讨，见Robert Ford Campany, *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory in Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 62-87. 这种观点很可能导致了后来根据“养生”的科学化思路对这一实践进行重新解释和重新概念化。本章倒数第二节将对此进行更详细的讨论。相关背景请见郭秀娟<道教生命观之研究>，《中华礼仪》2006 年第 12 期，页 6-9；Devin K. Joshi, "The Way of Longevity: Blue Zones as Unselfconscious Models of Daoist Living," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 14:14 (2021): 133-141; David Dear, "Chinese Yangsheng: Self-help and Self-image," *Asian Medicine* 7:1 (2012): 1-33.

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Rarely discussed amongst these exceptions, however, is the interesting instance of dairy. Interestingly, this had never been a bone of contention in China, for milk has never been a priority as compared to the cultivation of grains for food. As aptly noted by Jeffery Kotyk, the role of milk and dairy in early Chinese history and society is under researched. Kotyk's survey of the topic up to the 18th century indicates the use of dairy in various medical, religious, and ritualistic functions.[85] That said, the position of dairy in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival remains unclear. Temples have taken divergent stances, with only some enforcing a complete ban on related products. Long Nan Szye and Zhun Ti Tang, two Singapore temples which observe the festival within Buddhist theology, cosmology, and pantheons, permit its consumption. The recent years have also seen Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng petitioning the First of the Nine Emperor Gods for permission to consume dairy products. This shift can be attributed to the recognition of the growing challenges associated with avoiding dairy, considering its increasing ubiquity across various food products. [86]

Zhai, Su, and Popular Practices and Sectarian Religions in late imperial China

Conceptions of abstinence from killing and vegetarian diets expanded beyond the confines of Daoism and Buddhism to influence various new religious movements and trends in Chinese society by the Ming and Qing dynasties. According to Joanna Handlin Smith, abstaining from killing as a source of moral cultivation was not limited to a single dimension or school of practice. Hence, it is unsurprising that "animal-releasing societies " were part and parcel of lay practices among the literati in late imperial China. Often characterised as "Buddhist" by scholars who have traced its inspiration to the T1484, Smith demonstrates only a partial concurrence with Buddhist philosophies. She notes that cases exist whereby different meanings have been invested into these practices.[87] Many practitioners, for example, were believers of moral ledgers, which they kept on their persons and reviewed at the end of every day. The counts of merit and demerit kept by these practitioners were contingent on the scales provided by various morality books.[88]

Devotional tracts that were popular among scholars in imperial China, such as the *Tract of Hidden Administration as Revealed by Wenchang*, also endorsed the "purchasing of animals and releasing them, maintaining regimes of *zhai* and abstaining from killing".[89] Taking life, conversely, increased one's demerits and threatened divine retribution in this world or the hereafter. In line with these ideas, during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, some temples in Southeast Asia allowed hawkers to sell live birds and animals in their vicinity for devotees who wished to perform the ritual of releasing them.[90] In 2018, under the guidance and leadership of Venerable Hai Tao, Zhun Ti Tang's festival also scheduled animal release on the fourth day of the ninth lunar month.[91]

[85] Jeffery Kotyk, 'Milk, Yogurt and Butter in Medieval East Asia: Dairy Products from China to Japan in Medicine and Buddhism,' *Religions* 12:5 (2021): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12050302.

[86] 笔者在 2017 年访问准提堂的时候得到了一瓶益多。

[87] Joanna F. Handlin Smith, 'Liberating Animals in Ming-Qing China: Buddhist Inspiration and Elite Imagination,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 1 (February 1999): 54—78. 见《梵网经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T24, no. 1484, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1484, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 20 日；Paul Groner, 'The Fan-wang ching and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: a Study of Annen's Futsu Jubosatsukai Koshaku,' in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 251-290.

[88] 关于这些功德账簿及其在拯救动物中的作用，请参阅 Cynthia Joanne Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 87, 209.

[89] 有学者对此处所引经文进行讨论，请参阅孙邦金<明清时期的护生观念与动物保护实践>，《中原文化研究》2014 年第 2 期第 4 版，页 88。在撰写本书时，《文昌帝君阴骘文》已被数字化并录入到中国哲学书电子化计划数据库中。

[90] The author witnessed the sale of live birds when he did fieldwork in Sam Siang Keng, Johor Bahru. 在安邦南天宫，活龟被成对出售，图片见《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页 180。

[91] 关于放生这一实践目前已有许多研究。例如，见 Henry Shiu and Leah Stokes, 'Buddhist Animal Release Practices: Historic, Environmental, Public Health and Economic Concerns,' *Contemporary Buddhism* 9:2 (2008): 181-196; 及 Avi Darshani, 'Releasing Life or Releasing Death: The Practice of and Discourse on Buddhist Animal Liberation Rituals in Contemporary Xiamen,' *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 109-143.

一个有趣但很少被讨论的例外——即乳制品——仍有待探讨。严格来说，这个话题在中国不是值得争论的焦点，因为与粮食作物相比，牛奶从来都不是最重要的食物。正如康杰夫（Jeffery Kotyk）所指出的，牛奶和乳制品在中国早期历史和社会中的作用尚未得到充分研究。康杰夫的研究表明，直到18世纪牛奶和乳制品被用于各种医疗、宗教和仪式中。[85] 无论如何，牛奶和乳制品在九皇诞中的地位仍不清楚。庙宇对此采取了不同的立场，只有少数庙宇完全禁止使用这类产品。在遵循佛教传统庆祝九皇诞的两座庙宇，即龙南寺和准提堂，在节日期间可以食用牛奶和乳制品。近年来，蔡厝港斗母宫也向九皇一帝请求许可，允许信徒食用乳制品。这种转变源于人们认识到，鉴于乳制品在食物中越来越普遍，避免食用乳制品变得越来越困难。[86]

中华帝国晚期的斋、素、民间习俗和民间教门

明清时期，不杀生和吃素的观念开始超越道教和佛教的狭窄范畴，甚至影响了中国社会各种新的宗教运动和趋势。正如韩德林（Joanna Handlin Smith）所指出的，不杀生的观念作为道德修养的一种来源，并不局限于单一的维度或学派。因此，在中华帝国晚期，“放生会”是文人行善不可或缺的一部分也就不足为奇了。尽管有的学者认为这种做法是“佛教的”，并认为这一实践源于T1484《梵网经》。韩德林指出，放生与佛教哲学部分一致，但在实践中存在不同的意义。[87] 例如，许多放生者相信佛法中所讲的积攒功德，他们会随身携带功德账簿，并在每天结束时进行计算。这些信徒的功过是根据各种善书所提供的标准进行衡量的。[88]

在中华帝国，在文人中很盛行的宗教典籍，例如《文昌帝君阴骘文》，也支持“或买物而放生，或持斋而戒杀”。[89] 反之，杀生则会增加一个人的罪过，可能带来今生或来世的报应。与这些观念一致，在九皇诞期间，东南亚的一些庙宇允许小贩在庙宇内出售活禽和动物，供想要进行放生仪式的信徒购买。[90] 2018年，准提堂的许多庆典活动由海涛法师主持，农历九月四日的活动安排中便包括了放生仪式。[91]

[85] Jeffery Kotyk, "Milk, Yogurt and Butter in Medieval East Asia: Dairy Products from China to Japan in Medicine and Buddhism," *Religions* 12:5 (2021): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12050302.

[86] 笔者在 2017 年访问准提堂的时候得到了一瓶益多。

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[88] 关于这些功德账簿及其在拯救动物中的作用，请参阅 Cynthia Joanne Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 87, 209.

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[90] The author witnessed the sale of live birds when he did fieldwork in Sam Siang Keng, Johor Bahru. 在安邦南天宫，活龟被成对出售，图片见《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页 180。

[91] 关于放生这一实践目前已有许多研究。例如，见 Henry Shiu and Leah Stokes, "Buddhist Animal Release Practices: Historic, Environmental, Public Health and Economic Concerns," *Contemporary Buddhism* 9:2 (2008): 181-196; 及 Avi Darshani, "Releasing Life or Releasing Death: The Practice of and Discourse on Buddhist Animal Liberation Rituals in Contemporary Xiamen," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 109-143.

Aside from releasing animals, observing vegetarian diets also became popularised with the emergence and spread of sectarian religious movements in late imperial China.[92] Among them was the Luo Jiao, which owes its name to the semi-legendary Luo Qing (1442-1527 CE), also known as the Non-Action Teachings and the Great Vehicle Teachings.[93] It encouraged its followers to assume vegetarian diets. While the Luo Jiao and movements that branched out from it maintained that they were a tradition of their own, they drew liberally from the theology, beliefs, pantheons, soteriology and practices of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism) in late imperial China.[94] Influenced by Buddhist ethics and philosophy, many promoted lifelong vegetarian diets as a spiritual practice. The Great Way of Former Heaven—a branch-off from the Luo Jiao in Jiangxi, China—was heavily influenced by this approach. Buddhist ethics and vegetarian diets informed their outlook and practices in China and Southeast Asia.[95]

Despite its religious motivations, observances of vegetarian diets were also crucial in sectarian movements, particularly in coalescing like-minded practitioners. The commonality resulted in name-sharing, including "vegetarian/*zhai* religions" or similar prefixes in identification, namely "vegetarian friends", whenever such practitioners met.[96]

In his study of vegetarian feasts, Barend ter Haar describes how adherents of the Non-Action Teachings gathered to partake in the vegetarian food offerings prepared for the occasion following the recital of the movement's sacred texts.[97] Likewise, Lin Rongze asserts the importance of vegetarian diets as distinguishing markers for these sectarians. The facilitation of trust and networking through similar eating habits between fellow "vegetarian friend[s]" during travels was noteworthy.[98] Ironically, because observing vegetarian diets was such a distinctive trait of these movements, as ter Haar and Wu Junqing noted, these groups—mostly law-abiding—became unfairly stereotyped in Ming-Qing court memorials and magistrate reports for "eating vegetables and serving devils".[99] These movements, notably the Great Way of Former Heaven, later travelled to Southeast Asia and Singapore.

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[92] 许多术语被用来描述这些宗教运动。"民间教门（sectarian religion）"一词源自 Nikolas Broy, "Syncretic Sects and Redemptive Societies: Toward a New Understanding of Sectarianism in the Study of Chinese Religions," *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 2:2 (2015): 145—185. 有关其他名称，请参阅 Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* 12:1 (2001), 99—130; 关于术语的争论，请参阅 David Palmer, "Chinese Redemptive Societies and Salvationist Religion: Historical Phenomenon or Sociological Category?" 民俗曲艺 [Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore] 172 (2011): 21-72.

[93] 大乘教并非大乘佛教。然而，无为教与大乘教的名称突出了佛教（大乘）和道教（无为）的关键概念。

[94] 近几十年来，围绕这一主题已有许多重要的著作。例如，请参阅 Hubert Seiwert, "Popular Religious Sects in South-East China: Sect Connections and the Problem of the Luo Jiao/Bailian Jiao Dichotomy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 20, no. 1 (1992): 33—60; Hubert Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 209—484; 马西沙，韩秉方，《中国民间宗教史》两卷本（北京：中国社会科学出版社，2004）；Barend J. ter Haar, *Practicing Scripture: A Lay Buddhist Movement in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

[95] 一贯道从先天大道分流，同样强调素食。请参阅 Yunfeng Lu, *The Transformation of the Yiguan Dao in Taiwan: Adapting to a Changing Religious Economy* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), 文中处处可见，尤其是页 85-88; 及 Sébastien Billioud, *Reclaiming the Wilderness: Contemporary Dynamics of the Yiguandao* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 42– 55, 266–268. 在新加坡也有对于这一宗教运动的民族志研究，例如，请参阅吴玉美《环境，条件，抉择：新加坡一贯道宝光建德和发一天恩（群英）组线发展研究》新加坡国立大学硕士学位论文，2011；及 Francis Khek Gee Lim, "The Eternal Mother and the State: Circumventing Religious Management in Singapore," *Asian Studies Review* 36:1 (2012): 19-37.

[96] Nikolas Broy, "Secret Societies, Buddhist Fundamentalists, or Popular Religious Movements? Aspects of Zhaijiao in Taiwan," in *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions*, ed. Philip Clart (Taipei: Boyang Publishing, 2012), 330—369; "Moral Integration or Social Segregation? Vegetarianism and Vegetarian Religious Communities in Chinese Religious Life," in *Concepts and Methods for the Study of Chinese Religions III: Key Concepts in Practice*, ed. Paul R. Katz and Stefania Travagnin (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 37–64.

[97] Ter Haar, *Practicing Scripture*, 141.

[98] 林荣泽<吃斋与清代民间宗教的发展机制>，《台湾师大历史学报》2005 年第 33 期，页 79-136。明朝时期（公元 1368-1644 年），罗教的许多寺庙首先是宗教机构，为罗教素食信徒提供诵经和丧葬服务，但在淡季它们也充当船夫的休息所。Daniel L. Overmyer, "Boatmen and Buddhas: The Lo Chiao in Ming Dynasty China," *History of Religions* 17:3/4 (1978): 284-302; and David E. Kelley, "Temples and Tribute Fleets: The Luo Sect and Boatmen's Associations in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern China* 8:3 (1982): 361-391.

[99] Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 44-55; and Wu Junqing, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of 'Heresy' in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 1, 12, 23, 14, 34, 126, 137.

除了放生，在中华帝国晚期随着民间教门的出现和传播，素食也渐渐流行。[92] 在这些民间教门中，由半传奇人物罗清（公元1442年-1527年）创建的罗教，也称无为教和大乘教，[93] 也鼓励其信徒遵循素食。尽管罗教及其分支声称罗教有其独特传统，实际上罗教借鉴并结合了中华帝国晚期三教（即儒释道）的信仰系统、经书教义及礼拜实践等。[94] 受佛教伦理和哲学的影响，许多罗教信仰者提倡将终生吃素作为一种修行方式。先天大道是罗教在中国江西的分支，深受这一观念的影响。佛教伦理和素食饮食影响了中国和东南亚先天大道的形式和组织。[95]

尽管信徒吃素是出于宗教动机，但这种做法在这些教派运动中发挥了重要作用，特别是将志同道合的信徒聚集在一起。这些民间教门不仅都被称作"吃菜教/斋教"，信徒之间也可能互称"菜友"。[96] 田海（Ter Haar）描述了无为教如何进行素食宴。在诵读经书之后，信徒们会一起分享为这一活动准备的素食。[97] 同样地，正如林荣泽所指出的，吃素是将这些民间教门与其他团体区别开来的重要标志。当信徒在外遇到另一位"菜友"时，相同的饮食习惯为他们提供了建立信任和联系的基础。[98] 讽刺的是，田海和Wu Junqing指出，由于吃素是这些民间教门的一个突出特征，这些通常奉公守法的民间教门在明清官方的记录中常被污名化为"吃菜事魔"。[99] 这些民间教门，特别是先天大道，后来流传到东南亚和新加坡。

[92] 许多术语被用来描述这些宗教运动。"民间教门（sectarian religion）"一词源自 Nikolas Broy, "Syncretic Sects and Redemptive Societies: Toward a New Understanding of Sectarianism in the Study of Chinese Religions," *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 2:2 (2015): 145—185. 有关其他名称，请参阅 Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* 12:1 (2001), 99—130; 关于术语的争论，请参阅 David Palmer, "Chinese Redemptive Societies and Salvationist Religion: Historical Phenomenon or Sociological Category?" 民俗曲艺 [Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore] 172 (2011): 21-72.

[93] 大乘教并非大乘佛教。然而，无为教与大乘教的名称突出了佛教（大乘）和道教（无为）的关键概念。

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[95] 一贯道从先天大道分流，同样强调素食。请参阅 Yunfeng Lu, *The Transformation of the Yiguan Dao in Taiwan: Adapting to a Changing Religious Economy* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), 文中处处可见，尤其是页 85-88; 及 Sébastien Billioud, *Reclaiming the Wilderness: Contemporary Dynamics of the Yiguandao* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 42– 55, 266–268. 在新加坡也有对于这一宗教运动的民族志研究，例如，请参阅吴玉美《环境，条件，抉择：新加坡一贯道宝光建德和发一天恩（群英）组线发展研究》新加坡国立大学硕士学位论文，2011；及 Francis Khek Gee Lim, "The Eternal Mother and the State: Circumventing Religious Management in Singapore," *Asian Studies Review* 36:1 (2012): 19-37.

[96] Nikolas Broy, "Secret Societies, Buddhist Fundamentalists, or Popular Religious Movements? Aspects of Zhaijiao in Taiwan," in *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions*, ed. Philip Clart (Taipei: Boyang Publishing, 2012), 330—369; "Moral Integration or Social Segregation? Vegetarianism and Vegetarian Religious Communities in Chinese Religious Life," in *Concepts and Methods for the Study of Chinese Religions III: Key Concepts in Practice*, ed. Paul R. Katz and Stefania Travagnin (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 37–64.

[97] Ter Haar, *Practicing Scripture*, 141.

[98] 林荣泽<吃斋与清代民间宗教的发展机制>，《台湾师大历史学报》2005 年第 33 期，页 79-136。明朝时期（公元 1368-1644 年），罗教的许多寺庙首先是宗教机构，为罗教素食信徒提供诵经和丧葬服务，但在淡季它们也充当船夫的休息所。Daniel L. Overmyer, "Boatmen and Buddhas: The Lo Chiao in Ming Dynasty China," *History of Religions* 17:3/4 (1978): 284-302; and David E. Kelley, "Temples and Tribute Fleets: The Luo Sect and Boatmen's Associations in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern China* 8:3 (1982): 361-391.

[99] Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 44-55; and Wu Junqing, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of "Heresy" in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 1, 12, 23, 14, 34, 126, 137.

Observations of Vegetarian Diets and *Zhai* and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in late-imperial and Republican China

Whilst cognisant that the late Qing period saw people across China undertaking vegetarian diets to observe the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, little is known about the exact beliefs held. Some clues, however, are offered in the *Essentials of the Daoist Canon* [compiled and re-edited in multiple phases between the reign of Jiaqing (1796—1820 CE) and Guangxu (1875—1908)], namely in the form of the JY101 (revealed c. 1798—1804 CE).[100] In this text, the revealing deity, Dou Lao, when addressing a heavenly audience, attributed "the origin of all disasters in the world to the act of killing".[101] To remedy the situation, Dou Lao suggested, humanity should avoid killing and became permanently vegetarian if possible. The faithful, she promised, "if they can consume vegetable products (in the place of meat), will not only be satiated in the body but will be protected from all forms of disasters and experience countless blessings".[102]

Important was the saving of the lives of animals which contribute greatly to the well-being of humanity, including dogs and cattle. Saving these said animals' lives produced greater merit, thus offsetting demerits, in contrast to saving the lives of individual insects.[103] Despite championing a vegetarian diet, the text did not include immediate enforcement of complete vegetarianism or abstinence from killing. Allowance was given to practitioners to begin by saving the lives of animals with greater karmic value than others.[104]

Curiously, the only documented instance of Dou Lao's ideas being implemented in Republican China can be traced to a Buddhist rather than a Daoist association. In 1942, at the height of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937—1945), the Association of the Lotus Pond in Beijing published a long article, half of which contained a summary of Dou Lao's message in the JY101. Echoing Dou Lao, Huang Weishi warned that "disbelievers kill (animals) and thus are also killed, and that warfare in this world is nothing more than rightful retribution sentient beings have brought upon themselves". Besides adopting vegetarian diets, the faithful were also asked to fund the construction of a "releasing-life garden " to generate even more merit to offset humanity's gross karmic deficit.[105] While we do not know if the Association succeeded in materializing this blueprint, this entry suggests that Dou Lao's ideas resonated with the wartime carnage contemporaneous with Huang's time. Saving animal lives and undergoing vegetarian diets must go hand-in-glove with one another if humankind wishes to free themselves from their karmic fetters of killing animals for food.

Aside from the JY101, spirit-written tracts and morality books disseminated during late Qing China also endorsed similar ideas. Likely shaped by the massive loss of life during the Taiping Movement (1850—1864 CE) which rattled the Qing dynasty in south-south-eastern China, deities, such as Guan Di (160—220 CE), also exhorted their followers to abstain from killing and adopt vegetarianism to avoid the current cataclysm and future bloodbaths.[106] Given that civil conflict, banditry, and strife were the norm, many may have been motivated to stop killing animals for food in late Qing and Republican China. Given the challenge of permanently abstaining from meat, the graduality espoused by Dou Lao arguably proved attractive to those wishing for salvation and the end of chaos and mayhem from the late 19th to the 20th centuries.

While various *jiao* and *zhai* rituals in the Daoist Canon were dedicated to specific deities, none were specified for the Nine Emperor Gods. Nevertheless, *jiaos* have been performed to honour the Nine Emperor Gods. For example, in post-War Chengdu, Sichuan, the Ming Dao Yuan organised a *jiao* to commemorate the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 1947. According to a contemporary observer, 365-star lamps were prepared for the occasion, where they were to the Three Platform Stars and Five Dippers.[107] During the event, a lengthy edict was also prepared to beseech the Ziwei Emperor Star to grace the event and bless participants with his power.[108]

[100] 有关更多历史背景，请参阅本卷前言。

[101] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，Kanseki Repository, 页 01p007a, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 26 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0024/001.

[102] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，页 01p014a.

[103] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，页 01p013a - 01p013b.

[104] Vincent Goossaert, 'Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse,' in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 186-190.

[105] 黄维时<九皇斗母说行善邀福定乱挽劫莫如放生之慈音与当前创建放生圈之迫切>，《莲池会刊》1942 年第 4 期，页 1-3。引文见第 2 页。有关这段时间在中国发生的暴力、死亡和破坏的背景，请参阅 Hsi-sheng Chi, 'The military Dimension: 1942-1945,' in *China's Bitter Victory: The War With Japan, 1937-1945*, ed. James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine (New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 157-184.

[106] Goossaert, 'Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse,' 192-195.

[107] 数字 365 可能是指一年的天数。这是一个有趣的视角，反映了民国时期如何将阳历和阴历是结合起来。

[108] 余鹤龄<近闻：参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应>，《新德善刊》 1947 年第 49 期，页 15-16； 及<特辑：成都明道院丁亥秋，九皇大醮重要文献：紫微大帝诏>，《新德善刊》1947 年第 45期，页 6-7。 第二篇参考文献可能肯定了紫微大帝是地位最高的星君之一的说法，或者肯定了紫微大帝是九皇大帝其中一员的说法。相关背景请参阅本卷第一章。

清末与民国时期的茹素持斋与九皇诞

虽然我们知道在晚清时期，中国各地的人们会持斋以庆祝九皇诞，但我们对这些参与者的确切信仰知之甚少。然而，在嘉庆年间（公元1796-1820年）与光绪年间（公元1875-1908年）多次编纂及重刊的《道藏辑要》中保存有一些线索，见于JY101《皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》（收录于约公元1798-1804年）。[100] 在这篇经文中，斗姥在讲诵后曰："劫运之来由，于杀机之炽"。[101] 斗姥建议，为了挽劫，人不仅应该戒杀生，还应在可能的情况下成为终生素食者。她向信徒承诺："倘能蔬食菜羹，终身饱饫，得免灾祸，亦为万幸"。[102]

同样重要的是拯救对人类功德颇多的动物的生命，例如犬和牛。相比于挽救一只昆虫，挽救一头牛或一条犬会积攒更多功德，从而抵消报应。[103] 尽管斗姥劝谕信徒吃素，但经文也指出信徒不必立即成为完全的素食者或戒杀生。想积功累德之人可从挽救与同类相比更有价值的动物做起。[104]

有意思的是，关于民国时期践行斗姥思想的唯一例证并非来自道教组织，而是源于佛教组织。在第二次中日战争（1937-1945年）的顶点1942年，北京的莲池会发表了一篇长文，其中一半篇幅是对JY101《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》中斗姥讲诵内容的总结。呼应斗姥的劝谕，黄维时告诫称"不信者因杀以召杀，世多兵火，亦苍生自取其殃"。除了吃素，信徒们也被要求资助"放生园"的建设，以积累功德，消除业障。[105] 尽管莲池会最终是否建成放生园我们不得而知，但是这一记录表明，斗姥思想在同时期的战火杀戮中引起共鸣。如果人们希望从杀食动物的业障中解脱出来，那么拯救动物和坚持吃素缺一不可。

除了JY101《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，清末流传的宗教册子和善书也宣传类似的观点。在中国南方兴起的反对清王朝的太平天国运动（公元1850-1864年）造成了严重伤亡。可能受此影响，一些神明，如关圣帝君（公元160-220年），也劝诫其信众，若想在乱世中避免灾难，就戒杀生，吃素食。[106] 由于清末和民国时期内乱不断，土匪横行，很可能许多人因此停止捕杀动物作为食物。尽管不是每个人都能做到放弃肉食，但斗姥所建议的尝试并逐步接受素食的做法，对于生活在19世纪下半叶和20世纪早期的水深火热之中、希望获得救赎的人们来说颇具吸引力。

道教经典中不同神明有相应的斋醮名目，但没有专门为九皇大帝而设的科仪。尽管如此，人们会举行醮仪祭祀九皇大帝。例如，战后1947年，四川成都明道院组织了一场醮仪庆祝九皇诞。根据当时一位观察者的描述，现场准备了365盏星灯，供奉给三台五斗星君。[107] 活动期间举行了一系列仪式，恳请紫微大帝亲临现场，赐福信众。[108]

[100] 有关更多历史背景，请参阅本卷前言。

[101] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，Kanseki Repository, 页 01p007a, 访问日期：2022 年 3 月 26 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5i0024/001.

[102] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，页 01p014a.

[103] 《九皇斗姥戒杀延生真经》，页 01p013a - 01p013b.

[104] Vincent Goossaert, "Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert and Dagmar Schäfer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 186-190.

[105] 黄维时<九皇斗母说行善邀福定乱挽劫莫如放生之慈音与当前创建放生圈之迫切>，《莲池会刊》1942 年第 4 期，页 1-3。引文见第 2 页。有关这段时间在中国发生的暴力、死亡和破坏的背景，请参阅 Hsi-sheng Chi, "The military Dimension: 1942-1945," in *China's Bitter Victory: The War With Japan, 1937-1945*, ed. James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine (New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), 157-184.

[106] Goossaert, "Animals in Nineteenth-Century Eschatological Discourse," 192-195.

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[108] 余鹤龄<近闻：参加九皇胜醮供天典礼感应>，《新德善刊》 1947 年第 49 期，页 15-16； 及<特辑：成都明道院丁亥秋，九皇大醮重要文献：紫微大帝诏>，《新德善刊》1947 年第 45期，页 6-7。 第二篇参考文献可能肯定了紫微大帝是地位最高的星君之一的说法，或者肯定了紫微大帝是九皇大帝其中一员的说法。相关背景请参阅本卷第一章。

Aside from the Ming Dao Yuan's activities, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival seems to be an important community festival in Sichuan, where entire communities assumed vegetarian diets during the festival. A reporter commenting on the festival's scale in Chengdu noted with a hint of sarcasm that Muslims were the only people who did not go on vegetarian diets during the nine days.[109] James Hutson (1832—1905), a British missionary in the region, also noticed that food stalls alerted the festival's devotees in Sichuan to their sale of vegetarian fare by raising a yellow banner outside of their premises.[110] Many hawkers, restaurants and shops also capitalised on the festival to boost sales in Chengdu. A reporter, for example, noted in 1947 that even sellers of grain and water displayed yellow flags to indicate vegetarian products.[111] The practice of consuming vegetarian food during the festival, while ubiquitous in Chengdu and commented upon by many observers from the 19th to 20th centuries, may have spread via Hakka migrants during this time.[112]

Beyond Sichuan, China, we also find many references made to the practice of the "Nine Emperors' Vegetarian Diet" among publications in late imperial and Republican China. While observing vegetarian diets during the festival spanned all ages, occupations, and genders, two groups of devotees have been singled out for their devotion to the practice: Women, particularly the elderly and grandmothers, and professional performers, collectively known as the Liyuan (Pear Orchard). Perhaps in reflection of the stereotype that women were more religious (read: "superstitious" in the eyes of social and political reformers in Republican China), many articles documenting the observation of vegetarian diets stressed women's central role.[113]

Following a vegetarian diet in Republican China was not solely restricted to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and vegetarian diets were also the norm for many other deity festivals. In 1935, a journalist in Shanghai named "Autumn Rain" explained how his wife was a practitioner of the "Thunder God's *Zhai*". Despite her attempts at keeping a vegetarian diet, her efforts were usually rendered nought when her playful grandchildren contaminated her food by using common cutlery for separate dishes.[114]

A lengthy feature article in 1939 also echoed similar ideas. The author described two vegetarian diets that were associated with the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods: a milder form known as "Mixed Nine Emperors (Vegetarian)" and a purer form of vegetarian diet known as "Pure Nine Emperors (Vegetarian)". Whilst the former did not carry any restrictions to the types of vegetarian dishes consumed, the latter instructed the daily ingestion of only one non-flowering vegetable or fruit, such as taro. While this was meant to characterise a general phenomenon, the author hinted that "only old women maintain[ing] vegetarian diets" could tell the difference, indirectly confirming that only elderly women would make efforts to differentiate and observe different forms of vegetarian practices.[115]

In addition, many professional opera performers—under the "Liyuan [Liyuan]" umbrella" —were also fervent observers of vegetarian diets during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In the mid-1940s, those who "used their voice to make a living " were expected to commit to vegetarian diets during the festival.[116] According to one report, professional performers had to observe vegetarian diets and *zhai* as a form of repentance: "Those who make a living as professional performers waste too much rouge, perfume and scented water throughout the year. Keeping a vegetarian diet during the (Festival of the) Nine Emperor Gods is a form of seeking forgiveness before Heaven and honouring the Buddha".[117] For example, while travelling in Tianjin during the festival, Bai Yuwei expressed remorse for accidentally consuming fried grasshoppers.[118]

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[109] 雷雷，<成都的九皇盛会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934 年 9 月 20 日，第 2 版。类似的观察，但是是针对牛肉而非所有肉类，请参阅 Tristan G. Brown, 'A Mountain of Saints and Sages: Muslims in the Landscape of Popular Religion in Late Imperial China,' *Toung Pao* 105:3-4 (2019): 464-645; and Zhang Shaodan, 'Cattle Slaughter Industry in Qing China: State Ban, Muslim Dominance, and the Western Diet,' *Frontiers of History in China* 16:1 (2021): 4-38.

[110] James Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills* (Shanghai : Far Eastern geographical establishment, 1921), 181.

[111] <锦城小景>，《西方日报》，1947 年 10 月 17 日，页 2。

[112] <吃九皇素>，《大公晚报》，1946 年 9 月 28 日，页 2。

[113] 一篇精彩的讨论，请参阅 Elena Valussi, 'Men Built Religion, and Women Made it Superstitious: Gender and Superstition in Republican China,' *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48, no. 1 (2020): 87— 125.

[114] 秋雨<吃雷斋素>，见《时事新报》，1935 年 7 月 23 日，第 2 版。

[115] 洋红<九皇素>，见《现世报》，1939年第76期，第10-11版。另一篇类似的报道，见蝶羽<九皇素的形形色色>，见《力报》，1942年10月31日，第3版。

[116] <闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第4期，页11。

[117] 忆云<谈谈梨园行的九皇会>，见《戏世界》，1936 年 10 月 23 日，第 4 版。类似的观察请参阅陈志勇<戏曲行业"九皇神"信仰考>，《中华戏曲》2008 年第 2 期，页 319-322。

[118] <九皇素中两出戏：白玉薇炸蚂蚱，萧长华炮羊肉>，见《立言画刊》，1942 年第 217 期，第 8 版。

除了明道院的活动外，九皇诞似乎也是四川地区一个重要的社区节日，整个社区在节日期间持斋以奉道。一名记者在记录四川这一节庆的规模时略带嘲讽地评论道："这九天中，除了回教，几乎是全体都吃斋的"。[109] James Huston（1832-1905年）是一名来到四川的英国传教士，他也注意到，小贩会在摊位外竖起一面黄旗，提醒信众他们出售素食。[110] 成都许多小贩、餐馆和商店也会抓住九皇诞的良机促进销售。例如，1947年，一名记者发现，就连出售谷物和水的商家也会挂上黄旗，表明他们卖的是素食产品。[111] 19世纪到20世纪，九皇诞期间吃斋在成都已经非常普遍，并出见于许多观察者的记录中。这一实践可能在同一时期随着客家移民传播到四川地区。[112]

除了这些关于中国四川的记录之外，我们也在清末和民国时期的出版物中发现许多有关"九皇素"的记载。尽管在节日期间吃素的做法不分年龄、职业和性别，有两个群体因为对此格外虔诚而被突出强调：一个是女性，特别是老年女性和祖母们；另一个是戏曲专业表演者，他们被统称为"梨园"。许多观察记录素食的文章都强调了女性的核心作用，这或许反映了女性对待宗教更虔诚（在民国时期的社会和政治改革者看来是更"迷信"）的刻板印象。[113]

民国时期，吃素并不仅限于九皇诞，在其他神明的节日期间，人们也会吃素。1935年，一位名为"秋雨"的上海记者记录了他的妻子进行"雷斋素"的经历。尽管她努力恪守素食，但她顽皮的孙子孙女经常用沾了荤的餐具碰她的食物，使她的努力成为徒劳。[114]

1939年的一篇长篇专题文章表达了类似的观点。作者描述了两种与九皇信仰相关的素食：一种是不那么严格的素食，称为"花九皇"；另一种是更加纯粹的素食，称为"纯九皇"。"花九皇"对于什么类型的素食可以食用没有限制，但在"纯九皇"中，每天只能吃一种不开花的蔬菜或水果，比如芋艿。作者暗示只有"吃素老太"才能分辩两者的不同，尽管这描述的是一个普遍现象，这间接证明了只有上了年纪的妇女才会努力区分并实践不同形式的"九皇素"。[115]

此外，在"梨园"这一统称下的专业戏曲演员中，有许多人在九皇胜会期间虔诚持素。在1940年代中期，"吃开口饭"的戏曲演员需要在节日期间吃素。[116] 据一篇报道称，职业演员必须持斋茹素，作为一种忏悔的形式："吃戏饭一年之中。糟蹋的胭脂花粉各种化妆颜料和水实在太多了。九皇素便是每年的一种向老天爷表示忏悔的佞佛举动"。[117] 白玉薇在九皇胜会期间去天津旅游时吃了炸蚂蚱，当她意识到这一点时，她对自己的过错感到愧疚。[118]

[109] 雷雷，<成都的九皇盛会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月20日，第2版。类似的观察，但是是针对牛肉而非所有肉类，请参阅 Tristan G. Brown, 'A Mountain of Saints and Sages: Muslims in the Landscape of Popular Religion in Late Imperial China,' *Toung Pao* 105:3-4 (2019): 464-645; and Zhang Shaodan, 'Cattle Slaughter Industry in Qing China: State Ban, Muslim Dominance, and the Western Diet,' *Frontiers of History in China* 16:1 (2021): 4-38.

[110] James Hutson, *Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills* (Shanghai : Far Eastern geographical establishment, 1921), 181.

[111] <锦城小景>，《西方日报》，1947年10月17日，页2。

[112] <吃九皇素>，《大公晚报》，1946年9月28日，页2。

[113] 一篇精彩的讨论，请参阅 Elena Valussi, 'Men Built Religion, and Women Made it Superstitious: Gender and Superstition in Republican China,' *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48, no. 1 (2020): 87— 125.

[114] 秋雨<吃雷斋素>，见《时事新报》，1935年7月23日，第2版。

[115] 洋红<九皇素>，见《现世报》，1939年第76期，第10-11版。另一篇类似的报道，见蝶羽<九皇素的形形色色>，见《力报》，1942年10月31日，第3版。

[116] <闲人莫入，荤腥勿入：九皇会和后台神主>，《海燕》1946年第4期，页11。

[117] 忆云<谈谈梨园行的九皇会>，见《戏世界》，1936年10月23日，第4版。类似的观察请参阅陈志勇<戏曲行业"九皇神"信仰考>，《中华戏曲》2008年第2期，页319-322。

[118] <九皇素中两出戏：白玉薇炸蚂蚱，萧长华炮羊肉>，见《立言画刊》，1942年第217期，第8版。

Like most performers, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival saw the adoption of a vegetarian diet by senior *xiangsheng* performer Hou Baolin (1917—1993). Of interest is that his wife, too, partook in the diet alongside her husband.[119] Conversely, reporters clarified that Yan Huizhu (1919—1966), who insisted that she "c[ould not] have any meals without meat", was not required to adhere to the restrictions given her conversion to Christianity.[120] Yet, further examination reveals that these practices seemed to have waned by the late 1940s. Performers were noted to have consumed meat and alcohol on most days of the festival except for the first and last days. This became a minor cause célèbre in opera-related periodicals. Xun Huisheng (1900—1968), one of the four great *dan* performers of Beijing opera, was questioned about his vegetarian diet when found dining on crabs and noodles with minced pork during the festival in 1948. Xun blithely responded that he had "no strong opinion on this custom" further hints at the reduced prominence and intensity of the occasion's dietary practice.[121]

Observations of Vegetarian Diets and *Zhai* and the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia

Among Chinese communities observing the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, a vegetarian diet, commonly rendered in terms of *zhai* or *zhaijie*, is mandated for ritual specialists and core ritual participants while strongly encouraged for the devotees. Many journalists in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries noted how the uptake of vegetarian diets during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was so pervasive that meat and fish prices in communities and localities observing the festival would be adversely affected during this time. In Bangkok, Thailand, the price of lard dropped drastically during the festival in 1954.[122] On Penang Island, the price of seafood, such as fish and prawns, dropped dramatically during the festival in the same year, when many undertook vegetarian diets on the island.[123] One can infer the scale of the festivals in these localities through these accounts.

Today, vegetarian diets and the stricter physical and mental regimes associated with *zhai* are still important requirements in every temple observing the festival in Singapore and Southeast Asia. This is even though the range of prohibited food products varies, especially regarding certain vegetables and milk. However, characteristic of many other aspects of Chinese religion and practice, as demonstrated in this volume, many symbolisms exist for the same observation in the eyes of various communities.[124] In some temples, specific expressions of *zhai* and the preparation of vegetarian food have become intertwined with their unique histories, beliefs, and traditions. Before looking at specific examples, let us examine why devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia pay much attention to vegetarian diets and mental and physical discipline characteristic of *zhai* during the festival.

Motivations and Meanings of *zhai* during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia

Vegetarian diets during Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival can be contextualised within two different but overlapping historical paradigms discussed earlier. On the one hand, as a subset of *zhai*, the undertaking was necessary to purify and cleanse oneself before the performances of any religious ceremonies. On the other hand, vegetarian diets and concomitant regimes of abstinence have also been framed as a funerary ritual, where one limits his/her diet to coarse plant foods to express the grief associated with mourning. This latter belief is closely related to many accounts of the Nine Emperor Gods' origins and the ritual structure of the festival in Southeast Asia.

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119 <幺鸡的"二厂"：她唱过戏她吃九皇素>，见《戏世界》，1948 年第 361 期，第 3 版。

120 <言慧珠不吃九皇素；曹慧麟辛酸谈误会；李玉茹化装有进步；白玉艳派戏到天亮>，见《罗宾汉》，1946 年 10 月 5 日，第 4 版。相关背景请参阅 Eric Robert Reinders, "Blessed are the Meat Eaters: Christian Antivegetarianism and the Missionary Encounter with Chinese Buddhism," *Positions: East Asia Cultural Critique* 12:2 (2004): 509-537.

121 <老红娘自喻名士风流，九皇斋饱餐大螃蟹：荀慧生说："我对这种习俗马马虎虎">，见《戏世界》，1948 年第 404 期，第 4 版。

122 <曼谷猪油市价按落>，见《星洲日报》，1954 年 11 月 2 日，第 3 版。

123 <柴重阳将近鱼虾大跌价>，见《南洋商报》，1954 年 10 月 5 日，第 10 版。1934 年，一位记者记录道：那一年卖素食粿的小贩数量减少，海鲜的价格也不像以往那样大幅下降。"侨社风俗之一柴城华侨拜九皇爷之风渐替，神也无灵渐受善男信女忘掉般，神徒的生意将做不下去了！"见《南洋商报》，1934 年 10 月 19 日，第 9 版。

124 正统实践（orthopraxy），即正确行为的概念通常与正统信仰（orthodoxy），即正确的观念形成对照或相结合。开创性的研究请参阅 James L. Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of Tien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') Along the South China Coast, 960-1960," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 292-324; and "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-20. 在华人宗教研究领域，Watson 的观点被众多学者进一步发展、修正或批判，请参阅 Donald D. Sutton, ed., "Ritual, Cultural Standardization, and Orthopraxy in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson's Ideas," *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 3-158. 感谢蔡志祥教授在 2017年让笔者注意到这本论文集。

和大多数表演者一样，著名相声演员侯宝林（1917-1993年）也会在九皇胜会期间改吃素食。他的妻子也会一起吃斋。[119] 相反地，言慧珠（1919-1966年）在节日期间“每餐无荤不能下饭”。记者澄清道，言慧珠已经皈依了基督教，因此没有遵循这些限制。[120] 然而，到20世纪40年代末，这些实践似乎在逐渐消失。一些表演者除了节日的头几天和最后几天以外，其他日子都吃肉饮酒。这成为戏剧期刊上轰动一时的事件。1948年，京剧四大名旦之一的荀慧生（1900-1968年）被发现在九皇诞期间吃螃蟹和猪肉碎面条，当他被问及九皇素时，他满不在乎地表示“我对这种习俗马马虎虎”，这也反映了在节日期间吃斋的重要性逐渐降低。[121]

东南亚的茹素持斋与九皇诞

在东南亚庆祝九皇诞的华人社区中，礼仪专家和核心仪式参与者必须吃素（通常称为“斋”或“斋戒”），普通信徒也被鼓励改吃素食。19世纪晚期和20世纪的许多记者注意到，在九皇诞节日期间吃素非常普遍，以至于社区和当地的肉和鱼的价格会受到不利影响。1954年的九皇斋节期间，泰国曼谷猪油的价格急剧下跌。[122] 同年的节日期间，槟榔屿上的许多人改吃素食，导致当地海鲜，如鱼和虾，价格大幅下降。[123] 从这些记录中，这些地区的节日规模可见一斑。

如今，在新加坡和东南亚许多庆祝九皇诞的庙宇中，人们仍须严格遵守素食以及与斋有关的更为严格的身心禁欲制度，但不能食用的食物可能因庙而异，尤其是关于某些蔬菜和牛奶。然而，正如本书所展示的，华人宗教和实践的特点是，相同的实践对于不同社区可能具有不同的含义。[124] 在一些庙宇中，持斋的具体表现及素食的准备已经成为他们独特的历史、信仰和传统的一部分。在探讨具体的例子之前，我们先考察为什么东南亚的九皇大帝信徒在节日期间如此重视素食并诚心沐斋。

东南亚九皇诞持斋的动机与意义

如前文所述，东南亚九皇诞期间的素食可被置于两个不同但互相重叠的历史范式中理解。一方面，作为持斋的一部分，举行宗教仪式之前，通过吃素来洁净自己是必不可少的。另一方面，素食和禁欲作为一种丧葬礼仪，通过吃素来寄托对死者的哀思，这一观念与许多有关九皇大帝起源和东南亚节日仪式结构的说法密切相关。

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119 <幺鸡的“二厂”：她唱过戏她吃九皇素>，见《戏世界》，1948 年第 361 期，第 3 版。

120 <言慧珠不吃九皇素；曹慧麟辛酸谈误会；李玉茹化装有进步；白玉艳派戏到天亮>，见《罗宾汉》，1946 年 10 月 5 日，第 4 版。相关背景请参阅 Eric Robert Reinders, “Blessed are the Meat Eaters: Christian Antivegetarianism and the Missionary Encounter with Chinese Buddhism,” *Positions: East Asia Cultural Critique* 12:2 (2004): 509-537.

121 <老红娘自喻名士风流，九皇斋饱餐大螃蟹：荀慧生说：“我对这种习俗马马虎虎”>，见《戏世界》，1948 年第 404 期，第 4 版。

122 <曼谷猪油市价按落>，见《星洲日报》，1954 年 11 月 2 日，第 3 版。

123 <槟重阳将近鱼虾大跌价>，见《南洋商报》，1954 年 10 月 5 日，第 10 版。1934 年，一位记者记录道：那一年卖素食粿的小贩数量减少，海鲜的价格也不像以往那样大幅下降。“侨社风俗之一槟城华侨拜九皇爷之风渐替，神也无灵渐受善男信女忘掉般，神徒的生意将做不下去了！”见《南洋商报》，1934 年 10 月 19 日，第 9 版。

124 正统实践（orthopraxy），即正确行为的概念通常与正统信仰（orthodoxy），即正确的观念形成对照或相结合。开创性的研究请参阅 James L. Watson, “Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of Tien Hou (‘Empress of Heaven’) Along the South China Coast, 960-1960,” in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 292-324; and “The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-20. 在华人宗教研究领域，Watson 的观点被众多学者进一步发展、修正或批判，请参阅 Donald D. Sutton, ed., “Ritual, Cultural Standardization, and Orthopraxy in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson’s Ideas,” *Modern China* 33:1 (2007): 3-158. 感谢蔡志祥教授在 2017年让笔者注意到这本论文集。

Stories regarding the intentional or accidental consumption of meat products during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival have been passed down through generations of temple communities and devotees. Interestingly, several stories revolve around members of the palanquin teams secretly venturing to consume fishball noodles beyond the festival area. Vital, here, is the revelation of such transgressions upon the transgressors being hit by the very palanquins they carried.[125] Festival participants in Singapore also shared memories of themselves or others falling at the entrance to the temple or festival area, or within it, or experiencing headaches as they approached or entered the ritual area. Such "accidents" or serendipitous events have consequently been attributed to the failed adherence to a strict vegetarian or *zhai* regime or inability to maintain the desired levels of "purity". A similar explanation is given when a person undergoes the "wearing the armies" 带营 practice (a practice which involves pierced skin) where their arms bleed visibly after the removal of the generals piercings. As these examples inevitably suggest, strict adherence to a vegetarian and *zhai* regime is important for the purity expected of key ritual participants and those expected to work close to the Nine Emperor Gods and the Inner Chamber during the festival.

Inadvertently, understanding the importance of *zhai* necessitates understanding the "dangers" of contact with polluting influences, especially for those involved in ritual tasks and the carrying of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins. A member of the Hong San temple palanquin team remembers a year when he had carried his newborn nephew, who was less than a month old, before participating in the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods. Key to his message was his experience of a severe headache and giddiness during the commencement of the festivities. Having maintained his resolute stance of having observed *zhai* to a questioning elder, both man and elder eventually linked the predicament to the former's contact with his newborn nephew. In this story was the disappearance of his headache after the man complied with the elder's instruction of paying respects to the Nine Emperor Gods to explain his predicament and the ensuing vow to return the following year to carry the palanquin. The clinched relief allowed the man to enter the temple to pay respects before returning home as promised.

Zhai and vegetarian regimes during the festival were also understood as an expression of mourning for the Nine Emperor Gods. In Nan Tian Gong, in Ampang, Malaysia, the festival's origin was traced to the beheading of nine pro-Ming martyrs who had resisted Qing rule. When fishing communities found their heads, the first nine days of the ninth lunar month were dedicated "to collectively mourn the deaths (of the Nine Emperor Gods)". [126] As Ong Seng Huat points out, grief for the Nine Emperor Gods can be extended equivocally to include the collapse of Ming rule after the Qing conquest.[127] In this light, we may read the self-denial of luxuries, such as reclining on high beds and consuming meat and alcoholic drinks, many of which are also proscribed during *zhai*, as expressions of sorrow for the Nine Emperor Gods.

Besides Ampang, beliefs regarding the overarching funerary structure of the festival have likewise informed traditions, such as the *zhai* regime, undertaken by many Singapore temples, including Nan Shan Hai Miao, Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang (Yu Hai Tang). According to Nan Shan Hai Miao, mourning for the Nine Emperor Gods encompass wearing yellow cloth girdles and wristbands, past wearing of hemp by core temple members, and, pertinent to this chapter, the following vegetarian diets. Shin Sen Keng broadly conforms to the popular Southeast Asian belief that the Nine Emperor Gods represented the last Ming emperor. Specifically, the *zhai* regime recalled the emperor's residence in the Shaolin Monastery as he attempted to travel through China to restore the toppled Ming dynasty.[128] On the other hand, Singapore's Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Lao Yu Lou Chun's (Xuan Wu Shan) members champion the close connection of the *zhai* regime to the origin of the Nine Emperor God. Harking back to Dou Mu's advice, the Nine Emperor God requested his followers to abstain from meat and alcoholic offerings. This was in accordance with Dou Mu's guidance, where she encouraged devotees to mourn for the Nine Emperor God since he lacked male descendants in this world. The basis for his request of abstinence from killing livestock and maintaining a vegetarian diet ultimately resided in his recognition of his ongoing cultivation under Dou Mu's tutelage.[129]

[125] 2016 年-2017 年，我们在新加坡不同节日地点进行实地考察时，多次听到并记录类似的故事。

[126]《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》，页 21。

[127] 王琛发《国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会》，论文发表于第五届台湾与东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会"台湾与东南亚文化文学的发展与思考"（佛光大学，台湾，2008
年 6 月 1 日）。

[128] 奇怪的是，至少在人们的记忆和民间传说中，少林寺因其和尚可以在训练武术和强身健体的基础上吃肉饮酒而闻名。请参阅 Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 35–37.

[129] 在该庙另一种类似说法中，据说九皇大帝被救下后下海修行，海里有足够多的海鲜可供他使用，因此没有必要为他献上荤食供品。

在九皇庙和庆祝九皇诞的社区中，关于有人在节日期间有意或无意中吃肉的故事代代相传。有趣的是，几个类似的故事都是围绕一名轿夫偷偷溜到外面吃鱼丸面展开。在这些故事中，违反持斋戒律的轿夫在抬轿时被神轿击中，从而将他的罪过公之于众。[125] 新加坡的节日参与者也分享了自己或他人的经历，他们在庙宇或节日区域时跌倒，或在靠近或进入仪式区域时感到头痛。这样的意外或凑巧常被归因于没有严格遵守斋戒，或没有清心寡欲，“不够清”。类似的说法也会被用于解释一个人在“带营”结束之后手臂流血的情况。正如这些例子所表明的，对于节日期间主要仪式的参与者及那些需要进入内殿祀奉九皇大帝的人而言，严格遵守素食和斋戒以确保自身足够洁净是非常重要的。

理解了“斋”的重要性，还必须意识到在无意中接触到污染源也可能带来危险，特别是对于那些参与节日仪式并为九皇大帝抬轿的人而言。凤山宫的一名轿夫回忆道，有一年他在参与恭送九皇大帝仪式前抱了他出生不到一个月的侄子。庆典准备开始的时候，他起身走向庙宇准备参加仪式，忽然间感到一阵头痛和眩晕，令他不得不退后。一位老人看到他的状态，询问他是否吃过什么肉。他坚称自己严格持斋。最终老人将这一情况归因于他接触了新生婴儿。轿夫听从老人的建议去参拜九皇大帝，说明自己的处境，并保证明年会回来抬轿，头痛果然消失。他也得以进入庙宇向九皇大帝致敬，之后他便立刻回家。

在节日期间持斋茹素也是表达对九皇大帝的哀悼。在马来西亚安邦南天宫，九皇诞起源于九名反清复明的志士被斩首于海畔，渔民发现了他们的首级，并在农历九月的前九天举行“开丧大集会”。[126] 正如王琛发所指出的，人们借哀悼九皇大帝的名义，表达了对明朝覆灭和清兵入侵的悲伤。[127] 从这个角度来看，对于躺在高床上或吃肉喝酒等奢侈享乐行为的自我克制，寄托了对九皇大帝的哀思。

除了安邦南天宫，在新加坡的很多庙宇中，例如南山海庙和玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂（以下简称玉海棠），九皇胜会是为了祭奠九皇大帝的观念影响了这些庙宇持斋茹素的传统。在南山海庙，核心成员会披麻戴孝，系上黄色腰带和腕带，坚持吃素，为九皇大帝服丧哀悼。神仙宫的传统与东南亚流行的一种说法一致，即九皇大帝是明朝的末代皇帝。具体而言，神仙宫认为持斋与皇帝曾下榻少林寺的传说有关，当时他正在中国各地召集军队，期望恢复被推翻的明朝。[128] 据新加坡玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春（以下简称玄武山）成员的叙述，节日期间的斋戒与九皇大帝的起源密切相关。由于九皇大帝在没有男性后代，斗母建议九皇大帝的信徒们为他守丧。但九皇大帝要求信徒不要祭祀任何肉或酒，因为他正在斗母的指导下进行修行，最好是吃素，且不能杀生。[129]

[125] 2016 年-2017 年，我们在新加坡不同节日地点进行实地考察时，多次听到并记录类似的故事。

[126] 《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》，页 21。

[127] 王琛发《国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会》，论文发表于第五届台湾与东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会“台湾与东南亚文化文学的发展与思考”（佛光大学，台湾，2008
年 6 月 1 日）。

[128] 奇怪的是，至少在人们的记忆和民间传说中，少林寺因其和尚可以在训练武术和强身健体的基础上吃肉饮酒而闻名。请参阅 Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 35–37.

[129] 在该庙另一种类似说法中，据说九皇大帝被救下后下海修行，海里有足够多的海鲜可供他使用，因此没有必要为他献上荤食供品。

Further insight into the strict observation of *zhai* by devotees in Singapore during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival can be derived from studying the histories of three temples, as these have been greatly intertwined with agricultural communities in pre-independence Singapore. The adoption of *zhai* by Hong San Temple devotees must be understood in relation to the agricultural community of Lemongrass Village, currently referred to as the areas of Tai Seng and Paya Lebar, as noted by Ong Chye Hock (born 1921). To Ong, the worship and propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods stemmed from the farmers' fervent hope of maintaining the health and continuity of their poultry and pig farms. As stated by Ong, the said farmers feared that "holdings w[ould be] struck with a disease that affected pigs and chickens, where not even one animal would survive". In essence, their compliance was in "hope[s] that their families' livestock [would] be kept safe" to avert losses.[130]



[130] Ong Chye Hock 王才福, Chinese Dialect Groups, National Archives of Singapore, Accession Number 000168, Reel 7, 03:15-04:18.

在独立前的新加坡，有三座庙宇与农业社区紧密相关。这些庙宇的历史可以解释为何信徒会在节日期间严格遵守斋戒，只吃素食。例如，生于1921年的王才福讲述道，位于今天大成巷（ Tai Seng）和巴耶利峇（Paya Lebar）的葱茅园甘榜（Lemongrass Village）过去是一个以农业为主的社区，那里的居民以饲养猪和家畜为生。他提到对九皇大帝的祭祀与这些农民的生计不无关系，饲养牲畜的农民们担心“如果你是中了猪瘟或鸡瘟，一直死到连一只都不能够生存”。因此，很多村民祭拜九皇大帝，“就是希望他的家畜能够顺利”，避免损失。[130]



◀
Preparation of vegetarian food offerings by various “Incense Societies” operating in Hong San Temple.

凤山宫各香社为九皇大帝准备的素食供品。

[130] Ong Chye Hock 王才福, Chinese Dialect Groups, National Archives of Singapore, Accession Number 000168, Reel 7, 03:15-04:18.

The importance of Ong's testimony rests on his elucidation of the past motivations of devotees for worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods in Hong San Temple. Here, the potential link between the agricultural surrounds and other manifested temple practices is of interest. One such instance is the temple's use of the label "Senior Vegetarian Friends" to designate its core ritual group, which is responsible for the receiving and sending-off rituals and the Inner Chamber service of the Nine Emperor Gods. This term was also used to identify the first association under Hong San Temple, which was responsible for certain festival aspects. At a glance, it is possible to argue for the correlation between the *zhai* diet and abstinence from animal products with the said label. That said, implications that the label has roots in the agricultural livelihood of those from Lemongrass Village or the farming areas around old Tai Seng Village also remain.



王才福的说法有助于理解过去凤山宫的信徒供奉九皇大帝的动机。有趣的是，农业环境与庙宇实践之间存在一定的联系。例如，凤山宫的核心仪式团体被称为“老菜友”，他们负责迎请和恭送九皇大帝，同时照料位于内殿的九皇大帝。“老菜友”也用来指凤山宫的第一个组织，它负责照料节日的某些方面。从其字面意思可见，“老菜友”这个名字可能与他们需要遵守严格的斋戒有关。也有说法称，这个名字源于过去葱茅园和大成村周围农民的农业生计。







Vegetarian food offerings were prepared by Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Temple devotees as part of a communal vegetarian feast during the 1980s. The participants then partook of the food prepared together after the offering and prayers. Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

1980 年代，蔡厝港斗母宫的信徒为素食盛宴准备的素食食品。祭拜与供奉完毕，参与者多会一起分享美味佳肴。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

The *zhai* regime in Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng is rooted in its past—when it was in Sungei Tengah village. According to retellings, the tradition took shape from a vegetarian feast offertory promise by the owner of a Brick Factory to the Nine Emperor Gods in exchange for blessings for his business. In short, the centrality of vegetarian feasts in Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng became increasingly normalised with the yearly fulfilment of the said promise by the owner coupled with the continuation of his practice by other villagers who also prepared tables of vegetarian food in exchange for a bountiful harvest and a successful year of poultry farming. Villagers generally sought livelihood blessings via the performance of *zhai* regimes as participants of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This is a significant reflection of the socio-economic conditions and anxieties of subsistence agricultural communities in postcolonial Singapore.[131]



As has been established thus far, a ubiquitous theme in narratives about the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the need to adhere to a *zhai* regime of a strict vegetarian diet and a strict physical and mental discipline of abstinence. Necessary, at this juncture, is the recognition that strictness surrounding this tradition even extended to the prohibition of conversations regarding the consumption of non-vegetarian food. For one, devotees believe that detrimental consequences will befall violators of *zhai*. Cautionary emphasis over conversations has been noted by Mrs Tan Khar Luan, an opera leader who had observed *zhai* with her troupe. At the crux of her stance was her experience of witnessing her troupe member's loss of voice on the night of his accidental praise over a delicious-smelling fried oyster omelette dish after having caught its scent.[132]

[131] 请参阅陈爱梅<素食与肉边菜>，见《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》（槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008），页 96-100。

[132] Tan Khar Luan (Mrs) 陈巧鸾, Performing Arts in Singapore (Opera), National Archives of Singapore, Accession Number 002482, Reel 7. 出于某种原因，2022 年 3 月在我得以备份准确的访谈片段之前，网站上的音频记录就被删除了。

同样，蔡厝港斗母宫的斋戒传统也源于庙宇早年的历史，那时蔡厝港斗母宫还位于内东成村。据说，一位砖厂老板祈求九皇大帝关照他的生意，并承诺会为九皇大帝办一场素食宴席以示感恩。随着他的生意日渐兴隆，他履行了自己的诺言。其他村民纷纷效仿他，为了五谷丰登，人畜兴旺，他们也纷纷设斋席。 村民们在九皇胜会期间持斋以祈求九皇大帝赐福，这种实践反映了后殖民时期新加坡农业社区的社会经济状况和生存焦虑。[131]



◀
Vegetarian food offerings at the annual vegetarian banquet are blessed by the Nine Emperor Gods before being shared among devotees in the present day.

九皇九位大帝会为素食宴会上的素食供品和来供奉的善信家属赐福，然后信徒便可以一起分享这些美食。

直到如今，在有关九皇胜会的叙事中，一个不变的主题是必须遵循严格的素食饮食和身心禁欲，即使只是谈论非素食的食物也被视为违背斋戒。信徒相信言论不妥也会给人带来惩罚。陈巧鸾女士是一位剧团团长，她表示斋戒时也应该注意自己的言辞。她的剧团有一名成员在闻到蚵煎的香味时感慨道这道菜闻起来很香。那天晚上，这名演员失声了。[132]

[131] 请参阅陈爱梅<素食与肉边菜>，见《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》（槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008），页 96-100。

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The fervent devotion of the Nine Emperor Gods' devotees cannot be denied. This is especially so when considering the beliefs held by some devotees that *zhai* restrictions were, too, applicable in the dreamscape. To this proportion of believers, the successful completion of their *zhai* hinged on their avoidance of consuming prohibited animal products in their dreams. An interviewed devotee stressed his past experience of being tested mentally and spiritually in his dreams by a chicken drumstick during the festival. Whilst prompted by hunger to ingest a bowl of plain rice in his dream, he had remained cognisant enough to recall his adherence to *zhai* to avoid eating the chicken drumstick found at the bottom of his bowl and also to awake immediately. [133]

As aforementioned, observed during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival advocates caution over one's words. A recollection from Nan Shan Hai Miao sees a palanquin carrier having had his finger and hand injured a day after commenting on the attractiveness of the females from a visiting temple contingent during the festival. Today, the anecdote continues to warn festival participants of the need to maintain strict discipline over their thoughts, words, and actions.

Expanding on the imperative to avoid discussions regarding non-vegetarian food during the festival, a core message emphasised by temples and devotees is to refrain from questioning the vegetarian diet tradition. Recalling the case of an aspiring censer master from Hong San Temple, Ong states that the individual had passed away from illness after boasting about eating fish heads despite his role in the festival. His death was attributed to his arrogance and thoughtless brag.[134] Similar measures against loose talk or discussions of non-vegetarian food, albeit of a less intensive nature, were also observed outside of the festival period. Whenever anything that had to do with the Nine Emperor Gods was referenced, individuals were expected to conduct themselves and refrain from questioning the practice of vegetarian diets.



Spring cleaning in Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

蔡厝港斗母宫九皇胜会前的大扫除。

[133] 有关神明会在梦中向信徒透露信息（或较少见的，对怀疑者发出警告）的信仰在人类历史上古已有之。关于许多例子的讨论，请参见 Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990). 有关中国社会和宗教中的梦境，请参阅近期的著作 Robert Ford Campany, *Dreaming in Pre- and Early Modern China - The Chinese Dreamscape: 300 BCE–800 CE* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020); and Lynn A. Struve, *The Dreaming Mind and the End of the Ming World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020).

[134] Ong, Reel 7, 24:40-25:54.

九皇大帝的信徒十分虔诚。一些信徒认为这些限制同样适用于梦境，持斋意味着他们在梦中也必须避免食用动物产品。一位接受采访的信徒表示，他在节日持斋期间受到了思想和精神上的考验。当他在梦中因为饥饿而吃一碗米饭时，他仍清醒地意识到自己在持斋，所以他没有吃碗底的鸡腿，很快他就醒了。[133]

如前所述，九皇胜会期间也应谨言慎行。南山海庙相传有一名轿夫在节日期间谈论了友庙代表团中的女性的长相，第二天他的手指和手掌都受伤了。时至今日，这则传闻仍提醒着人们，在节日期间必须严格规范自己的思想、语言和行为，决不可掉以轻心。

即使不在节日期间，人们也不可以就吃素随意发表言论。每当提到与九皇大帝有关的任何事物时，人们都必须注意自己的言行，不可质疑吃素的做法。王才福讲述了凤山宫一位有抱负的炉主曾在九皇诞上吹嘘说，他会在节日期间吃鱼头。几天后，他病倒了，最终去世了。旁观者认为这是他的傲慢和轻率的自夸造成的。[134]



A devotee polishing candlesticks as a part of Hong San Temple's annual spring cleaning after the Mid-Autumn Festival.

中秋节过后，凤山宫进行年度大扫除，一名信徒正在擦拭烛台。



A censer-master from Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng removed wax with a scraper before polishing a censer as a part of the temple's spring cleaning ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

在九皇胜会前的大扫除中，葱茅园九皇宫的一位炉主用刮刀去除蜡，然后抛光香炉。

[133] 有关神明会在梦中向信徒透露信息（或较少见的，对怀疑者发出警告）的信仰在人类历史上古已有之。关于许多例子的讨论，请参见 Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990). 有关中国社会和宗教中的梦境，请参阅近期的著作 Robert Ford Campany, *Dreaming in Pre- and Early Modern China - The Chinese Dreamscape: 300 BCE–800 CE* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020); and Lynn A. Struve, *The Dreaming Mind and the End of the Ming World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020).

[134] Ong, Reel 7, 24:40-25:54.

To ensure the purity of their premises—physical and spiritual alike; most, if not all, temples undertake rigorous spring cleaning.[135] In some temples, such as Hong San Temple, Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng (hereafter shortened to Kew Huang Keng) and Kim San Tze, a thorough spring cleaning and symbolic purification of the temple grounds is done before the Nine Emperor Gods, or Dou Mu is received from the coast. Spring cleaning, including the changing of cutlery, begins in Hong San Temple after the Mid-Autumn Festival celebrations, which witness the final instance where meat and alcohol are permitted within the temple's premises in lieu of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[136]

During the spring cleaning of Kew Huang Keng and Kim San Tze, which takes place towards the end of the eighth lunar month, the leaders of these establishments place yellow plaques at the entrances to inform visitors about the observance of "*zhai* and Precepts."[137] Informative purposes aside, these signs restrict the admission of non-vegetarian offerings and individuals on non-vegetarian diets into the temple. Further enforcement is apparent in Kew Huang Keng with the stationing of a staff or volunteer at the temple's entrance. Included amongst this individual's duties is planting incense sticks in the main altar's censers on behalf of devotees who did not observe *zhai*. In Kim San Tze, the pasting of the *zhaijie* signboards is accompanied by the temple's raising of yellow awnings and a banner commemorating its observation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[138]

[135] 关于这些概念的深入探讨，请参阅 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* [New York and London: Routledge, 2002 (1966)].

[136] 《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫委员会，2005），页 102。

[137] 在九皇宫，人们用别针将这些标志固定在庙宇门框上。在金山寺，人们用双面胶带将黄色颜料涂的较大的标志粘贴在庙宇的外部。

[138] 请参阅关于颜色和服装的章节。

为了保证庙宇以洁净的状态迎接节日，大部分庙宇会进行一次彻底的大扫除，确保节日场所在物质上或是精神上不受任何污染。[135] 一些庙宇，如凤山宫、葱茅园九皇宫（以下简称九皇宫）和金山寺，会在前往海边迎接九皇大帝或斗母之前，进行一次彻底的大扫除和象征性的净化。大扫除包括更换餐具。凤山宫的中秋节庆祝活动是众人在九皇胜会结束之前最后一次可以吃肉饮酒的机会。在中秋节庆祝活动结束后庙宇开始进行大扫除。[136]





◀ Yellow plaques bearing the characters "*zhai jie* 斋戒" are pasted at the entrances of Kim San Tze and Kew Huang Keng .

金山寺和九皇宫的入口处贴有写着"斋戒"字样的黄色牌匾。

在九皇宫和金山寺，当庙宇在农历八月底完成大扫除之后，宫庙领导会在庙宇入口处挂上印有"斋戒"的黄色牌匾。[137] 一旦这块牌匾被升起，便意味着庙宇只接受斋素供品，只有持斋的人才可以进入庙宇。在九皇宫，一名庙宇成员守在门口，代表那些因没有持斋而不能进入庙宇的信徒将香插到主祭坛上的香炉中。金山寺在贴上"斋戒"标志的同时，也会在庙里支起黄色的遮篷和横幅，以示庙宇正在庆祝九皇诞。[138]

[135] 关于这些概念的深入探讨，请参阅 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* [New York and London: Routledge, 2002 (1966)].

[136] 《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫委员会，2005），页 102。

[137] 在九皇宫，人们用别针将这些标志固定在庙宇门框上。在金山寺，人们用双面胶带将黄色颜料涂的较大的标志粘贴在庙宇的外部。

[138] 请参阅关于颜色和服装的章节。

Acknowledging the strictness of the *zhai* tradition and its practices makes reviewing the enforced preventative measures pertinent. The comprehension of the real risk of cross-contamination of vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is of significance. Consequently, precautionary measures include using separate sets of cutlery by temples and individuals alike during the festival. In the past, villagers from Tai Seng were believed to have thoroughly cleaned their cooking utensils or used separate dishes in preparation for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[139] Such practices also emerged in Phuket, Thailand. Observing the possible purchase of cooked meals from temples during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, Erik Cohen notes the use of personal takeaway containers "kept solely for *che* (*zhai*) food and are not otherwise in the year".[140] It was found that one of our project's participants not only had his set of cutleries for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival but also had the habit of changing his toothbrush to minimise the potential risk of being in contact with stuck meat particles.[141]

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng had recognised the consequences of cross-contamination on devotees in the past. For instance, milk-drinking children were previously barred from entering the temple before and during the festival. The temple has also articulated anecdotes of the repercussions of cross-contamination. For example, the error of selecting an additional bowl that had not been washed properly for vegetarian food offerings to the Nine Emperor Gods by a female devotee was thought to be the reason for her accidental fall on her way to the temple. The strengthening of this correlation was further reinforced by the recognition that shattering was limited to the "unclean" bowl.





[139] 这可能与《凤山宫三庆大典》中的记录相关，见页102。

[140] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 31-32.

[141] 当然，并非一定要有一套专供九皇诞使用的餐具。李永球指出，在节庆期间，人们也可以使用经过适当清洗、确保除去任何荤食残留的餐具来进行素食。请参阅《九皇斋戒答问》，页164。

严格持斋还意味着需要采取预防措施，避免荤素食物之间的交叉污染。因此，一些庙宇和信徒会专门准备一套餐具供节日期间使用。据说在大成村，每家每户都会在九皇诞期间彻底清洁厨具，或使用另一套餐具确保洁净。[139] 泰国普吉岛的信徒也会如此。Eric Cohen注意到，信徒可能会选择到庆祝九皇诞的庙宇购买素食，信徒会用专门的餐盒打包，这些餐盒"在一年中只用于斋食，不作他用"。[140] 同样的，在我们项目组的成员当中，有一名成员不仅有一套只在九皇胜会期间使用的餐具，他还会在节日期间更换牙刷，以免碰到可能附着在牙刷上的肉屑。[141]

蔡厝港斗母宫也意识到交叉污染对信徒的影响。例如，以前在节日之前和节日期间，仍在喝牛奶的小孩不能进入庙宇。蔡厝港也流传着关于交叉污染的故事。据说有一名女信徒在为九皇胜会准备素食时取了一个没有经过彻底清洁的碗，她在去庙宇的路上摔倒了，只有那个没有被恰当清洁的碗摔坏了，这种巧合加深了人们对消除不洁净的理解。





◀
Weaving yellow flower balls from scratch at Kew Huang Keng before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival started.

为了九皇胜会筹备，九皇宫开始编织黄色花球。

[139] 这可能与《凤山宫三庆大典》中的记录相关，见页102。

[140] Erik Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 31-32.

[141] 当然，并非一定要有一套专供九皇诞使用的餐具。李永球指出，在节庆期间，人们也可以使用经过适当清洗、确保除去任何荤食残留的餐具来进行素食。请参阅《九皇斋戒答问》，页164。

Of importance is the awareness that the adoption of the *zhai* regime occurs even before the festival for some devotees. Kew Huang Keng expects the people responsible for the festival's yellow flower balls to begin *zhai* prior to commencing their creations. Underlying this perspective is the view that character can be moulded through devotion, discipline and concentration during *zhai*. Past beliefs held by Xuan Wu Shan saw the regulation of the cooking process under the *zhai* regime. Cooks, mostly older males, were not only isolated during their preparation of vegetarian food but also prohibited from speaking or smoking whilst cooking.[142] Intrinsic to these practices, coupled with the punishment of transgressors for their lack of self-discipline, was the belief that violations led to the rapid spoilage of food. [143]

It is crucial to recognise the accommodativeness of temples in Singapore to the situational context of its devotees in the face of rising urbanisation and industrialisation in Singapore since the 1960s. To facilitate devotion in light of the lack of access to vegetarian food and the continued need to work during the festival, temples were prompted to provide vegetarian food. Moreover, temples were further compelled to provide water blessed with talisman ashes to devotees in cases of accidental contact with and, in turn, contamination by meat products.



A volunteer prepares packets of talisman water for devotees to take home from a large tank at Kew Huang Keng. Note the cups that surround the base of the tank.

一名义工从九皇宫一个贴有灵符的大水箱中取水，为善信可以将护身符水带回家中。 水箱底部的杯子是取水用的。

142 尽管不同形式的九皇斋中都含有烟草，但关于这一主题的研究有限。相比之下，关于娱乐消遣和吸食鸦片的社会和宗教禁令则受到学术界的更多关注。 例如，请参阅 James Windle, "How the East Influenced Drug Prohibition," *The International History Review* 35:5 (2013): 1185-1199.

143 以莫桑比克为例，烹饪过程及其成品与在家做饭的（大部分时候为）女性的身体、精神和性别密切相关。请参阅 Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, "Maize Mill Sorcery: Cosmologies of Substance, Production, and Accumulation in Central Mozambique," in *Framing Cosmologies: The Anthropology of Worlds*, ed. Allen Abramson and Martin Holbraad (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2016), 199-220.

一些信徒甚至在节日开始之前就需要持斋了。在九皇宫，负责编制花球的成员必须在开始制作花球之前进行斋戒。他们通过持斋期间的奉献、自律和高度专注来磨炼自己的性格。在玄武山，庙宇斋戒还包括对烹饪素食的规范。厨师多是年长的男性，在煮食过程中，他们不仅不能被外人看到，并且不能交谈也不能吸烟。[142] 人们相信，如果他们违反了这些戒条，素食就会很快变味，违反者也将因此受到惩罚。[143]



◀
Metal dispenser for talisman water at Nan Shan Hai Miao.

南山海庙为善信准备的符水。

以防他们意外接触肉类产品，进而被肉类产品污染。自20世纪60年代以来，新加坡的城市化和工业化不断发展，庙宇也做出改变，适应形势。在节日期间信徒难以获得素食并且需要继续工作，因此庙宇开始在节日期间为信徒、节日参与者和访客提供素食。此外，为了确保参与者的纯洁，庙宇还准备了圣水，供那些无意中接触到肉制品、被污染了的信徒使用。



[142] 尽管不同形式的九皇斋中都含有烟草，但关于这一主题的研究有限。相比之下，关于娱乐消遣和吸食鸦片的社会和宗教禁令则受到学术界的更多关注。 例如，请参阅 James Windle, 'How the East Influenced Drug Prohibition,' *The International History Review* 35:5 (2013): 1185-1199.

[143] 以莫桑比克为例，烹饪过程及其成品与在家做饭的（大部分时候为）女性的身体、精神和性别密切相关。请参阅 Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, 'Maize Mill Sorcery: Cosmologies of Substance, Production, and Accumulation in Central Mozambique,' in *Framing Cosmologies: The Anthropology of Worlds*, ed. Allen Abramson and Martin Holbraad (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2016), 199-220.

The Nine Emperor Gods' Zhai and Community in Southeast Asia and Singapore

Apparent from the previous sections is the comprehension that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival cannot be extricated from fundamental social components, such as the *zhai* regime that is largely synonymous with (but not limited to) vegetarian food. These units imbue the festival with meaning, identity and vitality. Thus far, the understanding is established that mass devotee participation in *zhai* is a necessary endeavour before and during the festival. A shared activity amongst devotees, *zhai* invariably facilitates the creation of bonds and, in turn, is the basis for the *communitas* that defines the religious community. Of significance is the awareness that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the only Chinese religious festival in the region that requires its participants to adhere to a *zhai* regime for a prolonged period of time. Granted, it must be noted that the duration of *zhai* is essentially subject to the individual's level of participation in the ritual proceedings. On the one hand, *zhai* coalesces the religious community due to the obligatory preparation of vegetarian fare. That said, the consensus revolves around the organic bonding of devotees through their joint experience of *zhai*. In the wider Southeast Asian region, temples in Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore also see specific groups of devotees denoted in relation to *zhai*—"vegetarian/*zhai* friends", or more recently termed "sacred friends". [144]

To date, the provision of due significance to devotees, particularly the festival volunteers via material and ritual forms is noticeable across temples. A prime example is the dedication of an entire hall to the memory of volunteers and the performance of specific rituals for the deceased in Ipoh Tow Boh Keong (founded in 1896). [145] The recognition of the services of devotees, including ritual specialists and volunteers by temples is clear. For instance, Singapore's Hong San Temple endearingly terms its group of ritual specialists the "Senior Vegetarian Friends". Responsibilities of this association include the general operations of the temple. Working alongside the censer master, these individuals oversee key aspects of the various ritual ceremonies during the festival, including the coastal receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods and the raising and lowering of the Nine Lamps. Crucial to this chapter is that this association is also responsible for procuring vegetarian food offerings—fruits and steamed flour turtles—for the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. Unsurprisingly, these devotees' efforts have been acknowledged, given the dedication of some of these (usually seniors) in willingly remaining in the temple to undertake *zhai*. Considering the extensive efforts, the ensuing labelling of these devotees as "Old *Zhai* Friends" is also of little wonder. [146]

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[144] 李丰楙《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗，信仰与文化》（台北：国立台湾大学出版社，2020），页 222-223。以泰国为例，见<郑伟昌董事长主持九皇圣会开坛>，《中国日报：泰国中华网》，2021 年 10 月 2 日，https://thaizhonghua.com/2021/10/02/98408.html.

[145] 陈昭慧《庙宇的宗教功能与社会功能——以怡保斗母宫为研究对象》，拉曼大学荣誉学士学位论文，2016 年，vii, 23, 43-44.

[146] 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 61。

东南亚和新加坡的九皇斋和社区

从以上的论述中可以看到，九皇胜会与许多基本社会结构紧密相关，例如在很大程度上等同但不仅限于素食的斋戒，它们为这一节日赋予意义、身份和活力。时至今日，人们对于广大信徒须在节日期间持斋达成共识。通过这种众人共同遵循的实践，信徒之间形成了一种纽带，这一纽带成为定义宗教共同体的基础。九皇胜会是东南亚地区唯一一个要求参与者持斋这么长时间的华人宗教节日。斋戒时间因人而异，也因其参与仪式的程度而异。人们或者因参与了素食的准备，或者因持斋的共同经验而与他人建立了联系。泰国、马来西亚和新加坡的一些庙宇会有一个特殊的信徒群体，他们被称为“菜友/斋友”，近来也被称为“圣友”。[144]

值得一提的是，庙宇通过物质和仪式的形式为信徒，尤其是节日义工，提供应有的意义。在建于1896年的怡保斗母宫中，有一座为纪念庙宇义工而建的斋友纪念堂，节日期间的一些仪式是专为纪念已故成员而举行的。[145] 这反映了庙宇对仪式专家和义工等庙宇成员的付出的认可和感激。在新加坡凤山宫，庙宇礼仪专家团体被亲切地称为“老菜友会”。除了掌管庙宇的日常运作，老菜友还与炉主一同监督着节日众多重要仪式的举行，例如到海边恭迎九皇大帝以及九皇灯的升降。老菜友会也负责采购节日期间供奉九皇大帝的素食供品、水果和蒸龟粿。为了更好地履行职责，一些成员（通常是年长者）会在持斋期间住在庙宇中，因此也被称为“老斋友”。[146]



◀
Dishes bearing yellow flags prepared by hawkers in Thailand.

泰国小贩准备的素食上插着黄旗。

144 李丰楙《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗，信仰与文化》（台北：国立台湾大学出版社，2020），页222-223。以泰国为例，见<郑伟昌董事长主持九皇圣会开坛>，《中国日报：泰国中华网》，2021 年 10 月 2 日，https://thaizhonghua.com/2021/10/02/98408.html.

145 陈昭慧《庙宇的宗教功能与社会功能——以怡保斗母宫为研究对象》，拉曼大学荣誉学士学位论文，2016 年，vii, 23, 43-44.

146 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 61。

A common sight in present-day Nine Emperor Gods Festivals is the provision of vegetarian fare by temples. This, however, is a more recent phenomenon. Pre-independent Singapore saw the emergence of vegetarian stalls in kampongs (villages) around temples to convenience devotees in their endeavours. According to our participants from Hong San Temple, it was customary to see stalls lining the external surroundings of the temple. Key in their statements is that stalls with meat products were compelled to situate a distance away from the temple—for instance, along a drain in front of the temple's premise. Such scenes are not distinctly Singaporean. Vegetarian stalls have also been seen near the Nine Emperor Gods-related temples in Thailand and Malaysia during the festival, and such practices have continued in contemporary Thailand.[147] Vegetarian food vendors displaying yellow flags in their stalls remain common sights during the festival. Additionally, the bustle has been noted to extend to restaurants and vegetarian food suppliers even before the commencement of the festival.[148]



During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, advertisements for part-time workers were displayed at a vegetarian food stall in Ayer Itam, Penang.

槟城亚依淡一家专门售卖素食的摊位，在九皇胜会期间展示招聘暂时员工的广告。

Recalling his life on Penang Island during the festival, Chen Xiangjing notes how his mother, a vegetarian restaurant chef, would serve as a wholesaler to hawkers purchasing vegetarian fare for sale around temples. Central to his reflection is the knowledge of the great intensity and extensiveness of the affair. Fascinating in Chen's account is his point that prior preparation of two months was required to cope with the nine corresponding days of the festival due to the briskness of business.[149] Considering this, we can understand why Chen's whole family became involved—at least in sales during and up to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. While Chen's father handled the shopping, bills and transportation, and his mother focused on cooking, Chen and his siblings were tasked with chopping the needed vegetables and packing food. Chen's story provides insight into the larger affair of the trade in goods, including incense and religious accessories, at temples and surrounding temple fairs, as noted by researchers, during religious festivals. [150]

[147] 由于许多小贩都是临时经营的，一些食物的食品安全标准可能不达标。例如，1988 年九皇诞期间发生了一场大规模食物中毒的悲剧，究其根源是米粉（闽南话中称"米苔目"）中含有硼酸，这一事件也被载入医学年鉴中。完整的记录请参阅 T. C. Chao, S. M. Maxwell, K. Lyen, D. Wang, and H. K. Chia, "Mass Poisoning in Perak, Malaysia or the Tale of the Nine Emperor Gods and Rat Tail Noodles," *Journal-Forensic Science Society* 31:2 (1991): 283-288.

[148] 有关素食街头食物和高级菜系的讨论，请参阅 Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian festival in Phuket*, 20, 31-35.

[149] 陈湘菁<记九皇斋：家庭总动员>，见《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五周年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》，页 73。

[150] James Flath, "Temple Fairs and the Republican State in North China," Twentieth-Century China 30:1 (2004): 39-63; and E. N. Anderson, "The Changing Tastes of the Gods: Chinese Temple Fairs in Malaysia," *Asian Folklore Studies* 36:1 (1977): 19-30.

如今，庙宇在九皇胜会期间提供素食相当常见。然而，这是最近才出现的现象。在新加坡独立前的甘榜中，许多素食小贩会在九皇胜会期间如雨后春笋般出现在庙宇外面，为信徒提供素食。凤山宫一些信徒仍记得庙宇外排满出售素食的摊位的场景。一些人也记得卖荤食的摊位必须转移到远离庙宇的区域，在庙宇前的排水沟之外。类似地，在泰国和马来西亚庆祝九皇胜会的庙宇附近，也可看到成排的素食摊位。[147] 在今天的泰国，节日期间卖素食的小贩会在他们的摊位外悬挂黄旗。此外，人们也注意到，素食餐馆和供应商也会在节日正式开始之前变得忙碌。[148]

陈湘菁在回忆起槟城生活时讲述道，他的母亲是一家素餐馆的厨师，在九皇胜会期间，她会批发素食给在庙宇周围摆摊的小贩。为了应付这九天的兴隆生意，他们需要提前将近两个月做准备工作。[149] 整个家庭都参与其中。父亲负责购物、记账和送货，母亲负责准备素食，而陈湘菁和他的三个兄弟姐妹则负责切菜和打包等琐碎的工作。许多研究者提到，在庙宇和庙会区域，会有小贩出售商品，例如香火和其他宗教用品，正如在陈湘菁的经历中所看到的那样。[150]



◀ Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong volunteers and devotees cleaning and trimming vegetables for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at a void deck

龙山岩斗母宫的善信为九皇法会的素食清洗蔬菜。



◀ Jiu Huang Dian volunteers and devotees assembling a vegetarian dish of steamed lettuce leaves on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month .

农历九月初六，九皇殿的义工和信徒用清蒸菜叶准备素菜。

[147] 由于许多小贩都是临时经营的，一些食物的食品安全标准可能不达标。例如，1988 年九皇诞期间发生了一场大规模食物中毒的悲剧，究其根源是米粉（闽南话中称"米苔目"）中含有硼酸，这一事件也被载入医学年鉴中。 完整的记录请参阅 T. C. Chao, S. M. Maxwell, K. Lyen, D. Wang, and H. K. Chia, "Mass Poisoning in Perak, Malaysia or the Tale of the Nine Emperor Gods and Rat Tail Noodles," *Journal-Forensic Science Society* 31:2 (1991): 283-288.

[148] 有关素食街头食物和高级菜系的讨论，请参阅 Cohen, *The Chinese Vegetarian festival in Phuket*, 20, 31-35.

[149] 陈湘菁<记九皇斋：家庭总动员>，见《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五周年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》，页 73。

[150] James Flath, "Temple Fairs and the Republican State in North China," Twentieth-Century China 30:1 (2004): 39-63; and E. N. Anderson, "The Changing Tastes of the Gods: Chinese Temple Fairs in Malaysia," *Asian Folklore Studies* 36:1 (1977): 19-30.



The *zhai* regime must not simply be viewed as a mundane enforced obligation. Rather, viewing *zhai* as a community-engaged process would be more appropriate. *Zhai* rituals of vegetarian fare provisions provide opportunities for devotees to bond. Ingredients, food preparations and servings of the said foods are either contributed to temples by temple and festival volunteers or catered (either paid or sponsored). Temple leaders have been said to take pride in the continuous flow of community-sponsored ingredients of rice noodles (*mifen*), spices, sauces, firm bean curd (*dougan*) and other food and drinks that sometimes are procured in bulk—specifically van- or truckloads. Temples have respectively since become famous for certain vegetarian foods.

A hallmark of the Singapore-based Nine Emperor Gods Festivals that have to be iterated is the communal vegetarian feasts. Today, only two temples, Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Nan Shan Hai Temple, have continued this activity. Historically organised before the departure of the Nine Emperor Gods, it has not been unusual for the feasts to garner the engagement of more than a thousand diners. As mentioned, these vegetarian feasts, particularly those on grander scales, are catered. Nevertheless, smaller community-based events heavily relied upon community contributions.



◀
Volunteers prepare vegetarian food for devotees in communal kitchens at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Hong San Temple.

蔡厝港斗母宫和凤山宫的义工在厨房为信徒准备素食。

斋戒不能被简单视为一种强制义务，将持斋视为社区参与的过程更为合适。庙宇的素食宴会为信众提供了建立联系、增进感情的机会。素食宴会的食材和食物或由庙宇义工帮忙准备，或是由信徒提供捐赠（付费或赞助）。社区成员赞助的食材源源不断，米粉、香料、酱汁、豆干，各种食物饮料应有尽有，有时候这些食物是用货车或卡车运来的，这令宫庙领导感到骄傲。庙宇也因各自的拿手好菜或美食活动而闻名。

新加坡的九皇胜会有一个重要特征，那就是公共素食盛宴。如今，只有蔡厝港斗母宫和南山海庙仍在举办这样的宴会。一些庙宇会在恭送仪式之前组织大型的社区素菜晚宴，有的晚宴规模盛大，甚至有超过一千名用餐者参与。规模较大的素食盛宴通常会有承办人和餐馆协助，但更多的是较小规模的社区活动，它们依靠的是社区的付出。

Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's annual vegetarian feasts can be traced to the 1960s. At its core, the feasts stemmed from the fulfilment of a promise to host a table of vegetarian offerings by a brick factory owner to the Nine Emperor Gods in exchange for success in business. The attainment of his business's expansion propelled the said devotee to double his offerings to two tables' worth of vegetarian delights the following year and the continuation of this practice after that. Other devotees imitated his practice over the years, highlighting the overarching hopes and gratefulness to the Nine Emperor Gods. Recollections of these offerings by temple committee members and volunteers reveal the effort undertaken by families in the past. Food offerings prepared at home were carried to temples by hand or balanced on sticks across their shoulders. In essence, partaking of the offered foods from the different tables with chopsticks and plates only commenced after the dishes were offered and blessed by the mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods.

Of interest here is the observed phenomenon of the inability of the temple to accommodate the numerous tables of offerings by the 1980s. The shift of offertory tables to the external compound of the temples reflects its expanding base of devotees, particularly after the temple's relocation to Teck Whye Lane in the mid-1990s. One cannot overlook the impact of the ever-growing popularity and extensiveness of the offerings and devotees' enthusiasm for the temple's traditions. Case in point, extending the event to two days indicates the temple's compelled accommodation to demand. This illuminates the reciprocal and fluid relationships and surrounding intricacies between the temple and its community base.



Food offerings were prepared for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Buddhas at Zhun Ti Tang on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初六，准提堂为九皇佛祖的圣诞准备素食佳肴。

在蔡厝港斗母宫，这一传统起源与20世纪60年代。当时一位庙宇信徒，黄国庆先生，曾祈求九皇大帝保佑他在该地区的砖块制造业生意兴隆，并承诺来年会准备一桌素食供奉九皇大帝。第二年，他履行了自己的承诺，为九皇大帝献上两桌素食，并在之后的每年都这么做。后来，其他信徒纷纷效仿他的做法，表达对九皇大帝的感激并向神明祈福。宫庙委员会和义工们还记得，在指定的日子里，各家各户会在家中准备好素食，然后用手提或用竹子挑，将食物送到庙宇中。九皇大帝的乩童会巡视供品并为这些食物赐福，当这一仪式完成之后，信徒才开始享用供桌上的食物。

到了20世纪80年代，随着蔡厝港斗母宫的信徒数量不断增长，供奉素食的桌子数量太多，庙宇内无法容纳所有的桌子。在20世纪90年代中期该庙搬迁至德惠巷之后，桌子开始被安置到庙外的空地上，体现了信徒对庙宇这一传统的热情。为了满足日益增长的需求，庙宇将这一活动改为两天。这反映了庙宇和社区之间的互动关系。



Food offerings were prepared for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods at Jiu Huang Dian on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

九月初六，九皇殿为九皇大帝的圣诞准备素食佳肴。

The way these vegetarian feasts are organized varied between temples. Nan Shan Hai Miao usually prepares its vegetarian feast in the wee hours of the sixth day of the ninth lunar month. Crucial to this selected date is the belief that this day represents the "actual day" of the festival. It is the norm in this temple for dishes to span across nine tables—each bearing ten seats and corresponding bowls of rice. Furthermore, adorned on each table is a lantern inscribed with the respective Nine Emperor Gods' names on a dragon staff, a tablet with the said deity's name and an incense offering. Tables are arranged to allow one centre-positioned table—the table of the Ninth Emperor God—in light of this deity's special status in Nan Shan Hai Miao. Tables with similar food spreads would also be prepared for the other altars, such as those of the Netherworld deities, the Earth Deity and the Kitchen God. Similar to Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, observable in this temple is the subjecting of the banquet process to change and continuity. Past commemorations prior to the passing of the founder included the procession of one of the Great Uncle and Second Uncle (Tua Li Ya Pek) deities. As their medium, the founder would lead devotees on a procession around all the tables to pay respects before blessing the food.

Nevertheless, this process culminated with the death of the founder. Contemporary practices see temple committee members, volunteers and devotees, assisted by volunteers and other committee members, taking turns to offer tea before each of the nine tables. A common sight following the ceremony's conclusion is the burning of specially prepared joss paper offerings before the devotees partake of the food.





不同庙宇的素食宴会有所不同。南山海庙通常在农历九月初六的凌晨准备素食盛宴，因为庙宇将九月初六视为九皇胜会的“正日”。庙宇厨房会准备九桌丰盛的素菜佳肴，每张桌子有十个座位和十碗米饭。桌子上各有一盏灯笼，印有对应的九皇爷名号的龙杖，一块刻有九皇爷名号的牌位，以及一份香祭。鉴于九皇九帝在南山海庙的特殊地位，祂的桌子被摆在宴席正中间。在其他神明，例如安溪大二爷伯、土地公和灶君等的祭坛前，也会一张供桌，上面摆满类似的食物。与蔡厝港斗母宫相似，南山海庙的素食盛宴也反映了庙宇历史的传承与变迁。在庙宇的创始人还在世的时候，大二爷伯会起乱，通过创始人（创始人是大二爷伯的乱童）带领信徒围绕所有的桌子进行礼拜，为食物赐福。但在创始人离世以后，这一仪式不再举行。如今，庙宇委员会成员、义工和信徒会在指定义工和委员会成员的协助下，轮流到九张桌子前敬茶。在神明的宴席结束后，庙宇委员会成员和义工会焚烧为斋席准备的纸钱，然后才分享食物。





◀

Banquet food preparations for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month at Nan Shan Hai Miao in 1991 (first two photographs) and 1996 (third and fourth photographs). Photographs courtesy of the Nan Shan Hai Miao.

1991年（前两张图片）和1996年（第三、四张图片），农历九月初六，南山海庙为九皇诞辰准备的祭品。 图片由南山海庙提供。

Contemporary food offerings at a banquet commemorating the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods at Nan Shan Hai Miao. The second photograph depicts devotees taking turns to present their compliments to the gods.

农历九月初六南山海庙为九皇诞辰宴准备的食物。 在第二张照片中，信徒们轮流向九皇大帝致敬。









Devotees enjoy a vegetarian banquet at Nan Shan Hai Miao at the end of the joint prayer session on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

在农历九月初六的集体祈祷会结束时，信徒们在南山海庙享用素食宴会。





Rewarding the spirit soldiers at the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng festival site with vegetarian food.

在蔡厝港斗母宫的道场以素食犒赏神兵。



Vegetarian banquets are likewise practised in Malaysia. Reports detailed that Nan Tian Gong, Ampang, provided daily offerings of ten buckets of vegetarian fare to the Nine Emperor Gods in the 1990s. These foods were shared amongst devotees and their families post-prayers.[151]

Besides banquets, vegetarian food is also served in rituals to reward spiritual armies, namely the five camps, guarding the festival site and the environs during the festival. Shin Sen Keng observes these rituals on the festival's first, third, sixth, and ninth days. Considering the targeted audience of the reward are the spiritual armies stationed to assist the Nine Emperor Gods leaves little imagination as to the scale of preparation involved in producing these vegetarian dishes. That said, it has to be noted that the largest spread of dishes is usually reserved for the ninth day. These dishes are placed before the altars of the Five Armies and the Nine Lamps. Having first been offered to the armies and generals, followed by joss paper offerings, the dishes are divided amongst temple committee members, volunteers and devotees.

Similarly, the feeding of spirit soldiers is also observed by Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng and Xuan Wu Shan. This is performed on a daily basis, where these usually omnivorous divinities are only furnished with vegetarian food offerings for the span of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[152] In contrast, it is noteworthy that the spirit armies of the Nine Emperor Gods are permanently vegetarian in Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

[151] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊, 188.

[152] 关于这些观念的背景，请参见 Barend J. ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons: The Political Impact of the Demonological Paradigm," *China Information* 11:2-3 (1996): 58-59; 及 Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 78-82 and 281-284.



◀
Rewarding the spirit soldiers at the Xuan Wu Shan festival site with vegetarian food.

在玄武山翰林院的道场以素食犒赏神兵。

马来西亚也有素食宴会。据报道，在20世纪90年代，安邦南天宫在九皇胜会期间每天会准备10桶素食供奉九皇大帝。祈祷仪式结束后，信徒会带走这这些被赐福的食物，与家人分享。[151]

除了供品，九皇胜会期间庙宇也会用斋食来犒赏五营军将，与犒军仪式有关。神仙宫通常在农历九月初一、初三、初六和初九举行犒军仪式。这一仪式是为了犒劳协助九皇大帝的神兵神将，这些素食菜肴的制作所涉及的准备规模令人难以想象。最丰盛的菜肴通常要留到第九天，食物被供奉在五营将军祭坛前和天灯前的桌子上。在食物被献给五营将军和他们的军队，并点燃香纸供奉他们之后，庙宇委员会、义工和信徒便可以分享这些食物。蔡厝港斗母宫和玄武山翰林院也会供奉灵军，但不同庙宇的做法存在明显的差异。最明显的差别是，在九皇诞期间，蔡厝港斗母宫和玄武山翰林院庙宇每天都会给这些平时荤素皆食的神供奉素食。[152] 龙山岩斗母宫是个例外，那里的灵军附属于九皇大帝，因此即便在平时，他们也是吃素的。

[151] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊, 188.

[152] 关于这些观念的背景，请参见 Barend J. ter Haar, 'China's Inner Demons: The Political Impact of the Demonological Paradigm,' *China Information* 11:2-3 (1996): 58-59; 及 Cheu Hock Tong, 'An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia' (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 78-82 and 281-284.



Another layer of food-related practices during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the preparation of special vegetarian dishes for special occasions integral to the festival. In Singapore's context, countless specially-made vegetarian flour turtle buns are steamed and offered on the sixth day in accordance with the belief that the day represents the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods. Specific to Leong Nam Temple, perceptible is the magnification of the significance of the sixth day because it coincides with the temple's *jiao* ceremony. This accounts for the additional offerings of fruits and flowers alongside the steamed flour turtles by devotees to the Nine Emperor Gods. Hong San Temple's routine for its ceremony on the sixth day comprises the invitation of a married female volunteer aged above sixty to prepare glutinous rice balls for the gods. Such a tradition rests on the notion that a female fitting this category was a "woman with good fortune".



◀
Volunteers and devotees at Shin Sen Keng prepared vegetarian food offerings to reward the temple's spirit soldiers.

在神仙宫的道场以素食犒赏神兵神将。

除了这些供奉给灵军的常规素食外，庙宇也会在节日期间的特殊场合准备特别的素菜佳肴。在新加坡，人们普遍认为农历九月初六是九皇大帝的诞辰，因此在这一天，许多九皇庙会准备许多特制的素龟粿。在龙南殿，由于这一天恰逢庙宇的醮仪，除了龟粿，信徒也会准备水果和鲜花献给九皇大帝。凤山宫在九月初六这天会邀请一位六十多岁的已婚女义工到庙里为神明制作汤圆。通常只有被视作“好运的女人”的义工才会被选中。



▲
A vegetarian birthday cake was prepared by Kim San Tze's devotees on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历九月初六，金山寺为九皇大帝的圣诞准备素食蛋糕。







◀
Leong Nam Temple prepares vegetarian food offerings for the birthday of the Nine Emperor Gods on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历九月初六，龙南殿为九皇大帝的圣诞准备素食佳肴。

▶
Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong prepared a vegetarian banquet and food offerings on the sixth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历九月初六，龙山岩斗母宫准备的素食宴会和食物供品。









◀
Food offerings to the Heavens by Zhun Ti Tang at the beginning of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历九月初九凌晨，准提堂为供天准备的素食供品。

The significance of the *zhai* regime during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival cannot be denied. Temporary deviations from everyday diets, routines, communities and environments in light of the required focus on preparing and celebrating the gods inevitably create a controlled environment that draws in devotees from different walks of life.[153] The collaborative setting and fulfilment of festival goals enable the occurrences of personal and social transformations for generating *communitas*. While acknowledging devotees' different roles during the festival and their individual resolves, the underlying link factor is arguably the *zhai* regime. The *zhai* regime creates the status of liminality underlying the *communitas* binding and defining the festival community.[154]

Strict adherence to the injunction has expanded to encompass literal adherence by some temples. Hong San Temple has laid out clear instructions to its censer master and core ritual specialist, namely the Senior Vegetarian Friends Association) to undertake their *zhai* regimes while living on temple grounds before and during the festival. Permanent dormitories have been built by Malaysian temples to house visiting volunteers of the festival. Dormitories in Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, for example, were used to accommodate devotees during the festival and temporarily housed refugees of fires that gutted the vicinity in 1955.[155] At the heart of the *zhai* regime is the idea of sacrifice. This has been witnessed over the years with devotees' voluntary separation from their families and leave from work to travel and stay in the temples as part of *zhai*.

As mentioned, individuals carry different levels of responsibilities during the festival. Of note, at this point, is the understanding of the proportionality of *zhai* duration with the said festival roles. Greater emphasis on complete and steadfast compliance is placed on individuals holding key ritual roles and functions, spanning the rituals and maintenance of the Inner Chamber or Nine Lamps, the receiving and sending off ceremonies, the vanguards representing the armies and the carrying of the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins. Xuan Wu Shan's directives call for those maintaining the Inner Chamber to assume *zhai* half a month prior to the coastal receiving of the gods. We have learnt from our participants that some have maintained 30 or even 49 days of *zhai* prior to the festival.

As a rule of thumb, devotees are commonly requested to begin the *zhai* regimes up to three days before they witness the receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods. However, due to the demands of work and everyday life routines and the difficulty of finding vegetarian food at their workplaces or home, some might undertake these regimes or be vegetarian just on the days they visit the festival. Thus, in some temples, we see talisman water prepared for devotees who are not able to adhere to a strict *zhai* regime (or accidentally transgress them) for the duration of the festival but still wish to visit the temple or festival to offer their respects.

Vegetarian diets aside, the *zhai* regime extends to avoiding sexual activities. Recognising is vital to grasping the overall isolating nature of *zhai*. In brief, devotees experience temporary detachment from spousal relationships and friendships, especially with those who continue to consume meat during the festival.[156] The significance of meat consumption concerning communal dining and bonding has been elaborated. Necessary expounding here is the insight into the existence of the stereotyping of vegetarianism as social deviance by the Chinese state to the extent that the state insisted that these individuals who "ate vegetables" "worshipped devils".[157] That said, reframing the stereotype allows one to understand how vegetarianism, too, can be determined as a marker of community identification. Apart from the achievement of purity of mind, body and soul, participants become routinised into a religious community by undertaking shared sacrifices during the festival.

The conclusion of the festival and return to normalcy is marked by meat offerings to gods and divinities by temples, either after sending off the Nine Emperor Gods or the lowering of the Nine Lamps. The final lowering of the Nine Lamps in Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Hong San Temple prompted meat offerings to the spirit soldiers who had vegetarian offerings during the prior nine days of the festival. Our research made us privy to the end of the festival at Jiu Huang Dian on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month. One particular year saw the end of *zhai* being observed with the censer master's purchase of duck, roasted chicken and pork to share amongst leadership and devotees.

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[153] 斋戒创造了一种阈限性，而这种阈限性正是节日及其社区身份的基础。另一个例子，请参阅民族志研究 LuAnne K. Roth, "Beef. It's What's for Dinner: Vegetarians, Meat-Eaters and the Negotiation of Familial Relationships," *Food, Culture & Society* 8:2 (2005): 181-200.

[154] 相关背景，请参阅 Victor Witter Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell Universality Press, 1991), 94-165. 这种阈限性可见于参与者在节日开始时所讲的"一年一次！"和告别时所讲的"明年见！"这些话语中。九皇庙在平日里都是非常安静的，在节日期间则完全不同。

[155] "Chinese Pilgrims," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 18, 1923, 12; <安邦公市日昨发生大火十九间白锌屋夷为平地地方议会即刻实行紧急救济>，见《南洋商报》，1955 年 7 月 21 日，第 9 版。

[156] 关于中国历史和社会中社区内部或社区间的紧张关系，除了本节所引的书目外，请参阅 Vincent Goossaert, "The Beef Taboo and the Sacrificial Structure of Late Imperial Chinese Society," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 237-248.

[157] 请参阅前文脚注中 Barend J. ter Haar 和 Wu Junqing 对这一观点的讨论。

在九皇诞期间，斋戒对创建社区和共同体而言至关重要。持斋使得信徒暂时从日常饮食、日常安排、社区和环境中抽离，专注于节日的准备和庆祝上，吸引了来自各行各业的信徒。[153] 尽管抽离的程度和时间因人而异，取决于他们在节日中的角色以及个人安排，但在节日期间持斋使得他们有别于平日里的环境和社区，成为新的社区的一员。斋戒的阈限性成为将节日社区凝聚为共同体的基础。[154]

有些信徒和宫庙领导层严格执行持斋戒律。一些庙宇，例如凤山宫，明确要求炉主和礼仪专家（比如老菜友会的成员）从节日开始就住在庙中，持斋直到节日结束。在马来西亚，很多庙宇中专门建造了宿舍，为远道而来持九皇斋的义工和其他节日参与者提供住宿。安邦南天宫的宿舍不仅在节日期间安置信徒，还曾在1955年临时收容了房屋被大火烧毁的附近居民。[155] 斋戒的核心是做出牺牲。多年来，信徒自愿与家人分离，向公司请假，住到庙宇中持斋。

如前所述，每个人遵循的持斋戒律不同，取决于他们在节日中承担的责任。参与关键仪式的人，包括参与内殿的仪式、负责维护天灯、参与请水和恭送仪式、担任队伍先锋以及抬九皇神轿等，他们需要遵循更为严格的斋戒。例如，玄武山翰林院要求负责维护内殿的成员在请水仪式之前半个月开始斋戒。我们也遇到过一些意志坚定的人，他们会在节日开始前30天甚至49天时开始持斋。

与庙宇委员会成员和义工不同，信徒通常不需要进行同样严格的斋戒。通常而言，信徒需要在参与迎请九皇大帝仪式之前三天开始持斋。然而，考虑到日常工作和生活的需要，以及在工作场所或家里难以找到素食等原因，有些信徒难以做到这一点。因此，一些庙宇会在节日期间备有圣水，供那些无法严格进行斋戒或不小心犯戒的信徒使用，以便他们进入庙宇祭拜九皇大帝。

除了严格的素食饮食外，信徒也会避免进行性行为，并暂时中断与伴侣和食肉朋友的联系。[156] 如前所述，吃肉是公共用餐和联系的重要组成部分，这也解释了为什么朝廷会对民间教门保持素食的异常行为形成“吃菜事魔”的偏见。[157] 因此，在九皇胜会期间持斋，不仅使参与者得以净化身心和灵魂，也将他们凝聚为一个宗教共同体。

恭送九皇大帝和降下九皇灯标志着节日顺利落幕，生活重回正轨。一些庙宇会开荤为神明和信徒们提供肉食。后港斗母宫和凤山宫会在最后一次降下九皇灯以后，为节日期间只吃素食的灵军献上肉食。在我们拜访九皇殿的那一年，九月初十的时候，炉主买了烧鸭、烤鸡和猪肉，与宫庙领导和信徒们分享，庆祝庙宇该年的斋戒正式结束。

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[153] 斋戒创造了一种阈限性，而这种阈限性正是节日及其社区身份的基础。另一个例子，请参阅民族志研究 LuAnne K. Roth, ‘Beef. It’s What’s for Dinner.’ Vegetarians, Meat-Eaters and the Negotiation of Familial Relationships,’ *Food, Culture & Society* 8:2 (2005): 181-200.

[154] 相关背景，请参阅 Victor Witter Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell Universality Press, 1991), 94-165. 这种阈限性可见于参与者在节日开始时所讲的“一年一次！”和告别时所讲的“明年见！”这些话语中。九皇庙在平日里都是非常安静的，在节日期间则完全不同。

[155] ‘Chinese Pilgrims,’ *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 18, 1923, 12; <安邦公市日昨发生大火十九间白锌屋夷为平地地方议会即刻实行紧急救济>，见《南洋商报》，1955 年 7 月 21 日，第 9 版。

[156] 关于中国历史和社会中社区内部或社区间的紧张关系，除了本节所引的书目外，请参阅 Vincent Goossaert, ‘The Beef Taboo and the Sacrificial Structure of Late Imperial Chinese Society,’ in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 237-248.

[157] 请参阅前文脚注中 Barend J. ter Haar 和 Wu Junqing 对这一观点的讨论。



Rewarding the spirit soldiers at Leong Nam Temple with meat offerings on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month after the end of the festival.

农历九月初十，九皇胜会结束后，龙南寺以荤食犒赏神兵。

Continuity and Change

Even today, *zhai* regimes, including Singapore, constitute the core composition of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. As noted by the chairman of Kew Huang Keng, this practice, which instils discipline and humility through abstinence, aids in one's self-cultivation. Given its benefits, it is unsurprising that *zhai* has continued to be situated within new frameworks, ideas and concepts of well-being, virtue and lifestyles.[158] Particularly, vegetarianism has historically been associated with spiritual purity, cleansing and health benefits in Thailand. According to Duan Lisheng, some individuals in Thailand undergo nine or more days of vegetarian meals based on the belief that this is "beneficial to health". In particular, a few have been guided by the perspective that vegetarianism was a means to "control their diets to lose weight".[159]

In the *Douxun*, an official publication of the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor God Temples, has long since established correlations between vegetarian diets with good health and physical strength in its articles. Several articles downplay the spiritual dimension of vegetarianism and, instead, adopt a more secular approach through the focused emphasis on tangible, this-worldly visible benefits.[160] Attempts to realign vegetarianism with advances in human physiology and biomedical sciences have similarly been noted in Singapore. Some festival leaders have championed the benefits of vegetarianism beyond planting good karmic fruits. Rather, by abstaining from animal products, one's human DNA would not be contaminated, and thus one could avoid reincarnating into an animal in the hereafter.[161]

[158] 可以肯定的是，这一历史过程自民国时期以来就在进行，一些佛教徒也利用国际舆论和生物医学的发现来支持自己的主张。Matthias Schumann, "For the Sake of Morality and Civilization: The Buddhist Animal Protection Movement in Republican China," *Twentieth-Century China* 46:1 (2021): 22—40; Poon Shuk-Wah, "Buddhist Activism and Animal Protection in Republican China" in *Concepts and Methods for the Study of Chinese Religions III: Key Concepts in Practice*, ed. Paul R. Katz and Stefania Travagnin (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 91—111; and Lu Lianghao, "The Confluence of Karma and Hygiene: Vegetarianism with Renewed Meanings for Modern Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 75—108.

[159] 段立生《泰国的中式寺庙》（曼谷：泰国大同出版有限公司，1996），页 34。

[160] 请参阅专题部分<持戒素食保健康>，见《斗讯》2006 年第 6 期，页 70-76。

[161] 这似乎是对因果轮回逻辑一种科学化的解释。关于华人社会和宗教科学化的案例研究，请参阅 Esmond Chuah Meng Soh, "Sectarians, Smokers, Science: The Zhenkongjiao in Malaysia and Southeast Asia," (forthcoming), 以及 Michael Stanley-Baker 即将发表的关于民族药理学的一篇论文。





◀
Rewarding the spirit soldiers at Hong San Temple with meat offerings on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month.

农历十月初十，凤山宫以荤食犒赏神兵。

延续与变迁

时至今日，在新加坡和东南亚，斋戒和吃素仍是九皇诞的特色和核心元素。正如九皇宫的主席所指出的，斋戒有助于个人的自我修养。考虑到斋戒的好处，“斋”不断被置于新的框架、观念和概念中加以诠释，这并不足为奇。在泰国，素食一直被认为与精神纯洁以及身体健康密切相关。段立生指出，一些泰国人会连续九天或更长时间吃素食，因为他们相信“持斋有益身体健康”。[158] 一些人甚至以此作为“节食减肥”的方式。[159]

马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会的出版物《斗讯》曾发表过许多文章，将吃素与强身健体的观念联系起来。[160] 这些文章没有过多着墨于素食主义的精神层面，而是着重强调素食能给素食者带来明确、现实且可见的好处。在新加坡也有说法将素食主义与人类生理学和生物医学的发展相结合。有些宫庙领导表示，素食不仅是为了积累功德，不食用动物，人的基因就不会受到污染，因此可以避免来生转世为动物。[161]

[158] 可以肯定的是，这一历史过程自民国时期以来就在进行，一些佛教徒也利用国际舆论和生物医学的发现来支持自己的主张。Matthias Schumann, “For the Sake of Morality and Civilization': The Buddhist Animal Protection Movement in Republican China,” *Twentieth-Century China* 46:1 (2021): 22—40; Poon Shuk-Wah, 'Buddhist Activism and Animal Protection in Republican China' in *Concepts and Methods for the Study of Chinese Religions III: Key Concepts in Practice*, ed. Paul R. Katz and Stefania Travagnin (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 91—111; and Lu Lianghao, 'The Confluence of Karma and Hygiene: Vegetarianism with Renewed Meanings for Modern Chinese Buddhism,' *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:1 (2021): 75—108.

[159] 段立生《泰国的中式寺庙》（曼谷：泰国大同出版有限公司，1996），页 34。

[160] 请参阅专题部分<持戒素食保健康>，见《斗讯》2006 年第 6 期，页 70-76。

[161] 这似乎是对因果轮回逻辑一种科学化的解释。关于华人社会和宗教科学化的案例研究，请参阅 Esmond Chuah Meng Soh, 'Sectarians, Smokers, Science: The Zhenkongjiao in Malaysia and Southeast Asia,' (forthcoming), 以及 Michael Stanley-Baker 即将发表的关于民族药理学的一篇论文。

The above examples render a crucial understanding of the tendencies of believers in aligning *zhai* to contemporary notions for a wider reach. Besides relating vegetarianism to health benefits, there has been a propensity to reframe *zhai* in response to extenuating circumstances. During the post-Indonesian tsunami of 26th December 2004, Li Xianyuan, chairman of the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor God Temples, urged devotees to assume the Nine Emperor Gods' *zhai* in commiseration with the tsunami victims. Underlying his approach was the perception of the preventative ability of good deeds against natural disasters. In essence, Li exhorted members to "join together in observing precepts and vegetarian diets, in the hope of seeking blessings and warding off disasters". [162]

When devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods undergo vegetarian diets, Li proposed, they should also be actively embodying the true meaning of faith in the Nine Emperor Gods, where they cherish and show compassion for their fellow men who have undergone such traumatising encounters.[163] In brief, maintaining a vegetarian diet along with the "Nine Emperor Gods Precepts" of abstinences from killing, alcohol, indiscreet conversations, thievery, lust, hankering after the five desires, sleeping on long and wide beds and unclean foods are "relevant to the needs of the modern world". [164] Additional benefits of doing so include bolstering "one's self-discipline and mental well-being, staving off ageing and fending off cancer".[165] Li's re-alignment of the Federation's values with values of abstinence, compassion and faith, as well as the broader context of empathy and sympathy for disasters affecting broader humanity, finds interesting parallels with the soteriology of Dou Mu and her advice in the *Essentials of the Daoist Canon*.

Evident, hitherto, is the evolution of the rationale for *zhai* over time. Pan-organisational institutions such as the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor God Temples are fuelling these developments, which have stressed the wider benefits of *zhai*. These institutions advise the participation in *zhai* to include the elimination of sensual desires therewithal. For instance, the *Douxun* has lambasted the hosting of *getai* during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival to avert opportunities for lust in the face of performances by "over-exposed female singers".[166] To the publication, the gaudy and sexually-suggestive performances had no place in a festival that champions purity of mind and spirit. [167] Criticism was also laden on peddlers of alcohol, including beer, for these had the effect of "driving devotees to drink without a care" and, in turn, potentially ruining their *zhai* regime. [168]

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[162] <斗母宫九皇大帝总会大会>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 2 日，电子版见 Factiva.

[163] <回銮游行列旅游节目>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva.

[164] <李贤源吁政府>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva. 这些戒律的先例已在前文详细讨论过

[165] <李贤源吁政府>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva. 这些戒律的先例已在前文详细讨论过。

[166] <九皇爷诞斗母宫一呼百应：酬神歌台不再见"黄">，见《斗讯》2004 年第 4 期，页 19。文章标题调侃了"黄色文化"。 关于这一概念的起源，以及战后新加坡为遏制"黄色文化"发展所采取的措施，请参阅 Lau Yu Ching, "The Anti-yellow Culture Movement, 1953-1961: Morality and the Language of Decolonising Singapore" (M.A. thesis, National University of Singapore, 2016).

[167] 关于歌台，请参阅 Liew Kai Khiun and Brenda Chan, "Vestigial Pop: Hokkien Popular Music and the Cultural Fossilization of Subalternity in Singapore," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 28:2 (2013): 272—98.; and Chan Hong Yin, "The Hungry Ghost Festival in Singapore: Getai (Songs on Stage) in the Lunar Seventh Month," *Religions* 11:7 (2020): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11070356.

[168] 李桃李<道教的酒戒>，见《斗讯》2002 年第 2 期，页 163。

从上述例子可见，信徒将“斋”与更广泛的当代观念联系起来。除了将素食主义与健康相联系之外，人们会根据具体情境重新定义斋戒。2004年12月26日印度尼西亚发生海啸造成严重伤亡，斗母宫九皇大帝总会的主席李贤源先生呼吁会员和信徒持九皇斋为受难者祈福。他表示，这些自然灾害造成的悲剧提醒我们，每个人应该努力行善，以避免未来发生类似的灾难。他向会员呼吁：“让我们共同斋戒持斋，祈福消灾”。[162]

李贤源建议，信徒在持斋的时候，应该积极践行九皇信仰的真谛，同情并祝福遭遇苦难的人们。[163] 他表示，吃素持九皇戒，即“不杀生，不饮酒，不得口是心非，不偷盗，不淫乱，不赌博，不贪五欲，不得杂卧高广大床，不荤食”。[164] 这样做“不但能促进新陈代谢，保持自律的神经平衡，还有抗老防癌的作用”。[165] 李贤源将总会的价值观与节欲、同情和信仰的重要性，以及更广泛的背景下对受难者的同情进行联系，与《道藏辑要》中斗母的救赎论和建议形成有趣的对照。

随着时间的推移，信徒持斋的必要性和理由也发生变化，诸如马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会的泛组织机构强调，持斋有更广泛的好处。这些机构建议持斋的信徒克制自己的感官欲望。例如，《斗讯》中有一篇措辞强硬的文章，反对在九皇胜会期间举办歌台，避免“歌台女歌手暴露演出”。[166] 这篇文章认为，在这样一个崇尚思想和精神纯洁的节日里，举办如此俗丽和具有性暗示的表演是不合适的。[167] 在节日区域出售酒饮的小贩也受到谴责，因为“啤酒在庙宇内售卖”可能造成“信徒大肆狂饮”的场面，导致信徒的持斋半途而废。[168]



◀
Vegetarian buffet for Yu Hai Tang devotees.

玉海棠为善信准备的自助餐。

[162] <斗母宫九皇大帝总会大会>，见《中国报》，2005年5月2日，电子版见 Factiva.

[163] <回銮游行列旅游节目>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva.

[164] <李贤源吁政府>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva. 这些戒律的先例已在前文详细讨论过

[165] <李贤源吁政府>，见《中国报》，2005 年 5 月 3 日，电子版见 Factiva. 这些戒律的先例已在前文详细讨论过。

[166] <九皇爷诞斗母宫一呼百应：酬神歌台不再见“黄”>，见《斗讯》2004 年第 4 期，页 19。文章标题调侃了“黄色文化”。 关于这一概念的起源，以及战后新加坡为遏制“黄色文化”发展所采取的措施，请参阅 Lau Yu Ching, 'The Anti-yellow Culture Movement, 1953-1961: Morality and the Language of Decolonising Singapore' (M.A. thesis, National University of Singapore, 2016).

[167] 关于歌台，请参阅 Liew Kai Khiun and Brenda Chan, 'Vestigial Pop: Hokkien Popular Music and the Cultural Fossilization of Subalternity in Singapore,' *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 28:2 (2013): 272—98.; and Chan Hong Yin, 'The Hungry Ghost Festival in Singapore: Getai (Songs on Stage) in the Lunar Seventh Month,' *Religions* 11:7 (2020): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11070356.

[168] 李桃李<道教的酒戒>，见《斗讯》2002 年第 2 期，页 163。

Though shrouded by strict discipline, especially in relation to the cornerstone rituals of *zhai*, the increasing popularity of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival must be acknowledged. Expected, hence, has been the changing practices, particularly by temples, in which the said regimes are conducted. Past *zhai* practices have been intimated many times in this chapter. Yet, the witnessed growth of scale necessitates accommodation. A distinctive transformation lies in the shift from centralised cooking within temple kitchens, such as Leong Nam Temple, to buffet-style external catering. Devotees and temple visitors are thus able to self-select dishes for each of their three daily meals.

Moreover, the growing ease of accessing vegetarian fare with the contemporary proliferation of vegetarian outlets across Singapore has to be recognised. Here, perhaps, lies a fitting example of socio-cultural transformation—namely, the potentially symbiotic growth of religious and food industries. Nevertheless, maintenance of care and discernment by temples and devotees remain given different interpretations of the term "vegetarian" maintained by existing vegetarian outlets.[169]

Of interest are the observable links between the contemporary perpetuation of caution and, in turn, the cemented rigidity of *zhai* regimes and emergent food-related marketing strategies and technologies. Our fieldwork described devotees' turn to social media to beseech caution over certain packaged sweets or confectionery items containing pork or beef gelatine and their prohibited consumption during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.[170] Increased specificities in food labels with improvements in market measures arguably facilitate enhanced scrutiny over ingredient compositions. Consequently, much greater cognisance has aided devotees in maintaining the Nine Emperor Gods' *zhai* beyond temple grounds.

Elevated awareness has been particularly helpful to working adults who attempt to locate vegetarian fare at their work sites. In circulation are reminders by elderly informants of the acceptability of "outside *zhai*". This compromise permits *zhai* observers to separate meat found in their dishes and consume rice yet to be tainted by meat gravies or juices. Such pragmatism arose from the understanding the difficulties in completely eliminating all animal products, especially in situations where access to vegetarian food is limited.

[169] 在实地调研中，我们发现素食餐馆往往设在九皇庙附近，以便利用节日期间稳定的客流。例如，在后港斗母宫所在的路上有两家素菜馆。

[170] 关于数字宗教领域"另类公众"（alter-public）的类似比较，请参见 Carsten Vala and Huang Jianbo, "Online and Offline Religion in China: A Protestant WeChat 'Alter-Public' through the Bible Handcopying Movement," *Religions* 10:10 (2019): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10100561.

尽管持斋和素食的要求十分严格，但九皇胜会的受欢迎程度仍在持续增长。因此，一些实践也发生了转变。本章已多次提及过去的斋戒习俗。如今，随着九皇诞的规模越来越大，持斋和素食的方式也发生了变化。一个明显的变化是从过去的寺庙厨房集中烹饪，如龙南殿那样，转为自助餐式的外部餐饮，供应一日三餐，信众和访客可以自由选择菜肴。此外，新加坡餐饮行业出现越来越多的素食店，方便信徒在节日期间遵循素食。这或许体现了宗教对社会文化的影响，即宗教和餐饮行业潜在的共生增长。不过，不同的素食店对“素食”的理解可能不同，所以信徒在选择时应多加注意。[169]

有趣的是，如今新的技术和营销方式也导致斋戒和素食变得更加严格。在实地调研中，我们发现，有的信徒会在社交媒体上提醒他人，一些糖果或甜食中含有猪皮或牛皮制成的明胶，不适合在九皇诞期间食用。[170] 各种食物的配料表越来越清晰，这也使得持斋者在节日场所以外选择食物变得更加挑剔和谨慎。这些都有助于信徒在庙宇之外更加严谨地对待持斋。

对于在工作环境中很难找到素食的人来说，在个人虔诚和实用主义之间取得平衡是更为可行的做法。很多老年人受访者表示，他们会告诉子孙只要持“外面斋”就足够了。持“外面斋”的人只需将炒在一起的菜和肉分开，只吃其中的蔬菜和没有浸泡过肉汁或果汁的米饭。这种务实的方式源于越来越多的人意识到，在无法获得素食的情况下，很难完全清除所有动物产品。

[169] 在实地调研中，我们发现素食餐馆往往设在九皇庙附近，以便利用节日期间稳定的客流。例如，在后港斗母宫所在的路上有两家素菜馆。

[170] 关于数字宗教领域“另类公众”（alter-public）的类似比较，请参见 Carsten Vala and Huang Jianbo, 'Online and Offline Religion in China: A Protestant WeChat 'Alter-Public' through the Bible Handcopying Movement,' *Religions* 10:10 (2019): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10100561.

Conclusion

Practising vegetarian diets as part of *zhai jie* is essential to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. This marks the first step of self-cleansing and purification before the coastal receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods or Dou Mu. Typically, devotees are expected to observe *zhai* three days before the receiving ceremony. At the same time, core ritual participants and volunteers are subject to longer periods of zhai, even to the extent of 49 days before the festival. What has to be clarified is the understanding that *zhai* extends beyond the purity of diet to, rather, encompass a holistic regime of physical, spiritual and mental purity.

The multidimensional nature of *zhai* has been stressed throughout Chinese history, society and religion, and contextualisation of its usage has consequently been deemed necessary. Indicative of poverty in pre-Han texts, "*zhai*" has been associated with funerary rituals and observances where grief is symbolised by abstinences from meat and bodily pleasures by affected individuals. To date, the complexities of *zhai* have since traversed China to Southeast Asia, as witnessed in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Ranging from forms of respect for visiting deities to mourning and commemoration in honour of the heroic deeds of the past human manifestations of the Nine Emperor Gods, different bases of *zhai* have been embraced by different temples.

As with the varied bases, the reasons for maintaining *zhai* have similarly been temple-dependent. Though generally harnessed to enforce ritual purity, variations exist in relation to the underlying meanings subject to location, histories, traditions and beliefs. This contrasts the distinct categorisations as witnessed in Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. Along the same vein of differences, it is an oversight not to emphasise that these ideas of *zhai* have not only experiences continuity but also changes. For one, they have been reframed to contemporary needs, such as amalgamating with other aspects of holistic living, health and wellbeing. Indeed, what has remained is the overall strictness of the *zhai* regimes.

Nevertheless, the persistent growth of the festival's popularity underscores that new and old devotees are, on the whole, unfazed by the constraints. Commendable from their efforts of *zhai*—physical, mental and diet adherences—are the creations of the tight-knit religious communities across temples which espouse values of discipline, humility and compassion via abstinences. After all, the continued successful propagation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples in Southeast Asia, including Singapore, must be attributed to these dedicated communities.

结语

吃素作为持斋的一部分，是九皇诞的重要组成部分。吃素持斋是使身体和心灵变得洁净的第一步。大多数信徒会在参加恭迎仪式之前三天开始持斋，而核心仪式参与者和庙宇义工通常需要持斋更长时间，一些人甚至在节前49天就开始进行斋戒。对纯净的重视不仅体现在饮食上保持素食，也包括身体、心灵和精神整体上的清心寡欲。

在华人历史、社会和宗教有关素食的古老观念中，这一实践并没有单一的定义，素食的践行需要考虑具体的时代背景。从汉代以前的文献记载来看，吃素既是贫穷的标志，也是丧葬礼仪的一部分，人们通过放弃肉食和身体享乐来寄托对故人的哀思。直到今天，这些观念也从中国流传到东南亚的九皇庆典中。不同的庙宇采取不同的说法。一些庙宇持斋以祭祀下凡赐福的神明，也有一些庙宇则认为持斋是哀悼九皇大帝，以纪念九皇大帝转世前的英勇事迹。

庙宇也采用不同的理由来进行斋戒。大多数庙宇严格遵守仪式上的纯净，但斋戒的具体含义因庙而异，取决于该庙的历史、传统和信仰，并非像儒释道三教之间的那样界限分明。同样的，随着时间的推移，关于斋戒和吃素的必要性的观念也呈现很大的延续性和变化。它们被重新建构和调整，以适应信徒的需求，并与当下的整体生活、健康和福祉等方方面面相结合。尽管信徒需要严格遵循各项戒条，九皇胜会依然越来越受欢迎。庙宇遵守这些身体、心灵和饮食戒律的努力，以及斋戒所传递的节制、谦逊和同情的价值观，共同构成了关系紧密的宗教团体。九皇胜会在新加坡及东南亚地区的传播和传承，离不开庙宇和善信们的努力。

第7章

Colour and Dress
色彩与服饰





Kew Huang Keng *lu zhu* and members at the raising of the 9 lamps.

九皇宫理事成员与正副炉主参与南北斗星君升灯仪式。

Introduction

An immediate observable feature of Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the mandatory white dress code imposed on all devotees, especially those involved in the key rituals, from the last week of the eighth lunar month to the end of the festival. Clothes aside, a white headscarf covering one's forehead and hair is also donned. These headscarfs or headbands are often burnt after the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods censer, although some do keep them to be used during the festival each year. Yellow cloth is also provided to devotees as waist ties and wrist bands by the Nine Emperor Gods-related religious centres.

Other than white garments, some temples in Southeast Asia require their leaders and select members to wear sackcloth and funerary garments. Overall, both garments deviate from normative expectations of festive and celebratory occasions.



The flower balls and lanterns are changed from red to yellow along the threshold of Hong San Temple for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

凤山宫门口的花球和灯笼从红色变为黄色，以表示九皇宝诞的开始。

前言

除了持斋之外，东南亚各地的九皇千秋最重要也最醒目的特点之一，即参与者必须身穿白色衣服，尤其是那些将参与重要仪式的成员。从农历八月最后一个星期起至九皇千秋结束，在此期间，信众必须全身白衣白裤。许多庙宇还会让信众戴上白色头巾，遮住前额和头发。大多数（若非全部）供奉九皇大帝的宗教场所会为有需要的信徒提供黄色布条。长一点的黄布条用作缠在腰间的腰带，短一点的黄布条则是绑在手腕上的腕带。

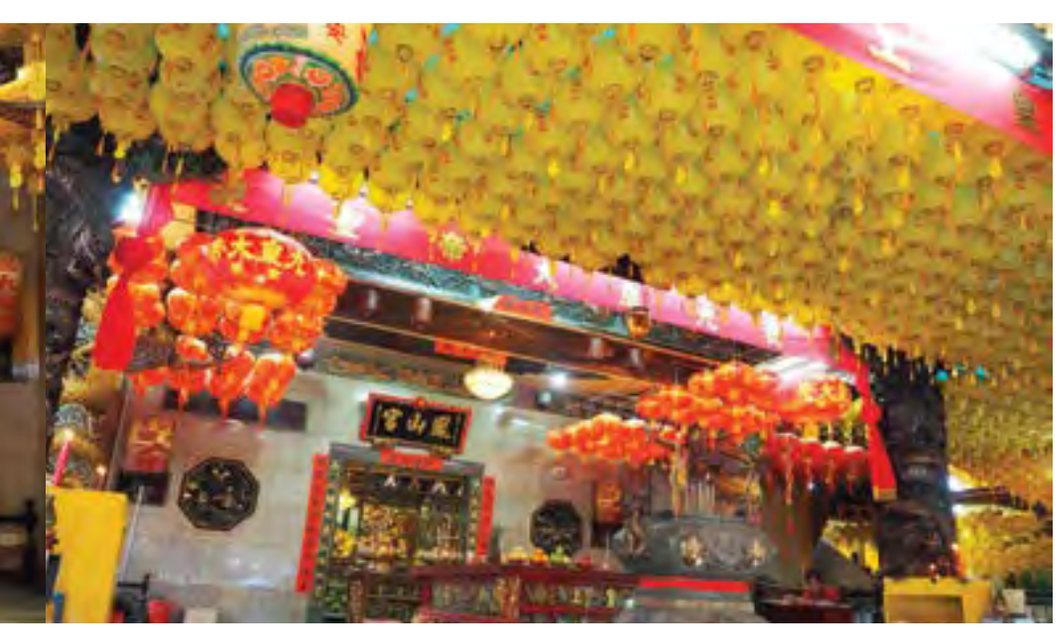


A palanquin bearer from Leong Nam Temple donned a white attire, with a white bandana and a strip of yellow cloth around his wrist during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Note the longer yellow strips of cloth on the left, which visitors can use as girdles.

九皇胜会时，龙南殿的抬轿人戴着白头巾，手腕上缠着一条黄布。 请注意右侧较长的黄色布条，香客可以将其系在自己的腰部作为腰带。

九皇千秋结束时，有的庙宇会回收头巾，以备来年使用，有的庙宇则在恭送九皇炉归海之后，焚烧这些头巾。在东南亚，也有一些庙宇要求宫庙领导和重要成员身穿麻布丧服以纪念九皇大帝，这与人们通常对节日和宝诞庆典的想象截然不同。

除此之外，今天的九皇千秋在色彩选择上，特别是对于九皇大帝金身及相关的仪式礼器而言，多采用黄色，而非象征喜庆的红色，这也与中国和东南亚其他神明的节庆形成鲜明对比。黄色见于活动场地和服装装饰中，也体现在蜡烛和灯笼上。人们通常会在庙宇中见到的红色灯笼和蜡烛会在九皇千秋期间换成黄色的，也有些庙宇改为白色的。近年来，一些庙宇甚至连燃香时用的线香也会换为黄色的。



Beyond waist and wrist bands, yellow is also featured in many of the decorations used during Nine Emperor Gods Festivals—the everyday red decorations (lanterns, candles, and as of late, incense sticks) are swapped for yellow (or even white). Such changes encompass the eponymous red banners (Hokkien: *ang cai*) that are hung at the entrances of temples. Some temples, for example, would prepare two banners—one in yellow and one in red—for the receiving and sending-off rituals, with the order of the banners reversed. Red has a diminished presence during Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. Nevertheless, temples usually revert to the everyday red decorations during the coastal dispatching of the Nine Emperor Gods nearing the end of the festival. This colour choice starkly contrasts other deity festivals in China and Southeast Asia, thereby facilitating the Nine Emperor Gods Festival to standout.



Of all the colours, black is considered taboo during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and is thus absent. The void of this colour suggests that the Southeast Asian worship of the Nine Emperor Gods differs greatly from the worship of the nine stars of the Northern Dipper, which prioritises black. After all, black has been the cardinal colour of the north since the Han dynasty (220 BCE—202 CE).

Recognising that white and yellow are important signifiers during the ongoings of the annual Nine Emperor Gods Festival, this chapter examines the following questions: What is the history of white and yellow in Chinese history, culture and religion? How have their meanings changed over time? What is the expected and adopted attire of China's worshippers of the Nine Emperor Gods, and how do they differ from those in Southeast Asia? What are the similarities and differences between white and yellow during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in China compared to Southeast Asia? How have these interpretations and perspectives in Southeast Asia changed over time?

连挂在庙宇入口处的红色横幅，又称红彩（闽南语：*ang cai*），在节日期间也会被改为黄色。有些庙宇会准备两幅横幅——黄色和白色各一副——用于请水仪式和送神仪式，横幅前后顺序的交替代表着不同的仪式。尽管在九皇千秋期间偶尔会有红色的点缀，但与华人社群其他神明的节日相比，红色的出现频率大大缩减。一些庙宇为了标志九皇千秋的结束，在恭送九皇大帝归海的仪式时，庙宇中的黄色帐篷和灯笼会被迅速换回红色。



◀
Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong Feng Shan Si's yellow and red banners are displayed during the coastal receiving and sending-off ceremonies.

汫水港斗母宫在海滩的接送九皇大帝仪式的黄色和红色红彩。

同样的，在节日期间，黑色也很少见，有的庙宇甚至将其视为禁忌。黑色的缺席也表明了东南亚的九皇信仰与北斗九星（七现二隐）信仰完全不同，因为在北斗信仰中，黑色自汉代以来便被视为北方正色，而在九皇信仰中，黑色处于无足轻重的地位。

可见，黄色与白色象征着节日正在进行，而红色与其他颜色的回归则标志着节日与斋戒的结束。本章试图阐述下列问题：在中国历史、文化和宗教中，白色与黄色背后是怎样的历史？朝代交更替期间，白色与黄色两者的含义发生了什么变化改变？中国的九皇大帝信众应该穿着什么样的衣服？与东南亚的信众有何不同？在中国和东南亚的九皇千秋期间，白色和黄色具有什么意义？又有何差别？随着时间的推移，在东南亚关于黄色与白色的理解和看法发生了什么变化？

The Colours of White and Yellow in Chinese History and Politics

Insights into the cosmological and political significances of colours have surfaced, especially in recent years, given the production of many important works. Often, colours in these works from traditional China were correlated with the Five Elements—Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth.[1] Such correlations can be traced to sections of Confucius's (551—479 BCE) compilation, the *Book of Esteemed Documents*. To date, it is unclear when the assignment of colours to the Five Elements occurred. That said, the *Lost Book of Zhou,* compiled in the fourth century BCE, assigned a unique colour to the five cardinal directions: East (green), South (red), West (white), North (black), and Centre (yellow) separately.[2] It was very likely that these prevailing outlooks synchronised with later analogical frameworks that developed during the Han dynasty. The *Book of the Han* (compiled between 36—111 CE) attributed the Five Elements to specific seasons and cardinal directions.[3]

Juxtaposing the correlations from the *Lost Book of Zhou* and the *Book of the Han* produces the following model of the Five Elements and their analogical affiliates: Metal (autumn, west, white), Wood (spring, east, green), Water (winter, north, black), Fire (summer, south, red), and Earth (the four seasons, centre, yellow).[4] Cyclically related, the Five Elements are thought to be engaged in either a creative or destructive relationship. For instance, though fire is destroyed by water, it is generated with the help of wood. Wood, conversely, is destroyed by metal. Alongside theorisations of *yin-yang* and *qi*, these belief systems informed Chinese cosmology and provided an all-encompassing heuristic for theorising the natural world and human affairs. References to these concepts have found their way into physiology, pharmacology, and medicine, as well as systems of governance.[5]

While the systemisation of the Five Elements and its constituent colour and directional associations were only crystallised in the later periods, the schema long since informed China's politics since the Warring States period (475—221 BCE). In the *Records of the Historian* (completed c. 91 BCE), Zou Yan (305—204 BCE) proposes that each dynasty corresponded with a specific Element. By extension, they were associated with a specific colour scheme that reflected their 'virtue'. Over time, the decline of the Element's virtue corresponded to the linked dynasty's ability to govern to the point that both had to be replaced with a successive dynasty.[6]

According to this notion, consecutive dynasties' attempts to claim the Mandate of Heaven had to demonstrate their affiliation with an element (and colour) associated with their predecessors.[7] That "the might of Fire was impressive" during the Zhou dynasty resulted in the "select[ions] [of] red as its colour of choice and [⋯] fire [⋯] [as] its element". It is little wonder why its self-appointed successor, the Qin dynasty, eventually appropriated the element of Water (black) to justify its succession.[8]

Nevertheless, the succession of elements and colours declined in clarity with time in Chinese history. Studying the Song dynasty reveals discrepancies in choices of colour, as well as debates over the selected element. Originally, fire and red were determined for the Song dynasty vis-à-vis its predecessor, the Later Zhou Dynasty, symbolised by wood as noted in the *History of the Song* (1345—1346 CE). Specifically, the rationale was that "just as wood creates Fire, our dynasty's virtue is embodied by Fire. As such, our (dynastic) colour is red". [9] Issues arise as the dynastic portraits of a handful of earlier Song emperors, such as Taizu (reigned 960—976 CE), Taizong (reigned 976—997 CE) and Yingzong (reigned 1063—1067 CE), portrayed them in white robes as opposed to red. A possible explanation lies in the ongoing debates over the alternative dynastic element of Metal for the Song dynasty that emphasised that the Song dynasty was, instead, the rightful successor to the Earth element of the later Tang dynasty. Before the fire element and red prevailed as the Song's selected element and colour, red was still "a conscious statement" amongst the royals with "red waistbands and red-lacquered imperial thrones" featured in earlier artworks.[10]

[1] 孔子 (551-479 BCE), comp, "洪范," section 3, in 尚书, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/shang-shu/great-plan.

[2] "作雒解," in 逸周书, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/lost-book-of-zhou/zuo-luo/zhs.

[3] "律历志上," section 5, in 汉书, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/han-shu/lv-li-zhi/zhs.

[4] Confer with the approach by 陈彦青, 观念之色:中国传统色彩研究 (北京: 北京大学出版社, 2015), 37-47, where the intellectual history of the five cardinal directions and the Five Elements vis-à-vis their correlational significance to the five colours are addressed separately.

[5] See Chen Yun-ju, "Yin, Yang and Five Agents (Wuxing) in the Basic Questions and Early Han (202 BCE–220 CE) Medical Manuscripts," in *Routledge Handbook of Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo, Michael Stanley-Baker (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 13-22. For a discussion of correlative reasoning, the Five Elements, and various celestial phenomena, see Vivienne Lo, "The Han Period," in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. T.J. Hinrichs, Linda L Barnes (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 31-64. I thank Michael Stanley-Baker for pointing me to these resources.

[6] 司马迁 (c. 145-90 BCE), "历书," section 8, in史记, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 30, 2022, https://ctext.org/shiji/tian-guan-shu.

[7] It is less straightforward in practice, due to debates over mixed colour schemes and contradictory sources of inspiration which pitted one faction against another. Yuan Chen, "Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 325-364; 陈, 观念之色, 47-50; and Jingyi Gao, "Official Colours of Chinese Regimes: A Panchronic Philological study with Historical Accounts of China," *Trames* 16:3 (2012): 237-285.

[8] 吕不韦 (247-239 BCE), "应同," section 1, in 吕氏春秋, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 30, 2022, https://ctext.org/lv-shi-chun-qiu/ying-tong. The translation is adapted from Yuan, "Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China," 328.

[9] 托克托 (active during the Yuan Dynasty, circa. 1343-1346 CE) comp., "志第二十三," section 100, in 宋史, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 30, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=896080.

[10] Chen, "Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China," 337. This has been the subject of much commentary in the Chinese literature. See, among others, 陈, 观念之色, 278-284; 程民生 , "宋代社会中红色的功能," 河南大学学报(社会科学版) 61:5 (2021): 59-71.

中国历史与政治中的黄色与白色

近年来，许多研究成果都揭示了不同色彩的宇宙观和政治意义，这些色彩往往与中国传统的五行观念有关。相传为孔子（公元前551年-前479年）所编的《尚书》中提到了五行的概念，即水、火、木、金、土。[1] 五色与五行的结合具体发生在何时尚未可知，但比《尚书》稍晚的《逸周书》（记事年代早至西周，但成书于公元前4世纪） 中的记载将五种色彩与五个主要方向对应起来，即：东（青），南（赤），西（白），北（骊），中（黄）。[2] 这些盛行的观点很可能与后来汉朝时期逐渐形成的比类关系是一致的。例如，在编于公元36年-111年的《汉书》中，五行分别与特定的季节与方向一一对应。[3]

如果将《逸周书》和《汉书》中记载的配属关系结合来看，我们便可得出这样的五行对应关系：金（秋季，西方，白色），木（春季，东方，绿色），水（冬季，北方，黑色），火（夏季，南方，红色），土（四季，中央，黄色）。[4] 万物皆可归在与五行相关的类别下，彼此之间具有相生或相克的关系。例如，火可能被水熄灭，但火借助木头而燃烧，而木头可能被金属刀具砍伐。五行观念与阴阳和气的理论反映了中国古代的宇宙观，并对自然世界和人类事务的理论化起到了全面的启示作用。可以看到的是，五行观念已被广泛应用到生理学、药理学、医学以及治理系统中。[5]

尽管五行五色五方观念的系统化直到后来才成形，早在战国时期，这种论述已经在政治领域产生影响。据成书于公元前91年的《史记》记载，邹衍（公元前305年-前204年）提出了“五德终始”的历史观，认为每个朝代对应五行中某一行，相应地受五色中某一色所反映的“德”支配。每一德盛衰有时，朝代的更替按照五行相生相克的规律循环向前。[6]

宣称奉天命而兴起的新朝代，需要证明其德按五行相克的原则取代了前朝。[7] 例如，周朝“火气胜，故其色尚赤，其事则火”。秦朝自认为周朝的继承者，顺应五德学说，秦为水德（其色为黑），以证明其统治的合法性。[8]

然而，在中国历史的后期，五行和五色的继替关系并不如看上去那样清晰。例如，宋朝取代前朝后周，以火为宋朝的德性。因此，在大多数宋朝皇帝的官方画像中，他们都穿着红色的衣服。编于1434-1346年间的《宋史》载：“周德木，木生火，则本朝运膺火德，色当尚赤”。[9] 然而，宋朝早期的皇帝，例如宋太祖（公元960年-976年在位）、宋太宗（公元976年-997年在位）和宋英宗（公元1063年-1067年在位），在画像中却穿着白袍。这可能反映了关于宋朝取代了哪一王朝的争论，另一种说法是宋朝是后唐的正统继承者，因此宋朝的德性应为五行中的金。尽管如此，在火德和红色成为宋朝正统之前，红色的绶带和红色的官廷建筑彰显了宋朝尚红的德运。[10]

[1] 孔子（公元前551年-前479年）编，<洪范>第三节，见《尚书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/shang-shu/great-plan.

[2] <作雒解>，见《逸周书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/lost-book-of-zhou/zuo-luo/zhs.

[3] <律历志上>第五节，见《汉书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/han-shu/lv-li-zhi/zhs.

[4] 请参阅陈彦青《观念之色：中国传统色彩研究》（北京：北京大学出版社，2015），页37-47。陈彦青分别探讨了五方观和五行观的思想史，以及由此形成的五色观念。

[5] 请参阅Chen Yun-ju, “Yin, Yang and Five Agents (Wuxing) in the Basic Questions and Early Han (202 BCE–220 CE) Medical Manuscripts,” in *Routledge Handbook of Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo, Michael Stanley-Baker (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 13-22.有关五行与对应天象的论述，请参阅 Vivienne Lo, “The Han Period,” in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. T.J. Hinrichs, Linda L Barnes (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 31-64. 笔者感谢Michael Stanley-Baker为我指出这些资料。

[6] 司马迁（公元前145年-前90年），<历书>第八节，见《史记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月30日，https://ctext.org/shiji/li-shu1.

[7] 实际上，这并不像看起来那么简单，因为关于五色体系的争论与相互矛盾的灵感来源常常造成不同派别的观点对立。请参阅：Yuan Chen, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 325-364; 陈彦青，《观念之色》，页47-50；Jingyi Gao, “Official Colours of Chinese Regimes: A Panchronic Philological study with Historical Accounts of China,” *Trames* 16:3 (2012): 237-285.

[8] 吕不韦（公元前247年-前239年），<应同>第一节，见《吕氏春秋》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月30日，https://ctext.org/lv-shi-chun-qiu/ying-tong. 英文译文改编自Yuan, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” 328.

[9] 托克托（活跃于元朝末年，约公元1343-1346年）修撰，<志第二十三>第100节，见《宋史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月30日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=896080.

[10] Chen, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” 337. 五色与五行观念一直是中文文献中备受关注的主题。其他资料，请参阅：陈彦青，《观念之色》，页278-284；程民生<宋代社会中红色的功能>，《河南大学学报（社会科学版）》2021年第5期，页 59-71。

Discrepancies likewise surfaced in the Yuan dynasty because it succeeded three empires: the Liao, Jin and Song. Despite the ensuing uncertainty regarding the exact element and colour of choice of the Yuan dynasty, it is possible to posit that the latter might have been white unofficially. Official portraits of the Mongol rulers aside, insight can be garnered from the Venetian merchant Marco Polo (1254—1354 CE).[11] Apart from noting the organising of a "white feast" for the commemoration of the Lunar New Year, Polo observes that many "clothe[d] themselves in white garments, which, according to their ideas, [we]re the emblem of good fortune [aimed] [⋯] in the hopes that [⋯] [nothing but] fortune[e] [awaited] them [in the year ahead".[12] The prevalence of white during the Lunar New Year under the Yuan dynasty is striking as it is counterintuitive to the general association of red, as opposed to white, with celebrations.

Of the five colours, yellow was respected across China. Likened as "the colour of the earth" in *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters*, yellow was synonymous with the centre and, by extension, China's exceptional position at the centre of the universe—*Zhong Guo*.[13] Considering this, it is unsurprising that the said colour was also strongly related to kingship. For instance, one of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns was the Yellow Emperor (2711—2599 BCE). Individuals aside, popular parlance even regarded the emperor's official attire as the "yellow robe". Specifically, out of reverence for the founder of the Song Dynasty, Zhao Kuanyin (927—976 CE), later reigned as Emperor Taizu (960—976 CE), who was propelled to prominence at the climax of the Chenqiao Mutiny in 960, soldiers "dressed Taizu in a yellow robe".[14] That said, despite the popularity of yellow garments among the members of the Song royalty, Cheng Minsheng points out that the adoption of the colour was not limited to the imperial family. Officials, soldiers, and Song dynasty commoners were observed to have donned yellow outfits and accessories too.[15] Such prevalent interests in the colour likely facilitated the widespread affordability of yellow dye and consequently boosted the availability of yellow cloth.

An interesting observable trend from the Yuan dynasty was the lack of official announcements or establishments of dynasty colours. However, yellow appears to have been the choice colour for the royals. Official portraits depicted Ming (1368—1644) and Qing (1644—1911) emperors in yellow. Robes of yellow were specifically restricted to members of the latter's royals, with "bright yellow" reserved for the emperor, whilst other princes were permitted to don other shades of the said colour.[16] In her study of the Qing palace life, Evelyn Rawski notes that the Kangxi emperor (1654—1722) was housed in a yellow tent with similarly coloured screens in the centre of his encampment during his hunting excursion.[17]

Similarly, attire and tentage aside, yellow was also used in royal rewards from the emperor, including gifts, titles, and favours. This was most evident during the 80th birthday celebration of Qing official Ruan Yuan (1764—1849 CE) in 1843. Apart from having his two sons escort the royal convoy, Betty Wei's reconstructed events reveal that the event included "a table [⋯] set with yellow candles and yellow incense, symboli[s]ing imperial presence". Ruan was also gifted with gifts "reverently on an individual receptacle [⋯] on a table with a yellow cloth under a yellow umbrella".[18]

[11] Chen, "Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China," 350-351.

[12] Marco Emilio Polo (1254—1324 CE), ed. Manuel Komroff, *The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1953), Book II, Chapter 15, Kindle edition.

[13] 许慎 (Eastern Han Dynasty, 100-121 CE), 说文解字, part 14, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 15, 2022, https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/huang-bu/zhs.

[14] 李焘 (1115-1184 CE), 续资治通鉴长编, scroll 1, sections 10-13, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 15, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=75667. The event's historical significance is discussed in greater detail by 王育济, "论 '陈桥兵变'," 文史哲 1 (1997): 18-24.

[15] 程民生, "宋代社会中黄色的功能," 中州学刊 43:8 (2021): 138-146.

[16] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; and London, England: University of California Press, 1998), 21.

[17] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 42. Also see Schuyler Cammann, "Costume in China, 1644 to 1912," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 75:326 (1979): 7-9; and 张姗, "清代龙袍适用人群与龙袍赏赐案例研究," 满语研究 2 (2019): 125-130.

[18] Betty Peh-Ti Wei, *Ruan Yuan, 1764-1849: The Life and Work of a Major Scholar-official in Nineteenth-century China Before the Opium War* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 294-295.

同样的，元朝继承了三个王朝，即辽朝、金朝和宋朝，所以元朝对应的德性和色彩并不确定，一般认为元朝尚白。[11] 除了元朝统治者的官方画像，威尼斯商人马可波罗（公元1254年-1354年）的记录也反映了元朝尚白的风气。他提到，蒙古人称农历新年为“白节”。在宴会上，人们“依照惯例穿上白衣。他们相信这是好运的象征，这样做是希望一年到头都能万事如意。”[12] 元朝时期农历新年期间白色的盛行令人感到意外，在某种程度上，这并不符合人们的直观经验，即相对于白色，红色更能代表节日的喜庆气氛。

五色中，黄色与王权联系最为密切。例如，三皇五帝的五帝之首被尊祀为黄帝（公元前2711年-2599年？）。东汉许慎的《说文解字》载，黄，“地之色也”。[13] 这也证明了中国的中心位置，因为黄色对应的五方的“中”。人们通常将天子的衣服称为“黄袍”。例如，宋朝开国皇帝宋太祖赵匡胤（公元927年-976年，公元960年-976年在位），在陈桥兵变中被拥立为帝。将士为表忠诚，“黄袍加太祖身”。[14] 程民生指出，尽管宋朝皇室尊崇黄色，但并没有将黄色服饰垄断为皇家专用。宋朝时期，由于黄色染料原料普遍，黄色布料易得，官员、士兵或平民都可以穿黄色服装，使用黄色器物。[15]

尽管自元朝以来，官方并没有宣布或确立王朝的颜色，但从明到清，黄色一直是皇家正色。明朝时期，皇帝的官方画像都是身着黄袍，清朝建立后，满族统治者也延续了这一传统。正如罗友枝（Evelyn Rawski）在她对清朝宫廷生活的研究中所展示的，康熙皇帝（公元1654年-1722年）每次外出打猎，都住在营地中央用黄色帷幔搭建的的黄色帐篷里。[16] 穿黄袍也是清朝皇室成员的特权。皇帝是唯一可以穿“明黄”色服装的人，而其他皇子只能穿不同色调的黄衣。[17]

同样的，天子的赏赐、圣旨和恩惠，都是以黄色呈现的。例如，1843年，清朝官员阮元（公元1764年-1849年）在其八十大寿时收到皇帝赏赐的礼物，除了让他两个儿子护送皇家使者，当队伍到达杭州时，领队也受到阮元本人对待圣上的同等礼敬。魏白帝（Betty Wei）的研究中描述了这一幕，“桌上摆有黄色的蜡烛和香，象征着皇上大驾光临”。在阮元进行“三跪九叩之后，他一一接过礼物谢恩”，每件礼物都被“恭敬地放在一个单独的托盘上，所有的托盘都放在一张铺着黄布的桌子上，上面撑着一把黄色的伞”。[18]

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[11] Chen, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” 350-351.

[12] Marco Emilio Polo (1254-1324 CE), ed. Manuel Komroff, *The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1953), Book II, Chapter 15, Kindle edition.

[13] 许慎（创作年代：东汉，公元100-121年），《说文解字》卷十四，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月15日， https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/huang-bu/zhs.

[14] 李焘（公元1115-1884年），《续资治通鉴长编》，卷一， 第10-13节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月15日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=75667. 关于陈桥兵变这一事件历史意义的深入探讨，请参阅：丁景元<浅析“陈桥兵变”和“杯酒释兵权”——兼谈赵普在这两次兵变中的谋略思想>，《滁州师专学报》2002年第4期第1版，页20-22。

[15] 程民生， <宋代社会中黄色的功能>，《中州学刊》2021年第43 期，页138-146.

[16] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; and London, England: University of California Press, 1998), 21.

[17] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 42. 请参阅：Schuyler Cammann, “Costume in China, 1644 to 1912,” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 75:326 (1979): 7-9; 及张姗<清代龙袍适用人群与龙袍赏赐案例研究> ，《满语研究》2019年第2期，页125-130。

[18] Betty Peh-Ti Wei, *Ruan Yuan, 1764-1849: The Life and Work of a Major Scholar-official in Nineteenth-century China Before the Opium War* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 294-295.

White as the Colour of Mourning

Aside from its political significance as a dynastic colour, white also serves as a signifier of mourning, loss, sorrow, and grief. The latter symbolism, apparent since the days of Confucius, has withstood the rise and fall of multiple political empires into the present day.[19] Traditionally attributed to having been compiled by Confucius, the *Book of Rites* reveals the presence of white in royal sacrificial rituals at the end of each year. Emperors were expected to "present their offerings in skin caps and white robes" the use of the latter [aimed at] [⋯] escort[ing] the closing year (to its grave)". The additional uses of sashes of dolichol cloth, and carrying of staffs of hazel, were seen as reduced forms of mourning. Post-offerings, the emperors were allowed to resume "sacrifice in yellow robes and yellow caps, releasing the field labourers from the toils (of the year)."[20] Though of evident different hues, both white and yellow were involved in complementary roles performed by the emperor during grand sacrifices. Specifically, white was associated with the emperor's status as the Son of Heaven. He was responsible for regulating the seasons, agriculture, and time, such as the end of the year. Yellow, the colour of royalty, correlated to the emperor's duties as the ruler of humankind—he had the power to release his people from their agricultural obligation at the end of the season.

Expanding on the nature of mourning, ritual texts from the Warring States period, such as the *Record of Ceremonies and Rituals*, contains an entire section explaining the dress code for the ritual observation of mourning. Distancing themselves from bodily pleasures, mourners were tasked to wear hemp sackcloth and tied a girdle around their waists and straw sandals whilst carrying a staff.[21] The exact prescriptions corresponded to the relationship between the mourners and the mourned—minute details on these have been better covered elsewhere.[22] Generally, the closeness between the mourner and the mourned was directly released to the duration and poorer qualities of mourning clothes. The mourning of one's grandparents as opposed to parents would usually be more lenient as one was only required to wear a "sackcloth without [holding any] staff for a year". In the event of a father's death, individuals had to wear "unhemmed sackcloth for three years".[23]

The second century CE saw the discussion of white in one of the earliest Chinese dictionaries, *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters*. Deemed the "colour of the west", *yin* rituals required involved goods to be "white" as well.[24] Of significance here is that the compiler, Xu Shen, confirmed the colour's affiliation with the cardinal direction west and captured the prevalent association of white with sad occasions. Even contemporary funerals are still euphemistically known as "white affairs," whereas celebrations are viewed as "red affairs".[25] That white continued to be associated with mourning and death despite its use as a dynasty colour inevitably resulted in issues in Chinese society. Complaints abounded among the scholar-officials of the Song dynasty after they were made to wear white instead of purple. Much of these complaints revolved around how "they looked too much like mourning garments". The disgruntled scholar-officials were only appeased upon rescinding the ban and returning their purple attire.[26]

The centrality of white in funerals and mourning situations saw it being prescribed in Zhu Xi's (1130—1200 CE) *Family Rituals*. Apart from the rigid attire requirements of hemp, staves and belts for mourners, visitors were also expected to dress in white. To Zhu, "[t]heir scarf-caps, robes, and belts should be made of raw white silk".[27] That Zhu's influence extended into the end of the Qing dynasty meant that scholars and officials in mourning were expected to wear white. Some leeway was provided to adapt their outfits to match the situation.[28] However, Kangxi, for instance, was critical of the additional adornments on white funeral garments. Condemning funeral garments that were "decorated with flowers and pretty ornamentations", Kangxi argued that "funeral rituals were concerned with self-denial as a way of showing sincerity, and [hence] the clothes worn were to be coarse and unattractive".[29] The frugal monarch's anger not only underpinned the perception of white as the overarching colour of mourning but also reinforced the idea that white's symbolism of plainness was to correspond with the abandonment of bodily and sensual pleasures.

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[19] For one of the earliest and most detailed treatments of this perspective, see Fernand Braudel, trans. Sian Reynolds, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, two volumes (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; and London, England: University of California Press: 1995-1996).

[20] 孔子, "郊特牲," sections 25, in礼记, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/liji/jiao-te-sheng/. Translation is adapted from James Legge's (1815-1897 CE) in the same hyperlink.

[21] 仪礼 (Warring States Period, 475-221 BCE), "丧服," Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/yili/sang-fu/zhs.

[22] This topic has received much treatment by Chinese researchers in recent years. Inter alia, see 何丹, "从《丧服》经文的编排和传文的阐释看两周五服制度的改变," 中南大学学报 (社会科学版) 21:5 (2015): 238-242; 丁鼎 Ding Ding, "试论丧服习俗的起源," 思想战线 27:4 (2001): 120-124; and 张焕君, "《丧服》用杖制度考论," 中国文化研究 1 (2003): 135-144. Also see Arthur P. Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985 (1970)], 189-208.

[23] Adapted translation from Jaesang Jung, "Ritualization of Affection and Respect: Two Principles of Confucian Ritual," *Religions* 10:3 (2019): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10030224, 5. The irony, as noted by many scholars, lies in possibility of experiencing greater emotional loss and grief for a relative belonging to a lower grade of mourning. The highly rigid system of mourning merely allowed for an idealised reflection of Chinese society, which organised kinship along patrilineal and hierarchical lines. See Zhou Yiqun, "The Status of Mothers in the Early Chinese Mourning System," *T'oung Pao* 99:1-3 (2013): 1-52; and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 29-30 and 97-98.

[24] 许慎, 说文解字, part 8, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 15, 2022, https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/bai-bu1/ens.

[25] That plenty of criticism regarding the costs, scales and 'superstitions' of such events remain in China today, is indicative that these terms are still very much in vogue. Among many others, see 刘文昊, "农村红白事儿应当这样办," 农家书屋 3 (2017): 18-19; and 瞿芃 "'红白事' 怎样办不违规," 新湘评论 16 (2014): 40-41.

[26] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, trans. *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 16-17, footnote 59.

[27] 朱熹 (1130-1200 CE), 家礼, section 4, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699. Translation is adapted from Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 98.

[28] Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*; and Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[29] Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 92.

白色：象征哀悼的颜色

除了具有作为王朝色彩的政治意义，白色还象征着哀悼、死亡和悲痛。这种象征意义自孔子的时代以来就很明确，经历朝代更替，一直延续到今天。[19]《礼记》（传统上认为是孔子所编）记载，在年底举行的腊祭（十二月农事终了，祭祀一切与农作物有关的神明）中，天子"皮弁素服而祭。素服，以送终也。葛带榛杖，丧杀也。"随后，天子换为"黄衣黄冠而祭，息田夫也。"[20] 这两种颜色——白色和黄色——都象征着皇帝在这种盛大祭祀活动中扮演的不同但互补的角色。作为天子，他负责掌管季节、农业和时间，穿着素服为已过去的一年送终。作为人间的统治者，他在农事结束时解除了他的人民的农业义务，换上了作为君主的威严色彩。

上述祭祀活动的哀悼性质与战国时期其他仪式文本所载的相吻合，例如《仪礼》中有一整节专门介绍居丧时穿用的丧服。居丧者除了放弃各种身体上的享乐之外，还得穿粗麻布衣，系上腰带。在大多数情况下，他们还需要穿草鞋并携杖。[21] 丧服分为五等（斩衰、齐衰、大功、小功、缌麻），根据死者与居丧者之间关系亲疏确定丧服形制，已有相关研究对此进行论述。[22] 一般来说，居丧者与死者的关系越密切，穿戴丧服的时间就越长，穿的丧服也更加粗陋。例如，为父亲或诸侯服丧者须"斩衰三年"。相反，若是为祖父母服丧，规定相对宽松，只须"齐衰不杖期"。[23]

到了公元2世纪，中国最早的字典之一《说文解字》载："白：西方色也。阴用事，物色白。"[24] 编撰者许慎不仅确认了白色与西方的联系，还证实了白色与悲伤场合普遍存在的联系。时至今日，葬礼仍被委婉称作"白事"，与称为"红事"的喜庆场合形成对比。[25] 尽管白色偶尔作为具有重要意义的王朝色彩，但它仍然与哀悼和死亡联系在一起。例如，在宋代，属于士大夫阶层一度被剥夺了穿紫色衣服的特权。当被要求穿素服代替紫色衣服时，他们抱怨"素服看起来太像丧服了"。这项禁令最终被撤销，士大夫阶层得以再次穿紫色衣服。[26]

关于葬礼和居丧，朱熹（公元1130-1200年）的《家礼》也有相似的记载。居丧者应该遵守严格的丧服制度，在关于葬礼的讨论中，他主要讨论了粗麻布衣、手杖和腰带。吊丧者应当穿白色衣服："幞头衫带皆以白生绢为之。"[27] 直到清朝末年，朱熹的建议仍然具有广泛的影响力。为父母服丧的文人和官员都要穿白色衣服，尽管他们也可以根据实际情况调整自己的服装。[28] 清朝康熙皇帝（公元1654-1722年）注意到一些人穿的白色丧服上"装饰着鲜花和漂亮的饰品"，他批评了这些行为，指出"丧礼讲究的是自我克制，以表现失去亲人的悲痛，穿的衣服应该是布料粗糙、毫无吸引力的。"[29] 这位节俭的君主的不满体现了白色作为丧服颜色的重要性，白色象征着朴素，意味着应该放弃肉体和感官的享乐。

[19] 对于这一观点最早和最详细的讨论之一，请参阅 Fernand Braudel, trans. Sian Reynolds, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, two volumes (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; and London, England: University of California Press: 1995-1996).

[20] 孔子，<郊特牲>第25节，《礼记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月22日，https://ctext.org/liji/jiao-te-sheng/. 英文译文改编自同一链接中理雅各布（James Legge，公元1815-1897 年）的翻译。有趣的是，理雅各布认为"素"是白色的同义词，"素"也可能指单一颜色的朴素服装。此处英文译文为未经编辑的原文，笔者在本章后文对此提出疑问。

[21] 《仪礼》（战国时期，公元前475年-前221年），<丧服>，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/yili/sang-fu/zhs.

[22] 近年来，这一话题受到了中国研究者的广泛关注。请参阅：何丹，<从《丧服》经文的编排和传文的阐释看两周五服制度的改变>，《中南大学学报（社会科学版）》，2015年第5期，页238-242；丁鼎，<试论丧服习俗的起源>，《思想战线》2001年第4期，页120-124；张焕君，<《丧服》用杖制度考论>，《中国文化研究》2003年第1期，页135-144。 另请参阅高延（Jan Jakob Maria de Groot）对这一话题的详尽论述和总结：Jan Jakob Maria de Groot, *The Religious System of China, Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect*, vol. II (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1894), 474-645.

[23] 英文翻译改编自Jaesang Jung, "Ritualization of Affection and Respect: Two Principles of Confucian Ritual," *Religions* 10:3 (2019): https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10030224, 5. 讽刺的是，正如许多学者所指出的那样，虽然一个人可能会在失去一位理论上属于较低级别的亲人时感到更加悲痛，但丧服制度是僵化的，与古代中国社会理想化的宗法制度互为表里，亲疏关系是按照父系和等级规则确定的。请参阅Zhou Yiqun, "The Status of Mothers in the Early Chinese Mourning System," *T'oung Pao* 99:1-3 (2013): 1-52; and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 29-30 and 97-98.

[24] 许慎，《说文解字》卷8，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月15日，https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/bai-bu1/ens.

[25] 直到今天，中国仍有许多对于"红白事"的成本、规模和"迷信观念"的评论，这表明这些术语仍然非常流行。请参阅：刘文昊，<农村红白事儿应当这样办> ，《农家书屋》2017年第3期，页18-19；及瞿芃，<"红白事"怎样办不违规>，《新湘评论》2014年第16期，页40-41。

[26] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, trans. *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 16-17, footnote 59. Confer with Arthur P. Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985 (1970)], 197-198.

[27] 朱熹（公元1130-1200年），《家礼》卷4，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699. 英文译文改编自Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 98.

[28] Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*; and Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[29] Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 92.

Other popular literature further propagated the association of white with death and funerals. *The Scholars* (completed c. 1750 CE) effectively represented white as the colour of mourning in 16th-century Ming China. In particular, following the announcement of a death, apart from the sending of white cloth to the home of mourners, the work depicted one of the characters being informed of the expectations for her to "don a sackcloth to mourn the deceased" [30] Another episode saw "white balls of cloth being hung in the main entrance of the residence, and the couplets at the entrance [typically in red] being covered with white paper", following yet another death announcement.[31]

The Significance of the Colour White in Chinese Religion

The Daoist tradition was informed by the cosmological underpinnings of the Five Elements, their affiliated colours, and cardinal directions, which systemised and permeated almost every aspect of Chinese society since the Han dynasty. Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen remind readers that the initial worship of Daoism and Chinese religion involved the worship of the Northern Dipper Sovereign. To further tie in the different concepts such that the five individual Dipper Sovereigns would reign over each of the Five Directions, subsequent "directional sequels" to the DZ622 (compiled between the Tang and Song dynasties) introduced the worship of the Southern, Eastern Western and Center Dippers, who were correspondingly associated with their respective direction's Element and colour. [32]

These conceptualisations of the Five Elements and their corresponding colours also shaped how planets were honoured according to their dominant control element. The planet Venus was the Supreme White Star of Metal, corresponding with the metal element.[33] The colour is also linked to the West given metal's association with white. Hence, the overall constellation of stars became called the White Tiger of the West. Given this correlation, unsurprisingly, manuals from the outer alchemical traditions commonly harnessed white as a metaphor for metals with mystical, transmutable properties for bodily and spiritual health. The DZ937 (ninth to 10th century CE) represents mercury as the "white dragon" and lead used in the alchemical treatise as the "golden tiger". [34]

Beyond its relation to cosmology, white animals were considered divine messengers across various Chinese religions. Chinese history, to date, is replete with examples in which sacred knowledge was revealed to humankind via these intermediaries. Case in point, it is believed that a chimeric creature, referred to as the White Marsh, transmitted a demonography, "Diagram of the White Marsh", to the Yellow Emperor containing instructions on how to identify, control and exorcise various monsters that plagued humankind.[35] In addition, several Daoist scriptures archived in the Daoist Canon, such as the DZ858 (post-Northern Song), were purportedly revealed to humanity by the white monkey, as noted from the titles and colophons of the said texts.[36]

Traditional China's long association of white with mourning and losses likely transformed with the arrival of Buddhism to China, which coincided with the systematisation of the Five Elements during the Han dynasty. In documenting the history of colour in China, Chen Yanqing notes that the T1796 (translation attributed to Yi Xing) regulated five colours to correspond with the Buddhist take on the Five Elements: "The so-called Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, and Void [⋯] correspond with Blue, Yellow, Red, White, Black".[37] In contrast to the then-existing interpretations, white, in this case, was linked to the wind element instead of metal. Despite this slight difference, Chen indicates that the cosmological system resembles Chinese precedents and that such translations probably reflected Buddhism's localisation in East Asia.[38]

[30] 吴敬梓 (1701-1754 CE), "王秀才议立偏房严监生疾终正寝," in 儒林外史, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/rulin-waishi/5/ens. Translation is adapted from the hyperlink's own.

[31] 吴敬梓, "荐亡斋和尚吃官司打秋风乡绅遭横事," in 儒林外史, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/rulin-waishi/4/ens. Translation is adapted from the hyperlink's own.

[32] Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 953. On the dating of the DZ622 as described here, see萧进铭, "唐宋玄灵法（璇玑玄一停轮）、（太玄三一）之道试探《北斗经》之版本、源流、经旨及宗派归属问题新思考 ," 华人宗教研究7 (2016): 67-131.

[33] Although originally appearing as a lady, the deity has increasingly been represented as a male, especially in the novel *Journey to the West* 西游记 (16th century CE), where he has been portrayed as a court advisor to the Jade Emperor of Heaven 玉皇大帝. On the deity's representations, see 雷航, "太白金星形象演变及文化意蕴," 九江学院学报: 社会科学版 31:2 (2012): 39-44; and马书田, 中国道神 (北京: 团结出版社, 2006), 54-56.

[34] 还阳子, "大还丹金虎白龙论," page 000-002a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 20, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0337/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Discourse on the Golden Tiger and the White Dragon of the Great Cyclically Transformed Elixir," and introduced in Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 410.

[35] Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century BC," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45:2 (1985): 492-494. The original manuscript being lost to history has not deterred the surfacing of a few noteworthy studies on the impacts of the work. 孙文起, "《白泽图》与古小说志怪渊源," 哈尔滨学院学报 28:10 (2007): 75-78; and 周西波, "白泽信仰及其形像转变之考察," 敦煌学 32 (2016): 45-58.

[36] "太上洞神玄妙白猿真经," Kanseki Repository, accessed March 20, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0255/000. The manuscript is translated as the "Veritable Scripture of the White Monkey," and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II*, 978.

[37] 一行禅师 (683-727 CE), trans., "大毗卢遮那成佛经疏," chapter 3, CBETA 2022.Q1, T39, no. 1796, 614a6-7, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T39n1796_003.

[38] 陈, 观念之色, 214-215.

在通俗文学中也可以看到白色与死亡和丧葬的联系。小说《儒林外史》（成书于1750年左右）的故事发生于16世纪中国明朝时期。第五回中，严监生的正室王氏去世后，白色的孝布被送至家中，其妾赵氏执意要“披麻戴孝”。[30] 第四回中，老太太生病归天之后，“大门上挂了白布球；新帖的厅联都用白纸糊了。”[31]

白色在华人宗教中的重要性

总的来说，道家传统是受到五行五色五方观念的影响，自汉朝以来，五行观念不断系统化并渗透到中国社会的方方面面。施舟人（Kristofer Schipper）和傅飞岚（Franciscus Verellen）认为，最初，在中国宗教和道教的历史上，只有对北斗星君的崇拜比较突出。为了适应道教中五方五行理论，即五斗星君分别掌管东西南北中五个方向，DZ622《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》的续编（编撰于唐宋年间）加入了其他四位星君的崇拜，[32] 他们各对应五行和五色其中之一。

五行五色观念同样影响了星宿崇拜，五斗星君根据其对应的元素而受到敬奉。例如，金星与金属元素相对应，因此被称为“太白金星”。[33] 除了对应金属元素，白色也被视为是西方的颜色，因此位于西方的星宿被称为“西方白虎”。道教外丹经诀以白色隐喻具有神秘属性的丹砂，丹砂可被修炼为仙丹，人服食仙丹有益于身体和精神健康。例如，在DZ937《大还丹金虎白龙论》（公元9-10世纪）中，“白龙”和“金虎”分别代表炼丹用的汞和铅。[34]

此外，白色动物被视为神明的使者，并不仅限于道家传统。中国历史上有很多例子，神明的旨意是通过这样的使者传话达给人类。例如，传说上古神兽白泽将记载鬼怪的《白泽图》传给黄帝，其中记载了识别，对付和驱除各种困扰人类的怪物的方法。[35]《正统道藏》中收录的道教经籍的标题和末页中也出现了白猿，例如道藏858《太上洞神玄妙白猿真经》（似出于宋代），传说此经是由白猿交与人类的。[36]

尽管有很多资料表明白色在中国传统中是丧服和死亡的颜色，其意义可能随着佛教的传入而有所改变。巧合的是，佛教传入中国的时期，正是汉代五行观念逐渐系统化的时期。正如陈彦青在其关于中国传统色彩的研究中提及的，唐代一行禅师翻译的T1796《大毗卢遮那成佛经疏》载：“所谓地水火风虚空，青黄赤白黑色等诸异相貌”，[37] 将五色与佛教中构成物质的元素概念相关联。在这种解释中，白色对应风，而不是金属。尽管略有不同，陈彦青指出，这一宇宙观与中国传统观念非常相似，这些佛教经典的翻译可能反映了佛教在东亚的本土化。[38]

[30] 吴敬梓（公元1701-1754年），<王秀才议立偏房 严监生寿终正寝>，《儒林外史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/rulin-waishi/5/ens. Translation is adapted from the hyperlink's own.

[31] 吴敬梓，<荐亡斋和尚吃官司 打秋风乡绅遭横事>，《儒林外史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/rulin-waishi/4/ens. 英文译文保留链接中的原文。

[32] Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume II: The Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 953. 施舟人和傅飞岚的说法可能适用于东、西、中斗星君，南斗星君崇拜可见于干宝（公元336年逝世），《搜神记》。关于《太上玄灵北斗本命延生真经》的年代考，请参阅萧进铭，<唐宋玄灵法（璇玑玄一停轮）、（太玄三一）之道试探《北斗经》之版本、源流、经旨及宗派归属问题新思考>，《世界华人宗教》2016年第7期，页 67-131。

[33] 太白金星最初以女神的形象出现，随着《西游记》（公元16世纪）的出现和流行，逐渐以男性形象出现。在《西游记》中，太白金星是玉皇大帝的军师。见吴承恩（公元1500-1582年？），<四海千山皆拱伏 九幽十类尽除名>，《西游记》第24-25章，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/xiyouji/ch3. 关于神明的形象，请参阅：雷航，<太白金星形象演变及文化意蕴>，《九江学院学报（社会科学版）》2012年第2期，页39-44；马书田，《中国道神》（北京：团结出版社，2006），页54-56。

[34] 还阳子，《大还丹金虎白龙论》，页000-002a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0337/000. 原文被译为“Discourse on the Golden Tiger and the White Dragon of the Great Cyclically Transformed Elixir,” 并收录于Kristofer M. Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang, Volume I: Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 410.

[35] Donald Harper, “A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century BC,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45:2 (1985): 492-494. 在现存资料中，有关黄帝与白泽相遇的记载，可见张君房（公元11世纪左右）编，《云笈七签》卷100，第6节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=377590. 《白泽图》原稿已经遗失，关于《白泽图》对中国古代社会的影响一些值得关注的研究，请参阅：孙文起，<《白泽图》与古小说志怪渊源>，《哈尔滨学院学报》2007年第10期，页75-78；周西波，<白泽信仰及其形象转变之考察>，《敦煌学》2016年第32期，页45-58。

[36]《太上洞神玄妙白猿真经》，Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0255/000. 原稿被译为“Veritable Scripture of the White Monkey,”并收录于 Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II,* 978.

[37] 一行禅师（公元683-727年）译，《大毗卢遮那成佛经疏》第3章，CBETA 2022.Q1, T39, no. 1796, 614a6-7，访问日期：2022年3月22日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T39n1796_003.

[38] 陈彦青，《观念之色》，页214-215。

Given the religious insights into colours, it is unsurprising that certain colours have been linked to specific religious deities. In her magnus opus, Yü Chün-fang indicates the strong association of white with Guanyin, one of the most popular deities of the Chinese pantheon whose worship has been described as a "domestication" of the Indian Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva in India.[39] In esoteric Buddhist scriptures, such as the T1336 (compiled during the first half of the Liang Dynasty), the creation of images of deities saw one's "use [of] either pure white wool or fine cotton cloth to paint the image of Avalokitesvara who is [usually] [depicted as being] clothed in white and sit[ting] on a lotus flower".[40] Perhaps it was due to scriptures, such as the T1336, which required the "material" components of the image "to be white" as well as the "bodhisattva [⋯] painted as being clothed in white" that provided the basis for Guanyin's transformation in China.[41] That said, the choice of white for these purposes remains unclear.

Indeed, the White Robed Guanyin worship has expanded across China since the 10th century.[42] Hong Mai's (1123—1202 CE) collection of supernatural stories, the *Record of Yijian*, reflects this proliferation. According to Hong, an elderly woman from Huzhou who had experienced perpetual aches in her arm was only healed after restoring an image of Guanyin which bore a "damaged arm". Of significance was the fact that the elderly lady had dreamt of a "lady in white" who not only indicated that she was personally suffering from the same ailment but also promised to cure the elderly lady's arm when hers was healed. It was only upon following the apparition's guidance to Chongning Si that the elderly lady managed to locate and restore Guanyin's said image and secure her arm's eventual recovery.[43] There also existed a tendency in late imperial China to reflect her manifestation as a young widow in white among some vernacular religious texts, such as the *Guanyin Miaoshan Precious Scroll* and the *Watermelon Precious Scroll*. [44] Across these specific instances, the choice of white possibly corresponded to her status as being in mourning.

[39] Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[40] 《陀罗尼杂集》第6章， CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1336, 612b17-18, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1336_006. 英文译文改编自 Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 52.

[41] Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 53.

[42] Aside from Yü, *Kuan-yin*, see the excellent discussion by Lilian Ling-in Chuu, "The Cult of Guanyin who Brings Sons in China" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 2001); 周秋良，"论民间信仰中送子观音与白衣观音之关系，" 中南大学学报 (社会科学版) 20:4 (2014): 215-219; 孟凡云, "辽太宗引进佛教白衣观音像，" 甘肃民族研究 1 (2005): 47-54; and 邢康, "尊白衣观音为家神—谈辽朝初期的宗教信仰，" 内蒙古民族大学学报: 社会科学版 3 (1989): 80-85. For theoretical context, the last reference should be read in conjunction with a more recent study by Cuong T. Mai, "The Guanyin Fertility Cult and Family Religion in Late Imperial China: Repertoires across Domains in the Practice of Popular Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 87: 1 (2019): 156-190.

[43] 洪迈 (1123-1202 CE), "夷坚甲志", scroll 10, section 30, in 夷坚志, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849. Some stories in Hong Mai's *Record of Yijian* were translated into English and included in Cong Ellen Zhang, ed. and trans., *Record of the Listener: Selected Stories from Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018). For a review by Barend ter Haar of the various editions of the *Record of Yijian* and the forty-four texts missing from later editions, see "Newly Recovered Anecdotes from Hong Mai's (1123-1202) 'Yijian Zhi,'" *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 23 (1993): 19–41.

[44] Yü Chün-fang, "Feminine Images of Kuan-Yin in Post-T'ang China," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 18:1 (1990): 71.

观音是在中国最广为崇奉的神明之一。正如于君方（Yü Chün-fang）在她的著作中所指出的，观音信仰被认为是印度观世音菩萨的“中国化”，观音形象常以白衣为特征。[39] 密宗佛教典籍，例如T1336《陀罗尼杂集》（编撰于梁朝前期）中提到，在创作神像时，“应以白净氎若细布，用作观音像，身着白衣坐莲华上”。[40] T1336经文还指出，“不仅要用白色的材料来作像，而且观音的衣服应涂成白色”，这些典籍很可能为观音在中国的转变提供了基础，但我们仍不清楚为什么观音形象崇尚白衣。[41]

自公元10世纪以来，白衣观音信仰在中国逐渐流行起来，直到今天仍然可以在许多寺庙中看到白衣观音。[42] 洪迈（公元1123-1202年）创作的文言志怪集《夷坚志》中有一段记载了这样的形象。湖州某村有一老妇人，手臂经常疼痛却无药可医。某天夜里她梦见一白衣女子，称自己也深受手臂疼痛之苦。白衣女子告诉老妇人：“尔能医我臂，我亦医尔臂”。老妇人醒来后便去了白衣女子所指的崇宁寺，果然在庙中发现一座观音像，“果一臂损”。老妇人请来工匠修缮，随后她的手臂也痊愈了。[43] 在中华帝国晚期，一些本地的宗教文本中，如《观音妙善宝卷》和《西瓜宝卷》，白衣观音也可能以年轻寡妇的形象出现在她的信徒面前。在这些例子中，白色体现了她正在守丧的状态。[44]



◀ The founder and spirit-medium of Leong Nam Temple and Long Nan Szye dressed as Guanyin, undated (possibly late 1970s and 1980s). Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿与龙南寺的创始人和乩童，身着观音，未注明日期（可能是 1970 年代末和 1980 年代）。照片由龙南殿提供。

[39] Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[40] “陀罗尼杂集,” chapter 6，CBETA 2022.Q1, T21, no. 1336, 612b17-18，访问日期：2022年3月22日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1336_006.

[41] Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 53.

[42] 除了Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 247-262, 有关观音信仰的精彩论述请参阅：Lilian Ling-in Chuu, “The Cult of Guanyin who Brings Sons in China” (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 2001); 周秋良<论民间信仰中送子观音与白衣观音之关系>，《中南大学学报（社会科学版）》2014年第4期，页215-219；孟凡云<辽太宗引进佛教白衣观音像>，《甘肃民族研究》2005年第1期，页47-54；邢康<尊白衣观音为家神——谈辽朝初期的宗教信仰>，《内蒙古民族大学学报（社会科学版）》1989年第3期，页80-85。 相关理论背景，对比阅读最后一篇参考文献与一篇更新近的研究：Cuong T. Mai, “The Guanyin Fertility Cult and Family Religion in Late Imperial China: Repertoires across Domains in the Practice of Popular Religion,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 87: 1 (2019): 156-190.

[43] 洪迈（公元1123年-1202年），<夷坚甲志>第10卷第30章，《夷坚志》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=550849. 洪迈的《夷坚志》中部分局势被译为英文并收录于 Cong Ellen Zhang, ed. and trans., *Record of the Listener: Selected Stories from Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018). 田海（Barend ter Haar）对《夷坚志》的多种版本及 后来版本中遗失的四十四篇文章进行了综述，请参阅 “Newly Recovered Anecdotes from Hong Mai's (1123-1202) ‘Yijian Zhi,’” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 23 (1993): 19–41.

[44] Yü Chün-fang, “Feminine Images of Kuan-Yin in Post-T›ang China,” *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 18:1 (1990): 71.

Of intrigue is the intertwined worship of Guanyin in some of the Nine Emperor Gods temples in Singapore, namely Leong Nam Temple, Long Nan Szye and Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang (henceforth, Yu Hai Tang). Specifically, spirit-mediums in the service of Guanyin—following both her female and male incarnations—have played important roles in ritual executions, event organisations and popularisations of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival across these Singapore-based Nine Emperor Gods temples.[45] For instance, Leong Nam Temple's opening announcement in its 1961 notice stated that "Guanyin, the Buddha in White, has received the royal decree of the Jade Emperor of Heaven with the following instructions: From the first to tenth days of the ninth lunar month of 1961, a celebration must be observed to commemorate the Sacred Mother of the Nine Dippers, the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns, and the First and Second Emperor Gods". That Guanyin was prioritised in the statement also reflects the temple's reverence to this deity. Regarding colours, apart from specifying Guanyin's white attire, it is crucial to recognise that the notice was essentially printed on yellow paper.

Further references to white can be found in the Buddhist Canon, especially in relation to the white robes donned by individuals. Interestingly, the T1509 *The Treatise on the Great Prajñāpāramitā*, which was translated by monk Kumārajīva (344—413 CE), contained many references to "white robes" in connection with Indian Buddhist laymen practitioners who had observed six days of *zhai* monthly and maintained the Five Precepts and Eight Precepts respectively.[46] The later T2879 (which can be traced approximately to the second half of the sixth century CE) also referenced the term "white clothes". A key difference, however, is that this term characterised a "particular type of devotee". Specifically, it referred to "lay devotees who did not content themselves with accepting the religious services of the monks, but observed some or all of the ten basic rules for clerics without, however, having being ordained." [47]

Regardless, no clear evidence exists in relation to the influences of these scriptures on the post-fifth-century dress codes of Buddhist institutions in China. Thus, this raises questions about the veracity of implementing these prescriptions in practice. Today, lay followers of Chinese Buddhism usually dress in black *haiqing* robes, as opposed to white. This casts doubt on the likelihood that white clothing was ever adopted to exhibit an affiliation to Buddhism in China, even though this might have been the case across South Asia. To date, "the origin of the term ('white robes')", as Yü Chün-fang points out, "is obscure and cannot be pinpointed to any specific source". Yü, however, suggests that "different individuals might have [had] different understandings (of the label) according to their backgrounds and levels of education".[48]

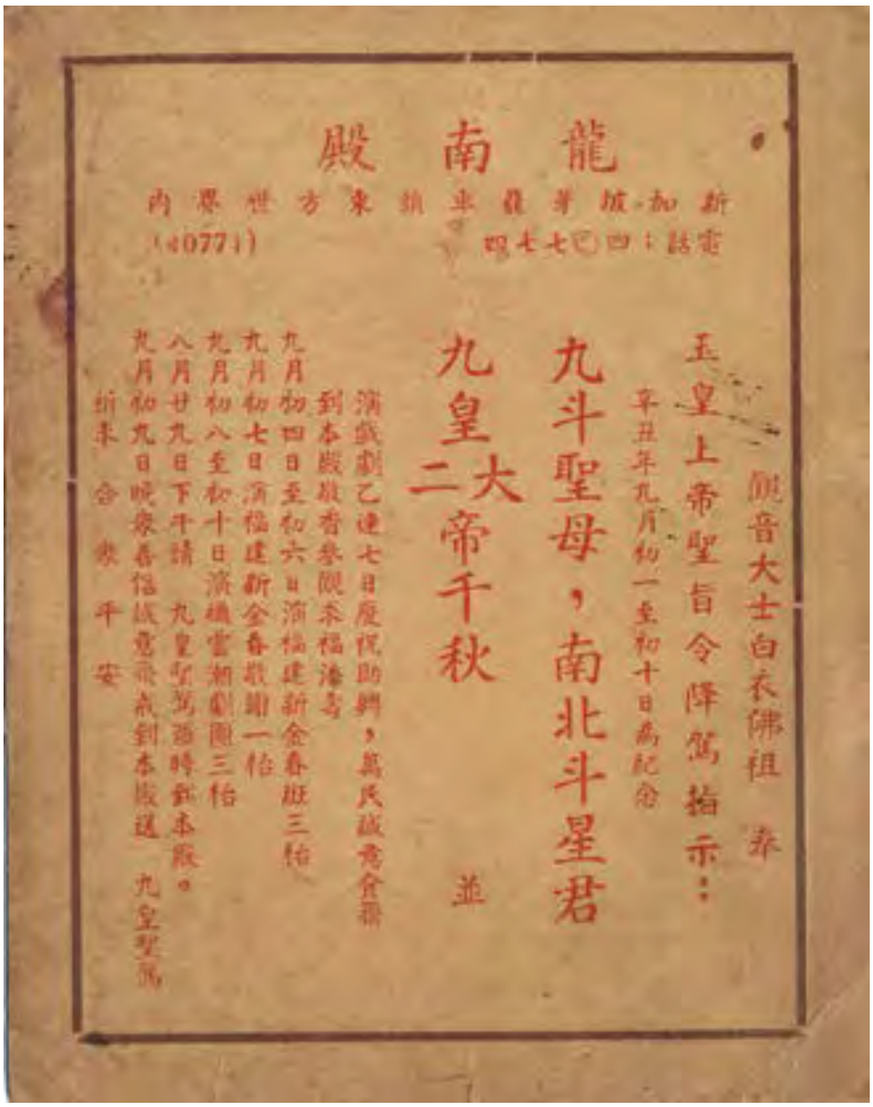
[45] Beyond some speculative remarks that we have collected during fieldwork, I have not been able to identify a substantiative and historical relationship between the worship of Guanyin and the Nine Emperor Gods. Some of our informants have suggested that the White-Robed Guanyin and the Nine Emperor Gods shared a common colour scheme of white. Still, this connection seems to only have roots in contemporary Singapore (see below). The same goes for the assumption of vegetarian diets, which is a mainstay of many other Chinese religious traditions and is far from a feature unique to these two followings, as discussed in a separate chapter. Though Annette Hamilton discussed these deities together in an unpublished paper, the variable evaluated was the performance of ethnic identities in Thailand, rather than these deities' belief systems. Annette Hamilton, "Kwan Im, Nine Emperor Gods and Chinese 'spirit' in Southern Thailand" (paper presented at 7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam, July 1999).

[46] These references are made consistently throughout this lengthy text. 鸠摩罗什 (344-413 CE), trans., "大智度论," CBETA 2022.Q1, T25, no. 1509, accessed March 20, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1509.

[47] "普贤菩萨说证明经," CBETA 2022.Q1, T85, no. 2879, 1363b19 and 1367a1-2, accessed March 20, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2879. The quotation and summary are adapted from Hubert Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 153.

[48] Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 170.

有趣的是，新加坡一些九皇庙与观音信仰有密切关系。在龙南殿、龙南寺和玉皇殿玉海棠观音堂九皇菩萨（下文简称"玉海棠"），（包括女性形象和男性形象的）观音乩童在举行仪式、组织活动和推广九皇千秋中发挥了重要作用。[45] 例如，1961年，龙南殿发布公告称："观音大士白衣佛祖奉玉皇上帝圣旨令降驾指示：辛丑年九月初一至十日为纪念九斗圣母，南北斗星君九皇大二帝千秋。"这则公告体现了两种通常与东南亚的九皇千秋有关的颜色，即印着告示的黄纸，以及作为观音形象特征的白衣。


龍南殿

新加坡芽籠半峇南路東方世界內

電話：四七七四

（4077）

觀音大士白衣佛祖 奉

玉皇上帝聖旨令降駕指示：

辛丑年九月初一至初十日為紀念

九斗聖母，南北斗星君

九皇大二帝千秋

並

演戲劇乙連七日屆慨助興，萬民誠意食齋

到本殿敬香參觀求福添壽

九月初四日至初六日演福建新金春班三佰

九月初七日演福建新金春班壹佰

九月初八至初十日演潮當潮劇團三佰

八月廿九日下午請 九皇駕駕臨時到本殿。

九月初九日晚參香福紙意飛載到本殿送 九皇聖駕

前來 合家平安

◀ Leong Nam Temple's first published announcement regarding the 1961 commencement of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1961 年，龙南殿发布的第一个公告，宣布九皇大二帝千秋的开始。照片由龙南殿提供。

除了白衣观音，佛教经典《大藏经》中也提到了穿着白衣的人。在高僧鸠摩罗什（公元344-413年）所译的巨著《大智度论》中，当谈到印度信奉佛教的普通佛教徒时，经文多处提及"白衣"。每个月除了持六斋外，他们还需遵守五戒和八戒。[46] 较晚的T2879《普贤菩萨说证明经》（中国人假托佛说所撰经典，成书于约公元6世纪下半叶）同样提到"白衣"。但在《普贤菩萨说证明经》中，"白衣"指的是一种"特殊类型的信徒，不同于僧侣和普通佛教徒"。他们并未"不能接受出家人非常严格的戒律清规，但在没有受戒的情况下，遵守了僧侣十戒的全部或部分内容"。[47]

然而，并没有明确的证据表明这些经文影响了公元五世纪后中国佛教组织的着装规范，这就引发了关于这些经文是否在实践中被执行的疑问。如今，许多皈依佛教的华人信徒经常穿着黑色海青，而非白色海青。在南亚，白衣可能曾被用以标识皈依佛教，但在中国，情况是否如此仍然存疑。直到今天，正如于君方所言，"这个词("白衣")的起源是模糊的，尚不能确定任何具体的来源"。但她指出"不同的人根据不同的背景和教育水平，可能（对这个标签）有不同的理解。"[48]

[45] 除了我们在实地调查中收集到的一些推测性言论外，我们无法确定观音信仰与九皇信仰之间是否存在实质性的历史关系。一些信息提供者认为，白衣观音和九皇大帝共享白色的颜色搭配，但这种联系似乎只见于当代新加坡（见下文）。持素也是如此。吃素是许多华人宗教传统的重要组成部分，并非这两种信仰独有的特征，有关持素将在本卷另一章进行讨论。Annette Hamilton在一篇未发表的论文中讨论了观音、九皇大帝及其他华人神明，但她研究的是泰国种族认同的表现，而不是这些神明的信仰体系。请参阅Annette Hamilton, "Kwan Im, Nine Emperor Gods and Chinese 'spirit' in Southern Thailand" (paper presented at 7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam, July 1999).

[46]《大智度论》中"白衣"被多次提及，贯穿全书。鸠摩罗什Kumārajīva（公元344-413年）译，T1509《大智度论》， CBETA 2022.Q1, T25, no. 1509，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1509.

[47] T2879《普贤菩萨说证明经》，CBETA 2022.Q1, T85, no. 2879, 1363b19 and 1367a1-2, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2879. 引文和摘要改编自Hubert Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 153.

[48] Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 170.

While the mentioned Buddhist texts provided insights into the religious bases for the white attire, perspectives on donning white garments in China have instead been drawn from other sources. Specifically, accounts of white-cladded devotees in traditional China stemmed from descriptions by semi-autonomous religious associations or sectarian religions that were not officially associated with the Three Teachings—Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism—China.[49] Broadly (and largely inaccurately) characterised as "White Lotus Religions" since late imperial China, these groups maintained their independent identities and traditions despite drawing heavily from the symbols, ideologies, ethics, pantheons and rituals of the Three Teachings and Chinese society.[50] Though mostly engaged in peaceful activities that benefitted their communities, some groups, inspired by Maitreyan or Manichean ideals, were also behind some rebellions throughout Chinese history.[51] To Fang Qingying, these groups deemed the "White Lotus Religions" can be traced either to Manicheanism or an offshoot of the Buddhist "White Lotus Association" from the Eastern Jin dynasty.[52] Elaborating on his hypothesis, Fang explained that "there were many people who worshipped Maitreya in the Tang. Since Maitreya Buddha's colour of reverence was white, many devotees would be dressed in plain-coloured hats and raw silk garments". Their Manichean contemporaries, likewise, "dressed in white clothes and white hats", implying the possibility of links between the two since the Tang dynasty.[53]

The white dress code historically associated with practitioners of Manicheanism in China deserves a short parenthesis in this chapter. Manicheanism is a religious tradition that originated in Parthia (present-day Iran) during the third century CE and later spread into East Asia. Of the white attire, archaeological evidence and extant textual sources which describe Manichean activities in Central Asia and China since the Tang indicate its adherents' penchant for white clothing. For example, surviving artworks of Manichean priests along the Silk Road in Turfan, Xinjiang, depict the said priests in white robes.[54] During the Southern Song, the official Li Qian (c. 1163 CE) not only observed that Manicheans in China "wore white dress[es] when attending meetings" but also argued that their proliferation constituted a threat to China's political stability.[55] A similarly worded objection which was lodged by Lu You (1125—1210 CE) to the emperor regarding the potentially subversive nature of Manicheanism in 1166 also described Manicheanism's adherents as being dressed in "white garments and black caps".[56]

[49] The diversity of these groups and their fissiparous nature, while not the main bone of contention, must be established to do justice to the practices, beliefs, and motivations of these varied movements. Some of them revolved around spirit-mediums or a singular charismatic character, whereas others were huge institutions with leadership, resources and devotees spread across the whole of China. Aside from Seiwert's lengthy monograph, see Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976). On the historiographical significance (or lack thereof) of the term 'Three Teachings' in China, see Timothy Brook, "Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three Teachings and their Joint Worship in Late-imperial China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21:1 (1993): 13-44; and Joachim Gentz, "Rational Choice and the Chinese Discourse on the Unity of the Three Religions (sanjiao heyi)," *Religion* 41:4 (2011): 535-546.

[50] The historical emergence of the term "White Lotus Religions" as a collective term for these diverse movements and organisations from without by officials in late imperial China is best explained by Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992). His observations were later expanded and developed upon by Wu Junqing, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of "Heresy" in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017). Confer the approaches of these two scholars with 喻松青, 明清白莲教研究 (成都: 四川人民出版社, 1987), among others.

[51] On the eschatology of these movements and their possible sources of ideological inspiration, see Ma Xisha, "The Syncretism Of Maitreyan Belief And Manichaeism In Chinese History," in *Popular Religion and Shamanism*, ed. Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng, trans. Zhen Chi and Thomas DuBois (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 19-53; and Erik Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight'. Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism." *T'oung Pao* 68:1/3 (1982): 1-75. On their involvement in armed conflict and military campaigns, see Wu Junqing, "The Fang La Rebellion and the Song Anti-Heresy Discourse," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 45:1 (2017): 19-37; Cecily McCaffrey, "Rebellion and Religious Identity: The Case of the White Lotus Uprising (1796–1804)," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:1 (2020): 59-85, as well as monograph length treatments of these issues by Susan Naquin, *Shantung Rebellion: The Wang Lun Uprising of 1774* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981); and *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). Also see Dai Yingcong, *The White Lotus War: Rebellion and Suppression in Late Imperial China* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2019); and Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[52] The lotus, as many researchers have pointed out, is often seen as a symbol of purity in many religious traditions and cultures, including ancient Egyptian religions and Buddhism. For the lotus motif in Chinese Buddhism, see Fung Kei Cheng, "The Lotus: Symbolic Representation of a Bodhisattva Illustrated in the Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra," *Asia Pacific Journal of Religions and Cultures* 2:1 (2019): 1-16, and a materialist analysis of the evolution of the lotus as a religious motif in贾一心, "莲花的原型批评," 青海民族学院学报 1 (1996): 92-94. For a broader history of the motif's evolution, see William E. Ward, "The Lotus Symbol: Its Meaning in Buddhist Art and Philosophy," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 11:2 (1952): 135-146. The lotus blossom's religious significance subsequently informed devotional art and discourses related to Pure Land Buddhism .The White Lotus Society, a Pure Land Buddhist movement founded by the monk Huiyuan in 402 CE in Donglin Temple on Lushan, Jiangxi, is rooted in both the lotus motif and the colour white. Huiyuan not only drew upon familiar impressions of Amitabha's paradise in the Pure Land, but also the scenery surrounding Donglin Temple: "Many white lotuses are planted in the courtyard, and the kingdom of Amitabha is divided into nine grades of lotus flowers, so it is known as the Lotus Society," as noted in 释道诚 (fl. Northern Song Dynasty,), "释氏要览," CBETA 2022.Q1, T54, no. 2127, 263a8-25, accessed March 20, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T54n2127_001. To be sure, the account provided by Shi Daocheng is suspect for in addition to the poetic invocation of white lotus blossoms, there was a gap of over half a millennium separating this text's compilation and Huiyuan's initiative in the fourth century CE. On Huiyuan's role in the development of Pure Land Buddhism in China, see Clarence Burton Day, "The Cult of Amitabha" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1923), 24-26; and Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism*, 148-168. See subsequent works by Barend J. ter Haar, which problematised the catch-all label "White Lotus" in late-imperial Chinese sources and present-day historiography.

[53] 方庆瑛, "白莲教的源流及其和摩尼教的关系," 历史教学问题 5 (1959): 34. Unfortunately, Fang did not cite his sources for these observations. Also consider the historiographical concern related to his use of the label "White Lotus Religion" as discussed in an earlier note. Like many of the earlier Chinese researchers, Fang treated these movements as homogenous. Such treatments contrast recent studies which question the worth of the label. For a recent take on the said-label and a deeper treatment of Fang's original hypotheses, see Barend J. ter Haar, "The White Lotus Movement and the Use of Chan," *Journal of Chan Buddhism* 1:1-2 (2020): 17-54.

[54] Tang Li, "A History of Uighur Religious Conversions (5th - 16th Centuries)," *Asia Research Institute Working Paper* 44 (2005): 16, 21, 39. Also see Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden, Boston and Koln: Brill, 1998), 2-6; and Chao Huashan, "New Evidence of Manichaeism in Asia: A Description of some Recently Discovered Manichaean Temples in Turfan," *Monumenta Serica* 44:1 (1996): 267-315.

[55] Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* 154.

[56] Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, 155.

虽然佛教经文中可能提到穿白衣，但关于在中国穿白衣的实际情况，我们所掌握的大多数资料来源于其他地方。在传统中国，有关信徒穿白衣的记录要么出于半自治的宗教组织，要么出于与儒释道三教并无正式联系的民间教门。[49] 尽管这些宗教团体在符号象征、意识形态、教义伦理、神明体系和仪式实践方面大量借鉴三教，并且自中华帝国晚期以来，这些教派被（在很大程度上并不准确地）统称为“白莲教”，但它们各自保持着独立的认同和传统。[50] 尽管在中国历史上，这些团体中的大多数参与了造福社区的和平活动，但有些人可能借弥勒教或摩尼教，发动了一次又一次的武装暴乱。[51] 在一项早期的研究中，方庆瑛指出有两种说法，一种说法认为“白莲教” 起源于摩尼教，另一种说法认为白莲教来源于东晋时期佛教的“白莲社”。[52] 为证明其观点，方庆瑛解释道：“唐时崇拜弥勒佛的人很多，弥勒佛色尚白，信仰弥勒佛的人，多素冠练衣。”同时期的摩尼教徒同样“白衣白冠”，这表明了自唐代以来，两者之间可能互相杂糅。[53]

摩尼教于公元3世纪起源于安息（今伊朗），后传入东亚。历史上中国摩尼教信徒的白衣形象值得在本章中稍作探讨。考古学证据和现存文献资料表明，自唐朝以来，中亚和中国的摩尼教信徒尚白色衣服。例如，在新疆省吐鲁番市丝绸之路沿线留存下来的文物上，摩尼教祭司的形象大多身穿白袍。[54] 南宋年间，官员李谦观察到中国的摩尼教信徒“在参加集会时穿着白色衣服”，他认为摩尼教的扩散会对中国的政治稳定构成威胁。[55] 陆游（公元1125-1210年）对此也有类似看法。1166年，陆游就摩尼教潜在的颠覆性向皇帝提出了反对意见，并将其信徒描述为穿着“白衣黑冠”。[56]

[49] 要准确地描述这些具有分离倾向的组织并非易事，关键是要公正地评价这些组织的实践、信仰和动机。一些组织主要以乩童或某一具有超凡魅力的领袖为中心，另一些组织则规模庞大，其领导权、资源和信徒遍布整个中国。现存资料往往没有区分两者的不同，汉代之后，这些组织和宗教运动的象征符号、意识形态和实践特征往往相互重合，这进一步加剧了这一问题。关于“民间教门”的标签，请参阅 “Syncretic Sects and Redemptive Societies: Toward a New Understanding of ‘Sectarianism’ in the Study of Chinese Religions,” *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 2:2 (2015): 145–185. 除了本章所引Hubert Seiwert, Barend ter Haar, Susan Naquin及Wu Junqing的著作外， 请参阅Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976). 关于“三教”一词在中国的史学意义（或缺乏史学意义）， 请参阅Timothy Brook, “Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three Teachings and their Joint Worship in Late-imperial China,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21:1 (1993): 13-44; and Joachim Gentz, “Rational Choice and the Chinese Discourse on the Unity of the Three Religions (sanjiao heyi 三教合一),” *Religion* 41:4 (2011): 535-546.

[50] 在中华帝国晚期出现了“白莲教”一词，官员以此统称不同的宗教运动和组织，田海（Barend J. ter Haar）对这一问题进行了精彩的研究，请参阅Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992). 可对比参阅：喻松青，《明清白莲教研究》（成都：四川人民出版社，1987）。

[51] 关于这些宗教运动的意识形态和末世论的灵感来源，请参阅Erik Zürcher, “‘Prince Moonlight’. Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism.” *T’oung Pao* 68:1/3 (1982): 1-75; and Ma Xisha, “The Syncretism Of Maitreyan Belief And Manichaeism In Chinese History,” in *Popular Religion and Shamanism*, ed. Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng, trans. Zhen Chi and Thomas DuBois (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 19-53. 关于这些宗教组织参与武装冲突和军事行动的研究，请参阅Wu Junqing, “The Fang La Rebellion and the Song Anti-Heresy Discourse,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 45:1 (2017): 19-37; Cecily McCaffrey, “Rebellion and Religious Identity: The Case of the White Lotus Uprising (1796–1804),” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:1 (2020): 59-85, as well as monograph length treatments of these issues by Susan Naquin, *Shantung Rebellion: The Wang Lun Uprising of 1774* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981); and *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). 也可参阅Dai Yingcong, *The White Lotus War: Rebellion and Suppression in Late Imperial China* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2019); and Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[52] 正如许多研究者所指出的，莲花在许多宗教传统和文化中通常被视为纯洁的象征，包括古埃及的宗教和佛教。关于中国佛教中的莲花图案，请参阅Fung Kei Cheng, “The Lotus: Symbolic Representation of a Bodhisattva Illustrated in the Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Religions and Cultures* 2:1 (2019): 1-16, 从唯物主义的角度对作为宗教图案的莲花的发展进行分析，请参阅：贾一心<莲花的原型批评>，《青海民族学院学报》1996年第1期，页92-94。 关于莲花形象的发展史，请参阅William E. Ward, “The Lotus Symbol: Its Meaning in Buddhist Art and Philosophy,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 11:2 (1952): 135-146. 荷花的宗教意义后来又影响了净土宗的佛教艺术和教义。白莲社渊源于佛教的净土宗。公元402年，慧远在江西省九江市庐山东林寺创立白莲社，慧远借鉴了净土宗阿弥陀佛天堂的印象，以及东林寺周围的风景：“彼院多植白莲，又弥陀国以莲华分九品次第接之，故称莲社。”白莲社因此得名。见释道诚（南宋年间，公元960-1127年），《释氏要览》，CBETA 2022. Q1, T54, no. 2127, 263a8-25, 访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T54n2127_001. 但释道诚对白莲社社名做出的诗意诠释，记载于慧远创立白莲社接近五百年后。关于慧远在中国净土宗发展中的作用，请参阅Clarence Burton Day, “The Cult of Amitabha” (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1923), 24-26; and Charles B. Jones, *Chinese Pure Land Buddhism: Understanding a Tradition of Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019), 148-168.

[53] 方庆瑛<白莲教的源流及其和摩尼教的关系>，《历史教学问题》1959年第5期，页34。遗憾的是，方庆瑛并未提及参考文献的出处。有关他使用“白莲教”这一标签的史学辩论，见前文所述。对于方庆瑛所谈两种说法的深入分析，请参阅 ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*.

[54] Tang Li, “A History of Uighur Religious Conversions (5th - 16th Centuries),” *Asia Research Institute Working Paper* 44 (2005): 16, 21, 39. 相关研究请参阅Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden, Boston and Koln: Brill, 1998), 2-6; and Chao Huashan, “New Evidence of Manichaeism in Asia: A Description of some Recently Discovered Manichaean Temples in Turfan,” *Monumenta Serica* 44:1 (1996): 267-315.

[55] Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* 154.

[56] Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, 155.

Despite Manicheanism's long history in China, the religion has disappeared. According to Ma Xisha, elements of Manicheanism were absorbed into Maitreyan movements by the Yuan dynasty, where they were known as "incense gatherings" before they were characterised as "White Lotus Religions".[57] What little information available on the significance of white in relation to Manicheanism comes from He Qiaoyuan's (1558—1632 CE) description of a Manichean temple located on Huabiao Mountain, in Quanzhou, Fujian: "His [Mani's (c. 216—277 CE)] religion is known as radiance. He favoured white clothing. He worshipped the sun during the day and prayed to the moon at night".[58] Presumably, from this laconic account, coupled with insights that Manicheanism was later designated as the "Religion of Radiance", white clothing likely symbolised celestial bodies capable of emitting light.[59] It is plausible that dressing in white garments was a means to represent Manicheanism's ethical ideal of shunning evil and embracing good in a dualistic cosmology.

As might be expected, the aroused suspicions towards these autonomous religious groups meant that the greatest scrutiny was derived from related official sources. The protests by Li Qian and Lu You against Manicheanism were, in fact, characteristic of the behaviour of officials in imperial China. [60] Hubert Seiwert, who performed much research on the activities of these religious organisations, explains that donning "white clothes—the colour of mourning—w[as] obviously an unusual habit, for otherwise historiographers would not have noticed it". [61] Shaanxi in 524 CE witnessed the staging of a rebellion by a group that "falsely declar[ed] themselves as emperors" and "w[ore] plain-coloured clothes, and bore white parasols and white pennants".[62] Additionally, "the first day of the ninth lunar month" of the second year of emperor Gaozong's reign (681 CE) saw "a woman from Wannian county dressed in white, r[iding] a white horse with eighty to ninety male followers, storm[ing] into the astronomical bureau [to] enquire about disastrous omens".[63]

By 715 CE, restrictions and even bans existed during the Tang dynasty in response to the emergence of autonomous religious groups and movements. For instance, there was a single-line prohibition against the organisation of "White Robe and Long Hair Societies". [64] According to the second proscription, membership of these organisations comprised laymen rather than Buddhist monks who have taken ritual tonsure.[65] Ironically, political leaders also attempted to legitimise their rule by wearing white to capitalise on the rumours. For example, there were increased circulations that the Emperors of the Sui dynasty, which preceded the Tang dynasty, were "always dressed in white clothes", given their beliefs that the "Son of Heaven was clad in white". [66]

Only as time progressed did these autonomous religious groups' associations with white clothing extend to the label used to delineate the said groups. Consequently, a variety of references existed in accordance with these associations: "Those/A Person of the Way in White Clothes" [in Poyang, Jiangxi (before the 13th century CE) and Zhangzhou, Fujian (1202 CE)], "Good Friends in White Clothes" [Zhenjiang, Jiangsu (c. 1330 CE)], and "Ritual Field of the Societies and Gatherings of [Those in] White Clothes" [Hangzhou, Zhejiang (1235 CE)].[67]

[57] Ma, "The Syncretism Of Maitreyan Belief And Manichaeism In Chinese History," 36-49. In pages 34 and 35 of the same chapter, Ma draws attention to the white clothing of the various Maitreyan groups that fomented one uprising or another during Sui and Tang China—to be discussed subsequently. To Ma, these were similar to the Manicheans' dress code; this leads to his argument that this amounted to syncretism between the two. While the secondary sources that Ma cited "equated Maitreya with (the Prophet) Mani (c. 216—277 CE)," I am not entirely convinced by his argument, for there is neither an indisputable nor a direct causation between the Manichean penchant for white and the adoption of the same colour scheme by the Maitreyan movements. Ma's methodology is also somewhat suspect, given that he had cited many official sources—most of which were polemical tracts and stereotypical descriptions by officials who had sought to demonise these religious movements. Confer with the approaches in works authored by Susan Naquin, Hubert Seiwert, and Wu Junqing—all of which are referenced throughout this chapter. Specifically, compare with ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 48-55; and Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*, 75-85.

[58] 何乔远 (1558-1632 CE), 闽书, in Paul Pelliot, "Les Traditions Manichéennes Au Fou-Kien," *T'oung Pao* 22:3 (1923): 196. An English translation of this text can be found in Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, 194.

[59] On this label, see Lin Wushu, who examined how Manicheanism and its various splinter groups adapted to Chinese society after being outlawed in 841 CE in "A Study on Equivalent Names of Manicheanism in Chinese," in *Popular Religion and Shamanism*, ed. Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng, trans. Zhen Chi and Thomas DuBois (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 55-122, particularly pages 73-86.

[60] See, for example, the telling title of Wu Junqing's monograph, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of "Heresy" in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017).

[61] Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 153.

[62] 魏收 (506-572 CE), "列传第五十七," section 29, in魏书, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=408242.

[63] 刘昫 (888-947 CE), 旧唐书, chapter 36, section 18, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=747923. Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 152, assumed that "素" was synonymous with white. However, this begs the question as to why "白" was used to designate the parasols and pennants in the same sentence. This will be problematised in the penultimate section of this chapter. The white lady's location of choice likely doubled as a political statement. Emperors, as the sovereigns of this-world, were responsible for maintaining cosmic harmony by aligning their governance with the constellations and weather. Her intrusion into the academy of astronomy was an affront (and a usurpation) of Gaozong's knowledge of the heavens, and by extension, his right to rule. Among others, see Nathan Sivin, *Granting the Seasons: The Chinese Astronomical Reform of 1280, With a Study of its Many Dimensions and a Translation of its Records* (New York: Springer, 2009), 36-38; and Christopher Cullen, "Motivations for Scientific Change in Ancient China: Emperor Wu and the Grand Inception Astronomical Reforms of 104 BC," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 24:3 (1993): 185-203. While these beliefs hold true, in practice, they may be negotiated by different actors, as noted in a similar case study authored by Mark Elvin, "Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China," *Osiris* 13 (1998): 213-237.

[64] 欧阳修 (1007-1072 CE), "本纪第五睿宗玄宗," section 13, in新唐书, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=566908. Also see 宋敏求 (1019-1079 CE), 唐大诏令集, chapter 13, section 40, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=931233.

[65] Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 151.

[66] 温大雅 (572—629 CE), 大唐创业起居注, chapter 1, section 10, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 20, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=420748. The best treatment of this subject, performed in great detail, has been by杨继承, "服制、符命与星占：中古"白衣"名号在研究," 魏晋南北朝隋唐史资料 36 (2017): 128-162. The political role that these sectarian movements adopted were not only ideological in nature. Zhu Yuanzhang (1328—1398 CE), the founder of the Ming dynasty (1368—1644 CE), also drew upon the broad basis of support associated with one such movement to claim the dragon throne for his own. See Barend ter Haar, "Rumours and Prophecies: The Religious Background of the late Yuan Rebellions," *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:4 (2018): 382-418; and an earlier piece by 释圣博, "明太祖与明教及白莲教之关系," 内明 163 (1985): 13-20.

[67] Ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 305-306.

尽管摩尼教在中国有悠久的历史，但时至今日，摩尼教几乎已经销声匿迹。根据马西沙的研究，摩尼教的元素被吸收到元朝末年弥勒降世思想引发的起义中，在这些信仰被称为“白莲教”之前，它们被称作“香会”。[57] 有关摩尼教中白色的重要性，我们可从何乔远（公元1558-1632年）关于位于福建省泉州市华表山的一座摩尼教庙宇的记载中略知一二：“其教曰明。衣尚白。朝拜日，夕拜月。”[58] 根据何乔远的简短描述，以及摩尼教后来被称为“明教”，由此可以推测出，白衣可能象征发光的天体。[59] 穿白色衣服可能也体现了摩尼教的教义，即二元宇宙论中，信徒必须远离黑暗与邪恶，拥抱光明与善行。

毋庸置疑，官方对这些民间教派持怀疑态度，并对这些宗教团体的活动和着装规范进行严格审查。前文提及李谦和陆游对摩尼教的反对并非个例，实际上，这是中华帝国官员的普遍观点。[60] 苏为德（Hubert Seiwert）对民间教派的活动进行了大量的研究，他表示：“白衣（即丧服的颜色）显然是一种不同寻常的习惯，否则历史学者不会对此如此关注。”[61] 公元524年，陕西有人起义，“假称帝号，服素衣，持白伞白幡”。[62] 在唐高宗在位时期，“永隆二年（公元681年）九月一日，万年县女子刘凝静乘白马，着白衣，男子从者八九十人，入太史局，升令厅床坐，勘问比有何灾异。”[63]

在公元715年，有一项只有单行的禁令：“禁白衣长发会”。这或许体现了唐朝时期出现了许多类似的运动。[64] 另一项禁令暗示这些组织的成员只是普通信徒，并非参加过剃度受戒仪式的僧侣。[65] 具有讽刺意味的是，统治者也试图通过穿白衣并利用各种谣言，以合法化自己的统治。例如，隋朝皇帝为符合“白衣天子”的形象，“故隋主恒服白衣”。[66]

在宋元年间，由于这些宗教团体与白色衣服的密切联系，“白衣”常被用作指示这些宗教组织的标签。这种联系体现在很多宗教组织的名号上，如：“白衣道者”[见于江西省鄱阳县（公元13世纪以前）与福建省漳州市（公元1202年）]，“白衣善友”[见于江苏省镇江市（公元1330年左右）]，及“白衣社会道场”[浙江省杭州市（公元1235年）]。[67]

[57] Ma, “The Syncretism Of Maitreyan Belief And Manichaeism In Chinese History,” 36-49. 同章页34-35，马西沙指出，隋唐时期挑起多次起义或暴动的弥勒信徒尚白衣（将在下文讨论），这与摩尼教的着装规范相似。马西沙认为这体现了摩尼教与弥勒信仰的融合。尽管马西沙引用的二手材料“认为弥勒佛是（先知）摩尼（约公元216-277年）”，笔者不以为然，因为摩尼教尚白与弥勒信仰尚白之间并无必然或直接的因果关系。马西沙的研究方法也有待商榷，因为他大量引用官方资料，其中大部分是试图妖魔化这些民间宗教运动的官员所写的论证文章和刻板描述。请参阅本章所引的Susan Naquin, Hubert Seiwert及Wu Junqing的著作的研究方法，尤其请对比田海的研究，请参阅ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 48-55; and Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*, 75-85.

[58] 何乔远（公元1558-1632年），《闽书》，见Paul Pelliot, “Les Traditions Manichéennes Au Fou-Kien,” *T'oung Pao* 22:3 (1923): 196.引文的英文翻译见Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, 194.

[59] 林悟殊研究了摩尼教及其分支在公元841年被取缔后，如何杂糅于其他宗教，继续在中国社会流传。有关摩尼教的不同别称，参见林悟殊Lin Wushu, “A Study on Equivalent Names of Manicheanism in Chinese,” in *Popular Religion and Shamanism*, ed. Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng, trans. Zhen Chi and Thomas DuBois (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 55-122, 尤其是页73-86。

[60] See, for example, the telling title of Wu Junqing's monograph, *Mandarins and Heretics: The Construction of "Heresy" in Chinese State Discourse* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017).

[61] Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 153.

[62] 魏收（公元506-572年），<列传第五十七>第28节，《魏书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=408242.

[63] 刘昫（公元888-947年），《旧唐书》卷36第18节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=747923. 苏为得（Seiwert）在 *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* 一文中，认为“素”是白色的同义词（页152），但这种观点也有一个问题，即为何同句中提到“白伞白幡”时用“白”。本章倒数第二节将会对此进行讨论。白衣女子选择的地点很可能具有政治意味。作为人间统治者的天子，有责任勤政修德，行使天命，以维持宇宙和谐。白衣女子闯入太史局，是对高宗受天命的冒犯（和僭越），进而是反对高宗统治的正当性。请参阅Nathan Sivin, *Granting the Seasons: The Chinese Astronomical Reform of 1280, With a Study of its Many Dimensions and a Translation of its Records* (New York: Springer, 2009), 36-38; Christopher Cullen, “Motivations for Scientific Change in Ancient China: Emperor Wu and the Grand Inception Astronomical Reforms of 104 BC,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 24:3 (1993): 185-203. 虽然关于天子的责任的观点仍然适用，但在实践中，这些责任可能由不同的主题协调，正如Mark Elvin的案例研究所指出的。请参阅Mark Elvin, “Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China,” *Osiris* 13 (1998): 213-237.

[64] 欧阳修（公元1007-1072年），<本纪第五睿宗玄宗>第13节，《新唐书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=566908. 也可参见宋敏求（公元1019-1079年），《唐大诏令集》第13章第40节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=931233.

[65] Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 151.

[66] 温大雅（公元572-629年），<大唐创业起居注>第1卷第10节，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月20日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=420748. 有关这一主题最详细精彩的讨论请参阅：杨继承<服制，符命与星占：中古“白衣”名号在研究>，《魏晋南北朝隋唐史资料》2017年第36期，页128-162。这些民间教门运动的政治作用不仅仅停留在意识形态层面。明朝开国皇帝朱元璋（公元1328-1398年）同样利用了与宗教运动的广泛群众基础，从而登上天子宝座。请参阅Barend ter Haar, “Rumours and Prophecies: The Religious Background of the late Yuan Rebellions,” *Studies in Chinese Religions* 4:4 (2018): 382-418；及更早期的一篇文章，释圣博，<明太祖与明教及白莲教之关系>，《内明》1985年第163期，页13-20。

[67] Ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 305-306.

Still, preserving the mentioned prefix accorded to these organisations suggests their members' sustained adherence to the titular dress code. On the other hand, Barend ter Haar rightfully cautions that the label "White Clothes" had "lost its original meaning" by the 13th century CE. As a result, the text recordings of the said label did not necessarily reflect the attire of these religious groupings from that period of time. Hong Mai, for example, reports that "youngsters in Poyang, [who bore] some religious discernments, liked to gather to hold penance rituals, and carried the tasks of monks…[whilst] often wear[ing] black clothes, […] [were] labelled as the White Clothes Gathering". [68] In short, while these religious associations went by the appellation "White Clothes", they were not necessarily dressed in white as noted in the said case of the "White Clothes Gathering" in Poyang.

That said, certain sectarian movements continued harnessing white attire as a form of religious devotion into the Qing dynasty. Across northern China in Shandong, Zhili and most notably Tianjin, the sectarian religion, the Zaili Teachings, was also termed "Way of the White Robes", for most or all members wear cladded in white from head to toe. Presenting four different reasons for the said attire, Li Shiyu states the following: 1) white represents the "light of Buddha", 2) the Zaili Teachings' eschatology espouses white as synonymous with the "third stage of the White Sun", 3) the correlation of white to Guanyin (as noted in the previous paragraphs) given the popularity of the worship of Guanyin in the Zaili Teachings as Thomas DuBois demonstrates, and 5) the continued attribution of white as the "colour of national mourning for the Ming dynasty" by the Zaili Teachings' founder, Yang Lairu (17th century CE), who held Ming loyalist sentiments.[69] DuBois's fieldwork surfaced collections of oral testimonies maintaining that the Zaili Teachings was "founded primarily as an underground movement in support of the [then] recently deposed Ming dynasty".[70] This collective hypothesis was further backed by the observations that anti-Manchu slogans were woven into the institution's incantations. Such accounts of the significance of white as a colour of mourning for the conquered Ming dynasty find many interesting parallels with the donning of white by devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia—which will be expounded on in the following paragraphs.[71]

Despite the importance of white clothes as an expression of one's religiosity in Chinese history, no specific references exist to what inspired the practice or underlying meanings. Albeit some perceptions of white clothing as signs of purity in recent years, these associations were never explicitly expressed in the history of the Chinese religion. To be sure, there are many references to the cosmological and correlational significances of white.[72] However, to our knowledge, the colour's relationship to purity (or semantic semblances) was never proposed in pre-19th century China. Hence, we must be careful about assuming a natural or generic connection between white and purity over other meanings of white across the past and present-day Chinese religion and society.

[68] The quotation and English translation of these passages has been drawn from ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 42-43. This section of the *Record of Yijian* has yet to be digitized in the Chinese Text Project. As such, I have referenced an Open Access (OA) copy digitised by the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Tünden) in its place. See 洪迈 (1123-1202 CE), "蒋二白衣社," in 夷坚志 (republished 1778), volume 2, Google Books, unpaginated.

[69] For context, see Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 327-328;李世瑜, "天津在理教调查研究," 民间宗教 2 (1996): 169-210.

[70] Thomas David Dubois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2005), 109.

[71] To be sure, the Zaili Teachings remain geographically confined to northern China. No evidence as to whether they worshipped the Nine Emperor Gods exists to my knowledge.

[72] For example, see the misleading reference by 周俊豪, "纯洁无暇的 '白'," 中国制衣 3 (2015): 18-19, where the author referenced "Buddhist scriptures 佛教经典" that associated the colour with Emptiness 空, rather than purity as implied in its title.

一方面，这些组织名称中的“白衣”表明了其追随者遵循的着装规范。另一方面，田海（Barend ter Haar）指出，到了公元13世纪，“白衣”的标签已经失去其最初的含义，并不如实反映这些宗教团体的着装规范。例如，洪迈载道：“鄱阳少年稍有慧性者，好相结诵经持忏，作僧家事业……多着皂衫，乃名为白衣会。”[68] 简而言之，这些宗教团体名称中虽有“白衣”，但他们并不一定穿着白衣。鄱阳“白衣会”便是一例：虽然其成员像和尚一样穿着黑衣，但他们仍然被称为“白衣会”。

直到清朝，一些民间教门仍然穿着白衣，以表虔诚。盛行于山东、直隶，尤其是天津的在理教，是直到今天仍存在于中国北方地区的一个民间教派，也被称作“白衣道”。在理教大部分（若非全部）信徒的服饰与众不同，因为他们全身上下都穿着白色。对此，李世瑜列举了四种说法。首先，白色代表着“佛光”。第二种说法与在理教的教义有关，认为在理教的的大开普度应在“白阳三期”。[69] 其三，正如杜博思（Thomas DuBois）所指出的，在理教崇拜观音菩萨，观音通常穿白衣，因此白衣对信徒而言象征着观音。最后，有趣的是，穿白色也意味着“为明朝穿国孝”，这反映了在理教创始人羊来如具有反清复明、效忠明朝的思想。在杜博思的实地考察中，他收集了一些口述资料，这些说法称在理教“在创建初期是一个具有明确反清复明思想的秘密民间运动”，这一点可从该教咒语中的反满口号得到印证。[70] 正如我们将要看到的，这些描述都体现了白色作为替明朝戴孝的颜色，与东南亚九皇千秋信徒穿白色衣服有着许多有意思的相似之处。[71]

奇怪的是，尽管在中国历史上，白色服装作为宗教信仰的表达非常重要，但却没有具体提到这种做法背后的灵感来源或与之相关的意义。正如我们将看到的，尽管近年来一些人认为白色衣服是纯洁的象征，但在这些事例和中国宗教史上，这种联系从未被明确表达过。可以肯定的是，很多文献都提到了白色的宇宙哲学意义和相关性。然而，据我们所知，在19世纪以前的中国，从未有人提出过白色与纯洁（或相似语义）的关系。[72] 因此，我们不应妄下定论，认为在过去和现在的中国宗教和社会中，白色与纯洁之间存在着自然或一般的联系，而忽略白色的其他意义。

[68] 引用片段原文及其英文译文转引自ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 42-43. 中国哲学书电子化计划尚未将《夷坚志》这一部分内容电子化，因此笔者引用的是巴伐利亚州立图书馆（Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Tünden)）公开访问资源中的副本。见洪迈（公元1123-1202年），<蒋二白衣社>，《夷坚志》（1778年再版）第2卷，Google Books, 未标明页码。

[69] 相关背景请参阅 Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, 327-328. 李世瑜，<天津在理教调查研究>，《民间宗教》1996年第2期, 页 169-210。

[70] Thomas David Dubois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2005), 109.

[71] 可以肯定的是，在理教在地理上主要盛行于中国北方。据笔者所知，没有证据表明在理教曾经祭祀过九皇大帝。

[72] 白色与纯洁的联系也存在具有误导性的引用，例如，请参阅：周俊豪<纯洁无瑕的“白”>，《中国制衣》2015年第3期，页18-19。 作者引用了《佛教经典》中的“万物皆空”，将白色与“空”而非标题所示的“纯洁”联系起来。

Colour and Attire Scheme in the Nine Emperor Gods' Worship in Late-Qing and Republican China

In late-Qing and Republican China, there is evidence that yellow was the colour of choice in many religious centres dedicated to the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods. Despite noting the ubiquity of the colour, extant sources are mute as to why yellow was the colour of choice. In Chengdu, Sichuan, in anticipation of the festival in 1934, families and households would paste couplets made out of yellow paper outside their households, and yellow flags and pennants with the title "Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods" would cover the streets. According to a bemused reporter, such efforts "transformed the entire place into a world of yellow."[73]



Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's leadership and devotees laid yellow cloth at Punggol Pier to receive the Nine Emperor Gods.

龙山岩斗母宫的领导和信徒为了迎接九皇大帝，在榜鹅码头铺设黄布。

Beyond Sichuan, yellow was also recognised as the choice colour of worship of the Nine Emperor Gods by periodicals documenting the activities of professional performers, the Liyuan. For example, a lengthy feature article on the Liyuan Branch in Yanjing established that a special room covered with four large pieces of yellow paper bearing the words "Sacred Association of the Nine Emperor Gods" was reserved for an image of the Nine Emperor Gods. Wall decorations aside, the said article highlighted using a "yellow plate" to move butterflies, which had landed on the room's scripture recitation altar, to the centre of the altar by "Senior Daoist Attendees" on the third day of the ninth lunar month of 1924.[74] This insight hints that the adoption of yellow during the festival extended to the choice of cutlery.

A 1936 report on the performing arts centres in Shanghai also indicated the use of yellow in relation to establishing altars for worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods. Specifically, a backstage room would be cleaned and completely "decked in yellow cloth or paper" before the festival in preparation to honour the Nine Emperor Gods. "The backstage" of Golden Theatre of Shanghai, for example, saw "yellow lanterns [⋯] hung at the entrance" of the site.[75]

[73] 雷雷，"成都的九皇胜会，" 福尔摩斯，September 20, 1934, 2.

[74] 问溪 and张次溪，"燕京梨园九皇盛会记，" 戏剧月刊 2:3 (1929): 137-142. Confer with a similar practice in Siam (present-day Thailand) during the 1920s—1930s, as described in 杨文瑛, 暹罗杂记 (长沙: 商务印书馆, 1938), 116-117.

[75] 破铜，"梨园公报：九皇胜会志胜，" 戏剧周报 1:3 (1936): 10.

晚清及民国时期九皇信仰的色彩与服饰

有证据显示，在晚清和民国时期，黄色是许多信奉九皇大帝的宗教场所的首选颜色。然而，尽管现存的资料注意到黄色无处不在，却未解释为什么人们会选择黄色。1934年的四川成都，为喜迎九皇千秋，家家户户都在屋外贴上黄色对联，街道上挂着写有“九皇胜会”字样的黄色旗幡和三角旗。一名记者对此感到困惑，记载道：这些做法使这一地区“变成了黄色世界”。[73]





在四川以外的地区，据报道专业戏曲演员梨园活动的刊物称，黄色是祭祀九皇大帝的颜色。例如，一篇关于燕京梨园的长篇专题文章提到，燕京梨园有一间专门供奉九皇大帝神像的房间。这个房间的四壁贴着四张黄纸，上面写着“九皇圣会”。这份报道中还有一个趣闻暗示了人们在九皇圣会上使用黄色餐具。1924年的农历九月初三，一群蝴蝶从西北方飞来，落在房间内的诵经坛上。主持仪式的“大老道”用一个“黄盘”将蝴蝶移到祭坛的中心，第二天它们才飞走。[74]

同样地，1936年，一位记者注意到，上海的许多戏剧表演中心正在修建祭坛来祭祀九皇大帝，黄色是主要的颜色。在节日之前，“各舞台及戏班均于后台特辟净室，以供神位；全室满布黄布或黄纸”。例如，在上海黄金大戏院，“黄色灯笼数盏，高悬门首”。[75]

[73] 雷雷<成都的九皇圣会>，见《福尔摩斯》，1934年9月20日。

[74] 问溪、张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，见《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页137-142。20世纪20年代-30年代期间，暹罗（现在的泰国）也有类似的做法，请参阅杨文瑛，《暹罗杂记》（长沙：商务印书馆，1938），页116-117。

[75] 破铜，<梨园公报：九皇胜会志盛>，见《戏剧周报》1936年第1期，页10。

Nonetheless, these reports lack perspective on the attire adopted during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Chengdu. However, reports on the activities of Liyuan performers suggest no particular dress code was specified for the occasion. Yellow was used by the Yanjing Liyuan branch with its "Senior Daoists", who recited scriptures and represented their troupes before the Nine Emperor Gods were dressed in "yellow robes, cloth boots and blue hats", whilst "Junior Daoists", in contrast, "w[ore] vests made from yellow cloth, yellow cloth trousers, yellow cloth boots, yellow aprons and blue hats".[76] However, the said colour was not featured in Shanghai's Golden Theatre as the "Old Daoists [we]re dressed in plain coloured outfits [⋯] of blue robes, white shoes, grass sandals, and [⋯] a yellow sash around their waists, and [they] carr[ied] a string of prayer beads in their hands".[77] While these traditions are confined to northern China, some of them resonate with observations persistent among Chinese communities in Southeast Asia today.



The vanguards for the Nine Emperor God at Shin Seng Keng used to be dressed in yellow aprons during the 1990s. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990 年代神仙宫九皇大帝的先锋队曾经穿着黄色围裙。 照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

[76] 问溪 and张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 141.

[77] 破铜, "梨园公报."

尽管我们不清楚成都人在九皇千秋期间的着装如何，但有关戏曲表演者活动的报道表明，在节日场合里，人们的穿着并不统一。在燕京梨园，在九皇大帝面前代表剧团并诵经的“大老道”们身穿“黄袍步布靴青道帽”，而“小老道”则“穿黄布坎肩黄布套裤黄布靴黄围裙青道帽”。[76] 上海黄金大剧院似乎也遵循着类似的礼仪专家等级制，“各老道素服鱼贯入堂，所服为蓝布衣白鞋，草履，腰结黄色纱带，手握佛珠”。[77] 虽然这些描述仅限于中国北部地区，但其中一些传统与今天东南亚华人社区中的实践相呼应。



1999 preparation for the reception of Leong Nam Temple's visitors by the vanguards for the Nine Emperor God at Shin Sen Keng. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1999 年，神仙宫的先遣队准备迎接来自龙南殿的香客。照片由龙南殿提供。

[76] 问溪、张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，页141。

[77] 破铜，<梨园公报>。

Sources conversely indicate the possible impositions of prohibitions of certain attire on the Liyuan's ritual specialists and worshippers during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Reporting on the Liyuan performers' worship of the Nine Emperor Gods, the *Shishi Xinbao* (published in Shanghai from 1907—1949) noted the following bans: "those who enter[ed] the altar ha[d] to eliminate all forms of silk products (on their persons), and they [we]re only allowed to wear clothes made of large pieces of cloth, and no leather shoes are allowed on their persons". [78] Nonetheless, it remains unclear which sites abided by this rule and the rationale(s) behind these tabooed clothing. Likely, however, was the universal understanding of the ban on animal products to the extent that it did not warrant special mention till the publication of this feature article.[79]

In contrast to the Liyuan, there was one special mention of white attire amongst the Republican Chinese worshippers of the Nine Emperor Gods. According to a 1929 long polemic article, it was common for massive crowds dressed in "white clothes and straw sandals" to "send the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods into the sea" in Zhangpu, Fujian.[80] Negligible information on the significance of the practice exists. However, considering Dian Murray's point that the Heaven and Earth Society had roots in Zhangzhou surfaces the plausibility that perceptions of the Nine Emperor Gods as anti-Qing figures had developed in the said region and, in turn, informed the described dress code and rituals.[81] The following paragraph shows the pairing of white attire and straw sandals in Southeast Asia during the festival aimed at commemorating either the martyrdom of the Nine Emperor Gods as anti-Qing figures or the metaphorical "death" of the Ming dynasty. Likely the Nine Emperor Gods practices were initially transmitted from Zhangzhou to Southeast Asia in light of the region's importance in relation to early modern Chinese migration to Southeast Asia between the 15th and 19th centuries.[82] However, it was equally possible that the Southeast Asian traditions were re-imported back to China by returning migrants.

Although yellow and blue appeared as popular choices of colours, ultimately, the above vignettes suggest that worshippers of the Nine Emperor Gods in late imperial and Republican China lacked adherence to a common attire scheme. However, the case that saw the adoption of white attire and straw sandals by the Nine Emperor Gods temple in Zhangzhou echoes many prevailing practices observed by Chinese communities in Southeast Asia today. Whether Southeast Asian practices were influenced by Zhangzhou or vice versa is, nevertheless, unclear. Similarly, whilst speculations abound regarding the post-1900s reports from Chengdu, and the Yanjing and Shanghai Liyuan branches, further research on this topic can only attain any form of confirmation.

White Among the Chinese in Southeast Asia

Unsurprisingly, one of the earliest references to white attire worn by the Chinese communities in Malaya and Singapore surfaced from European officials' insights on mourning rituals and practices after observing a wake. Jonas Daniel Vaughan (1825—1891) notes in *The Manners and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements* (first published 1879) that the Hokkien practice of disallowing the deceased's male relations "to wear col[oured] clothing for [at least] twelve months [instead they] must always [be] dress[ed] in white".[83] It was common for male mourners to dress in "white sack cloth[s]" whilst females dressed in black during the wake. Additional requirements on the latter included the mandate that "white shoes [were] always [⋯] worn [together with] silver hair pins and other jewels" as "gold ornaments" were not allowed during the mourning period. Quoting Wingrove Cook (1814—1865), Vaughan further notes that the "'wear[ing] [of] white garments [⋯] put[s] yourself into mourning'". [84] In short, for much of 19th-century Malaya, there existed a gendered nature of funeral choice colours, with white associated with male mourners and black corresponding to female mourners.

[78] 东邻, "鞠部拾遗: 九皇会,"时事新报, April 17, 1926, 11.

[79] The foremost authority on the intertwined history of the silk industry with religious institutions in China is Stuart H. Young. On the tension-ridden relationship amongst silk, its industries and Buddhist monastics in China, see "'Bald-headed Destroyers of Living Things': Buddhist Identity in the Silk Cultures of Medieval China," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 30:2 (2017): 27-70; and "For a Compassionate Killing: Chinese Buddhism, Sericulture, and the Silkworm God Aśvaghoṣa," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 41:1 (2013): 25-58.

[80] "迷信神权惹起纠纷九皇帝在新社被毁杨海潮背约受处罚," 南洋商报, November 14, 1929, 14.

[81] Dian Murray, in collaboration with Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,1994), Kindle edition, chapter 1.

[82] Yen Ching-Hwang, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Socioeconomic and Political Dimensions* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 63-92; and Ng Chin Keong, *Boundaries and Beyond: China's Maritime Southeast in Late Imperial Times* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2017), passim, but concentrated in 259-289; and 张永钦, "论明代漳州月港在海内外贸易交流中的地位," 齐齐哈尔大学学报: 哲学社会科学版 1 (2019): 122-124.

[83] Jonas Daniel Vaughan, *The Manners, and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements* (Singapore: Mission Press, 1879), 32.

[84] Vaughan, *The Manners, and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements*, 42.

在九皇千秋期间，梨园中的礼仪专家和信徒似乎也被禁止穿戴某些服饰。1926年4月，《时事新报》（1907-1949年在上海发行）刊登了一篇有关梨园艺人祭祀九皇大帝的文章。文章提到一项关于着装的规定："入坛时摒除丝织之品，仅服大布之衣，而革底之履，尤在摒除之列"。[78] 遗憾的是，我们并不清楚哪些场所会遵守这一规定，以及这些禁忌出于什么原因。或许在这篇专题文章发表之前，对动物产品的禁令十分普遍，因此无需在文中特别提及这一点。[79]

不同于梨园的情况，一篇中华民国时期的报道提到祭拜九皇大帝的人们穿着白色衣服。1929年，一篇记载详细的文章表明，福建省漳浦县的信众们会穿着"白衣草履"，"送九皇大帝神炉入海"。[80] 同样，我们不清楚这样的着装具有什么特殊意义。然而，根据穆黛安（Dian Murray）的说法，天地会创建于漳州。作为反清形象的九皇大帝信仰在当地发展起来，并提示众人上述的着装规范和礼仪，这样的说法看似合理。正如我们看到的，在东南亚的九皇千秋期间，信徒穿白衣草履，据说是为反清殉难的九皇大帝戴孝，追悼逝去的明朝。[81] 这些实践可能是从漳州传到东南亚的，但考虑到该地区在15世纪至19世纪早期中国移民到东南亚的过程中的重要地位，[82] 这些传统同样很有可能是由移民重新带回中国的。

正如这些节日掠影所示，在中国晚清和民国时期，九皇大帝信徒似乎并未遵循统一的着装规定，黄色和蓝色似乎是他们首选的颜色，但其原因我们不得而知。漳州九皇庙信徒穿白衣草履的情况，与今天东南亚华人社区的许多普遍做法相同。然而，究竟是东南亚的习俗受到漳州的影响，还是反之，我们尚不清楚。正如20世纪以降有关成都和燕京、上海梨园的报道所示，我们只能推测为何会出现这种情况，具体原因有待进一步的研究。

东南亚华人社区中的白色

关于新马华人社群穿白色衣服的最早记录之一，见于欧洲殖民地官员对华人丧葬习俗的记载。英国官员范汉（Jonas Daniel Vaughan，1825-1891）在1879年刊行的《海峡殖民地华人习俗考》（*The Manners and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements*）一书中提到，"在福建社群中，死者的男性亲人在至少十二个月内不能穿彩色衣服，必须穿白色衣服"。[83] 范汉引用Wingrove Cook （1814-1865）的观察，称在守灵期间，孝男穿着"白色麻衣"，孝女则穿黑色衣服，并且"必须穿白色鞋子，佩戴银质发簪或其他首饰；在服丧期间，不能佩戴金饰品"。他指出："穿白衣便是在戴孝"。[84] 简而言之，对于19世纪马来亚大部分华人来说，男人的丧服是白色的，女人的丧服是黑色的。

[78] 东邻，<鞠部拾遗：九皇会>，见《时事新报》，1926年4月17日，第11版。

[79] 在中国丝绸业与宗教机构的互动历史方面的权威学者是Stuart H. Young.关于中国的丝绸、丝绸工业和佛教僧侣之间的紧张关系，请参阅"'Bald-headed Destroyers of Living Things': Buddhist Identity in the Silk Cultures of Medieval China," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 30:2 (2017): 27-70; and "For a Compassionate Killing: Chinese Buddhism, Sericulture, and the Silkworm God Aśvaghoṣa," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 41:1 (2013): 25-58.

[80] <迷信神权惹起纠纷 九皇帝在新社被毁 杨海潮背约受处罚>，见《南洋商报》，1929年11月14日，第14版。

[81] Dian Murray, in collaboration with Qin Baoqi, *The Origins of the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,1994), Kindle edition, chapter 1.

[82] Yen Ching-Hwang, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Socioeconomic and Political Dimensions* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 63-92; and Ng Chin Keong, *Boundaries and Beyond: China's Maritime Southeast in Late Imperial Times* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2017), passim, but concentrated in 259-289; 张永钦，<论明代漳州月港在海内外贸易交流中的地位>，《齐齐哈尔大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》2019年第1期，页122-124。

[83] Jonas Daniel Vaughan, *The Manners, and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements* (Singapore: Mission Press, 1879), 32.

[84] Vaughan, *The Manners, and Customs of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements*, 42.

Despite the prevalence of white attire amongst Chinese devotees during the contemporary Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia, there is no indication in extant textual sources on the exact period of time that the dress code was adopted or the underlying meanings of the said dress code. Present-day norms see temples in Bangkok, Thailand, placing signs forbidding non-white-cladded individuals from entering their premises. Describing the festival among the Chinese in Thailand during the 1920s and 1930s, Yang Wenying (d. u.), a native of Jieyang, Chaozhou, highlights that the *zhai* period required "all [to] be dressed in white clothing, white shoes or straw sandals, to demonstrate their sincerity and piety". Notably included in Yang's mentions was the point on permitting devotees to wear straw sandals.[85] This suggests the possible sustained interpretation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in a funeral setting.

White attire is also common during the ninth lunar month of the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in neighbouring Malaysia, particularly Penang Island. Prevalent is this knowledge that the periodical, the *Straits Echo*, not only observed that "worshippers (of the Nine Emperor Gods) [were] dressed in white" but also included a list of Penang Island-based temples that observed the festival in 1903.[86] Two decades later, a brief report on the Nan Tian Gong Temple in Ampang, Kuala Lumpur, not only referenced the erection of temporary sheds aimed at housing devotees who travelled from afar for the festival but also indicated the widespread use of white outfits.[87]

Two photographs of an inspection tour of the Nine Emperor Gods temple in Ipoh (likely the Ipoh Dou Mu Gong, founded in 1885) in peninsular Southeast Asia in 1927 revealed that most participants were dressed entirely in white.[88] Similarly, a mere seven years later, in 1934, attendees of the crowded and bustling festival held at Taiping Gu Wu Miao Dou Lao Gong were described as "people [⋯] dressed in white clothing".[89] Likewise, one can find early references to the prioritisation of white during the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals in Singapore prior to the Japanese Occupation (c. February 1942—1945). Specifically, these early references are attributed to the credit of Mary Heathcott, who followed the 1941 procession of the Nine Emperor Gods at Hougang Tou Mu Kung Temple. In addition to commenting upon the fanfare of the occasion, Heathcott notes that the participants, including young men, were dressed in "white suits and yellow sashes".[90] An expanded look at Southeast Asia shows how common the attire has been throughout west Malaya to the extent that the practice continues to be upheld in various Nine Emperor Gods-related temples today.

Of the numerous reasons for the unique attire characteristic of the contemporary Nine Emperor Gods Festival, many are believed to reflect the socio-religious environments in Southeast Asia and the origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods. Specifically, key religious centres of the Nine Emperor Gods worship in Southeast Asia, such as Phuket, Thailand, and Malaysia's regions of Ampang, Taiping and Penang Island, are believed to have been related to mutual aid societies which had adopted anti-Qing beliefs and rituals in the distant past. Interestingly, many rituals of these organisations capitalised on the symbolism of funerary garments. Initiation practices for prospective entrants, for instance, included the "t[ying] [of] a piece of cloth around their heads". These individuals were, in turn, referred to as "'people in mourning' (whose attire) represented their grief for past generations of martyrs" throughout the ritual. Apart from adopting the concept of white garments as markers of mourning in Chinese culture and society, white was also used to commemorate the strong-willed commitment of past members towards the "righteous cause of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming".[91] These practices might have influenced the attire of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia. After all, as will be noted in the following sections, some believe that the festival is organised along the lines of a wake in honour of the eponymous deities.

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[85] 杨文瑛, 暹罗杂记 (长沙: 商务印书馆, 1938), 116-117. Yang's account was reproduced in 何谭光, "泰国九皇大帝信仰的来源及民俗文化的传播和现状," 华侨华人文献学刊 4:1 (2017): 223-224.

[86] "Chinese Ninth Moon Festival," *Straits Echo*, October 28, 1903, 4.

[87] "Chinese Pilgrims," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 18, 1923, 12.

[88] 华熙, "南洋及香港时事：南洋怡保埠九皇庙出巡时街道上热闹情况," 良友 21 (1927): 10. For a brief outline of the Ipoh Dou Mu Gong's history and date of founding as cited here, see "怡保斗母宫建庙史略," 怡保斗母宫九皇爷庙, accessed April 1, 2022, https://towbohkeong.wixsite.com/tbk-web/about2. We only get a glimpse of the procession's scale in "怡保九皇爷出游乩童不再持利器打破六十年来惯例," 南洋商报, October 7, 1962, 14. Note the use of ritual weapons during the procession in the past. The significance of such weaponry in religious processions has been extensively contextualised by Avron Albert Boretz, "Martial Gods and Magic Swords: The Ritual Production of Manhood in Taiwanese Popular Religion" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1996), passim, but particularly in the sections spanning from pages 103-193; and Margaret Chan, "Tangki War Magic: The Virtuality of Spirit warfare and the Actuality of Peace," *Social Analysis* 58:1 (2014): 25-46.

[89] 穷夫, "太平九皇爷的下降," 南洋商报, November 16, 1934, 15.

[90] Mary Heathcott, "Chinese Procession," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 30, 1941, 6.

[91] 李丰楙, 从圣教到道教: 马华社会的节俗, 信仰与文化 (台北：台大出版中心, 2018), 248-249. Similar observations on the preponderance of white clothing during the initiation rituals of Chinese secret societies were also made by Gustaaf Schlegel, *Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-league, Or Heaven-earth-league, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India* (Batavia: Lange, 1866), xxxiii (who, interestingly, notes that white garments made out of wool are forbidden, for "wool is made of animals which are impure", although no other remarks are made on this note); and William A. Pickering, "Chinese Secret Societies," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3 (1879): 11.

尽管在今天的九皇千秋期间，人们普遍穿白色衣服，然而现有资料并未解释东南亚华人何时采用这一着装规范，这种做法又意味着什么。时至今日，泰国曼谷不止一间九皇庙贴有告示，禁止任何没有完全穿白色衣服的人进入庙宇。杨文瑛（生卒年不详）是潮州府揭阳人，在描述20世纪二三十年代泰国的华人节日时，他记载道："在斋期内，皆须衣白衣，着白鞋或草履，咸具一种虔诚戒慎之心"。值得注意的是，杨文瑛提到信徒可以穿草鞋，这表明一些信徒可能将九皇千秋视为守丧。直到今天，仍然许多人如此看待九皇千秋。[85]

在槟岛，人们在农历九月期间穿白色衣服的现象一直以来相当普遍且突出。《海峡回声》（*Straits Echo*）不仅提到"（九皇大帝的）信徒身穿白衣"，而且还列出1903年槟岛上庆祝九皇千秋的庙宇名单。[86] 过了二十年，一篇关于吉隆坡安邦南天宫的简短报道不仅提到了南天宫在节日期间为远道而来的信徒修建了临时住所，还提到了信徒普遍穿着白色衣服的情况。[87]

从两张1927年怡保九皇庙（可能是建于1885年的怡保斗母宫）出巡的旧照片中可以看到，大部分参与者身穿白衣白裤。[88] 几年后，1934年的报道称，太平古武庙斗姥宫前熙熙攘攘的人群都是穿"白色衣服的人"。[89] 在新加坡，一些最早提到白色是首选颜色的说法出现在日据时期（约1942年2月-1945年）之前。1941年，Mary Heathcott记载了后港斗母宫九皇大帝的出巡游行。除了评论这场盛会的声势浩大之外，她还指出，参与者包括许多"身穿白衣，系黄腰带"的年轻男子。[90] 类似服饰在整个西马都很普遍，直到今天，仍然见于众多祭祀九皇大帝的庙宇中。

如今九皇千秋以其独特的服饰为特色，其中有众多原因。这些说法反映了东南亚的社会宗教环境以及九皇大帝的来历。在东南亚地区，例如泰国的普吉岛，以及马来西亚的安邦、太平岛和槟岛，许多供奉九皇大帝的宗教场所在过去被认为与互助秘密会社有关，这些反清秘密会社以九皇信仰为掩护进行结社并举行仪式。这些组织的仪式利用丧服的象征意义。例如，为新成员举行入会仪式时，他们必须"头缠白布"。仪式期间，他们被视为"'挂孝者'，乃哀悼成仁先烈之意"。白色服装是中国文化和社会中哀悼的象征，用以纪念那些为"正义即反清复明"而牺牲的成员。[91] 类似的实践可能影响了东南亚九皇千秋的服饰，正如我们可以看到的，一些信徒认为九皇千秋以守灵仪式为原型，以纪念九皇大帝。

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[85] 杨文瑛，《暹罗杂记》（长沙：商务印书馆，1938），页116-117。何谭光引述了杨文瑛的记载，请参阅：何谭光，<泰国九皇大帝信仰的来源及民俗文化的传播和现状>，《华侨华人文献学刊》2017年第1期，页 223-224。

[86] "Chinese Ninth Moon Festival," *Straits Echo*, October 28, 1903, 4.

[87] "Chinese Pilgrims," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 18, 1923, 12.

[88] 华熙，<南洋及香港时事：南洋怡保埠九皇庙出巡时街道上热闹状况>，见《良友》 ，1927年第21期，页10。有关此处所引的怡保斗母宫的历史和成立日期，请参阅《怡保斗母宫建庙史略》，怡保斗母宫九皇爷庙(Tokong Tow Boh Keong Kow Ong Yeah Temple), 访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://towbohkeong.wixsite.com/tbk-web/about2. 在报道中，我们得以一窥游行队伍的规模，见 <怡保九皇爷出游 乩童不再持利器 打破六十年来惯例>，见《南洋商报》，1962年10月7日，页14。注意在过去的游行中礼器的使用。关于武器在宗教游行中的重要性已被详细探讨过，请参阅Avron Albert Boretz, "Martial Gods and Magic Swords: The Ritual Production of Manhood in Taiwanese Popular Religion" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1996), 文中处处可见，尤其见页103-193; and Margaret Chan, "Tangki War Magic: The Virtuality of Spirit warfare and the Actuality of Peace," *Social Analysis* 58:1 (2014): 25-46.

[89] 穷夫，<太平九皇爷的下降>，见《南洋商报》，1934年11月16日， 第15版。

[90] Mary Heathcott, "Chinese Procession," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, October 30, 1941, 6.

[91] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗、信仰与文化》（台北：国立台湾大学出版社，2018），页248-249。关于华人秘密会社入会仪式中白衣占主导地位的类似观察，请参阅Gustaaf Schlegel, *Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-league, Or Heaven-earth-league, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India* (Batavia: Lange, 1866), xxxiii (有趣的是，作者指出，羊毛制成的白色服装是被禁止的，因为"羊毛是从肮脏的动物身上取得的"，但他并没有对此发表其他见解);；及 William A. Pickering, "Chinese Secret Societies," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3 (1879): 11.

Many accounts of the origins of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, such as Nan Tian Gong in Ampang, hold the perspective that the festival has always been modelled after funerals to "collectively mourn the deaths (of the Nine Emperor Gods)".[92] These narratives witness Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, cladded in white clothes and headdresses symbolic of mourning, temporarily assuming the roles of surrogate mourners in the memory of the Nine Emperor Gods as either pro-Ming martyrs or Robin-hood-esque pirates who had died unjustly whilst defending their cause.[93] To Ong Seng Huat, the use of white funerary-esque attire during the festival not only commemorated the deeds of the Nine Emperor Gods as anti-Qing martyrs but also symbolically mourned the deposed Ming dynasty.[94]

Despite differing nuances across locations, there remains an overarching opinion that the festival is moulded around the structure of a funeral among Nine Emperor Gods temples in Southeast Asia. Singapore-based Nan Shan Hai Miao regards the Nine Emperor Gods as former beggars who had sacrificed their lives in their attempts at ridding coastal communities of the threat of pirates. The worship of the Nine Emperor Gods and the staging of the annual festival by their beneficiaries, therefore, both honour the heroic sacrifices and are also, in part, funerals for the Nine Emperor Gods, whose bodies were ultimately lost at sea.





The burning of the headscarves and yellow waist-belts and wrist bands after Kim San Tze sent off the Nine Emperor Gods on the last day of the festival.

恭送圣驾仪式结束后，金山寺理事善信收集白色头巾和黄色腰带并在海岸焚化。

[92] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊*Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang* [The Nine Emperor Gods Ampang Nantiangong 130th Anniversary Commemorative Volume] (Kuala Lumpur: The Nine Emperor Gods Ampang Nantiangong, 1992), 21.

[93] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 195, 218-219, 245-246. In recent years, some temples have adopted yellow headdresses for their leaders. For example, see安顺斗母宫, Facebook, October 20, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/241501155908295/photos/a.1542977535760644/1542981112426953/.

[94] 王琛发, "国殇: 隐藏在马来西 亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会," 论文发表于第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路（台湾，佛光大学，2008年6月1日）； and "由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过'不明显'的重阳节？," 民俗研究 2 (2015): 67-73

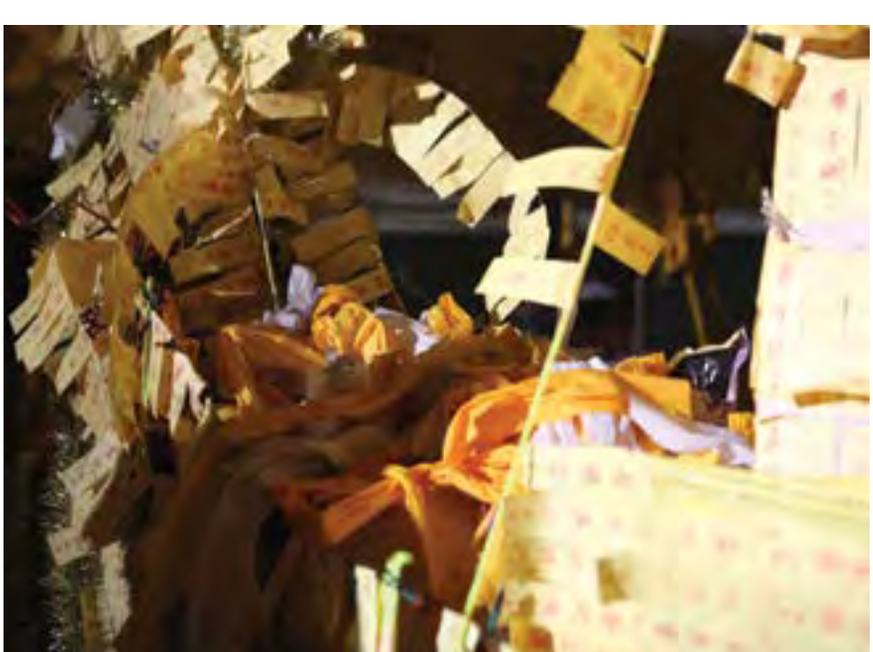
关于九皇千秋的起源众说纷纭，很多说法，例如安邦南天宫的传说，认为九皇千秋模仿葬礼仪式，是哀悼九皇大帝的“开丧大集会”。[92] 在这些叙述中，白色衣服和白色头巾象征着丧服，东南亚的华人社区以此服丧追悼九皇大帝，他们或是反清复明的义士，或是绿林好汉式的海盗，在捍卫自己的信念时不幸殉道。[93] 王琛发指出，信徒在节日期间穿着白色丧服，不仅是为了纪念抗清义士的英雄事迹，也寄托了对已灭亡的明朝（公元1368-1644年）的哀思。[94]

尽管不同地区关于九皇千秋起源的确切说法各不相同，在东南亚大多数九皇庙中，人们普遍认为九皇千秋是按葬礼仪式进行的。例如，在南山海庙，九皇大帝相传是九位保护沿海地区不受海盗进犯的丐帮成员，他们不幸在一次搏斗中丧生。他们葬身海上，尸首无存。为纪念他们的英雄事迹，受他们保护的乡民举办了这一节日，同时也为他们举办葬礼。



Preparation of yellow cloth strips for wrist tying by Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

龙山岩斗母宫理事香客们系在手腕上的黄布条。



On the last day of the Nine Emperors, devotees of Hougang Tou Mu Kung took off their white headscarves and yellow belts and put them on the Dragon Ship. The clothing will then be burned on board the ship at sea.

在九皇千秋的最后一天，后港斗母宫的善信将他们的白色头巾和黄色腰带摘下，放在龙船上。然后这些衣物将在海上随船焚化。

[92] 《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页21。

[93] Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 195, 218-219, 245-246. 近年来，一些庙宇的领导采用黄色头巾。例如，见安顺斗母宫，Facebook，2017年10月20日，https://www.facebook.com/241501155908295/photos/a.1542977535760644/1542981112426953/.

[94] 王琛发《国殇：隐藏在马来西亚九皇信仰背后的洪门天地会》，论文发表于第五届台湾、东南亚文化文学国际学术研讨会：台湾、东南亚文化文学的发展与思路（台湾，佛光大学，2008年6月1日）；王琛发，<由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过“不明显”的重阳节？>，《民俗研究》2015年第2期，页 67-73。

Discernible are the noticeable parallels between the form of white attire and headscarves, yellow girdles and wrist bands worn by the Nine Emperor Gods' devotees and funerary garments worn during funerals. Cheu Hock Tong articulates the standing conviction that the yellow wristbands and girdles "signif[ied] [one's] discipleship" to the Nine Emperor Gods.[95] Propagating this practice, many temples prepare strips of yellow cloth and white headscarves for devotees who wish to wear them before and throughout the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. It would be remiss to consider yellow cloth strips as a universal adoption across temples. After all, although the practice exists in Nan Shan Hai Miao, the choice colour of wristbands adopted by ritual specialists and committee members is white rather than yellow.[96] More generally, however, these yellow clothes are thought to symbolise the pinned coloured cloths on funerary clothing.[97] That certain temples, such as Kim San Tze, advise their devotees to burn their garments on the night of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month after the dispatching of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods nearing the conclusion of the festival further indicates that the wrists bands, girdles and headdresses are symbolic of temporary mourning.[98]

Overt displays of funerary links during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are evident in certain temples requiring ritual specialists and devotees to dress in hemp and sackcloth. While not as common in Singapore and certainly not conducted in present-day practices, interestingly, several interviewees hold the memory of festival participants wearing such forms of clothing in the past. Beyond Singapore, Ong Seng Huat notes the adherence to this more stringent practice and belief in Malaysia.[99] Observing the practices of Anson Dou Mu Gong in Perak in the 1980s, Cheu Hock Tong recorded the viability of "wear[ing] mourning garments during the performances of the Nine Emperor Gods rituals", which contrasts present-day photographs and videos posted by the temple.[100]

[95] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 218.

[96] For reasons unknown, yellow wristbands are also freely given to devotees who make the annual pilgrimage to Kusu Island's Chinese temple and Malay shrine even before the Second World War (1942-1945), as noted in "昨日龟屿"大伯公"诞辰热闹情形胜往年无数善男信女问神求福不忘难民苦卖花男女有求必应人人插上救国花," 南洋商报, November 7, 1938, 6; and Ranjit Singh, "Two Faiths Meet on Kusu," *Singapore Standard*, October 22, 1951, 10. Perhaps uncoincidentally, the pilgrimage lasts throughout the ninth lunar month. This has led some observers to suggest that the occasion may be related to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, such as Goh Tuck Chiang, "Picnic with the Harbour Gods," *Straits Times Annual*, January 1, 1970, 66-67; and P. J. Rivers, "Keramat in Singapore in the Mid-Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 76:2 (2003): 106-107.

[97] For the alternative interpretation described here, see王, "国殇." In the present day, mourning pins are little strips of cloth which are attached to the clothing of someone in mourning. Interviews in several temples during our project also noted this understanding in relation to the yellow wristbands and belts, as well as the white headscarves.

[98] Further alluding to some impressions that the festival resembles a funeral, we have noticed that some devotees from Kim San Tze practice immersing themselves in the sea on the basis of "as an auspicious act to wash away their bad luck" after they burning their headscarves and wristbands and the sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods' censer. See Koh Kai En, "Kim San Tze Nine Emperor Gods Festival 2018," YouTube video, 3:10-3:16, November 4, 2020, https://youtu.be/K8KREvbNYyE. As Timothy Tsu points out elsewhere, the sea plays a paradoxical role in some funerary rituals. While it is where the spirits of the deceased and their sources of symbolic pollution are consigned to, seawater also purifies ritual specialists who oversee the performance of these rituals. After a ship loaded with spirits is pushed into the sea, a vanguard "plunge[s] into the sea, cleanse[s] himself with sea water, and emerge[s] to change into another set of clothes". This practice "not only rid[s] the vanguard of death pollution[,] but also ensure[s] that the community w[ill] not be contaminated by any impurities attached to him". The quotation is drawn from Timothy Y. Tsu, "All Souls Aboard! The Ritual Launch of Model Junks by the Chinese of Nagasaki in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 10:1 (1996): 52.

[99] 王, "由孝现忠," 69-70; and "国殇."

[100] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 347, footnote 21. The context of Cheu's statement is vague. We do not know if he meant that ritual performers were allowed to dress in mourning clothes during the festival, or if people in mourning—and considered ritually polluting—were allowed to participate in the occasion despite being dressed in mourning garments. Material consulted for this discussion are drawn from publicly available photographs in Anson Dou Mu Gong profile. 安顺斗母宫, Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/安顺斗母宫-241501155908295/.

此外，九皇大帝信徒身穿白衣白裤、系着黄色腰带和腕带、佩戴白色头巾，可以看到，这样的服饰与葬礼上穿的丧服之间存在明显的相似之处。据周福堂（Cheu Hock Tong）说，有些人认为黄色的腕带和腰带“表明他们作为九皇大帝信徒的身份”。[95] 然而，更常见的说法是，黄腕带和黄腰带象征着戴孝时别在丧服上的彩色布料。许多庙宇遵循这一传统，并在九皇千秋期间为信徒准备了黄布条和白头巾。[96] 南山海庙的礼仪专家和委员会成员遵守这一观念的方式与众不同，他们佩戴的腕带是白色的，而不是传统的黄色。[97] 一些庙宇建议信徒在节日结束之后焚化这些衣物，这也进一步表明这些腕带、腰带和头巾象征着临时丧服。例如，在金山寺斗山宫，农历九月初九晚上九皇大帝的香炉被送回海上后，这些配饰被集中焚化，标志着节日的结束。[98]



为了确保节日在最大程度上接近葬礼仪式 ，一些庙宇要求礼仪专家和信徒在节日期间穿粗布麻衣。虽然此举在新加坡并不常见，但王琛发指出，马来西亚一些庙宇遵循这一实践和信仰。[99] 周福堂在1980年代进行田野调查时，他也注意到在霹雳安顺斗母宫，信徒“可以穿丧服参加九皇千秋的仪式”。但从该庙展出的照片和视频来看，如今的情况可能有所不同。[100] 新加坡庙宇的几位受访者仍然记得过去参加节日的人穿着丧服的情况，尽管现在已经不再这样做了。

[95] Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 218.

[96] 关于这一做法的另一种解读，请参阅王琛发，《国殇》。在丧服制度中，苴绖是丧服中麻布制的无顶冠与腰带，一为腰绖，用作腰带，一为首绖，用以围发固冠。如今，苴绖是系在居丧者丧服上的小布条。我们的项目对若干寺庙的访谈中都提及了对黄色腕带和腰带以及白色头巾的理解。

[97] 早在第二次世界大战以前（1942-1945），每年前往龟屿岛上的华人庙宇和马来神坛朝拜的信徒会得到免费赠送的黄色腰带，但具体原因尚不清楚。见 <昨日龟屿“大伯公”诞辰热闹情形胜往年 无数善男信女问神求福不忘难民苦 卖花男女有求必应 人人插上救国花>，见《南洋商报》，1938年11月7日第6版; and Ranjit Singh, “Two Faiths Meet on Kusu,” *Singapore Standard*, October 22, 1951, 10. 这种朝圣之旅贯穿整个农历九月或许并非巧合，因此一些观察者认为，这一活动可能与九皇千秋有关。例如，请参阅： Goh Tuck Chiang, “Picnic with the Harbour Gods,” *Straits Times Annual*, January 1, 1970, 66-67; and P. J. Rivers, “Keramat in Singapore in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 76:2 (2003): 106-107.

[98] 此外，我们也注意到，金山寺的一些信徒在焚烧头巾、腕带、送走九皇炉后，会将自己浸没在海水中，这是一种“寓意洗去厄运的吉祥行为”，这进一步暗示了人们认为这个节日类似于葬礼仪式。请参阅：Koh Kai En, “Kim San Tze (金山寺) Nine Emperor Gods Festival 2018,” YouTube video, 3:10-3:16, November 4, 2020, https://youtu.be/K8KREvbNYyE. 正如祖运辉（Timothy Tsu）在别处所指出的，海洋在葬礼仪式的作用具有矛盾性。一方面，逝者的灵魂及其象征性污染的根源被置于海上；另一方面，海水也净化了监督这些仪式的礼仪专家。当满载着灵魂的船被推入大海后，一名先锋“跳入海中，用海水洗净自己，然后换上另一套衣服”，此举“不仅消除了先锋本人可能受到的死亡污染，而且还确保了社区不会受到附着在他身上的任何不洁的污染”。引用自Timothy Y. Tsu, “All Souls Aboard! The Ritual Launch of Model Junks by the Chinese of Nagasaki in Tokugawa Japan,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 10:1 (1996): 52.

[99] 王琛发，<由孝现忠>，页69-70；及《国殇》。

[100] Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 347, footnote 21. 周福堂的说法有些模糊。我们不清楚他的意思是，在节日期间，仪式参与者被允许穿着丧服，还是说，穿着丧服正在服丧的人——通常被认为是不洁的——仍然被允许参加活动。此处所参考的资料来源是安顺斗母宫网页上的公开照片。安顺斗母宫，Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/安顺斗母宫-241501155908295/.

◀ Devotees dressed in sackcloth (first photograph) and white during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Nan Shan Hai Miao, 1989. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Miao.

1989年南山海庙九皇千秋期间身着麻布（第一张照片）和白色衣服的信徒。照片由南山海庙提供。

Of the Singapore-based temples which saw more vivid funerary-related displays, two temples stand out in Singapore, including Nan Shan Hai Miao. For one, during the lifetime of the late spirit-medium and founder of Nan Shan Hai Miao, children were instructed to wear straw sandals during the receiving and sending-off ceremonies for the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods. It is perhaps why some temple members continue to don straw sandals today during the observations of the critical rituals. One of our interviewees related that some committee members had been advised by their Great Uncle and Second Uncle (Tua Li Ya Pek) to dress in mourning garments during the festival. Despite the symbolic weight of the practice, the deity did not impose his will upon his followers and insisted that those not comfortable with the arrangement were free to come in white instead.







Devotees from Yu Hai Tang dressed in sackcloth during the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas Festival.

九皇菩萨千秋期间，玉海棠的信众身着麻布。

在这一点上，新加坡有两座庙宇别具一格。其一是南山海庙。在南山海庙的乩童和创始人还在世的时候，他要求孩子们在迎接和恭送九皇大帝的仪式上穿麻衣和草鞋。时至今日，还有一些庙宇成员在举行重要仪式时穿着草鞋。据一位受访者称，大二爷伯建议一些委员会成员在节日期间穿着丧服。尽管这一实践具有象征性意义，但大二爷伯并没有把自己的意志强加给人们，而是表示那些对这种安排感到不舒服的人穿白色衣服即可。







Leong Nam Temple's 1992 (first photograph) and 1998 (second and third photographs) visits to Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang during the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals reveal that the visiting contingent appeared barefooted, whilst the devotees from the host temple wore straw sandals. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1992年（第一张）和1998年（第二、三张）九皇千秋期间，龙南殿向玉海棠进行参拜。玉海棠提灯的信众穿着草鞋，而来自龙南殿的参拜队伍则赤脚进入节日现场。 照片由龙南殿提供。

Apart from Nan Shan Hai Miao, Yu Hai Tang's Nine Emperor Gods Festivals bear parallels to observed wakes in honour of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas. The bases for past uses of hemp mourning attire and straw sandals during the festival rested on the temple's belief that the receiving ceremony correlates to the discovery of the remains of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas—warriors more than a thousand years ago who were betrayed by a traitorous premier and, in turn, beheaded their corpses and tossed into the sea.[101] Noted in the earlier sections of this chapter, straw sandals and hemp clothing are closely related to mourning. This expression of grief, in which little attention is paid to bodily comforts and the pursued abstinence against bodily pleasures, is also highly similar to the *zhai* regime. Besides the two temples mentioned above, some individual devotees at the Hong San Temple maintain that the festival is structured like a funeral. Thus, voluntarily don straw sandals during the receiving and sending-off ceremonies.



[101] Interestingly, parallels can be drawn between Yu Hai Tang's account and another version of the Nine Emperor Gods' origins retold by Shen Deshun, who spent over four decades with Hong San Temple. Mr. Shen told journalists that the ritual of receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods at a water body mimicked the act of "recovering the bodies (of nine pro-Ming warriors) for worship" after their corpses were "thrown into water". For the full report, see谢燕燕, "凤山宫耗资300万重建九皇爷率诸神今晚搬进新家," 新明日报, November 22, 2003, 9.

其二是玉海棠。在玉海棠，九皇千秋类似于纪念九皇菩萨的守灵仪式。据该庙讲述，一千多年前，九位为国奋战的战士被叛国的宰相出卖。由于遭到后者的阴谋算计，九位战士被斩首并抛尸海里，死后升天化作神明。在水边迎接九皇菩萨象征着在海里找到九位战士的尸首，这也解释了为什么在节日期间，庙宇的重要成员需要穿着麻布丧服。[101] 正如我们在本章前面一节所看到的，草鞋和麻衣是与丧服密切相关的衣物。穿丧服与持斋相似，表示人们不关注物质上的舒适，节制身体上的愉悦，表达了对死者的哀悼。直到如今，凤山宫的一些信徒仍然相信，节日是遵循葬礼仪式进行的。因此，在迎接和恭送仪式上，可以看到有人穿着草鞋。



◀
Barefooted whilst sitting or kneeling on straw mats, Members of the Hong San Temple pray as the Daoist priest conducts the rituals for the raising of the Nine Lamps.

道长在主持升九皇天灯仪式。凤山宫的理事会员赤脚并坐或跪在草垫上祈福。

[101] 有趣的是，玉海棠的叙述与沈德舜（日期不详）所讲的关于九皇大帝来历的另一种说法有所相似，沈德舜在凤山宫度过了超过四十年的时间。沈先生告诉记者，在水边迎接九皇大帝是模仿在九位亲明义士的尸首被"抛进水里"后"捞起他们的遗体祭拜"的做法。 完整报道请参阅：谢燕燕<凤山宫耗资300万重建 九皇爷率诸神今晚搬进新家>，见《新明日报》，2003年11月22日，第9版。

The Colour Scheme of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia



Only yellow candles were used during the 1990 Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Dou Mu Gong. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年后港斗母宫九皇千秋时，只用黄色蜡烛。 照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。



The Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong contingent visiting other Nine Emperor Gods temples is led by a temple member holding a pair of lit yellow candles.

龙山岩斗母宫的参拜团队由一名手持一对黄色的蜡烛带头。

东南亚九皇千秋的颜色搭配





◀
Only yellow candles were used during the 1990 Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Dou Mu Gong. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年后港斗母宫九皇千秋时，只用黄色蜡烛。 照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

The uniqueness of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival rests on the choice of dress code and colour scheme adopted. The earlier sections saw discussions regarding yellow as the colour of sovereignty and, by extension, synonymity to emperors from Ming to Qing China—although there also exists antecedents of the correlation even prior to the Tang dynasty. Considering this, it is unsurprising that, in the case of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, yellow possibly symbolises the attendance of the Nine *Emperor* Gods and doubles as a homonym for "emperor". This dual conceptualisation prevails across Southeast Asia, including Indonesia's Yun Wu Shan Dou Mu Gong, which lights yellow candles for the occasion.[102]

To clarify, colour is among many other linguistic equivocations characterising Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Traditional beliefs exist that the Nine Emperor Gods were either collectively Zheng Chenggong (1624—1662 CE) or nine pro-Ming warriors killed by Qing forces. These beliefs suggest that the term "Nine Emperor Gods" was, in fact, a homonym for "*Jiu Wang Da Di* [Save the Emperor (of the Ming Dynasty)]".[103] Consequently, the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was characterised by anti-Qing sentiments, which had to be concealed within similar sounding references that were only comprehendible by affiliates. This logic, uncoincidentally, was very much present amongst mutual aid societies, possibly informed by pro-Ming sympathies.[104]



[102] Agi Hung, "云武山斗母宫九月初五洪德杰合家答谢九皇大帝千秋," YouTube video, 2:04:26, November 24, 2016, https://youtu.be/ye4eXEim9rM.

[103] This homonymous interpretation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival was mentioned in徐李颖, 九皇圣迹: 后港斗母宫 (新加坡: 后港斗母宫, 2006), 89. For a similar retelling, see "皇爷驾到．传说知多少," *Sinchew Malaysia*, October 6, 2013, https://www.sinchew.com.my/20131006/九皇爷驾到．传说知多少/.

[104] The literature on this topic is immense. In addition to works by Gustaaf Schlegel and William A. Pickering cited above, see郭绪印, 洪帮秘史 (上海人民出版社: 新华书店上海发行所经销, 1996); 潮龙起 and 甘满堂, "清代秘密会党的茶诗与茶阵," 农业考古 4 (2004): 157-158; 迎风, "秘密社会中的'文化密码,'" 党政论坛 2 (2008): 31.

九皇千秋不仅在着装方面是独一无二的，其配色也不同于东南亚的其他节日。前文讨论了黄色是代表皇权的色彩，即黄色是中国明清时期皇帝的代名词，唐朝以后也有类似的先例。就此而言，黄色不仅象征着九皇大帝的出席，还谐音“皇（黄）帝”。类似的情况也见于九皇庙中，例如印尼的云武山斗母宫会在庆典期间点燃黄色蜡烛。[102] 可以肯定的是，色彩只是东南亚九皇千秋众多界限模糊的语言表述之一。例如，一些信徒和庙宇认为九皇大帝是郑成功（公元前1624年-1662年），或九位反清复明失败被杀的义士，他们表示，“九皇大帝”一词实际上是“救王大帝”的谐音。[103] 这些说法表明，因畏忌清朝势力，众人只好以谐音的“九皇大帝”的名义祭祀九皇千秋，只有内部成员才懂得其中奥秘。无独有偶，这一逻辑同样见于持亲明态度的互助秘密会党中。[104]



◀ Temple members preparing yellow flower balls for Kew Huang Keng’s Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun palanquins. They have to be vegetarian while making these ornaments.

九皇宫成员准备一捆捆黄色花球布，用来装饰九皇和斗母宝轿。

[102] Agi Hung, <云武山斗母宫九月初五洪德杰合家答谢九皇大帝千秋>，YouTube视频, 2:04:26, 2016年11月24日, https://youtu.be/ye4eXEim9rM.

[103] 对九皇大帝的谐音诠释见徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页89。类似的说法请参阅<皇爷驾到，传说知多少>，见 *Sinchew Malaysia*，2013年10月6日，https://www.sinchew.com.my/20131006/九皇爷驾到．传说知多少/.

[104] 关于这一主题的研究著述颇丰。除了前引Gustaaf Schlegel和William A. Pickering的著作，请参阅：郭绪印，《洪帮秘史》（上海人民出版社：新华书店上海发行所经销，1996）；潮龙起，甘满堂<清代秘密会党的茶诗与茶阵>，《农业考古》2004年第4期，页157-158；迎风<秘密社会中的“文化密码”>，《党政论坛》2008年第2期，页31。

Southeast Asian Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites interestingly mirror the precedent practice of the Liyuan professional performers in late imperial China by adopting festival backdrops highly decked in yellow. A previous chapter notes the use of yellow cloth in binding bamboo plants to create the lamppost for the Nine Lamps in many temples. Aside from this instance, yellow trimmings, awnings, and lanterns line the temples and are also purchased by devotees during the festival. Flower ball palanquin adornments and the images of the Nine Emperor Gods worshipped across many Singapore-based temples—Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, Kim San Tze and Nan Shan Hai Miao—are also in yellow. Overall, there is extremely strict adherence to the total adoption of yellow decorations and other features across Singapore-based temples during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.



Focusing on the yellow-related festival decorations in specific temples, an entire evening is, for instance, devoted by Kim San Tze to swap all awnings, flower balls and pennants for yellow. The preparatory process begins with the lighting of incense to inform the temple's divinities of the pending adoption of the *zhai* regime for the span of the festival and the pasting of signs regarding the "Observation of Precepts and *Zhai*" along the doorway of the temple. It is only with the completion of the accountability of the transition to *zhai* to the public that volunteers can work to affix the yellow festival decorations, such as the yellow entrance banner to welcome the Nine Emperor Gods and the swapping of the red lanterns (that honours the Jade Emperor of Heaven) to yellow lanterns for the Nine Emperor Gods. In addition, two gongs decorated with yellow pennants embroidered with the characters "avoidance" and "silence" would be hung at the temple's entrance to complete the transformation of the site's colour scheme to yellow. Despite the massive undertaking of changing the colour scheme, several temples insist on reverting to the everyday use of red decorations when the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods is in motion on the evening of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. To achieve this, some volunteers remain in the temple to replace the yellow lanterns with red at the temple's main entrance and revert to the red awnings.

一个有趣的先例是，在中国封建时代晚期，戏曲表演者会在节日前用黄色布条装饰场地，从远处便可通过黄色背景辨认出节日场地的所在。在前面的章节中，我们看到许多庙宇用黄布将竹子连接起来，作为九皇灯的灯柱。节日期间，装饰物、遮阳篷以及信徒购买的灯笼也是黄色的。许多庙宇，包括凤山宫、葱茅园九皇宫、金山寺和南山海庙，用来装饰神轿的花球以及供奉的九皇大帝神像都是黄色的。九皇千秋期间，新加坡大多数（若非全部）庙宇中的所有东西都必须是黄色的，这一要求非常重要，必须严格遵循。





The adoption of yellow hues for decorations during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival celebrated at Kim San Tze.

金山寺的信徒在九皇千秋前将庙的遮阳篷和装饰品换成黄色。

在金山寺，成员会用一个晚上的时间换上黄色的遮阳篷、花球和旗幡。行动开始之前，成员会先向驻守在庙宇里的神明上香，告知他们庙宇将在节日期间实行斋戒制度。一旦仪式完成之后，庙宇便会在门口张贴“斋戒”的告示，提醒访客只有素食供品以及持斋的人方可进入庙宇。义工爬上梯子，在入口处升起黄色横幅，恭迎九皇大帝大驾光临。与此同时，庙宇平日供奉玉皇大帝的红灯笼会被取下，换为供奉九皇大帝的黄灯笼。此外，义工还会在入口左右两侧挂上两面锣，分别用绣有“回避”和“肃静”的黄布条装饰。至此，庙宇的配色被彻底地改为黄色。



Apart from decorations, the festival sees that only yellow candles can be lit—although white candles are sometimes utilised. That yellow candles are highly regarded has led to them becoming part of the customary gifts alongside incense offerings and hampers during inter-temple visits, where they *can bai* at other Nine Emperor Gods temples. The preference for yellow has also led to the sole use of incense sticks dipped in yellow dye to worship the Nine Emperor Gods in some temples, such as Leong Nam Temple.[105] Given this tendency, it is expected that one observes the increased mixing of yellow-based incense sticks mixed among the more common red-based incense sticks.

[105] This seems to be a fairly recent practice. We have yet to come across any sources which demonstrate that this was the case in the past, likely because of market supply in terms of cost and manufacturing considerations.



◀
Changing yellow lanterns to red ones in Kim San Tze temple when the main contingent is away sending off the Nine Emperor Gods at the sea.

在金山寺，当善信和理事在海边恭送九皇大帝回銮时，其他理事在庙里忙着将庙内的黄灯笼换成红色灯笼。

相反地，一些庙宇会在送走九皇大帝之后，将配色又变回原先的红色。在农历九月初九晚上九皇大帝和恭送队伍离开庙宇后，义工们会迅速把庙宇正门的黄灯笼换成红灯笼。许多庙宇备有两套遮阳篷，一套是红色的，于平日使用，另一套是黄色的，专门用于九皇千秋。多数情况下，九皇千秋期间只能点燃黄色蜡烛，一些庙宇也允许使用白色蜡烛。除了檀香和礼篮，黄色蜡烛也是庙宇在游境或参拜友庙时赠礼的传统物品之一。如今，一些庙宇，如龙南寺，在给九皇大帝上香时只使用香柱被染黄的香烛，而不是通常使用的红色香烛。[105] 我们也发现，越来越多黄色香烛与更常见的红色香烛混合在一起使用。

[105] 这种做法应该是近来才出现的。我们尚未发现消息来源表明在过去情况也是如此，这可能出于成本和制造等市场供应方面的原因。


九
皇
大
帝



▲
Temple committee members and palanquin bearers (dressed in yellow) from the *Xiang You Hui* 香友会 from Kew Huang Keng posing for a group photo after their annual *yew kampong* in 2016.

九皇宫的理事和身着黄色香友会(即轿队)成员参与2016 年游甘榜时的合照。

◀
Kim San Tze's yellow festival awnings and trimmings are usually changed back to the everyday red version after the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods by devotees and staff on the festival's last day.

九皇大帝回銮后，金山寺理事义工们将庙内的黄色横幅改成红色。



The palanquin bearers from Nan Shan Hai Miao are distinguished from the rest of the devotees, volunteers and committee members by their yellow shirts. This custom is also seen in Hong San temple and Kew Huang Keng, the other temples in the Lemongrass Garden 葱茂园 area.

南山海庙的轿夫身穿黄色衬衫，以区别于人群。这传统与凤山公宫和九皇宫的习俗很相似。三间庙宇都在葱茂园一带。



Jia Zhui Gang Dou Mu Gong contingent in their yellow shirts preparing to send off the Nine Emperor Gods.

汛水港斗母宫的理事义工穿着黄色衬衫准备恭送九皇大帝。



◀
Old photographs of Ling Lian Bao Dian's 凌莲宝殿 visits to Leong Nam Temple also show their leadership and devotees dressed in yellow, 1997. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1997年，凌莲宝殿参拜龙南殿的旧照片也显示了他们的领导和信徒身着黄色衣服。照片由龙南殿提供。





◀
Old photographs of Ling Lian Bao Dian's 凌莲宝殿 visits to Leong Nam Temple also show their leadership and devotees dressed in yellow, 1997. Photographs courtesy of Nanshanhai Temple.

1997年，凌莲宝殿参拜南山海庙的旧照片也显示了他们的领导和信徒身着黄色衣服。照片由南山海庙提供。

Among the fifteen documented temples, it is evident that yellow is the predominant colour code for attire in Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong. The temple's leaders, committee members, and volunteers don yellow shirts during the annual festival. Certain temples require selected members of their operation teams to be partially dressed in yellow to distinguish them in a crowd for the fulfilment of special tasks. Case in point, Hong San Temple's palanquin bearers who belong to the "Incense Pavilion Society" are easily identifiable due to their yellow shirts despite their conventionally white-based trousers and headscarves.[106] This is a similar case among the palanquin bearers of Kew Huang Keng. Other temples adopt a toned-down version of the full yellow attire. Smatterings of yellow—trimmings or wordings—are intermixed with the otherwise completely white uniform as seen in Kim San Tze (yellow collar or shirt trimmings) and Xuan Wu Shan temple in the past (wordings). Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's committee members and volunteers wear yellow headbands while wearing white trousers and shirts.

▶
Ampang Nan Tian Gong also practices lighting white candles during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

在安邦南天宫，九皇千秋的时候也会点上白蜡烛。



Despite the insight mentioned above to the increased use of yellow candles during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, unique to Nan Shan Hai Miao, Singapore, is the indispensable use of white candles because the festival is commemorated according to funerary structures.[107] That said, in reality, the practice sees the pairing of white and yellow candles during the festival. As espoused by a senior temple member, Great Uncle and Second Uncle had insisted via the spirit medium that the pairing occurred with yellow to represent the deities' ascent to divinity. Bearing slight similarity to most other temples, the conclusion of the sending-off ceremony on the evening of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month reverts to the everyday red colour scheme. Specifically, Nan Shan Hai Miao's leaders mark the conclusion by lighting red candles at the festival site's altars. Other than Singapore's Nan Shan Hai Miao, some Nine Emperor Gods temples in northern Malaysia have been reported to have used white candles. One report uses the said white candles in the 1980s to represent purity.[108]

[106] For an introduction to this association, see凤山宫三庆大典 (新加坡: 凤山宫委员会, 2005), 62.

[107] Despite the popularity of white candles at Christian places of worship, the association of the said colour to funerals amongst Chinese beliefs renders these candles unideal for the Chinese as reported in the newspapers even in the 1950s. A. S. Lee, "The Chinese Prefer the Red Candles," *The Singapore Free Press*, January 5, 1952, 3.

[108] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 86.

在我们调查的15座庙宇中，汕水港斗母宫服装的主要颜色是黄色，节日期间，宫庙领导、委员会成员以及义工都身穿黄衬衫。凌莲宝殿参拜龙南殿的旧照片也显示，宫庙领导和信徒都穿着黄色。在其他庙宇，执行特殊任务的庙宇重要成员的服装会有黄色部分，以便将他们与一众穿白衣的信徒区别开来。在凤山宫，“香亭社”的轿夫很容易被认出，因为他们穿着黄衬衫，而他们的裤子和头巾仍是传统的白色。[106] 同样地，在九皇宫，轿夫也身穿黄衣以区别于身穿白衣的宫庙理事会、义工和普通信徒。我们也在其他庙宇发现黄色和白色混搭的情况，体现在服装上，例如衣领或衬衫上的装饰物（如金山寺），或衣服上的字体（如过去的玄武山翰林院）。在蔡厝港斗母宫，委员会成员和义工身穿白色裤子和衬衫，并佩戴黄色头巾。



The pairing of yellow and white candles in Nan Shan Hai Miao.

南山海庙黄烛配白烛。



Red candles are lit upon the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods.

九皇大帝的香炉回銮之后，南山海庙的善信领导就点着红烛。

在新加坡，南山海庙在蜡烛方面采取与众不同的色彩搭配。由于南山海庙以葬礼的方式来纪念这个节日，所以白蜡烛是必不可少的。[107] 据该庙一位资深成员说，虽然白蜡烛与葬礼仪式是一致的，但大二爷伯曾经降乩指示，既然九皇大帝是神明，白蜡烛必须与黄蜡烛搭配，以体现他们的神明地位。直到今天，南山海庙的信徒在祭拜九皇大帝时会点燃一只黄蜡烛和一只白蜡烛。然而， 农历九月初九晚上九皇大帝的香炉被送走之后，宫庙领导会在节日祭坛上点燃红色蜡烛，宣告庆典结束。根据一份报告，在20世纪80年代，马来西亚北部的一些九皇庙也会使用白蜡烛，以代表纯洁。[108]

[106] 有关“香亭社”的介绍，请参阅《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫委员会，2005），页62。

[107] 尽管白色蜡烛在基督教礼拜场所很受欢迎，但在中国人的信仰中，这种颜色与葬礼的联系使得这些蜡烛对中国人来说并不理想，即使在 1950 年代的报纸上也有报道。A. S. Lee, “The Chinese Prefer the Red Candles,” *The Singapore Free Press*, January 5, 1952, 3.

[108] Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 86.

Beyond Singapore, yellow remains an accepted colour scheme during Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Nan Tian Gong, Ampang, views yellow candles as a replacement for the usual red candles as the latter resembles blood.[109] Not only is blood deemed a pollutant during the festival, but it is further rejected because, in one interpretation, the Nine Emperor God thoroughly "disliked blood and its scent."[110] As a bright colour, it is also invested with prophylactic properties. Arthur P. Wolf observes that neighbours of a family experiencing the recent demise of a loved one "would hang a length of red cloth across the lintel of their front door" to protect themselves from ritualistic contamination.[111] Therefore, its general rejection during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival reinforces the understanding that the festival involves a different form of commemoration.

Nevertheless, this general rule regarding red is not enforced in totality. Of much curiosity here is that Daoist priests, including those in Southeast Asia, officiating the festivals don either varied shades of red-orange and related shades or elaborate robes—both of which contrast the sombre colour scheme adopted by ritual specialists and devotees.[112] That said, this allows such practice ensures the high visibility of the officiating Daoist priests amongst the white-cladded crowds. Daoist priests aside, a brief examination of past and current colour tones used in Singapore-based temples reveals the use of red palanquins by Hougang Tou Mu Kung in the 1980s. Red is the dominant colour adopted by Shin Sen Keng today.

Aside from the absence of red, black is evidently absent from many festival sites. This is an intriguing phenomenon given the correspondence of black with the North in Chinese cosmology. The preponderance of white over black during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival hints that the evoked deities differ greatly from the nine stars of the constellation of the Northern Dipper, which is closely related to black among the Five Elements in traditional China's correlative cosmology. The correlation of black to the Northern Dipper is visible in the semi-historical novel, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, where strategist and general Zhuge Liang (181—234 CE) requested "forty-nine soldiers, wielding with black flags, wearing black clothes, to surround the tent" in his petition to the Northern Dipper to prolong his lifespan.[113]



During Zhun Ti Tang's 2017 coastal sending-off ceremony, Buddhist laypeople were dressed in black.

准提堂恭送九皇佛祖的时候，许多佛教居士（身穿黑色的海青）也有参与。

[109] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 93.

[110] 李庆年, "东南亚华人的独特神祇—九皇爷考证," 炎帝文化 6 (2006): 49.

[111] Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," 192 and 193.

[112] For example, see Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," 189-199.

[113] 罗贯中 (Yuan-Ming dynasty), "上方谷司马受困，五丈原诸葛禳星," in 三国演义, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/sanguo-yanyi/ch103.

安邦南天宫也采取类似的色彩搭配。在安邦南天宫，节日期间黄蜡烛是红蜡烛的必要替代品，因为红蜡烛的颜色与血色相同，被认为会污染庆典。[109] 有类似的说法称，九皇大帝“厌恶血腥”。[110] 除了这些观察之外，红色的相对缺乏也暗示了这一节日不一定是庆祝性质的。正如许多研究者所指出的那样，红色实际上是中国文化体系中代表生命、欢乐和庆祝的颜色。作为吉祥的颜色，红色同样被赋予了预防和保护的作用。例如，武雅士（Arthur P. Wolf）注意到，刚刚经历死亡的家庭的邻居“会在前门的门楣上挂一段红布”，仪式性地保护自己免受影响。[111] 只有主持葬礼仪式的道士穿着橙色或相近颜色、精心装饰的道袍，与九皇千秋的礼仪专家和信徒的素色服饰形成了有趣的对比。[112] 这与今天在新加坡和东南亚的九皇庙中所观察到的现象非常相似，由于道士的服装颜色鲜艳，他们可以在穿白衣的人群中被轻易认出。然而，并非所有庙宇都遵守这样的色彩规则。20世纪80年代，后港斗母宫的神轿是红色的，而红色至今仍是神仙宫的主色调。

除了红色，许多节日场所也难以见到黑色。这是一个不寻常的现象，因为在中国的宇宙观中，黑色对应北方。在九皇千秋期间，白色（而非黑色）占主导地位，这表明九皇千秋所祭祀的九皇大帝与北斗九星并不相同。在传统中国的宇宙观中，北斗是与五行观念中的黑色密切相关的星座。例如，在历史演义小说《三国演义》中，军事家诸葛亮（公元181年-234年）在向北斗星君祈求延寿时，命令“甲士四十九人，和执皂（黑）旗，穿皂衣，环绕帐外”。[113]



◀ Buddhist laypeople dressed in dark-coloured robes at the Nine Emperor Gods Festival site raised by Leong Nam Temple, 1970. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿的佛教居士诵经，1970. 照片由龙南殿提供。

[109] Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 93.

[110] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇—九皇爷考证>，《炎帝文化》2006年第6期，页49。

[111] Wolf, “Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress,” 192 and 193.

[112] 请参阅Hoon Chang Yau, “More than a Cultural Celebration: The Politics of Chinese New Year in post-Suharto Indonesia,” *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 3 (2009): 90-105; 陈瑾渊《红色崇拜与红色禁忌》，页41-47。在葬礼上，主持仪式的道士会穿亮色的衣服，以保护自己免受葬礼场合的煞气的伤害。他们道袍上的八卦和预防图案也为他们提供保护，使他们在与死者尸体密切接触时不被污染。James L. Watson, “Funeral Specialists in Cantonese Society: Pollution, Performance and Social Hierarchy,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley, Los Angles and London: University of California Press, 1990), 118-120.

[113] 罗贯中（元末明初）<上方谷司马受困，五丈原诸葛禳星>，《三国演义》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问时间：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/sanguo-yanyi/ch103.

Black has been regarded as taboo across Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival, though this is far from consistent. In an article championing the relationship between the Nine Emperor Gods collectively as the spirit of the last Ming emperor, Li Qingnian asserts the collective deities' detest of blue and black given their acute resemblance to "the uniforms of Qing soldiers, which [we]re predominantly blue or black".[114] A key limitation lies in Li's failure to cite his source relating to his observation. Our fieldwork has revealed that some temples dissuade their devotees from dressing in black. One of our researchers had worn black when approaching Xuan Wu Shan's leaders before the eighth lunar month, and was cautioned against dressing in that colour during the festival. Emphasising the Nine Emperor Gods' dislike of black, the said leader gave a cautionary tale where a transgressor, who had worn black into the Inner Chamber whilst refusing to undergo the *zhai* regime, had fallen ill and died soon after. On the whole, however, despite the universal enforcement of white attire on devotees, the idea of black being a taboo colour has not been uniformly abided by all temples. These temples, which bear no indication of prohibition against black attire, include Leong Nam Temple in the past and Zhun Ti Tang today, where lay Buddhists dressed in black *haiqing* were or are still allowed to perform key rituals respectively.

Continuity and Change

While many have proposed that the white attire indicate expressions of grief for the Nine Emperor Gods, there exists an increase in alternative beliefs amongst participants where the said white attire bears other symbolisms. These re-interpretations, instead, associate white with purity, cleanliness, and plainness. However, the shifts in meanings need to be historically contextualised instead of assumed as generic associations. There is a negligible explicit association of white with purity and cleanliness in the history of China and Chinese religion in textual sources, despite the common use of white apparel by various religious practices and movements before the 19th century. Rather, scholars argue that these shifts likely occurred due to semantic interactions, exchanges and struggles between East Asia and the West from the 19th century.[115]

In a study of the semantics of white in traditional China, Ying Wang demonstrates that white symbolises "inferiority, mourning, and death". To Ying, the growth in popularity and influence of translations of Western novels, books and treatises from the twentieth century reinvested white in a new context with purity connotations.[116] The historical links of white to mourning and grieving processes in China, as witnessed in this chapter's earlier sections, are challenged by Western correlations of white, such as white bridal gowns, to chastity and virtue.[117] After all, weddings have traditionally been associated with red in China.

Mirroring these cross-cultural encounters between East Asia and the West since the twentieth century, some of Southeast Asia's earliest references to white as a marker of purity were made in Singapore after the Japanese Occupation of Malaya. An October 1947 report by *The Straits Times* not only detailed white-cladded devotees carrying a palanquin (likely from Kim San Tze based on descriptions) from Siglap to Katong beach, where monks received the Nine Emperor Gods but also asserted that white signified purity. The lack of white headscarves in the article's photograph insert is of additional interest, which contrasts with the temple's contemporary dress code.[118]

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[114] 李, "东南亚华人的独特神祇—九皇爷考证," 53.

[115] On the theoretical basis of similar cultural transformations in human history, see the volume by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and James R. Lewis and Olav Hammer, eds., *The Invention of Sacred Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[116] Ying Wang, "From Funeral to Wedding Ceremony: Change in the Metaphoric Nature of the Chinese Color Term White," *Semiotica* 193 (2013): 361-380. The quotation is from 361.

117 Aside from Ying Wang, there is another excellent study that sheds light on the tensions between modernity, meaning, and the colour of the wedding dress in East Asia and the West. 王德福, "变色的嫁衣: 作为代际剥削手段的彩礼-转型期农村彩礼习俗的性质嬗变研究," 湖北民族学院学报: 哲学社会科学版 32:2 (2014): 26-30. On white as a colour of purity, see Lynda J. Diamond, "Influence of 'Victorianism' on 19th century Bridal Fashions," (M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 2002), 46-47.

[118] *The Straits Times*, October 17, 1947, 5.

在东南亚的九皇千秋期间，黑色被视为禁忌，尽管这可能因地而异。例如，李庆华在一篇文章中指出，明朝最后一位皇帝死后化作九皇大帝，九皇大帝不喜欢黑色和蓝色，因为"清军的服装是以蓝黑二色为主要颜色"。[114] 遗憾的是，李庆华并没有指出这一消息的来源。然而，我们调查的一些庙宇也劝阻信徒穿黑衣。我们的一名研究者曾在农历八月之前拜访玄武山翰林院青囊老玉楼春的宫庙领导时穿着黑色衣服，她被提醒在节日期间不要穿这种颜色的衣服。据该宫庙领导言，九皇大帝不喜黑色。他还讲述了一个具有警示性的故事，曾有一人拒绝持斋，还穿着一身黑进入内殿，后来这个人生病去世了。相反地，尽管庙宇都要求信徒穿白色衣服，并非所有庙宇都视黑色为禁忌。在过去的龙南殿以及现在的准提堂，穿着黑色海青的普通佛教徒也可以参与重要仪式，没有迹象表明他们不能穿这种长袍。

延续与变迁

虽然许多人认为穿白色衣服是为了表达对九皇大帝的哀悼，越来越多的参与者认为，白色衣着还象征着其他含义。在这种重新诠释中，白色与纯洁、干净和朴素联系在一起。然而，应该将这种意义上的转变置于历史语境中理解，而不能认为这种联系理所当然。尽管在19世纪以前的中国历史中，在各种宗教活动和运动中都可见到白色衣着，但如前所述，尚未发现有文献记录明确将穿着白色与纯洁和干净联系起来。相反地，学者们认为，这种转变可能源于19世纪以来，东亚与西方长达数十年的语义互动、交流和斗争。[115]

正如Ying Wang在关于中国传统中白色的语义学研究中所指出的，白色象征着"劣等、哀悼和死亡"。她认为，自20世纪以来，西方小说、书籍和著述的翻译越来越广为流传，受西方文化的影响，白色被赋予了新的含义，意味着纯洁无暇。[116] 正如我们在本章前文所看到的，在中国，白色孝服是服丧的标志，同样的颜色在西方却有不同的含义。例如，西方婚礼上新娘的白色婚纱象征着贞洁和美德，而中国人在同一场合的传统选择则是红色。[117]

与20世纪以来东亚与西方之间的文化交流相似，在新加坡，穿白色以表示纯净的说法最早见于日据时期（1942-1945年）。1947年10月，《海峡时报》的一篇报道——考虑到神轿的外形十分相似，很可能报道的是金山寺的活动——描述了身穿白衣的信徒将神轿从实乞纳（Siglap）抬到加东（Katong）海滩，僧侣们在那里恭迎九皇大帝的降临。据记者所言，白色代表着纯净。与如今金山寺的着装规定不同的是，报道中的照片上并没有人戴白色头巾。[118]

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[114] 李庆年，<东南亚华人的独特神祇—九皇爷考证>，页53。

[115] 有关人类历史上相似的文化变迁的理论基础，请参阅Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and James R. Lewis and Olav Hammer, eds., *The Invention of Sacred Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[116] Ying Wang, "From Funeral to Wedding Ceremony: Change in the Metaphoric Nature of the Chinese Color Term White," *Semiotica* 193 (2013): 361-380. 引用部分见第361页。

[117] 除了Ying Wang的研究外，还有一项出色的研究，揭示了东亚和西方之间关于婚纱的现代性、意义和色彩的紧张关系。请参阅王德福<变色的嫁衣：作为代际剥削手段的彩礼——转型期农村彩礼习俗的性质嬗变研究>，《湖北民族学院学报（哲学社会科学版）》2014年第2期，页 26-30。 关于白色作为纯洁的象征，请参阅Lynda J. Diamond, "Influence of 'Victorianism' on 19th century Bridal Fashions," (M.A. thesis, University of Wyoming, 2002), 46-47.

[118] *The Straits Times*, October 17, 1947, 5.

Documenting the activities of Leong Nam Temple in the 1970s, Ruth-Inge Heinze states that devotees were asked to dress in white as a sign of respect and conformity with the notion of maintaining bodily purity during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Heinze further notes the reduced strictness of Hougang Tou Mu Kung's requirements by the time she performed her fieldwork—only temple assistants, as opposed to all devotees, were required to dress in white.[119] Old photographs of the Hougang Tou Mu Kung from the 1980s and 1990s confirm Inge-Heinze's observations as palanquin bearers were dressed in many colours instead of the standard colour of white today. By the 1980s, Chinese reporters at Hougang Tou Mu Kung endorsed the perspective that white was "symbolic of purity".[120] As suggested by these studies and photographs, the significance of white plausibly underwent considerable re-interpretation after prolonged encounters and exchanges with Western symbols, ideas, and concepts in postcolonial Singapore.



A display of yellow strips of cloth for Yu Hai Tang's devotees to don as their girdles during the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas Festival.

九皇千秋期间，玉海棠门口的黄布条，供所有信众佩戴在腰间。

[119] Ruth-Inge Heinze, "The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981): 159-160. Heinze notes how jewellery, leather, or ostentatious displays of wealth were forbidden in the Hougang Dou Mu Gong. According to her findings, since "devotees ask for wealth and prosperity, any display of what they already possess would be out of place". It is hence necessary to remove such items on one's body when worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods. Today, many temples also dissuade their volunteers and devotees from dressing ostentatiously during the festival, for such a dress code goes against the inculcation of the values of purity and simplicity championed during the festival.

[120] 连思, "你自河边来," 南洋商报, October 6, 1981, 40.

Ruth-Inge Heinze在20世纪70年代记录了龙南寺的活动，她注意到，在九皇千秋期间，信徒被要求穿白色衣服以示尊重，这也符合身体纯净的概念。她补充道，后港斗母宫原本要求所有信徒都必须穿白色衣服。然而，当她进行田野调查时，这项规定只针对宫庙助手。[119] 后港斗母宫在上个世纪8、90年代的旧照片证实了Inge Heinze的观察，轿夫穿着各种颜色的衣服，而不是今天统一的白色。到了20世纪80年代，后港斗母宫的中文报道也持类似的观点，认为白色是"纯洁之象征"。[120] 正如这些研究和照片所表明的，在后殖民时代的新加坡，经过与西方象征体系、思想和概念的长期接触和交流，白色的含义被不断地重新诠释。



◀ Devotees from Jiu Huang Dian with cloth bandanas instead of full head coverings.

九皇殿的信徒所戴的白色头巾像大手帕一样使用的，而不是覆盖他们的整个头部。



◀ With fully covered white headgear, Kew Huang Keng's main and deputy *lu zhu* 正副炉主 offered tea to the Nine Emperor Gods during the receiving ritual. Note that the ritual also includes distributing the strips of yellow cloth (left foreground) on a plate to be used as wristbands.

九皇宫的正副炉主向九皇大帝斗姆元君献茶。他们的头部是用白布完全覆盖的，左下角的盘子中的黄布条会在仪式结束后分发给众人作为腕带。

[119] Ruth-Inge Heinze, "The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40:2 (1981): 159-160. 她还指出，任何珠宝、皮革或招摇的食物都被禁止出现在后港斗母宫中。根据她的调查发现，由于"信徒想要求得财富和繁荣，展示他们已经拥有的东西是不合时宜的，"因此，在祭祀九皇大帝时，人们需要摒弃这些东西。如今，许多庙宇也劝诫义工和信徒在节日期间不要穿得太花哨，因为这样的着装规定违背了节日所倡导的纯洁和朴素的价值观。

[120] 连思<你自河边来>，见《南洋商报》，1981年10月6日，页40。

Nevertheless, even if white's semantic shift from sorrow to purity became more widespread, the headscarf that covers the whole of one's head – which remains a staple in many temples – remains too closely related to mourning.[121] The attire's persistence echoes the belief that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival is meant to commemorate the heroic deeds and martyrdom of the Nine Emperor Gods as Robin-hood like pirates or anti-Qing martyrs with Ming sympathies. As such, the white headdress is closely intertwined with the history of mutual aid societies in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia. According to Li Fengmao, the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong in Penang does not adopt the white headscarf, the yellow wristband and girdle in its attire. He argues that, on the one hand, such a decision dissociated the institution from its intertwined past with mutual aid societies that harboured anti-Qing sympathies. On the other hand, white was concurrently re-invested with meanings consistent with the now, where its uniformity championed the values of "unity" and "purity" endorsed by a growing number of Nine Emperor Gods' temples in Malaysia.[122]

An increasingly active stand has been undertaken by the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor God Temples in recent years regarding the education of devotees about the Nine Emperor Gods. This resulted in the publication of many articles on practices unique to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, including dress, attire and colour, in its official publication, the *Douxun*. In the *Douxun*'s inaugural volume, Li Taoli provides attire guidelines and suggests that the attire is "cognisant with the significance[s] of *zhai* and precepts", which are expected of devotees to observe during the festival. In addition, Li notes the commonly held belief that white represented mourning garments.[123] Separately, Lee Eng Kew also suggests the possibility of white attire being inspired by the DZ629, which called for the faithful to don "clean and plain-coloured clothing and hats" on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[124] The issue lies with the term "*su*", which encompasses all forms of plain-coloured clothing, rather than being specifically synonymous with white. Some Liyuan performers in Republican Shanghai, as established in the prior sections, wore blue "plain-coloured outfits" during the festival. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether "*su*" referred to in these textual sources was synonymous with white or was simply a placeholder to reference plain- or unicoloured clothing expected of devotees to adhere to during the festival.



Full headgear cladded devotees, holding yellow candle sticks, participating in Leong Nam Temple's religious procession, c. the 1980s. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

参加龙南殿九皇大二帝千秋的信徒，大约 1980 年代。 注意他们手中的黄色蜡烛，以及覆盖参与者整个头部的头巾。 照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。

[121] For example, see Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," 189-199.

[122] 李, 从圣教到道教, 241-245.

[123] 李桃李, "九皇斋服浅说," 斗讯1 (2001): 72.

[124] 李永球, "持素穿白衣是戴孝?," November 30, 2008, http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/. See "太上北斗二十八章经," page 000-021a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 20, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0010/000. The scripture is translated as the "Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-eight Chapters," and introduced in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II,* 954.

白色的含义从悲伤转为纯洁逐渐变得普遍，尽管如此，覆盖头部的头巾至今仍是许多庙宇的重要元素，它依然与哀悼紧密相关。[121] 佩戴头巾的传统反映了这样一种信念，即九皇爷是九位好汉的海盗或反清复明的义士，九皇千秋是为了纪念他们的英雄事迹和壮烈牺牲。因此，白色头巾与19世纪东南亚互助秘密会社的历史紧密相关。据李丰楙的观察，槟城香港街斗母宫未采用白头巾、黄腕带和黄腰带。他认为，一方面，这样的做法使该庙得以脱离过去与反清互助秘密会社交织在一起的历史。另一方面，白色被赋予了与当下一致的含义， 强调“团结”和“圣洁”的重要意义，这得到了马来西亚越来越多九皇庙的认可。[122]

近年来，马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会积极投身于教化信众，并在官方出版物《斗讯》上发表了多篇关于九皇千秋习俗的文章，探讨了节日期间的服饰、着装和色彩。在发表于《斗讯》创刊号的文章中，李桃李不仅为善男信女的着装提供了指导，还指出人们在庆典期间应该遵循斋戒，服装应该“符合斋戒意义”。他还提到，许多人认为白色衣服代表丧服。[123] 此外，李永球也指出，白色衣服可能受到DZ629《太上北斗二十八章经》的启发，经文要求信徒在农历九月初九穿上“清洁素裳冠”。[124] 然而，其中“素”一字通常包括各种朴素的纯色，不一定特指白色。据我们所知，在民国时期的上海，一些戏曲表演者在节日期间穿的“素服”便是蓝色的。因此，我们无法判断在这些文本中，“素”是否是白色的同义词，或者指信徒在节日期间必须穿的朴素或纯色的衣服。



◀
Devotees at the 1966 and 1979 Nine Emperor Gods Festivals organised by Leong Nam Temple. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1966年和1979年，龙南殿举办的九皇千秋活动。照片由龙南殿提供。

[121] 请参阅Wolf, “Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress,” 189-199.

[122] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》，页241-245.

[123] 李桃李<九皇斋服浅说>，见《斗讯》2001年第1期，页72。

[124] 李永球《持素穿白衣是戴孝？》，2008年11月30日，http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-86676/. 详见《太上北斗二十八章经》，页000-021a, Kanseki Repository, 访问日期：2922年3月20日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5c0010/000. 原稿被译为“Northern Dipper Scripture in Twenty-eight Chapters,”并见于Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon, Volume II,* 954.



Leong Nam Temple's devotees with bandanas, as opposed to fully covered headgear used in 1980, during the 2017 payment of respects before the Jade Emperor at Kim San Tze.

2017 年，来自龙南殿的信徒们在金山寺向玉皇大帝致敬。请注意，与 1980 年代的同行相比，他们的头饰如何变成了不覆盖整个头部的头巾。

Observable across some temples in Singapore, such as Leong Nam Temple and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, has been the shift towards using white bandanas instead of full-coverage white headscarves. While this can be taken as an adaptation of an older tradition, one must recognise that covering one's head with a white headdress is not a universal sign of mourning for the Nine Emperor Gods during the festival. For example, white headscarves have been traditionally absent in Xuan Wu Shan's festival attire even though the temple regards the festival as a form of mourning and remembrance for the Nine Emperor Gods. Instead, the temple focuses on the mediation and instruction of Dou Mu to commemorate the said deities. This is supported by Ronni Pinsler's photographs of Xuan Wu Shan members in the 1980s, revealing an absence of white head coverings despite the use of white clothing and yellow girdles.





在新加坡的一些庙宇，例如龙南殿和蔡厝港斗母宫，过去需要覆盖整个头部的头巾如今被大方巾取代。尽管这可被视为古老传统在新时代的适应，但是在节日期间用白头巾覆盖头部以示对九皇大帝的哀悼这一做法并不普遍。以玄武山翰林院为例，虽然庙宇将九皇千秋视为在斗母娘娘的启示和指导下哀悼和纪念九皇大帝，节日服饰中并不包括白头巾。20世纪80年代的情况也是如此，Ronni Pinsler的照片显示，白色衣服和黄色腰带是常规，却没有人使用白色头巾遮住头部。

◀
Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's devotees have donned yellow bandanas during the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals since the early 1990s. First photograph courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

在蔡厝港斗母宫，信徒从 1990 年代初开始在九皇千秋期间佩戴黄色头巾。 第一张照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。



Despite the growing popularity of the association of white with purity, the longstanding belief of white as a signifier of mourning and grief for the Nine Emperor Gods remains prevalent. To better understand the co-existence of these two motivations for and underlying meanings behind the wearing of white during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, one must first understand that these two seemingly differing accounts, in reality, evoke similar values of discipline, abstinence and austereness, and related emotions. Austereness, for example, is an emotion associated with grief and mourning and a prevailing sentiment expressed during the commitment to *zhai*.[125] These similarities in emotions, attitudes and values have facilitated the convergence between embodiments of mourning and purity via the adoption of white apparel during the festival.

[125] For a brief outline of the main debates pertaining to the history of emotions, see Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117:5 (2012): 1487–1531.



◀
Xuan Wu Shan's devotees dressed in white and yellow girdles (though sans any white headgear) during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, c. 1980s. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1980 年代九皇千秋时，玄武山信徒身着白黄相间的束带。 可以看到，其信徒中没有任何白色头饰。 照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 作品集。

直至今日，尽管白色与纯洁的联系越来越流行，认为白色服装象征对九皇大帝的哀悼和悲伤的观念仍然很普遍。为了更好地理解九皇千秋期间穿白衣的两种含义（即哀悼和纯洁）的并存，需要考虑这两种含义如何引起相似的价值观及情感，即自制、禁欲和修身。例如，修身既是一种与悲伤和哀悼相关的情绪，也是一个人表达对持斋的最大承诺时的具体表现。[125] 这种情感、态度和价值观上的相似性使得在节日期间穿白衣的两种含义（哀悼和纯洁）得以融合和体现。

[125] 关于情感史的主要争论的简要概述，请参阅 Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117:5 (2012): 1487–1531.

Conclusion

Unlike many other Chinese deity festivals, Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival greatly emphasises white and yellow. Such emphasis extends to the expectation that ritual specialists, temple assistants, volunteers, and devotees, dress in white. Certain temples seeking to stress the funerary atmosphere and setting of the festival might also require select members to don sackcloth, mourning garments and other apparel, such as straw sandals. That these rules vary across temples leads to the exhibition of variations of practices in Singapore. The adoption of fully or partially yellow tops by temples for operational reasons or identification purposes—leaders and staff members—from white-cladded devotees are, thus, unsurprising.

The choices of colours and related emphases linked to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia are, in fact, deeply intertwined with the significance of white and yellow in Chinese history, society, and religion. As seen in this chapter, these colours are, in turn, heavily entwined with notions of mourning and kingship, respectively. White, for instance, has remained the de facto colour of mourning in Chinese society and culture beyond the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The colour reverberates with popular notions of the Nine Emperor Gods' origins as pro-Ming rebels or Robin-hood-esque pirates who had perished while fighting for their causes. The contemporary commonly observed white dress code across temples which worship the Nine Emperor Gods is, in part, aimed at commemorating the deities' former human-related deeds and lifetimes.

Nonetheless, there have been ongoing efforts in recent decades to shift the semantics of white attire from mourning to purity. Rather than being artificially engineered, these transformations in meaning and symbols must be recognised as products of history. Extant sources on pre-19th century adoption of white attire in China's religious contexts did not yield any specific associations or justifications for purity. Instead, scholars argue that the alternative association surfaced due to prolonged encounters and exchanges with Western notions of white dress—purity, chastity, and virtue, among others—in 19th- and 20th-century East and Southeast Asia. Ultimately, greater attention has been given to meanings and understandings of colours—white and yellow—by groups, such as the Malaysian Federation of Dou Mu Gong and Nine Emperor God Temples, as part of important recent efforts at religious standardisation and reform. The two meanings and motivations—mourning versus purity—yield similar values and emotions associated with discipline, abstinence and austereness, which has plausibly facilitated their coexistence.

结语

不同于其他华人神明节庆的情况，东南亚的九皇千秋非常强调白色与黄色。礼仪专家、宫庙助手、义工以及信众，通常需要身穿白色衣服。在一些庙宇，为突出葬礼的环境气氛，重要成员可能会被要求披麻戴孝，以及搭配其他相关的服饰，例如草鞋。在新加坡，这些规矩因庙而异，呈现出不同的特色。庙宇或出于操作上的原因，或为了便于在一片白色中区分宫庙领导和重要成员而选择黄色衣服。

对白色和黄色的强调和使用源于这两种颜色在中国历史、社会和宗教中的重要性。如上所述，这两种颜色分别与哀悼和王权的概念紧密相连。在之前的例子中，白色仍一直是中国社会与文化中象征哀悼的颜色，即使在九皇千秋之外的其他情况下也是如此。白色与民间说法相呼应，即九皇爷相传是反清复明的义士或绿林好汉式的海盗，他们在为自己所信仰的事业而战时牺牲了。如今，几乎每座供奉九皇大帝的庙宇中，信众通过身着白衣来纪念九皇大帝神格化以前的事迹和生平。

然而，近几十年来，人们致力于将身着白衣的象征意义由哀悼转变为纯洁。而这种意义和象征的转变，本质上就是历史的产物。尽管在19世纪以前，中国不同的宗教和宗教运动都崇尚使用白色服装，但讨论和提出这种用途的文献记载并没有明确将白色与纯洁联系在一起，以证明这一用途的合理性。相反地，正如学者所指出的那样，在东亚和东南亚，通过与西方对白色服装的观念——即纯净、贞洁与美德——的长期接触和交流，以及该地区不同宗教传统对这些观念的接受，直到19世纪以后，特别是20世纪，白色服装与纯洁之间的联系才变得更加明确。这些关于白色（以及黄色）的意义与理解已经成为近来宗教标准化和改革的重要组成部分。正如在马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会中看到的那样，白色象征着纯洁和不断发展的团结。然而，哀悼和纯洁两者分别的意义和动机，都唤起了与自制、禁欲和修身有关的价值观和情感。这种交汇使得白色所体现的哀悼和纯洁的含义得以共存，甚至相互结合。

第8章

Palanquins
九皇圣轿





▲
Palanquin bearers from Nan Shan Hai temple visiting Hong San Temple during a *yew keng* in 2017.

2017年，南山海庙的抬轿队员在游境时向凤山宫参拜。



▲
Undated photograph of a *yew keng*, which saw devotees and leadership escorting deities around the Jalan Ang Teng village compound, estimated to be held during the late 1970s. Of interest is the lack of visits to Nine Emperor Gods-related temples. Note the similarities in shape between the palanquin in the third photograph and the present-day version used by the temple. Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai temple.

在九皇千秋节期间组织的游境中，善信和领导护送各种神灵游览 Jalan Ang Teng 的周围，日期不详（可能是 1970 年代后期）。 请注意，“游境”起初限于甘榜周围，而不是从远处参观九皇庙，以及第三张照片中的圣轿如何与今天庙中使用的圣轿相似。 图片由南山海庙提供。

Introduction

The Nine Emperor Gods palanquins are inexplicably noteworthy features of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, particularly those held in Singapore. These palanquins epitomise the festival's sanctity, energy and spirit, given their role in containing and conveying the Nine Emperor Gods' censers and other secret deity-related paraphernalia. Specifically, the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins are foregrounded in the receiving and sending-off ceremonies and formal tours to other temples during the festival. Indeed, palanquins and sedan chairs constitute important facets of Chinese religion and religious festivals. That said, the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins are singular in their constructions and relation to the rules and regulations about them.

In reflection of the need for sanctity and purity, deliberate care is undertaken to prevent random contact with members of the public. As such, these palanquins are handled and guarded by specific groups of individuals known as "palanquin teams". The emphasis on purity and, in turn, worthiness, inevitably renders it crucial that these members adopt strict vegetarian diets and regimes during the festival. Reverence to the deities conveyed by the palanquins has resulted in concerted efforts to uphold their mystique and secrecy. To achieve this, rituals relating to these palanquins are usually conducted behind the screen of yellow cloth, ritual flags, or human walls formed by the palanquin teams. The responsibilities of these palanquin contingents have since cemented their prominent roles associated with the social organisation and community of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at a level and scale that surpasses other festivals.[1]

Distinguishing features of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins include the construction of built-in walls and doors or the placement of yellow cloth to cover their interiors to hide the enclosed deity-related contents and to propagate their mystique and sanctity. Such a focus on holiness also fuels the concealed rituals relating to the conveying of palanquins and their contents into the Inner Chambers of temples for safe keeping. Nine Emperor Gods Festivals entail formal tour exchanges amongst temples or tours by temples around their respective neighbourhoods and environs on full *yew keng* or *yew kampong*, during which the palanquins become the centre of attention. The palanquins are also featured on the night of the ninth day during the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods.

Related to the histories of sedan chairs and palanquins in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival would be the history of deities and religious processions in Chinese history and their intersections with the histories of Chinese communities in Singapore and Southeast Asia. These tours were not just ritual affairs but very much social ones. From the processions through the kampong (village) and neighbourhoods in the past to present-day tours of other Nine Emperor Gods temples beyond the immediate vicinity and environs of a temple, they involved the mobilisation and intersection of different types of groups and communities, from the place-based (and sometimes dialect-based) communities to the more diffused groupings based on different forms of interpersonal and institutional connections, highlighting the changes in the wider physical, socio-cultural, and economic landscapes, both in Singapore and regionally.

This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: What is the history of the palanquin, and how have its shape and associated functions changed over time? What is the role of the palanquin in Chinese religion and history? How do the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins differ from those deployed for other deities in China and Southeast Asia? How have the shapes, forms, and sizes of these modes of transportation for the Nine Emperor Gods changed over time? How are the palanquin teams organised? What do the palanquin teams reveal about the community and social organisation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, and how do these relate to wider ritual and social communities past and present?

[1] The number of palanquin bearers required for each palanquin usually ranges from 20 to 30 or more depending on palanquin size, and the human mobilisation abilities of temples and their affiliated associations or groups.

前言

新加坡九皇千秋的另一个特色是九皇圣轿。作为九皇大帝的宝座，九皇圣轿体现了节日的神圣和活力和精神。这些圣轿承载着九皇炉和其他与神明有关的礼器，是恭迎和恭送仪式以及绕境游行和参访友庙时备受瞩目的焦点。圣轿是华人民间信仰和宗教仪式中的重要祭祀用具，但九皇圣轿的构造及其相关规定与其他神圣轿不相同。

圣轿要求神圣与纯洁，这意味着圣轿需要受到特别关照，防止公众随意靠近。抬轿队员需要遵循更为严格的斋戒，确保处于完全纯净的状态，才可以被委以抬轿重任。在某些情况下，与圣轿有关的仪式是在黄布、幡旗或众人的掩护下进行的，突出了圣轿内部构造的神秘性。九皇圣轿是节日社会组织和社区的重要组成部分，其规模往往超过其他节日的圣轿。[1]

九皇圣轿的构造也不同于其他圣轿，轿身装有围屏或覆盖以黄布。如同内殿，圣轿内部不能被公众看到。这一特点也为九皇圣轿增添了些许神秘性和神圣性。当队伍回到庙宇中，庙宇会将九皇圣轿送到内殿，或在旗帜和众人的掩护下将圣轿中的礼器移至内殿，放在不容易触碰到的地方或封锁起来的区域内。九皇千秋期间，庙宇会对友庙进行正式参访，或在附近区域进行游境（*yew keng*）或游甘榜（*yew kampong*），在这些活动中，九皇圣轿通常是人们的关注焦点。每当农历九月初九晚上，九皇圣轿会被再次启用，恭送九皇大帝到举行送驾仪式的区域。

谈到九皇圣轿的历史，必须了解中国历史上的神明和宗教游行，以及这些游行与新加坡和东南亚华人社区的交汇。这些游行不仅仅是宗教仪式，同时也是一种社交活动。从过去在甘榜（村庄）和附近区域内游行，到如今前往更远的九皇友庙拜访，这些活动涉及不同类型的团体和社区的动员和交集，包括从以地方为基础（有时以方言为基础）的社区到以不同形式的人际交往和机构联系为基础的更为分散的群体，这种转变突出了在新加坡和东南亚范围内更广泛的物质景观、社会文化景观以及经济景观的变化。

本章试图回答以下问题：轿子的历史是什么？它的形状和相关功能是如何随时间而改变？轿子在华人宗教和历史中扮演着怎样的角色？与中国及东南亚的其他圣轿相比，九皇圣轿有何特殊之处？随着时间的推移，九皇圣轿的形制和大小发生了怎样的变化？抬轿队伍是如何组织的？这如何体现了庆祝九皇千秋的社区和社会组织，以及从过去到现在九皇圣轿在更广泛的社区中的嵌入性？

[1] 每架圣轿通常会有 20 到 30 名（或者人数更多的）抬轿队员，这取决于圣轿的大小以及寺庙及其附属协会或团体调动人员的能力。

Before we proceed into our discussion, a caveat related to terminology and nomenclature is necessary to clarify our thought process. Firstly, in English, many Chinese characters and terms refer to the phenomenon known as "palanquin" and "sedan chair." As we shall see, many characters are used to refer to any modes of transportation borne by human bearers throughout Chinese history: 檩, 舆, 轿, and 肩辇 (the last term is transliterated as "shoulder carriage"). Complicating this matrix of words lies in the exact terms that Chinese religious practitioners have chosen to characterise these objects. Much of the secondary literature consulted, for example, makes minute distinctions between various forms of palanquins used for religious activities: 辇轿, 武轿, 显轿, 文轿, 花轿, 大驾, 凤轿, 辇宫, among others.[2]

In contrast, fewer terms are used in English to refer to these objects: palanquin, sedan chair and litter.[3] To ensure clarity, we have adopted the following heuristic: "sedan chairs" refer to those open structures which only contain a single seat to hold the deity image of the censer. In the Chinese lexicon, this broadly corresponds to the terms "martial sedan chair" or "open sedan chair" and is also known as the "sedan chair to transverse mountains" among some temples. A "palanquin", in contrast, is partially covered, at least from the top, and is sometimes referred to as an "incense pavilion" (also known as "warm palanquin" or "civil palanquin") by some temples covered in this study.

The Social History of the Sedan Chair and Palanquin in Early China

One of the earliest mentions of sedan chairs and palanquins in China is in the *Records of the Historian* by Sima Qian (c. 145—86 BCE). Different forms of transport existed during Great Yu's time: "You can travel on land by carriage, on the water by boat, on mud by sledge, and on the mountain by *ju*".[4] The ambiguity of the term "*ju*" must be noted. One definition characterises it as "shoes with nails that are worn to transverse mountains, whereas another interpretation describes it as a mode of transportation borne on smooth-sliding poles [and thus resembling an open-aired sedan chair]".[5]

Additionally, archaeological reports from sites dating to the Spring and Autumn Period (770—476 BCE) reveal further insights into these vehicles in prehistoric China. In 1978, the "shoulder-borne sedan chair" remains were found among other burial goods in Hougudui, Gushi County. Summarising this discovery, Guo Jianzheng stated that the vehicle "comprised a base, a column, a railing, a cover on its roof, a pole, a lifting pole, etc."[6] Of significance, here was the rare discovery of a vehicle with an entire armature—a four-walled construct and roof. This is due to the perishability of wood and bamboo conventionally used to assemble these.

More references relating to modes of transportation can be found during and after the Han dynasty (202 BCE—220 CE). In *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters*, compiled by Xu Shen (58—148 CE), "*lei*" was defined as: "[s]omething that one ride upon when travelling throughout the mountains; [specifically] it derives its name from the sound of wood which resembles thunder".[7] Despite its brevity, Xu's onomatopoeic description confirmed Sima Qian's observation that special vehicles—regardless of their address as "*ju*" or "*lei*"—were designed for mountainous terrain. Of interest are the deliberate choices by individuals to traverse rough terrains or climates with manoeuvrable human-hoisted sedan chairs in the later periods of Chinese history. Through the *Book of Han* (compiled c. 111 CE), readers gain insight that the Prefect of Kuaiji, Yanzhu (122 BCE), "led from a sedan chair".[8] Half a millennium later, the *Book of Jin* (published c. 648 CE) compared a sedan chair's structure to a "basket-shaped *yu*".[9]

[2] For example, see 姚伯勋, "神轿的形式意义与制作产业发展历程," 文化资产保存学刊 16 (2011): 61-74; 韩天腾, 丁国昌, "从《封神演义》中九龙沉香辇看辇形椅制在明代的演变," 史论空间297 (2018): 71-73; 毛青丽, "妈祖神轿的演变研究 ,"大众文艺 19 (2018): 238-239; and 姜佩君, "澎湖的武轿及其相关传说," 中国文化大学中文学报 37 (2019): 155-163.

[3] On the history of such modes of transportation in Europe, see Harold W. Hart, "The Sedan Chair as a Means of Public Conveyance," *The Journal of Transport History* 4 (1962): 205-218.

[4] 司马迁, "夏本纪," section 21, in 史记, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/shiji/xia-ben-ji/. Sima Qian's sources, the problematisation of the said sources and his overall approach in the *Records of the Grand Historian* have been commented on by many researchers and readers. On the vast expanse of time that may have separated Sima Qian from convincing and accurate sources, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China: Volume 1, Introductory Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 88. Also see Michael Nylan, "Sima Qian: A True Historian?" *Early China* 23 (1998): 203–246.

[5] "樏," 汉典, accessed April 1, 2022, https://www.zdic.net/hans/樏.

[6] 郭建邦, "试论固始侯古堆大墓陪葬坑出土的代步工具—肩舆," 中原文物 1 (1981): 40. This article's bibliographic information is not indexed accurately in frequented search engines. The citation provided here is faithful to the hardcopy.

[7] 许慎 (Eastern Han Dynasty, 100-121 CE), 说文解字, part 7, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/mu-bu1/zhs.

[8] 班彪, 班固, 班昭, "严朱吾丘主父徐严终王贾传上: 严助, 朱买臣,吾丘寿王,主父偃,徐乐, 严安, 终军,王褒,贾捐之," section 6, in 汉书 (compiled circa. 111 CE). Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/han-shu/yan-zhu-wu-qiu-zhu-fu/zhs.

[9] 房玄龄, "列传第五十八:孝友," section 43, in 晋书, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=963325.

在我们开始讨论之前，有必要先对术语和命名法进行说明。首先，汉语中有很多汉字和术语用以指代英语中通常使用 的“palanquin”及“sedan chair”。正如我们将看到的，在中国历史上，许多字或词语被用来指这种靠人扛抬而行、供人乘坐的交通工具，例如：檐、舆、轿以及肩辇（英文译作“shoulder carriage”）。 在中国宗教中，被用来确切描述这些交通工具的术语更为复杂。许多二手文献对用于宗教活动中使用的轿子进行了细微的区分，例如：辇轿、武轿、显轿、文轿、花轿、大驾、凤轿及辇宫等。[2]

相比之下，英语中只有几个词汇用以指代轿子，即“palanquin”，“sedan chair”以及 “litter”。[3] 为了表述明确，我们对此做出以下定义：“sedan chair”指完全开放的轿子，仅有一张座位，上面供有香炉或神像。在汉语中相对应的词汇有“武轿”或“凉轿”，在一些庙宇中也被称为“过山轿”。相对的，“palanquin”指部分被覆盖住的轿子，至少是有顶篷的。一些本项目研究的庙宇将其称作“香亭”，也称“温轿”或“文轿”。

早期中国轿子的社会史

在早期中国，关于轿子的最早记载见于司马迁（约公元前145年—前86年）所编的《史记》。[4] 大禹治水的时候，“陆行乘车，水行乘船，泥行乘橇，山行乘檋。”[5]但我们并不清楚“檋”为何物，一种说法是“上山穿的钉鞋；一说上山坐的滑竿一类的乘具。”[6]

我们对轿子起源的了解还来自春秋时期（公元前770年—前476年）遗址的考古报告。1978年，河南固始侯古堆遗址出土了“肩舆”。郭建邦记录了这一发现：肩舆“是由底座、立柱、栏杆、顶盖、舆杆，抬杠等组成。”[7] 肩舆四面的立柱及顶盖仍然完整，考虑到用于建造轿子的材料——即木材和竹子——的易腐蚀性，这样的发现是相当罕见的。

汉代（公元前202年—公元220年）之后，关于轿子的记载越来越多。许慎（公元58年—148年）所编《说文解字》载：“檐：山行所乘者。从木累声。”尽管这一记载十分简短，许慎对“檐”的读音解释证实了司马迁的记载，即这些交通工具，无论是被称为“檋”或“檐”，都是用于山行。正如我们将看到的，出现了轿子以后，在地势崎岖或气候恶劣的地区，许多人出行选择乘坐由人抬的轿子，而不是骑马。《汉书》（约成书于公元111年）中有一节记载会稽太守严助（卒于公元前122年）“入越地，舆轿而踰领。”[8] 半个世纪以后，在《晋书》（约成书于公元648年）中，轿子被称为“篮舆”。[9]

[2] 例如，请参阅：姚伯勋，<神轿的形式意义与制作产业发展历程>，《文化资产保存学刊》2011 年第 16 期，页 61-74；韩天腾、丁国昌，<从《封神演义》中九龙沉香辇看辇形椅制在明代的演变>，《史论空间》2018 年第 297 期，页 71-73；毛青丽 ，<妈祖神轿的演变研究>，《大众文化》2018 年第 19 期，页 238-239；姜佩君，<澎湖的武轿及其相关传说>，《中国文化大学中文学报》2019 年第 37 期，页 155-163。

[3] 关于欧洲此类交通方式的历史，请参阅 Harold W. Hart, “The Sedan Chair as a Means of Public Conveyance”, *The Journal of Transport History* 4 (1962): 205-218。

[4] 关于与这些传统相关的主要叙述，请参阅 Mark Edward Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China* (New York: State University of New york Press, 2006). 关于学界的共识，相关辩论请参阅 Wu Qinglong, Zhao Zhijun, Liu Li, Darryl E. Granger, Wang Hui, David J. Cohen, Wu Xiaohong et al. “Outburst Flood at 1920 BCE Supports Historicity of China’s Great Flood and the Xia dynasty,” *Science* 353:6299 (2016): 579-582; and Wu Qinglong, Zhao Zhijun, Liu Li, Darryl E. Granger, Wang Hui, David J. Cohen, Wu Xiaohong et al. “Response to Comments on ‘Outburst flood at 1920 BCE Supports Historicity of China’s Great Flood and the Xia Dynasty,’” *Science* 355:6332 (2017): 1382-1382.

[5] 司马迁（约公元前 145 年-前 86 年），<夏本纪>第 21 段，《史记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/shiji/xia-ben-ji/. 司马迁在《史记》中所查阅的资料种类、其可信度以及司马迁在《史记》中所采用的整体方法，都受到了许多研究者和读者的广泛讨论。由于《史记》所记朝代时间跨度大，司马迁无法获得确切史料，请参阅 Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China: Volume 1, Introductory Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 88. 以及 Michael Nylan, “Sima Qian: A True Historian?” *Early China* 23 (1998): 203–246.

[6] 汉典 Zdic, s.v. “檋”，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://www.zdic.net/hans/檋.

[7] 郭建邦，<试论固始侯古堆大墓陪葬坑出土的代步工具——肩舆>，《中原文物》1981 年第 1 期，页 40。在常用的搜索引擎中没有本文的文献书目信息的准确索引。此处提供的引用信息基于纸质副本。

[8] 班彪，班固，班昭，<严朱吾丘主父徐严终王贾传上>（分别为严助，朱买臣，吾丘寿王，主父偃，徐乐，严安，终军，王褒，贾捐之）第 6 段，《汉书》（编于约公元 111 年），中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/han-shu/yan-zhu-wu-qiu-zhu-fu/zhs.

[9] 房玄龄（公元 579 年-648 年），<列传第五十八：孝友>第 43 段，《晋书》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=963325.

Notwithstanding the abovementioned sources, insights into the functions of sedan chairs in early China have only been extant from the Tang (618—907 CE) and Song dynasties (960—1279 CE) which had seen increases in literacy and print availability.[10] An example from the former era lies in the recorded observations in *The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* by Ennin (794—864 CE), a Japanese monk residing in Tang China between 838 and 847 CE. Observing Chancellor Li Deyu's (787—850 CE) inspection of monastery activities, Ennin notes that Li had "entered the temple, where he squatted on a large chair before he was borne away".[11]

Literacy and print availability aside, greater references to the use of sedan chairs that emerged in the Song dynasty can be attributed to commercial growth and proto-industrialisation. Of interest is that these references were both related to the ruling elite and commoners. The description of the Song dynasty in the *Silent Records* (compiled before 1144 CE), a history of the Northern Song dynasty, follows founder Song Taizu alias Zhao Kuangyin (927—976 CE) "pushing his way into the city [following the Chenqiao Mutiny] where the masses greeted him with white robes before he was ferried away on a sedan chair to the Tianqing Monastery".[12] Significant during the Northern Song dynasty (960—1127 CE) was the gradual evolution of "shoulder carriages" into palanquins, as claimed by Wu Renshu. To Wu, this process was accompanied by developments in artisanship and designs of these vessels.

According to Wu Renshu, by the Northern Song dynasty, "shoulder carriages" gradually evolved into palanquins. This process was accompanied by developments in artisanship and the design of these vessels. General transformations entailed the addition of a rooftop and a screen, the fittings of box-like constructs for increased protection from the natural elements and privacy. As such, these constructs became known as "warm palanquins".[13]

Thus far, references to the use of sedan chairs have mostly been linked to the upper classes, thereby prompting recognition of the association of sedan chairs and palanquins with high social and official statuses. It is certainly unsurprising. Song rulers, such as Song Huizong (1082—1135 CE, reigned 1100—1126 CE), attempted to halt the increased use of palanquins as transportation by commoners. Having had his attention drawn to the proliferation of "many warm palanquins in the capital [that were used by] wealthy non-officials, courtesans, and mean people", the said emperor "passed an edict, where non-officials below a certain grade were not permitted to ride within a warm palanquin".[14] Nonetheless, the continued ignoring of Song's mandate by the public, even into the Ming dynasty, reflects the pervasiveness of the sedan chairs and palanquins across Chinese society.

Further instances of the ubiquity of sedan chairs and palanquins can be noted in literature books, including the *Record of Yijian* by Hong Mai (1123—1202 CE), a supernatural stories collector. In an episode named after the courtesan Li Rou (n. d.) in Quzhou, Zhejiang, Hong illustrates the coincidental meeting of a government runner, Wang (n.d.), with Li, who was travelling alone to Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou). The uncommon sight of a solo woman traveller prompted Wang to enquire "why (she was) not accompanied by maids or riding a sedan chair but was travelling as a lonely woman over such a long distance". It was only after contacting her family later on that Wang realised that Li had passed away some time back and that he had encountered her ghost.[15] What is crucial about Hong's anecdote is its portrayal of the social life—customs and practices—in the Song dynasty, particularly the commonplace correlation of the courtesans' travels with the use of sedan chairs.

In particular, commoners' uses of sedan chairs and palanquins boomed after the migration of the capital of the Song dynasty south from Kaifeng (960—1127 CE) to Lin'an (1127—1279 CE) in present-day Hangzhou. The Neo-Confucian scholar and government official Zhu Xi (1130—1200 CE) observed that "no one has been seen without a palanquin" after the capital's southward migration.[16] Moreover, Zhu's accounts provide valuable insights regarding at least two widely accepted uses of palanquins and catafalques by commoners—namely, wedding ceremonies and funerals.[17] The continued acceptability of this form of transportation by brides and the deceased was significant, notwithstanding dynastic changes until the Qing dynasty (1644—1911 CE). This observed continuation highlights the intertwining of sedan chairs, palanquins and catafalques with distinctive markers of exceptionalities. After all, the said two special occasions for commoners aside, these vehicles were prioritised and championed by the upper classes.[18]

[10] Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt eds., *introduction to Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 2.

[11] 圓仁, "入唐求法巡礼行记卷第一," chapter 1, CBETA 2022.Q1, B18, 95, 15b5-6, last accessed April 1, 2022, https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/B0095_001.

[12] 王铚, "卷上," section 3, in 默记, Chinese Text Project, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=33223. On the colour of robes presented to Taizu, see the chapter on clothing and colour in this volume.

[13] 巫仁恕, "明代士大夫与轿子文化," 近代史研究所集刊 38 (2002): 5-7. 杜欣芸, "中国传统代步工具—轿子的设计美学初探" (吉林大学 Jilin University, Master's thesis, 2017), 33, in contrast, identifies the transformation as being "after the Tang-Song dynasty ," albeit without convincing substantiation.

[14] 托克托 Toqto'a (1314-1356 CE),., "志第一百六舆服五," section 62, in 宋史, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=691473.

[15] 洪迈, "夷坚志甲卷四," pages 004-7a and 004-7b, in 夷坚志, Kanseki Repository, accessed April 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR3l0122/004. The same anecdote is translated into English by Cong Ellen Zhang, ed. and trans., *Record of the Listener: Selected Stories from Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018), 73.

[16] Zhu Xi 朱熹, "法制," section 20, in 朱子语类, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/zhuzi-yulei/128/zhs. In the same comment, Zhu Xi also registered a complaint on humanitarian grounds, where he contrasted the Northern Song's regime vis-à-vis its decadent counterpart in the south, where "members of the scholar-gentry (in the Northern Song) were not allowed to board palanquins, for Wang Jinggong [the official Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086 CE)] forbade the treatment of human beings like livestock 士大夫皆不甚用轿, 如王荆公伊川皆云不以人代畜". Despite his reproach, it was evident that many commoners turned to bearing sedan chairs or palanquins as means of employment from the Tang dynasty onwards, as noted by various scholars elsewhere. See 舒国藩, "也谈轿和轿夫," 文史杂志 2 (1990): 25-26; and Kristin Stapleton, *Fact in Fiction: 1920s China and Ba Jin's Family* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 111-130.

[17] On the part where the bride was to be conveyed around in a palanquin, see Zhu Xi 朱熹, 家礼, section 3, paragraph 35, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=468828. On the role of catafalques, see 朱, 家礼, section 4, paragraph 171, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699.

[18] Matthew Joseph Eynon, "Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics: Case Studies of Nepal, Taiwan, and Japan" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1992), 222-238.

尽管这些史料记载了中国早期轿子的形制和功能，但我们所掌握的关于轿子实际使用的确切文献大多数见于唐朝（公元618年—907年）和宋朝（公元960年—1279年）之后，这可能是因为在这一时期，随着识字率不断上升以及印刷品越来越普遍，越来越多的文献资料得到保存。[10] 例如，留唐近十年（公元828年—847年）的日本法师圆仁（Ennin，公元794年—864年）的《入唐求法巡礼行记》记载了他对唐朝社会的观察。他的一篇文章载道“相公（李德裕，公元787年—850年）看僧事毕，即于寺里，蹲踞大椅上，被担而去。”[11]

宋朝以降，可能是受商业发展和原始工业化的刺激，越来越多统治精英开始使用轿子，有趣的是，平民中也出现了使用轿子的风气。记录北宋历史的《默记》（成书于公元1144年以前）载道：“艺祖（宋太祖赵匡胤，公元927年—976年）初自陈桥推戴入城，周恭帝即衣白襕，乘轿子出居天清寺。”[12] 根据巫仁恕的研究，到了北宋时期（公元960年—1127年），随着工艺技术和设计艺术的发展，肩舆逐渐演变为轿子。轿子不仅增加了顶盖和围屏，并逐渐转变成盒子状的结构，为乘客（通常是官员）提供保护，使其免受风雨和公众视线的侵扰。因此，轿子又被称为“暖轿”。[13]

宋朝统治者注意到作为交通工具的轿子在平民中广泛流行的现象，他们试图将使用轿子的权利限于等级和社会地位较高的人。当发现“今京城内暖轿，非命官至富民，娼优，下贱，遂以为常”，宋徽宗（公元1082年—1135年，1100年—1126年在位）“于是诏，非品官不得乘暖轿。”[14] 尽管如此，宋徽宗的诏令通常不受重视，明朝统治者同样对中国平民使用轿子感到沮丧。

《夷坚志》是洪迈（公元1123年—1202年）创作的文言志怪集，其中关于浙江衢州倡女李柔的记载反映了使用轿子的普遍性。当驶卒王先发现李柔独自前往临安（今杭州）时，他感到讶异并询问道“何以不携婢仆，又不乘轿，但一妇女，单孑远途，岂得为便。”后来，当王先到李柔家拜访她的家人时，他被告知李柔已经去世很久了，他遇到的其实是她的鬼魂。[15] 这一奇闻轶事反映了与洪迈同时代的许多人所了解的社会生活情况。在宋朝，乘坐轿子出行是很常见的，因此王先认为李柔应乘轿出行。

事实上，自宋朝由开封（公元960—1127年）迁都临安（公元1127—1279年）之后，原本不被允许乘轿的人开始广泛使用轿子。例如，南宋理学家士大夫朱熹（公元1130年—1200年）曾感叹：“南渡以前，士大夫皆不用轿，自南渡后至今，则无人不乘轿矣。”[16] 尽管朱熹对此感到悲哀，他在礼学著作《家礼》中提到可以使用轿和大舆的两种例外情况，分别为婚礼及葬礼。[17]即使王朝更迭，直到清朝（公元1644年—1911年），新娘和死者使用轿和大舆的现象仍很普遍，这体现了对平民在特殊情况下使用这些交通工具的宽容。[18]

[10] Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt eds., *introduction to Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 2.

[11] 圆仁（Ennin，公元 794 年-864 年），《入唐求法巡礼行记卷第一》，CBETA 2022.Q1, B18, no. 95, 15b4-6 页， https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/B18n0095_001，最后一次访问于 2022 年 4 月 1 日.

[12] 王铚（卒于公元 1144 年），<卷上>第 3 段，《默记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=33223. 关于宋太祖黄袍加身的历史事件，请参阅本卷关于服饰和颜色的章节。

[13] 巫仁恕，<明代士大夫与轿子文化>，《近代史研究所集刊》2002 年第 38 期，页 5-7。对此，杜欣芸认为这一转变“直到唐宋后期”，但并未给出明确史料证明，见杜欣芸，<中国传统代步工具——轿子的设计美学初探>，吉林大学硕士学位论文，2017 年，页 33。

[14] 托克托（公元 1314 年-1356 年）主编，<志第一百六 舆服五>第 62 段，《宋史》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=691473.

[15] 洪迈（公元 1123 年-1202 年），<夷坚志甲卷四>，页 004-7a and 004-7b，《夷坚志》，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR3l0122/004. 这一则故事被译为英文并收录于 Cong Ellen Zhang, ed. and trans., *Record of the Listener: Selected Stories from Hong Mai's Yijian Zhi* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018), 73.

[16] 朱熹（公元 1130 年-1200 年），<法制>第 20 段，《朱子语类》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/zhuzi-yulei/128/zhs. 在同一段中，朱熹将北宋时期“士大夫皆不甚用轿，如王荆公（王安石，公元 1021 年-1086 年）伊川（程颐，公元 1033 年-1107 年）皆云不以人代畜”与南宋时期“无人不乘轿”进行对比，从人道主义的角度对南宋时期的道德堕落进行批判。尽管他对此提出批评，但正如学者在其他研究中所指出的，从唐朝开始，许多平民就把抬轿作为一种职业。请参阅舒国藩，<也谈轿和轿夫>，《文史杂志》1990 年第2 期，页 25-26；及 Kristin Stapleton, *Fact in Fiction: 1920s China and Ba Jin's Family* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 111-130.

[17] 关于新娘乘坐花轿前往夫家的习俗，见朱熹（公元 1130 年-1200 年），《家礼》卷三，第 35 段，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=468828. 关于大舆的使用，见朱熹，《家礼》卷四，第 171 段，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=646699.

[18] Matthew Joseph Eynon, “Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics: Case Studies of Nepal, Taiwan, and Japan” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1992), 222-238.

The omnipresence of sedan chairs and palanquins amongst the upper classes and commoners was further bolstered even into the Ming dynasty (1368—1644 CE) with the associated relative affordability of these vehicles as opposed to traditional beasts of burden, including horses and donkeys. [19] As indicated by Wu Renshu, a potential reason for this also rested on terrain and climate. According to Wu, the region below the Yangzi River was not conducive for riding horses.[20] As noted, frustration regarding the everyday use of these vehicles by commoners plagued Ming rulers. This propelled repeated attempts at restricting the adoption of palanquins to officials of certain ranks, as noted in a series of rulings from 1506 to 1626.[21]

Considering the similarity of these multiple palanquin-related verdicts, few took these official injunctions to heart. The societal-wide commercialisation of Ming China, particularly within its urban conurbations, coupled with the emergence of an economically powerful merchant class, likely drove the demand for palanquins and their bearers.[22] The allure of sedan chairs and palanquins, as well as the entourages that accompanied some of their wealthier passengers, probably prompted those who could afford them to travel in these modes of transport as a form of "'conspicuous consumption'".[23]

[19] 巫, "明代士大夫与轿子文化," 14-15.

[20] 巫, "明代士大夫与轿子文化," 5-7, 13-14.

[21] 巫, "明代士大夫与轿子文化," 34-35.

[22] Many works have been authored on this development, and we shall leave the interested reader to consult a specialist bibliography on this period of imperial Chinese history. Inter alia, consider the introductory chapters by William S. Atwell, "Ming China and the Emerging World Economy, c. 1470–1650," in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty: 1368–1644*, ed. (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1998), 376-416; Martin Heijdra, "The Socio-Economic Development of Rural China During the Ming," ibid, 417-578; and Timothy Brook, "Communications and Commerce," ibid, 579-707. Also see Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999).

[23] 巫, "明代士大夫与轿子文化," 40-45.

Sedan Chairs and Palanquins in Chinese Religion

Curiously, despite the prevalence of sedan chairs and palanquins in the daily life of the Chinese from the Tang dynasty, relatively little is known about their roles in Chinese religious activities until late imperial China.[24] This is partially due to the somewhat elitist stance of official Chinese historiographers. Tours by deities around their localities were not typically treated as socially significant events, thus evading historical records. Compounding this lack of information, as Emily Ahern points out, was rooted in the imperial state's traditional hostility towards deity processions and their congregations. Qing China's strong stance was reflected in its laws prohibiting religious parades and enforcing liability and punishments on state representatives who turned a blind eye towards them. Hence, it can be posited that the dearth of religious-related palanquin coverage resulted from administrators' ensuing rejections relating to organisations of religious processions. [25]

Nonetheless, it is easy to overgeneralise literati and official perspectives towards these processions' gaiety, scale, and religious significance to commoners. Despite potential punishment, Matthew Eynon asserts the reluctant concession to "the wishes of the people to conduct palanquin processions" by some officials. Regarding the reason for this, Eynon suggests that these officials were probably "equally afraid" of the potential of "an even larger disturbance" if the locals were not appeased.[26] Liu Zhiwei additionally surfaced such administrative flexibility in relation to late-imperial and Republican Chinese elites in the Pearl River Delta. To Liu, these elites exhibited understanding and repositioned themselves with regard to deity processions and parades organised in honour of the Northern Emperor (alias the True Martial Emperor, or the Emperor of the Mysterious Heavens) vis-à-vis the masses. [27]

Studies focusing on the history of religion from late imperial China up till the 1930s note the parading of Chinese deities on sedan chairs by devotees during special religious occasions. Paul Katz, for example, observes that worshippers of Marshal Wen Qiong in late imperial Zhejiang organised themselves into distinctive associations of palanquin bearers.[28] Vincent Goossaert, likewise, believes that many City Gods in late imperial China were paraded about in sedan chairs in similar parades, regardless of their locality.[29] However, much of what we know about the religious functions of palanquins and sedan chairs have been derived from first-hand ethnographic studies and fieldwork conducted within China and among overseas Chinese communities in the second half of the twentieth and the twenty-first century.

[24] Confer with Eynon, "Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics," 239.

[25] Emily Martin Ahern, *Chinese Ritual and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 83-86.

[26] Eynon, "Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics," 242.

[27] Liu Zhiwei, "Beyond the Imperial Metaphor: A Local History of the Beidi (Northern Emperor) Cult in the Pearl River Delta," *Chinese Studies in History* 35:1 (2001): 26-28.

[28] Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 123, 152-154, 164, 196-212.

[29] Vincent Goossaert, "The Shifting Balance of Power in the City God Temples, Late Qing to 1937," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43:1 (2015): 15.

到了明代（公元1368年—1644年），轿子的使用在中国社会中已经十分普遍，与传统用于乘骑的动物（如马和驴）相比，轿子的价格相对低廉。[19]在明代，平民使用轿子也有所记载。巫仁恕认为，除其他原因外，长江以南地区的气候和地形不适合骑马。[20] 如同宋朝的统治者，轿子在平民中的流行也激怒了明朝的统治者，1506年至1626年，明朝统治者颁布了一系列法令，试图限制一定级别以下的官员使用轿子。[21]

这些法令大多没有效果，似乎很少有人将禁止使用轿子的官方禁令放在心上。明朝中国社会尤其是在城市区域的商业化，以及经济实力强大的商人阶级的出现，可能使得对轿子及其轿夫的需求激增。[22] 轿子本身的吸引力，加上伴随着富裕乘客的随从的号召力，可能促使人们使用这种交通工具，作为一种“炫耀式的消费”。[23]

华人宗教中的圣轿

奇怪的是，尽管自唐朝（公元618年—907年）以来，轿子就在中国人的日常生活中普遍存在，然而我们对中华帝国晚期以前中国宗教活动中使用轿子的情况知之甚少。[24] 部分原因与传统中国官方史学家的精英主义立场有关。地方神明的游行通常不被视为具有社会意义的事件，因此大多没有史料记载。正如芮马丁（Emily Ahern）在他的研究中所指出的，缺乏记载还源于皇权一直以来对这些因神明游行而聚集的人群的敌意。在清朝（公元1644年—1911年），官方明令禁止游神活动，并对这些活动睁一只眼闭一只眼的官员进行惩罚。因此，一些官员拒绝了民众组织宗教游行的请求，这可能导致了对游神活动的规模和色彩的记载不足。[25]

因此，我们很容易将文人和官方对这些游神活动的欢乐、规模和宗教意义的态度过度概括为平民的看法。正如Matthew Eynon指出的，尽管官员的不作为被上报给上级可能导致他们受到惩罚，但有些官员还是勉强同意民众进行抬轿游神的请求，因为他们可能同样担心，如果民众的诉求不被允许，当地可能会发生更大规模的骚乱。[26] 同样的，刘志伟指出，中华帝国晚期和民国时期珠江三角洲的精英并不以传统官方态度看待这些纪念北帝（又称真武大帝，或玄天上帝）的游神活动，这表明他们对于自己及大众的信仰的理解和定位具有很大的灵活性。[27]

一些关注中华帝国后期至20世纪30年代的宗教史研究指出，在特殊的宗教场合中，神明坐在圣轿上，在善信的伴随下进行绕境巡安。例如，康豹（Paul Katz）提到，在中华帝国晚期的浙江，温琼元帅的善信组织了独特的抬轿队伍。[28] 类似地，高万桑（Vincent Goossaert）也认为在中华帝国晚期，无论在何区域，当地城隍都是乘坐圣轿进行游行的。[29] 我们对轿子的宗教功能的了解，并非来自早期史料记载，大部分来自20世纪下半叶和21世纪以来在中国和海外华人社区中进行的民族志研究和田野调查。

[19] 巫仁恕，<明代士大夫与轿子文化>，页 14-15。

[20] 巫仁恕，<明代士大夫与轿子文化>，页 5-7 及 13-14。

[21] 巫仁恕，<明代士大夫与轿子文化>，页 34-35。

[22] 已有许多研究对明朝的商业化发展进行讨论，有兴趣的读者请自行查阅关于中华帝国这一时期历史发展的书目。例如，请参阅 William S. Atwell, “Ming China and the Emerging World Economy, c. 1470–1650,” in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty: 1368–1644*, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 376-416; Martin Heijdra, “The Socio-Economic Development of Rural China During the Ming,” ibid, 417-578; and Timothy Brook, “Communications and Commerce,” ibid, 579-707. 以及 Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999).

[23] 巫仁恕，<明代士大夫与轿子文化>，页 40-45。

[24] 请参阅 Eynon, “Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics,” 239.

[25] Emily Martin Ahern, *Chinese Ritual and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 83-86.

[26] Eynon, “Palanquins, Procreative Power, and Politics,” 242.

[27] Liu Zhiwei, “Beyond the Imperial Metaphor: A Local History of the Beidi (Northern Emperor) Cult in the Pearl River Delta,” *Chinese Studies in History* 35:1 (2001): 26-28.

[28] Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 123, 152-154, 164, 196-212.

[29] Vincent Goossaert, “The Shifting Balance of Power in the City God Temples, Late Qing to 1937,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43:1 (2015): 15.

Indeed, many reports regarding the roles of palanquins and sedan chairs during Chinese religious processions have emerged in recent years. Kenneth Dean, who researched religious communities in Fujian during the late 1980s, observes that sedan chairs bearing various deities were carried about during festivals.[30] Donald Sutton's fieldwork also highlights the use of similar modes of transport to ferry physical images of gods and deities— and by extension, their divine presence and ability to bless and exorcise their surroundings — during religious processions in Taiwan.[31] Similarly, in 2013, a short article was written about using palanquins to parade the City God of Chengguan Town in Qinghai province. That said, it must be noted that its author did not account for the history of these "inspection visits".[32]

Avron Boretz also notes the importance of an open-aired sedan chair during the "Blasting Han Dan Ye" ritual revived in Taidong, Taiwan, since the 1990s. As part of the ceremony, "a volunteer, usually a young or middle-aged member of a local gang, stands astride the god's palanquin, a simple wicker chair with a miniature carved figure of the god strapped to the top of the seat back". As he is carried about, lit firecrackers are either flung onto the volunteer or "strung from a bamboo pole and thrust against his body".[33] You Ziying's present-day ethnography of religious festivals held in the honour of the goddesses E Huang and Nu Ying in Hongtong County, Shanxi similarly emphasises the importance of the "divine sedan chair" to ferry these goddesses to various sacred sites in the region.[34]

A key feature of Mazu worship and the communities centred around it, as various scholars have noted, is the communal processions by the deity in decorated palanquins and sedan chairs as she is ferried around in these palanquins, both in the different locales where the temples are located, but also over longer distances, traversing across her place of origin in Meizhou island, Fujian, Taiwan island, and Southeast Asia.[35] An important festival pilgrimage involving Mazu would be the Da Jia Jenn Lann, for example, which can be seen in different temple centres around Taiwan. One of the most prominent events involves the pilgrimage of the Da Jia Mazu image from her temple in Taichung to Fengtian temple in Chia Yi and back again, lasting a total of nine days.

Fieldwork performed by British officials in colonial Southeast Asia has also shed some light on using sedan chairs and palanquins. William George Stirling (1887—1951), Assistant Protector of Chinese in Singapore between 1921 and 1931, had observed a procession performed for the sake of alleviating drought, illness, or disaster by "China-born Hokkiens of the vegetarian sect", which one might allude to a Nine Emperor Gods temple. Frustratingly, Stirling failed to indicate the time, date and place of this sighting, and his introduction vacillated between Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Perak. Still, his report finds many similarities with the swaying palanquins associated with the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals today: "(the deity's) palanquin is carried shoulder high by selected men. Now and again, as if driven by an unseen force, their burden is impelled forward, like a piece of wood driven by waves…The palanquin sways violently from side to side, and as suddenly as it has halted, it is suddenly impelled forward again".[36]

The belief that palanquins and sedan chairs host the power of their seated deities propelled their use in spirit-writing ceremonies or exorcisms, be these with or without a physical image of a selected deity. During his fieldwork in Taiwan, David Jordan came across "small wooden chair(s)" that were "usually about twenty centimetres on a side and about twenty-five or thirty centimetres in length at the back". The chair, which two male devotees wielded, awaited the descent of a deity, invoked by the burning of incense and constant observation of the throne for movement, such as "the tracing of characters upon the tabletop with one of the protruding arms".[37] In other temples, such as Zhen Ren Gong in Singapore, spirit-writing ceremonies or exorcisms comprise four men wielding large sedan chairs. The practice, which is still observed today, sees the tracing of the divinity's instructions onto a table with a protrusion at its side after the said deity's image has been secured onto the sedan chair.[38]

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[30] Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), passim.

[31] Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-century Taiwan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003),passim.

[32] 邢海珍, "大通县城关镇城隍庙会的历史变迁及社会功能," 青海社会科学 4 (2013): 203-204.

[33] Avron Boretz, *Gods, Ghosts, and Gangsters: Ritual Violence, Martial Arts, and Masculinity on the Margins of Chinese Society* (Honlulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 100-111. The quotations arefrom 101-102.

[34] You Ziying, *Folk Literati, Contested Tradition, and Heritage in Contemporary China: Incense Is Kept Burning* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020), passim, but specifically see 23-24, 103, 111, 135, 145-152, 209.

[35] For example, see 毛, "妈祖神轿的演变研究;" Robert P. Weller, "Goddess Unbound: Chinese Popular Religion and the Varieties of Boundary," *The Journal of Religion* 99:1 (2019): 18-36; and Jacob Friedemann Tischer, "The Invisible Hand of the Temple (Manager): Gangsters, Political Power, and Transfers of Spiritual Capital in Taiwan's Mazu Pilgrimages," *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 8:1 (2020): 74-78.

[36] William G. Stirling, "Chinese Exorcists," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2:1 (1924): 41.

[37] David K. Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village*, 3rd ed. (San Diego CA: Department of Anthropology, UCSD), republished as World Wide Web (WWW) Document, 159 and 144 respectively, accessed April 1, 2022, https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan. Also see 范正义, "乡村治理中的 "借乩断事" 现象研究," 华侨大学学报: 哲学社会科学版 1 (2018): 86-96.

[38] See the photographs and essays compiled in 新加坡真人宫一百周年纪念 (新加坡: 新加坡真人宫, 2012. While deity-writing sedan chairs are common throughout Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, to our knowledge, none of the fifteen temples that we have documented relied on this method of communication with the Nine Emperor Gods.

近年来出现了许多报告，对轿子在华人宗教游行中的作用进行讨论。例如，曾在上世纪80年代末研究福建宗教社区的丁荷生（Kenneth Dean）就注意到，载着不同神明的圣轿被抬着四处游走。[30] 苏堂栋（Donald Sutton）在田野调查中也发现，在台湾的宗教游行中，人们抬着圣轿和神像沿不同路线游行，神像代表着神明的神圣存在及其为附近区域赐福驱邪的能力。[31] 同样地，在2013年，有短文记载了青海省大通县城关镇城隍庙会时使用圣轿的情况，但作者没有说明这些“巡游”的历史。[32]

白安睿（Avron Boretz）说明了轿子在“炮炸寒单爷”仪式中的重要性，该仪式自上世纪90年代以来在台湾台东重新兴起。在“炮炸寒单爷”仪式中，扮演寒单爷的人（通常是当地帮派中的年轻或中年成员）挺立站在圣轿上，圣轿是一张简陋的竹架，椅背上绑有一座神像。他被抬着四处游走，人们或以鞭炮轰炸他，或将鞭炮绑在竹竿上并甩向他。[33] You Ziying的现代民族志记载了陕西省洪洞县纪念娥皇女英的宗教节日，其中也强调了送娥皇女英到各个宗教地点的“楼轿”的重要性。[34]

许多学者指出，妈祖崇拜和以妈祖为中心的社区的一个关键特征是，妈祖坐在装饰华丽的圣轿里进行巡游，可能到附近的其他庙宇，或到更远的地方，从妈祖发源地湄洲岛到达福建、台湾岛和东南亚。[35] 例如，在台湾岛内许多庙宇中都可以看到妈祖朝圣活动，其中最大规模的宗教活动之一是大甲妈祖从台中妈祖庙到嘉义奉天宫进香，然后再返回原地，整个活动为期九天。

英国在东南亚的殖民地官员进行的实地调查也提到了轿子的使用。威廉·史德龄（William George Stirling, 1887-1951年）在1921—1931年间担任新加坡助理华民护卫司（Assistant Protector of Chinese），他曾记录一场祈求缓解干旱、祛病驱灾的游行，由“中国出生、吃素的福建宗教派别”举行，这可能是指九皇庙。令人沮丧的是，史德龄在前言中也提到马六甲、新加坡、槟城和霹雳州，但他没有说明在何时何地看到了这场游行。尽管如此，他的报告中的许多描述与如今九皇千秋的摇圣轿颇为相似：“圣轿由专人抬在肩上，不时被推着向前，仿佛又一股看不见的力量在推动圣轿，如同海浪推动木块一样……圣轿剧烈的地左右摇晃，时而突然停下，时而向前冲击。”[36]

无论是否有神像，圣轿被认为承载着乘轿神明的力量，因此它们也可能被用于画符仪式或驱魔仪式中。例如，焦大卫（David Jordan）在台湾的田野调查中，他记载了轿乩仪式。通常而言，轿仔的正面大约20厘米高，背面大约25或30厘米高。两名男性助手对着轿仔作法，等待神明降临。他们烧香并不断观察辇轿，当圣轿乩手在桌上写出神谕时，说明神明已降临。[37] 其他庙宇，如新加坡的真人宫，则使用由四人操控的大圣轿。当神像被安请到上轿后，神明的指示就会通过圣轿的竹竿被记录在一张桌子上，这种做法直到今天仍可见到。[38]

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[30] Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 全文皆有提及。

[31] Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-century Taiwan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 全文皆有提及。

[32] 邢海珍，<大通县城关镇城隍庙会的历史变迁及社会功能>，《青海社会科学》2013 年第 4 期，页 203-204。

[33] Avron Boretz, *Gods, Ghosts, and Gangsters: Ritual Violence, Martial Arts, and Masculinity on the Margins of Chinese Society* (Honlulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 100-111. 引用部分见页101-102。

[34] You Ziying, *Folk Literati, Contested Tradition, and Heritage in Contemporary China: Incense Is Kept Burning* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020)，全文皆有涉及，尤其见页 23- 24, 103, 111, 135, 145-152, 209。

[35] 例如，请参阅毛青丽 ，<妈祖神轿的演变研究>；Robert P. Weller, “Goddess Unbound: Chinese Popular Religion and the Varieties of Boundary,” *The Journal of Religion* 99:1 (2019): 18-36; 及Jacob Friedemann Tischer, “The Invisible Hand of the Temple (Manager): Gangsters, Political Power, and Transfers of Spiritual Capital in Taiwan’s Mazu Pilgrimages,” *Review of Religion and ChineseSociety* 8:1 (2020): 74-78.

[36] William G. Stirling, “Chinese Exorcists,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2:1 (1924): 41.

[37] David K. Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village*, 3rd ed. (San Diego CA: Department of Anthropology, UCSD), 转载为 World Wide Web (WWW) Document, 分别见页 159 及 144，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan. 亦请参阅范正义，<乡村治理中的“借乩断事”现象研究——以闽南净峰镇轿乩信仰仪式为例>，《华侨大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》，2018 年第 1 期，页 86-96。

[38] 请参阅《新加坡真人宫一百周年纪念》（新加坡：新加坡真人宫，2012）中所收录的精彩照片与文章。尽管在东南亚华人社区中轿乩相当常见，但我们研究的 15 座寺庙中，没有一座依靠这种方式与九皇大帝沟通。

These studies demonstrate how palanquins are not only vehicles for deities but also, at times, their embodiments. Throughout mainland and overseas Chinese histories, palanquins have been integral to parades, processions and pilgrimages, rituals and communications between deities and communities. Notwithstanding its central feature, there is a dearth of literature on sedan chairs and palanquins and the communities and groups built around them by scholars working on Chinese religion. The Nine Emperor Gods palanquins and their roles in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival provide an interesting case study. They are unique in terms of their builds and constructions and the restrictions and regimes associated with them. Furthermore, the evolutions and expansions of their processions and tours also make for interesting studies, particularly the positioning of palanquins at the centre of new intersections of space, network, and community related to the changing identities of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore and beyond.

The Nine Emperor Gods' Palanquins: Variations and Varieties





1980s Charn Mao Hern Kew Huang Keng's (Kew Huang Keng) palanquin bearers with protective ankle leggings. Prior to this, they used to wear football socks. This attire provides protection from firecrackers that would usually be thrown at their feet or lit on the ground as they ran past carrying the palanquins during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Photographs courtesy of Sunny Lian.

1980年代，九皇宫轿队成员合照。其中大多数人从脚踝往上都穿着紧身衣。几位知情者解释说，这是为了保护他们免受节日期间在地上点燃的鞭炮的伤害。照片由梁有生提供。

这些研究表明，圣轿不仅是神明的乘御仪具，有时也是神明化身，既在出巡赐福和进香活动中发挥重要作用，也是神明与社区之间的交流方式。尽管出巡和进香活动、社交活动以及轿乩现象等受到华人宗教研究学界的关注，但学者们较少将圣轿或围绕圣轿组织的社区和团体作为学术研究的主题。九皇圣轿及其在九皇千秋中的作用为我们提供了一个有趣的案例。其独特之处不仅在于九皇圣轿的形制，还在于与之相关的规范和戒律。此外，九皇圣轿的绕境游行的演变和网络扩展也值得深入研究。圣轿如何成为空间、网络和社区等相互交叉的新焦点，这些交叉体现了新加坡以及其他地区九皇千秋不断变化的认同。

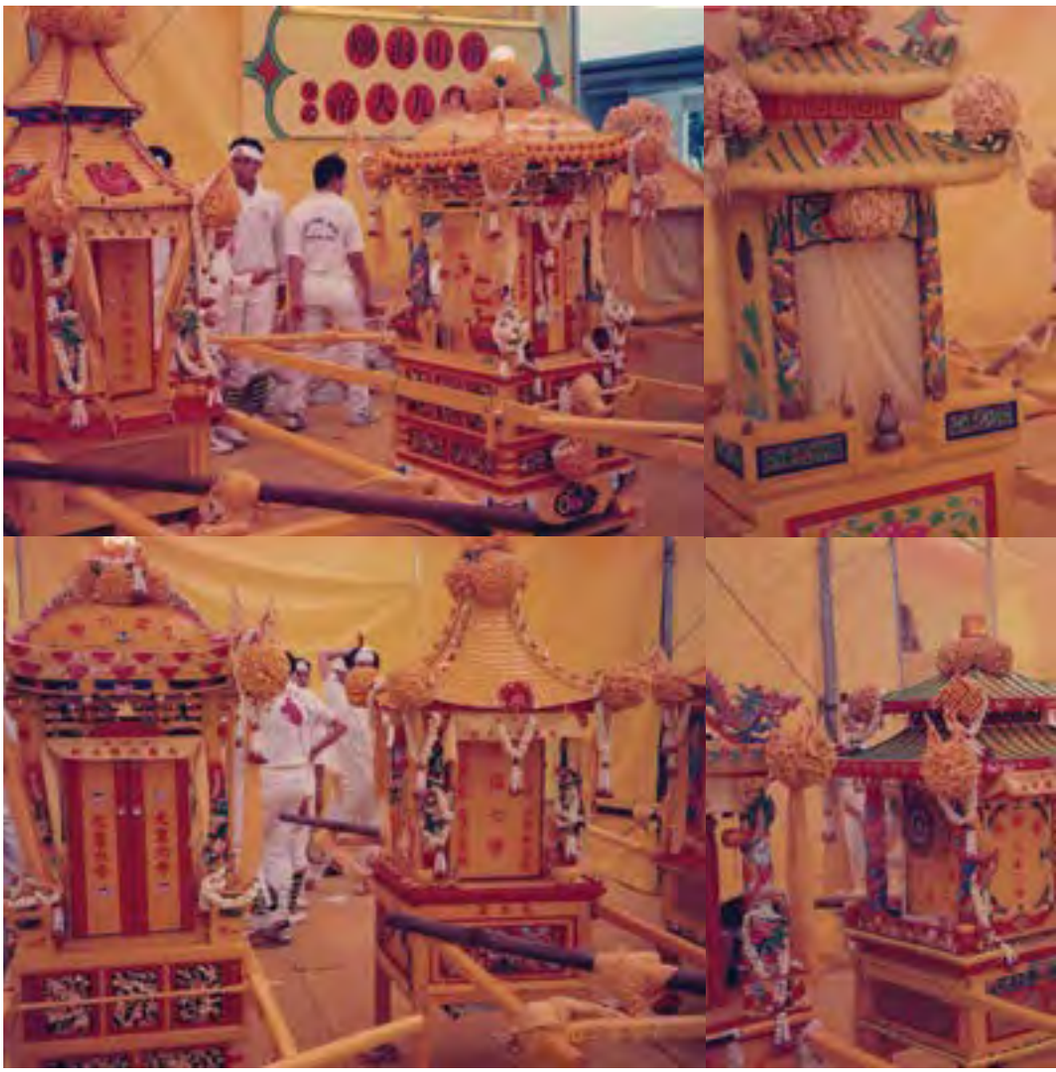
九皇圣轿：演变与变迁



▲
Exchanging incense between the Dou Mu Yuan Jun palanquin and the deity-receiving station 迎神站 at Geylang Bahru during the *yew kampong* procession.

九皇宫斗母元君圣轿代表与芽笼峇鲁迎神站香炉换香。

A key unique feature of the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins in Singapore is its covered interior via wooden walls and doors or a yellow cloth screen. The cloth screen, walls or doors are only opened after the censer reaches the Inner Chambers of festival sites or temples or during exchanges of incense sticks from the ferried censer to the locations of visit and vice-versa. Vital to these rituals, however, is the continuation of reverence for the palanquins' interiors. Consequently, similar rituals feature temporary barriers with flags, human bodies or a large piece of yellow cloth to block the interiors from public view.



新加坡的九皇圣轿具有一个独特之处，圣轿或由木制的围屏和门围住，或由黄布覆盖四周，确保安奉其中的九皇炉或其他礼器不受公众视线的侵扰。所有九皇圣轿都有顶篷，或许如此，一些庙宇称九皇圣轿为“香亭”。只有当九皇炉被运送到内殿，或是与友庙交换檀香时，前帘或木门才会打开。即便如此，庙宇成员会用旗帜和身体挡住圣轿，或在周围升起一大块黄布，保证内部结构也不为外人所看见。



1994 photograph of the nine Nine Emperor Gods from Leng Nam temple visiting Nan Shan Hai temple during a *yew keng*. Photograph courtesy of Nan Shan Hai temple.

龙南殿的九乘九皇宝轿到南山海庙绕境参拜，1994年。照片由南山海庙提供。



Nan Shan Hai temple deploys two Nine Emperor Gods palanquins for the festival today.

南山海庙九皇胜会的两乘九皇宝轿。



The Dou Mu palanquin at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

龙山岩斗母宫的斗母圣轿。



Six of the nine palanquins that are used during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong today.

龙山岩斗母宫为九皇九位大帝准备的九乘宝轿中。



▲
Undated photograph (likely from the late 1980s and 1990s) depicting the Nine Emperor Gods palanquin used during the festival at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Temple). Unlike today, they had only one palanquin for the Nine Emperor Gods. Photographs courtesy of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

早期蔡厝港斗母宫的九皇千秋期间只有一乘九皇宝轿，日期不详（可能是 1980 年代末 1990 年代初）。照片由蔡厝港斗母宫提供。

Most temples in Singapore designate one or two covered palanquins to carry the consecrated censers or sacred objects of the Nine Emperor Gods and the Dou Mu Yuan Jun. Several temples, namely Leong Nam Temple, Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, and Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, have nine palanquins—one for each of the Nine Emperor Gods.

▶

Today, there are nine palanquins for the Nine Emperor Gods at Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng. A team of devoted palanquin bearers follows each of the nine palanquins.

如今的蔡厝港斗母宫有九乘宝轿。 每一乘圣轿后面都有一队特定和忠心的抬轿队员。





在新加坡，大多数庙宇都有一到两架圣轿，用以供奉九皇大帝和斗姆元君。龙南殿、蔡厝港斗母宫和龙山岩斗母宫等庙宇各有九架九皇圣轿，分别供奉一位九皇大帝。



▲
Undated photographs (likely from the 1990s) of an open palanquin for the Nine Emperor Gods carrying an earthenware censer filled with burning sandalwood being carried about for devotees to bless themselves within Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong. The last day of the festival included the sending-off of the censer at sea as part of the sending-off rituals for the Nine Emperor Gods. (Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong).

在九皇宝诞期间，汫水港斗母宫会在九皇大帝的圣轿中安放一个装满燃烧的檀香木的陶器香炉，让善信们用檀香为自己祈福。在节日的最后一天，香炉会在恭送圣驾的仪式中被送入海中。前三张照片由汫水港斗母宫提供，日期不详（可能是1990年代）。





▶
Undated photographs (likely from the 1980s) of the second Nine Emperor Gods palanquin at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong which is covered by yellow cloth when it goes on procession. Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫的第二乘九皇宝轿在出游时会用黄布遮盖。日期不详（可能是1980年代）。



◀
A Nine Emperor Gods palanquin being carried in procession during the festival at Hougang Tou Mu Kung Temple in 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

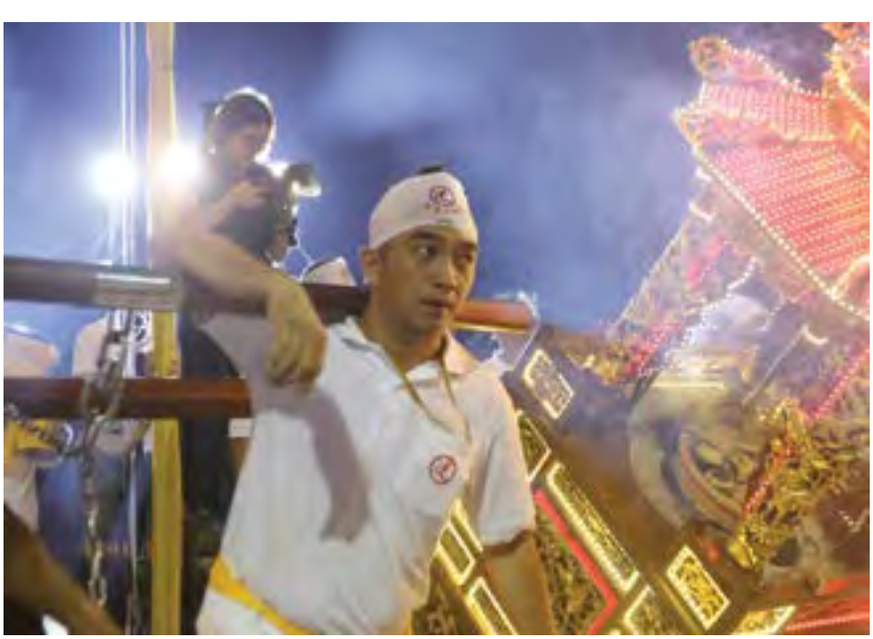
1990年，后港斗母宫的九皇宝轿出巡。照片来自新加坡旅游局的收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。





The veiled palanquin is still used in Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong today.

洪水港斗母宫仍使用黄布和黄色面纱遮掩的九皇宝轿。



An open palanquin bearing a censer of burning incense being carried during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Hougang Tou Mu Kung today.

当今后港斗母宫九皇宝轿出游。宝轿没有遮盖，轿中安放燃烧着香木的香炉。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival chiefly harnesses covered palanquins to transport censers and other secret sacred objects for the receiving and sending-off ceremonies. It is important to recognize that temples prioritize maintaining religious secrecy via their use of palanquins, to instill respect among devotees. A case in point is keeping at least one of the many possible contents held or transported on palanquins a secret by temples, including Shin Sen Keng. In particular, out of all the palanquins used by Shin Sen Keng, the temple continues to isolate and conceal the contents of the main covered palanquin. In contrast, its multitiered pagoda palanquin openly displays a wooden tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods.

Similarly, Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong mainly carry paper tablets of the Nine Emperor Gods within covered palanquins. Other Nine Emperor Gods-related paraphernalia, such as their censers, are carried in open sedan chairs. That said, Kim San Tze and Kew Huang Keng display the image of the Nine Emperor Gods that accompanies the receiving and sending-off contingents on available sedan chairs or open palanquins that are only sheltered by in-built roofs (without walled sides).



A fully veiled palanquin carrying the Nine Emperor Gods at the Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple. Devotees prepared a table of offerings for the deities in front of their homes, with some of them dressed in white and wearing a white headscarf. Note the use of white candles in the final photograph.

用黄布遮盖的安邦南天宫九皇宝轿准备出巡。出巡途中有善信在家门前准备一桌供品和家属（有些也穿白衣白裤带白头巾）一起迎接神明。有些善信的供桌还使用白蜡烛。

对于大多数庙宇而言，九皇圣轿用以承载在恭迎仪式和恭送仪式中使用的九皇圣炉。但在一些庙宇中，至少有一架圣轿的内部物品是不为人知的。在神仙宫，主圣轿所承载的物品是保密的，此外还有一架多层圣轿，上面是九皇大帝的木制神像，而陶制香炉以及檀香块或线香则由队伍的先锋之一捧着。在后港斗母宫和洪水港斗母宫，九皇炉被供奉在凉轿上，而九皇大帝纸质神位则被安奉在被遮盖住的九皇圣轿中。在金山寺和九皇宫，九皇大帝神明乘坐凉轿或敞篷圣轿（有顶篷，但两侧是敞开的）伴随恭迎和恭送队伍出行。





Fully covered palanquins can also be seen at Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites outside of Singapore, like the Kathu Shrine in Phuket. In the Kathu Shrine, the deities have been observed to be carried through the streets in palanquins fully cloaked by yellow cloths emblazoned with one character of the deities' title on each side.[39] Similar observations have been made in Ampang's Nan Tian Gong Temple—all three of the temple's palanquins remain fully veiled by yellow cloths, shielding the contents within. Recognizing the grand scale of festivities at the temple historically leads to the understanding that early mentions of a "heavily curtained sedan chair" during fire-walking ceremonies in Ampang were most likely linked to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Nan Tian Gong Temple.[40]



The fire-walking rituals can still be seen during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today in Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong. The procession sees the temple sedan chairs leading the devotees and volunteers in walking over the burning coals.

在龙山岩斗母宫，当今的九皇千秋仍有过火路的习俗仪式。几乘安座神明的宝轿带领善信理事走过燃烧的炭火。

[39] See samples in ศาลเจ้ากะทู้ 内杼斗母宫 (Kathu Shrine) (@Kathushrine), "แห่พระศาลเจ้ กะทู62," Facebook, October 6, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=Kathushrine&set=a.2757847794227894.

[40] "Penitence," *Malaya Tribune*, February 16, 1916, 14. Penang Island's temples came a close second, where the phenomenon of swaying palanquins was mentioned in "咄！咄！九皇爷快要来哉！" 星洲日报, September 24, 1929, 19.

有顶篷的九皇圣轿也可见于普吉岛内杆斗母宫。九皇大帝乘坐圣轿沿街游行，圣轿四周覆盖着黄布，每一架圣轿都印有“九皇大帝”的字样（每一面各印着“九皇大帝”其中之一）。[39] 安邦南天宫的情况也是如此，三架九皇圣轿都被黄色布帘遮蔽，不被外界看到其内部结构。安邦南天宫的庆典规模庞大，最早关于“围帘覆盖的圣轿”的记录，见于该庙九皇胜会的过火路仪式。[40]







[39] 相关影像资料，见 ศาลเจากะทู้ 内杆斗母宫 (Kathu Shrine) (@Kathushrine), “แห่พระศาลเจ้า กะทู้62,” Facebook, 2019 年 10 月 6 日，https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=Kathushrine&set=a.2757847794227894.

[40] “Penitence,” *Malaya Tribune*, 1916 年 2 月 16 日，第 14 版。此外还有关于槟城庙宇的报道，其中提到了摇神轿的现象，见“咄！咄！九皇爷快要来哉！”，见《星洲日报》，1929 年 9 约 24日，第 19 版。









▲
On the last day of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, the tablet representing the Nine Emperor Gods is escorted first to a veiled palanquin under the cover of yellow cloth raised by the volunteers. It is then escorted to the beach as part of the sending-off rituals.

九皇胜会的最后一天，九皇大帝的神主牌会在黄布的掩盖下从后港斗母宫的内殿请到到宝轿，再由宝轿护送到海岸。





◀
Whenever the Nine Emperor Buddhas leave the temple's Inner Chamber or palanquin, a makeshift human barrier is formed around the censer representing them.

在准提堂，每当九皇佛祖离开内殿或宝轿时，一个临时的人形屏障就会围绕着他们的香炉。

The meticulously maintained secrecy surrounding the contents of specific palanquins allows us to compare these covered palanquins to the Inner Chambers of Nine Emperor Gods temples and festival areas. After all, secrecy about temples' Inner Chambers has been widely known as a core feature of the festival in Southeast Asia. In brief, these Inner Chambers were believed to protect the Nine Emperor Gods' or Doumu's censers, or any sacred object associated with them, from potential polluting influences. The role of ritual specialists is to ensure that the consecrated censers of the deities are concealed from public view, including both the censers themselves and their contents. [41] Underlying this responsibility is the wish to prevent uninformed and "impure" onlookers—who do not adhere to purification regimes, including *zhai*—from being in contact with the religious paraphernalia *en route*. Such emphasis has prompted Singapore-based temples—Hougang Tou Mu Kung, Jiu Huang Dian and Zhun Ti Tang—to harness special flags, yellow cloths and veils to conceal consecrated censers and other sacred objects during transportation.

Most temples apply the commonly observed restrictions associated with Inner Chambers on the Nine Emperor Gods palanquins to maintain the sanctity of these spaces. This accounts for the similarly gendered nature of traditions associated with palanquins. Only male members from the temple's leadership are allowed to purify, clean, and perform rituals in both circumstances.[42] Moreover, both circumstances mandate that the involved individuals strictly adhere to *zhai* diets and regimes to maintain overarching purity to perform their duties during the festival.



Hougang Tou Mu Kung's palanquins in 1990. Of interest is the divergence from the usual white dress code for palanquin bearers and the provision of individual censers per palanquin within the temple's compound noted in the final photograph. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

属于后港斗母宫的宝轿，1990年。许多抬轿队员没有穿白衣，在最后一张照片中，每乘宝轿都有各自的香炉安在轿前地面上。照片来自新加坡旅游局的收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

[41] A less commonly heard reason is that the Nine Emperor Gods lacked heads as a result of decapitation, and thus it was deemed impolite if outsiders saw their incomplete bodies. Although this was not explicitly mentioned by our informants – probably out of the belief that this may be perceived a slight to the deities – in present-day Singapore, newspapers reports from the past and present have implied that the deity was believed to lack a head. See, for example, references made to the "headless god" in the article "Chinese Miners' Self-Torture before "the Headless God," *Straits Budget*, November 3, 1938, 14; and photographs inserts in *Straits Budget*, November 10, 1938, 17.

[42] See the chapter on *zhai* and vegetarianism for the detailed contextualisation of this taboo.

从这个意义上说，九皇圣轿如同方便出行的小型内殿，保护九皇大帝或斗姆元君的香炉以及其他神圣礼器，确保其不受任何污染的干扰。在许多庙宇中，礼仪专家特别注重神明的香炉远离公众的视线和接触，他们不希望神明在出巡途中被那些不够“纯洁”的旁观者“污染”，即那些没有通过持斋净化自己的人。[41] 在一些庙宇中，例如后港斗母宫、九皇殿和准提堂，庙宇成员会在旗帜和黄布的掩护下移动香炉和其他礼器。

在大多数庙宇中，与内殿有关的常见限制也适用于九皇圣轿，以保证这些空间的神圣性。总的来说，只有庙宇领导层的男性成员才可以进入内殿，进行清洁工作和举行仪式。[42] 抬轿队员和负责照料圣轿的成员必须严格遵循斋戒，确保他们在节日期间以最洁净的状态履行他们的职责。







[41] 一个较少被提及的原因是九皇大帝因为被斩首而没有头，若外人看见他们不完整的身体，可能令他们感到冒犯。可能是出于对神明的敬重，我们的受访者并未明确提到这一点，但在新加坡，过去和现在的报纸报道都暗示九皇大帝是没有头的。关于“无头神明”的报道，请参见，例如“Chinese Miners' Self-Torture before “the Headless God,” *Straits Budget*, 1938 年 11 月 3 日，第 14 版；以及 *Straits Budget* 刊登的照片，见 *Straits Budget*，1938 年 11 月 10 日，第 17 版。

[42] 请参阅本卷参见持斋与吃素的章节，对这一戒律进行了详细的论述。



Nine Emperor Gods palanquins used by Hougang Tou Mu Kung today.

后港斗母宫当今的九皇宝轿。

In Singapore, two temples do not carry their Nine Emperor Gods censers in a fully-covered or shielded palanquin. In Hougang Tou Mu Kung today, the consecrated censer is placed within a palanquin whose canopy is supported by four pillars. However, its contents can be publicly viewed. As it travels, incense smoke follows the entire procession. Nevertheless, the temple has a completely-covered palanquin reserved for a spirit tablet of the Nine Emperor Gods. The latter is concealed within the palanquin by a veil of yellow cloth. A similar practice is observed at Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, where the Nine Emperor Gods censer filled with burning sandalwood is carried about in an open-aired sedan chair. A consecrated paper spirit tablet of the said deities is carried in a covered palanquin.[43]

[43] It is said that one of the temple's palanquins, which comprises a throne, is almost a century old as of 2022. An earlier report by 谢燕燕编辑., 庙宇文化: 新加坡民俗导览, 第一本 (新加坡: 焦点出版公司, 2005 Singapore: Focus Publishing, 2005), 78, noted that the vehicle was approximately eighty years old.

新加坡有两座庙宇没有使用完全覆盖住的圣轿来承载九皇炉。在今天后港斗母宫，香炉被安置在由四根立柱支撑的圣轿中。因此，圣轿的内部构造可被外人看见。在出游过程中，香烟霭霭伴随前行的队伍。然而，后港斗母宫也有一架完全覆盖的圣轿，专为九皇大帝的神主牌而设。神主牌安奉于圣轿之中，黄布盖住圣轿四周。类似情况也见于洪水港斗母宫，装满檀香的九皇炉被安置在一架凉轿上，而九皇大帝的神主牌（疏）则被供奉在有顶篷和围屏的圣轿中。[43]



▲
Three-storeyed palanquin used by Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan Qiang Nang Lao Yu Luo Chun (Xuan Wu Shan), likely during the 1980s Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

玄武山在九皇千秋节日期间使用的三层宝轿，约1980s. 照片由Ronni Pinsler提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的Ronni Pinsler收藏。

[43] 洪水港斗母宫的一架圣轿据说到 2022 年已有近百年的历史了。相关报道请参阅谢燕燕编，《庙宇文化：新加坡民俗导览（第一本）》（新加坡：焦点出版公司，2005），页 78，其中提到这架圣轿约有 80 年的历史。



Three-storeyed palanquin used by Xuan Wu Shan during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival today. Note how the spirit tablet of the "Nine Emperor Buddhas" had been changed to "Nine Emperor Gods" in the second photograph.

今天玄武山在九皇千秋节期间使用的三层圣轿。请注意，在第二张照片中，"九皇佛祖 "的灵牌已被改为 "九皇大帝"。

Indeed, there exist many variations of the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins. Doubling as an altar for the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang during the festival, Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan's palanquin is a three-tiered roofed structure that resembles a building. On the whole, contained within the three tiers (from top to bottom) are the following: The temple's Sacred Decree, a spirit tablet to the Nine Emperor Gods (regarded as the "Nine Emperor Buddhas" before a change that occurred in recent years), as well as a tablet with bearing the name Doumu.[44] A notable aspect in the case of Xuan Wu Shan is that the palanquin is carried by women who participate in *zhai* rituals, rather than men. This arrangement stems from the location of Doumu's spirit tablet on its lowest tier. As a result, this unique practice ensures the separation of genders, thereby preserving religious sanctity. Given this setup, the two censers devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Niang Niang (the latter previously devoted to the "Heavenly Father and the Earthly Mother" in Ronni Pinsler's photographs) are, instead, carried about separately via a shoulder pole by two devotees.



[44] This suggests that the temple—which still maintains strong Chaozhou affiliations and practiced dialect-specific rituals such as the "Leaving the Garden 出花园" ceremony—may have originally derived their incense-lineage of the Nine Emperor Buddhas worship from central Thailand, probably Bangkok, like the eponymous deities that are worshipped in Zhun Ti Tang today. See 刘咏亭, "马六甲潮州人'出花园'成年礼的习俗演变—以沈俊城为口述访谈对象," (Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, Final Year Project, 2012); 陈景熙, "潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究," 潮学研究 11 (2004): 271-296; and 张长虹 Zhang Changhong, "从泰国潮剧变迁看华人的文化适应," 华人研究国际学报 2:1 (2010): 58-62.



不同庙宇的九皇圣轿形制不同。玄武山翰林院的圣轿是三层带屋顶的结构，在节日期间同时用作圣轿以及九皇大帝和斗母娘娘的神龛。圣轿中并没有供奉香炉，从顶层至底层分别供奉着圣旨牌、九皇大帝的神主牌（原先该庙称“九皇佛祖”，近年来才改为“九皇大帝”）、[44] 斗母娘娘的神主牌。有趣的是，由于圣轿的底层供奉着斗母娘娘，因此接近这位女性神明负责抬轿队员为女性善信，前提是她们必须遵循斋戒，得到仪式性净化。九皇大帝和斗母娘娘的香炉（在Ronni Pinsler的照片中，斗母娘娘的香炉原是供奉“天公地母”的）分别由两名善信用一根扁担抬着。



◀
Twisted bundles of yellow cloth around the handles of palanquins to ensure strong support.

一捆捆的黄布缠绕在圣轿的把手上，形成一个强有力的支撑。

[44] 这表明玄武山翰林院的香火可能源于泰国中部，可能是曼谷地区的九皇佛祖崇拜，如同今天的准提堂，也供奉着九皇佛祖。玄武山翰林院仍然保持着潮州传统和文化实践，例如“出花园”等仪式就像今天遵提堂里供奉的同名神灵一样。请参阅刘咏亭，<马六甲潮州人“出花园”成年礼的习俗演变——以沈俊城为口述访谈对象>，拉曼大学毕业论文，2012 年；陈景熙，<潮汕北斗九皇菩萨崇拜研究>，《潮学研究》2004 年第 11 期，页 271-296；张长虹，<从泰国潮剧变迁看华人的文化适应>，《华人研究国际学报》2010 年第 1 期，页 58-62。

To date, attributions of the motions of the Nine Emperor Gods' and deities' sedan chairs and palanquins to both the bearers and the presence and power of the said divinities abound. It is believed that palanquins and sedan chairs containing deity images, sacred objects or consecrated censers "literally burst into life" upon being lifted. Existing observations describe either gentle or vigorous swaying of the palanquins during travels.[45] Observing the ongoings in Nan Tian Gong Temple, Cheu Hock Tong attributes these motions to the design of the palanquins. In particular, Cheu's argument for the swaying motion foregrounds the suspended, rather than solid, attachments of these palanquins' shoulder poles to their vehicles by thick knots of yellow cloth.[46] Such an argument differs from perceptions held in Singapore which largely associate the movements with the specific traditions of various temples and their communities.



[45] To be sure, this phenomenon is not unique to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Palanquins and sedan chairs used in other Chinese deity festivals have also adopted this behaviour upon consecrated, or the attachment of a deity's image.

[46] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 65-66.

许多人相信，九皇圣轿和其他圣轿的摇摆和移动不仅是因为抬轿队员摇晃圣轿，也与九皇大帝和其他神明的出现有关。抬轿队员抬起载有神明或香炉的圣轿，就意味着神明入坐，圣轿也被注入神力。[45] 圣轿在移动时会不断摇晃，时而剧烈晃动，时而轻微摇摆。根据周福堂在安邦南天宫的观察，他认为圣轿晃动的部分原因在于这些轿子的设计。[46] 由于这些轿子的轿身不是直接与肩杆相连，而是用黄色的厚布条悬挂着，所以每当圣轿被抬起时，它们就会摇摆。在新加坡，圣轿的移动方式根据庙宇和社区的传统而有所不同。



◀ Undated photographs (likely from the 1970s) capture the sight of the running palanquins of Kew Huang Keng during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in the southern part of Lemongrass Village. In the second photograph, note the smoke emanating from firecrackers ignited on the ground. The palanquins of Kew Huang Keng and Hong San temple were well-known for this style of carrying, as "running palanquins" 跑轿. Photographs courtesy of Ler Su Kuee.

葱茅园村下芭新芭社九皇宫旧时的"跑轿"。第二张照片中显示了当时跑轿的热闹场面与气氛，尤其地面上点燃鞭炮所产生的烟雾。日期不详（可能是1970年代）。照片由吕序奎提供。

[45] 可以肯定的是，这并非九皇千秋特有的现象。当其他华人神明节日中的圣轿受到供奉或有神像附在其上时，圣轿也会摇摆。

[46] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 65-66.



▲
Kew Huang Keng's palanquins traversing over a bed of burning incense paper in 1987. Photographs courtesy of Sunny Lian.

九皇宫的九皇宝轿在燃烧的香纸床上行驶，1987年。照片由梁有生提供。





◄
The palanquins of Kew Huang Keng at the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods and Doumu by the sea in 1987 and the present day. The first photograph is courtesy of Sunny Lian.

1987年至今，九皇宫的九皇与斗母宝轿在海边恭送斗母元君香炉仪式。第一张照片由梁有生提供。

Different traditional ways of carrying palanquins exist, such as the "Seven Stars", based on their designs and familiarity with the traditions of palanquin bearers.[47] The swaying motions of palanquins can be linked to the different deliberate, coordinated steps—"step formations"—undertaken by their bearers. Of crucial note is the prevalence of distinctions of the palanquins found in the Paya Lebar district, such as those from Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng and Nan Shan Hai temple. Specifically, these palanquins are not carried in a swaying motion. Rather, palanquin bearers from these temples have been observed to run and charge at great speeds over long distances whilst carrying the palanquins. It is fathomable that these said palanquins have since been labelled as "running palanquins". Despite the uniqueness of this observed practice in contemporary times, research materials such as old photographs provide insights into similar occurrences of this phenomenon in Xuan Wu Shan. Depicted in the said photographs were women running through streets with the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu palanquin during festival processions. That said, generally, a combination of both styles—swaying and running—has been adopted by most temples. Ultimately, the utilised styles depend on the occasion, including space availability, palanquin designs, and the experience of the palanquin bearers. For example, despite existing recognition of its running palanquins, Kew Huang Keng largely exercises adaptability in changing to the swaying motion in tighter spaces—particularly during their tours.



[47] During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, two forms of footwork are commonly observed: The first version involves the four bearers moving in a circular direction in an open area, while the palanquin sways. The second style, inspired by the Steps of Yu or Seven Star Steps, is commonly seen among mediums of the Southeast Asian Nine Emperor Gods tradition. In this style, the palanquin bearers move in a zig-zag fashion while carrying the palanquin. For a brief introduction, see 张泽洪, "论道教的步罡踏斗," 中国道教 4 (2000): 7-11.

不同庙宇的圣轿构造不一，庙宇所遵循的传统也不相同，因此抬轿方式有所区别。在许多庙宇中，抬轿队员采取协调的步伐，摇摆着圣轿前进。抬轿队员提到不同类型的“步法”，例如“莲步”和“七星步”。巴耶利峇（Paya Lebar）区域的庙宇，尤其是凤山宫、九皇宫和南山海庙，通常采取“跑轿”的做法。在这些庙宇中，抬轿队员抬动圣轿时不会摇晃圣轿，而是扛着圣轿快速奔跑和冲刺。[47] 同样情况见于玄武山的九皇大帝和斗母圣轿。从旧照片中可以看到，在节日游行期间妇女们抬着轿子跑过街道。尽管存在差别，人们经常看到“摇轿”和“跑轿”的结合，这取决于节日场合（特别是空间大小）、轿椅的构造以及抬轿队伍的经验。例如，九皇宫凤山宫以其“跑轿”闻名，但在狭窄的空间里，抬轿队员通常以摇圣轿绕圈的方式抬轿，如同绕境时所能见到的。



◀
A covered palanquin, carried by eight men, deployed by Yu Huang Dian Yu Hai Tang Guan Yin Tang (Yu Hai Tang) at the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

玉海棠护送九皇菩萨的宝轿需要八个男生承担。

[47] 在九皇千秋中，通常有两种抬轿步法。第一种步法是四名轿夫摇摆轿子，沿圆周移动，通常在较开阔的场地进行，以保证有足够的活动空间。第二种步法为轿夫摇动轿子，以常见的之字形移动。这种步法可能源于禹步，又称七星步，在东南亚九皇大帝乩童中很常见，但并不仅限于九皇大帝乩童。相关介绍请参阅张泽洪，<论道教的步罡踏斗>，《中国道教》2000 年第4 期，页 7-11。

Apart from the above-listed points, palanquin movements are also subject to their weight due to the unfeasibility of swaying or running while carrying heavier palanquins. For instance, at least one of the palanquins used by Yu Hai Tang has been designed to contain the consecrated censer and a large spirit tablet dedicated to the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas, Doumu, Doulao, and the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns. Therefore, its large size and weight require it to be borne by eight men and termed a "palanquin (borne by) eight people".[48] This is in contrast to the usual practice where a palanquin only requires four individuals to bear them. Similarly, the main Nine Emperor Gods palanquin in Shin Sen Keng calls for the support of eight individuals. In both cases, the considerable weight of these palanquins inhibit any running or strong swaying.



Two palanquins, each borne by eight men, were deployed by Shin Sen Keng during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

神仙宫在九皇千秋期间部署的两乘宝轿。每乘宝轿也需要八个人抬动。

Considering the factors that influence the adopted movement styles, it becomes understandable that our research informants from temples with "running palanquins" have revealed that the palanquins they carry are usually relatively lighter in weight.[49] That said, it is pertinent to note that lightweight palanquins do not always correspond to adopting the tradition of running with them. For one, lighter palanquins might be indicative of older palanquin models. Certain temples have been observed to have discarded their lighter palanquins in favour of larger and heavier ones comprising better qualities of wood. Accordingly, changes to materials used have also resulted in changes to the mannerisms of bearing them. Quality aside, an examination of the older palanquin designs reveals that their weight and size are the products of aesthetical inclinations.[50] Hence, it was the norm for decorated palanquins to be adorned with additional structures and paraphernalia, including doors, hardwood carvings and ornaments. For instance, the unique pavilion-shaped structure of palanquins has been the mainstay of Kim San Tze and its Nine Emperor Gods Festivals since 1947.[51] Conversely, weight considerations prompted Zhun Ti Tang's altering of its initial four-sided palanquins for black pavilion-shaped structures.

As aforementioned, prevailing long-held beliefs attribute the movements of palanquins and, by extension, the palanquin bearers to the presence and power of the Nine Emperor Gods and respective deities. Understanding these perceptions of spiritual power allows one to understand why onlookers, particularly those not in a pure state, are often advised to maintain distance from the palanquins. Moreover, these convictions can be ascribed to mandating zhai diets and regimes dictated by respective temples. Stories regarding doubters of the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods in these palanquins remain in circulation today. In one such tale, a doubter, who had explicitly and loudly expressed his opinion that people rather than deities moved palanquins, found himself unable to remove the palanquin from his shoulders until he had knelt before the Nine Emperor Gods altar to seek forgiveness.[52]

[48] For example, see 朱立春, "什么人能乘坐 '八抬大轿'," 老年教育 (长者家园) 1 (2020): 48.

[49] This also seems to be the case for Leong Nam Temple in the past. See Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), "The Nine Emperor Gods Festival Celebration at Kallang Park. The Annual Nine Emperor Gods Celebration is also known as Jiu Huang Da Di," October 20, 1974, National Archives of Singapore, accessed April 1, 2022, https://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/photographs/record-details/a9f641ee-1162-11e3-83d5-0050568939ad.

[50] This is also true for some temples in Malaysia. Old photographs contained within the commemorative volume of San Kiang Keng suggest that the palanquin of-old was a "running palanquin," as seen on 柔佛新山三善宫五十周年金禧纪念特辑 1947-1997 (Johor: Rumah Berhala Sam Siang Keng, 1997), 22. Confer with the photographs by 苏, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会." Likewise, the ornamentation of palanquins in Nan Tian Gong have also become more intricate over time.

[51] *The Straits Times*, October 17, 1947, 5.

[52] Confer with a similar cautionary tale document by Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 66, footnote 20.

此外，并非所有庙宇的抬轿队员都会摇摆圣轿或抬着圣轿奔跑，尤其是对于圣轿特别重的庙宇而言。例如，玉海棠的圣轿中安奉着一座香炉以及一块神主牌，供奉着九皇菩萨、斗姆、斗姥及南北斗星君，由八个人扛抬，因此也称“八抬轿”，[48] 不同于大部分庙宇的“四抬轿”。由于轿身十分沉重，神仙宫的主轿同样是“八抬轿”，因此也没有进行“跑轿”或“摇轿”。



圣轿的大小、材料和重量影响着抬轿队员的抬轿方式。据庙宇人士称，“跑轿”所用圣轿通常重量较轻。[49] 然而，并非所有拥有较轻便的圣轿的庙宇都有“跑轿”的传统。一些庙宇用更好的木材建造了更大、更重的圣轿，以取代旧的、更轻的圣轿，从而了改变抬圣轿的方式。为了使圣轿更加美观，庙宇在过去装饰朴素的圣轿上增添各种各样的结构和设备，例如门、木雕和装饰品。[50] 相反地，准提堂最初使用的四面有围屏的圣轿被认为太重了，取而代之的是一架黑色的香亭结构圣轿。自1947年开始举办九皇千秋以来，金山寺一直保持着独特的香亭结构，并引以为傲。[51] 相反，出于对重量的考虑，准提堂将其最初的四边轿子改为黑色的香亭形结构。

除了材料构造和庙宇传统不同之外，人们也深信，九皇大帝和众神明的力量推动了圣轿和抬轿队伍前进。因此，庙宇人士通常建议旁观者，尤其是没有持斋不够洁净的人，保持一定距离，免得被神力误伤。如前所述，抬轿队员需要遵循庙宇的斋戒。善信中也流传着有人质疑九皇大帝在圣轿中的故事。曾有人大声说，圣轿是人为摇动的，圣轿上根本没有神明。他接受挑战，抬起圣轿，当他想要卸下圣轿时，抬杠一直压在他的肩膀上，无法摆脱。直到他跪在九皇大帝神坛前寻求宽恕时，他才得以从抬轿的位置退下。[52]

[48] 例如，请参阅朱立春，<什么人能乘坐“八抬大轿”>，《老年教育（长者家园）》2020年第1期，页48。

[49] 过去龙南殿的圣轿也较为轻便。见 Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), “The Nine Emperor Gods Festival Celebration at Kallang Park. The Annual Nine Emperor Gods Celebration is also known as Jiu Huang Da Di,” October 20, 1974, National Archives of Singapore, 访问日期：2022 年 4 月 1 日，https://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/photographs/record-details/a9f641ee-1162-11e3-83d5- 0050568939ad.

[50] 同样情况也见于马来西亚的一些庙宇中。三善宫的老照片表明 ，过去的圣轿是“跑轿”，见《柔佛新山三善宫五十周年金禧纪念特辑 1947-1997》（柔佛：三善宫，1997），页 22。请参见苏泉铭<柔佛新山的九皇盛会>中的照片。同样，随着时间的推移，南天宫圣轿的纹饰也变得更加复杂精美。

[51] *The Straits Times*, 1947 年 10 月 17 日，第 5 版。

[52] 类似的警示故事请参阅 Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 页 66，脚注 20。

Individual palanquin bearers aside, other anecdotes regarding the presence of the Nine Emperor Gods also exist. One anecdote surfaced during our fieldwork involves the aggressive rocking of the palanquins containing the Nine Emperor Gods and Doumu of Kew Huang Keng in the late 1970s. This particular tour held special significance as it marked the final procession around the southern region of Lemongrass Village before the temple's relocation. Witnesses attributed the vigorous shaking of the palanquins to the deities' reluctance to leave their community behind. Similar intense shakings of the palanquins of Kew Huang Keng have been noted at contemporary altar stations, particularly during their exchange visits to Hong San Temple. In contrast with the 1970s, these contemporary sightings have been associated with the happiness of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu Yuan Jun, given the special historical tie between the two temples.[53]

Inspections of palanquins bring to attention the dynamic nature of their aesthetics. In recent years, new technologies have been adopted to enhance palanquin designs. For example, chargeable battery-operated or generator-operated LED lights have been used by Singapore-based temples since the 1990s.[54] Advancements in lighting and circuit technologies have led to increasing sophistication and innovation when these palanquins are set up. Aesthetics aside, given that the lights are only activated after receiving the Nine Emperor Gods, they also signify the presence of deities.

When it comes to modifying palanquin designs, certain temples have strict rules in place. A palanquin bearer from Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng Temple disclosed that many rules governed the palanquins' outward appearance in the past. These rules included the prohibition of adding or making changes to specific accessories without obtaining permission from the temple's leaders and the Nine Emperor Gods. Contemporary relaxation of these rules only emerged with the recognised need to remain relevant with time. Today, palanquin teams have secured greater artistic license in customising their palanquins. Nevertheless, the importance of attaining permission beforehand remains.

Some temples, like Kim San Tze, have chosen not to incorporate modern features such as LED lights in order to preserve the traditional form of their palanquins. On the other hand, temples like Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong have discontinued their attempts to introduce new technologies due to the perceived displeasure of the Nine Emperor Gods. In the case of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, there is a belief that the Fifth and Ninth Emperor Gods expressed dislike towards LED lights. This conclusion was reached after observing that the installed LED lights would consistently malfunction or stop working whenever attempts were made to switch them on.

Palanquins and sedan chairs are not merely ancillary additions to the festival; rather, they provide an important social focus beyond their ritual functions. Considerable manpower, resources and skills continue to be allocated towards customising each temple's palanquins. Fundamental to these customisations are the detailed consideration of factors, such as exact dimensions, functions and quantities.

[53] Teh Ka Kiong, "Changed and the Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post-Independent Singapore" (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2017), 40-41.

[54] Pre-recorded Buddhist mantras were played from a soundbox attached to the palanquins once the Nine Emperor Buddhas were enshrined within them on the night that they were received in Zhun Ti Tang in 2016.

我们在田野调查中听到的另一个故事与九皇宫和葱茅园南部的居民有关。上世纪70年代末，当九皇大帝和斗母的香炉乘坐圣轿在村里最后一次出巡时，圣轿不受控制地剧烈晃动，似乎是在拒绝移动。围观者认为这是因为九皇大帝舍不得离开离开他们的社区。此外，通过圣轿在迎神站和具有特殊历史联系的凤山宫时的摇晃强度，可以感受到九皇大帝和斗姆元君出巡到此地时的欢乐氛围。[53]

最后，新技术的应用也令圣轿更加美观，引人注目。自上世纪90年代以来，新加坡许多庙宇开始用LED灯来装饰他们的圣轿，这些彩饰LED灯由可充电池或位于底部的发电机供电。[54] 这些灯还有另一个功能。庙宇通常在恭迎九皇大帝之后才会点亮LED灯，因此亮灯象征圣驾光临。随着照明和电路技术的进步，圣轿的灯光设计也越来越精细创新。

有的庙宇对圣轿的构造和定制有特殊规定。据蔡厝港斗母宫一名抬轿队员所述，在过去，对于圣轿的外观有诸多规定限制，除非得到宫庙领导和九皇大帝的明确许可，否则不能添加或更改圣轿的特定配件或形式。近年来，为了“跟上潮流”，这些限制已经放宽，抬轿队伍定制圣轿时具有更多自由。然而，他们仍然需要获得九皇大帝和宫庙领导的认可。



◀ A palanquin from Kim San Tze, unadorned with light fixtures, containing an image of the Great Sage of Heaven en route to East Coast Park to receive the Nine Emperor Gods. The Nine Emperor Gods palanquins are also not decorated with new LED lights to maintain older traditions.

金山寺的圣轿，内有齐天大圣的神像，在前往东海公园迎接九皇大帝的途中。圣轿上没有使用任何灯具来装饰。金山寺的九皇圣轿为了保持传统，至今也没有安装新款的灯光装饰。

有些庙宇，例如金山寺，没有采用LED灯等新工具，而是保持圣轿的传统形制。还有一些庙宇，如龙山岩斗母宫，其中某些圣轿没有安装LED灯，原因是乘坐圣轿的九皇五帝和九皇九帝不喜欢这些灯。每当庙宇点亮这两位神明的圣轿上的灯时，灯光总是熄灭，这表明神明不满这一操作。

由此可见，圣轿并不仅仅是节日的附属品，更是具有超出仪式功能的重要焦点。庙宇圣轿的定制花费了大量的人力、资源和技术，圣轿的精确尺寸、功能和数量等因素都经过仔细考量。

[53] Teh Ka Kiong, <Changed and the Unchanged: The Dynamics of a Nine Emperor Gods Temple in Post-Independent Singapore>、南洋理工大学荣誉学士学位论文，2017年, 页40-41。

[54] 2016 年，在准提堂将九皇佛祖迎请到九皇圣轿安坐后，圣轿上的音箱便开始吟诵提前录制好的佛经。

Other Sedan Chairs and Deities During the Nine Emperor Gods' Festival

The palanquins and sedan chairs used in the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals are embedded within wider material and ritual cultures, especially in relation to Chinese mediumship in Singapore and other parts of Southeast Asia as well as Taiwan. Besides these covered palanquins, the festival employs other vehicles for the Nine Emperor Gods (especially mediums) and the images of other deities involved. Amongst those featured during the festival are "nail chairs", "sword chairs", and other ritual paraphernalia.



A sedan chair covered with blades and nails at the Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple.

安邦南天宫安置着铁钉刀片的圣轿。

Temples with mediums for the Nine Emperor Gods often draw on practices and traditions that are part of wider deity mediumship.[55] William Stirling's 1924 article describes a Chinese religious procession in the Straits Settlements associated with vegetarian believers that utilised a "spiked chair" with "arms, the seat and the footrest…fitted with sharp spikes" on which mediums might have sat on during processions.[56] Across Southeast Asia, mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods have sometimes been transported around whilst seated on similarly designed sedan chairs adorned with sharp blades, nails or spikes during the festival. Underlying this practice is the view that this is testament to the power of the deities and the medium.[57]

One of the earliest documented accounts of the practice in Malaysia is found in the Dou Mu Gong temple in Muar, Johor (founded in 1912).[58] Delineating the presence of "many divine sedan chairs/palanquins" after the performances of lion dances, flag-bearers and martial artists on the afternoon of the eighth day of the eighth lunar month, a 1959 report described how the "bodies of mediums were transported on nail thrones and sedan chairs of knives [as] they bobbed up and down throughout the town during the procession".[59] A nail throne is likewise used in a Malaysian temple, Sam Siang Keng. Mediums would take turns mounting a nail throne which had a talisman placed on it during ritual performances.[60] However, this tradition has since been discontinued in the present day. While the tradition of retrieving and distributing pierced talismans to devotees persists, a Dipper Lamp is used instead.[61]

Similar instances were observed in past Nine Emperor Gods Festivals held in Singapore. For instance, Hong San Temple's previous medium used to mount a sedan chair of knives whilst being carried throughout the village compound during the festival. The tours also involved the concomitant carrying of the Nine Emperor Gods incense censer in a separate palanquin. Despite not engaging a medium in the present, Hong San Temple still preserves the said sedan chair of swords and displays it alongside two covered palanquins during the festival.[62]

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[55] Also observable in China, as mentioned in 黄明珠, "浅论湄洲岛妈祖舞 '耍刀轿', '摆棕轿' 的文化特征," 北京舞蹈学院学报 1 (2006): 43-47; and 陈育燕, "模仿中的期盼—以湄洲岛元宵 '闹妈祖' 舞蹈 '耍刀轿' 的乩童为例," 北京舞蹈学院学报 1 (2009): 99-104.

[56] Stirling, "Chinese Exorcists," 42 and 44.

[57] The performances of self-mortification, with objects including blades, motorcycles or other unusual paraphernalia, for both religious and tourist attraction purposes have allowed mediums in southern Thailand to become renowned. Still, it remains the tendency of the mediums to travel on foot rather than on sedans—perhaps to boost the spectacle. Refer to Erik Cohen, "The Vegetarian Festival and theCity Pillar: The Appropriation of a Chinese Religious Custom for a Cult of the Thai Civic Religion," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10:1 (2012): 1-21.

[58] 柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊（柔佛：麻坡：五马路斗母宫, 2004), 32.

[59] "麻斗天与斗母宫庆祝九皇爷诞辰," 南洋商报, October 12, 1959, 12. Despite the depth of content, it remains ambiguous as to whether the deities' mediums, who had mounted the bladed palanquins ornail thrones, were in the service of the Nine Emperor Gods.

[60] Talismans are usually put up on the sixth day of the sixth lunar month.

[61] Esmond Chuah Meng Soh 苏泉铭, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文 (2019)," Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

[62] 凤山宫三庆大典(新加坡: 凤山宫理事会, 2005), 105.

九皇千秋期间其他神明和圣轿

九皇千秋所用的圣轿，融合了新加坡、马来西亚、东南亚其他地区以及台湾等地的华人宗教的物质和仪式文化，尤其是乩童文化。除了有顶盖的圣轿，在九皇千秋中，还有其他形制的圣轿被用以供奉九皇大帝（尤其是九皇大帝乩童）及与仪式有关的其他神明的乩童或神像，包括“钉椅”和“刀轿”以及其他祭祀用具。



At Hong San Temple, a historical sedan chair covered with blades is nestled in the centre of two covered palanquins. In the past, the Nine Emperor Gods medium was carried about while seated on the sedan chair during temple processions for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

在凤山宫，一顶布满刀片的轿子依偎在两乘有盖的轿子中间。在过去，凤山宫的九皇大帝乩童会坐在刀轿上出游。

1924年，史德龄在一篇文章中记录了海峡殖民地的持素华人善信进行的一场宗教游行，其中也记录了“扶手、坐垫和脚架都装有锋利的钉子”的“钉椅”。乩童便坐在这些钉椅上出巡。[55] 九皇千秋期间，东南亚各地的九皇大帝乩童出巡游行时会乘坐架有锋利的刀子或轿子上，证明乩童有神明护体，刀枪不入。[56] 有九皇大帝乩童的庙宇通常会吸纳更广泛的乩童文化的实践和传统。[57]

马来西亚最早关于耍刀轿的记录出现于柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫（建于1912年）。[58] 1915年的农历八月初八下午，在舞狮、旗手和武术表演过后，“数架圣轿，僮身则驾钉轿与刀轿，浩浩荡荡在市内游行。”[59] 马来西亚三善宫也有在农历六月初六将符钉在钉椅上的传统。[60] 在过去，这一仪式是在乩童的帮助下进行的，他们会轮流登上钉椅。如今，庙宇用斗灯代替钉椅，但符纸仍会分发给那些祈求九皇大帝赐福的善信。[61]

在过去的新加坡，九皇千秋期间也可见到类似的做法。以前，凤山宫的乩童会在节日期间乘坐刀轿在村里游行，同行另有一架圣轿供奉着九皇大帝的香炉。如今，凤山宫不再有乩童，但这架刀轿被保留下来，并在每年的节日期间与其他两架有顶篷和围屏的圣轿一起出巡游行。[62]

[55] Stirling, “Chinese Exorcists,” 42 and 44.

[56] 泰国南部的许多乩童以惊奇驱煞表演而闻名，其中部分原因是为了吸引游客。据我们所知，他们用各种各样的物品，如刀片、摩托车或其他不寻常的器具，击打自己的身体，这些乩童倾向于步行（可能是为了有更大空间进行表演），而不是乘坐带有锐器的神轿。请参阅 Erik Cohen, “The Vegetarian Festival and the City Pillar: The Appropriation of a Chinese Religious Custom for a Cult of the Thai Civic Religion,” *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10:1 (2012): 1-21.

[57] 中国的情况同样如此，请参阅黄明珠，<浅论湄洲岛妈祖舞“耍刀轿”，“摆棕轿”的文化特征>，《北京舞蹈学院学报》2006 年第 1 期，页 43-47；陈育燕，<模仿中的期盼——以湄洲岛元宵“闹妈祖”舞蹈“耍刀轿”>的乩童为例，《北京舞蹈学院学报》2009 年第 1 期，页 99-104。

[58] 《柔佛麻坡五马路斗母宫第七任掌玺圣宫主办马来西亚斗母宫九皇大帝总会第四届第一次会员代表大会暨庆祝总会成立六周年联欢素宴纪念特刊》（柔佛：麻坡五马路斗母宫，2004），页 32。

[59] <麻斗天与斗母宫庆祝九皇爷诞辰>，见《南洋商报》，1959 年 10 月 12 日，第 12 版。尽管报道描述了细节，但这些刀轿和钉轿上的乩童是否是九皇大帝的乩童我们不得而知。

[60] 苏泉铭（Soh Chuah Meng Esmond），<柔佛新山的九皇圣会：三善宫摄影论文（2019）> ，九皇文化计划，2020 年 1 月 25 日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang- keng.

[61] 苏泉铭（Soh Chuah Meng Esmond），<柔佛新山的九皇圣会：三善宫摄影论文（2019）> ，九皇文化计划，2020 年 1 月 25 日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang- keng.

[62] 《凤山宫三庆大典》（新加坡：凤山宫委员会，2005）页 105。

▶
Palanquins deployed by Shin Sen Keng in 1990. Note how a black command flag is used to cover the entrance of the palanquin in the final photograph. Photographs from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，神仙宫的九皇宝轿。请注意，在最后一张照片中，黑令旗是如何用来遮盖宝轿的入口的。照片来自新加坡国家档案馆的新加坡旅游局收藏。









The Nine Emperor God's medium was seated on a sedan chair of spikes whilst being carried around the village by volunteers and members of Shin Sen Keng temple on a tour of the village, 1950—1951. Photograph from the Alan J. A. Elliot collection, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge.

神仙宫九皇大帝乩坐在钉轿上在庙里事的护送下游绕甘榜，1950-1951年。照片来自剑桥大学考古学和人类学博物馆（MAA）的Alan J. A. Elliot收藏



The Nine Emperor Gods goes on procession on a sword palanquin at Shin Sen Keng in 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，神仙宫的九皇大帝坐刀轿出游。照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

Alan J. A. Elliot's post-war fieldwork in Singapore between 1949 and 1950 similarly recorded the use of a nail or sword sedan chair by Shin Sen Keng during the temple's tour around its surrounding village in Henderson Road/Tiong Bahru on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. As noted by Elliot, the "*dang-ki* (medium) sat on a spiked chair and was carried away in procession [even though] [t]here was no additional chair that carried the image of the *shen* (deity referring to the Nine Emperor Gods".[63] These can be noted from unpublished photographs captured by Elliot. Instances relating to the transportation of the Nine Emperor Gods mediums on throne-like sedan chairs covered with blades on the backs, seats and footrests were still seen in the 1990s.



A deity on a sedan chair during a procession during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Shin Sen Keng, 1990. Photograph from the Singapore Tourism Board Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

1990年，在九皇千秋节期间，神仙宫的神明坐圣轿出游。照片来自新加坡旅游局收藏，新加坡国家档案馆。

[63] Alan J. A. Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics, Department of Anthropology, 1955), 125.

神仙宫也有使用类似的钉轿或刀轿。1949年至1950年间，Alan J. A. Elliot在战后的新加坡进行田野调查时，记录了神仙宫在中峇鲁亨德森路（Henderson Road/Tiong Bahru）的村庄的绕境出巡。农历九月初九这一天，乩童坐在一张钉椅上，由抬轿队员抬着沿街游行，没有多余的圣轿抬着神像（指九皇大帝）。[63] 在Elliot拍摄的照片中可以看到游行的盛况，但这些照片从未发表在他的专着中。即使在20世纪90年代，偶尔也可在出巡游行中见到乘坐刀轿的九皇大帝乩童。



The Great Sage of Heaven goes on procession on a sedan chair during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Shin Shen Keng today.

当今九皇千秋节期间，神仙宫的齐天大圣乘轿出巡。



Preparation of a palanquin to ferry an image of Qingshui Zushi at Hougang Tou Mu Kung during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

后港斗母宫清水祖师宝轿为九皇千秋在筹备当中。

[63] Alan J. A. Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics, Department of Anthropology, 1955), 125.

Given that the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and temples often involve deities other than the Nine Emperor Gods, it is not surprising that at least one sedan chair is dedicated to these other deities. These sedan chairs are used as their vehicles when they accompany the receiving and sending-off contingents, ritual processions, and tours during the festival.[64] Crucial to understanding these deities is to understand that some of them, such as the Marshal of the Central Altar, alias Nezha the Third Prince,[65] the Great Sage of Heaven, Guan Di Sheng Jun, Qing Shui Zu Shi, or Wu Gu Xian Di, are usually selected to lead the processions and act as the vanguards of the Nine Emperor Gods or to accompany them.[66] In this case, Shin Sen Keng usually selects the Third Prince Nezha, and the Great Sage of Heaven, whilst Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng has featured the Marshal of the Central Altar and two other deities.

Meanwhile, it is a norm in Hougang Tou Mu Kung and the Ampang Nan Tian Gong that Marshall Tiandu, the patron deity of opera troupes and actors in southern China, is chosen to receive the Nine Emperor Gods.[67] According to Nan Tian Gong, the worship of Marshal Tiandu is related to early observations of the festival in Putian, Fujian, China. Specifically, the earliest selection of Marshal Tian was also believed to stem from the worship of the Nine Emperor Gods, who lacked a deity image. "[Q]uick-witted organisers" were thus prompted to "invite an image of Marshal Tian, a deity venerated by opera troupes, into their altar for worship".[68]



▶ Altar to Tian Du Yuan Shuai and Lin Fu Tai Shi in the Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple.

安邦南天宫供奉田都元帅与林府太师的神龛。

[64] Certain Singapore-based Nine Emperor Gods temples represent the vanguard via a rectangular black or yellow flag with emblazoned Eight Trigrams 八卦 and Taiji 太极 symbols (alias the Black Command Flag 黑令旗). Yu Hai Tang practices the constant waving of a large Black Command Flag at the head of the receiving committee at the coast.

[65] For an introduction, see the monograph by Meir Shahar, *Oedipal God: The Chinese Nezha and His Indian Origins* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015); and 丁仁杰, "目连救母, 妙善救父, 哪吒大战李靖：父系社会中儿子与女儿的主体性建构," 民俗曲艺 198 (2017): 1-62.

[66] Consult a case study of the Great Sage's worship in Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore*, 80-109. On the worship of Guan Di Sheng Jun, see Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 778-795. For an introduction to Qing Shui Zu Shi, see Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, 99-130. Noted through old photographs by Ronni Pinsler, the Xuan Tian Shang Di 玄天上帝, not only ceremonially presides over the receiving and sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods in Xuan Wu Shan, but also advises the temple through his medium. In recent years, mediums for the Great Sage of Heaven and the Marshal of the Central Altar have assisted in the receiving ritual, although the Xuan Tian Shang Di continues to provide consultations and instructions to the temple during the festival.

[67] 谢国兴，"台湾田都元帅信仰与宋江阵仪式传统," 民俗曲艺. 2012, 175, 1-42；吴燕玲， "福建戏神 '田公' 与原始崇拜" ，寻根. 2014, 6. 46-48. ；中国戏曲志编辑委员会. 中国戏曲志：福建卷.北京：中国 ISBN 中心，1993. 593-595。

[68] 九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊 *Majalah Ulang Tahun Ke – 130 Kau Ong Yah Lam Thian Kiong Temple of Ampang* (吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫、1992, 1992), 21.

除了九皇圣轿，有的庙宇还会在节日期间多备至少一架圣轿，以供奉参与恭迎和恭送圣驾仪式的其他神明。[64] 这些神明可能包括中坛元帅哪吒三太子、[65] 齐天大圣、关帝圣君、清水祖师、以及五谷仙帝。[66] 在神仙宫，哪吒三太子和齐天大圣是被召请的神明，而在蔡厝港斗母宫，被召请的神明是中坛元帅以及其他两位新加坡神明。

除了这些神明，在马来西亚和新加坡的许多九皇庙，如吉隆坡的南天宫和新加坡的后港斗母宫，另一位通常被请来恭迎九皇大帝的神明是田都元帅，他是华南地区戏曲剧团和演员的守护神。[67] 据安邦南天宫，田都元帅崇拜与早期福建省莆田市庆祝九皇千秋的实践有关。由于当时九皇千秋缺少神像，“急智由戏班所供奉之田府元帅请入坛恭拜。”[68]



◀
Palanquins are devoted to Tiandu Yuanshuai and Linfu Taishi in Ampang Nan Tian Gong Temple.

安邦南天宫运载田都元帅与林府太师的宝轿。

[64] 新加坡一些九皇庙中，先锋神明的代表是一面印有太极八卦图的黑色或黄色的三角旗，又称黑令旗。例如，在玉海棠的恭迎仪式上，恭迎队伍将一面巨大的黑令旗带到海边，并不断挥舞旗帜。

[65] 有关哪吒三太子，请参阅夏维明（Meir Shahar）的专题著作 *Oedipal God: The Chinese Nezha and His Indian Origins* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015)；及丁仁杰，<目连救母，妙善救父，哪吒大战李靖：父系社会中儿子与女儿的主体性建构>，《民俗曲艺》2017 年第 198 期，页 1-62。

[66] 有关齐天大圣信仰的案例研究，请参阅 Elliot, *Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore*, 80-109. 有关关帝信仰，请参阅 Barend J. ter Haar, *Guan Yu: The Religious Afterlife of a Failed Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); 及 Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 778-795. 有关清水祖师的介绍，请参阅 Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, 99-130. 从 Ronni Pinsler 拍摄的图片可以看出，过去在玄武山翰林院的恭迎和恭送仪式上，通过乩童指导庙宇的神明是玄天上帝。近年来，齐天大圣和中坛元帅的乩童会协助恭迎仪式，玄天上帝会在节日期间为庙宇提供咨询和指示。

[67] 谢国兴，<台湾田都元帅信仰与宋江阵仪式传统>，《民俗曲艺》2012 年第 175 期，页 1-42；吴燕玲，<福建戏神“田公”与原始崇拜>，《寻根》2014 年第 6 期，页 46-48；中国戏曲志编辑委员会，《中国戏曲志：福建卷》（北京：中国ISBN 中心，1993），页 593-595。

[68] 《九皇爷安邦南天宫一百卅周年纪念特刊》（吉隆坡：九皇爷安邦南天宫，1992），页 21。

The historically intertwined relationship between Marshal Tiandu and opera troupes provides potential clues for further research. For instance, the establishment of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Phuket, Thailand, has been ascribed to a troupe of opera actors.[69] Although selections of Marshal Tiandu for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival have been witnessed in Singapore and Malaysia, different practices remain. Unlike Singapore, the rooted reverence for Marshal Tiandu even propelled the inclusion of the said deity amongst patron deities and the organisation of various corresponding worship rituals in Malaysian-based temples.[70]

Palanquin Bearers and their Teams

Palanquin bearers or teams play a crucial role in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, as they are essential for carrying and handling the palanquins associated with the festival. In light of their vital nature, these members are subject to strict adherence to regulations and regimes, such as *zhai* diets, abstinence from killing and meat, and inappropriate behaviour. The emphasis on these mandated directives ensues from the perception that palanquin bearers, similar to ritual specialists and designated censer-masters in temples, are physically closest to the Nine Emperor Gods' censers or deity images, especially during transportation. Therefore, the honour and blessings of transporting the deities during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are intertwined with specific ordinances to assure purity. These requirements certainly distinguish the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's palanquin bearer teams from teams featured in other Chinese religious festivals.

Anecdotes regarding the consequences of meat consumption surfaced during our fieldwork. For example, a palanquin bearer who had snuck out to consume fish ball noodles was struck by one pole of the palanquin that he was attempting to carry with such force that he vomited out his contents. Whilst no serious injuries occurred in this case, other tales of *zhai* breaches by palanquin bearers entail more severe consequences, including unconsciousness.

Beyond *zhai*, stories about compliance with regulations also include the avoidance of perceived pollutants. For example, an informant from Hong San Temple shared a story where he was unable to enter the temple's inner compound. He experienced severe headache and dizziness every time he attempted to enter. He was perplexed by this phenomenon, given his faithful abstinence from meat. It was only after consulting with an elder that the two men realized the cause of this phenomenon. They attributed it to the informant carrying his pre-one-month-old nephew before the sending-off ceremony. This act is prohibited during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. He was advised to seek the forgiveness of the Nine Emperor Gods for his unknowing transgression. His symptoms disappeared after he did so. He quickly left the festival site and returned to carry the palanquin in the following year.[71]

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[69] Tourism Authority of Thailand, Phuket Office, "Phuket Vegetarian Festival: 5–13 October 2013," cited in Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition Through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* 8:1 (2019): 122. Also see ศาลเจ้ากะทู้: 内杼斗母宫 (Kathu Shrine) (@Kathushrine), "30 ตุลาคม 2564 เชยิดพระเล่าเอย อ้ามกะทู," Facebook, October 25, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/Kathushrine/posts/4820774987935154.

[70] For example, see 槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊 (槟城: 头条路斗母宫, 2008), 36; and "神明宝诞," 森美兰州瓜拉庇劳西天宫 Si Thian Kong Kuala Pilah, accessed April 15, 2022, https://sithiankong.org/.

[71] For greater contextualisation and details, see the chapter on *zhai* and vegetarianism in this volume.

田都元帅与戏曲剧团的历史联系为进一步的研究提供一些背景信息。例如，在泰国普吉岛，据说是由一名剧团演员将九皇千秋介绍到该地。[69] 直到今天，许多马来西亚的九皇庙将田都元帅作为守护神之一，并举行仪式供奉这位神明。[70]

抬轿队员及抬轿队伍

九帝圣轿的另一个关键部分是抬轿队伍。与其他华人宗教节日的抬轿队伍不同，九皇圣轿的抬轿队员必须遵守严格的规定和斋戒。除了庙宇的礼仪专家和指定的炉主外，抬轿队员是最接近九皇炉或九皇大帝神像的人。许多抬轿队员认为他们能够为神明抬轿是一种荣誉，因此，在节日期间，他们必须严格遵斋戒制度，并避免任何形式的潜在污染，不可荤食或食用其他违禁食品，也要避免不适当的行为或接触。

在我们对实地调查中，许多庙宇都有关于抬轿队员吃肉的警示性故事。据说曾有一名抬轿队员在节日期间的休息时间离开节日区域去吃鱼丸面。当他回到庙中抬起圣轿时，他被一根肩杠击中腹部，迫使他吐出先前吃过的东西，令所有在场的人都知道他违背了自己的职责。在田野调查中，我们还收集到一些叙述，关于抬轿队员因为没有严格遵循斋戒，在抬九皇圣轿时严重受伤或失去知觉的情况。

抬轿队伍既要注意严格遵守斋戒，还要避免无意中造成的污染。凤山寺一位受访对象讲述了自己的经历。他曾在参加恭送九皇大帝仪式之前抱过自己的侄子（出生不到一个月）。当他准备前往庙宇抬轿时，每当他想要进入庙宇，他就感到严重眩晕和头痛。他不得不回到长椅上休息。抬轿队伍中一位长者注意到他的状况，问他是不是吃了肉。他否认了这一点。老人沉思片刻，问他刚才做了什么。当他提到他抱过刚出生的侄子时，老人意识到这便是问题的根源——他曾接触过一个不到一个月大的新生儿。老人建议他参拜九皇大帝，解释他当天（以及该年）无法抬轿的原因并请求原谅。依此照做之后，他的头痛和头晕消失了。他便即刻离开庙宇场地，隔年再参与九皇千秋。[71]

[69] Tourism Authority of Thailand, Phuket Office, "Phuket Vegetarian Festival: 5–13 October 2013," cited in Jakraphan Chaopreecha, "Revitalization of Tradition Through Social Media: A Case of the Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* 8:1 (2019): 122. 在撰写此文时，Chaopreecha 提供的网页资料已不存在。请参见 ศาลเจากะทู้ 内杼斗母宫 (Kathu Shrine) (@Kathushrine), "30 ตุลาคม 2564 แชมป์ดคพระเล่าเอย อ้นกะทู้," Facebook, 2021 年 10 月 25 日，https://www.facebook.com/Kathushrine/posts/4820774987935154.

[70] 例如，请参阅《槟城头条路斗母宫九皇大帝庆祝成立一百零五年暨理事会五十周年金禧纪念特刊》（槟城：槟城头条路斗母宫，2008），页 36；<神明宝诞>，森美兰州瓜拉庇劳西天宫Si Thian Kong Kuala Pilah，访问日期：2022 年 4 月 15 日，https://sithiankong.org/.

[71] 相关背景和更多细节，请参阅本卷中关于斋戒和素食的章节。



The Incense Pavilion Association of Kim San Tze is responsible for ferrying the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquin. In the second photograph, a member of the association is folding joss paper and stuffing them into the crevices of the palanquin.

金山寺的香亭协会负责摆放九皇大帝的宝轿。在第二张照片中，一名理事正在折叠金纸。

The maintenance and care of the palanquins and their transport require careful organisation and coordination by palanquin teams. Overall, the nature of the teams and their relationships to temple management and hierarchies depends on how they are situated in their respective community networks. Recognising the need for unity and cohesiveness, common across temples are the foundings of palanquin bearer associations: "Incense Pavilion Society (Hong San Temple)", "Incense Friends Association (Kew Huang Keng)", "Incense Pavilion Organisation (Kim San Tze)", or the "Incense Pavilion Dharma Assembly (Long Nan Szye)".[72]

[72] In corresponding order, based on their earliest appearance in newspaper reports, see "大成村各团体 明庆九皇爷诞," 星洲日报, October 17, 1961, 8; "联友社等团体 今庆九皇诞辰,"星洲日报, October 7, 1962, 8; "第 28 页 广告 专栏 2," 联合早报, May 15, 1984, 28; "金山寺九皇大帝订期游行送驾," 星洲日报, October 17, 1979, 33; 第 28 页 广告 专栏 2," 南洋商报, October 9, 1980, 28.



除了需要严格遵守斋戒，抬轿队伍还需进行组织和协调。抬轿队伍的性质以及他们与庙宇管理层的关系各不相同，取决于庙宇的管理和等级结构，以及其在所处的社区和网络中的位置。一些庙宇会成立抬轿协会，称为“香亭会”（凤山宫）、“香友会”（九皇宫）、“香亭组”（金山寺）或“香亭法会”（龙南寺）等。[72]

[72] 根据这些称谓最早出现在报纸报道中的顺序，请参阅<大成村各团体明庆九皇诞辰>，见《星洲日报》，1961年10月17日，第8版；<联友社等社团今庆九皇诞辰>，见《星洲日报》，1962年10月7日，第8版；<第28页广告专栏2>，见《联合早报》，1984年5月15日，第28页；<金山寺九皇大帝订期游行送驾>，见《星洲日报》，1979年10月17日，第33版；<第28页广告专栏2>，见《南洋商报》，1980年10月9日，第28页。



▲
The two palanquins carried by Long Nan Szye devotees during the festival.

龙南寺九皇胜会的两乘九皇宝轿。



▲
Steeped in history, some of Hong San Temple's palanquins used to ferry the Nine Emperor Gods' censer contained special in-built niches to secure the censer. Undated photographs (likely from the 1960s and 1970s) from the Keith Stevens collection, courtesy of Ronni Pinsler.

凤山宫的九皇大帝宝轿有着悠久的历史。其中一乘圣轿上有一个特殊的壁龛，用来稳住九皇大帝的香炉。日期不详的照片（可能是20世纪60年代和70年代）来自Keith Stevens的收藏，由Ronni Pinsler提供。

Hong San Temple's Incense Pavilion Society 香亭会dates back to post-War Singapore (post-1945). Before its establishment, duties relating to the palanquins and throne were the responsibility of the Senior Vegetarian Friends Association (founded in 1945) and selected censer-masters. One must attribute the founding of the Incense Pavilion Society to the agency of devotees who had organised themselves to handle two palanquins during the festivals of 1952 and 1953. The proactiveness and reverence of these devotees are fundamental to the establishment of the Incense Pavilion Society. Palanquin duties aside, the association's contemporary responsibilities include the provision of "one decorated float" during Nine Emperor Gods-related inspection tours.[73]



Palanquin bearers of the Third Emperor God attached to Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong.

附属于龙山岩斗母宫的九皇三帝圣轿抬轿队员。

Still, the establishment of formal associations for palanquin teams are not ubiquitous across temples. The organisation of palanquin teams differ in temples lacking these formal associations. Of interest among these temples are Leong Nam Temple, Leng Sam Giam Dou Mu Gong and Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, which possess nine palanquins for the respective Nine Emperor Gods. The normative organisation of palanquin bearers involve 20 to 30 people each, allowing for duty rotation. Consequently, palanquin contingents of temples usually comprise between 180 and 270 individuals at the very least. The organization and coordination of these teams also brought no small challenges to the temple.

[73] 凤山宫三庆大典, 62.

凤山宫的香亭会的历史十分有趣，可以追溯到日据时期（1942-1945年）之后。最初，九皇圣轿和刀轿的抬轿任务由“老菜友会（成立于1945年）”和当年轮值的炉主负责。直到1952年和1953年的九皇千秋期间，有一帮热心善信进行组织，承担起了抬圣轿的任务。他们的付出最终得到了认可，于是正式成立了我们今天所知的香亭会。该协会还负责在每年九皇大帝出巡的时候提供“一乘华丽的花车”。[73]





在抬轿队伍没有成立正式协会的庙宇中，团队的组织与上述庙宇有很大的不同，尤其是龙南殿、龙山岩斗母宫和蔡厝港斗母宫，他们分别拥有九架九皇圣轿，为每一位九皇大帝都备有一架圣轿。每架圣轿通常需要20-30人负责（因为需要经常轮换抬轿队员），因此这些庙宇的抬轿队伍至少有180-270人。这些队伍的组织和协调也给庙宇带来不小的挑战。



◀ 1980s preparation of palanquins by Leong Nam Temple during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Photograph courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

龙南殿1980年代的九皇宝轿。 照片由 Ronni Pinsler 提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的 Ronni Pinsler 收藏。

[73] 《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 62。

1997 preparations of nine palanquins at a festival site raised by Leong Nam Temple. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1997年，龙南殿的九乘九皇宝轿。照片由龙南殿提供。 照片由龙南殿提供。









Pre-*yew keng* joint prayer attended by all palanquin bearers at Leong Nam Temple.

在龙南殿举行的游境前，所有抬轿队员和善信共同祈祷。



Palanquin bearers affiliated with the Eighth Emperor God at Leong Nam Temple.

附属于龙南殿的九皇八帝圣轿抬轿队员。



Palanquin bearers from Nan Shan Hai temple worship outside Kew Huang Keng.

南山海庙的轿队成员向九皇宫的九皇大帝进行参拜。

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival usually witnesses large gatherings, not least due to the great number of palanquin bearers. Leong Nam Temple has approximated that 630 individuals are amongst the gathered crowd at any one point during the festival, given that up to 70 people are involved in each of its palanquin teams. The three-level palanquin bearer hierarchy is as follows: Individual palanquin bearers (labelled as "the legs of the palanquin", Minnan: *kio kah*), their palanquin leaders ("head of the palanquin", Minnan: *kio tau*) who are responsible for mobilising and organising their respective palanquin teams, and an overall coordinator ("overall palanquin head", Minnan: *zong kio tau*). Great respect is given to the overall coordinator, as this position is only filled by individuals who have demonstrated their abilities and devotion. Overall coordination of palanquin teams aside, this selected leader among the palanquin bearers also serves as one of the temple's key representatives at meetings and every ritual and ceremony performance. Nevertheless, the leader role is far from dictatorial or authoritarian. Indeed, an essential aspect of this role is to ensure cohesiveness among the palanquin teams. This accounts for the substantial emphasis on the charisma and leadership abilities of the overall coordinator. The fact that each Nine Emperor Gods Festival involves consulting individual team leaders and teams highlights the recognition of the valuable inputs and contributions from the members. Considering the extensiveness of tasks and required cooperation, unsurprisingly, strong senses of identity, belonging and camaraderie among members have been reported and observed across all temples. It is worth noting the presence of generational continuity in the leadership role, as it is based on the consensus of the members.

Ultimately, however, there are no universal practices pertaining to the coordination of palanquin teams. Unlike Leong Nam Temple, there is no official overall coordinator for the palanquin teams in Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng. Instead, each team has a leader responsible for mobilising and coordinating members, upkeep and preparations of palanquins for the festival, and consultations with the temple's management. However, it would be incomplete to overlook the remarkable organization displayed by these nine leaders, as well as the close ties between them, and with the temple. Observable is the emergence of more prominent individuals from one or more teams who have secured the respect and relationship ties across the teams. According to informants, these informal hierarchies and unanimity facilitate team coordination efforts.

Noteworthy is the apparent shared support of palanquin teams to temples affiliated or friendly with their own. This is a testament to the broader temple communities in which Nine Emperor Gods' temples are embedded. Thus, in the case of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng, the palanquin for the Eighth Emperor God, for instance, was carried and maintained by devotees of Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong 慈悲妈祖宫. This temple was located at the site where Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng received the Nine Emperor Gods in the past. Several Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's Nine Emperor Gods mediums also came from Ci Bei Ma Zu Gong. Similarly, our fieldwork between 2016 and 2017 at Zhun Ti Tang surfaced insights into the affiliation of many of the temple's palanquin bearers with a medium temple, Xuan Lian Dian.

The differences in the scheduled receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods across temples are key to the cross-temple deployment of palanquin carriers and volunteers. The choice of exclusive commitment to one temple or supporting various temples rests on individual palanquin bearers. Disclosures by our informants indicate inter-temple assistance during key rituals of the receiving and sending-off ceremonies and *yew keng* by palanquin bearers of Kew Huang Keng and Leong Nam Temple based on historical ties between the two temples. The materialisation of these cross-temple support rests on differences in schedules. Unlike Leong Nam Temple, the receiving and sending-off at Kew Huang Keng usually occur in the afternoons.

For example, one of our informants from Kew Huang Keng showed us photographs of himself helping at Leong Nam Temple since the 1990s, attesting to the longevity of this inter-temple distribution of helpers. Many other instances also testify to the circulation of palanquin bearers and their talents across various temples during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Past sending-off ceremonies by Nan Shan Hai temple were specifically scheduled earlier than Hong San Temple's to ensure sufficient travel time for supporting palanquin bearers from the latter to return to their temple in Defu Lane for Hong San Temple's ceremonies. Circulation of palanquin bearers is not limited to two temples, as evidenced in informants' testimonies. For example, one informant revealed his annual participation in the sending-off ceremonies of Kew Huang Keng, Leong Nam Temple and Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng.

据龙南殿的人士称，过去庙宇只有20到30名抬轿队员。而如今，仅一支抬轿队伍就可能多达70人，因此在节日期间的任何时刻，庙宇中都会至少有630人在场。负责抬轿的队员（称为“轿脚”，闽南语：*kio kah*）听从各自队伍的领队（称为“轿头”，闽南语：*kio tau*）指挥，轿头负责调动和组织自己的队伍，并向总领队（“总轿头”，闽南语：*zong kio tau*）汇报。[74] 总轿头通常是德高望重的任务，因为担任这个职位的人通常为庙宇服务了很长时间，展示了其办事能力和奉献精神，因此十分受人尊敬。总轿头同样受到轿头和轿脚的敬重。他也是宫庙会议和宗教仪式上的主要代表之一。尽管如此，总轿头每年都要与轿头和轿脚就节日规划进行协商，并在每年的准备阶段与轿头进行会议。随着时间的推移，抬轿队伍的每一名成员都对团体形成了强烈的认同感、归属感和情谊。轿头的魅力和权威对每个团队的凝聚力起着重要的作用。通过既定程序和协商一致，轿头的领导在几代人之间保持着连续性。

然而，这种领导框架并不是普遍的，其他寺庙的抬轿队伍采取不同的协调方式。例如，蔡厝港斗母宫没有掌控全局的总轿头。每架圣轿都有一名轿头负责人员的调配和协调以及照料和维护圣轿的工作，并就各项事宜与宫庙领导和其他轿头进行沟通和协商。在单个队伍和队伍之间逐渐出现一些代表，他们在抬轿队伍之中建立了共识和关联，使得协调工作不再那么艰巨。



◀
Palanquin bearers attached to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at Zhun Ti Tang in 2016.

准提堂提九皇宝轿轿队合照， 2016.

对于包括上述庙宇在内的一些庙宇而言，抬轿队伍也可能来自友庙的抬轿队伍。这体现了九皇庙更广泛的社区网络。例如，蔡厝港斗母宫九皇八帝的圣轿就由慈悲妈祖宫的善信们抬运和照料。慈悲妈祖宫位于过去蔡厝港斗母宫恭迎九皇大帝的区域附近，蔡厝港斗母宫还有几位九皇大帝乩童来自该庙。类似地，2016-2017年间，我们在准提堂进行实地调查，发现准提堂的许多抬轿队员都隶属于一座乩童庙宇，称为玄莲殿。其他九皇庙的抬轿队伍很有可能从其他庙宇调借人手。

不同寺庙迎请和恭送九皇大帝的日期和时间不同，这也使得各九皇庙的抬轿队员、义工和善信可以参加不同庙宇的仪式活动。在节日期间，抬轿队员可能会专门为某一间庙宇服务，其他人员则在不同的九皇庙中贡献自己的力量。九皇宫和龙南殿在这方面有特殊的联系。根据我们从两座庙宇得到的信息，当庙宇举行重要活动时，比如恭迎仪式和恭送仪式以及游境，抬轿队员都会提供帮助。这得益于九皇宫的恭迎和恭送仪式一般在下午举行。

例如，九皇宫一位受访者向我们展示了一些照片，他自上世纪90年代以来也会在龙南殿帮忙，这反映了庙宇间互相帮助的悠久历史。还有许多例子表明九皇千秋期间，抬轿队员在不同庙宇贡献自己的一份力。在过去，南山海庙的恭送仪式比凤山宫的恭送仪式更早进行，以便让凤山宫的抬轿队员能及时回到德福巷（Defu Lane）。据了解，有一名抬轿队员甚至每年会同时参加九皇宫、龙南殿和蔡厝港斗母宫的恭送仪式，往返于三座庙宇之间。

[74] 这种全面的指挥网络也为长期服务的抬轿队员升为轿头提供了基础。我们采访的一些抬轿队员为龙南寺服务了很长时间，证明他们对龙南寺抬轿工作的投入和热情。

Responsibilities of palanquin teams extend beyond carrying duties, and other duties involve the general maintenance—repairs, refurbishment and placements of light fixtures—of their palanquins. [74] Whilst there have been sightings of the maintenance of palanquins being conducted by temple committee members or volunteers in some temples, this practice is rare, especially in relation to temples possessing considerable numbers of palanquins and highly organised palanquin teams. Observable annually, hence, are the respective retrievals of palanquins from temples' storerooms and the ensuing conducting of maintenance works by their teams prior to the festival.



Palanquin bearers from Leong Nam Temple refurbishing their palanquins ahead of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

九皇千秋前，龙南殿的轿队成员正在整修他们的九皇宝轿。

In Leong Nam Temple, each palanquin team is responsible for storing, refurbishing, and repairing their palanquin. They are often also responsible for the commissioning, designing, and constructing new palanquins where necessary. Before the Nine Emperor Gods Festival begins in earnest, individual teams would coordinate to retrieve their palanquins from their respective storage.[75] The palanquin bearers' work entailed the redecoration, customisation, and refurbishment of the Nine Emperor Gods' vehicles. Specific parts had to be ordered and customised, and in one instance, an entirely new palanquin was ordered from abroad due to wear and tear. Regardless of location, all nine palanquins are assembled at the festival site before the receiving ritual.



[74] Likewise, as our fieldworkers in various temples have noted, palanquin bearers volunteered their time and effort at smoothing operations at their respective festival sites in-between lull and busy periods. Palanquin bearers for the Third, Sixth and Ninth Emperor Gods at Leong Nam Temple, for example, were also found helping to set up the festival's tentage before the receiving ceremony. They were also found packing the Dragon Ships that will be incinerated during the sending-off while taking up other duties such as refilling the teacups that are offered to the temple's various deities.

[75] Whilst the Seventh Emperor God's palanquin was stored within the flatted factory premises of their members, the Eighth Emperor God's palanquin was stored in a lion dance association due to its bearers being active in lion dance troupes. For a brief introduction to lion dance associations, see 黄东教 Huang Dongjiao, "新加坡华人舞狮文化研究," 体育文化导刊 2 (2017): 86-91; and 叶璟仪Yeap Jing Yi, "新加坡舞狮与政府方针的同行" (Hons. Thesis, Nanyang Technological University, 2019).

在九皇千秋期间，抬轿队伍不仅帮助抬宝轿，也会承担其他的职责和角色。[75] 他们还负责照料圣轿，例如维修和翻新，有时也负责安装灯具。节庆开始之前，圣轿从庙宇的储藏室被搬出来并进行翻新，这几乎是所有庙宇每年的例行工作。在一些庙宇中，这项工作由庙宇委员会成员或义工完成，但在大多数庙宇中，尤其是在那些抬轿队员数量较多、抬轿队伍具有很强的认同感的庙宇中，通常是抬轿队员负责这项工作。





在龙南殿，每个抬轿队伍负责保管、翻新和修理自己的九皇圣轿，在必要时也负责设计、建造和调试新宝轿。九皇千秋正式开始之前，各个队伍将从各自存放九皇圣轿的地方将圣轿运回庙宇里。[76] 随后，抬轿队员将重新装饰、定制和翻新九皇圣轿，定制和订购需要更换的部件，龙南殿甚至曾从国外订购一架全新的圣轿，替换已经磨损的旧圣轿。在恭迎圣驾仪式之前，所有九皇圣轿都必须到庙宇集合。



◀ The Nine Emperor Gods palanquins were transported from a warehouse to Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in 2016.

2016年，为筹备九皇胜会把九皇九位大帝的宝轿从仓库运到蔡厝港斗母宫。

[75] 同样地，正如我们在各座庙宇进行实地考察的成员所观察到的，抬轿队员们自愿在节日间歇和繁忙期间，花时间和精力到节日地点进行协助工作。例如，龙南殿九皇三帝、六帝及九帝的抬轿队员在恭迎仪式之前协助搭建节日帐篷，装饰恭送仪式上焚化的龙舟，并承担其他工作，例如为庙宇里的神明斟茶等。

[76] 例如，九皇七帝的圣轿就存放在龙南殿成员的厂房中。相比之下，由于很多九皇八帝圣轿的抬轿队员同时是舞狮队的成员，九皇八帝的圣轿被存放在舞狮队中。关于舞狮队的相关介绍，请参阅黄东教，<新加坡华人舞狮文化研究>，《体育文化导刊》2017 年第 2 期，页 86-91；叶璟仪，<新加坡舞狮与政府方针的同行>，南洋理工大学荣誉学士学位论文，2019 年。

In contrast, between 2016 and 2017, all of the Nine Emperor Gods' palanquins in Chua Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng were stored within the premises of one of the temple's major sponsors. Lorries were arranged to transport the palanquins to the temple for cleaning and refurbishment before the festival. More recently, some palanquins have been kept by their respective teams for enhanced facilitation and flexibility during pre-festival preparations.

Other temples see the responsibilities of the palanquins resting on the temples or affiliated associations. On-site storage of palanquins is noted in Hong San Temple, Kew Huang Keng, and Kim San Tze. Palanquin care—preparations, repairs and decorations—in these temples lies on the respective associations.

Across all the fifteen temples surveyed, most palanquin bearers have been noted to be relatively young and falling within the age range of teenagers and quadragenerians. One unique exception can be found among veteran bearers of the Ninth Emperor God's palanquin in Leong Nam Temple. The team consists largely of sexagenarians and septuagenarians.

Consistent with their experience, the stamina of the Ninth Emperor God's palanquin bearers allows them to wield their charge for a longer period of time and thus be in the best position to conclude any procession (in addition to their numerical order as the final palanquin) whenever their assistance is required. A comparable account also surfaced from Kew Huang Keng. According to an informant, pioneer generations of the temple's palanquin bearers were accustomed to carrying heavy loads of fertiliser on their shoulders as part of farming work undertaken during their youth. Reaching middle age did little to affect their stamina and strength to the extent that younger palanquin bearers frequently exhausted themselves in attempts to keep pace.

相比之下，在2016年至2017年期间，蔡厝港斗母宫的九皇圣轿都存放在庙宇一名主要赞助者的房屋内。节日开始之前，人们会安排卡车将九皇圣轿运到庙宇，并对轿子进行清洗和翻新。近年来，有些圣轿由各自的队伍保管，以便更灵活地为节日做准备。

在其他地方，圣轿的相关工作由庙宇或其附属协会负责。例如，在凤山宫、九皇宫和金山寺，九皇圣轿保管于庙宇中。在节日筹备阶段，各协会负责修理或装饰圣轿。



◀
Palanquin bearers affiliated with the Ninth Emperor God at Leong Nam Temple.

附属于龙南殿的九皇九帝圣轿抬轿队员。

在我们调查的15座庙宇中，大多数抬轿队员都比较年轻，年龄在十几岁到四十岁之间。一个特例是龙南殿九皇九帝的圣轿，抬轿队伍主要是六十多岁和七十多岁的长者。他们不仅经验丰富，精力也十分旺盛，因此他们能够在抬轿行进时保持更长的时间，也最适合排在队伍最后的位置（按照顺序，九皇九帝的圣轿也应排在最后），以便在需要时协助他人。在九皇宫进行实地调查时，我们也记录了类似的说法。据一位受访者称，庙宇抬轿子的先锋，都是年轻时务农的人，习惯于肩上扛着沉重的肥料。[77] 年轻抬轿队员通常会在试图跟上前辈时感到精疲力尽，这些年长的抬轿队员即使人到中年，他们的耐力和力量依然令更年轻的抬轿队员自叹不如。

[77] 过去葱茅园的村民多以农业为生。相关实地报告请参阅《巴爷里峇葱茅园村史》（新加坡：南洋大学历史系，1969），页 11-12；及《凤山宫三庆大典》，页 26。

Conclusion

The palanquin is an important feature of Singapore's Nine Emperor Gods Festival. In carrying the censers of the Nine Emperor Gods and other sacred objects related to the festival, they have become the embodiments of the deities. Their uniqueness vis-à-vis other religious festivals lies in their covered designs and, in turn, the associated mystique and the mandatory adherence to dietary, behavioural and physical regulations and regimes by palanquin bearers for the assurances of purity. They play important roles in the receiving and sending off ceremonies and the processions and tours related to the festival. The continued focus on palanquins during these rituals propelled the creation of communities revolving around them.

Most temples have at least one or two palanquins dedicated to the censers or sacred objects related to the Nine Emperor Gods and, in certain cases, Dou Mu Yuan Jun. Sizes of palanquin contingents differ across temples, with some having up to nine palanquins, one for each of the Nine Emperor Gods. Special nail- or blade-covered sedan chairs have also been utilised to convey the mediums of the Nine Emperor Gods. The contemporary reduction of such sightings must be attributed to the increased difficulty of holding large-scale ritual processions.

A multitude of factors, including terrain and climate issues, prompted the widespread proliferation of palanquins and sedan chairs in China after the migration of the Song capital and court to Lin'an. Nevertheless, examining China's history delineates an elitist perspective of palanquins and sedans wherein commoners' daily uses of these vehicles for transportation were frowned upon and even prohibited, but to no avail. That said, allowances of use were granted to commoners in exceptional circumstances, such as weddings and funerals.

Despite the ubiquity of these vehicles in daily life, we know very little about the religious uses of these modes of transport in pre-twentieth-century China. Acknowledgements must be granted to the valuability of insights provided by ethnographic reports from and after the twentieth century.

In present-day Singapore, palanquins and sedan chairs are important in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and other religious festivals. They take pride in place in the receiving and sending off ceremonies as well as the *yew keng* tours. This is even though changing regulations on public processions and use of public spaces and the evolving physical and built landscape has transformed the nature of these tours. While they were originally confined to tours of neighbourhoods and villages surrounding the respective temples, *yew keng* became associated with formal large-scale island-wide inter-temple visits, focusing on the ties between Nine Emperor Gods temples in creating a broader Nine Emperor Gods community. That said, palanquins and floats remain important facets of these new *yew keng*.

Ultimately, palanquins and sedan chairs are not only ritual artefacts or modes of transport, in this case, for the deities, and they also embody questions of social and economic organisation and community. They are important ways of recruiting new members and participants, as well as sponsors, for the festival and temple. They reflect the broader communities and networks in which the temples and festivals are embedded and the temples' standing and influence. The palanquins and sedan chairs, as well as their teams, have become intertwined with the histories and identities of the Nine Emperor Gods' temples and festivals, intersecting the histories and presents of different temples in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival network. Their continuity, transformation and adaptation over the years testify to the cross-cutting and vibrant religious networks that align actors and their respective institutions in making the Nine Emperor Gods Festival an annual success.

结语

圣轿是新加坡九皇千秋的一个重要特色。在运送九皇炉和其他与节日有关的神圣物品时，九皇圣轿便是九皇大帝的花生。相较于其他神明节日，九皇圣轿的独特性不仅在于其特殊的封闭结构及由此带来的神秘性，而且也体现在许多庙宇对抬轿队员的纯净状态及持斋茹素的严格要求上。九皇圣轿在恭迎仪式和恭送仪式以及游境和参访活动中扮演着重要的角色，是这些活动和社区的焦点。

大多数庙宇至少会有一或两架圣轿供奉九皇大帝及斗姆元君，尤其是用以运送神明的香炉或其他礼器。一些庙宇拥有庞大的轿子队伍，多达九乘，分别供奉九皇一帝到九皇九帝。近年来，越来越多的庙宇为斗姆元君准备了圣轿。除此之外，还有特殊的轿子——比如刀轿和钉轿——用以抬送九皇大帝的乩童。“耍刀轿”在过去很常见，这些轿子曾发挥重要作用，但如今已很少见到，这是由于举行大型游神活动越来越困难。

在传统中国，乘轿一直被视为皇室和高级官员的专属权利。在中国北方，骑马出行是常态，自宋朝从开封迁都到临安后，出于各种原因，轿子开始取代马匹。虽然平民被允许在特殊情况下（如婚礼和葬礼）使用轿子，但精英阶级试图限制轿子在日常生活中的使用，然而此举收效甚微。

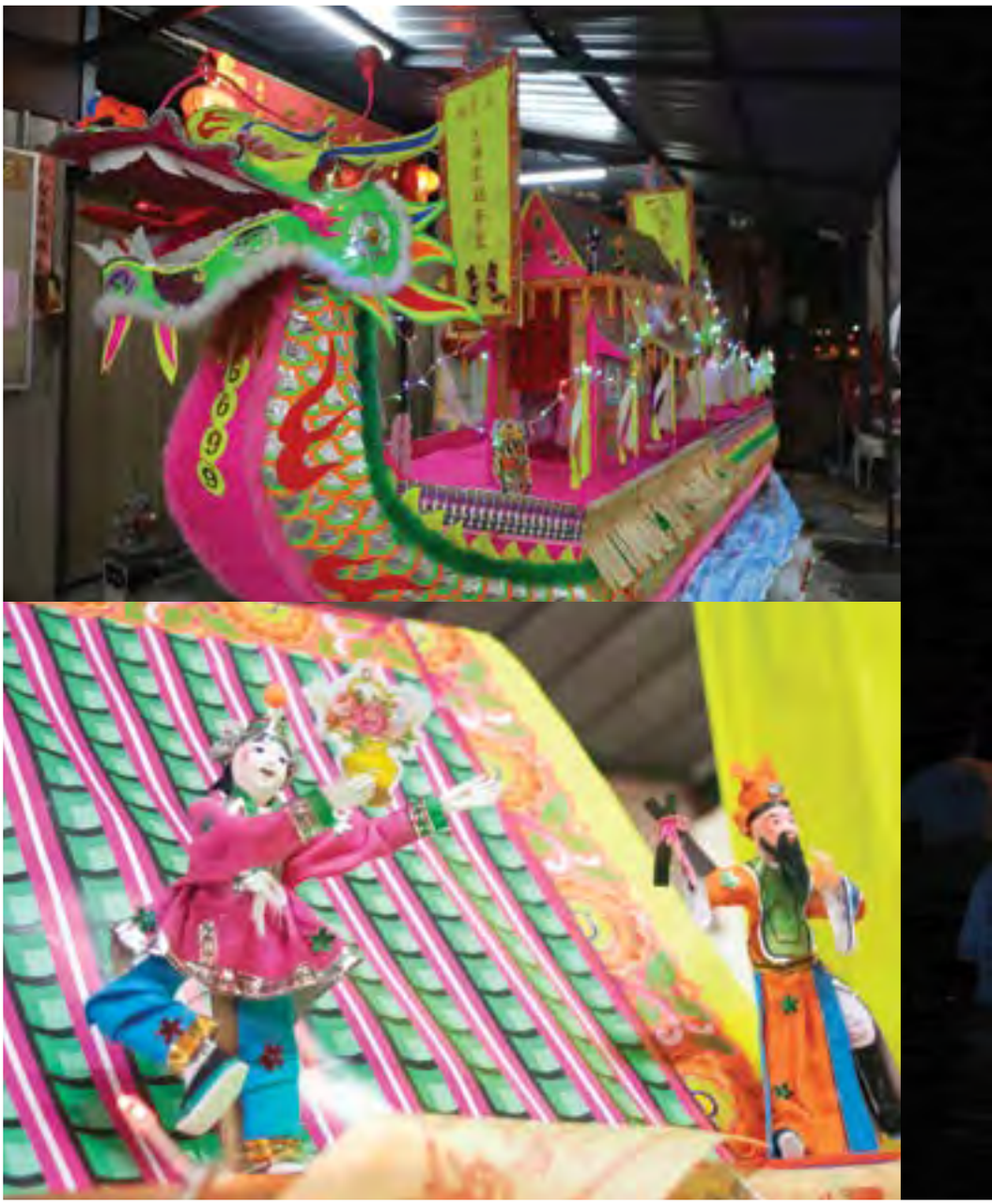
尽管轿子在日常生活中无处不在，但我们对20世纪以前中国宗教游行中使用轿子运送神像的情况知之甚少。我们所掌握的大部分信息源于20世纪以来的民族志报告。

在今天新加坡的九皇千秋和其他宗教节日中，圣轿仍然扮演着重要的角色。随着公共游行和公共空间使用的规则发生变化，以及物质和建筑景观不断改变，游行活动的本质业已发生变化，九皇圣轿仍是恭迎和恭送仪式以及绕境游行时的焦点。绕境游行最初仅限于庙宇所在的附近区域和村庄，后来逐渐与全岛范围内正式的大规模友庙互访联系在一起，加强了九皇庙之间的联系，从而创建了更广泛的社区网络。轿子和花车是这些游境活动的重要方面。

总结而言，圣轿不仅仅是祭祀礼器或神明出行的乘御仪具，同时也是社会组织和社区的具体象征。在某些情况下，九皇圣轿与九皇庙及九皇千秋的历史和认同交织在一起。在其他情况下，它们还连结了九皇千秋网络中不同庙宇的过去与现在。随着时间的推移，圣轿的连续性、转变和适应体现了相互交织并充满活力的宗教网络，将社区和各自的庙宇紧密联结在一起，使九皇千秋每年都获得成功。

第9章 Ships 龙船法船





Yu Hai Tang's preparation and subsequent incineration of the Dragon Ship during the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Bodhisattvas. Note that the Dragon Ship and censer representing the deities are dispatched separately in the final photograph.

玉海棠在送九皇菩萨回銮时准备焚烧的龙舟。请注意，在最后一张照片的右半部分，代表菩萨的香炉是单独送行的。

Introduction

Whilst the Nine Emperor Gods Festival has had a long history in Southeast Asia, it is worth noting the increased turn to certain trends in recent years, including the involvement of large paper or bamboo ships of varying forms and exact sizes since the 2000s (or earlier depending on temples). The designs of the ships differ across temples—sails and dragon prows, and papier-mâché crew-filled ships depicting boat hands or the ever-popular motif of the Eight Immortals integral to Chinese religion.[1] It is common for these ships to be filled with key staples, including rice, salt, oil, and other religious paraphernalia. Many temples have also adopted the practice of having their devotees write the names of their family members and themselves on small slips of paper attached to the ships. Fundamental to this practice is the undercurrent of wishes for blessings and hope for intervention by the Nine Emperor Gods to remove their misfortunes upon the deities' depature from the respective ships.

[1] The Eight Immortals—in various combinations that were only standardised in late-imperial China—are not only worshipped in some temples (either as a set or as separate divinities), but are also extremely popular motifs that have made their way into various artforms, such as carvings, embroidery, and decorative ornaments. They serve as the protagonists in the novel by Wu Yuantai (1522-1526 CE), 东游记, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=954991. Much scholarship had grown around this collective of deities. Inter alia, see Richard F. S. Yang, "A Study of the Origin of the Legend of the Eight Immortals," *Oriens Extremus* 5:1 (1958): 1-22; 山曼, 八仙信仰 (北京市: 学苑出版社, 1994); 吴光正Wu Guangzheng, 八仙故事系统考论：内丹道宗教神话的建构及其流变 (北京市: 中华书局, 2006); Michelle Yingzhi An, "A Daoist's Encounter with Modernity – Subsuming Western Science under a Daoist Epistemology in the Story of Eight Immortals who attained the Dao" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 2015). Two excellent studies and introductions of two among the Eight Immortals—Lü Dongbin (796-1016 CE) and Han Xiangzi (Tang dynasty, 618-907 CE) —have been undertaken by Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); and Yang Erzeng (17th century), translated and introduced by Philip Clart, *The Story of Han Xiangzi: The Alchemical Adventures of a Daoist Immortal* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2007) respectively.



前言

自21世纪以来（在一些庙宇中或许更早），东南亚许多供奉九皇大帝的庙宇中，有一个现象在九皇千秋期间越来越普遍，即这些场合通常会有一艘主要由纸和竹扎制的大船。不同庙宇的法船大小不等，形制不一。有些庙宇的法船带有船帆，并以龙头为船头；有些庙宇的法船则载有纸糊的人偶，通常是神兵神将，或是华人宗教中十分流行的八仙形象。[1] 这些船上装满诸如米、盐、油等主要仪式物品以及其他宗教用具。许多庙宇允许善信将写有自己和家人名字的小纸条贴在船上，纸条寄托着他们的祈福心愿，祈祷九皇大帝在乘船离去的时候降福消灾。

[1] 八仙在不同说法中所列神仙各不相同，直到中华帝国晚期才形成确定的八仙。八仙不仅是一些庙宇供奉的对象（作为"八仙"或以单独的神明出现），同时也是民间艺术中极受欢迎的主题，常见于雕刻、刺绣和装饰品等中。他们是明代吴元泰的神话小说（约成书于公元1522-1526年）《东游记》中的主要人物，见《东游记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=954991. 学界对八仙进行了许多研究，请参阅Richard F. S. Yang, "A Study of the Origin of the Legend of the Eight Immortals," *Oriens Extremus* 5:1 (1958): 1-22; 山曼，《八仙信仰》（北京市：学苑出版社，1994）；吴光正，《八仙故事系统考论：内丹道宗教神话的建构及流变》（北京市：中华书局，2006）；Michelle Yingzhi An, "A Daoist's Encounter with Modernity – Subsuming Western Science under a Daoist Epistemology in the Story of Eight Immortals who attained the Dao" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 2015). 康豹（Paul R. Katz）和柯若朴（Philip Clart）分别对八仙中的两位神仙，即吕洞宾（约公元796年-1016年间在世？）与韩湘子（约唐代年间在世），进行了精彩的研究和介绍，请参阅Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999)；及杨尔曾（约公元17世纪在世）着，柯若朴（Philip Clart）译，《韩湘子全传》，请参阅Philip Clart *The Story of Han Xiangzi: The Alchemical Adventures of a Daoist Immortal* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2007).



Kim San Tze's preparation of its Dragon Ship for burning during the sending-off ceremony conducted by the temple at East Coast Park.

东海岸公园的金山寺理事在送九皇大帝回銮时准备并焚烧的龙舟。

Termed "Dragon Ships", "Ritual Ships", or "Sacred Ships", depending on the individual temples, these prepared ships are predominantly featured during the sending-off ceremony of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods on the ninth day of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. The ships are released alongside or after the censer in open water or the sea before being set ablaze to commemorate the departure of the deities. To date, researchers have posited that the practice was likely influenced by a tradition among the Minnan (Southern Fujian) Chinese, particularly the Wang Ye Festival—which is still practised today in Malacca (the Wangkang Festival), Bagansiapiapi and Taiwan. These ceremonies originated from the custom of banishing plagues which had appeared as early as the Song Dynasty (960—1279 CE). However, burning the ships during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival differs greatly in form, practice and beliefs.







◀
Hong San temple Ritual Ship during the sending-off procession.

凤山宫法船在恭送圣驾回銮途中。

农历九月初九是恭送九皇大帝圣驾回銮的日子。在送走九皇炉的同时，有法船的庙宇会将法船送至水际，于水上焚化，象征着九皇大帝乘船离去。正如先前学者所指出的，这种做法可能在很多方面受到了闽南（福建南部）地区与王爷有关的传统的影响。直到今天，闽南地区的“送王船”仪式依然见于马六甲（马六甲王舡大游行），峇眼亚比（Bagansiapiapi）和台湾等地区。这些仪式源于早在宋代就已出现的送瘟习俗。然而，正如下文将讨论的，在九皇千秋期间焚化龙船或礼船（船的名称因庙宇而异）的做法，与“送王船”仪式在形式、实践和信仰上有着诸多不同。



Dragon Ships were prepared and burnt by Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong and Jiu Huang Dian as a part of the sending-off ceremony.

作为恭送九皇仪式的一部分，由讲水港斗母宫和九皇殿的信徒准备并焚烧的龙舟。

A quick word on terminology before launching into the discussion: As aforementioned, the ships do not have a fixed label even though the ships designed by most Nine Emperor Gods temples share a similar practice of attaching a dragon head to the ship's prow. To reiterate, apart from "Dragon Ship" in relation to these ships' design, other terms include "Ritual Ship" or "Sacred Ship."[2] The apparent interchangeable use of "Dragon Ship" and "Ritual Ship" by temples, including Hougang Tou Mu Kung, testifies to the porousness of these terms in popular parlance.[3] For clarity, this chapter takes a leaf from an earlier essay by Li Fengmao. It will regard the vessels collectively as the "Nine Emperor Gods' Ships", even though none of the fifteen temples in Singapore has used this reference thus far.[4]

Aside from examining the histories, roles, and functions of these vessels during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, this chapter attempts to answer broader questions related to the symbolical, metaphorical, and historical significance of the ship/boat in Chinese religion, culture, and society. What do references to boats mean in Chinese religion and society? How have these impressions changed over time? What do we know about the incineration of boats at the climax of various religious rituals in China and Southeast Asia? When did these occur? What festival antecedents did these ships draw on in relation to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival? How have these impressions, practices and beliefs changed over time?

[2] On the final instance, see "圣船号码7373开二奖麻坡九皇爷出真字千人大发横财," 新明日报, October 3, 2003, 4.

[3] 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫 (Singapore: Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 2006), 89.

[4] 李丰楙, "王船，船画，九皇船：代巡三型的仪式性跨境" (paper presented at presented at "空间移动之文化诠释国际学术研讨会" (台北市：汉学研究中心，国立台湾大学文学院，国立中兴大学文学院，中央研究院中国文哲研究所, March 26-28, 2008), as well as his findings from other publications that are discussed throughout this essay.



由于不同的庙宇对船的称呼不一，在进入正式讨论之前，我们有必要先对这一术语进行限定。许多九皇庙用龙头装饰船首，因此将船称作“龙船”，但并非所有庙宇都是如此。有的九皇庙遵循其他传统，相应的，船被赋予其他名称，例如“法船”或“圣船”。[2] 一些庙宇交替使用“龙船”和“法船”，例如使用龙船的后港斗母宫，这反映了这些术语在通俗用法中的交叉性。[3] 为方便表述，本章借鉴李丰楙的用法，在讨论这些船时，无论是作为个案讨论或是总体现象，一律将其称为“九皇船”，尽管新加坡的十五座九皇庙无一称其庙宇的船为“九皇船”。[4]

通过考察九皇船的历史、九皇船在九皇千秋中的作用和功能，本章试图阐释下列与华人宗教、文化和社会中船只的象征、隐喻以及历史意义相关的问题。在华人宗教与社会中，船意味着什么？这些观念如何随着时间的推移而变化？从何时起，中国和东南亚宗教仪式会在高潮阶段焚化船只？九皇船的起源是什么？随着时代的变迁，这些观念、习俗和信仰发生了什么变化？

[2] 关于被称为“圣船”的例子，请参见<圣船号码7373开二奖 麻坡九皇爷出真字 前人大发横财>，见《新明日报》，2003年10月3日，第4版。

[3] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页89。

[4] 李丰楙，<王船，船画，九皇船：代巡三型的仪式性跨境>，论文发表于“空间移动之文化诠释国际学术研讨会（Cultural Interpretation of Spatial Movements: An International Symposium）”（台北市：汉学研究中心，国立台湾大学文学院，国立中兴大学文学院，中央研究院中国文哲研究所，2008年3月26日-28日），亦请参阅本章所提及李丰楙的其他著作。笔者感谢李志贤Lee Chih Hsien于2008年为我提供第一份参考资料的副本。

Boats and Ships as Religious Metaphors and Technologies in Chinese History

Boats have been featured regularly throughout the history of Chinese society and religion. From as early as the Warring States Period of China, the *Zhuangzi* (compiled around the fourth century BCE) refers to boats as metaphors to describe one's life. One account involves a chance meeting between Yan Hui (c. 521—481 BCE) and a ferryman who was observed to have "handled the boat like a spirit". Specifically, the symbolism of a boat in relation to one's life surfaced from the said boatman's response regarding his skill to Yan that "good swimmers can learn it quickly; but divers, who have never seen a boat, can manage it at once". It was Confucius (551—479 BCE) who resolved this ferryman's abstract reply that had continued to puzzle Yan. As expounded by Confucius, "Good swimmers might be able to acquire the ability quickly—however, they forget the water (and its dangers). Divers might not have seen a boat but can manage it immediately as they look on the watery gulf as though it were a hill, and the boat upsetting as though a carriage in reverse".[5]

The abovementioned account in the *Zhuangzi* sees the potential boatmen and vessels as metaphors for individuals and their lives. The detachment from the fixation with external concerns enhances the possibility of captaining one's boat efficiently—that is, living one's life in peace. In contrast, individuals preoccupied with this-worldly concerns and anxieties are akin to boatmen who have neither a background in swimming nor diving and, thus, cannot manoeuvre their vessels smoothly through the water. Crucial, here, is to understand that this highlighted example was not the sole reference to boats as metaphors for the idealised philosophy of carefree and unfettered living in the *Zhuangzi*. For instance, a separate account focuses on the differences between the clever and wise in the *Zhuangzi*, in which the former "toil on" and the latter "are sad". Specifically, the *Zhuangzi* notes that those "without ability" who "ate to their fullest and wandered idly about" seemed to lead a life of relative bliss "drifting like a vessel loosed from its moorings and aimlessly about" in contrast to the stressful and miserable lives of their intelligent and well-informed counterparts.[6]

Noteworthy is the recognition that watercraft has been used regularly as a rhetorical device in exposing Buddhist principles. These watercraft symbolisms can be traced to the compilation of the Pali Tipitaka, Majjhima Nikāya ["Collection of Middle-length Discourses"] 22, such as the Alagaddupama [Water-Snake] Sutta (compiled c. third century BCE and second century CE). This account surfaces the Buddha's likening of his teachings to a raft ferrying traveller to the opposite bank—underpinning Buddha's analogy is the understanding that his teachings aimed at steering humankind towards salvation.[7] In essence, Bodhisattva ideals dovetailed with the imagery of boats to produce the awareness that the former was a means of ferrying believers (voyagers) across the sea of suffering towards the bank of Nirvana (salvation).[8] Considering this, Buddhism's arrival in China during the Han dynasty (202 BCE—220 CE) unsurprisingly facilitated its development. It ensued ingraining of the allegory of a boat as a vehicle for spiritual salvation throughout Chinese society.

[5] 庄子, "达生," paragraph 4, in *Zhuangzi*, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/full-understanding-of-life/. The English translation adapted in this section is from James Legge (1815-1897 CE) (appended in the link). On the debatable historicity of Confucius's dialogues with Yan Hui in the Zhuangzi, see the discussion in Ann-Ping Chin, *Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), passim, especially 75-76, 86-87, 100-109, 114 and 221.

[6] 庄子, "列御寇," paragraph 1, in *Zhuangzi*, Chinese Text Project, accessed March 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/lie-yu-kou. The English translation adapted in this section is from James Legge (appended in the link).

[7] Gautama Buddha (c. 6th-5th century BCE), trans. Bhikkhu Nanamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikaya*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009) 228-229. At the climax of this parable, he extended a hypothetical puzzle to his listeners: Were they expected to carry the cumbersome raft about when they went about with their lives on the other side of the bank, since they had benefitted so much from its help? Various commentaries have been written in response to the puzzle, and we shall leave interested readers to consult some of these lengthier discussions. Inter alia, see Damien Keown, *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 99-102; Richard F. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 23-25. On the possible sources of inspiration, history, and superscripted narratives of these texts, see Dhivan Thomas Jones, "Upaniṣadic Echoes in the Alagaddūpama Sutta," *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 19 (2020): 79–102.

[8] Many schools of Mahayana Buddhism in India, for example, maintained that enlightened individuals were able to ferry the faithful to salvation with the beneficial karmic fruits that they have cultivated in their previous lives. David Drewes, "Early Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism II: New Perspectives," *Religion Compass* 4:2 (2010): 66-74; and Paul M. Harrison, "Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-image and Identity among the Followers of the Early Mahāyāna," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10:1 (1987): 67-89.

中国历史上船的宗教隐喻与技术

在中国社会和宗教中，船文化源远流长。早在战国时期（公元前475年-前221年），在道家经典《庄子》（约成书于公元前4世纪）中，庄子多次借船喻人生。其中一篇文章提到，颜回（约公元前521年-前481年）遇一“津人操舟若神”。当被问及操舟技艺可否被习得时，津人回答“善游者数能。若乃夫没人，则未尝见舟而便操之也。”当颜回追问为什么时，津人却闭口不言，于是颜回向孔子（公元前551年-前479年）请教。孔子曰：“善游者数能，忘水也。若乃夫没人之未尝见舟而便操之也，彼视渊若陵，视舟之覆犹其车却也。”[5]

在这一叙述中，津人与其所操之舟分别隐喻个人与其人生。只要一个人不为身外之物所困，便有可能熟练驾驶“人生之舟”，从容自在地生活。相反地，那些对外物看得过重的人好比不识水性而学习操舟的津人，他们无法坦然地驾驶自己的船只在水中航行。在《庄子》中，诸如此类以船只喻无忧无虑、无拘无束的理想人生观的故事并非孤例。在另一篇文章中，庄子曰：“巧者劳而知者忧，无能者无所求，饱食而遨游，泛若不系之舟，虚而遨游者也。”才华出众和有智慧的人为其才华和智慧所累，惶惶不可终日，而无能者因无所希求故无所羁绊，逍遥自在。[6]

作为一种修辞手法，船筏同样被用以阐明佛教伦理。这些譬喻具有悠久的历史，见于巴利三藏（巴利语：Pali Tipitaka，结集于公元前3世纪至公元2世纪年间）中。例如，在《中部》（巴利文：Majjhima Nikāya）第22经《蛇喻经》（Alagaddupama Sutta）中，佛陀以筏喻法，如同渡人过岸的木筏，佛法普度众生脱离苦海。[7] 当佛教在汉朝时期传入中国时，佛法是船的譬喻逐渐流行于中国社会中。佛法正如海上航行的船，承载众生脱离苦海，到达涅盘彼岸。[8]

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[5] 庄子（公元前369年-前286年），<达生>第4部分，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/full-understanding-of-life/. 英文译文改编自理雅各（James Legge，公元1815-1897年）（见链接）。关于《庄子》中孔子与颜回对话的精彩分析，请参阅 Ann-Ping Chin, *Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009)，全文处处皆有涉及，尤其是页75-76, 86-87, 100-109, 114及221。

[6] <列御寇>第1部分，见《庄子》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年3月1日， https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/lie-yu-kou. 英文译文改编自理雅各（James Legge）（见链接）。

[7] 请参阅释迦牟尼（Gautama Buddha，约公元前6-5世纪）着，Bhikkhu Nanamoli及Bhikkhu Bodhi译，*The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikaya*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009) 228-229. 在佛陀为比丘受船筏之譬喻之后，佛陀问既然船筏使人如愿到达彼岸，是否需要将之一直带在身边？已有许多评论针对这一问题展开讨论，有兴趣的读者可以自行查阅具体的讨论内容，请参阅，例如，Damien Keown, *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 99-102; Richard F. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 23-25. 关于《蛇喻经》的启示、历史及注释，请参阅Dhivan Thomas Jones, “Upaniṣadic Echoes in the Alagaddūpama Sutta,” *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 19 (2020): 79–102.

[8] 例如，印度大乘佛教许多教派认为，修行人能利用前世所种善因得来的善果渡己渡人。请参阅David Drewes, “Early Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism II: New Perspectives,” *Religion Compass* 4:2 (2010): 66-74; 及 Paul M. Harrison, “Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-image and Identity among the Followers of the Early Mahāyāna,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10:1 (1987): 67-89.



Long Nan Szye's Ritual Ship comprises an image of Guanyin on its deck.

龙南寺的法船。可以看到观音菩萨的神像立于船上。

A prime example of how boats and their related terminologies surfaced in Buddhism is the phrase "Ferrying All to Salvation on the Boat of Compassion", which closely relates to the worship of Guanyin, a popular Chinese Bodhisattva. Many miraculous tales exist explaining how Guanyin manifested in countless forms to save those who called upon her name throughout history and in contemporary times.[9] Guanyin also appears in practices undertaken by some temples during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Case in point, Guanyin has been the predominant deity invoked by Long Nan Szye's specialists during the annual boat incineration ritual of the sending-off ceremony during the festival. It has since been the norm for the temple to include a small image of Guanyin on the vessel as a testament to the goddess's significance in Long Nan Szye's interpretation of its sending-off ceremony ritual. The physical boat aside, the analogy of the boat also appears in three stanzas of an incantation recited during Long Nan Szye's ritual. In praising Guanyin's compassion, the three stanzas recognise Guanyin as having "provided a boat for people to cross the sea of bitterness". Conversely, the Nine Luminaries, alias the Nine Emperor Gods, are only highlighted in the incantation's final stanzas.[10]

Historic and contemporary religious ceremonies performed in East and Southeast Asia to pacify the dead often draw on the symbolism of a boat as a form of salvation. Of the many manifestations, the most literal interpretations comprised the construction and consecration of model boats to house the souls of the deceased before they were sent-off to a better afterlife. Examining practices of boat incinerations in Nagasaki in Tokugawa, Japan, Timothy Tsu examined practices of loading the spirits of deceased Chinese onto model boats for incineration at sea as workarounds in the face of travel and movement restrictions imposed upon the Chinese community under the Sakoku policy.[11] Such rituals allowed for the symbolic repatriation of the deceased Chinese souls back to China (a difficult feat given the imposed isolation), as well as the achievement of spiritual salvation beyond the shores of Japan—a belief that was most likely further crystallised with the engagement of Buddhist monks to captain these ceremonies.[12]

[9] For example, see the titular monograph by 林淑媛, 慈航普渡：观音感应故事叙事模式析论 (台北:大安出版社, 2004); and the similarly eponymous article by 胡可涛, "慈航普渡, 劝善金箴—以'观音'为题材的劝善书研究," 五台山研究 118 (2004): 48-51. Also see Yü Chün-fang, "Miracle Tales and the Domestication of Kuan-yin," 中华佛学学报11 (1988): 425-481.

[10] Incantation collected by our project team at the sending-off ceremony of Long Nan Si.

[11] Many studies have been performed on this phase in the history of Japan, Inter alia, see Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (New York, Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011).

[12] Timothy Y. Tsu, "All Souls Aboard! The Ritual Launch of Model Junks by the Chinese of Nagasaki in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 10:1 (1996): 47-49. Archaeological findings note that some coffins were constructed in the shape of boats in China, but little is known about the significance of the practice. Complicating any convincing hypotheses is the fact that these remains were found within inland, rather than coastal China. See, for example, Chengdu Municipal Institute of Antiquity and Archaeology, "The Boat-coffins and Single-log Coffins in Shangye Street, Chengdu, Sichuan," *Chinese Archaeology* 3:1 (2003): 83-94.



观音信仰通常与“慈航普渡”联系在一起，在过去和现在的种种观音传说中，观音以不同化身出现在受苦受难的世人面前。[9] 有趣的是，在龙南寺，观音是宫庙专家在恭送仪式和焚化九皇船时请示的主神。在仪式上吟诵的咒语中，有三节赞美了观音的慈悲为怀，因其“苦海常作渡人舟”。而九曜众天尊，即九皇大帝，只出现在咒语的最后一节中。[10] 船上还有一小尊观音像，表明观音在龙南寺的恭送仪式中的重要地位。

从过去到现在，在东亚和东南亚地区，许多祭奠死者的宗教仪式也常常借用船筏譬喻。在一些情况下，船并不具有超度意义，只是被造以寄托逝者的灵魂，直到逝者的灵魂被送往更好的来世。祖运辉（Timothy Tsu）研究了日本德川时代长崎市的烧船仪式，将这一仪式与当时日本锁国（Sakoku）政策下对华人出行加以限制的历史背景联系起来。[11] 迫于政策限制，长崎华人只好定期将逝者的灵魂装载到法船上，然后将船推到海上焚化。这些仪式不仅象征着逝者的灵魂被送回中国（在闭关锁国的背景下，这是一项难以完成的壮举），也意味着他们脱离日本的苦海，到达解脱的彼岸，这一观念可能在佛教僧侣参与这些仪式时逐渐成形。[12]

[9] 与“慈航普渡”相关的研究请参阅，例如，林淑媛的专着《慈航普渡：观音感应故事叙事模式析论》（台北：大安出版社，2004）；及胡可涛的文章<慈航普渡，劝善金箴——以“观音”为题材的劝善书研究>，《五台山研究》2004年第118期，页45-51。亦请参阅于君方（Yü Chün-fang），“Miracle Tales and the Domestication of Kuan-yin,”《中华佛学学报》1988年第11期，页425-481。

[10] 我们的研究团队收集了龙南寺在恭送仪式上的咒语。

[11] 关于日本德川时代的研究著述颇丰，请参阅Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (New York, Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011).

[12] Timothy Y. Tsu, “All Souls Aboard! The Ritual Launch of Model Junks by the Chinese of Nagasaki in Tokugawa Japan,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 10:1 (1996): 47-49. 考古发现表明，在中国，一些棺材被制成船的形状，但这种做法的意义仍不清楚。这些遗物被发现于中国内陆地区，而非沿海地区，这使得提出任何有说服力的假设变得更为困难。例如，请参阅Chengdu Municipal Institute of Antiquity and Archaeology, “The Boat-coffins and Single-log Coffins in Shangye Street, Chengdu, Sichuan,” *Chinese Archaeology* 3:1 (2003): 83-94.

To Tsu, what underpinned the well-meaning motivations of better afterlives were also unspoken concerns over potential harm to the living if the bodies had remained on land. These concerns arose as many of the deceased had no living families to care for or had died unnatural deaths, posing possible dangers to the living. Transferring the bodies away from the land thus facilitated the goal of shifting the potentially dangerous influences away from the living.[13] The sea, in Tsu's account, serves dual cosmological significances of simultaneously symbolising salvation in the hereafter and being a vast expanse for unwanted spirits.[14] Such beliefs were common throughout many seafaring societies, where the seas were contextualised as a boon and bane to the communities living off them.[15] That said, it must be noted that ritualistic boat burning, with all its notions of banishment and exiling of unwanted entities, was neither unique nor exceptional to Chinese communities who lived in Nagasaki.

Aside from these unique traditions, boats also informed rituals performed in honour of the dead during the seventh lunar month—also known as the Daoist-termed Zhong Yuan Festival, the Buddhist-termed Ullambana Festival, and the vernacular-termed Ghost Festival.[16] The Qing court (1644—1911CE) CE) attached great significance to the event and incinerated model boats annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. This annual incineration ritual was accompanied by performances of other rituals on behalf of deceased emperors and their consorts. For instance, the death of Empress Dowager Cixi (1835—1908) was marked with the incineration of a luxurious model boat specifically designed for her use in the afterlife as part of the seventh lunar month ritual during the first year of the Xuantong Emperor's reign (1908).[17]

Similar observances of less lavish varieties can still be observed during the seventh lunar month across China and Southeast Asia today. Regardless of the exact religious traditions spurring their performances, rituals conducted for the benefit of one's ancestors or lost souls during the said period continue to be broadly known as "Ferrying All to Salvation". Witnessed during these ceremonies are the summoning of souls of deceased ancestors and lost spirits to festival sites before they are ritualistically fed and propitiated to achieve temporary respite from their parsimonious existence.[18] The climax of the events of some festival sites includes the symbolic sending-off of the summoned ancestral spirits and wandering ghosts in a small boat bearing a candle or a lit lamp. The final day of these rituals involves allowing the lamps to drift across the waterway into the horizon. This practice indicates the departure of the invited spirits from the living human hosts and the festival sites and a tacit understanding that they achieved a better state of otherworldly existence through the rituals conducted during the festival.[19] Interestingly, Nan Shan Hai Temple's former leaders arranged for the coastal releasing of paper boats bearing small lit candles alongside the sending-off of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods in past Nine Emperor God Festivals.

[13] Tsu, "All Souls Aboard," 50. Confer with Xi Ju, "Urban Space of the Living and Dead: The Conception of Environment and Death in Beijing from the Eighteenth Century to the Middle Twentieth Century," in *Making Sense of Health, Disease, and the Environment in Cross-Cultural History: The Arabic-Islamic World, China, Europe, and North America*, ed. Florence Bretelle-Establet, Marie Gaill and Mehrnaz Katouzian-Safadipp (Cham: Springer, 2017), 255-284.

[14] On the cosmological significance of the sea in Chinese religion, see the overarching study by 向柏松, "道教与水崇拜," 中南民族学院学报(哲学社会科学版) 96 (1999): 43-46; and the worship of the Emperors of the Three Departments, alias the Lords of the Three Worlds (Heaven, Earth and Water) by Shih-Shan Susan Huang, "Summoning the Gods: Paintings of Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water and their Association with Daoist Ritual Performance in the Southern Song Period," *Artibus Asiae* 61:1 (2001): 5-52. Confer with the changing foci and iconographies of the Water and Earth Dharma Assembly in Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu Fahui, The Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures Of Water And Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Haufler (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 30-72. Despite the significance of geography as cosmology, few detailed studies of the topic have emerged to date. A few important preliminary studies have been done on a pan-regional basis by Sandra Pannell, "Of Gods and Monsters: Indigenous Sea Cosmologies, Promiscuous Geographies and the Depths of Local Sovereignty," in *A World of Water: Rain, Rivers and Seas in Southeast Asian Histories*, ed. Peter Boomgaard (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 71-102; and Barbara Watson Andaya, "Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies,'" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65:4 (2006): 669-690; "Rivers, Oceans, and Spirits: Water Cosmologies, Gender, and Religious Change in Southeast Asia," *TRANS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia* 4:2 (2016): 239-263; "Seas, Oceans and Cosmologies in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48:3 (2017): 349-371; and "The Mysterious Ocean: Underwater Kingdoms, Sea Creatures, and Saintly Miracles in Early Modern Southeast Asia and Europe," *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper* 31 (2019).

[15] During the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Singapore, particularly in Hougang Tou Mu Kung and Kim San Tze, Daoist priests will prepare a paper spirit tablet in honour of Emperor Fusang and Emperor Danling at the "inviting water" and receiving of the Nine Emperor Gods at the coast respectively. These spirit-tablets testify to the veneration of these water deities, for both of these rituals drew upon the said element. For context, see 萧登福, 扶桑大帝东王公信仰研究 (台湾：新文丰出版股份有限公司，2009), particularly 762-779; and 陈省身, "台湾仪式僧与除疫法会," 玄奘佛学研究36 (2021): 109, respectively.

[16] On each of these terms, their historical connotations and conceptual overlaps, see, in roughly corresponding order, Lü Pengzhi, "The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes and the Daoist Middle Prime Festival: A Critical Study of the Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Sanyuan Pinjie Jing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 35-61; Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); 高洪兴, "中国鬼节与阴阳五行: 从清明节和中元节说起," 复旦学报 (社会科学版 4 (2005): 1-32; Selina Ching Chan, "Creepy No More: Inventing the Chaozhou Hungry Ghosts Cultural Festival in Hong Kong," *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 6:2 (2019): 273-296; and Terence Heng, "Hungry Ghosts in Urban Spaces: A Visual Study of Aesthetic Markers and Material Anchoring," *Visual Communication* 13:2 (2014): 147-162.

[17] 远波, "慈禧太后的 '御用' 法船," 紫禁城 2 (2002): 28-29.

[18] For example, see 陈荣翰n, "漳州'普渡'习俗的演变," 漳州职业大学学报 6:4 (2004): 56-59.

[19] Besides the references given in an earlier chapter, see 范扬坤, "普渡文化的传统与音乐人文景观," 传艺双月刊106 (2013): 48-53. For comparison, see Victoria Rose Montrose, "Floating Prayer: Localization, Globalization, and Tradition in the Shinnyo-en Hawaii Lantern Floating," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 3:2-3 (2014): 177-197; and Choi Chi-cheung, "The Chinese 'Yue Lan' Ghost Festival in Japan: A Kobe Case Study, Aug. 31 — Sept. 4, 1982," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1984): 230–63.



◀
Nan Shan Hai Temple's past sending-off ceremony comprised of releasing small candles in paper boats, undated (likely 1980s). Photographs courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Temple.

南山海庙的信徒们在恭送九皇大帝时用纸船释放小蜡烛，无日期（可能是1980年代）。照片由南山海庙提供。

祖运辉认为，这些善意的动机背后还有对仪式性污染的担忧。大部分逝者或没有后人祭祀，或死于非命，可能会对社区造成危害，因此有必要将这些潜在的污染转移到其他地方，以免威胁到活着的人们。[13] 在这种说法中，大海具有双重的宇宙学意义，[14] 它既象征着对逝者的超度，同时也作为一个容纳不受欢迎的亡灵的广阔空间。大海对以海洋为生的社区而言既是一种恩惠，也是一种祸害，这样的观念在许多航海社会中很普遍。[15] 正如我们将看到的，焚烧船只的仪式，以及驱逐和流放不受欢迎的灵魂的概念，并非长崎华人社区所特有。

除了这些独特的传统外，船也见于农历七月举行的祭祀亡魂的仪式之中，道教称农历七月十五为"中元节"，佛教称之为"盂兰盆节"，民间俗称"鬼节"。[16] 清宫（公元1644-1911年）非常重视这一节日，每年农历七月十五都要做法事、烧法船，为已过世的皇帝和后妃祈求平安。宣统元年（1908年），慈禧太后（1835-1908年）去世，一艘做工精美华丽的庞大法船被焚化，供她乘坐，前往天界。[17]

直到今天，在中国和东南亚仍然可以看到类似的祭祀活动，但形式不如过去那样丰富多彩。无论这些仪式遵循何种宗教传统，在农历七月为祖先或亡魂举行的仪式统称为"普渡"。[18] 一些节俗活动的高潮是通过载有蜡烛或灯盏的小船象征性地送走祖先亡灵和孤魂野鬼。在祭祀活动的最后一天，这些灯被放在水上，任其漂泛，这不仅表明亡灵和游魂离开祭祀场合及人间，也暗示他们已经受到超度获得解脱。[19] 有趣的是，在过去南山海庙的恭送仪式上，宫庙领导还会准备点着蜡烛的小纸船，随着九皇炉漂向大海。

[13] Tsu, "All Souls Aboard," 50. 请参阅Xi Ju, "Urban Space of the Living and Dead: The Conception of Environment and Death in Beijing from the Eighteenth Century to the Middle Twentieth Century," in *Making Sense of Health, Disease, and the Environment in Cross-Cultural History: The Arabic-Islamic World, China, Europe, and North America*, ed. Florence Bretelle-Establet, Marie Gaill and Mehrnaz Katouzian-Safadipp (Cham: Springer, 2017), 255-284.

[14] 关于大海在华人宗教中的宇宙学意义，请参阅向柏松的详细研究<道教与水崇拜>，《中南民族学院学报（哲学社会科学版）》1999年第96期，页43-46；有关三官大帝，即三界公（天、地、水）的崇拜，请参阅Shih-Shan Susan Huang, "Summoning the Gods: Paintings of Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water and their Association with Daoist Ritual Performance in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279)," *Artibus Asiae* 61:1 (2001): 5-52. 关于水陆法会的焦点和图像的变迁，请参阅Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuilu Fahui, The Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures Of Water And Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Haufler (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 30-72. 尽管地理学与宇宙学关系紧密，但迄今为止，有关这一主题的深入研究还很少。学者在泛区域基础上对此进行了一些重要的初步研究，请参阅Sandra Pannell, "Of Gods and Monsters: Indigenous Sea Cosmologies, Promiscuous Geographies and the Depths of Local Sovereignty," in *A World of Water: Rain, Rivers and Seas in Southeast Asian Histories*, ed. Peter Boomgaard (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 71-102; and Barbara Watson Andaya, "Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies,'" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65:4 (2006): 669-690; "Rivers, Oceans, and Spirits: Water Cosmologies, Gender, and Religious Change in Southeast Asia," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia* 4:2 (2016): 239-263; "Seas, Oceans and Cosmologies in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48:3 (2017): 349-371; and "The Mysterious Ocean: Underwater Kingdoms, Sea Creatures, and Saintly Miracles in Early Modern Southeast Asia and Europe," *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper* 31 (2019).

[15] 新加坡九皇千秋期间，尤其后港斗母宫和金山寺，道士通常会准备扶桑大帝和丹霖大帝的纸质神主牌，在海边"请水"和恭迎九皇大帝时，道士会一同祭祀扶桑大帝和丹霖大帝，因为上述仪式也需要两位神明的协助。相关背景请分别参阅，萧登福，《扶桑太帝东王公信仰研究》（台湾：新文丰出版股份有限公司，2009），尤其见页762-779；及陈省身，<台湾仪式僧与除疫法会>，《玄奘佛学研究》2021年第36期，页36。

[16] 这些节名的历史内涵和概念相互重叠，有关各个术语的研究，请参阅Lü Pengzhi, "The Lingbao Fast of the Three Primes and the Daoist Middle Prime Festival: A Critical Study of the Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Sanyuan Pinjie Jing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 35-61; Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); 高洪兴，<中国鬼节与阴阳五行：从清明节和中元节说起>，《复旦学报（社会科学版）》2005年第4期，页1-32； Selina Ching Chan, "Creepy No More: Inventing the Chaozhou Hungry Ghosts Cultural Festival in Hong Kong," *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* 6:2 (2019): 273-296; and Terence Heng, "Hungry Ghosts in Urban Spaces: A Visual Study of Aesthetic Markers and Material Anchoring," *Visual Communication* 13:2 (2014): 147-162.

[17] 远波，<慈禧太后的"御用"法船>，《紫禁城》2002年第2期，页28-29。

[18] 例如，请参阅陈荣翰，<漳州"普渡"习俗的演变>，《漳州职业大学学报》2006年第4期，页56-59。

[19] 除了前面章节中提到的参考文献，请参阅范杨坤，<普渡文化的传统与音乐人文景观>，《传艺双月刊》2013年第106期，页48-53。 与此对照，请参阅Victoria Rose Montrose, "Floating Prayer: Localization, Globalization, and Tradition in the Shinnyo-en Hawaii Lantern Floating," Journal of Religion in Japan 3:2-3 (2014): 177-197; Choi Chi-cheung, "The Chinese 'Yue Lan' Ghost Festival in Japan: A Kobe Case Study, Aug. 31 — Sept. 4, 1982," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1984): 230–63.

In Ming (1368—1644 CE) and Qing China (1644—1911), the boat metaphor as salvation influenced other aspects of Chinese religion and society, including the beliefs and tracts of sectarian religious organisations. Although these groups drew freely from the conventional denominations of the Three Teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, they largely asserted their independence. As a result, it is unsurprising that the soteriological significance of the boat also entered the religious texts—"precious scrolls"—of these religious organisations.[20] In *The Precious Volume, Expounded by the Buddha, on the Results of [the Teaching of] the Imperial Ultimate (Period)* (an extant copy dates to 1426—1435 CE), described by Daniel Overmyer and Thomas Li Shiyu as "the oldest Chinese sectarian scripture", the hierarchy of this-worldly sectarian leaders partially mirrors the chain of command on sailing vessels. In this tract, " 'boat captain'" referred to a certain rank within these sectarian religious associations. However, given that the Buddha himself promised that he "' w[ould] send a boat down (to enable people) to ascend the other shore'" in the said manuscript, it is very likely that mortal holders of the title, "boat captain", were expected to assume crucial roles in guiding their followers to salvation.[21]

The precious scroll known as the *Scripture of the Ritual Ship* was also circulated across China as a complementary text to other sectarian religious scriptures throughout the Qing dynasty, as Yu Songqing demonstrates in an overarching study of the text's key beliefs and invoked pantheons.[22] Written in seven character stanzas, the tract opens with "the Tathagata Buddha personally construct[ing] Ritual Ships by himself" and broadly conforms to the soteriology of sectarian traditions in the Ming and Qing, where the faithful were saved by the beneficence of a panoply of Mahayana Buddhist divinities and patriarchs worshipped by these traditions, such as Amitabha Buddha, Guanyin and the Unborn Venerable Mother.[23]

Finally, no discussion of the role of boats in Chinese religion is complete without examining the Dragon Boat Festival, also known as the Duanwu Festival, which falls on the same date as the Double Fifth Festival (the fifth day of the fifth lunar month). A popular etiological account regarding the dragon boat races on the Double Fifth Festival usually opens with the suicide by drowning of politician and poet Qu Yuan (c. 340—278 BCE) in the Miluo River (in present-day Hubei) after he was slandered and exiled by his sovereign. Despite attempts at intervention by fishermen, they could not retrieve his body. Therefore, the organisation of boat races in memory of the Qu's martyrdom—to re-enact the sequence of events—on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. The historical basis and symbolic significance of the occasion have been better discussed elsewhere, and it is not the prerogative of this chapter to repeat their findings.[24] Today, Dragon Ship tournaments continue to be observed within and beyond East Asia, and these have since developed into athletic events, not unlike their predecessors in Tang and Song China.[25]

Of necessity is emphasising that the shapes and title labels of the mentioned Dragon Ships are still highly debated. That said, there exist at least two different but overlapping schools of scholarships. Researchers undertaking the symbolic analysis approach suggest that the serpentine form of these boats is attributed to a complex amalgam of rain-inducing symbols, divine beings, and agricultural divinities.[26] This tradition views the snake-as-dragon imagery as being dominant. It recognises how the forms of these boats closely relate to their functions either as harbingers of rain or symbolic tributes to plague-causing deity cults, which have nearly been completely forgotten.

Other scholars, in contrast, challenge the linearity of such interpretations. Andrew Chittick undercuts the dragon-as-motif hypothesis with his observations that many animal totems, such as "tigers, fish[es], dragons and other mythical beasts", have inspired the construction of boats throughout Chinese history.[27] In a commentary on *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* compiled by Sima Guang (1019—1086 CE), Hu Sanxing (1230—1302 CE) explains that "since the Tang Dynasty, in [relation to] the management of these racing boats, the primary concern has always been them being light weight, with the ability to sail quickly". The basis of the Dragon Ship's label is due to its appearance: "A[n] [attached[dragon's head […] on the ship's prowl, a dragon's tail […] in the rear, and […] carv[ings] […] of […] dragon scales and paint" across the two sides of the boat.[28]

[20] For an introduction to these religious tracts, see Daniel L. Overmyer, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[21] Daniel L. Overmyer and Thomas Li Shiyu, "The Oldest Chinese Sectarian Scripture, The Precious Volume, Expounded by the Buddha, on the Results of [the Teaching of] the Imperial Ultimate [Period] (Fo Shuo Huang-Chi Chieh-Kuo Pao-Chüan, Pub. 1430)," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 20:1 (1992): 23, footnote 11.

[22] 喻松青, "《法船经》研究," 河北大学学报: 哲学社会科学版3 (1993): 1-8. The quotation is from page 1. Yu reproduced the texts were examined at the start of the essay. Confer with similar ideas endorsed by Sufi Muslims as discussed in Vladimir I. Braginsky, "Sufi Boat Symbolism: Problems of Origin and Evolution," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 26:74 (1998): 50-64.

[23] On the final deity, who occupies a prominent position in many sectarian religious traditions, aside from the works of Daniel Overmyer, see孔庆茂Kong Qingmao, "民间宗教的创世女神–无生老母 [The Creator Goddess in Folk Chinese Religion – The Unborn Venerable Mother]," 文史知识 [Literature, History and Knowledge] 3 (2008): 93-98; and Richard Shek and Tetsuro Noguchi, "Eternal Mother Religion: Its History and Ethics," in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 241-280.

[24] For example, see the lengthy study by 刘国民, "汨罗龙舟文化传播研究" (湖南师范大学, PhD dissertation, 2021 Hunan Normal University, PhD dissertation, 2021); as well as a shorter discussions by by G. R. G. Worcester, "The Origin and Observance of the Dragon Boat Festival in China," *The Mariner's Mirror: The International Quarterly Journal of The Society for Nautical Research* 42:2 (1956): 127-131; and 刘守华, "屈原传说与端午习俗," 长江大学学报: 社会科学版 37:7 (2014): 16-18.

[25] Glenn McCartney and Linda Osti, "From Cultural Events to Sport Events: A Case Study of Cultural Authenticity in the Dragon Boat Races," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 12:1 (2007): 25-40; and Trevor H. B. Sofield and Atara Sivan, "From Cultural Festival to International Sport – The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Races," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 8:1 (2003): 9-20.

[26] The literature on this school of interpretation is immense. See, for example, Göran Aijmer, "The Story of Qu Yuan Revisited: Understanding an Anecdotal Myth in China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 60 (2020): 138-159; and a monograph length treatment of the subject by 黄丽云, 近代龙神信仰：龙，船，水与竞渡（台北市：博扬文化事业有限公司，2012), particularly from pages 19-66.

[27] Andrew Chittick, "The Song Navy and the Invention of Dragon Boat Racing," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 41 (2011): 10.

[28] 司马光 (1019-1086 CE) et. al., 资治通鉴, chapter 243, section 73, Chinese Text Project, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=71069.

明清以降，船筏譬喻渗透到中国宗教和社会的其他方面，包括民间教门的信仰和教义。这些宗教团体声称自己独立于传统的儒释道三教之外，但他们大量借鉴了三教的教义。船筏的救赎价值被吸纳到这些民间教门的宗教经典中也就不足为奇了，这些宗教经典被称为“宝卷”。[20] 在被欧大年（Daniel Overmyer）和Thomas Li Shiyu称为“中国最早的民间教门典籍”的《佛说皇极结果宝卷》（现存版本可追溯至公元1426-1435年）中，“船头”被用以指这些民间教门中的某一高级职位，可见民间教门领导层的等级制度在某种程度上借鉴了船的构造。在这份经卷中，佛陀承诺他将派船（渡人）过岸，由此分析，被称为“船头”的人很有可能在引导信徒获得救赎方面发挥关键作用。[21]

正如喻松青在其关于另一部宝卷《法船经》的研究中所指出的，鉴于船筏譬喻的重要性，清朝年间，《法船经》作为其他教派宗教典籍的补充文本在中国持续流传。[22] 这部由七字诗句记载的宝卷开卷便是“如来亲自造法船”，与明清民间教门的救赎论主旨相呼应，信徒可以通过信奉阿弥陀佛、观音菩萨和无生老母等神祇及民间教派祖师人物而获得救赎。[23]

最后，探讨船在中国宗教中的作用，若是没有关于龙舟节的讨论，也是不完整的。龙舟节即重五节（农历五月初五），又称端午节。关于端午节龙舟竞渡习俗的起源，民间流传最广的说法是纪念屈原说。相传屈原（约公元前340年-前278年）遭人诽谤，被国君流放，最终投汨罗江（位于今湖北）自尽。屈原投江后，渔民闻讯赶来捞救，却没有找到屈原的尸体。为了寄托哀思，人们在农历五月初五屈原殉难的那一天组织了龙舟比赛以纪念屈原。已有许多研究对这一习俗的历史渊源和象征意义进行考证，因此本章在此不作赘述。[24] 时至今日，龙舟比赛仍可见于东亚等地区，并逐渐发展成为一项体育活动。[25]

用于体育和竞技活动的龙舟的形状和名称仍然是一个颇有争议的话题，可通过两个不同但互相重叠的学术流派进行分析。一些研究者认为，从符号分析的立场而论，这些船的蜿蜒外形是造雨符号、天人感应和农业神祇的复杂混合体。[26] 这种传统以蛇龙意象为主，船的形状与其功能密切相关，它们要么是即将降雨的先兆，要么是对瘟神的象征性贡品，随着时间推移，瘟神崇拜逐渐被淡化。

其他学者则质疑这种解释的线性思维。Andrew Chittick指出，纵观中国历史，许多动物图腾，例如“老虎、鱼、龙和其他神话中的瑞兽”，都曾启发了船的建造，这在本质上削弱了以龙为主旨造船的假设。[27] 例如，胡三省（公元1230-1302年）为《资治通鉴》所作的注本载道：“自唐以来，治竞渡舟，务为轻驶，前建龙头，后竖龙尾，船之两旁，刻为龙鳞而彩绘之，谓之龙舟。”[28]

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[20] 有关这些宗教典籍的介绍，请参阅 Daniel L. Overmyer, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[21] Daniel L. Overmyer and Thomas Li Shiyu, “The Oldest Chinese Sectarian Scripture, The Precious Volume, Expounded by the Buddha, on the Results of [the Teaching of] the Imperial Ultimate [Period] (Fo Shuo Huang-Chi Chieh-Kuo Pao-Chüan, Pub. 1430),” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 20:1 (1992): 23, 脚注11.

[22] 喻松青，<《法船经》研究>，《河南大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》1993年第3期，页1-8。引用部分见页1。喻松青在文章开篇抄录了《法船经》的两种版本。有关苏菲派穆斯林所持的相似观点，请参阅Vladimir I. Braginsky, “Sufi Boat Symbolism: Problems of Origin and Evolution,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 26:74 (1998): 50-64.

[23] 无生老母在许多民间宗教传统中占有重要的地位，除了欧大年（Daniel Overmyer）的研究外，请参阅孔庆茂，<民间宗教的创世女神——无生老母>，《文史知识》2008年第3期， 页93-98；及Richard Shek and Tetsuro Noguchi, “Eternal Mother Religion: Its History and Ethics,” in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 241-280.

[24] 例如，请参阅刘国民的长篇著述，《汨罗龙舟文化传播研究》（湖南师范大学，博士学位论文，2021年）；以及伍斯特（G. R. G. Worcester）的简短讨论，G. R. G. Worcester, “The Origin and Observance of the Dragon Boat Festival in China,” *The Mariner's Mirror: The International Quarterly Journal of The Society for Nautical Research* 42:2 (1956): 127-131; and刘守华，<屈原传说与端午习俗>，《长江大学学报（社会科学版）》，2014年第7期，页16-18。

[25] Glenn McCartney and Linda Osti, “From Cultural Events to Sport Events: A Case Study of Cultural Authenticity in the Dragon Boat Races,” *Journal of Sport Tourism* 12:1 (2007): 25-40; and Trevor H. B. Sofield and Atara Sivan, “From Cultural Festival to International Sport – The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Races,” *Journal of Sport Tourism* 8:1 (2003): 9-20.

[26] 关于这一解释学派的文献非常丰富。例如，请参阅Göran Aijmer, “The Story of Qu Yuan Revisited: Understanding an Anecdotal Myth in China,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 60 (2020): 138-159； 黄丽云的专着对此进行了详尽的讨论，请参阅《近代龙神信仰：龙，船，水与竞渡》（台北市：博扬文化事业有限公司，2012），尤其见页19-66。

[27] Andrew Chittick, “The Song Navy and the Invention of Dragon Boat Racing,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 41 (2011): 10.

[28] 司马光（公元1019-1086年）主编，《资治通鉴》，卷243，第73段，中国哲学书电子化计划， https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=71069.

The recognition of the weights and speeds of the vessels can be linked to the importance of boat-racing as a form of military preparedness was common throughout Chinese history, particularly when domination over waterways, such as the Yangtze River, came into question. Military skirmishes over the control of these routes allowed transportation channels to be kept open, and victors were conferred wealth derived from trade and taxation.[29] Ritual traditions must, hence, be viewed as being closely connected to wider strategic and political concerns and environments in Chinese society.

Boat-Burning and Plague-Dispelling Rituals

Besides these references to (and actual use of) boats in Chinese religion and society, in existence were ritual practices related to the burning of boats during various plague-dispelling ceremonies that are still performed today. A short discussion on this aspect in the histories of the Double Fifth, Duanwu, and Dragon Boat Festivals must account for some important contextual, historical, and ritualistic parallels across the ritual boats used in these festivals vessels harnessed during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

In many ways, the Double Fifth Festival shares many conceptual overlaps with other similarly dated occasions, collectively known as the Five Festivals or "five nodes". [30] These festivals include the Lunar New Year (the first day of the first lunar month),[31] the Double Third (the third day of the third lunar month), alias Shangsi Festival,[32] Double Seventh (the seventh day of the seventh lunar month), alias the Seven Sisters Festival,[33] as well as the Double Ninth Festival (the ninth day of the ninth lunar month), alias the Chongyang Festival. Specifically, the Double Fifth and the Double Ninth Festivals share many comparable attributes. Crucial are these commonalities given the hypothesis that boat incineration practices during the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia today have been distantly inspired by plague-banishing rituals stemming from the Double Fifth Festival.

On the one hand, the Double Fifth and Double Ninth are festive occasions involving much spectacle, entertainment, and celebration. The latter date marks the climax of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and is also believed by many temples to be the birthday of Dou Mu. Aside from the Nine Emperor Gods, the day's religious significance is also accentuated by the worship of other deities in the Chinese pantheon. The True Martial Emperor, alias the Emperor of the Dark Heavens, whose worship has been popular since late imperial China, for example, was believed to have ascended to divinity on the same day.[34]

[29] Chittick, "The Song Navy and the Invention of Dragon Boat Racing," 1-28; and "Competitive Spectacle During China's Northern and Southern Dynasties," 65-85.

[30] Michael Como, *Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 36.

[31] Although the Lunar New Year is still commemorated by Chinese communities worldwide with much gaiety, historical and oral accounts of the "New Year Monster " suggest that the event's predominant characteristics—red, loud noise, and lion dances to ward off the said monster's advances—may have been informed by prophylactic rituals and ostentatious exorcisms that were performed to ensure the well-being of human communities from the ambivalent effect of these days (perhaps uncoincidentally, the feared monster was named after the measure of a single year), as subsequent sections will demonstrate. The literature on the history of the New Year Monster and its associated stories, unfortunately, is still quite sparse. See, for example, a materialist approach towards these accounts by 刘彩清, "对 '年' 兽故事的精神分析," 贵州民族学院学报: 哲学社会科学版6 (2010): 118-121.

[32] Very little has been written about the Double Third Festival, which seems to have emerged during the Tang and Song dynasties, as per preliminary findings by 刘维治, "从唐诗看唐代三月三上巳节俗的流变," 民间文学论坛 2 (1997): 32-34; and 翁敏华, "三月三上巳节失落之谜初探," 云南艺术学院学报1 (2006): 27-34. It was also mentioned in passing by Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 239.

[33] The Seven Sisters Festival has gained much attention in East and Southeast Asia recently and has inspired a growing number of scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds to approach the occasion from different angles. An excellent collection of essays can be found in 潘志贤, 叶映均, 区志坚, eds., 节庆与传播：七夕文化 (香港: 中华书局香港有限公司, 2020).黄钰清and李国梁are in the midst of finalizing their findings of the festival's social, religious, and cultural significance to Singapore in the past and present. Their preliminary findings are briefly outlined in Lynn Wong, "Singapore's Forgotten Seven Sisters' Festival" (paper presented at International Oral History Association Virtual Conference, Panel 2: Folklore and the Forgotten, 23-27 August, 2021).

[34] Jean DeBernardi, "A Northern God in the South: Xuantian Shangdi in Singapore and Malaysia" (paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Sinology, Chinese Popular Religion: Linking Fieldwork and Theory, Taipei: Academia Sinica, July 2013), 51. An outstanding monograph of the deity's history, transformation and worship has been authored by Chao Shin-yi, *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011). On the popularity of the deity in Ming and Qing China, see Richard G. Wang, "Qiyunshan as a Replica of Wudangshan and the Religious Landscape of the Ming Empire," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42:1 (2014): 28-66. The deity, who is believed to manifest the power of the Northern Dipper, is closely associated with the colour black and the Element of Water, as noted by 郑民德, "明清道教神灵真武大帝的水神功能研究," 华北水利水电大学学报: 社会科学版32:3 (2016): 23-26. His popularity in late-imperial China, some researchers suggest, was associated in-part with the publication of the *Journey to the North* 北游记 (first published circa. 1602), which represented the deity's past experiences in a quasi-hagiographical manner. See Todd Stoll, "Mirrors, Swords, and True Form in Beiyou ji " (paper presented at Fourth International Conference on Daoist Studies, Hong Kong, 2007); and the novel in its digitized entirety in 余象斗 (1637 CE), 北游记, Chinese Text Project, accessed April 1, 2022, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=12202. Among the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the deity's worship is commonly associated with Chinese of Chaoshan descent, where the deity is also colloquially known as the "Great Elderly Uncle," and "Emperor-Uncle" among the Minnan Chinese. Many temples which associate this deity as their patron god, such as the Yue Hai Qing Temple in Singapore (founded 1895) [see杨茳善 Yeo Kang Shua, 粤海清庙: 建筑与历史的对话 (新加坡设计大学建筑与可持续设计, 2019); and the Rou Fo Gu Miao in Johor Bahru (founded c. 1870) [see the documents, epigraphy, and forewords in 柔佛古庙专辑 [Specific Collections on the Johor Ancient Chinese temple] (Johor: Johor Ancient Temple Restoration Committee of the Chinese Association of Johor Bahru, 1997 马来西亚新山: 新山中华公会柔佛古庙修复委员会, 1997)], are historically associated with Chaozhou Chinese. The main medium who captains the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at the eponymous Xuan Wu Shan Han Lin Yuan in Singapore also gives his instructions as the said divinity since the 1980s (possibly earlier), and perhaps uncoincidentally, still bears strong Chaozhou influences till today.

关于船只的重量和速度的记载也突出了竞渡的重要性。作为一种军事训练，竞渡在中国历史上很常见，尤其是在长江等水道的控制权受到挑战的时候。为争夺这些航道的控制权而发生的军事冲突不仅确保了运输渠道的畅通，也为这些航道的控制者带来了贸易和税收所获的财富。[29] 由此可见，仪式传统也与中国历史上的战略考量、政治文化及社会环境密切相关。

焚化船只与送瘟仪式

除了前述的相关记载外，各地驱除瘟疫的习俗还衍生出焚化船只的仪式，直到今天仍可见到。对龙舟节（又称重五节、端午节）的历史进行讨论，有助于我们比较龙舟节的龙舟与九皇千秋的九皇船，从而更好地理解两者在历史背景和仪式用途上的相似之处。

重五节与其他类似的节日在许多方面上有着众多概念上的重叠。[30]例如农历新年正月初一；[31] 三月三，又称上巳节，农历三月初三；[32] 七夕，又称乞巧节，农历七月初七；[33] 重九，又称重阳节，农历九月初九。这五个日子统称为“五节”。[34] 其中重五节和重九节有诸多相似之处，这些一致性值得关注，因为今天东南亚恭送九皇大帝仪式中焚化九皇船的习俗，可能是受到了起源于重五节的送瘟仪式的影响。

一方面，重五节和重九节都衍生出一系列盛大活动、娱乐表演和庆祝仪式。重九节不仅标志着九皇节的高潮，在许多庙宇中，它也被认为是斗母的诞辰。除了九皇大帝，对其他华人神明的崇拜也强调了这一天的宗教意义。例如，真武大帝，又称玄天上帝，在中华帝国晚期的民间信仰中广受尊奉，据说农历九月初九便是真武大帝成道升天的日子。[35]

[29] Chittick, “The Song Navy and the Invention of Dragon Boat Racing,” 1-28; and “Competitive Spectacle During China’s Northern and Southern Dynasties,” 65-85.

[30] Michael Como, Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 36.

[31] 尽管世界各地的华人社区以喜庆的方式庆祝农历新年，然而关于“年兽”的历史记载和口述传说表明，这一节日的主要庆祝活动——贴年红，放鞭炮，舞狮等——是为了驱赶年兽的进犯，这可能体现了这些仪式的预防性质和驱魔性质。正如下文将讨论的，这些仪式的实施是为了确保人类社区的福祉，免受这一日子可能带来的影响（因此，以“年兽”命名这一可怕怪物也许并非巧合）。遗憾的是，关于年兽的历史及其相关故事的研究仍然很少。例如，请参阅刘彩清从精神分析的角度对年兽故事的研究，刘彩清，<对“年”兽故事的精神分析>，《贵州民族学院学报（哲学社会科学版）》2010年第6期，页118-121。

[32] 关于三月三上巳节的记载非常有限，根据目前学者的初步研究成果，上巳节似乎在唐宋时期逐渐衰落，请参阅：刘维治，<从唐诗看唐代三月三上巳节俗的流变>，《民间文学论坛》1997年第2期，页32-34；及翁敏华，<三月三上巳节失落之谜初探>，《云南艺术学院学报》2006年第1期，页27-34。张倩雯（Rebecca Nedostup）的专着中也提到了上巳节，请参阅 Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 239.

[33] 近来，七夕节在东亚和东南亚受到了广泛关注，越来越多来自不同学科背景的学者从不同的角度对七夕节进行研究。潘志贤，叶映均，区志坚编《节庆与传播：七夕文化》（香港：中华书局香港有限公司，2020）一书中收录了许多精彩的论文。黄钰清（Lynn Wong Yuqing）与李国梁（Lee Kok Leong）正在研究这一节日在过去和现在对新加坡社会、宗教和文化的意义。他们的初步研究成果见于 Lynn Wong, “Singapore’s Forgotten Seven Sisters’ Festival” (paper presented at International Oral History Association Virtual Conference, Panel 2: Folklore and the Forgotten, 23-27 August, 2021).

[34] Michael Como, *Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 36.

[35] Jean DeBernardi, “A Northern God in the South: Xuantian Shangdi in Singapore and Malaysia” (paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Sinology, Chinese Popular Religion: Linking Fieldwork and Theory, Taipei: Academia Sinica, July 2013), 51. 关于真武大帝的历史、转变和崇拜的杰出专着，请参阅Chao Shin-yi, *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming* (960-1644) (London and New York: Routledge, 2011). 关于明（公元1368-1644年）清（公元1644-1911年）时期真武大帝信仰的流行，请参阅Richard G. Wang, “Qiyunshan as a Replica of Wudangshan and the Religious Landscape of the Ming Empire,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42:1 (2014): 28-66. 真武大帝被认为是守护北斗七宿的神明，故与黑色及水元素密切相关，请参阅郑民德，<明清道教神灵真武大帝的水神功能研究>，《华北水利水电大学学报（社会科学版）》2016年第2期，页23-26。 一些研究者认为，真武大帝在中华帝国晚期的受欢迎程度与《北游记》（首次出版于约公元1602年）的出版有关。《北游记》是明代余象斗（卒于公元1637年）创作的神魔小说，讲述了真武大帝得道后降妖除魔的故事。请参阅Todd Stoll, “Mirrors, Swords, and True Form in Beiyou ji 北游记” （文章发表于第四届国际道学研讨会，香港，2007）；这部小说的完整电子版见：余象斗，《北游记》，中国哲学书电子化计划，访问日期：2022年4月1日，https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=12202. 在东南亚华人社区中，真武大帝崇拜通常盛行于潮汕人社群中，俗称“大老爷”，闽南人称其为“上帝公”。许多将真武大帝作为主神的庙宇通常在历史上与潮人社群相关联，例如星洲粤海清庙（建于1895年）[请参阅杨茳善 Yeo Kang Shua，《粤海清庙：建筑与历史的对话》（新加坡：新加坡设计大学建筑与可持续设计，2019）]，及新山柔佛古庙（建于约1870年）[请参阅《柔佛古庙专辑》（马来西亚新山：新山中华公会柔佛古庙修复委员会，1992）中收录的文献、碑文及序]。自上个世纪80年代起（或者更早），在九皇千秋期间，新加坡玄武山翰林院的乩童也会请玄天大帝上身起乩，这或许与该庙的潮州背景有关。

On the other hand, as periods of cosmic inflexion, the Double Fifth and Double Ninth Festivals are also considered extremely dangerous events. Befitting their other namesake as the "five nodes", Michael Como argues that these special days represent "important moments of flux within the forces of the cosmos" and "presented both dangers and opportunities for humans".[35] As "transitional points within the Chinese calendar", they "denoted important shifts in the relative balance and movement of the forces of *yin* and *yang*".[36] For example, although the Double Ninth marks the apex of *yang*, it also characterises its decline with the coming of *yin* nearing winter.[37] Likewise, many plague-warding conventions, such as hanging wormwood to one's door and drinking realgar wine, were part and parcel of the Double Fifth Festival, alongside feasts of glutinous rice dumplings and dragon boat races in traditional China.[38] As we shall see, the latter custom is likely rooted in earlier plague-banishing beliefs as well. Of great interest are the liminalities associated with the Double Fifth and the Double Ninth Festivals, where pestilence and plague are believed to proliferate, probably reflecting the volatility between *yin* and *yang* as extreme changes in weather characteristic of late summer and late autumn, respectively.

Like the Double Fifth Festival, the Double Ninth Festival in China is associated with practices aimed at eradicating pestilence. These encompassed excursions to the hills, carrying dogwood and consuming chrysanthemum wine. Prevalent was the adoption of these rituals by the Manchus after their conquest of China by the 17th century CE as noted through their chrysanthemum-based culinary creations and ascent to mountainous areas.[39] Many researchers who have studied the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia have also commented upon the social significance of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, given the customary outdoor excursions in East Asia during the festivities.[40] Yet, as Ong Seng Huat points out in his study of the Double Ninth Festival in Malaya, these practices in East Asia have been relatively rare among Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. More evident, instead, has been the supplanting of these practices by the observances of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.[41]

Despite these regional variations, plague-dispelling traditions entered into certain elements of Southeast Asia's Nine Emperor Gods Festival, albeit in a circuitous fashion. The Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are found in contemporary sending-off ceremonies hosted by a majority (but not all) temples. Understanding the origins of this practice requires understanding the history of the Double Fifth Festival. The earliest insights into boat-related customs emanate from the Yue people who inhabited the lower Yangtze River even before the settlements of the Han Chinese. According to Paul Katz, Yue customs, such as snake deity worship and boat racing, likely inspired what we now know as dragon boat races. Such races have been "held in the heat of summer to expel pestilential vapo[urs] by means of serpentine ships". [42] It is highly probable that these traditions subsequently informed the Daoist rituals of "Pacification of Plagues". These ceremonies aimed at "prevent[ing] outbreaks of disease and other calamities", as argued by Katz, "m[ight] well have developed out of boat expulsion rites performed during the Dragon Boat Festival". [43] Since the Song dynasty, these rites have been performed during plagues caused by pestilences. The rituals generally seek to implore plague-controlling deities to summon, bind, and control demons and ghosts believed to be behind the plagues and the ensuing loading of the evil spirits onto boats to be sent away.[44]

[35] Como, *Weaving and Binding,* 36.

[36] Como, *Weaving and Binding,* 60.

[37] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 189-191.

[38] For a brief outline of these practices, see余力, "漫谈我国端午节的药俗," 东方食疗与保健 5 (2008): 5-6.

[39] On these practices and their historical relationship, see Norman Harry Rothschild, "Chrysanthemum Cakravartin: How the Convergence of the Double Ninth Festival and a Buddhist Prophecy of a Female Warrior King Helped Wu Zhao Inaugurate the Zhou Dynasty and Fashion a New Paradigm of Political Authority," *Tang Studies* 39:1 (2021): 5-8. Also, see丛青, "菊花糕· 鲜鱼羹," 满族文学 2 (2018): 143-145. Also see 吴曦, "重阳登高就菊花," 中国西部35 (2014): 26-27, which traced the origin of chrysanthemum cakes to the Song dynasty.

[40] Cheu Hock Tong, "The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Malaysia: Myth, Ritual, and Symbol," *Asian Folklore Studies* (1996): 55-56; and Jean Deberanardi, "Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-Yang Festivals in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang, China," in *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 56-57.

[41] 王琛发, "由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过'不明显'的重阳节？," 民俗研究2 (2015): 65-73. Nevertheless, it was possible that elements of ascending hills were grafted onto local traditions of worshipping the Nine Emperor Gods. It is perhaps no coincidence that one of the oldest temples devoted to the Nine Emperor Gods on Penang Island, the Qingguan Monastery, alias the Chao Yuan Temple (founded 1880s CE), was located on a tall hill that supposedly required 1200 steps to ascend, probably related to the tradition of hill climbing during the Double Ninth in China. This was referenced in passim by Ong on page 66. Also see "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan – At Penang," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9; and Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaysia Press, 1982-1987), I, 607-611.

[42] Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 19-20. Also see a similar observation by Andrew Chittick, "Competitive Spectacle During China's Northern and Southern Dynasties: With Particular Emphasis on 'Dragon' Boat Racing," *Asia Major (Third Series)* 23:1 (2010): 79-80.

[43] As Paul Katz had rightfully noted, more research on the historical, anthropological, and ethnographic background of these practices has to be performed before any relationship between the Dragon Boat Festival, boat expulsion rites and prophylactic Daoist rituals can be discerned. He outlined some of his preliminary observations in *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, passim, but especially 2, 20, 51-55. The quotations are from "The Pacification of Plagues: A Chinese Rite of Affliction," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 9:1 (1995): 62.

[44] 姜守诚 has performed many detailed studies tracing the origin, transformation and adaptation of these rituals from Song China till today, such as in ""祀瘟神"与"送瘟船"——中国古代瘟疫醮之缘起," 汉学研究集刊 11 (2010): 97-127; and "禳灾和瘟三献仪—南台湾灵宝道派王醮科仪研究之二," 汉学研究集刊 13 (2011): 19-52.

另一方面，重阳节和重九节处于节气变化的时期，因此也被认为是特别危险的关键时刻。Michael Como认为，与其统称“五节”相呼应，这五个日子代表着“宇宙力量变化的重要时刻”，“对人类来说，既存在着危险，也带来了机遇”。[36] 作为“中国历法中的转折点”，它们“代表着阴阳力量相对平衡和消长的重要转折”。[37] 例如，重阳节虽然标志着阳气达到顶峰，但重阳节之后阳气下降，阴气上升，气候逐渐转凉。[38] 同样地，在传统中国，端午节除了吃粽子和赛龙舟，还有许多与驱除瘟疫有关的习俗，例如在门口挂艾草，以及喝雄黄酒。[39] 正如我们将看到的，这些习俗可能源于更早期的送瘟仪式。五月初五时值仲夏，九月初九时值季秋，正是阴阳二气变动、气候发生转变的阶段，人们认为夏末和秋末正是蚊虫滋生、瘟疫扩散的时节，因此重五节与重九节的一致性值得关注。

与重五节一样，中国重阳节的习俗也与驱除瘟疫有关，例如登山远眺、佩戴茱萸和喝菊花酒。公元17世纪满族人征服中国之后，他们也承袭了这些仪式，包括登高，利用菊花制作各种美味佳肴等。[40] 许多研究东南亚九皇千秋的学者注意到农历九月初九的社会意义，在东亚，外出远足是重阳节的重要习俗。[41] 然而，正如王琛发在他对马国华人过重阳节的研究中所指出的，东亚本土的重阳民俗在东南亚华人社区中相对少见。东南亚华人更重视农历九月初九恭送九皇大帝仪式的宗教意义，重阳节的内涵反而被淡化了。[42]

尽管存在地域上的差异，送瘟传统以迂回的方式融入到东南亚九皇千秋的仪式中。如今，大多数庙宇的恭送仪式上都有九皇船，但不是所有庙宇都有。要说明这一习俗的起源，我们必须了解重五节的历史。在汉人迁移到长江流域之前，最早是越人生活在这一地区。康豹（Paul Katz）认为，越人的风俗——比如蛇神崇拜和以舟代步——很可能是龙舟竞渡的雏形。龙舟竞渡“在盛夏举行，龙舟可以驱除瘟疫的瘴气。”[43] 随着时间的流逝，这些传统逐渐融入到道教科仪中，被称为“和瘟”。康豹指出，这些防疫攘灾的活动很可能是从端午节的送船习俗发展而来。[44] 自宋朝以来，人们会在瘟疫爆发时举行送瘟仪式，祈求主司瘟疫的瘟神召唤并控制散播瘟疫的鬼魅恶魔，然后用船将瘟神疫鬼送走。[45]

[36] Como, *Weaving and Binding,* 36.

[37] Como, *Weaving and Binding,* 60.

[38] Jean Elizabeth DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 189-191.

[39] 有关这些习俗的简要介绍，请查阅余力，<漫谈我国端午节的药俗>，《东方食疗与保健》2008年第5期，页5-6。

[40] 有关这些民俗及其历史联系，请参阅Norman Harry Rothschild, “Chrysanthemum Cakravartin: How the Convergence of the Double Ninth Festival and a Buddhist Prophecy of a Female Warrior King Helped Wu Zhao Inaugurate the Zhou Dynasty and Fashion a New Paradigm of Political Authority,” *Tang Studies* 39:1 (2021): 5-8. 此外，请参阅：丛青，<菊花糕 · 鲜鱼宴>，《满族文学》2018年第2期，页143-145。吴曦，<重阳登高就菊花>，《中国西部》2014年第35期，页26-27，吴曦将菊花糕的起源追溯至宋代。

[41] Cheu Hock Tong, “The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Malaysia: Myth, Ritual, and Symbol,” *Asian Folklore Studies* (1996): 55-56; and Jean Deberanardi, “Commodifying Blessings: Celebrating the Double-Yang Festivals in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang, China,” in *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 56-57.

[42] 王琛发，<由孝现忠：马来西亚华人怎样过“不明显”的重阳节？>，《民俗研究》2015年第2期，页65-73。值得注意的是，登高有可能与当地上山礼拜九皇大帝的传统相融合。槟城千二层清观寺朝元庙（建于公元19世纪80年代）是槟城最早供奉九皇大帝的庙宇之一，它坐落在一座据说需要攀登1200级台阶的高山之上，这或许并非巧合，它可能与中国重阳登高朝山的传统有关。见文章页66。亦请参阅 “Temple of Cheng Jee Chan – At Penang,” *The Straits Times*, 1953年10月16日，第9版；及 Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaysia Press, 1982-1987), I, 607-611.

[43] Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 19-20. Andrew Chittick也有类似的评论，请参阅 “Competitive Spectacle During China’s Northern and Southern Dynasties: With Particular Emphasis on ‘Dragon’ Boat Racing,” *Asia Major (Third Series)* 23:1 (2010): 79-80.

[44] 正如康豹（Paul Katz）所指出的那样，必须对这些习俗的历史、人类学和民族志背景进行更多的研究，才能明确端午节、送船仪式和道教防控仪式之间的关系。他的一些初步研究成果见*Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, passim, 尤其是页2, 20, 51-55。所引内容见 “The Pacification of Plagues: A Chinese Rite of Affliction,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 9:1 (1995): 62.

[45] 姜守诚对这些仪式的起源及其从宋朝到如今的转变和适应进行了详细的研究，请参阅：<“祀瘟神”与“送瘟船”——中国古代瘟疫醮之缘起>，《汉学研究集刊》2010年第11期，页97-127 [页106-123对这些仪式由宋到清的演变进行了深入的论述]；及<禳灾和瘟三献仪——南台湾灵宝道派王醮科仪研究之二>，《汉学研究集刊》2011年第13期，页19-52。

Historical antecedents of these rituals suggest the original intents that the rites are being performed on behalf of individuals. Essential to this is the DZ1220 道法会元 (compiled during the Ming, but includes pre-Ming manuscripts), a collectanea of Daoist rites and techniques typically associated with the Divine Empyrean or the Heavenly Heart traditions propagated in Song China. Vital is the DZ1220, the only existing canonical example regarding the maritime sending-off of plague demons in such vessels.[45]According to the "Divine Empyrean Ritual for Expelling Epidemics and Sending off the Boat", the exterminating of demons and spirits involved "a boat" being taken "into a room of the sick" where individuals "sacrifice[d] meat and wine".[46] The completion of the sacrifices was usually marked by a recitation of a petition praising the this-worldly roles of plague deities' who were charged with "carrying out Heaven's will by observing human behaviour, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked".[47]

The same petition obliges "the foolish (to) repent and to change their behaviour, for blessings and disasters are all wrought by oneself [hence] […] those who abide by such principles are exhorted to recognise their mistakes and to reform themselves for the better, for only through such methods [would] disaster be averted and fortune be bestowed".[48] The climax of the ritual involves instructions by the officiant to the various divinities under his command to "unite together in arresting [the] plague-causing demons of the five directions, and ghosts from the patient's […] body and the entire abode" before "forcing [all of the demons and ghosts] [into] the boat" which would be "ushered out of the patient's residence and incinerated" to mark the completion of the ritual".[49]

Aside from its explicit call for a ritual boat, the acute relevance of the "Divine Empyrean Ritual for Expelling Epidemics and Sending off the Boat" rests on three reasons. Interestingly, are the appearances of the "Nine Emperor Gods as the Judicious and True Sovereigns of the Northern Dipper" and the "Six Departments of the Southern Dipper Who Enforce the Law" in this ritual manuscript. One key issue, however, is that the plague-causing demons and ghosts were coerced onto the vessel instead of the said deities being invited onto the vessel. Beyond reinforcing the unwelcomed presence of the spirits, one has to recall that the commencement of the ritual saw the Southern and Northern Dipper Sovereigns joining some of the highest-ranking divinities in the Divine Empyrean pantheon, who were deliberately invoked for "sincer[e] and reveren[t] worship[p] with offerings of incense and utmost single-mindedness". [50]

Secondly, noteworthy is the passage's call to burn the boat outside of the patient's residential compound instead of in a water body. Nevertheless, the fact that some of the rituals were, instead, performed close to water sources, for instance, rivers, by the Ming dynasty may have been shaped by the watercraft motif. Observing the situation in Changdefu, Hunan, Yang Sichang (1588—1641 CE) articulates that locals had built "miniature Dragon Ships" out of paper, which were "burnt on the banks of the river…to cure illnesses".[51] This indicates that the performances of such apotropaic rituals had become associated with water environments by the late 16th century. Similar developments in the Hubei-Hunan regions were also documented in the encyclopaedia (completed c. 1725 CE) authored during the reigns of the Kangxi (1661—1722 CE) and Yongzheng (1722—1735 CE) emperors. In a detailed list of similar practices, Göran Aijmer describes cases of "*sung wen*—'to escort diseases'" at Huangzhoufu, Hubei, where "*shen chou*—'spirit boats'—…were made of bamboo sticks and paper, others of wood". "*[S]hen kuei hing chuang*—'spirit figures'—were tied to the[se] [vessels]" before their engagements in a religious parade that concluded on the "eighteenth day of the fifth month" during which they were "burnt in the fields, and the wooden ones set adrift down the river".[52]

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[45] Many works have been authored on these traditions, particularly from the front of Song studies, where they proliferated. See Robert P. Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); and David J. Mozina, "Oaths and Curses in Divine Empyrean Practice," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:1 (2020): 31-58.

[46] "道法会元," chapter 220, 220-003a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/220.

[47] Katz, "The Pacification of Plagues," 64.

[48] "道法会元," chapter 220, page 220-006a. Such notions which correlated illnesses with their patients' lack of morality and the dispensation of divine justice by demons, as Li Fengmao has pointed out elsewhere, has a long history in Chinese religion, where similar causes of diseases are outlined in the DZ790女青鬼律 (likely compiled during the Six Dynasties, circa. 220-589 CE). 李丰楙, "《道藏》所收早期道书的瘟疫观——以《女青鬼律》及《洞渊神咒经》系为主," 中国文哲研究集刊 3 (1993): 417-454. The DZ790女青鬼 律 is translated into the "Demon Statutes of Lady Blue" and its contents are discussed in some detail by Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), passim, but especially pages 146-148. Katz mentioned similar instances of magistrates who confessed their sins and spelled out their own moral failings as a part of boat expulsion rites that are performed in Wenzhou, Zhejiang. See *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 155.

[49] "道法会元," chapter 220, 220-007a. In a later section titled "遣瘟秘旨," the power of Marshall Wen Qiong, a spirit-general whose worship is closely intertwined with these plague banishing rituals, is evoked to bind plague demons before forcing them onto a boat. See "道法会元," chapter 256, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/256. For context, see the works by Katz, as well as 高振宏, "温琼神话与道教道统：从刘玉到黄公瑾的"地祇法"," 华人宗教研究 3 (2014): 51-104.

[50] "道法会元," chapter 220, 220-001b.

[51] Göran Aijmer, *The Dragon Boat Festival on the Hupeh-Hunan Plain, Central China: A Study in the Ceremonialism of the Transplantation of Rice* (Stockholm: Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, 1964), 57,

[52] Aijmer, *The Dragon Boat Festival on the Hupeh-Hunan Plain, Central China*, 58.

关于这些仪式的史书记载表明，它们最初是作为个人的祈祷行为而进行的。《道法会元》（成书于明朝年间，收载有明朝之前的道法）是收录众多符法咒术的道法书文汇编，以宋朝时期盛行的神霄派和天心派道法为主。此书为研究道士施行驱逐瘟疫的送船科仪提供了重要资料。[46] 在《神霄遣瘟送船仪》中，道长"令人捧船于患室或厅上，仍具酒牲祭仪"，以祭祀瘟神疫鬼。[47]此礼完成后，道长宣读文书，感谢瘟神"代天巡狩，奖善惩恶"。[48]

同一篇文书也"警省下土之顽愚莫晓未能悔悛，福祸无门，惟人自召，否泰应运，于理存焉，若知改过从新，可以避祸就福。"[49] 在这一仪式的高潮部分，主礼道士指示召请的神明"戮力收起五方为祸瘟邪等鬼，或在男人身前女人身后房廊屋角应干去处，尽行收上画船"，之后便"送神舟出门到化船"。[50]

除了明确规定了法船之外，《神霄遣瘟送船仪》还在三个方面上与九皇千秋有关联。首先，值得注意的是，《神霄遣瘟送船仪》中出现了"北斗九皇枢辖真君"与"南斗六司执法真君"。但他们并不需要登上法船，因为法船专为*押送*疫鬼，这暗示了这些鬼是不受欢迎的。相反地，南北斗真君在仪式开始时，与其他被召请的尊神"同诚恭爇宝香，一心启告供养。"[51]

其次，最初驱送瘟神疫鬼的法船并不一定要在水边焚烧，只需在病人的住所之外焚化即可。然而，到了明朝，送瘟仪式不仅要将瘟神送出门，有时还在近水的地方举行的，例如河边，这可能是受到舟船的形象的影响。杨嗣昌（公元1588-1641年）记载了湖南省常德府端午泛舟的场景：当地民众将纸糊龙舟送至河岸上焚化，藉此象征送走瘟疫，这表明在当时，这种辟邪仪式多在水流处进行。[52]《古今图书集成》（约成书于公元1725年）是编于康熙（公元1661-1722年在位）年间和雍正（公元1722-1735年在位）年间的大型类书，其中也记载了湖北-湖南地区的类似情况。在一份详细记载中，艾尧仁（Göran Aijmer）描述了湖北黄州府"送瘟"的具体情况。"神舟"由竹竿与纸糊成，还有一些是木制的，上面扎有"神鬼形状"。在送瘟游行结束后，"五月十八日"这一天，纸制神舟"被焚化在田野里，木制神舟被送至河上，随波漂流。"[53]

[46] 已有许多研究考察了神霄和天心传统，尤其是在宋代研究领域，这些传统盛行于宋代。请参阅Robert P. Hymes, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); and David J. Mozina, "Oaths and Curses in Divine Empyrean Practice," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 48:1 (2020): 31-58.

[47] "道法会元," chapter 220, 220-003a, Kanseki Repository, accessed March 1, 2022, https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/220.

[48] Katz, "The Pacification of Plagues," 64.

[49] 《道法会元》，卷220，页220-006a，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/220。正如李丰楙在另一篇文章中所指出的，这种将疾病及病人的道德缺失与瘟神代天巡狩联系在一起的观念，在中国宗教中有着悠久的历史，DZ790《女青鬼律》（可能成书于六朝年间，约公元220-589年）中描述了类似的患病原因。见李丰楙，<《道藏》所收早期道书的瘟疫观——以《女青鬼律》及《洞渊神咒经》系为主>，《中国文哲研究集刊》1993年第3期，页417-454。道藏790《女青鬼律》被译为 "Demon Statutes of Lady Blue"，对于其内容较为详细的论述请参阅 Terry F. Kleeman, *Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016)，全文均有涉及，尤其见页146-148。康豹提到了类似的例子，在浙江温州，地方官员在送船仪式上坦白自己的过失，并承认自己个人品德方面的不足。见*Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 页155。

[50] 《道法会元》，卷220，页220-007a。在《遣瘟秘旨》中，温琼元帅被召请以押送疫鬼乘船离去。温琼元帅崇拜与祛邪驱瘟仪式紧密相关。请参阅《道法会元》，卷 256，Kanseki Repository，访问日期：2022年3月1日，https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5g0029/256. 相关背景请参阅康豹的研究，及高振宏，<温琼神话与道教道统：从刘玉到黄公瑾的"地祇法">，《华人宗教研究》2014年第 3期，页51-104。

[51] 《道法会元》，卷220，页220-001b。

[52] Göran Aijmer, *The Dragon Boat Festival on the Hupeh-Hunan Plain, Central China: A Study in the Ceremonialism of the Transplantation of Rice* (Stockholm: Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, 1964), 57,

[53] Aijmer, *The Dragon Boat Festival on the Hupeh-Hunan Plain, Central China*, 58.

Finally, reinforcing an important earlier point, these disease-banishing and boat-burning rituals were performed on behalf of the sick instead of communities at large or by religious institutions, including temples. Extant sources about the communal dimension of these rituals that continue to be performed in East and Southeast Asia today only emerged after the Song. Although explicit procedural and ritualistic details varied, the general context of the capturing and ensuing expulsion of plague-causing spirits remain as symbolised by the incineration of a model boat at the end of the ceremony. Moreover, similar religious practices and their accompanying processions proliferated in mid-Qing Zhejiang. These rituals were observed on either the third (in Wenzhou) or fifth lunar months (in Hangzhou)—usually in conjunction with either the birthday celebrations of Marshal Wen Qiong or sudden epidemics, thereby hinting at the close-knit relationships relating to the specific periods of the year, officiating divinities, and functions.[53]

The officiating divinities of similar plague-banishing and boat expulsion traditions in Fuzhou, Fujian, comprised a collective of deities with five different surnames, the Five Emperors. Parallels can be drawn between their worship and origins with plague-causing spirits associated with the five cardinal directions.[54] In a seminal paper, Li Fengmao asserts that the original forms of the divinities were plague-causing spirits—still, the reframing of worship over time saw these divinities being reframed along the lines of divine emissaries who are charged with expelling disease.[55] Michael Szonyi surmises that these retellings were "older beliefs [of the] pentads of plague spirits", which were deemed to have "originally [been] responsible for inflicting disease, but had been defeated by beneficent gods and conscripted into the ranks of plague-dispelling deities".[56]

True to their functions as emissaries in times of plague, the Five Emperors, alongside a collective of similar deities known as Royal Lords, in the broader region of Fujian, are believed to perform "inspection tours […] on behalf of heaven"—with some being tasked with capturing and imprisoning disease-causing spirits on boats that were sent out to sea. According to Li Fengmao, such rituals were organised along the lines of an "imperial metaphor" and were likely based on exorcism Nuo rituals that were performed in the past. In essence, these duties of the Royal Lords involved the inspections of the deeds and moralities of humankind on behalf of the Jade Emperor of Heaven.[57] These rituals have proven very popular in south and southeastern China, particularly among the Fujian Chinese. The growth in prominence was probably spurred by the region's humidity and extreme weather changes.

The miscellaneous writings of the pseudonymous Overseas Wanderer (17th century CE) in Qing China offer some insights into the expenses, scale, and significance of propitiating the Five Emperors amidst plagues. A case in point was a procession organised in response to a pestilence in Fuzhou during the second lunar month of 1642. The event involved devotees "mak[ing] a paper boat, to the utmost detail; [with] none of the implements and odds-and-ends [being] forgotten [and] […] starting work or launching the boat [based on the] select[ion] [of] an auspicious period [similar to] […] [the] making a [real] boat". In particular, the act of "launching the boat" is deemed as "Putting Out to Sea (*chuhai*)". Underpinning the boat launch was the indication that the Five Emperors had successfully "driv[en] the pestilence away out to sea".[58] Trawling for references to boat-burning rituals concerning the sending-off of plague-causing spirits in official gazetteers, Jiang Shoucheng demonstrates that these traditions also made their way to Taiwan by the Qing dynasty, where the practice has been sustained, albeit in many different forms, till today.[59]

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[53] Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 143-174; and Vincent Goossaert, "The Local Politics of Festivals: Hangzhou, 1850-1950," *Daoism: Religion, History & Society* 5 (2013): 57-80. The revitalisation of these festivals, as Katz had noted in *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 143-145, likely coincided with the resumption of maritime trade at the end of the Qing evacuation of coastal China. The process is discussed in much detail by David Dahpon Ho, "The Empire's Scorched Shore: Coastal China, 1633-1683," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17:1 (2013): 53-74.

[54] Michael Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56:1 (1997): 121.

[55] 李, "《道藏》所收早期道书的瘟疫观," 449-451.

[56] Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods," 117. Confer with a similar approach outlined by Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 778-795.

[57] 李丰楙, "礼生与道士：台湾礼仪实践的两个面向," in (paper presented at 儒家思想在现代东亚国际研讨会, 台北市，中央研究院中国文哲研究所筹备处主办， 1999 Taipei City, Preparatory Office of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 1999). On Li's model of choice, see Stephen Feutchwang, *Popular Religion in China: The Imperial Metaphor* (Surrey: Curzon Press Richmond, 2005),

[58] 海外散人 (pseudonym) (17th century CE), "榕城纪闻," in 清史资料, ed. and comp.中国社会科学院历史研究所清史研究室编 (北京: 中华书局, 1980 Beijing), 2-3 [1-26]. The English translation presented here is adopted from Szonyi, "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods," 118.

[59] 姜守诚, "试论明清文献中所见闽台王醮仪式," 宗教学研究 1 (2012): 249-255.

最后，如前文所述，这些送瘟烧船仪式过去是为患病的个体所举行的，而非为了整个社区或宗教机构（如庙宇）等共同体。如今见于东亚和东南亚地区的群体性仪式活动，是在宋代之后才出现的。尽管在确切的程序和仪式上有所差别，但其基本流程大致相同，即瘟神押捕疫鬼上船，然后焚烧纸船模型，藉此象征送走瘟神疫鬼。除了前述湖北和湖南的案例外，清代中期，类似的宗教活动和游行也见于浙江地区，例如农历三月的温州或农历五月的杭州。送瘟仪式通常伴随着温琼元帅的诞辰进行，或是举行于突发瘟疫的时节，这反映了瘟疫作祟的自然时令与受祭祀的主神及其职能之间的密切联系。[54]

在福建省福州地区，送瘟化船仪式的主祭神明为五福大帝。五福大帝中五位神明姓氏不同，其崇拜也与五方瘟神信仰有共通点。[55]

李丰楙在一篇论文中指出，这些神明最初是五方鬼主，但后来被重新定义为驱瘟逐疫的五帝使者。[56] 宋怡明（Michael Szonyi）认为，早期五瘟神是带来瘟疫的恶神，后来他们被仁慈的神明打败并被收归为驱散瘟疫的瘟神。[57]

从他们送瘟的本质，五福大帝以及在福建其他地区被称为王爷的神明，衍生出“巡狩”的职能，即他们将行瘟的疫鬼押送上船，并将它们送到海上。李丰楙认为，这些仪式实际上是以“帝国隐喻”的方式组织的，很可能吸纳了旧时的傩仪和送瘟仪。作为他们职责的一部分，王爷在“代天巡狩”期间，代表玉皇大帝视察人类的行为和道德。[58] 事实证明，这些仪式在中国南部和东南部非常流行，尤其盛行于福建华人中，这可能是受到该地区的潮湿和极端天气变化的影响。

清代海外散人（约公元17世纪）的随笔《榕城纪闻》记载了五福大帝代天巡狩的仪制、规模和意义。1642年农历二月，为了应对福州地区发生的时疫，人们组织了一场游行，“继作纸舟，极其精致，器用杂物，无所不备，兴工出水，皆择吉辰，如造舟焉。出水名曰‘出海’，以五帝逐疫出海而去也。”[59] 姜守诚查阅了官方文献中关于焚烧船只送走瘟神的仪式，研究表明这些传统在清朝传到了台湾地区，直到今天，这种习俗仍然以许多不同的形式存在。[60]

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[54] Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 143-174; and Vincent Goossaert, “The Local Politics of Festivals: Hangzhou, 1850-1950,” *Daoism: Religion, History & Society* 5 (2013): 57-80. 正如康豹所指出的，这些节日的复兴可能与清朝海禁政策结束，中国沿海地区恢复海上贸易的时间相吻合，见*Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 143-145。有关这一过程的详细讨论，请参阅David Dahpon Ho, “The Empire’s Scorched Shore: Coastal China, 1633-1683,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 17:1 (2013): 53-74.

[55] Michael Szonyi, “The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56:1 (1997): 121.

[56] 李丰楙，<《道藏》所收早期道书的瘟疫观>，页449-451。

[57] Szonyi, “The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods,” 117. 请参阅杜赞奇（Prasenjit Duara）的相关分析，见Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (1988): 778-795.

[58] 李丰楙，<礼生与道士：台湾礼仪实践的两个面向>，论文发表于“儒家思想在现代东亚国际研讨会”（台北市，中央研究院中国文哲研究所筹备处主办，1999年）。关于李丰楙的理论基础，请参阅Stephen Feutchwang, *Popular Religion in China: The Imperial Metaphor* (Surrey: Curzon Press Richmond, 2005),

[59] 海外散人（笔名）（约公元17世纪），<榕城纪闻>，见《清史资料》，中国社会科学院历史研究所清史研究室编（北京：中华书局，1980），2-3 [1-26]。此处所引英文译文改编自Szonyi, “The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods,” 页118。

[60] 姜守诚，<试论明清文献中所见闽台王醮仪式>，《宗教学研究》2012年第1期，页 249-255。

Contemporary comprehension of the scale and frequency of such activities has been facilitated by the observations and comments of Westerners who had lived in Fuzhou, including American missionary Justus Doolittle (1824—1880). According to Doolittle, religious processions in relation to the worship of the Five Emperors were conspicuous during "the fifth and sixth months", as many were prone to illnesses in the hot summer months.[60] The climax of the festivities saw the parading of paper boats before their eventual casting "out to sea [whilst] filled with the pestilential influences [that had] been collected".[61] The paper boats also contained images of the Five Emperors, "rice, salt, wood, fruits etc., together with miniature articles of furniture, such as tables, chairs, bowls, and plates, made out of paper, or paper and bamboo splint".[62] Complementary scenes of devotees "'driving the devils into the sea'" were described by missionary Louis Hodous (1872—1849), who saw a boat loaded with plague spirits being set alight after being pushed into open water. The vessel was also accompanied by "two buckets with pig's hair, goat's hair, and refuse from the animals slaughtered [that had been] symboli[c] [of] […] demons". These offending materials were "dumped into the river so the village [wa]s rid of the demons and their work" following the incineration of the vessel.[63]

The migration of Minnan Chinese to Southeast Asia inevitably led to transplanting their practices of the veneration of the Royal Lords to the region. It is little wonder why many temples in the region, including Penang Island, Malaya, and Bagansiapiapi, Indonesia, were founded in honour of these deities (single or multiple of the Royal Lords per temple). A significant wealth of documentation of the Royal Lords is located across five temples in Malacca, each linked to one of the Royal Lords. The Wangkang Festivals held by Yongquan Dian in Bandar Hilir, Malacca (founded c. 1811—1818) have been associated with Royal Lord Chi; Qing Hua Gong at Kandang (which had its reopening documented by S. M. Middlebrook in 1938) has been linked to the veneration of Royal Lord Zhu;[64] Huadegong at Kampong Tiga, Kubu has ties to Royal Lord Wen; The Malaccan Hainanese Association at Jonker Street worships Royal Lord Lee; and Ujong Pasir has been historically associated with Royal Lord Bai.[65]

Numerous important research has been performed in recent years relating to the abovementioned five Malaccan temples and their observations of the Wangkang Festival. Scholars, such as Soh Khin Wah and Li Fengmao, note how observations of plague-banishing rituals were usually organised in conjunction with waves of pestilence or disease, such as the then prevalent threat of Asiatic cholera that had disseminated throughout the region via seafarers.[66] As rightfully indicated by Soh and Li, the symbolic capturing and banishing of plague demons during the Wangkang Festival were of great social and religious significance to Chinese communities in colonial Malaya. Over time, however, the veneration of these Royal Lords and the Wangkang Festival evolved in the face of better healthcare and sanitation after the Japanese Occupation of Malaya. For example, the revival of the Wangkang Festival, at the behest of Royal Lord Chi, at the start of the new millennium after a seven-decade interim from the last festival in 1933, witnessed elements of Daoist purificatory *jiao* in its repertoire of rituals. In addition, the festival's purpose was re-pivoted towards "prayers for blessings". Nonetheless, the occasion's climax remained constant: the burning of a model boat at the end of the festival.[67]

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[60] Justus Doolittle (1824-1880), *Social Life of the Chinese: With some account of their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions. With Special but not Exclusive Reference to Fuchchau*, volume one (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1865), 278.

[61] Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 279.

[62] Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 280. It is possible that the makeup of these ritual ships was modelled after maritime activities and roles in south-southeast China in late imperial China. In a lengthy article, 姜守诚, "打船醮——南台湾灵宝道派王醮科仪研究," 世界宗教学刊 18 (2011): 1-58, observed that the titles of boats' spiritual staff during the phase of ritual singing when these vessels were consecrated mirrored the hierarchy on commercial trade vessels in the Ming and Qing from pages 24 to 45, likely indicating that supporters of these boat burning rituals were merchants or maritime guilds whose livelihoods were related to oceangoing activities in some way.

[63] Louis Hodous (1872-1849), *Folkways in China* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1929), 213. Doolittle also mentioned the existence of these buckets, and the subsequent dumping of their polluting contents during the boat-burning ritual.

[64] S. M. Middlebrook, "Ceremonial Opening of a New Chinese Temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17:1 (1939): 98-106.

[65] The list of temples provided here is drawn from苏庆华, 代天巡狩:勇全殿池王爷与王船 (马六甲: 马六甲怡力勇全殿, 2005 Malacca: Bandar Hilir Yongquan Dian, 2005), 50-51. On the epigraphy of Yongquan Dian, see Franke and Chen, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia*, I, 292-301. A description of the occasion's scale and gradeur in the late nineteenth century can be found in "Casting out Demons in Malacca," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (Weekly)*, December 22, 1891, 9, as well as the various material that Soh and Li had consulted for their various papers. On the changing conceptions and transformation of these deities outside of Zhejiang, see Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 131-138; and Keith Stevens, "Fukienese Wang Yeh (王爷) (Ong Ya [Hokkien])," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1989): 34–60.

[66] 苏庆华, "麻六甲王船巡游的谱系：以麻六甲勇全殿为例," 华人宗教研究9 (2017): 213-239; and 李丰楙, "巡狩南邦: 东南亚地区代巡信仰的传播及衍变——以马六甲勇全殿2012年送王舡为例," 东亚观念史集刊 5 (2013): 3-52. The latter essay is republished as李丰楙, 从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗、信仰与文化 (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2020), 155-205. Also see Tan Chee-Beng, *Chinese Religion in Malaysia: Temples and Communities* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 18-19. For an early historical account, see James Low, *The British Settlement of Penang* [Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1972 (1836)], 298.

[67] For example, see洪莹发, "威显南邦：马来西亚马六甲勇全殿的王醮," 民俗曲艺 184 (2014): 59-103; and 李, "巡狩南邦," 11-46. The in-text quotation is from page 13 of the latter reference. Confer with the "localisation 在地化" of Royal Lord worship in post-1945 Southeast Asia, where worships of these divinities are constantly re-interpreted and re-contextualised within changing ethnic and ethical affiliations as discussed by 王琛发, "闽南王爷在南洋: 跨国信仰的国际性，历史感与在地化," 闽台文化研究 52 (2017): 55-66.

许多住在福州的西方人注意到并记录了此类活动的规模和频率。美国传教士卢公明（Justus Doolitte，1824-1880年）载道，五福大帝信仰的宗教活动在“第五个月和第六个月”很常见，因为在炎热的夏季人们容易生病。[61] 在这些活动高潮的游行中，人们抬着纸船游街，然后纸船被“送到收纳瘟疫的大海里。”[62] 除了被押送上船的污染物质外，纸船上还承载着五帝的纸模形象以及“米、盐、柴、水果等，以及纸糊或由纸和竹板制成的桌子、椅子、碗和盘子等家具。”[63] 传教士何乐益（Louis Hodous，1872-1849年）将类似的场景描述为“把魔鬼赶入海中”。满载瘟神疫鬼的船被推到水中然后焚化，该船还载有“两个桶，里面装着猪毛、山羊毛和其他象征着恶魔的动物的遗体。”随着船只的焚化，这些有害物质被“倾倒到河里，象征着村庄送走瘟疫。”[64]

闽南人在迁移的过程中将王爷信仰带到了东南亚，并在当地建立起许多庙宇供奉王爷。这些祀奉单姓王爷或众姓王爷的庙宇遍布东南亚各地，尤其是马来西亚的槟城和印度尼西亚的峇眼亚比。马六甲五座供奉王爷的庙宇保存了许多关于其庙宇宗教活动的记录，这五座庙宇分别是：马六甲怡力勇全殿（建于约1811-1818年，庙宇的一大盛事是王舡大游行，供奉的主座神明是池府王爷）；干冬清华宫（据S. M. Middlebrook所载，干冬清华宫重建于1938年，供奉的是朱府王爷）；[65] 观音亭街华德宫（供奉温府王爷）；鸡场街马六甲海南会馆（供奉李府王爷）；及乌绒巴西（历史上与白府王爷有关）。[66]

近年来，学界对这五座庙宇与马六甲王舡大游行的联系进行了许多重要的研究。苏庆华和李丰楙等学者注意到，送瘟仪式通常是在瘟疫作祟时节举行的，例如通过海员传播并肆虐整个地区的霍乱。[67] 正如两位学者所指出的，在王舡大游行期间藉由仪式象征性地驱瘟逐疫，对马来亚殖民地的华人社区具有重大的社会意义和宗教意义。然而，日据时期以后，随着时代变迁，医疗和卫生条件改善，王爷信仰和王舡大游行也发生了变化。例如，自1933年最后一次庆祝以来，经过了长达70年的过渡期，千禧年来临之际，在池府王爷的授意下，众人重新庆祝王舡大游行。当代的仪式吸收了道教清醮的元素，仪式的意义重新回到“祈福性”。尽管如此，活动的高潮依然是在节日进入尾声焚化王舡的时刻。[68]

[61] Justus Doolittle (1824-1880), *Social Life of the Chinese: With some account of their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions. With Special but not Exclusive Reference to Fuchchau*, volume one (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1865), 278.

[62] Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 279.

[63] Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 280. 这些法船的组成很可能模仿了中华帝国晚期中国东南沿海的海上活动及其形制。姜守诚在一篇研究中注意到，在唱戏仪式上这些船被祭祀时，船上灵军的编制反映了明清时期商船的等级制度，这可能表明这些烧船仪式的支持者是商人或海盗，他们的生计在某种程度上与海洋活动有关。请参阅姜守诚，<打船醮——南台湾灵宝道派王醮科仪研究>，《世界宗教学刊》2011年第18期，页1-58，尤其是页24-45。

[64] Louis Hodous (1872-1849), *Folkways in China* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1929), 213. 卢公明也提及这些桶，以及在随后的烧船仪式中，这些污染性物质被倾倒在水里。

[65] S. M. Middlebrook, “Ceremonial Opening of a New Chinese Temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 17:1 (1939): 98-106.

[66] 此处所列的庙宇转引自苏庆华，《代天巡狩：勇全殿池王爷与王船》（马六甲：马六甲怡力勇全殿，2005），页50-51。关于勇全殿的碑文研究，请参阅Franke and Chen, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia*, I, 292-301. 关于19世纪晚期这一仪式规模的描述，见 “Casting out Demons in Malacca,” *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (Weekly)*, December 22, 1891, 9, 以及苏庆华和李丰楙的研究中所提供的各种材料。关于王爷信仰在浙江以外地区的变迁和转化，请参阅Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*, 131-138; 及Keith Stevens, “Fukienese Wang Yeh (王爷) (Ong Ya [Hokkien]),” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1989): 34–60.

[67] 苏庆华，<麻六甲王船巡游的谱系：以麻六甲勇全殿为例>，《华人宗教研究》2017奶年第9期，页213-239；及李丰楙，<巡狩南邦：东南亚地区代巡信仰的传播及衍变：以马六甲勇全殿2012年送王舡为例>，《东亚观念史集刊》2013年第5期，页3-52。李丰楙的文章再版收录于李丰楙，《从圣教到道教：马华社会的节俗、信仰与文化》（台北：国立台湾大学出版中心，2020）一书中，见页155-205。亦请参阅 Tan Chee-Beng, *Chinese Religion in Malaysia: Temples and Communities* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 18-19. 早期相关的历史记录，请参阅 James Low, *The British Settlement of Penang*, [Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1972 (1836)], 298.

[68] 例如，请参阅洪莹发，<威显南邦：马来西亚马六甲勇全殿的王醮>，《民俗曲艺》2014年第184期，页59-103；及李丰楙，<巡狩南邦>，页11-46。所引部分见李丰楙的文章第13页。关于1945年以后东南亚地区王爷信仰的“在地化”，以及在种族归属和伦理道德变迁的背景下，王爷信仰如何被不断重新诠释和重新语境化，请参阅王琛发，<闽南王爷在南洋：跨国信仰的国际性，历史感与在地化>，《闽台文化研究》2017年第52期，页55-66。

Till today, the Ing Hok Kiong (founded in the early 19th century) in Bagansiapiapi, Indonesia, which pays homage to the Royal Lord Ji, persists in observing boat-burning rituals that date back to the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Salient, however, is the need to acknowledge that the overarching reason for the rituals is not linked to dispelling plague-causing spirits, as noted by Shi Yilong. Instead, Shi mentions that the tradition was closely intertwined with the area's fishing communities which experienced tragic human losses due to the deep waters. In particular, the model ships were constructed, consecrated, and incinerated to "purify the community and sea"—"[t]o appease wandering souls who died at sea".[68] These observations testify to the ability of these vessels to take on different forms of socio-religious significance per the needs of their practitioners. The boat-burning rituals occurred every few years until 1967, when the New Order Administration enforced prohibition under President Suharto (1968—1998).[69] Like the Wangkang Festival in Malacca, the practice has gradually been revived among Chinese Indonesians today and is currently observed annually on the sixteenth day of the fifth lunar month.[70]

Researchers have noted multiple similarities between the elements of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival and the Wangkang Festival. In his dissertation, Cheu Hock Tong comments on the similarities between the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Ampang and the Wangkang Festival.[71] Li Fengmao has recently argued that the Nine Emperor Gods' Ship emerged as a substitute for the Royal Ships on Penang Island after a cholera plague between 1819-1820. The shift to the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships is hypothesised by Li to be linked to the "deliberat[e] cho[ices] [by the Penangites] to forget the horror of the plague, [especially] the many deaths which had accompanied it". Specifically, "the experience made its very thought unimaginable and something that they no longer wanted to face," thereby leading to the "abandon[ment] [of] the launching of the Royal Ships and [the search] for alternatives that transformed into the sending-off rituals of the Nine Emperor Gods". Consequently, whilst the ceremonies sustained "the appearance[s] of a boat", the reality was that "the significance of the practice [had been] inverted to mean the absolution of disasters and the seeking of blessings" rather than the expulsions of plague. The sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods via a boat on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month may have drawn inspiration from the Wangkang Festival's repertoire of traditions, albeit in a roundabout manner.[72]

That said, emphasis has to be laid in relation to two critical distinctions between the functions of boats in the Wangkang and Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. Primarily, the launchings and incinerations of vessels during the plague-banishing rituals in China and the Southeast Asian Wangkang Festivals serve to evict polluting influences and plague-causing deities from the human realm. Therefore, casting them into the sea doubles as exorcisms—the collection and banishing of unwelcomed spirits and their befouling influences. In contrast, vessels harnessed during the sending-off ceremonies during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are void of similar malice. Rather, they symbolise the departure of the Nine Emperor Gods from this-world.

Evident is one critical contrast—the forced capturing and loading of pestilence-causing demons and deities onto boats or wangkangs as opposed to the humble inviting of the Nine Emperor Gods onto specially prepared ships as expressions of temples' good will to facilitate their smooth journey. This was corroborated by an observation on the function of these vessels during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by Li Fengmao that the significance of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships' rested on the "asking for blessings" instead of "their prophylactic role".[73]

Fundamental functional differences exist between the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships in Singapore and those of the earlier Wangkang Festivals observed in colonial Malaya until the 1930s. To reiterate, the Singapore version is not associated with coercion where the Five Emperors or Royal Lords have apprehended malevolent spirits during their "inspection tours". Instead, devotees of the Nine Emperor Gods symbolically transfer their spiritual burdens and desire for blessings onto the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships by affixing their names, and at times those of their family members, onto the vessels.

Moreover, as we shall see, the harnessing of oceangoing vessels during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's sending-off ceremonies has been a relatively recent innovation in Southeast Asia. This additional ritualistic feature was only implemented in Singapore temples from the second half of the 20th century. The time period of these observations in Singapore coincides with the broader earliest available references to this practice in Malaya.

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[68] 石奕龙, "东南亚马来西亚等国闽南人的王船祭," 艺苑 1 (2017): 45-46. The initial concentration of ethnic Chinese communities in the fishing industry and seafood businesses was also noted by Ari Anggari Harapan, "Preservation and Revitalization of Bakar Tongkang Ritual: Integration of Ethnic Chinese Community in Bagansiapiapi," in *Proceedings of International Seminar Culture Across Perspectives III (CAP-III) Cultural Engineering in Postmodern Era*, ed. Chua Beng Huat, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra and M. Irfan Zamzami (Semarang: Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Diponegoro, 2016), 292-293. Compare the dynamics with 李, "王船, 船画, 九皇船."

[69] Harapan, "Preservation and Revitalization of Bakar Tongkang Ritual," 293 explained that smaller ritual boats were also burnt clandestinely during the New Order regime. On the background and context of these bans amidst a spate of anti-Chinese violence and debates over the naturalisation of Chinese communities in post-independence Indonesia, see Zhou Taomo, *Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019); and a specific discussion on festivals and cultural sensitivities by Hoon Chang Yau, "More than a Cultural Celebration: The Politics of Chinese New Year in post-Suharto Indonesia," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 3 (2009): 90-105.

[70] Amrial, "Menko Kesra Hadiri Penutupan Perayaan Bakar Tongkang," *Jurnal Asia*, June 16, 2014, https://www.jurnalasia.com/seremoni/menko-kesra-hadiri-penutupan-perayaan-bakar-tongkang/; and 88 Video Shooting, "庆祝纪府王爷&代巡王爷圣诞千秋'永福宫'2015," two parts, YouTube videos, https://youtu.be/YY2AnYKtshc; and https://youtu.be/LbFmRAVwOX4.

[71] Cheu Hock Tong, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 363-372.

[72] 李, 从圣教到道教, 226-238. The in-text quotations provided here are drawn from page 238, and Li's argument follows from his discussion of why fewer sources of the Wangkang Festival's history are found on Penang Island vis-à-vis Malacca, the latter which has already been contextualised in an earlier part of this chapter. While Li's deductions sound reasonable, they have yet to be tested against archival research related to the use of Nine Emperor Gods' ships in Southeast Asia. A subsequent section of this chapter argues that these vessels only appeared in newspapers after the Second World War, although it is plausible that these ships were not reported despite making an appearance in 19th to 20th Malaya. On the transformation of ritual paraphernalia, their iconography, and functions, see the theoretical treatment of similar issues by Adam B. Seligman and Robert P. Weller, *How Things Count as the Same: Memory, Mimesis, and Metaphor* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[73] 李, 从圣教到道教, 232.

印尼峇眼亚比的永福宫（建于19世纪早期）供奉纪府王爷，时至今日，永福宫仍保留着烧船仪式，这一仪式可追溯至19世纪末20世纪初。然而， 据石奕龙称，这一仪式并非为了驱除瘟神疫鬼，而与该地区的渔业密切相关。许多渔民葬身海上，为了“安抚海上遇难的游魂 ”，人们搭造、献祭并焚化法船，以“洁净地方与海域空间”。由此可见，根据仪式执行者的需求，这些法船具有不同的社会宗教意义。[69] 在过去，烧船仪式每隔几年就会举行一次。1967年以后，在苏哈托总统（1968-1998年）当政的新秩序时期，这一仪式被禁止了。[70] 如同马六甲的王船大游行，如今，这一习俗在印尼华人当中逐渐恢复，并于每年农历五月十六日举行。[71]

学者注意到九皇千秋和王船大游行具有诸多共通之处。周福堂在其论文中比较了安邦的九皇千秋及王船大游行两者的相似性。[72] 近来，李丰楙指出，1819-1820年槟城发生霍乱以后，槟城人选择以送九皇船代替送王船。李丰楙对此做出的解释是，槟城人“乃刻意选择性遗忘瘟疫的恐惧，遭遇瘟疫形成许多死亡者，既是不想，不敢面对的事”，因此“槟城人即不再送王船，代替的方式即转化为送九皇爷”。在仪式上，“船具形式也被保存下来，但意义则被反转为解厄祈福”，而非逐疫。由此可见，在农历九月初九以九皇船送行九皇大神的做法，似乎源于早期送王船的传统。[73]

尽管如此，在王船大游行和九皇千秋中，船的功能有两个重要区别。首先，在中国的送瘟仪式和东南亚的王船大游行的高潮阶段，众人将船推入海中焚烧，象征性地驱逐逗留人间的瘟神疫鬼带来的污染。这些不受欢迎的灵魂将被留在海上，不得返回人间为害。而在九皇千秋的送行仪式上，送走九皇船象征着九皇大帝乘船离开人间，返回天界。

此处还有另一个关键区别。散播瘟疫的瘟神疫鬼是被强制押送上王船的，而九皇大帝是被恭请到九皇船上的。庙宇向九皇大帝致敬，感激神明降临赐福，将九皇大帝恭请到船上，确保航行一路顺风。李丰楙对此也有类似的评论，他认为九皇船的“仪式目的已是祈福性大于解除性。”[74]

20世纪30年代以前马来亚殖民地王船大游行中所焚化的王船，与新加坡的九皇船，两者的功能在本质上是不同的。五福大帝或众姓王爷代天巡狩，押捕散播瘟疫的恶灵上船离开人间。而九皇船是载送九皇大帝返回天界，因此信徒会将自己或家人的名字贴在九皇船上，祈求九皇大帝的庇佑。

此外，正如我们下一节将讨论的，在九皇大帝恭送仪式中使用船只的做法，是东南亚地区相对晚期的一个创举。新加坡很多庙宇在20世纪下半叶以后才出现九皇船。我们所掌握的资料中，关于农历九月初九在马来亚送别九皇大帝仪式上使用船只的最早记录，也见于这一时期。

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[69] 石奕龙，<东南亚马来西亚等国闽南人的王船祭>，《艺苑》2017年第1期，页45-46。Ari Anggari Harapan指出，华人群体最初集中在渔业和海产品生意，请参阅“Preservation and Revitalization of Bakar Tongkang Ritual: Integration of Ethnic Chinese Community in Bagansiapiapi,” in *Proceedings of International Seminar Culture Across Perspectives III (CAP-III) Cultural Engineering in Postmodern Era*, ed. Chua Beng Huat, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra and M. Irfan Zamzami (Semarang: Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Diponegoro, 2016), 292-293. 请参阅李丰楙，<王船，船画，九皇船>。

[70] 在印尼新秩序时期，仍有小型法船被秘密焚化，见Harapan, “Preservation and Revitalization of Bakar Tongkang Ritual,” 293. 有关印尼独立后发生的一系列排华暴力事件以及当局禁止华人文化的背景，以及关于印尼华人归化问题的讨论，请参阅Zhou Taomo, *Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019); 关于节日和文化敏感性的详细论述，请参阅Hoon Chang Yau, “More than a Cultural Celebration: The Politics of Chinese New Year in post-Suharto Indonesia,” *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 3 (2009): 90-105.

[71] Amrial, “Menko Kesra Hadiri Penutupan Perayaan Bakar Tongkang [Coordinating Minister for People’s Welfare Attends the Closing of the Boat Burning Festival],” *Jurnal Asia* [Asia Journal], June 16, 2014, https://www.jurnalasia.com/seremoni/menko-kesra-hadiri-penutupan-perayaan-bakar-tongkang/; and 88 Video Shooting, “庆祝纪府王爷&代巡王爷圣诞千秋‘永福宫’2015 ，” two parts, YouTube videos, https://youtu.be/YY2AnYKtshc; and https://youtu.be/LbFmRAVwOX4.

[72] Cheu Hock Tong, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 363-372.

[73] 李，《从圣教到道教》，页226-238。引用部分见页238。在引文章节的前面部分，李丰楙讨论了为何槟城关于王船大游行的资料记载少于马六甲，虽然李丰楙的推论听起来很合理，但它们还有待检验，须对东南亚使用九皇船相关档案进行研究。这一章的后续部分指出，尽管直到二战以后，报纸上才出现有关九皇船的报道，但很有可能这些船只早在19世纪末和20世纪初就已出现在马来亚，只是当时未被报道。关于仪式用具的转变、它们的图像和功能，请参阅Adam B. Seligman和Robert P. Weller对此的理论分析， *How Things Count as the Same: Memory, Mimesis, and Metaphor* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[74] 李丰楙，《从圣教到道教》，页232。

Accounts of Vessels during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival

Late imperial and Republican Chinese newspapers, unfortunately, fail to offer much insight into the exact procedures of the past sending-off ceremonies of the Nine Emperor Gods during the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. What exists, however, is a short description of the sending-off ceremony performed by professional performers who had organised themselves under the banner of the Liyuan in Yanjing. Specifically, the description states that "observers of the festival kne[lt] in unison before burning a paper carriage", which carried "an official of the seven stars and a flag for each direction" and was "drawn by a beast with nine heads" on the night of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. [74]

Finally, the spirit-tablets of the five deities who were invoked at the start of the receiving ritual – the Nine Emperor Gods, the Jade Emperor of Heaven, the Grand Elderly Sovereign, the True Emperor Stellar Sovereign of the Thunder Department and the Disaster-Absolving and Life-Prolonging Buddha – were seated in the carriage, before a final round of food offerings were presented to the deities amidst the recitation of scriptures by the Liyuan's "Senior Daoists."[75] This account, which only tells us that a vehicle of sorts was incinerated to indicate the Nine Emperor Gods' departure from the festival site, never referenced the use of a boat, contrary to what we observe among Chinese communities in Southeast Asia today.

A vital insight from the oral histories collated during this project is identifying past and recent patterns during the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals. Whilst most temples formerly concentrated their attentions on sending off the censers of the Nine Emperor Gods or Dou Mu during the sending-off ceremony, the incineration of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships at sea have, in comparison, been relatively recent additions. Archival findings seem to corroborate these preliminary observations. References to boats and their symbolism concerning the Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Southeast Asia are notoriously rare before the second half of the 20th century. The only existing reference is ships used in Malaya for a sending-off ceremony in 1934.



Swimmers from Kew Huang Keng facilitated the temple's coastal sending-off of Dou Mu's censer in 1985. Photograph courtesy of Sunny Lian.

1985年，来自九皇宫的善信恭送斗母的香炉。照片由梁有生提供。

[74] 问溪 and张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记,"戏剧月刊2:3 (1929): 140.

[75] 问溪 and张次溪, "燕京梨园九皇盛会记," 140.

九皇千秋期间九皇船的记载

遗憾的是，在中华帝国晚期和民国时期的报纸中，关于农历九月初九九皇大帝恭送仪式的记录并不多。其中有一篇简短报道，记载了燕京梨园九皇圣会的专业戏曲演员举行九皇大帝恭送仪式的经过。在农历九月初九的晚上，“众跪送焚辇一座，驾辇骑兽九头”，此外还有“七星督方旗各一”。[75]



◀
Kew Huang Keng’s devotees open sea sending-off of Dou Mu’s censer via a chartered boat, undated (likely 1990s). Photographs courtesy of Kew Huang Keng.

九皇宫的信徒们在包船的帮助下将斗姆的香炉送入大海，无日期（可能是1990年代）。照片由九皇宫提供。

接着，恭请仪式召请的五位神明（即九皇大帝、玉皇大帝、太上老君、雷都正皇星君及消灾延寿佛）的神位被请到车辇上安坐。在梨园“大老道”的诵经声中，众人最后一次向五位神明献上供品。[76]在这篇报道中，车辇被焚化以象征九皇大帝的离去，但这篇报道并未提及船的使用，这与我们今天在东南亚华人社区所观察到的情况不同。

[75] 问溪、张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，见《戏剧月刊》1929年第3期，页140。

[76] 问溪、张次溪，<燕京梨园九皇盛会记>，页140。



Nonetheless, a caveat must be stated that those mentioned vessels were not deliberately reserved for the Nine Emperor Gods. Instead, they referred to passenger boats which ferried devotees who wished to accompany the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods into the open sea. Another interesting point, in this case, was permitting women to follow the procession. Strict regulations saw individuals having "had to wait until the ninth day (of the ninth lunar month). Only after disembarking from the boats (that they took to send the Nine Emperor Gods off) were they able to resume the consumption of meat". [76]

Dated references to preparing model ships for the sending-off ceremony entered reports and photographs after the Japanese Occupation of Malaya. One of the earliest and most detailed accounts of oceangoing vessels harnessed during the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods is an article from *The Straits Times* on October 19, 1947. Journalist K. S. Chia noted, "a paper ship believed to convey the spirit of the kindly god, w[ould] be launched from the shore" to mark the deities' departure.[77] Chia's account—published on the *sixth day* of the ninth lunar month, well ahead of the sending-off ceremony—raises many questions. For one, he failed to mention his observations' source(s). Penang Island seems a likely source, given multiple references to its temples in Chia's account.

[76] "侨社风俗之一槟城华侨拜九皇爷之风渐替神也无灵渐受善男信女忘掉般神徒的生意将不容易做下去了！," 南洋商报, October 19, 1934, 9.

[77] "Sea God Goes Home," *The Straits Times*, October 19, 1947, 6. According to A. S. Lee, "Chinese Fads and Festivals in Singapore," *The Singapore Free Press*, July 16, 1949, 1, he reported that the Nine Emperor God "is carried to a small wooden ship which takes him round the world, chastising the wicked and the evil," with a following paragraph declaring that "this boat comes back by itself every year." It seems likely that the journalist conflated the Nine Emperor Gods' censer with a "boat." Given the ambiguous and slightly dubious nature of Lee's findings, we did not consider his testimony convincing enough to warrant a reference in the main text.



◀
Contemporary Nine Emperor Gods Festival coastal sending-off ceremony of Dou Mu's censer via a chartered boat held by Kew Huang Keng.

今天，九皇宫的信徒在一艘船的帮助下，将斗姆的香炉送入大海。

根据我们收集的口述史资料，在早期，大多数庙宇九皇大帝恭送仪式的关注焦点是九皇大帝和斗母的香炉，如今见到的九皇船则是较晚期才出现的。档案研究的结果印证了这些初步观察。在20世纪下半叶之前的东南亚，以送九皇船象征九皇大帝离开的做法是非常罕见的。在我们所掌握的资料中，仅有一条使用船只举行送别仪式的相关记录，见于1934年的马来亚。即便如此，这些船只也不是为九皇大帝准备的，而是用于载送希望伴九皇炉入海的信徒。有趣的是，妇女也可参与其中，“等到初九送神下船后，她们才得茹荤。”[77]

有关九皇大帝恭送仪式上九皇船的报道和照片，直至日据时期以后才出现。最早关于九皇船的明确报道之一见于1947年10月19日的《海峡时报》（*The Straits Times*），记者K. S. Chia记载道，“一艘被认为能恭送神明回天的纸船会被送至海上”，以此象征九皇大帝的离开。[78] 然而，Chia的说法仍然存疑，他的报道发表于农历九月初六，远远早于送行仪式。另外，他没有指明他观察的是何地的情况。据推测，很有可能是槟城，因为在他的描述中多次提到槟城的庙宇。

[77] <侨社风俗之一槟城华侨拜九皇爷之风渐替，神也无灵渐受善男信女忘掉般，神徒的生意将不容易做下去了！>，见《南洋商报》，1934年10月19日，第9版。

[78] “Sea God Goes Home,” *The Straits Times*, October 19, 1947, 6. 根据A. S. Lee的报道，九皇大帝“被安奉在一艘小木船上，绕境游行，惩恶扬善”，他还在下一段中宣称“这艘船每年都会自己回来”。很有可能这位记者将九皇炉和九皇船混为一谈了。考虑到其模糊性，我们认为这一记叙不具说服力，因此未在正文中引用。见“Chinese Fads and Festivals in Singapore,” *The Singapore Free Press*, July 16, 1949, 1。



Leaders of Leong Nam Temple travelling by chartered boat into the open sea, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

1992年，龙南殿的领导们乘坐包船进入公海。照片由龙南殿提供。

If Chia's description is accurate, it implied that the use of boats to send off the Nine Emperor Gods was a common phenomenon before 1947, so he did not attribute this phenomenon to a specific temple, but generalized his observation. Further insights into the use of ships surfaced via a photograph insert in a 1953 report on a Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Penang showed a model boat carried by three to four men throughout the streets, followed by what appeared to be a medium seated in an open sedan chair. The photographed model ship was adorned with miniature oars and multiple flags and bore the words "Nine Emperor Gods" emblazoned on its sails.[78] Vitally, there was another report during that same year regarding the Nine Emperor Gods being "set adrift in the sea off Weld Quay in a small yellow sampan" as part of the ritual undertaken by the Dou Mu Gong attached to the Kuan Im See at Burma Road, Penang.[79]

[78] "To the Sea...," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. Unfortunately, we do not know which temple this vessel belonged to. The Qianchensi is one candidate, given that the photograph was appended to a lengthy report of the temple. Still, it might have been from another temple that was built closer to sea level, as seen in "Temple of Cheng Jee Chan – At Penang," *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. Cheu Hock Tong, for example, later observed that the temple "invites and sends off the visiting Nine Emperor God by burning a white paper-horse on the top of a hill adjacent to the temple" in "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 345.

[79] "Ashes Set Adrift," *The Straits Times*, October 19, 1953, 7.



The Nine Emperor Gods are being escorted back into the open sea by leaders of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong via a chartered boat, undated (likely late 1990s or early 2000s). Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫的领导在一艘包船的帮助下护送九皇大帝回銮，无日期（可能是1990年代末或2000年代初）。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

若Chia的描述是准确的，这说明在1947年之前，使用船只送走九皇大帝是很常见的现象，因此他没有将这一现象归于某一庙宇，而是总体概括了他的观察。1953年，一张插图显示了，在槟城九皇千秋期间，三四个人抬着一艘九皇船穿过街道，其后跟着一架过山轿，一个看起来是乩童的人坐在其上。这艘九皇船不仅装饰有船桨模型和许多旗帜，船帆上还标有“九皇大帝”的字样。[79] 同年，槟城车水路观音寺斗母宫也有类似的报道，据称，九皇大帝被“安奉在黄色小船上，漂流入海。”[80]

[79] “To the Sea...,” *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. 遗憾的是，我们并不清楚这艘九皇船属于哪座庙宇。由于这张照片附在关于千层寺的长篇报道之后，因此这艘九皇船或许属于千层寺，但也有可能属于另一座更接近海面的寺庙，见 “Temple of Cheng Jee Chan – At Penang,” *The Straits Times*, October 16, 1953, 9. 周福堂（Cheu Hock Tong）后来观察到，该庙“在附近的山上燃烧白色纸马，以此恭迎和恭送九皇大帝”，见“An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 345.

[80] “Ashes Set Adrift,” *The Straits Times*, October 19, 1953, 7.



The visible proliferation of references to using model boats in conjunction with the sending-off of the censers of the Nine Emperor Gods from the 1980s can be attributed to the increased availability of personal cameras. Cheu Hock Tong noted the use of these boats during his fieldwork throughout Malaysia in the 1980s, particularly in the states of Perak and Kedah. Surfaced in Cheu's works was another interesting observation of the release of animals during the departure of the Nine Emperor Gods. Some instances included the releasing of tortoises, with the Chinese characters "*fang sheng* [releasing life]" painted on their shells, during the sending-off ceremony in Ampang Nan Tian Gong, and white cockerels and pigeons elsewhere in Perak.[80]

[80] Cheu, "An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia," 275 and 345. See the chapter on *zhai* and vegetarianism for the practice of *fangsheng*, its history in late imperial China, its societal and religious functions, and present-day implications.



◀
Preparation of a ship for the sending-off of the Nine Emperor Gods by the Burma Road Kuan Im See, Penang Island, in the 1980s. Photographs courtesy of Ronni Pinsler, from the Ronni Pinsler Collection, National Archives of Singapore.

20世纪80年代，车水路观音寺斗母宫为恭送九皇大帝的一艘船。照片由Ronni Pinsler提供，来自新加坡国家档案馆的Ronni Pinsler作品集。

自20世纪80年代以来，或许是由于个人相机的日益普及，恭送九皇炉和九皇船的照片层出不穷。20世纪80年代，周福堂在马来西亚各地，特别是霹雳州和吉打州进行实地调查时，也注意到了九皇船的使用情况。有趣的是，他还提到在恭送九皇大帝时会放生动物。在安邦南天宫，人们会放生壳上印有“放生”字样的乌龟；而在霹雳州其他地区，人们会放生小公鸡和白鸽。[81]

[81] Cheu, “An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-Medium Cults in Malaysia,” 275 and 345. 关于放生在中华帝国晚期的实践、历史、社会与宗教功能，以及放生在当下的意义，请参阅本卷关于持斋和素食的章节。



A dragon ship is burnt at Xuan Wu Shan's sending-off ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods.

玄武山理事善信在恭送九皇大帝斗母娘娘的同时也焚化龙船。

Considering the information mentioned earlier, it is unsurprising that Ronni Pinsler's visits to the Nine Emperor Gods Festival sites on Penang Island during the late 1970s and 1980s involved him photographing model boats used by some temples during sending-off ceremonies.[81] In contrast, research on temples in Singapore between the 1960s and 1980s reveals the use of model ships during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival by at least two temples—Leong Nam Temple and Nan Shan Hai Temple. Photographs depicting the festival site at Kallang Park hosted by the former demonstrate the grandness of the paper ship constructs and their transformations over the years. Insights into Nan Shan Hai Temple's practices reveal the then-existing logistical constraints which hindered the incineration of the paper ship at sea, thereby accounting for the temple's original practice of burning the ship in front of the temple's threshold in Jalan Ang Teng. Of the Singapore temples, Pinsler's collection lacks past photographs of model ships in relation to Xuan Wu Shan. This is enlightening in light of the temple's contemporary practices of preparing one vessel with a dragon head for the annual sending-off ceremony.



Ritual ship prepared by Hong San Temple in 2001 for the coastal sending-off ceremony. Photograph courtesy of Hong San Temple.

凤山宫准备的法船， 2001年。照片由凤山宫提供。

[81] This was probably the ship used by the Hong Kong Street Dou Mu Gong. The author recalled seeing a similar photograph at one of the clan jetties of Penang Island that were used by the said temple to send the Nine Emperor Gods' censer off.





上世纪70年代末至80年代，摄影师Ronni Pinsler走访了槟城许多九皇千秋庆典场所，并拍下了在恭送仪式上使用的九皇船的珍贵照片。[82] Pinsler在新加坡拍摄的玄武山翰林院照片中，并没有发现任何形式的祭祀船或模型船。 但是，玄武山翰林院为近年的恭送仪式准备一艘带有龙头的船。20世纪60年代至80年代，新加坡至少有两座庙宇为九皇千秋制作准备了船型仪具，即龙南殿和南山海庙。龙南殿在加冷公园（Kallang Park）的庆典场所的照片展现了这些纸船的宏伟壮观，从中也可看出龙南殿的九皇船随着时间推移的转变。在南山海寺，由于运输条件限制，纸船最初是在位于Jalan Ang Teng的庙宇门口被焚烧的，而没有被运到海上。

[82] 这艘船可能是香港巷斗母宫的船。笔者记得曾在槟城一座姓氏桥看到类似的照片，该姓氏桥是香港巷斗母宫送走九皇炉的地方。





Hong San Temple members carrying the Ritual Ship to the seaside to be burnt as part of the sending-off ceremony for the Nine Emperor Gods.

凤山宫理事在恭送九皇大帝回銮仪式中将法船送到海边焚化。


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Given the lack of sources on the number of temples which harnessed ships during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival before the late 1990s and 2000s, we can assume the likelihood that the practice was not followed as part of the sending-off ceremonies in most temples during that period. For instance, an examination of photographs from Hong San Temple and Shin Sen Keng reveals that vessels only appeared in the said photographs from the 2000s. This further reinforces the understanding of how recent the practice is. Hong San Temple's Ritual Ship Association was only formed in 2018—more than a decade after the practice started in the said temple. The formation of this association is a testament to the expanding recognition of the importance of the Ritual Ships as part of the temple's Nine Emperor Gods Festivals rituals and, in turn, the need for a designated group to oversee their preparations and maintenance. The later addition of Ritual Ships also appears to hold true in newer temples that have begun observing the festival in recent years. Case in point in relation to Zhun Ti Tang, whilst no model boats were used during the sending-off ceremony in the first year of our study, 2017 saw the preparation of a small model boat. This practice continued in the subsequent years with observable growth in the size of the respective model boats prepared once sponsors expressed greater willingness to fund their construction.



The 2017 and 2018 Ritual Ships designed by Zhun Ti Tang.

准提堂2017年和2018年的法船。

在20世纪90年代末和21世纪初之前，很少有庙宇会将纸船送至水上并焚化，因此，大多数庙宇都没有制作九皇船，以备恭送九皇大帝时使用。例如，在凤山宫和神仙宫，船型仪具只在2000年之后才出现，这反映了送九皇船的仪式是近年来才兴起的。在凤山宫，法船会直到2018年才成立。这一组织的成立表明了，在今天庙宇的仪式结构中，九皇船的重要性日益增加，因此需要在庙宇内部指定一个小组，来监督九皇船的筹备和维护。在一些近年来开始庆祝这一节日的庙宇中，也可观察到九皇船的发展。在我们开始研究准提堂的第一年，那时准提堂还没有在送别九皇佛祖仪式上使用九皇船。然而，到了2017年，准提堂首次准备了一艘小型九皇船。当有信徒表示愿意赞助九皇船的建造时，九皇船的规模也随之扩大。



Practices and Beliefs Related to the Nine Emperor Gods' Ship



Past model ship for used by Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong in the sending-off of the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival, undated (likely late 1990s or early 2000s). Photographs courtesy of Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong.

洪水港斗母宫为送走九皇大帝而准备的模型船，无日期（可能是1990年代末或2000年代初）。照片由洪水港斗母宫提供。

九皇船相关的实践与信仰





In recent years, the "Dragon Ship" or "Ritual Ship" (hereafter referred to as the Nine Emperor Gods' Ship) has become an integral part of the ritual setup practised by many temples during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival. There are many reasons for the widespread propagation and adoption of this practice. Certain temples, such as Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong in Singapore, place the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods, formerly the sole focus of the festival, aboard the model vessel during the sending-off ceremony to mark the symbolic and literal departure of the Nine Emperor Gods. Specifically, these temples would first incinerate the temporary spirit tablet representative of the Nine Emperor Gods in the censer before the overall incineration of the vessel at sea.[82] The same holds for the ritual process at Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong. The annual practice sees the ten censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu loaded onto the ship by temple staff before the vessel is towed into the open water and set ablaze.

▶
Installed within Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's ritual ship for incineration during the sending-off ceremony of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival are the censers representing the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu.

龙山岩斗母宫准备的龙船，作为送行仪式的一部分。在海上焚烧之前，代表九皇大帝和斗母的香炉被安装在这艘真人大小的龙船上。



However, most temples differ from Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong and Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong as the majority usually hold distinct send-offs for the vessels, and the censers of the Nine Emperor Gods and Dou Mu—the vessels are either sent off alongside or in the succession of the censers. Regardless, what remains clear is that the sending off of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships indicates the Nine Emperor Gods' departure. In these temples, informants maintain that the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are simply a token of the temple's goodwill, their overall wishes that the deities be ensured a safe return voyage, and to ensure that the said deities are sent off in as grand a manner as possible. Given the lattermost point, it is unsurprising that this has culminated and manifested in either the sizes of these ships or their numbers.

[82] This practice can also be seen in Sam Siang Keng in Johor Bahru. In Sam Siang Keng, a special niche covered with yellow curtains is built into the ship's hold to contain the Nine Emperor Gods' censer. Once the censer is installed in the ship at the coast, the vessel is towed into the sea before it is set alight. See Soh Chuah Meng Esmond 苏泉铭, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会：三善宫摄影论文 (2019)," Nine Emperor Gods Project, January 25, 2020, https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

近年来，龙船或法船（此后称九皇船）已成为许多庙宇仪式设置的一部分及其节日特色。九皇船成为九皇千秋的普遍特征有许多方面的原因。一些庙宇，例如新加坡洪水港斗母宫，在举行恭送仪式时，作为节日焦点的九皇炉会被妥善安奉在船上，礼仪专家将象征九皇大帝的临时神位（疏）焚化在香炉中，然后众人将船推入大海并火化九皇船。[83]龙山岩斗母宫也是如此，代表九皇大帝和斗母的十个香炉被安置到九皇船上，然后将船推入水中焚烧。



在洪水港斗母宫，九皇炉随着九皇船一起被送走。但在其他庙宇，九皇炉和九皇船是被分开送走的。无论哪种情况，恭送九皇船都象征着九皇大帝的离开。在这些庙宇中，受访者表示，九皇船寄托了庙宇的美好祝愿，希望九皇大帝能够安全返航。庙宇希望以尽可能盛大的方式送走神明，因此九皇船的规模和数量可能不断增大。

[83] 在柔佛新山的三善宫也可以看到类似做法。三善宫九皇船的船舱里设有一个特殊的壁龛，上面挂着黄色的窗帘，专门安奉九皇大帝的香炉。九皇炉被安放在船上后，众人将九皇船推到水上并点燃。见苏泉铭（Soh Chuah Meng Esmond），<柔佛新山的九皇圣会：三善宫摄影论文（2019）> ，九皇文化计划，2020年1月25日，https://nineemperorgodsproject.com/2020/01/25/sam-siang-keng.

Preparations of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships involve designing and constructing the said ships and goods to be carried by vessels for incineration. Whilst the packed items are temple dependent, the vessels are usually loaded with staples typical of the Chinese kitchen: firewood, raw rice, and salt.[83] Aside from, or in addition to, food staples, many temples also pack their vessels with joss paper.[84] Similarly, overseers of Nan Shan Hai Temple's festival site typically gather and transfer the joss papers offered but not burnt by devotees during the festival into the Nine Emperor Gods' Ship before the sending-off ceremony for burning at sea. This trend of filling the vessel with joss papers to be burnt is similarly undertaken in Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong and Yu Hai Tang.

The ship is intertwined with the origin stories of the Nine Emperor Gods connected to the sea. In one of these stories, after the fall of the Ming dynasty, Zheng Chenggong visited various resistance cells that sought to overthrow the Qing and restore the Ming in coastal Fujian, particularly in the regions of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, by using the Nine Emperor Gods Festival as a cover.[85] When he departed from his hosts on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, a "Royal Ship" was provided for his long journey out to sea. To ensure that he has sufficient sustenance, the vessel will be loaded with "everyday products, including grain and other staples." [86]



Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's Dragon Ship is being furnished for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

在九皇千秋期间，龙山岩斗母宫在布置祭龙船。

Despite general similarities in relation to the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships of the various temples, the ships are unique to each temple at the end of the day in terms of decoration and the inclusion of customised items and figures. Whilst most temples purchase the vessels from artisan companies, they exercise their agencies by adding decorative accessories upon receiving the delivered ships. Though practices differ, the vessels can be completed before or during the festival before the sending-off ceremony. For example, the structure of Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's Dragon Ship was only completed at the festival site despite the earlier transportation of the armature to the temple in 2016. That said, unlike in 2016, the Dragon Ship used by Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong in 2017 was delivered fully built to the festival site, and temple staff added LED lights to furnish the said vessel further. Meanwhile, Kim San Tze instructed that a wooden float be built to facilitate the ship being carried and pushed out to sea for incineration.

[83] There are in fact seven items in the conventional list: firewood, raw rice, cooking oil, salt, soy sauce, vinegar, and tea. However, to our knowledge, the other four items are not used when the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are filled. See 尹湘东, "柴米油盐酱醋茶," 乡镇论坛 8 (1996): 40; and 李祥林 Li Xianglin, "也谈 '柴米油盐酱醋茶'," 农业考古2 (1996): 132-133.

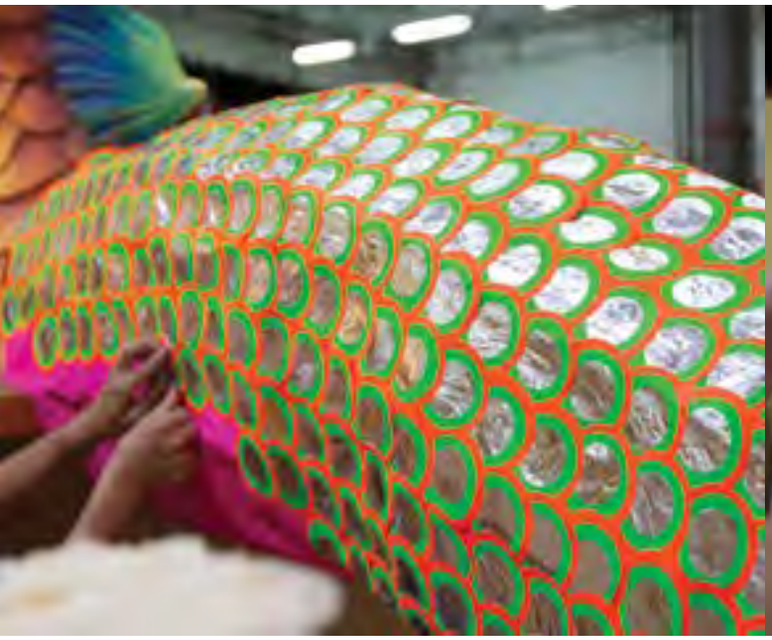
[84] This is true for Sam Siang Keng temple, where the evening of the sixth day of the sixth lunar month is devoted to filling the Nine Emperor Gods' ship to the brim with ingot-shaped joss paper. 苏, "柔佛新山的九皇盛会."

[85] For the sources of possible historical inspiration behind this belief, see Cheng Weichung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas* (1622-1683) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), particularly 137-190.

[86] 黄瑞桦, "九皇大帝的另则传说," *Douxun* 1 (2001): 65-66. The quotations are from a similar account provided by 徐李颖, 九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫 (Singapore: Hougang Tou Mu Kung, 2006), 29.

许多庙宇的九皇船上满载华人厨房里的常见物品：柴、米和盐。[84] 各庙宇船上装载的物品不尽相同，除了食物，有的庙宇还会在九皇船上放入金银纸。[85] 在九皇千秋期间，南山海庙的成员会收集信徒供奉但未焚化的金银纸，在恭送仪式上将金银纸堆放到九皇船上，随着九皇船被送到海上焚化。同样情况见于龙山岩斗母宫和玉海棠，作为恭送仪式的一部分，人们往九皇船上添载金银纸，然后点火焚化。

九皇船与九皇大帝的起源传说都和大海交织在一起。一种说法是，明朝灭亡后，郑成功以九皇千秋为掩护，到福建沿海特别是漳州和泉州地区召集各路反清复明的义士共商大计。[86] 农历九月初九午夜，当郑成功出海往别处号召起义时，人们为他准备了一艘“王船”，并在船上装满“日常用品，粮食等。”[87]





不同庙宇的九皇船通常大同小异，大部分庙宇会在九皇船上增加专门定制的装饰，他们通常是在工匠或公司交付船只后自行添加装饰和配件。九皇船的建造可能贯穿整个节日期间，直到恭送仪式那一天才完成最后的润色装点。例如，在龙山岩斗母宫，2016年，龙船框架被运送到庙宇中，剩下的搭造工作由工匠在现场完成。然而，2017年，搭建好的龙船被送至庙宇，只需要挂上LED灯进行装饰即可。在金山寺，人们建造了一辆木制彩车，以便将九皇船运至海上焚化。

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[84] 一般而言，日常生活必需品有七样：柴米油盐酱醋茶。然而，据我们了解，九皇船上并不会装载其他四样东西。请参阅：尹湘东，<柴米油盐酱醋茶>，《乡镇论坛》1996年第8期，页40；及李祥林，<也谈“柴米油盐酱醋茶”>，《农业考古》1996年第2期，页 132-133。

[85] 三善宫的情况便是如此，在农历九月初六的晚上，人们会将金银纸折叠成元宝的形状，用它们填满九皇船。苏泉铭，<柔佛新山的九皇圣会>。

[86] 关于这一信仰可能的历史渊源，请参阅Cheng Weichung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas* (1622-1683) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013)，尤其见页137-190。

[87] 黄瑞桦，<九皇大帝的另则传说>，见《斗讯》2001年第1期，页65-66。 转引自徐李颖，《九皇圣迹：后港斗母宫》（新加坡：后港斗母宫，2006），页29。

Unlike in the past, where nine ships were prepared for the respective Nine Emperor Gods, Nan Shan Hai Temple, at present, harnesses only one bigger and more elaborate ship. First two undated photographs (likely 1980s and 1990s) courtesy of Nan Shan Hai Temple.

以前，南山海庙为九位九皇大帝各准备一艘了九艘船。如今，只有一艘船被使用。前两张未注明日期的照片（可能是1980年代和1990年代）由南山海庙提供。















▲
Eight Dragon Ships are burnt as part of the sending-off ceremony by Leong Nam Temple.

在龙南殿恭送九皇大帝的仪式上，有八艘龙船被焚化。

Each temple exercises its agency and autonomy in deciding the number of Nine Emperor Gods' ships to be prepared. That said, most temples usually prepare a single ship. Still, observable in recent years has been Leong Nam Temple's commissioning of eight such vessels. This apparent use of nine boats is not unprecedented, though, as this was a past practice adopted by Nan Shan Hai Temple. Nan Shan Hai Temple's past practice saw the emblazoning of the titles of each of the Nine Emperor Gods on the sails of its nine prepared boats.

Conversely, it must be noted that preparations for the Nine Emperor Gods' ships are not ubiquitous across all the Nine Emperor Gods-related temples in Singapore. For example, Kew Huang Keng has not adopted this practice. Of importance here is to note that other temples bearing similar beliefs, such as Jiu Huang Dian and Jia Zhui Kang Dou Mu Gong, undertake the ritual of preparing and incinerating Nine Emperor Gods' ships during the festival.



▶ The vessel's prow remained covered before the consecration of the Dragon Ship at Jiu Huang Dian.

九皇殿的龙船还未进行开光仪式，船头的龙头用黄布覆盖住的。

不同庙宇九皇船的数量也不相同，通常情况下是一艘船。在过去，南山海庙一共有九艘船，船帆上分别印有一位九皇大帝的尊号。近年来，龙南殿也开始采用八艘船。有的庙宇完全不设龙船或法船，例如九皇宫。但这并不是绝对的，其他持类似信仰的庙宇也有九皇船，例如九皇殿和洪水港斗母宫。



▲
Consecration of Kim San Tze's Dragon Ship by a Daoist priest with the dotting of various parts of the vessel and its spiritual inhabitants with cinnabar.

一位道士在金山寺的龙船上用朱砂为龙船开光。



A deity through a medium using cinnabar to consecrate Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong's Dragon Ship by dotting various parts of the vessel and its figures.

龙山岩斗母宫神明通过乩童用朱砂点缀龙船的各个部分及船上的纸质塑像， 为龙船开光。

A reason for referring to the vessels as "Dragon Ships" rests on the common but not all-encompassing practice of decorating the bows of the vessels with a dragon's head, respectively. That the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships have to be consecrated before use is interesting as this execution finds interesting parallels with the "Dragon Ships" used during the Double Fifth Festival. Case in point, participating vessels in any Dragon Ship regattas in contemporary Hong Kong are not only ritualistically purified by Daoist priests, but the dragon's eyes of the said sailing vessels are also subject to the "dott[ing]" by village elders—to effectively transform the boat into animate and spirited entities even when propelled by human rowers—before the commencements of the races.[87] Similarly, the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are consecrated by the Nine Emperor Gods (through their mediums), a Daoist priest or ritual specialist in most temples observing the Nine Emperor Gods' Festival. The eyes of the Dragon Ships prepared by Shin Sen Keng, for example, are hidden under a veil of yellow cloth until being dotted by the temple's leader and ritual specialist.

Additionally, the sails of the said vessels are, in turn, consecrated by the Nine Emperor Gods and other deities through their mediums. Hougang Tou Mu Kung generally performs a similar ritual, "Dotting the Boat", before the departure of the temple's contingent to the coast to see the Nine Emperor Gods off. The ritual sees Daoist priests inviting the deity, Ci Hang Zhen Ren, to captain the ship and ensure that the vessel is staffed with spiritual boat hands.[88]



Preparation and incineration of Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng's papier-mâché Dragon Ship during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival.

在蔡厝港斗母宫为九皇千秋准备并焚烧的纸塑龙船。

[87] Trevor H. B. Sofield and Atara Sivan, "From Cultural Festival to International Sport: The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Races," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 8:1 (2003): 14-16. Confer with similar rituals discussed in Aaron K. Reich, "In the Shadow of the Spirit Image: The Production, Consecration, and Enshrinement of a Daoist Statue in Northern Taiwan," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:2 (2021): 265-324.

[88] On the deity referenced here, see 刘晓艳., "仙释圆融佛道双栖—慈航真人观世音仙话传说的文化观照," 集美大学学报: 哲学社会科学版 15:3 (2012): 96-100.



◀
Consecration of Yu Hai Tang's Dragon Ship by the medium for Guanyin, who dotted various parts of the vessel and its spiritual inhabitants with cinnabar.

观音大士的乩童在玉海棠的龙船上用朱砂点缀龙船的各个部分和驻守船上的灵军,以此为龙船开光。

许多庙宇以纸船为节日特色，纸船船首仿龙头造型，被称为龙船。九皇船与重五节的龙舟有着有趣的共通点。龙舟竞渡前一般都要请龙祭神，例如，在香港龙舟赛开始之前，龙舟首先由道士举行隆重的祭祀仪式，然后由当地耆老为龙舟"点睛"，保佑划船平安。[88] 大多数九皇庙同样会请九皇大帝（通过九皇大帝乩童）为九皇船进行祭祀仪式。例如，在神仙宫，龙船的眼睛会被一块黄布遮住，直到宫主和礼仪专家为其"点睛"，九皇大帝及其他神明会通过乩童为九皇船赐福。后港斗母宫会在队伍出发前往海边恭送九皇大帝之前，举行类似的"点船"仪式。在"点船"仪式上，道士会召请慈航真人为九皇船引航，确保九皇船有神明相送，一路平安顺利。[89]



[88] Trevor H. B. Sofield and Atara Sivan, "From Cultural Festival to International Sport: The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Races," *Journal of Sport Tourism* 8:1 (2003): 14-16. 对相关仪式的讨论，请参阅Aaron K. Reich, "In the Shadow of the Spirit Image: The Production, Consecration, and Enshrinement of a Daoist Statue in Northern Taiwan," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 49:2 (2021): 265-324.

[89] 有关慈航真人，请参阅刘晓艳，<仙释圆融 佛道两栖——慈航真人观世音仙话传说的文化观照>，《集美大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》2012年第3期，页96-100。

Despite the similar necessity of consecration, the Nine Emperor Gods' "Dragon Ships" and the Dragon Boat Festival's "Dragon Ships" differ regarding one critical aspect. Unlike their racing counterparts brought back to shore at the end of regattas, the Nine Emperor Gods ships are single-use items. To the best of our knowledge, even the Malaysian temples, which generally construct their vessels using more durable materials, such as polyester and painted wood, commission the construction of new vessels annually. In Singapore, the Choa Chu Kang Tao Bu Keng has two separate Dragon Ships for the Nine Emperor Gods Festival: A permanent version (initially made of wood from old palanquins which ferry the Nine Emperor Gods in 2012, with the later version in 2018 upgraded to military or industrial grade metal) sponsored by Wong Fong as a display piece, and a more temporal version, comprising paper and bamboo or wood, prepared annually for incineration during the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's sending-off ritual.

An interesting practice of many Singapore temples utilising the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships involves permitting devotees to paste the names of their families and themselves onto the vessels via pieces of paper. According to Xu Liying, who refers to Hougang Tou Mu Kung's vessels as the "'Ritual Ship[s] of Blessings'", many devotees affix their names on the annually prepared single vessel with the belief that "all forms of misfortune w[ould] be carried away, thus ensuring the country's prosperity, and peaceful surroundings" upon the vessel's incineration.[89]

The contents of the notes pasted by devotees on the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships differ across temples. Such differences potentially shed light on the respective beliefs held by temples and their devotees regarding the functions of the said ships. Whilst some temples only affix their logos, names, and the title of the Nine Emperor Gods on the said papers, other temples, such as Leng San Giam Dou Mu Gong, include an array of encouraging words, such as the characters "The Nine Emperor Gods Issue A Sacred Order To Grow Blessings". Considering that Guanyin is the chief deity overseeing the vessels prepared by Long Nan Szye, references to her "ferrying everyone to salvation on the boat of compassion and saving (her devotees) from suffering and disaster" (mentioned in the earlier section of the chapter) can also be found on the paper slips.

[89] 徐, 九皇圣迹, 89.

尽管九皇千秋的龙船和端午节的龙舟都需要进行祭祀仪式，两者的关键差别是：龙舟在竞渡后会返回岸边，但被送走的九皇船一去不返。据我们所知，马来西亚的庙宇在建造九皇船时使用更为耐用的材料，如聚酯和油漆过的木材等，即便如此，他们也不会回收这些船只供来年的庆典使用。相反地，他们每年都会建造新的九皇船。新加坡蔡厝港斗母宫每年会为九皇千秋准备两艘龙船：一艘是永久性的，用于展览（最初是由木头制成的，后来改用军用金属制造——两者都是由Wong Fong赞助和制作的），另一艘是用纸、竹糊制或木制的，在恭送仪式上被焚化。原先用于展示的九皇船造于2012年，耗时整整一年，材料使用了旧九皇轿的部分零件。2018年，该庙建造了一艘新船，使用了最高工业等级的金属和部件。



◀
The external façade of Hougang Tou Mu Kung's Dragon Ship comprises the names of the temple's devotees on pieces of yellow paper.

后港斗母宫的信徒们在龙船上粘贴自己名字。

在新加坡，大多数有九皇船的庙宇允许信众将自己和家人的名字贴在船上。徐李颖将后港斗母宫的九皇船称为"祈福法船"，据她观察，许多善信会将自己的名字贴在船上。焚化祈福法船"预示着将民间的一切厄运带走，庇佑国运昌隆，合境平安。"[90]

不同庙宇的信徒贴在九皇船上的纸条内容有所不同，从中可以看出各庙宇及其信徒对九皇船的看法。在供信徒写姓名祈福的纸条上，有的庙宇只印上庙宇标志、名字和九皇大帝的称号，另外一些庙宇还会印上其他内容。例如，龙山岩斗母宫使用的纸条上印有"九皇敕圣令植福"以及其他吉祥话语。在龙南寺，观音是掌控船只的主神，因此纸条上印有"慈航普渡救苦救难"的字样。

[90] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹》，页89。



Hougang Tou Mu Kung's preparation of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival's Dragon Ship. Evident is the allocation of great reverence to the ship, in that it had an altar of its own in the temple.

后港斗母宫为九皇千秋准备的龙船。庙宇中有一座专为龙船设立的祭坛。

In some of these temples with the vessels, their bodies and "features are buried under many slips of paper throughout the nine days."[90] Regarding the placement of the paper slips, temples generally prohibit the placement of the slips across the heads of the dragons on the prows of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships based on respect and aesthetics. Certain temples allow devotees to affix their names onto the vessels personally, but most festival sites designate a handful of volunteers to oversee the entire process.

It remains unclear where or when the practice of pasting one's name on the Nine Emperor Gods' Ship first emerged. A crucial finding through this project is the realisation that this practice seems to be a tradition unique to the Nine Emperor Gods Festivals held in Singapore. The Nine Emperor Gods' Ships used during the festival in Malaysia bear no such papers. In addition, other important differences exist among the vessels harnessed in Singapore and Malaysia. Where most of the Nine Emperor Gods Ships prepared in Singapore comprise paper and bamboo, most of the vessels in Malaysia consist of more durable materials, such as wood or fibreglass.

[90] 徐, 九皇圣迹, 89.







一些庙宇的九皇船“九天下来已经被纸条贴得看不清原貌了。”[91] 为表尊重庄严，庙宇通常禁止信徒将这些纸条贴在龙船的船头上，这也保证了九皇船的美观。一些庙宇允许信徒自行将写有姓名的纸条贴在船上，但在大多数节日场合，庙宇通常会安排有少数义工照看九皇船。

我们并不清楚在九皇船上贴上姓名纸的做法源于何时何地。有趣的是，这似乎是新加坡九皇千秋独有的传统，马来西亚的节日中使用的法船通常不会贴有这些纸条。除此之外，新加坡和马来西亚的船只还有另一重要区别。在新加坡，大多数九皇船是用纸和竹子制成的，而在马来西亚，这些船只通常是由木材或玻璃纤维等更耐用的材料制成的。

[91] 徐李颖，《九皇圣迹》，页89。







▲
Papier-mâché ships with dragon heads prepared by Leong Nam Temple and one in the form of a ritual ship without a dragon head, undated (possibly 1960s to the 1970s). Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿准备的纸塑龙头船，也有一艘没有龙头的法船，无日期（可能是1960年代至1970年代）。照片由龙南殿提供。



▲
Leong Nam Temple prepared several papier-mâché ships during the 1979 Nine Emperor Gods Festival. Photographs courtesy of Leong Nam Temple.

龙南殿在1979年的九皇千秋期间准备的几艘纸质龙船法船。照片由龙南殿提供。

Furthermore, it is, on the whole, unclear when Singapore temples adopted the practice of harnessing the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships during the festival. As mentioned, though the practice seems to have taken off in some temples after the Japanese Occupation of Malaya, there is no evidence of the exact beginnings and the institutions and individuals who pioneered the ritual. Based on extant newspaper reports, Leong Nam Temple might have pioneered this. A 1969 article documenting Leong Nam Temple's Nine Emperor Gods Festival activities reveals that the fourth segment of the temple comprised "decorated floats and [a] vehicle carrying the Dharma Ship". [91] Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether the said vessel referred to in the article was a ship-shaped float, a Ritual Ship for display purposes, or a Ritual Ship which was burnt during the sending-off ceremony of that year.

Fundamentally, the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships represent vehicular transportation for the Nine Emperor Gods and the devotees' desires for blessings and protection from the said deities. The pasting of names on the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships might have been influenced by memorials and petitions prevalent across Chinese religious ceremonies authored by ritual specialists—usually Daoist priests. Memorials typically comprise information regarding the significance of the rituals and spell out the main sponsors. Read aloud by Daoist priests before a divinity like the presentation of reports by court officials before the reigning sovereign, what generally ensues is the burning of the memorials during the climax of the rituals. The tract is burnt and symbolically dispatched to the celestial realm upon completion.[92]

Since the incineration of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are believed to trigger prophylactic after-effects for the devotees' benefit, noticeable parallels exist with the logic of Daoist memorials, which are consigned to the flames to initiate an impact in the celestial realm. Nonetheless, one stark contrast between the former to the Daoist ceremonies lies in the autonomies and agencies of devotees to directly convey their wishes to the Nine Emperor Gods via the attachments of their wishes for blessings onto the vessels.

[91] "龙南殿九皇圣驾回府仪式今晚举行," 星洲日报, October 20, 1969, 7. Confer with the multi-segmented processions characteristic of the Taiping Doulaogong in Perak (founded) as described by 李桃李, "九皇出巡－谈本庙的出巡阵头," in 九皇出巡–太平古武庙建造缸辇纪念特刊1993 年 (太平: 太平古武庙斗姥宫, 1993年), 11-12.

[92] Much has been written on this emerging field of Daoist studies. For example, see Kristofer M. Schipper, "The Memorial in Taoist Ceremonies," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford: Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) 309–324; and Maruyama Hiroshi, "Documents Used in Rituals of Merit in Taiwanese Daoism," *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 256-273.

此外，我们也不清楚新加坡的九皇庙从何时开始在九皇千秋庆典上使用九皇船。虽然这一仪式似乎出现于日据时期之后，但并没有明确资料表明它是何时开始的，由哪一机构或个人开创了这一仪式。有可能是龙南殿，因为1969年一份记载龙南殿活动的报纸报道称，游行队伍的第四部分由“花车和法船车”组成。[92] 然而，我们还不清楚报道中的“法船车”是指船型彩车，还是载着法船的汽车，这艘法船是否在恭送九皇大帝时被焚化也不得而知。

总而言之，九皇船不仅是九皇大帝的乘御仪具，也寄托了信徒祈求保佑的心愿。将自己的名字贴在九皇船上的做法可能受到了许多华人宗教仪式的影响，在这些仪式中，礼仪专家（通常是道士）会撰写奏章疏文。疏文（或榜文）传达了信徒祈求之事，并详细说明了祈求者的情况。道士通常会先在神明面前念诵疏文，如同朝廷官员向君主上奏，随后在仪式的高潮时焚化疏文，象征将这些梳文送往天庭。[93]

焚化九皇船被认为能帮助信徒辟邪消灾，这与焚化疏文以上奏天庭有共通之处。然而，与道士上疏不同的是，在九皇千秋中，信徒通过将纸条贴在九皇船上，直接将自己的愿望传达给九皇大帝。

[92] <龙南殿九皇圣驾回府仪式今晚举行>，见《星洲日报》，1969年10月20日，第7版。有关太平古武庙斗姥宫多段式游行的特点，请参阅李桃李，<九皇出巡：谈本庙的出巡阵头> ，见《九皇出巡：太平古武庙建造舡辇纪念特刊1993年》（太平：太平古武庙斗姥宫，1993年），页11-12。

[93] 关于道教研究中这一新兴领域，已经有许多著作问世。请参阅Kristofer M. Schipper, “The Memorial in Taoist Ceremonies,” in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford: Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) 309–324; and Maruyama Hiroshi, “Documents Used in Rituals of Merit in Taiwanese Daoism,” *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 256-273.

Conclusion

The Nine Emperor Gods' Ships—"Dragon Ships" and "Ritual Ships" have become important features in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival across temples, including those based in Singapore, over the last twenty years. Despite existing differences in nomenclature, these vessels largely possess similar functions. Procedure-wise, they are transported to the coast on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month for incineration in the water body. To weave this ritual into the sending-off ceremony, some temples have chosen to attach the censer of the Nine Emperor Gods on these vessels prior to the coastal release and ensuing incineration. That said, most temples instead view sending-off the censers and the vessels as separate rituals held in succession during the sending-off ceremony. Crucially, the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are sometimes filled with various offerings, such as salt, rice, and oil (which are set ablaze in unison with the vessels).

On the whole, maritime and water-based transportation—ships, boats and vessels have had a long and rich presence in Chinese religion and ritual culture history. They have been used as metaphors to enunciate concepts in various religious tracts in Daoism, Buddhism, and various sectarian religious traditions. Yet, these references are largely symbolic—the main compelling sources of physical ships in relation to ritualistic purposes only emerged from the Song dynasty in the form of the "Divine Empyrean Ritual for Expelling Epidemics and Sending off the Boat".

The origins of ritualistic vessel incineration continue to be a heated topic of debate. Current hypothesised trajectories appear to point to the plague-banishing traditions associated with the Double Fifth alias Duanwu Festival which bear great influence from Daoist techniques. By the Ming and Qing dynasties, it was clear that these rituals and beliefs had gained momentum on their own and had become closely intertwined with the worship of deities who possessed the abilities to control and consequently expel plague-causing entities from the human world.

A brief examination of Chinese history reveals various prominent region-specific plague- and pestilience-expelling deities—Marshal Wen Qiong in Zhejiang (with devotees from Hangzhou and Wenzhou maritime cities), the Five Emperors in Fuzhou, Fujian, and the Royal Lords of various surnames amongst the Minnan Chinese communities. Likely, contemporary Southeast Asian boat burning rituals—evident in the Wangkang Festival—stemmed from the practices of the followers of the Royal Lords, given the high migratory and immigratory patterns of these followers throughout the nineteenth century. Contemporary scholars argue that the ritualistic burnings of ships in the Nine Emperor Gods Festival have most likely been influenced by the ship incineration practices associated with the said Royal Lords and the Wangkang Festival.

Nonetheless, similarities of ritualistic features aside, ultimately, differences exist in relation to the forms and functions of the ships as well as the associated beliefs. Most importantly, the Royal Ships used during the Wangkang Festival were conceived as holding sites for plague-causing spirits and their polluting influences. In particular, unlike the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships, the Royal Ships bear no names of devotees or festival participants. In contrast, the exteriors of the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships are filled with the names of devotees and festival participants and signify their devotees' hopes for the deities to have a smooth-sailing return to their divine abodes.

Attaching name-bearing paper slips further entails hope for removing personal and familial misfortunes with the departure of the deities when the festival concludes. In contemporary Singapore, as more temples have included the Nine Emperor Gods' Ships in their index of rituals, pasting one's name on the vessel has become commonplace in many festival sites. Still, this practice is unique to Singapore—it is not practised in Malaysia, for instance. The Nine Emperor Gods' Ships' burnings seem closely related to their prophylactic function. Although the exact origins of the tradition—when who, or what pioneered the tradition—remain unclear even at present, at the end of the day, it would be remiss not to acknowledge that the incineration of the vessels at the climax of the Nine Emperor Gods Festival mimics the Wangkang Festival in at the very least removing misfortune, pains and ailments upon the leave of the Nine Emperor Gods.

结语

在过去的二十年里，龙船或法船已经成为许多庙宇九皇千秋的重要特征。尽管在命名上有所不同，但这些船只的功能总体上是一致的。在农历九月初九，九皇船会被送到水际并焚化。一些庙宇会将九皇炉安奉在九皇船上，然后把它们点燃并送出海上。在大部分情况下，两者是被分别送走的。香炉被送到海里，任其漂流；而九皇船，有时还承载着各种供奉九皇大帝的祭品，如盐、米和油，则被焚化于海上。

船和舟在华人宗教和仪式文化的历史上源远流长。道教、佛教和各种民间教门的宗教典籍都利用船筏譬喻来传达教义。然而这些典故大多是寓言式的，我们目前所掌握的唯一一份表明船只被用于仪式目的的史料，是宋元时期出现的《神霄遣瘟送船仪》。

尽管仍存在争议，送船仪式可能源于重五节（即端午节）驱除瘟疫的传统，这一传统后来被纳入到道教仪式中。明清时期，这些仪式和信仰不断发展，与瘟神崇拜密切相关。瘟神主司瘟疫，因而能将散播瘟疫的恶魔鬼魅逐出人间。

在浙江一代，瘟神以温琼元帅的形象出现，并在杭州和温州等沿海城市拥有众多信徒。在福建福州，五福大帝是当地的瘟神体系。而在闽南地区，不同姓氏的王爷被尊为可以驱除瘟疫的瘟神，成为一种重要的民间信仰。烧船仪式，尤其是王爷信仰中的“烧王船”，在19世纪随着移民“下南洋”而传播到东南亚，逐渐演变为王舡大游行。学者认为，九皇千秋恭送仪式上焚化九皇船的做法很可能受到送王船和王舡大游行的影响。

尽管焚化九皇船和送王船之间有许多重叠的仪式特征，但两者的功能、造型以及信仰有所不同。最关键的一点是，王舡大游行中的王船被认为是押送瘟神疫鬼及他们可能造成的污染的仪具，没有信徒或节日参与者会在船上贴上自己的名字。与此相反，九皇船象征着信徒的美好祝愿，希望九皇大帝能够一帆风顺返回天界。

此外，将写有自己名字的纸条贴在船上，也寄托着信徒的祈福心愿，希望九皇大帝能赐以福泽，并在离开时能带走他们的不幸。如今，新加坡越来越多庙宇将九皇船纳入恭送仪式，在许多节日场所，将自己的名字贴在九皇船上的做法十分普遍。与马来西亚的王船不同，新加坡的九皇船大多是在恭送九皇大帝时被焚化的，这一特点似乎也与九皇船的预防性功能密切相关。尽管我们并不清楚究竟何时、何人、缘何开创了这一传统，但是我们知道，送九皇船与送王船有一点是共通的，那就是人们相信，随着船的离去，他们的疾病、痛苦和不幸会被一并带走。

第10章 The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Retrospect 回顾九皇千秋



The Nine Emperor Gods Festival in Retrospect

The Nine Emperor Gods Festival is the largest Chinese religious festival in Southeast Asia. It has become a special event for the communities in the region, and presents an impressive sight, given its scale and the size of the communities involved, the special colours associated with it, namely white and yellow, and the importance of the sea in its rituals. The festival represents an important ritual tradition from China that followed the growing migration to the region between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and evolved in the region with its own distinctive identities. Today, the festival in Southeast Asia is, in many ways, different from the festival in China. Southeast Asian traditions of the festival were also brought back to parts of southeastern China due to circulations and mobility between China and Southeast Asia and came to influence the traditions in these areas. Important questions remain. What do we know of the history of the festival in both China and Southeast Asia? What were the differences and continuities between the festival in these regions? How has the festival in Southeast Asia been shaped by the different environments and experiences of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, their memories of China and their identities? This volume was an exploration of these histories and an attempt to connect them, as a way of understanding the history, ritual structure and meanings of the festival in Singapore, and the communities involved.

Evolving from earlier traditions surrounding the cosmological significance of primeval emperors in the human world, as well as tracts for self-cultivation under the *nei dan* tradition drawing on these figures, the Nine Emperor Gods came to be associated with the worship of the stellar deities of the northern dipper, Marici and Dou Mu or Dou Lao in Chinese Daoist and Buddhist cosmologies. The growing prevalence of its association with stellar worship paralleled its evolution into a community festival organized not only by the imperial court or Daoist or Buddhist temples but also by the wider community, especially among the scholars, gentry, and mercantile elites in the Ming and Qing dynasties in China. The Nine Emperor Gods Festival became an important part of the religious landscape in certain parts of China during the Qing dynasty and Republican period, being observed not only in Beijing and the major coastal cities and regions on the eastern littoral of China, like Shanghai and Zhejiang, as well as the Fujian and Chaozhou areas, especially among the Liyuan profession and industry in some of these cities, but also in inland regions such as Jiangxi, Yunnan and Sichuan. Various observances and practices which we associate with the festival today in Southeast Asia can be seen in these historical renditions of the festival in China, such as a strict vegetarian diet and a regime of physical, mental, and verbal restrictions for nine days, the association of the colour yellow with the festival, the importance of purity, frugality, and abstinence in the propitiation of the Nine Emperor Gods, out of repentance and respect, and for blessings, longevity, and deliverance from evil and misfortune. The festival drew from both Daoism and Buddhism while creating its own unique rituals and ritual paraphernalia.

Yet, in Southeast Asia, the festival was to take on new forms, practices, and meanings. Certain traditions, customs and concepts of the festival in China remained important in the festival in Southeast Asia. These include the role of the Liyuan in its early history in Southeast Asia, the adoption of a vegetarian diet and other physical and sensual abstinences during the festival, and the emphasis on purity. The importance of the colour yellow is another such continuity. For some temples, the worship of the Northern Dipper also continued to be an important part of the traditional of Nine Emperor Gods worship, although new practices and meanings influenced by Southeast Asian traditions and perspectives came to be incorporated. Nevertheless, there came to be importance differences, such as the significance of the colour white, the centrality of the censer, and the importance of the sea and rivers, as well as the receiving and sending-off rituals centred around water. In addition, there was also the association with death and mourning, as well as the significance in some of the older temples, of couplets related to Ming loyalist and anti-Qing causes. These were closely related to the rather different memories of the Nine Emperor Gods in Southeast Asia, where they came to be manifested and remembered as the last Ming emperor or prince or various folk heroes on the social margins like Ming loyalists, pirates, beggars, and bandits who sacrificed themselves for the community. As such, a unique set of rituals and traditions came to define the Nine Emperor Gods festival in Southeast Asia. They were shaped by the environments, experiences and expressions of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and their memories of migration, their respective ancestral regions in maritime/littoral China, and of China and Chineseness.

回顾九皇千秋

九皇千秋是东南亚最大的华人宗教节日。九皇千秋规模盛大，涉及社区范围广泛，白色和黄色在节日中的广泛应用，以及海洋在仪式中的重要性，使得九皇千秋已成为东南亚华人社区的一大盛事，令人印象深刻。这个源自中国的仪式传统，随着十九世纪至二十世纪期间不断涌入的移民漂洋过海来到东南亚，并发展为独具当地特色的节日。如今，东南亚的九皇千秋在很多方面不同于中国的节日。由于中国和东南亚之间紧密的物质流通和人口流动，该节日在东南亚发展起来的仪式传统也被带回华南地区，并影响了当地的节日传统。我们如何理解九皇千秋在中国和东南亚的历史？各地的节日传统是如何延续的，又有何不同？东南亚华人的生活环境和迁移经历、他们对中国的记忆以及他们的身份认同，如何共同塑造了这个节日？本卷尝试探究这些历史并试图将它们联系起来，以期更好地理解新加坡九皇千秋和相关社区的历史，以及节日的仪式结构和意义。

九皇大帝最初相传是上古时期的人文初祖，一些经文鼓励人们通过观想九皇进行修炼，九皇大帝也与中国道教和佛教中对北斗、摩利支天以及斗母或斗姥的崇拜联系在一起。随着九皇崇拜与北斗崇拜的联系日渐紧密，九皇千秋渐渐演变为一个社区节日，除了宫中、道教宫观以及佛教寺庙之外，民间也开始庆祝这一节日，尤其是中国明清时期的文人、士绅和商业精英。在清朝和民国时期，九皇千秋成为中国各地宗教景观的重要组成部分，盛行于北京和上海、江浙一带等东部沿海的主要城市和郊外地区，以及福建和潮州地区。一些城市的梨园界对九皇千秋尤为虔诚。此外，在江西、云南、四川等内陆地区也有庆祝活动。如今，东南亚九皇千秋的一些仪式和实践，也可见于中国对这一节日的历史记载中，例如信徒在节日期间必须严格持斋戒律，保持身口意三净、黄色在节日中的广泛应用以及在供奉九皇时保持纯洁、节俭和禁欲的重要性，以求神明赐福赐寿，消灾解难。九皇千秋既借鉴了道教和佛教的传统，同时也创造了独特的仪式和仪式用具。

然而，东南亚的九皇千秋被赋予了新的形式、习俗和意义。中国九皇千秋的某些传统习俗与概念在东南亚的节日中仍然很重要，例如梨园在东南亚九皇千秋早期历史中的作用，以及对持斋戒欲和保持纯净的强调，此外还有黄色在节日中的广泛应用。在一些庙宇中，供奉北斗仍然是九皇崇拜的重要组成部分。尽管如此，在东南亚传统和传说的影响下，新的习俗和意义逐渐被吸纳，东南亚与中国的九皇千秋之间存在一些重要的差异，例如白色对节日的特殊意义，香炉的中心地位，海洋和河流对于在水边进行的恭迎和恭送仪式的重要性。此外，从一些古老的庙宇中的对联可以看到，节日也与死亡和哀悼以及反清忠明有关。这些都与东南亚对九皇大帝的不同记忆密切相关。在这些叙述中，九皇大帝被铭记为明朝末代皇帝或皇子，或是处于社会边缘的民间英雄，如亲明志士、海盗、乞丐或为社区牺牲自己的强盗等。因此，东南亚的九皇千秋具有其独特的仪式和传统。这些仪式和传统的形成与东南亚华人群体的生活环境、迁移经历和情感以及他们对移民、祖籍地以及中国和华人认同的记忆密切相关。

The chapters in this first volume have sought to provide a historical overview of Nine Emperor Gods worship and the festival in China and Southeast Asia. They have also sought to trace the history of different unique features of the festival in Southeast Asia, both with regards to other Chinese religious festivals in the region, and with respect to the Nine Emperor Gods festival in China. These included the representations of the Nine Emperor Gods, the importance of the censer, the significance of the Nine Emperor or Heavenly Lamps, the special structure of their palanquins, the meanings attached to the colour white and its ubiquity in the festival in Southeast Asia, the centrality of a vegetarian diet and the tradition of abstinence through *zhai jie*, and the background of the dragon or ritual ship that has become ubiquitous across festival sites in Singapore. Rather than a search for common roots or an attempt to create a standard, this volume has sought to contextualize the festival in Singapore within its wider regional (both Southeast Asia and China) environments and also historically. It highlights, at the same time, important continuities not only with the festival in China but also the differences brought about by the experiences and environments of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the syncretic cultural and religious traditions in Chinese popular religion in Southeast Asia and China have also shaped the traditions of the festival in Singapore. Understanding the histories of the festivals in China and Southeast Asia, their continuities and divergences in terms of practices and traditions, and the place of the festival and its traditions within the wider Chinese religious landscape, will provide the essential foundations for our survey of the festival in Singapore, which will be the subject of our second volume.

本书提供了中国和东南亚的九皇崇拜和九皇千秋的历史概述，追溯东南亚九皇千秋不同特征的历史，它们既与该地区的其他华人宗教节日有关，也与中国的九皇千秋有关。第一卷各章分别探讨了九皇大帝的形象、香炉的重要性、九皇天灯的意义、圣轿的特殊结构、在节日中随处可见的白色的意义、持斋禁欲的严格执行、龙舟或法船的背景等，这些都是新加坡九皇千秋的特征。本书并不是为了追寻各种实践的根源或明确某一标准，而是试图将新加坡的九皇千秋置于更广泛的区域（包括东南亚和中国）环境和历史背景中进行考察。研究表明，新加坡的九皇千秋既与中国的节日保持一定的延续性，同时也因东南亚华人社区特有的经历和环境而独具特色。此外，东南亚和中国的华人民间宗教之间相互融合的文化和宗教传统也塑造了新加坡的节日传统。了解中国和东南亚九皇千秋的历史、两者在实践和传统上的延续和变迁以及节日及其传统在更广泛的华人宗教景观中的地位，有助于读者理解第二卷中对新加坡九皇千秋的调查研究。