

**TAIWANESE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE
AND SETTLEMENTS**
The influence of religious beliefs and practices

(Ph.D. Thesis)

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DECLARATION

**This thesis has been composed by myself and is my
original work.**

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ABSTRACT

In analysing architectural environments, several approaches can be used. In this thesis, a religious viewpoint is adopted to interpret Taiwanese architecture and settlements, and the relationships between religious beliefs and the built environment are therefore mainly emphasised. Three important Chinese traditional life notions, *feng-shui* (geomancy), the supernatural, and ethics have been applied to interpret those relationships throughout the thesis.

The thesis is composed of two main parts covering, first, vernacular Taiwanese houses, and, second, settlements. A distinction is also made between static and dynamic aspects. Statically, it is shown how the Taiwanese people, by means of the three traditional notions of *feng-shui*, the supernatural and ethics, arrange their architectural spaces and spatial elements and engage the whole construction process in building their vernacular houses and settlements in order to maintain a harmonious relationship between gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts. But, an analysis is also made of various religious activities which are intimately related to vernacular houses and settlements to show how they have been applied to further improve the harmonious relationship dynamically.

The historical, social, religious and architectural background to the development of Taiwan are described first of all. The two stages of the process of the construction of Taiwanese architecture, first the selection, by virtue of the concepts of *feng-shui*, of an auspicious site for a building and its spatial elements, and, second, the holding of a series of ceremonies which seek to unite man and nature, and man and supernature, are then outlined. The concepts of *feng-shui*, the supernatural and ethics are used to interpret the meanings of the main spaces of vernacular houses and the relationships between those spaces and the many rituals of Taiwanese life.

It is shown how the early immigrant society of Taiwan, as a result of social and economic factors, was transformed into an indigenous society, in which different groups lived together in settlements. A relationship between the layout of these settlements and the cosmos was developed by the use of *yasheng* objects and rituals along with Chinese concepts of the cosmos. The subsequent development of the settlements was affected by the extent of influence, or worship sphere, of the main

temples, which, through a wide range of activities and rituals, acted as religious and social centres. Overall, the development of the settlements in religious, social and economic terms was dependent on the strength of feeling arising from the notion of a “fellowship of common destiny”.

In the past, traditional religions and religious life played a central role in the daily life of Chinese traditional society. After the dramatic political and historical changes of the last 50 years, it would not be surprising if they were no longer so important in mainland China. However, these phenomena still exist in present-day Taiwan and continue to demonstrate the links between religious life and vernacular houses and settlements.

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2. The romanisation of the Chinese characters used in this thesis is according to the Wade-Giles romanisation system.

INTRODUCTION

The study of vernacular architecture and settlements has always tended to be neglected and lacks systematic research. The focus of architectural research has been on what Amos Rapoport called the buildings of the grand tradition of design. (Rapoport 1969:2) However, these buildings merely express the power and taste of the elite minority and completely ignore the wholeness which exists at the level of the community. The term "vernacular" is interpreted here, following Bernard Rudofsky, as "anonymous, spontaneous, indigenous, rural". (Rudofsky 1964) which is contrary to the "deliberate, international or urban" style concentrated upon the western architectural history.

By careful examination, we find that vernacular architecture and settlements are "the direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values as well as the desires, dreams and passions of people." (Rapoport 1969:2) C. Norberg-Schulz, in his study of the existential meanings of human dwellings, has described the human house as "the fix point which transforms an environment into a dwelling place." (Norberg-Schulz 1985:91) He also adds that people can make friends with the world by means of the house and "when we enter inside, we are finally at home. In the house, we find the things we know and cherish." (Ibid.) It seems as if the characteristics of the house described by Norberg-Schulz can be found in the houses of traditional society.

C. B. Wilson has described the characteristics of house in traditional society as "family and house, waiting and trusting, teaching and healing, preserving, caring for and cherishing." (Wilson 1988:8) These characteristics echo Norberg-Schulz's description. Meanwhile, Wilson also adds that, in traditional society, a house is a microcosm of the settlement, as he wrote: "building a traditional house is a miniature of the whole architectural process of making a home in the world - of making a world in which and to which its people and community feel they belong." (Ibid.)

To sum up, in order to realise the real existential meanings of human dwellings and society, the first step is to understand the nature of people's dwellings, and particularly, vernacular houses and settlements in traditional societies. Of course, there are several ways to find such an understanding, each of

which possesses its own significance. Here, I will concentrate on the religious aspect. As we know, religion is an essential component of human culture, which deeply influences the values, thought and living style of people, and the attitudes and ways in which people deal with their physical and supernatural world. In traditional society, religion no doubt influenced everything, and especially people's living environment. Thus, the study of the relationships between religion and people's living environment can be seen as one of the most important ways to understand traditional societies.

Mircea Eliade has presented some insights into the relationships between religion and people's living environment. He thinks that people, through a ritual repetition of the cosmogony, can symbolically transform a chaotic territory into a cosmos which becomes "our world", in which people can dwell. Eliade also adds that, in traditional society, the houses of religious believers are held to be at the centre of the world where, ritually, the transcendental world can be communicated with. (Eliade 1959) Similarly, C. B. Wilson also points out that all traditional life originated from religion and he concludes that religion "provides a way of defining tradition and a basis for making generalized statements about traditional societies." (Wilson 1988:3)

Concerning the studies of the relationships between religion and vernacular house and settlement, the earliest one can be traced back to the research of an early American anthropologist, Lewis H. Morgan's *House and House-life of the American Aborigines* (1881). Although this book was written in the end of the last century and was either criticised or ignored by scholars at that time, Morgan's influence on succeeding researchers of vernacular architecture and settlement in the primitive world is immense. In fact, most of his theories are accepted by some anthropologists and have become a model for subsequent researchers. Morgan touched only briefly the religious notions of the Indians, and he failed to indicate how these notions were reflected in the Indians' spatial environment. This lack reflects the essential problem of his book - what does vernacular Indian architecture show about social organisation, and how does social organisation influence vernacular Indian architecture. Morgan's failure to give any explanation for this was severely criticised by some.

Amongst later researches, one of the most important works is Amos Rapoport's book, *House Form and Culture* (1969). In his book, Rapoport

categorised the formation of vernacular architecture into two factors: a) physical determinants, namely, climate, the need for shelter, material, construction, technology, site, and defense; and b) non-physical or socio-cultural determinants - economic and religious factors. Rapoport considered these socio-cultural factors, and, in particular, religious rules, to be of prime importance. For him, the discussion of religion "forms an essential part of most primitive and preindustrial cultures, it forms a suitable starting point of this discussion of the forces leading to the symbolic nature of buildings. This discussion can best begin by our considering the impact of the cosmic image on form in general." (Rapoport 1969:49-50)

Similarly, Douglas Fraser, in his study of eight villages in the primitive world, also concludes that religious concepts have played a profound part in the planning of the primitive world. (Fraser 1968:47) Paul Oliver, taking the Tonga house as an example, also shows how its structures are associated with religious rituals and beliefs, which together include a spectrum of rites, customs, superstitions, religious practices, etc. (Oliver 1975:8) He suggests that the religious system is the means by which man comes to terms with the phenomena of the world of his existence.

To sum up, the understanding of religion in traditional societies is not merely the starting point to understand vernacular architecture and settlement, but the most essential part of such an understanding.

Research into vernacular Taiwanese architecture and settlements has been carried out by a number of Taiwanese and foreign scholars. These researches can be categorised in the following types:

(1) Architectural space and form. The studies of the architectural space and form of vernacular Taiwanese architecture can further be divided into those concerning the island of Taiwan as a whole and those which only cover particular locales. The former category includes: M. Hsiao's study on the traditional style of vernacular Taiwanese architecture (Hsiao 1968) and H. T. Lin's series of papers regarding vernacular houses.¹ Their researches can be regarded as the pioneering

¹ (1) "士林民屋民宅之調查" (A Study of Vernacular Houses in Shih-lin), in 台灣文獻, 16(2), Jun1965.

(2) "馬嘴山陳宅的建築" (The Chen's Residences in Ma-min-shan), in 台灣文獻, 20(1), Mar. 1969.

studies of vernacular Taiwanese architecture. (Hsu 1989:30) Later in 1979, the first account of Taiwanese architecture (1600-1945) by C. L. Li, in which a systematic description of traditional architecture of Taiwan is illustrated, was published. More recently, another book by H. C. Lin (1987) has also given a complete yet brief picture of traditional Taiwanese architecture. The studies regarding particular locales include the following various areas: Anping 安平 district of Tainan 台南 (Ts'ai 1989), Penghu 澎湖 islands (Wang W. J. 1985), Chinmen 金門 (Quemoy) (Li 1978), etc.

Apart from the works of Taiwanese scholars, during the 1970s, the social, cultural and economic aspects of Han Chinese society in Taiwan aroused the interests of foreign researchers, some of whom showed specific interest in the study of vernacular houses. (Dillingham 1971; Ahern 1979; Knapp 1986)

(2) Research into the preservation of traditional Taiwanese architecture. The study of traditional Taiwanese architecture has finally aroused the attention of government and populace alike in the preservation of existing traditional architecture. As a result, with the support of the authorities, architects and architectural researchers, a large-scale project of preserving traditional architecture has been undertaken. Among the individual projects are: the preservation of the residences of Lin Pen-yuan 林本源 (Han & Hong 1973) and Lin An-t'ai 林安泰 (Li 1977), and the survey of the important historical relics in Taiwan (NTU 1979), etc. The preservation movement has given an impetus to more profound researches regarding the analysis and interpretation of vernacular houses, which include the historical background of their formation, socio-cultural conditions, *feng-shui* notions and the defence system (physical and supernatural) of vernacular houses.

(3) Research into vernacular Taiwanese settlements. Apart from individual traditional houses, research concerning the settlement as a whole has also been undertaken. Beginning as early as the Japanese occupation period, a Japanese scholar Yoshiro Tomita started the study of Taiwanese settlements. (Tomita 1943) Amongst the subsequent works by Taiwanese scholars, T. N. Hong (1978a & 1978b)

(3) "台南縣西部的勝蹟" (The Historical Relics in Western Tainan), in 台灣文獻, 21(4), Dec. 1970.

described an overall picture of settlements distributed throughout the island, while other works concentrated on certain specific locales, for example, in northern Taiwan: Tamshui 淡水 (Chen K. T. 1983), Peip'u 北埔 (Liang 1988 & 1990), Hsinchuang 新莊 (Cheng 1988); in central Taiwan: Lukang 鹿港 (Lin 1978), and in southern Taiwan: Anping (Tseng 1978) and the Penghu islands (Lin 1982; Kuan 1984). Those studies have given an impetus to an understanding of the existing vernacular settlement.

(4) Research into the construction process, the craftsmen and craftsmanship of vernacular houses. Over the last twenty years, there have been many papers regarding the study of vernacular houses, only a few of which are concerned specifically with this subject.² Among them, the most important is the study by Y. C. Hsu (Hsu 1983), in which he gives detailed descriptions of building regulations, including the auspicious measurement of architectural components, construction taboos, etc. However, the complete construction process is not included in his research: in fact, this is absent in all research up to now.

To sum up, none of the works mentioned above, emphasizes a religious viewpoint. To be more precise, there is only one paper (Wang S. H. 1974) concerning this subject, in which the author, using cases found in Changhua 彰化 and Kueishan 龜山 island, does describe the relationships between the spaces and ritual behaviour in vernacular Taiwanese houses. Yet even this paper cannot be seen as a comprehensive interpretation. Thus, a further and detailed discussion is urgently needed: this is the main reason for the work described in this thesis.

2

(1) Hsu, Y. C. 徐裕健 (1980)

台灣傳統營建禁忌尺寸規制研究 (A Study of the Taiwanese Traditional Rules of Construction Measurement), Master's Dissertation, Chengkung University.

(2) Hsu, Y. C. 徐裕健 (1983)

“台灣傳統建築構架設計原則之探討” (The Study of Chinese Traditional Construction Design Principles in Taiwan), in *Bulletin of Environmental Studies*, National Taiwan University, Jun. 1983, 2(1):71-85.

(3) Lin, Pang-hui 林邦輝 (1981)

台灣傳統閩南式廟宇營建與施工 (The Construction of Traditional Taiwanese Minnan Temples), Master's Dissertation, Chengkung University.

(4) Huang, S. A. 黃碩恩 (1987)

台灣傳統木構架之構成研究 (A Study of Taiwanese Traditional Wooden Structure), Master's Dissertation, Chungyuan Christian University.

The main purport of my study is guided by the ideas of Chinese traditional religions - Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Taiwanese folk beliefs - to investigate the spatial concepts expressed by the vernacular architecture and settlements of Taiwan. In the concrete sense, the aim has been to explain the perceptions of the cosmos that Taiwanese people have constructed from their understanding of the traditional religious notions. From these perceptions, I conclude that three basic concepts have been involved - the supernatural (gods, ancestral spirits, ghosts), geomancy (*feng-shui*), and ethics of human relationships. These are all utilised in constructing vernacular architecture and settlements. In the traditional views of Taiwanese people, humans, houses and settlements could each be explained as a model of the cosmos itself. Thus, through the homology between these miniature cosmoses, a relationship of harmonious coexistence between mankind and the cosmos itself can be reached.

Through these models, the Taiwanese have tried to give concrete expression in their living environments to their ideas about the supernatural, *feng-shui* and social ethics. This study aims, through various discussions of the vernacular houses and settlements of Taiwan, to provide evidence as to how the Taiwanese used the actual spatial structures of their dwellings to attain a fusing of mankind and Nature, hoping by that to achieve the highest realm to be encompassed within life's boundaries.

In outline, the study is as follows:

In the first chapter, I describe the various backgrounds to which vernacular Taiwanese houses and settlements are related including:

(1) Historical background. The important period of the maturing of the formation of the vernacular architecture and settlements of Taiwan was during the period of Ch'ing rule, while the periods of Japanese occupation and Nationalist rule, due to the impact of foreign culture already in place, can only be described as times of consolidation and decline.

(2) Social background. The majority of immigrants to Taiwan in the early period came from Ch'uanchou 泉州 and Ch'angchou 漳州 in southern Fuchien and from the Hakka communities of Kwangtung. The daily practices, religious and

popular beliefs and cultural concepts of their home towns are directly reflected in their architecture and settlements built in Taiwan.

(3) Religious background. The homologous relationships between man and the cosmos are guided by religious concepts: the synthesis of the traditional religions - Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism - with popular beliefs has helped the Taiwanese people to handle the homologous relationships between co-existing objects in the cosmos.

(4) Architectural background. Vernacular Taiwanese architecture is a local form of traditional southern Chinese architecture, which absorbed not only the space and form of southern Chinese architecture but also the social and cultural meanings contained behind the outward expression. These meanings were a reflection in miniature of Chinese notions of social and cultural traditions as well as religious, familial and ethical relations. Thus, Taiwanese vernacular architecture is not only a physical form containing the people living within it, but also a concrete manifestation of customs, norms and religions, or in other words, a concrete expression of the way of life of Chinese people which allows other people to re-examine the essence of their traditional society and culture.

In the second chapter, the focus of my discussion concentrates on the construction process of vernacular Taiwanese architecture. The overall construction process can be divided into two distinct parts: **the creative process** and **the practice process**. The creative process which includes the *feng-shui* survey, the choice of an auspicious location for the spatial elements of the house, the choice of auspicious measurements for the architectural components of the house and the construction taboos, reflects the hidden meanings. The practice process, on the contrary, which includes preparations for construction as well as the holding of the construction ceremonies, is a manifestation of a clear outward form.

Through the creative process, a spatial prototype, based on the notions of Chinese *feng-shui*, an idealised representation of various cosmic phenomena, is formed. By studying this prototype, we can become aware of a variety of meanings signifying the harmonious relationships between self, society, nature and the supernatural, and the possibility of mutual interaction between man and man, man and nature, and man and the supernatural.

The primary meaning expressed in the practice process is direct participation: the direct participation of man both on an individual and a collective basis with the environment. The selection and gathering of materials during the preparations for the construction of a house requires not only a long period of time but also the participation of a large group of people. This direct participation allows people to come to a deep understanding of the materials of construction and the characteristics of the site. Thus, through the practice process, man and man and man and nature are united in a harmonious whole.

Direct participation is also expressed in the processes of the construction ceremonies. Throughout these processes, a large number of participants take part: the master of the house, direct family, relatives, friends and professionals. Even supernatural beings, gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts participate and play their appointed role in the rituals. The construction of the vernacular houses of Taiwan can be compared to the composition of the human body; and, the construction ceremonies of houses can also be compared to the rites of life. When the construction ceremonies are completed, the houses possess a life-force just like man, and can be homologous with the cosmos.

The first part of my discussion in the third chapter uses the three main concepts (*feng-shui*, supernatural and ethical) as a means of interpreting the three main spaces (*t'ing* 廳 or main hall, *fang* 房 or bed rooms and *tsao-k'a* 灶脚 or kitchen) in vernacular Taiwanese houses and those elements (gate, ancestral tablet, altar, courtyard, stove, bed, etc.) of which the main spaces are composed:

(1) The concept of *feng-shui* - the homologous relationships between man and nature, heaven and earth. From a simulation of the human self, a mutual homologous relationship between the human body and nature can be drawn, a relationship which can be expanded to become a homologous relationship between man's living space - tombs, houses, villages - and the cosmos.

(2) The concept of the supernatural - the homologous relationships between man and gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts. The supernatural world, as drawn from the concepts of traditional religions, is taken by Taiwanese people to encompass the three separate categories of gods, ancestral spirits, and ghosts. Thus, the concept of the supernatural involves an enquiry into the mutual relationships between man and gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts.

(3) Ethical concepts - the relationships between man and society. The main origin of ethical concepts is Confucianist thought, which, through the five ethical relationships (between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, friends and brothers), forms a fixed order for interpersonal relationships.

The synthesis of these three concepts - man and nature, man and the supernatural and man and society - can make clear the various homologous relationships between man and the cosmos. These relationships can be used to create a set of homologous relationships capable of displaying different spatial areas. For example, the following correspondences in the relationships between man and gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts can be inferred: upper to lower - man to gods, man to ancestral spirits; inner to outer - man to ghosts; left to right - man to man. These different inter-spatial relationships are extremely helpful for a tangible understanding of the organisation of space in Taiwanese vernacular houses.

In the second part of this chapter, I investigate the relationships between traditional Taiwanese rituals (life rituals and annual rituals) and architectural spaces.

The Taiwanese people's concepts of the homologous relationships between man and the cosmos are clearly reflected in the particular example of the vernacular houses of Taiwan, which can be compared to a specially constructed life stage. In this way, Taiwanese people, through the perception of the cosmos shown in the construction of their spatial surroundings, manifest most aptly the nature of the Chinese concept of the cosmos. However, we should first of all understand the background to traditional Taiwanese rituals.

Taiwanese people attach great importance to the many rites of the human life cycle. The various concepts which they hold of the cosmos are all reflected in the different stages of life's course - birth, coming of age, marriage, and death. Moreover it is only in the actual living spaces of their houses that these concepts are expressed in a tangible form.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the process of the social transformation of Taiwanese society and how this process affected the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. The process of the transformation of Taiwanese society can

be explained as the process by which the Taiwanese inhabitants gradually transformed their communities from a turbulent immigrant society into a stable indigenous society. In an unstable immigrant society, people are more inclined to use their ancestral territorial affinity as a criterion for identification. On the other hand, in an indigenous society, the longer the history and the more stable the society, the more the combination and integration of people is based on the application of their contemporaneous territorial and patriarchal affinity. By virtue of cultural and religious assimilation, ethnic feuds gradually decreased, and the inhabitants seemed to liberate themselves from traditional ethnic prejudice and learned to live in harmony with their neighbours.

The emergence of an indigenous society in Taiwan had a great influence on the development of vernacular architecture and settlements. Prior to this development, Taiwan was as immigrant society still closely linked to the Chinese mainland and its authentic Chinese culture and was seen merely as an extension of the culture of the mainland.

The concept of "common-destiny fellowship" is expressed very strongly in the process of transformation of Taiwanese society. This means that Taiwan as a whole is a "Fellowship of common-destiny": everyone on the island shares the same destiny and at the same time is subject to the same temporal and spatial factors. I express this concept in this chapter through pointing out the various factors - religion, patrilineal organisation, land reclamation, irrigation and public security organisations - which led to the formation of Taiwanese settlements. Since all of these factors have to be established on the basis of solidarity, the manifestation of an *esprit de corps* is a proof of the people's deep understanding of the concept of a "Fellowship of common-destiny". The bringing into play fully of this *esprit de corps* helped the transformation of Taiwanese immigrant society into an indigenous society, representing a true solidarity transcending old prejudices and biases.

The fifth chapter presents a discussion of the homologous relationships between the cosmos and the vernacular settlements of Taiwan. When it comes to arranging the homologous relationships between man and the cosmos, the influence of the traditional theory of the cosmos has ensured that Chinese people believe that these relationships can be achieved by the arrangement of cosmic symbols. According to Chinese concepts, everything in the universe can be rearranged in the way which reflects the structure of cosmic symbols. Thus, I will attempt to discuss

the relationship reflected in the vernacular settlements of Taiwan towards a cosmological homology, which includes:

(1) The concept of *feng-shui*: the homologous relationship between settlements and the cosmos.

(2) The concept of the supernatural: the homologous relationship between settlements and the supernaturals, and the spiritual defence system created by the *yasheng*³ 壓勝 objects and rituals. The practice of *yasheng* ceremonies and the use of *yasheng* objects, in the management of the mutually homologous relationships between two different kinds of territory, is important in actively eliminating the sorts of accidents and disasters which are liable to happen on meetings between the world and the cosmos such as between people and spirits. Put simply, it means using *yasheng* as a means of “dispelling evil and bringing happiness”, achieving harmony between *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and ensuring that different worlds achieve harmonious relationships.

The last chapter concentrates on a discussion of the vernacular settlements of Taiwan. From a religious viewpoint, such a discussion can, at a basic level, encompass two broad aspects: first, the static state of the construction of the settlements - the range of influence of the temple, the temple itself and its religious organisation - and, secondly, the dynamic state of the activities of the religious rituals conducted within the settlements.

(1) The range of influence of the temple - the worship sphere. The worship spheres are territorial units with a particular main god as a centre of worship whose followers are organised in groups with the same affiliation - such as the same village, the same surname or clan, the same trade or the same irrigation project.

As the essential nature of the vernacular settlements of Taiwan underwent a gradual transformation, so the worship spheres were extended, entering into different villages, surnames, subethnic affiliations, guilds and becoming even larger worship organisations.

³ *Yasheng* objects are commonly arranged both inside and outside temples, homes and settlements. The time to use these objects is when the *feng-shui* of the buildings is counteracted by an inauspicious influence or when daily life has been disturbed by the intrusion of malicious demons.

(2) The religious organisation of the temples. Taiwanese religious organisations are composed of common households, the *lu-chu* 爐主 or master incense burner, and the *tou-chia* 頭家 or officers. The common householders form the basic membership of the organisation, the families living within a worship sphere send one of their members to represent them at a meeting held in the local temple where the *lu-chu* and *tou-chia* are elected.

Although the most important roles within the religious organisation of the worship sphere are filled by the *lu-chu* and the *tou-chia*, the role of individual households is not ignored, since, without their participation and support, the rituals will be meaningless. The local community is thus defined by the participation of all the members of the households living within the same worship sphere: the money collected from these households goes towards the building of the temple and the cost of the annual rituals.

(3) The temple. The centre of a worship sphere of any level is always the temple. Apart from being a religious centre, the temple can also be a social, economic, self-governmental or even, in the turbulent past, a defensive centre. A temple can be found in every vernacular Taiwanese settlement, and is its most important building. By looking at the architecture, religious organisation and religious activities preserved by the temples, we can discover historical facts and records, which can help us to understand the structure of the settlements and the inter-personal relationships existing within them. In other words, a variety of the facets of traditional society can be understood by looking at the establishment of temples and the expansion of their religious activities.

In this section, I discuss: a) The architecture of Taiwanese temples. b) Relationships between temples and the development of settlements. c) The relationships between temples and the various settlements (neighbourhoods, villages, market towns). d) The transformation process of temples and settlements. e) The transformation of the functions of temples.

(4) The relationship between the vernacular settlements and religious rituals. The religious rituals held in the vernacular settlements of Taiwan not only express the mutual restraints and duties of people towards gods, ancestral spirits, and ghosts, but, at the same time, also fuse the relationship between man and the

supernatural world. In terms of society as a whole, different organisations (e.g. territorial, consanguineous groups, the groups of common trade or surname, etc.) can be united by means of common ceremonies and religious activities to achieve the objective of a harmonious society. The main religious activities commonly held in Taiwan are as follows: a) The processions of gods' inspection tour. b) The pilgrimages. c) The *chiao* 醮 (the rites of purification). d) *Pai-pai* 拜拜 celebrations (presentation offers of libations and prayers).

In addition, the high-handed attitude towards Taiwanese religious activities of different ruling authorities, including both the Japanese Imperialist government and the Nationalist government has, to some extent, influenced the development of Taiwanese religious activities, for this reason, the exact conditions prevailing in Taiwan will also be discussed.

CHAPTER 1 THE BACKGROUND OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE HOUSES AND SETTLEMENTS

1.1 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1.1 The period of Dutch and Spanish occupation

Prior to the seventeenth century, there was almost no sign of the aboriginal population of Taiwan having been influenced in any way by Chinese civilisation, or even by the small number of people who had emigrated to Taiwan from the Chinese mainland. In 1624 the Dutch, after being expelled from the Pescadores (Penghu) islands, began their occupation of Taiwan with the building of Fort Zeelandia on the outskirts of present-day Tainan city (Hong 1978a). In 1626, the Spanish occupied Taiwan's northern coastline, building the fort of San Salvador, going on in 1629 to occupy Tamshui, where they built the fort of San Domingo. These incidents marked the beginning of the period of foreign occupation.

Immigration from the mainland started when the Dutch government of Java asked an overseas Chinese, Su Ming-kan 蘇鳴岡, to return to his native town of T'ungan 同安 in Fuchien Province in order to engage large numbers of Fuchienese for the cultivation of sugar-cane and rice around present-day Tainan. This marked the beginning of the development of Taiwanese land by Han immigrants from mainland China. Apart from these arrivals, two Fuchienese, Yen Szu-chi 顏思齊 and Cheng Chih-lung 鄭芝龍, drew many tens of thousands of people⁴ to Taiwan with the slogan: "Three taels of silver per person and one ox per three people", thus creating the first great wave of immigration to Taiwan (Chuang & Wang 1989:129).

⁴ The population of the immigrants in the Dutch occupation (Yang 1988:5):

1626	5,000
1635	-----
1640	10,000--16,000
1648	20,000
1650	15,000
1660	25,000

1.1.2 The period of Ming rule

In 1661, the Ming general Cheng Ch'en-kung 鄭成功 (Koxinga) led an army across the straits to drive out the Dutch. Koxinga ordered his army to begin to open up the land where they were stationed and also brought over many Chinese immigrants to begin farming Taiwan. The total number of immigrants during this period has been estimated at around 120,000, thus constituting the second great wave of immigration.

1.1.3 The period of Ch'ing rule

By 1683 the Ch'ing government had defeated Koxinga's army and was officially in control of Taiwan. During the early period of their rule, the Ch'ing government adopted a very *laissez-faire* attitude to the island. A Ch'ing law which strictly prohibited the movement of people from the mainland across to Taiwan was never effectively implemented and the flow of immigrants from the mainland could not be stemmed. The numbers increased to such an extent, that by 1811 the overall total of Han immigrants had reached two million (Hong 1978a). The pace of this increase can be attributed to a variety of causes: firstly, the lifting, in 1760, of the prohibition on cross-straits immigration; secondly, the opening up, in 1784, by the Ch'ing government of direct trade between Lukang in Taiwan and Ch'uanchou on the mainland; and thirdly, the opening, in 1790, of another port in Northern Taiwan, Pa-li-fen 八里分 for trade with the Fuchien ports of Ch'uanchou and Fuchou 福州. This new open policy had a great influence on the movement of people to Taiwan. In 1860, after defeat at the hands of the British and French allied army, the Ch'ing government signed the Convention of Peking with the British and French governments, opening up various ports such as Tamshui, Anping 安平, Takou 打狗 (Kaohsiung) and Keelung 基隆 to foreign merchants. Once again, foreign affairs influenced the development of Taiwanese society. From this point on, the Ch'ing government came to realise the strategic importance of Taiwan's position and began to adopt a more positive outlook towards the island (Chou 1957).

1.1.4 The period of Japanese rule

In 1895, the Sino-Japanese War broke out. Following the defeat of the Ch'ing, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. The impact of an alien culture, resulting from the

colonial government established by the Japanese in Taiwan, had a dramatic effect on the indigenous population. For example, the city planning policy of the Japanese imperialists altered the original form of Taiwanese vernacular settlements (Huang 1983:37). Whilst some immigrants who were unwilling to live under an alien government returned to the mainland, this had little impact on the size of the overall population which by 1899 had reached 2.8 million (Hong 1978b:187). After occupying Taiwan, the Japanese adopted various measures to cut off all communication between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. In fact the subsequent increase in the population of Taiwan came from the indigenous people and was no longer dependent on immigration from the mainland. By the end of the Japanese occupation in the 1940s, the population of Taiwan had risen to six million.

1.1.5 The period of Nationalist rule

In 1949, at the end of the Chinese civil war, the Nationalist government was forced to retreat to Taiwan filling the vacuum left by the departure of the Japanese in 1945. Taiwan was once again ruled by the Chinese.

Although the history of the development of Taiwan can be divided into these different periods, this chapter will pay most attention to the period of Ch'ing rule (1683-1895), since this period was the most influential for the development of vernacular Taiwanese architecture and settlements. The other periods will be used as supplementary sources of reference.

1.2 THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The history of immigration to Taiwan, starting from the seventeenth century, saw the transformation of a remote and barren island into a wealthy one in the space of two hundred years. The speed and success of this transplantation of a group of people and their culture is something which has rarely been seen anywhere in the world. The majority of the immigrants came from Fuchien and Kwangtung. According to a census carried out in 1926, when the immigrant population was 3.7 million, 46.8% came from Ch'uanchou, 35.2% from Ch'angchou in Fuchien Province, while

15.6% were Hakkas from Kwangtung Province⁵ (Hong 1978a:43). These people all brought with them their own culture, popular beliefs and customs which they continued to develop within Taiwanese society.

1.2.1 Ch'uanchou immigrants

The earliest immigrants from mainland China to Taiwan came from Ch'uanchou 泉州 Prefecture in Fuchien which includes Nanan 南安 County, Chingchiang 晉江 County and Huian 惠安 County, known as the *San I* 三邑 or Three Districts, and the two counties of T'ungan 同安 and Anhsi 安溪. The immigrants used the particular specialities and abilities developed over many years in their home towns in the opening up of Taiwan. The people of the Three Districts and T'ungan were long accustomed to trade. Ch'uanchou in particular had been a famous port in Chinese history and, naturally, merchants had developed great ability in maritime trade. Large numbers of people from the Three Districts were amongst the first to emigrate to Taiwan. Using the skills fostered in their home towns, they chose to settle in the harbours of the south-western coast of the island which were naturally suited to marine life. Consequently, most of the important ports along the south-west coast of Taiwan, including the three most important ports of the Ch'ing dynasty, Tainan, Lukang and Menchia 艋舺, as well as Tamshui and Tataocheng 大稻埕 on the northern coast, were opened up by immigrants from either the Three Districts or T'ungan. In these port cities, immigrants from Ch'uanchou controlled and gained the rewards of trade between Taiwan and the mainland. They organised the trade guilds which, from 1727 to 1861, controlled the rights of the import-export trade throughout Taiwan (Tso 1985:55). These guilds were established mainly to

⁵ The Taiwanese immigrants were mainly from Kwangtung and Fuchien province. According to the 1926 census, there were 83% from Fuchien, 15% from Kwangtung, and 2% from other provinces. The detailed information of the population is as follows:

(unit: 100 persons)

Fuchien	31,164
Ch'uanchou	16,814
Anhsi	4,416
Tungan	5,531
San-I	6,867
Ch'angchou	13,195
Kuangtung	5,863

(Source: Hong 1978a:43)

serve an economic function with the aims of seeking the development of mutual benefits and trade between the various professions, and resolving any difficulties over property or disputes between members. The guilds also served the immigrant community in other spheres: religious, social and security (Ibid).

Apart from the immigrants from the Three Districts and T'ungan who developed most of the important ports on the Taiwanese coast, those who came from the hilly region of Anhsi, were adept at reclaiming mountainous regions by the planting of tea. After crossing over to Taiwan, they made a major contribution to the opening up of land and the plantation of tea in the mountainous regions of Northern Taiwan.

1.2.2 Ch'angchou immigrants

In spite of being only the second largest group, the immigrants from Ch'angchou 漳州 nevertheless were distributed over a wider area of Taiwan than any other group. Ch'angchou Prefecture was known as the "Granary of Southern Fuchien". Although it did not possess the same possibilities for trading offered by Ch'uanchou's fine harbours, the Ch'angchou plain, which was the largest in the whole province, had provided the opportunity for the development not only of agricultural experience and skills but also of a complex land-tenant system for the management of the land. After 1760, when the Ch'ing government's strict ban on immigration from the mainland was lifted, large numbers of people from Ch'angchou crossed the straits to Taiwan where they used their great experience of managing land to speedily develop the Western plain, the Central basin, the Northern mountains and plain and the Eastern I-lan 宜蘭 plain.

Comparing immigrants from Ch'angchou with those from Ch'uanchou, the latter were more visible in the towns whilst the former were scattered amongst the rural areas. Ch'uanchou immigrants had exceptional success in the development of maritime trade while Ch'angchou immigrants made a major contribution to the agricultural development of barren land. The power of Ch'uanchou immigrants was most clearly seen in the management of their guilds, while the power of the Ch'angchou immigrants was displayed by landlords and local gentries. The most famous of the rich and powerful families in the immigrant community, Panchiao 板橋 Lin's family in the North and Wufeng 霧峰 Lin's family in the central region, both came from Ch'angchou (Meskill 1979).

1.2.3 The Hakka immigrants

Most of the Hakkas 客家 who emigrated to Taiwan in the Ch'ing dynasty came from Chaochou 潮州 County, Huichou 惠州 County and Chiaching 嘉慶 County in Kwangtung Province and Tingchou 汀州 County in Fuchien Province. These are all inland areas, well away from the coast. Over a large number of years, the Hakka people had developed a particular way of life suitable to the limited natural resources and instability of mountainous regions. They used their experience in working mountainous land in exploiting the remote hilly areas of Taiwan. In China, the Hakkas have always been seen as a nomadic people. Although they had to rebuild their homes many times in an alien environment, they were proud of their own culture, language and customs and extremely cautious of inter-marrying with other ethnic groups. Consequently, Hakka culture, language and customs have been preserved over a long period of time and were not assimilated by other ethnic groups. The Hakkas attach more importance to education than any other ethnic group in China. While the Hakkas show their conservative nature in the insistence on traditional customs, their enthusiasm for education and thirst for new knowledge continue to this day to show a more open side to their character.

The remoteness and inaccessibility of the Hakkas' mountainous living environment helped to preserve their cultural traditions. The harshness of their surrounding also forged their simple austere lifestyle and their patient nature: they are considered to be plain-spoken, sincere, just and honest. Their most distinctive characteristic is an indomitable spirit which enables them to open up successfully the most inhospitable areas of Taiwan, those areas which had suffered the most severe attacks from the aboriginal population. In order to achieve this they had to resort to the use of force, as in the case of the *Chin-kuang-fu* 金廣福 organisation⁶ in Hsinchu 新竹 County, where, in order to defend their position, they organised a development fund, hired tenants, organised guards and built protective fortresses (Chen C.K.1987:228, Wu 1984).

⁶ The *Chin-kuang-fu* organisation was a land reclamation corporation in the hilly areas of Hsinchu county during 1830s. It was a semi-military and semi-farming organisation facilitated the opportunity to explore the mountainous areas of Taiwan and pacify the tribe people.

1.2.4 The expansion of the Hakkas and immigrants from Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou

Scholars hold different views on the expansion of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan (Fig.1-1). There are some who consider the time of arrival to be the largest factor: thus, the first group to arrive, from Ch'uanchou, chose the most favourable locations on the coast, the second group, from Ch'angchou, chose the next best locations on the plain, while the Hakkas, who were the last to arrive, had to go to the least favourable mountainous areas (Chen 1972; Tai 1979; Hsu 1973). There are other scholars who see the distribution as the result of long-term ethnic rivalries. In the early stages of immigration, the different groups lived together, only later, after prolonged power struggles, moving away to set up individual communities (Yin 1985). Others hold that the different groups chose their surroundings on the basis of the physical nature and living conditions of their home towns; thus, the immigrants from Ch'uanchou, accustomed to business and maritime trade, chose the coastal areas, the immigrants from Ch'angchou, expert in farming and land reclamation, chose the open fields, while the Hakkas chose the northern and southern mountainous regions of the island similar to their own remote and inaccessible mountainous areas (Shih 1987).

Whatever the true story may be, as the Taiwanese immigrant society matured, so the barriers between the different groups of immigrants gradually disappeared and they began to live in union rather than solely within their own group. Unrest between the different ethnic groups had caused great harm to each individual group, and eventually the different groups sought harmony and reconciliation which led to the removal of prejudices and bias. Continual contact between the different groups also resulted in the transformation of the original cultural customs of the individual groups (Yin 1985). This can be proved by looking at the slow integration process which took place between the different groups.

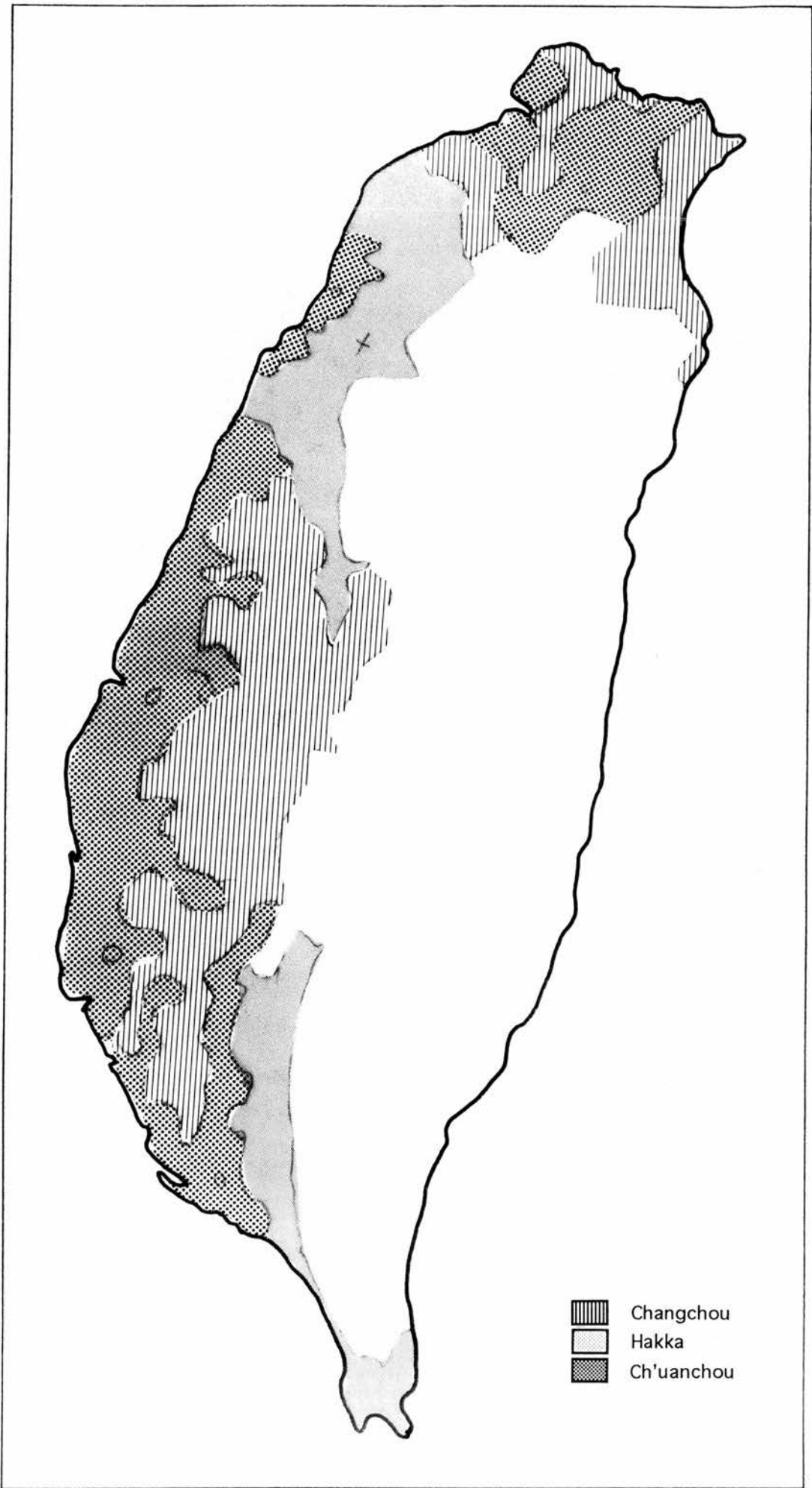


Fig. 1-1 The distribution of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan.

1.3 THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Taiwanese people's popular beliefs have developed on the basis of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist concepts, synthesized with the further addition of the concepts of a popular "pantheism" (totems, animals, plants and deceased spirits have all been used as religious images). Because of the complexity of Taiwanese folk religions, the Taiwanese people, strictly speaking, are not to be counted as real Buddhists or Taoists. Inversely, they are believers of polytheism which is a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, folk religions, animism, or whatever. The gods are worshipped indiscriminately. Some deities such as Confucius and *kuan-kung* 關公 (the Martial God) are national in character. Others like *matsu* 媽祖 (the Sea Goddess) and *wang-yeh* 王爺 (the Plague God) are local. Some, like the territorial guardians, are strictly territorial deities only worshipped in communities of the same territorial affiliation. And the most popular one, *t'u-ti-kung* 土地公 (the Earth God) is worshipped in every neighbourhood. But all gods mentioned are the most popular ones of the whole celestial bureaucracy. In fact, according to records, there are some 130 or so deities worshipped by the Taiwanese. (Hsu W. H.1980:89)

1.3.1 Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism

According to the religious concept of Confucianism, people exist in a finite life space defined by the opposition of life and death, and heaven and earth. The greatest aim, through various kinds of ideal behaviour (such as showing filial obedience to one's parents and sacrificing to one's ancestors), is to fulfil one's life duty. All man's deeds must be guided by the will of providence, while temporally speaking, they must comply with the exact timing decreed by heaven. Moreover, the ethical concepts of Confucianism occupy the same network as Chinese people's social and religious concepts.

The Buddhist concepts of retributive karma and cycles are also used as religious norms, while the might of the ancestral spirits is used to rectify people's deeds and as a means of critically evaluating the present life, the next life and the retribution of hell.

Taoism uses the concepts of *yin* and *yang* and the five elements (*wu-hsing* 五行) to construct the model of the Chinese people's perception of the cosmos, and through a simulation of the human self, to attain harmonious relations between man and nature.

1.3.2 *T'u-ti-kung*

Of all the deities, *t'u-ti-kung* (the earth god) is the lowest ranking, yet, at the same time, the closest to every household and neighbourhood. *T'u-ti-kung* was worshipped from the beginning of Chinese civilisation, even before the rise of Buddhism and Taoism. Unlike Western religions, in which any statue of a named saint is a representation of one person only, statues of *t'u-ti-kung* represent the spirit of a local personage, known historically in the locality and renowned for his legendary fame. Shrines to *t'u-ti-kung* spread throughout the market towns and villages of Taiwan, worshipped by merchants hoping for prosperous business and farmers seeking a bountiful harvest.

1.3.3 *Matsu*

Matsu, the Sea Goddess, is of particular importance amongst Taiwanese folk beliefs, her blessing being responsible for assisting the early immigrants from Fuchien in the successful completion of the hazardous sea voyage to Taiwan. Images of *matsu* were frequently carried by the immigrants on these voyages along with some incense ash from mainland temples built in her honour. On arrival on Taiwanese soil, the immigrants would build a new temple in honour of *matsu* to express their gratitude for a safe passage. Throughout the period when they were opening up the land, the settlers did not neglect the worship of *matsu*, with the result that today there are no fewer than 380 *matsu* temples in Taiwan. (Ts'ai H. H. 1989:43)

1.3.4 *Wang-yeh*

The worship of *wang-yeh* is the most widespread as well as the most popular folk belief in Taiwan, particularly on the southern coastal plains. In the past, the hot, humid climate of the south eastern provinces of China, Kwangtung and Fuchien, gave rise to a number of deadly plagues which caused the deaths of many thousands of people. The populace believed that such plagues were spread by malevolent demons,

and that the only effective way to counteract them was to invoke the sympathy of the gods. *Wang-yeh* is the deity who is capable of warding off the plague and is thus also known as the plague god. According to the Taiwanese folk belief, based on the original god worshipped on the mainland, there are five main *wang-yeh* gods⁷. They are in charge of numerous spirit soldiers and call up armies to drive away the evil demons.

Temples in honour of *wang-yeh* were built in Taiwan for two reasons. Firstly, immigrants from Kwangtung and Fuchien who arrived in Taiwan to find the same problems which they had endured in the mainland, naturally again sought protection from *wang-yeh's* supernatural powers. Secondly, mainland coastal dwellers developed the custom of building *wang-yeh* boats, into which were placed images of *wang-yeh* and sacrificial offerings. After the holding of elaborate rituals, the boats were set afloat, in the belief that they would take away all the pestilences affecting the local people. Most of the boats disappeared at sea, but some drifted across the straits, landing on the south-eastern coast of Taiwan. (Fig. 1-2) Taiwanese people believed that whenever these boats came to shore, a plague was imminent. In order to placate the gods and avoid plague, *wang-yeh* temples were built at the spot where the boats had come ashore. This explains why the majority of *wang-yeh* temples in Taiwan are found clustered along the south western coastal plains of the island.

1.3.5 *Shui-hsien tsun-wang*

Unlike other deities, *shui-hsien tsun-wang* 水仙尊王, the Water Immortal God, is worshipped not by the common people, but by members of commercial guilds (*hangchiao* 行郊), and, in particular, guilds involved in marine businesses. For many years, *shui-hsien tsun-wang* was worshipped by sailors, ship owners and traders who prayed to the god for safe passage across the straits. During the Ch'ing dynasty, the guilds were very important associations dealing with the economic, public and religious affairs of every market town. (DeGlopper 1974:57) On occasions, the guilds even played a quasi-governmental role, regulating trade, collecting taxes, supporting the militia and organising religious confraternities. (DeGlopper 1977:646-648) The guilds all built temples as headquarters for managing their affairs and holding meetings. Most of the guilds' temples were built

⁷ There are 360 *Wang-yeh* gods, each having its own name. However, five of them are mainly worshipped by the believers: King Fang 范, King Li 李, King Chin 秦, King Wu 吳, and King Chu 朱; their duties were originally to control various kinds of sickness - each god is adept in curing a malign disease.

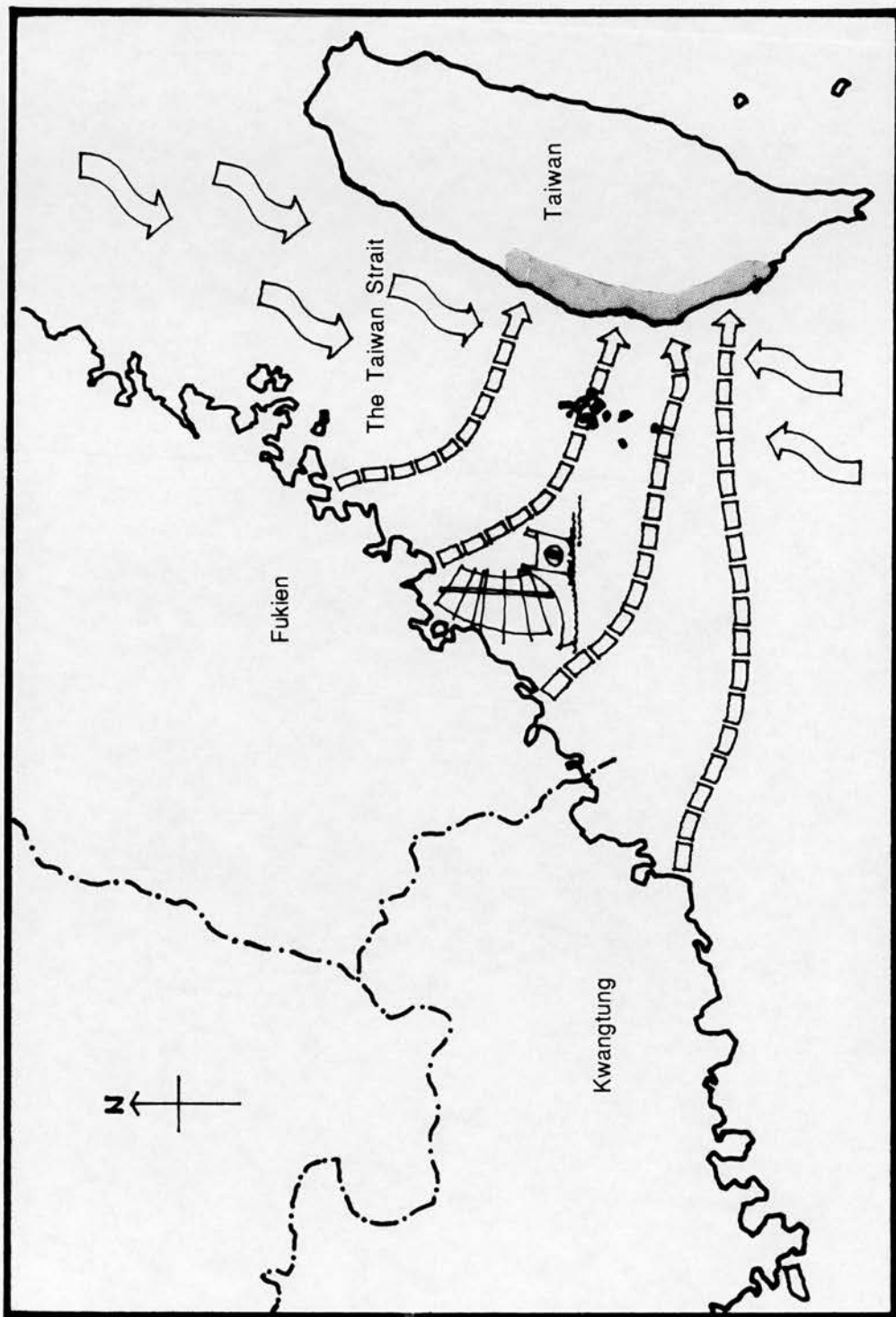


Fig. 1-2 The drift route of the Wang-yeh Boats.

□ □ □ □ → The direct route
 ▨ The landing areas of wreckages
 ~ The sea current

in honour of the *shui-hsien tsun-wang*, though sometimes they were built in honour of *matsu* or other deities. (Feuchtwang 1977; DeGlopper 1977) Using the temples as a centre of control, the guilds were able to achieve religious, political and economic hegemony, thus consolidating their control over the entire town. (DeGlopper 1977:648ff)

1.3.6 *You-ying-kung*

The early immigrants to Taiwan also built shrines in memory of their dead compatriots. The worship of *you-ying kung* 有應公, the god who responds to petitions, is related to this. During the Ch'ing dynasty, Taiwan was a frontier region full of enormous dangers: hostile indigenous people, fatal epidemics and fierce ethnic rivalries all caused a large number of casualties. Taiwanese people believed that those who died without relatives and friends to take care of their corpses would become hungry ghosts, disturbing people and causing trouble. Thus, there was a special custom of collecting those corpses whose identity was unknown and placing them in a special shrine. Through regular worship and sacrificial offerings, people hoped to avoid any mischief these ghosts might cause. There was another reason for this kind of worship: people believed the powers of these corpses to be extremely efficacious, and that they would satisfy the petition of anybody who offered them continuous sacrifices. For this reason the ghosts are called *you-ying* 有應, the literal meaning of which is that any petition will be answered.

1.3.7 The territorial guardians

The final deities to be considered here are the territorial guardians who are worshipped by groups of the same ethnic affiliation. The early Chinese immigrants to Taiwan always brought with them images of their native territorial guardians along with incense ash from their local temples. Once the immigrants were settled and they had built new temples, these artifacts could be housed. At the same time, this was a great help to the later immigrants, since they only had to find the temples where their territorial guardians were worshipped to locate their compatriots. Similarly, it was possible to determine the area from which people came simply by examining the deities worshipped in their temples.

Most of the immigrants were from the southern Chinese provinces of Kwangtung and Fuchien. Immigrants from each of the ethnic groups built temples

for the worship of their own territorial guardian. These deities served to reinforce regionalism. (Huang 1977:131) The Hakkas worshipped the *san-shan kuo-wang* 三山國王, the king of the three mountains, the Ch'angchou settlers worshipped the *kai-chang shen-wang* 開漳聖王, the immortal who opened up Ch'angchou, the San-I immigrants worshipped either *kuan-yin* 觀音, the goddess of mercy, or *kwang-tse tsun-wang* 廣澤尊王 the god of great favour, while immigrants from Tungan and Anhsi worshipped *pao-sheng ta-ti* 保生大帝, the protector of life and *chin-shui tsu-shih* 清水祖師, the master of clear water, respectively. (Feuchtwang 1974b; Huang 1977; Lamley 1981)

During the period of Ch'ing rule, there were regular conflicts between different ethnic groups, involving large-scale rioting and rebellion which threatened social order. People had to accustom themselves to dealing with dangerous situations. The weakness of the Ch'ing local government further increased the plight of the populace and the whole society was on the edge of anarchy. However, the populace never submitted to their fate: compatriots from the same home town united themselves as blood brothers and pledged to resist any challenges together. The temples, set up for the worship of their local deities, were used as the chief means of supervising the organisation of a neighbourhood. By managing communal affairs and leading the pursuit of warfare, the temples virtually replaced the role of government.

1.4 THE ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND

1.4.1 The origins

Taiwanese vernacular architecture is a local form of traditional Chinese architecture. The history of Taiwan goes back no more than three hundred years. For most of this period, the island has been disturbed by wars and internal strife and, on several occasions, it has also been reduced to the status of a colony. Consequently, there has never been sufficient time for the development of an independent local style of architecture. In terms of form and space, Taiwanese vernacular architecture has merely shown colonial variations (Han 1981:332).

In general, colonial architecture borrows directly from the culture of the mother country. The earliest immigrants to Taiwan used the architectural space and

form of their home towns as a prototype and a starting point for imitation. The outward expression of Taiwanese architecture was thus based on this prototype and a distinctive form of creation was rarely seen. On the whole, the early immigrants endured difficult living conditions so it is hardly surprising that there were few opportunities for them to develop their own distinctive style. Even in the later stages of the opening up of the island, after the economic situation of the immigrants had undergone a general improvement, the cultural influence of the mother country was still considerable. Architectural expression still followed the old ways, to the extent that Chinese materials and craftsmen were brought over from the mainland. This also helped to ensure that the development of a distinctive local style was a slow process. Moreover, Taiwan was also ruled by different governments with the result that Taiwanese architecture was influenced by the culture of these countries, even if, when compared with the mainland, the influence was slight.

Owing to the fact that most of the immigrants to Taiwan came from the towns of Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou in Fuchien province and the Hakka settlements in Kwangtung province, the greater part of the Chinese influence on Taiwanese architecture came from Southern China. It was natural that the architectural characteristics of these areas formed the model which Taiwanese vernacular architecture was to follow. The influence became even more marked after the arrival of materials and craftsmen from the mainland. Taiwanese vernacular architecture displays not only the space and form of southern Chinese architecture but also carries the same social and cultural meanings behind the outward expression. These meanings were a reflection in miniature of Chinese notions of social and cultural traditions as well as religious, family and ethical relations. Thus, Taiwanese vernacular architecture is not only a physical form containing the people living inside but is also a concrete manifestation of customs, norms and religions, or in other words, a concrete expression of the lifestyle of Chinese people. Even nowadays, when social, cultural and economic conditions have all changed, people can still feel the traces of the past in the old houses which still stand. Such feelings allow people to re-examine the essence of their traditional society and culture.

1.4.2 The categories

The two main categories of vernacular Taiwanese architecture are courtyard houses and street houses. The courtyard house, the most representative type of

traditional Chinese architecture, is a walled enclosure surrounding smaller buildings which in turn encompasses one or more courtyards. (Fig. 1-3) In Taiwan these courtyard houses were mainly built in rural areas. Street houses were long buildings built side by side along the street. The characteristic of the latter was that the depth of the house was particularly long while the width was relatively narrow. (Fig. 1-4) In Taiwan these houses were mainly built in urban areas. The following discussion describes both types.

1.4.2.1 The courtyard house

The various different forms of Taiwanese courtyard houses can be categorised into the following groups: *yi-t'iao-lung* 一條龍 (one dragon), *t'an-shen-shou* 單伸手 (stretch out one hand), *yi-k'e-yin* 一顆印 (one stamp) and *san-ho-yuan* 三合院 which were mainly used in small residences, *ssu-ho-yuan* 四合院 mainly used in medium-sized residences and multi-courtyard and multi-*hulung* 護龍 (protector dragon) mainly used in large-scale residences.

(1) *Yi-t'iao-lung* and *t'an-shen-shou*. In an *yi-t'iao-lung* residence the *t'ing* 廳 (main hall) was in the middle with either two or four rooms located at each of the two ends, the layout of the whole plan presenting a linear form. (Fig. 1-5) As the members of the family increased, an extra wing would be added perpendicular to the left hand end of the original house, in order to create more rooms. The shape of the house became an "└" shape (Fig. 1-6) which the Taiwanese people called *t'an-shen-shou*. According to Chinese notions of *feng-shui*, neither of these two forms was considered to be ideal but merely a temporary expediency. (Lin H. C.1987:23) In the past, these forms were built if there was a shortage of money or if there were few members in the family. Once conditions had improved, the family would seek to extend the house into the complete form of the courtyard house.

(2) *San-ho-yuan*. This type of courtyard house was basically an inverted U-shape which included a *cheng-shen* 正身 (main body), incorporating the main hall with the rooms at either end, and two flanking wings built at right angles to the ends of the *cheng-shen* which were used for the sons' bedrooms. The *cheng-shen* and the sons' bedrooms encircled the middle courtyard, thus creating the basic prototype of the courtyard house. (Fig. 1-7-1) In southern Taiwan, where this type of house was called *yi-k'e-yin* (Fig. 1-7-2), the courtyard was slightly smaller and more closed-off than *san-ho-yuan*. *Yi-k'e-yin* courtyard houses were built on remote

islands such as Chinmen 金門 Island and Penghu 澎湖 Island as well as Anping district of Tainan on the mainland. In the north of Taiwan only the more typical form of the *san-ho-yuan* is found.

(3) *Ssu-ho-yuan*. The *ssu-ho-yuan* followed the form of the *san-ho-yuan*, the only difference being that the outer wall of the *san-ho-yuan* was expanded into an entry hall used for receiving minor guests or collecting rent from the tenants. (Fig. 1-8) The form of the *ssu-ho-yuan* thus became a "口" shape courtyard house.

(4) Multi-courtyard house. The form of the multi-courtyard house was based on the form of the *ssu-ho-yuan*. The original *ssu-ho-yuan* shape was extended to the rear of the building with the addition of one or more courtyards. Thus, if one courtyard was added, a "日" shape was formed, while if two were added a "目" shape was formed. Such houses were built only by the wealthiest families of Taiwan, whose healthy economic circumstances and large number of family members required a large amount of space to contain a variety of domestic activities.

(5) Multi-*hulung* courtyard house. The form of multi-*hulung* courtyard house was based on the *san-ho-yuan* or *ssu-ho-yuan* and extended crosswise to add another row of rooms parallel to the two wings of the original house. As in the case of the multi-courtyard houses, when the members of the family increased or economic circumstances improved, the original house could not cope with the new practical demands. Thus, in order to satisfy these demands, the family would add two long-row buildings, one parallel to each of the two wings of the original house. The newly-added wing was called a *hulung* and the shape of the original *san-ho-yuan* was thus changed to a "凵" shape. If the scale of the family continued to expand, then additional wings would be added on both sides of the original building. These two new wings were called outer *hulung* and the form of the house as a whole became a "凵凵" shape. In order to accord with the principles of symmetry and balance in Chinese classical architecture, the size and height of the additional wings had to be in proportion.

1.4.2.2 Case studies of courtyard houses

(1) *Yi-k'e-yin*. The characteristics of *yi-k'e-yin* courtyard houses are as follows: one-storey high; load-bearing wall structure; a complete high wall encircling the house; high *cheng-shen* with a pavilion in front of the main hall; two

lower wings; two-pitch roof with horseback-shape gables (Fig. 1-9). The form of the house was helpful for defensive purposes. While the form of the *yi-k'e-yin* house originated in Yunnan province in south-east China (Fig. 1-10) (YPIAD 1986:189-206), it was also found in southern Fuchien province and it is believed that the form entered Taiwan from there, since similarities can be seen in a comparison of houses from Anping and Penghu Island (Fig. 1-11) (Ts'ai 1989:49; Wang 1985:61) and *yi-k'e-yin* houses in Hsiamen (Fig. 1-12-1) and Ch'angchou (Fig. 1-12-2). (Huang 1984:187)

(2) Multi-courtyard houses. Wufeng Lin's residence at Taichung 台中 is a famous example of gentry architecture known as *kung-pao-t'i* 宮保第. It was built in 1870. The plan of this building is a "目" shape, with four horizontal rows of *cheng-shen* along the axis of the compound, and a main hall located in the middle of each one. Starting from the front hall and working back, the various halls represent the different spatial ranks in order of importance, the rearmost of the main halls, i.e. the one furthest from the main gate, being the highest and most important. Similarly, the rooms adjoining each of the main halls also represent different spatial ranks, the rear rooms being higher than the front ones. The layout of Taiwanese multi-courtyard houses was also influenced by the layout of traditional Fuchienese courtyard houses. The perpendicular development of the layout of the multi-courtyard house seen in Fig. 1-13 is very similar to that of the Lin House. (Kao et al 1983:145)

(3) Multi-*hulung*. The most representative example of multi-*hulung* building still standing in Taiwan is the Lin An-t'ai 林安泰 residence in Taipei. (Fig. 1-14) Here the courtyards extend crosswise and the whole house compound became a multi-*hulung* courtyard. The layout of the house was based on the plan of a *ssu-ho-yuan* in which the main hall, the entry hall and the two wings encircled the main courtyard: at a later date two more wings were added parallel to the two original wings. It is worth noting that the ridge of the roof is in the shape of a swallow-tail: this represented the wealth of the master of the house. (Fig. 1-15) In the *minnan* 閩南 (Southern Fuchien) architecture of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, it was only the residences of officials which were allowed to display such a style (Lin 1987:99). The ordinary family could only have a horseback-shape roof gable. In a survey of the Yang A-miao 楊阿苗 residence in Ch'uanchou in southern Fuchien, (Fig. 1-16) the author discovered it to be a multi-*hulung* courtyard house. A

comparison of this house with the Lin An-t'ai family house in Taiwan shows the influence of Fuchienese architecture on traditional Taiwanese architecture.

Apart from the cases already mentioned, there are also examples of multi-*hulung* courtyard houses in Hakka settlements of Southern Taiwan, such as the houses of Neip'u 內埔 in Pingt'ung 屏東 county. (Fig. 1-17) (Li 1989:64) However, there are some slight difference between this type of house and the ones discussed above. The Hakka houses of southern Taiwan were influenced by the round shaped *hulung* buildings found in Kwangtung and Fuchien provinces. For example, in a field survey of Ch'angchou houses the author visited the so-called "round tower" buildings (Fig. 1-18) which are also found in the Hakka communities of Kwangtung province. (Fig. 1-19) (Chou 1989:72-73) All these examples show the origins of the round-style multi-*hulung* buildings of Taiwan.

To sum up, we can conclude from the above cases that the Taiwanese vernacular house was influenced by the architecture of southern China and in particular by the architecture of Fuchien and Kwangtung provinces. The influences were manifested not only in plan and structure but also in other areas. Chinese scholars engaged in research of traditional Fuchienese architecture have reached the following conclusions about the characteristics of architectural expression: (1) the symmetrical layout of the plan; (2) the closed-off appearance of the building; (3) the use of a wooden structure system; (4) varied form and decoration on the roof; (5) an emphasis on the coherence of the courtyard space. (Kao et al 1983; Huang 1984) Some of these characteristics can be also be found in vernacular Taiwanese houses. For example, Han Pao-te came to the following conclusions about the characteristics of vernacular Taiwanese houses: (1) the integrated organisation of the courtyard; (2) an emphasis on architectural decoration; (3) the use of varied roof styles. (1981:334-335)

1.4.2.3 Street house

The street house was effectively a merchant house since it was a combination of a shop and a residence. Historically, the mixed commercial-residential house had been one of the most important architectural styles in China since the Sung 宋 dynasty, especially in the south of the country. Examples can be seen in the famous Sung-dynasty painting of town life, *ch'ing-ming shang-ho-t'u* 清明上河圖 (Riverside scenery at the festival of Pure Brightness). (Fig. 1-20)

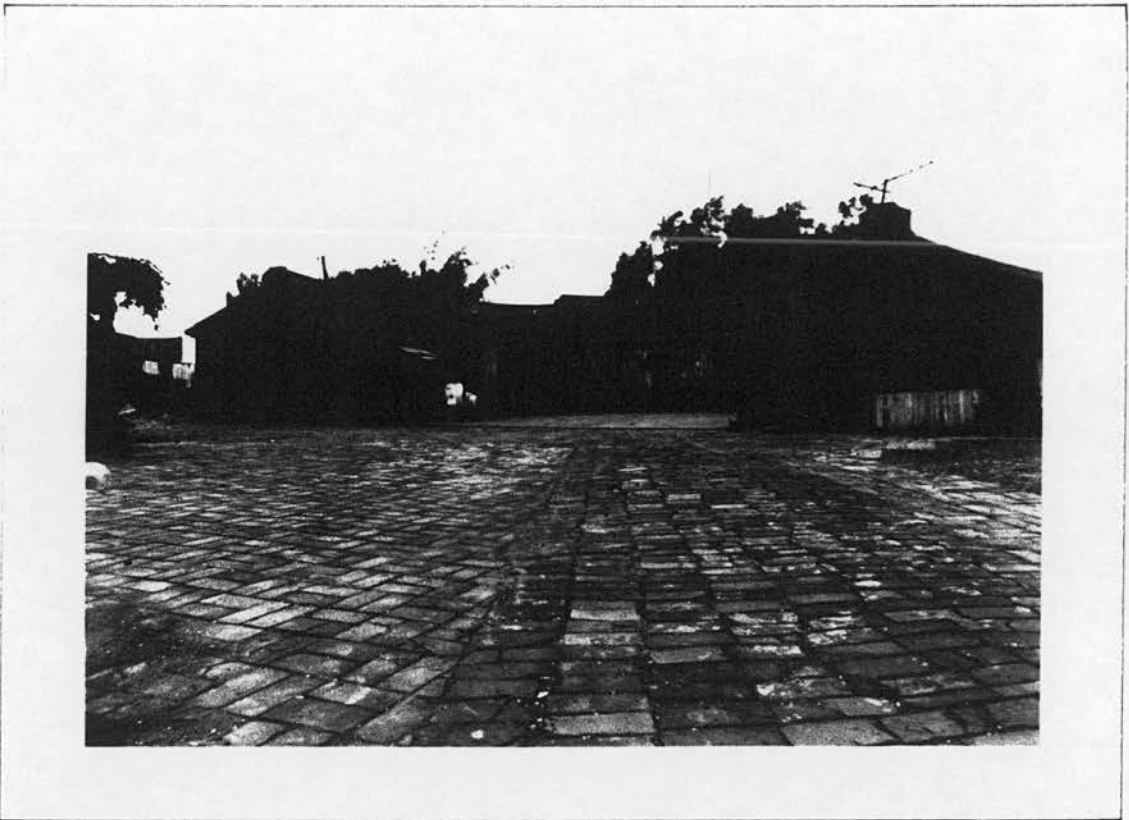


Fig. 1-3 Courtyard house.

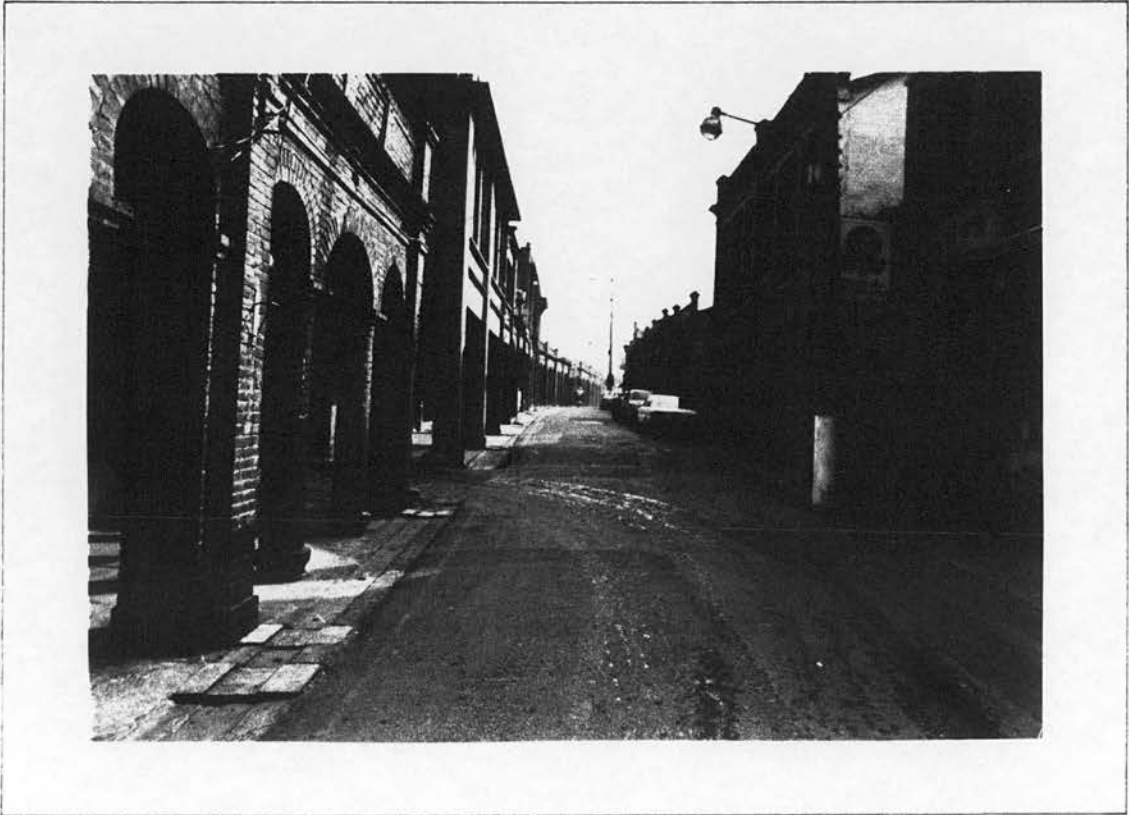


Fig. 1-4 Street house.

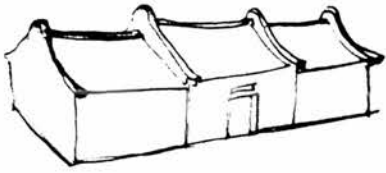


Fig. 1-5 *Yi-t'iao-lung.*

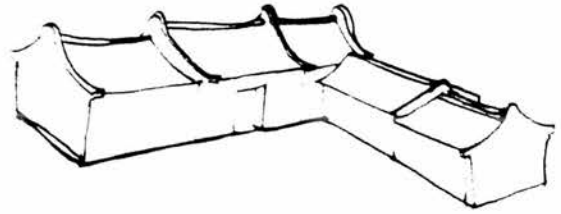


Fig. 1-6 *T'an-shen-shou.*

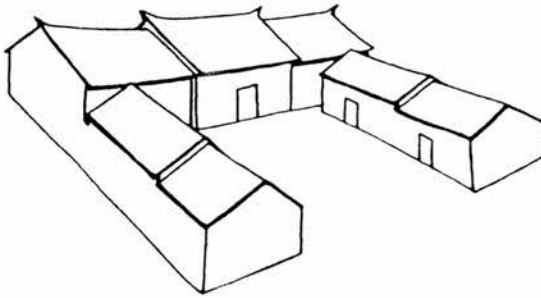


Fig. 1-7-1 *San-ho-yuan.*

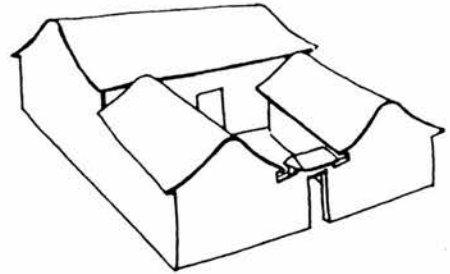


Fig. 1-7-2 *Yi-k'e-yin.*

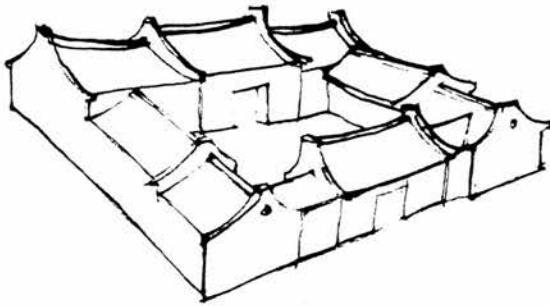


Fig. 1-8 *Si-ho-yuan.*

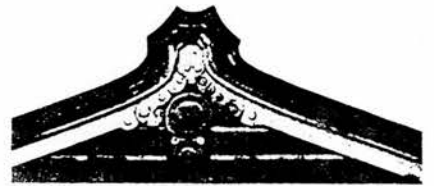


Fig. 1-9 Horseback-shape gables.

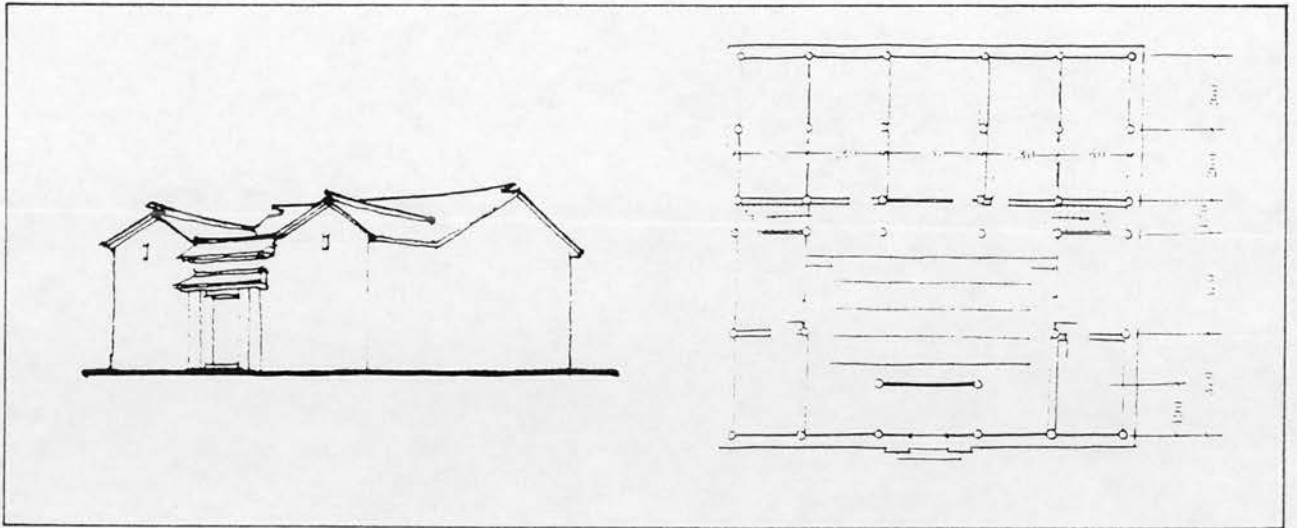


Fig. 1-10 The *yi-k'e-yin* courtyard house in Yunnan Province. (Source: YPIAD 1986:195;199)

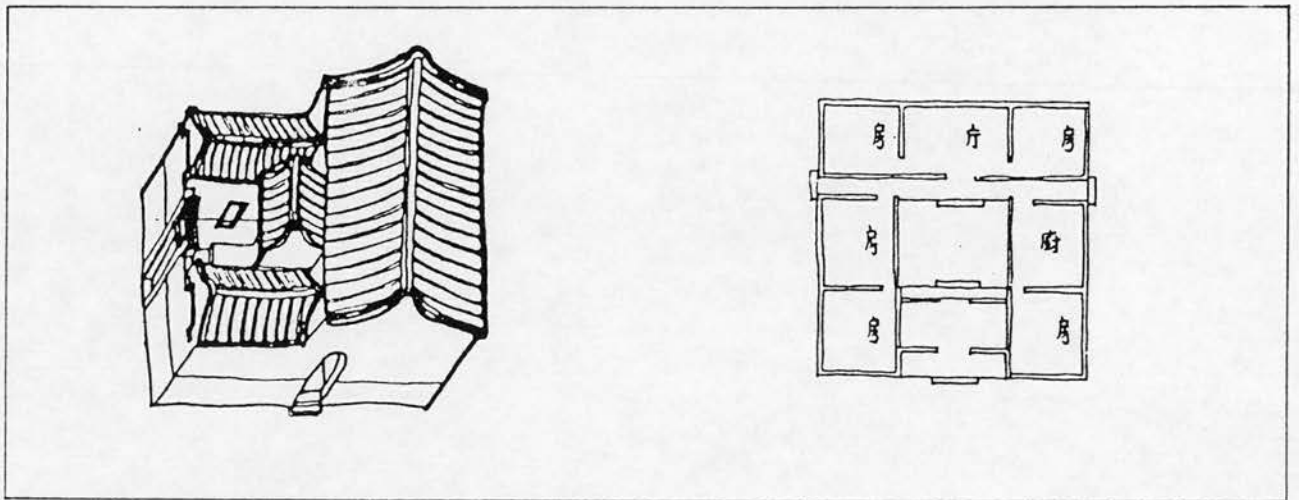


Fig. 1-11 The Taiwanese *yi-k'e-yin* courtyard house in Anping and Penghu. (Source: Wang W. J. 1985:63)

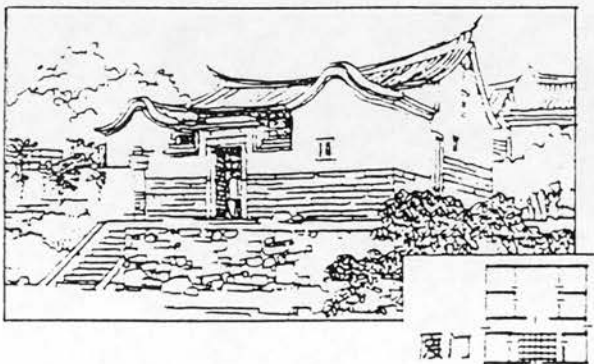


Fig. 1-12-1 The *yi-k'e-yin* courtyard house in Hsia-men (Amoy). (Source: Huang 1984:187)



Fig. 1-12-2 The *yi-k'e-yin* courtyard house in Chang-chou.

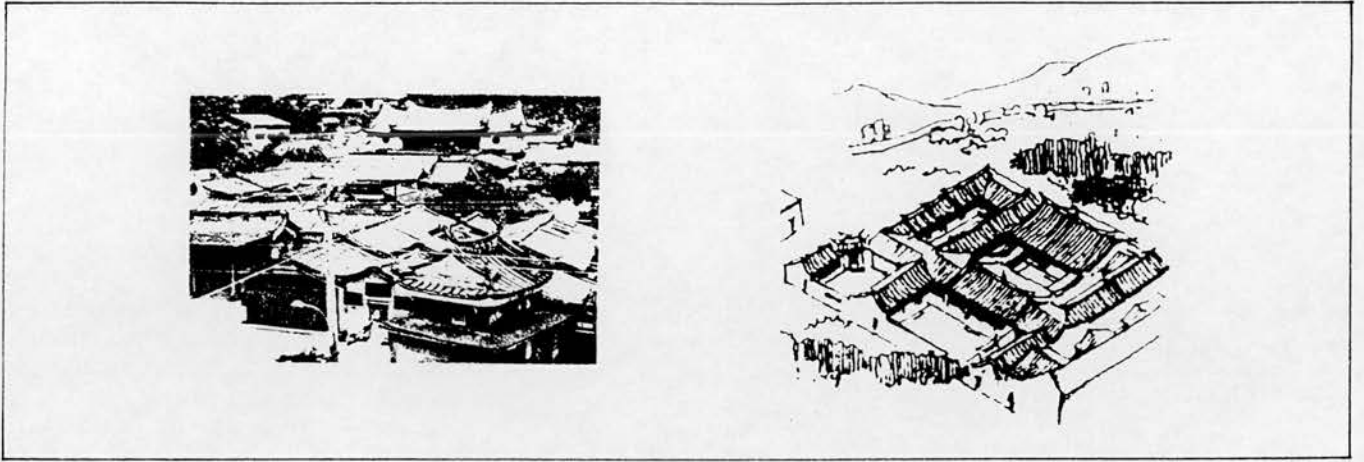


Fig. 1-13 The comparison between the Taiwanese multi-courtyard house and that of Fuchien.
 (Source: Lin 1987:26; Kao et al 1983:145)

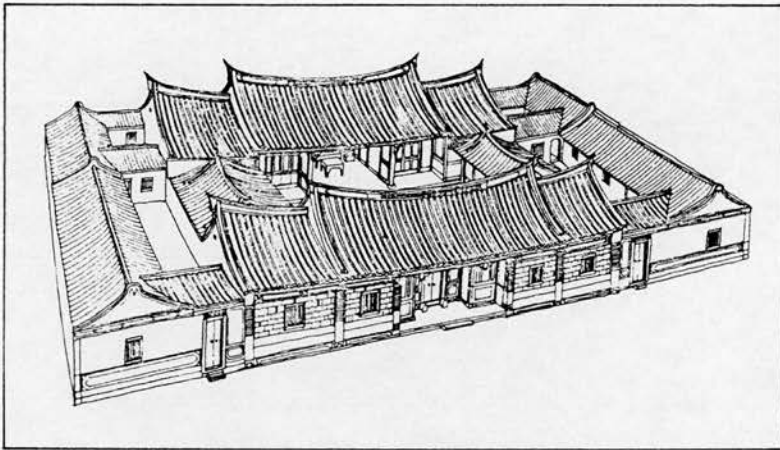


Fig. 1-14 Lin An-tai residence in Taipei.
 (Source: Li 1979:137)

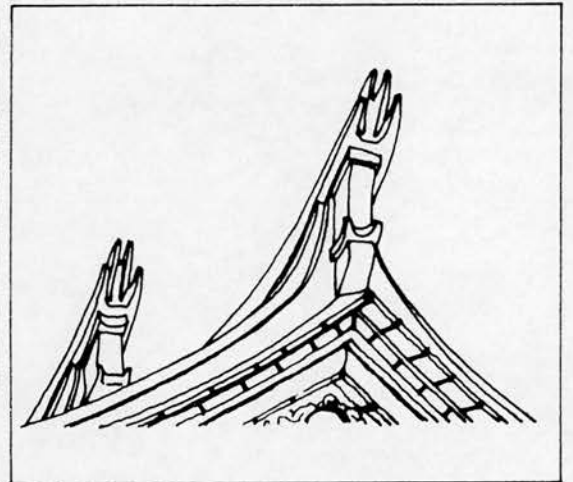


Fig. 1-15 The swallow-tail roof.

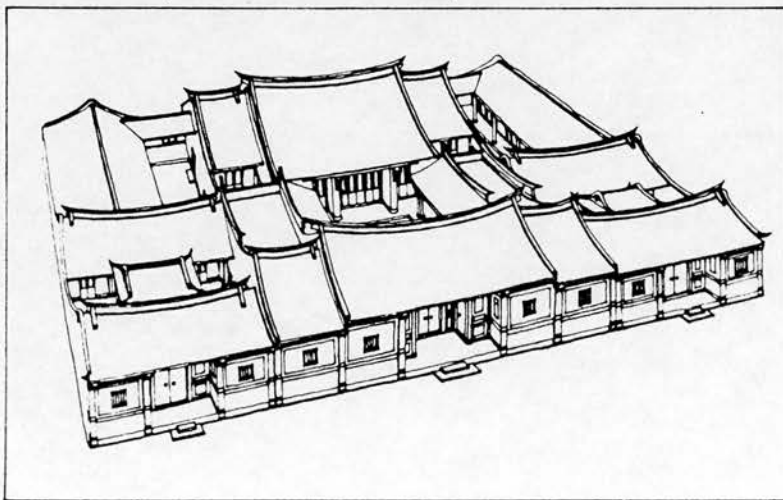


Fig. 1-16 Yang A-miao residence in Ch'uanchou.

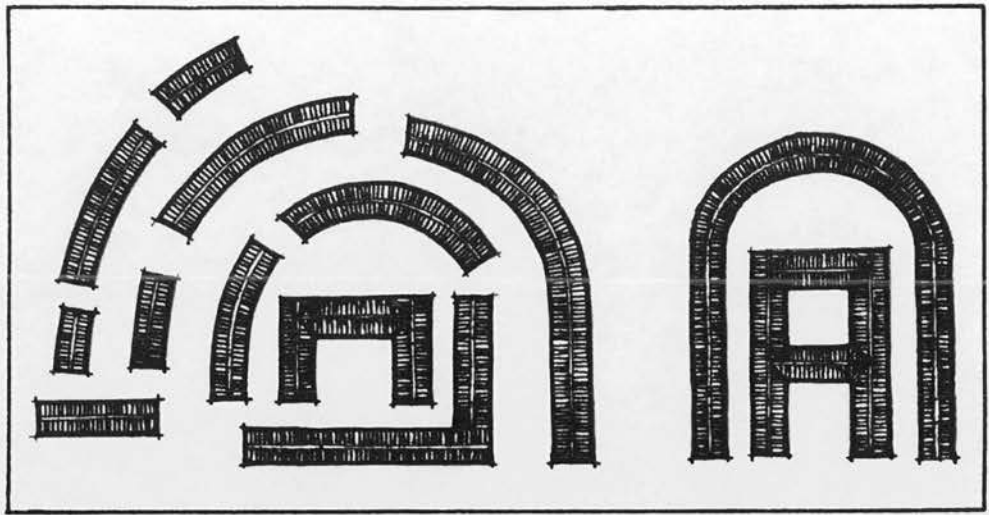


Fig. 1-17 The round-shape courtyard house in southern Taiwan.
(Source: Li 1989:64)



Fig. 1-18 The round-shape courtyard house in southern Fuchien.

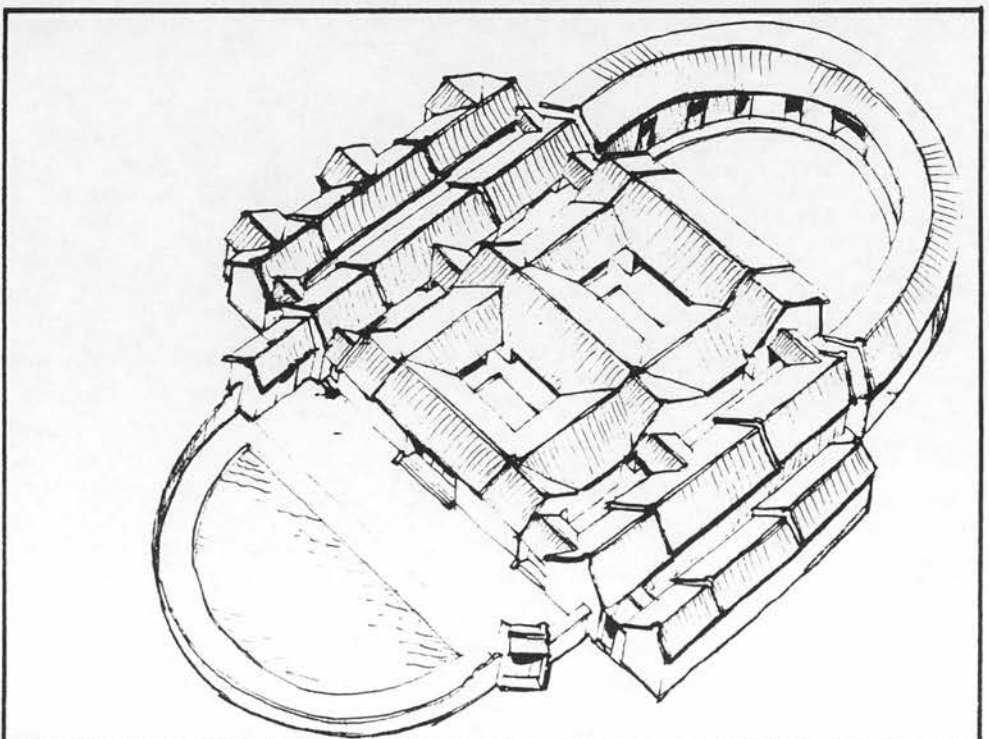


Fig. 1-19 The round-shape courtyard house in Kwangtung.
(Source: Chou 1989:72-73)

In traditional Taiwanese townships, owing to the requirements of commercial activities and defence, linear street patterns developed. At the same time, limited land resources resulted in people dividing up land into long and narrow stripes in order to have more shops which directly fronted the street. The result of this was the particular form of Taiwanese street houses in which the depth is of a much greater length than the width, often as much as ten times greater. The long and narrow street house could be divided into several courtyards in order to accommodate the twin requirements of commerce and residence. (Huang 1983:6) A common wall separated the adjoining houses. Since these houses were often inhabited by related families, there were, on occasions, passages through these common walls linking the adjoining buildings. (Fig. 1-21) (Ahern 1979:160; Liu 1980:56-57)

The riverport cities of Taiwan began to develop from the middle of the eighteenth century. Those Han immigrants who were engaged in trade or related activities, all crowded into the riverport cities: this led to the gradual growth of Taiwanese street houses. During the period of Japanese occupation (1895-1945), street houses were the most important architectural style in the newly developed cities. Although their origin was in the style of southern Chinese architecture, and, in particular, that of the Fuchien towns of Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou, traditional Taiwanese street houses, over a long period of development, during which they also received foreign influences eventually formed their own unique style. In fact, it was these foreign influences which gave the street houses their most distinctive characteristics and a style very different from the courtyard houses which were firmly rooted in traditional Chinese influences.

On the basis of Huang Lo-ts'ai's study, the phases of the development of Taiwanese street houses can be divided into the following periods: (Huang 1983)

(1) The indigenous period - 1750-1840.

During this period, there was regular trading between Taiwan and the mainland and the Taiwanese *hang-chiao* (trade guilds) were in their heyday. Many riverport cities also began to appear. At the same time, the form of street house suitable to commercial urban life started to develop. The particular architectural characteristic of this type of house at this period was a long narrow arcade with its own roof located at the front of the building (Fig. 1-22). The *minnan* 閩南 (southern Fuchien) architecture was still apparent. The areas where this type of

house was found include Chia-I 嘉義, Lukang 鹿港 and Chinmen in southern Taiwan and Mengchia and Tamshui in northern Taiwan.

(2) The period of foreign influence - 1840-1895

Following defeat by the British and French allied forces in 1858, China was forced to sign the T'ienchin Agreement 天津條約 of 1860. In line with this agreement, China opened up some Taiwanese seaports (Tamshui, Anping, Keelung and Kaohsiung) for international trade. Thereafter, foreign influence began to invade traditional Taiwanese society. The traditional trade guild organisations were transformed into comprador organisations controlled by foreign trade companies.⁸ This led to the decline of the guilds and the rise of the foreign companies. In terms of the architectural expression of the street house, the arcade in front of the building became much wider to accommodate an increase in commercial activities, while the elevation of the building clearly received the influence of foreign architecture.(Fig. 1-23) It was only the internal plan that retained the character of the traditional architectural layout.(Fig. 1-24) This type of building was first seen in T'a-tao-cheng and Tamshui in northern Taiwan. When the Ch'ing government began to open up Taiwan and develop the capital Taipei, street houses began to appear there as well.

(3) The period of Japanese occupation - 1895-1945

⁸ James W. Davidson, in his book "*The Island of Formosa: past and present*", gives the following descriptions:

The beginning of the commercial career of the island may be dated from 1858, when the two Hongkong firms, Jardine Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co., first engaged in the Formosan trade. True it was not until 1860 that they had representatives actually established in the island as general merchants; still in 1858-9 they both handled a large quantity of Formosan camphor, which was obtained as prearranged from the mandarins who had a monopoly of the trade.

The first step in opening the island to foreign trade was taken by the diplomatic representatives of America and Russia, Mr. Reid and Count Putiatine, who in 1858 were successful in inducing the Chinese government to declare Taiwan open to foreign residence and trade. Subsequently other ports were opened by the English and French treaties ratified in 1860, at the close of the war with China, France obtaining the opening of Tamshui in the north, to which Keelung was added in 1861 with the consent of the Imperial authorities as a dependent port of Tamshui; the British obtaining, three years later, the recognition of Takow (Kaohsiung) as a dependent port of Taiwan. Though Taiwan was thus nominally opened in 1858, yet it was not until 1865 that local provisions had been made and the place was actually opened to foreign residence.(Davidson 1903:173-174)

After the establishment of the Japanese colonial government in 1895, while Western merchants still controlled the seaport cities, most Taiwanese businesses were in the hands of Japanese companies. At the same time, the Japanese colonial government's "city reform" programme involved the widening of the old architectural form. The influence of Japanese culture replaced the vernacular culture while the traditional spatial layout was replaced by the so called modern plan.

1.4.2.4 Case studies of street houses

(1) Single span and single courtyard. (Fig. 1-25) This type of street house was composed of the following elements: arcade, shop (hall), rooms, kitchen and courtyard. The arcade was a public area through which pedestrians could pass, while the shop was the main commercial space which could also be used as a hall for receiving visitors. If the house had two stories, the second storey could be used as a hall. Rooms were used as bedrooms while the kitchen and the courtyard were used as service space.

In discussing the origins of the arcade, some scholars believe the idea came from the early use of street space in Taiwan such as the so-called *pu-chien-t'ien* 不見天 (invisible sky) streets of Lukang, where virtually the whole of the street space was covered in order to avoid the effects of the weather. (Fig. 1-26-1) As urban space gradually developed, so this original form developed into the present form of the arcade. (Fig. 1-26-2) (Kuan 1979:21-24)

(2) Single span and multi-courtyard. The spatial elements of this type of house formed a complete shape: not only were all the elements of category (1) included, but the multiple courtyards were used to divide the house into different spatial areas, each one expressing different attributes. The layout seen in Fig. 1-27 preserved the principles of the layout of traditional courtyard houses in which the front was used as the hall and the rear as the rooms. By the virtue of the multiple courtyards, spaces of varied spatial characteristics were separated, enabling the different spatial functions to be more clearly manifested. (Huang 1983:48) This is the main characteristic of this type of house.

(3) Multi-span and single courtyard. Using the long street house with a single span and a courtyard as one unit, the units could be combined to create a residential

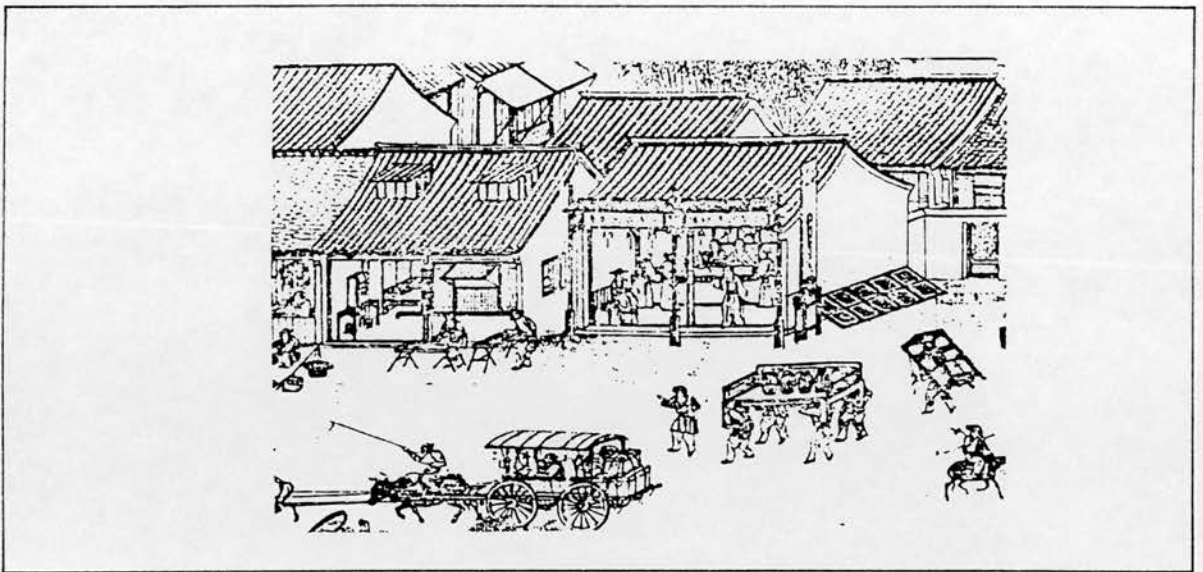


Fig. 1-20 The commercial-residential house in the scene from Ch'ing-ming Shang-ho-t'u.

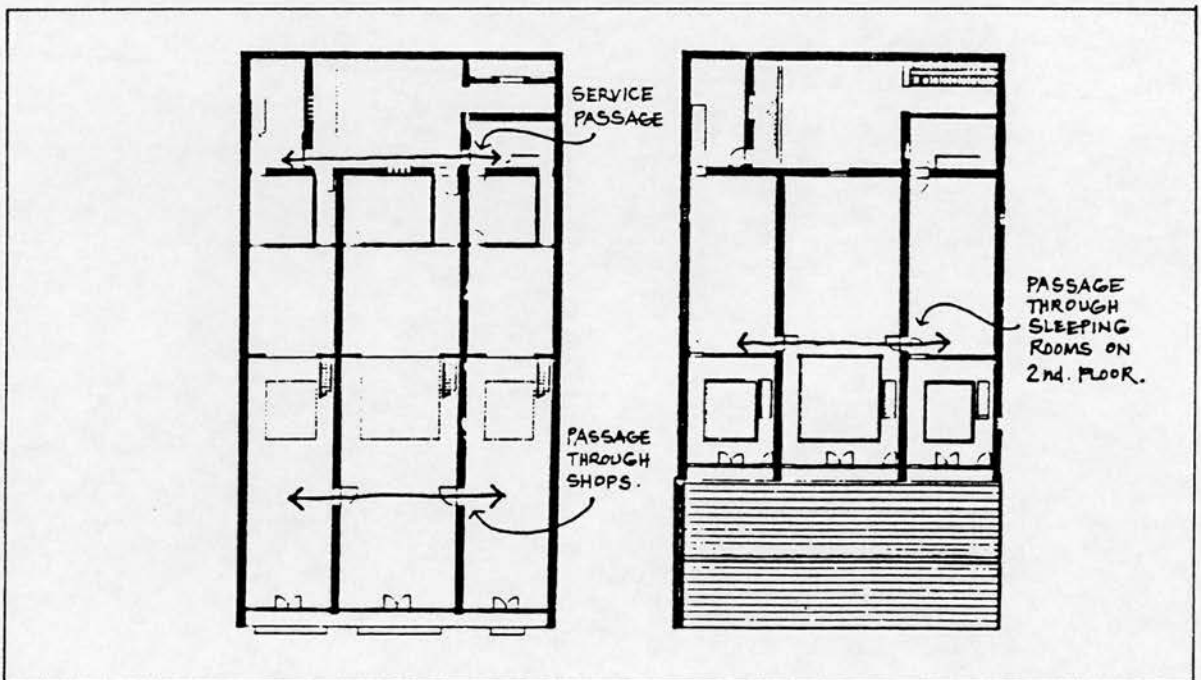


Fig. 1-21 The passages between the adjoining street houses. (Source: Liu 1980:57)

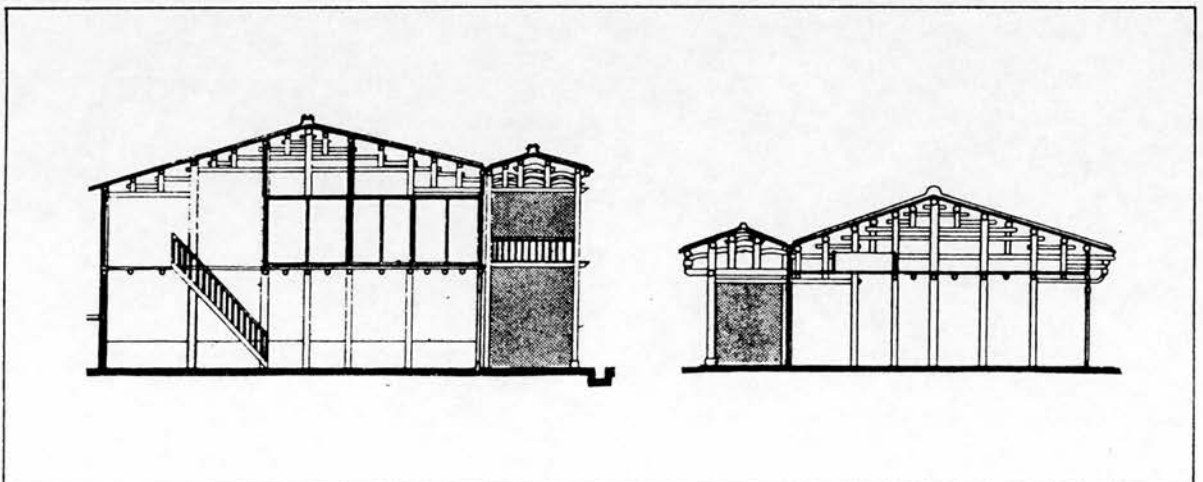


Fig. 1-22 The arcade in front of the street house. (Source: Huang 1983:13)



Fig. 1-23 The elevation of the street house.

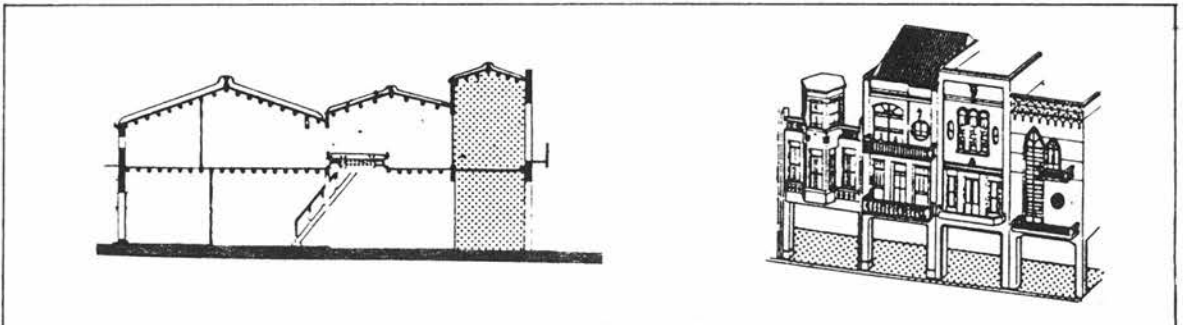


Fig. 1-24 The exotic facade with the indigenous internal layout. (Source: Huang 1983:44)

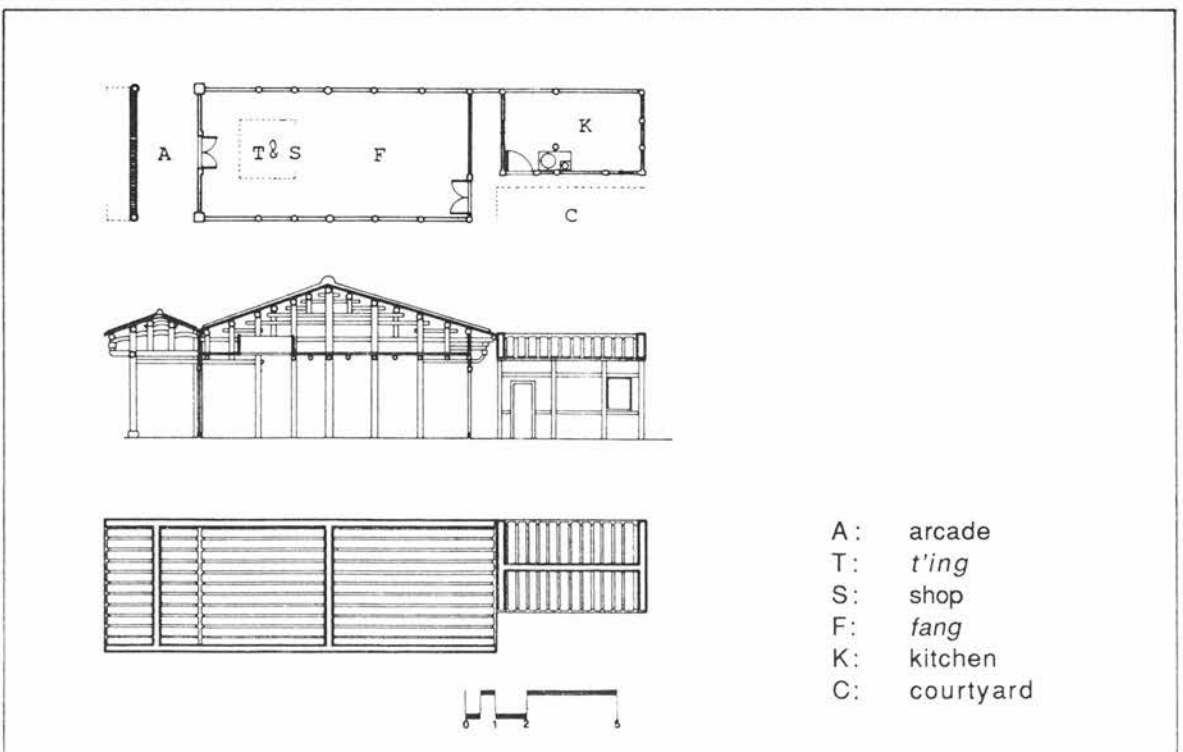


Fig. 1-25 Single-span and single-courtyard street house. (Source: Huang 1983:69)



Fig. 1-26-1 The P'u-chien-t'ien Street of Lukang.

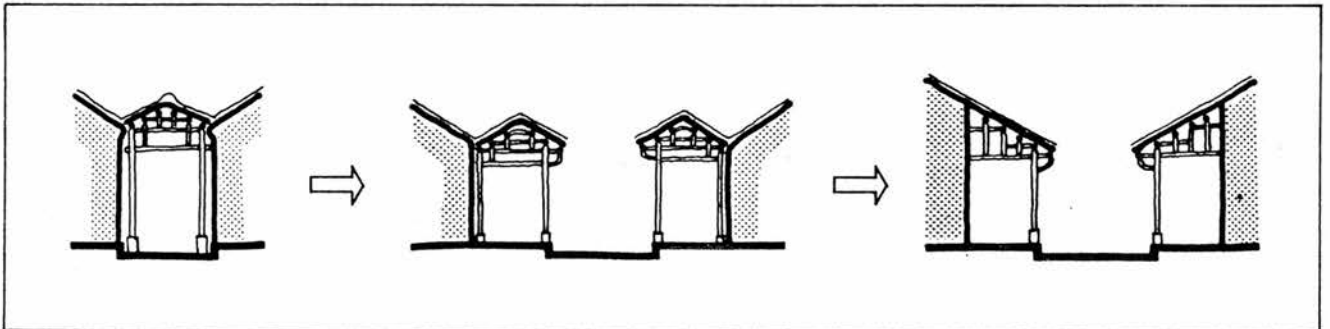


Fig. 1-26-2 The transformation of the present form of arcade. (Source: Huang 1983:13)

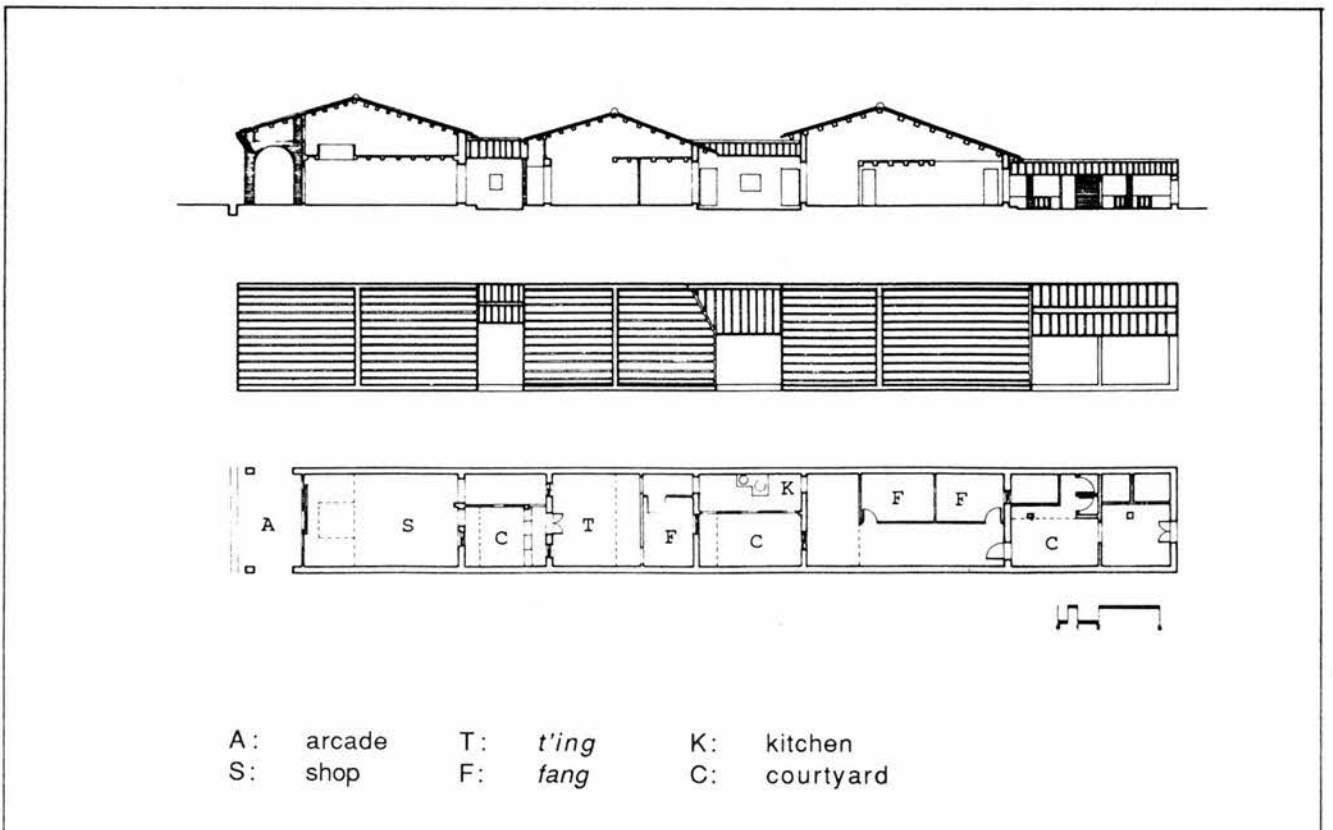


Fig. 1-27 Single-span and multi-courtyard street house. (Source: Huang 1983:18)

complex capable of accommodating a big traditional family. Fig. 1-28 shows a combination of three single spans and one courtyard, with the three single spans forming a residential complex. We can see that this combination is virtually a reproduction of the traditional courtyard house, the only change being the moving of the front courtyard to the rear of the house. This change allowed the residence to come into direct contact with the street in front of the house, signifying an adjustment in the design of street houses to accommodate the functions of urban life. Not only were the opportunities for contacting the street increased but also the needs of commercial functions were satisfied.

As for the combination of units, each space could link directly to the rear courtyard and, since there was a clear system of passages for each household within the compound, communication amongst family members was very easy. In this type of residential complex, the middle row was always the most honourable, while the status of the left hand row was higher than the right hand row. This was also the traditional ethical order. Thus, this type of street house can be considered as an urban house which, nevertheless, had the characteristics of the rural courtyard house.

(4) Multi-span and multi-courtyard. (Fig. 1-29) In general, this was an expansion of a single-span multi-courtyard house. If we draw an analogy between the multi-span single-courtyard street house and the typical courtyard house (*san-ho-yuan* or *ssu-ho-yuan*), then the multi-span and multi-courtyard street house can be analogised with the multi-courtyard house. The only difference is a minor adjustment of size and orientation, which maintains most of the characteristics of the traditional courtyard house, while also satisfying urban commercial functions.

1.4.2.5 Discussion

Throughout Chinese history, it has been the Northern style of architecture which has been considered as the mainstream of Chinese house design. Taiwanese vernacular houses, however, were built by immigrants from southern China and were thus erected in the style of the houses built in the Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou areas of Fuchien province during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. Thus, the majority of the old houses on the island were built in a tributary architectural style different from the mainstream of traditional Chinese architecture.

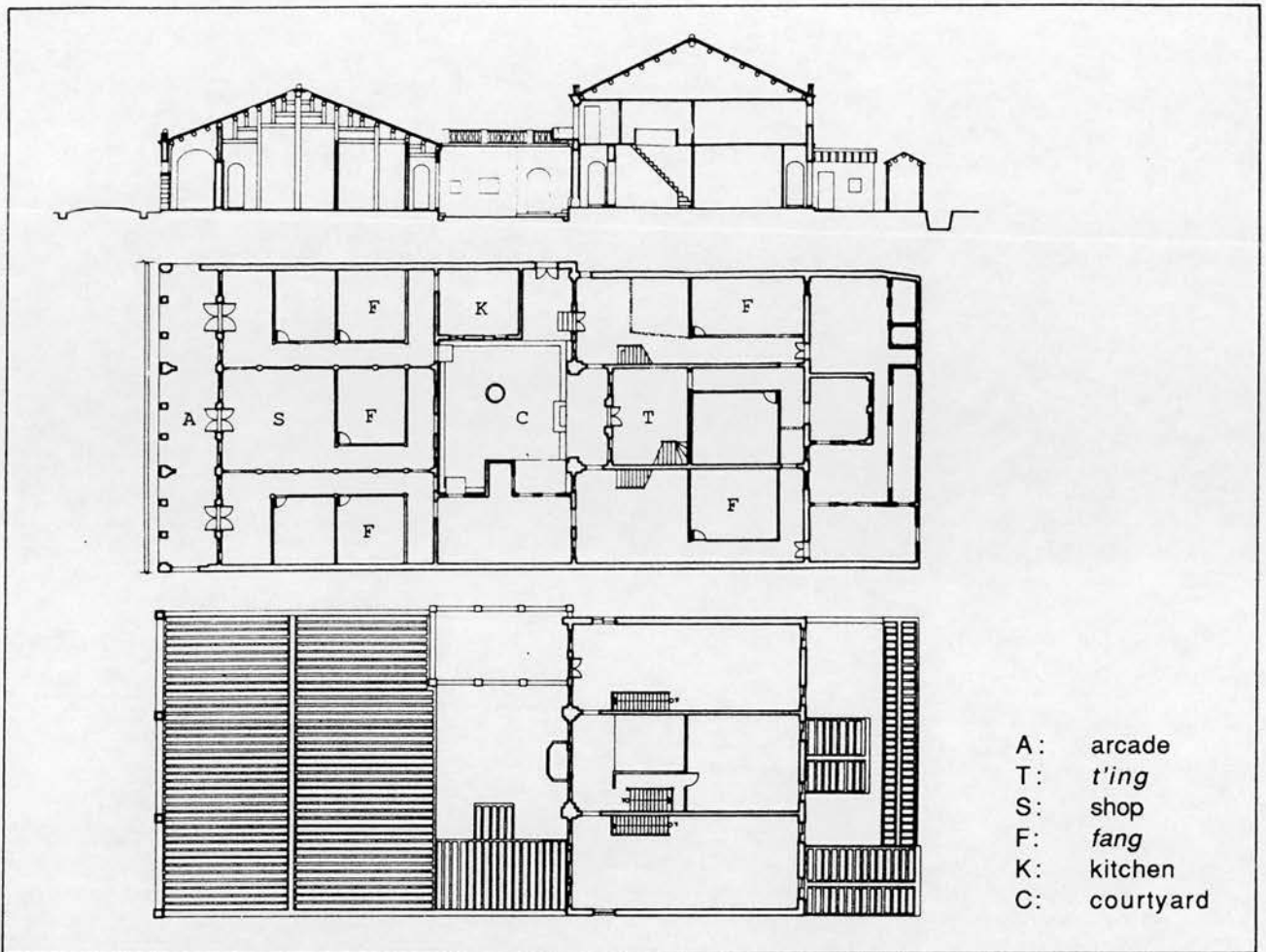


Fig. 1-28 Multi-span and single-courtyard street house. (Source: Huang 1983:143)

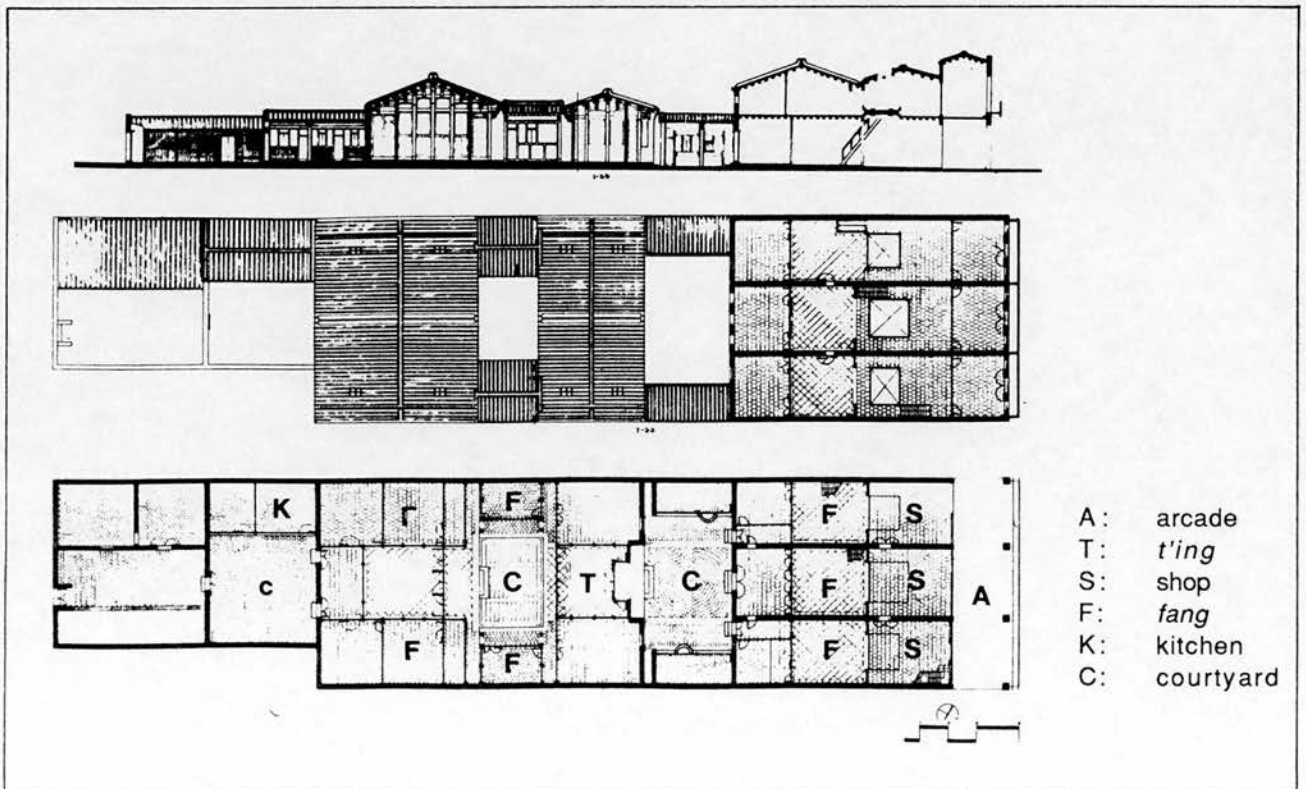


Fig. 1-29 Multi-span and multi-courtyard street house. (Source: Huang 1983:146)

Furthermore, there are also differences in the architectural style of the houses built in the north and the south of the island. The first immigrants to Taiwan in the 16th and 17th centuries settled in the south of the island and especially in and around Tainan, where the seat of government was located until its transfer to Taipei in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The sumptuary laws governing housing policies during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties were therefore observed much more strictly in the south than the north which was not settled till the 18th century. Houses built in the north of the island thus exhibited styles and decorations which were not permitted in the south. In addition, because the south was settled first and thus more densely populated, the houses built there did not have the same space to spread out as those in the north and were thus smaller in structure.

Generally speaking, houses in the south of Taiwan were built entirely on the model of the small and medium-sized houses of southern Fuchien. Many old houses typical of the southern Fuchienese style can still be seen in Anping district of Tainan and Penghu Island, while large-sized *minnan* style houses are quite common in northern Taiwan.

The traditional houses of Taiwan were built primarily of wood, stone, red tiles and bricks. In the early days most of the materials, apart from the mud bricks, were brought over from the mainland. Apart from the building materials, construction methods, building expertise and craftsmen were also imported. With both the materials and the masters coming from the mainland, the building style of southern Fuchien was faithfully recreated in traditional Taiwanese houses.

Apart from the influence of southern Fuchien, it was only natural that Taiwanese architecture should have been affected by the style of the various foreign governments which ruled the island. In the early period, Dutch style was observed in the decorations of the architectural elevation while the influence of Japanese style could be seen in the houses built during the Japanese occupation.

However, even though the styles of foreign architecture exerted some influence on Taiwanese architecture, the fundamental meaning of Chinese architecture was unchanged. When compared with the functional utilitarianism of modern Westernised homes, the old Taiwanese homes are different not just in the construction materials and techniques used but also in their social significance. The old houses reflected a microcosmic view of the sociocultural trends of Chinese

society and its religious, family and social relationships. Since old Taiwanese houses contained extended families ranging in size from several dozen to several hundred members, they were larger and more complex than contemporary dwellings. In order to maintain the necessary distinctions in status between old and young and honoured and lowly members of this system, the architecture had to accord with the social order. For example, the roofs of the two wings of the building, where the sons and the grandsons lived, were lower than the roof of the *cheng-shen*, where the ancestral tablets were enshrined and the parents dwelt.

Modern Western-style houses in Taiwan, on the other hand, are built to accommodate only the immediate nuclear family. For this reason, the area used is small and the form used is liberally applied, with none of the restrictions and elaboration required by the extended family system.

Furthermore, within the former agricultural society of Taiwan, the extended family constituted an economic unit responsible for the socioeconomic functions of both production and consumption. The family residence, therefore, also included the means of production. We can find that, in the courtyard house, the courtyard was used as a grain-drying field while the entry hall was used as a rent-collection area. Likewise, in the street house, shops and storage rooms were used for commercial functions. Thus, the design of these houses indicated very clearly the union of production and consumption, in contrast to modern homes which have little if any relation to production.

Large family complexes were not only economically self-sufficient units but also social and cultural units. For example, the Lin Family compound of Wufeng in Taichung included schools, an opera stage, an ancestral shrine etc. In other words it embodied a complete way of life. Nowadays, social, cultural and economic realities have all changed. Although Taiwan is changing rapidly, many old houses still stand, their ancient voices whispering the secrets of a bygone era. With even a slight knowledge of their function and structure, one can begin to interpret their whispering and understand the milieu which produced them.

CHAPTER 2 THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE ARCHITECTURE

In this chapter, I describe how traditional Chinese notions of the cosmos have influenced the construction process of vernacular Taiwanese architecture as well as outlining the whole process in detail. I will start by explaining the various roles taken by the participants. Apart from the master of the house and the members of his family, the most important roles in the construction process are taken by the master craftsman and his fellow builders, while the geomancer is responsible for the *feng-shui* survey. It is worth noting that in the construction of village temples in Taiwan, due to the belief that the temple will decide the fate of the village, a special committee is set up to preside over every stage of the construction (Hong 1980:13).

Generally speaking, the various methods of building a house can be divided into three groups (Yin 1987:41): (a) self-help, where the users of the house gather together their family and friends to build the house themselves; (b) relying on a few amateur builders to help with building; (c) hiring professional craftsmen-builders to take charge of the whole construction. I will concentrate mainly on the third of these three methods.

The construction process can be divided into a number of stages:

- (1) Preparations for construction.
- (2) The *feng-shui* survey.
- (3) The choice of auspicious locations for the spatial elements of the house.
- (4) The choice of auspicious measurements for the physical elements of the house.
- (5) Construction taboos.
- (6) Construction ceremonies.

Viewed as a whole, the construction process makes full use of the Chinese notions of cosmic symbols, along with religious, *feng-shui* and ethical notions. At the same time, important ceremonies, both individual and collective, are held throughout the process. The process thus reflects the common participation and

shared destiny of an individual family or entire settlement. This is a very important phenomenon in the study of vernacular Taiwanese houses and one which requires explanation.

2.1 PREPARATIONS FOR CONSTRUCTION

Great care is taken with the preparations for each stage of the building of vernacular Taiwanese houses. The main expression of this care is seen in the preparation of building materials. According to the *Lu Pan Ching* 魯班經, timber to be used in the construction of a house must be made from trees felled on auspicious days. The best pieces of timber are then chosen to serve as the main poles and ridgepole of the new house. In the meantime, the timber is stored facing in an auspicious direction, usually to the north. (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.1:1)

Such customs still exist among the Yami 雅美 minority⁹ who inhabit the remote Lanyu 蘭嶼 island off the eastern coast of Taiwan. Valuable information on the Yami is provided in a study by C.H. Fang. He found that the longest part of the construction process for the Yami people was the three years spent choosing the materials. Other stages took a relatively short time: three to four months for the construction itself and twelve days for the completion ceremonies. It is thus clear that for the Yami, the most important part of the whole process is the choosing of building materials (Fang 1984:57).

The first stage of the process is for the builders of the house to go to the woods and select timber suitable for the different parts of the building, obtaining the right to use the timber by marking it with the family emblem. The best piece of timber is picked out to serve as the ridgepole and main poles of the new house. The Yami choose the most auspicious days to go into the woods to fell the trees, making separate trips to fell those required for the different parts of the house. A special ceremony which involves praying to gods and ancestors is held for the most important stage of the process, the selection of timber for the main poles (which the Yami call the *tomok*) and ridgepole of the new house. For fear of evil spirits

⁹ There are nine main minorities still remaining in Taiwan, Yami minority is one of them.

causing trouble after sunset, all the wood has to be brought back to the village before nightfall and placed facing in an auspicious direction (Fang 1984:58). It is because Lanyu island has only recently been developed that so many of the old customs have been preserved ¹⁰.

The above descriptions allow us to see how the selection of building materials in early Taiwan was a very painstaking and careful process. Times change, however, and the availability of ready-made materials makes us forget these old practices. Nevertheless, in traditional Taiwanese rural societies, we can still find examples of people attaching great importance to the selection of architectural materials.

The most commonly used materials in traditional Taiwanese buildings are bamboo, wood, stone, mud and bricks. The distribution of these materials is as follows: on the main island of Taiwan, wood, brick and stone are used in temples and the homes of the well-off, while the poorer people generally can only afford to use bamboo and mud (although stone is used frequently in mountainous areas such as Northeastern Taiwan). In the remote islands of Taiwan, stone is the most popular architectural material (Li 1979:20-21). In the Penghu islands, for example, people use a dead coral stone known as *lao-ku* 硲硲 stone as the main building material. The stone has to be stored up long in advance to ensure that eventual construction will proceed smoothly. After being taken from the sea bed, the *lao-ku* stone first has to be stored in the open air over a very long period before it is hard enough to be used in construction. A further example of the use of stone is in Taoyuan 桃園 county, a mountainous region of northern Taiwan inhabited by Hakkas, who carefully collect and store stones of various shapes and sizes, in preparation for future use in the building of houses (Mi & Kuan 1983:62).

As a result of the shortage of building materials in early Taiwan, people treated the materials which they used with great care. Through living in one area for a very long period of time, they also built up a great understanding of and respect for their physical surroundings and gradually came to an understanding of how to collect and use the abundance of materials which were available within their

¹⁰ During the Japanese occupation, Lanyu island was preserved as a "laboratory of anthropological research". It was not open to the public until 1945 when Taiwan again returned to Chinese government.

environment. It is through perception, emotions and the experiences of life that a person residing in one place for a long time is able gradually to create an interacting relationship with his environment. The establishment of this relationship is a process of accumulation, which takes place over a long period of time, and is certainly not created quickly. The great majority of the builders of vernacular Taiwanese houses have received no formal training. The way in which they select and use building materials is a the natural result of a long period of interaction with their living environment. Through using the materials in a straightforward way, the builders are able to bring out clearly the natural characteristics of the materials. C. L. Li, in his discussion of the use of material in vernacular Taiwanese houses, has written the following:

After a considerable period of time, during which they (the builders of the vernacular houses) observe the materials and the methods of construction used in normal times, eventually they are able, with the addition of their own confidence and perseverance, to complete the project. [.....] Irrespective of their personal backgrounds, the vernacular builders all have some characteristics in common. For example, none of them have had any professional or so-called "academic" training: thus, the ways in which they combine and arrange materials, as well as the ways in which they manage architectural space and forms, are very different from established practices. It is through these differences that we can see the creativity of the works of these vernacular architects. The value of these projects for those professional architects who indulge themselves in pursuing the latest fashions, and have thus lost their alertness, is in making them become vigilant, introspective and even prepared to draw lessons (Li 1983:66).

A similar warning has also been made by other scholars:

There are at present some planning and design projects which neglect the meaning of the environment and the needs of the people who will use the building. Their bold and arrogant predictions of the future have strangled any flexibility for the development and adaptation of the environment. As a result, problems have emerged and the environment is in a state of chaos. An examination of Taiwanese vernacular houses provides professional architects with an opportunity for a serious look at themselves (Mi & Kuan 1983:63)

The emphasis on the necessity for auspicious time and position in the selection of building materials, which is evident both in the *Lu Pan Ching* and amongst the Yami people of today, as well as the concern for these materials manifested in vernacular Taiwanese houses, both show Chinese people's tenderness towards

objects. Although the materials used in building are inanimate, after going through the arrangement of auspicious time and space, they no longer have a partial and inflexible existence but have instead been put into an imaginary dimension created by Chinese cosmic notions. From the users' viewpoint, these pieces of the building have been given a deeper and more significant meaning. Moreover, people's experience of their environment, gained over a long period of time, has bred a deep affection for and experience of the materials within that environment. This constitutes the individual's real experience of life. The ways in which people use their environment result from their life experiences and are a clear expression of the consequences of a meeting between man and his environment which not only express the existential meaning of man's life but at the same time also manifest the existential meaning of the inanimate objects which surround him. The pursuit of modern architectural styles, on the other hand, has transformed architectural materials into mere fashionable packages, and has led, naturally, to the loss of the deeper existential significance of materials which had emerged as a result of long interaction between man and his environment.

2.2 THE *FENG-SHUI* SURVEY

The main part of the architectural *feng-shui* survey is deciding on the site of a Taiwanese vernacular house. Naturally, this survey is presided over by a geomancer. In the choosing of a site for a temple, however, the faithful also have to pray to the gods to ask for their permission before the position of the site can be determined (Hong 1980:13). C. W. Chen in his research on the formation of vernacular Taiwanese houses gave the following description:

Feng-shui is a concealed form which represents an accumulation of knowledge of man's physical environment. It is based on the experiences of the Han people gained from observations of their natural environment in the course of their social development. During the feudal peasant society, it was given superhuman powers as a means of guaranteeing and encouraging people's obedience (Chen C. W. 1983:23-24).

This refers to the concepts of the most representative *feng-shui* theory in Taiwan, the *Luan-t'ou* 巒頭 School. Due to the narrow and mountainous form of the island of Taiwan, it was impossible for houses to be built in line with the "sitting on the north and facing to the south" orientation common in Northern China. Instead,

the position of the house was usually decided on the basis of local geographical factors: it is as a result of these factors that the *Luan-t'ou* School has been the most commonly used school of *feng-shui* in Taiwanese architecture ¹¹ (Lin H. H. 1989:39).

The *Luan-t'ou* School requires the following four conditions to achieve a favourable *feng-shui*: *lung* 龍 (dragon ridge), *hsueh* 穴 (cave), *sha* 砂 (hill), *shui* 水 (water) (Fig. 2-1) (Lin H. C. 1987:13). Taken individually, *lung* means the dragon ridge or mountain ranges through which *ch'i* 氣 or the living breath flows. *Ch'i* flows through *t'ai-tsu-shan* 太祖山 (Mount T'aitzu), *shao-tsu-shan* 少祖山 (Mount Shaotsu), and *fu-mu-shan* 父母山 (Mount Fumu) before finally arriving at a *hsueh* in which it is concealed. *Hsueh* represents the ideal location for building a house (*yang-chai* 陽宅) or a tomb (*yin-chai* 陰宅) (Fo 1929: part I, Vol. 3:2). The open space of land in front of the *hsueh* is called the *ming-tang* 明堂 (bright hall), which has to be wide and open in order to absorb the incoming *ch'i*. The small hills surrounding the *hsueh* are called *sha*: other elements on occasions can also be called *sha*, including ramparts, walls, trees, stones and houses. *Shui* or water means the rivers or ponds in front of the *ming-tang*: on occasions the roads in front of the *ming-tang* can also be regarded as *shui* (Huang 1983:50).

The various forms of *shui* which surround the *ming-tang* can be divided into auspicious and inauspicious groups. The *yao-tai-shui* 腰帶水 (Fig. 2-2) is an auspicious form of *shui* where the river (or road), is in the shape of a bow which circles the *ming-tang* in front of the *hsueh* (Liu 1987:46). The *chu-mien-shui* 聚面水 which is formed by ponds is also an auspicious form (Fig. 2-3) (Liang 1990:75). A river or road which goes directly towards the *hsueh* is considered to be inauspicious (Lin H. H. 1989:41). The importance of the *shui* is that, even though the *ch'i* originates in the *lung*, the continued supply of *ch'i* must come from *shui*. In terms of *feng-shui*, *shui* should be flowing smoothly rather than swiftly, otherwise the *ch'i* could be impossible to store. *Lung*, *sha* and *shui* have to encircle a *hsueh* in order to gather *ch'i* and prevent it from dispersing. The principles of "surrounding and protecting" and "open to the front and solid at the rear" are essential for the storing of *ch'i*.

¹¹ Apart from the *Luan-t'ou* School, the *Li-ch'i* 理氣 School, the other important school of *feng-shui*, has also been applied in Taiwan, especially in central Taiwan where the wide flat plains are unsuitable for the practice of the *Luan-t'ou feng-shui*.

The notion of *ssu-shen* 四神 (Four Gods), in the Chinese system of cosmic symbols - Azure Dragon, White Tiger, Red Bird and Black Tortoise - is used to indicate a good *feng-shui* form, in which the four symbols can correspond to the *lung*, *sha*, *shui* and *hsueh*. The Azure Dragon and White Tiger, corresponding to the *sha*, are placed to the left and right of the *ming-tang*, while the Red Bird to the front and the Black Tortoise to the rear correspond to *shui* and *lung* respectively (*Tsang Shu*).

Apart from the four main elements - *lung*, *sha*, *shui* and *hsueh* - a good *feng-shui* also attaches importance to the notion of *chao-shan*, *an-shan*, and *lo-shan*. (Fig. 2-4) According to *feng-shui* texts, hills which are small and near to the *hsueh* are known as *an-shan* 案山, the ones which are distant and large are called *chao-shan* 朝山 while the *lo-shan* 樂山 are the same as the dragon ridges. There are no particular rules laid down for the precise distance from the *hsueh* to the *chao-shan* and *an-shan* as long as the mountains are in positions which accord with the principles of *feng-shui* (Fo 1927: part I, Vol.5:2-3).

The T'su-t'ien Kung 慈天宮 temple in the Hakka settlement of Pei-p'u was built following the principles of *feng-shui*. (Liang 1990:74-75) By superimposing a *feng-shui* arrangement on the architectural layout of this temple (Fig. 2-5), we can see that the temple is situated exactly on the site of the *hsueh*, while the hill to the rear of the temple is not only a *lo-shan* and dragon ridge but also forms the Black Tortoise of the *si-shen*. The nearby old town walls of Pei-p'u represent an *an-shan* while the mountain in the distance, Mount Lung-feng-chih 龍鳳崎, is a *chao-shan*. The layers of bamboo and rows of houses on both wings of the temple constitute two *shas*, the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger, while the ponds and trenches encircling the temple represent the *shui* and the Red Bird respectively. The layout of the T'su-t'ien Kung thus satisfies not only the *feng-shui* structure but also the notion of the *si-shen*.

The same *feng-shui* arrangement can also be projected onto the layout of individual buildings. For example, in traditional Taiwanese courtyard houses (Fig. 2-6), the main hall is the *hsueh*, the courtyard is the *ming-tang*, the two wings of the house are the *shas*, the roads, rivers and ponds to the front of the house are the *shui*, the hills behind the house present the *lung*. In general, most houses follow the *feng-shui* principle of "sitting on *lo-shan* and facing *chao-shan*". Thus, traditional

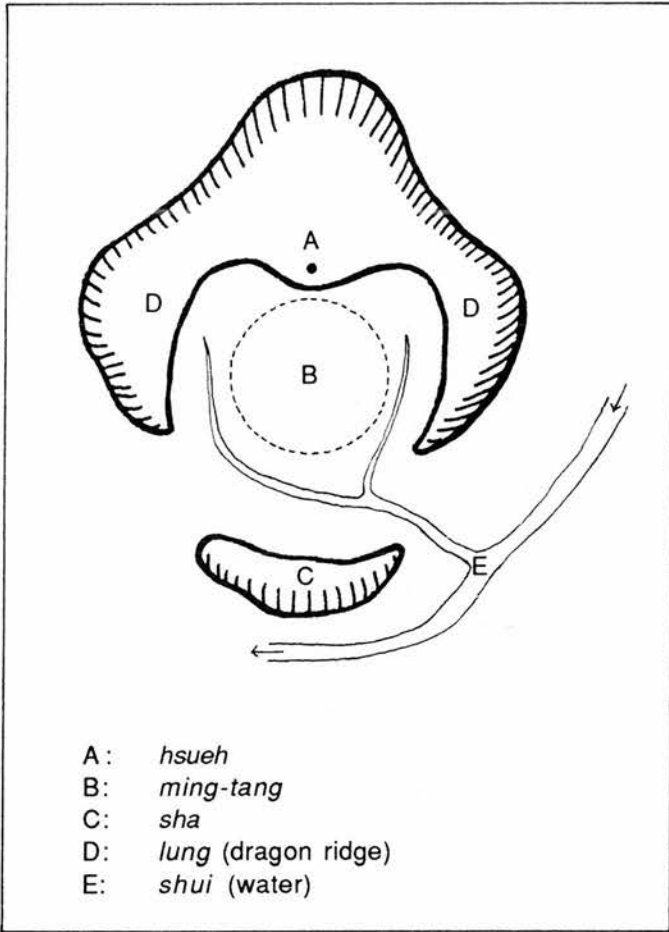


Fig. 2-1 The arrangement of good *feng-shui*.

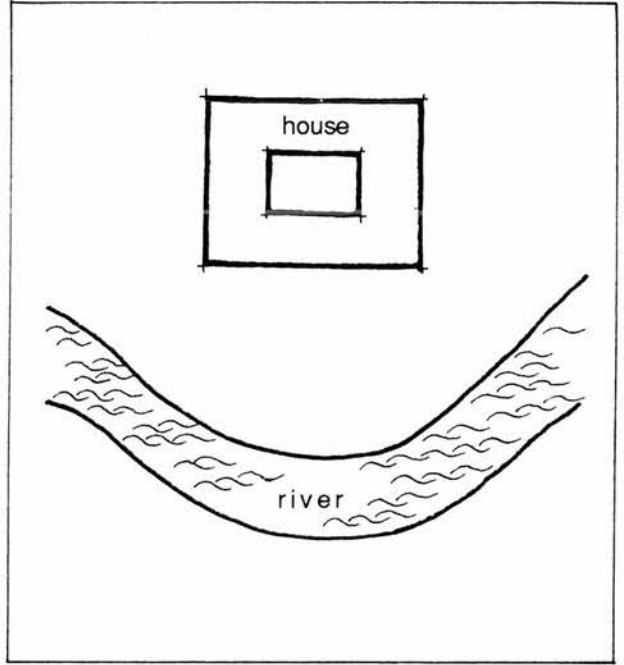


Fig. 2-2 The *yao-tai-shui*

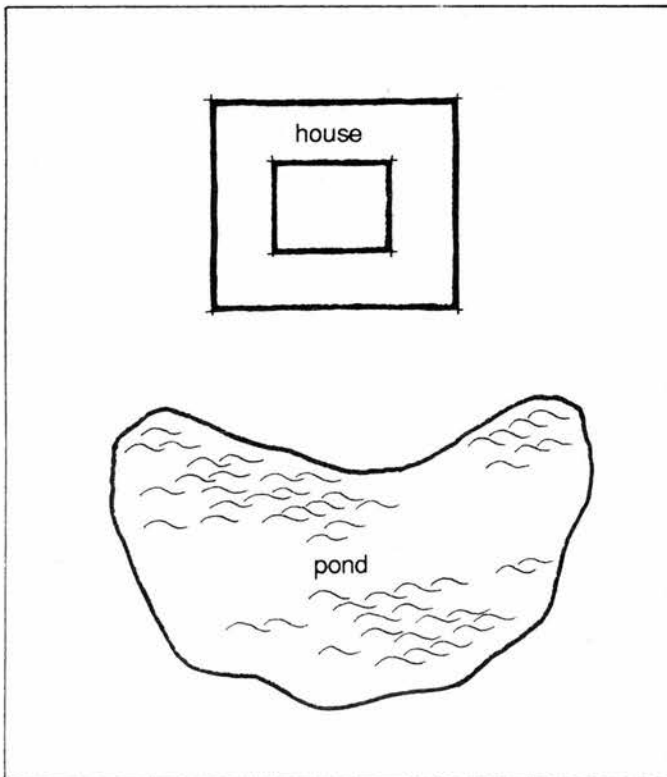


Fig. 2-3 The *chu-mien-shui*

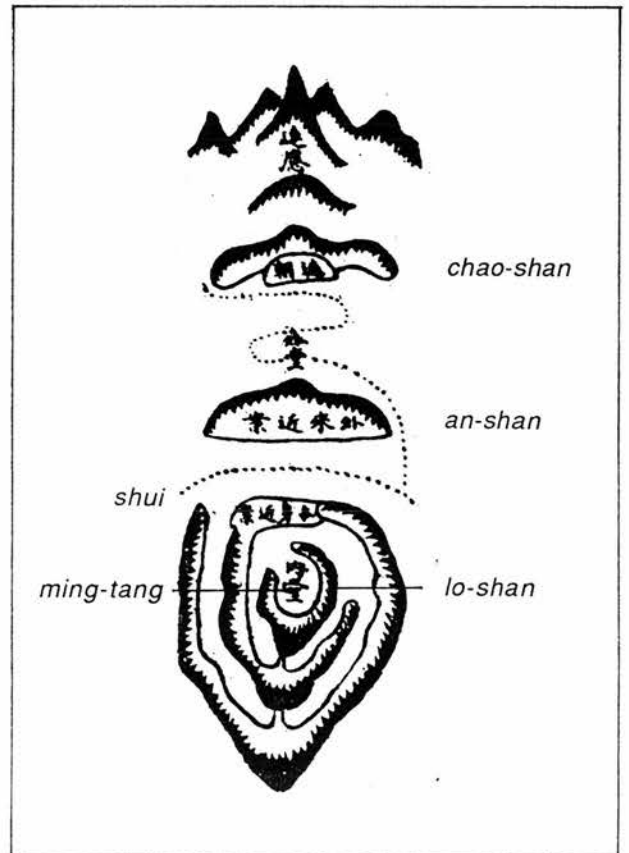


Fig. 2-4 The arrangement of *chao-shan*, *an-shan* and *lo-shan*.
(Source: Fo 1927: vol. 5:3)

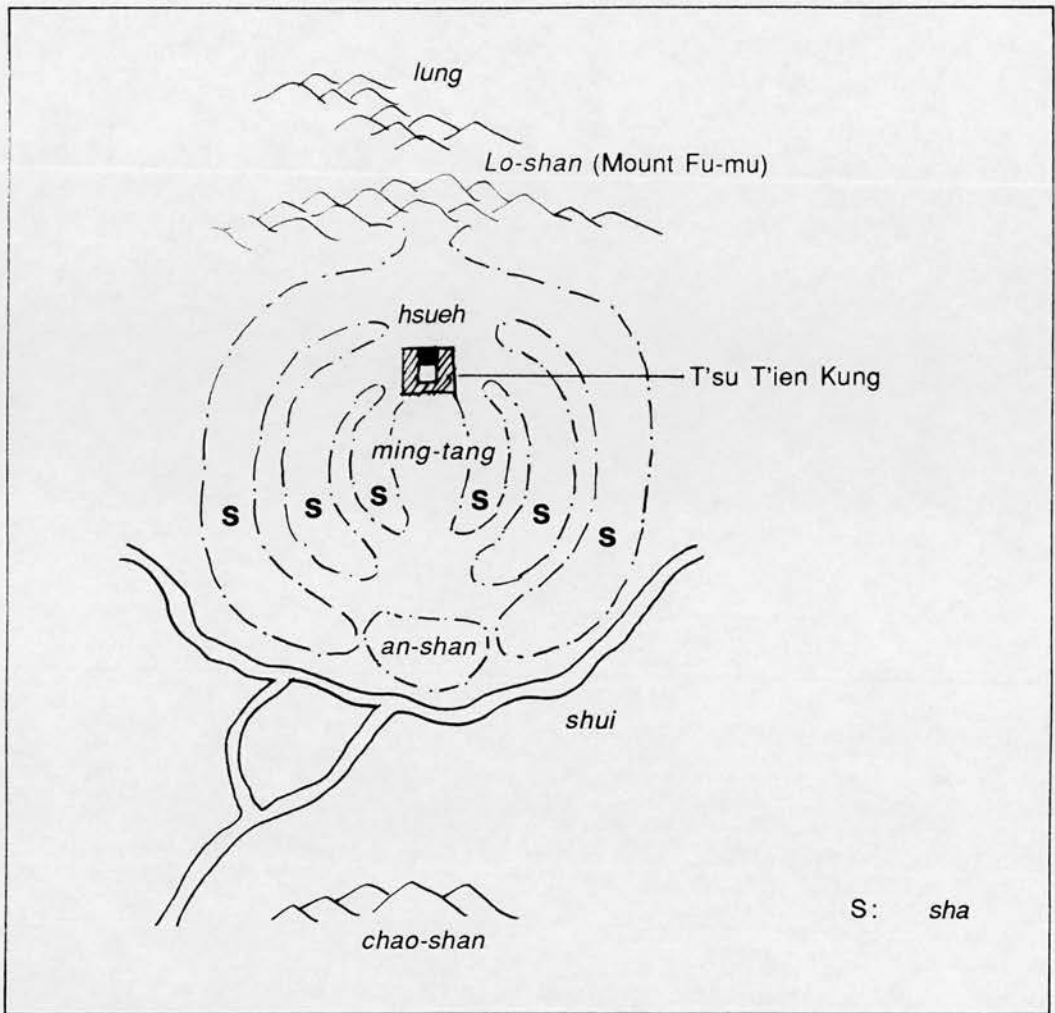


Fig. 2-5 The *feng-shui* arrangement of T'su T'ien Kung.

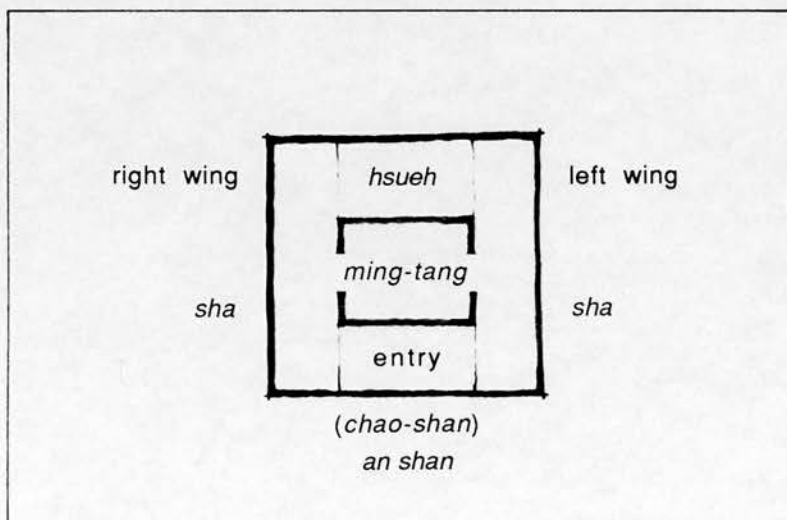


Fig. 2-6 The *feng-shui* arrangement of a house.

(All from: Liang 1990:74-75)

Taiwanese houses, both individually and collectively, express the *feng-shui* structure of *lung, sha, shui* and *hsueh* and the two principles of "encircled with layers of defence" and "open to the front and solid at the rear".

The Chinese notion of *feng-shui* is not merely a simulation of natural forms. It is also a reflection of a pursuit of a supernatural realm, a pursuit with strong cosmological and religious overtones. For example, the pursuit of "the storing of wind and the gathering of *ch'i*", which is an important part of *feng-shui*, recognises the existence within nature of *ch'i* or living breath. The application of the *si-shen* system of cosmic symbols brings *ch'i* within the defensive boundaries of supernatural power. Through this supernatural protection, *ch'i* can represent eternal existence. The members of both individual houses and whole settlements can gain the protection of the living breath and thus lead happy and fortunate lives.

Under the protection of supernatural power, Taiwanese traditional houses come to represent a simulated model of the cosmos, through which people can forge even closer links with the gods. Through a discussion of *feng-shui* structure, we can find that there is a latent need which is concealed behind the architectural forms which have been manifested. On the basis of the microcosmos formed by the application of these cosmic notions, people hope to move beyond the limitations of the individual world to unlimited realms: in other words, from a lower to a higher form of existence. Through a linking of man and nature, man can pursue the supernatural and transcend his limitations to enter the eternal realm where man and nature are in harmony. Taiwanese vernacular houses and settlements, through the application of a *feng-shui* arrangement, become sanctified as the centre of the cosmos, thus allowed people to find their orientation within space and time. By means of the endless vitality of the cosmos, people can transcend their mundane space and time and thus give their lives eternal meaning.

2.3 CHOOSING THE LOCATIONS FOR THE SPATIAL ELEMENTS OF TAIWANESE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

Once an auspicious *feng-shui* site has been found, the next step is to determine the auspicious locations for various spatial elements. In the determination of the most auspicious locations for the architectural elements in vernacular Taiwanese houses, the important features to be considered are the doors, the master's room,

the stove, the well, the stables etc. During the construction process, the auspicious locations of the spatial elements are decided on the basis of the application of various cosmic symbols, including: yin and yang, the Five Elements, the Eight Trigrams, the Nine Stars, the *Ho-t'u Lo-shu* 河圖洛書, the Heavenly Stems, the Earthly Branches and the Twenty-four Directions etc. In the past, the geomancers were responsible for the most important task of surveying these auspicious locations. The main stages can be described as follows.

2.3.1 *Tung-ssu-ming* and *Hsi-ssu-ming*

In ancient China, the numbering of years was calculated on a sixty-year cycle based on sixty different combinations of the ten Heavenly Stems and twelve Earthly Branches. Each period of sixty years was called one *chia-tsu* 甲子, or in *feng-shui*, *l-yuan* 一元 (one cycle). A period of three *yuan* (*san-yuan* 三元) was called a *chou-t'ien* 周天. Each *chou-t'ien* had a *shang-yuan* 上元 or upper *yuan*, a *chung-yuan* 中元 or middle *yuan*, and a *hsia-yuan* 下元 or lower *yuan*. Starting from the Han dynasty, the numbering of years has rotated in the sequence of *shang-yuan*, *chung-yuan* and *hsia-yuan* (Han 1983:142; *Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:1-3). The current sequence is as follows:

<i>Shang-yuan</i> :	1863-1923	A.D.
<i>Chung-yuan</i> :	1924-1983	A.D.
<i>Hsia-yuan</i> :	1984-2044	A.D.

Geomancers take the various combinations of Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches which go to make up each *yuan* and fit them into the Eight Trigrams system. Chart 2-1 shows the correlation between the Eight Trigrams and their year of birth for people born between 1924 and 1983 (*chung-yuan*). For example, in the Eight Trigrams system, a male born in 1924 (the year of *chia-tsu*) belongs to the *sun-kung* 巽宮, the palace of *sun*, while a female born in 1936 (the year of *ping-tsu* 丙子) belongs to the *chung-kung* 中宮, the middle palace. However, there are special arrangements for those born in the middle palace: a male who belongs to the middle palace is included in *k'un-kung* 坤宮, the palace of *k'un*, while a female who belongs to the middle palace is included in *ken-kung* 艮宮. Thus, the female born in 1936 is included in *ken-kung*, the palace of *ken*.

People who belong to *k'an-kung* 坎宮, *li-kung* 離宮, *chen-kung* 震宮, and *sun-kung* are defined as people with *tung-ssu-ming* 東四命, the four destinies of the east, while those who belong to *ch'ien-kung* 乾宮, *k'un-kung*, *k'en-kung* and *tui-kung* 兌宮 are defined as people with *hsi-ssu-ming* 西四命, the four destinies of the west (Chung 1982:103-104; *Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:3-5).

2.3.2 The relationship between the Eight Trigrams and the Five Elements

The notion of the Five Elements can be used to explain the relationship between the Eight Trigrams and people with *tung-ssu-ming* and *hsi-ssu-ming*. The Five Elements correspond to the Five Directions in the following way: the centre corresponds to earth, the north to water, the south to fire, the west to metal and the east to wood.

Each of the Eight Trigrams (the Later Eight Trigrams) (Fig. 2-7)¹² also corresponds to a particular direction: thus, *k'an* 坎 corresponds to the north, *chen* 震 to the east, *li* 離 to the south, *tui* 兌 to the west, *ken* 艮 to the northeast, *sun* 巽 to the southeast, *k'un* 坤 to the southwest and *ch'ien* 乾 to the northwest. According to their respective direction, we can then specify their relationship with the Five Elements: thus, *k'an* corresponds to water and the north, *chen* corresponds to wood and the east, *li* corresponds to fire and the south, and *tui* corresponds to metal and the west. Otherwise, the direction of *ch'ien* is northwest, while *sun* is southeast. If we look at the path of the sun, northwest is close to west while southeast is close to south. Therefore, *ch'ien* corresponds to metal (west) and *sun* to fire (south) (Han 1983:140). Chinese people have always used *ch'ien* and *k'un* to symbolise heaven and earth, so, in terms of the Five elements, *k'un* is treated as earth. Finally, according to the notion of Eight Trigrams, *ken* symbolises mountains; and since mountains are considered as earth, *ken* is treated as earth in the Five Elements. Thus, every trigram of the Eight Trigrams has a corresponding

¹² The Eight Trigrams which Chinese people use to explain the notions of Chinese cosmology can be divided into two forms: one is called the Former Eight Trigrams, the other is called the Later Eight Trigrams. According to recent research, the Former Eight Trigrams are not truly ancient but, rather, the work of Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011-1107), a famous Sung philosopher. However, both the forms of Eight Trigrams are applied to interpret Chinese cosmology (Lu 1990:63).

relationship with the Five Elements; *k'an* is water, *ken* is earth, *chen* and *sun* are wood, *li* is fire, *k'un* is earth and *tui* and *ch'ien* are metal.

Within the Five Elements, there exist cycles of productive and overcoming relationships: these are outlined in Chart 2-2. In the productive cycle, wood produces fire, fire produces earth, earth produces metal, metal produces water and water produces wood. In the overcoming cycle, wood overcomes earth, earth overcomes water, water overcomes fire, fire overcomes metal and metal overcomes wood.

Within the Eight Trigrams, *ch'ien* corresponds to metal, *k'un* to earth, *tui* to metal, and *ken* to earth. As there is a productive relationship between earth and metal of earth producing metal, these four symbols can be combined into one group. In the other group *k'an* corresponds to water, *li* to fire, *chen* to wood and *sun* to wood. Within this group there exist both productive (water producing wood) and overcoming (water overcoming fire) relationships. However, in spite of this overcoming relationship between *k'an* (water) and *li* (fire), in terms of the Eight Trigrams these symbols (*k'an* "☵", *li* "☲") have a harmonious *yin-yang* relationship, so the relationship is productive rather than overcoming. Consequently the *k'an*, *li*, *chen* and *sun* trigrams can be combined into one group.

2.3.3 The numerical relationship between the Eight Trigrams and the *lo-shu*

The diagram contained in the *lo-shu* 洛書 (Fig. 2-8) can be formed into a grid of nine squares (Chart 2-3), in which each square has a number which corresponds to the dots in the *lo-shu* diagram. This diagram, considered a magical secret by the ancient Chinese, is a square with the numbers from one to nine arranged in rows, with the total of each row and column coming to fifteen. The arrangement of the numbers is as follows: in the middle column nine is on the top and one on the bottom, in the middle row three is to the left and seven to the right, while in the four corners clockwise from top left are four, two, six and eight. The number five is in the centre.

By comparing the Chart 2-3 with the Former Eight Trigram Sequence shown in Fig 2-9, we can see the relationship between the Former Eight Trigram Sequence and the *lo-shu* square. *K'un* is one, *sun* is two, *li* is three, *tui* is four, *ken* is six,

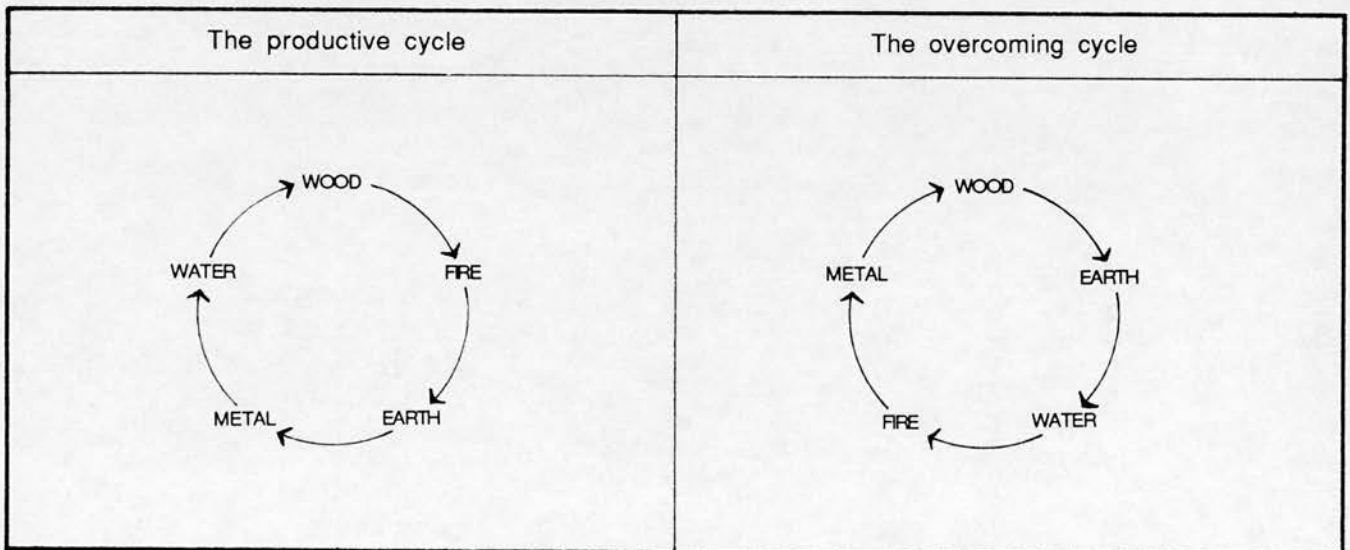
Chart 2-1 The correlation between the Eight Trigrams and their year of birth for people born between 1924 and 1983 (Chung-yuan).

m: male
f: female

sun-kung	m	chia-tsu	1924	kuei-yu	1933	jen-wu	1942	hsin-mao	1951	keng-tsu	1960	chi-yu	1969	wu-wu	1978
	f	ping-yin	1926	yi-hai	1935	chia-cheng	1944	kuei-ssu	1953	jen-yin	1962	hsin-hai	1971	keng-sheng	1980
chen-kung	m	yi-ch'ou	1925	chia-hsu	1934	kuei-wei	1943	jen-chen	1952	hsin-ch'ou	1961	keng-hsu	1970	chih-wei	1979
	f	yi-ch'ou	1925	chia-hsu	1934	kuei-wei	1943	jen-chen	1952	hsin-ch'ou	1961	keng-hsu	1970	chih-wei	1979
k'un-kung	m	ping-yin	1926	yi-hai	1935	chia-sheng	1944	kuei-ssu	1953	jen-yin	1962	hsin-hai	1971	keng-sheng	1980
	f	chia-tsu	1924	kuei-yu	1933	jen-wu	1942	hsin-mao	1951	keng-tsu	1960	chi-yu	1969	wu-wu	1978
k'an-kung	m	ting-mao	1927	ping-tsu	1936	yi-yu	1945	chia-wu	1954	kuei-mao	1963	jen-tsu	1972	hsin-yu	1981
	f	jen-sheng	1932	hsin-ssu	1941	keng-yin	1950	chi-hai	1959	wu-sheng	1968	ting-ssu	1977		
li-kung	m	wu-chen	1928	ting-ch'ou	1937	ping-jsu	1946	yi-wei	1955	chia-chen	1964	kuei-ch'ou	1973	jen-hsu	1982
	f	hsin-wei	1931	keng-chen	1940	chi-ch'ou	1949	wu-hsu	1958	ting-wei	1967	ping-chen	1976		
ken-kung	m	chi-ssu	1929	wu-yin	1938	ting-hai	1947	ping-sheng	1956	yi-ssu	1965	chia-yin	1974	kuei-hai	1983
	f	keng-wu	1930	chi-mao	1939	wu-tsu	1948	ting-yu	1957	ping-wu	1966	yi-mao	1975		
tui-kung	m	keng-wu	1930	chi-mao	1939	wu-tsu	1948	ting-yu	1957	ping-wu	1966	yi-mao	1975		
	f	chi-ssu	1929	wu-yin	1938	ting-hai	1947	ping-sheng	1956	yi-ssu	1965	chia-yin	1974	kuei-hai	1983
ch'ien-kung	m	hsin-wei	1931	keng-chen	1940	chi-ch'ou	1949	wu-hsu	1958	ting-wei	1967	ping-chen	1976		
	f	wu-chen	1928	ting-ch'ou	1937	ping-hsu	1946	yi-wei	1955	chia-chen	1964	kuei-ch'ou	1973	jen-hsu	1982
chung-kung	m	jen-sheng	1932	hsin-ssu	1941	keng-yin	1950	chi-hai	1959	wu-sheng	1968	ting-ssu	1977		
	f	ting-mao	1927	ping-tsu	1936	yi-yu	1945	chia-wu	1954	kuei-mao	1963	jen-tsu	1972	hsin-yu	1981

Sources: Chung 1982:104

Chart 2-2 The productive and overcoming cycle of the Five Elements.



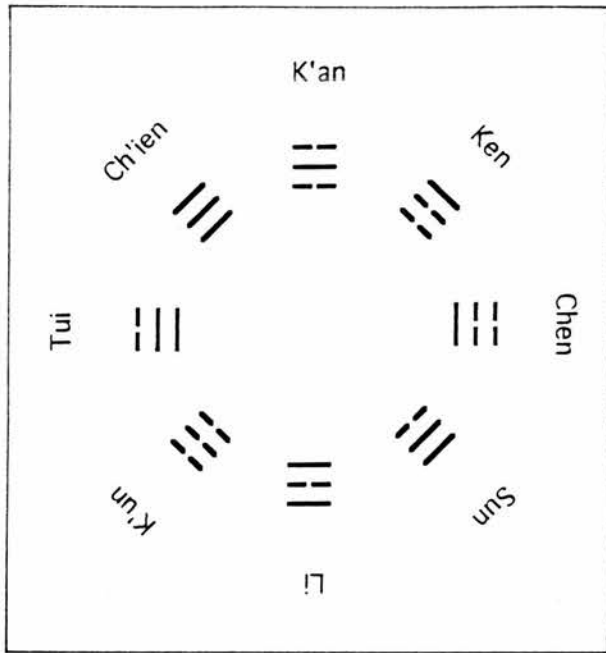


Fig. 2-7 The Later Eight Trigrams.

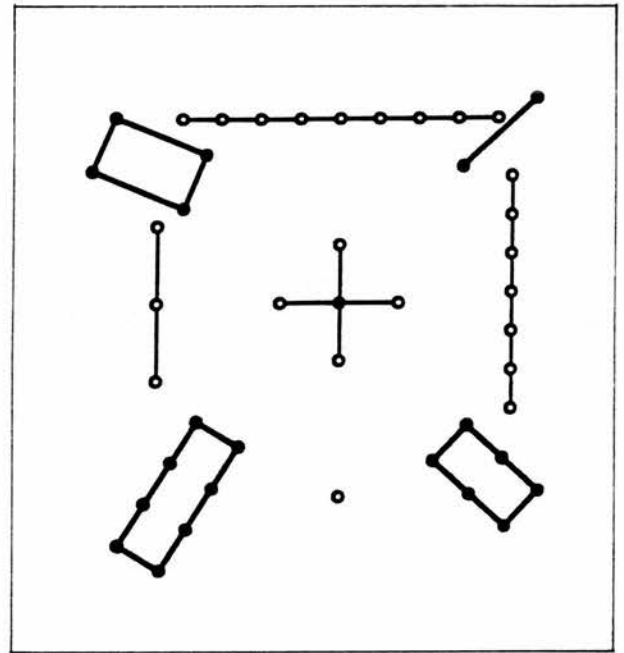


Fig. 2-8 The *Lo Shu*.

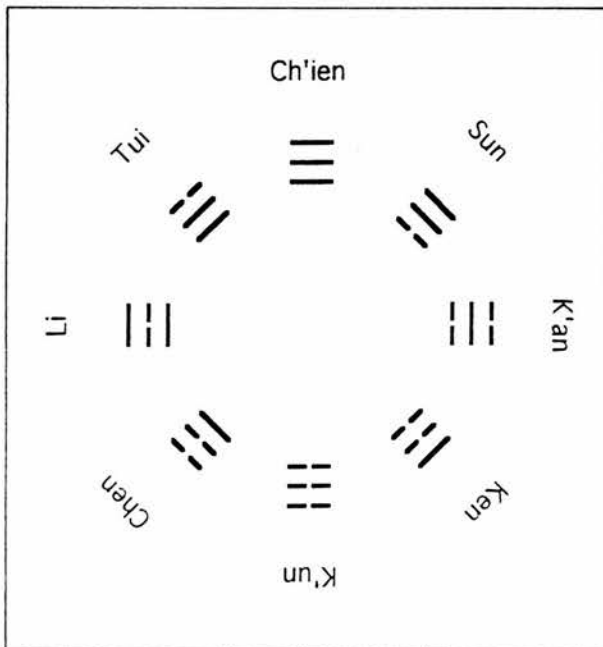


Fig. 2-9 The Former Eight Trigrams.

(Source: Fig. 2-7, 2-8, and 2-9 from *Pa-chai Ming-chin*, Vol. 1:1-2)

k'an is seven, *chen* is eight and *ch'ien* is nine. Each of the Eight Trigrams corresponding numbers which combine to form a total of five, ten or fifteen are considered auspicious (Han 1983:141). Thus, the adding or subtracting of the numbers corresponding to *ch'ien* (9), *ken* (6), *tui* (4) and *k'un* (1) can form five, ten or fifteen. In the other group, the combinations of *k'an* (7), *li* (3), *chen* (8) and *sun* (2) can also be combined to form the auspicious numbers of five, ten and fifteen. This comparison with the numbers of the *lo-shu*, which shows that auspicious meanings can be obtained from the *lo-shu* as well as from the Five Elements is a further explanation of how *ch'ien*, *ken*, *tui* and *k'un* come to form one group and *k'an*, *li*, *chen* and *sun* another group.

Through this explanation of the relationships between the *lo-shu*, the Five Elements and the Eight Trigrams, we can begin to understand the ways in which auspicious positions are chosen for the architectural spatial elements. Each of the eight trigrams (the later Eight Trigrams) represents a particular direction; thus, *k'an* is north, *li* is south, *chen* is east, *tui* is west, *ken* is northeast, *sun* is southeast, *k'un* is southwest and *ch'ien* is northwest. We can see that a person who belongs to the *Tung-ssu-ming*, i.e. someone who belongs to *k'an*, *li*, *chen* and *sun*, will obtain an auspicious house if he arranges the important spatial elements of their homes in the north (*k'an*), the south (*li*), the east (*chen*) and the southeast (*sun*). Similarly, the auspicious position for the spatial elements of the homes of people who belong to the *Hsi-ssu-ming* will be in the northwest (*ch'ien*), the northeast (*ken*), the west (*tui*) and the southwest (*k'un*). It is possible, however, to go into even greater detail in explaining the methods of arranging the layout of the house.

2.3.4 The relationship between the Nine Stars and the Eight Trigrams

According to Chinese cosmology, the Nine Stars are the nine heavenly constellations which can determine the destiny of mankind. They are *t'an-lang* 貪狼, *chu-men* 巨門, *wu-chu* 武曲, *lien-chen* 廉貞, *p'o-chun* 破軍, *wen-chu* 文曲, *lu-ts'un* 祿存, *tso-fu* 左輔 and *yu-pi* 右弼. (Feuchtwang 1974c:160) Their respective meanings are as follows: *t'an-lang* represents *sheng-ch'i* 生氣 or vitality, *chu-men* represents *t'ien-i* 天醫 or heavenly healing, *wu-chu* represents *yen-nien* 延年 or prolonging age, *lien-chen* represents *wu-kui* 五鬼 or five demons, *p'o-chun* represents *chueh-ming* 絕命 or breaking off life, *wen-chu* represents *liu-sha* 六煞 or six evil spirits, *lu-ts'un* represents *huo-hai* 禍害 or

calamitous injury and *tso-fu* and *yu-pi* together represent *fu-wei* 伏位 or manifested position. (Lee 1986:310-311) Thus, the constellations of *t'an-lang*, *chu-men*, *wu-chu*, *tso-fu* and *yu-pi* are auspicious and the rest are inauspicious.

In fact, the nine constellations are the seven constellations of the Big Dipper and two smaller constellations nearby, namely *tso-fu* and *yu-pi* (Han 1983:141; Needham 1959:250). *Feng-shui* texts generally call *tso-fu* and *yu-pi* by a single name *fu-pi* so the nine constellations thus become the eight constellations and can correspond to the Eight Trigrams. Each one of the Eight Trigrams can correspond to the auspicious or inauspicious meanings of the eight constellations. Since each of the trigrams also represents a particular direction, we can tell which of the directions are auspicious. This method of distinguishing the auspicious and the inauspicious by consulting the Nine Stars is called *pa-chai feng-shui* 八宅風水. (Chung 1982:105; *Pa-chai Ming-ching*)

As shown in Chart 2-4, if we take the example of someone whose birth year belongs to the *ch'ien-kung*, the palace of *ch'ien*, the positions are as follows: the *ch'ien* (northwest) direction is *fu-wei* - auspicious, the *k'an* (north) direction is *liu-sha* - inauspicious. The *sun* (southeast) direction is *huo-hai* - inauspicious. The *ken* (northeast) direction is *t'ien-i* - auspicious. The *chen* (east) direction is *wu-kui* - inauspicious. The *li* (south) direction is *chueh-ming* - inauspicious. The *k'un* (southwest) direction is *yen-nien* - auspicious. The *tui* (west) direction is *shen-ch'i* - auspicious. Therefore, the auspicious directions for the location of spatial elements for someone who is born in a *ch'ien* year are northwest, northeast, southwest and west. Naturally, this method can also be used for people born in other years as indicated in Chart 2-5 for people of *tung-si-ming* and Chart 2-6 for *hsi-ssu-ming*).

The *Yang-chai Shih-shu* (Ten writings on Yang dwellings) one of the *feng-shui* texts, summarizes the auspicious and inauspicious directions of the main room, door, stove, well, pen etc. (Chart 2-7 & 8) (Lee 1986 317-318) The descriptions in the *Yang-chai Shih-shu*(pp.77-106) are basically in accordance with the descriptions outlined in Chart 2-5 & 6. The only point to be noted is that, according to the *Yang-chai Shih-shu*, the stove itself should be placed in an inauspicious position, but the opening of the stove should be placed facing in an auspicious direction.

Chart 2-3 The comparison between the Lo-shu and the Former Eight Trigrams.

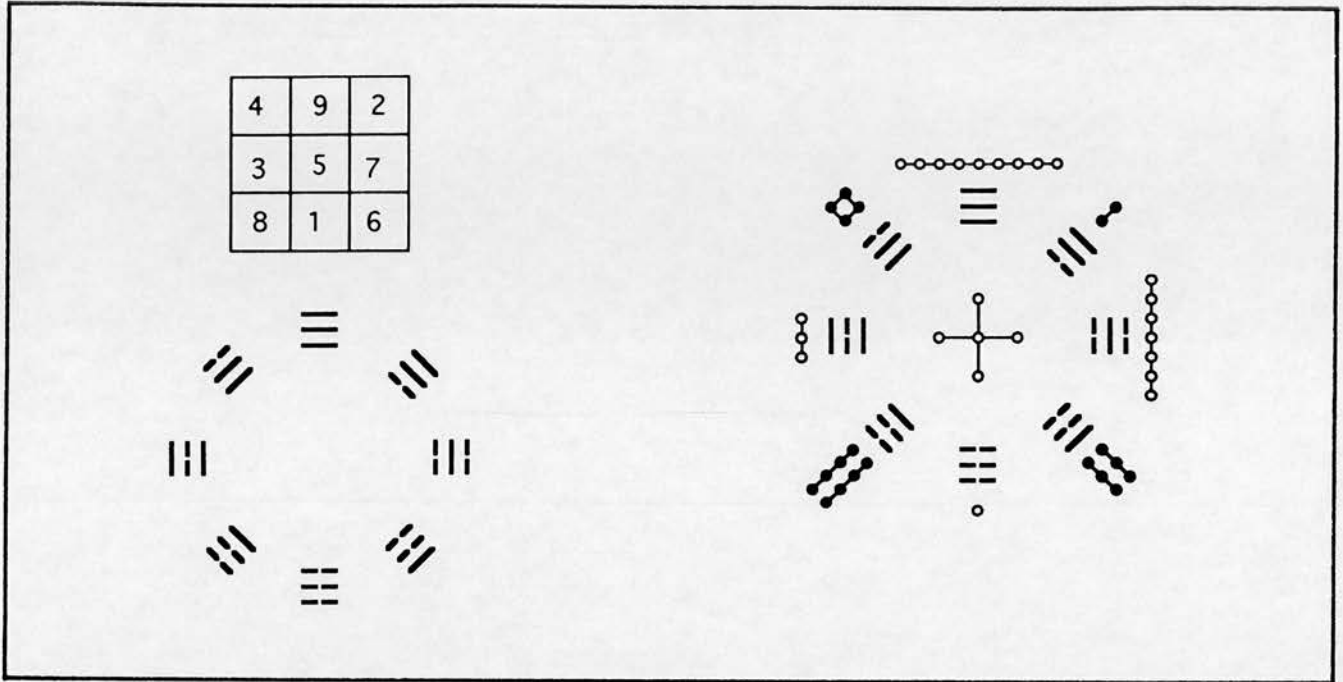


Chart 2-4 The auspicious and inauspicious directions according to *Pa-chai Feng-shui*.

	ch'ien NW	k'an N	ken NE	chen E	sun SE	li S	k'un SW	tui W
ch'ien-kung	fu-wei	liu-sha	t'ien-i	wu-kui	huo-hai	chueh-ming	yen-nien	shen-ch'i
k'an-kung	liu-sha	fu-wei	wu-kui	t'ien-i	shen-ch'i	yen-nien	chueh-ming	huo-hai
ken-kung	t'ien-i	wu-kui	fu-wei	liu-sha	chueh-ming	huo-hai	shen-ch'i	yen-nien
chen-kung	wu-kui	t'ien-i	liu-sha	fu-wei	yen-nien	shen-ch'i	huo-hai	chueh-ming
sun-kung	huo-hai	shen-ch'i	chueh-ming	yen-nien	fu-wei	t'ien-i	wu-kui	liu-sha
li-kung	chueh-ming	yen-nien	huo-hai	shen-ch'i	t'ien-i	fu-wei	liu-sha	wu-kui
k'un-kung	yen-nien	chueh-ming	shen-ch'i	huo-hai	wu-kui	liu-sha	fu-wei	t'ien-i
tui-kung	shen-ch'i	huo-hai	yen-nien	chueh-ming	liu-sha	wu-kui	t'ien-i	fu-wei

Sources: Chung 1982:105

Chart 2-5 The auspicious and inauspicious directions for people of Tung-ssu-ming.

BIRTH YEAR	ORIENTATION	NINE STARS	JUDGEMENT
k'an-ming	k'an (N)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	ken (NE)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	chen (E)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	sun (SE)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	li (S)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	k'un (SW)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	tui (W)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	ch'ien (NW)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
li-ming	k'an (N)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	ken (NE)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	chen (E)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	sun (SE)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	li (S)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	k'un (SW)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	tui (W)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	ch'ien (NW)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
chen-ming	k'an (N)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	ken (NE)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	chen (E)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	sun (SE)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	li (S)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	k'un (SW)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	tui (W)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	ch'ien (NW)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
sun-ming	k'an (N)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	ken (NE)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	chen (E)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	sun (SE)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	li (S)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	k'un (SW)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	tui (W)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	ch'ien (NW)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x

o: auspicious
x: inauspicious

Chart 2-6 The auspicious and inauspicious directions for people of Hsi-ssu-ming.

BIRTH YEAR	ORIENTATION	NINE STARS	JUDGEMENT
ch'ien-ming	k'an (N)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	ken (NE)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	chen (E)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	sun (SE)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	li (S)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	k'un (SW)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	tui (W)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	ch'ien (NW)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
k'un-ming	k'an (N)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	ken (NE)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	chen (E)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	sun (SE)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	li (S)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	k'un (SW)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	tui (W)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	ch'ien (NW)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
ken-ming	k'an (N)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	ken (NE)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	chen (E)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	sun (SE)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	li (S)	huo-hai (lu-ts'un)	x
	k'un (SW)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o
	tui (W)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	ch'ien (NW)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
tui-ming	k'an (N)	huo-uai (lu-ts'un)	x
	ken (NE)	yen-nien (wu-ch'u)	o
	chen (E)	chueh-ming (p'o-chun)	x
	sun (SE)	liu-sha (wen-ch'u)	x
	li (S)	wu-kui (lien-chen)	x
	k'un (SW)	t'ien-i (chu-men)	o
	tui (W)	fu-wei (fu-pi)	o
	ch'ien (NW)	shen-ch'i (t'an-lang)	o

o: auspicious
x: inauspicious

Chart 2-7 The auspicious directions of spatial elements indicated in *Yang-chai Shr-shu* (Hsi-ssu-ming).

BIRTH YEAR	ORIENTATION	MASTER ROOM	DOOR	STOVE	WELL	PEN
ch'ien-ming	N					
	NE					
	E					
	SE					
	S			*		
	SW		*			
	W	*			*	*
	NW		*			
k'un-ming	N					
	NE				*	*
	E					
	SE					
	S					
	SW		*			
	W	*				
	NW		*			
ken-ming	N					
	NE					
	E			*		
	SE					
	S					
	SW		*		*	*
	W	*				
	NW		*			
tui-ming	N					
	NE			*		
	E					
	SE					
	S					
	SW		*			
	W	*			*	*
	NW		*			

Chart 2-8 The auspicious directions of spatial elements indicated in *Yang-chai Shr-shu* (Tung-ssu-ming).

BIRTH YEAR	ORIENTATION	MASTER ROOM	DOOR	STOVE	WELL	PEN
k'an-ming	N					
	NE			*		
	E					
	SE	*	*		*	*
	S					
	SW					
	W					
	NW					
li-ming	N					
	NE			*		
	E				*	*
	SE	*	*			
	S					
	SW					
	W					
	NW					
chen-ming	N					
	NE					
	E					
	SE	*	*			
	S				*	*
	SW					
	W				*	
	NW					
sun-ming	N				*	*
	NE					
	E					
	SE	*	*			
	S					
	SW					
	W				*	
	NW					

Essentially, the locations of the spatial elements of Taiwanese vernacular architecture are determined by a combination of the Nine Stars and the Eight Trigrams. The methods described above can also be used to determine the orientation of buildings. As mentioned earlier, it is generally the *luan-tou* school of *feng-shui* which is used in Taiwan to examine the natural forms of the landscape in order to determine the correct orientations for the building. However, in some areas of Taiwan, such as on the wide flat plains, there are no clear landform features for the geomancers to examine. In such cases, the *pa-chai feng-shui* can be used to determine the ideal location for the building of houses.

2.4 THE CHOICE OF THE MEASUREMENTS OF BUILDING ELEMENTS

When the auspicious positions for the location of the spatial elements have been determined, the overall work of designing is far from complete. The precise measurements of all the architectural elements also have to accord with auspicious measurements. This selection also has to go through a complicated use of cosmic symbols such as the Five Elements, the Eight Trigrams, the Nine Stars, the Heavenly Stems and the Earthly Branches. Once the geomancer has decided on the auspicious orientation of the building, he can then consult the twenty-four *shan* (mountains) on his *feng-shui* compass to find the *shan* which corresponds to the chosen direction. The twenty-four *shan* (Fig. 2-10) are the twenty-four directions which are made up of the Heavenly Stems, the Earthly Branches and the Eight Trigrams. The names of these twenty-four directions are as follows: *chia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *ping* 丙, *ting* 丁, *ken* 庚, *hsin* 辛, *jen* 壬 and *kui* 癸 (Heavenly Stems); *tsu* 子, *ts'ou* 丑, *yin* 寅, *mao* 卯, *chen* 辰, *chi* 巳, *wu* 午, *wei* 未, *sheng* 申, *yu* 酉, *hsu* 戌 and *hai* 亥 (Earthly Branches); *ken*, *sun*, *ch'ien* and *k'un* (the four corner trigrams of Later eight trigrams). Similarly, the twenty-four *shan* can be placed in correspondence with the Eight Trigrams. In Chinese *feng-shui* texts, the method of bringing the twenty-four directions (*shan*) within the boundaries of the Eight Trigrams is called "*nan-chia-fa*" 納甲法 or the method of "*nan-chia*" 納甲. This method works in the following way (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:47-50): *Chia* is brought into the *ch'ien* trigram. *Yi* is brought into the *k'un* trigram. *Jen*, *yin*, *wu* and *hsu* are brought into the *li* trigram. *Ting*, *chi*, *yu* and *ts'ou* are brought into the *tui* trigram. *Ken*, *hai*, *mao* and *wei* are brought into the *chen* trigram. *Hsin* is brought into the *sun* trigram. *Ping* is brought into the *k'en* trigram. *Tsu*, *kui*, *sheng* and *chen* are brought into the *k'an* trigram. The combination of the twenty-four *shan*

and the Eight Trigrams is used as a basis for determining the auspicious measurements of architectural elements.

Traditional craftsmen in Taiwan generally used two methods to measure the size of architectural elements: *ch'ih-pai* 尺白 and *ts'un-pai* 寸白 (Huang 1987:38-45). The former is used to determine the measurement in Taiwanese feet, the latter in Taiwanese inches. These two methods can also be further divided into *t'ien-fu* 天父 (Heavenly Father) *ch'ih-pai* and *ts'un-pai* for vertical measurements such as the ridgepole or the roof (Fig. 2-11), and *ti-mu* 地母 (Earthly Mother) *ch'ih-pai* and *ts'un-pai* for horizontal measurements such as the length and width of the building (Fig. 2-12).

2.4.1 The choice of *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* feet

The determination of auspicious *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* feet is based on the relationship among the Nine Stars. According to *feng-shui* texts, there is a special regulation for the order of the Nine stars: 1. *t'an-lang*, 2. *chu-men*, 3. *lu-ts'un*, 4. *wen-chu*, 5. *lien-chen*, 6. *wu-chu*, 7. *p'o-chun*, 8. *tso-fu*, 9. *yu-pi* (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:47). At the same time, this order is also a kind of cycle. The craftsmen use the twenty-four *shan* and the Eight Trigrams in combination with this sequence of the Nine Stars to determine auspicious measurements.

The method used by the craftsmen, based on the *Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*, is as follows: each different trigram contains different directions (*shan*) and uses one of the Nine Stars as a "starting foot". For example, in the *t'ien-fu* feet, the first starting foot of the *k'an* trigram, which includes the four directions *tsu*, *kui*, *sheng* and *chen*, is the *wen-chu* star. According to the sequence of the Nine Stars, *wen-chu* is followed by *lien-chen*. Thus, the first foot begins at *wen-chu*, the second at *lien-chen*, the third at *wu-chu*, the fourth at *p'o-chun*, the fifth at *tso-fu*, the sixth at *yu-pi* then going back to the beginning of the cycle with *t'an-lang* the seventh foot, *chu-men* the eighth, *lu-ts'un* the ninth, *wen-chu* the tenth, *lien-chen* the eleventh, *wu-chu* the twelfth, *p'o-chun* the thirteenth, *tso-fu* the fourteenth and *yu-pi* the fifteenth. The auspicious stars are *t'an-lang*, *chu-men*, *wu-chu*, *tso-fu* and *yu-pi*: thus, for a person with the *k'an* trigram the feet which correspond to these stars, namely 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14 and 15 are considered auspicious (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:49).



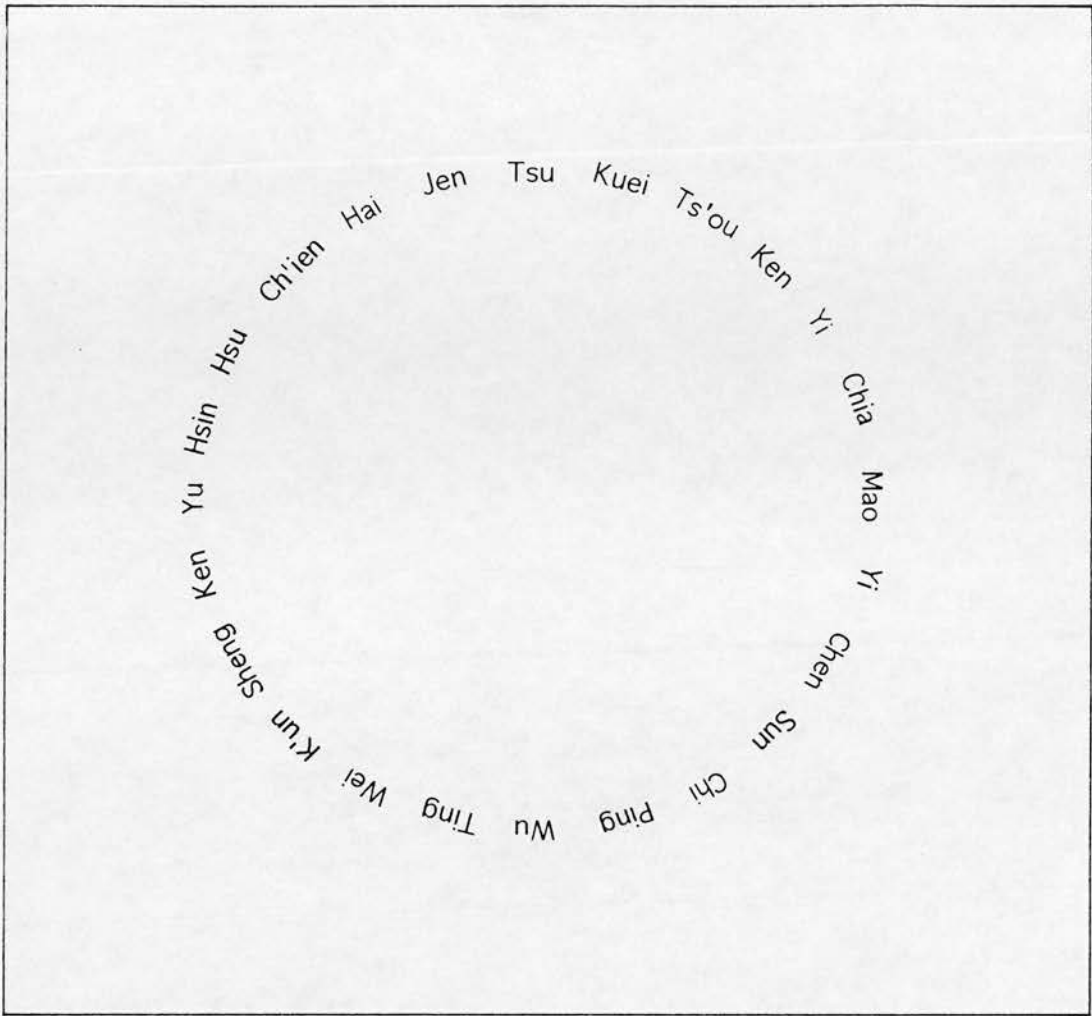


Fig. 2-10 The Twenty-four shan from Lu-pan Ts'un-pai-pu.

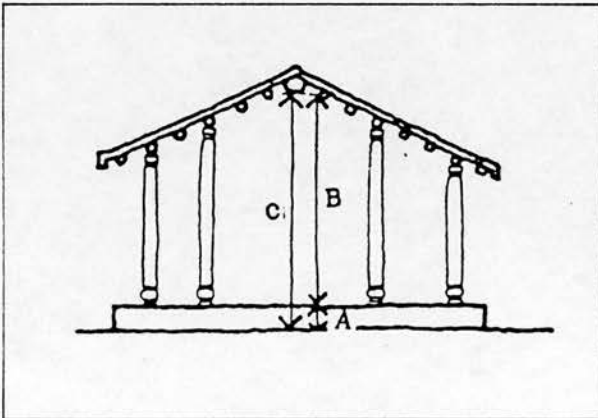


Fig. 2-11 The *t'ien-fu* measurement.

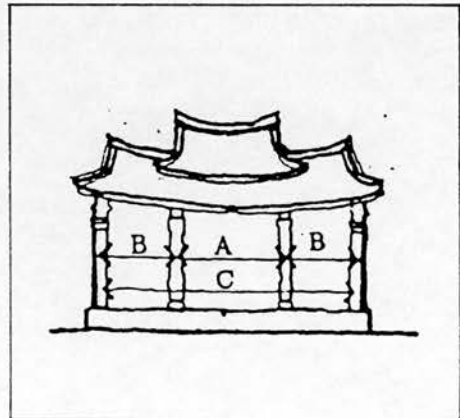


Fig. 2-12 The *t'i-mu* measurement.

(Source: Fig. 2-10 and 2-12 from Huang 1987:42)

There is a different regulation in the *Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u* regarding the choice of *ti-mu* feet. To take the example of someone with the *k'an* trigram, the starting foot is *wu-chu*, the second is *p'o-chun*, the third is *tso-fu*, the fourth is *yu-pi*, the fifth is *t'an-lang*, the sixth is *chu-men*, the seventh is *lu-ts'un*, the eighth is *wen-chu*, the ninth is *lien-chen*, the tenth is *wu-chu*, the eleventh is *p'o-chun*, the twelfth is *tso-fu*, the thirteenth is *yu-pi*, the fourteenth is *t'an-lang* and the fifteenth is *chu-men*. The auspicious feet are 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12 and 14 (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:49). The *Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u* explains all the other trigrams in which the *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* starting feet can be used: for further details see Appendices A and B.

The most common size of timber used in Taiwanese vernacular houses is roughly between ten and fifteen feet (Hsu 1990:114). Thus, for a person with the *k'an* trigram, only 12, 14 and 15 feet of the *t'ien-fu* feet can be used while only 10, 12, 13 and 14 feet of the *ti-mu* feet can be used.

There is in this process yet another examination required in order to be certain of finding the true auspicious measurement: the productive and overcoming relationships of the Five Elements (Hsu 1990:116). As with the other cosmic symbols, the twenty-four directions can be included within the Five Elements: *jen*, *tsu* and *kui* belong to water, *yin*, *chia*, *mao*, *yi* and *sun* belong to wood, *chih*, *ping*, *wu* and *ting* belong to fire, *keng*, *shen*, *hsin*, *yu* and *ch'ien* belong to metal, *chen*, *hsu*, *ch'ou*, *wei*, *k'un* and *ken* belong to earth.

If we take the example of someone who belongs to the *k'an* trigram and whose shan(mountain) for the orientation of his house is *tsu-shan*, the latter, according to the above description, belongs to water so the different feet must maintain a productive relationship with water, before the auspicious measurements can be chosen.

There is also a relationship between the Nine Stars and the Five Elements (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:47): *t'an-lang* is wood, *chu-men* is earth, *lu-ts'un* is earth, *wen-chu* is water, *lien-chen* is fire, *wu-chu* is metal, *p'o-chun* is metal, *tso-fu* is metal and *yu-pi* is water. If we apply this to the auspicious *t'ien-fu* feet listed above, 12 feet is *wu-chu* and metal, 14 feet is *tso-fu* and metal, and 15 feet is *yu-pi* and water. Since there is a productive relationship between water and metal, so 12, 14 and 15 feet are the auspicious measurement.

Similarly, in the case of *ti-mu* feet, 10 feet is *wu-chu* and metal, 12 feet is *tso-fu* and metal, 13 feet is *yu-pi* and water, and 14 feet is *t'an-lang* and wood. As metal produces water, water produces wood, thus, 10, 12, 13 and 14 are all auspicious.

2.4.2 *T'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* inches

There is a different method for the determination of auspicious inches. According to the *Lu Pan T'sun-pai-pu*, the choice of *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* inches is based on the different Coloured Stars. The first star is white, the second is black, the third is blue, the fourth is green, the fifth is yellow, the sixth is white, the seventh is red, the eighth is white and the ninth is purple (*Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u*:47). These Coloured Stars are used to replace the Nine Stars used in the selection of *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* feet. Otherwise, the method used to determine auspicious *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* inches is the same as that used to determine auspicious *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* feet. Each of the Eight Trigrams has a fixed Coloured Star which acts as a starting inch.

On the basis of the rules in the *Lu Pan T'sun-pai-pu*, the determination of *t'ien-fu* inches can be shown by the example of someone with the *ch'ien* trigram. In this example the starting inch is the fourth green, with fifth yellow the second inch, sixth white the third, seventh red the fourth, eighth white the fifth, ninth purple the sixth, first white the seventh, second black the eighth and third blue the ninth.

For *t'ien-fu* inches, the rules for the starting inches of other trigrams are as follows: *chen* starts from seventh red, *sun* starts from fifth yellow, *k'an* starts from second black, *tui* starts from ninth purple, *li* starts from eighth white, *k'un* starts from third blue and *ken* starts from sixth white. The starting inches for *ti-mu* inches are worked out in a similar way: *ch'ien* starts from first white, *li* starts from second black, *chen* starts from third blue, *tui* starts from fourth green, *k'an* starts from fifth yellow, *k'un* starts from sixth white, *sun* starts from seventh red, and *ken* starts from eighth white.

According to the *Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u* (p.47), the three white stars - *yi-pai* 一白 (the first white), *liu-pai* 六白 (the sixth white), and *pa-pai* 八白 (the eighth

white) - are auspicious, as are the green and purple stars - *si-lu* 四綠 (the fourth green) and *chiu-tsu* 九紫 (the ninth purple). However, the common custom of traditional Taiwanese craftsmen is that, among *t'ien-fu* inches, the ninth purple star - *chiu-tsu* - and among *ti-mu* inches, first white - *yi-pai* - are considered unsuitable (Hsu 1990:115).

Thus, if we return to the example cited above, according to the *Lu Pan T'sun-pai-pu* (p.47), the choice of auspicious *t'ien-fu* inches for a person with the *k'an* trigram and the *tsu-shan* 子山, starts from second black, followed by third blue, fourth green, fifth yellow, sixth white, seventh red, eighth white, ninth purple and first white. For *t'ien-fu* inches, with ninth purple excluded, the auspicious inches are the third inch (fourth green), the fifth inch (sixth white), the seventh inch (eighth white) and the ninth inch (first white), with the latter three being the most auspicious.

For *ti-mu* inches, the sequence starts with the first inch fifth yellow, the second is sixth white, the third is seventh red, the fourth is eighth white, the fifth is ninth purple, the sixth is first white, the seventh is second black, the eighth is third blue and the ninth is fourth green. For *ti-mu* inches, first white is excluded, so the auspicious inches are the second inch (sixth white), the fourth inch (eighth white), the fifth inch (ninth purple) and the ninth inch (fourth green) with the second and fourth inches the most auspicious.

The final examination of auspicious inches is on the basis of the overcoming and productive relationships of the Five Elements. According to the *Lu Pan Tsun-pai-p'u* (p.47), the Coloured Stars can also be related to the Five Elements; thus, first white belongs to water, second black to earth, third blue and fourth green to wood, fifth yellow to earth, sixth white and seventh red to metal, eighth white to earth and ninth purple to fire. On this basis, of the auspicious *t'ien-fu* inches outlined above, the third inch corresponds to fourth green and wood, the fifth inch to sixth white and metal, the seventh inch to eighth white and earth and the ninth inch to first white and water. If we now go back once more to the example of the person who has the *k'an* trigram and is with the *tsu-shan*. The *k'an* trigram belongs to water and since there is an overcoming relationship between water and wood and a productive relationship between water and earth thus, the third, fifth and ninth inches are the auspicious *t'ien-fu* inches with the fifth and ninth the most auspicious. Among the auspicious *ti-mu* inches, the second inch (sixth white) is

metal, the fourth inch (eighth white) is earth, the fifth inch (ninth purple) is fire and the ninth inch (fourth green) is wood. Because there is an overcoming relationship between water and fire and water and earth, the fourth and fifth inch are excluded while the productive relationships between water and metal and water and wood make the second and ninth inch the most auspicious measurements.

To sum up this discussion of *t'ien-fu* and *ti-mu* feet and inches: if we take the example of the auspicious measurements for the architectural elements of the house of someone with the *tsu-shan* and the *k'an* trigram; the vertical dimensions in *t'ien-fu* feet and inches should be a combination of twelve, fourteen and fifteen feet with three, five or nine inches such as twelve feet three inches, fourteen feet five inches, fifteen feet nine inches etc. The horizontal dimensions in *ti-mu* feet and inches should be a combination of ten, twelve, thirteen and fourteen feet with two or nine inches such as ten feet two inches, twelve feet nine inches, thirteen feet nine inches, fourteen feet two inches etc. The craftsman builds the house on the basis of these different auspicious measurements choosing the most suitable ones to accord with the practical needs of the house in question.

2.4.3 The use of the Lu Pan ruler

Apart from the consideration of the vertical and horizontal measurements for the various architectural elements mentioned above, the craftsmen also use the *Lu Pan* 魯班 ruler in the construction of vernacular Taiwanese houses. The *Lu Pan* ruler is also known as the *men-kung* 門公, or door-lord ruler, and is used mainly in measuring the size of doors. The doors of a house being of great importance in *feng-shui* notions, very careful attention is paid to finding the most auspicious or inauspicious measurement for them (Huang 1987:38). In addition to the doors, the *Lu Pan* ruler is also used in the measurement of windows, tables and beds. The ruler is divided into eight equal parts, each inscribed with a character representing its auspicious or inauspicious meaning: *ts'ai* 財 (prosperity), *ping* 病 (sickness), *li* 離 (separation), *i* 義 (righteousness), *kuan* 官 (official), *chieh* 劫 (plundering), *hai* 害 (injury) and *pen* 本 (root) (Lee 1986:150). A *Lu Pan* ruler is roughly equivalent to 43 centimetres with each part approximately 5.4 cm: when the craftsman wants to decide upon the auspicious measurement of the door he works in multiples of 43 cm. If the surplus measurement can match one of the auspicious portions of the *Lu Pan* ruler, namely *ts'ai*, *i*, *kuan*, or *pen* then it is considered an auspicious measurement. For example, a door which is 435 cm high has a

measurement of ten times the *Lu-pan* ruler, with a surplus of 5 cm. Since the remainder matches the character *ts'ai* (0-5.4 cm), this is considered an auspicious measurement.

However the auspicious portions of the *Lu Pan* ruler cannot be used for every measurement. The author has interviewed a craftsman, Mr Li, who asserted that the *i* portion can only be used for the doors of temples, schools or other official buildings. If used in private residences this portion could be inauspicious.

2.5 TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTION TABOOS IN TAIWAN

2.5.1 The nature of taboo

Both in the East and in the West, there have been many works on taboos. Amongst Western scholars, Hutton Webster wrote: " Taboo, in its sociological aspects, refers to a system of prohibitions observed as customs"(Webster 1942:13) and "in its psychological aspects taboo may therefore be defined as the conception of the mystic dangerousness of a particular object, resulting in compulsions and restraints which centre, not on what is prohibited, but on the mere fact of prohibition" (Ibid. 14).

Ernst Cassirer, in his book "An Essay on Man", also saw taboo as a conventional product of custom and part of human culture. Cassirer claimed that the concept of taboo is one of the greatest miracles of human civilisation(Cassirer 1944). When people are faced with a crisis in their lives, the resulting fear and tension usually create a state of instability and nervousness. The most intelligent way of dealing with such crises is to avoid doing, saying or thinking the wrong things. As Cassirer wrote:

It (taboo) was the cornerstone of the whole social order. There was not part of the social system that was not regulated and governed by special taboos. (Cassirer 1944:108)

Thus, taboos represent a means of prohibition fixed by custom, with both a collective (social or religious) and an individual meaning. The former presents the collectivity over the individuality while the latter manifests individual self-restraint. As soon as taboos are created they are imbued with an irresistible power

of constraint. In his classic work, *The Golden Bough*, James G. Frazer argued that people, owing to the need for socialisation, will not seriously question the rationality of taboos but, instead, will obey them absolutely. Moreover, through an awareness of the authority of social and religious power, taboos are handed down by compulsory means (Frazer 1935:419-422).

When it comes to what Chinese people understand by taboo, there are various definitions in the classical texts. According to the definition of taboo (*chin-chi* 禁忌) in the *Shuo-wen Chieh-tsu* (121 A.D.): *chin* 禁 means an auspicious or inauspicious sign, while *chi* 忌 means to loathe. In the Book of Rites, taboo is defined as "prevention of future disasters" (*Li Chi: Wang Chih Shu*). From these definitions, we can see that in China taboo can be divided into auspicious and inauspicious taboo.

In his book on Chinese folk taboos, C. Jeng has pointed out that in general those Chinese folk customs which seek to resolve the crises of life use a system which is based on religious beliefs. Jeng divides this system into three subsections: the prediction system, the taboo system and the averting system (Jeng 1991:15-23). The prediction system uses traditional methods of divination to ascertain the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of future events and thus avoid disaster. The taboo system is a passive system of conduct for preventing or avoiding disaster which uses prohibitive or restraining conduct to achieve the successful pursuit of happiness. According to the taboo system, people believe that the origins of disaster are all around them and can lie concealed in all kinds of location or conduct and even in time, direction or language. Thus, it is recorded in the Book of Rites that, "Whenever you enter a territory you should ask about their taboos, whenever you enter a country you should ask about their customs, when you enter someone's house you have to ask what is forbidden." (*Li Chi: Chu Li*) This means that whenever someone arrives in a new place they should find out the local taboos in order to avoid violating them. Chinese people believe that taboos are decreed by the gods and, thus, are the best means of avoiding disasters. They believe that through practising self-restraint, they will be able to achieve communication and harmonisation with the gods and thus avoid disaster.

However, even if people constantly practice self-restraint, it is impossible to avoid the violation of taboos altogether because there are so many of them. When this happens the system of averting is introduced. Compared with the taboo system,

averting is an active method of avoiding crises: it is also a way of backing up the taboo system.

The Chinese system of averting includes a variety of methods: charms, curses and *yasheng* 壓勝 etc (Jeng 1991:21). Since I will discuss the use of spatial averting systems in later chapters, I will concentrate here on the taboo system. Chinese folk taboos are all-embracing, and place limitation on people's lives from birth to death. Taboos embrace the human body, the sexes, marriage, sexual matters, child-bearing, dress, travel, building constructions, social activities, language, business, funerals, worship, animals and plants, annual festivals etc (Jeng 1991). Naturally, it would be quite impossible to discuss all of these subjects here, so I will concentrate only on the construction taboos of houses.

2.5.2 Traditional Chinese *feng-shui* taboos

Many of the taboos held in the construction of Taiwanese houses follow the *feng-shui* taboos recorded in traditional Chinese *feng-shui* texts, so the first step in this discussion must be to examine these taboos, and in particular those which have influenced the development of construction taboos in Taiwan. My discussion will concentrate on the taboos described in the following Chinese *feng-shui* texts: (a) *Cheng Ti-li Hsin-shu* (Chang Ch'ien: Chin dynasty 1115-1234 A.D.), (b) *Yang-chai Shih-shu* (Wang Chun-long: Ming dynasty 1573-1615 A.D.), (c) *Yang-chai Ta-chuan* (Chou Chi: 1582 A.D.), (d) *Pa-chai Ming-ching* (Yang Yun-sung: 1790 A.D.). Apart from these *feng-shui* texts, other books discussing construction taboos have circulated amongst the Chinese and influenced the formation of taboos to a greater or lesser extent. The various *feng-shui* and construction taboos can be outlined in the following way.

2.5.2.1 The taboos of the site

According to folk beliefs, it is inauspicious for the front of the site to be higher than the rear¹³. This can cause a wife to lose her husband and children to lose their parents. If, on the other hand, the rear of the site is higher than the

¹³ The layout of traditional Northern Chinese architecture, traditionally, follows the principle of "sitting in the north, facing towards south". Thus, the front of the house faces south while the rear faces north.

front, the master will have more livestock (Jeng 1991:271). According to *feng-shui* texts, such as *Cheng T'i-li Hsin-shu*, it is auspicious for the northern part of the site to be higher than the southern part, and inauspicious for the southern part to be higher than the northern part (*Cheng T'i-li Hsin-shu*).

2.5.2.2 The taboos of the elements surrounding the site - hills, rivers, ponds and roads

It is a very good omen for the site to be surrounded by hills, since the hills can gather *ch'i* and produce a fine *feng-shui* structure (*Yang-chai Shih-shu*). There is also a need for whatever is around the site, including buildings and natural landscape, to accord with taboos. According to the criteria laid down in the Ming dynasty, it was auspicious for a site to be beside a Taoist temple as this would bring longevity, peace and prosperity to the members of the family, while it was considered inauspicious for a site to be beside a graveyard, a clan shrine, a military camp, a city gate or the gate of a prison. Barren land, a site facing a spot where flowing water gathered, or adjacent to mountains were also considered inauspicious (Jeng 1991:271). The details are as follows.

(A) Hills.

The hills surrounding the building site can affect the future destiny of the members of the household. Amongst the various *feng-shui* schools, it is the *Hsing chia* 形家 (*Luan-t'ou*) School which infers the auspiciousness of a site by examining the structure of the hills which surround it. Geomancers of the *Hsing chia* School use the symbolic formations represented by the shape of the hills as a starting point (Han 1987:15). If the silhouettes of the hills represent the shape of certain auspicious forms of animals, such as an elephant, a tiger, a monkey, a dragon, an ox or a tortoise then the site is auspicious. An example of such a formation can be seen in Fig. 2-13. Here the hills represent two dragons fighting over a pearl; good fortune is ensured by building near the eyes of the dragon. On other occasions, formations which represent the shape of instruments used by intellectuals or officials, such as an official's hat or a brush rest, are also considered to be auspicious (Roszbach 1987:32). Living on or near a hill which represents a calligrapher's brush rest, as shown in Fig. 2-14, is auspicious for those with scholarly, social or political aspirations as well as for those wishing to pass the Imperial Examinations, which was once the way for even the poorest clerk to achieve high rank in government. Hills which resemble the shape of a flag or a

sword can create generals, while a gourd shape can produce a famous doctor ¹⁴. If, on the other hand, the shape of the hill is broken or inclined, this shows a lack of *ch'i* and can bring death to the family. Accordingly such a shape is considered an extremely inauspicious omen (Han 1987:15). At the same time, hills with very steep slopes should be avoided since the flow of *ch'i* will be too quick and the family will be unable to absorb it. The site should also not be right up against a hill as this is bad for the occupants' wealth and careers.

(B) Rivers.

Generally speaking, a house sited near to and with a view of water will bring *ch'i* and good fortune. However, attention needs to be paid to the shape of the water; a meandering river is desirable, while a straight river or one with sharp bends is undesirable, since, although the water carries *ch'i* and wealth, the water is flowing too fast for any neighbouring houses to accumulate the *ch'i*. At the same time, the quality of the water is also very important: it represents the vitality of life, so it needs to be flowing and clean. Water which is stagnant or murky cannot carry *ch'i* or wealth. According to *feng-shui* texts, the direction in which the water is flowing also affects the site in different ways. The best site is on a bend where the water is flowing towards the south-east (*Cheng Ti-li Hsin-shu*). The house is thus embraced by water, which symbolises money thus ensuring that the occupants of the house will enjoy wealth in the future (Fig. 2-15). On the other hand, if the river is curving away from the house (Fig. 2-16) then the occupants can see the money but will be unable to acquire it. If the water is flowing directly towards the house, this is called: "where the water flows against the house, bad luck will follow: the descendants will be executed and no-one will survive." Since the house is forever subject to the threat of the water, this is very inauspicious. (*Yang-chai T'a-chuan* vol.2:3).

(C) Ponds.

Ponds and pools can also have a bearing on the *feng-shui* of a site. A pond or any body of water on or near to a property is auspicious, since, as with rivers, water can gather wealth and thus create prosperity. The inhabitants need to take care to ensure that the water, as the symbol of incoming *ch'i*, remains clean and fresh and stocked with fish. (Fish, and in particular goldfish, are considered lucky

¹⁴ Traditionally, ancient Chinese doctors all used a gourd as a container for their medicines.

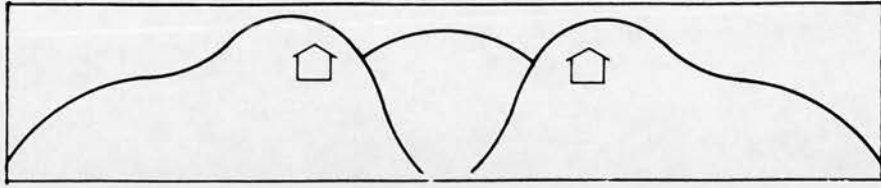


Fig. 2-13 The two-dragon mountains.

These hills create two dragons playing with a pearl.
To encourage good fortune, build a house near the dragon's eyes.

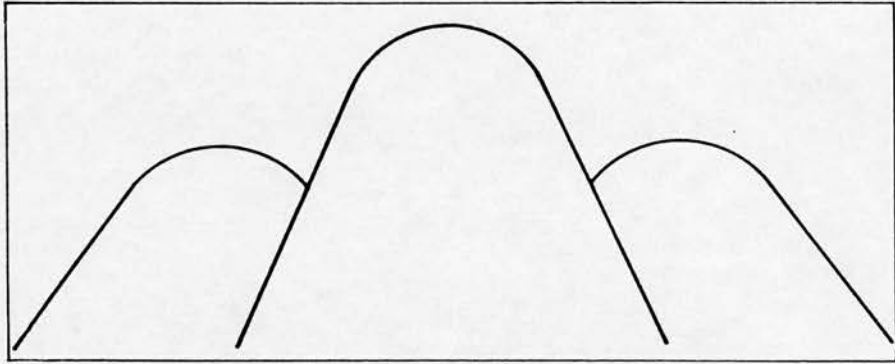


Fig. 2-14 Calligrapher's brushrest mountain shape.

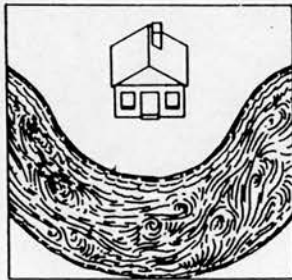


Fig. 2-15 The river embracing the house.

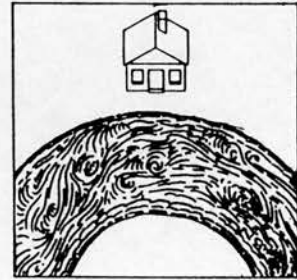


Fig. 2-16 The river curving away the house.

(Source: Fig. 2-13,2-14, 2-15 and 2-16 from Rossbach 1989:33-37)

in China). Attention also has to be paid to the location of the pond. A pond to the east or south-east of a house is auspicious while a pond to the west, northeast or northwest is inauspicious (*Cheng T'i-li Hsin-shu; Yang-chai Shih-shu*).

(D) Roads.

Roads, like rivers, carry *ch'i*. Roads that curve gently or follow natural contours are best suited to carrying *ch'i* in a smooth fashion. On the other hand, a straight arrow-like road aimed directly at the house is inauspicious and is to be avoided (*Yang-chai Shih-shu; Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:13).

2.5.2.3 Taboos concerning the layout of the house

The typical layout of traditional Chinese architecture is a inverted U-shape or a closed-off rectangular shape round a square courtyard. The main building should be imposing and tasteful while the two wings should be in proportion and act as a foil as well as embracing the main body centripetally. If the building is too high, too wide or too humble, or if there is an imbalance between the east and west wings, the result will be the loss of the property and the male offspring of the family (*Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:12). Although the layout of the house should be rectangular, it is only if the south-north axis is longer than the east-west axis that the house is considered auspicious. It is considered inauspicious for the east-west axis to be longer than the south-north axis (*Yang-chai Shih-shu; Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:12).

As for the plan of the building, if the front is narrower than the rear, it will resemble a money-bag and will be able to collect money and *ch'i*. If, on the other hand, the rear is narrower than the front, the building will resemble a dust-pan: this is an inauspicious form as a dust-pan will sweep away the wealth of the family. There are also requirements for the height of the building: in general, it is best for the front of the house to be lower than the rear and the east wing (Azure Dragon) to be higher than the west wing (White Tiger).

2.5.2.4 The taboos concerning architectural constructions

The total number of rows of roof tiles should be odd: an even number is inauspicious. In order to avoid demons and suppress fire, ornamentation on the roof should include five ridges and six animals (Jeng 1991:278). Since rafters

symbolise the root of the family, a whole timber should be used, otherwise the line of male descendants may be cut off. The rafters should not be exposed to the outside since this would be the same as exposing the bones of the body. This is an extremely bad omen in terms of *feng-shui* and is strictly prohibited, so the rafters are covered with a "clap-eaves board" (Han 1987:16; Jeng 1991:278).

2.5.2.5 The taboos concerning the interior elements of the building

The door is the most important interior element of the building and there are many taboos surrounding it. For example, the door should not generally remain closed, since this would be a case of "if you close the entrance, you close the household." The threshold is thought to be the place where the door god takes up position, so it is strictly forbidden to sit, step or chop wood on it. The door should be double-leaf, a single-leaf door is inauspicious. It is forbidden for there to be two ponds in front of the door and for roads, rivers, the neighbour's main gate, any pole-like objects or the gables of the neighbour's house to be adjacent to the main gate (Jeng 1991:276-277; Han 1987:17; *Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:13).

Apart from the door, the stove is one of the most important interior elements. For the Han people of China, the building of the stove is taken very seriously. Women who are pregnant, or in their confinement as well as people who are in mourning can only watch from the side as they are considered to be unclean and capable of angering the stove god (Jeng 1991:284). At the same time, the total number of rooms in the house should be odd as even numbers are again considered to be inauspicious. The bed in the bedroom should be aligned with the beam; it is inauspicious to allow the bed to cross the beam (*Pa-chai Ming-ching* vol.1:14; Huang 1983:50).

2.5.3 The construction taboos of Taiwanese houses

To a certain extent, the construction taboos of vernacular Taiwanese buildings follow the influence of traditional Chinese *feng-shui* taboos. For example, P. T. Han in his research of traditional *feng-shui* taboos wrote: "The *minnan* (Southern Fuchien) style of architecture with which we are familiar is heavily influenced by *feng-shui* taboos" (Han 1987:17). He also wrote "*Feng-shui* taboos appear to have had a dominating influence in the layout of vernacular Taiwanese settlements" (ibid 18). However, taboos have also changed with time and place. This is particularly

true in the case of traditional *feng-shui* taboos. In the early stages, the greatest importance was attached to the auspiciousness of the area surrounding the building, while latterly the most important factor has been the body of the building itself. The most recent literature concerning the discussions of Taiwanese construction taboos has concentrated on the building itself (Hsu 1990; Hsu 1983; Chang 1991; Lin 1981). Any discussion in these works of the elements surrounding the building merely follows traditional *feng-shui* taboos; indeed, these elements are often not mentioned at all. A discussion of Taiwanese construction taboos follows.

2.5.3.1 Taboos of architectural layout

Taiwanese people pay close attention to the layout of their buildings: there is a precise position for the main hall (*t'ing* 廳), the master bedroom, secondary bedrooms, the kitchen and the toilet. Any violation of this taboo is inauspicious. The layout of the house as a whole should be full rather than empty. There are five ways of achieving this fullness: (a) a large number of people living in a small house; (b) a large house with a small entrance; (c) a closed-off house compound; (d) large numbers of livestock; (e) water flowing to the south-east. There are also five types of emptiness: (a) a small family living in a big house; (b) a large entrance to a small house; (c) an incomplete compound wall; (d) a badly maintained well and stove; (e) a small house on a large site. The five fullnesses can bring wealth to the house while, conversely, the five emptinesses will make the family poor (Chang et al. 1972:66).

2.5.3.2 Taboos of architectural measurements

The dimensions of the main hall in the *cheng-shen* 正身 (main body) of the house should be wider and deeper than the other rooms of the house (secondary bedrooms, kitchen, etc). This is in order to avoid violating the taboos of *nu-chi-chu* 奴欺主 (the slave [secondary rooms] oppressing the master [the main hall]), and *chien-lu* 箭爐 (firing an arrow at the censer) where the walls of the secondary rooms are up against the altar in the main hall (Fig. 2-17) (Hsu 1990:117). The layout of the courtyard must respect the principle of the front being narrower than the rear (Hsu 1990:118; Chang 1991:103). This accords with taboos contained in traditional Chinese *feng-shui* notions.

The heights of the roofs of the various parts of the building have to follow a precise order: the main hall is the highest, followed firstly by the other rooms of the main body of the building and subsequently by the rooms in the two wings (Hsu 1990:125). In the case of a temple, the main hall is the highest, while the front hall is higher than the entrance hall (Lin 1981:23).

Similarly, the level of the floors in these different parts of the building has to accord with the same principle as the heights of the roofs (Hsu 1990:124). This taboo, which regulates the heights and floor levels of the various parts of the building, represents a kind of order which corresponds to the traditional system of ethics in China and is a subtle expression of the relative value - respectable or humble - attached to the various spaces.

2.5.3.3 Taboos of the individual architectural elements

(A) The courtyard.

The surface area of the courtyard should be larger than that of the main hall, since in this way the Chinese character for prosperity "昌" (*ch'ang*) (Fig. 2-18) is formed. At the same time, there is also a taboo concerning the depth of the courtyard. In general, Taiwanese craftsmen use the pace 步 (*p'u*), which is roughly equal to four and a half times the length of the *Lu Pan* ruler, as a unit for measuring the depth of a courtyard, which is then expressed in the numbers of *p'u*. The total number of paces should be odd, as an even number is again inauspicious (Hsu 1990:118; Lin 1981:24; Hsu 1983:75).

(B) The roof.

Most of the roofs of Taiwanese vernacular houses are two-pitch roofs known as *yin-yang* roofs. The side which slopes towards the courtyard is called the *yang* pitch while the side facing the rear is called the *yin* pitch. According to the taboo which regulates the length of the inclined planes of each side of a roof, the *yang* pitch must be shorter than the *yin* pitch; in other words, the height of the eaves of the *yang* pitch must be higher than those of the *yin* pitch (Fig. 2-19) (Hsu 1983:74). At the same time, there is also a taboo which regulates the slope of the roofs: the slope of the roof of a temple should be steeper than the roof of an ordinary house. There is an old Chinese saying: "if the roof of a temple slants, then the gods will be more efficacious; if the roof of a home slants, the family will be poor." The measurements of the slopes are as follows: the slope of a temple roof should be five

fen-shui 分水 or 5:10 (one *fen-shui* is equal to one in ten), while the slope of a house should be between three and four *fen-shui* or between 3:10 and 4:10 (Hsu 1990:121).

(C) The materials of the roof.

Materials used in building roofs include tubular tiles, rafters etc. The number of rafters from wall to wall, column to wall and column to column follows the rules outlined in the (Chart 2-9). According to the sequence shown in this chart, the first rafter corresponds to the character *t'ien* 天 (Heaven), the second to the character *t'i* 地 (Earth) and so on. The sixth and twelfth rafters, and their multiples, correspond to the character *p'in* 貧 (poverty) which is inauspicious and should therefore be avoided. Thus, in order to avoid disaster, the total number of rafters used in a building should not be a multiple of six¹⁵. The same regulations apply to the number of tubular tiles used (Lin 1981:73). At the same time, rafters should be made from a whole timber to symbolise the continuity of the offspring. The use of two timbers to make one rafter violates this taboo (Hsu 1990:124). This point is in accordance with traditional Chinese *feng-shui* taboos which I have described above.

2.5.3.4 The various construction elements of the house

(A) Beams - the ridgepole, the lantern beam and the purlin

The first thing to point out is that the ridgepole is one of the most important elements in a house, in terms of both architectural construction and symbolic meaning. Thus, there is a regulation created by the taboos that the height of the ridgepole (measured in *t'ien-fu* feet and inches), should be greater than the depth of the main hall (measured in *ti-mu* feet and inches). The lantern beam is a beam placed over the main hall which, unlike other beams, has merely symbolic meaning and no significance in the architectural construction. In vernacular Taiwanese houses, it is the lantern beam from which hangs the censer and, on the occasion of the addition of a male child to the family, a pair of lanterns at each end to represent the birth (Fig. 2-20). The more lanterns hung from the beam, the greater the future prosperity of the family. In a traditional agricultural society man-power is

¹⁵ These descriptions only indicate a general situation in vernacular Taiwanese houses. In some exceptional cases such as Hakka houses, there exists a taboo that multiples of three are also considered to be inauspicious.

Chart 2-9 The taboo of the rafters on the roof.

T'ien (heaven)	T'i (earth)	Jen (man)	Fu (wealth)	Kuei (noble- ness)	P'in (poverty)	T'ien (heaven)	T'i (earth)	Jen (man)	Fu (wealth)	Kuei (noble- ness)	P'in (poverty)	...
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	...
o	o	o	0	o	x	o	o	o	0	o	x	...

o: auspicious
x: inauspicious

(Sources: Hsu 1983:75)

a form of property. The two ends of the lantern beam should protrude about three Taiwanese inches beyond the walls between the main hall and the side rooms. The protrusion of the lantern beam is the best hope of producing male children, since, in Taiwanese dialect, the pronunciation of the words for lantern and male offspring are homonymous. The protrusion of the lantern beam is pronounced *ch'u-ting* 出丁 which can also be explained as "having a male child". Thus, this taboo is based on the auspicious meaning of the same pronunciation of both words. The lantern beam should not be positioned exactly over the doors leading into the bedrooms of either of the wings of the house (Fig. 2-21), since this would be a case of "stepping on the male offspring" (*t'a-ting* 踏丁) which could influence the chances of the sons' wives bearing male offspring (Hsu 1990:122). This is because the bedrooms in the side wings are where children are born.

Apart from the ridgepole and the lantern beam, the purlins which support the framework of the roof also have their own taboos. These are as follows (Fig. 2-22). (a) The purlins should not be placed over the space into which the main gate opens; (b) they should not be placed over the altar in the main hall; (c) they should not be placed over the lantern beam. Any violation of the three taboos will cause trouble for the family (Hsu 1983:74-75). However, the demands of this taboo have led to the creation of irregular forms in the arrangement of the purlins in Taiwanese houses, which affect the overall beauty of the house. There are some people who simply cover over the ceiling with painted board. This shows that on occasions taboos are not immutable.

(B) Taboos concerning the relationships between various architectural elements

Apart from the taboos attached to the individual architectural elements, there are also taboos governing their inter-relationship. For example, there is the taboo concerning three generations of the same family passing the highest exam (*san-yuan chi-ti* 三元及第) which states that there should be a straight line between the bases of the ridgepole, the lantern beam and the lintel of the main gate (Fig. 2-23) representing the three ages passing the exam (Hsu 1990:122; Hsu 1983:75). There is also another reason for the taboo. Traditionally, the figure of *t'ai-chi* 太極 as well as the Eight Trigrams, is drawn on the bottom of the ridgepole; if these three objects can be linked in a line, then the figures on the ridgepole are protected and can thus maintain their own protective function (Hsu 1983:75).

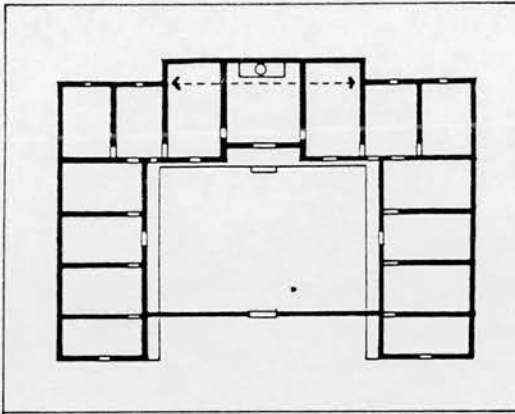


Fig. 2-17 The taboo regarding the walls of secondary rooms which are up against the altar in the main hall.

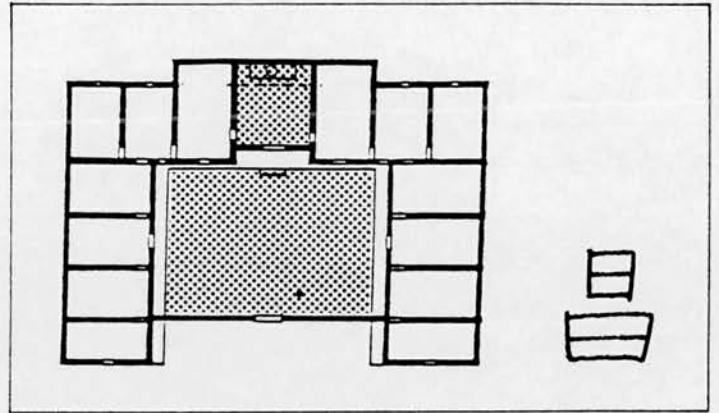


Fig. 2-18 The shape of the courtyard and the main hall can be compared to the Chinese character of "ch'ang" (prosperity).

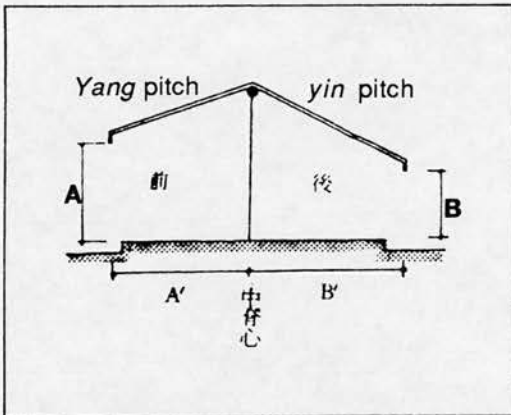


Fig. 2-19 The taboo regarding Yin-yang pitch roof.

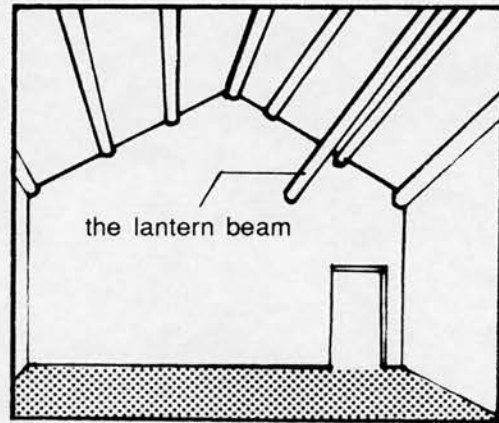


Fig. 2-20 The lantern beam in the main hall.

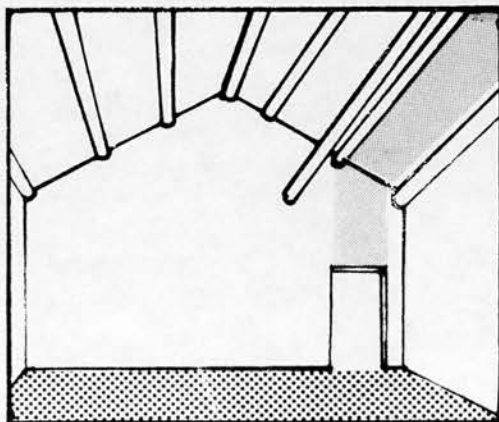


Fig. 2-21 The taboo regarding the relationship between the lantern beam and the door leading to the secondary rooms.

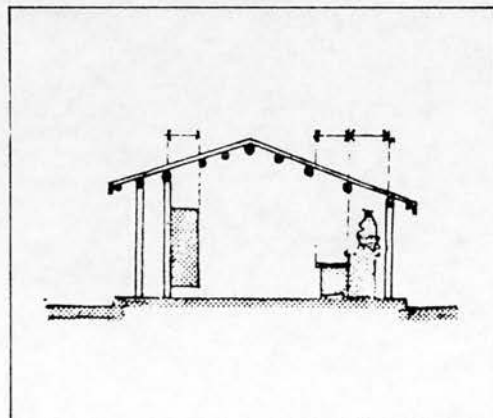


Fig. 2-22 The taboo regarding the relationships between the purlins and the side door and altar.

The taboos *shih-tsu yao-chien* 獅子咬劍 (a lion biting a sword) and *chien-pai* 見白 (seeing the sky) also concern the relationships between the architectural elements. A lion biting a sword means that the line of vision of an adult standing in front of the altar and looking outwards, should be blocked by the door lintel to ensure that the architrave and clap-eaves board remain hidden from sight. The Chinese people are very cautious about objects being exposed without any covering, and consider it particularly inauspicious for deities to be exposed to sight. Therefore, the door lintel must block the architrave and the clap-eaves board from the line of vision of the deities. In the meantime, there is another taboo, namely *chien-pai* or seeing the sky: an adult standing in front of the altar should be able to see the sky (Fig.2-24) (Hsu 1983:75; Lin 1981:26; Chang 1991:164). Since the altar is an earthly domain which is only the temporary station of the deities, while the sky is their permanent dwelling place, being able to see the sky means that the deities in the domestic altar are able to touch heaven.

(C) Taboos involving ancestors and descendants.

There should be a buffer zone about five Taiwanese inches wide between the main body of the house and the side wings: this is called "the alley of the descendants" (Fig.2-25). Apart from expressing the desire for more male offspring, this taboo also solves the architectural construction problem of the joint between the main body of the house and the two wings (Hsu 1983:75). The height of the front door-lintel should be lower than the rear one. It is believed that a violation of this taboo will result in a decrease in the number of male offspring and the children ending up as orphans (ibid 74).

(D) There are special regulations for the construction of drainage systems in vernacular Taiwanese houses. In general, the length of the overhanging eaves should be longer than the length of the platform under the eaves (Fig. 2-26). If this happens, any water which drips down cannot land on the platform: where this violation occurs, it is known as a *liu-lei-chin* 流淚吟 or weeping tears platform and can lead to something unfortunate happening to the family (Hsu 1983:75; Chang 1991:105).

In vernacular houses built on Penghu island, there is a special regulation concerning the arrangement of the drainage system. According to traditional *feng-shui* notions, water also means wealth. Consequently, very careful attention has to be paid to the arrangement of its flow: the drained water should flow from the right

to the left side of the house through the main courtyard before joining up again at a drain to the left side of the house. Finally, the water flows from the left side back to the right before passing through the main entrance and flowing away (Fig. 2-27). The belief is that in this way all the wealth brought by water can be enjoyed by the family, and none of it will be lost (Chang 1991:107). Naturally, this also reflects the traditional *feng-shui* taboo that water should flow to the south-east.

2.5.4 The scientific meaning of Taiwanese construction taboos

I should point out here that although these taboos appear to be based in superstition, that is not their sole foundation. Some of them are principles based on architectural experience or on considerations of the natural environment, while others reflect traditional ethical or religious notions. Joseph Needham has found a scientific basis behind the forms of traditional Chinese architecture:

It is clear that the upturned roof-edge in China had the practical effect of admitting the maximum amount of slanting winter sunlight and the minimum amount of downpouring summer sunlight. It also reduced the height of the roof while keeping a steep pitch for the upper part and a wide span at the eaves; and thus it reduced the lateral wind-pressure (Needham 1971:102).

Similarly, there is also a scientific basis to the taboo which says that the roof of a temple should slant at a steeper angle than the roof of a house. Y. C. Hsu, in his studying of Taiwanese construction taboos, listed the following reasons (Hsu 1983:81-82):

(1) The ridgepole in a temple is generally taller than the ridgepole in a house. If the slope of the roof of a temple were the same as that of a house, it would appear to be out of proportion. Thus, by making the slope of the roof steeper, the area of the roof is increased and brought into line with the suitable proportions.

(2) The roofs of traditional temples in Taiwan are always decorated with complicated sculptures and paste figures: in order to fulfil the demand for this ornamentation, the area of the roof needs to be enlarged (Fig. 2-28).

(3) As far as interior decoration is concerned, the decoration in temples is far more splendid and intricate than in houses. Any increase in the roof area

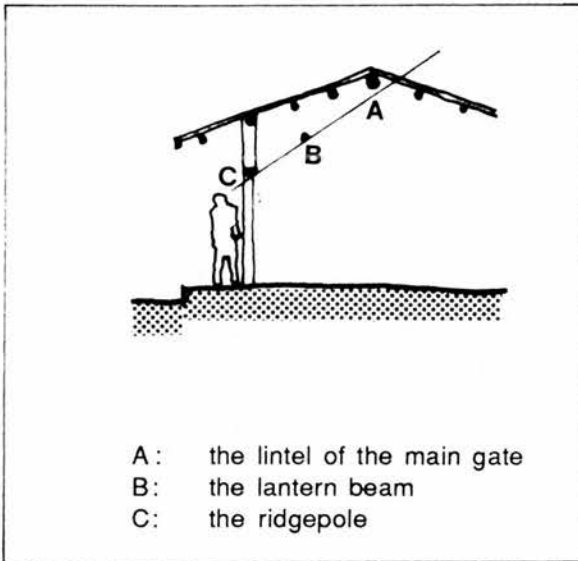


Fig. 2-23 The taboo regarding *San-yuan Chi-t'i*.

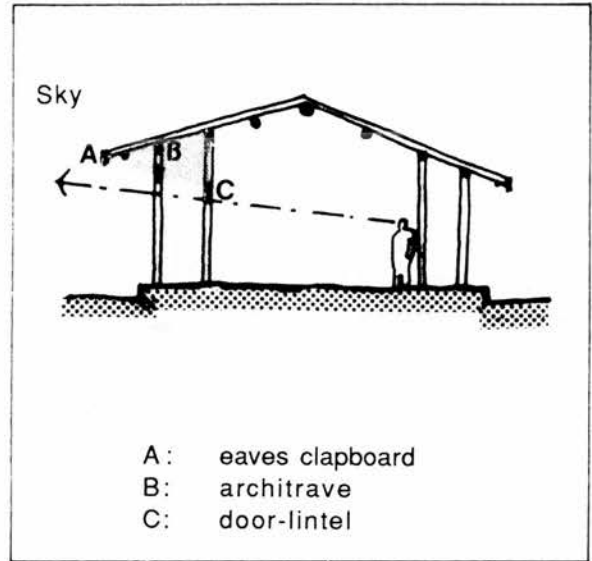


Fig. 2-24 The taboo regarding "*Shr-tsu Yao-chien*" and "*Chien-pai*".

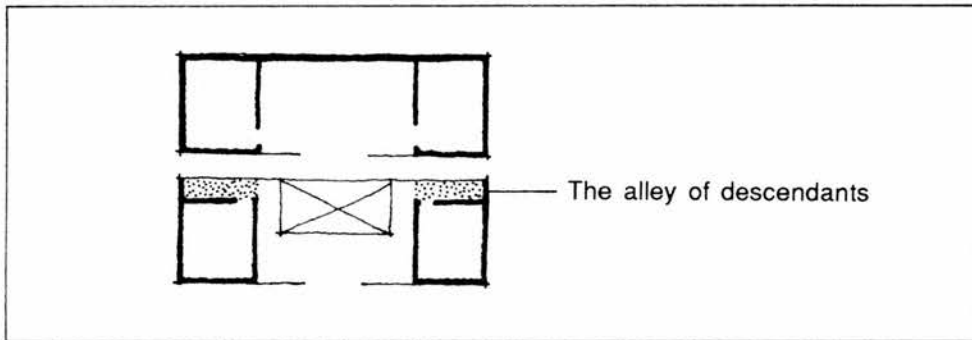


Fig. 2-25 The taboo regarding "the alley of the descendants".

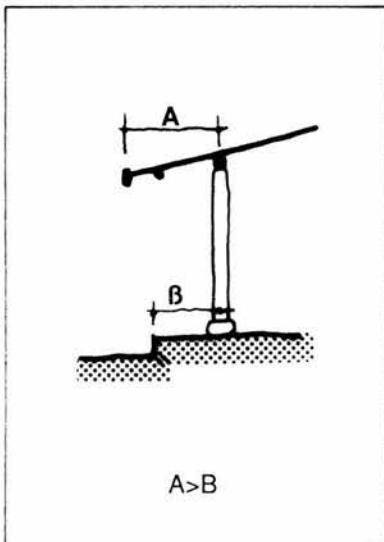


Fig. 2-26 The taboo regarding "*Liu-lei-chin*".

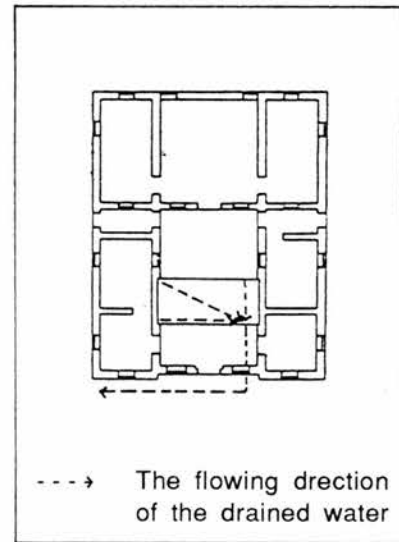


Fig. 2-27 The taboo regarding the drained water.

naturally means more space inside the building for ornaments and decoration (Fig. 2-29).

Thus, we can see that the taboo of the slope of a temple being much steeper than the slope of a house roof also accords with functional architectural needs.

In the case of the taboo of the "lion biting the sword", whereby the door lintel must block the line of vision to the architrave and clap-eaves board, this taboo provides an opportunity to resolve the relationship of the spatial proportions of the building. For example, when the height of the ridgepole is increased, it is necessary, in order to accord with the proportions of the building, for the height of the door lintel to be increased as well. The "lion biting the sword" taboo also requires that the height of both the architrave and the clap-eaves board should be increased at the same time; otherwise they will not be blocked from sight by the door lintel (Fig. 2-30). Alternatively, if, rather than the height of the ridgepole being increased, the horizontal depth of the main hall is extended, the distance between the altar and the door lintel will be increased. Anyone standing in front of the altar will have his sight of the architrave and clap-eaves board blocked by the door lintel, thus satisfying the "lion biting the sword" taboo. However, his sight of the sky will also be blocked, thus violating the *chien-pai* taboo in which the sky must be visible to any adult standing in front of the altar. Therefore the height of the lintel must be raised, and thereafter, the height of both the architrave and the clap-eaves board also have to be raised (Fig. 2-31). In this way, the opening of the main hall which faces towards the courtyard is enlarged. While the increase in the depth of the main hall means that there is a need of more sunlight in the hall. This is achieved by means of the widened opening of the main hall.

Most craftsmen in Taiwan merely understand the how and not the why behind Taiwanese construction taboos and are not keen to go further and discuss the reasons behind them. They are content merely to abide by the various regulations passed on by their masters. Thus, this is an area of research which should be looked at in more detail in the future.

2.5.5 House building hexes

As outlined above, the whole of the construction process of vernacular houses is influenced by the dos and don'ts decreed by the various taboos. As far as the

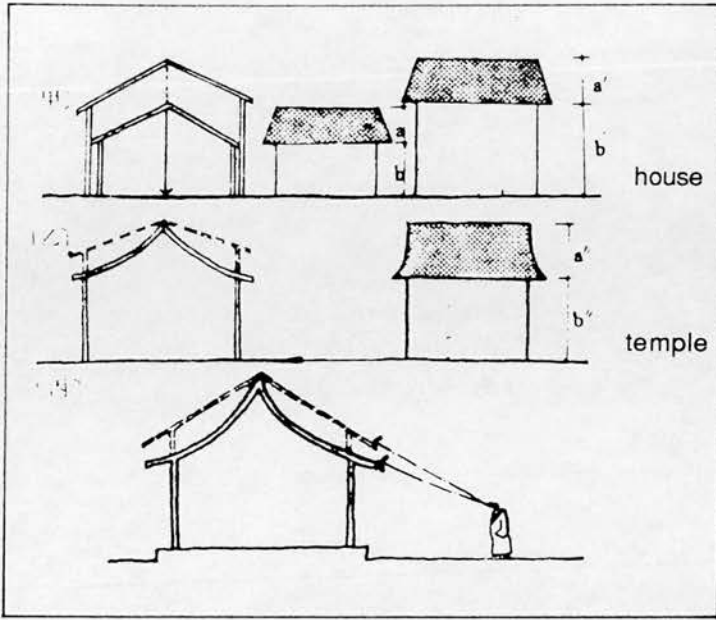


Fig. 2-28 The comparison between the slope of common houses and that of the temple.

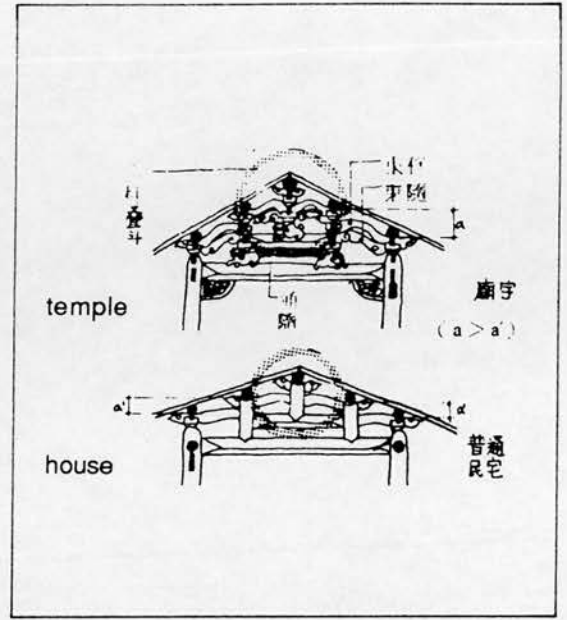


Fig. 2-29 The comparison between the ceiling of common houses and that of the temple.

(Source: Fig. 2-28, 2-29 from Hsu 1983:82)

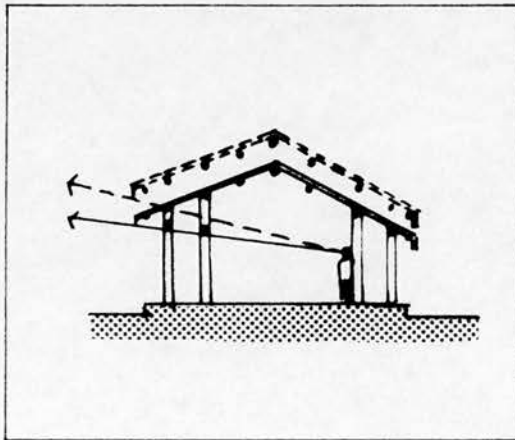


Fig. 2-30 The raising of the height of the ridgepole in the main hall.

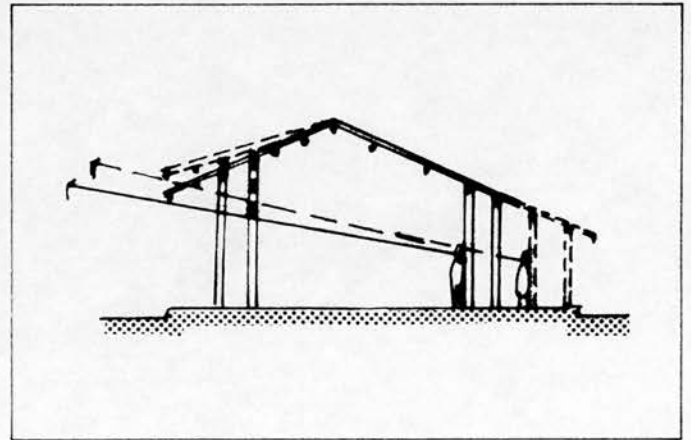


Fig. 2-31 The increase of the depth of the main hall.

craftsmen are concerned, they also learn a specific system of building hexes, unknown to anyone else, which can exert a powerful influence on the future destiny of the house. Most Chinese people know that the owner of a new house should not be too harsh on the craftsmen who are working on it. This is because it is well known that early on in their training the craftsmen learn special spells and magic formulae designed to curse the house and the family living in it, should the need arise to avenge insults or wrongs. If the worker feels that the slight is not important, he might merely have the house haunted; however, if it is a question of the worker's reputation, pride or "face" being injured, then the evil influences exerted can be very powerful, even going so far as to threaten the lives of the occupants ¹⁶.

¹⁶ The inauspicious hexes are described in the following way (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.4: 18-19):

(1) An ox bone buried under the centre of the house will cause lives of hard work and misery for the family. When the master of the household dies, he will not even have a coffin and his descendants will suffer great repression.

(2) A hair wrapped round a knife and stored underneath the main threshold will cause the sons of the family to lose their own hair, i.e. become a monk, and at the very least run away from home, thus ensuring that there will be no heirs. Their elderly parents will always make arguments with their daughters-in-law left behind. The family therefore cannot remain in peace.

(3) A spell drawn on the inner surfaces of connecting pieces of wood, which will bring demons and ghosts into the house who will create disturbances and cause constant sickness for the family.

(4) A figure drawn on the front of the beam over the southern main entrance which causes dissension within the family, leading to a succession of court cases which will bankrupt the family and end up with the house being sold.

(5) The character of Man, written in white on a black square painted on the inside of the joint of the beam over the threshold will cause the master of the family to be taken to court on a charge serious enough for him to be sentenced to death.

(6) A white tiger carved on the inwards-facing side of the beam above the main hall will cause dissension and illness for the wives of the family.

(7) A piece of broken roof tile and a bit of saw-blade, placed on the connecting point of two beams will cause the husband to die, the wife to remarry, the sons to be scattered and the servants to flee.

(8) A sword with a silk string tied around the handle and buried anywhere within the grounds of the house will lead to endless disputes within the family and even to several of its members hanging themselves.

(9) Two daggers drawn on white paper and placed in a beam to the right side door of the house will cause the master to become a murderer and his eventual execution for his crime.

(10) A single chopstick and a piece of a rice bowl placed on the top of the main door ensures that the family will be penniless and forced to beg: eventually the family will be forced to sell the house and go to live in a temple.

(11) A figure of an overturned boat buried to the north of the building will cause the master of the house to be drowned on a business trip. The children will also die by drowning while the wives will die in labour.

However, these hexes are not always malign. If the craftsmen feel that they have been treated with respect and courtesy then they will, instead, employ hexes which will bring good fortune to the house, the owners and its occupants in future generations ¹⁷.

The construction tools used by the craftsmen in the casting of spells are very important. For example, the stone cutter's awl as well as the carpenter's axe, ink cup and line marker can be used in the practice of black magic.

(12) An iron lock with a multi-coloured model of a man inside it, hidden at the bottom of a well or inside a wall ensures five deaths in the family within one year and the complete annihilation of the family within four or five years.

(13) A little wooden coffin placed on the top of the ridgepole in the main hall will cause a death in the family. Two coffins placed in this way will lead to two deaths. The size of the coffin determines whether the victims will be adults or children.

(14) A drawing of a man with a figured circle around it, hidden in the beam over the main entrance, will cause sickness and other ill fortune for the family.

¹⁷ Craftsmen can also use auspicious hexes within the structure of the building to bring eternal happiness to the family (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.4: 18-19):

(1) A bottle gourd painted on the joint of the beam at the top of a wall ensures that members of the family will be physicians or fortune tellers.

(2) Two copper coins with the heads facing up placed on a beam will ensure that the family will accumulate wealth.

(3) A brush pen and a slab of ink secreted within a beam will guarantee high office for the master of the household. However, should an insect chew on the tip of the pen, the official post will be lost.

(4) Grains of rice placed on the brackets of the roof ensure that the family will be wealthy.

(5) A wooden man riding a horse and carrying a spear, secreted on a beam ensures that one of the members of the family will become a famous general in wars against barbarians. However, he will eventually die on the battle field.

(6) Inked lines on the edges of a door ensure that at least one member of the family will attain fame as a painter or calligrapher.

(7) A group of three connected bamboo leaves on which has been written "family in peace and nation in tranquillity" and "good fortune", and nailed under the ridgepole, brings these blessings on the family.

(8) An official's hat painted on a roof support will ensure the attainment of academic degrees.

(9) A cassia leaf placed in the brackets of the roof ensures that the master's descendants will achieve academic success.

(10) A boat hidden in the brackets of the roof will guarantee prosperity if the bow is pointing in, poverty if pointing out.

(11) A spring of pine tree hidden anywhere about the house ensures longevity for the master of the house.

The magic spells were kept secret and passed down between generations of craftsmen. The spells were considered to be trade secrets: they were transmitted orally and never written down. Those recorded in the *Lu-pan Ching* may be merely the tip of an iceberg. Every craftsmen knew about talismans, straw figures and other magical artifacts. It is necessary to hide these spells, but they cannot work without the recitation of the correct incantations.

Although these hexes were likely to injure the family members, the master of the house could take prior defensive measures. According to the descriptions in the *Lu Pan Ching*, a prayer was written down on paper beseeching the gods' aid in foiling the intentions of the evil craftsmen behind the hexes and making the curse rebound on them within one hundred days. After a ceremony, the prayer is read and then burnt in order to better transmit its message to the gods. It was also believed to be effective in the extirpation of harmful influences to mix the blood of either a yellow or a black dog with wine: this wine was divided amongst the workers on the day when the ridgepole was raised. Drinking this mixture ensured the personal safety of the craftsmen and workers during construction and, more importantly, helped prevent any of the workers planting wooden or straw hex figures in the house since they would die a horrible death if they were to do so. Apart from the above measures, an additional prevention is to paste a piece of charm paper underneath the ridgepole, then worship to the Earth God to ask for his guardianship. Meanwhile, incantations are recited to ensure the family remain in peace (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.4: 19).

2.5.6 Taboos and boundaries

In her discussion of the nature of taboo, Mary Douglas uses the human body as a model which can stand for any bound system. She also describes the human body as a beleaguered form the boundaries of which are fragile and need to be treated with caution (Douglas 1966:115-123). The homology of body-house-cosmos which forms the basis of Chinese cosmology can be drawn on here to examine in greater depth the nature of taboo. Taboos are of great importance when they cope with all the potential troubles resulting from encounters between two different boundaries such as secular and sacred, order and disorder, birth and death, etc.

I have shown that a wide variety of taboos are used in the construction of Taiwanese houses. From the taboos discussed, an interesting point emerges: all the

construction taboos are imposed to maintain a harmonious relationship between different boundaries. For example, in the main hall, there is a taboo concerning the relationship between the purlins and the altar. The purlins represent a man-made framework belonging to an earthly domain, while the altar represents a heavenly boundary. The taboo is imposed to ensure that there is a state of harmony between the two boundaries with no prospect of conflict. In the taboo of "t'a-ting", the lantern beam belongs to the main hall and represents the continuity of the family lineage. The doors leading into the sons' bedrooms symbolise the domain of the family's descendants. The lantern beam must not be placed over the door leading into the sons' bedrooms. This ensures that potential conflict between the main hall and the sons' bedrooms, or ancestors and descendants is avoided.

When their living environment descends into a state of chaos, Taiwanese people will inevitably seek to resolve their problems through following taboos. Nevertheless, the real aim is to find the orientation with which they can break through the state of chaos and attain a state of harmony.

2.6 THE CEREMONIES OF ARCHITECTURAL CONSTRUCTION

In ancient China the building of a house, like any other important domestic event, was taken very seriously. According to the *Lu Pan Ching*, the whole process of constructing a house or temple could be divided into a series of stages - the breaking of the earth, the laying of the foundations, the erecting of the pillars, the setting of the ridgepole and the final completion (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* vol.2:2-3). Before each of these stages could be started, different ceremonies were held to declare the construction officially open. The ceremonies could begin only on certain auspicious days or times, determined by consulting the almanac. Some days were definitely to be avoided, especially those on which the almanac forbade breaking the earth: for example, times of important activity for the Earth god (*t'u-ti-kung*) or days which could offend *t'ai-shui* 太歲 (a group of 48 star spirits which take year long turns at controlling the orderly progression of time on earth). Any violation of these rules could cause serious trouble.

The construction ceremonies held in vernacular Taiwanese architecture are based on the rules of procedure as laid down in the *Lu Pan Ching*. The various stages of construction, each with its own ceremony, can be described in the following

sequence: the laying of the foundations, the erection of the framework of the house and the final completion.

2.6.1 The ceremony of the laying of the foundations

A report on Taiwanese construction ceremonies in the Penghu area divided the ceremonies for the laying of the foundations into three stages: the breaking of the earth, the laying of the foundations and the setting of the floor brick (Chang 1991:89-100).

The ceremony of the breaking of the earth is presided over by the chief mason. First of all, a deity of the village temple is invited to the site where the house is to be built; the image of the deity is then set respectfully on an altar and worshipped by all the participants. When the ceremony is completed, the deity is sent back to the temple. The mission of the deity is to safeguard the security of the building against the possibility of invasion by evil demons. In addition to the deity, various house-building tools - pestle, *Lu Pan* ruler, carpenter's ink marker etc. - are also worshipped in this ceremony. This is because people believe that the tools of the workers, by going through this sanctification ceremony, become imbued with supernatural powers and can drive away evil demons. The final stage of this ceremony is the worship of the foundation spirits. Taiwanese people believe that the foundation spirits are the original residents of every piece of land (Lin H. C. 1990:106). Thus, it is natural to worship them and ask their permission before proceeding with construction.

Once the worship ceremonies are completed, the ceremony of breaking the earth can commence. Before this step can be taken, however, the chief mason, who presides over the ceremony, has to realise the location and orientation of the house and the auspicious positions for the location of its spatial elements, before going on to select one of these auspicious positions to commence the breaking of the earth. During the ceremony, he also uses a mixture of salt and rice to spread over the middle and the four corners of the site to avoid disruption caused by the *wu-fang* 五方 (Five Directions) demons.

The ceremony for the laying of the foundations is also presided over by the chief mason and begins with worship to the gods. On this occasion professional deities such as Lu Pan or *Ho-yeh Tsu-shih* 荷葉祖師, the founder of masonry, are

worshipped along with the construction tools. Various objects with auspicious meaning are then placed in the middle and the four corners of the construction site: paper money, copper coins (symbolising wealth), nails (symbolising male offerings, since the pronunciations of male offspring and nail are the same) and five cereals (symbolising the harvest). Finally, the chief mason chants some auspicious verse to conclude the ceremony.

The ceremony for the setting of the floor brick concentrates on one particular brick which is inscribed with various bits of information:

- (1) The origin of the land.
- (2) The deeds of the house, the date of buying the land from the foundation spirits and the value of the land.
- (3) The location and orientation of the house.
- (4) The dates of the important construction ceremonies.

This ceremony is held to indicate that the owner has acquired all of the rights to the land from the original owners, the foundation spirits, who are also asked to defend the family of the new owner against the intrusion of unwelcome spirits. The ceremony for the setting of the floor brick is presided over by a priest invited from the village temple. The ceremony is completed when the brick is set up in the position where the altar of the house is to be positioned: this also marks the completion of the whole ceremony for the laying of the foundations.

2.6.2 The ceremony for the erection of the framework of the house

The ceremonies for the erection of the framework of the house include the erection of the pillars and, most important of all, the ridgepole. In the limited amount of Chinese literature which records construction ceremonies, detailed accounts of the erection of pillars are rare: indeed, only the *Lu Pan Ching* mentions that an auspicious day should be chosen (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.2). However, there are some examples of such ceremonies in Taiwanese vernacular architecture: for the Yami minority, who live in a remote island off the eastern coast of Taiwan, the ceremony of the erection of the pillars is treated as the most important stage of the construction ceremonies (Fang 1984:40). The Yami call the important poles which support the main body of the house *tomok* or ancestor pillars. According to local tradition, only the best timber can be used to produce the

tomoks. After the death of the original owner, his descendants can tear down the pillars and put them up in their own houses. Thus, the inheritance of the *tomoks* also comes to symbolize the continuity of the family lineage. The ceremony of the erection of a *tomok* is held as follows: first, gods and ancestors are worshipped, then the blood of a chicken or a goat is spread all over the *tomok* and relief carvings of waves, symbolising an abundant harvest of fish, are carved on the side of the poles. Representations of goat horns are carved on the middle of the *tomok* to bring longevity to the members of the family.

In contrast to the ceremony for erecting pillars, the ceremony of raising the ridgepole, which can be seen as the main stage of the whole process of the construction ceremonies, is mentioned comparatively frequently, and has even described in detail by some Western writers (e.g. Ayscough 1925:23-43). In the *Lu Pan Ching*, the ceremony is described as follows:

At the proper date and time, an elaborate ceremony should be held to mark the beginning of the construction. An altar is set up with all the necessary items: censers, incense, sacrificial paper money, candles, the three sacrifices (fowl, fish and a pig's head), fruit, wine, and a statue of Pu-an 普庵¹⁸. A wooden container of uncooked rice in which is stuck a Lu Pan ruler and a ink marker is placed in a central position. Then, all the the gods such as the Earth God, *T'ai-shui*, the foundation spirits and Lu Pan himself are invited to join the ceremony.

A sermon is read asking for the grace of the gods for a smooth and successful completion of the job ahead. Then, with three offerings of wine and the reading of three poems, the gods are asked to leave their heavenly abodes temporarily and, along with the family members, participate in the ceremony. They are entreated to keep the proposed construction safe from fire and burglary and to guarantee the happiness and well-being of those who live in it.

After the official ceremony is over, one final stirrup cup of wine should be offered to the attending divinities to thank them for their benevolence (*Lu Pan Ching Chiang-chia-ching* Vol.1:2-3).

In addition to the descriptions in the *Lu Pan Ching*, the classic Chinese novel, *Chin-p'ing-mei* (The Golden Lotus), also provides an illustration of the ceremony for the raising of the ridgepole:

¹⁸ Pu-an means Master Pu-an, i.e. Lu Pan, who is also one of the trade gods in the construction business.

On the day when the ridgepole is set, certain foods are prepared - foods that symbolize unity, harmony and togetherness. After the ridgepole is set the masons and carpenters stand on the top of it and throw the food to the crowd of celebrants amassed below, all the while chanting, "Just as this ridgepole is raised high, may the descendants of this family achieve high position". The people scramble for what they could get. The gaiety of the festivities is taken as a good omen for the future of the family that would live in the house (*The Golden Lotus* Chap.18).

In the course of interviewing some old craftsmen during my field studies in Taiwan. I was informed that, during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, there were some special regulations for the ceremony of the raising of the ridgepole. A red cloth with the figures of the Eight Trigrams was tied up on the ridgepole; the four corners of the cloth were also tied up with two coins placed in each corner. People believed that this would lead to the avoidance of fire and the successful pursuit of good fortune.

The ceremony for the raising of the ridgepole is the prime event among all the construction ceremonies in vernacular Taiwanese architecture. An altar is set up in the middle of the main hall (*t'ing*) and piled up with abundant offerings. Prior to being raised up, the ridgepole is placed in front of the altar. The chief carpenter presiding over the ceremony firstly worships the three main instruments - the *Lu Pan* ruler, the ink marker and the axe - before inviting Lu Pan, on behalf of all the participants, to attend the ceremony. The master of the new house then worships the ridgepole three times with incense and wine. When the auspicious time has arrived, the raising of the ridgepole commences. Two men, born in the year of the dragon and the year of the tiger respectively, raise the ridgepole to the proposed position. In the meantime, various objects with auspicious meaning - a straw rain coat, a plough, a paper inscribed with the Eight Trigrams figure, a bag with five cereals and golden flowers - are attached to the ridgepole to bring good fortune to the family. Finally, the chief carpenter chants some lucky poems to conclude the ceremony (Chang 1991: 256). The details of the ceremonies held in Taiwanese vernacular houses are very similar to the descriptions in the *Lu Pan Ching*. After the raising of the ridgepole, the workers start to finish the roof. To celebrate the completion of the roof, the workers stand on the ridge of the roof and throw desserts made of sticky rice down to the guest. This is similar to the descriptions in *The Golden Lotus*.

To sum up, the ceremony of the raising of the ridgepole can be counted as the most important of the construction ceremonies. C. B. Wilson, in his paper *Dwelling at the Centre of the World* (1992), has shown the profound significance of this ceremony. He argues that the real meaning behind human dwelling places is the search for a way to dwell at the Centre of the world, pointing out that, when the house is centred, it provides "a marriage of earth and heaven through the spiritualisation of the body of the house and the materialisation of its divine archetype." (p. 115) Wilson goes on to say: "A picture of the centred house [can] be reached directly, without referring to alchemy, by starting with the correspondence between the metaphysical Intellect and the symbol of the cosmological *axis mundi* and thence unfolding the relations between the metaphysics of the cosmic manifestation, the psychocosmic structure of the human being, and the epistemology of dwelling and building." (p. 117) Citing an example described by F. Ayscough in her book *A Chinese Mirror* (1925:38ff), Wilson argues that the ceremony for raising the ridgepole projects the house onto the *axis mundi*. (Wilson 1992:119)

The "functional" link between house and human being as microcosms is provided by the correspondence between the "vertical" axis of the house and the Intellect. The cosmic axis orientates the human and the Intellect brings the house "to life". In this way all constructed microcosms (and, indeed, ideally and essentially, all traditional artefacts) are supports to traditional peoples in their search to dwell at the Centre and to remember their Origin, whether within a specific practice or as a background to everyday life. Since houses have this potential, they must, if they are to be constructed at all, play a primary role in supporting the wholeness of people and of their lives by providing an orientation simultaneously for body, soul and spirit. (Wilson 1992:117-118)

2.6.3 The ceremony for the completion of the house

When the construction of the house is complete, and before the house can be inhabited, completion ceremonies are held. The first two of these ceremonies are the setting of the main door and the stove. The main door is the most important element in Taiwanese vernacular houses: in terms of *feng-shui*, it is the gateway for the absorption of *ch'i* while, according to local folk legends, it is also a passageway for the coming of good fortune to the family. According to local folk beliefs, the Stove God is stationed inside the stove of every house and acts as a

representative of the Heavenly Emperor, supervising the deeds of the family members and reporting back to heaven.

Compared with other ceremonies, these ones are relatively simple (Chang 1991: 161). The ceremony of setting the main door is presided over by the chief carpenter. The whole process is very simple with need neither for offerings nor for worship to the gods. All that is required is for the chief carpenter to stand outside and, facing the house, to worship the front door. During the ceremony for setting the stove, the family have to show their respect for the Stove God.

The final stage of the completion ceremony is the ceremony of entering the house, which has to be carried out before the house can be used. The master, holding images of the deities and tablets of the family ancestors, leads his family into the main hall of the house. This represents the blessing of the gods and the continuity of the family lineage (Chang 1991:264).

Taiwanese Hakkas, when they hold this ceremony, also include the "Inviting of the Dragon" rite, which they invite a priest to preside over (Lin H. H. 1989:81). The steps of the ceremony are as follows: a dragon made of rice is placed in the main hall. After worshipping the dragon, the priest goes to the back of the house, where the dragon ridge (*lung*) is located, to invite the Dragon God (represented by a paper dragon) to attend the ceremony. The family take the paper dragon back into the main hall to be worshipped. The rice dragon is then taken to the back of the house, where it is placed in a hole and covered with a stone plate. Finally, the stone plate is covered with soil and a tree is planted to mark the completion of the ceremony. Hereafter, the Dragon God can protect the security of the family.

2.6.4 Discussion

The embodiment of this diversified system of construction ceremonies are undertaken to assure the well-being of the new house and its future inhabitants. There are some points which are worth noting throughout the construction ceremonies. Firstly, the involvement of various deities shows that man can share in the sanctity of the sacred world; in other words, the ceremonies themselves can make men dwell in the centre of the sanctified realm.

Secondly, the emphasis upon the auspicious time and place for holding ceremonies also shows that the house acquires, by virtue of its spatial and temporal orientation with the cosmos, a fixed point in the homogeneous and neutral world can be found. Thus, the correlation of house and cosmos can be strengthened.

Thirdly, it is interesting to note, as informed by a craftsman during my field survey, that the process of Taiwanese construction ceremonies is analogous to the process of life-cycle of man: the ceremony of breaking ground is analogous to the impregnation of human bodies; the laying of the foundation corresponds to the birth of a human being; erecting pillars and ridgepole is regarded as the stage of initiation. When the framework of the house is completed the house can act as the novice who starts to join the community and is ready to serve its future inhabitants. Consequently, by virtue of the analogy, the homology of the house and human body is achieved.

Thus, we can conclude that the process of Taiwanese construction ceremonies as a whole, by virtue of the inclusion of the deities, the correlation with the cosmos and the analogy of the human body, manifests a homology of body-house-cosmos.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The overall construction process can be divided into two distinct parts: the process of creativity and the process of realisation. The creative process which includes the *feng-shui* survey, the choice of an auspicious location for the spatial elements of the house, the choice of auspicious measurements for the architectural components of the house and the construction taboos, reflects a hidden meaning and is certainly not a recognisable form. The process of realisation, on the other hand, which includes preparations for construction as well as the holding of the construction ceremonies, is a manifestation, through a variety of activities, of a clear outward form.

Through the creative process of vernacular Taiwanese houses, a spatial prototype, capable of signifying existential meaning, is formed. By means of this prototype, we can become aware of a variety of meanings signifying the harmonious relationships between self, society, nature and the supernatural as well as the need for and possibility of mutual interaction between man and man, man and nature and

man and the supernatural. The spatial prototype is an idealised representation which imitates the contents of various cosmic phenomena. The fundamental notions of this prototype are based on the notions of Chinese *feng-shui*.

As I have already described, the notion of *feng-shui* is the explanation of the organisation of the natural landscape, a system for judging auspicious time and space by the use of cosmic symbols such as *yin-yang*, *wu-hsing*, *pa-kua* 八卦, etc. The cosmological theory of *feng-shui* is based on the theories of the *I-ching* (The Book of Changes) (Yin 1987:51). The *I-ching* is effectively a system of symbols representing not only the organisation of the individual, the family and society but also a microcosm of the cosmic order which includes explanations of the changes of the seasons, astrological phenomena, the natural landscape and geographical landforms, etc (Fang T. 1981:84-118). The all-embracing nature of the contents of the *I-ching* go far beyond the bounds of the present research, so I will merely quote some of the notions contained in it to assist the understanding of the creative process of a spatial prototype.

The simplest explanation of the notion of *I-ching*, according to the text is: "the creative creativity is what is called change" ¹⁹ (*I-ching* Vol.7:5). It also indicates that: "heaven and earth establish the order and the process of change is prevalent in it" (ibid). On the basis of these quotations, we thus know that the process of change is a creative process in which is created a manifestation of the order of heaven and earth. Applying this notion of the *I-ching* to the construction process of vernacular Taiwanese houses, we can thus understand that the process of creating an ideal spatial prototype to interpret people's perception of the cosmos is, in the terms of the *I-ching*, a creative creativity. Through this creative creativity, the order of heaven and earth can be re-established in people's homes.

The notions of *feng-shui* are used by geomancers throughout the construction process of Taiwanese vernacular houses, starting with the choice of an auspicious site. When the carpenters and masons join the work, the auspicious sizes of architectural components to be used throughout the house are worked out, and care is taken not to violate any construction taboo. Taken as a whole, this process aims to create an ideal spatial prototype in which is concealed the endless vitality required to bring eternal life to the family. Furthermore, by virtue of the spatial prototype

¹⁹ The English translation used here is by Thome H. Fang (Fang 1981:110).

produced by the creative process, people can maintain a harmonious relationship with nature and the supernatural. The real meaning of the creative process is not the need for auspiciousness, which merely fits in with people's desires to pursue practical benefits, but rather the expression of the cosmic order which allows people to obtain the real existential meaning of life, and to obtain the great excellence of heaven and earth.

There is one point which still requires explanation. The creative part of the construction process in Taiwan in, for example, the selection of auspicious *feng-shui* and auspicious size, or obedience to the construction taboos, is expressed by a concealed characteristic. This characteristic can also be described as an invisible form concealed in various parts of the house. The invisibility of the form does not remove the real meaning of the creative process. In fact, the concealed form is itself a form. According to the *I-ching*: "the achievement of the form is what is called the creative" (*I-ching* Vol.7). Therefore, as long as creativity exists, there is a form, whether it is visible or invisible. The concealed or invisible form has even greater significance, as is shown by the words of a Chinese philosopher, Lao-tsu, who wrote that: "great form is shapeless", a notion which can be further explained by another quotation from Lao-tsu's work *Tao Teh Ching* (Chap. 11):

Thirty spokes converge upon a single hub; it is on the hole in the centre that makes the use of the cart hinges.

We make a vessel from a lump of clay; it is the empty spaces within the vessel that make it useful.

We make doors and windows for a room; but it is this empty space that makes the room livable.

Thus, while tangible has advantage; it is the intangible that makes it useful.²⁰

Thus the very "intangible" nature of the form created by the creative process in Taiwanese vernacular architecture, is what makes the house useful.

However, the overall construction process of Taiwanese vernacular houses, far from merely presenting an intangible form, at the same time also contains

²⁰ The translation is by John C.H. Wu (Wu 1961:15).

tangible forms. For example, the preparations for construction and the construction ceremonies are the process of a concrete practice, a process which I will call the practice process. The primary meaning expressed in the practice process is direct participation: the direct participation of man both on an individual and a collective basis, and man's direct participation with the environment. The selection and gathering of materials during the preparations for the construction of a house requires not only a long period of time but also the participation of a large group of people - the master of the house as well as his direct family, relatives and friends etc. This direct participation, coupled with a long period of direct interaction with their environment, allows the people concerned to come to a deep understanding of the materials of construction and the characteristics of the site. Through the participation of numerous people in the practice process, these participants gradually become aware of the process in which they have taken part and realise that it is only through collective participation that the process is possible. Thus, through the practice process, man and man and man and nature are united in a harmonious whole.

Direct participation is also expressed in the practice process of construction ceremonies. Throughout the process, a large number of participants take part: the master of the house, direct family, relatives, friends and professionals. Even the supernaturals, gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts also participate and play their appointed role in the rituals.

Mary Douglas wrote in her book, *Purity and Danger*:

The magic of primitive ritual creates harmonious worlds with ranked and ordered populations playing their appointed parts. So far from being meaningless, it is primitive magic which gives meaning to existence. (Douglas 1966:72)

From this descriptions we can see how, through the process of the rituals, the role given to the individual participants also gives existential meaning to their lives.

In his book *Ritual, Politics and Power*, David Kertzer's definition of ritual, although mainly concerned with the relationship between ritual and politics, certainly does not cancel out our own understanding of the word. He describes a ritual as "an analytical category that helps us deal with the chaos of human

experience and put it into a coherent framework" (Kertzer 1988:8). Kertzer's explanation can help us to a further understanding of Douglas's terms. Rituals can make all the participants organise a coherent framework, which in turn gives their lives an existential meaning. Eventually, the individual is able to deal with the chaos of his personal experience.

Therefore, direct participation in Taiwanese construction ceremonies gives the participants the chance to organise a coherent framework, a framework which reflects the belief that man, house and cosmos can correspond to one another. Within the framework, individual participants can obtain the existential meaning which allows them to cope with the chaos of their personal experience (especially with any confrontations with the supernatural).

Apart from direct participation, the other significance of the practice process is a linkage of the past, the present and the future. For example, I have looked at the construction processes of the Yami on Lanyu island and the Hakkas in Northern Taiwan. In the case of the Yami people's gathering of building materials, the passing down of the *tomok* or main pole signifies the unity of past, present and future. The ancestors' *tomoks* are inherited by the descendants, manifesting the relationship between the past (the ancestors) and the present (the descendants). The reappearance of the same inheritance in the future manifests the relationship between the present (the present users) and the future (their children or grandchildren).

In the case of the Hakkas, while this linkage of past, present and future has yet to be proved, the collection of building materials certainly requires a very long period of time. The selection of suitable materials is based on the experience gained by the long interaction between the users and their environment showing, at the very least, a temporal process which links the past and the future.

Since the essential meaning of ritual is to help people living in the present to link up with the past and the future, the description of this linkage can be more precise when we discuss the meaning of ritual. As David Kertzer wrote: "Ritual helps give meaning to our world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to the future. This helps us cope with two human problems: building confidence in our sense of self by providing us with a sense of continuity." (Kertzer

1988:9-10). A similar notion is described in Barbara Myerhoff's research on ritual:

In ritual, change is interpreted by being linked with the past and incorporated into a larger framework. By inserting traditional elements into the present, the past is read as prefiguring what is happening in here and now, and by implication the future is seen as foreshadowed in all that has gone before (Myerhoff 1984:173).

On the basis of the views of Kertzer and Myerhoff, therefore, we can interpret the meaning of Taiwanese construction ceremonies. As I have indicated, every stage of the construction ceremonies throughout the whole process should be held exactly on the auspicious time, a sacred time which enables the participants to enter into an eternal dimension of cosmic time, chosen by consulting the almanac. Thus, the various ceremonies throughout the whole process of construction have removed temporal limitations from construction practices and placed them in an eternal framework which can link the past, present and future freely. Although the ceremony may be a new event, it also expresses a confirmation of the past as well as aspirations for the future.

CHAPTER 3 THE SPACES, SPATIAL ELEMENTS AND RITUALS IN VERNACULAR TAIWANESE HOUSE

3.1 THE MAIN SPACES OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE HOUSE

Traditional Taiwanese houses, courtyard houses and street houses alike, were made up of three main spaces: the *t'ing* 廳 (the main hall), the *fang* 房 (the bedrooms) and the *tsao-k'a* 灶 (the kitchen). Here I will discuss the interactive relationship implied by the arrangement of the *t'ing*, the *fang* and the *tsao-k'a*. The *t'ing* represents agnatic solidarity²¹ and continuity in the patrilineage; the individual *fangs* symbolise the independence of the household, while the division of the *tsao* 灶 (the stove) indicates the separation of the domestic economies. Together, the three elements illustrate a binary phenomenon - growth and division. The growth ensures the solidarity and continuity of the family, while the division solves the practical needs which arise during the process of growth. In the past, daily life seems to have been more imbued with religious meaning than it is today. I assume the reason for this to be that people living in the ordered and structured environment of a traditional society shared a common virtue and well-being. In the following discussion, I will sketch a broader perspective for an understanding of the *t'ing*, the *fang* and the *tsao-k'a*.

3.1.1 The *t'ing*

The *t'ing* is the centrally located room of the traditional U-shaped compound (Fig. 3-1) which is jointly owned by all member households of an agnatic group. The title of the hall is inscribed in large Chinese characters on a wooden plaque (Fig. 3-2) above the front door of the *t'ing*.²² The title of the hall reminds the living descendants of the origins of their ancestors and emphasises the affiliation of their

21 Chinese society is patrilineal and the focus of social interaction has traditionally emphasised agnatic relations, which means that descendants from the same male ancestor remain firmly tied economically and religiously. Hence, the cohesion of the descendants shows the agnatic solidarity.

22 Most of the titles were derived from the different place names of North China, which in turn are traced back to the places from which different surname groups originated. For example, *siho* 西河 is the place of origin for the surname group Lin; *yinch'uan* 潁川 for the surname Chen, etc.

lineage with the past. The *t'ing* functions as a main room for various family occasions.

In addition to general ceremonies, worshipping gods and ancestors, the *t'ing* also has other functions. (Chen C. N. 1984:54-55) It is the place where members of the family start and end their journey of life: not only is the ceremony to mark a new born baby completing the first month of its life held here, but it is also the place where members of the agnatic family breathe their last breath and where funeral rites are held. The *t'ing* also serves as a place where women start to change their status in life: a bride must worship the ancestors of her husband's agnatic group there in a rite marking her acceptance as a new member of that group. Similarly, when a family wishes to marry off a daughter, she is required to make a farewell worship to the ancestors of her father's agnatic group.

The *t'ing*, then, is the place where all members of the family can meet with gods, ancestors and culture. Consequently, it plays a spiritual role guaranteeing the family's transition and growth when confronting critical moments in this process all members of the family pray there to the gods in order to receive mercy from them. It is also where the family receives the new and say farewell to the old, thus continuing their transition. As long the *t'ing* remains, the family remains; this explains why the *t'ing* is never divided.

3.1.2 The *fang*

In purely architectural terms, *fangs* are the sons' bedrooms which flank the two sides of the *t'ing*. However the term also carries a broader meaning as a signifier of the status of the son. The usage of *fang* refers to a group consisting of a son, his wife and their unmarried sons: a daughter can never create a *fang* within her father's agnatic group. In fact, there is no *fang* status for a daughter at all, unless, after marriage, she becomes a member of her husband's *fang* within his agnatic group. (Chen C. N. 1984; Freedman 1970; Harrell 1982) A *fang* exists as an integral segment of the family and the aggregation of *fangs*, in social terms, refers to the kin group. Therefore, each individual *fang* becomes a crucial element in the formation of a kin lineage. It is impossible to understand the nature of the kin group without a prior understanding of the nature of a *fang*. The relationship between the individual *fangs* and the whole family is symbolised spatially in the relation of the bedrooms to the main hall. Taiwanese people use a pair of opposite

terms, *si* 私 (private) and *kung* 公(public), to indicate the relationship between *fang* and *t'ing*. People regard a *fang* as *si-fang* 私房(private room), while a *t'ing* which is a more public place of communal activities, is usually known as a *kung-t'ing* 公廳 (public hall). Most private functions take place in the *fangs*. Indeed, most of the Chinese terms relating to *fang* indicate private affairs: *fang-shi* 房事(the affair of the *fang*) is a euphemism for sexual relations, while *chin-tung-fang* 進洞房(entering the bedroom) signifies a bride and groom entering their bedroom and having sexual relations there. (Chen C. N. 1984: 65) Terms relating to *fang* also indicate the son's conjugal affairs: for example, *yuan-fang* 圓房 means to consummate a marriage. Needless to say, conjugal affairs are a crucial factor in continuing and expanding the span of the lineage. Although *fang* and *t'ing* represent opposite architectural functions, their roles in the continuation and expansion of the family are related.

Fang can also be used as a modifying indicator when referring to the agnatic order. The eldest son is called *t'a-fang* 大房 the senior *fang*, the second is called *erh-fang* 二房 the second *fang* and so on. The agnatic order is reflected in the arrangement of the various bedrooms used by different *fangs*, with the senior *fang* generally taking the most important position in the compound. Since there are regular domestic conflicts between different *fangs*, the Chinese believe that agnatic solidarity must be expressed in a strong *fang* affiliation signifying the unity of each *fang* in the agnatic group under the powerful ideology of ethical affiliation. I will discuss this later.

3.1.3 The *tsao-k'a*

Tsao means the stove in a kitchen while *tsao-k'a* is the kitchen itself. Normally, there is only one stove in the kitchen, so *tsao-k'a* and kitchen are synonymous in Chinese terminology. The people who cook and eat meals in the same *tsao* constitute a commensal group.²³ Before the division of the family, the whole family shares the same *tsao-k'a*; after a family division, individual *fangs* build their own *tsao-k'a* within the compound. An individual *fang* with a new *tsao-k'a* signifies

²³ Before the family division, the whole family eat meals at the same table in the same *tsao-k'a*; the family organise a commensal group. After the family division, all married sons and their own families organise their own commensal groups; the parents then either eat and live together with their unmarried son, or eat meals with each son's commensal group in turn.

the establishment of an independent household in the compound. In rural Taiwan, the number of *tsao-k'as* is an indication of how many *fangs* are living in the same compound.

People believe there is a stove god, *tsao-shen* 灶神 who guards and protects members of the household. Occasionally, the foundation spirits, *t'i-chi-tsu* 地基主 who guards against ghosts are also worshipped in the *tsao-k'a*. (Feuchtwang 1974a; Wolf 1974) Within the house compound, therefore, it is defined in ritual that the ancestors of the agnatic group and the high-ranking gods of the pantheon of celestial deities are worshipped in the *t'ing*, while the stove god or the foundation spirits, as the lowest-ranking members of the supernatural hierarchy, are worshipped in the *tsao-k'a*. (In some case, peripheral ancestors are also worshipped here). In terms of social significance, the *t'ing* is also superior to the *tsao-k'a*, since it is only honourable guests who are invited to enter the house through the *t'ing*. Lowly people such as servants or beggars, as well as other unwelcome visitors, are allowed to enter only through the *tsao-k'a*.

3.1.4 *T'ing, fang and tsao-k'a*

The various combinations of the spaces within a compound reveal two notions: firstly, the ideology of filial piety and ancestor worship represented by the hierarchical position of the *t'ing* and *fangs*, and, secondly, a functional group formation represented by the combination of the *fangs* and the *tsao-k'as*. The *t'ing* always takes the most important position in a compound. However, no matter how the *t'ing* is used, its uses are restricted to being the spiritual and social centre of the family; the practical and physical sides of domestic life are carried out in the *fangs* and the *tsao-k'as*.

I will now take the agnatic lines of segment C in Fig. 3-3 as an example of a typical agnatic group and compound C (Fig. 3-4) as the spatial arrangement in which the group resides. Before the division of the family, the parents (C) lived in room 1-A, the eldest son and his wife (C1) lived in room 1-B and room 1-C was shared by the children of C1. The second son and his family occupied the left wing of the compound (2-A, 2-B) while the right wing (3-A, 3-B) belonged to the youngest son and his family. All the members shared the same *tsao-k'a*. Then, after the division of the family, individual *fangs* were established, with the eldest brother inheriting the original *tsao-k'a*. His two brothers continued to live in the same place

but each built a new *tsao-k'a*, 2-K and 3-K (Fig. 3-5), in an additional end to the respective wings .

It was conventional for the parents to live with the senior *fang* till their death and not to build a new *tsao-k'a*.²⁴ For the sake of fairness, the parents would usually eat at each of the sons' households in turn. (Hsieh 1985) However, a household can continue to expand. In this case, more rows of houses are added parallel to the wings and back of the original compound. An additional U-shaped house (multi-*hulung*) is thus formed with each house separated from the original building by narrow lanes. A residential compound can expand in this way to accommodate as many households as are in the agnatic group (Fig. 3-6).

Along with the expansion of the compound, a discussion of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a* involves more complicated matters, such as the re-arrangement of these elements following the division of the family and the social and ritual meanings revealed through their interactive relations, etc. A further discussion of these issues will thus extend our insight and will be helpful in understanding the real meaning of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a*. A review of existing research on vernacular architecture shows three main notions of spatial conceptualisation: the supernatural (Wang S. H. 1974; Wolf 1974), *feng-shui* (Feuchtwang 1974c; Sangren 1987; Knapp 1986) and ethical order (Kuan 1980; Feuchtwang 1974a). I now wish to extend the meanings of these three notions through applying them to the *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a*.

3.1.5 The supernatural

Chinese people believe that there are three basic kinds of supernatural beings: gods, ancestors and ghosts. (Sangren 1987:52; Eastman 1988:45) In popular imagination, gods are like bureaucrats and the pantheon is a mirror image of the Chinese imperial bureaucracy. Within this pantheon, the earth god, *t'u-t'i-kung* , and the stove god are mostly concerned with the daily life of the household. The stove god, who is at the bottom of the celestial hierarchy, acts as a governor in each household. The earth god and the stove god both supervise all the domestic affairs of

²⁴ J. C. Hsieh has summarised 18 cases in his field survey. He concludes that the parents either maintain their original state and eat with their unmarried sons or eat each of in their married sons' homes in turn. (Hsieh 1985:72)

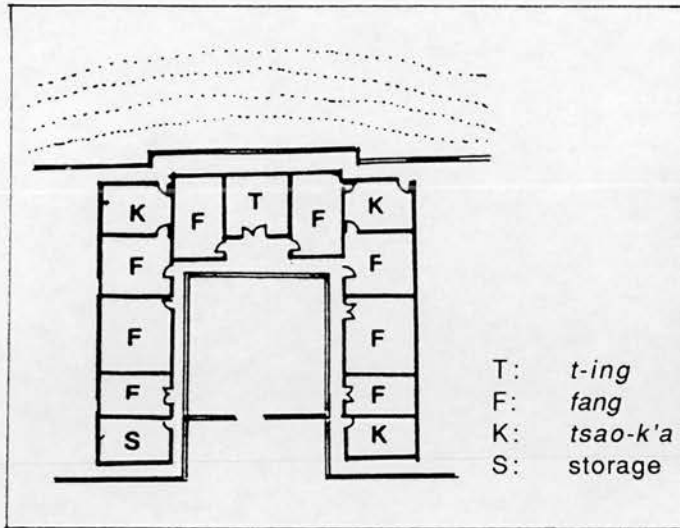


Fig. 3-1 The traditional U-shape compound.

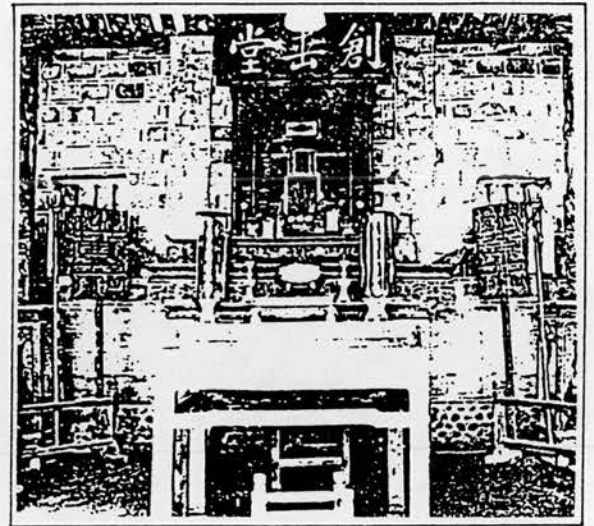


Fig. 3-2 The wooden plaque in the *t'ing*.
 (Source: Wang 1984)

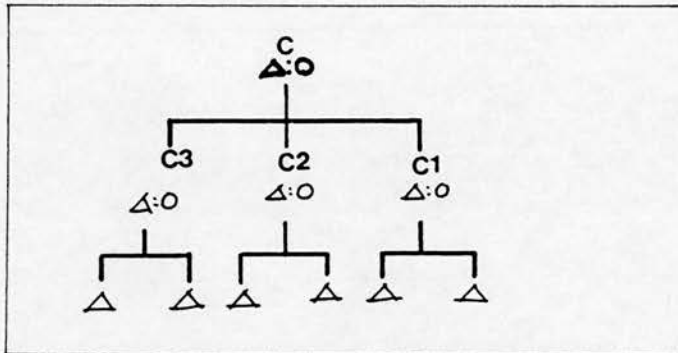


Fig. 3-3 The agnatic lines of segment C.

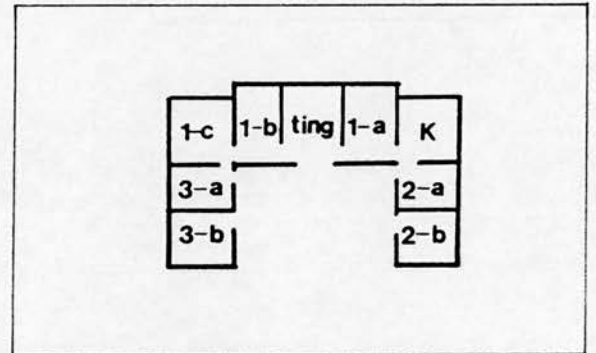


Fig. 3-4 The spatial arrangement of segment C.

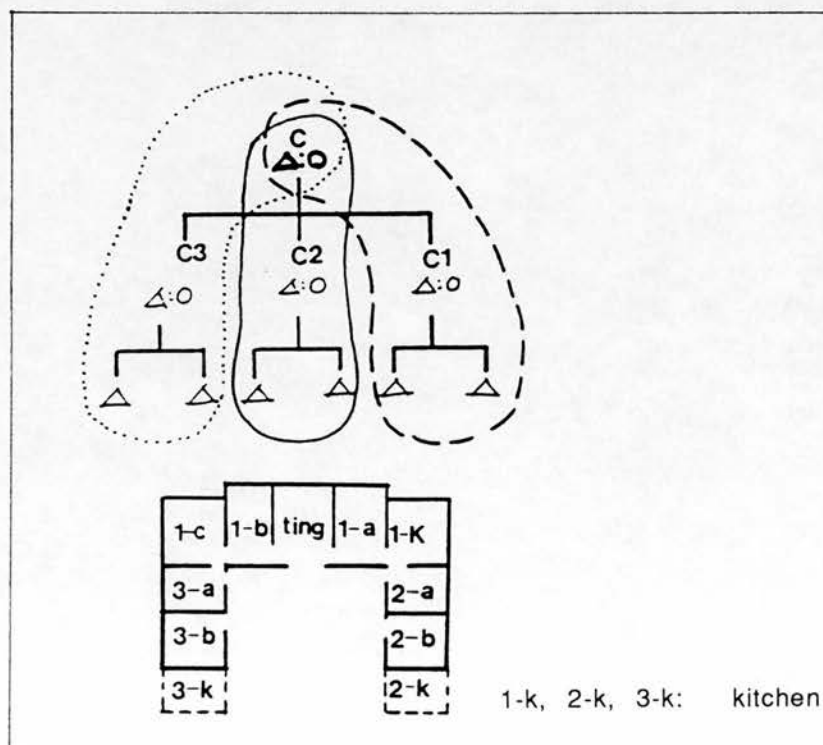


Fig. 3-5. The family division of segment C.

the living residents and report annually to the *yu-huang t'a-t'i* 玉皇大帝 the Jade Emperor (the supreme governor in the celestial bureaucracy). In order to avoid aggravating these gods, each household constantly presents them with offerings in routine rituals. Apart from daily responsibility for the supervision of the household, the earth god also acts as a mediator between the living and dead worlds. (Sangren 1987:164)

The role played by ancestors in domestic affairs is a little ambiguous. Generally speaking, the ancestor is thought to dwell in the realm of the dead, although people still refer to their ancestors as "family gods". (Wolf 1974:173) The deep-rooted notion of filial piety may help to explain this ambiguity, because it requires living descendants to worship their ancestors as "family gods" rather than as wandering ghosts. In spite of this, the cult of ancestors is not always followed on an equitable basis, since people, according to their kinship pattern, classify their ancestors into two categories: agnatic and non-agnatic. (Wang 1976:371) The agnatic ancestors are those who belong to patrilineal forebears while, conversely, the non-agnatic ancestors are those who belong to the non-patrilineal kin. In general, the agnatic ancestors are treated as authentic ancestors and hold a position of respectable eminence in the family. The non-agnatic ancestors, on the other hand, are treated as peripheral ancestors and thus can only obtain an inferior position in their non-patrilineal descendant's family. (Ibid:365) Peripheral ancestors are those who are not allowed to enter the realm of agnatic ancestors. For example, although a daughter will belong to her future husband's agnatic family after marriage, if she dies before the marriage takes place, she becomes a peripheral ancestor in her natal family. Conversely, if the marriage does take place, she will become a member of the agnatic ancestors of her husband's family when she eventually dies.

Finally ghosts, except for the foundation spirits, are usually synonymous with disaster. It is believed that the foundation spirits, which are a sort of supernatural manifestation associated with the foundations of the house, can protect the family from disturbance by evil spirits. Consequently householders have to make offerings to them. It is for this reason that, while foundation spirits are allowed to wander round the house at will, people always take precautions against ghosts entering their house. In his analysis of the gods, ancestors and ghosts worshipped in Taiwanese households, S. Feuchtwang concluded that there is an order of importance: first, the gods of the heavens (Jade Emperor, Buddha etc.), secondly the local and domestic

gods (the earth god, territorial guardian deities and stove god) and, lastly, ancestors, foundation spirits and ghosts. (Feuchtwang 1974a:110)

Taiwanese people believe that the world in which we live is an intermediate zone between humans and gods, ancestors and ghosts. (Wolf 1974) The ancestors and deities worshipped in the *t'ing* represent the means by which people receive divine blessings. The stove god and foundation spirit worshipped in the *tsao-k'a* guard the members of the compound against disturbance by ghosts. The house represents an inner world which confronts an outer world occupied by evil spirits. (Fig. 3-7) This inside/outside distinction represents the contrast between humans and ghosts. The *tsao-k'a* thus becomes the threshold linking the inside and outside worlds: it is where the family worships and receives anyone who is seen to be the equivalent of a ghost. For example, a member of the family who died a violent death is, like beggars and tramps, received in the doorway of the *tsao-k'a* and never in the *t'ing*. In order to guard the family against disturbance by a ghost, the *t'ing* plays a crucial role in mediating with heaven. It is only through this process that the whole family will receive blessing from the deities and ancestors. The *t'ing* thus represents the threshold linking the upper and lower worlds. (Fig. 3-8) The qualities of uniting and separating are most visible in this threshold. This can be further explained by looking at Mircea Eliade's interpretation:

The threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious. The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds - and at the same time the paradoxical place where those worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible. (Eliade 1959:25)

To sum up, whether defending against ghosts or mediating with them, the *t'ing* and the *tsao-k'a* represent the two thresholds of the human world. The *fang* represents a real aspect of the human world where daily life takes place. The combination of the *t'ing*, the *fang* and the *tsao-k'a* forms the contrast between the inside/outside and the upper/lower worlds, and also puts man in the best position to confront any critical situation. It is very important to grasp the idea that in the Chinese view a dwelling is not simply something that sits on the ground to serve as place for human activities. The common Taiwanese house has traditionally been more than a vessel for daily life and a shelter from the changing forces of nature. These dwellings were based on images of an organic view of the cosmos: such a view,

according to David Nemeth, is "an organic philosophy [which] has inspired ideologies that seem to require a unity of heaven, earth and humankind in their building schemes." (Nemeth 1987:24) This discussion of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a* has shown that such an organic view has occurred throughout Taiwanese habitations where men have set up a place of harmony in the universe. Heaven, earth and human life form a harmonious triad.

3.1.6 The notion of *feng-shui*

The concept of *feng-shui*, which translates literally as wind and water, is dependent on a belief in *ch'i* (living breath). Chinese people believe that an ideal geographical setting can create and maintain *ch'i*: the *ch'i*, which is blown about by the wind and held by the water, constitutes the virtue of the site. (Freedman 1966 & 1979; Knapp 1986) In fact, *feng-shui* is "the art of adapting human residences to celestial or cosmic influences" (Nemeth 1987:99) and "a ritual treatment of space and time" (Freedman 1979:314). It is applicable to any unit of habitation, from a single house to a whole settlement. It can also be applied to graves. As I have already described (Chapter 2), the ideal *feng-shui* site is composed of a number of different elements: *hsueh*, *ming-tang*, *lung*, *sha* and *shui*. The *hsueh* is in harmony with its surroundings through a horizontal interaction and thus reflects a materialised integration: it also combines heavenly *ch'i* and earthly *ch'i* in a vertical interaction, thus reflecting a metaphysical combination. The *hsueh* is, then, the most important part of the *feng-shui* site. The *ming-tang* is in front of, and has a specific relation with, the *hsueh*. The *hsueh* acts as a vertical axis connecting heaven and earth, while the *ming-tang* is a man-centred world where most of the events of daily life are carried out. Both the *hsueh* and the *ming-tang* are surrounded by mountain ridges on the two flanks as well as to the rear. This configuration has been likened to an overstuffed armchair and shares with it a feeling of comfort and security. In geomantic terms, the ridges which are themselves an outward expression of the favourable forces animating a landscape, are called dragon ridges (*lung* and *sha*). According to the ancient Chinese notion of the *si-shen* (four gods), the ridges to the left of the site are known as the Azure Dragon while the ridges to the right are known as the White Tiger: the ridges of the Azure Dragon should be higher than the ridges of the White Tiger. The ridges behind the *hsueh* are called Black Tortoise in the notion of the *si-shen*; together they gather and store *ch'i*, preventing it from drifting away. Last of all, and a vital part of an ideal *feng-shui* setting, is the *shui*, or in the notion of the *si-shen*, Red Bird. The role of the *shui* can best be understood

in terms of the complementary and opposing cosmic forces, *yin* and *yang*: mountains are *yang* and water is *yin*. The union of *yin* and *yang* produces the necessary *ch'i*. (Lee 1986:341-345)

Traditionally, most Taiwanese people live, move and believe in animism. (Gate 1979) According to W.T. Harris' definition, animism is "the belief in spirit beings": it embraces people's conviction that everything is endowed with a soul and is also an attempt by man to place himself in the correct relationship with unseen powers i.e. to oppose their hostility and secure their goodwill. (Harris & Parriner 1960:140) In Taiwan, animistic beliefs functioned more and less as the centre of life. Animation is an effective means by which animism can be explained as an organic philosophy combining conventional ideology with a salient cultural landscape. The organic philosophy produces a mythical and metaphysical bond between a habitat and its inhabitants. Through animation, the site becomes a piece of sanctified land which is animated and endowed with a soul. (Freedman 1979)

A more profound interpretation of *feng-shui* is of a universe animated by the interaction of *yin* and *yang* and *wu-hsing* (Five Elements) in which *ch'i* gives character and meaning to a place. This concept of animation is also adopted in traditional Taiwanese dwellings: the animation of the habitat can be accentuated by architectural configuration to create strong imagery for the inhabitants, thus reinforcing their sense of belonging. An animated landscape is a subtle and effective means by which a metaphysical ideology can induce the individual members of a family to act in the interests of the family as a whole.

Traditional dwellings seem to be proof that architectural configurations attempt to imitate the animated landscape of *feng-shui* ideology. By comparing a traditional house with an ideal *feng-shui* site, we can see this similarity. If the *t'ing* is seen as the *hsueh*, where the most honourable events of the household are celebrated, then the courtyard corresponds to the *ming-tang* where the activities of daily life take place and the two wings of the house can be seen as the dragon ridges. According to *feng-shui* theory, if the *hsueh* and the *ming-tang* could be protected by more rows of dragon ridges, then, the stored *ch'i* would be even safer. (Kuan 1980) When a house compound expanded, more rows of house were added parallel to the rear and two flanks of the original building. (Fig. 3-9) Like the dragon ridges, these additional rows could provide greater protection for the *ch'i* stored in the *t'ing* and the courtyard. In a traditional Taiwanese house compound, the fact that the wings on

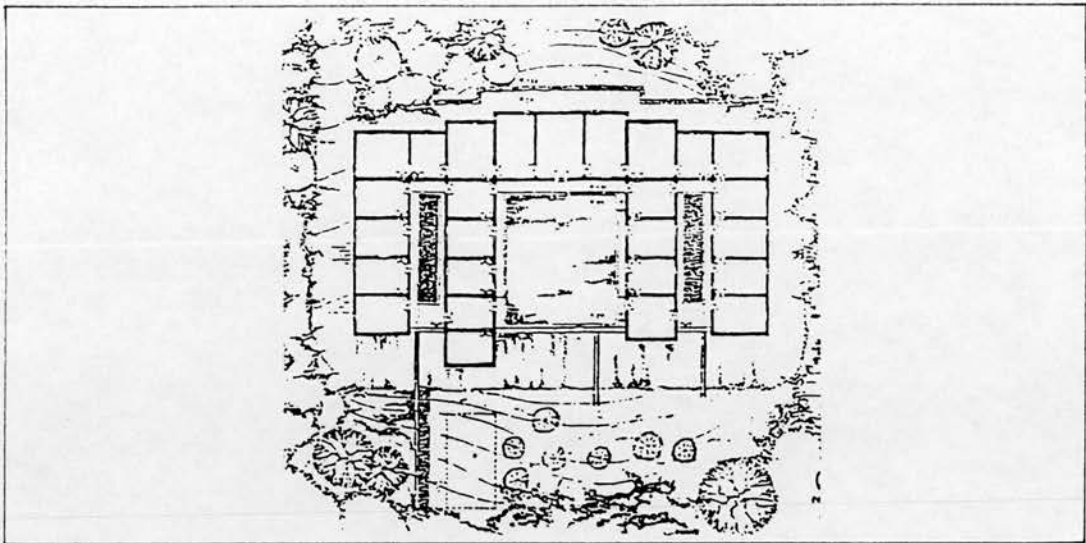


Fig. 3-6. A Typical Taiwanese courtyard house.

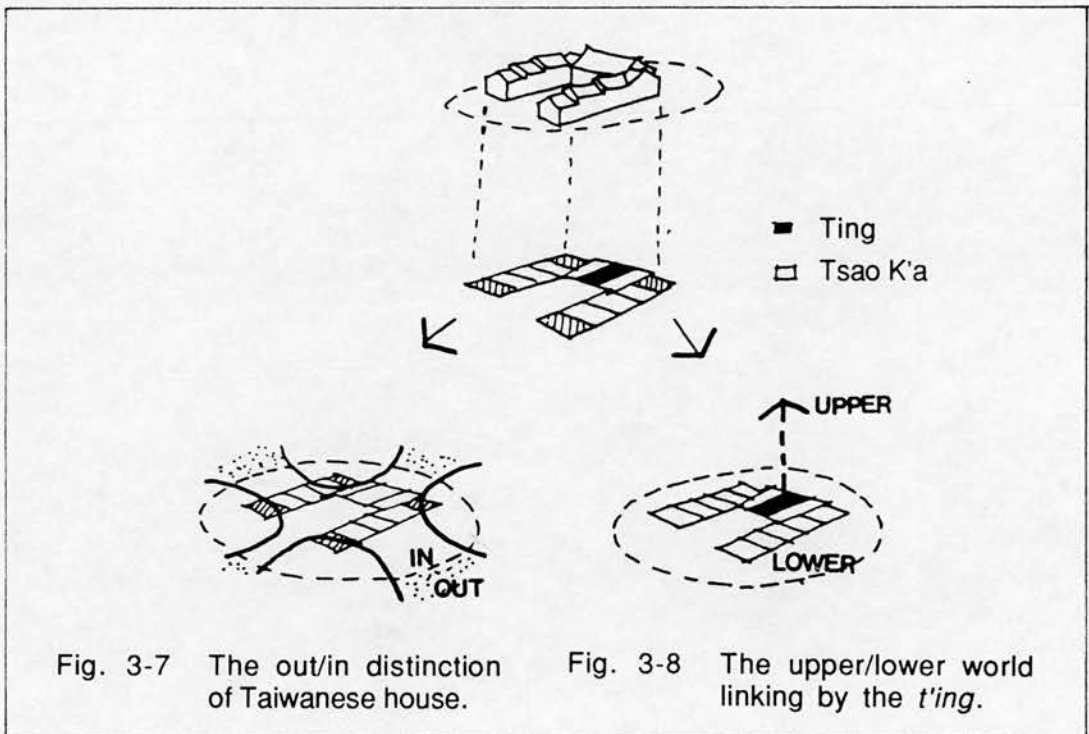


Fig. 3-7 The out/in distinction of Taiwanese house.

Fig. 3-8 The upper/lower world linking by the *t'ing*.

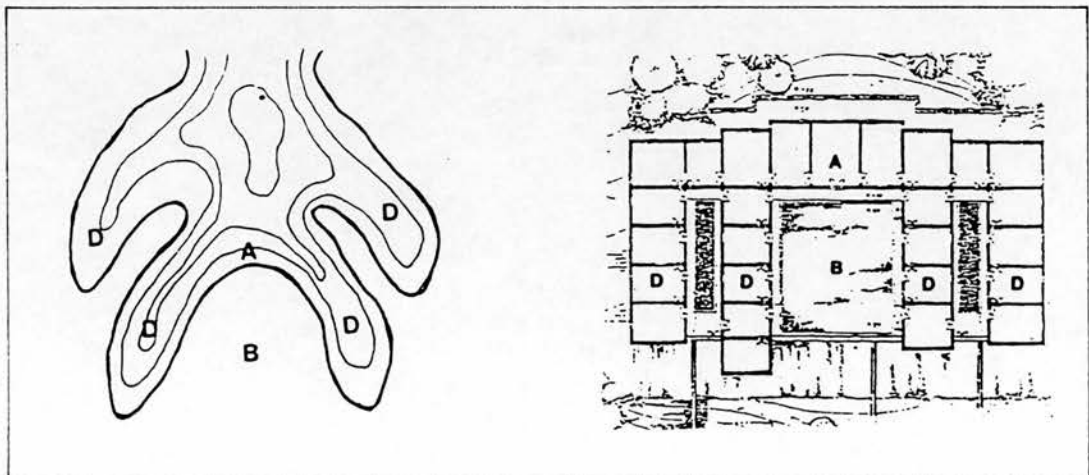


Fig. 3-9 The comparison between the traditional Taiwanese house and the arrangement of *feng-shui*.

either side of the compound are known as *hu-lung* or protector dragon implies a connection with *feng-shui*. Since the *hu-lungs* were generally used as the *fangs* and *tsao-k'as*, we can say that, in *feng-shui* terms, the *t'ing* was protected by the *fangs* and *tsao-k'as*. Taiwanese dwellings, then, represent a concrete phenomenon in which most of the elements of the house are an attempt to imitate *feng-shui* elements, which are themselves supposed to be able to animate the natural landscape. Through the application of geomantic imagery, the inhabitants can live peacefully in a secured environment.

As mentioned above, the relationship between the *t'ing*, the *fang* and *tsao-k'a* is symbolised by the relationship between the living descendants and their ancestors. Through looking at geomantic imagery, we can see that the relationship is a reciprocal one. An ideal *feng-shui* may benefit the descendants, but the prosperity of the living descendants will, in return, ensure the continuing worship of the ancestors themselves. The relationship is thus a reflection of mutual interests.

It is usually only the cultural and social value of *feng-shui* which is discussed; however, the pragmatic aspect of *feng-shui* also requires discussion, particularly in order to uncover the interest-oriented attitude of Chinese geomancy. Thus, in addition to the religious and spiritual meanings which we have discussed already, we can see that the combination of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a* also has an ideological meaning. In L. Althusser's words, the ideology of *feng-shui* makes the individual inhabitant "represent an imaginary relationship to his real condition of existence." (Althusser 1971:153) Because the fortunes of the lineage are thought to be affected by the ideal *feng-shui* of the *t'ing* in the compound in which he lives, each individual inhabitant formulates his own position in the hierarchy of which he is a part. This imaginary relationship thus becomes a factor in ensuring that members of the same lineage remain in the same compound. Each member of the lineage looks to the ideal *feng-shui* for his own success. As Stephen Feuchtwang wrote: "The *feng-shui* of the house itself... unites the nuclear group." (pace Feuchtwang 1974c:210) To a certain extent, *feng-shui* ideology is also a sign of the importance of agnatic solidarity in the lineage and explains how, in times of family division, the lineage can prevent the compound from complete disintegration.

3.1.7 The notion of ethical order

Because Chinese geomancy is in part an expression of individualism and the quest for individual success, rivalry for an ideal site is unavoidable. The best location of the ideal *feng-shui* site, i.e. the *hsueh*, is assigned to the *t'ing* in the general interests of the whole family but the distribution of the other locations of the site can be highly controversial. *Feng-shui* ideology always caused fraternal conflicts between different *fangs*; it could never be the perfect way of satisfying all their demands. (Wang S. H. 1974) The good geomantic site of one person was likely to intrude on another's and disputes always arose between them. The best way of avoiding conflicts was to isolate and define the boundaries of individual interests so that conflicts could be resolved by ritualising principles, which were then recognised as convention by the public. As S. Feuchtwang points out : "It (*feng-shui*) is a natural order, and even though its application is confined to social situations it is not an order of social value." (Feuchtwang 1974c:223) It was thus necessary to set up a social order which, through being expressed in public, became established in public.

Traditional Confucian ideology, which advocated the maintenance of *li* 禮(rules or rites) and the rectification of morality, was thus required to complement the shortcomings of Chinese geomancy. Once the legitimising rules of orthodox Confucian ideology were wedded to geomancy, the original cosmology of *feng-shui* could be transferred into an ethical norm. In order to avoid confusion and conflicts between the different *fangs*, the distribution of the various locations could thus be formalised. Confucian ideology enabled man to overcome his self-interest for moral reasons and thus take part in its social order. Subsequently, through the pervading social hierarchy, an individual could find a suitable status for himself within the organism of which he was a part. Members of the Confucian society, in fact, attained perfect harmony with this highly organised living environment, and thereby achieved integrity.

The concept of ethical order, derived from Confucian ideology, indicates the way in which Chinese people treat architectural spaces. This ethical order is largely based on the five ethical relationships, *wu-lun* 五倫, which in turn reflect notions of spatial significance. According to Confucian philosophy, human society is built on the five ethical relationships: that is the relationships between minister and ruler,

father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother and friend and friend. Of these five relationships, which he believed to be essential for the maintenance of social order, the most important for Confucius was that between father and son. The emphasis of Confucianism on the honouring of fathers and elders has also contributed to the formation and maintenance of spatial order within the house compound. A special order in line with Confucian ethics can be found and classified in the arrangement of the *t'ing*, the *fang* and the *tsao-k'a* within the overall house compound. The classification of different rooms becomes a set of rules for the planning and standardisation of the dwelling, thus allowing Chinese people to mark out social distinctions. People of higher ethical order generally resided in the left, higher and central sections of the house while people of lower status lived in the right, lower and peripheral parts. Since it has been traditional for men and their relations to be grouped and arranged by buildings, the application of traditional Confucian ideology to architectural arrangement can be assessed by looking at traditional dwellings. The holistic nature of the house configuration means that the individual elements can be meaningful only in relation to the house as a whole. Each room conveys its specific meaning and significance only when it is understood as a part of the whole house. In this way, the various spatial elements of the house are placed hierarchically within the whole building, thus enabling the house to be considered as a harmonious unity. Traditional Taiwanese homes not only house families but also customs and Confucian norms.

As a result of this application of Confucian principles, the arrangement of the various *fangs* and the *tsao-k'a* can be resolved without conflict; meanwhile, the hierarchical arrangement of the *t'ing*, the *fangs* and the *tsao-k'as* in the house also reflects the social status of the owner.

3.1.8 Discussion

The main purpose of this account of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a* has been to probe beneath the form and structure of the typical traditional Taiwanese house. On the assumption that the house is the primary centre of human habitation, I have shown how the vernacular Taiwanese house was incorporated into the fabric of embodied existence. Botond Bognar has written that a house "is a place that people inhabit; it is a place capable of providing dwelling for the biological functions of the body, the capacity and comprehension of the intellect, and the needs of emotion and spirit. Home is both a repository and witness of one's life." (Bognar 1985:189) He also

wrote that human life "is an intricate web of concrete and symbolic relationships. The gist of design is to provide chances for this web to begin, develop and strengthen." (p. 191) Through the combination of *t'ing*, *fang* and *tsao-k'a* we witness the tangible and symbolic relationships of human life. By means of the notion of the supernatural, people mediate a relationship between the living world and the supernatural world. Through the imaginary world of *feng-shui*, people harmonise their relationship with nature, while they manage interpersonal relationships by applying the ethical order. People living in the same compound share qualities of place and intimacy of surroundings. Within the compound of a traditional building, man and house form a unity which allows human life to become situated and centred. People can then unfold and encompass both a temporal and spatial world and a spiritual and supernatural world.

3.2 THE SPATIAL ELEMENTS OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE HOUSES

In order to provide an even clearer picture, it is very important to give a more detailed description of a typical house, which is such a crucial part of each settlement. I have already discussed the three main spaces within vernacular Taiwanese houses - the *t'ing*, the *fang* and the *tsao-k'a* - showing how the relationships between them are based on three notions - the supernatural, *feng-shui* and ethical order. I now wish to discuss these three main spaces in greater detail. For example, the ancestral tablets, the altar and the main entrance are the most important elements of the *t'ing*, while the stove and the bed are the main elements of the *tsao-k'a* and the *fang* respectively. Although this discussion will concentrate to a certain extent on the religious aspect, the three notions which are used to decide the combination of the main spaces of Taiwanese houses still apply.

3.2.1 Spatial elements and supernatural beings

It is possible for the elements of the house to acquire the supernatural powers of the gods and thus form a line of defence between inside and outside, order and chaos. However these powers can only be acquired after the frequent holding of certain ceremonies. With this in mind, the spatial elements of a house are arranged not for their use in practical matters, but rather for their use in rituals. Traditionally, a house is inhabited by gods, ancestors and ghosts as well as living people. We therefore need to consider the many aspects of the roles played within the

house by the spatial elements, which are serving the needs not just of the living but of the supernatural beings as well. Thus, a bed is a place not just for sleeping but also for positioning a bed-goddess who will protect a child from evil spirits. (Tsao 1957:67) Similarly, a stove is a place not just for cooking but also for the location of the stove god.

In fact, Taiwanese people believe very strongly in supernatural forces. Spirits and gods are thought to be everywhere, usually unseen but nonetheless still very real. Because of this, a house must serve more than one function: apart from normal living purposes, priority is also given to ritualistic function.

Man and the supernatural beings are bound by reciprocal demands. By worshipping the gods, man can obtain their blessings and thus avoid disaster. In order to acquire the powers of the supernatural and be sure of eternal favours from the gods, the inhabitants of the house must sanctify its spatial elements through the holding of rituals. It is only when these spatial elements have been imbued with supernatural powers that man can mediate with the gods. With the protection of these elements, man can then find a spiritual haven.

From the traditional viewpoint, the world as a whole is formed by a combination of society and nature (both nature as science understands it and supernature). The maintaining of the harmony of this whole is of prime importance and can be achieved in several ways, including, for example, the use of *feng-shui*. By means of the application of the power of his ideal *feng-shui*, man can regulate his relationship with nature. However, man is not completely subservient to the will of the cosmos. Interpersonal relationships are the highest principle in maintaining harmony amongst people. These relationships can be divided into those within the family, those within society and those between man and the supernatural. Chinese people believe the living world must exist in harmony with the supernatural world: this harmony is achieved by the performing of religious rituals. An important part of this discussion is to show how, through the use of these rituals, the spatial elements of each house can act as a medium for communicating with supernatural beings.

As conceived by living people, supernatural beings feel emotions such as pride, jealousy, anger and pleasure, have physical needs - for food, money and housing - and even occupy the same house as man. Because their transcendent

powers can disrupt human lives, is vitally important to win the favour of the supernatural beings and avoid provoking their malevolence. People believe that through the performance of rituals based on the spatial elements of the house, they will be able to please the supernatural beings.

The supernatural beings which are attached to the different elements of the house are worshipped in different locations. For example, gods and ancestors are worshipped at the altar in the *t'ing*, the souls of the ancestors being placed in the ancestral tablets which are usually put on the altar. Ghosts are worshipped in the back of the house and outside the back door. It is forbidden for certain dead members of the family, such as an unmarried daughter or someone who died violently, to be worshipped in the *t'ing*: they are worshipped instead in a corner of the kitchen. Nevertheless, their souls are still placed in ancestral tablets and receive regular offerings from the family.

In Taiwan, it is a widely held notion that ghosts are responsible for disasters and that it is through the powers of gods and ancestors that these disasters can be averted. For this reason, relationships between families and gods and ancestors are formed and maintained on the basis of reciprocal obligation. In general, these obligations are reflected in the rituals, most of which are connected with the elements of the house. In this way, the family is able to maintain an eternal and harmonious relationship with all the supernatural beings.

3.2.2 Description of the spatial elements of the house

Apart from the elements mentioned above, there are other elements in vernacular Taiwanese houses through which man can communicate with the supernatural beings - the back door, the well, the privy and the livestock sheds etc. According to traditional beliefs, these elements are also thought to have deities residing within. In the following discussion, I will use these elements as a focus for showing how the inhabitants handle their interpersonal relationships, and, in particular, their relationships with those living in the other world.

3.2.2.1 The gate (Fig. 3-10)

Eliade suggested that the elements of a house can represent certain meanings, writing:

This symbolism is present even in the structure of his habitation. (. . .) The upper opening signifies the ascending direction to heaven, the desire for transcendence. The *threshold* concentrates not only the boundary between outside and inside, but also the possibility of passage from one zone to another (from the profane to the sacred). (Eliade 1959:181)

The elements of Taiwanese houses represent meanings similar to those expressed by Eliade. For example, the gate emphasises the axial and progressional layout of the house and is an important element leading from the outside to the inside of the house. In fact, because passing through the gate, the only point which joins the private to the public sphere, represents a stepping into the family domain, its significance is often exaggerated. In Taiwanese houses, the line between inside and outside is an absolute one: the gate acts as a threshold mediating the boundary between insiders and outsiders, between order and disorder. It also acts as a place of passage, symbolising the threshold of life; at different stages of their lives, whether as a new-born infant entering the natal family, a newly married bride entering the agnatic family, or a recently deceased family member entering the realm of the ancestors, people change their status and begin a new life by passing through this passage. Consequently, many rituals are performed in the gate.

In Taiwan it is traditional for the parents of a new-born infant to perform ceremonies for the child at the gate in order to eliminate any noxious *ch'i* which might infect him on the way to his new home. When a bride is about to enter her husband's house on her wedding day, she must walk with great care to avoid stepping on the door sill. This is because, in traditional beliefs, the gate is occupied by two patron gods who have the power to grant or refuse entry to the house: the bride thus has to proceed with great care in order to avoid annoying them. In the funeral rite, the family will paste onto the gate a piece of white paper with characters on it announcing that they are in mourning; at the same time, they also cover the gate gods with cloth so that the soul of the deceased can pass through. Sometimes, the household pastes the charm papers of their local temple to the gate in order to avoid disturbance from outside demons and to seek peace and harmony for the family.

Through their animistic beliefs, people in Taiwan analogise the elements of the house with the organs of the human body, the gate being thought of as the mouth of the house and one of its most important elements. In terms of *feng-shui*, the gate allows the flow of *ch'i* into the house. Thus, if the gate is located facing in an

auspicious direction, the family can receive the maximum amount of auspicious *ch'i*. (Lee 1986:250) In other words, the fate of the household rests on whether the gate is facing in an auspicious direction. In conclusion, we can establish that the gate represents not only an architectural function, but also, more importantly, a living creature, which can absorb *ch'i* and have the same emotions as human beings. This interpretation can, of course, be applied to other elements of the house.

3.2.2.2 The ancestral tablets (Fig. 3-11)

If the gate represents a threshold between different domains, then the ancestral tablets symbolise the permanent residence of the ancestors. Usually placed on the altar in the *t'ing*, where they are worshipped by the living descendants, the tablets represent the souls of the dead members of the family. It is only those persons who are members of the agnatic line of the clan whose tablets can be placed on the altar. Like the gate, the ancestral tablet plays the role of a living creature rather than a dead object: it represents the jurisdiction of the ancestors over their living descendants. (Li 1976:334) Within the realm of the worship of ancestor tablets, the relationship between ancestors and descendants is reciprocal. Any negligence of the proper conduct of rituals will lead to punishment or disturbance by the ancestors. In his study of tablet worship in Taiwan, S. H. Wang made these findings:

Recently, however, members of the Hsu family have experienced ill-luck. . . . They asked the deities the cause of the sickness. The answer was that the ancestors were haunting them because they were displeased about being placed in the small bamboo hut and wanted to enter the *t'ing* of the family. (Wang 1976:368)

Ancestral tablets also play a crucial role in deciding whether or not permission is given for a variety of events to be carried out. (Li 1976:334) Traditionally, all of the tablets on the altar belong to the deceased agnatic descendants and their wives. However, there have been cases of non-agnatic tablets being placed on the altar, for example, when, after a daughter-in-law moves to her husband's house or an uxorially married husband moves into the house of his wife's family, there are no descendants left in the natal family to carry out the worship of the ancestors. In these cases the ancestral tablets of the natal family are brought into the new homes to be worshipped. Generally speaking, non-agnatic ancestral tablets cannot be worshipped in the *t'ing*, but only in other rooms such as the

kitchen. E. M. Ahern has made a study of the positioning of ancestral tablets, in which she recounted the following story:

When I asked about a small tablet located on a domestic altar in the dining room of an Ong household, I was told, "That the man married out of the lineage when he was young and only returned to die here. We had to put the tablet here because it couldn't go in the hall."
(Ahern 1973:123)

However, there are occasions when the ancestral tablets of a man who goes to stay with his wife's family can be placed in the *t'ing* if the ancestors of his wife's family agree (this agreement is usually sought by means of divination). (Wolf 1976:341-342) However, even in these cases the tablet is not placed on the same altar as those of the descendants of the original family (Kuan 1980:200).

In Taiwanese society, the worship of ancestral tablets is one aspect of the cult of ancestor worship, the other being the ancestor's tomb. I have already shown how the *feng-shui* of an ancestor's tomb, through its ability to affect the fate of a family, leads to the forming of reciprocal obligations between the living and the dead. These obligations between descendants and their ancestors are also present in the worship of ancestral tablets. Since the tombs of the ancestors are usually comparatively far away from the descendant's house, the maintenance of daily worship becomes difficult. The ancestral tablets which are believed to contain the souls of the ancestors thus take the place of the ancestral tombs and can be worshipped every day.

Y. Y. Li takes reciprocity to be at the centre of Taiwanese ancestral worship. In his research, he explains the nature of these reciprocal relationships in terms of dual aspects such as caring/offering, affection/dependence and protection/respect. (Li 1985:268) All of these binary relationships find full expression in Taiwanese ancestral worship. The tablet is the symbol of the continuity of the agnatic line and plays the most important role in the ritual life of the household. Hence, in a house where the ritual function is more important than the living function, the tablets become the most important element for the members of the family, who treat them in a binary attitude: respectful yet fearful, willing yet hoping for reward.

Although filial piety is China's most important virtue, if anything the living descendants seem to treat their ancestors with more care than their parents. It is as if Chinese people believe that care for a person after his death is more important

than when he is alive. The descendants fulfil their obligations to perform worship of their ancestors at the appropriate times and thus avoid incurring their wrath. Chinese people also believe that the maintenance of this worship encourages ancestors to reward their descendants with wealth and prosperity. The worship of ancestral tablets resulted from the desire of Chinese people to satisfy the needs of the souls of their ancestors in the afterlife, through the maintaining of good relations. Whether performed out of respect for ancestors or just to avoid punishment, the worship of ancestral tablets constitutes the most important virtue in Chinese family life. The practice of ancestral worship and filial piety strengthen the authority of ancestors over their descendants so that, even in the afterlife, the older generation enjoys a high degree of respect from the younger generation. This notion is deep-rooted in every Chinese family and is the most important factor in preventing the disintegration of the whole lineage. The ancestral tablets are thus the symbol of a strong lineage.

In traditional Taiwanese families, the ancestral tablets are not always placed in the main hall. The positioning is decided on the basis of social status or clan seniority. (Wolf 1976:350) The arrangement of the tablets reflects differences between the ancestors, i.e. the social order. Forebears from the same agnatic lineage are placed in the *t'ing*, while those who do not belong to the authentic line, such as an unmarried daughter, or a son-in-law who has uxorially married into the house of his bride's family are only allowed in the *t'ing* with permission from the ancestors. Although such discrepancies in the positioning of the tablets show a degree of discrimination, the efficacy of the tablets towards the descendants remains the same. Inferior status has no bearing on the reciprocal obligations.

3.2.2.3 The altar (Fig. 3-12)

The centre of the *t'ing* in every house compound is usually occupied by the family altar, a high standing wooden table which faces towards the entrance and the courtyard. The altar is a ceremonial setting for the displaying of ancestral tablets on the right and images of deities on the left hand side. It acts as a focus for daily family life: in the morning and the evening, members of the family burn three sticks of incense to worship the deities and ancestors on the altar. It also acts as the centre for most special rituals.



Fig. 3-10 Gate.

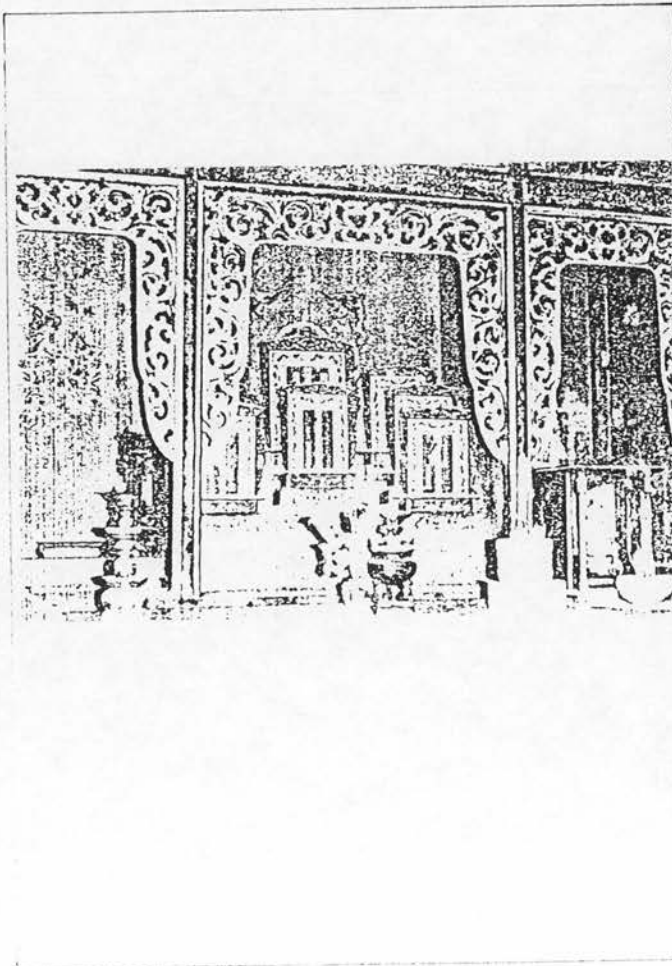


Fig. 3-11 Ancestral tablet.

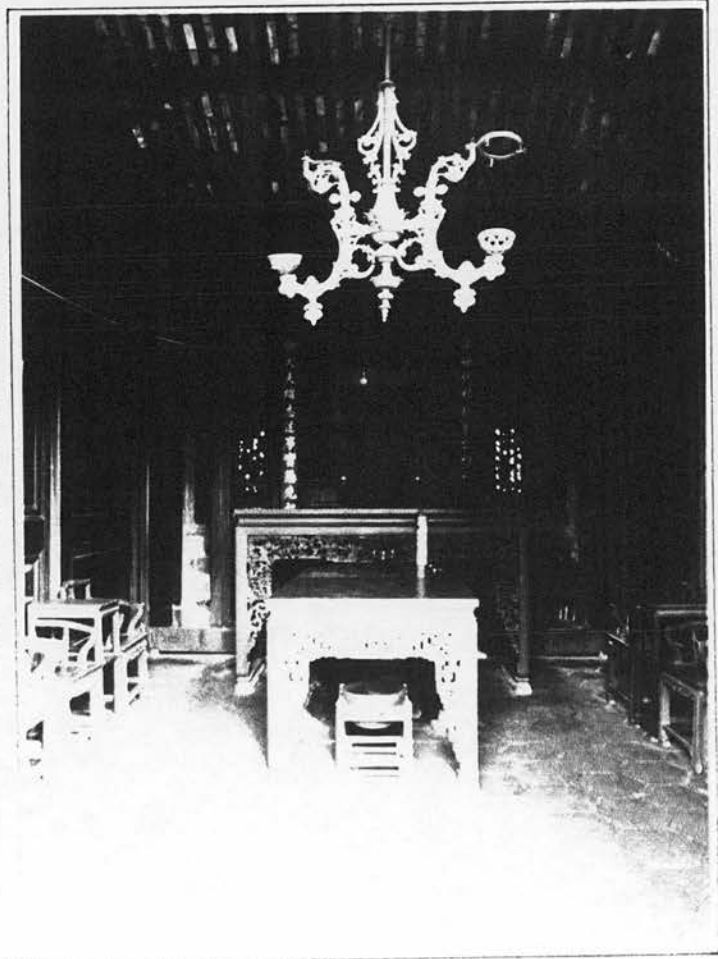


Fig. 3-12 Altar.

Apart from its religious functions, the altar has other meanings, including, for example as an indication of wealth. H. G. Rohsenow gave the following example:

The furnishings of houses also reveal ideas about how money should be spent. Family altars are set up on breast-high carved tables of heavy, beautiful woods. These and the furnishings that they require represent a large expenditure of money.....In contrast, other furniture is cheap, simply made, and extremely functional.(1973:30)

In terms of the size and type of house, the food consumed and the clothing worn, the living standards of most families in rural Taiwan are about the same, with few visible signs of any variance in wealth. However, the altar is an exception, its size directly based on the relative wealth of the family concerned. A rich family always has a splendid altar while in the house of a poor family, who are unable to afford anything elegant, the altar will nevertheless be the most precious piece of furniture. For rich and poor families alike, the altar is a matter of pride.

The altar is also acknowledged as the most sacred place in the house. It is strictly forbidden for any object on the table to be moved at will. The work of cleaning and rearranging the ancestral tablets and the images of the deities can only be carried out during the period leading up to New Year, that is between the twenty-fourth day of the last month of the lunar year and New Year's Eve, for at this time of the year the deities have all returned to the Celestial Palace to report to the emperor. The most important member of the family must preside over both the daily and special ceremonies. Pregnant women, who are considered to be unclean, and children are not allowed near the altar. Anyone standing in front of the altar has to behave in a very careful manner, for fear of upsetting the deities and ancestors.

A death in the family is thought to be unclean so, on the occasion of a funeral, the altar must be covered with a piece of cloth in order to protect its sanctity. Once the funeral is over, and certain ceremonies have been held, the altar may be used again. According to *feng-shui* notions, the altar should be located at the centre of the *hsueh*: this spot is marked off during the building process.

3.2.2.4 The courtyard (Fig. 3-13)

As the place linking the inside with the outside, the courtyard is special amongst the spatial elements of vernacular Taiwanese houses. In terms of the house

compound as a whole, the courtyard is a private space separated from the street, yet for the family it acts as a social space, within which it is possible both to maintain a sense of intimacy and to promote relationships with the world outside. Next to the *t'ing*, the courtyard is another important space within the family compound. Indeed, since the courtyard possesses some of the characteristics of the *t'ing*, together they can form a pair of reciprocally benefiting spaces. For example, the courtyard is an ideal alternative for the carrying out of those ritual ceremonies which cannot be held in the *t'ing*: the courtyard, as the part of the compound where changes in season and weather are perceived, is the only place where people can bring heaven and earth into direct contact. Thus, it is the sole setting for the worship of astrological deities. Just as the *t'ing* represents the source of Chinese culture and the spiritual core of the house compound, so the courtyard represents the symbolic relationship between man and the universe. (Pai 1987:285)

In terms of *feng-shui*, the spatial structure of traditional Taiwanese houses can be compared with the *feng-shui* arrangement i.e., the *t'ing* is the *hsueh*, the courtyard is the *ming-tang*, the two wings are the *sha* and the river or road in front of the house is the *shui*. (Kuan 1980:191) The *hsueh* is the place where *ch'i* can be concealed and the most important element of a *feng-shui* arrangement. The function of the *ming-tang* is to gather and absorb *ch'i* which can then be stored in the *hsueh*. By looking at the relationship between the *t'ing* and the courtyard as a combination of the *hsueh* and the *ming-tang*, we can understand the importance of the courtyard in traditional houses.

We can understand the characteristics of the courtyard by examining it from another angle. Within the composition of ancient Chinese architecture there was a so-called *chung-liu* 中溜 space, seen in the semi-cave buildings of the later Shang 商 dynasty (11th century B.C.) found at Panp'o 半坡 near Hsian 西安 in Shanhsi 陝西 province of North China. Purely in architectural terms, the *chung-liu* was an interior light-well space surrounded by four poles, which served the functions of lighting and drainage. (Fig. 3-14) (Mei 1988:69) However, according to the traditional Chinese notion of *wu-hsing*, where the *wu-hsing* represent a centre and four directions, the *chung-liu* space can play the role of the centre. If we adopt Eliade's notion, then we can interpret the *chung-liu* as the axis mundi, that is the centre of the world where heaven, earth and the underworld can meet. (Eliade 1959:36-37) In fact, in ancient Chinese houses, the *chung-liu* was the location for

an important god (*chung-liu* god) and the most important ritual space²⁵, as well as being a place for family meetings, the celebration of festivals and religious activities. (Mei 1988:70) With the passing of the generations, the *chung-liu* was gradually transformed through various stages of enlargement into a skylight window, a small yard and eventually into the courtyard of today. Although the form changed, the original meaning did not. Since in terms of spatial structure, they both reflect identical functions, the *chung-liu* can be explained as the predecessor of the courtyard. Through this discussion, we can see not only the architectural meaning of the courtyard but also its function as a place of ritual.

A discussion of the daily and special rituals held in the courtyard can help us to better understand its role in the traditional Taiwanese house. Every day Taiwanese people have to worship the Jade Emperor (*yu-huang t'a-t'i* 玉皇大帝) the most important figure in the celestial bureaucracy. While most families hang the Jade Emperor Censer, *t'ien-kung lu* 天公爐 in the *t'ing*, in some Hakka homes it is set in a small niche in the wall of the courtyard. (Fig. 3-15) (Hsu 1992:85) On her wedding day, when the new bride marries into her husband's family, she must pass through the courtyard, before entering the *t'ing*. A ritual is held in the courtyard, in which the bride is required to pass beneath a bamboo basket for filtering rice and jump over a burning charcoal fire. This ritual signifies a cleansing of the potential evil influences brought by the bride from her own family or picked up on the way to her new home. (Kuan 1980:184; Lin M. Y. 1987:149) During the wedding feast, the most important guests are entertained in the *t'ing*, while the other guests are entertained in the courtyard. The most important parts of the funeral ceremonies are held in the *t'ing*. However, according to traditional beliefs, in the case of a violent death such as suicide, homicide or drowning, or the death of an unmarried daughter or a young boy, the dead person is considered unclean and the ceremony cannot take place in the *t'ing*. (Kuan 1980:183; Huang 1991:110; Lin M. Y. 1987:170) The courtyard, possessing the same characteristics as the *t'ing* and, in particular, the possibility of avoiding aggravating the deities, is thus an ideal alternative. There are also some funeral ceremonies which require a larger space than is available in the *t'ing*, so, again, the courtyard is used. (Ahern 1973:222; Lin 1947: 110-111) Naturally, the courtyard can also be used as the setting for a banquet for funeral guests.

²⁵ According to Chinese folk beliefs, there are five main domestic gods: the gate god, the well god, the privy god, the *chung-liu* god and the stove god. (Lin H. C. 1990:103)



Fig. 3-13 Courtyard.

Photo: Liang Cheng-chu.

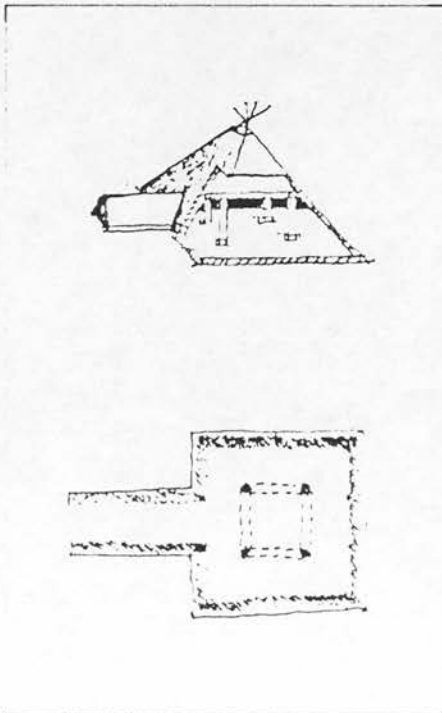


Fig. 3-14 The ancient *chung-liu* space.



Fig. 3-15 The *T'ien-kung-lu* in the courtyard of Hakka houses.

Most of the annual festivals for worshipping astrological deities are held in the courtyard. For example, the Mid-Autumn Festival, which takes place on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the Chinese lunar calendar, is the festival for worshipping the moon. The altar for worshipping the moon is set up in the courtyard, the only place in the compound in direct contact with the moon. There is a vivid description of such a scene in the classic Chinese novel "The Dream of Red Mansions":

On the front platform of the Chia-yin Hall an altar was set up with censer and candles, and piled high with fruits and moon cakes.... The bright full moon and the colourful lanterns, together with the atmosphere created by the people and the burning incense, built up a scene so beautiful, it is hard to describe. The ground was covered with carpets and cushions, for people to kneel on and say their prayers. Madame Chia washed her hands and worshipped on behalf of the family. When she had finished, all the members of the family began to worship the moon. (Chap. 75)

Although it is the *t'ing* which has the most important cultural significance in traditional Taiwanese houses, the courtyard has been used to help resolve many problems concerning the ritual function of space. Together, the *t'ing* and the courtyard form the most treasured pair of spaces in traditional Taiwanese houses, one representing positive existence, the other negative existence. Through the performance of rituals, which represent a corresponding between the positive and the negative, the *t'ing* and the courtyard become the setting for the members of the family to join up with heaven and earth and gods, ancestors and ghosts. In terms of the notion of *yin* and *yang*, the *t'ing* is *yang* and the courtyard is *yin*; the complementary qualities of *yin* and *yang* allow Chinese people to control the use of space in a smooth way.

3.2.2.5 The stove

Chinese people have always represented the continuity of lineage by the handing down of *hsiang-huo* 香火 (incense and fire), the incense indicating the worship of the ancestral tablets in the main hall, and the fire indicating the fire in the stove of the kitchen. (Wang 1984:113) The maintenance of perpetually burning incense in the main hall signifies the continuity of the lineage. On the division of the stove, the brothers of traditional Taiwanese families were required to transfer the burning coals from the original stove to the new stove, a ritual which symbolised

the ending of the division of the family and also ensured that the powers of protection of the original stove god were transferred into the new family. (Wolf 1974:133) The transferring of the burning coal from the original stove to the new stove also signified the continuity and expansion of the lineage. Thus, in terms of representing the continuity of the lineage, the kitchen stove has the same meaning as the ancestral tablets in the *t'ing*. This also underlines the importance of the stove for traditional Taiwanese families.

According to the notion of *feng-shui*, the stove is also considered to be the root of vitality, and can determine whether a family has good or bad luck. (*Yang-chai San-yao* 1:3) It is recorded in the *feng-shui* texts that there are six kinds of domestic spatial elements, whose locations are governed by a set of rules. Known as the *liu-shih* 六事 (six objects), they are the gate, the road, the well, the privy, the stove and the mill. The gate, road and well should be placed in auspicious locations, while the stove, privy and mill, should, on the contrary, be placed in inauspicious locations.

The determination of the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of a location is based on the locations of the *chiu-hsing* 九星(Nine Stars)²⁶: the locations of *t'an-lang* 貪狼(*sheng-ch'i* 生氣), *chu-men* 巨門(*t'ien-i* 天醫), and *wu-chu* 武曲(*yen-nien* 延年) are the most auspicious, *tso-fu* 左輔 (*fu-wei* 伏位) is less auspicious, while the locations of *lien-chen* 廉貞(*wu-kuei* 五鬼), *p'o-chun* 破軍(*chueh-ming* 絕命), *wen-chu* 文曲(*liu-sha* 六煞) and *lu-ts'un* 祿存(*huo-hai* 禍害) are inauspicious. (*Pa-chai Ming-chin* 1:7; *Yang-chai San-yao* 1:40) A stove set in the *sheng-ch'i* location will cause the loss of offspring, a stove set in the *t'ien-i* location will cause illness, a stove set in the *yen-nien* location will cause a troubled marriage and the loss of longevity, and a stove set in the *fu-wei* location will cause the loss of wealth and livestock, leading to a lifetime of poverty. On the other hand, a stove placed in the *chueh-ming* position will bring a long healthy life with lots of children and wealth, a stove placed in the *wu-kuei* position ensures the family will be healthy and wealthy, have hard-working servants and escape fire and burglary, a stove placed in the *liu-sha* position will bring wealth and children, and escape from illness or lawsuits, and a stove placed in the *huo-hai* position will bring escape

²⁶ The determination of the various locations of Nine Stars is according to the arrangement of the *tung-si-ming* and *hsi-si-ming* of the individuals, for details see Chap. 2.

from illness, lawsuits, loss of wealth and hurting other people. (*Pa-chai Ming-chin* 1:7)

Although the stove should be placed in an inauspicious position, the opening of the stove (i.e. where the coal is put in) should face in an auspicious direction. For example, a stove whose opening faces towards the *t'ien-i* direction will be known as a *t'ien-i* stove and will bring prosperity and escape from illness; similarly a *sheng-ch'i* stove will bring wealth and success in official examinations, a *yen-nien* stove will bring longevity and prosperity and a *fu-wei* stove will bring limited wealth, medium longevity and more female than male children. (*Yang-chai San-yao* 1:4)

Apart from its position in *feng-shui* notions, the importance of the stove in the household can be seen in other domestic rituals. There is an important traditional Chinese custom, which acts as prelude to and commencement of the New Year celebrations. A ceremony is held on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar, the day on which the stove god returns to the Celestial Palace to report to the Jade Emperor on the behaviour of those he has been supervising for the last year. His report has a great bearing on the future happiness of the family. (Huang 1991:187-189)

In Taiwan, on the evening of the Winter Solstice, it is traditional to prepare sweet rice balls to symbolise the happiness of the family. Before being consumed by the family, this dessert is presented to the stove god in a form of worship. This appears to be a way of bribing the stove god to ensure he makes a good report. (Lin 1947:64) The stove also plays a role in the rituals of life. For example, the worshipping of the stove by the bride is an important part of the wedding ceremony; this is because the kitchen will be a daily working place for the bride. (Cohen 1976:163) The ability to cook is considered one of the most important criteria for judging the qualities of a new bride. (Lin M. Y. 1987:155; Lin 1947:45)

3.2.2.6 The bed

The bed in the *fang* has a great influence on people's lives, since it is a place of rest, relaxation and the restoring of vitality. Consequently, its location is of great importance. According to *feng-shui* texts, the bed must be placed in an auspicious location. (*Pa-chai Ming-chin* 1:6) There is a *feng-shui* taboo that the bed should not

be placed in a position where it crosses the beam or faces the door of the bedroom. It is considered particularly inauspicious for the feet to face the door, since this is the position of a dead person. (Rossbach 1987:104) The bed plays a part in all the stages of life from birth, through coming of age and marriage to death. It has an important role to play in maintaining the peace and happiness of a family, a role which can be seen by looking at the rituals of life. Chinese people believe that pregnant women and their embryos are protected by the embryo god, who must not be offended. According to folk beliefs, the *tai-shen* 胎神 (embryo god) stays in different places at different months of the lunar calendar. Thus, in January, May, June, October and December he is on the bed, in February he is on the window, in March and September he is on the door, in April and November he is on the stove, in July he is in the mill and in August he is in the privy. (Jen 1991:174) Knowing that the embryo god spends most of the year on the bed, and, aware of the danger to the embryo and its mother which would result from offending the embryo god, people do not move the bed during a pregnancy and do not offend places where the embryo god is staying. In a case where the embryo god has been offended, a pacifying ceremony presided over by a Taoist priest is held by the bed of the pregnant woman in order to ensure her safety. (Lin M. Y. 1987:72) Similarly, in the case of a woman who shows no sign of pregnancy after a long period of trying or a pregnant woman who is desperate for a boy, a witch will be called in to perform some magic to make the woman's dreams come true. (Ibid. p.91)

Taiwanese people also believe that there is a bed goddess residing in the bed who is responsible for the safety of a baby until he is sixteen years old. (Tsao 1957:60-68) On the third day after the birth of a new baby, the child's grandmother must worship the bed goddess. Thereafter, whenever the child is sick, the family must worship the bed goddess on the first and fifteenth days of the month in order to gain her blessing. (Lin M. Y. 1987:108)

The bed plays an even more important role in the wedding ceremony in Taiwan. Firstly, before the wedding, the groom's family have to attend a bed-setting ceremony. As the location for conjoining and procreation, the bed is the most important piece of furniture in the room of the new couple. In fact, apart from examples such as the selection of an auspicious day, a boy with a good destiny rolling about on the bed and the worship of the bed goddess, there is a lack of detailed recorded material in research of the bed-setting ceremony in Taiwan. (Lin M. Y.

1987; Huang 1991) However, detailed descriptions can be found in other research materials from mainland China on folk customs in Fuchien province. Y. H. Lin wrote:

Old grandmother Pan, who was considered a lucky person because of the many descendants she had, was invited to conduct the ceremonial setting-up of the bridal bed. She came into the bridal room and hung a red curtain over the bed. She put a cluster of taro, with a mother-taro at the centre and the cluster of young taros adhering to it, under the bed. This was a symbol of fertility, for taro is one of the important foods in this corner of the world. Then she put several rice stalks and five copper coins on the bed, symbols of productivity and wealth. She directed that a pair of lanterns, bearing the characters for "hundreds of sons" and "thousands of grandsons" be hung from the curtain hooks. And lastly she ordered several male babies to be brought in to sleep on the new bed in order to complete the magic of fertility. (Lin 1947:40-41)

In another paper there is a different description:

One hundred and eight copper coins are used in this ceremony: eight of the coins, to match the *pa-tsu* (eight characters), are placed under the four corners of the bed, while the remaining hundred are placed at the two ends of the bed. The bed-setting ceremony should be held on a selected auspicious day, and the location of the bed should accord with the destiny of the bride and groom. After the ceremony has been held, the bed goddess must be worshipped. Hereafter, unrelated people are strictly forbidden to enter the room, and, even more importantly, "polluted" people such as a pregnant woman or someone in mourning, must not sit on the bed. (Jen 1991:144)

There are some differences in these descriptions but the selection of a sacred time, the worship of the bed goddess, the auspicious meaning symbolised by the layout of certain lucky objects and the touching of the bed by lucky people are similar.

The bed is also the place where the bride and groom consummate their marriage on the wedding night and at the same the setting for the test of the bride's virginity. On the occasion of her wedding, the new bride brings with her a white cloth which is used to clean up the virginal blood caused by sexual intercourse. The blood-stained cloth is examined the following morning. The destiny of a new bride who is discovered to have lost her virginity prior to the wedding, is a bumpy one. She can even be sent back to her own family, which will cause them great embarrassment. (Lin M. Y. 1987:153; Lin 1947:47)

The bed plays yet another role on the occasion of someone's death. According to Taiwanese folk beliefs, when a man is about to die, his body should be moved to another place, usually the main hall. This ceremony is called the bed-moving ceremony. However, if there are still members of an older generation living in the house, the body should be moved to one or other of the wings of the house. The bed-moving ceremony is not held for a dying child: in such a case, a straw mat for laying the body is placed on the floor of the child's room. The reason for holding the bed-moving ceremony is that Taiwanese people believe that the soul of a person who dies on his bed will lose the chance of reincarnation. (Lin M. Y. 1987:169-179; Huang 1991:109-110)

3.2.2.7 Other elements

(1) The back door. Since Chinese people believe that noxious *ch'i* and evil ghosts always appear at the rear of the house, it is strictly forbidden for a formal gate to be placed there. (Lee 1986:253) A back door must be placed not in the middle of the rear of the building but to one side. In order to ensure a safe environment, it is also important to seek the protection of a patron god against disturbance from noxious *ch'i* and evil spirits. Traditionally in Taiwan, it is the foundation spirit who is asked to defend the house of the family to which he belongs. Although the back door does have a practical function as an emergency exit, it is through the connotative meanings attributed to it that its true importance can be seen.

(2) The well. The well is another example of an association with the supernatural.²⁷ In general, a well is a source of drinking water: however, once it has the protection of the well spirit, then its water will bring intelligence and long life to those who drink it. (Lin H. C. 1990:107-108; Lee 1986:263)

(3) Livestock sheds and the privy. Even livestock sheds and the privy, which are usually associated with dirt and pollution, can have supernatural protection.

²⁷ The locations for arranging the well are similar to the arrangement of the stove. The only difference is that the well should be located in an auspicious setting according to the locations of the Nine Stars, for details see *Pa-chai Ming-chin* Vol.1 & *Yang-chai San-yao* Vol.1.

(Lin H. C. 1990:131) Taiwanese people believe that wherever evil exists, the protection of deities should be sought.

3.2.3 A spatio-temporal discussion

For Taiwanese people a house in its original form is an empty shell, its spatial elements devoid of meaning. It is only when the spatial elements have been sanctified by the holding of rituals to install the deities, that the house gains vitality and becomes an organic body, capable of providing a safe living environment. In fact, the sanctified elements of the house dominate the lives of its inhabitants and its symbolic and social meanings assume greater importance than its functional meanings. It is for this reason that the functional qualities of Taiwanese houses are considered to be merely ephemeral and temporary. (Pai 1987:272)

I have already shown how Taiwanese people use spatial elements as a means of ensuring harmonious relationships with the supernatural beings. I will now take this argument a stage further through a discussion of spatial and temporal factors.

3.2.3.1 A spatial discussion

Taiwanese people arrange spatial elements in two ways, the first being the use of auspicious positions as decreed by the notion of *feng-shui*. For example, people believe that the location of the stove and the direction of its opening are important in securing the prosperity of the family. (Lee 1986:261) The second way is in accordance with the notion of space as a binary form. Taiwanese people use the dual notions of inside and outside in matters relating to ghosts, upper and lower in matters relating to gods, and left and right and central and peripheral for all relationships between man and gods, ancestors and ghosts. Of these, the most important distinction is between inside and outside since this is also the distinction between order and chaos, which, for Taiwanese people, is an absolute boundary. Within the house, a family can define a safe environment protected by its patron gods. The world outside, on the other hand, is occupied by ghosts and thus in turmoil. Taiwanese people believe rituals must be performed and offerings made in order to please their protectors and thus avoid the crumbling of the protecting boundary and the chaos which would ensue. To a certain extent, then, there is a pragmatic motive behind the worship of the patron deities.

Although ghosts are not allowed to enter a house, its inhabitants are nevertheless keen to maintain harmonious relationships with them, and will, on occasions, present them with offerings. In this context, S. Feuchtwang gave us an interesting example of the way in which Taiwanese people manage the separation of the inside and outside worlds:

The inside/outside distinction is often made between offerings to spirit soldiers and those to *kui* 鬼 (ghosts) by placing the bench for spirit soldiers within the threshold and the presentation of *kui* beyond it, out of doors. (1974a:110)

It is clear from this description that the gate plays a crucial role as a threshold mediating between the inside and outside worlds, between order and chaos and between the living world and purgatory.

Although the presence of ghosts is not welcomed by people, outright rejection is considered too unfriendly a way of maintaining the relationships which must exist between man and ghosts. A compromise is used to resolve this problem: the courtyard, an exterior world with the same characteristics as the *t'ing*, becomes an alternative venue where ghosts can be entertained without being allowed into the interior world of the house.

The relationship between the world of man and the world of gods is an expression of the distinction between upper and lower. To a certain extent, ancestors can also be treated as family gods. (Wolf 1974:173) Consequently, man's relationship with his ancestors can be treated in the same way as his relationship with the gods. However, unlike the inside/outside relationship which can be represented in spatial terms, the upper/lower relationship is purely imaginary. According to religious ideology, the world of the gods is parallel to the living world. The hierarchy of the celestial bureaucracy is a projection of the secular world, the only difference being that gods are considered to have a higher status. The upper heavenly world is thus an imaginary projection of the lower living world. When man faces the sanctified spatial elements in his house, as for example when he worships in front of the altar, he is aware of this upper/lower relationship and reminded of the reciprocal obligations which exist between man and gods.

The left/right and central/peripheral relationships are the most obvious and concrete spatial relationships in traditional Taiwanese houses. Relationships

between man and gods, ghosts and ancestors can be either homogeneous i.e. between man and man, ancestors and ancestors, or ghosts and ghosts, or relative i.e. between man and ghosts, or between man and gods and gods and ancestors. The arrangement of the left/right and central/peripheral spatial relationships can illustrate the different combinations of these relationships.

In the symmetrical layout of traditional Taiwanese houses, the physical centre of the house is also a symbolic centre, a space of supremacy occupied by gods and ancestors, with subordinates positioned to the left and right or the periphery. The centre of the house belongs to the gods while the left and right sides belong to the world of man. Within the human world, the left side is superior to the right and belongs to the older generation and the male, while the right side belongs to the younger generation and the female.

The layout of spatial elements is in accordance with the status of the various deities with which they are linked, the highest figure in the celestial bureaucracy occupying the centre, and the rest occupying the peripheral space. For example, ancestral tablets from within the agnatic lineage of a family are located on the altar in the *t'ing* while non-agnatic tablets are placed in the peripheral rooms. The arrangement on the altar is a sign of the relationships between the gods and the ancestors, the images of the gods being placed on the left and the ancestors on the right of the altar. The various spaces and spatial elements of the house as a whole, in terms of the distinctions between left and right and the centre and the periphery, manifest the relationships not only between man and gods, ancestors and ghosts, but also within the individual hierarchies.

3.2.3.2 A temporal discussion

Taiwanese people believe that, since the spatial elements of their houses are endowed with special powers, these elements must not only be put in the correct position, but the rituals which bestow these powers must be held at the correct time. In the arrangement of the spatial elements of their houses, great attention is thus paid by the Taiwanese to the temporal requirements contained in the almanacs. For example, people have to consult either the almanac or a geomancer in order to find the auspicious time to begin and end the moving of the ancestral tablets. (Huang 1977:250)

There are certain specified times which are considered to be connected with spiritual forces, of either a benevolent or an evil nature, which are capable of affecting the future life of the family. Because people are unable to foresee the events of the future, any misfortune caused by evil supernatural powers is blamed on the selection of an inauspicious time. Thus, Taiwanese people always choose an auspicious time for the building of a stove or the setting-up of a new altar or bed. People's concept of time and the way in which they arrange the spatial elements in their houses are completely integrated into their environment and way of life.

To sum up, through the spatial elements of their houses, Taiwanese people mediate between the living world and the supernatural world in two correlated ways. Temporally, people perform the correct rituals at an auspicious time in order to endow these elements with special powers while, spatially, they use *feng-shui* and the notion of binary space to arrange them in the most auspicious location. In this way, people set up a boundary demarcating the different domains occupied by themselves, gods, ancestors and ghosts and promote and manage the inter-relationships between these different worlds by means of the sanctified elements.

3.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL TAIWANESE RITUALS AND ARCHITECTURAL SPACES

3.3.1 Introduction

Taiwanese folk rituals are derived, to a large extent, from the doctrines of Confucianism. (Lin 1985:88) These doctrines emphasise the pursuit both of a limitless state of perfection for the intrinsic character of every individual, and a perfect realm of life for the community, based on the moral nature of human existence. However, because people are generally concerned merely with pragmatic and worldly values, when these ideas are put into practice, it is hard to avoid the secularisation of their original lofty nature. Nevertheless, the pursuit of peaceful harmony between man, society and the universe, which constitutes the main purpose of the traditional rituals, remains. (Huang 1991:41)

In simple terms, in spite of their origin in Confucian doctrines, it was religious thought which formed the core of traditional Taiwanese rituals as they were implemented in popular practices. Through the authority of supernatural

power and a psychological need to avoid disaster and seek happiness, people were persuaded to follow the regulations of the traditional rituals. Although the final forms of these rituals show clear differences from the original Confucian doctrines, there is, nevertheless, a clear expression of a concretisation and simplification of Confucian ideas. In terms of concrete expression, at the same time as the traditional rituals implement simplified Confucian doctrines, they also constitute a stable base for traditional society, through the development of certain patterns for people to follow in their daily life. Eventually, the harmony and perfect state of life sought by Confucians can be attained.

In a discussion of traditional Taiwanese rituals, it is usual for the following categories to be drawn up: 1) daily rituals; 2) the worship of gods and ghosts; 3) praying for happiness and the avoidance of evil; 4) annual rituals; 5) life rituals; 6) other rituals. (Lin H. C. 1990:107) However, I intend to concentrate on two of these categories, life rituals and annual rituals, since they incorporate almost all of the traditional rituals.

3.3.1.1 Life rituals

Life rituals are those rituals which are held at various important junctures of a person's life. In spite of being focussed on an individual person, these rituals are attended by members of the immediate family as well as the local community. A life can be divided into the following stages: birth, coming of age, marriage and death. Each one of these stages represents the start of another important part of the life process. For example, a birth in a family means certain changes in status for every member of that family. These changes in status will also appear in other stages of the life process.

The Belgian socio-anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep has defined life rituals as "rites of passage". (Van Gennep 1960) He sees human society as a house with connecting passages through which people pass: the so-called "rites of passage", including rites of separation, transition and incorporation indicate periods of transition between different stages. Being a transitional state, and thus not belonging either to the preceding or the subsequent state, these passages are dangerous and unstable. The rites of passage are held, therefore, to help people to pass safely through these dangerous periods. The rites of separation separate people from their former state, the rites of transition guarantee a safe passage through a difficult

period and the rites of incorporation help people to integrate into the new state. Y. C. Huang has used examples from traditional Taiwanese rituals to explain Van Gennep's rites of passage: the funeral rituals signify the rites of separation, the birth rituals signify the rites of transition and the wedding rituals signify the rites of incorporation. (1991:66-67)

The reason why life rituals can be explained as rites of passage is because birth, coming of age, marriage and death are all different stages in the process of life. Each of these stages results in changes in the interpersonal relationships and individual status, not just of the person at the centre of the ritual, but of all family members. It is inevitable that before a new period of equilibrium emerges, these changes cause an upset to the existing state of equilibrium. Life rituals are thus rituals of transition which help people to move from one state of equilibrium to another.

3.3.1.2 Annual rituals

Traditional Taiwanese society is an agricultural society and the annual rituals, which contain the spirit of the ancestors as well as a wealth of other meanings, are a product of such a way of life. In his research, Huang has found three main cultural characteristics in Taiwanese annual folk rituals: (Huang 1991:129-130)

(1) The regulation of the rhythm of life in an agricultural society. Because of the monotonous nature of the sequence of agricultural work, people continually arrange a variety of festivals. Through the different celebrations and rituals, they are able to regulate their existence and enhance the enjoyment of communal life. Thus, the annual rituals provide a guide for the lives of Taiwanese people, and form an indivisible link with their recreation and entertainment.

(2) To emphasise the folk belief of praying for the pursuit of happiness and the avoidance of disaster. The annual rituals preserve traditional religious beliefs. The various ways in which gods and ghosts are worshipped originate in the folk practice of praying for the blessing of the deities in order to avoid disasters and drive away evil.

(3) To emphasise the cultural belief of praying to the ancestors. Through the reverence which they manifest for the ancestors, the annual rituals can be described

as a concrete expression of the life and spirit of the Taiwanese people and are also a depiction of the indivisible relationship between man and earth.

3.3.1.3 The spatio-temporal aspect of traditional rituals

All rituals, and especially life rituals, must begin and end at a fixed time which is in optimum union with the order of the cosmos. (Huang 1988:263) Chinese people believe that the movement of the celestial bodies and of the four seasons create a constantly changing temporal flow. Coordinating with this flow can have an enormous influence over people's lives. In other words, people's lives are decided by the temporal flow of the universe.

The most important moment in an individual's life is his birth, which determines his horoscope or *pa-tsu*, 八字 literally eight characters. On the basis of a person's *pa-tsu*, which is a combination of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, recording the year, month, day and hour of a person's birth, there is a moment in the flow of the universe which is particularly favourable for him. Using this time as a starting point, the auspicious times suitable for a variety of actions can be worked out. Life will then proceed smoothly. If, on the other hand, a person acts in conflict with the flow of the cosmos, he will be heading for trouble. Thus, in order to coordinate with the flow of the cosmos, the traditional rituals of Taiwan should be held at auspicious times.

Apart from temporal considerations, space and place are also important. In most rituals, the temporal and spatial considerations cannot be considered separately, but have to be combined together. In order to coordinate with the flow of the cosmos, not only is an auspicious time required but special locations for the worship of deities and ghosts are also needed. In the following discussion, I will give a detailed description of the relationships which exist between the rituals and the architectural spaces in which they are held.

3.3.2 The relationship between the birth ritual and architectural space

According to Chinese ethical notions, the birth of a child and especially the birth of a boy is a symbol of the continuity of the family lineage. (Lin 1985:89) Thus great care is taken with the birth ritual. The birth of a child can be explained as a transition from a undefined area (i.e. the state of pregnancy), to a defined state,

following birth. As a result of fears of this undefined area, Chinese people take great care with the safety of a pregnant woman and her child.

Although the birth of a child is a symbol of the continuity of the lineage of a family, the sacred moment of the birth is also the moment which determines the happiness or sadness of the mother and her child. Since the birth itself is a time of great danger from miscarriage, or a difficult labour etc, everything associated with it is considered to be unclean, including the room in which the baby is born. The mother, who is also considered to be unclean, is confined within this room and other people will not enter the room unless absolutely necessary. (Ahern 1975:195) This restriction remains in force until the ceremony celebrating the first month of the baby's life has been held.

The Taiwanese birth rituals can be divided into the following stages: 1) The period of pregnancy; 2) The third day after the birth of the baby; 3) The ceremony held at the end of the first month of the baby's life; 4) The first birthday. I will now discuss each of these in detail.

3.3.2.1 The period of pregnancy

During the period of pregnancy, the most important consideration is the safety of the mother and her baby. As mentioned above, they are protected by the *tai-shen* or embryo god. (Ahern 1975:196-197; Wolf 1972:152-154) According to Taiwanese folk beliefs, the abdomen of the pregnant woman can be analogised to the room in which she stays. It is imagined that the embryo god stays in different parts of the room, in order to protect the mother and her child. Any unsuitable events which offend the house will thus also offend the embryo god and will affect the abdomen of the pregnant woman. (Jen 1991) Consequently, the rituals held during pregnancy are mainly concerned with pacifying the embryo in order to guarantee the safety of the mother and her baby. This folk belief also exists amongst the Rukai tribe,²⁸ who analogise their houses to the wombs of the pregnant women: again, any unsuitable events in the house are seen as offending the womb and the safety of baby will be affected. (Lin M. J. 1990:31-32)

²⁸ An aboriginal group located in the south of the island.

3.3.2.2 The ceremony held on the third day after the birth of the baby

This ceremony is held in three stages. Presided over by the grandmother, the first stage of the ceremony takes place in the room in which the baby was born. The grandmother bathes the baby with warm water from a bowl into which have been placed some evergreen leaves, to symbolise the future longevity of the baby, and a piece of round stone, to symbolise the baby's head growing as hard and round as stone. (Lin 1985:90; Lin 1947:20; Ahern 1975:203)

In the second stage of the ceremony, the grandmother goes to the *t'ing* to worship the ancestors and report to them the birth of a new child. The mother and the child, however, being still considered unclean, are not allowed into the *t'ing* in case they offend the deities. (Lin M. Y. 1987:97) Everybody else, apart from daily needs brought to the mother by a maid or grandmother, avoids the room in which a woman has given birth for the first month of the baby's life. (Ahern 1975:204)

In the final stage of the ceremony, a member of the family is sent to the mother's family to announce the good news. (Lin 1985:90) The same day, because the baby is protected after his birth by the bed goddess, the family worship her at the mother's bedside. It is also necessary for the baby's umbilical cord to be burned to ashes and buried beneath the bed.

3.3.2.3 The ceremony held at the end of the first month of the baby's life

The ceremony held to celebrate the first month of the baby's life is the second stage of the birth ritual and is presided over by the grandfather. All the members of the family, including the mother and the baby, the restriction on their entering of the *t'ing* having been lifted by this stage, are invited to attend a ceremony in the *t'ing*, symbolising the baby's formal entrance into the family. The baby has his first haircut to symbolise the official end of the first stage of his life. (Lin 1985:90) After the ceremony, the baby is taken by an old and lucky lady into the courtyard to see the sky and touch the ground, representing his first communication with the father heaven and mother earth. (Ibid:91-92)

3.3.2.4 The baby's first birthday

The first birthday is the first opportunity for the baby to meet people outside his own close family, as well as a formal announcement that he has passed through the first crisis of life. Henceforth, he will be able to walk on towards his life journey. A formal banquet is held in the house, with a lavish feast laid on for the guests, the food including red eggs, symbolising happiness, noodles and red tortoise-like cakes symbolising longevity. At the same time, a special ceremony is held to predict the future profession of the baby: a variety of objects including a book, a pen, an inkslab, an arrow, a sword, a pair of scissors, a rule, an abacus, a set of scales and a lump of clay are placed on a mat on the floor of the *t'ing*. Whatever object the baby picks up is a symbol of his future profession: thus, the book and pen represent a scholar, the arrow and sword represent a soldier etc. (Lin 1985:92-93; Lin 1947:21)

3.3.2.5 Discussion

There are two notions which are worth discussing in relation to these descriptions of birth rituals.

First, we can find a spatial sequence through which the baby passes in the course of the rituals. The first site of this sequence is the impregnated womb of the mother, the second is the bed in which the baby is born, and the third is the *fang* or bedroom where he (or she) is bathed and blessed by his or her grandmother. The fourth site is the *t'ing* where the baby worships his ancestors and accepts the blessings of the guests, thereby becoming a formal member of the family, and where he goes through the special ceremony to decide his future profession. The fifth and final place in the sequence is the courtyard where the baby makes contact with heaven and earth for the first time.

If we look at this spatial sequence as a form of contact with the supernatural, the baby is protected within the womb by the embryo god, and, after his birth, by the bed goddess. After he has formally joined the family lineage, the baby receives protection from his ancestors and the deities. In terms of contact with humans, the foetus receives nutrition from its mother during pregnancy, while, after the birth, the first member of the family to contact the baby is the grandmother. On the occasion of the ceremony to celebrate the first month of his life, the baby comes into

formal contact with the whole of his immediate family, while on his first birthday he meets other family friends and relatives. The contact with the supernatural represents an upward trend from the lower level of the embryo god and the bed goddess to the upper level of ancestors, deities, heaven and earth, while the human contact represents a move from individual contact, i.e. the mother and grandmother, to group contact - immediate family, other relatives and the community as a whole. Both of these two trends show a relationship of a gradually advancing sequential order.

I have already shown how traditional Chinese notions imply a great yearning for the preservation of harmonious interpersonal relationships. If expressed in the form of a sequential spatial order, this type of relationship is a series of concentric circles with the individual as the centre, just like the ripples made by throwing a stone into a patch of water.(Fig. 3-16) For Chinese people, such circles correspond to the sequential order of interpersonal relationships. (Fei 1943) Man gradually extends outwards to establish different interpersonal relationships. This gradual establishment of relationships is what is manifested in the birth rituals. At the same time, according to traditional beliefs, the supernaturals are treated in the same way as man. Thus, the sequential order can also be applied to relationships between man and the supernatural.

In the light of this discussion of the relationship between the conduct of birth rituals and traditional architectural space, it can be seen how harmonious relationships between man and the supernatural are established gradually during the process of growing up. The various rituals are all aimed at intensifying and preserving these harmonious relationships. The necessary background for facilitating this process is provided by architectural spaces and spatial elements.

Secondly, in terms of the various spaces and spatial elements, the above description incorporated the womb (an analogous form of the room), the bed, the bedroom, the *t'ing* and the courtyard. The meanings expressed in the first half of the process of the birth rituals, up to the end of the first month, are different from those expressed in the second half, after the first month. In the first half, the mother and the spatial elements which come into contact with her, the bed and the bedroom, are considered to be unclean. The room in which the mother and baby stay is very definitely a private space, which others cannot enter. Because of the possible effect on the family and society as a whole, the room is treated with great caution.

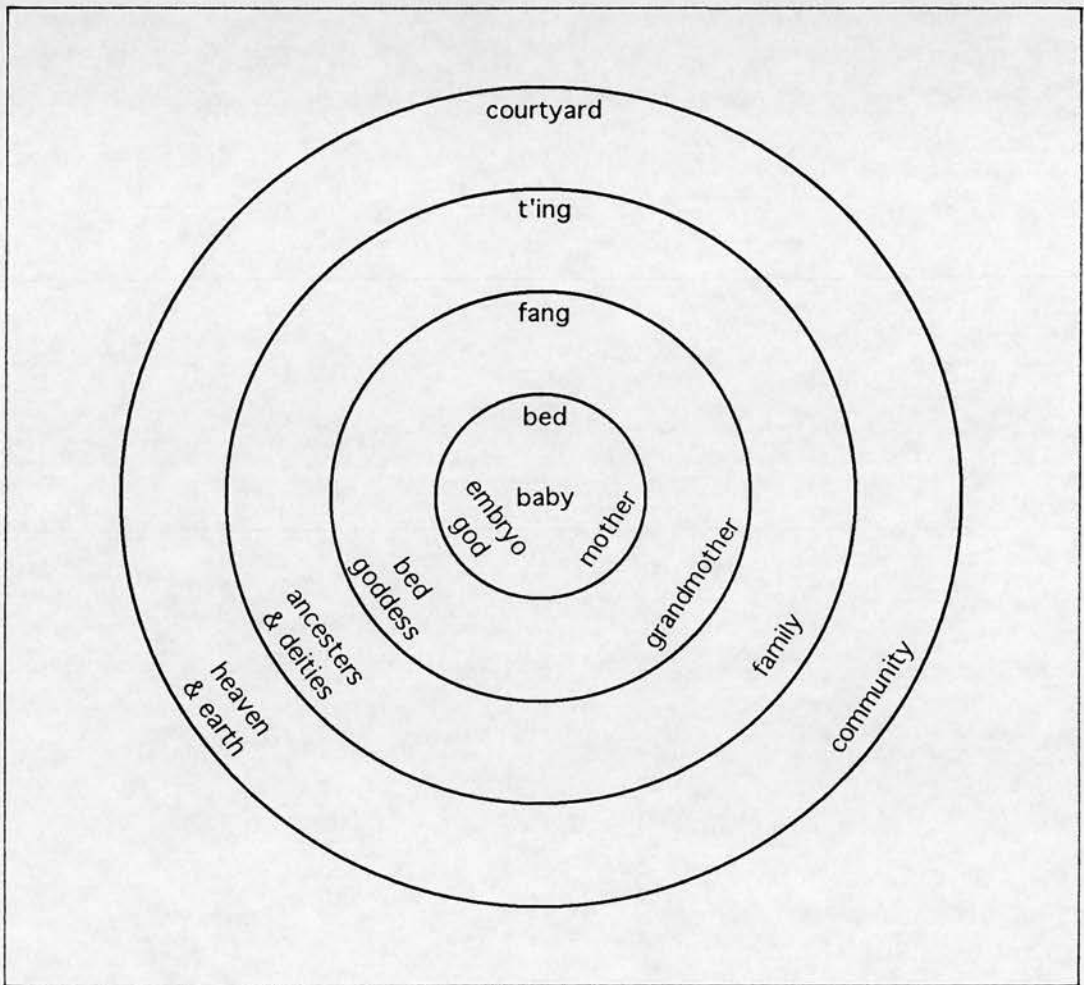


Fig. 3-16 The relationships between man, supernatural beings and the house.

The second half is totally different from the first half, with all restrictions lifted. The mother and baby can appear in any space on any occasion. In spatial terms, the bedroom has played an intermediary role in the whole process; in the first half it is a private and taboo space which people stay away from, while in the second half, it becomes, on the contrary, the focus of the family. As the bedroom returns to family life, its relationships with people and other spaces such as the *t'ing* and the courtyard are re-established. Unless another event such as a birth or death occurs, the character of the room will not change. The change of character of the room can only be understood by an examination of the whole process of the birth rituals.

3.3.3 The relationship between wedding rituals and architectural space

Traditional wedding rituals in Taiwan are largely based on the six rites of the Book of Rites (*Li Chi*) and can be divided into six stages: firstly, a go-between inquires into the family of a girl on behalf of a family seeking a bride; secondly, the go-between seeks genealogical and horoscopic data; thirdly, the girl's horoscope is matched with the boy's; fourthly, the betrothal is sealed by the exchange of gifts; fifthly, the date of the wedding is fixed; lastly, the bride is moved. (Freedman 1970:181) These rituals have existed since the Chou 周 dynasty. (1100-221 B.C.) (Huang 1991:84) The first four of these stages belong to the engagement ceremony, while the last two are part of the wedding ceremony.

3.3.3.1 The engagement ritual

The first stage of the engagement ceremony is for a representative of the groom's family to propose the marriage to the bride's family. Once the proposal has been accepted, the two families exchange notes inscribed with the respective birth horoscopes (i.e. *pa-tsu* or eight characters). These notes are carried back to the two homes where they are placed on the altar for three days in order to ask the respective ancestors for permission for the wedding to go ahead. (Jen 1991:102) The permission of the ancestors is taken to have been granted if no inauspicious events have occurred after these three days. (Lin M. Y. 1987:132; Huang 1991:88) Some more cautious families also ask a fortune-teller to decide on the basis of the two horoscopes whether the couple are suited to each other before the marriage can be confirmed. (Lin 1947:37; Lin M. Y. 1987:132) After the marriage has been

confirmed by a member of the groom's family announcing the news to the bride's family, the engagement ceremony can take place. The groom takes the betrothal gift to the house of the bride's family, where it is displayed in the *t'ing*, the setting for the engagement ceremony. The groom puts a ring on the hand of his future bride who sits on a high stool facing outwards, (if the groom is going to live with his bride's family, she faces inwards.) The father of the bride then worships the family ancestors in order to announce the wedding. A banquet for the visiting guests is also held in the *t'ing*. (Ahern 1973:94) Similar worship is also held in the *t'ing* of the groom's house.

3.3.3.2 The wedding ceremonies

Preparations for the wedding are made after the engagement ceremony. First, the groom's family sends a date for the wedding, selected on the basis of the auspicious days recorded in the almanac, to the bride's family. If both sides agree to the date, preparations begin. The second stage is the important bed-setting ceremony, held as a preparation for the arrival of the new bride. (Cohen 1976:153) The final and most important stage is the wedding itself. Prior to the wedding day, both families clean and decorate their houses, since the ceremony is held in the two families simultaneously.

On the day of the wedding, the first stage is for the bride to take a bath in her room. Barley, rice straw and garlic are put into the bath water as a symbol of good luck. After the bath, the bride is helped into her wedding dress, every part of which has been passed over a charcoal fire, in order to avoid contamination from evil *ch'i*. (Lin 1947:41) The bride is then taken to the *t'ing* where she worships her family ancestors and awaits the arrival of the groom. (Cohen 1976:153) At the same time, the groom worships his ancestors in his own family's *t'ing*. Before the groom leaves for the house of the bride's family, his father gives him a bamboo basket for filtering rice, which he takes with him to drive any evil he may encounter on the journey. On his arrival, the groom presents the gifts and the bride price which are displayed in the *t'ing* to honour the ancestors and to show off to the neighbours. (Ahern 1973:94; Cohen 1976:158) Before the groom formally takes the bride to her new home, she bends her knee as a final sign of respect for her parents and ancestors. (Cohen 1976:158) She also weeps to thank her parents for bringing her up. (Wolf 1972:136)

She then makes her farewell to her natal family before officially joining her husband's family. (Cohen 1976:160) On the way from the *t'ing* to the courtyard, the ground is covered with bamboo tiles to prevent her from touching the earth, thus ensuring that she cannot take away the auspicious *feng-shui* of her natal family. (Lin 1947:42; Jen 1991:130; Freedman 1970: 183) After her departure from the house, the main gate is closed to symbolise the final ending of relations between the daughter and her natal family and to further ensure that she does not take their wealthy *ch'i* with her. (Jen 1991:132) Traditionally, the bride takes her dowry with her, every piece of which, like her wedding dress, is purified by being passed over a charcoal fire in order to prevent the husband's family being polluted by evil *ch'i*. (Lin 1947:41)

On arriving at the groom's house, the wedding sedan stops first in the courtyard. Before the bride enters the *t'ing*, a red carpet is placed on the ground to ensure that she does not come into direct contact with the earth and thus bring noxious *ch'i* into the building. At the same time, the groom covers the bride's head with the evil-removing bamboo rice-filtering basket and asks her to jump over a coal-burning oven to ensure that she is completely cleaned of noxious *ch'i*. (Kuan 1980:184; Wolf 1972:135) When the bride enters the *t'ing*, she has to take great care not to step on the door sill, since this would aggravate the door gods. (Wolf 1972:137) The bride's servants then help her to take her dowry into the *t'ing*, reciting auspicious words as they pass through the courtyard and over the door sill in order to bless the couple. (Kuan 1980:184) The formal wedding ceremony is held in the *t'ing*. The couple both kneel in front of the altar to worship heaven, earth and the ancestors and bow to their parents. They are now officially husband and wife and will hereafter walk together through the journey of life.

At this point, the wedding banquet starts for the entertainment of the guests. After thanking the guests, the couple return to their bedroom, where they share a drink of wine to symbolise the future sharing of comfort and hardship. They also worship the bed goddess and scatter beans over the bed as a symbol of the desire for lots of male children. (Huang 1991:87) There are also cases recorded of the bride going to the kitchen to worship the stove god and ask for his blessing. (Cohen 1976:163; Freedman 1970:184) On the wedding night, the couple consummate their marriage in the bed. This is also a solemn test of the bride's virginity.²⁹ The

²⁹ The bride's virginity symbolises the potential to create sacred life, thereby guaranteeing the continuity over time of the family and its honour.

following day, one of the bride's family visits her new family to check that she was a virgin and report the good news to his family. If she has been found not to have been a virgin, her family will suffer great shame. (Lin M. Y. 1987:155-156) A couple of days after the wedding, the newly married couple visit the bride's natal family and pay their respects to her parents and ancestors. This marks the end of the wedding ceremony.

3.3.3.3 Discussion

From the above accounts, it can be seen that almost all the important architectural spaces and spatial elements, including the *t'ing*, the bedroom, the kitchen, and the courtyard, along with the door, the stove, the altar, the ancestral tablets and the bed, all participate in the wedding rituals. The relationships between the various spaces and spatial elements can be illustrated by looking at the course of the wedding ceremony itself. It can explain these relationships by comparing the architectural spaces and the spatial elements:

(1) The *fang* or bedroom. The bride moves from the *fang* of her natal home through the *t'ing* into the courtyard and outside the home, before entering her husband's home passing through the courtyard into the *t'ing* and ultimately into the *fang*. Her journey thus both begins and ends in a *fang*. However, the contrast between the two *fangs* shows how her status undergoes a complete transformation. Thus, her relationship with her natal family changes from an intimate to an estranged nature, while, on the other hand, she has moved from a distant to an intimate relationship with her husband's family.

(2) The *t'ing*. In both families the deities and ancestors are worshipped and a banquet is held in the *t'ing*. While in the bride's house this represents a farewell, in the groom's house it is a formal welcome.

(3) The courtyard. Similar rituals are held in the courtyards of the two houses in order to prevent the bride stepping on the ground. In the bride's family, the intention is to prevent the bride taking away the auspicious *feng-shui* of her natal family; in the husband's family, on the other hand, it is an indication of their

unwillingness to admit any noxious *ch'i* which she might bring with her. This shows how, according to the Chinese notion of *feng-shui*, it is, ironically, only a family's personal *feng-shui* which is considered to be auspicious. The *feng-shui* of any other family members, including matrilineal relatives, is not welcomed.

(4) The main gate. When the bride leaves her natal family, the main gate is immediately closed as a sign of the end of the old relationship between her and her family. On arriving at the house of husband's family, on the other hand, the door is opened to indicate the formal start of her relationship with them.

Throughout the wedding, the different spatial elements involved are all connected to different gods. The idea behind the sequence in which the bride passes through the different spaces is to bring about a re-adjustment of the relationship between the bride and groom and these supernaturals. For the bride, the process and attendant rituals of leaving her natal family in the course of moving from the *fang*, through the *t'ing* into the courtyard and out of the main gate are a way for her to say goodbye and thank the supernaturals who have protected her. On arrival at her husband's house, the process and attendant rituals as she move from the main gate, through the courtyard and into the *t'ing* into her new bedroom are a sign of her re-establishing a relationship with the supernaturals living in her husband's family and thus seek their protection in the same way as had happened previously in her natal family.

If we treat human life as a form of drama, the wedding ceremonies, from the bride's point of view, are a human drama combining grief and joy. For her, the wedding day is a certainly a joyful event, yet facing up to the necessary severing of the long standing relationship with her natal family transforms the day into a sad occasion. These emotions reach a climax at the moment when she is about to leave: her emotions are shown by her tears. When she crosses the main gate of her natal home, her father closes it to indicate the ending of the old relationship. As the bride sits in the sedan chair on the way to her new home, although she is full of hope for the future, its unpredictable nature leaves her fearful and tense.

On arriving at her husband's home, and before she enters the *t'ing*, although she has completely severed the old relationships and is looking forward to establishing a new set of relationships with her husband's family, the actions of her husband's family do not seem to express much confidence. She has to partake in a

series of rituals including jumping over a coal-burning oven, passing under a bamboo basket and not touching the ground in order to completely remove any influence of her own family. Finally, the consummation of the marriage is also a test of her virginity: this again causes nervous emotions, since, should she fail this crucial test, her future life will have had a tragic beginning. It is only when a member of her natal family visits her and reports good news back to the family, that the wedding as a whole can be seen as having a happy ending. The dramatic change in the lives of the individuals involved in a wedding can only be fully experienced by going through the combination of traditional Taiwanese wedding rituals with the correct use of traditional spaces and spatial elements.

3.3.4 The relationship between architectural space and funeral rites

For Chinese people, death is the most unclean event of all. Because anyone who comes into contact with death is in danger, participants in a funeral take very great care. The bereaved family, in particular, are in a state of great tension and fear.

Traditional Taiwanese funeral rites are made up of three main parts: 1) the rituals for the dying person; 2) the ritual of encoffining the deceased; 3) the farewell rituals. (Lin 1985:100-102; Huang 1991:109-115) I will now discuss each of these in detail.

3.3.4.1 The rituals for the dying person

The most important part of the ritual for the dying person is the bed-moving ceremony, the purpose of which, as described above, is to prevent the soul of the deceased remaining in the bed, since this would prevent his rebirth. Furthermore, according to Confucian ideology, it is Heaven which gives people life and the Earth which resettles a deceased person. For this reason, the body of a dying person is moved from the bed in his room to the floor of the *t'ing* as a symbol of his imminent return to the earth. (Lin 1985:99) According to traditional Taiwanese customs, males are moved to the left side, and females to the right side of the *t'ing*. (Kuan 1980:200) Once in the *t'ing*, the dying person can face his ancestors and his will is read out. Although the family members are aware of the imminent death of their relative, no one is allowed to cry: they must all bear their sorrows till the person has died. The dying ritual is a kind of reunion: before dying, the person meets his ancestors and relatives one more time. Lying on the floor of the *t'ing* and staring up

towards Heaven, the dying person knows that he is about to be reunited with Heaven and earth. (Lin 1985:101)

3.3.4.2 The rituals for encoffining the deceased

The formal rituals for encoffining the deceased start as soon as he (or she) breathes his (or her) last breath. The corpse is cleaned and dressed in fine clothes and a sheet of white paper is stuck to the main gate to announce that the family is in mourning. At the same time, a member of the family is sent to paste pieces of red paper on the main gate of neighbouring houses to ensure that they are not polluted by the noxious *ch'i* of the bereaved family. The altar in the *t'ing* is covered with a sheet of cloth to prevent the pollution of the images of deities and the ancestral tablets. (Watson 1982:167; Lin M. Y. 1987:173) All of the decorations in the house have to be redone: red decorations are removed and replaced with white decorations. All family members wear mourning clothes. The tablet of the deceased is placed in the corner of the *t'ing* where it is worshipped to ensure that his sins can be expiated as quickly as possible, thus ensuring his return to the earth. All of the funeral rituals are presided over by Buddhist monks or Taoist priests. Taoist priests sprinkle holy water over every corner of the house to ward off the noxious *ch'i*. Throughout the funeral rituals the doors and windows of the house are kept open in order to stimulate the flow of air and thus prevent an accumulation of noxious *ch'i*³⁰.

A "rope-cutting" ceremony is also held at this time: a Taoist priest ties one end of a hemp rope to the wrist of the deceased, the other end being held by a member of the family. The priest chants scriptures as he cuts the rope to symbolise the family cutting off relations with the soul of the deceased, thus preventing his soul from returning to disturb the family in the future³¹. (Harrell 1974:42; Huang 1991:114; Ahern 1973:172; Watson 1982:163)

30 The noxious *ch'i*, or *sha ch'i* 煞氣 (killing airs) of the dead could put everyone in danger when he or she handles anything that has been in direct contact with the corpse. This pollution has thus no volition and effects everyone equally. (Watson 1982:159)

31 In his ethnological materials, E. Cassirer has found that there are many attempts to prevent the soul of the deceased from returning to his house. For example, ashes are scattered behind the coffin as it is being brought to the grave so that the ghost may lose his way; and the custom of closing of the eyes of a dead person has been explained as an attempt to blindfold the corpse and prevent it from seeing the way by which it is brought to its grave. (Cassirer 1944:87) The Taiwanese "rope-cutting" ceremony can thus be explained as one of those attempts.

3.3.4.3 The farewell rituals

On the auspicious day selected for the removal of the coffin to the cemetery, it is first moved from the *t'ing* to the courtyard. The door gods at the main gate of the *t'ing* are first covered with white cloth; otherwise they will not allow the soul of the deceased to pass through. All the religious ceremonies are held in the courtyard, where the relatives and friends of the deceased gather to pay him their respects, and a banquet is held there for their entertainment.

Once the coffin leaves the house and begins its journey to the cemetery, the funeral is transformed from a domestic to a communal affair. The neighbouring families, afraid of contamination from the noxious *ch'i* of the coffin, make sure that their doors and windows are closed as the funeral procession passes by. (Feuchtwang 1974a:121; Watson 1982:167) Some neighbours, however, do show consideration, offering prayers and incense at the roadside as the funeral procession passes.

Only a few close agnatic relatives of the deceased are allowed to attend the final ceremony at the cemetery. (Watson 1982:164) Before it is put into the ground, a small hole is bored in the coffin in order to let the corpse come into direct contact with the earth. For Chinese people, there is now a temporary pause in the life cycle, until the soul of the deceased reappears in the body of a new-born descendant. (Granet 1975:52) Past, present and future are blended together with no distinct lines of demarcation.

3.3.4.4 Discussion

There are several meanings expressed in the above discussion:

(1) The final journey from the *fang* to the *t'ing* reflects the passage from life to death. Although short in spatial terms, it is, for the dying person, the longest and most painful journey of all. However weak he may be, yet, reluctantly, he has to be moved towards the *t'ing*. However well respected he may be, yet, in a state of despair, he has to abandon his life's work and complete the final stage of his life in agony.

The rituals of life have a dramatic effect on human existence. In her study of death rituals in drama, B. Myerhoff wrote:

In ritual, not only are particular messages delivered, but the ritual also creates a world in which culture can appear. Further, rituals create a setting in which persons can appear, by appearing in their culture,..... we see persons dramatising self and culture at once, each made by the other. (1984:155)

In traditional Taiwanese funeral rituals, the various spaces and spatial elements provide a background for the dramatic effects given by the rituals. The ritual for the dying is a finale for the drama of life and is, undoubtedly, the most overwhelming performance. In the final stage of his life journey, the dying person dramatically expresses himself and the culture to which he belongs.

The process of the ritual for the dying is not necessarily an entirely sad one. The final journey from the *fang* to the *t'ing* symbolises the reuniting of the dying person with his ancestors. (Lin 1985:101) After a life-long preparation, he finally has the opportunity to join the realm of his ancestors. However the joy is short-lived. Immediately after his death, a cloth is placed over his corpse to shield it from the sight of the ancestral tablets. Another lengthy period of waiting follows, and only when his corpse has completely decomposed can his bones in turn bless his descendants.³² Only then can he enter the realm of the ancestors and himself receive worship from his descendants. Thus, the spatially short journey from the *fang* to the *t'ing* reflects a very long temporal distance. This shows that, in any discussion of the spatio-temporal notions of Taiwanese architecture, spatial distance does not necessarily reflect temporal distance.

(2) We can see from the process of the death rituals, that death itself is a very long and unknown period. E. M. Ahern, in her study of Taiwanese death rituals, wrote the following words: "while the corpse is in an indetermined state between a living man and a buried ancestor, it is relatively less predictable and controllable." (1973:172) Ahern shows death itself is a long period of uncertainty, anxiety, impotence and disorder. Fear of death is undoubtedly a basic human instinct yet it

³² The Chinese follow a system of double burial in which the corpse is first buried in a grave and left until the flesh of the corpse is completely rotten. The bones are then exhumed and stored in a ceramic urn, which is buried either in the original grave, or, if a more auspicious *feng-shui* has been found, in the new auspicious location. The bones begin to function for the benefit of descendants, only after the second burial has been completed.

can, on the other hand, be treated as a form of spiritual transcendence rather than a personal loss. Human attitudes towards death are complicated and contradictory. During the rituals, many of the actions are designed to prevent the soul of the deceased from returning home. At the same time, people are anxious for the soul to return to heaven so that it can become an ancestor and protect its descendants. As far as traditional Chinese society is concerned, the pollution of death is a very serious matter. Any object which has been in contact with death is considered to be contaminated, and anyone who comes contact with a contaminated object is in great danger. (Watson 1982:157-159) In religious terms, however, death has some positive meanings. For Confucianists, death is seen as the re-affirmation of life, in other words, not as the end of life but as a new starting point for an eternal spiritual existence. (Lin 1985:56) For Buddhists, death is also seen as a reincarnation of life. (Granet 1975; Watson 1982) No wonder Buddhists call the final resting place for the deceased "The realm of ultimate joyfulness".

Death is a natural, biological event which none can escape, the only difference between humans and animals being that humans can express their feelings through religious rituals, using them to transform an unavoidable tragedy into a human drama combining grief and joy. Although parts of the process are tragic, there is a happy ending, when the death becomes rebirth. The funeral rituals are thus the means by which death is separated from rebirth. B. Myerhoff has shown how the ritual of death can be transformed into a cultural drama. In her words:

It (ritual) illustrates the use of ritual to present a collective interpretation of "reality", and it demonstrates the capacity of ritual to take account of unplanned developments and alter itself in midstream into a different event. Further, it illustrates how one man can make himself into a commentary upon his life, his history and his community, mirroring his social world to itself and to himself at the same time.(1984:150)

The way in which traditional Taiwanese funeral rituals reshape the real form of death into an affirmation rather a negation of life are also a reflection of Myerhoff's viewpoint.

(3) From the above discussion, we can see some contrasting aspects to the funeral rituals, particularly in the arrangement of spatial elements. For example, white decorations, representing sorrow, are the main theme of the bereaved family, while neighbouring families in contrast used red, which symbolises joy. A further

contrast is shown in the arrangement of spatial elements. The neighbours' doors and windows are always kept closed to avoid the noxious *ch'i* of the deceased while the doors and windows of the bereaved are left open to allow the *ch'i* to disperse. There is another contrast: according to folk customs, the guests at a funeral are entertained by hired musical bands and acrobatic troupes and given a series of feasts. (Harrel 1974:43-44; Ahern 1973) A paradoxical scene thus emerges: on one side there is a festive atmosphere and on the other lamentable agony.

3.3.5 The relationship between the annual rituals and architectural space

Traditional Chinese society is a typical agricultural society, and its annual rituals are a product of the agricultural era. The traditional rituals of Taiwan basically follow the Chinese model and can be divided into two categories: annual and solar festivals. The solar festivals are rituals for celebrating the days marking each of the twenty-four divisions of the solar year³³ and do not form part of the discussion of this paper. The discussion which follows concentrates on the rituals attached to the annual festivals.

3.3.5.1 The rituals of the annual festivals

Traditional Chinese festivals include the New Year Festival, *shang-yuan* 上元 (the Lantern Festival), the Tomb-Sweeping festival, the Dragon-Boat Festival, *chi-hsi* 七夕 (A Chinese version of Valentine's Day), *chung-yuan* 中元 (Ghost Day), the Mid-Autumn Festival, New Year Eve etc. Apart from these festivals, Taiwanese people also worship their domestic deities on the first and fifteenth days of each month of the lunar calendar. Certain deities such as *matsu* or *wang-yeh* are worshipped on their birthday.

The New Year festivals should, strictly speaking, begin on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the preceding lunar year with the worship of the Earth God and

33 The twenty-four solar terms are as follows: 1) the Beginning of Spring. 2) Rain Water. 3) the Waking of Insects. 4) the Spring Equinox. 5) Pure Brightness. 6) Grain Rain. 7) the Beginning of Summer. 8) Grain Full. 9) Grain in Ear. 10) the Summer Solstice. 11) Slight Heat. 12) Great Heat. 13) the Beginning of Autumn. 14) the Limit of Heat. 14) White Dew. 16) the Autumnal Equinox. 17) Cold Dew. 18) Frost's Descent. 19) the Beginning of Winter. 20) Slight Snow. 21) Great Snow. 22) the Winter Solstice. 23) Slight Cold. 24) Great Cold.

the foundation spirits. The Earth God is generally worshipped in the *t'ing*, the foundation spirits at the rear entrance of the house. (Wang 1968) On the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month, the day for seeing off the deities on their return to the Celestial Palace, before they leaving the household prepares abundant offerings with which to worship the stove god in the kitchen. The deities will stay in the celestial palace until the fourth day of the first month, another ceremony will be held to welcome them. After the deities having been seen off, the whole family begins cleaning the house. According to tradition, the images of the deities and the ancestral tablets on the altar should not be touched throughout the year. Cleaning work begins only after the deities have returned to the Celestial Palace. The incense ashes in the incense burner on the altar in the *t'ing* and the charcoal ashes in the kitchen stove are removed. (Liu 1989:682-684)

New Year's Eve, the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar, is the most important of all the annual festivals: the most important part of the ceremony is the worship of the deities, the ancestors, and other domestic gods such as the gate goddess.³⁴ The house is decorated with colourful lanterns and streamers and there is a happy atmosphere. There is a description of this atmosphere in the novel "A Dream of Red Mansions":

By the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month, everything had been prepared. The figures of the gate gods, the couplets on the doors, and the wall scrolls had all been replaced or repainted. All the doors within the house compound, from the outermost to the innermost were opened, with two tall red candle stands alongside each one, shining as brightly as a pair of golden dragons. (Chap.53)

On the evening of New Year's Eve, all of the family members make a great effort to come home, no matter how far away they might be. The family gathers in the *t'ing* and eats a meal sitting at a round table, under which is placed a burning brazier. The occasion of the meal is known as *wei-lu* 圍爐 or surrounding the oven and symbolises the reunion of the family. Everybody stays up late that night to wish long life to their parents.

In his study of traditional rituals, S. Feuchtwang saw this New Year sequence as a re-establishment of order. By re-establishing its relationship with heaven, the

34 See Note 25.

hierarchical order of the family is also re-established. (1974a:112 *passim*) Feuchtwang also found a contrast between the *shang-yuan* and *chung-yuan* festivals. At the *shang-yuan* or Lantern Festival, held on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, families hang colourful lanterns as a way of worshipping heaven, while the *chung-yuan* festival, held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, on the other hand, is a festival for worshipping ghosts. People treat the two festivals in a completely different way. In comparison to the joyous celebrations of the *shang-yuan* festival, the *chung-yuan* festival, because it is a worship of ghosts, is held in an atmosphere of caution and tension. The places for holding the worship are also different: the *shang-yuan* festival is held in the *t'ing* and the *chung-yuan* festival is held in the courtyard.

The Tomb-Sweeping Festival, held on the fifth of April, is a traditional day for cleaning the graves of the family ancestors. Because of the influence of the notion of *feng-shui*, this cleaning up of the ancestors' graves is very important for Chinese people. During the day people go to the cemetery to clean the graves and repair any damage to them; when the work is finished, the grave is covered with coloured paper. The family also worship their ancestors in the *t'ing*.

The *tuan-wu* 端午 festival also known as the Dragon Boat Festival is held on the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar. During the hot summer, infectious diseases spread easily. In Taiwan, it is traditional on this day for people to hang leaves of the Chinese mugwort over the lintel and paste charm papers on the boards of the main gate, believing that in this way they can drive away pestilence and ghosts. The most exciting part of the day is the Dragon Boat race.

The *chi-hsi* festival, held on the seventh day of the seventh month of the lunar calendar, and the Mid-Autumn festival, held on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the lunar calendar, are both days for the worship of astrological deities. On the evening of the *chi-hsi* festival, the constellations of the Cowherd (Altair) and the Girl Weaver (Vega) are worshipped in the courtyard. On the evening of the Mid-Autumn festival, the moon is worshipped, again in the courtyard. Both of these festivals are related to a charming legend, so they are full of romantic atmosphere for lovers.³⁵ *Chi-hsi* is a Chinese version of Valentine Day, while the Mid-Autumn

35 It was told that Weaving Maid and Cowherd were both celestial gods who were very fond of each other and became a couple. After the marriage, they lived a happy and loving life. But they were too enamoured of their lovely life and forgot their responsibilities

festival is an occasion for family reunions and wedding plans. According to Taiwanese custom, *chi-hsi* is also a special day for worshipping the bed goddess. It is said that children are protected by the bed goddess till they are sixteen years old. On this day, sixteen year old children must worship the bed goddess to thank her for the many years of protection. This ritual can thus be seen as a celebration of the coming of age.

In addition to the festivals already mentioned, Taiwanese families worship their deities and ancestors with incense three times a day. The first stick of incense is for the Jade Emperor, the second for other deities and the third for the family ancestors. (Weller 1981:15) The festivals held to celebrate the birthdays of particular deities, being related to the ritual behaviour of the community as a whole, will be discussed in a later part of this thesis.

3.3.5.2 Discussion

To sum up, the temporal sequence of the annual festivals aims to re-establish the relations between the family and gods, ghosts and ancestors on an annual basis. (Feuchtwang 1974a:114-119) As previously mentioned, these relationships are established on a basis of reciprocal obligations. These reciprocal obligations also have a pragmatic content. For example, if worship is not carried out at the correct time, the supernatural being may deliberately choose to neglect his obligations towards the family. For Taiwanese families, the maintaining of harmonious relations between the living world and heaven and hell, based on the notion of reciprocal obligations, seems to be the main reason behind the punctual holding of the annual rituals.

Taiwanese people recognize an order in the relationships amongst the supernatural beings, starting at the top with the celestial gods, moving down to the celestial patron gods, the family gods, the earth god, the ancestors, the spiritual soldiers and finally to the ghosts. This order represents a separation between the honourable and the lowly, which cannot be crossed at will. In terms of the combination of ritual behaviour and architectural space, the clear order which

towards the Celestial Palace, thus irritating the Jade Emperor who forced them to separate. Touched by their love, however, the emperor decided to allow Cowherd and Weaving Maid to meet once each year on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, transforming magpie birds into a bridge over the Milky Way in order to allow them to meet.

exists in traditional Taiwanese architectural space is a helpful way of expressing clearly the order of the celestial hierarchy. For example, just as the gods are superior to the ancestors, the ancestors are superior to the spiritual soldiers and the spiritual soldiers are superior to the ghosts, so there is an order of superiority in the spatial elements of the house. The *t'ing* is superior to the *fangs*, which in turn are superior to the kitchen while the interior of the house is superior to the exterior. Thus, in the ritually defined spaces of vernacular Taiwanese architecture, most of the deities and ancestors, apart from the stove god who is worshipped in the kitchen, are worshipped in the *t'ing*. The spiritual soldiers such as the foundation spirits, the well god and the bed goddess are worshipped elsewhere. The worship of ghosts is restricted to the outside of the house.

It is worth noting that although the astrological deities such as the moon god and the constellation gods are worshipped in the courtyard, this does not mean that these gods have the same rank as the ghosts, but, rather, that people believe that the worship of the astrological deities should be held outside the house in order to facilitate direct communication. In fact, the worship is conducted in different ways: a offertory altar is set up in the courtyard for the offerings made to the astrological deities, while offerings to the ghosts are placed on the ground. (Feuchtwang 1974a:110) This clearly shows the difference in status between the two groups.

The order of the celestial hierarchy, apart from being shown in terms of the spatial viewpoint, is also manifested in the temporal order. For example, the deities are always worshipped in the morning, the *yang* part of the day; the ghosts, on the other hand are worshipped in the afternoon, the *yin* part of the day. The foundation spirits are worshipped either in the morning or the afternoon and the ancestors are worshipped just before noon. (Weller 1981:71-72) Naturally, the constellation gods and the moon god are worshipped in the evening. In general, Taiwanese believe *yang* to be more auspicious than *yin*: consequently, the *yang* part of the day is superior to the *yin* part. This contrast also indicates the celestial order of the supernaturals.

Apart from the meanings of the rituals themselves, the spatial elements involved in the rituals, along with their arrangement and display, also signify symbolic meanings. For example, during the New Year Festival, the ashes in the censer on the altar of the *t'ing* and in the kitchen stove have to be removed, and the images of the gate gods on the main gate have to be repainted or changed, as a sign of

the family looking forward to "getting rid of the old and making way for the new." The whole family sitting round the burning oven and enjoying a big meal on the evening of New Year Eve, is a symbol of the joy of the family reunion, in the same way that Western families sit round the hearth and the Christmas tree on Christmas Eve. Any Chinese person living abroad is very sad if he is unable to join his family for the New Year's Eve meal. Elsewhere, the bright red lanterns of the Lantern Festival represent happiness and good luck, the tomb papers of the Tomb-Sweeping Festival symbolise the memory of the deceased and the plant hung over the door lintel in the Dragon Boat Festival represents the getting rid of pestilence and evils. The decoration of these spatial elements all intensify the meanings present in the various rituals.

3.3.6 Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion of the rituals of life and the annual rituals:

3.3.6.1 The rites of passage

Van Gennep has defined the rituals of life as rites of passage, comprising of rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of incorporation. Together, these rites can explain the various rituals which take place in the course of a person's life. Thus, the birth ritual symbolises the rites of transition, the death ritual symbolises the rites of separation and the wedding ritual symbolises the rites of incorporation.

In fact, these three stages are present within every single rite of the rituals of life. Taking the Taiwanese birth ritual as an example, the ceremony of cutting the umbilical cord can be seen as the rite of separation, the worship of the ancestors at the end of the baby's first month as the rite of incorporation and the period in between as the rite of transition. Taking the wedding as a further example, the sequence of rituals from the bride's farewell to her family and ancestors to the closing of the natal family's main gate represents the rites of separation, and the rituals during the period from the departure of the bride from her family home to her entrance into the *t'ing* of her husband's family are the rites of transition. Finally, the formal wedding ceremony, where the couple are officially declared man and wife, represents the rite of incorporation. In his discussion of the ritualistic

aspects of Chinese marriage, Maurice Freedman, while not specifically mentioning rites of passage, does express an identical idea, writing:

The main body of rites constituting a wedding **segregate** the girl from her ordinary life in her natal house, prepare her for the pains and duties of her married life, transfer her in a state of **marginality** to her new home, and begin the process by which she will be **incorporated** there. (Freedman 1970:183) (The bold words are marked by the author)

In the funeral rites, the cutting of the hemp rope to symbolise the severing of all relations between the deceased and his family, is, naturally, the rite of separation, and the period after burial and before the flesh of the corpse has completely rotted is the period of transition. The rituals during the period when the bones of the deceased first begin to bring good fortune to his descendants and he formally joins the realm of the ancestors are the rites of incorporation.

It is worth noting that greater emphasis is given to the rites of separation and incorporation, while the rituals relating to the rites of transitions often seem to be of comparatively minor importance. Some scholars have gone so far to argue that the rites of transition in Van Gennep's rites of passage merely constitute a period of transition and have no real connection with any ritual behaviour. The whole process of the rites of passage can be revised as a progression from the rites of separation to the rites of incorporation with a period of transition in between these two states. (Yu 1985:229-257) Concerning this contentious point, it is certainly true that, while the rites of separation and incorporation are set within clearly defined boundaries, the rites of transition, on the other hand, represent a state of ambiguous uncertainty which lacks a well defined boundary. Yet it is not necessary to suggest that the period of transition is not important, on the contrary, it is decisive. The characteristics of the ritual of transition can be explained in T.S. Turner's terms as:

Rituals and ceremonial behaviours developed in response to situations in which some transition, ambiguity, conflict, or uncontrollable element threatens a given structure of relations either explicitly or, simply by remaining beyond control, implicitly. (Turner 1977:60)

Victor Turner has also expanded Van Gennep's formulation, defining the transitional period as a period of liminality, writing:

Let us refer to the state and process of mid-transition as "liminality" and consider a few of its very odd properties. Those undergoing it - call them "liminaries" - are bewixt-and-between established states of politico-jural structure. They evade ordinary cognitive classification, too, for they are neither-this-nor-that, here-nor-there, one-thing-not-the-other. (1977:37)

According to these explanations of the transitional period, it is the feelings of uncertainty and ambiguity which influence ritual behaviour at this stage. However, in spite of this uncertainty and ambiguity, the rituals should certainly not be neglected during the transitional period. On the contrary, the situation should be treated with great caution, since, as Ahern wrote: "we plainly have a class of anomalous, marginal or transitional people - pregnant women, widows, brides, grooms, mourners, children - who are both vulnerable and dangerous to other." (Ahern 1975:212)

3.3.6.2 Binary relationships

From the above discussion of the coordination of traditional rituals and spaces, we can see that there is a binary relationship present within some of these rituals. For example, in the funeral rituals, the spatial distance between the *fang* and the *t'ing* contrasts strikingly with the temporal distance required before the deceased can become a family ancestor. A similar contrast is present in the Chinese view of death as reincarnation, and in the combination of grief and joy in Taiwanese funeral rituals, while there is a contrast between farewell and welcome expressed in the rituals held during a wedding by the respective families of the bride and the groom.

If we make comparisons between the various rituals, similar contrasts appear again. For example, if we compare funeral rituals, part of the rituals of life, with New Year rituals, which are part of annual rituals, the arrangement of architectural decorations present a binary phenomenon. In a funeral, all the architectural spaces from the main gate, through the *t'ing* to the *fang* are covered with white decorations. At the New Year festival, on the other hand, the same architectural spaces, as described in the novel "A Dream of Red Mansions", are decorated in red. The same spaces and spatial elements are used to express contrasting feelings of sorrow and joy.

3.3.6.3 The relationships between the orders

The sequential orders of space and time present in the ritualistic behaviours of the annual rituals, express the celestial order of gods, ancestors and ghosts. This type of order also appear in the rituals of life. Thus, in the birth ritual, the spatial sequence from the maternal womb to the courtyard, in terms of the ritual behaviour involved, reflects not only the Chinese hierarchical order of interpersonal relationships, but also the order of the supernatural beings.

3.3.6.4 The meanings of the architectural spaces and elements

The meanings of Taiwanese architectural spaces and elements, including the *t'ing*, the *fang*, the kitchen and courtyard as well as beds, doors and stoves are not intrinsic but can only manifest themselves after being sanctified by the holding of rituals to gain the support of the supernaturals. Moreover, the same space or spatial elements can express different meanings in different rituals. The *fang*, for example, is a place of taboo during the birth rituals, the focus of the wedding rituals, and, during a funeral, a place to be avoided for fear of the soul of the deceased remaining inside it.

To take the main gate as a further example, during an annual ritual such as the New Year Festival, it is decorated with couplets or lucky symbols proclaiming the joys of spring, while during the Dragon Boat Festival it is decorated with plants and charm papers to ward off pestilence and evil demons. During a funeral, which is a life ritual, an announcement of the death is pasted to the main gate in order to let people know that the family is in mourning.

However, it is not the case that the meanings are present merely within the individual elements. It is rather that the combination of spaces and rituals can express meanings of even greater significance. To take the analogy of drama, the various meanings which go to make up the life process of Chinese people can be presented as the unfolding of a play, scene after scene. This presentation is similar to the presentation of traditional Chinese paintings in so-called "overlapping figures" which combine to form a series of sequential planes as a means of expressing an awareness of spatial sequence. (Fig. 3-17) (Mei 1988:71) The same notion can be applied to interpret the meanings expressed by the combination of rituals and architectural spaces. Thus, each individual plane represents the

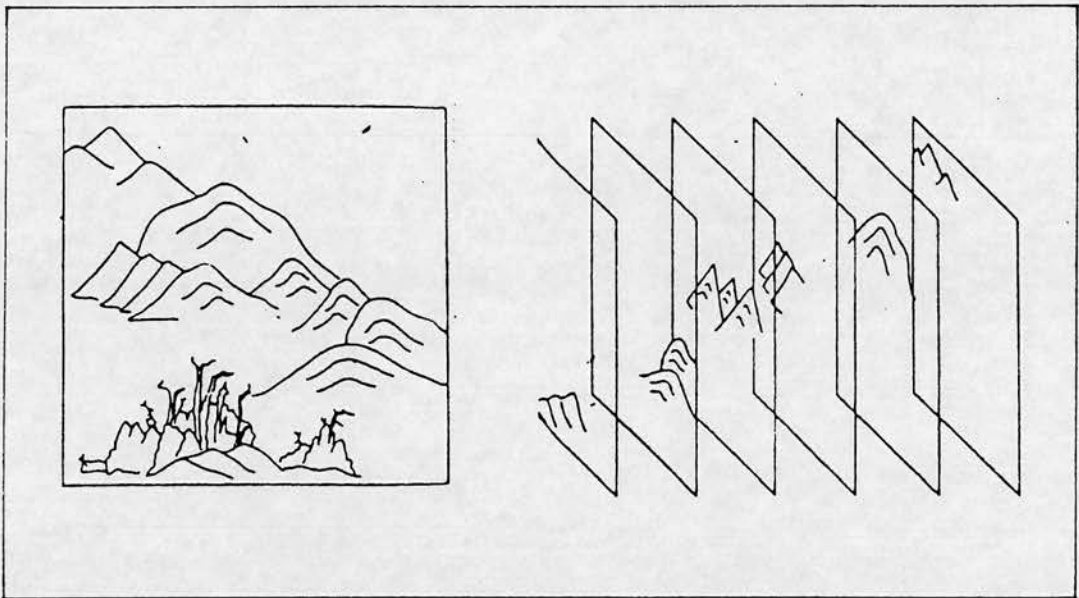


Fig. 3-17 Overlaid figures in Chinese classic paintings. (Source: Mei 1988:71)

meanings manifested by the rituals held within individual spatial and temporal levels. The combination of the various meanings expressed through these sequential planes can be used to form the basis of the meanings expressed in traditional Taiwanese rituals.

3.3.6.5 The homology of the body, the house and the cosmos

According to the Chinese notion of a homology of the human body, the house and the cosmos, the prototype of the house can be analogised with the cosmos and the human body. The traditional Taiwanese house is virtually a model of an ideal *feng-shui* which is, in turn, a model of the micro-cosmos. Chinese people believe that *ch'i* flows unrestrained around the ridges of the mountains, before collecting in certain points, known as *hsuehs*, which are the ideal location for the construction of houses (*yang-chai*), or graves (*yin chai*). Chinese people also regard the human body as a microcosm of the universe. The *hsuehs* of the natural landscape are thus associated with the *hsuehs* of the human body. (Han 1983:134) In fact, traditional Chinese acupuncture is based on this notion. An acupuncturist uses needles to stimulate the *hsuehs* of the human body in order to allow *ch'i* to flow through its veins and arteries in a way identical to the flow of *ch'i* through the mountains. *Ch'i* is the fundamental substance of the human body and animates it in the same way that it animates the natural landscape.

On the basis of the analogy of body-house-cosmos, the passages of the house can be analogised to the veins and arteries of the human body and the ridges of the mountains, i.e. as a channel for the flow of *ch'i*. Thus, there are various *hsuehs* distributed throughout the house: the most important *hsueh* is the *t'ing*, while other spaces and spatial elements represent other *hsuehs*. If we use this notion to explain the relationships between rituals and architectural spaces, the holding of ritualistic behaviour and the notion of the sanctity of the supernaturals can be seen as the stimulation of the various *hsuehs* of the house, which is required to allow the flow of *ch'i* necessary for the animation of the house.

3.3.6.6 The notion of *yin* and *yang*

The Chinese notion of *yin* and *yang*, which informs a broad range of traditional Chinese knowledge, including religion, the almanac, *feng-shui*, medicine and architecture, can be used to take this discussion a stage further. (Sangren

1987:136) The notion of *yin* and *yang* holds that every object and phenomenon in the universe consists of two opposite aspects, namely *yin* and *yang*, which are at the same time interdependent and in conflict. The opposition of *yin* and *yang* causes the wearing out of all the objects in the universe, while the unity of *yin* and *yang* provides the same objects with vitality. (Ibid:132) In spite of the conflict between *yin* and *yang*, we cannot separate them. Their interdependent relationship means that each of the two aspects is the requirement for the other's existence: neither one can exist in isolation.

If we use the notion of *yin* and *yang* to explain the relationship between traditional Taiwanese rituals and spaces, we can come to an even greater understanding. For example, the families of the bride and groom in a wedding ritual represent the two aspects of *yin* and *yang*: the bride's natal family are *yin* and the groom's family are *yang*. Through the wedding, the two aspects are united, thus representing the harmonious aspect of *yin* and *yang*. As already described, the rituals which form the whole process of the wedding indicate the transformation of the relationship between the bride and her natal family from an intimate to an estranged state. In terms of *yin* and *yang*, the relationship between the bride and her family are *yin* and her relationship with her husband's family are *yang*. The rituals conducted by her family represent the *yin* declining from a flourishing to a weak state. Through the rituals, the bride's relationship with her husband's family goes through an opposite process, moving gradually from a distant to an intimate state, or, in terms of *yin* and *yang*, from low to high. The harmony between *yin* and *yang*, which the union of marriage provides, is the most important meaning of the wedding. The importance of the concept of *yin* and *yang* to the wedding ritual can be seen in the fact that Chinese people see the most important ceremony of the wedding ritual, the consummation, as the mating of *yin* and *yang*.

CHAPTER 4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWANESE SETTLEMENTS

4.1 THE TRANSFORMATION OF TAIWANESE SOCIETY

4.1.1 The rivalries between different ethnic groups

It is indisputable that the transformation of Taiwanese settlements was dominated by frequent ethnic rivalries. In the period of 212 years between the Ch'ing takeover of Taiwan and the cession to Japan, there were 70 cases of serious ethnic rivalry on the island. (Lamley 1977:178) The clashes which occurred in Taiwan were merely continuations of prejudices and feuds which had existed on the Chinese mainland. (Lamley 1981; Hsu C. Y. 1980) However, the conflicts which took place on the island, unlike the incidents which occurred in Fuchien and Kwangtung, were rarely clan oriented. (Hsu W. H. 1980:99) On the contrary, the conflicts were derived from regional affiliation: people's alliances were formed not on the basis of kinship but as a result of the residential proximity within definable geographical confines which they or their ancestors had shared. (Huang 1977: 125) In such a turbulent society, people needed to gather together settlers of the same regional origin in order to establish a safe living environment. Within these communities, people shared identical subcultures: mutual intelligible dialects, and the same religious observances and folk customs, etc. (Lamley 1977:175; 1981:283)

In Taiwan, these exclusive ethnic communities were territorial in nature, forming separate localities with definite boundaries. Consequently, as already mentioned in Chapter 1, throughout Taiwan the newly opened up areas of land were inhabited almost exclusively by one particular ethnic group or another. (Lamley 1977:177) However, this is merely a general picture. In fact, we can find these three groups (i.e. Ch'uanchou, Ch'angchou and Hakka immigrants) intermingled in certain areas, even though, their dwelling places still remained exclusively within their own territories. (Chen C. N. 1987; Liao 1988)

4.1.2 Consanguineous and territorial groups

The presence of weak lineages in Taiwan's communal group has raised an interesting argument: Maurice Freedman has suggested that there exists a

correlation between strong lineages and socio-economic factors, such as rice cultivation, extensive irrigation, and frontier conditions. (Freedman 1966:159-164) He indicated that the reason for this is because "intensively irrigated and worked rice paddies have initially required a great investment of labour (in the making of channels, dams, terraces and so on)," (Freedman 1966:160) because "when settlement took place in rough frontier conditions, single lineage communities were likely to develop fairly quickly," (p. 164) and also because "defence was a necessary part of community life, for there were brigands on land and pirates from the sea." (p. 163) J. Potter later used a case in the New Territories of Hong Kong to substantiate Freedman's findings, but he revises Freedman's initial factors into four factors favourable to the development of a strong lineage. As he wrote:

The hypothesized factors favourable to the development of a strong lineage - a rich agricultural environment, frontier conditions, the absence of strong government control, and commercial development - all were present in the New Territories of Hong Kong, where the Ping Shan Tang lineage flourished. . . . The Ping Shan Tang lineage is located on a rich and productive rice plan in the two-crop rice region of southernmost China. . . . Because it is in one of the richest agricultural regions of China, the income from its extensive ancestral estates has been high, furnishing funds to build ancestral halls, keep the fields in good repair, pay taxes, supply charity for needy members. . . . The Tang lineage is a good example of how a strong lineage can arise under frontier conditions and maintained under favourable environmental conditions.

Furthermore, the Tang lineage developed in a region long on the fringes of the empire, where imperial control was notoriously weak and the countryside often approached a condition of near anarchy. In this situation the Tang lineage took on important political and military functions, protecting its property and honour against the inroads of other lineages in the vicinity, and using its economic power, influences, and strength of numbers to exploit weaker tenant lineages over whom the Tangs for centuries had exercised almost despotic control. Finally, the Tangs were located in one of the most commercially developed areas of China, . . . although reliable information on the history of the lineage is lacking, it is probable that part of the success of the Tangs was due to the merchants produced by the group, who have added to the ancestral estates by wealth gained through commerce. (Potter 1970:137)

On the basis of the variables cited by Potter, the conditions present in Taiwan seemingly reflected a great potential for the establishment of strong lineages. However, compared with southeastern China, Taiwanese lineage organisations were

considerably weaker and in some areas almost totally absent. (Boscos 1989:312) Even though some single-surname communities and villages do exist, they lack some of the characteristics of their counterparts in southeastern China. For example, there is no ancestral temple, no genealogy, no lineage estates, and no community of agnates. Thus, they can hardly be called communities of consanguineous affiliation. Throughout the turbulent years, it was the temple of the patron deity, and certainly not the lineage temple where people could offer their prayers. In his research in I-lan county in northeastern Taiwan, C. Y. Hsu has found that there are no fewer than two hundred temples for various deities, only three of which are in honour of ancestors in the region as a whole. (Hsu C. Y. 1980:84) In another case of a village in Penghu, C. C. Yin found that even though there was a lineage temple, its condition had deteriorated so much that, in comparison with the gorgeous temple of the patron deity nearby, it could hardly be called a temple at all. He concluded the reason for this to be the negligence of people's concern for lineage matters and the lack of corporate property or funds. On occasions, even the annual collective ancestral ritual was not held over a period of number of years. (Yin 1975:118)

The agnatic form of group solidarity is common in most parts of China. In Taiwan, on the other hand, this is replaced by territorial solidarity, and the territorial guardians rather than the ancestors are called upon to protect the community. This is because, while the ancestors' influence is limited to immediate family members, the influence of the territorial guardians can cross the boundaries of lineage and play the role of uniting people beyond lineage lines, sometimes even beyond village or community barriers.

Historians have put forward various explanations for the lack of strong lineages in Taiwan. (Lamley 1977, 1981; Hsu W. H. 1980; Hong 1978a) From the beginning of Ch'ing rule in 1684, cross-channel migration was subject to a variety of restrictions, whereby only male immigrants were allowed to immigrate and their wives and families were strictly prohibited. (Lamley 1981:296) As a result, those who migrated to Taiwan in the early stage were mostly single immigrants without family and kinship ties. Beside that, the Ch'ing authorities' deliberate policy of ignoring Taiwan, as well as the potential dangers there also made decent people hesitate to come. The frontier society thus became a place suitable only for desperadoes desperately seeking opportunities overseas. (Huang 1977:127) When the immigration restrictions were finally lifted in the 1790s, the lack of positive migration and settlement policies in Taiwan fostered social unrest which prevented

whole lineage groups from migrating. In the early society, the unbalanced male/female ratio also prevented the establishment of lineage groups. Lineage groups which had fostered social stability in China never had the same influence in Taiwan.

The lack of the support of lineage solidarity led people to find help in such a way as to transcend the boundaries of lineage; people of the same ethnicity naturally united into new territorial groups, in order to ease the rough life of the frontier island. Refusal to help the needy within the same territorial group was considered a moral failure.

To sum up, the major difference between Taiwanese territorial communities and Chinese consanguineous villages concerns the origins of their respective members: most of the members of consanguineous villages are of the same ancestors, while territorial ones are of variant ancestors or surnames. Nevertheless, territorial communities still share the same characteristics as consanguineous villages, including the temples, which represent the foci of the communities; the corporate property and corporate associations which run communal affairs; and even militia to protect communal benefits, etc. Compared with consanguineous villages, territorial communities are less exclusive and conservative. A consanguineous village could easily become a closed-off society avoiding any contacts beyond the boundaries of the village; territorial communities, on the other hand, in order to survive, maintain mutual benefits and develop, have to seek cooperation from outside and absorb more members, even those from a different ethnic background. (Hong 1978a:44) For instance, at times of disputes, territorial communities which were usually exclusive created alliances with other friendly communities nearby. (Lamley 1981:304)

4.1.3 The transformation of Taiwanese territorial groups

As time passed by, Taiwanese territorial communities gradually changed their original appearance into a new form. Although the feuds initially caused people to establish various territorial communities which shared the same ethnic background, they also facilitated the emergence of new inclusive territorial communities. C. M. Hsu wrote of such a case in Changhua county, where neighbouring Ch'angchou and Hakka communities established allied communities to resist pressure from numerically superior Ch'uanchou communities. (Hsu 1973)

In S. C. Wang's studies of folk belief in Shulin 樹林 town near Taipei, he gave an example of a similar case, describing how a temple initially worshipped by Ch'uanchou immigrants gradually became a religious centre of Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou communities. He also pointed out that the temples, by acting as centres, have made people of diverse origins cross ethnic barriers and unite as an allied group. As he wrote:

Just as the growth of the Chi-an Kung (the temple) was made possible by the development of Shulin as an integrated community, so the creation of other religious organisations in local hamlets and neighbourhoods reflects their emergence as communities. From the time of its earliest settlement, the history of Shulin has been one of amalgamation, of people of diverse origins uniting to create organisations that overcome their differences. (Wang S. C. 1974:80)

We are accustomed to believe that ethnic rivalries always cause destruction; in the long run, however, growth and development continued in those parts of Taiwan affected by recurrent ethnic strife. The prosperous development of Tataocheng 大稻埕, a river port in Taipei, is such a case. The inhabitants of Tataocheng had originally come from T'ungan 同安 to live in Mengchia 艋舺 beside their neighbouring San-I 三邑 people. Following a feud in 1853, the San-I people forced the defeated T'ungan people to flee down river and join with Ch'angchou immigrants in developing Tataocheng as a river port. In 1854, many inhabitants of Mengchia died in a plague; as a result the supply of manpower in Mengchia was seriously depleted. Furthermore, the water-bed of the Tamshui 淡水 river become more and more shallow; stunting any further development in Mengchia. Tataocheng replaced Mengchia as the area's premier trade centre. The plight of the surviving San-I people forced them to move downriver to beg collaboration with their traditional enemies. The T'ungan people forgot their hatred and prejudice and willingly accepted the participation of the new immigrants in the collective development of the community. This cooperation led to Tataocheng reaching its heyday at the beginning of the twentieth century. (Liao 1988; Lamley 1981)

4.1.4 Immigrant society and indigenous society

Historians who studied the feuds between the various Taiwanese ethnic groups have applied a chemical phenomenon - entropy - to describe the transformation of Taiwanese society. (Chen C. N. 1987:92-93) If we consider ethnic rivalries to be phenomena of disorder, then the cooperation of the various ethnic groups can be

described as a phenomenon of order. As we understand that an increase of entropy will lead to a state of equilibrium, which makes all disorders remain still and represents orderliness, this scientific phenomenon can explain the process of the transformation of Taiwanese territorial communities. During the late period of Ch'ing rule, ethnic feuds gradually decreased;³⁶ the inhabitants seemed to have liberated themselves from traditional ethnic prejudice and learned to live in harmony with their neighbours. By virtue of assimilation, the Taiwanese inhabitants gradually transformed their communities from a turbulent immigrant society into a stable indigenous society.³⁷ (Chen C. N. 1987:92) R. Arnheim, in his book *Entropy and Art*, wrote "what looks like disorder today may turn out to be the order of tomorrow". (1971:54) The process of the transformation of Taiwanese territorial communities is an exact illustration of such a result. The difference between immigrant society and indigenous society can be illustrated in the following aspects.

4.1.4.1 Social organisations

All Chinese immigrants to Taiwan used their ancestral home as the basis of identification and integration. As a result of the Ch'ing government's strict ban on immigrants bringing over their family groups from the mainland, the immigrants could not use consanguinity as a basis for social organisation. Consequently, the most natural way for them to organise was on the basis of territorial affinity. The gradual assimilation of the immigrants into the indigenous society³⁸, along with the lifting of the Ch'ing government's ban on immigration and the gradual expansion of patriarchal clans, led to the setting up of organisations based on consanguinity. At

³⁶ The ethnic feuds on Taiwan started in the 1721 Chu I-kuei 朱一貴 Rebellion, and ended in the 1860s. The fiercest fighting was during the period between 1768 and 1860. It is recorded that there was at least one example of ethnic rivalry every three years.

³⁷ The premise of being an indigenous society is that the early immigrants identified themselves as the extension and continuity of their original society on the Chinese mainland. Then they gradually became alienated from native Chinese society and identified the new residences in Taiwan as their native place. There are two indexes showing the presence of an indigenous society. First, a decrease in the number of cases of ethnic rivalry; secondly, appearance of the religious sphere which transcends ethnic barriers, symbolized by different ethnic groups worshipping in the same temples. (Chen C. N. 1987:178)

³⁸ Some researchers have indicated the year of 1860 as a dividing point, between immigrant society and the indigenous society.

the same time, territorial affinity was still used as a basis for identification, yet it was now based on the new Taiwanese residences rather than the mainland ancestral homes.

4.1.4.2 Social order

The weakness of the Ch'ing government and frequent ethnic feuds led to an unstable social order in the immigrant community (Lamley 1981; Huang 1977:125-131). Around the same time as the immigrant society had gradually become an indigenous society, the Ch'ing government had come to realise the international importance of Taiwan's geographical location and, consequently, sought to increase its control of the island and suppress ethnic feuds rigorously. As the aggressive intentions of various foreign powers towards the island become ever more apparent, meanwhile, the Taiwanese people became more aware of the need for solidarity to resist the foreign invaders (Li 1975). The most fundamental change was that the different groups, as a result of a long period of interaction, slowly lost their early hostile attitude and created a mutual inter-relationship as a "fellowship of common destiny" (Lin 1988). The tranquillity and progress of a society depends on mutual cooperation between different ethnic groups. Therefore, we can say that an indigenous society is an immigrant society which, by passing through periods of trial and crisis, has completed a process of identification eventually achieving a period of stability. As the turbulence of an immigrant society slowly disappears, so a stable indigenous society emerges.

4.1.4.3 Religious beliefs

Generally speaking, beliefs in various patron deities undoubtedly played the most crucial role in the whole process by which an immigrant society in Taiwan was gradually transformed into an indigenous society. We can explain this in two stages. In the first stage, in which the immigrants inhabited the hostile frontier regions, religion understandably played a significant role in their society. Communities of the same ethnic affiliation were sheltered within the diverse "closed-off" and ethnically homogeneous territories, and thus had a better chance of maintaining their strength and solidarity. (Lamley 1981:308) The territory-oriented patron deity was always the focus of the community, and the temples also served as symbols of unity and centres of military command between feuding communities. The characteristic nature of the communities was often symbolised, and reinforced by

religious worship. Participation in religious ceremonies enhances the *esprit de corp* of the entire community. H. J. Lamley in his research of ethnic rivalry in the period of Ch'ing's rule in Taiwan, emphasizes the role of religion:

Popular religion is still deeply rooted in the turbulent past when territorial boundaries also served as religious boundaries and when subethnic feuds were staged as religious wars. (Lamley 1981:317)

In the second stage, the indigenous society, by when people had gradually become aware that continuous strife only led to suffering on both sides, any further development was dependent on mutual cooperation with other ethnic groups. Religion again played the role of amalgamating people belonging to rival groups. The two cases in Changhua and Shulin which I cited previously can explain this point of view. In the case of Changhua, the Ch'angchou people united with the Hakka people in the worship of *matsu* and formed an alliance of 72 villages. The people from those villages collectively founded a worship sphere which included their own territorial deities and was centred around the worship of *matsu*; the inter-village religious organisation was maintained through the worship of the same deity and participation in common ritual activities. (Hsu 1973) Over many years, the solidarity of the same religious belief gradually healed the old scar. People forgot ethnic differences and identified themselves as one group living in the same place of residence. The Hakkas, for example, had been losing many of their distinct subcultures and merged with the Fuchienese; subsequently, as a result of inter-marriage, the distinction between Hakka and non-Hakka was gradually blurred. Similarly, in the case of Shulin, religion also played the role of amalgamation. The temple of *pao-shen ta-ti* 保生大帝, the patron deity initially worshipped by T'ungan immigrants from Ch'uanchou county, was seen as being superior to other deities and was worshipped as a cross-ethnic patron deity. The fact that *pao-shen ta-ti* was worshipped in this way shows how people from competing communities moved across ethnic barriers to worship without hesitation an alien deity.

To sum up, in the society of Han people in Taiwan, the longer the history and the more stable the society, the more the combination and integration of people came to be based on the application of their contemporaneous territorial and patriarchal affinity. Unstable immigrant societies were more inclined to use their ancestral territorial affinity as a criterion for identification (Chen C. N. 1987:125). The formation of an indigenous society in Taiwan had a great influence on the

development of native Taiwanese culture, including the development of architecture and settlements. Prior to this development, Taiwan was an immigrant society still closely linked to the Chinese mainland and its authentic Chinese culture. Taiwanese society was seen merely as an extension of the culture of the mainland. Initially, the form of Taiwanese culture was identical to Chinese culture, and throughout its development it was strongly focused on the original model (Li 1975).

Eventually, as a result of various historical factors, Taiwan became a culturally independent society and clear distinctions emerged between Taiwanese and mainland Chinese society. This is especially true of the fifty year period of Japanese Colonisation from 1895 to 1945 when all forms of communication between Taiwan and the mainland were strictly forbidden. The "Imperial Assimilation" movement promoted by the Japanese thus had a massive impact on the development of an indigenous Taiwanese culture (Myers & Peattie 1984). At the end of this period, when Taiwan returned to Chinese control, the ensuing civil war between Nationalist and Communist forces resulted in a further long period of separation across the Straits of Taiwan. This separation, as Chinese on the two sides came to live under completely different political systems led to the development of different cultural outlooks, arising from the same traditions. The development of culture as represented by the indigenous Taiwanese society thus represents just one aspect of Chinese culture. A comparison of the different aspects of these two cultures is helpful for understanding the discrepancies between Taiwanese and Chinese societies.

4.2 THE FORMATIONS OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE SETTLEMENTS

The earliest study of Taiwanese settlements was made by a Japanese scholar Yoshiro Tomita, who divided Taiwanese settlements into two categories: townships and villages (Tomita 1943). The basic form for the creation of a township was the combination of "street houses" to form a nucleated whole. Tomita separated the villages of the Western plain of Taiwan into nucleated and dispersed groups, with the Choushui 濁水 River of central Taiwan acting as a dividing line (Fig. 4-1). The villages north of this line he called dispersed those south of the line were nucleated, while the middle area between the Choushui and the Tatu 大肚 River served as a mixed belt. He listed the availability of water, the threat from aboriginal inhabitants, geographical conditions and land tenure practices as the most important

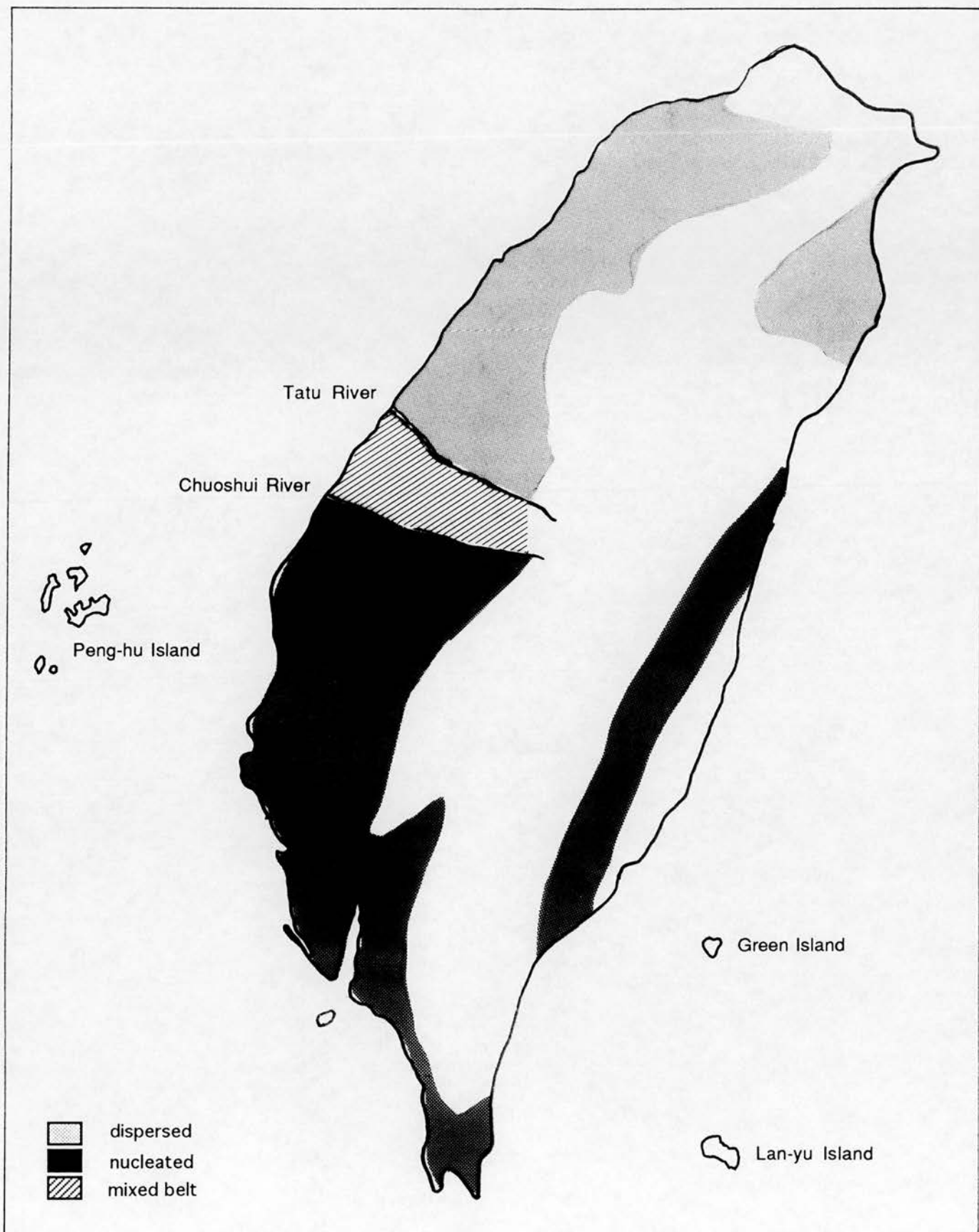


Fig. 4-1 The map of general patterns of Taiwanese settlement. (Source: Knapp 1980:56)

factors in the formation of dispersed or nucleated villages. For example, in areas where water was in short supply, the immigrants would form settlements around a reliable source of water, so these became nucleated villages. The broad plains of more open geographical conditions, on the other hand, led to the formation of dispersed settlements. In areas which faced a threat from the aboriginal population of the island, nucleated villages, being the easiest type of settlement to defend, were formed. The formation of a dispersed village was likely where a land tenure organisation was involved in organised land cultivation.

Tomita's research explained the fundamental reasons behind the emergence of nucleated and dispersed villages in vernacular Taiwanese settlements. Subsequent research by a number of different scholars have verified the conclusions he reached. For example, Roland G. Knapp, in a study of the settlements of Taoyuan in Northern Taiwan, also concludes that cultivation organisations advanced the formation of dispersed settlements (Knapp 1980:56-68). In fact, Knapp's conclusions are further backed up by a later study of the dispersed settlements of I-lan in north-eastern Taiwan, which are also found to have been constructed on the basis of a cultivation organisation (Hsu 1984). Other studies have taken the availability of water and the threat of attack from the aboriginal population of the island as the most important factors behind the development of nucleated or dispersed villages. For example, nucleated villages emerged where water and safety were in short supply, while dispersed villages were most likely to emerge where water and security were not a problem (Huang 1990; Wen 1989). However, I do not intend to concentrate on the superficial factors present in the formation of settlements, but, rather, to emphasize the various meanings reflected within the forms of Taiwanese vernacular settlements. The examples chosen here concentrate on the nucleated villages, since this type of village is better suited to a complete study as a social and cultural unit. Neither is the choice of nucleated villages confined to particular geographical nor administrative areas. The settlements chosen for analysis are simply those where the village temple is at the centre of influence.

The examples cited above nevertheless provide important clues in coming to an understanding of the background to the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. In the following section, I will refer to the three conditions mentioned above - a water source, security and land cultivation organisations - which determine the superficial form of the vernacular Taiwanese settlements. I will also discuss two further conditions; patrilineal and religious organisations, the latter of

which I consider to be of paramount importance in determining the inner structure of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. Through a close study of these five conditions, it is possible to come to a concrete understanding of the background of the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. The notion that the most important of these conditions is the religious organisation centred on the village temple forms the main part of my thesis, which will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six. I will discuss the four other conditions here.

4.2.1 Patrilineal organisation

The patriarchal clan has always been the primary social organisation in Chinese society. In the early days of immigration to Taiwan, the strict immigration policy of the Ch'ing government ensured that such organisations were unable to develop. Instead, they were replaced by territorial organisations which became the primary form of social organisation. With the gradual development of the immigrant society into an indigenous society, and the lifting of the Ch'ing government ban on cross-strait immigration, traditional patrilineal organisations began to develop. By looking at the growth of these organisations, we can see the role they played in the development of vernacular Taiwanese settlements.

Two examples will serve to illustrate this. First, in the Penghu islands (Wang W. J. 1985; Kuan 1984), where succession is always based a principle of equity, whether for succession of property right, where the brothers divide the parents' property, or succession of worship, where the brothers share the expense of ancestor worship.³⁹ In the early period of land cultivation, the ancestors of every patrilineal organisation had, after consultation, already prepared the dividing up of each piece of land into equal portions (Fig. 4-2). For Chinese people, the basic unit in an agnatic kinship is a *fang* 房 (a brother and his family); an individual *fang* can multiply to form a descent group. The ancestors of individual *fangs* divided equally the share of land for their descendants (Wang W. J. 1985:60). As far as the layout of the settlements is concerned, the basic organisational unit of vernacular settlements in the Penghu islands is a closed-off courtyard house (Fig. 4-3). The gradual multiplication of patrilineal relationships is manifested in the piecemeal development of the strip or area of houses contained within the area of an individual

³⁹ Patriarchal clans in Taiwan used the harvest from part of their land as a means of raising money to pay for the worship of their ancestors.

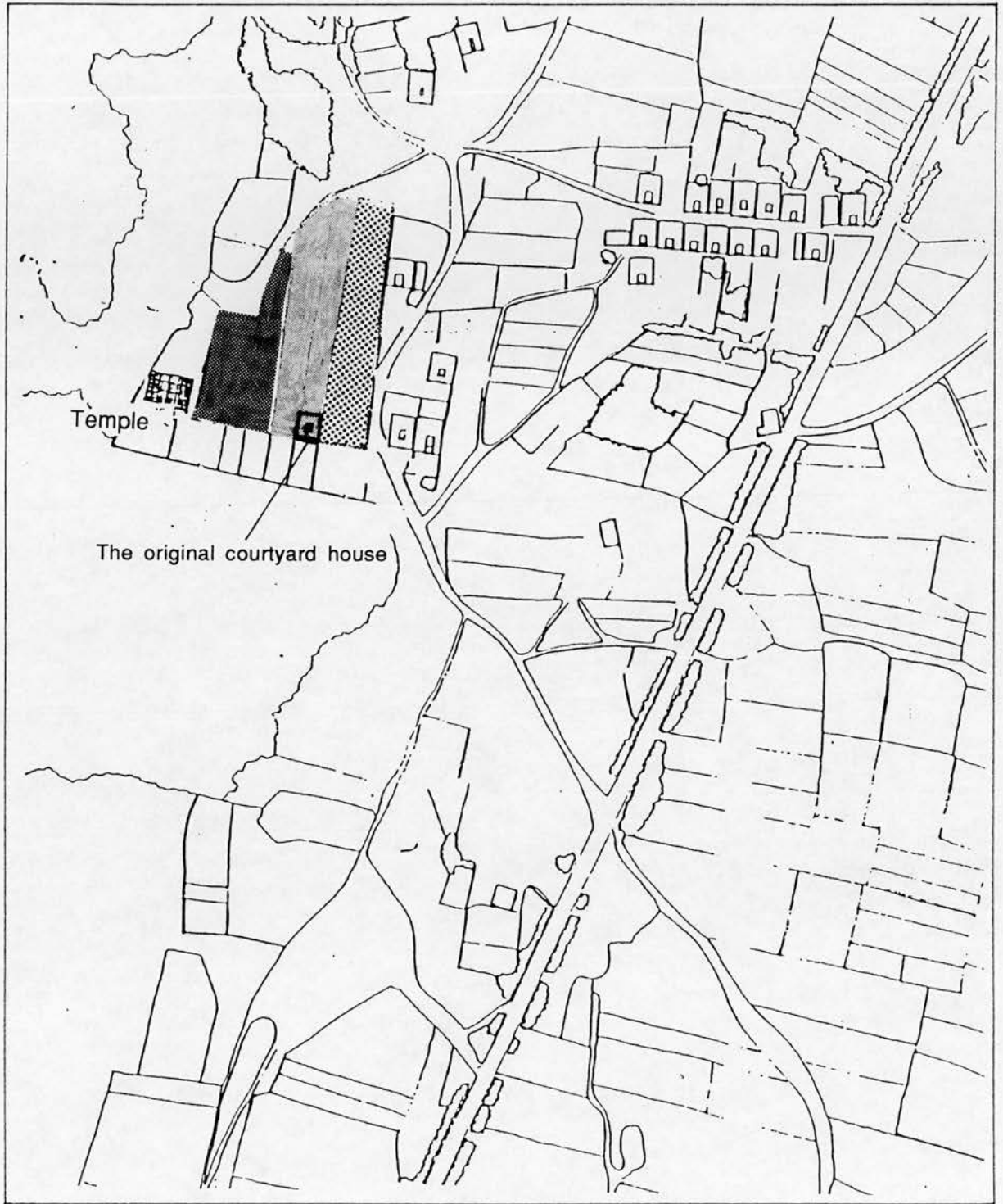


Fig. 4-2 The equal portions of land. (Source: Wang W.J. 1985:47)

fang (Fig. 4-4). The following conclusions can be drawn from looking at the surface layout of the settlements:

(1) Clear distinctions exist amongst different descent groups within the same village (Fig. 4-5).

(2) Within the boundaries of groups of identical descent, the houses of brothers are arranged in a line from left to right or front to back; the proximity of blood relationship is reflected in the spatial layout of the settlement (Fig. 4-6).

A further example is Shet'ou 社頭 village in Changhua County (Fig. 4-7) (Cheng H. H. 1988; Chen C. N. 1984). The most common surname in Shet'ou is Hsiao 蕭, with two main branches, one from *shu-shan* 書山 and one from *tou-shan* 頭山. The Hsiao from *shu-shan* are still the largest patrilineal unit in the village; they were the first group to farm the land and held the most prominent positions in the social and economic life of the village. Their dwelling places occupied the whole of the southern side of the village and half of northern side (Fig. 4-8). Apart from this group, the *tou-shan* branch of the Hsiao clan lived in the east of the village, while the Hsieh clan lived in the north-east corner. There were also three minor groups, the Liu 劉, Chang 張 and Lieu 柳 who were the last to arrive and lived in the middle and smallest part of the village. The ancestors of the Liu and Chang clans were effectively the tenant-peasants of the ancestors of the *shu-shan* branch of the Hsiao clan and lived in those areas of the village which belonged to their landlords. The Lieu clan were mostly labourers, reliant on other groups for a living.

From this example, it can be seen that, in the early stages of their development, the villages were divided into different areas according to the size of the various patrilineal groups. The size of these areas depended on the time of arrival, as well as the social and economic status of the patrilineal groups. Broadly speaking, the first groups to open up land or the strongest social and economic groups came to occupy the largest and most attractive areas of the village, as seen in the above example of the *shu-shan* branch of the Hsiao clan. The distribution of property within the descendant groups of an individual patriarchal clan was carried out by a patrilineal organisation. If we take housing as an example, we can see that the development and distribution of the residences of groups of common descent was based on a patrilineal organisation. Fig. 4-9 shows the site plan for a residence of a member of the *shu-shan* branch of the Hsiao clan, originally shared by "T" and his sons, "TA", "TB" and "TC". Subsequently, following the gradual multiplication of the

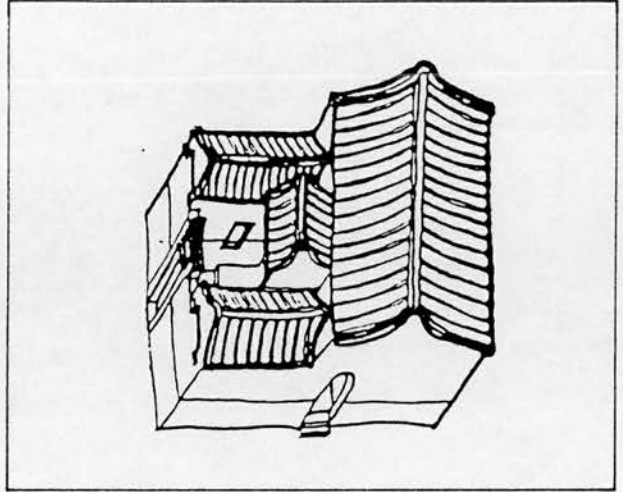


Fig. 4-3 The courtyard house in Peng-hu Island.

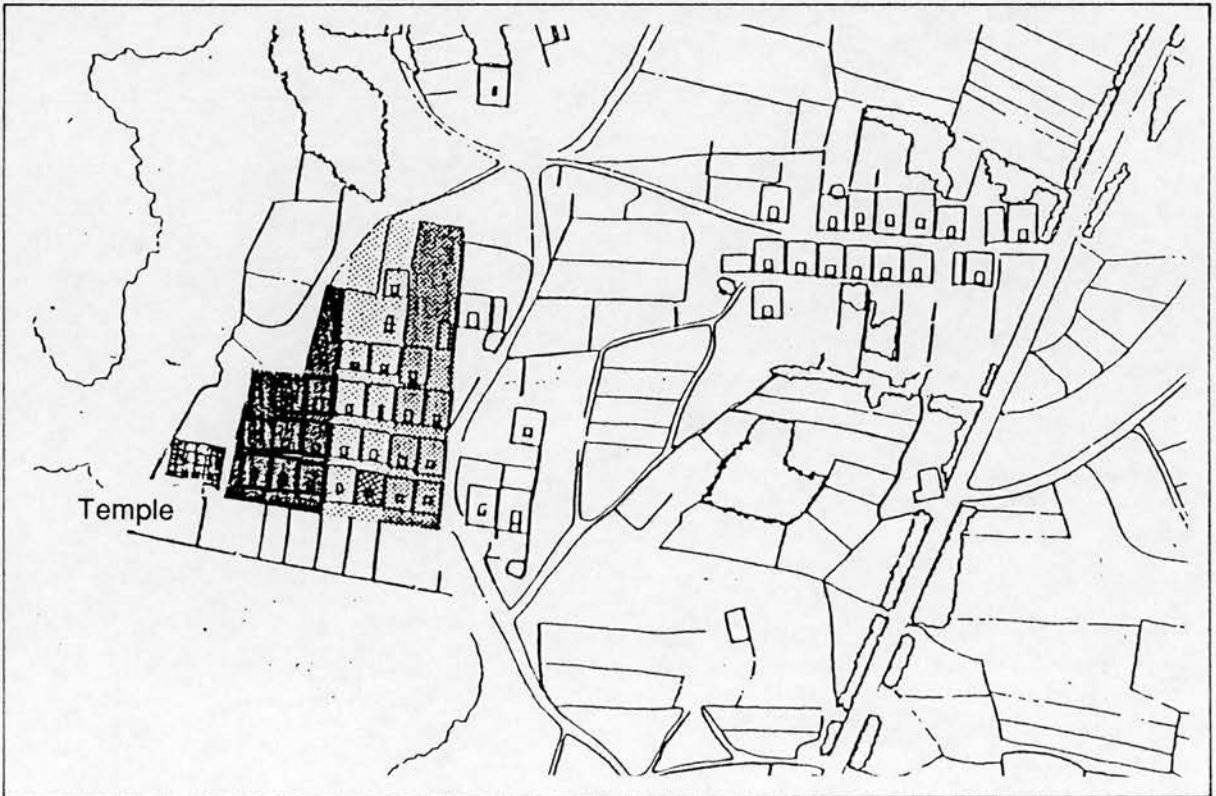


Fig. 4-4 The piecemeal development of the houses. (Source: Wang W. J. 1985:47)

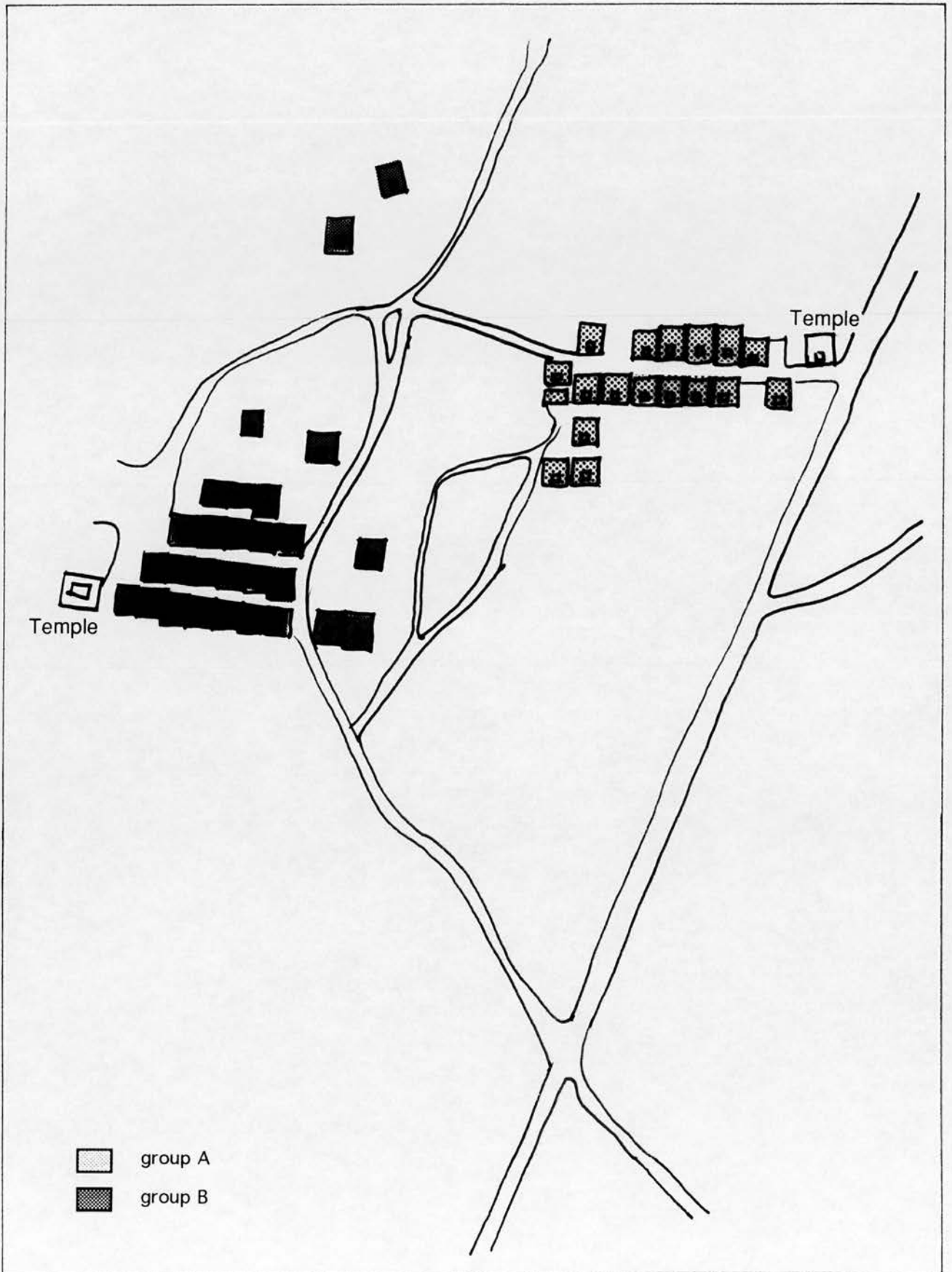


Fig. 4-5 The distinction between different descent groups. (Source: Wang W. J. 1985:51)

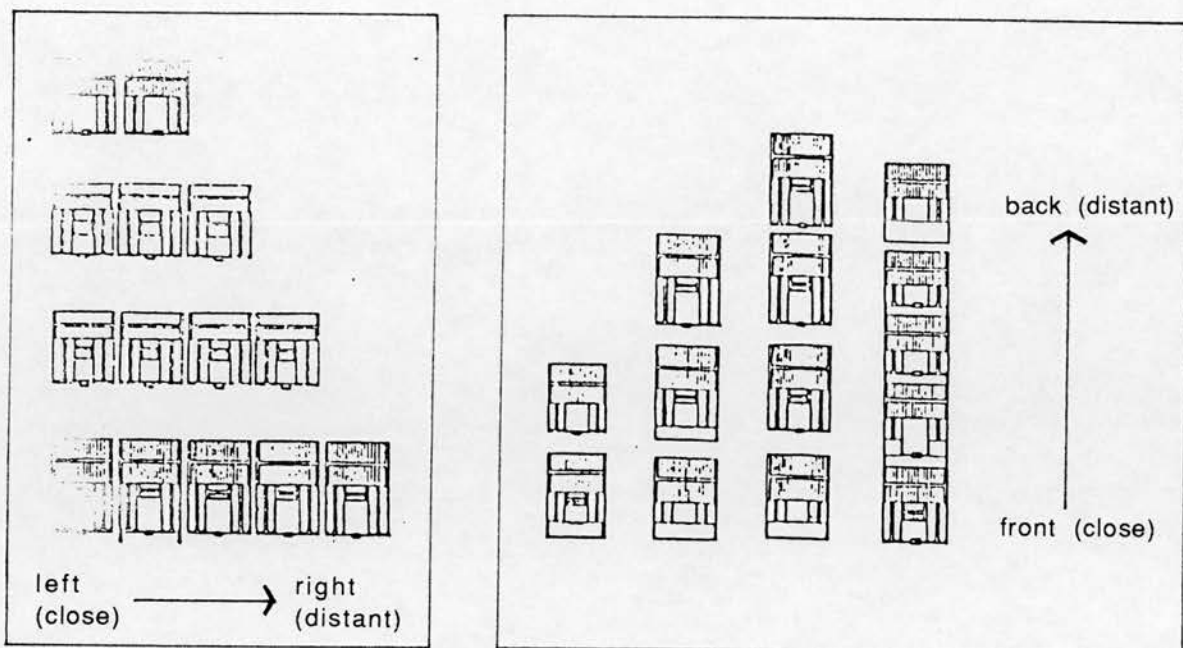


Fig. 4-6 The proximity of blood relationship in the spatial layout.

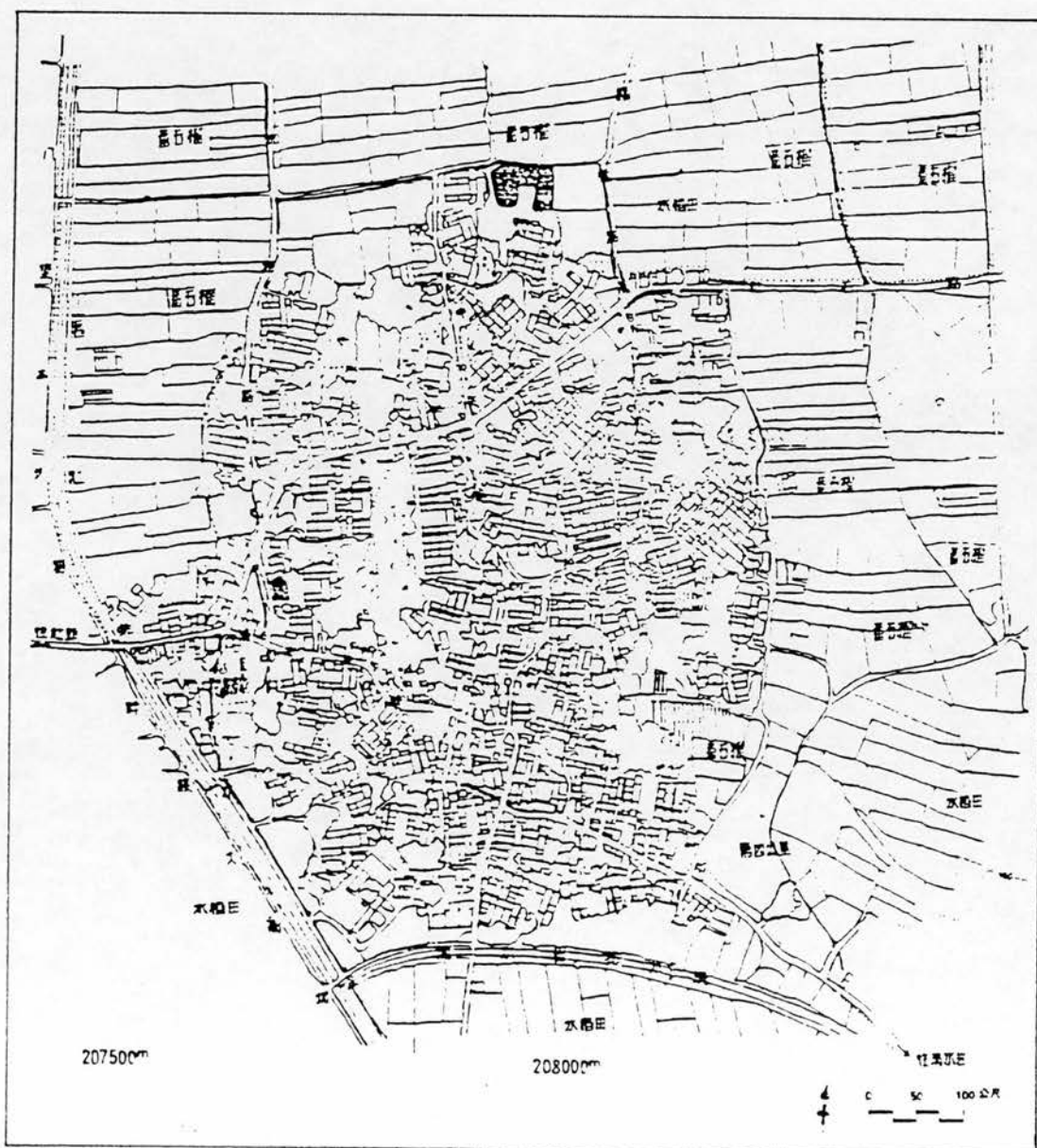


Fig. 4-7 Shet'ou Village. (Source: Cheng 1988:89)

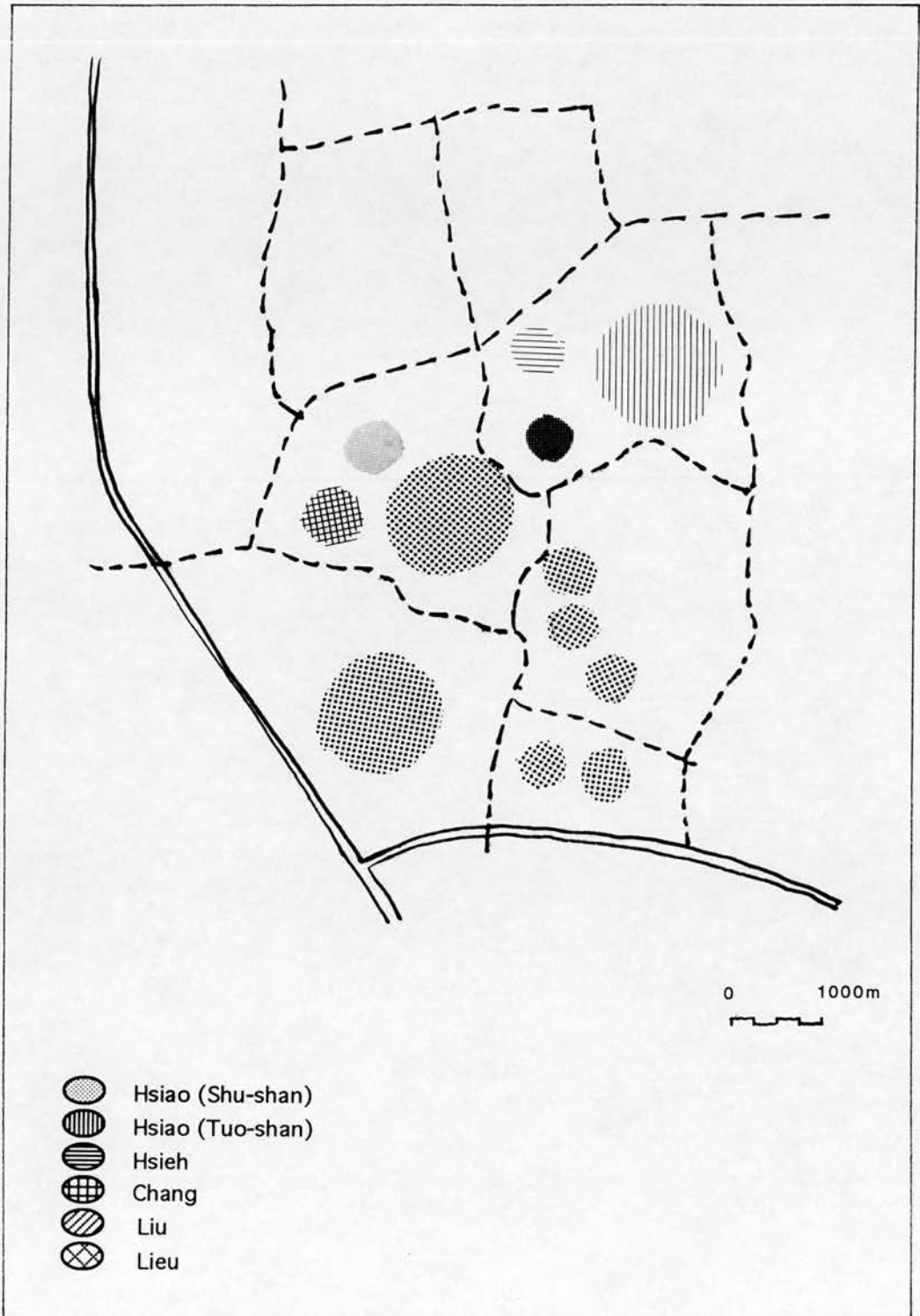


Fig. 4-8 The distribution of different lineages.

clan (Fig. 4-10), these residences developed into the form shown in Fig. 4-11, in which the descendants of "TA", "TB" and "TC" expanded their residential areas within the original compound belonging to their respective ancestors (Chen C. N. 1984:40-42).

4.2.2 Land cultivation organisation

During the period of Ch'ing rule, the agricultural use of Taiwanese land was generally based on the *ken-shou* 墾首 or "settlement-chief" system. *Ken-shou* were on the whole, powerful individuals from the prominent households who, through applying to the Ch'ing government for patents or obtaining leasing arrangements, were able to open up large tracts of land. They hired immigrants with no financial strength as their tenants, supplying them with capital, farming equipment and accommodation. The *ken-shou* also constructed irrigation systems and were responsible for maintaining public security against the threat of attack from aboriginals or bandits. The tenant cultivators were able to sub-let the cultivation rights to others, if they did not wish to do the work themselves; (this sub-letting was known as *er-tien* 二佃). At harvest time, the tenant cultivators had to pay an annual rent *ta-chu* 大租 or "big rent" to the *ken-shou*, while the subtenant cultivators paid the tenant cultivators a *hsiao-chu* 小租 or small rent. Thus the phenomenon known as *l-t'ien liang-chu* 一田兩租 or "one field two owners" appeared in the Taiwanese system of farming (Knapp 1980:61; Chen C.N.1987:55-59). The big and small rents gave both the *ken-shuo* and the tenant cultivators a high income with the result that investment in land cultivation became a commodity and a source of wealth. The competing by merchants, rich peasants, bureaucrats and wealthy households to invest had a huge impact on the opening up of Taiwanese land. The speedy completion of land cultivation coupled, naturally, with the rapid expansion of the economy helped to bring about the completion of Taiwanese settlements.

The cultivation of the I-lan plain in Eastern Taiwan is an example of this. In 1796, Wu Sha 吳沙, an immigrant from Ch'angchou led a group of immigrants from Ch'angchou in reclaiming the I-lan plain (Hsu 1980). By 1811, most parts of the plain had been reclaimed (Fig. 4-12). The form of reclamation used was typical of the *ken-shou* tenant system. Firstly, rich merchants living in Taipei supplied Wu Sha with capital, which he used to recruit tenant cultivators and then furnish them with capital and farming tools. Wu also recruited some militia cultivators to ensure

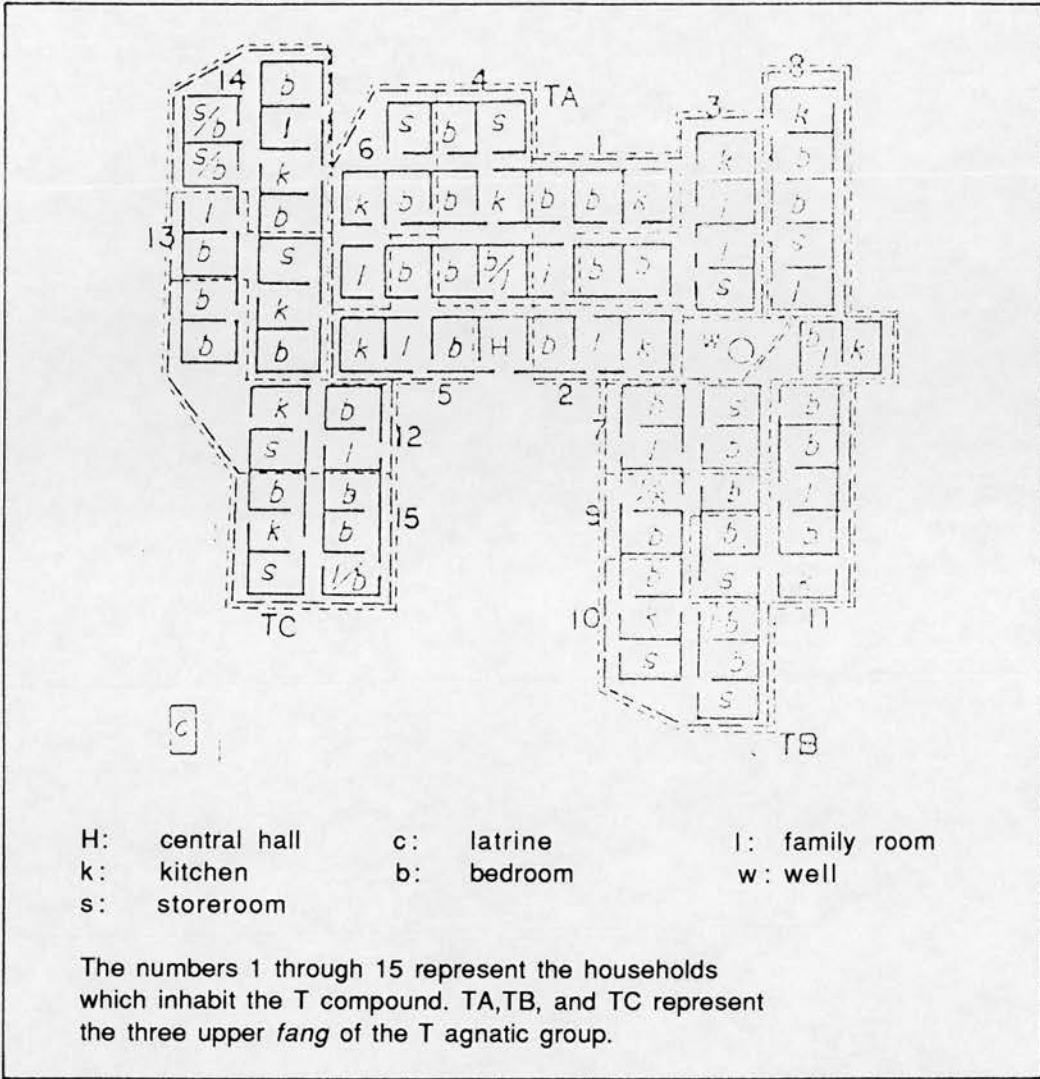


Fig. 4-9 Plan of the T compound. (Source: Chen C. N. 1984:61)

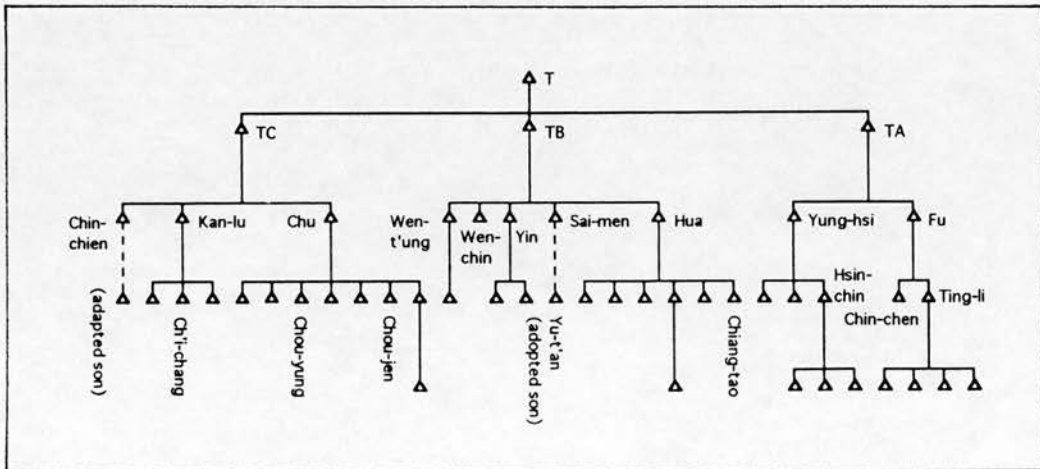


Fig. 4-10 Agnatic lines of the T subsegment. (Source: Chen C. N. 1984:62)

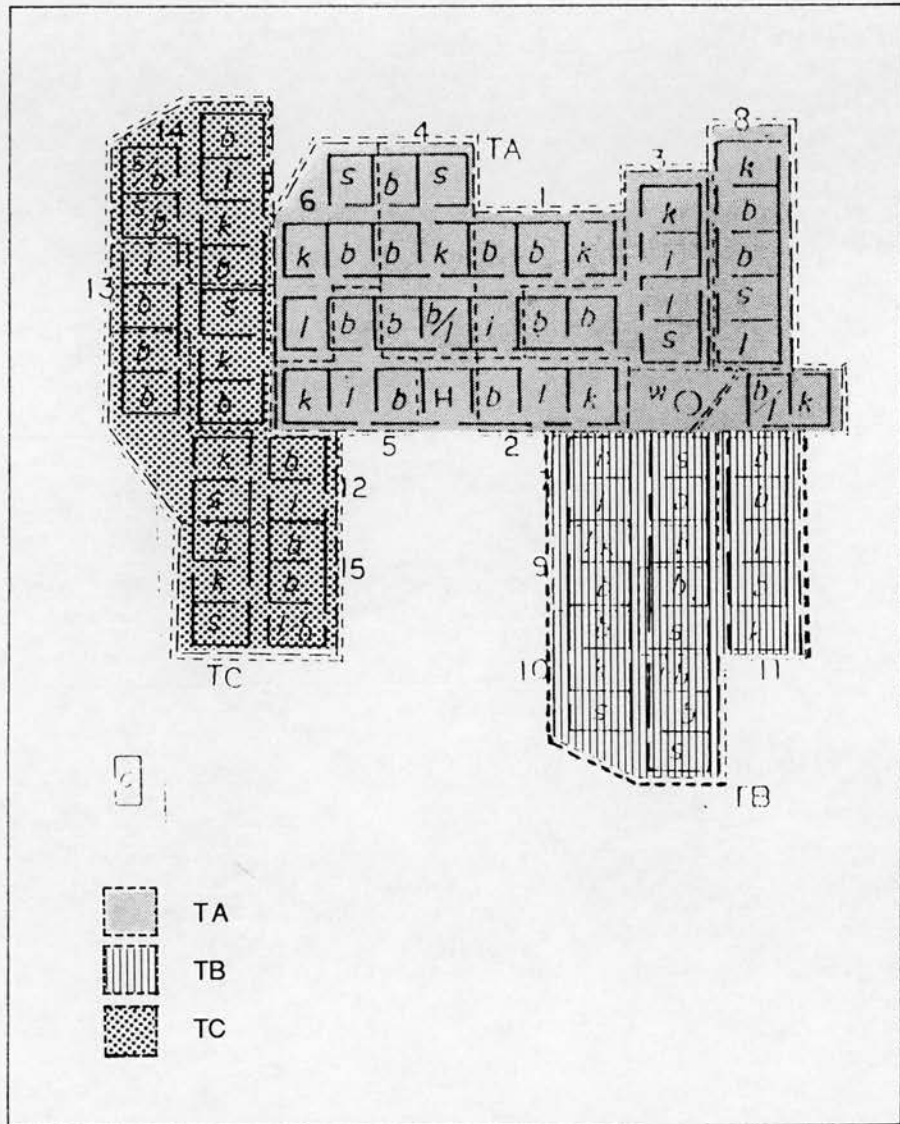


Fig. 4-11 The distribution of TA, TB, TC groups.
 (Source: Chen C. N. 1984:61)

the safety of the area in question against disturbance from aboriginal inhabitants. On arriving in a new area, the cultivators built earth forts and established militia stations known as *wei* 圍 or enclaves, the first one was called *tou-wei* 頭圍 or first enclave, the second *er-wei* 二圍 or second enclave etc. During the daytime, the cultivators worked in the fields outside the confines of the enclave, returning at night to rest within the enclave. These enclaves in fact were to provide the starting point for the vernacular settlements of the entire I-lan plain (Fig. 4-13).

A further example can be seen in the famous *chin-kuang-fu* 金廣福 cultivation organisation of Hsinchu 新竹 County in Northern Taiwan. This organisation was formed from a union of Hakka immigrants from Kwangtung and Fuchien, the cooperation between two previously hostile groups marking the start of a new social order. In fact, while other land cultivation organisations operating in Taiwan relied on the people for capital, the *chin-kuang-fu* 姜秀鑾 was given money by the Ch'ing authorities who also invited a Hakka, Chiang Hsiu-luan, to act as a *ken-shou* in charge of the land cultivation. The militia stations established in this area also provided a starting point for the settlements of the future (Fig. 4-14) (Chen C.K. 1987:228-233).

Between 1835 and 1850, vast areas of land were opened up. The cultivation organisations, in order to control the large areas of land and the huge numbers of tenant farmers, had to establish departments to cover the work, becoming in the process a prototype of a modern building society. This kind of development was clearly leaning towards a capitalist model. The opening up of land was carried out, not simply to provide a means of living, but also with the clear intention of making financial gain. The large amounts of revenue created many wealthy families with the result that the powerful economic and social interests groups in Taiwan were keen to invest in land cultivation on a huge scale. Within a short period of time, most of the land in Taiwan both on the plains and in the mountainous had been opened up and, at the same time, many settlements were completed.

As a result of this large scale development, there was, during the period of Ch'ing rule, a huge increase in the production of rice, sugar, tea and camphor which in turn led to a huge increase in overseas trade and the development of a prosperous society (Lin 1976).⁴⁰ Taiwan became the first modernised province of China, and

⁴⁰ According to research by Lin Man-hung, the important points of this development are as follows:

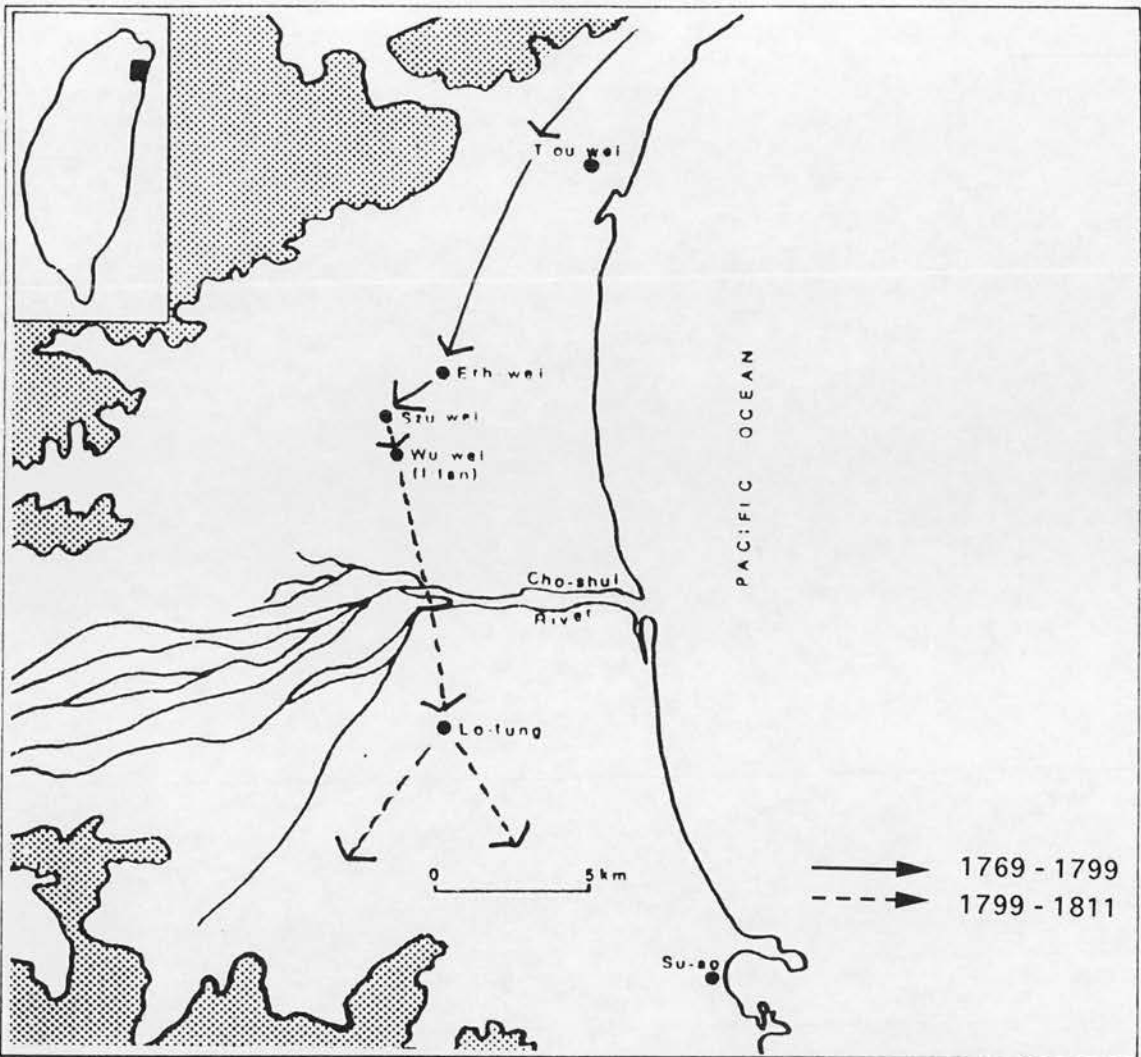


Fig. 4-12 The reclamation process of the I-lan plain between 1769-1811.
(Hsu 1980:70)

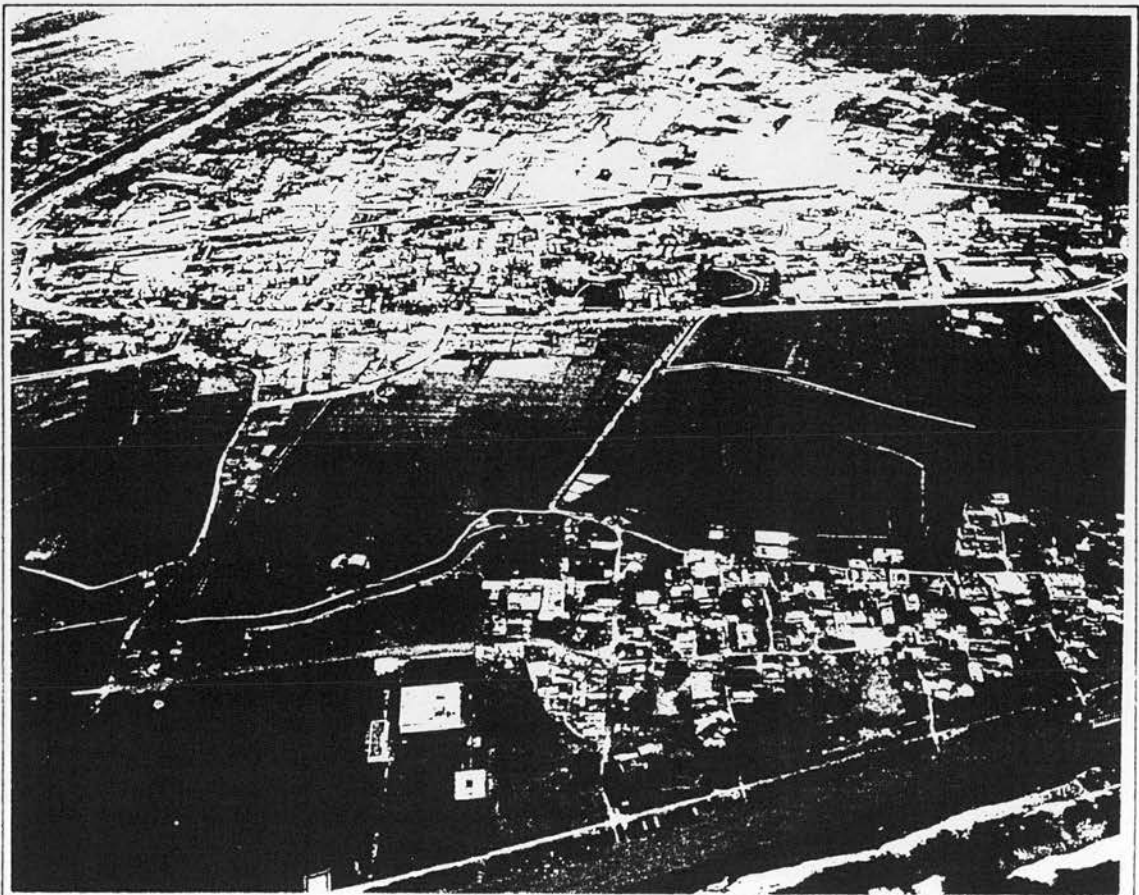


Fig. 4-13 A photo of a present-day *t'ou wei*.

(By Liang Cheng-chu)

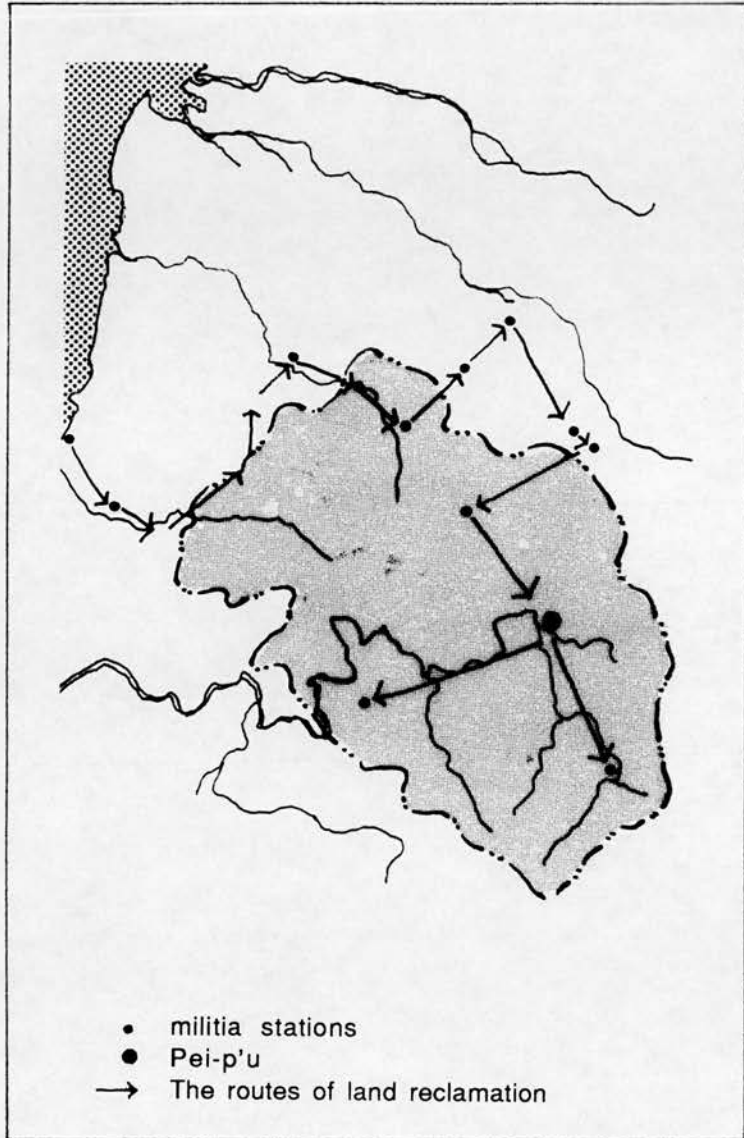


Fig. 4-14 The reclamation area of Chin-kuang-Fu.

also helped bring prosperity to the port cities of Kwangtung and Fuchien. Even today, a century later, this phenomenon can still be seen in a comparison between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland.

Scholars have claimed that only three principles influence the organisation of human social groups: blood relationships, territorial relationships and common interests (Tang 1981; Chen & Chuang 1986). In studies of social organisations in Chinese society, it is generally the first two of these principles which are stressed (Chen & Chuang 1986:34). In Taiwan, however, some vernacular settlements were formed on the principle of common territory by Hakkas and groups from Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou, others were formed on the principle of blood relationships by members of the same clan or surname, while the settlements formed round a cultivated area adopted the common interest principle. Thus all three principles are manifested in the settlements formed in Taiwan.

4.2.3 Irrigation organisation

In an agricultural society, irrigation is a vital resource; as important as the land itself. The organisation of this resource can influence a society's political, economic and cultural life. (Hsieh 1975:57) Given that politics, economics and culture provide the social context for any settlement, irrigation organisations can influence the formation and development of vernacular settlements both directly and indirectly. Before the development of state irrigation organisations in Taiwan, the funding for irrigation organisations came from the *ken-shou* while the work was carried out by the cultivators themselves. The water which poured through the network of trenches was shared by all the cultivators; to ensure equitable distribution, irrigation was done in rotation. Subsequently, an irrigation organisation was formed to supervise each individual network (Wang S. C. 1985:107-111). The network of irrigation channels passed through many different settlements. Because irrigation affected the eventual harvest so acutely, it

-
- (1) Creating enterprises and economic for support the population.
 - (2) Increase of revenues.
 - (3) Development of frontier regions.
 - (4) The development of cities and towns.
 - (5) The evolution of a social structure.
 - (6) The centre of influence moving to the North.

was hard to avoid selfishness, which drove some farmers to use water without permission; this led to conflicts firstly between individuals and subsequently between settlements. Such conflicts could rapidly worsen if other factors such as territorial or clan relationships or religious beliefs were brought in (Wang S. C. 1985; Chen 1975:185-196). A well managed irrigation organisation could look after the whole water supply and conciliate in any disputes.

The American anthropologists, Bernard Gallin and Burton Pasternack, in their respective studies of Taiwanese peasant society, both recognise the beneficial impact of irrigation organisations on good inter-village relationships. Gallin found that, as a result of the growth of cooperation between different irrigation organisations, relations between the rural settlements of Changhua county in central Taiwan improved. The cooperation within individual villages expanded to unite different villages and even different regions (Gallin 1966:86). Pasternack came to the same conclusions in his study of villages in the south of Taiwan, where the development of irrigation meant that people living in different villages but using the same irrigation network were obliged to cooperate. This led to inter-village and inter-regional cooperative irrigation networks (Pasternack 1972). The findings of Gallin and Pasternack in Taiwan fully reflect the hypothesis of Henry Orenstein, who, on the basis of his study of 59 Indian villages, wrote: "local territorially based social groups will be weakened under the impact of irrigation" (Orenstein 1956:318).

During the period of Ch'ing rule, Taiwan suffered from serious social disorder resulting from long standing ethnic feuds and rivalries. The gradual establishment of irrigation networks made groups of different territorial and blood origin cooperate over a long period, initially in the construction and, subsequently, in the sharing of the irrigation channels. This gradual establishment of cooperative relationships also put an end to mutual discrimination and prejudice between the different groups. This in turn led to the re-establishment of social order and set Taiwanese society on the road to solidarity and progress.

Solidarity and cooperation between villages was improved even further once the irrigation organisations had become enmeshed in popular beliefs. Because the effectiveness of the irrigation networks constructed during the Ch'ing dynasty was restricted by the limited engineering technology of the age, there was no way of avoiding the destruction of the networks due to natural disasters. In their despair, people could only turn to the supernatural powers for help. As a result of this, gods

and religious ceremonies directly related to irrigation appeared in Taiwan ⁴¹(Wang S. C. 1985:135-139). Mutual cooperation between religious and irrigation organisations helped to promote and coordinate the peaceful co-existence of different settlements (Chen 1975:196).

4.2.4 Public security

The early immigrant society in Taiwan suffered two types of threats; first, the physical, visible threat and, secondly, the supernatural, invisible threat. Whether visible or invisible, this threat had a huge influence not only on people's security but also on the formation of their settlements. The insecurity caused to people's lives by the supernatural threat included both the gods, ghosts and ancestral spirits of popular beliefs and the spiritual disturbance of malign *feng-shui*. Any discussion of these problems involves a discussion of Chinese people's views on the cosmos and religion: this will be discussed in the next two chapters. The visible threats can be divided into the following categories:

4.2.4.1 Rivalries

On the whole, the rivalries amongst the immigrant communities of Taiwan followed on from the traditional rivalries of villages in Fuchien and Kwangtung (Chen C. N. 1987:93). Between 1721 and 1860, these incidents occurred on average every three years, usually as a result of mutual prejudice and discrimination among immigrants both from Ch'uanchou and Ch'angchou, and the Hakka people. This sort of misunderstanding also led to other feuds caused by the divergency of religion or trade. The security of Taiwanese settlements was affected over a long period of time by these rivalries. All kinds of physical defenses including city walls, gates, ramparts and shooting holes were built both within and outside the settlements to protect people's security. An example of this is Hsinchuang 新莊, a town on the bank of the Tamshui River west of Taipei, where the original city form (Fig.4-15), built during the period of Ch'ing rule, included a variety of defensive facilities such as a labyrinthine street system, ramparts, gates and the natural defensive line of the Tamshui River(Cheng 1989).

⁴¹ There is a wide range of temples related to irrigation including temples of *t'u-ti-kung* and the territorial guardian, as well as temples for worshipping the dead who had sacrificed their lives in constructing the irrigation system and the honourable people who had made financial contributions to the irrigation system.

4.2.4.2 Disturbance from aboriginal inhabitants

The Ch'ing government adopted a policy of pacification towards the aboriginal inhabitants of Taiwan. Measures to treat the aboriginals with consideration were also imposed: in an attempt to avoid conflict, immigrants were allowed only to let and not purchase any land which belonged to the aboriginals, to whom they were obliged to pay a annual field rent. The Ch'ing government also appointed officials familiar with aboriginal language and customs to act as interpreters and sort out any disputes which arose (Yin 1988:87-94). As the numbers of immigrants rose and pressure grew on the limited amount of land available, land disputes between immigrants and aboriginals were unavoidable. The invasion of aboriginal land by armed cultivation groups of Han immigrants, for example, the group of Ch'angchou immigrants under the leadership of Wu Sha in the I-lan plain of north eastern Taiwan (Hsu 1980), and the Hakka-Fuchien group under Chiang Hsiu-luan in the Hsinchu area of northern Taiwan, led to bloody conflicts with the aboriginals (Chen & Chuang 1986; Wu 1984). These were all remote areas, where the authority of the Ch'ing government held little sway, so the immigrants had to rely on themselves for protection. Varying methods of self-protecting militia stations appeared in the different areas and formed the basis of many Taiwanese vernacular settlements. Thus, it can be seen that the various defensive means used influenced the future shape of these settlements.

4.2.4.3 Bandits' riots

The frequency of these rivalries amongst the immigrants of Taiwan led to a breakdown in social order and large scale poverty amongst the people. Furthermore, the corruption and inefficiency of the Ch'ing authorities led to revolts against official oppression which on occasions became full scale rebellions. Because of the large areas covered by these rebellions and the power of the rebel armies, individual villages and settlements were unable to resist on their own and had to join together in forming large self defence forces, usually more than ten villages strong, in order to protect themselves against the ravaging rebels. The most famous example of this occurred in the *liu-tui* 六堆 or six camps⁴² (Fig. 4-16), an area

⁴² The headquarters of the military federation, situated in Chut'ien竹田 Township, was called the middle camp, and the other five townships were named according to their relative defensive positions, namely, Right Camp in Meinung 美濃, Front Camp in Linlo

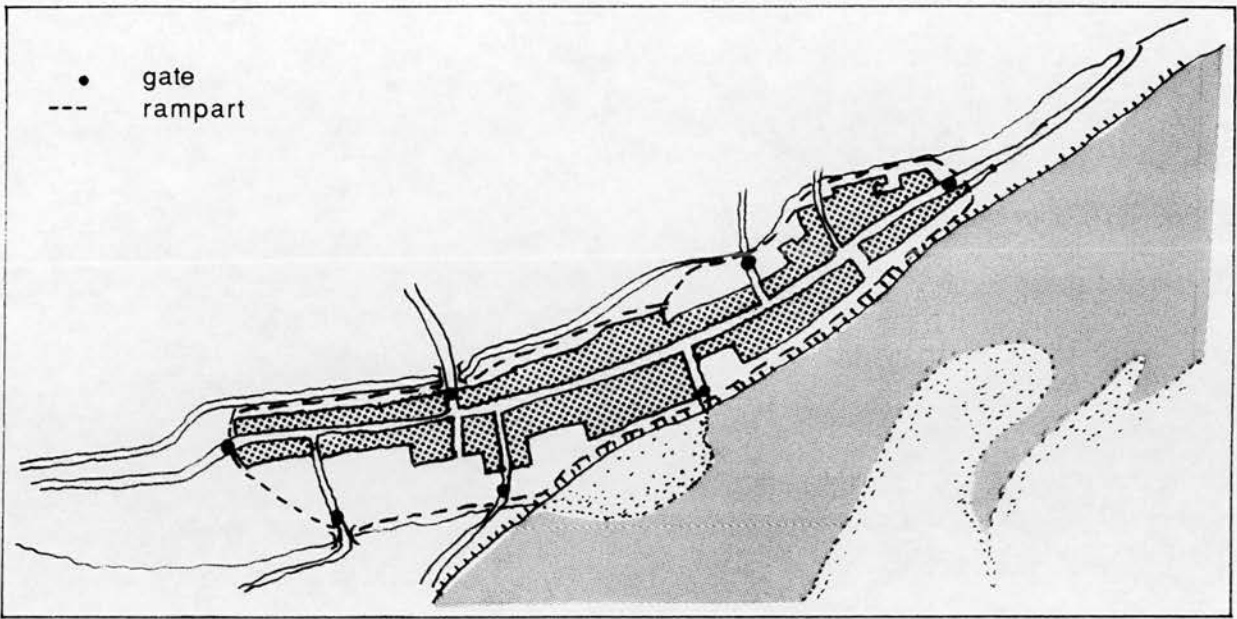


Fig. 4-15 General plan of Hsin-chuang in the period of Ch'ing rule.

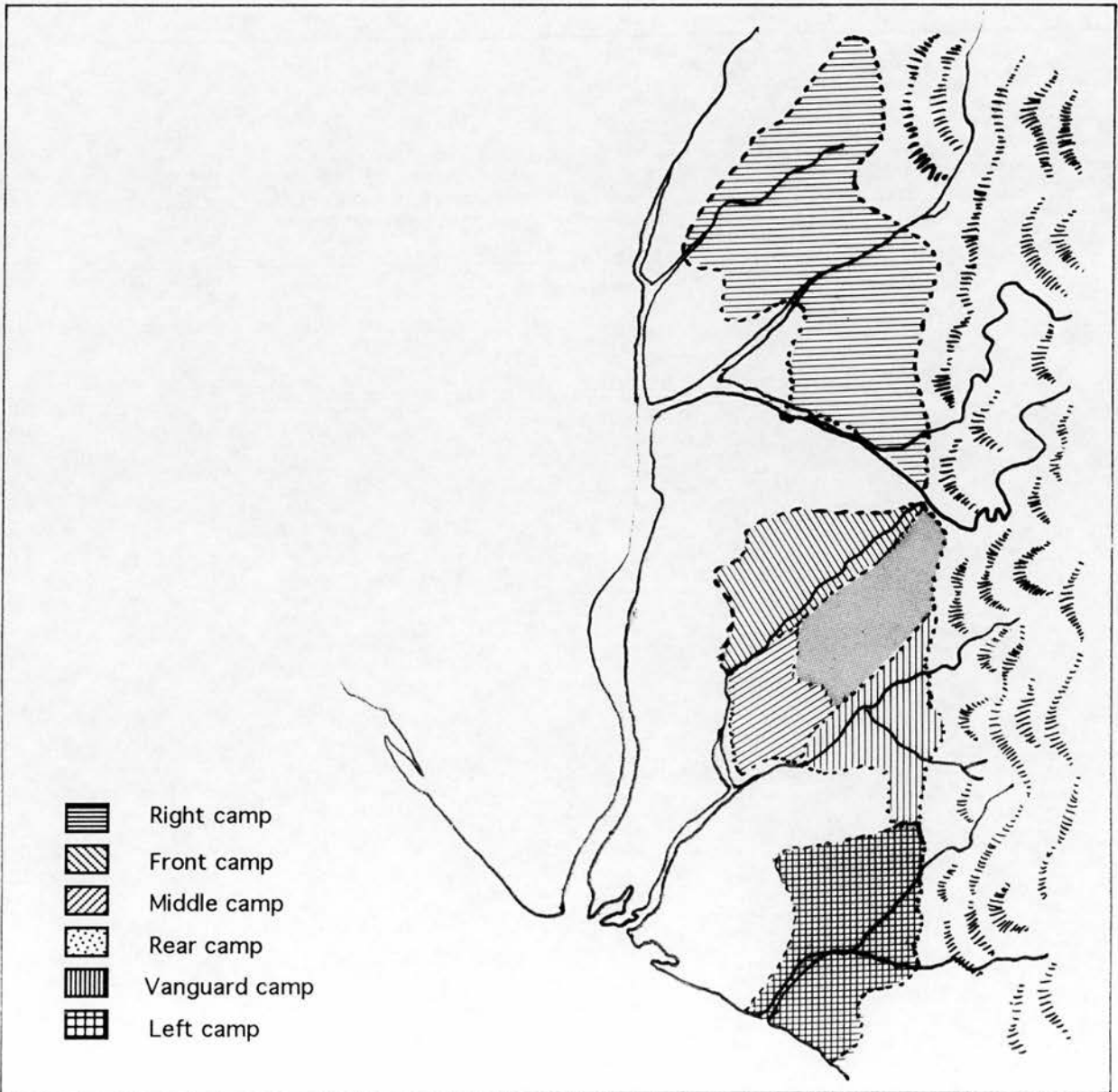


Fig. 4-16 General plan of *liu-tui* (six camps). (Source: Pasternack 1983:17)

in Southern Taiwan which was effectively a military federation of six Hakka townships, whose security depended on the *liu-tui* military organisation (Pasternack 1983:16-17). The powerful military organisation survived for more than 170 years from 1721 to 1895, until it was forcibly dissolved by the Japanese authorities. The *liu-tui* survives to this day as the primary Hakka social organisation in Southern Taiwan; though it has no military function, it still serves to lead the activities and duties of the various Hakka societies.

4.3 CONCLUSION

In this section, I have examined the transformation of Taiwan from an immigrant society to an indigeneous society, and the way in which this social transformation affected the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. Over the last 300 years, Taiwan has been ruled by different political bodies none of which, whether foreign or Chinese, has attached much importance to the future and destiny of the island. Instead, they all had other goals: the Ch'ing government initially saw Taiwan as a frontier area and even imposed cross-straits restrictions on Chinese emigration from the mainland. Although their attitude was later to change, this was due to the international situation rather than any concern for the welfare of the islanders.⁴³ The Japanese government saw Taiwan from the start as a colony and adopted a policy of "An industrial Japan and an agricultural Taiwan", with the aim of exploiting all the agriculture resources of the island whilst at the same time introducing all kinds of colonial regulation, all of which antagonised the Taiwanese people (Chen C.K. 1987:261-262; Ho 1984:347-398). Since 1949 the Nationalist authorities have always dreamed of recovering the Chinese mainland, lost to the Communists after the civil war, attaching more importance to the building up of a strong military machine than the welfare of the Taiwanese people.

麟洛, Rear Camp in Neip'u 內埔, Vanguard Camp in Wanluan 萬巒 and Left Camp in Chiatung 佳冬.

43 By the 1880s, the stability of the Chinese Empire had been seriously threatened by the aggressiveness of the foreign powers. Once at war with France in 1884, the Ching authorities in Peking sought ways to defend Chinese territory from invasion. When the French navy threatened the island of Taiwan, the Ch'ing Court sent the first viceroy, Liu Ming-ch'uan 劉銘傳, to govern Taiwan and reinforce the defence of the island.

Consequently, the only people who can truly determine Taiwan's future and destiny are the Taiwanese themselves. Taiwan as a whole is a "Fellowship of common-destiny": everyone on the island shares the same destiny and at the same time is subject to the same temporal and spatial factors. This concept of a "common-destiny fellowship" is expressed very strongly in the process of transformation of Taiwanese settlements. Here I have expressed this concept through pointing out the various factors leading to the formation of Taiwanese settlements. Since all of these factors - religious, patrilineal, land cultivation, irrigation and public security organisations - have to be established on the basis of solidarity, the manifestation of an *esprit de corps* is a proof of the people's deep understanding of the concept of a "Fellowship of common-destiny".

During the period of rivalries carried over from the mainland, the early immigrants to Taiwan had come to realise the necessity for survival of solidarity, even if in those days it was merely a narrow territorial or consanguineous solidarity. It was only later on with the arrival of cultural (religious and patrilineal), social (public security) and economic (irrigation and land cultivation) organisations that the Han immigrants came to realise the crucial importance of solidarity. This was a solidarity with a broader meaning, a "fellowship of common-destiny" which rose above territorial or consanguineous relations. The full bringing into play of this *esprit de corps* helped the transformation of Taiwanese immigrant society into an indigenous society, representing a true solidarity transcending old prejudices and biases. The Taiwanese have a profound understanding of the fact that all people living on the island are united on the basis of a common destiny. By means of this "Fellowship of common-destiny", the early immigrants formed an *esprit de corps* which enabled them to overcome the difficult problems of aboriginals, colonial hegemony and an undeveloped natural environment.

CHAPTER 5 THE SPIRITUAL DEFENCE SYSTEM: *FENG-SHUI* AND SPATIAL *YASHENG* IN VERNACULAR TAIWANESE HOUSES AND SETTLEMENTS

In his study of the cosmology of Chinese cities, Arthur F. Wright wrote of a prevailing symbolism remaining in the minds of the Chinese people both in the choosing of a site and the design of their cities. In his words:

All civilisations have traditions for choosing a fortunate site for a city and symbol systems for relating the city and its various parts to the gods and to the forces of nature. In ancient times, when old religions are strong, a people's beliefs and value system are reflected in where they locate a city and how they design it. Generally, as a civilisation develops, the authority of the ancient beliefs wanes and secular concerns - economic, strategic, and political - come to dominate the location and design of cities. In most societies, then, the influence of early religious concerns is only accidentally reflected in their later cities. But the history of Chinese civilisation offers an exception to this general pattern. Throughout the long record of Chinese city building we find an ancient and elaborate symbolism for the location and design of cities persisting in the midst of secular change. (Wright 1977:33)

Wright's view can be applied to interpret the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. According to the above descriptions, there are two stages in the formation of Chinese cities: location and design. Concerning the formation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements, *feng-shui* and religious beliefs have undoubtedly played a crucial role in each undertaking, the former determining the selection of an auspicious site for building the settlement, the latter dominate to design the layout of the settlement. I will discuss each of these subjects in turn, but first of all, I start with the discussion of Chinese cosmology.

5.1 COSMIC SYMBOLS

The notion of *T'ien* 天 (Heaven) in traditional Chinese notions of cosmology is of a harmonious integrated whole of natural phenomena and their correct order. What Chinese understand by *yu-chou* 宇宙 (the cosmos), according to the definition in *Shuo-wen Chieh-tsu* (an early etymological dictionary) is "*yu* 宇 is up, down and four squares while *chou* 宙 is past, present and future" (*Shuo-wen Chieh-tsu*

Chap.7). From this definition, it is clear that *yu* represents spatial notions and *chou* represents temporal notions. Thus, on the base of this definition, the Chinese people's notion of the cosmos can be simplified as an ordered system explaining "time" and "space"⁴⁴. Through the theories of *yin* and *yang* and the Five Elements, the ancient Chinese created a system of symbols to explain the cosmic order which embraced the concepts of space and time. These symbols of the cosmos which evolved from the theories of *yin* and *yang* and the Five Elements include:

- a) *T'aichi* 太極 - (the eternal wholeness) (Fig. 5-1)
- b) *Liang-i* 兩儀 - *yin* and *yang*
- c) *Si-hsiang* 四象 (the four heavenly quadrants) - Greater *yang*, Greater *yin*, Lesser *yang*, Lesser *yin*.
Si-shen 四神 (The Four Gods) - Azure Dragon, White Tiger, Red Bird and Black Tortoise (Fig. 5-2)
- d) *Erh-shih-pa Su* 二十八宿 (The twenty-eight asterisms) (Fig. 5-3)
 Azure Dragon - *chiao* 角, *kang* 亢, *ti* 氏, *fang* 房, *hsin* 心, *wei* 尾 and *chi* 箕- 7 asterisms.
 White Tiger - *k'ui* 奎, *lou* 婁, *wei* 胃, *ang*, *pi* 畢, *chi* 觜, and *shen* 參- 7 asterisms.
 Red Bird - *ching* 井, *kui* 鬼, *liu* 柳, *hsing* 星, *chang* 張, *i* 翼 and *chin* 震- 7 asterisms.
 Black Tortoise - *tou* 斗, *niu* 牛, *nu* 女, *hsu* 虛, *wei* 危, *shih* 室 and *pi* 壁 - 7 asterisms.
- e) *Wu-hsing* 五行 (Five Elements)⁴⁵ - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.

44 Chinese cosmology is mainly based on the theories of *yin-yang wu-hsing*. The theories of *yin* and *yang* were derived from the *Book of Change (I-Ching)*; whereas the theories of *wu-hsing* were derived from the original *wu-hsing* theory and revised by the interpretation of *Lu-si Ch'un-chiu* 呂氏春秋, *Li Chi* and *Huai Nan Tsu* 淮南子 then, integrated by a master Confucian of Han Dynasty, *Tung Chung-shu* 董仲舒, who founded the complete theoretical system of *yin-yang wu-hsing* theory.

45 The basic elements in the Five Elements are metal, wood, water, fire and earth, yet it also includes a variety of different beings as shown in the following chart:

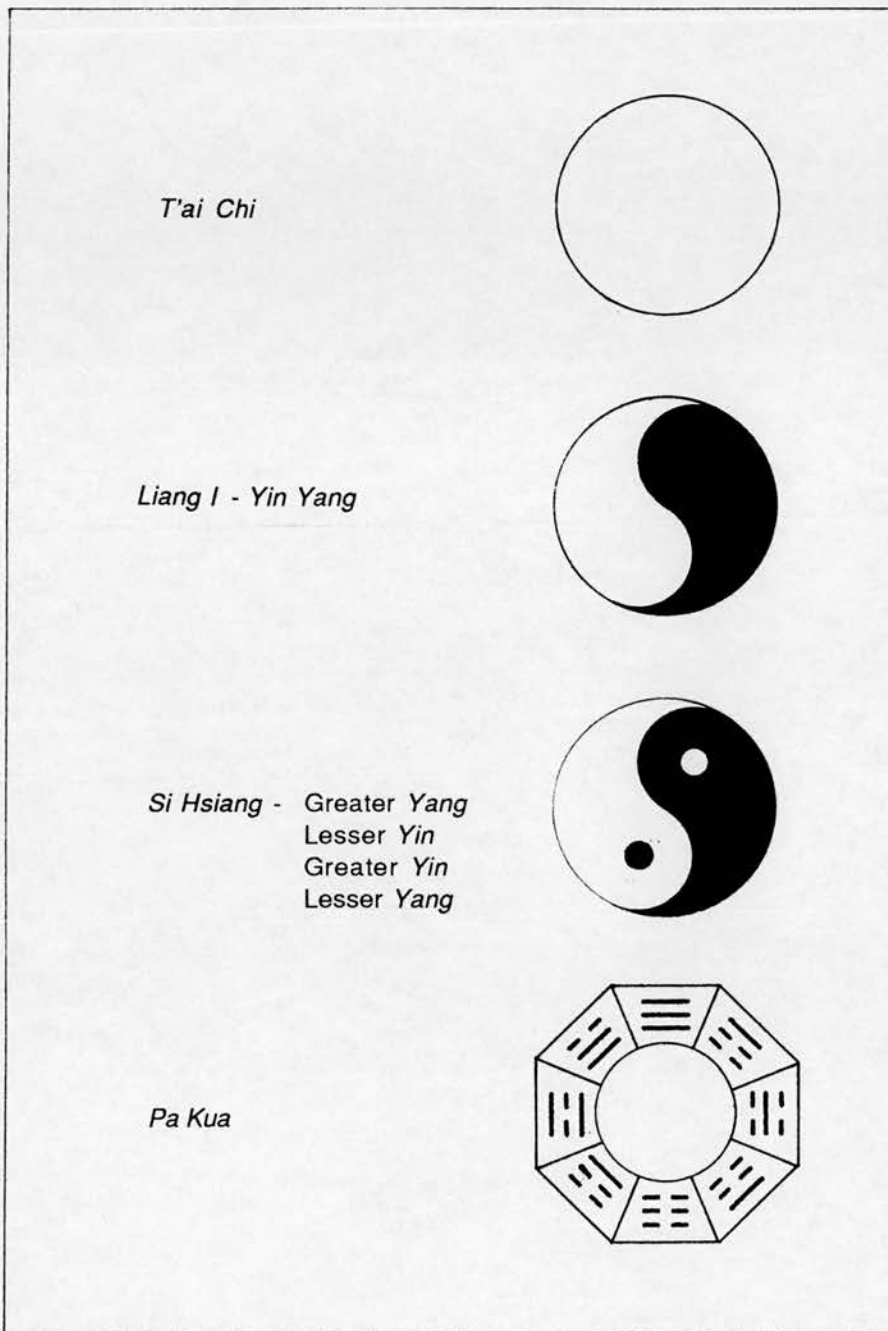


Fig. 5-1 The developing process of *T'ai Chi*.



Azure Dragon



Red Bird



White Tiger



Black Tortoise

Fig. 5-2 *Si Shen*
(The Four Gods).

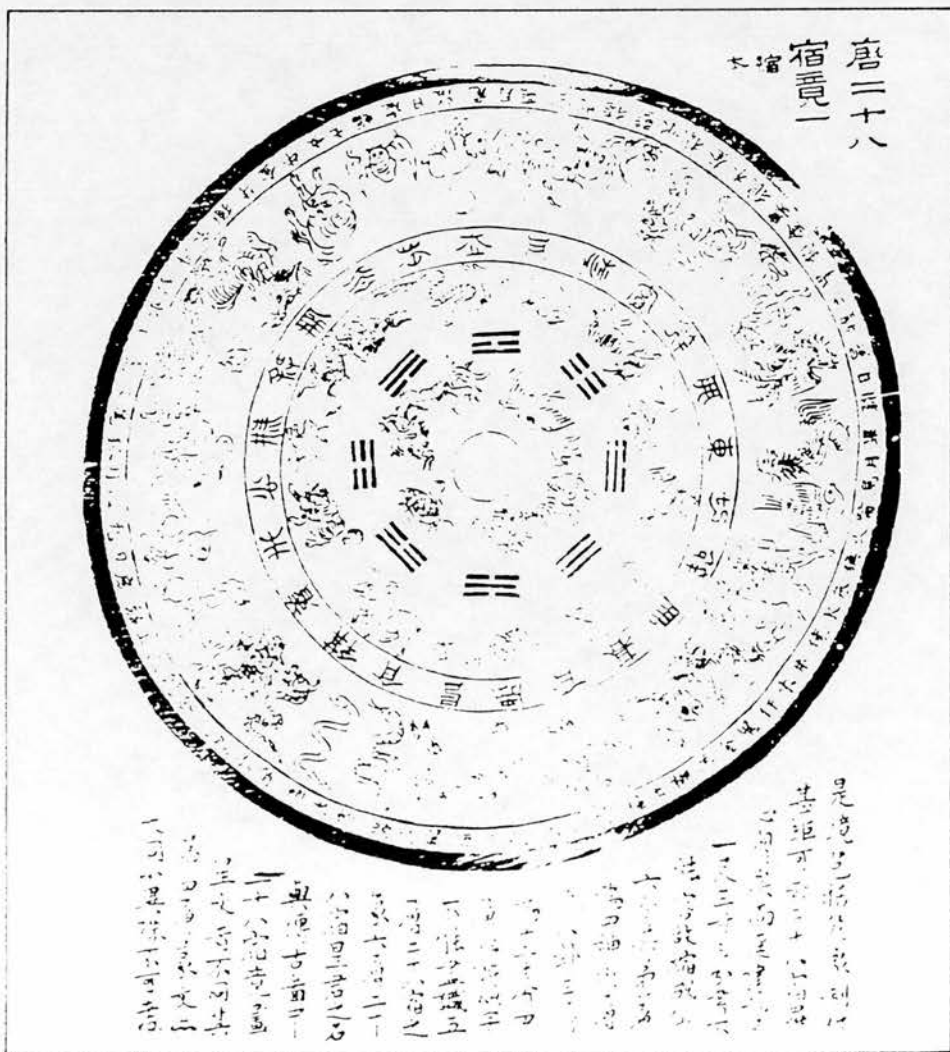


Fig. 5-3 *Erh-shr-pa Su*
(the Twenty-eight
Asterisms).

Wu-fang 五方 (Five Directions) - east, west, north, south and middle.

Wu-se 五色 (five colours) - red, azure, black, white and yellow.

f). *Pa-kua* 八卦 (The Eight Trigrams) - *kan, k'un, sun, chen, tui, ken, ch'ien* and *li* (Fig. 5-4).

g) *T'ien-kan* 天干 (The Heavenly Stems) - *chia, i, ping, ting, wu, chi, keng, hsin, jen* and *kui*.

Ti-chih 地支 (The Earthly Branches) - *tzu, ch'ou, yin, mao, ch'en, ssu, wu, wei, shen, yu, hsu* and *hai*.

The application of the cosmic symbols is based on the idea that the symbols represent aspects of the cosmos and that people can attain an interaction between man and nature if they use the symbols in their daily lives.

5.2 THE OPERATION OF COSMIC SYMBOLS

The use of cosmic symbols to attain an interaction between man and nature embodies three aims. Firstly, to predict good or ill omens in daily affairs; secondly, to pursue happiness and thus avoid evil and thirdly, for people to create actively a happy society. Joseph Needham has described these three methods as "pseudo-

Five Elements	wood	fire	earth	metal	water
Five Directions	East	South	Middle	West	North
Five Seasons	spring	summer	Kang	autumn	winter
Five Animals	azure dragon	red bird	yellow dragon	white tiger	black turtle
Five Colours	azure	red	yellow	white	black
Five Smells	sour	bitter	sweet	hot	salt
Five Organs	liver	heart	spleen	lung	kidney
Five Numbers	eight	seven	five	nine	six

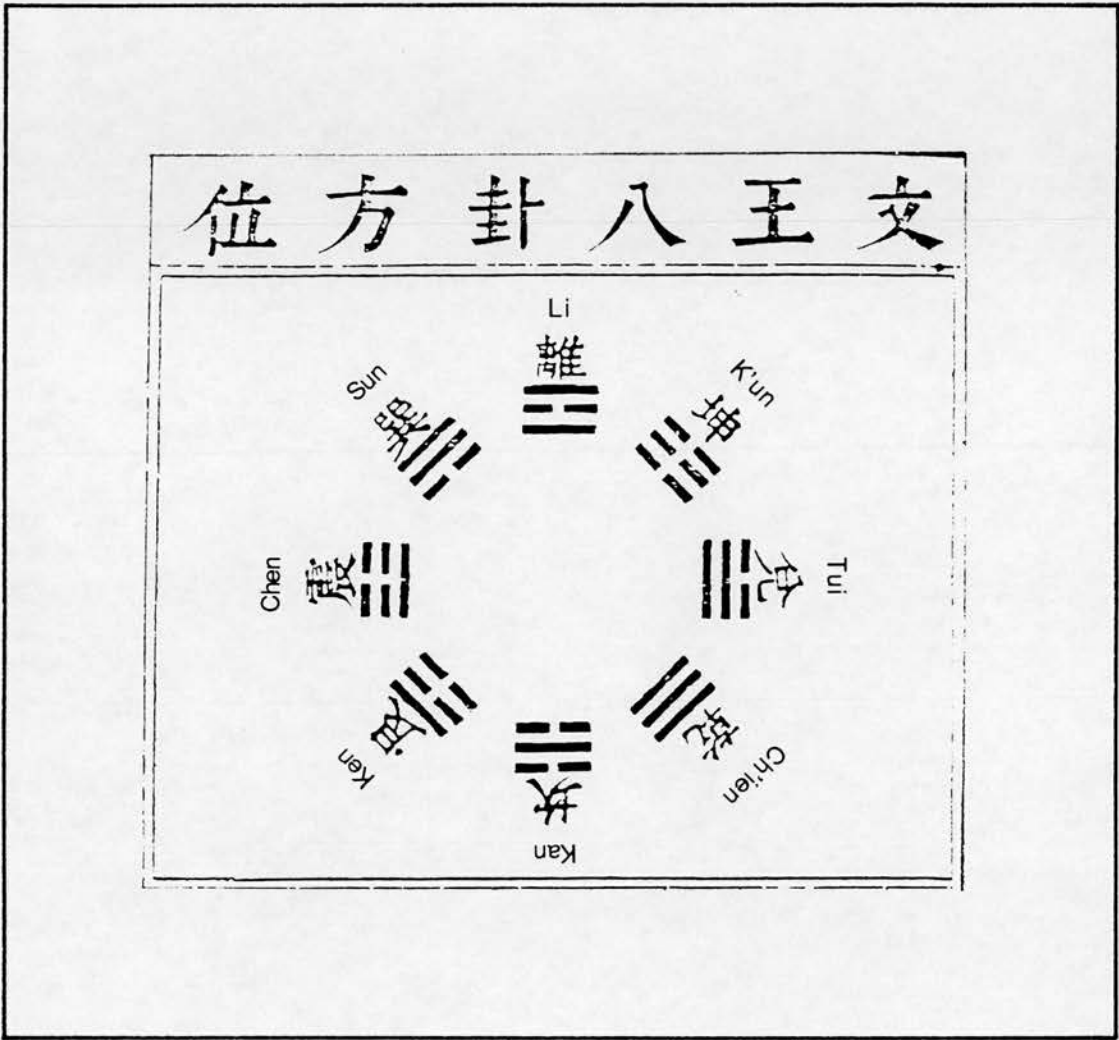


Fig. 5-4 Pa Kua.

sciences" which can be further divided into divination, astrology, chronomancy, *feng-shui*, physiognomy, prognostication, etc (Needham 1956:346-395).

In Taiwan, these methods have been categorised as the *wu-shu* 五術 (five arts): *shan* 山 (mountain) - the art of *feng-shui* and the selection of the auspicious days (*tse-jih* 擇日); *i* 醫 (medicine) - the art of medicine; *ming* 命 (divination), *hsiang* 相 (appearance) and *pu* 卜 (prediction) - the various arts of fortune telling (Suzuki 1934). It is only the first of these arts, *shan*, which can fully satisfy the three aims stated above.

The essential tool for choosing the auspicious day (*tse-jih*) is an almanac. According to a recent survey, 83.6% of households in Taiwan own an almanac; and by far the greatest use of the almanac is to choose auspicious days (Lu & Chuang 1985:105). The main content of an almanac is a setting out of the omens, good and bad, for taking various actions, such as choosing the correct year and position in which to avoid evil spirits, the most auspicious times of the day, the correct monthly position for the embryo God, etc. For Chinese people, all the various experiences of life - birth, coming of age, marriage, funeral, worship, building construction, management of a business, farming, fishing, herding, hunting, official service and medical treatment require the procedure of choosing an auspicious day to find the most favourable time for acting.

The Chinese almanac is based on the theories of *yin* and *yang* and *wu-hsing* (the Five Elements). As the oldest Chinese almanac, (926 A.D.), says in the introduction: "This almanac is based on the esoteric methods of *yin* and *yang*." Similarly, the foreword to a Sung dynasty almanac (986 A.D.) says: "This almanac is based on *yin* and *yang* and the origins of Creation: it can fix the correct times and control human behaviour" (Fang H. 1981). From this we can deduce that ancient almanacs did not depart from *yin* and *yang* and the Five Elements. The main contents of current Taiwanese almanacs are also based on using the notions of cosmic symbols such as Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, the 28 asterisms, the 12 "*chihwei*" 值位 (the positions on duty)⁴⁶, along with the Five Elements and the Nine Stars⁴⁷ in

⁴⁶ In full *shr-erh t'ai-shui chih-wei* 十二太歲值位, which literally means that there are twelve different positions for the star of *t'ai-shui* 太歲 on duty. The ancient Chinese called the planet, Jupiter, the *t'ai-shui* Star. Because Jupiter is the brightest star, people always used it as a reference point when they were observing the constellations. Jupiter circles the sun every twelve years. Using the sun as the centre of the orbit, Jupiter seemed to stop at a particular point, which was called an "on duty" point, every year. The

choosing the correct day. With the help of the almanac, the correct day for carrying out actions, the correct positions and years for avoiding evil spirits, the most auspicious times of the day and the correct place where the Embryo God is positioned can all be ascertained and used as a basis for individuals to carry out their daily actions and distinguish between good and bad.

Generally speaking, there are three main schools of *feng-shui*: *hsingchia* 形家 (the Form school or *luan-t'ou* school), *hsiangchia* 相家 (the Compass school) and *jihchia* 日家 (the Day-choosing school). (Han 1983:133-139) The *Hsingchia* school is based on the *Tsang Shu* (Burial Book) of Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276-324 A.D.), which is an explanation of the formation of natural landscape. The *hsiangchia* school, on the other hand, is a system based on the application of the Chinese notions of *yin-yang*, the Five Elements and the Eight Trigrams. The *jihchia* school is basically an amalgamation of *feng-shui* and *tse-jih* (the choosing of auspicious days), which links the revolving of the stars and constellations with the disposition of the landscape. The most important schools are *hsingchia* and *hsiangchia*. A compass is essential for a practitioner of *feng-shui*: on the compass are marked various cosmic symbols including the Eight Trigrams, the Nine Stars, the Five Elements, the Twelve Palaces of constellations⁴⁸, the twenty-eight asterisms, the Heavenly Stems, the Earthly Branches and the Twenty-Four Directions⁴⁹, etc., the clearest indication which shows the operation of those cosmic symbols. To sum up, the art of *feng-shui* is a system based on the use of the various cosmic symbols

twelve points on the circle were called the twelve *t'ai-shui* "on duty" points. According to Chinese folk beliefs, the points of the circle opposite to the "on duty" points were thought to be inauspicious and to be avoided. For example, during the year that *T'ai-shui* was in the north, the south was considered to be the inauspicious direction.

47 They are nine asterisms in total including the Big Dipper and two other asterisms: *tsou-fu* and *yu-pi*.

48 Twelve signs of the zodiac. The zodiac constellation is the nearest constellation to the Earth and is divided into twelve equal areas.

49 The Twenty-four Directions are represented on a *feng-shui* compass which is divided into twenty-four graduations. The twenty-four directions come from three different sources: eight of the ten Heavenly Stems, i.e., *chia, yi, ping, ting, keng, hsin, chi,* and *kui*; twelve of the Earthly Branches, i.e., *tsu, ch'ou, yin, mao, ch'en, szu, wu, wei, shen, yu, hsu,* and *hai*; and four of the Eight Trigrams, i.e., *ch'ien, k'un, ken,* and *sun*. The Twenty-four Directions are sometimes referred to as "twenty-four mountains (*shan*)" in *feng-shui* texts. The arrangement of the Twenty-four directions is shown in (Fig.23).

which aims to coordinate man and nature through the construction of auspicious houses and tombs, and, by so doing, avoid calamity and pursue good fortune.

From the above discussion on *tse-jih* and *feng-shui*, we can conclude that, in the process of using all the various cosmic symbols, *tse-jih* derives from a consideration of the temporal basis while *feng-shui* is conducted on a spatial basis: the amalgamation of *tse-jih* and *feng-shui* thus becomes a dual temporal-spatial consideration. The operation of the system of cosmic symbols, through the arts of *tse-jih* and *feng-shui*, can also be seen as the operation of a dual temporal-spatial coordination. The use of cosmic symbols reflecting Chinese notions of the cosmos is reflected in all kinds of objects which can be regarded as a miniature universe such as the human body, buildings, settlements etc. I will now show how Chinese people reflect the influence of the concepts of *tse-jih* and *feng-shui* in the spatial environments of their dwelling places, by using cosmic symbols to reflect cosmic order.

5.3 THE REFLECTION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE COSMOS IN SPATIAL LAYOUT

The structure of the cosmos, as recognized by Chinese people, is a harmonious, perfect and strictly organised whole replete with natural vitality. The natural result of this concept is to make Chinese people regard every object as a simulated miniaturisation of the cosmos and hope, through the construction of a microcosm which corresponds with the real cosmos, that they can attain its natural vitality. The construction of such microcosms can be reflected in models as big as the world, battle formations and villages, or as small as the human body or the organs of the human body. For example:

5.3.1 The world

The ancient Chinese regarded the world as the territory of the central plains occupied the Han people, along with various barbarians on the extremities; the *tungyi* 東夷 (Eastern Barbarians) in the east, the *hsijung* 西戎 (Western Barbarians) in the west, the *nanman* 南蠻 (Southern Barbarians) in the south and the *peiti* 北狄 (Northern Barbarians) in the north. Spatially speaking, the central plains of China were bound by the Five Holy Mountains - Mount Sung 嵩 or the middle mountain, Mount T'ai 泰 or the Eastern mountain, Mount Hua 華 or the

Western Mountain, Mount Heng 恆 or the Southern mountain and Mount Heng 衡 or the Northern mountain. We can clearly understand how these spatial constructions of the world and the Chinese landmass are a reflection of cosmic symbols, specifically the concept of the Five Directions (*wu-fang*).

5.3.2 Battle formation

According to the Ming Dynasty book, *Chi-hsiao Hsin-shu* (Chap.16), the battle formation of armies in Ming times was a simulation of the construction of the cosmos, based on the use of cosmic symbols such as the Five Elements (*wu-hsing*), the Five Directions (*wu-fang*), the Four Gods (*si-shen*), the Twenty-Eight Asterisms (*er-shih-pa Su*), the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, the Eight Trigrams (*pa-kua*), etc. Through this method of simulating the structure and working of the cosmos, it was believed that the army would become invincible.

5.3.3 The settlements

In Taiwanese vernacular settlements, the arrangement of the Earth God temples (*t'u-ti-kung*) at the four outer points with the addition of the main village temple in the middle (Fig. 5-5 & 5-6) is a reflection of the construction of the cosmos according to the Five Directions (*wu-fang*). At the same time, the Five Camps (*wu-ying*), placed in the middle and four outer points of the settlement (Fig. 5-7 & 5-8), protect the settlement from the intrusion of evil demons and again reflect the Five Directions.

5.3.4 Architecture

The layout of the temple, with the great hall in the middle, the Red bird gate at the front and the Black Tortoise pagoda at the rear along with the Azure Dragon and White Tiger wings on the left and right, incorporates the Four Gods and the Five Directions (middle, front, rear, left and right or middle, east, west, south and north). The Five Directions are also used in the construction of family houses to ensure that potentially injurious evil spirits are kept out (Lu 1990:82).

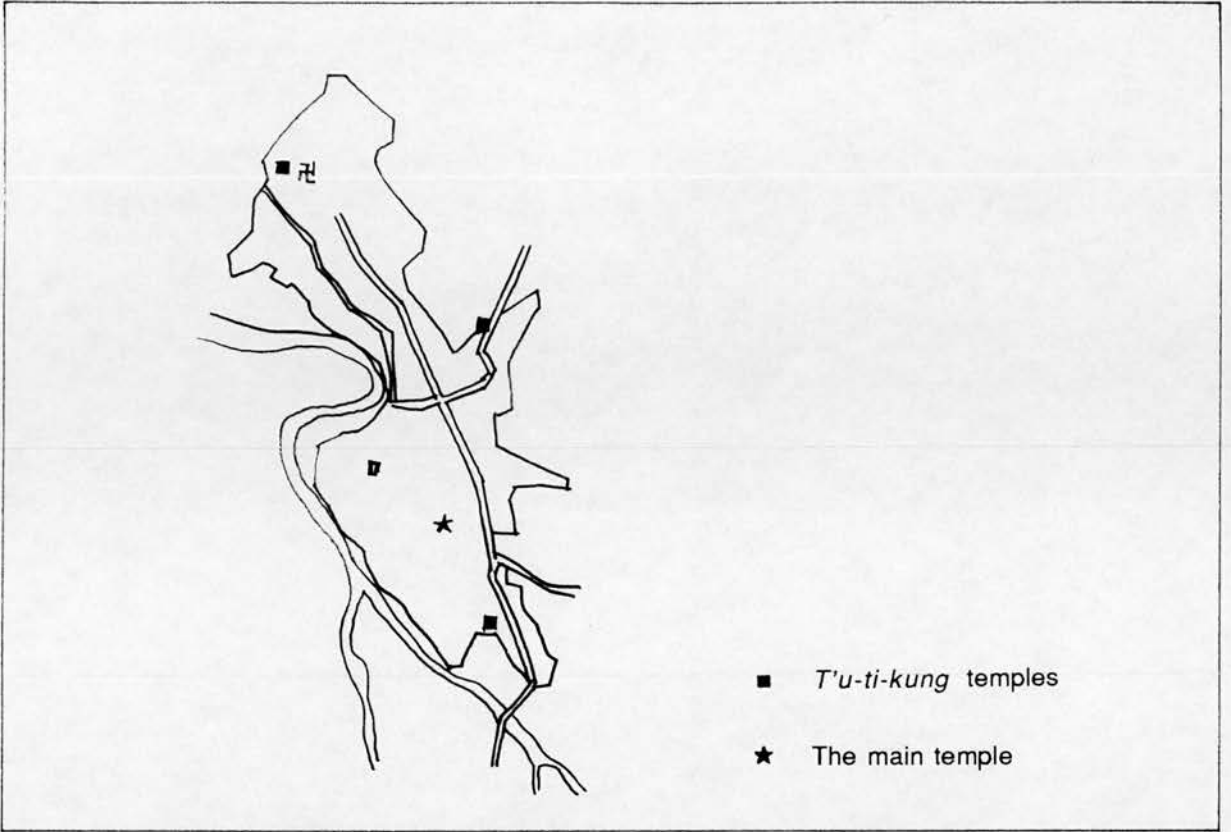


Fig. 5-5 Map of Ching Dynasty Lu-kang.

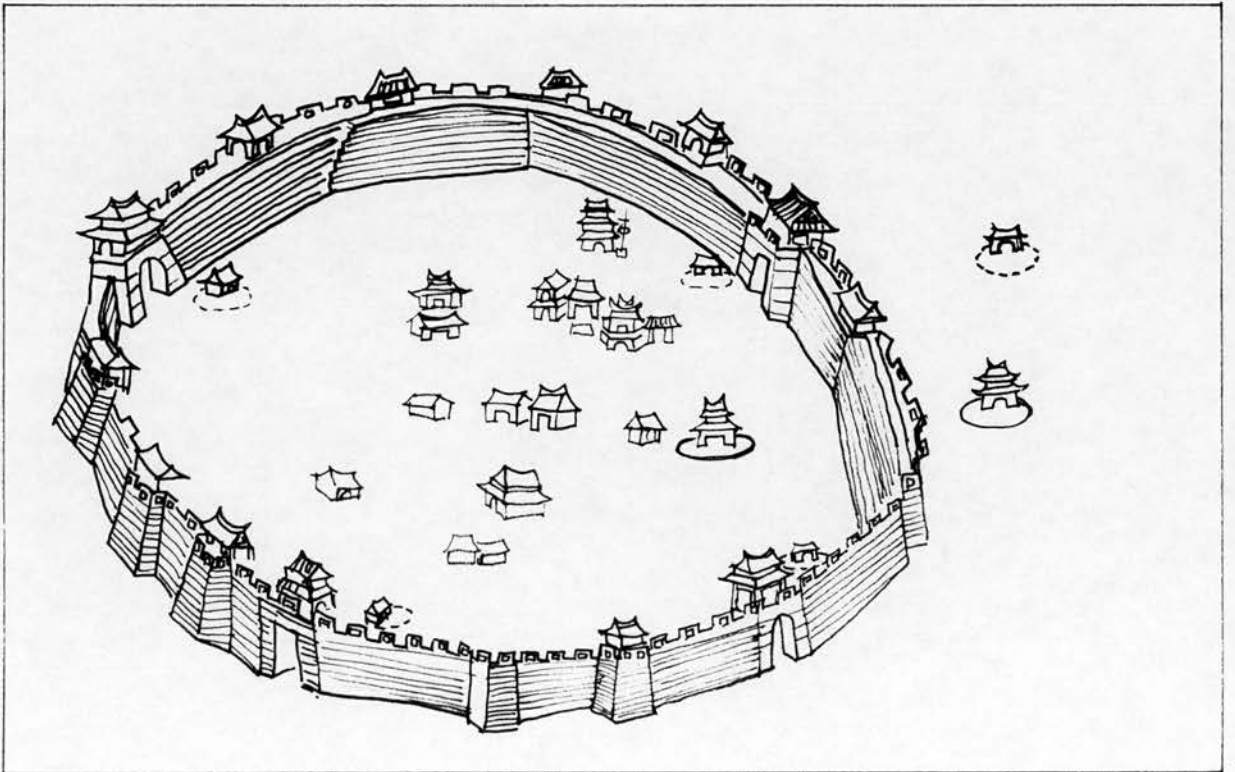


Fig. 5-6 Reconstruction of Changhua in the Ch'ing Dynasty.

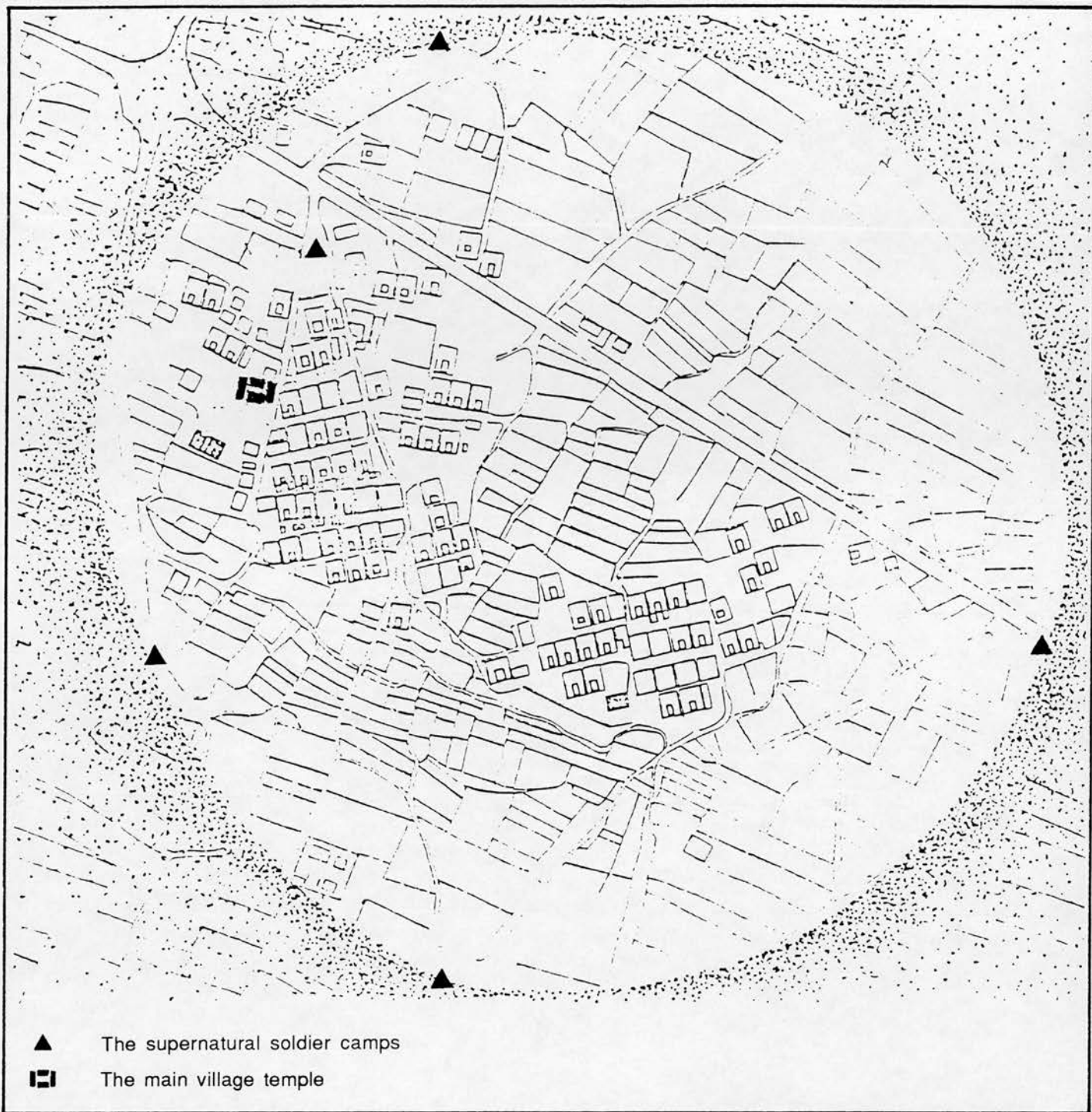
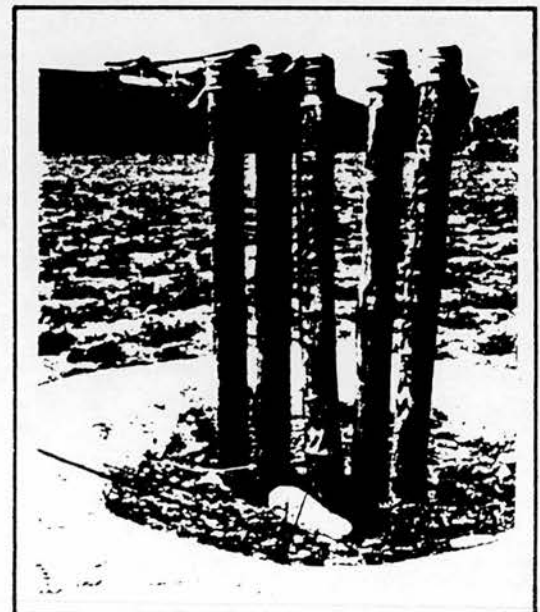


Fig. 5-7 *Wu-ying* (the Five Camps).



5.3.5 Others

The symbols of the Five Directions are also used in the arrangement of stages for the performance of folk operas. People paste *wu-fang* charm papers on each of the five directions of the stage, to remove evil spirits and guarantee a peaceful performance to the gods. (Sung C. 1990) On the Chinese mainland, the symbols of the Four Gods have been discovered, carved on the basis of the four directions (front, rear, left and right), on the walls of a recently unearthed Han dynasty tomb (Chang 1981).

5.4 THE *FENG-SHUI* OF VERNACULAR TAIWANESE SETTLEMENTS

The unique topographic appearance of Taiwan has offered an excellent opportunity for the application of *feng-shui* theories in the location of settlements. The mountains on Taiwan are branches of Mount Kunlun 崑崙 which, according to *feng-shui* texts, is the origin of dragon ridges. Mount Kunlun is divided into three main mountain ranges, one of which wriggles from Szechuan 四川 province, via Kwangtung and Fuchien province, across Taiwan Strait, and ends in the Central Mountain Range in Taiwan. (Han 1983:136) (Fig. 5-9) This has given a great credibility to the mountains on Taiwan, since the island's dragon ridges can be directly associated with the *tsu-shan* 祖山, ancestral mountain, on the Chinese mainland. In fact, some Western scholars have suggested that *feng-shui* was the main consideration of the early Taiwanese when they built their settlements. (Feuchtwang 1974b; DeGlopper 1977; Lamley 1977) The notion of *si-shen* (Four Gods), in the Chinese system of cosmic symbols - Azure Dragon, White Tiger, Red Bird and Black Tortoise - is used to indicate a good *feng-shui* form, in which the four symbols correspond to the *lung*, *sha*, *shui* and *hsueh*. The Azure Dragon and the White Tiger placed to the left and right of the *ming-tang*, along with the Red Bird to the front and the Black Tortoise to the rear correspond to *shui* and *lung* respectively (*Tsang Shu*). The Black Tortoise must radiate from the backbone of the main dragon ridges originating in Mount Kunlun on the Chinese mainland and called *tsu-shan* (ancestral mountain). The living dragon branching out from the *tsu-shan* to the site is called the *chu-shan* 主山 (master mountain) of the *feng-shui* site and is symbolized by the Black Tortoise. (Fig. 5-10)

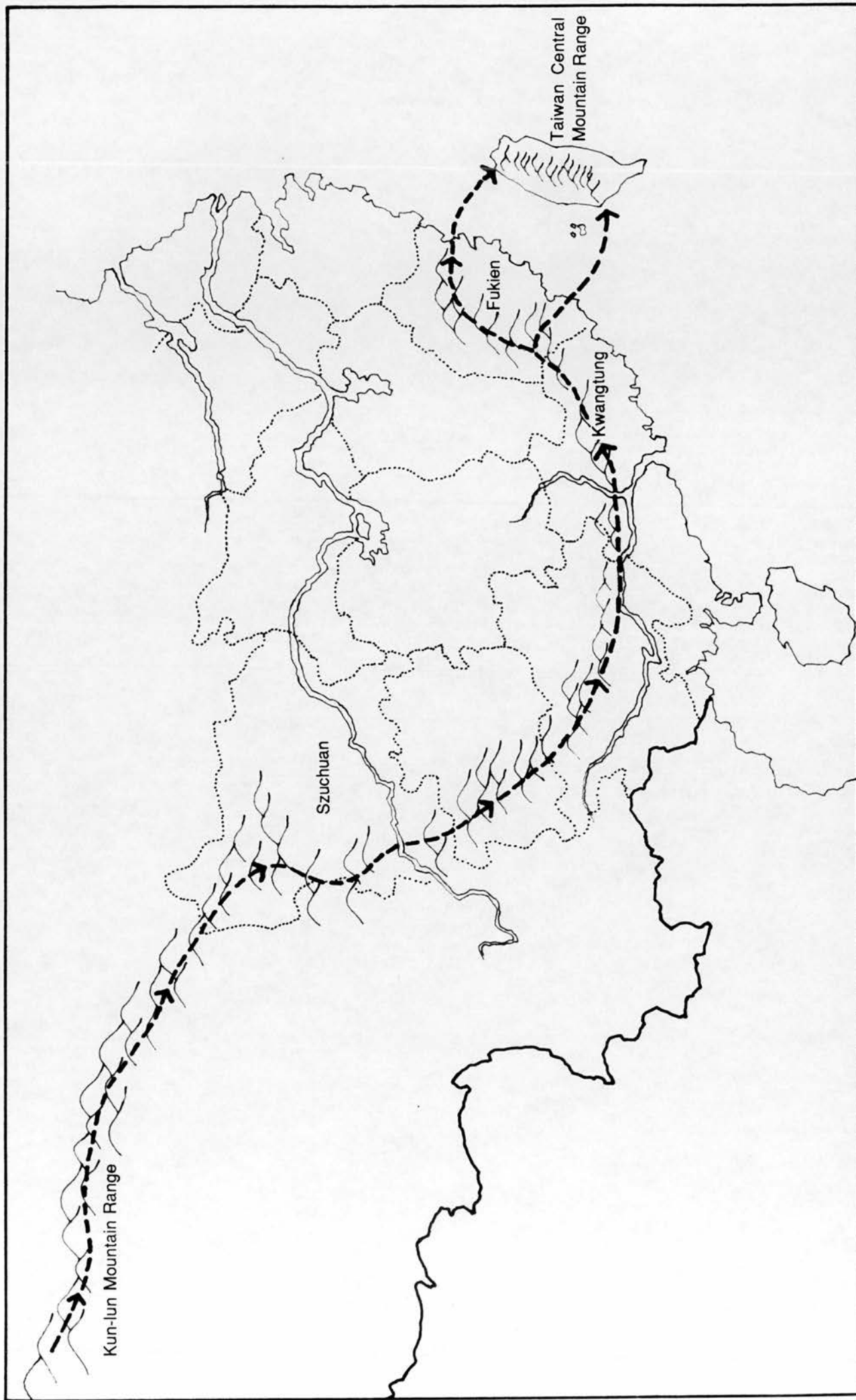


Fig. 5-9 The expansion of dragon ridges from China to Taiwan.

Apart from the various main elements - *lung*, *sha*, *shui*, *hsueh*, *tsu-shan* and *chu-shan* - a good *feng-shui* also attaches importance to the notion of *chao-shan* 朝山 *an-shan* 案山 and *lo-shan* 樂山. According to *feng-shui* texts, hill which is small and near to the *hsueh* is known as *an-shan*, the one which is distant and large is called *chao-shan* while the *lo-shan* is the same as the dragon ridges. (Fig. 5-11) There are no particular rules laid down for the precise distance from the *hsueh* to the *chao-shan* and *an-shan*, as long as their positions accord with the general principles of *feng-shui* (Fo 1927:(5)2-3). In the following discussion, I attempt to show some cases of Taiwanese cities and townships which have used a *feng-shui* arrangement.

5.4.1 Taipei

In 1889, the construction of the most important walled city of Taiwan, Taipei Prefecture, was started. A Ch'ing official, Liu Ao 劉璣, who was in charge of the construction happened to be proficient in *feng-shui*. In his plan, the mountains surrounding the Taipei basin (Fig. 5-12) were treated as dragon ridges; the Tamshui river and its tributary, the Hsintien 新店 river, were treated as *shui* and the Red Bird respectively. Among the dragon ridges, Mount Ch'ihsin 七星 was used as the *chu-shan* (master mountain) or Black Tortoise; the various ridges of mount Fongluchia 風爐塞 were used as *an-shan* and *chao-shan* respectively. To the right Mount Kweilun 龜崙 was regarded as the White Tiger; to the left Mount Chiangsuliao 姜子寮 as the Azure Dragon (Liao 1988:117) The design of the walled city of Taipei was not only drawn up in accordance with the principles of *feng-shui* but presented as the combination of the celestial body and the earthly domain. (Chen T. S. 1984:34) The main axis of the city plan of old Taipei oriented towards *pei-tou-ch'i-hsin* 北斗七星 (The Big Dipper), while the sub-axis was represented by the east-flank wall aimed at the peak of Mount Ch'ihsin. (Fig. 5-13)

5.4.2 Hengchun

In addition to the walled city of Taipei, Liu Ao also planned the walled city of Hengchun 恆春 located in southern Taiwan. (Horigome 1986) In this case, Mount Sant'ai 三台 played the role of *chu-shan* or the Black Tortoise; the low and flat Mount Hsinping 西屏 stretching about five miles stood as the *an-shan* or the Red Bird; to the right Mount Hutou 虎頭, whose shape is like a tamed tiger was treated

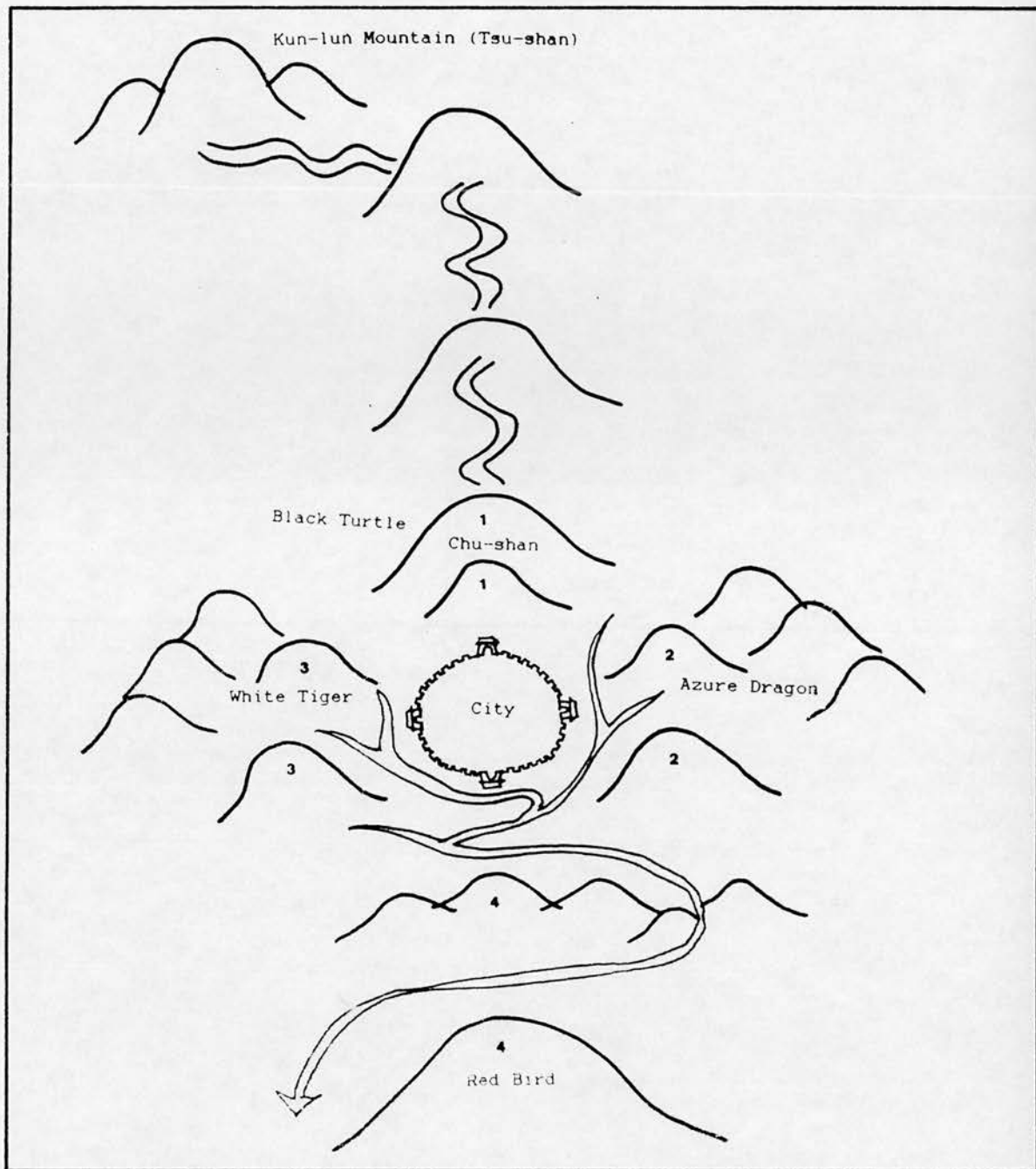


Fig. 5-10 An ideal *feng-shui* arrangement for a walled city.
(Source: Chiou 1988:103)

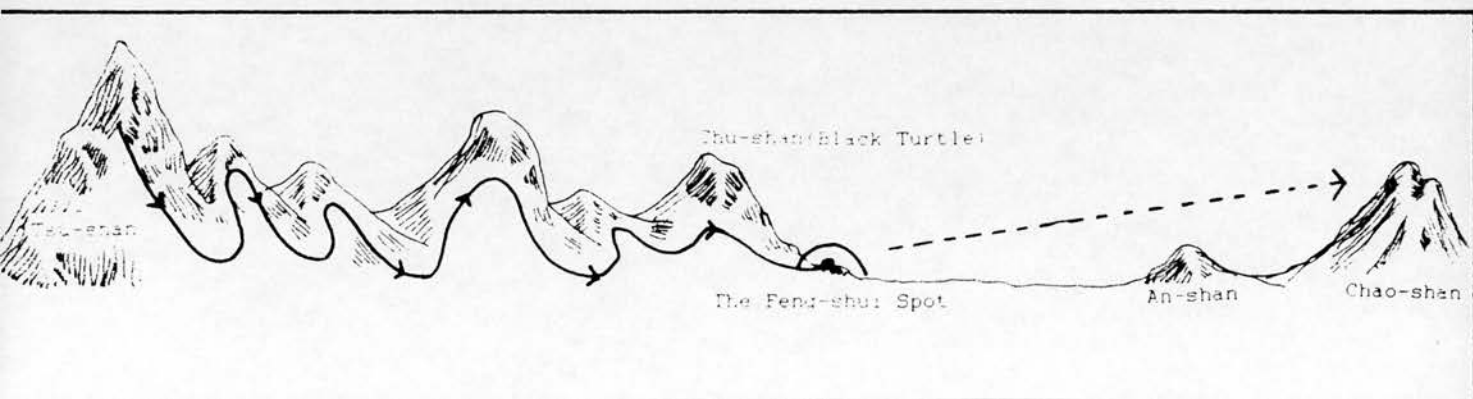


Fig. 5-11 Section of the ideal *feng-shui* site. (Source: Yin 1989:39)

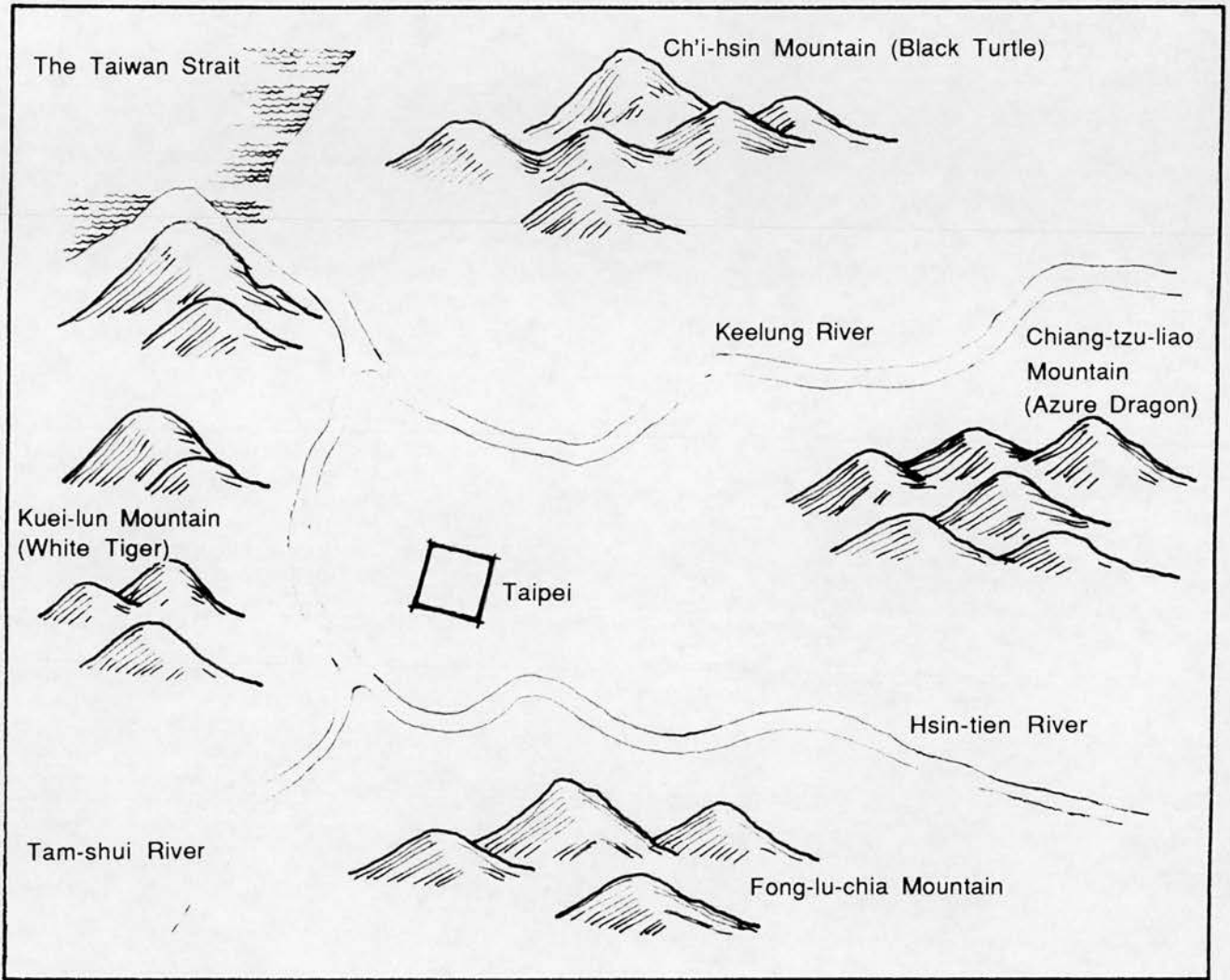


Fig. 5-12 The *feng-shui* arrangement of Taipei.

as the White Tiger; finally, to the left Mount Lungluan 龍鑾 played the role of the Azure Dragon. (Fig. 5-14)

5.4.3 Meinung

Although the above descriptions concentrated on the walled cities in Taiwan, the principles of *feng-shui* in fact remained essentially unchanged in rural areas. The layout of Meinung 美濃 township in southern Taiwan is such a case. The early Hakka immigrants examined the topography of Meinung and found an ideal *feng-shui* site for their settlement surrounded by layer upon layer of mountains and a water course - the Meinung river. (Fig. 5-15) Along the river, the Hakkas built their initial settlement: to the north the two mountains - Mount Twin Peak and Mount Moonlight is the *chu-shan* and the distant Mount T'aiwu 太武 in the south is the *chao-shan*; to the east the Chiating 茶頂 mountain represents the Azure Dragon and to the west the Chiwei 旗尾 mountain represents the White Tiger. (Li 1989:12) The ancestors of the Meinung people believed that this auspicious site would bring their descendants prosperity and well-being, and the eventual outcome verifies their belief. It is recorded that Meinung produced one *chin-shih* 進士 (holder of the highest degree in the imperial examination) and five *chu-jen* 舉人 (holder of the second degree in the imperial examination) during the Ch'ing period. The number of those who have obtained Ph.D. degree or Master degree is also impressive: since 1945, there have already been no fewer than fifty Ph.D. graduates and two hundred or so with Master degree from this small township.⁵⁰ (Li 1989:54)

5.4.4 Peip'u

Another Hakka settlement, Peip'u 北埔 situated in the mountainous areas of Northern Taiwan, is also an example of a settlement which was constructed on *feng-shui* principles (Liang 1990:74-75). As shown in Fig. 5-16 the *feng-shui*

⁵⁰ It is recorded that, since 1945, the growth of the population in Meinung is as follows: (Hong 1978b:211)

1947	33,191
1950	36,552
1955	43,017
1960	47,786
1965	53,422
1970	58,288
1975	57,883

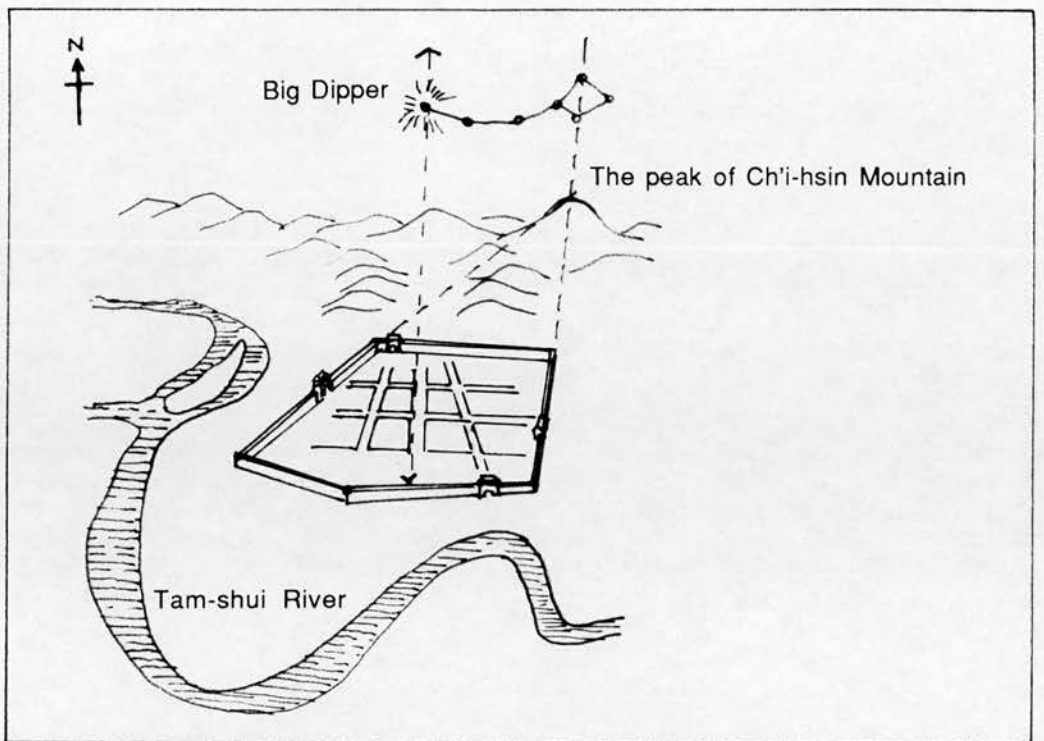


Fig. 5-13 The relationship between Big Dipper, Ch'i-hsin Mountain and old Taipei City. (Source: Chen T. H. 1984:60)

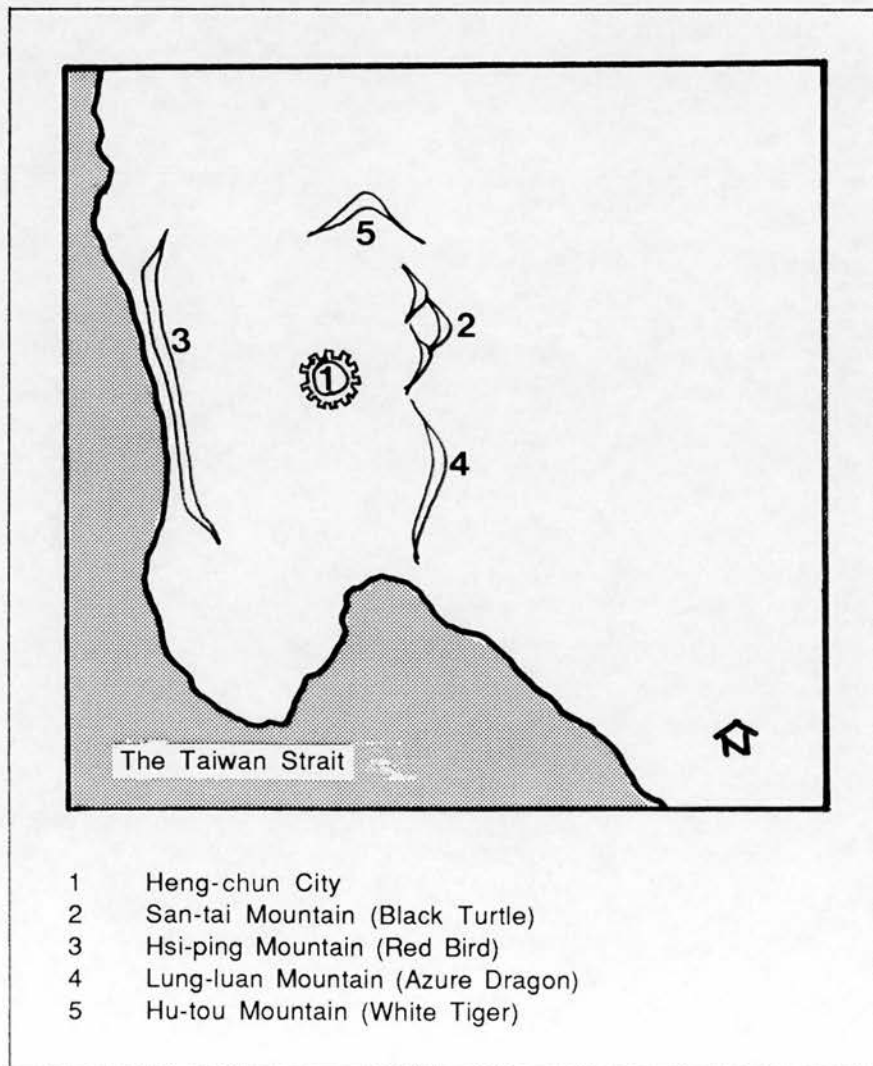


Fig. 5-14 The *feng-shui* arrangement of Heng-chun.

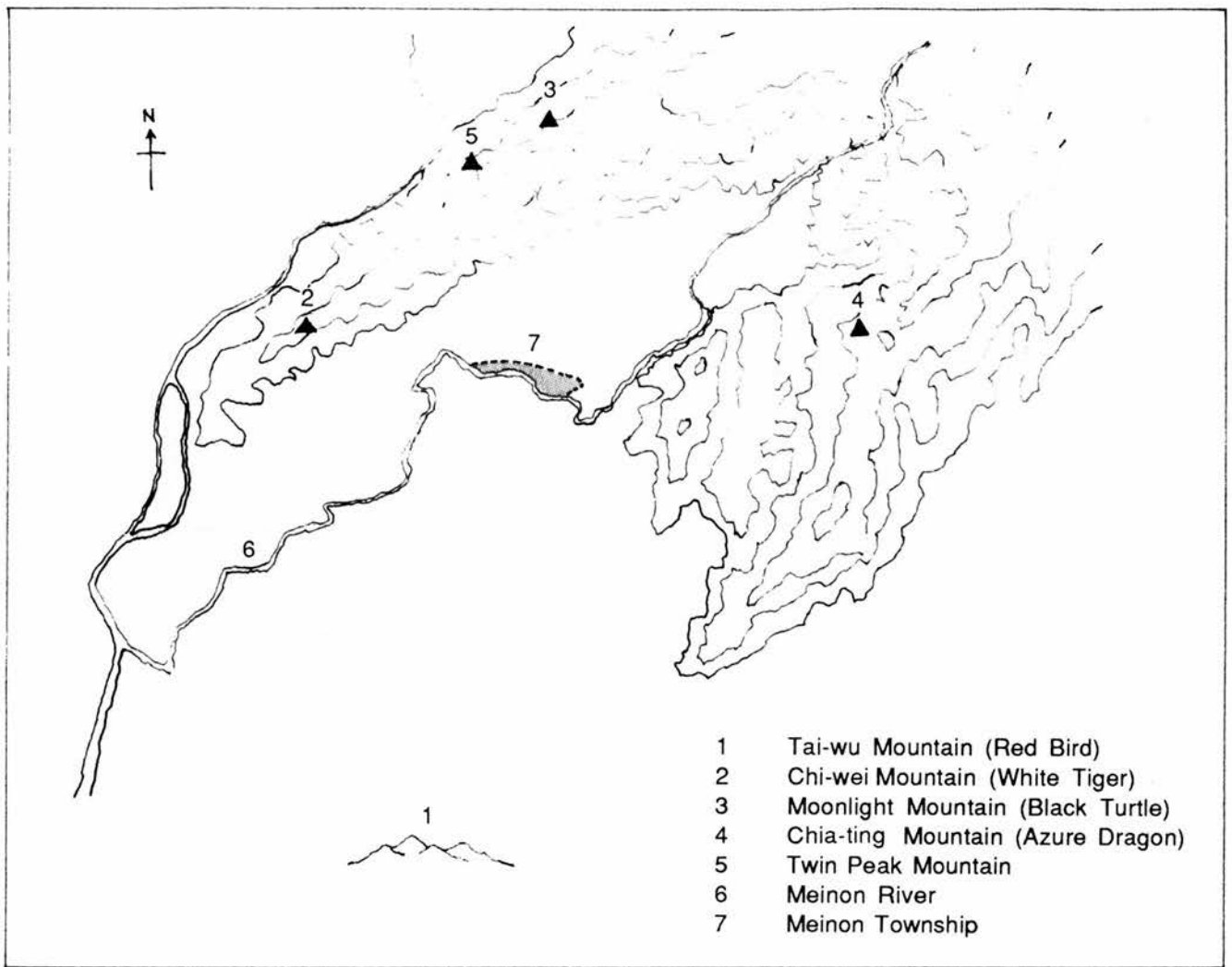


Fig. 5-15 The *feng-shui* arrangement of Meinong.

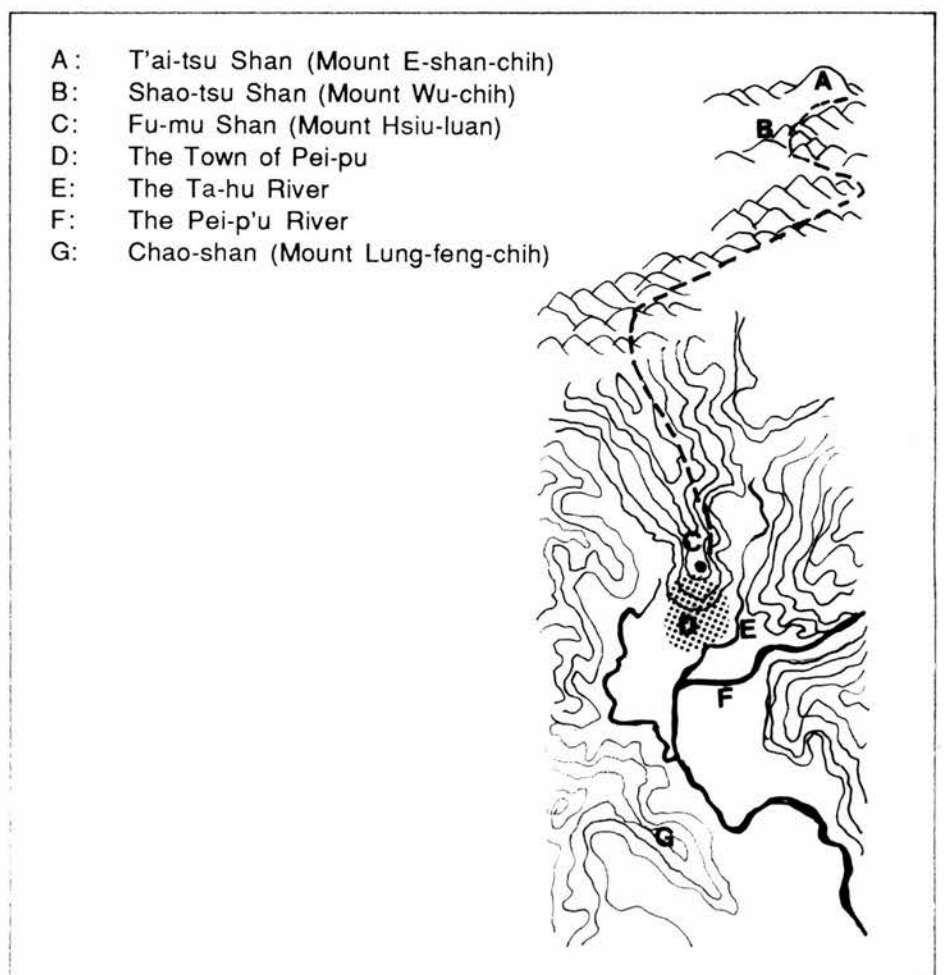


Fig. 5-16 The *feng-shui* arrangement of Pei-p'u.

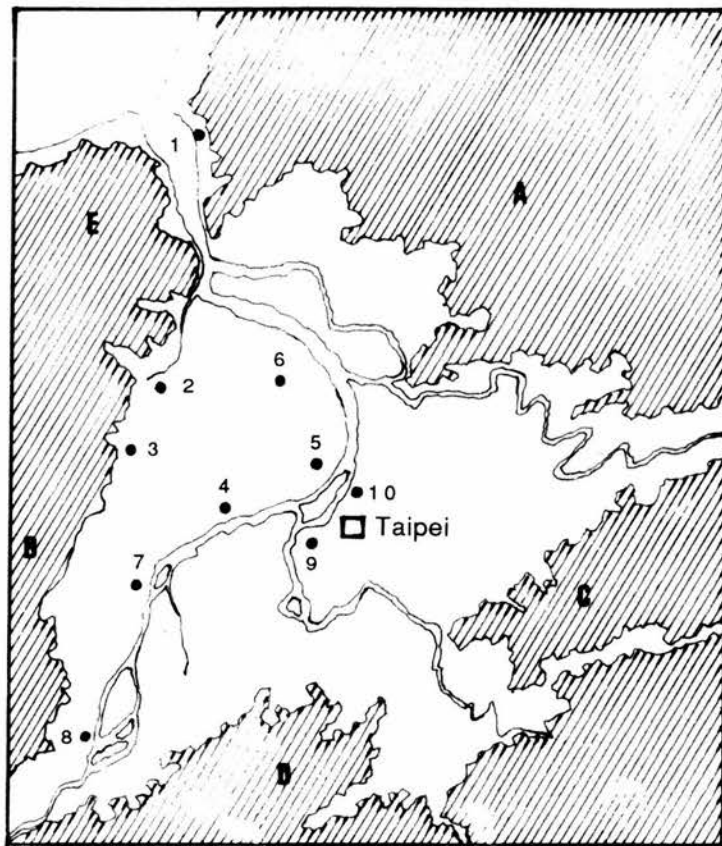
structure of Peip'u accords exactly with the principles of *lung*, *sha*, *shui* and *hsueh*. Mount E-shan-chih 鵝公髻 is a *t'ai-tsu-shan* 太祖山 (senior ancestral mountain), Mount Wu-chih is a *shao-tsu-shan* 少祖山 (junior ancestral mountain) and Mount Hsiu-luan is *fu-mu-shan* 父母山 (parental mountain), these mountains together forming a dragon ridge capable of carrying *ch'i*. The *ch'i* is concealed in the *hsueh* in front of Mount Hsiuluan: this spot being the ideal *feng-shui* location, the people used it to build their main temple - the T'su T'ien Kung 慈天宮. The hills near to the *hsueh* constitute the *sha*: the hill to the left is the Azure Dragon, while the hill to the right is the White Tiger, Mount Lungfengchih 龍鳳崎, which is further away, is the *chao-shan*, while Mount Hsiuluan to the rear of the *hsueh* is the *lo-shan*. The two rivers, the Peip'u 北埔 and the Tahu 大湖 river are smooth-flowing *shui* which encircle the *ming-tang* before flowing outwards. From these descriptions, we can see that the settlement of Peip'u completely satisfies the notions of *lung*, *sha*, *shui* and *hsueh* and *chao-shan* and *lo-shan*.

5.4.5 Taipei Basin

The notion of *feng-shui* not only dominates the development of individual villages or walled cities, but also determines the formation of the area as a whole. In the Taipei Basin, there is a wide plain at the west bank of the Tamshui river. (Fig. 5-17) To the north of the plain is located Mount Kuanyin 觀音 which is the highest mountain in this area. People believe the Kuanyin mountain is part of the main dragon ridge which originated in the Kunlun mountain in China. The ridges of Mount Kuanyin stretch southwards, through two places named Wuku 五股 and T'aishan 泰山 respectively, then turn to the east and link with another place called Hsinchuang 新莊. From there the main ridges divide into two branches; one branch turns northwards, via Touch'ien 頭前 and Shulintou 樹林頭, and ends at the place called Luchou 蘆州; the other branch stretches forwards to Sants'ung 三重 then turns northwards and also stops at Luchou. These seven specified locations (Fig. 5-18) which are thought to be auspicious *feng-shui* sites are virtually an earthly reflection of the celestial Big Dipper. (Fig. 5-19)

5.4.6 I-lan Plain

According to an historical document, it is recorded that in 1812 a Ch'ing official, Yang T'ing-li 楊廷理, intended to use a east-west axis as the orientation of the new I-lan walled city. However, he accepted a suggestion from a geomancer,



1. Tam-shui; 2. Wu-ku; 3. Tai-shan; 4. Hsin-chuang;
 5. San-ts'ung; 6. Lu-chou; 7. Shu-lin; 8. San-hsia;
 9. Mengchia; 10. Ta-dao-ch'eng.
- A. Ch'i-hsin Mountain; B. Kuei-lun Mountain;
 C. Chiang-tzu-liao Mountain; D. Fong-lu-chia Mountain;
 E. Kwan-yi Mountain.

Fig. 5-17 The geographical situation of the Taipei Basin.

- 1: Wu-ku
- 2: Tai-shan
- 3: Hsin-chuang
- 4: Tou-ch'ien
- 5: Su-liu-tou
- 6: San-ts'ung
- 7: Lu-chou.

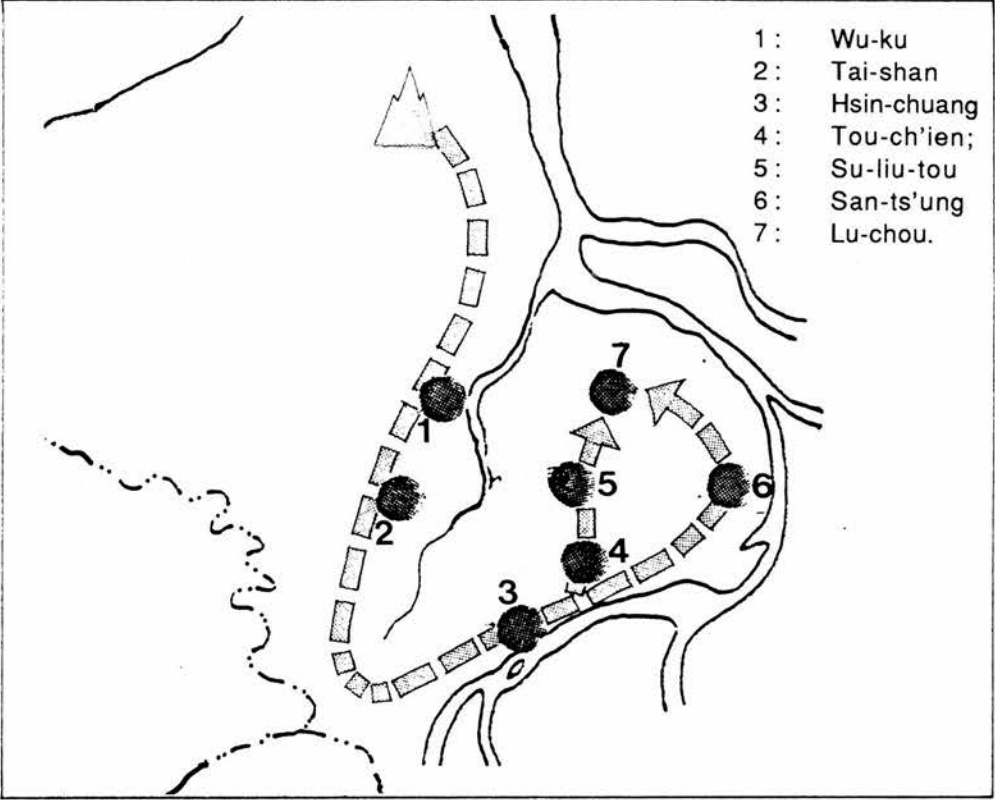


Fig. 5-18
(Source: Cheng 1989:60)

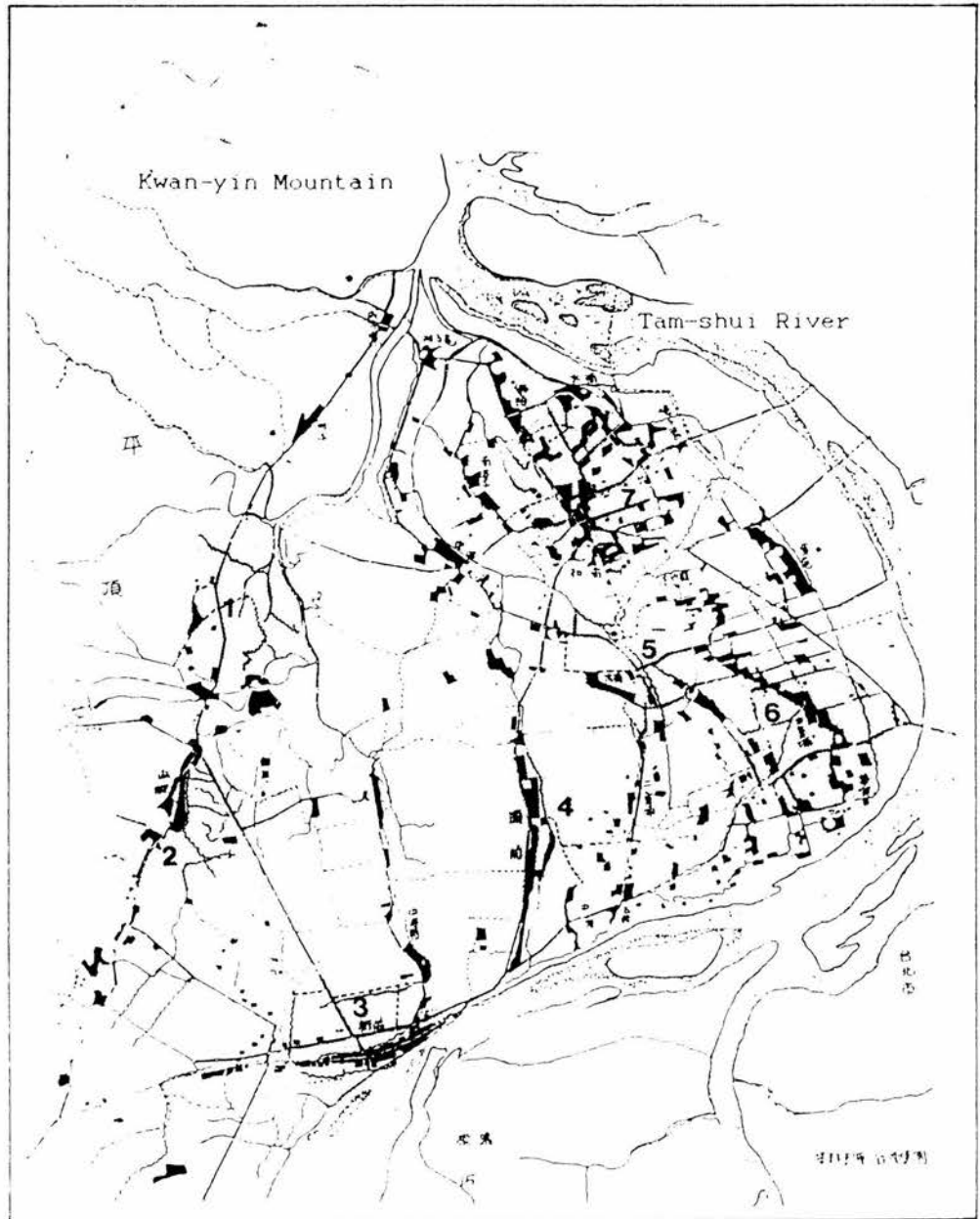


Fig. 5-19

Liang Chang 梁章, to revise the orientation from east-west to south-north, since it was believed to be more auspicious. (Fig. 5-20) (Chen C. W. 1988:235; Lamley 1977:n706) Thus, according to the notion of *si-shen*, the *feng-shui* of I-lan plain is: to the north Mount Keelung 雞籠 is the Black Tortoise and the Lan-yang River to the south is the Red Bird; the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger are respectively represented by the Pacific Ocean to the east and the mountains to the west. The I-lan plain embraced by the *si-shen* becomes the *ming-tang* in the *feng-shui* arrangement. The main axis of the walled city followed the north-north orientation in which Mount Keelung is the backbone of the *feng-shui* while, to the south, the distant Mount Yuanshan 員山 is used as the *anshan*. Thus, the I-lan plan as a whole can be imagined as an auspicious *feng-shui*, with the natural features providing the ideal nature site for building the city of I-lan. (Fig. 5-21) Liang Chang, who carried out the initial survey, forecast that the auspicious *feng-shui* of the site would bring numerous advantages. As he wrote: "The magistrate of I-lan will obtain an outstanding position in his civil career; his subordinates, civil or military, will maintain very harmonious relationships with each other; and the people will live prosperous and peaceful lives. The flourishing literary atmosphere will improve the vulgar mood of the society, and a highly civilised society will result in the very near future." (*Ko-ma-lan T'ing-chih*:32) As a frontier area, I-lan was originally economically and culturally underdeveloped, but nowadays it has become one of the most prosperous areas, in these two spheres, in the whole of Taiwan.

The Keelung mountain, the Black Tortoise, being a virtual extension of the dragon ridges originating on the Chinese mainland, was considered a sacred place and subject to a strict prohibition against deliberate destruction. (*Tai-wan Fu-chih*:13-14) The detailed terms of the Prohibition issued by the Ch'ing authorities are as follows:

The Keelung mountain is a sacred place where the dragon ridges are located and the auspicious *ch'i* concealed, and is closely related to the auspiciousness of *feng-shui*. Nowadays, some treacherous people have spread the rumours the Mount Keelung contains abundant coal resources. It may be hard to avoid the destruction of the mountain. If the dragon ridges were to be harmed, the natural benefits of the Taiwanese people as a whole would be severed. The prohibition is hereby concluded: Any individual alleged to have violated this prohibition will be arrested and prosecuted; anyone who dares to resist arrest will be executed. Everybody, whether poor or rich, should cooperate to protect this dragon ridge on the grounds of preserving the benefits of nature for all. (*Chih-t'ai Pi-kao-Lu*:375)

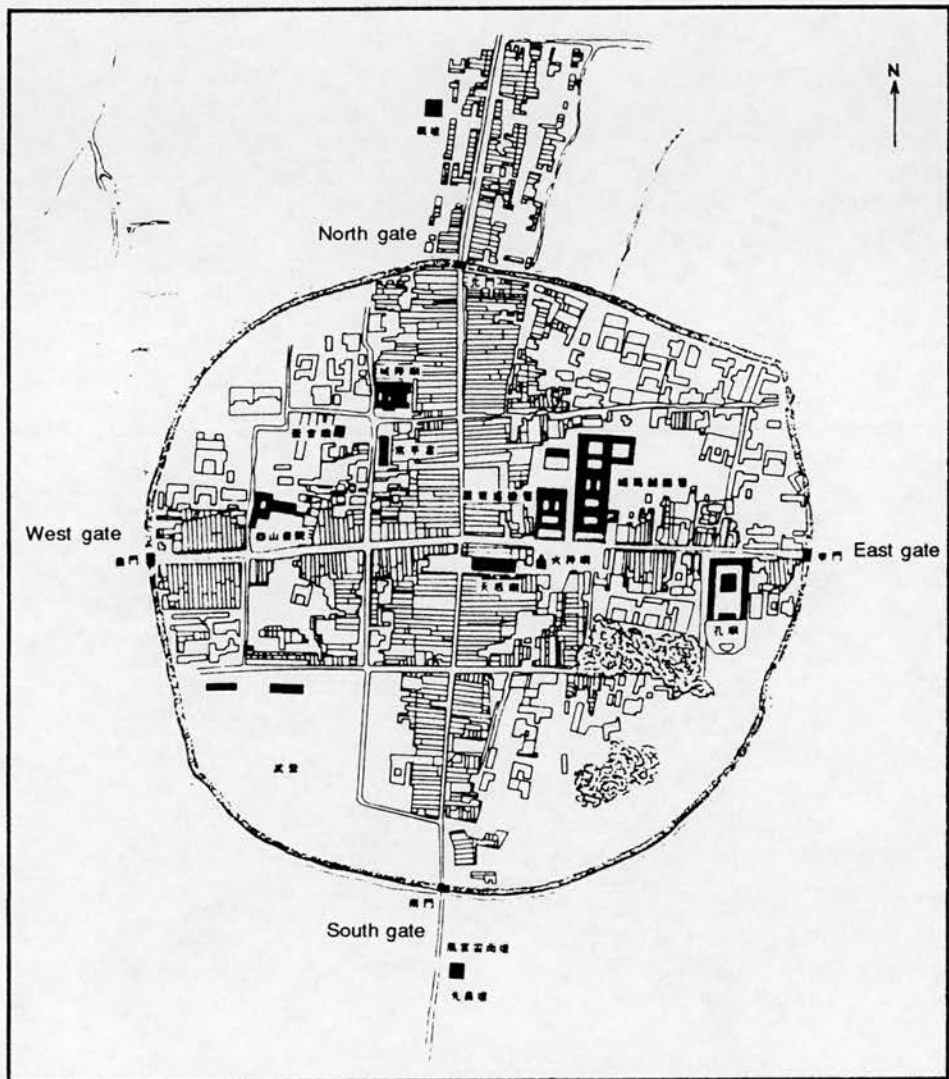


Fig. 5-20 The map of old I-lan City. (Chen C. W. 1988:234)

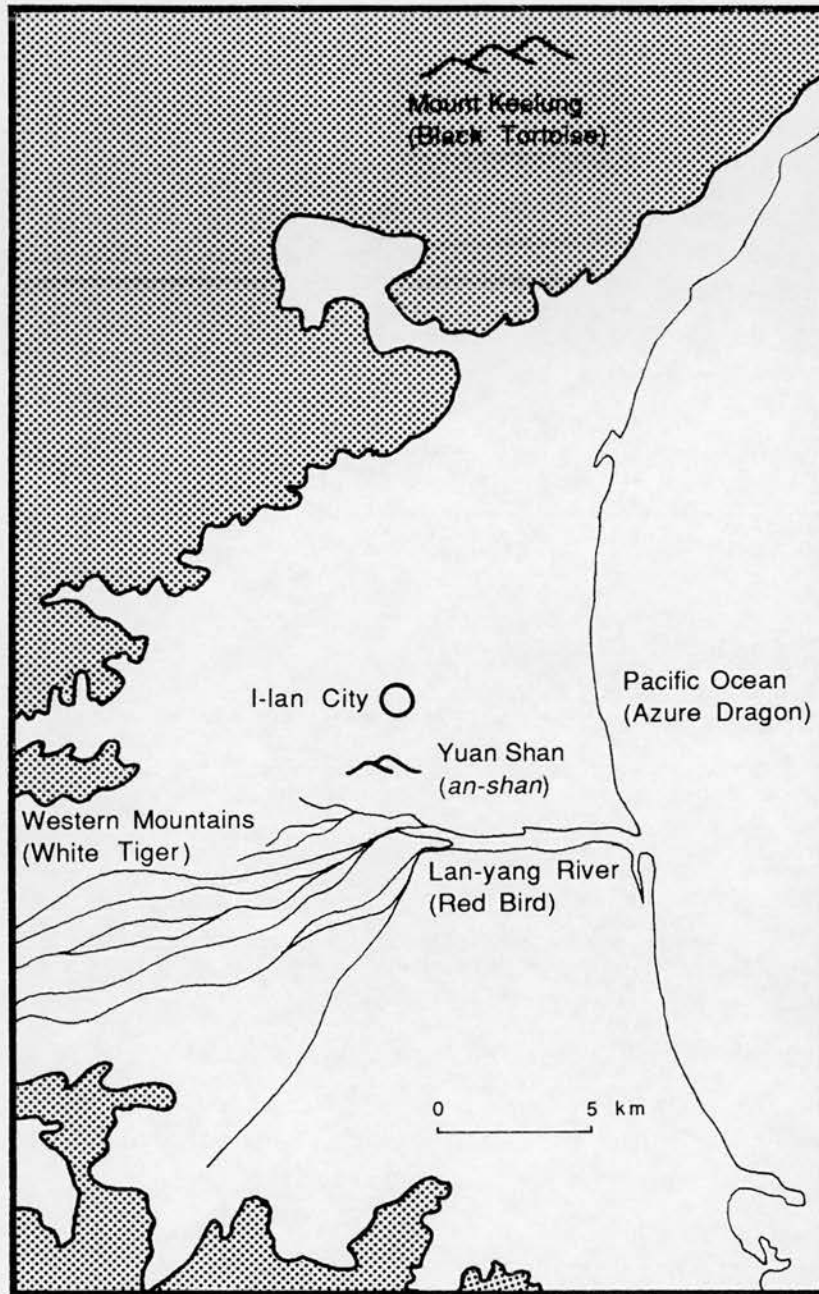


Fig. 5-21 The *feng-shui* arrangement of I-lan City.

It is apparent that the notion of *feng-shui* deeply influenced the choosing of the site for building the walled city in this newly opened up territory, to the extent that this severe law was applied to protect the wholeness of the *feng-shui*.

5.5 THE SPIRITUAL *YASHENG* DEFENSE SYSTEM

In Taiwanese vernacular buildings and settlements, two strict defence systems are established in order to protect the inhabitants from the intrusion of both physical and supernatural disasters. Firstly, a physical defence system, which in the case of the settlements means city ramparts, gates and watch towers, while in the case of the individual buildings it means moats, walls spiked with bamboo, surrounding fences, gates, arms stores and fire nets (Yang 1987). The main purpose of this system is to prevent the intrusion of man-made disasters from outside. The other system is a spiritual defence system, which in the settlements means the use of the main god temple, the Earth God (*t'u-ti-kung*) temples in the four quarters, and the Five Camps (*wu-ying*). In the buildings themselves, which are also constructed according to the Chinese people's traditional concept of the cosmos, a large number of spiritual symbols are arranged to suppress evil spirits, with the main aim of suppressing supernatural intrusions from outside the settlement (ghosts and demons). The intention of my discussion is not to discuss the physical defence system but rather to describe and explain the spiritual defence systems of Taiwanese vernacular buildings and settlements.

In order to underline even more clearly the reflection of a simulated construction of the cosmos in physical spatial construction, this discussion will illustrate the common use of *yasheng* 壓勝 in traditional Taiwanese buildings and settlements, including both *yasheng* objects and ceremonies. I use the term, spatial *yasheng*, to represent the way in which *yasheng* objects and ceremonies are used in traditional Taiwanese houses and settlements.

5.5.1 Spatial *yasheng*

According to traditional Taiwanese popular beliefs, man coexists within the cosmos with gods, ancestral spirits and ghosts (Jordan 1972). Consequently, there are many opportunities in his daily life for man to come into contact with malicious

ghosts and demons. In order to drive away these spirits, Taiwanese people, through the use of cosmic symbols and especially the method of *yasheng*, simulate the structure of the cosmos within their dwelling places. There are two *yasheng* categories. First, *yasheng* objects are sacred objects arranged inside or outside people's dwelling places to drive away evil spirits. Secondly, *yasheng* ceremonies, a kind of religious ceremony designed to imbue *yasheng* objects with the sacred power necessary to protect people. I will examine these two categories in detail below.

5.5.2 The function of *yasheng* objects

In Taiwan, as described above, objects of spatial *yasheng* are commonly arranged both inside and outside temples, homes and settlements. The time to use these objects is when the *feng-shui* of the buildings is counteracted by an inauspicious influence or when daily life has been disturbed by the intrusion of malicious demons. *Yasheng* objects are used to avoid inauspicious influences from such occurrences. The motifs used on *yasheng* objects are cosmic symbols such as; *t'aichi*, *yin-yang*, The Four Heavenly Quardants (*si-hsiang*), The Eight Trigrams, *ho-t'u* and *lo-shu* (Fig. 5-22), the sun and the moon, the Big Dipper , etc. Images of weapons capable of driving away evil spirits are also used such as swords, axes, spears and arrows, along with images of wild animals such as the heads of lions and tigers, etc.

Because traditional Taiwanese houses were not built according to comprehensive planning processes, opportunities for the occurrence of malign *feng-shui* influences were plentiful. Individual buildings or streets were built in line with individual needs and were completed gradually at different times. Under these circumstances, even if the notions of auspicious *feng-shui* for architecture were followed originally, it was hard, at a later stage, to avoid the influence of the malign *feng-shui* in which people's houses came into contact with other neighbouring objects - the corners of buildings, gates, roads or trees. In terms of *feng-shui*, it is a very bad omen when the auspiciousness of the house is counteracted by an object and is something people should strive to avoid. There are three areas in which the *feng-shui* of a house can be counteracted, all of which can exert an influence on its inhabitants. First, by a road: traditionally, people believe that a road is like an arrow and that if the main gate of the house stands against the road, disasters can occur. Secondly, by a pole-like object: if the main gate of the house stands against a pole-like object such as a tree, a house column, a flag pole,

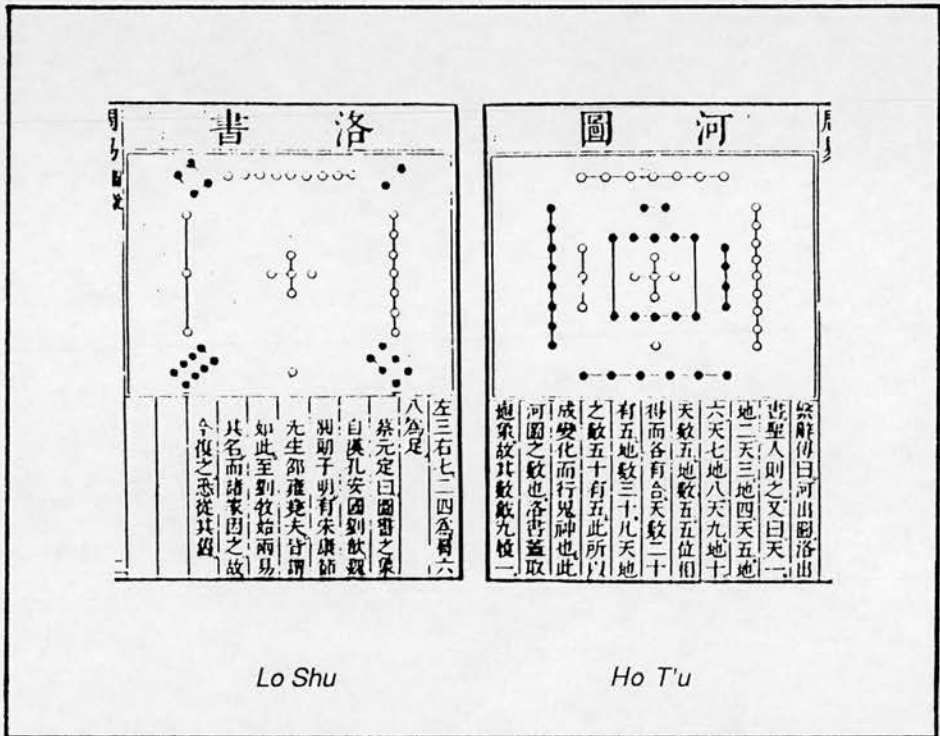


Fig. 5-22 Ho T'u & Lo Shu.

chimney etc. Thirdly, by another house: if the main gate of the house is right up against the main gate or the corners of the eaves or walls of other houses. According to the notion of *feng-shui*, the main entrance is the most important part of a building; just as the mouth and nostrils are the means by which the human body is able to live, so the main entrance is thought to be the channel through which happiness and good fortune can be absorbed. If the main entrance is counteracted by some malign *feng-shui* influence, then it is difficult to absorb the *ch'i* (living breath) of *feng-shui* and disaster may occur. The way to avoid such problems of "being counteracted" and to pursue happiness for the family is through the correct use of *yasheng* objects.

Yasheng objects also are used to confront malicious demons. According to Chinese belief, when people die they become ghosts: if their descendants worship them, the ghosts can become ancestral spirits. If the ghosts are not worshipped, they will become malicious spirits. Among these malicious spirits, the fiercest and most dangerous are those who died a violent death: for example, people who died through a traffic accident or by drowning, burning, murder, suicide, as well as those who did not receive a proper burial. Although in Taiwan it is customary to hold special ceremonies, (such as *P'u-t'u* 普渡, or the ceremonies for feeding the hungry ghosts), for these malicious spirits, this is not sufficient to guarantee people's welfare. Consequently, in order to avoid calamitous encounters with these spirits and to guarantee people's security, *yasheng* objects are arranged within the house.

5.5.3 The categories of *yasheng* objects

According to the *Lu-pan Ching*, there are twelve kinds of commonly used *yasheng* objects (Fig. 5-23). However, neither the *yasheng* objects commonly used in traditional Taiwanese architecture nor their emplacement correspond exactly with the details recorded in the *Lu-pan Ching*. In Taiwan, there are various *yasheng* objects for the various locations within a building, including the roof, the courtyard, the door lintel and the ridge beam (Lu 1990; Tung 1988). Important roof *yasheng* objects, which are placed on the central part of the roof ridge, include *feng-shih-yeh* 風獅爺 (a statue of the lion God), cacti, glass bottles, pen-rests and stoves (Ho 1986) (Fig. 5-24). Important courtyard *yasheng* objects, which are placed in the courtyard and in front of the main gate, include the screen walls inscribed with a design of the Eight Trigrams (Fig. 5-25). There are various types of door lintel *yasheng* objects, such as the Eight Trigrams plaque, the lion plaque and

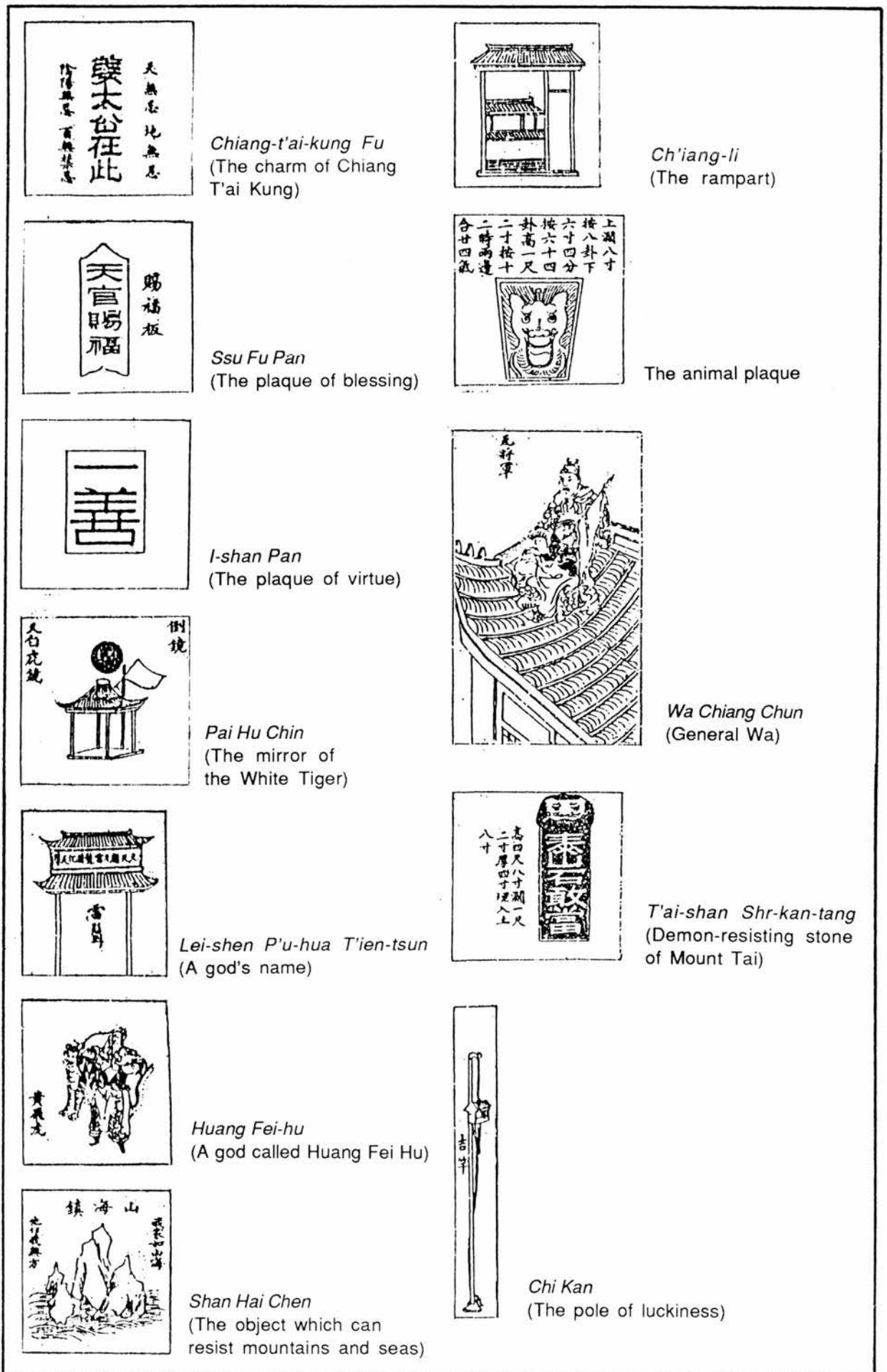


Fig. 5-23 The twelve *yasheng* objects in *Lu-pan Ching*.

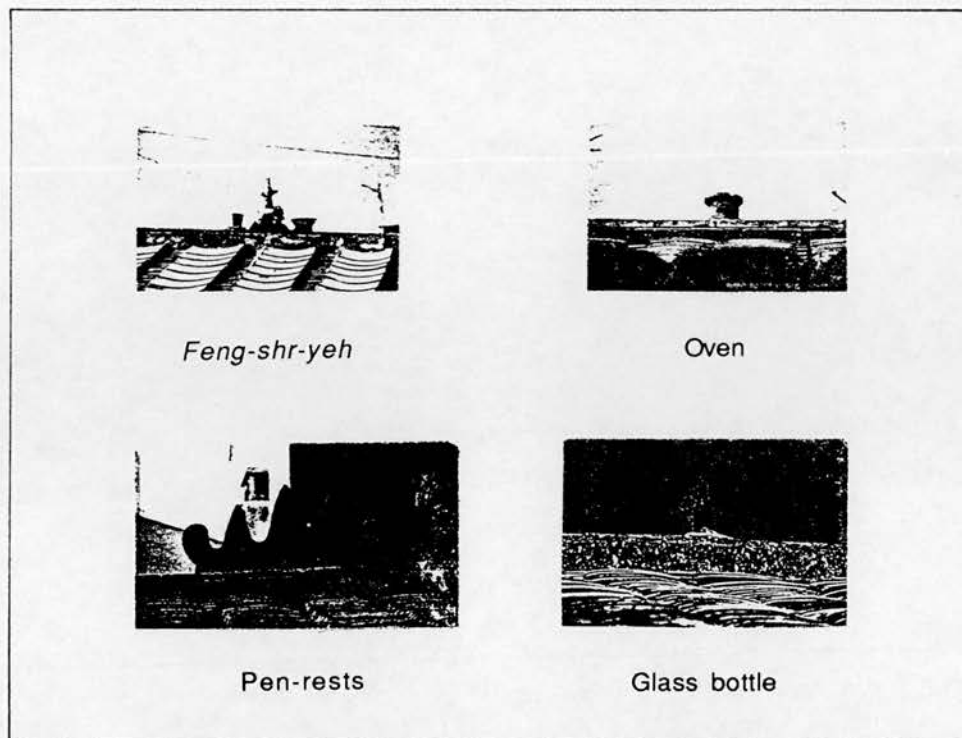


Fig. 5-24 The *yasheng* objects of the roof.

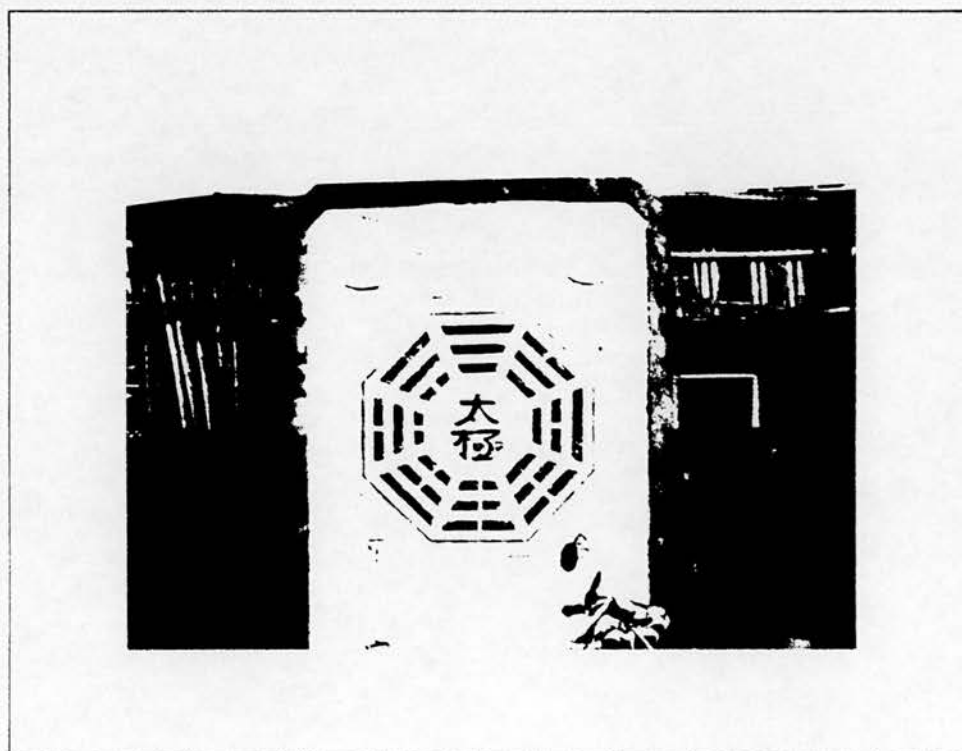


Fig. 5-25 The screen wall of *Pa-kua*.

the tiger mirror, which are located on the lintel of the main door (Fig. 5-26). Important ridge beam *yasheng* objects, which are placed on the middle section of the ridge beam in the main hall, are generally painted with cosmic symbols such as the Eight Trigrams and the *Ho-t'u* and *Lo-shu*.

Apart from these precisely positioned *yasheng* objects, other *yasheng* objects are used in traditional Taiwanese homes to suppress demons. The "charm papers" controlling the demons of the Five Directions (*Wu-fang Chen-chai-fu* 五方鎮宅符) (Fig. 5-27) are attached to the altar in the main hall and the four extremities of the house, while the *shih-kan-tang* 石敢當 (the stone which can resist any demons) is positioned on the outside walls or the corners of the house (Fig. 5-28).

The most commonly used *yasheng* objects in traditional Taiwanese settlements are the Earth God temples (*t'u-ti-kung*) on guard in the four extremities, and the main god temple on guard in the middle of the settlement. However, the spatial construction formed by the positioning of the Earth God Temples and the main god temple, which could protect the whole settlement from the intrusion of malicious spirits, also becomes a *yasheng* object which can protect the whole settlement. However, in addition to their protective function, these temples also need to serve more important religious functions. In fact, the most important *yasheng* objects used in the settlements are the Five Camps (*wu-ying* 五營), built according to the concept of the Five Directions (*wu-fang*) system of cosmic symbols - middle, East, West, South and North. The middle camp is placed next to the main god temple in the middle of the settlement, while the other four camps are placed to guard the four roads leading to the entries of the settlement, namely, East, West, South and North. The protection given by the heavenly soldiers placed in these five camps guarantees the welfare of the settlement. Apart from the Five Camps, the *shih-kan-tang* (the stones which can resist any demons) are also placed around the settlements to assist or even replace the functions of the Five Camps. Because of the popularity of pantheistic beliefs, there are also some villages where banyan trees are placed at the four points to act as spiritual protection (Jordan 1972).

Taiwanese people use *yasheng* objects in other areas apart from settlements and houses: for example, thanksgiving plays for the gods are held on stages which are also viewed as a miniature cosmic space and constructed according to the systems of cosmic symbols. Thus, *yasheng* objects are used on the stage to suppress

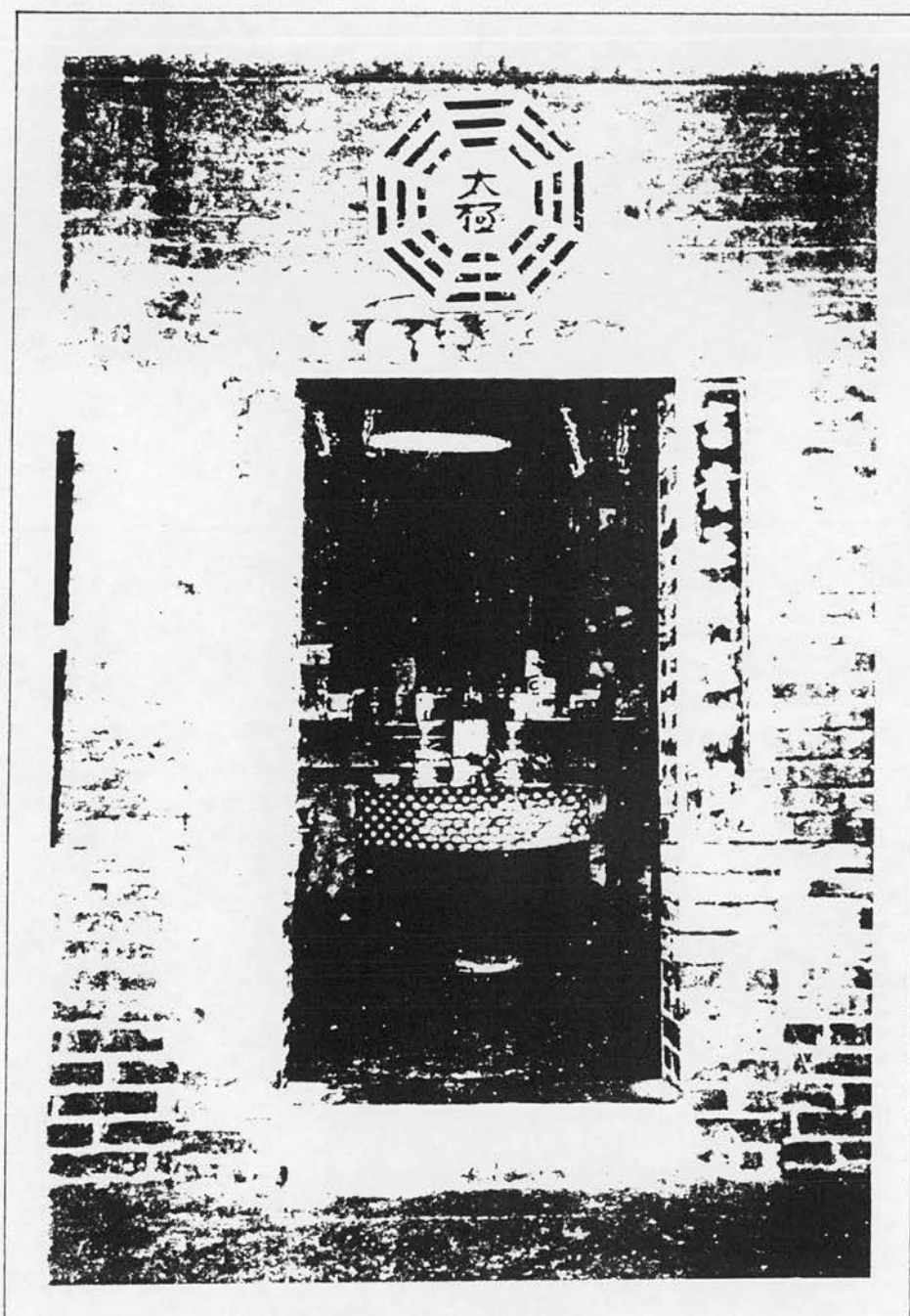


Fig. 5-26 The *Pa-kua* plaque on the door-lintel of the main door.

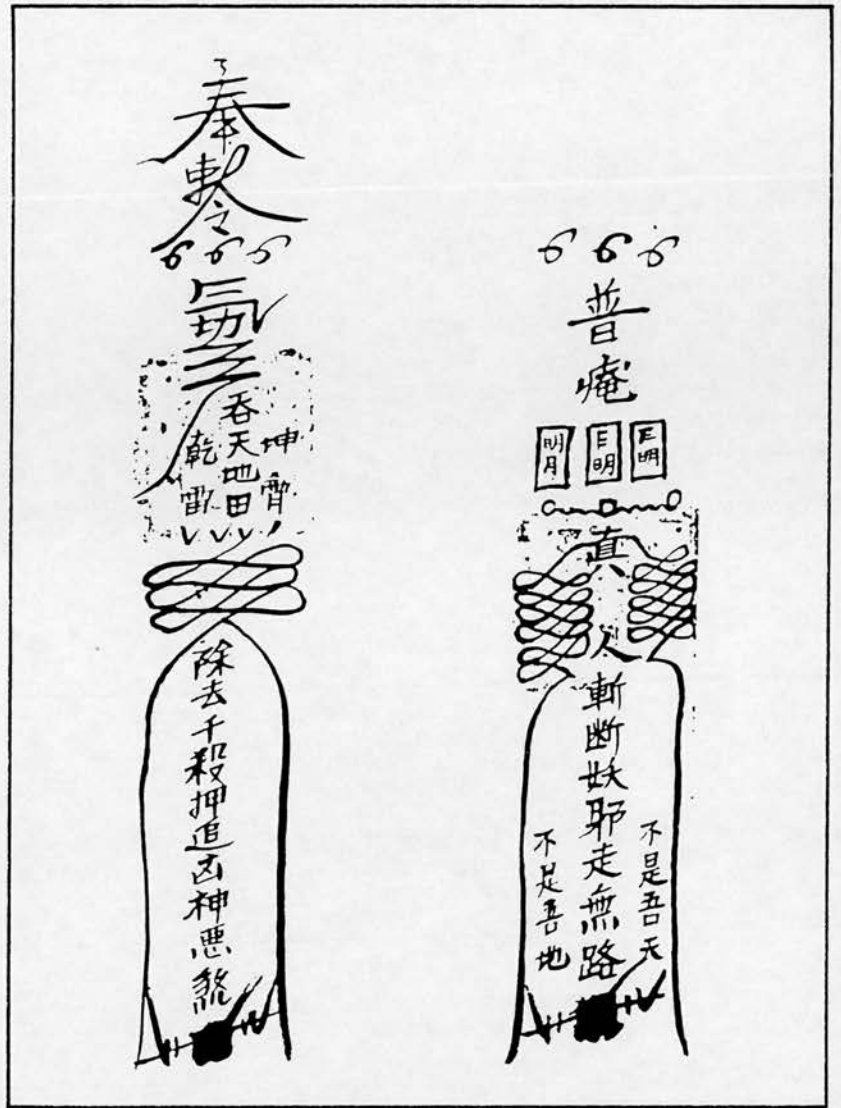


Fig. 5-27 Wu-fang Chen-chai Fu
(The charms of the Five Directions).

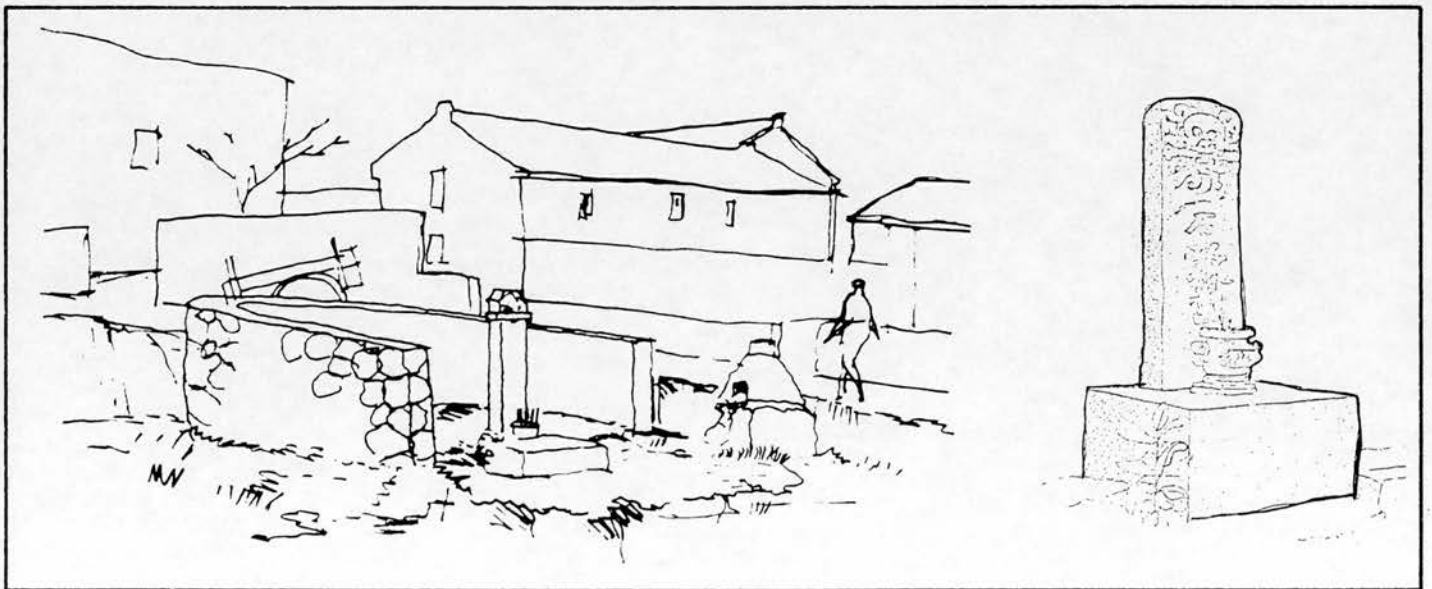


Fig. 5-28 Shr-kan-tang (Demon-resisting stone).

demons. For example, during a performance of a puppet play in the Taiwanese village of I-lan, symbols for the Five Directions were placed in the middle, East, West, South and North of the stage in order to suppress demons (Sung C. H. 1990; Shih 1989). I will discuss in detail the various *yasheng* objects mentioned above:

5.5.3.1 The *pa-kua* (Eight Trigrams) *yasheng* objects

The use of *pa-kua yasheng* objects in Taiwanese vernacular architecture is very widespread (Tung 1988), for example:

1). The Eight Trigrams ridge beam. Traditionally, every Taiwanese home or temple has the Eight Trigrams motif placed on the middle of the ridge beam in the main hall to symbolise the centre of that building, named by Eliade, the *axis mundi*(Eliade 1959). The "Eight Trigrams" motif symbolises the particular qualities of the centre of the cosmos and can bring about harmony between man and nature and achieve the aim of a harmonious household.

2). The Eight Trigrams screen wall. A screen wall, which is traditionally placed in front of the main gate of the house, is a *yasheng* screen to which the Eight Trigrams symbols have been added. It is made in four different shapes: rectangular, swordlike, vaulted and gourdlike and is positioned in line with *feng-shui* concepts, such as avoiding counteraction by the inauspicious objects. In other words, an Eight Trigrams screen wall is positioned to eliminate the effects of inauspicious *feng-shui*.

3). The Eight Trigrams plaque. The Eight Trigrams plaque is placed on the lintel of the main gate as a means of protection against the various road, house or post "counteracting" accidents which can occur at the main gate of the house. Due to people's worries about their own safety, a priest is invited to position the plaque on the lintel of the main gate. People then believe that demons will be expelled and happiness achieved.

5.5.3.2 The *feng-shih-yeh* (the Lion God Master) *yasheng* objects

Feng-shih-yeh is a lion shaped stone statue(Fig. 5-29), commonly seen either on the roof ridge of traditional Taiwanese buildings or at crossroads outside or at the entrance to traditional Taiwanese settlements. Examples of these statues

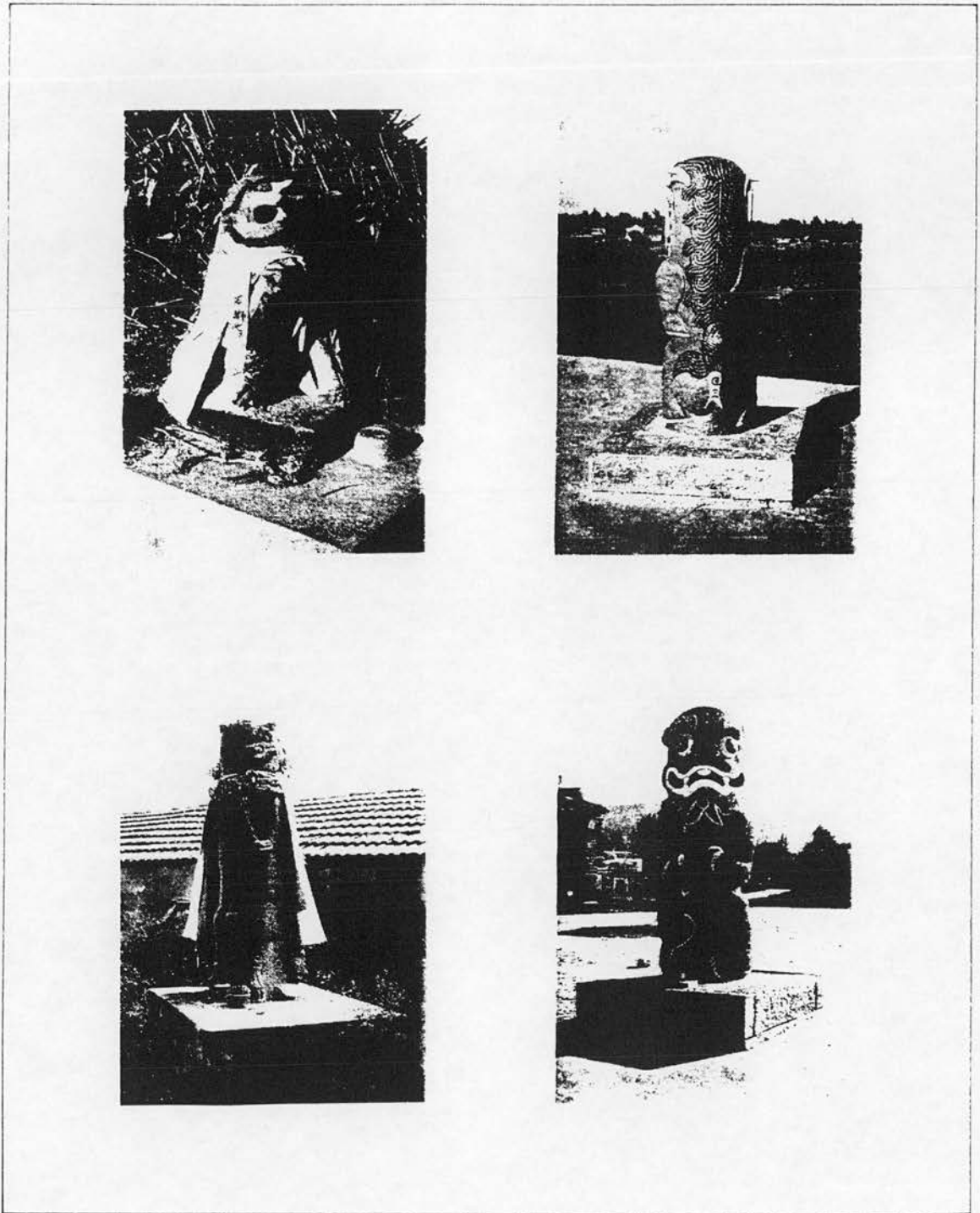


Fig. 5-29 *Feng-shr-yeh* statues. (Source: Kung:1990)

can be seen on Chinmen (Quemoy) island and Penghu island off Taiwan (Kung 1990). The function of the statues is to suppress natural or supernatural disasters. To take the example of Chinmen and Penghu, these are islands a long way off from the island of Taiwan itself where people have long been subjected to fierce winds. Since there is no way for people to control these winds, it is natural for them to seek help through religion. Thus, in ancient times the *feng-shih-yeh* gained an important religious significance in people's minds; when people were faced with a particularly adverse natural environment, they needed the security of *yasheng* objects (Ibid.). Because of the function of these statues in oppressing winds, they were always placed by the side of the main road leading into the settlement, which faced the direction of the wind (Fig. 5-30 & 5-31). Generally speaking, in settlements which are subjected to fierce winds, people usually use the shelter of hills to protect their buildings from these winds. The *feng-shih-yeh yasheng* objects are placed on the ridges of the hills facing the oncoming wind.

5.5.3.3 The *shih-kan-tang yasheng* objects

Shih-kan-tang is a sort of stele inscribed with patterns or characters found throughout Taiwan including the islands of Penghu and Chinmen (Yang 1987:88-91). The use of different patterns and characters in the various regions has led to different styles:

1). The original *shih-kan-tang*: a stele inscribed with the three characters *shih-kan-tang*, literally "the stone which can resist anything"⁵¹.

2). The *t'ai-shan shih-kan-tang* (Fig. 5-32 & 5-33): a stele inscribed with those five characters, the addition of the characters for *t'ai-shan* (Mount T'ai), giving the stele increased power to repel misfortune. *T'ai-shan*, according to Chinese spatial structure is the Eastern mountain. Moreover, according to the concept of the Five Elements (*wu-hsing*), the East relates to the spring, so *t'ai-shan* is seen as the place from where spring emerges. For Chinese people, *t'ai-shan* is also the birth place of all creatures and the mating place of *yin* and *yang* (Chou

⁵¹ *Shih-kan-tang*, literally speaking, is a stone which can resist any evil object. There are different legends referring to *shih-kan-tang*: one holds that *shih-kan-tang* is the name of one person who was entitled as a god after his death; another that no such person existed, and that the title merely denotes a literal meaning (Yang 1987).

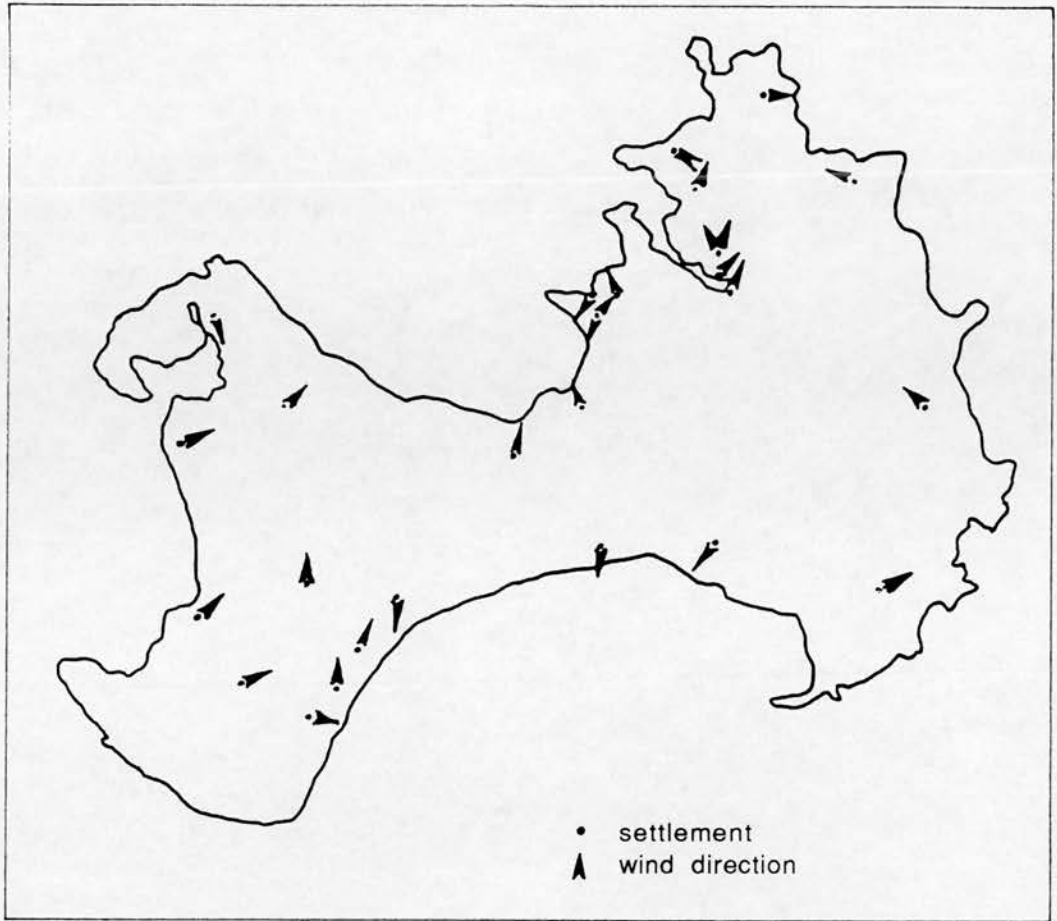


Fig. 5-30 The distribution of *Feng-shr-yeh* on Chinmen Island.

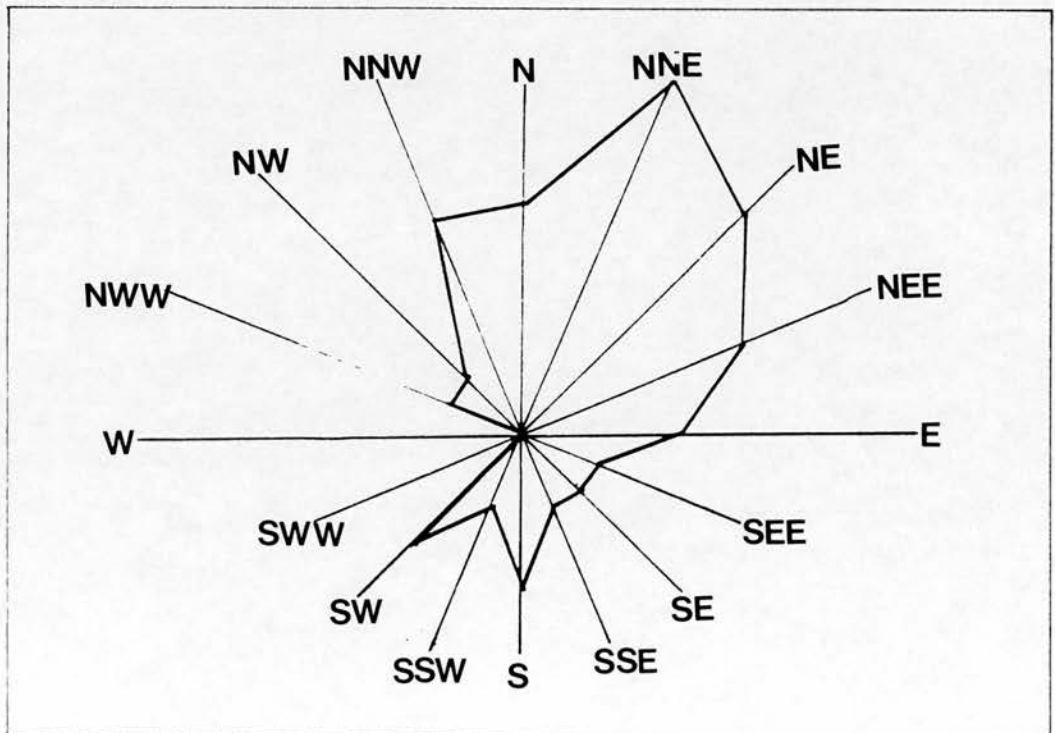


Fig. 5-31 The wind-direction diagram.

1987:63). Thus, T'ai-shan is a part of Chinese people's knowledge of cosmic symbols, so the addition of the two characters naturally imbues the *shih-kan-tang* with the eternal vitality of the cosmos and increases its ability to repress demons.

3). The *shih-kan-tang* with the Eight Trigrams, the lion head and the charm (Fig. 5-34): these various types of *shih-kan-tang* use cosmic symbols to increase the ability of the *shih-kan-tang* in the same way as the same way as the *t'ai-shan shih-kan-tang*, in order to resist demons, inauspicious feng-shui, strong winds etc. (Yang 1987:64). *Shih-kan-tang* can be divided into two further categories; those used in private houses for the peace and welfare of one family, and those used in public buildings for the peace of the populace as a whole.

To sum up, we can conclude that Taiwanese spatial *yasheng* objects can be divided into two categories: those used in houses and those used in settlements. There are three kinds of objects used in settlements; first, the five temples with the four Earth God temples in the outskirts of the settlement and the main temple in the middle; secondly, the Five Camps, set in the middle of the settlement and at the four directions; thirdly, *feng-shih-yeh* and *shih-kan-tang*, generally used in settlements but also found in individual buildings. There are also three kinds of *yasheng* objects used within the home; first and most popular, the Eight Trigrams *yasheng* objects; secondly, animal plaques, such as the tiger head plaque or the lion head mirror etc; thirdly, charm papers used in temples or within dwellings, based on the five directions and also found in the construction of stages for the performance of folk operas.

5.6 YASHENG RITUALS

Yasheng rituals serve to remove evil and demons and have a mutual relationship with *yasheng* objects: *yasheng* objects have to be used in co-ordination with *yasheng* rituals before they can obtain the sacred power necessary to remove evil (Tung 1988). The *yasheng* ritual is thus a ritual to sanctify the *yasheng* objects so that they will possess spiritual power. There are three important stages in the placing of the *yasheng* objects before this sanctification can take place.



Fig. 5-32 *T'ai-shan*
Shr-kan-tang.



Fig. 5-33 *T'ai-shan*
Shr-kan-tang.



Fig. 5-34 The lion head.

5.6.1 The process of *yasheng* rituals

5.6.1.1 Choosing an auspicious time

For Taiwanese people, the choosing of a "sacred time" is very important for the achieving of a "sacred event" and is a basic ritual in the sanctification of *yasheng* objects. According to the discussion in the *Hui-t'u Lu-pan Ching* (The illustrated Lu Pan manual), on the choosing of an auspicious time for the placing of the General Wa (*Wa Chiang-chun* 瓦將軍), a particular *yasheng* object: "The auspicious time depends on the weather; if the weather is fine it is auspicious to place the object, while if it is raining it is inauspicious." (*Hui-t'u Lu-pan Ching*, Chap. 4) The book also discusses the shih-kan-tang, saying: "The shih-kan-tang should be placed in the twelve days after the winter solstice which are known as the *lung-hu* 龍虎 (dragon-tiger) days; three slices of raw meat should be sacrificed to the stone and placed on the outer door on New Year's Eve between three and five in the morning so that no one else will see them." (Ibid.) Animal plaques should also be placed by: "adopting the six *yin* (one of the Earthly Branches) days" (Ibid.).

5.6.1.2 The opening ceremony

When the auspicious time has been decided upon, a priest is called to preside over the ceremony to imbue the *yasheng* objects with sacred power.

5.6.1.3 The emplacement ceremony

After the completion of the ceremony to place the *yasheng* objects in a permanently suitable place, the *yasheng* objects can commence their duties. F. W. Tung has investigated the emplacement ceremony of an Eight Trigrams *yasheng* object, summarizing the whole process in these steps (Tung 1988:74-96):

- 1) The purification of the site where the ceremony is to be held.
- 2) Inviting the gods to join the ceremony.
- 3) The reading of the appeal to Heaven for help.
- 4) Positioning the priest's exorcising instruments.
- 5) The emplacement of the Eight Trigrams plaque in a permanent position.
- 6) Burning oil to purify the environment.

When the *yasheng* objects have gone through these six stages, they are sanctified and can protect the security of families or whole villages. However, from time to time people still have to worship the objects to ensure that their power is maintained. If a house or settlement falls into disuse, the *yasheng* objects have to be carried to a temple where the ceremonies can be continued. The *yasheng* objects, imbued as they are with sacred power, can certainly not be wantonly thrown away. If treated wrongly they can become dangerous, so they must be treated with great care.

5.6.2 The exorcising function of the *yasheng* ritual

The *yasheng* ceremonies are sometimes also used as part of an exorcism ceremony, still common in all kinds of activities in Taiwanese society. The most typical example of this type of ceremony is the "procession of the gods" which, like a *yasheng* ceremony, involves praying for the expulsion of evil. Apart from this example, other ceremonies in Taiwan which use *yasheng* rituals include: the development of a new settlement, protecting a house, constructing a new temple and feeding the gods, as well as ceremonies held on the site of an accident such as fire, traffic accident or drowning. I will now outline a few specific examples:

5.6.2.1 The *yasheng* ritual in the procession of the gods - the military formation of the Eight Trigrams

During the procession of the gods, a popular religious celebration, the parade is led by the *Sung-chiang-chen* 宋江陣⁵², a martial arts troupe, whose formation is based on the basic arrangement of the Eight Trigrams (Tung 1988:41). Because the formation is based on cosmic symbols, people believe the troupe to be possessed with sacred power and capable of expelling evil. The power of the troupe is held to be so sacred that they are invited to display the Eight Trigrams array at a variety of places, such as newly built temples or places where people have lost their lives, in order to expel demons.

⁵² According to the descriptions of a Chinese classic novel, *Shui-hu Chuan* 水滸傳, Sung Chiang 宋江 who was the chief of 108 "Robin Hood style" gangsters had developed a special military formation, *sung-chiang-ch'en*, in which the cosmic symbol *pa-kua* (the Eight Trigrams) was used as the main base of the military formation. It was recorded that *sung-chiang-ch'en* was the most invincible military array. Thus, it is popular to use it to drive away the inauspicious spirits in Taiwanese societies.

5.6.2.2 *T'iao chung-k'ui* (the puppet show of *chung-k'ui*)

T'iao Chung-k'ui 跳鍾旭 is a Taiwanese puppet play, which is performed at places where disasters caused by evil spirits, such as murders, traffic accidents, drowning or suicide have occurred⁵³. The main character of the play, Chung K'ui⁵⁴, is a spirit renowned for his ability to chase and capture ghosts wandering in this world. While for most theatrical performances it is believed that the bigger the audience the better, most people keep well away from this show because in aiming to expel demons, it involves a confrontation with many troublesome evil spirits. Even the performers wear special charms to protect themselves and avoid contact with the demons. At the *yasheng* ritual held before a performance of *t'iao Chung-k'ui* there is a performance of a supplication to the gods. Apart from Chung K'ui, the performance involves 36 puppet bodies, 72 puppet heads and dragon, tiger and horse puppets to represent the cosmic pantheism. The presence of the gods is requested to assist Chung K'ui in his duties, and to assist people in their daily problems.

5.7 THE MEANINGS OF SPATIAL YASHENG OBJECTS

In the following discussion, I will examine two aspects of the meaning of spatial *yasheng* objects: their surface meaning and their deeper significance.

53 For Taiwanese people, it is believed that any one who died in a violent death can not be reincarnated. The only way to allow him to be reincarnated is to find and kill another person as an alternative. That is why people think that rancorous spirits are the most dangerous threat of all.

54 Chung K'ui 鍾旭, as recorded in Chinese legend, was a god responsible for chasing and arresting evil ghosts. It is said that Chung K'ui was originally an intellectual, who was extremely intelligent but had an ugly appearance. Every time, he attended the national officer examination he always failed, not for his score, but because of his ugly appearance. After several failures, he finally committed suicide. Heaven took pity on his misfortune and offered him an officer position as a detective responsible for chasing and arresting evil spirits.

5.7.1 The surface meaning of spatial *yasheng* objects

We have already seen how the various *yasheng* objects mentioned such as the temples built according to the concept of the Five Directions, the Five Camps, the *shih-kan-tang* and the various Eight Trigrams *yasheng* objects, in reality construct a strictly ordered spiritual defence system. Looking at settlements as a whole, this defence system can be divided into three circles - outer, intermediate and inner.

(1) The outer circle. The outskirts of the settlements where spatial *yasheng* objects, such as the four *t'u-ti-kung* (Earth God Temples), the four camps, the *shih-kan-tang* and the *feng-shih-yeh* are placed facing East, West, South and North in order to form an outer defence line repelling the invasion of evil spirits from all directions.

(2) The intermediate circle. The areas between the outskirts of the settlement and the dwelling places incorporating bridges, crossroads (T junction), river banks, ponds etc. It is here that accidents such as drowning or traffic accidents which I discussed above occur, resulting in the problem of wronged and mischievous spirits. Consequently this area, beyond the protection of the outer circle, needs special protection by *yasheng* objects.

(3) The inner circle. This area contains the houses themselves, where *yasheng* objects are placed as a last line of defence to guarantee the security of the family and prevent the intrusion of evil spirits or malign *feng-shui* influences. The objects used in this way include the Eight Trigrams, *feng-shih-yeh*, *shih-kan-tang* and animal plaques.

These three precise spiritual protection circles, deployed in settlements and buildings in unison with *yasheng* objects, have given people great mental and psychological security, enabling them to confront the challenge of inauspicious *feng-shui* and evil spirits. At the same time, by using sanctified *yasheng* objects, people can more actively obtain good fortune and blessings from heaven and thus live their lives in peace.

5.7.2 The deep significance of spatial *yasheng* objects

We have seen above how Taiwanese people, when faced with inauspicious *feng-shui* or evil spirits, use spatial *yasheng* objects to seek security and peace. In order to explain the deeper significance of the use of spatial *yasheng* objects, I will now interpret these notions in terms of Eliade's theories. The feelings of extreme insecurity which result when people are faced with inauspicious *feng-shui* or evil spirits are described by Eliade as the crises of "chaos" (Eliade 1959:29). The best way for people to avoid a "chaos crisis" is to find their own "orientation" within the cosmos (p. 21). The best way to create this "orientation" in their own living space is to "reproduce the works of gods" (p. 29), in other words, to create a "sacred space" which will possess the following characteristics :

- a) a sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space;
- b) this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld);
- c) communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the axis mundi: pillar, ladder, mountain, tree, vine, etc.;
- d) around this cosmic axis lies the world (=our world), hence the axis is located "in the middle", at "the naval of the earth"; it is the Centre of the World. (p.37)

This passage shows the special ability of a "sacred space" to communicate with other cosmic spaces (both the divine world and the underworld). At the same time, the centre of a "sacred space" is defined by an "axis mundi". An axis mundi is the centre of a "sacred space", or, rather, the centre of a "sacred space" as defined by man. However, apart from the centre of a "sacred space", man also needs to understand its boundaries. According to Eliade's notion, "a square constructed from a central point (axis mundi) is an imago mundi" (Eliade 1959: 45). From this it is clear that the only way to describe the entirety of a "sacred space" is as a square "imago mundi" with the "axis mundi" as its centre. A "sacred space" is thus another example of a man-made miniaturisation of the cosmos; or in Eliade's words, is a reproduction of the universe on a microcosmic scale (p. 43).

I will now apply Eliade's description of "sacred space" as a model of the cosmos to the example of the use of spatial *yasheng* objects in Taiwanese settlements. There, the layout of the five temples, the five camps, and public *shih-kan-tang* and *feng-shih-yeh* all revolve around the placing of the main temple at the centre and the

four others (Earth God temples, camps of heavenly soldiers, *shih-kan-tang* etc.) at the four points of the compass. This arrangement clearly uses the main temple as the centre of the settlement and accords with Eliade's notion of "sacred space", the main temple becoming an "axis mundi" and the various *yasheng* objects placed in the four corners representing an "imago mundi". This combination of an "axis mundi" and a "imago mundi" creates a miniaturised cosmos where people "reproduce the paradigmatic works of the gods" (p. 32).

In terms of spatial construction, the arrangement of spatial *yasheng* objects in Taiwan conforms with the basic form of a "sacred space" as defined by Eliade. Thus, within the "sacred space" formed in Taiwanese settlements by the use of *yasheng* objects, people are able to communicate with other cosmic spaces (the divine world and the underworld) and, more importantly, are able to find "orientation" within their own world and thus avoid the "chaos crisis" caused by confrontation with inauspicious *feng-shui* or evil spirits.

In addition to this, Eliade also described how any object, whether living or non-living, could, once sanctified, become a sacred object and through worship, become a "hierophany"(p. 12). Such a hierophany can break through the boundaries of the cosmos and communicate with other cosmic spaces. As Eliade wrote:

Where the break-through from plane to plane has been effected by a hierophany, there too an opening has been made, either upward (the divine world) or downward (the underworld, the world of the dead). The three cosmic levels - earth, heaven, underworld - have been put in communication. (p.36)

Similarly, the *yasheng* objects worshipped in Taiwan can also become hierophanies with the ability to enable communication between heaven, earth, man and god.

Although Eliade's interpretation of religious symbolism can help us to understand the deeper significance of Taiwanese spatial *yasheng* objects, Chinese concepts of the cosmos such as *yin* and *yang* and *wu-hsing* (the Five Elements) can explain it equally well. In fact, the ancient Chinese also viewed the basic structure of the cosmos as the combination of an axis and four squares with the sacred centre providing a link between heaven and earth (Mei 1988:69-72). For example, the concept of the Five Elements is clearly seen in the *yasheng* ritual involved in the arrangement of the stage for a performance of the puppet play *t'iao Chung-k'ui*,

where as mentioned above, charms are used to expel evil spirits. The *wu-fang* (Five Directions) charms used in a performance of this play are different from other charm papers: they are cloth banners with five different colours (azure, red, white, black and yellow) (Fig. 5-35). They are placed in five distinct positions on the stage which correspond to the five directions: front-right (South), rear-right (East), front-left (West), rear-left (North) and centre (Middle). The arrangement of the five coloured banners also accords with the concept of the Five Elements - Azure (East), Red (South), White (West), Black (North) and Yellow (Middle). Thus, the Five Directions Charms, used to entreat the protection of the gods during the performance of the play, are placed in five different positions to represent the Five Directions (*wu-fang*) and the Five Colours (*wu-se*) are used to embody the idea of the Five Elements.

Thus, the Five Directions Charms used on the stage are based on various cosmic symbols - *wu-hsing*, *wu-se* (Azure, Red, White, Black and Yellow) and *wu-fang* (East, South, West, North and Middle). The use of the symbols is just as Eliade described as being: "to reproduce the paradigmatic works of the gods", and is again a construction of a "sacred space" by a miniaturisation of the cosmos through which people can attain vitality of life and achieve the aim of pursuing happiness and expelling evil. This helps them to avoid a "chaos crisis" and achieve "orientation" within their own world.

We can derive further enlightenment from this example. The environment in which Taiwanese people live, whether as small as a stage or a building or as big as whole settlements or towns, in reality, can be seen as a stage for life. On this stage, people carry out their different daily dramas, in the process of which they unavoidably come into contact with "chaos crises". Thus, both the *yasheng* objects themselves, and the way in which they are arranged, involve the use of cosmic symbols to create a miniaturised cosmos, in which people can find their "orientation" in homogeneity and thus achieve happiness and expel evil. The arrangement of the various cosmic symbols such as the Five Camps, the *wu-fang* (Five Directions) temples and charms, etc., leads to their sanctification as *yasheng* objects thus enabling man to communicate with the gods and spirits.

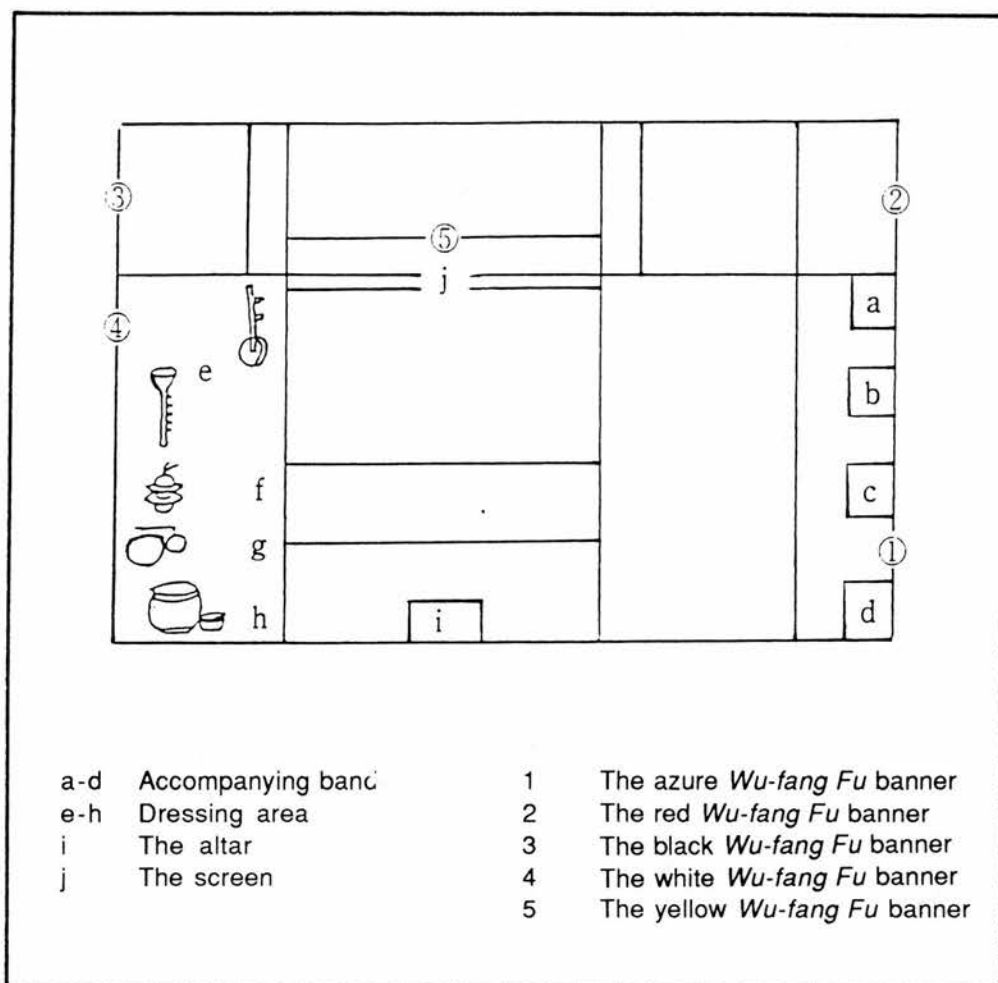


Fig. 5-35 The layout plan of the *Wu-fang Fu*. (Sung C. H. 1990:28)

5.8 CONCLUSION

For Chinese people, the structure of the cosmos is a harmonious, perfect and strictly organised whole, containing a natural and everlasting vitality. Chinese people also believe that any man-made object which can, by analogy, be compared in structures to the cosmos, will possess the same characteristics as the cosmos. In terms of spatial construction, the living spaces which people build in line with their concept of the construction of the cosmos, thus become a conceptual extension of the cosmos. Naturally, this process of analogy in the construction of completed spaces also imbues these spaces with the particular qualities of the cosmos and brings a natural vitality to people's lives.

This chapter, by recounting the use of *feng-shui* notion and Taiwanese spatial *yasheng* objects and rituals, shows how Taiwanese people, in their arrangement of sanctified objects (hierophanies) such as *feng-shui* elements, the Five Camps, the temples and the five directions charms, aim to present an analogy of the structure of the cosmos. The aim is to transform people's living spaces into miniaturised models of the cosmos possessed with the qualities of a "sacred space". Such a "sacred space", by having the same qualities as the cosmos and thus providing links between man and supernature, enables people to live a harmonious and peaceful existence and avoid "chaos crises". Moreover, the various motifs such as *t'ai-chi*, *lien-i*, *si-hsiang* and the Eight Trigrams, added on cosmic symbols in a variety of "sacred space", whether stages, houses, temples or settlements, allow these spaces to be transformed into a miniaturised cosmos where man and nature, and man and supernature can live in harmony.

For Chinese people, the spatial positioning of an ideal *feng-shui* and *yasheng* objects to form a "sacred space" also requires coordination with a temporal element: the choosing of a "sacred time". For instance, if we draw our attention to *yasheng* objects and rituals, we see that any *yasheng* object must go through a *yasheng* sanctification ritual, which involves the choosing of an auspicious day (*tse jih*). According to Eliade's ideas, God creates "sacred time" as well as "sacred space": "sacred time" is cyclical, and can be "reactualised" in people's lives by religious ceremonies (Eliade 1959:68-90). As Eliade wrote: "By creating the various realities that today constitute the world, the god also founded sacred time, for the time contemporary with a creation was necessarily sanctified by the presence and activity of the gods" (p.70), and "by means of rites religious man can pass without

danger from ordinary temporal duration to sacred time" (p.68). Eliade's interpretation shows even more clearly how Chinese people, through the use of *yasheng* rituals, attain "sacred time" and "sacred space". Chinese people use the Chinese almanac to choose the auspicious or "sacred time". According to Eliade, a religious almanac is "the periodic reactualisation of the creative acts performed by the divine beings" (p.85), incorporating "the series of festivals"(p.85) He goes on to say: "the numerous ceremonies that make up the periodical festivals . . . are only the reiteration of the paradigmatic acts of the gods" (p.86). Eliade's explanation gives us an even clearer understanding of how "sacred time", like "sacred space", is a reactualisation of the "paradigmatic acts of the gods". Thus, the various ceremonies held during "sacred time" ensure that "the sacred dimension of life is recovered, the participants experience the sanctity of human existence as a divine creation"(p.89).

The creation of "sacred time" and "sacred space" reflects people's religious needs and a desire to live close to the gods, both temporally and spatially. Taiwanese *yasheng* objects themselves, the various motifs displayed on the objects, and the way in which the objects are arranged all show an attempt to fulfil this desire to be close to the gods. The spatial arrangement of *yasheng* objects aims to create a "sacred space" through the creation of a miniaturised model of heaven. The ultimate aim of this approach to the divine world is to enable people to expel evil, avoid disasters and achieve a happy peaceful life. Through the choosing of auspicious times and the use of *yasheng* rituals, people can "reactualise" the "sacred time" created by the gods and thus get closer to the gods and achieve the ultimate aim of expelling evil and pursuing happiness. In terms of the overall picture, the arrangement of spatial *yasheng* objects and the holding of *yasheng* rituals satisfy people's desire to reactualise the "sacred space" and "sacred time" created by the gods and thus return to the divine world, both temporally and spatially. Because this is a world created and protected by the gods, people can completely satisfy their physical and mental needs to achieve harmony between heaven and earth.

CHAPTER 6 THE COMBINATORY STRUCTURE OF TAIWANESE VERNACULAR SETTLEMENTS

6.1 THE WORSHIP SPHERE

The term "worship sphere" has been used frequently by scholars researching Taiwanese vernacular settlements. (Chuang 1977; Wang S. C. 1974; Shih 1973; Hsu 1973 & 1978; Sangren 1980 & 1987; Lin M. J. 1986 & 1989) The concept of a worship sphere was first advanced by the Japanese anthropologist Yuzuru Okada in 1938. For Okada, the key to an understanding of the vernacular settlement in Taiwan was the idea of the main temple acting as its centre, by means of religious and social organisations. He believed that, in Han society, there is an extremely close relationship between social life and the conduct of religious rituals. Thus, before being able to understand the characteristics of Taiwanese vernacular settlement, it is essential first of all to understand the concept of the worship sphere. Okada defined the worship sphere as: "a residential area inhabited by people worshipping the same deity". (Cited in Shih 1973:197) For the Taiwanese anthropologist C. M. Hsu, a worship sphere is: "a territorial organisation in which the local inhabitants all worship the deity of the main temple". (Hsu 1978:62) The importance attached to the notion of the worship sphere in the study of Taiwanese vernacular settlements has since aroused the interest of a number of western scholars. Although they have not used the term "worship sphere", these scholars have used very similar terms to describe a very similar notion, including: "temple community" (Diamond 1969), "territorial cults" (Sangren 1980), "neighbourhood cult association" (Schipper 1977), "ritual territory" (Feuchtwang 1974a) and "festival organisation" (Jordan 1989).

I will use the term "worship sphere" as the centre of the following discussion. Although the various definitions cited above stress that the worship of a worship sphere is concentrated on one deity, in my discussion of the spatial meanings of the worship sphere, I will concentrate rather on the temples where these deities are worshipped. In other words, the spatial meanings of the worship sphere are centred on the main temple of the settlement: consequently, these temples form the core of the following discussion.

C. M. Shih established a model for the discussion of worship spheres and the development of Taiwanese settlements. (Shih 1973:191-206) For Shih, the model of a worship sphere is a territorial organisation based on the temple and its religious activities. This model serves to give an understanding of both the nature of individual territories and the hierarchy which exists between them. The system of subordinate relationships between the temples creates a hierarchical order which reflects their different status. Through Shih's model, we can analyse not only the social structure of the vernacular settlement but also its historical development.

Apart from the temples and religious activities mentioned above, the essential conditions for the territorial organisation of a worship sphere are a defined boundary to indicate its range of influence, and a religious organisation responsible for, and in charge of, the worship rituals. (Hsu 1973; Lin M. J. 1986:63) To sum up, the organisation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements, in terms of the notion of the worship sphere, is based on the idea of an integral body incorporating a temple, a religious organisation, a series of religious activities and a sphere of influence. The notion of a worship sphere is the clearest confirmation of the way in which religious beliefs formed the basis for the organisation of traditional Taiwanese society. Every worship sphere is a reflection of a group with common territorial affiliation which uses the temple at the centre of the settlement as a means of stimulating the joint participation of the members of the community. The expressions of communal life centre on the religious significance of worshipping the community's main deity.

However, research has shown that a worship sphere reflects the social and economic meanings of a community as well as its religious meanings. As early as 1937, in his research of life in northern Taiwanese villages, Yuzuru Okada found that the worship sphere and the endogamous sphere overlapped. Similarly, William Skinner, in his study of the marketplace and the social structure of rural Chinese society (1964), wrote that the basic unit of Chinese rural social organisations is a "standard marketing community", and that the centre of this unit is the temple. He wrote:

The market itself, then, constitutes one focus of social structure within the marketing community. Another, of scarcely less importance, is often provided by the major temple of the town. To begin with, the committee which runs the temple is normally composed not only of devout towns people but also of leading citizens with religious leanings who live in village communities

throughout the marketing area. The annual fair, normally held in connection with the feast day of the temple's principal deity, is, however, too important an event to be left to the pious.....Moreover, the earthly domain of the temple deity himself was seen as corresponding to the standard marketing area. Each year the graven image of *Tung-yueh*, a bureaucratic official of the underworld, was carried in procession through the area of his jurisdiction. The traditional route, which followed each of the main roads radiating from town, carried him in turn to....each *yao-tien* situated at one of the corners of the marketing area. In this manner, the religious festival provided an annual re-affirmation of the community's territorial extent and a symbolic reinforcement of its town-centred structure. (p.38)

The various descriptions in this passage of the temple providing the centre of the community, the organisation of the temple committee and the religious activities connected with the annual procession of the main deity all accord with the conditions required for a Taiwanese worship sphere. Although Skinner's research concentrated on examples from the Chinese mainland, the similarities of the characteristics which he outlined have led some people to draw an analogy between his notion of a standard marketing community and the earlier notion of a worship sphere. Skinner also pointed out that "there is a distinct tendency for the standard marketing community to be endogamous for the peasantry." (p.36) and "in consequence, the arrangements whereby one lineage traditionally gives its young girls as brides to another tend to be concentrated within standard marketing communities, as are also the more nearly *ad hoc* alliances which may have no immediately precedent. The affinal bonds of the peasant thus constitute another network which spreads through the standard marketing community and gives structure to the whole." (Ibid.)

Naturally, some scholars studying the Taiwanese worship sphere, influenced by Skinner's ideas, have sought to find any phenomena which cover not only worship spheres but also marketing and endogamous spheres. As a way of summarising the conclusions of these researchers, I will look at Knapp's 1968 study of T'aoyuan 桃園 and Jacobs' 1980 study of Matsu township, both in the north of the island, Crissman's 1973 study of Changhua 彰化 and Chuang's 1977 study of Lichip'u 林杞埔, both in central Taiwan, and Kiuchi Hiroko's 1987 study of Hsiaoliuch'iu 小琉球. In all of these cases we can find that, to a certain extent at least, the worship sphere in Taiwan overlaps into both endogamous and marketing spheres. In fact, the religious activities directly influence the social and economic development of the territorial organisation which makes up the worship sphere.

K. Y. Sung, in his study of the *hsia-hai cheng-huang* 霞海城隍 temple in T'ataocheng of Taipei (1990), found that celebrations for the worship of the temple deity drew in people from outside areas who wished to participate: this also helped, indirectly, the development of T'ataocheng's marketing sphere. At the turn of this century, T'ataocheng was an important trading area, its success based largely on the export of tea and camphor. However, this trade declined after the end of the First World War due to changes in the international market, and local businesses suffered. Subsequently, local people used the famous religious celebrations as a useful way of bringing in huge crowds of people. The presence of these people helped to stimulate local businesses. Around the birthday of the temple deity, the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar, villagers from the areas within the Tamshui river basin came to T'ataocheng to worship the temple deity and to do their shopping. Traders from north of Hsinchu also took the opportunity to make purchases for the coming year, while businessmen from southern and central Taiwan came to T'ataocheng to buy in supplies and enjoy the hospitality of local businessmen and the festive atmosphere of the religious celebrations. The secular activities of trade and banquets took place under the protection of the sanctity of the *hsia-hai cheng-huang* temple. As a result of this mutual exploitation of secularity and sanctity, within a few decades, the birthday celebrations of the temple had become the most important religious celebration in the whole of Taiwan. (Fig. 6-1) This example shows the result of the mutual influences of the worship and marketing spheres. Although the argument of this thesis is largely concerned with religious matters, this use of the worship sphere to understand the extent of influences of marketing organisations and the boundaries of endogamous spheres can be seen as a contribution to the study of the worship spheres themselves.

On the basis of the above discussion, the conditions required for the construction of a worship sphere are a temple, a religious organisation, religious activities and a defined boundary. In the following discussion, these four conditions will form the main part of my discussion of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. The influence of the temples on the formation of settlements, and of religious activities on their subsequent development will form the main part of this discussion.

6.1.1 The boundary

The precise definition of the boundary of a worship sphere is ambiguous, since it is defined in terms of rituals rather than precise geographical locations.

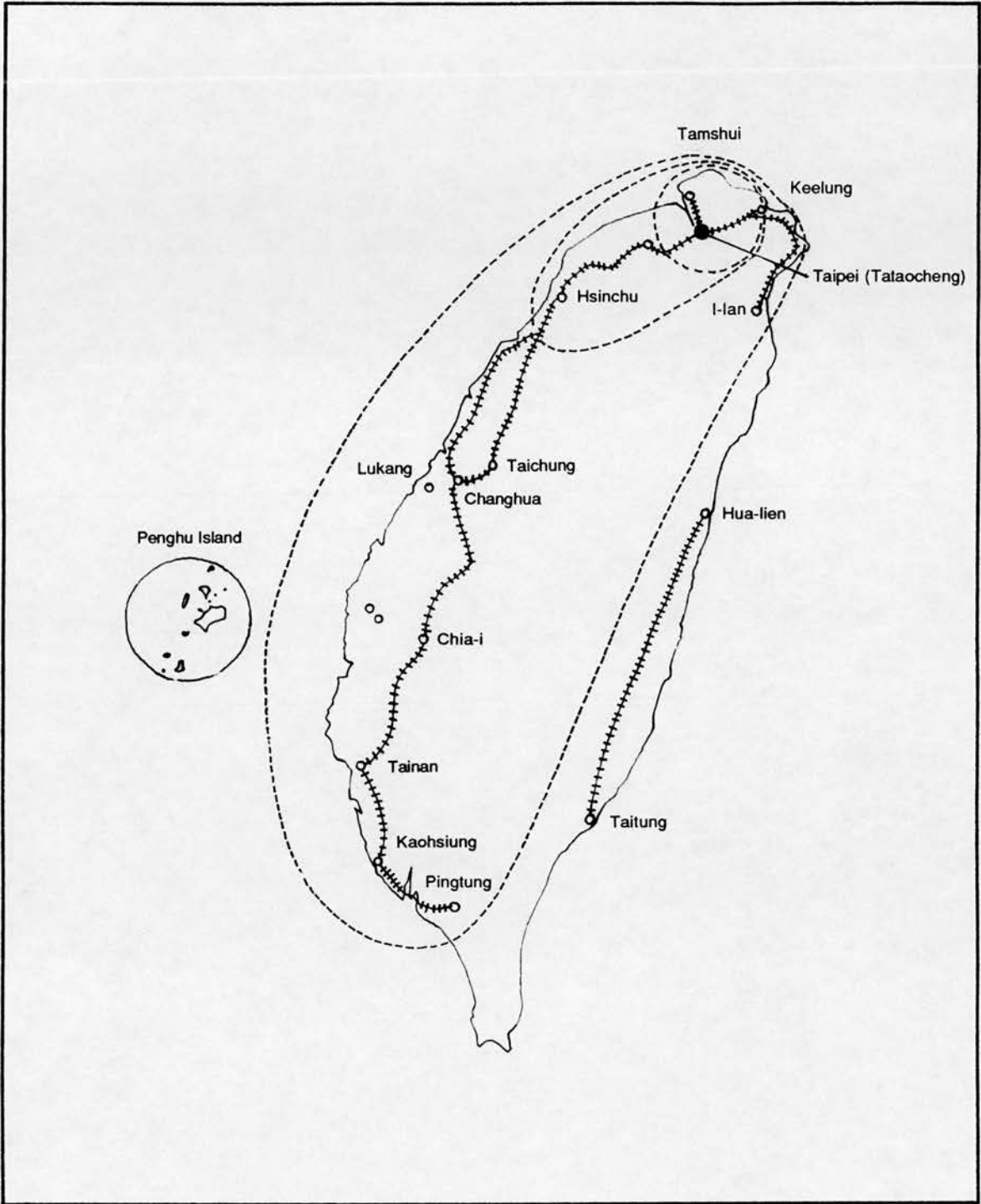


Fig. 6-1 The various marketing spheres of Tataocheng. (Source: Sung C. H. 1990:3)

However, even though the line cannot be physically delineated, most people are acutely aware of the different feelings experienced on the two sides of the line. Within the boundary of the worship sphere, people feel safe under the protection of the deities, while outside the boundary, on the other hand, they feel insecure. Although the boundary may not be clearly defined, this does not mean that it is completely imperceptible.

In his study of the religious activities of the Lukang 鹿港 area of central Taiwan, Donald R. DeGlopper attempted to ascertain the boundaries of influence of the local temples by reading the charm papers pasted to the doors of the local houses. He used this method because it is the custom in Lukang for those who have given money towards, or participated in, the temple celebrations to take home some temple charm papers.⁵⁵ Sticking these papers to their front door was a way not only of announcing a contribution to the activities of the local temple, but also of ensuring protection from the deities. (DeGlopper 1974:63-64) Naturally, it is usual for households displaying the same charm papers to belong to the same worship sphere.

Another means of establishing the boundary of the worship sphere is to examine the route taken by the patron god on his annual inspection tour. For example, C. M. Hsu in his study of the Hakka settlements at Changhua in central Taiwan, found that the procession of the local patron god also demarcated the boundary of the worship sphere. (Hsu 1973:179-180) Similar conclusions have been reached by other scholars, including C. N. Chen who wrote: "both the annual religious celebrations and the inspection tours not only intensify the community conscience of the settlement but also re-affirm the boundary of the social group." (Chen C. N. 1987:120)

DeGlopper also found that some households paste charm papers from more than one temple to their door, signifying the possibility of belonging to more than one worship sphere. In other words, there exists the phenomenon of an overlapping between two different worship spheres. (DeGlopper 1974:64) The Japanese scholar, Michio Suenari, in his study of Miaoli 苗栗 in Northern Taiwan, found the

55 The charm paper, or *hu* 符 is a rectangular yellow paper inscribed with the title of the deity, which is pasted up over one's door as a good-luck token and as proof that "this household has contributed".

boundary of the worship sphere to be elastic: some households had a double affiliation, belonging to more than one worship sphere. (Suenari 1985:40-41) From these examples, we can see that the boundaries of worship spheres can be of different size and level of importance. In other words, households can belong to both a low and a high worship sphere, a phenomenon examined by P. S. Sangren in his study of the Tahsi 大溪 district of T'aoyuan in Northern Taiwan. Sangren found three different levels of worship sphere: neighbourhood, village and market town, each of which has jurisdiction over a specific territorial area. (Sangren 1987:109) Strictly speaking, however, Sangren's division only provides three basic forms. More precisely, as Lin pointed out, there exist inter-territorial worship spheres such as the inter-village or inter-market town worship sphere. (Lin M. J. 1986:81-93) In the Changhua area of central Taiwan there is a worship sphere which includes seventy-two villages. (Hsu 1973) In the Nank'ushen 南鯤鯓 area of southern Taiwan, there is a worship sphere set up for the worship of *wang-yeh* which covers an area of influence incorporating the boundaries of three different levels. (Fig. 6-2) The first and most important sphere of influence covers six counties from Chia-i 嘉義 to Kaohsiung 高雄, the second includes four counties, Yunlin 雲林, Changhua, Pingtung 屏東 and Penghu and the third sphere includes many other counties. (Liu 1991) Nevertheless, the worship spheres of various levels all focus on a specific temple as the centre of activity. On the basis of the size of the sphere of influence, we can then work out the position of the temple god in the celestial hierarchy. For example, an earth god temple (*t'u-ti-kung*) belongs to a low level worship sphere, while the worship spheres of *matsu* and *wang-yeh* temples can cover a whole village or even a group of villages.

6.1.2 The organisation

Taiwanese religious organisations are composed of common households, the *lu-chu* 爐主 or master incense burner, and the *t'ou-chia* 頭家 or officers. The common householders form the basic membership of the organisation: the families living within a worship sphere each send one of their members to represent them at a meeting held in the local temple where the *lu-chu* and *t'ou-chia* are elected. (Suenari 1985:35) For most people, to be elected to the role of *lu-chu* or *t'ou-chia* is a great honour, since it is a mark of fame within the community and represents an acknowledgement of esteemed social status. Anybody elected to be *lu-chu* must fulfil two conditions: first, he must have sufficient financial resources to be able to contribute to the temple and, secondly, he must have the ability to be a great leader.

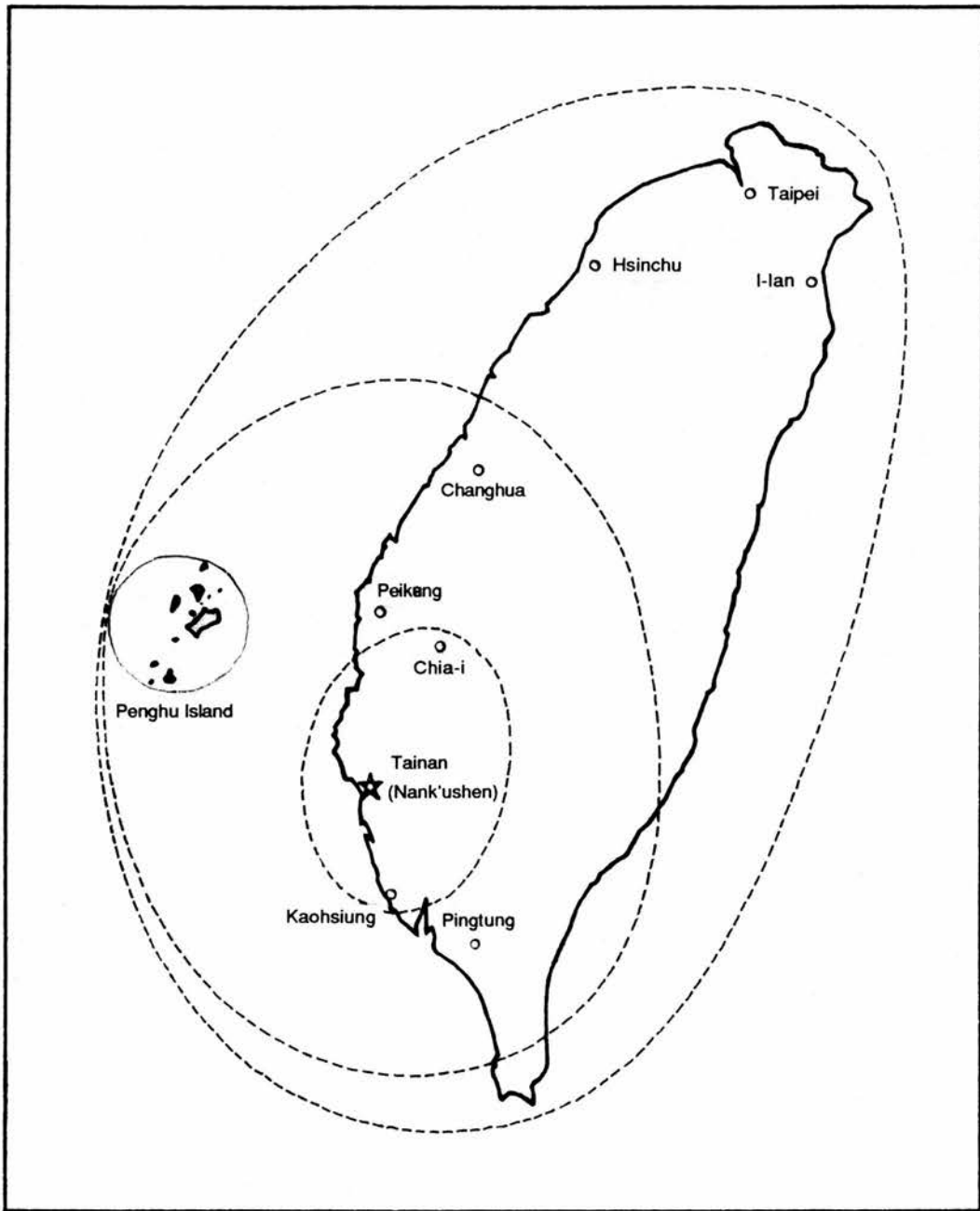
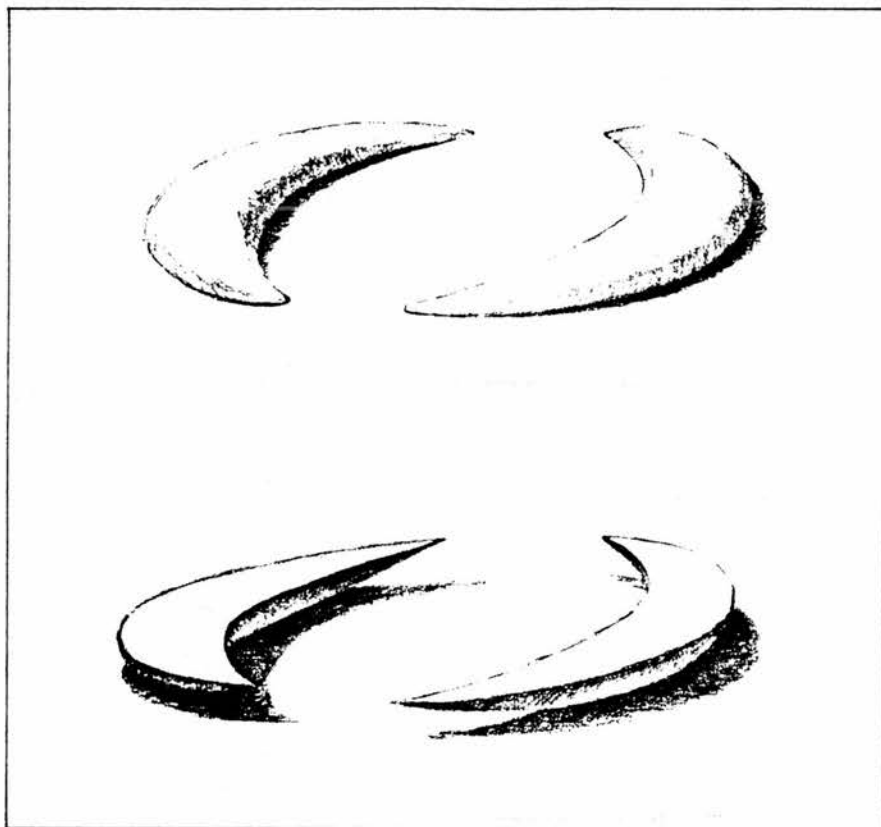


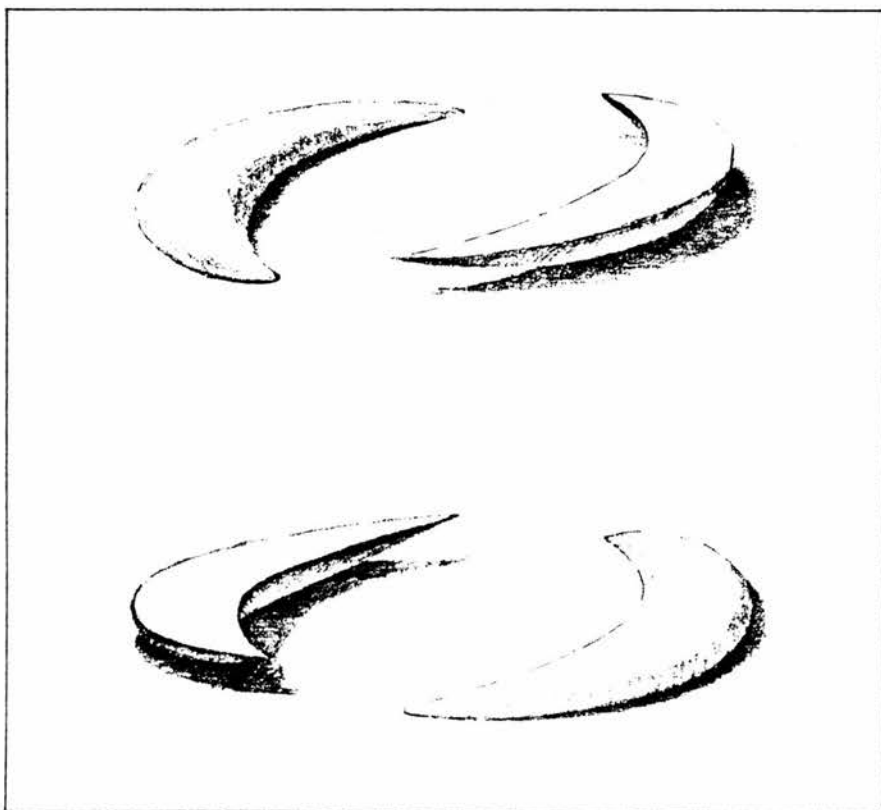
Fig. 6-2 The worship sphere of the *Wang-yeh* temple in Nank'ushen (Tainan).

(Jacobs 1980:94) After the people with the requisite qualifications have been put on a list, the final and most important stage of the selection of the most suitable person to be *lu-chu* takes the form of a divinatory procession, in which the previous year's *lu-chu* offers prayers and incense, before casting a pair of crescent-shaped divination blocks to ascertain the choice of the deity. If one of the divination blocks is face up and the other is face down, the answer is yes; if the two blocks are both either face up or face down, the answer is no. (Fig. 6-3) The selection continues in this way until the *lu-chu* has been chosen. (Rohsenow 1973:116; Jacobs 1980:94) The duties of the *lu-chu* involve presiding over the various annual rituals held at the temple, and running the committee responsible for the administrative and financial arrangements of the annual festivals. The members of this committee are the *t'ou-chia*. The selection of the *t'ou-chia* is carried out in the same way as the selection of the *lu-chu*, and the post is also considered to be a great honour.

Apart from the *lu-chu* and the *t'ou-chia*, members of individual families also share the responsibilities of the worship sphere, including, first, making financial donations towards the building or refurbishment of the temple, second, making contributions towards the cost of the annual rituals and, third, participating in the temple's religious activities. (Lin M. J. 1989:106) The second obligation is the means by which local temples cover the cost of the celebrations in honour of their patron gods. Contributions are made on the basis of the number of adults in each family: the money is collected by the *tou-chia* who then distributes charm papers to be displayed on the door of the house. The households are all happy to make a contribution, since it is a sign of their participation in the religious activities of the community and a guarantee of supernatural protection from the gods. (Liu 1967:63) Of even greater importance is the participation in the affairs of the group of common destiny to which the households belong. (Lin M. J. 1989:106) Thus, although the most important roles within the religious organisation of the worship sphere are filled by the *lu-chu* and the *t'ou-chia*, the role of individual households is not ignored, since, without their participation and support, the rituals would be meaningless. The local community is thus defined by the participation of all the members of the households living within the same worship sphere: the money collected from these households goes towards funding the building of the temple and the cost of the annual rituals.



inauspicious



auspicious

Fig. 6-3 The auspicious sign and inauspicious sign of the divination blocks.

In Taiwanese society, the various households are further combined into a number of "pillars". For example, R. P. Weller found that the ten neighbourhoods in the Shanhsia area of Taipei were divided into four pillars, each one made up of two or three neighbourhoods. (Weller 1981:30) For the sake of fairness, the pillars each took a turn to be responsible for the temple's worship rituals. In fact, the individual pillars within the religious organisation of the worship sphere can be compared to the "pillars of the church" of American society, which are also groups responsible for the religious life of a community.

Since the influence sphere of a worship sphere can be very large, the formation of a number of pillars is helpful for the selection of office-bearers to serve on the committee. The worship sphere can thus be further divided into a number of pillars, which take turns to provide members for the committee. Thus, the selection of officials is carried out by the pillars rather than by the whole worship sphere, making the whole process much more simple. The individual pillars make their own nomination and selections, to whom they give full support. For example, within an area where there are four pillars, one pillar is responsible for the year's religious activities, and the *lu-chu* and *t'ou-chia* for that year are selected from within that pillar. The other members of the pillar give their full support: in this way, the annual celebrations can be carried out in the best way, thus ensuring that honour is brought to the whole community.

6.2 THE TEMPLE

6.2.1 The significance of the temple for the settlement

The centre of a worship sphere of any level is always the temple. Apart from being a religious centre, the temple can also be a social, economic, self-governmental or even, in the turbulent past, a defensive centre. (Hsu 1973:173) Western scholars have also found temples to be central to the life of vernacular Taiwanese settlements. (Gate 1987:39; DeGlopper 1974) When Taiwanese settlements, whether a whole village or just a part of a village, a town or a neighbourhood, reach a certain size, it is natural for a temple of the patron god to appear. This temple serves as a focus for the solidarity of the community, drawing worshippers from the whole of the community, whose feelings of conscience and solidarity are reinforced by the joint religious activities. Similarly, religious

festivals provide an opportunity for the holding of reciprocal feasts which promote inter-personal relationships. In this way, the temples provide us with a model for an understanding of the internal social structure of a community.

A temple can be found in every vernacular Taiwanese settlement, and is its most concrete organisation. By looking at the architecture, religious organisation and religious activities preserved by the temples, we can discover historical facts and records, which can help us to understand the structure of the settlements and the inter-personal relationships existing within them. In other words, a variety of the facets of traditional society can be understood by looking at the establishment of temples and the expansion of their religious activities. (Shih 1973:191)

The temples are a symbol of traditional culture and a way for individuals to identify their membership of a social group. Within the early immigrant society of Taiwan, there were a variety of different such groups: for example, people with a common ethnic background, surname, profession or place of origin. Each of these groups had its own patron god acting as a symbol of group solidarity. After the development of human and financial resources, the groups were able to build a temple in honour of this patron god. The way in which the temples assumed a central position, and the relationships which developed between the temples and their members can be seen as a symbolic expression of the changes which took place within the different communities. For example, R. P. Weller has written that Taiwanese temples can be regarded as representing: 1) the clarification of community boundaries; 2) the change from an ethnic base to a community base; 3) the possible alternative allegiances to local or national solidarity. (Weller 1981:28)

Throughout the process of development of vernacular Taiwanese settlements, the original functions of villages or market towns did not remain static. For example, the gradual silting up of a river bed would lead to a river port city losing its original commercial advantage and the city's eventual decline. In the process of modernisation, the nature of the inhabitants of the settlements and the way in which they led their lives also changed enormously, resulting in a change in their attitude towards their local temple. With the passing of time, some temples remained intact, with a flourishing congregation, while others declined, unable to stand the test of time. For the purposes of this study, it does not matter whether the temples declined or flourished, for, by studying those which have survived, we can see how the

development of settlements reflected the status of the individual temples. The development of temples can thus be seen as a cross-section of the settlement as a whole. By analysing the temples, we can find evidence which leads to an understanding of the activities of the various social groups within the settlements.

6.2.2 The architecture of Taiwanese temples

As the centre of the settlement, the traditional Taiwanese temple is the focus of the religious and daily lives of the people. The architecture of the temples, built collectively by the manpower and finance of the people of the community as a symbol of their lives and culture, and a manifestation of their honour and pride, is a sign of the development of an indigenous culture. In the following discussion, the architecture of Taiwanese temples will be examined as a way of understanding the relationship between architectural space and people's activities and the various meanings represented by the spaces within the temples. An understanding of the functions and meanings of the architectural spaces of the temples will lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between the temples and the settlements.

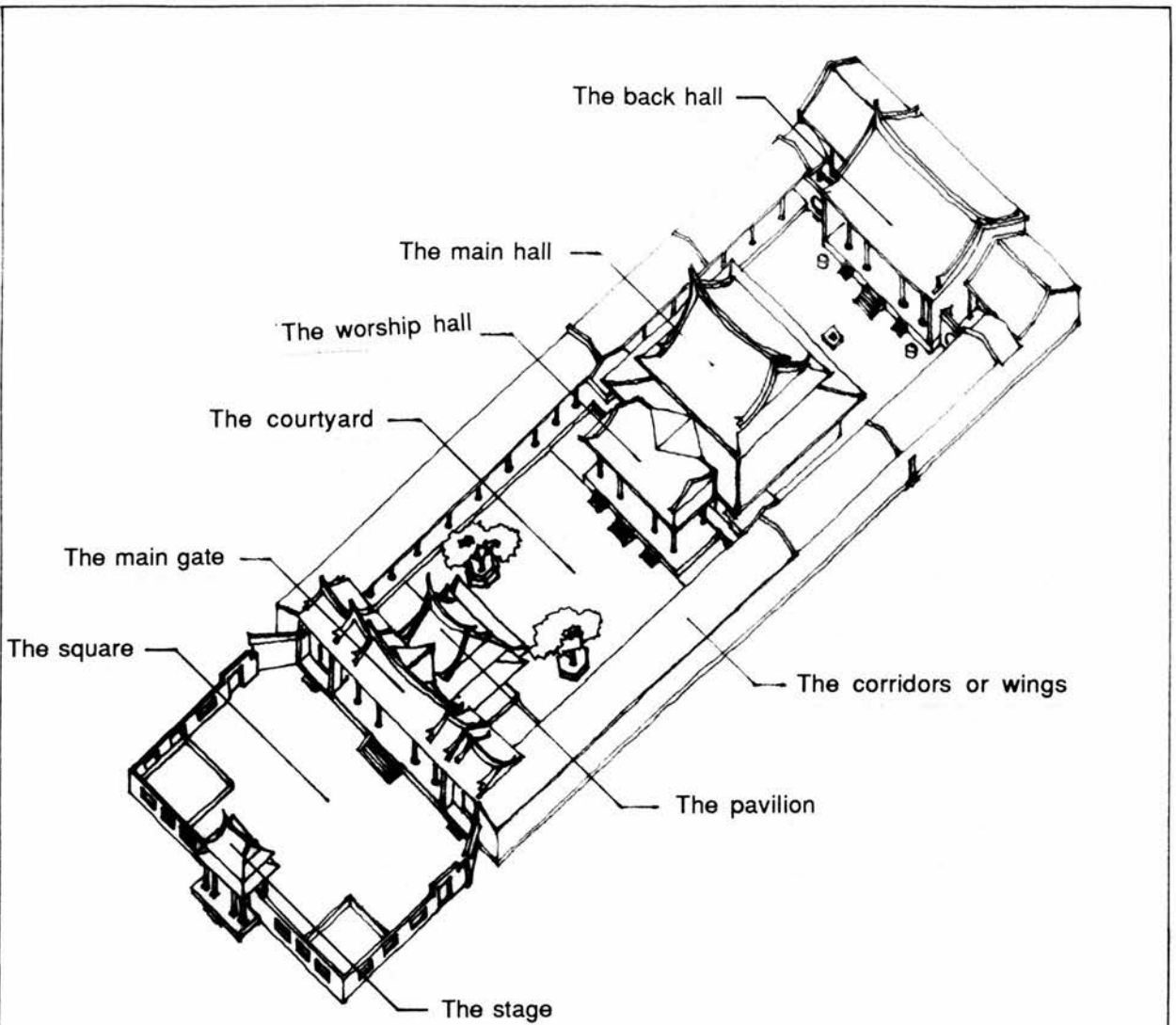
6.2.2.1 The composition of the temple spaces

In terms of the composition of architectural space, the traditional Taiwanese temple can be divided into the following areas: the main hall (sometimes including the rear and side halls), the worship hall, the courtyard, the corridor, the wings, the main gate, the pavilion, the square and the arcade (which only existed in the towns). (Chart 6-1) (Wen 1985:21-22; Chang 1978) These spaces were combined in a number of different ways, resulting in the various different plans of Taiwanese temples. (Wen 1985:22-29) (Chart. 6-2)

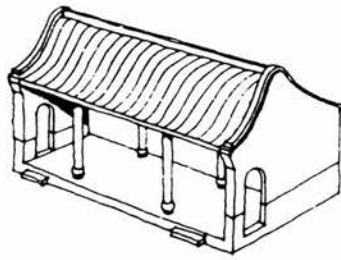
Within these different models, deities of different ranks were enshrined according to the size of the temple, with low-ranking gods placed in small temples, and high-ranking gods, worshipped by large numbers of people, placed in large temples.

6.2.2.2 The functions of the spaces in temple architecture

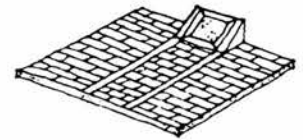
The various spaces mentioned above can be combined, in terms of their architectural functions, into the following categories:



The main hall



The worship hall



The courtyard



The corridor



The wing

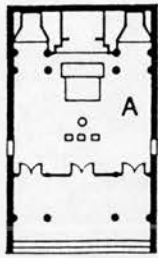


The main gate



The pavilion

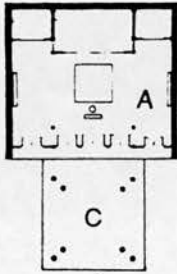
Chart 6-1 The various architectural space of the traditional Taiwanese temples.
(Sources: Wen 1985:21-22)



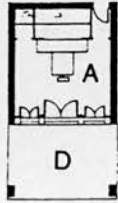
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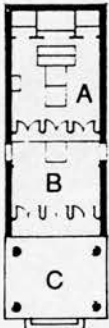
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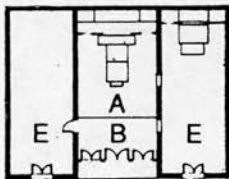
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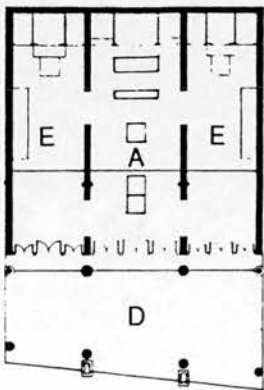
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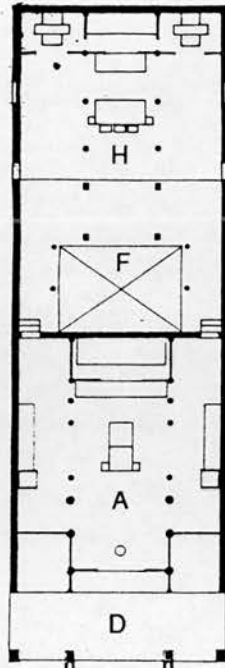
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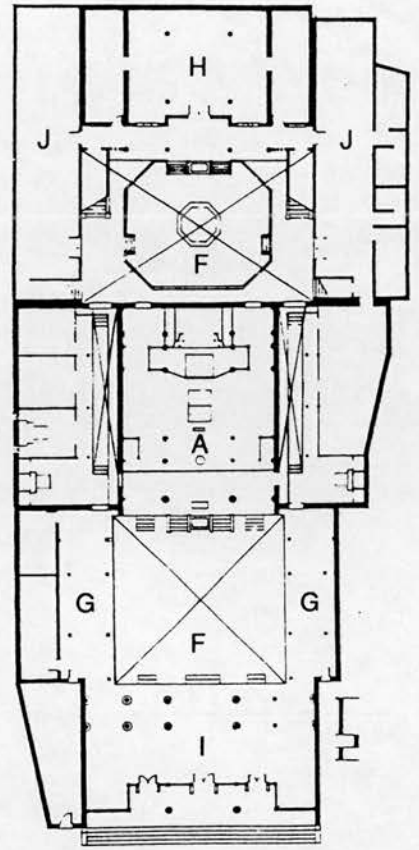
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- 1: The main hall
- 2: The main hall + worship hall
- 3: Pavilion + main hall
- 4: Arcade + main hall
- 5: Pavilion + worship hall - main hall
- 6: Arcade + worship hall + main hall
- 7: Worship hall + main hall + side halls
- 8: Arcade + main hall + side halls
- 9: Arcade + main hall + courtyard + back hall
- 10: Main gate + Courtyard (with corridors) + main hall + back hall

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| A: main hall | F: courtyard |
| B: worship hall | G: corridor |
| C: pavilion | H: back hall |
| D: arcade | I: main gate |
| E: side hall | J: wing |

Chart 6-2 (Sources: Wen 1985)

- 1) The main worship spaces: the main hall and the worship hall.
- 2) The minor worship spaces: the rear hall and the side halls.
- 3) The main space for religious activities: the square.
- 4) The buffers or linking spaces: the main gate, corridor and courtyard.
- 5) Administration and accommodation space: the wings.

The following discussion will describe the various spaces according to their different functions.

1) The main worship spaces: the main hall and the worship hall. The worship hall is situated to the front of the main hall. In fact the two halls can be considered as one whole. The main hall, as the most important space for worship within the temple, is considered to be its centre. The images of the various deities are all located in the main hall, as are some of the most important spatial elements including the altar, the *ssu-tien-chin* 四點金 space (the central worship space), the ridgepole, the incense burner etc. The altar is the throne of the deities' images. In fact, besides their own deities, Taiwanese temples also have "guest deities", which are also located on the altar to receive the worshipping incense. The images are arranged according to their ethical order: in general, the original "home deities" are placed in the primary positions and the "guest deities" are placed in the less important positions. The ranks of positions, starting from the main deity of the temple, follow correlated relations in descending order of central to peripheral, left to right, rear to front. (Rohsenow 1973:122; Wen 1985:42-46)

The *ssu-tien-chin* space is effectively a space defined by the four main poles in the main hall, over the centre of which is positioned the ridgepole. The space defined by the ridgepole and the *ssu-tien-chin* space is the main space for ceremonies of offering. (Fig. 6-4) Chinese people believe the *ssu-tien-chin* space to be a symbol of the centre of the universe with the ridgepole representing the position of heaven and the altar representing the realm of the gods. According to the Chinese concept of worship, the combination of the ridgepole, the *ssu-tien-chin* space and the altar represents the combination of heaven, man and the gods. A man standing in the *ssu-tien-chin* space and facing towards the altar, worships the gods as an intermediary way of paying respect to heaven.

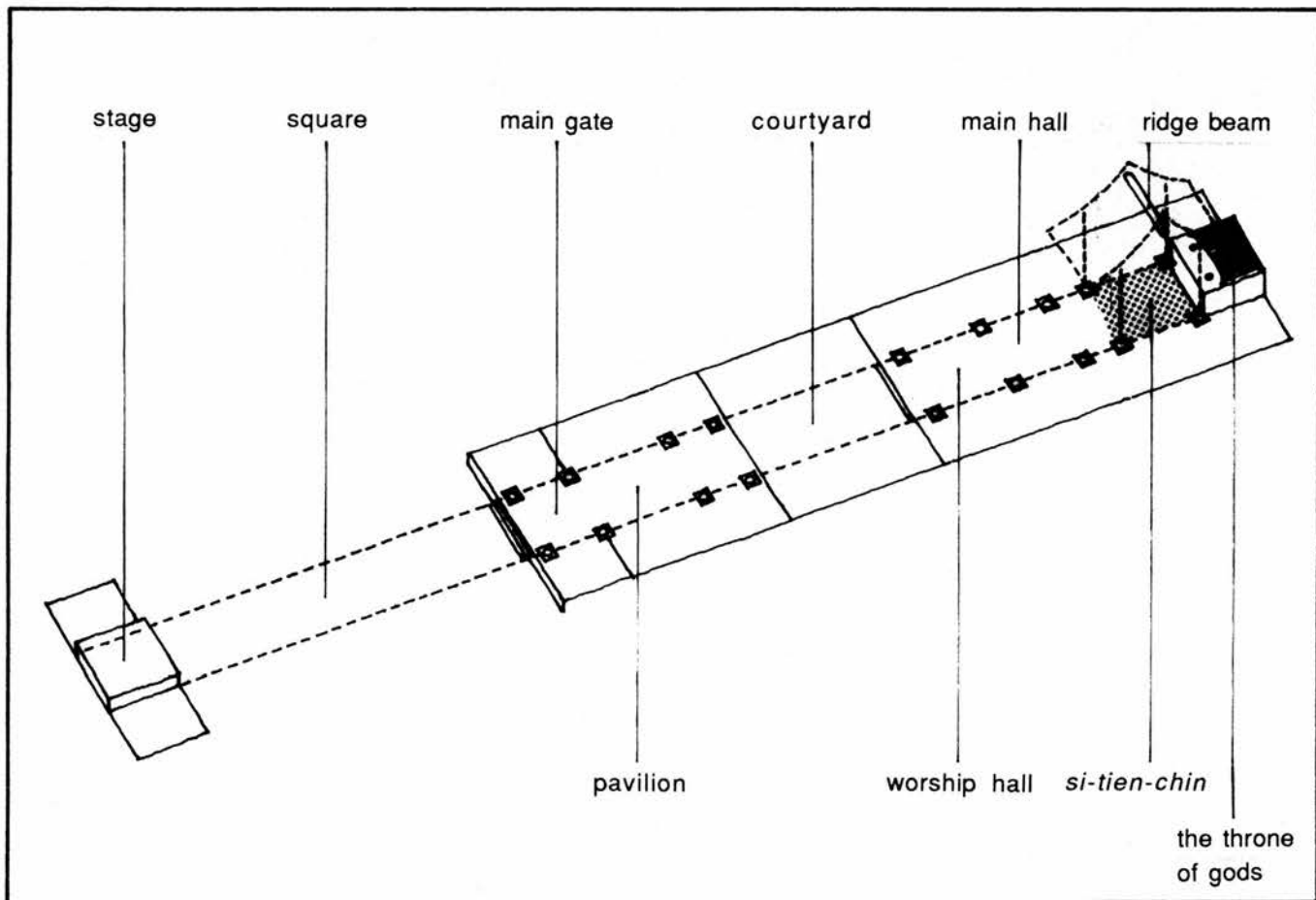


Fig. 6-4 The *Si-tien-chin* space.

The incense burner is the place for placing the ash from the incense burnt in honour of the gods. The greater the amount of ash, the more worshippers the gods have and the greater their powers will be. Since the significance of the incense is so important, I will discuss the matter in more detail at a later stage.

2) The minor worship spaces: the rear hall and the side halls. If there are too many deities in the temple for them all to fit in the main hall, the extra images will be located in the rear hall or side hall. However, only deities of low rank in the celestial bureaucracy will be placed in these locations, with the rear hall being considered more important than the side hall.

3) The main space for religious activities: the square. The square is the most special of all the spaces in traditional Taiwanese temples. At first, the function of the square was a place for a worshipper to sit in tranquil meditation. Later on, as religious and cultural activities flourished in the community, the square became the most important public space in the whole settlement.

The square of the temple is composed of the square itself and other spatial elements which define its boundary (Fig. 6-5), including the screen wall, the arch gate, the flag pole, a stage for performing entertainment and ceremonies for the deities, and trees to provide shades against the hot summer sun. (Chang 1978; Mei 1988; Chiou 1988; Wang 1988) Among these elements, the screen wall is used as spatial *yasheng* for driving away demons and as a symbol of the *sha* in a *feng-shui* arrangement. (Chiou 1988:35; Chang 1978:179) The flag poles have the function of serving as landmarks marking out the space. Generally, two flag poles are placed on either side of the square, their banners signifying the rank of the deities in the temple. (Chiou 1988:35) The arch gate, apart from defining the main entrance of the square, also has a religious meaning as a boundary separating the sacred territory of the temple from the secular territory of the settlement. Thus, in terms of differentiating between spatial territories, the arch gate reflects a contrast between an interior well-known world and an exterior unknown world. (Mei 1988:74-76)

The square being the largest and most convenient open space in the whole community, the stage situated within it is the ideal place for the performance of folk operas. Thus, the secular function of the square is to provide a venue for people to enjoy traditional culture. The stage usually faces towards the entrance of the

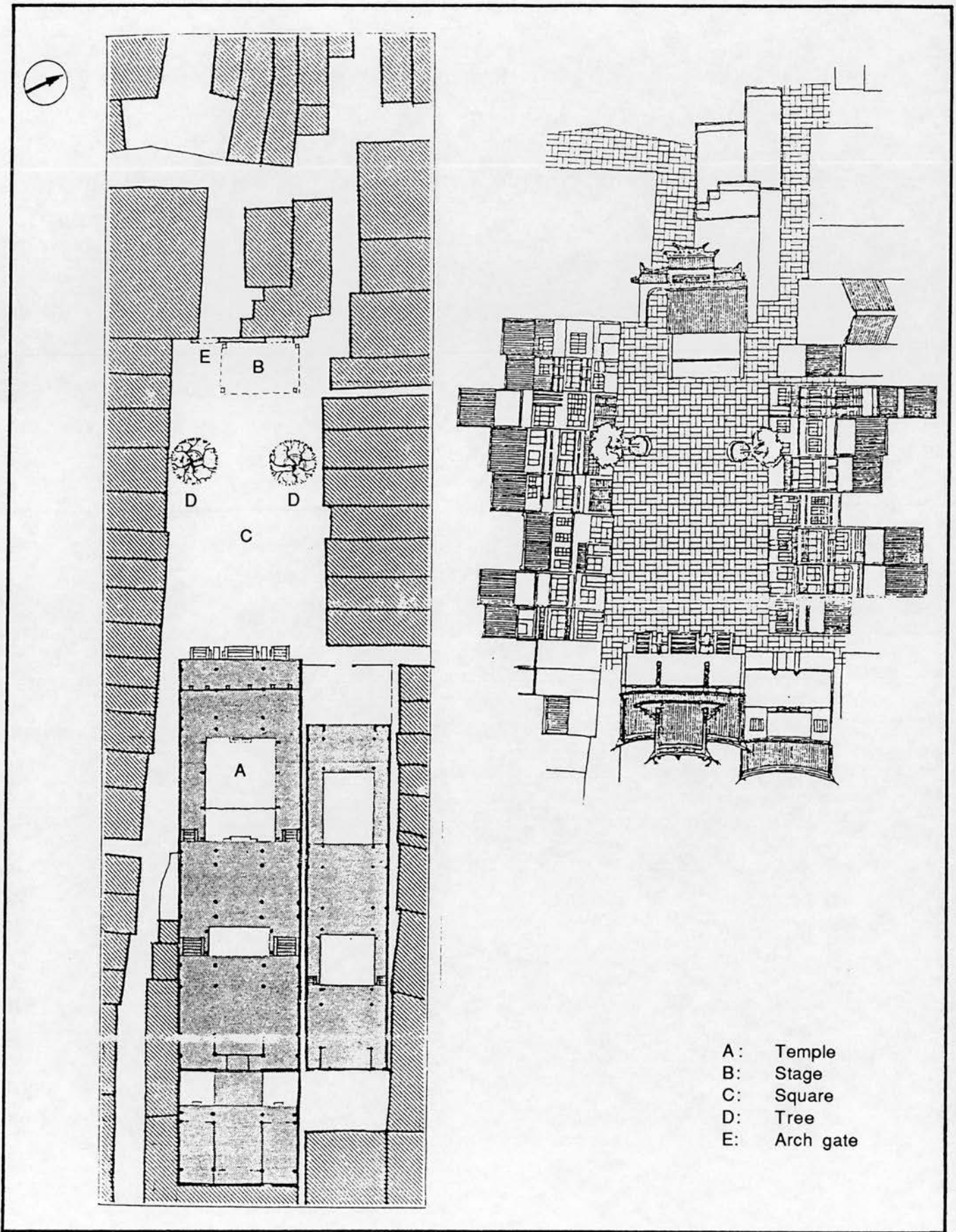


Fig. 6-5 An example of a temple layout in Tainan. (Source: Chiou 1988:appendix p.34)

temple, which, in terms of its sacred function, represents the intention of the people to worship the deities through a dramatic performance. The stage, then, can be interpreted as an intermediary for the communication of exchanges between man and gods. (Wang 1988:151)

To sum up, the square of the temple in vernacular Taiwanese settlements has both sacred and secular functions and is, moreover, a focus for a variety of the activities of the settlements. These activities include:

a) Religious activities. Most of the religious rituals of worship and celebrations of gods, held to obtain the blessings of the gods and thus avoid disaster, take place in the square.

b) Economic activities. Traditionally, the square was a place where people could share and enjoy their common wealth and distribute the harvest. For example, the fishermen of Wangan 望安, one of the Penghu Islands, amassed their fishing harvest in the temple square for distribution to individual households.

c) Political activities. The square, as a natural place of assembly, was an ideal venue for people to express their political views. In the modern history of Taiwan, in fact, the temple square has served the whole political spectrum, from governments declaring their manifestoes to opposition parties expressing political dissension.

d) Commercial activities. The many convenient features of the square make it the ideal setting for a commercial market. A variety of commercial activities can be seen in the square, particularly during religious festivals.

e) Recreational activities. As a result of the particular nature of the square as a setting for a wide range of human activities, religious ceremonies and spatial patterns, it inevitably became the recreational centre for the whole settlement. During festivals and times of celebration, folk dramas and performances by martial arts troupes held in the square were the most important leisure activities for the local people. At other times, people's daily recreational needs were also met by the square: elderly people sat under the shady trees, gossiping and playing chess, while around them played young children.

The temple square also had a powerful influence on the spatial configurations of villages and, especially, market towns, where the traditional formation of a system of streets was based on a configuration of streets and alleys. (Fig. 6-6) Although this configuration in essence followed the structure of traditional Chinese cities, there were some differences in the Taiwanese model. In the Chinese city structure, the uniform pattern was of interlocking streets. The square, which in Western cities was the essential element of open space, was hardly known in China. Those large squares which did exist in big cities such as Peking (Fig. 6-7), were merely a symbol of imperial power or a venue for the holding of royal ceremonies. Since the common people had few opportunities to use these squares, they cannot be considered as public spaces.

In Taiwanese market towns, however, the appearance of the temple squares completely transformed the whole nature of public space. Within the settlements' constrained street system, the square provided a space for public activities, forming a close link between people's lives and public spaces. Consequently, the squares of Taiwanese temples became the spatial nodes of urban space and the focus of public activities (Fig. 6-8). As far as urban space is concerned, the squares transformed the formerly dull form of the settlements into a wide variety of different styles, with the result that the spaces of vernacular Taiwanese settlements developed in many different ways.

(4) The buffers or linking spaces: main gate, corridor and courtyard. The most important meaning of the main gate is its use as the entrance to the temple, marking off the space between the square and as the interior spaces of the temple, while its spatial function is to act as a buffer between these two spaces. The square represents a union of the religious and secular worlds; only after passing through the main gate, is it possible to enter the real sacred space belonging to the deities. Like the entrance of a family home, the main gate is guarded by door gods to prevent the intrusion of demons.

The corridor and courtyard are spaces linking the main gate and the main hall. The corridors of traditional Taiwanese temples are decorated with all sorts of patterns and calligraphy; sometimes, religious artefacts are also displayed. In this way, people can be enlightened as they walk along the corridor.

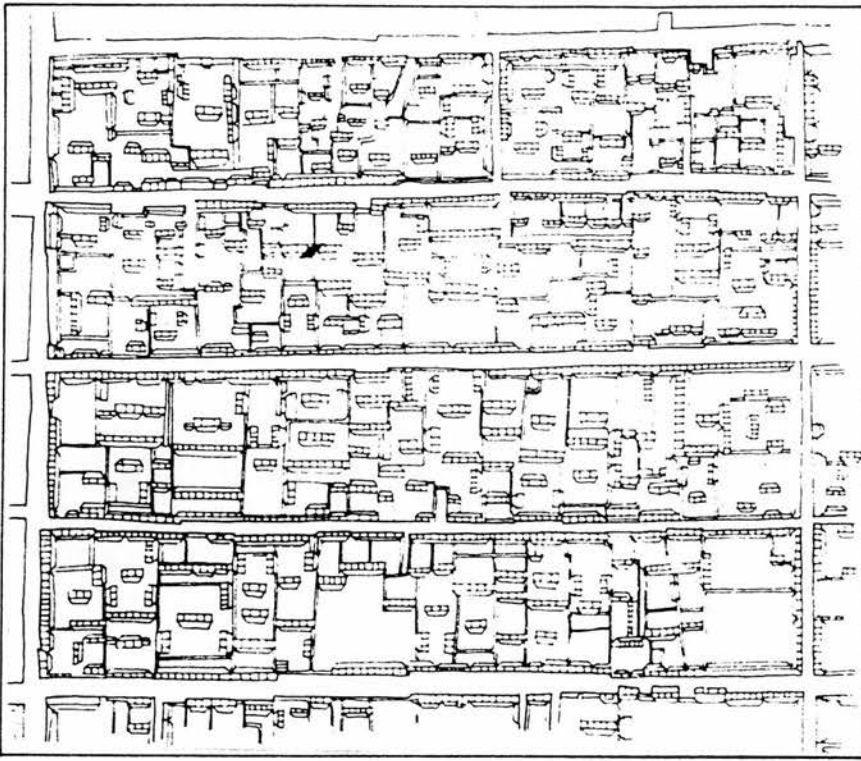


Fig. 6-6 The traditional formation of Chinese cities (Peking).

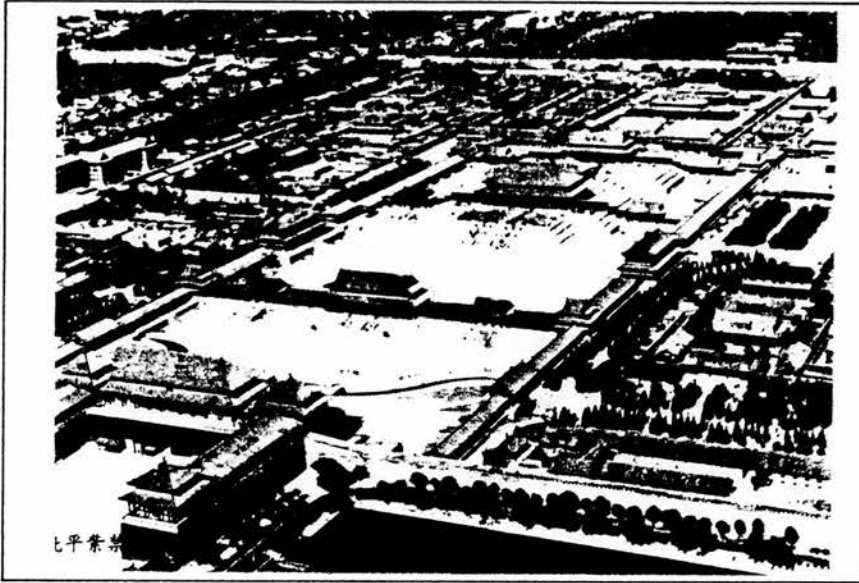


Fig. 6-7 The Royal Squares in Peking (Source: Wang 1984)

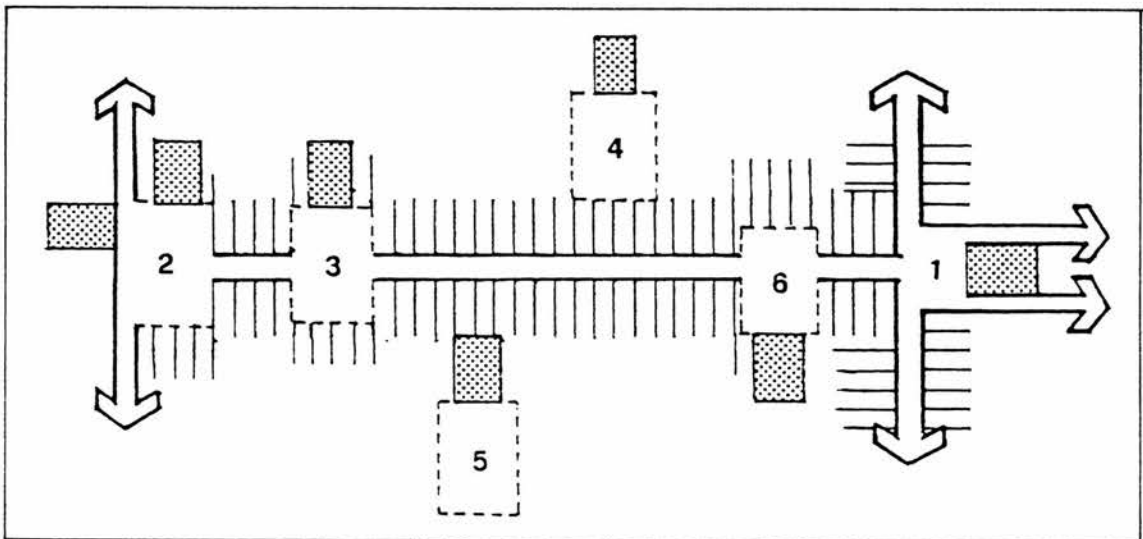


Fig. 6-8 The squares and streets system in the traditional Taiwanese towns. (Source: Chiou 1990:29)

(5) The administration and accommodation spaces: the wings. On occasions, Taiwanese temples have to entertain believers from far away. In these cases, the wings are used to house and feed them. At the same time, the wings also provide space for managing the temple's administrative affairs.

6.2.2.3 The architectural meanings of the spaces in the temple.

In order to interpret their architectural meaning, I will now divide the various spaces of the temple into four sequences (Fig. 6-9):

- (A) The leading spaces: the square and the main gate.
- (B) The main spaces: the main hall and the worship hall.
- (C) The transitional spaces: the corridors and the courtyard.
- (D) The auxiliary spaces: the side and rear halls.

If we take a look at the progression of space from the outside to the inside of the temple, people first move from the square through the main gate into the corridors and through the courtyard into the main hall, before going on to the side or rear halls. In terms of the spatial sequence, the progression starts from the leading spaces going on to the transitional spaces, the main space and the auxiliary space. This passage through the spatial sequence causes a clear transformation in the mental state of the worshipper entering the temple, and helps to develop respectful feelings towards the gods.

On first entering the square, people are in a lively mood and are able to appreciate the splendid architectural form of the whole temple, the architectural form and decoration of which are generally the most remarkable and unique of any building in the settlement. Feelings of respect are thus set in motion. On passing through the main gate, people experience vividly the solemn scale and elaborate decoration of the architecture of the main hall. At the same time, as people observe, through wisps of incense smoke wafting upwards, the worship taking place in the main hall, they are overcome by religious emotion and the feelings of respect become even greater. The spatial sequence from the hubbub of the square to the quiet beyond the main gate allows the worshipper time for mental transformation.

The various decorations and instruments displayed along the corridors and in the courtyard also help worshippers to increase their feelings of respect. By the

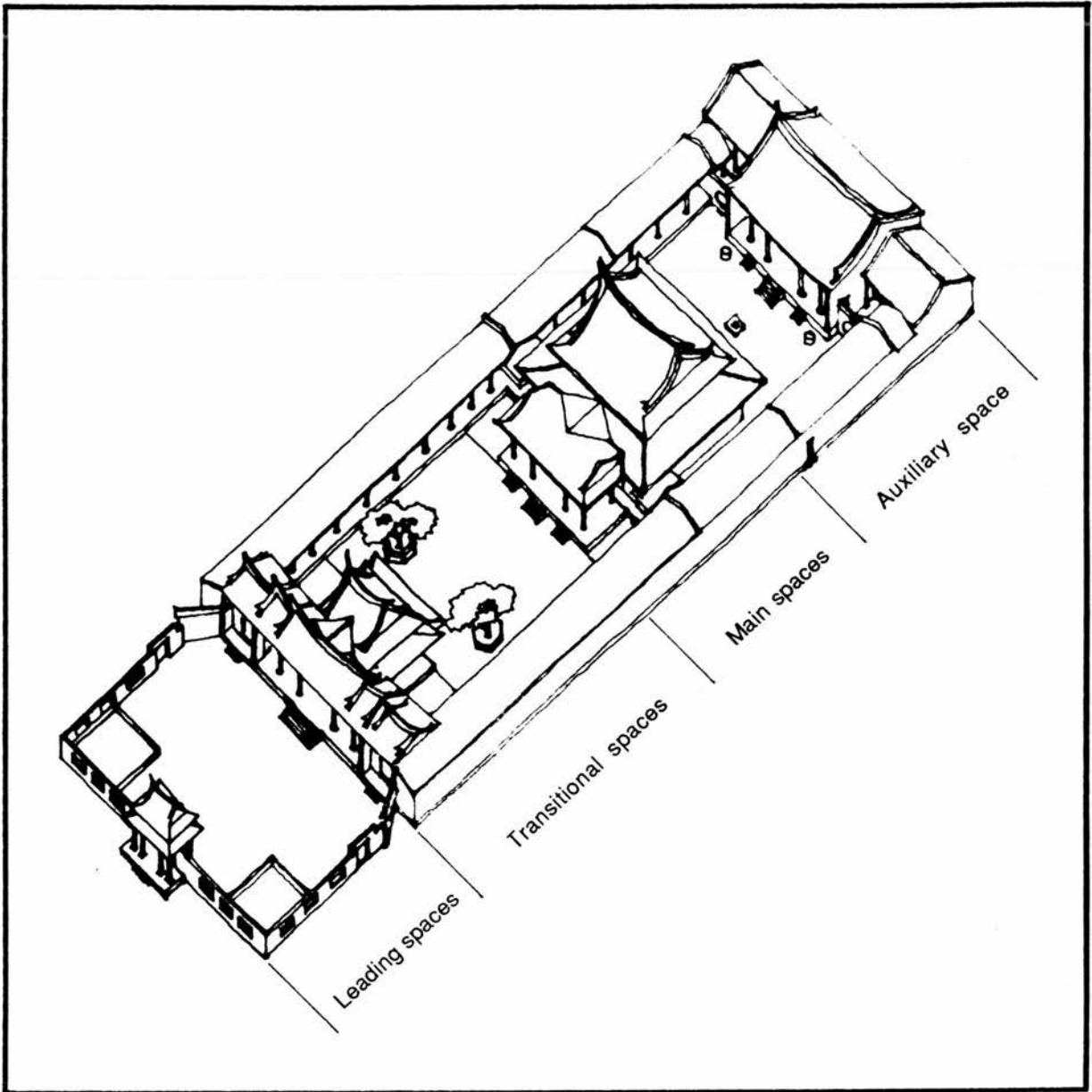


Fig. 6-9 Spatial sequence of a temple. (Source: Wen 1985:34)

time of the formal entry into the main hall, the feelings, resulting from the process of mental transformation caused by the passage through the previous spatial sequence, reach a climax. The individual worshipper, standing within the spatial boundary defined by the four poles of the *si-t'ien-chin* and the ridgepole, and surrounded by an atmosphere heavy with incense smoke, can feel the omnipresent powers of the gods. The worshipper's feelings of respect reach a high point at the moment when he finally sees the solemn images of the gods on the altar and only begin slowly to subside when he moves off to the side or rear halls.

This spatial sequence is full of transitions and shows clearly how the layout of traditional Taiwanese temples provided the spatial means to elevate the worshippers' feelings of respect. This method was accompanied by a gradual elevation of the height of the floors and roofs of the different spaces as a further way of helping to raise the vigour of the worshippers.

Moreover, in terms of the whole temple, the sequence of the spatial structure which starts from the stage and passes from the square through the main gate, the courtyard, the corridors and the worship hall before finally ending up in the main hall, forms an axial spatial system, which provides the deities with a path along which they can proceed at times of special celebration such as the annual inspection tour. (Fig. 6-10). This path is a "divine path" which allows communication between man and deities as well as between the deities themselves. (Mei 1988: 119-121) By means of the spaces within the temple, Taiwanese people, through the use of an orderly hierarchy of spatial relationships, transform the unknown environment of the cosmos into recognisable cosmic spaces. In other words, the spaces of Taiwanese temples represent a miniature spatial model of the cosmos. This scaled-down model is recognisable to humans, and enables man and gods to obtain direct and harmonious communication.

6.2.3 The process of development of Taiwanese settlements

The development of Taiwanese settlements started in the Penghu islands, before spreading to the south-west of the main island, from where it gradually advanced northwards along the coastal lowlands of the western plain. Due to the hazards of hostile aboriginal tribes and geographical obstacles, the eastern part of the island was the last to be settled. Historically speaking, the whole period can be divided into three stages which parallel these stages of development. The first period

started in the beginning and ended in the middle of the eighteenth century, the second period started in the beginning and ended in the middle of the nineteenth century, while the third period also started at the beginning of the nineteenth century but did not end until the beginning of the twentieth century. (Yang 1988)

The settlements, which for the most part emerged in the lowlands, can be divided into the two main categories of villages and market towns, with the latter serving as religious, political, social and economic centres for the surrounding villages. By a careful examination of the structure of the settlements, we can see that each one, if considered as a whole, was composed of a number of different units, each of which had its own centre, usually a temple. The temple was the focus of the local community and acted as a symbol, support and reinforcement of the local community. In fact, temples were rarely less important than either the village or market town in which they were situated.

In his study of traditional Taiwanese temples, T. H. Chiou pointed out that their development matched the growth of the settlements. (Chiou 1988:11) The process of development of Taiwanese settlements during the period of Ch'ing rule can be divided into three stages: firstly, the pioneering stage, secondly an intermediate stage of agricultural development and thirdly, the stage of commercial growth.

6.2.3.1 The pioneering stage

During the first stage, immigrants from the Chinese mainland faced a succession of tremendous dangers, from the crossing of the straits to hostile aborigines, tropical epidemics and the weak control of the Ch'ing government. The only way in which the immigrants could cope with these problems was to seek help from the incense ash and images of the patron deities which they had brought over from their native temples. A new temple was built wherever the immigrants settled and the images and incense ash installed therein. This not only maintained a link with the original temples but also formed the centre of the new settlement. The new temples were used in an alien environment as a focus for drawing together immigrants from the same area of the Chinese mainland. With the temples as the geographical centre of the new settlements, the houses of the settlers extended outwards and the settlement became established.

6.2.3.2 The stage of agricultural development

As the settlers established themselves, so large-scale agricultural development began. During this period, the rich and fertile soil seemed to be the most precious property which immigrants could own. As a result, apart from the original temples, shrines in honour of *t'u-ti-kung*, the Earth God, who is the god of fertility, abundance and productivity, began to appear. As an agricultural god, *t'u-ti-kung* not only brings abundant harvests but also acts as a territorial guardian preventing the intrusion of evil demons. Thus *t'u-ti-kung* temples can be seen throughout Taiwan in every corner of every village and market town. The combination of the original temples and the new *t'u-ti-kung* temples created the embryonic form of the vernacular Taiwanese settlement in which the original temple of the territorial guardian is situated in the centre, flanked by the various *t'u-ti-kung* temples in the outskirts of the settlement. (Fig. 6-11) In fact, the *t'u-ti-kung* temples were not the only new temples to appear during the agricultural period. As a result of the desire to escape the disaster of terrible plague, temples for the worship of *wang-yeh*, the plague god, also spread throughout the island, especially on the coastal plains of the south-west.

6.2.3.3 The stage of commercial growth

The final stage was the stage of commercial growth. Following the growth of population and material wealth, a number of geographically superior settlements gradually changed from their original form into market towns dominated by commercial trades. These towns also became the religious, political, social and commercial centres of the surrounding areas. The most wealthy of the local businessmen became the local leaders. People from a variety of professions joined together to form guilds as a way of safeguarding their own interests and promoting their businesses. The guilds dominated the economic, public and religious affairs of the market towns. (DeGlopper 1974:57) Each of the guilds adopted a particular deity, such as the *shui-hsuan tsun-wang* 水仙尊王, as its professional patron. The temples which the guilds built for their own patrons, apart from having a religious role, were also used as meeting places for discussing daily affairs and regulating disputes. In many cases, the temples were situated in the centres of the market towns, and their squares became the market places from where rows of shops began to develop. As the towns developed, the main commercial streets all extended

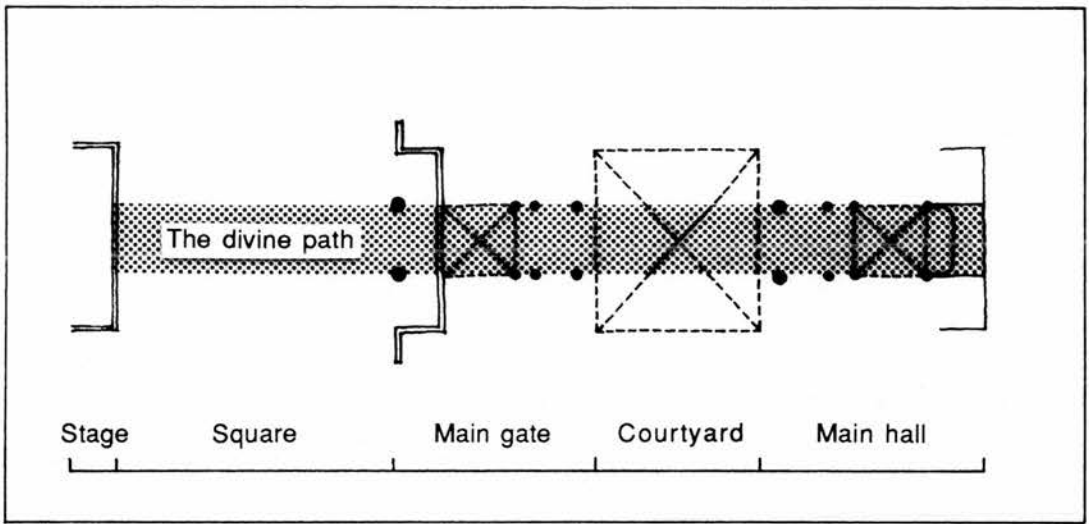


Fig. 6-10 The divine path of the traditional Taiwanese temple.
 (Source: Mei 1988:119)

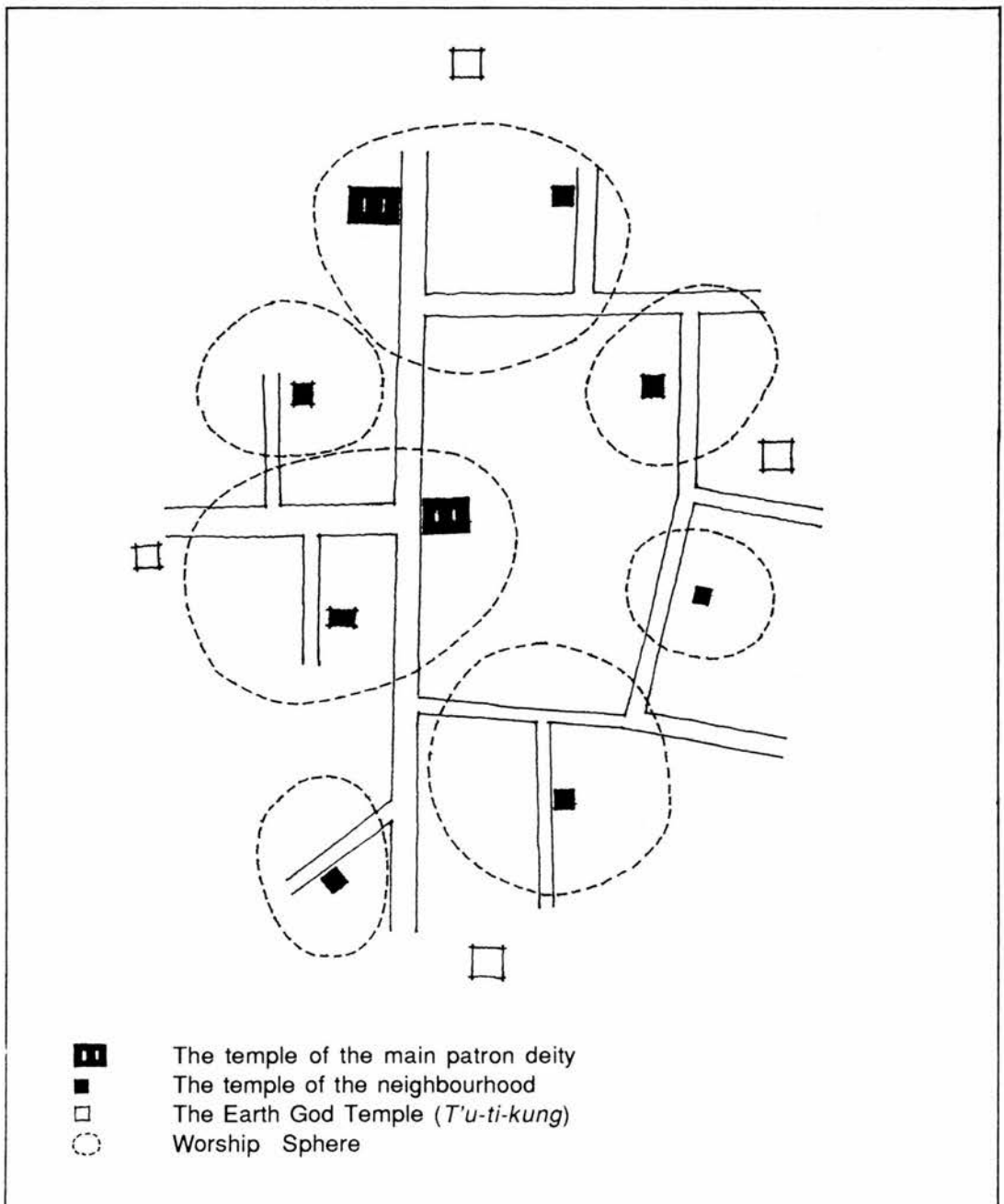


Fig. 6-11

outwards from the temple. In other words, the temples not only formed the centre of economic activity, but also determined the subsequent development of the main streets. During the last years of Ch'ing rule, the distribution of the various temples determined the form and structure of market towns.

6.2.3.4 Discussion

This brief description of the relationship between temples and the settlements in which they were located, gives a rough outline of the development of vernacular Taiwanese settlements during different historical periods. We can see that the different temples were distributed in different parts of these settlements. The temples provided the settlements with a symbolic focal point which could bind together the conscience of the community. In other words, through the temples, people of the same ethnic, professional and territorial affiliation found an identity as a common group. As far as the form of the settlement is concerned, the erection of new temples provided the opportunity for the settlement to develop. K. H. Yu, in his study of Makung (Yu 1982 & 1988), a market town on the Penghu islands, showed how, as the population outgrew the capacity of the original settlement, people began to move northwards, building new temples which in turn encouraged more people to move with them. Eventually, new settlements were established to the north of the original settlement and, meanwhile, the form of the original settlement also extended northwards. (Fig. 6-12)

Thus far, I have shown how temples were of crucial importance in influencing the development of the settlements: however, further discussion is required to describe the full extent of how the relationship between Taiwanese temples and the settlements in which they were located.

6.2.4 The influence of the temples on the development of the settlements

Every community in Taiwan generally establishes a temple at its centre. The deities of these temples are territorial patrons with their own territory of jurisdiction, the scale of which is based on the worship sphere which the deity can influence. The size of the worship sphere is usually based on the rank of the deity in the celestial bureaucracy. Thus, the size of the worship sphere of the deity mirrors the boundaries of the community.

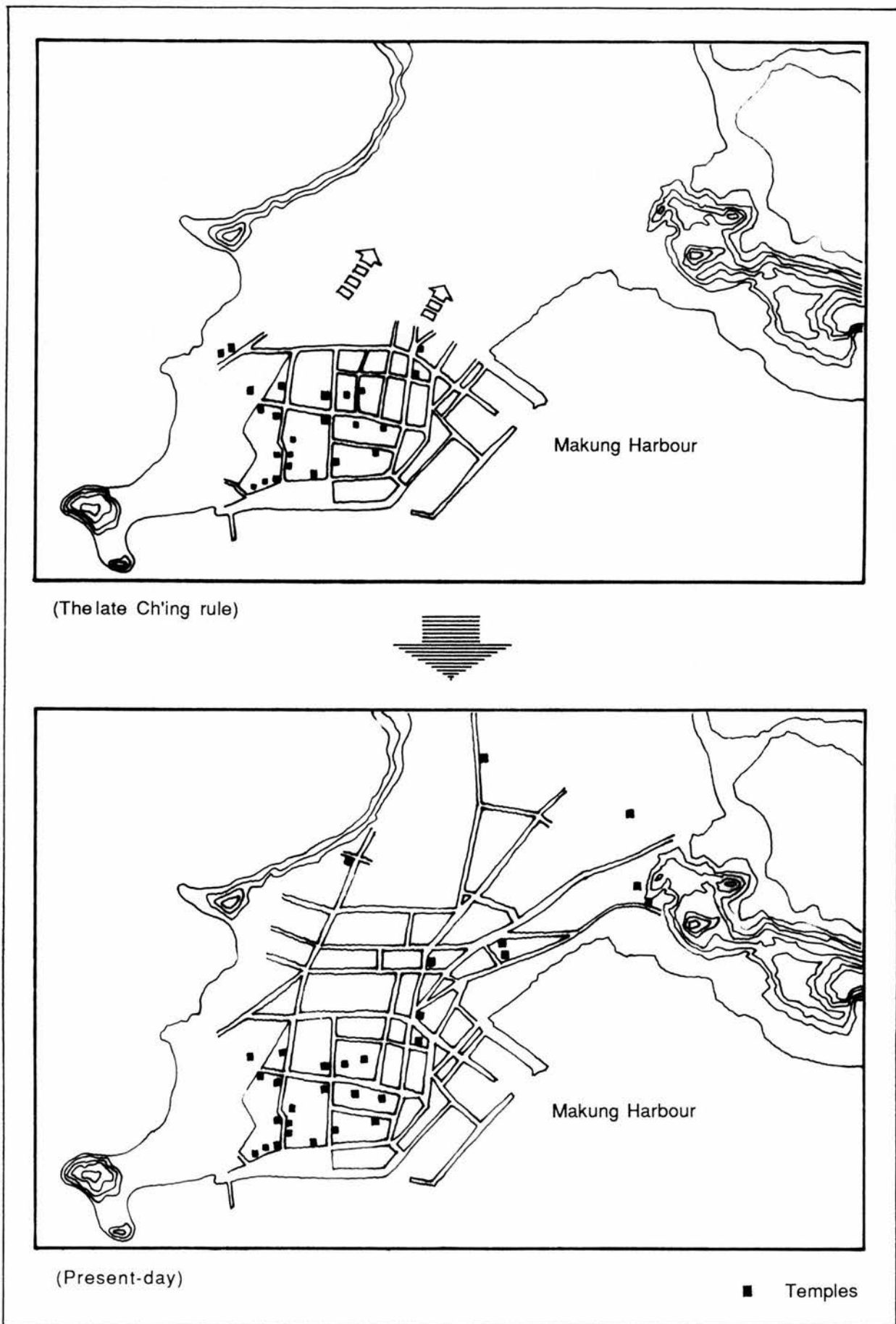


Fig. 6-12 The transformation of Makung, Penghu. (Source: Yu 1982:454)

Temples are built and their festivals financed by contributions from every household within the worship sphere of the deity. While, in some circumstances, people are unwilling to take part in public affairs arranged by the local government, they willingly and enthusiastically participate in any work in honour of their deities, since they believe that it is the deities, and certainly not the officials, who will protect their interests. Moreover, people only consider as their neighbours those who worship the same deity. Anybody who does not share the same beliefs, even if he is living in the same administrative district⁵⁶, is ignored. People are very aware of their group identity and stress the differences between their own and other groups. In general terms, therefore, we can say that the temples are the most symbolic element in Taiwanese vernacular settlements, and are a crucial factor to be examined in coming to an understanding of the development of these settlements. In the following discussion of the relationship between the temples and the settlements, I will look at the three different types of settlement - neighbourhood, village and market town.

6.2.4.1 The neighbourhood

Every village and market town in Taiwan can be further divided into a number of neighbourhoods. In most cases, as two studies have shown, the deity representing the neighbourhood is *t'u-ti-kung*. In the first study, M. R. Lin found that each of the 26 neighbourhoods in Ts'aotun 草屯 township has a *t'u-ti-kung* temple. (Lin M. J. 1987) The temple can thus be used as a means of distinguishing the different neighbourhoods. The different neighbourhoods which exist within Taiwanese society intermingle and their boundaries, if not clearly marked out, are, superficially at least, hard to distinguish. The only way to work out the boundaries is to read the inscriptions in the different *t'u-ti-kung* temples concerning religious festivals, and the temples' construction and restoration, since these were financed by the people living within the worship sphere of the temple. The names of the donors are

56 The central government on Taiwan now administers three province-level units: Taiwan Province, Taipei Municipality and Kaohsiung Municipality. Taiwan Province includes sixteen counties and five county-level municipalities (i.e. Keelung, Hsinchu, Taichung, Chia-I and Tainan). Four separate types of town-level units exist: rural townships, town-level municipalities and municipal districts. The rural township is divided into administrative villages (*T'sun* 村) and the urban township is divided into administrative municipalities (*Li* 里). Both *T'sun* in rural townships and *Li* in urban townships are further divided into several neighbourhoods (*Lin* 鄰). According to the present regulations, neighbourhoods in *T'sun* incorporate ten to thirty households while neighbourhoods in urban *Li* consist of twenty to fifty households. (Jacobs 1980:1-3)

usually inscribed on the tablets in the temples: these tablets can be used by both insiders and outsiders as a means of working out who belongs to which neighbourhood.

The second example is my own field study of the remote island known as Hsiaoliuchiu 小琉球, which is off the coast of Pingtung county in southern Taiwan. The island is divided into four neighbourhoods, each of which has a *t'u-ti-kung* temple at its centre. (Fig. 6-13) In the past, because the island is so remote, it was hardly affected by governmental jurisdiction; accordingly, in order to avoid living in a state of anarchy, the inhabitants organised themselves into an autonomous society, in which the *t'u-ti-kung* temple played a jurisdictional and quasi-governmental role. According to folk beliefs, the *t'u-ti-kung* has the power not only to keep out evil demons and dangerous spirits, but also to report the good actions of the inhabitants to heaven and thus ensure that they do not lose their prosperity. Within the territory governed by the *t'u-ti-kung*, people elect a *lu-chu* who acts as the representative of the *t'u-ti-kung*. The *lu-chu* organises a committee which takes charge of all communal affairs, from settling disputes to arranging festivals in honour of the temple deity. There is also a temple built in honour of *kuan-yin* 觀音 worshipped by people from all over the island, which has overall jurisdiction over all the *t'u-ti-kung* temples. The relationship between the temples is explicitly bureaucratic: the *kuan-yin* temple is the ritual centre for the whole island, while the *t'u-ti-kung* temples are the focal points of the different neighbourhoods. Worshippers from these neighbourhoods make an annual pilgrimage to the *kuan-yin* temple carrying images of the *t'u-ti-kung*. In essence, this means that the *t'u-ti-kung* is strengthened by the spirit of *kuan-yin* and the order of their mutual relationship is re-affirmed. In return for this, the image of *kuan-yin* is placed in a sedan for an annual procession to spread her blessings to every household on the island.

The distribution of *t'u-ti-kung* temples is more complex in cities than in rural areas. K. M. Schipper showed how Tainan city has a huge number of *t'u-ti-kung* temples, with one in almost every street.⁵⁷ (Schipper 1977:658) (Fig. 6-14) Previously, there were also *t'u-ti-kung* temples situated at the city gates.

57 Old Tainan City is said to have been a city of more than one hundred temples, most of them in honour of *t'u-ti-kung*. At the end of the nineteenth century, Tainan had about 10,000 households; this gives an average of about one *t'u-ti-kung* temple for every one hundred households.

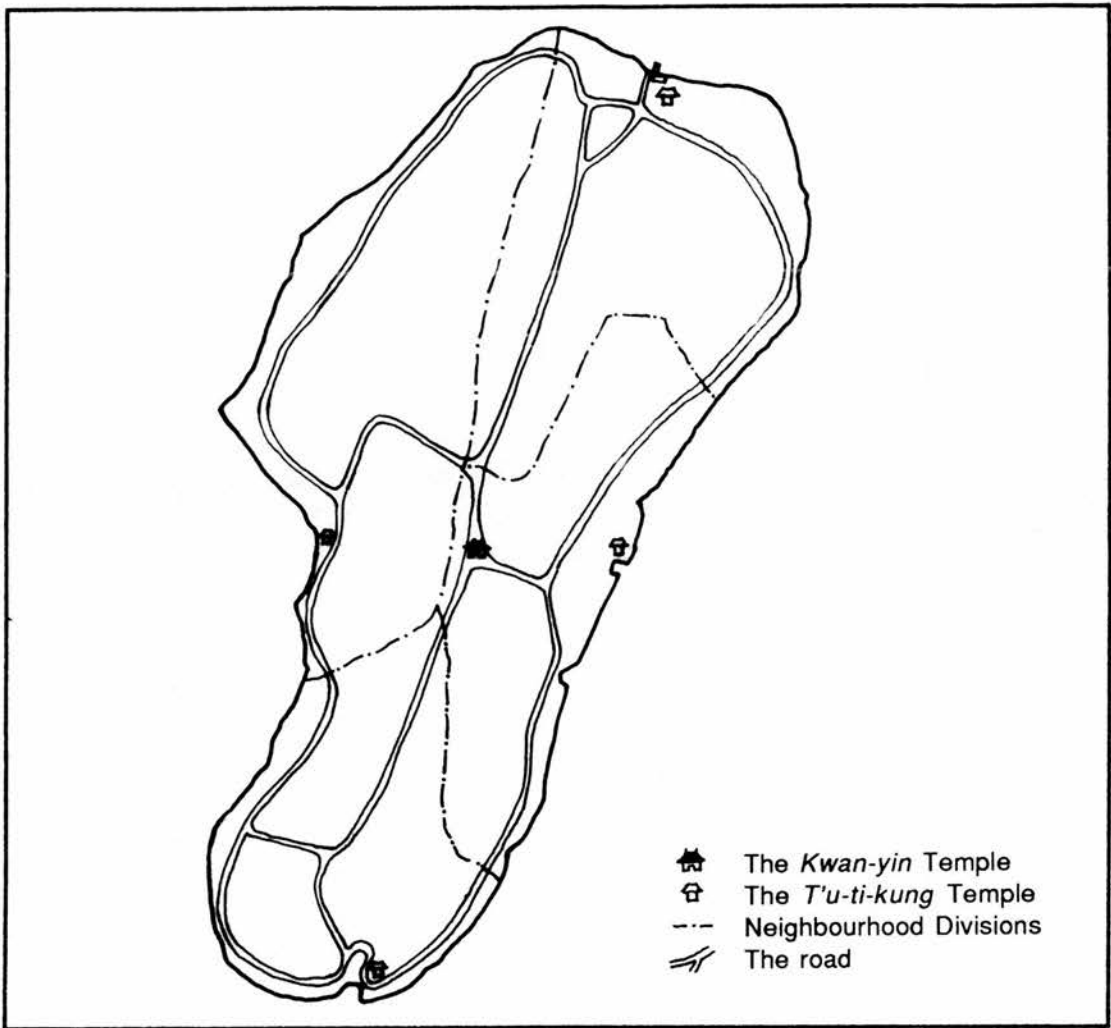


Fig. 6-13 The distribution of temples on Hsiaoliuchiu Island.

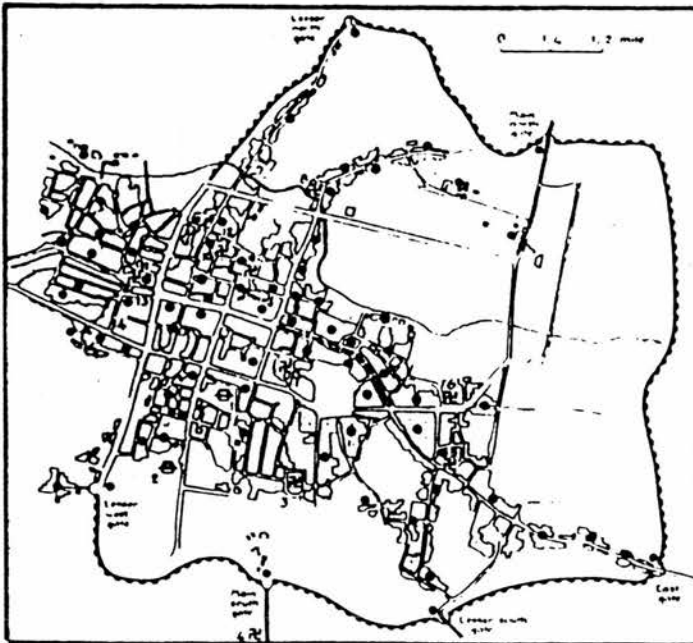


Fig. 6-14 Tainan in 1907.
 Dots represent sites of
T'u-ti-kung temples.
 (Source: Schipper 1977:658)

Although these city gates were demolished along with city walls at the time of a re-development programme carried out during the period of Japanese occupation, most of the *t'u-ti-kung* temples survived. The Japanese authorities hesitated to destroy the temples for fear of arousing the resistance of the Taiwanese people. Taiwanese people may no longer need city gates and walls to defend themselves against bandits, but they still require *t'u-ti-kung* to safeguard their homes against the intrusion of evil demons.

6.2.4.2 The villages

Apart from the *t'u-ti-kung* temples worshipped by the different neighbourhoods, each village also has at least one main village temple, the deity of which is always of a higher status than the *t'u-ti-kung*. The number of temples in a village depends on its size. In general, a village has one temple, worshipped only by people living within the village, though, in some cases, powerful temples can transcend village boundaries to become an inter-village temple.

The village temple acts as a focus for the solidarity of the whole village. The inhabitants of the village do not merely burn incense to ask the deity to safeguard their peace and prosperity, but also, more importantly, organise a series of activities and festivals, which serve the interests of both deity and villager. Since the temple and its estate, as we have seen already, are built with the help of public funds, they are treated as public property. The best way to manage such a property seems to be through the establishment of a corporate organisation, to which each individual household automatically belongs. Representatives from each household meet once a year to elect the *lu-chu* and *t'ou-chia* who will preside over the rituals of the temple and manage the public affairs of the community. (Crissman 1981:92) The organisation which manage temples are different from other organisations in that they stress religious affairs rather than common benefits. In the turbulent past, when immigrants came to Taiwan in search of new hopes, they were bound together by common religious beliefs, creating a solidarity which was further strengthened by the setting up of religious organisations. This can be seen by discussing the following meanings of these religious organisations:

First, in terms of religious protection, the main temple joins together with other temples in the village to establish a religious organisation. An example of this was found by C. M. Chen in his study of the village of Yingting in southern Taiwan (Chen 1975), where a *kuan-yin* temple is located in the middle, and four *t'u-ti-kung* temples positioned on the four directions on the outskirts of the village. The villagers believe that the deities are in command of five camps of supernatural soldiers, sent from heaven to protect them against the intrusion of evil into the village. The central camp is stationed by the *kuan-yin* temple, while the north, south, east and west camps are each positioned next to one of the four *t'u-ti-kung* temples at the edge of the village. In return for protection, the villagers make regular offerings of food and paper money.

Large-scale religious organisations usually extend beyond village boundaries. This was shown by J. B. Jacobs in his study of Matsu township in northern Taiwan, a ritual organisation of 16 villages centred on village BC. (Fig. 6-15) (Jacobs 1980:96-98) Each village has its own ritual organisation, a branch of the multi-village organisation, centred on the village temple. The sixteen villages are divided into five pillars, which take turns to be responsible for the annual festivals. The five pillars are: 1) village BC; 2) four of the villages in the south-western township; 3) villages D1, D2, F1 and one from the west township; 4) villages A, E1, E2 and I; 5) villages G1, G2 and H. (Ibid p.98) In this way, the ritual organisation as a whole becomes an inter-village worship sphere.

Secondly, in terms of military protection, religious organisations can also be used as a military alliance for defence against invasion. The most famous example of this in Taiwan is the Hakka settlement of *liu-tui* 六堆 (six camps) in the south of the island. (Fig. 6-16) This federation, which incorporates Hakkas from Meinung to Chiatung, was organised in 1721 in response to a Fuchienese-led rebellion. Each of the villages in the federation built a *chung-i* 忠義 or loyalty shrine (Equivalent to a *you-yin-kung* temple) in memory of those who had sacrificed their lives during the battles. Eventually, the six shrines were united in an alliance, and each of the townships where the shrines were located became part of the *liu-tui* federation. The *chung-i* shrine in Chutien 竹田 township was the headquarters of the military federation in charge of the six camps of Hakka militia and was named the Central Camp. The five other camps were named according to their position in the defence arrangement; the Right Camp was in Meinong, the Front Camp in Linlo,

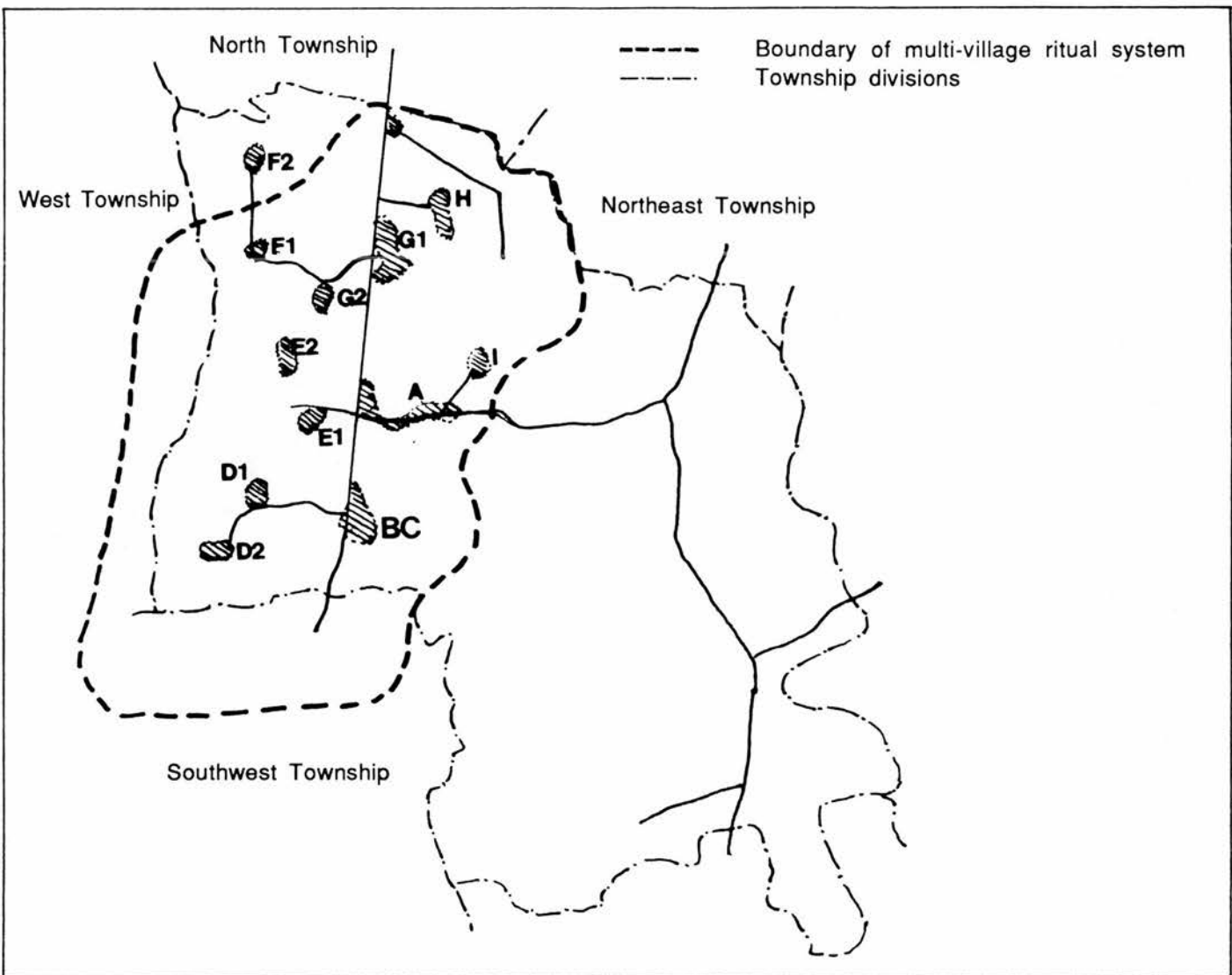


Fig. 6-15 *Matsu* township ritual systems. (Source: Jacobs 1980:97)

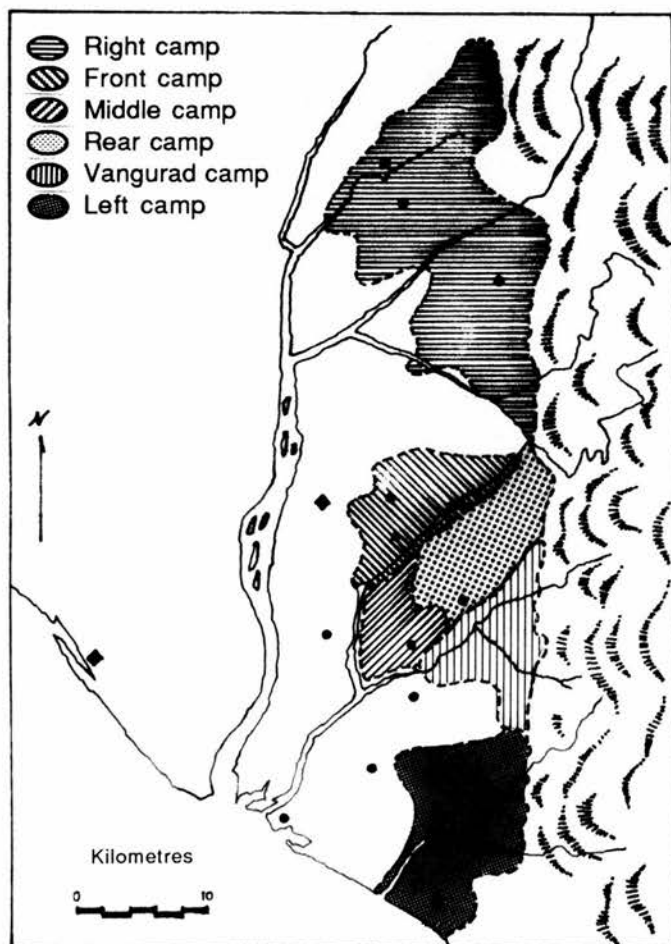


Fig. 6-16 The Hakka *Liu-tui* Distribution of Pingtung Plain, 1933. (Source: Pasternack 1983:17)

the Rear Camp in Neip'u 內埔 the Vanguard Camp in Wanluan 萬巒 and the Left Camp in Chiatung. 佳冬 (Pasternack 1983:17) As I have already pointed out (Chapter 4), the *liu-tui* federation was initially established to protect people's lives and financial resources. Although this defensive requirement is no longer necessary today, the *liu-tui* federation still exists and has become a political, social and, above all, a religious organisation which has served to promote the solidarity of Hakkas living in southern Taiwan.

6.2.4.3 Market towns

In the past, the Tamshui river was the main artery of transportation in the Taipei basin. The development of this basin was dominated by the ports which sprung up along the Tamshui river. I will now show how the three most important ports - Hsinchuang, Mengchia, and Tamshui - developed at different periods.

(1) Hsinchuang. When it first appeared during the early 1730s, Hsinchuang was dominated by the two temples of *matsu* and *t'u-ti-kung* (Fig 6-17). During this early period, the immigrants, who came mainly from Ch'uanchou and Changchou in Fuchien province, built their houses along the street linking the two temples. As prosperity gradually arrived, so the old street gradually extended westwards. By the 1770s, a new *kuan-kung* (the martial god) temple, used by merchants, had been built at the western end of the original street (Fig. 6-18), a sign of the development of Hsinchuang having reached a high point, as a result of the flourishing businesses attracting more and more people to live in the town. Some of the new settlers were Hakkas who moved in at the eastern end of the original street, where they erected a new temple in honour of their patron deity, *san-shan kuo-wang*, opposite the *t'u-ti-kung* temple. Over the next thirty years, the settlement of Hsinchuang gradually extended outwards at both ends of the original street. Two new *t'u-ti-kung* temples were built at either end of the street. (Fig. 6-19) However, the bed of the Tamshui river gradually silted up, resulting in the loss of Hsinchuang's advantages as a river port and the decline of the town, its superiority superseded by other newly developed river ports.

(2) Mengchia. At the start of the eighteenth century, there were only a few huts at Mengchia, built mostly by immigrants from Ch'uanchou. By 1738, the community had grown and prospered to the point where it was able to build a new temple, the Lungshan temple, in honour of *kuan-yin*, the patron deity of

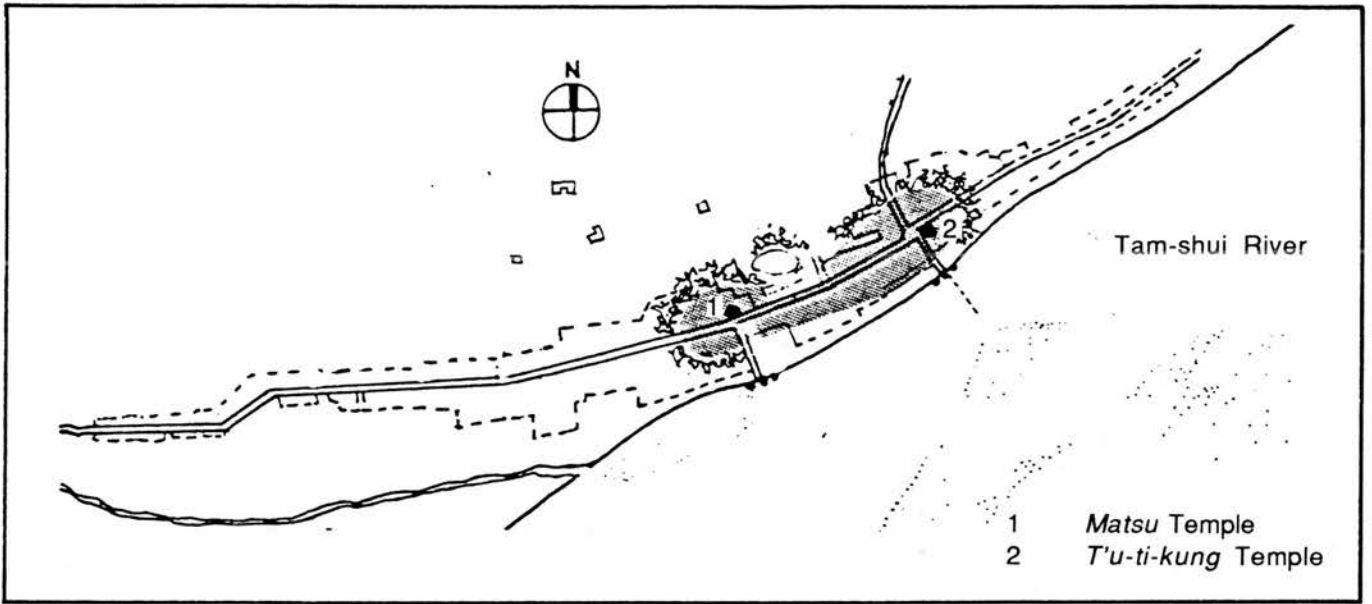


Fig. 6-17 The transformation of Hsinchuang (1736).

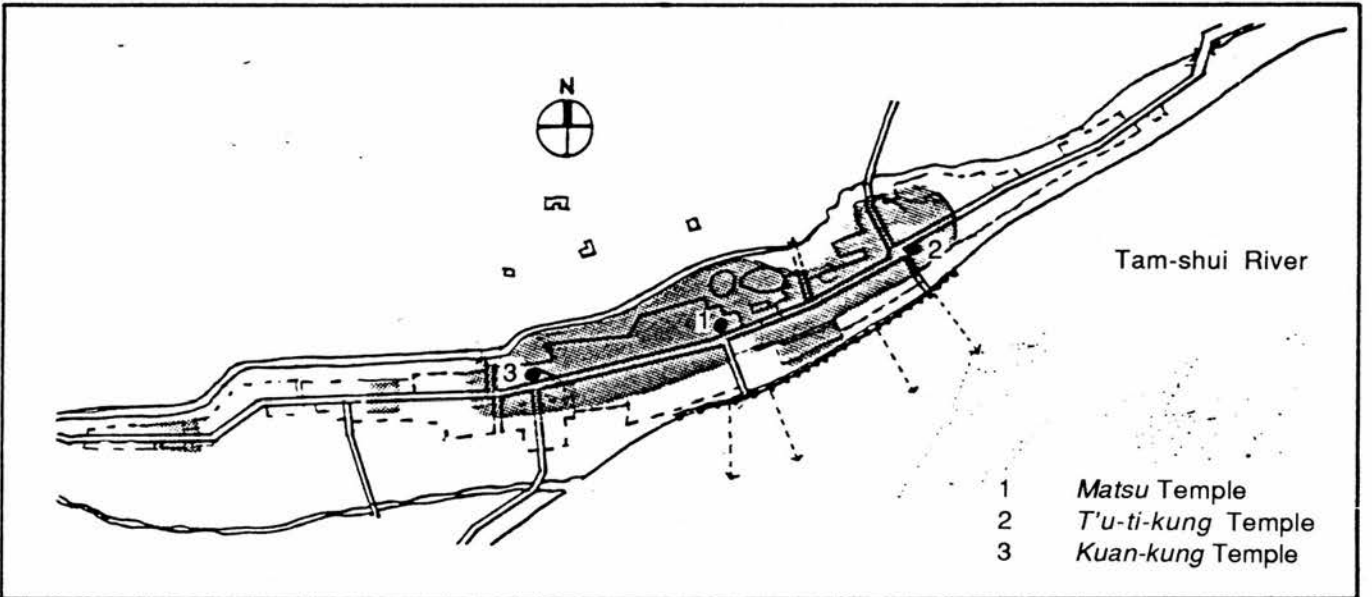


Fig. 6-18 The transformation of Hsinchuang (1773).

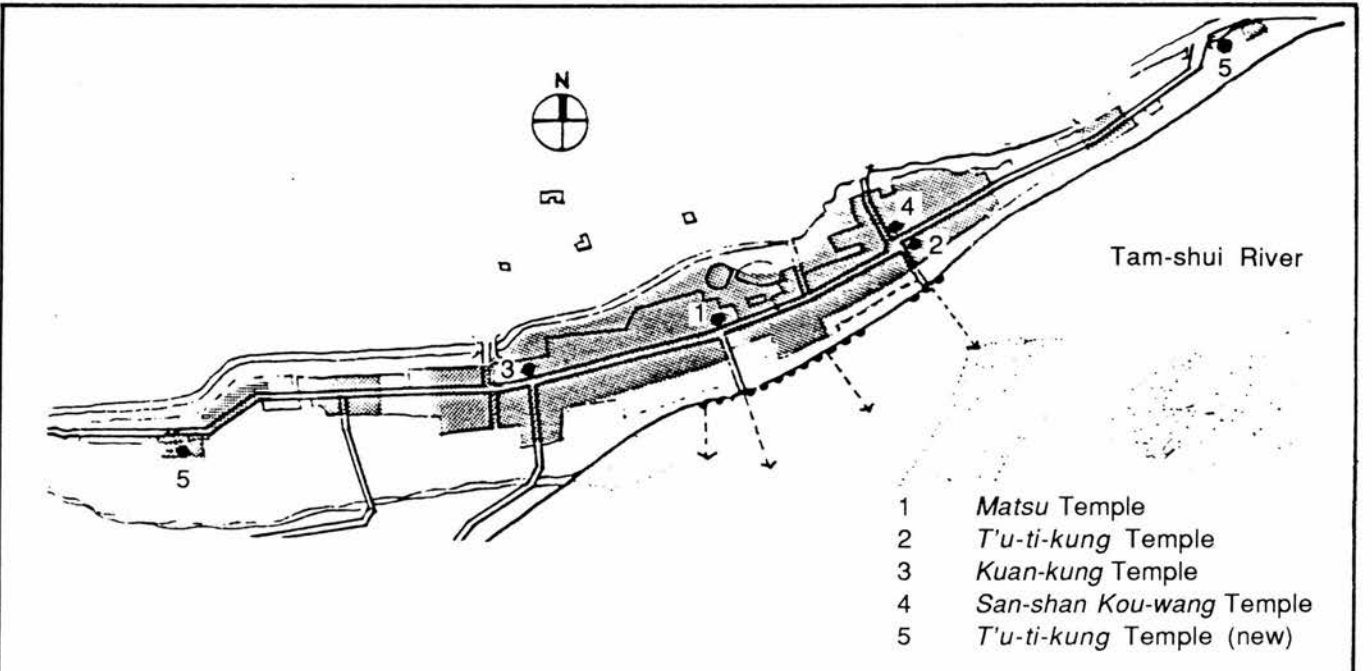


Fig. 6-19 The transformation of Hsinchuang (1809).

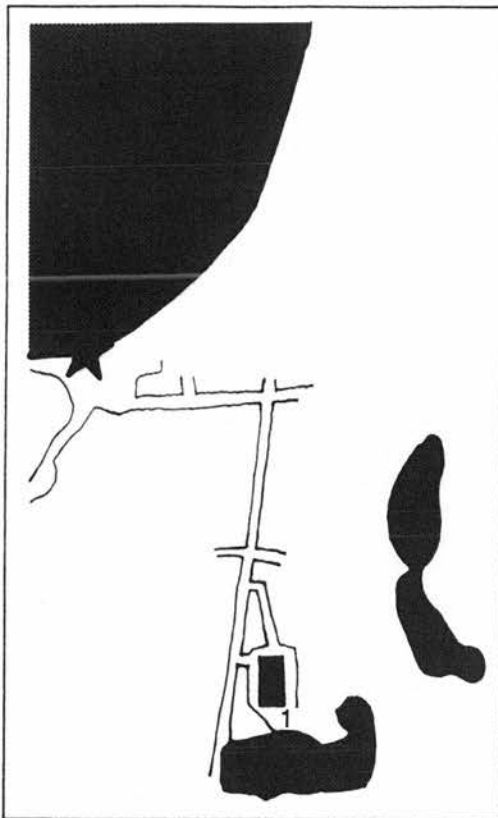
(Source: Cheng 1989:122)

Ch'uanchou, to the south-east of the settlement. In the early years, Mengchia was an important river port of the Tamshui river basin. The wharf was an important place in the original settlement and the line between it and the Lungshan temple served as the starting point for the development of the town's streets. New arrivals in the settlement built their houses on both sides of the L-shaped street which appeared between these two points. (Fig. 6-20) In 1746, two more temples, in honour of *matsu* and *t'u-ti-kung* respectively, were built to the north of the main street, from where the streets developed. (Fig. 6-21)

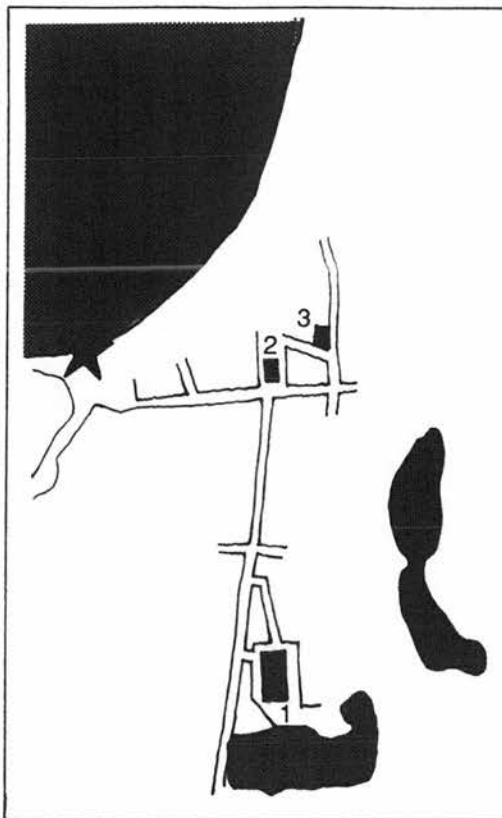
In 1760, after the building to the east of the Lungshan temple of a new *you-yin-kung* temple in which the bones of those who lost their lives in feuds were enshrined, another line was drawn connecting the *t'u-ti-kung* and *you-yin-kung* temples. On the street between these two temples, a temple in honour of *shui-hsuan tsun-wang*, used by local shipping merchants, was built in 1790. At this point, the form of the settlement, inhabited mainly by people from the San-I district of Ch'uanchou, was gradually taking shape. (Fig. 6-22) Immigrants from Anhsi came later, establishing their settlement to the north-east of the original settlement round the edge of a lotus pond, where they built a *ch'ing-shui tsu-shih* temple in honour of their own territorial guardian. After this group, came immigrants from Tungan, who settled further away from the lotus pond, which was known as Pachiachuang. They also built a temple for the worship of their patron god, *hsia-hai cheng-huang*. (Fig. 6-23)

By the 19th century, as trade flourished, so the streets of Mengchia became full of shops and trading firms. At the same time, the decline of Hsinchuang gave Mengchia the opportunity to become the main trading port in the area. Apart from the advantage of being a river port, Mengchia also had an ideal central location. Goods unloaded in Mengchia could easily be distributed anywhere in the Taipei basin. Mengchia's most prosperous years began in the 1820s, and, for the next forty years the town was a powerful commercial, political and military centre dominating the whole of northern Taiwan.⁵⁸ However, prosperity did not last. Mengchia was affected by the same problem which caused the decline of Hsinchuang: the silting up river bed made it impossible for the larger boats to dock at Mengchia. Furthermore, a severe plague in 1854 halted any future development of the town. Many thousands

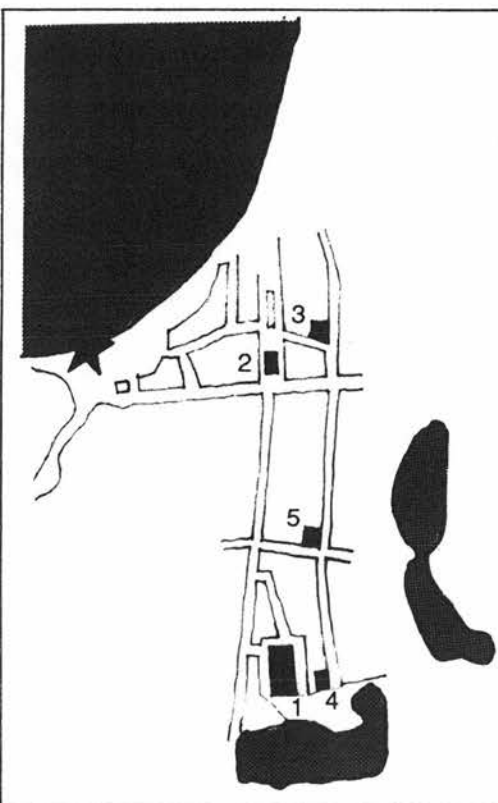
58 This was marked by the transfer from Hsinchuang first of government troops in 1759 and later of the district magistrate's office in 1809.



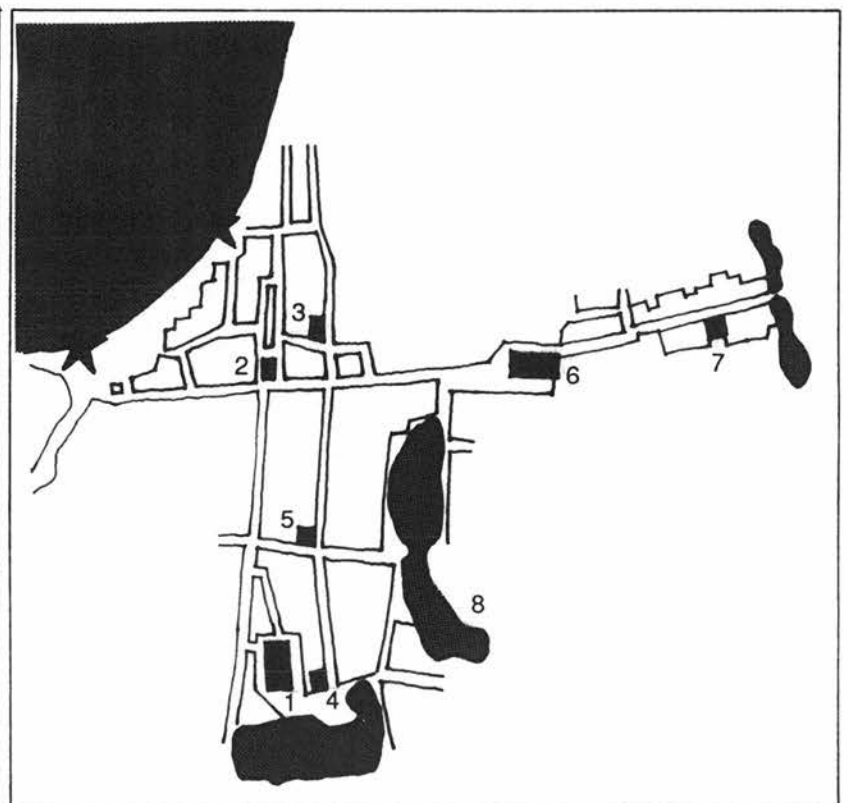
1738



1746



1760



1790

- 1 Lung-shan Temple
- 2 The Matsu Temple
- 3 T'u-ti-kung Temple
- 4 You-yin-kung Temple

- 5 Shui-hsuan tsun-wang temple
- 6 Ch'ing-shui Tsu-shih Temple
- 7 Hsai-hai Cheng-huang Temple
- 8 The lotus pond

Fig. 6-20 - 23 The transformation of Mengchia (stages 1 - 4).

of Mengchia people fled down river to T'ataocheng, another river port, which in turn reached its heyday at the turn of this century. (Fig. 6-24)

(3) Tamshui. Although the initial development of the settlement of Tamshui began as early as 1628, when the Spanish invaders built the San Domingo fort there, it was not until the 1790s that large-scale immigration from the Chinese mainland took place. (Yang 1988) In 1795, these immigrants built a *matsu* temple and began to develop the settlement. (a *matsu* temple was always the first temple to be built by the immigrants, as an expression to her of gratitude for guaranteeing their safe passage across the dangerous Taiwan straits) A wharf was built in front of the temple, where visiting ships could dock and receive *matsu's* blessings. This wharf also became a centre for social activities. (Fig.6-25) The original *t'u-ti-kung* temple of Tamshui was built in the 1830s on the outskirts of the settlement, where it guarded a cemetery, while a *wang-yeh* temple was built at the top of the main street in 1854. After this date the street connecting the *wang-yeh* and *matsu* temples became the busiest commercial area of the whole settlement. (Fig.6-26) After a further *wang-yeh* temple was built directly opposite the *t'u-ti-kung* temple, the street linking the two *wang-yeh* temples, known as Ch'ingshui 清水 street, became another important commercial area. In 1895, the Lungshan temple, a branch temple of Mengchia's Lungshan temple, was built in honour of *kuan-yin*, and Ch'ingshui street was further extended. (Fig. 6-27) The second of the two *wang-yeh* temples was burnt down in a fire of unknown origins and replaced by a *ch'ing-shui chu-shih* 清水祖師 temple. This was because, according to legend, the powers of *ch'ing-shui chu-shih* had helped to defeat the French invasion of 1884 during the Sino-French War. The temple was thus the most splendid in the whole of Tamshui, and the street in front of it which linked the Lungshan and *matsu* temples became the town's most flourishing street and has remained so to the present day. (Fig. 6-28) Thus, a network of streets which dominated the original form of the settlement of Tamshui, developed alongside the gradual completion of the town's temples.

Following the defeat of the Chinese by the Anglo-French alliance and the subsequent ratification of the Treaty of T'ienchin in 1860, Tamshui was opened up to foreign residents and traders. Whilst the town was upgraded by the merchants into an international port, to the extent that even the harbours of Mengchia and T'ataocheng were considered to be a part of Tamshui, the overpowering foreign influences, as manifested by the offices of foreign trading companies, residences,

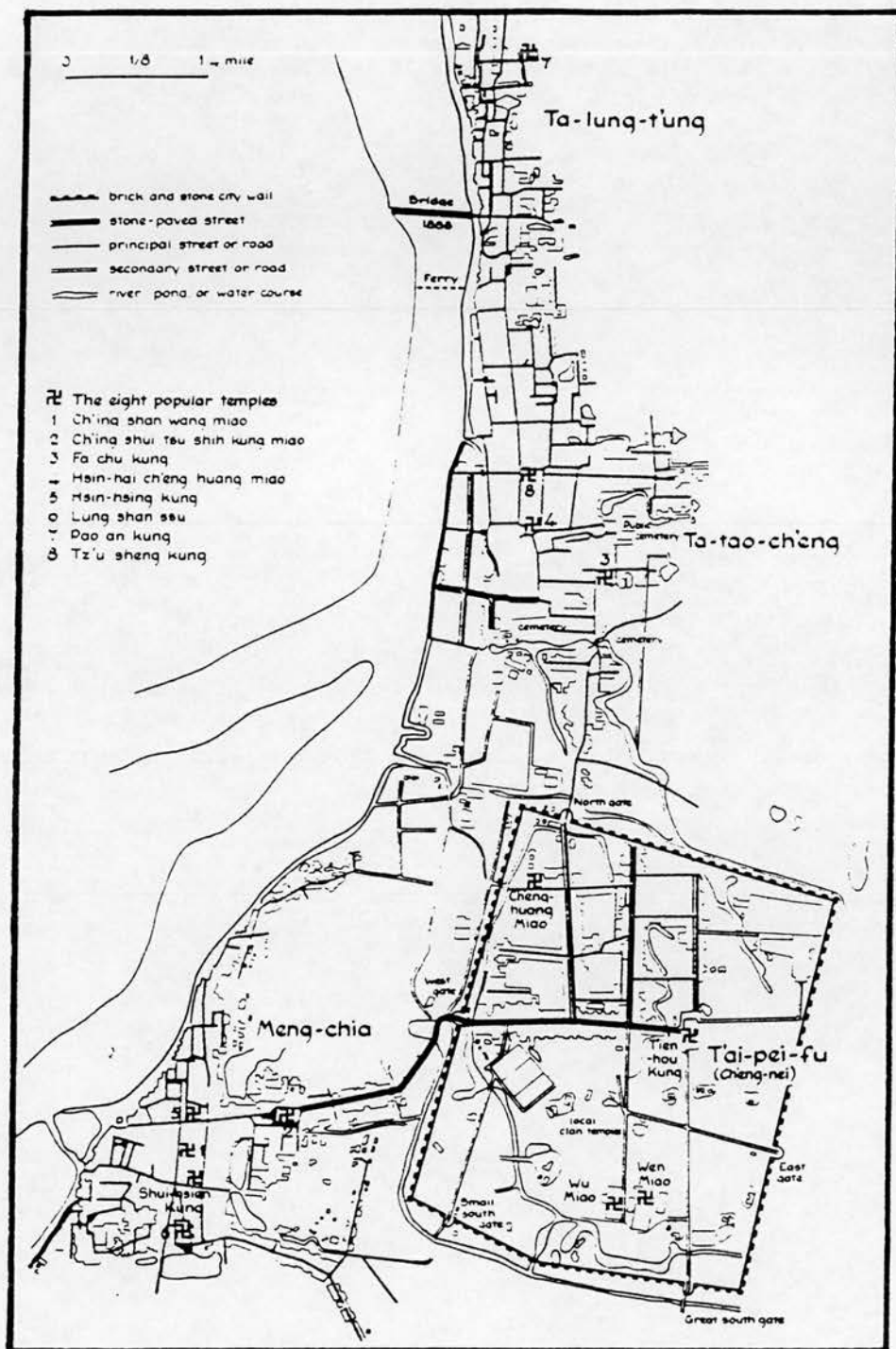


Fig. 6-24 The distribution of settlements in Taipei, 1895.
 (Source: Feuchtwang 1974b:267)

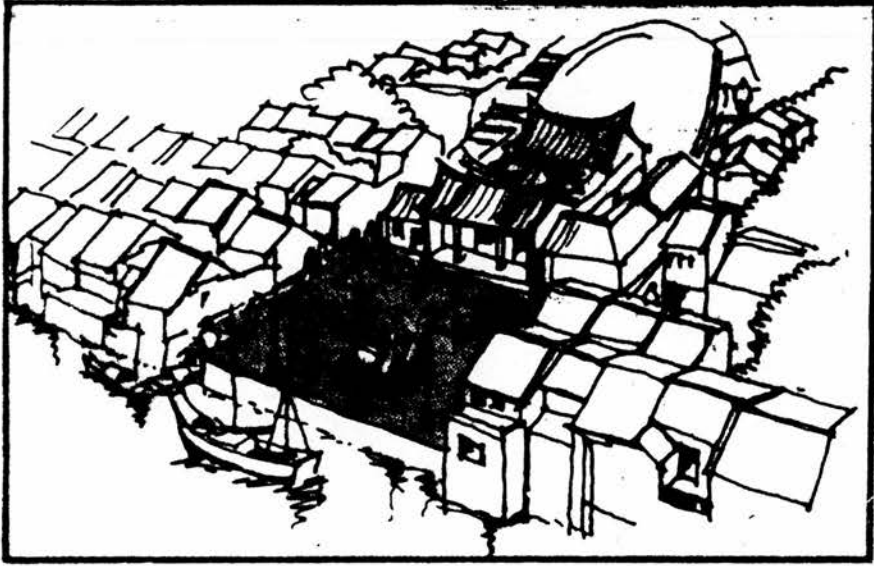


Fig. 6-25 The wharf in front of Tamshui's *Matsu* Temple.

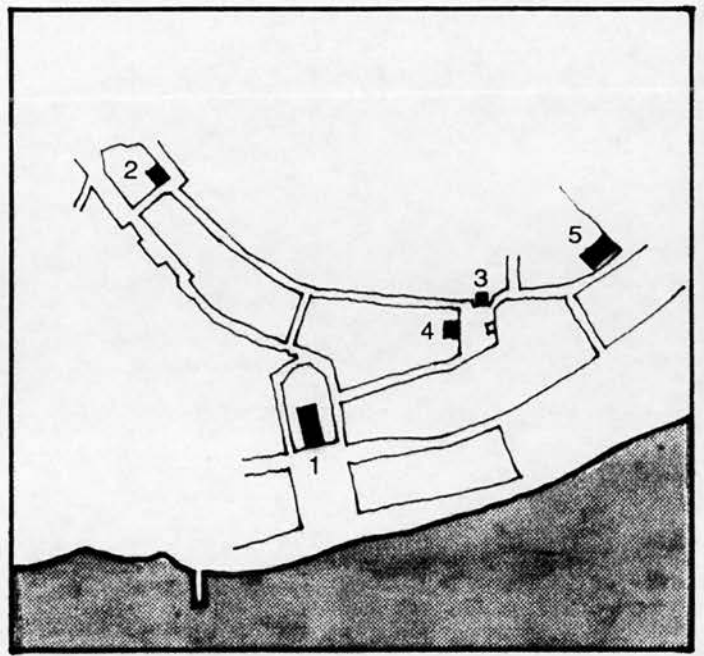
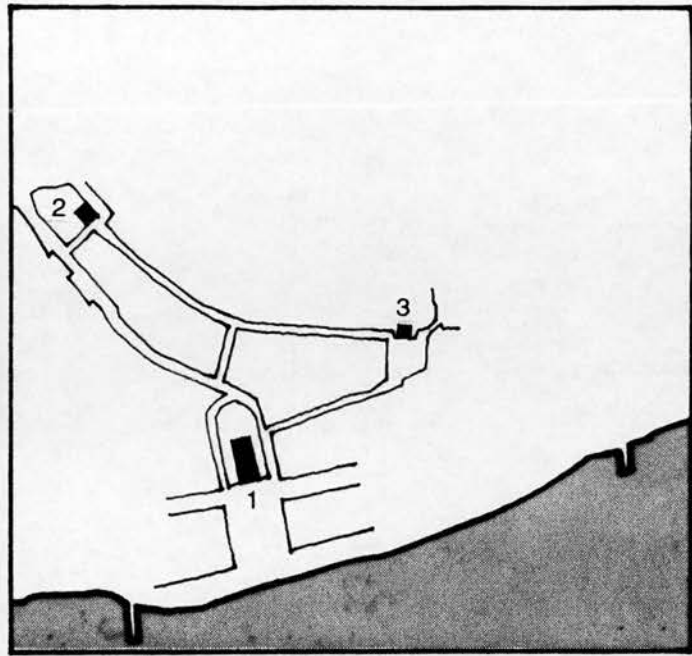
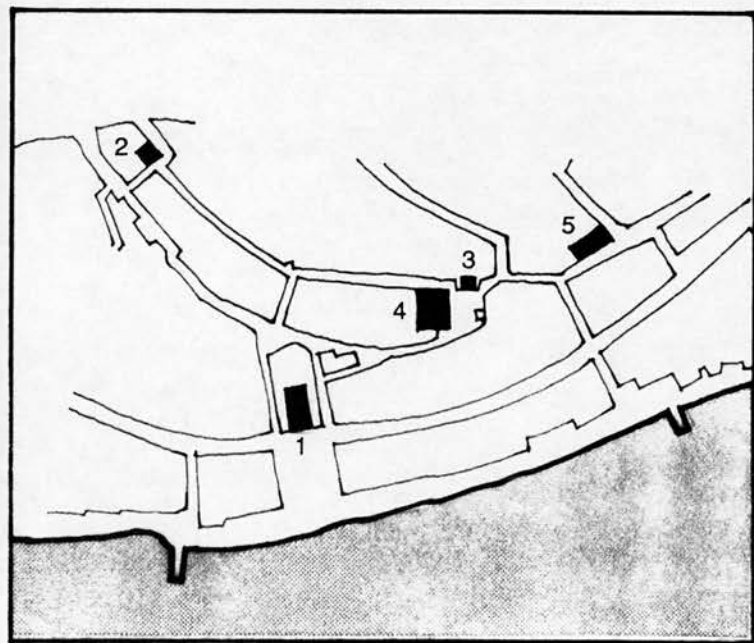


Fig. 6-26 The transformation of Tamshui (stage 1). Fig. 6-27 The transformation of Tamshui (stage 2).



- 1 Matsu Temple
- 2 Wang-yeh Temple
- 3 T'u-ti-kung Temple
- 4 Wang-yeh Temple (later became Ch'ing-shui Tsu-shih Temple)
- 5 Lung-shan Temple

Fig. 6-28 The transformation of Tamshui (stage 3).

churches, colleges and even a golf course, changed the indigenous character of the original vernacular settlement. In spite of these changes, Taiwanese people did not lose confidence in their patron deities and the relationships between temple and settlement remained stable. Nowadays, although some of the old streets have become dilapidated, the old temples are still intact and attracting worshippers.

From this discussion, we can see that apart from their religious and social significance, Taiwanese temples also played a decisive spatial role in the development of market towns. In other words, the best way of examining the development of a settlement is to look at the growth of its temples. Those temples which are still standing can give us a wealth of historical information about the rise, peak and decline of a town, as well as social information about the ethnic, territorial and professional backgrounds of its people, and military information about feuds between different ethnic groups and warfare against foreign invaders. No wonder a Taiwanese anthropologist declared that; "studying the history of the temples is like an archaeologist studying ancient relics." (Yu 1982:477) The temples are a cultural cross-section, describing the functions, development and transformations of Taiwanese settlements.

6.2.5 The transformation of the functions of the temples

Along with the transformation of vernacular Taiwanese settlements, the functions of Taiwanese temples also gradually changed. The complex nature of Taiwanese society forced the temples to extend their functions beyond the religious, social and military functions mentioned above, to meet the requirements of social change. Gradually, the temples came to fulfil educational, commercial, political and recreational needs. Thus apart from their religious function, the temple also had a series of secular functions - political, social, cultural, economic and military. (Tsai 1989:25; Yu 1982; Chiou 1988:9) Eventually, Taiwanese temples combined a whole series of secular and religious functions: 1) promoting the development and prosperity of the settlement; 2) promoting the security and solidarity of the community; 3) acting as a centre for self-defence; 4) acting as a business centre; 5) acting as a symbolic organisation for the reflection of people's opinions; 6) providing a setting for the carrying out of religious rituals; 7) becoming centres for classic culture and arts, including architecture, opera, sculpture and painting. (Chuang F. J. 1987:283-295) Nowadays, although some of their functions have been replaced by other organisations, either completely in the case of their acting

as self-defence centres, or partially in their acting as economic, social and educational centres, the temples have generally maintained their original structure and organisation and continue to exist as communal and religious centres. As I have already discussed their religious role, I will now discuss the secular functions of Taiwanese temples.

6.2.5.1 Educational function

In the past, public education in Taiwan was not widespread but limited to a few areas. In fact, temples were almost the only place where ordinary people received any education at all, being used, on occasions, by older educated people as classrooms for educating the younger generation. Otherwise, sculptures, paintings and graphics on the temple walls and columns also had educational value for spreading the teaching of ethics and virtue amongst the common people. Festival performances of traditional drama and opera on the stage of the temple square also had some educational value.

6.2.5.2 Military function

In the turbulent past, temples were a useful focal point for people to identify with their own ethnic group and were used as headquarters for local militia. For example, the Lungshan temple in Mengchia served as the centre of military command for the San-I people during their rivalry with people from Tungan. (Lamley 1981:295) People treated ethnic rivalries as if they were religious wars. Before a battle, the combatants would gather in front of their respective temples, and worship their patron deities in order to invoke divine protection. The occupation of the enemy's temples and the humiliation of their deities symbolised the defeat of one party and the victory of the other. (Hsu 1980:103) As already described, the temples of the *liu-tui* Hakka community also served as military headquarters, while, during the early years of the Japanese occupation, resistance forces throughout Taiwan used local temples as the centres of their struggle. (Wang 1989:27) That is why so many temples were destroyed at this time. Today, even though there is no more fighting, temples are still used as training grounds for teaching villagers martial arts in order to take in local competitions.

6.2.5.3 Political function

Taiwanese temples played an important political role in the execution of public affairs for many years, even, as I have shown already, acting as a kind of self-governing body during periods of turbulence when there was a lack of strong government. In fact, even by the time the island had achieved political stability, temples were still used by important political organisations at a local level. (Feuchtwang 1974b:269) Being the centres of local political activity, the temples were used for the discussion of most communal affairs. It was believed that, because the deities supervised the meetings and took note of any decisions reached, it was essential that decisions be complied with unanimously. Initially, the Japanese destroyed numerous temples in Taiwan as a way of venting their anger at local resistance. However, quickly realising that the temples were symbols of unity and solidarity for the Taiwanese people and a basis for the future establishment of order and security on the island, the Japanese changed their policy to one of appeasement in order to prevent the destruction of other temples. To this day, temples in Taiwan remain the focus of communal affairs. In most villages, the village office is attached to, or forms a wing of, the local temple, while, traditionally, the positions of leadership in the temple were filled by the same people as the local political leadership. (Bosco 1989:349-350) The square in front of temple is a public space for the holding of public assemblies. For example, the square of the Lungshan temple in Mengchia has been recently used by the opposition party at election time and is viewed by the supporters of democracy as a sacred spot and a spiritual shelter for those who suffered during the long years of political oppression.

6.2.5.4 Commercial function

In the past, as I have already indicated, temples set up and used by commercial guilds become the trading centres of the whole community. The main temples of market towns also served as the starting point for the development of shopping streets. For most of the year, the squares in front of the temples are full of the bustle of vendors selling incense and paper money. At festival times, the atmosphere is even more lively, the squares full of noise, excitement and activity. As commercial organisations, the temples own the funds contributed by the worshippers and can use the money to give financial aid to those in urgent need.

6.2.5.5 Social function

As the focus of community solidarity and spatial cohesion, the temples provided a framework for the entire community to be integrated as a cooperative unit, pulling people from different backgrounds together and serving as a social mechanism for the promotion of inter-personal relationships. (Chen 1975:185) In most communities, temples are the centres of social activity, their squares providing playgrounds for children and social meeting places for the older generation. Some temples even hold courses for housewives to learn domestic skills, including cooking and flower arrangement etc. At the same time young people are encouraged to join drama and music troupes sponsored by the temples: for example, the best-known troupe on the whole island, the Lin-an-she 靈安社, is sponsored the *hsia-hai cheng-huang* temple in the T'ataocheng district of Taipei. In fact, the temples play the role of socio-educational and social welfare centres.

6.3 RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES - THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS RITUALS AND COMMUNITIES

The definition of "ritual", or *li* 禮, in the *Shuo-wen Chieh-tsu*, an etymological dictionary of classical Chinese, is: "Rituals are acts whereby supernatural beings are served and happiness obtained." (*Shuo-wen Chieh-tsu*) A whole series of rituals are thus required in order to obtain good fortune, longevity and wealth. The definitions of *li* in the Book of Rites, or *Li Chi*, are, firstly: "The rites are based on the ultimate wholeness and are divided into heaven and earth", and, secondly: "the rites are hereby enacted to distinguish between heaven and earth." (*Li Chi*)

In the early Chinese literature, the uses of *li* were closely related to gods, ghosts, and divinations: consequently it is assumed that the rites were bound up with religious practice. (Han 1983:130) To sum up, it can be seen that the rituals were not only obligations mutually fulfilled by gods, ghosts and men, but also barriers distinguishing heaven and earth. By means of regular religious oblations and ceremonies, man can please gods and ghosts, while, in return, the gods and ghosts satisfy the petitions of men. In this way, harmony between Heaven and Earth can be achieved.

In Taiwan, temples are religious institutions which promote the solidarity and unity of the local community. Religious rituals are community-wide activities which help to achieve the same aim. With the temples as a focal point, and the rituals as a medium, people from a variety of different backgrounds can be united into one body.

The development of Taiwanese religious rituals took place alongside, and used the base provided by, local folk beliefs. Over a long period of time, the lively and vibrant nature of religious rituals has enriched both the content and meanings of local religions. By presenting a colourful appearance and not concentrating solely on worship, religion has been brought directly into people's lives. The family of the community are unified through the joint celebration of religious rituals. For example, most households have an altar: during the annual religious celebrations, an incense burner from the local temple is displayed on each of the family altars in turn, as a way of symbolising the annual renewal of the links between the people and their local temple as well as between the people themselves. (Feuchtwang 1974a:106) Thus, the ritual celebrations strengthen not only the links between the families and the temple but also the links between individual families. In this way,, the whole community can unite as one body. Taiwanese ritual celebrations include: the procession of inspection tour, the pilgrimage, *chiao* celebration and the performances of drama, opera and martial arts etc.

6.3.1 The procession of inspection tour

The inspection tour is the annual tour of inspection by a deity of his area of jurisdiction. The procession sets out from the temple and passes through the whole of the worship sphere, before returning to the temple. (Jordan 1989:258) Participants in the procession carry the deity's sedan and other paraphernalia on foot through his territory, in order not just to spread the spiritual vigour of the deity against encroaching demons but also as a way of marking out the boundaries of the settlement. In his study of the procession route of the Lungshan temple in the Mengchia district of Taipei, T. S. Liao showed how the boundaries of the route represented the boundaries of the early settlement of San-I people. (Liao 1988:52) A. P. Cohen, in his book "*The Symbolic Construction of Community*", discussed the relationship between rituals and communities. Taiwanese traditional inspection tours can be analogised to Cohen's notion of a "boundary-marking rituals". (Cohen 1985:53) He wrote:

In many societies boundary-marking rituals are less esoteric and are frequently more explicit in expression. They may be large-scale and elaborate entertainments like Carnival, diffuse and festive occasions such as fairs and fiestas, or more focused local and parochial affairs, such as saint's days and shrine-specific celebrations. (Ibid.)

These "boundary-marking rituals" communicate at a variety of different levels:

At the level of group-as-a-whole, (. . .) they say something about the relations of the group to others. At the level of individual participant, they speak of the individual's relation to his group and to the world as mediated by his group membership. Both construct and allow the individual to experience social boundary. (p. 54)

There are two main points to Cohen's notions: the forms of the rituals and their relation to the community as a whole. In Taiwan, the deities' processions are also held on the occasion of festivals in their honour. The processions reaffirm the territorial boundary of a community, and reinforce its solidarity. Thus, the processions in Taiwan accord with Cohen's theory.

However, the route of the procession is not always limited to individual communities or villages. Sometimes, the route breaks through boundaries to become an inter-village inspection tour, during which it is important for each of the villages through which the procession passes to send as their representative a troop of guards for the protection of the deity. Thus, the annual procession, apart from representing the solidarity of the different communities, also has the function of strengthening their capabilities for self-defence. Since the representative troops from the various villages are a symbol of honour and pride, they practise martial arts regularly in order to perform well at the time of the annual procession. At the same time, the defensive ability of the village is also strengthened. In the 19th century, an alliance of nineteen militia forces from central Taiwan was sent to the Chinese mainland to help in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion.⁵⁹ (Wen 1980:105) Today, even though there is no real need for defence, martial arts

59 The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) was led by a Hakka Chinese, Hong Hsiu-chuan, who declared himself to be the son of God and was able to persuade people of his spiritual powers through a charismatic manner and a strong religious conviction. His army smashed the Ch'ing army throughout southern and central China and shook the weak base of Ch'ing government. However, owing to the failure of his leadership, the uprising was finally put down in 1864. (Spence 1990:170-178)

groups are still maintained: training is held regularly as a means of demonstrating superiority and solidarity on festive occasions. (DeGlopper 1977:644)

6.3.2 The pilgrimage

In Taiwanese folk beliefs, the images of the deities are thought to possess spiritual powers: however, if the images become polluted or are not constantly worshipped with incense, these powers will decline or disappear. If this happens the remedy of a pilgrimage is required to renew the spiritual powers. At the same time, since the weakened deities are liable to be attacked by evil demons, the two ceremonies of fire-jumping⁶⁰ and incense-cutting are held to ward them off. Thus, there are two main functions of a pilgrimage: firstly, to increase the powers of the deities and secondly, to keep demons away.

The various forms of pilgrimage can be categorised as follows: (Jordan 1989:266)

(1) Offering incense in a temple is referred to as the pilgrimage, especially on festival days, or if one travels a long distance to reach the temple.

(2) Carrying an image and incense pot from a temple to the one from which it is founded, in order to acknowledge and renew links with the parent temple, is also referred to as the pilgrimage.

(3) Carrying an image and other paraphernalia from the home temple to an unrelated temple is also referred to as the pilgrimage.

Thus, pilgrimage rituals can be divided into mutual visits between deities and, of course, human worship of the gods.

The most famous pilgrimage in Taiwan is that between the *matsu* temples of Taichia 大甲 and Peikang 北港. This pilgrimage has been not only the most special and the most significant of all the religious activities on the island, but also the one which best reflects the powers of folk beliefs. During the festival celebrations, people experience most distinctly the importance of religious beliefs and the utmost

60 During the fire-jumping ceremony, bare footed pilgrims have to jump over a pile of burning sacrifice paper. If any one can remain unhurt after jumping over the fire, that means he or she has been sanctified by the deities, thus, can be protected by the deities' efficaciousness.

inter-personal intimacy and harmony. (Liu 1991:59) Since *matsu* was first introduced into Taiwan, she has played a crucial role in the religious life of the island. Over the years, nearly four hundred temples in her honour have been built on the island. Since the temple in Peikang is considered to be the mother of all the *matsu* temples, every year many thousands of pilgrims arrive in Peikang on her birthday carrying with them the image of *matsu* from their own temple in order to celebrate her birthday. The largest and most spectacular group, numbering around thirty thousand people, comes from Tachia, most of whom cover the distance of more than two hundred and fifty kilometres on foot (Fig. 6-29). Many of them are old people, displaying their sincerity or fulfilling a vow made to *matsu*. People living alongside the route of the pilgrimage kneel by the roadside awaiting *matsu's* arrival, an altar in her honour set up in front of the house with another table to one side piled high with food and drink to relieve the pilgrims' hunger and thirst.

In return for this hospitality and the reverence shown to *matsu*, the pilgrims express their respect and contribute money to each the *matsu* temples which they pass on their journey. The Tachia pilgrims also invite people living along the route to come to Tachia on the day of *matsu's* return home, when, as honoured guests, they are given sumptuous feasts as a sign of appreciation for their benevolence and virtue. As a result, throughout the course of the pilgrimage, the highest sentiments of friendship and mutual assistance are manifested in abundance. The activities connected with the pilgrimage bring together people who were previously unacquainted, of different background or even, on occasions, hostile.

The official start of the incense-cutting ceremony, which is the most important mission of the pilgrimage, takes place after the Tachia *matsu* has paid homage to the Peikang *matsu*, and is about to depart for home. Incense ash from the main censer in the mother temple of Peikang is removed and placed in another censer to be taken to Tachia, as a symbol both of the re-affirmation of the ties between the two temples and of the strengthening of the powers of the Tachia *matsu* by the powers of the Peikang *matsu*. Numerous *matsu* temples throughout Taiwan renew their ties with the mother temple in the same way, producing a large-scale worship sphere which enables diverse villages and communities to unite beyond their territorial boundaries in one wholeness.

Taiwanese scholars, on comparing Taiwanese and western pilgrimages, have regarded Taiwanese pilgrimages as an organism, through which can be studied the

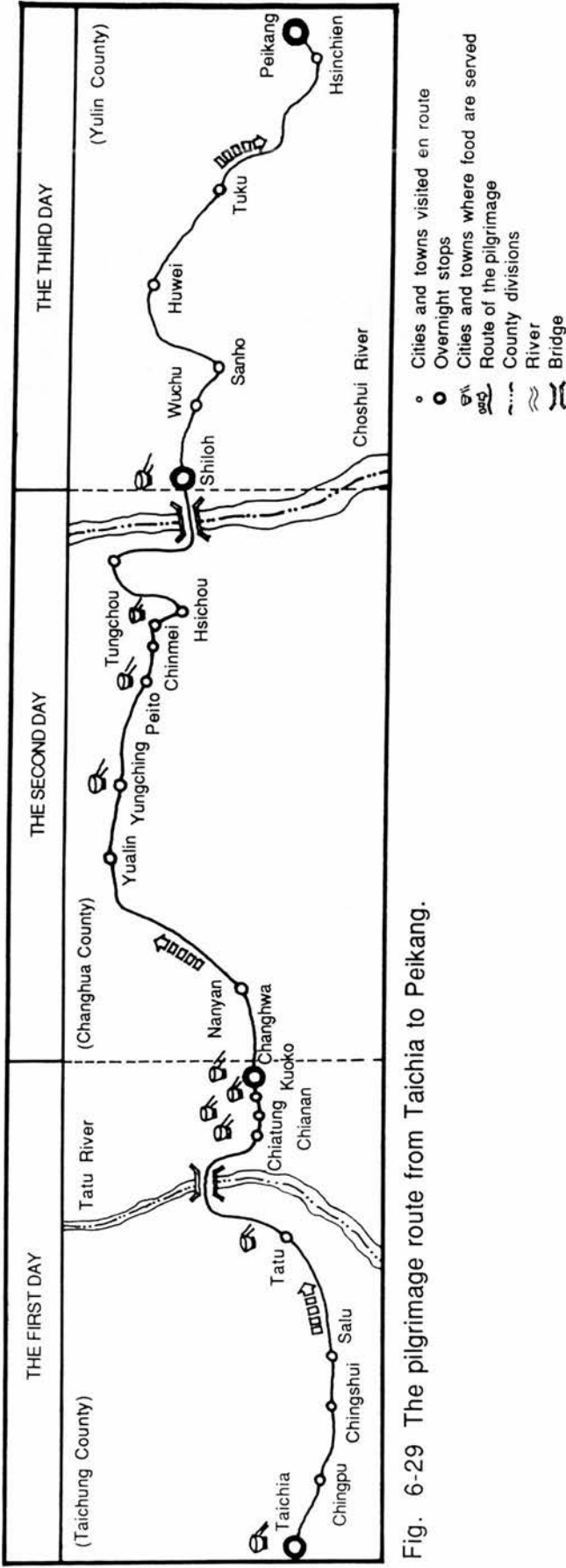


Fig. 6-29 The pilgrimage route from Taichia to Peikang.

interactive relationships between social organisations, territorial development and pilgrimage activities. In the course of a pilgrimage, communication between man and man, man and gods and gods and gods is achieved, while a variety of symbolic meanings expressed by the pilgrims' attitudes to inter-mingling and transcendence, are also revealed. (Liu 1991:254)

I will here also apply the conclusions of western scholars on the nature of pilgrimages. For example, A. P. Cohen has cited the annual pilgrimage of Huichol Indians of the Sierra Madre Occidental in northern central Mexico to Wirikuta to pay homage to the land of their divine ancestors. On the arrival, as Cohen wrote:

In Wirikuta, the Huichol are divine, trans-social, immortal and timeless. They experience a total fusion of man and nature and perfect unity among all the elements of life. The boundaries which, in the mundane world, divide people and separate them from nature and the gods, are ecstatically diffused. (1985:51)

Although this is a foreign example, the religious meanings expressed are almost identical to those of Taiwanese pilgrimages.

6.3.3 The *chiao* rituals

The *chiao* 醮 is a traditional Taoist ritual in China, which, according to historical records, was held as early as 219 A.D. during the Han dynasty. In Taiwan, the *chiao* is a large-scale ceremony of worship in honour of the deities. According to Taiwanese folk beliefs, whenever they suffer a disaster, people should set up incense and worship altars in the square of the local temple in order to ask the blessings of the gods and ghosts. (Liu 1967:10; Liu 1991:11) The *chiao*, being a traditional Taoist ritual, is the largest of all Taiwanese religious rituals. People from within the community, their relatives and friends as well as supernatural beings all take part in this important occasion.

There are many types of *chiao* rituals, the most common being *ch'ing-cheng chiao* 慶成醮 *wen chiao* 瘟醮 and *ping-an chiao* 平安醮. (Liu 1991:111) The *ch'ing-cheng chiao*, which celebrates the completion of a new or a newly refurbished temple, is similar to the rituals held for the completion of a new house but on a much bigger scale. There are two types of *ch'ing-cheng chiao*, the *ch'ing-cheng fu-chiao* 慶成福醮 which is held once every sixty or seventy years, and is thus the biggest ritual a person can attend in his lifetime, and the *ch'ing-cheng*

yuan-chiao 慶成圓醮 which is held every few years, ensuring that people have many opportunities to attend. The *ch'ing-cheng chia* is also held to celebrate a particularly abundant harvest when people are keen to express their appreciation to the gods.

The *ping-an chiao* is effectively a ceremony of exorcism, held when a particular territory, faced with antagonistic disturbances, requires the gods' blessing in order to bring peace: hence the name *ping-an* 平安, which means peace. The *wen chiao*, or plague *chiao*, rituals are held at the same time and for the same reason as the burning of the *wang-yeh* boat for the sweeping away of plague. (Liu 1967:14-17; Liu 1991:111-114)

Although the various *chiao* rituals have different meanings and functions, the procedure for the rituals is basically the same, with a few minor changes. The main stages are as follows:

(1) The announcement to Heaven. Once a community has decided to hold a *chiao* ritual, the first step is to set up an organising committee. The chairman, *lu-chu*, and members, *t'ou-chia*, of the committee along with one or more Taoist priests meet in the temple on an auspicious date, in order to announce to Heaven the community's intention of holding the rituals.

(2) The building of the *tans* 壇 or platforms (Fig. 6-30). The *tan* is a bamboo platform, between three and five stories high, which serves as a temporary altar for the relaying of messages and prayers to heaven.

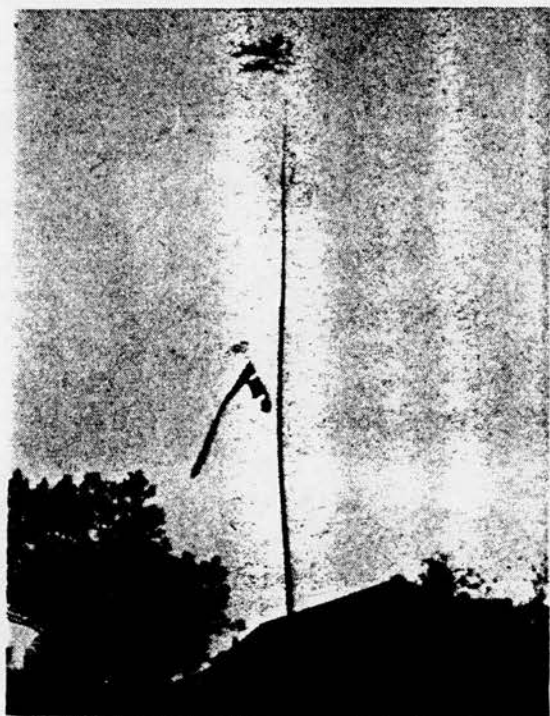
(3) The raising and lighting of the *teng-kao*. The *teng-kao* 燈篙 is a tall bamboo frame decorated with lamps and banners to attract gods and ghosts (Fig. 6-31). The raising of the *teng-kao* is a prelude, marking the official start of the *chiao* rituals.

(4) The releasing of the floating lanterns. Hundreds and thousands of blazing paper lanterns are set afloat on a river, as a way of inducing the river ghosts to attend the ceremonies.

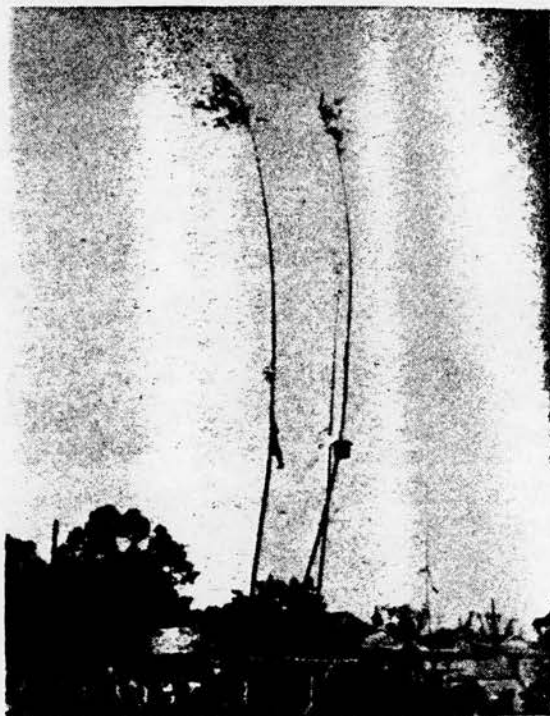
(5) Purification by abstinence. From the raising of the *teng-kao* till the end of the rituals, local people must bath themselves and abstain strictly from eating



Fig. 6-30 The *tan* (the platform). (Liu 1974:125)



Teng-kao (for gods)



Teng-kao (for ghosts)

Fig. 6-31 The *teng-kao*.(Liu 1974:126)

meat, having sexual relations and indulging in any bad behaviour, in order to purify themselves both physically and mentally.

(6) The *p'u-t'u* 普渡 ceremony. The *p'u-t'u* ceremony is a religious ceremony held to assist the passage of ghosts through the *yin* or dead realm into the *yang* or living world in order to attend the ritual feasts. Once the ceremony has been completed, a further formal ceremony is held to as a send-off for the gods and ghosts. Thereafter, all abstinences are lifted, and abundant feasts, signifying the climax of the rituals, commence.

Although its costs are inconsiderable, the *chiao* rituals provide people with an opportunity to meet old friends and relatives. On these occasions, the most treasured feelings of warmth and unity are expressed. (Liu 1967; Huang 1989; Liu 1991) The *chiao* rituals are the most solemn of all Taiwanese religious rituals, symbolising a special moment when man, gods and ghosts can meet together. The ceremonies are conducted with the greatest attention; every step is carefully planned and executed. Not only the gods, but also the ghosts, are treated as honourable guests. People are particularly careful to practice complete abstinence, aware that any carelessness would irritate their guests.

The boundaries between man, ancestors, gods and ghosts are clearly manifested by means of traditional Taiwanese architectural spaces. In normal times, people treat ghosts with great care, keeping them at a distance, and continually working out ways of avoiding coming into contact with them. However, the inviting of the ghosts to the living world in order to be entertained with a lavish feast, forms an important part of the *chiao* rituals and is a reflection of Taiwanese people's hospitable nature. However, there are still certain procedures to be followed before the venues for the ritual are considered to provide a sacred space for the deities. Through the use of these solemn spaces, people hope to express the sincerity of their desire to entertain the ghosts, as well as ensuring that the latter will not cause any trouble.

The arrangement of the *chiao-tan* 醮壇, or venue for the *chiao* rituals, uses the various temples within the community to represent the simulation of a miniature cosmos. The main *chiao-tan* is located at the main temple, while the four subordinate *chiao-tans* are placed at the temples to the north, south, east and west respectively. (Liu 1991:116) Thus, a sacred space for the *chiao* rituals is created,

which, as a whole, symbolises the Chinese notion of the five directions or *wu-fang* (Fig. 6-32). Once the *chiao-tan* has been established, the *teng-kaos*, generally positioned in the squares of the various temples, are raised. The *teng-kaos* are seen both as invitation cards guiding the gods and ghosts attending the rituals, and as landmarks for local people, announcing the holding of the ceremonies. The *teng-kaos* can be divided into *yang teng-kao* for inviting deities from heaven, positioned on the left side of the *chiao-tan*, and *yin teng-kao* for inviting ghosts, positioned to the right side of the *chiao-tan*. In order to accord with cosmic time, an auspicious time must be selected for raising the *teng-kao*. (Huang 1989:54-60)

When the venues for the *chiao* rituals have been set up, a number of taboos come into operation in order to safeguard its sanctity. The most important of these prohibits unclean people, such as people in mourning and menstruating or pregnant women, from entering the space. (Liu 1991:128) The spatial arrangement of the *chiao-tan* is one more example of the way in which Taiwanese people use spatial notions to reflect their attitudes towards gods, ghosts and the cosmos.

6.3.4 The *pai-pai* celebrations

The term *pai-pai* 拜拜 has two quite different levels of meanings: as a verb, it refers to the worship of gods and ghosts, or worship in general, while as a noun, it is a generic term for a religious festival. (Jordan 1989:257) I will be discussing the latter meaning. The *pai-pai* celebrations, which can be seen as Taiwanese fiestas, are generally celebrated at the end of important religious ceremonies, including pilgrimages and *chiao* rituals. The ending of a time of seriousness and solemnity marks the start of the time for jubilant relaxation and entertainment. *Pai-pai* celebrations turn sleepy villages into the atmospheric setting for lively carnivals, with traditional musical troupes, martial arts troupes and even western-style bands parading up and down the streets, and Taiwanese operatic troupes performing on stages set up in front of the temples. Visitors pass to and fro along the streets with their friends, passing a multitude of vendors hawking their wares. All of these scenes go to make up the most colourful aspects of the *pai-pai* celebrations, which, for most Taiwanese people, are the only opportunity in the year to take time off work. Every family invites guests from outside the district to join in the endless feasts and festivities.

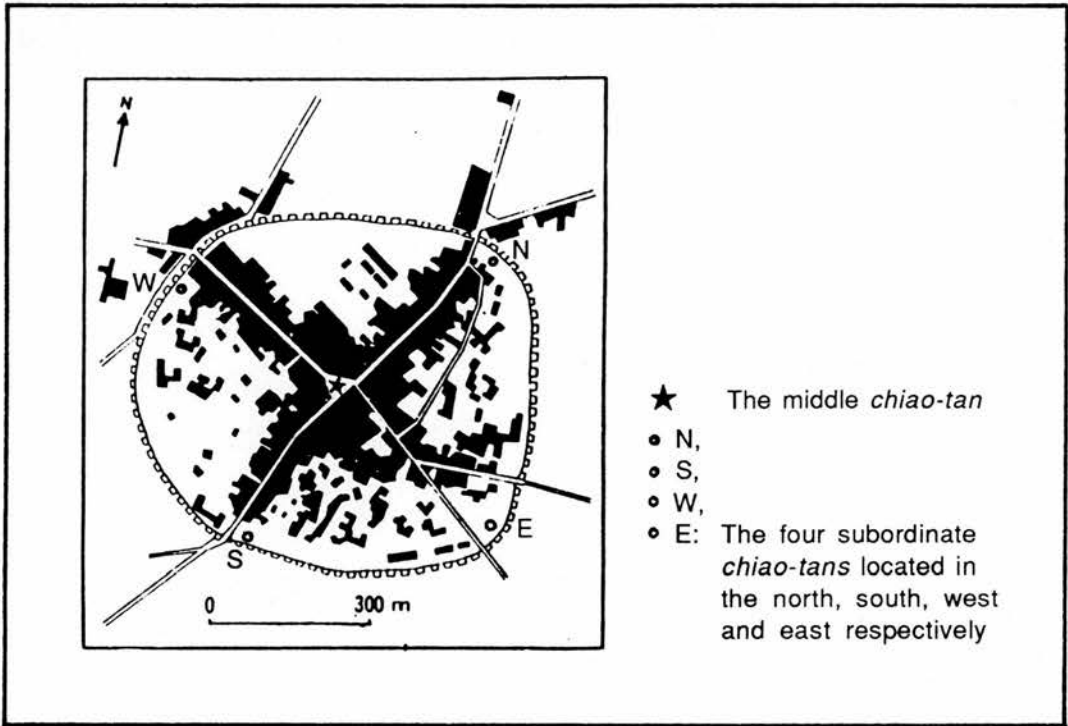


Fig. 6-32 The arrangement of the various *chiao-tans*.

Pai-pai celebrations also provide a number of opportunities, both on the street and round the dining table, for the enhancement of personal relationships. It is the time for politicians to gain popularity among the voters, for parents to choose spouses for their children, for traders to promote the sale of their merchandise and for teachers to visit the families of their pupils as honourable guests. It is thus an important family occasion. However, although the celebrations are expensive, families are very willing to spend the money, since it is a good opportunity to show off their power and wealth to relatives and friends. (Weller 1981:37)

To sum up, apart from the original religious meanings, the significance of *pai-pai* celebrations have expanded to include secular, ie political, social, economic and educational meanings. The diverse and abundant meanings of *pai-pai* celebrations have attracted the attention, and even become the speciality, of a number of western scholars. These scholars have reached a variety of conclusions. For example, D. Jordan wrote: (Jordan 1989:257)

- (1) Reciprocal obligations were maintained with matrilineal and uxorilineal kin, who normally lived outside of the village or neighbourhood. (. . .)
- (2) The social networks of individual guests were expanded as they met other guests who they had not known before.
- (3) Because whole communities feasted at once, whole communities were in a position to gain and lose regional prestige, and were therefore motivated to cooperate in producing a good village or town *paipai*, subordinating local disputes.

H. G. Rohsenow concluded that *pai-pai* celebrations are an expression of the maintenance of social networks, social solidarity, inter-community links and a symbol of ethnic solidarity. (Rohsenow 1973:96-105)

Consequently, *pai-pai* celebrations, in addition to the expression, through a series of ceremonies and symbolic events, of religious meanings, also strengthen both inter-personal and inter-community relationships, enabling people to refresh their tired bodies and minds and balance the rhythm and tempo of their lives. By means of the celebrations, individual, family and community relationships can be revised, strengthening the feelings and identities of individuals and groups and bringing about social harmony.

In this way, *pai-pai* celebrations can, through common participation in a wide variety of activities, promote social unity. Far from causing inter-community

rivalry, *pai-pai* celebrations, on the contrary, increase mutual cooperation and harmonious relations between different communities. The ultimate expression of these relations is the unique group consciousness of the Taiwanese people.

6.3.5 The performance of folk opera and martial arts

Apart from *pai-pai* celebrations, there is also another form of religious activity in Taiwan, namely the performance of folk opera and martial arts. The significance of these performances originated in sacred religious behaviour, before eventually developing into a secular form. (Huang 1985:80-81) Like *pai-pai* celebrations, then, opera and martial arts performances have both religious and secular meanings. In fact, they co-exist, since, whenever *pai-pai* celebrations are held, opera and martial arts performances take place at the same time.

In Taiwan, folk opera and martial arts are performed by both professional and amateur groups. (Huang 1985:81) I will focus here on the amateur groups, the so-called *tsu-ti-t'uan* 子弟團, or group of laymen, which concentrate on martial arts performances, including *sung-chiang cheng* 宋江陣 (the martial formation of *Sung-chiang*), *lung chen* 龍陣 (the formation of dragons) and *hu chen* 虎陣 (the formation of tigers). Both types of *tsu-ti-t'uan* groups are organised by people with the same territorial or consaginous base. Through the performances, these people can achieve their goal of sentimental expression and social identification. (Wang 1988:66) The meanings expressed by the *tsu-ti-t'uan* troupes include:

(1) Religious meanings. In both opera and martial performances, there is a section in which the performers impersonate deities. As portrayed by the actors, the deities represent divine nature, yet their characteristics and behaviour are human. Throughout the performance, the symbolic connotations of the relationship between the plot and the characters are an expression of a psychological projection and a manifestation of value. Through their performance in the role of deities and the accompanying religious rituals, the actors perform an "intermediary role", or, more precisely, act as "intermediary deities", as a way of communicating with the highest ranking gods in the celestial bureaucracy. The most important meaning of the performances is this relaying of secular needs and desires to the high deities through the intermediary deities. By means of a series of symbolic rituals and entities, the relationships between the deities, the actors who perform the role of the deities and the audience can reach a state of harmony. (Huang 1985: 83-85)

(2) Cultural meanings. Performances of folk opera and martial arts represent an attempt to express in a concrete way a number of traditional Chinese notions, including, a) the whole system of the Chinese bureaucratic system; b) people's physical needs and desires; c) the re-interpretation of historical characters, events and objects; d) the manipulation of a variety of socio-cultural systems of knowledge. Basically, through these performances, people can not only perceive the existence of the cosmos, but can reflect their real lives in an emotional way. The performances can also express an interpretation and acknowledgement of both the ideal and the real worlds. As a whole, performances of folk opera and martial arts are a concrete expression of the social lives, cultural values and existential notions of the Chinese people. (Wang 1988:5-7)

(3) The expression of social cohesion. As a whole, *tsu-ti-t'uan* groups are based on people of the same territorial affiliation, who are joined tightly together by their temples. Just like the temples, the performances are not limited to the troupe's own settlement, but can be placed into the three categories of village, inter-village and allied village. (Wang 1981:409) Performances are not limited to individual communities but include inter-community cooperation and competition. *Tsu-ti-t'uan* groups become social organisations drawing together in cooperation the youth of a community. For example, after suitable training, martial arts *tsu-ti-t'uan* troupes can represent their village by participating in a variety of celebrations, including special events such as the escorting of the deities on the annual tour of inspection, as well as entertaining the locals. By means of these activities, the performances also symbolise the group's identity.

To sum up, performances of folk operas not only play an important part in both worship rituals and entertainment, but also fulfil the main role of the social integration of the community as a whole. By the holding of open performances, the inhabitants of a settlement strengthen their sense of identification and group conscience. Even more importantly, the old bloody rivalries between different communities have been transformed into meaningful social competition. At an individual level, taking part in these performances provides both entertainment and exercise, and keeps young people out of trouble. The opportunity for participating and performing provides the chance for individual expression, thus promoting the individual's social status and enabling him to find a suitable role in society.

6.4 THE AUTHORITIES' OPPRESSION OF TAIWANESE FOLK RELIGION

From the above discussion, we can see that the boundaries, religious organisations, temples and religious activities of vernacular Taiwanese settlements, which are all based on the notion of worship spheres, provide a variety of meanings and relationships which are inseparable from the lives of the Taiwanese people. However, during the various periods of development in the past, it was not always so easy for Taiwanese to express their religious ideas. During the period of Ch'ing rule, for example, large-scale religious activities were prohibited because they always ended in turmoil. (Weller 1981:33) During the later periods of Japanese and Nationalist government, the authorities also sought to oppress and prohibit Taiwanese folk religions. Temples were destroyed, boundaries of worship spheres were arbitrarily divided into new administrative districts, religious organisations were swallowed up by the method of drawing the committee members, ie the *lu-chu* and the *tou-chia*, into government-run bodies, and, most importantly of all, religious activities reflecting Taiwanese folk beliefs were prohibited or restricted.

However, the Taiwanese people resisted these measures, and, although the oppression left its mark on the organisations, boundaries, temples and activities which symbolised Taiwanese religion, people's enthusiasm for and devotion to the worship of their deities never faded. I will discuss this important phenomenon of Taiwanese society in detail.

In fact, the negative measures and attitudes adopted by both the Japanese and the Nationalist governments have had a considerable influence on Taiwanese society. In terms of architectural spaces, some researchers have suggested that the architecture of the cities reveals the dominating attitude of the ruling bodies. For example, during the Japanese period of rule, some big cities were dominated by the ruling institutions: thus, in Taipei, the Japanese Viceroy's office was the political centre, the Taiwan Bank was the economic centre and the Japanese Shinto shrines were the religious centres. (Chen C. W. 1988) Similarly, during the period of Nationalist rule, Taipei has been used as the centre of an official cult based on the veneration of Nationalist heroes. The authorities built a shrine for the veneration of Nationalist martyrs, and memorial halls for the commemoration of dead leaders, including Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen. This is a national rather than a regional or ethnic cult. (Ahern 1981b:11) In spite of this, the centres of vernacular

Taiwanese settlements, villages and towns are still the temples built in honour of the local territorial, ethnic and professional guardians.

Why have the authorities taken such negative and oppressive attitudes towards the varied forms of Taiwanese religion? H. G. Rohsenow put forward a very good explanation, writing: "The historical events of Japanese and KMT (Kuo-ming-tang or the Nationalist Party) rule may have contributed much to a sense of Taiwanese ethnic identity and separateness from the parent culture." (1973:16) Rohsenow believes that Taiwanese religions can be explained as "formal symbolic statements about the existence of a separate Taiwanese ethnic element with its own internal structure and pattern of social relations" (16-17) Another western scholar, E. M. Ahern, in her study of a pig-slaughtering ceremony⁶¹ in the Sanhsia district of Taipei, took a similar viewpoint, indicating that local religion is a symbolic threat to the legitimacy of the government. Ahern argues that the simplification of the ritualistic activities is a matter of great importance for the government,⁶² since the pig-slaughtering ceremony has become a symbol of Taiwanese ethnic unity opposed to the mainlander-dominated government. She pointed out:

(The) elaborate *paipai* honouring efficacious gods and circulating wealth in local systems may represent victories for native Taiwanese; simplified *paipai* paying perfunctory respect to weakened gods and releasing resources to circulate nationally may represent victories for mainland officials. (Ahern 1981a:422)

From the above discussions, we can see that Taiwanese religious rituals contain meanings which transcend purely religious boundaries to reflect links between religion and politics. Ahern, in another paper, has pointed that such links can bring benefits to the ruling authorities, writing: "Recently, a number of people interested in the relationship between religion and politics have arrived at the same conclusion: the religion and ritual help those in power exercise authority over others." (1981b:77) Thus, in her opinion, religious activities in Taiwan reflect

61 As part of the Taiwanese *paipai* celebrations, it is very common to hold the pig-slaughtering ceremony in which the heaviest pig to be donated is slaughtered as a sacrifice in honour of the deities.

62 From the point view of the Nationalist government, the Taiwanese folk *paipai* celebrations are thought to be backward and extravagant customs. Thus, a policy "Simplify Customs and Save Waste" was promulgated to reduce the scale of Taiwanese *paipai* celebrations.

the desire of the people, even under the powerful oppression of the authorities, to express their viewpoints in a clear way.

In the eyes of western scholars, beneath the surface religious meanings of the colourful Taiwanese rituals, controversial political issues, especially a dissatisfaction with and resistance against oppression by the authorities, seem to emerge. Perhaps because foreign scholars are able to take a more detached and objective standpoint, their arguments seem to have more direct insights and they criticise the ruling government more forcefully. Local scholars, on the other hand, shrouded, perhaps, under a political shadow, feel unable to speak freely and their observations are naturally more conservative. Some Taiwanese scholars merely seek to justify folk rituals, suggesting, for example, that although such rituals might on occasions encourage an extravagant atmosphere, nevertheless, they can regulate boring rural lives by bringing joyfulness and a release from hardship, and thus have some social value. (Liu 1967:66) Another scholar C. N. Chen criticised the attitude of the Nationalist government to traditional religious celebrations, writing:

In terms of the criteria of urban life, rural society's religious and *pai-pai* celebrations, are backward, superstitious customs. However, it is clear that, unlike urban dwellers, villagers cannot survive without these enlivening, life-regulating activities. Hard working farmers need these social activities to regulate the order of their lives, renew their inter-personal relationships and satisfy their religious needs. Urban people despise these customs, because they can obtain similar regulatory effects by other means and in other places: they have weekends and summer and winter holidays, and seek individual rather than communal enjoyment. Villagers spend money on feasts to entertain relatives and friends, and feel compensated by the warm human emotions awarded by the guests for their generosity, while urban dwellers spend money on themselves, on clothes, housing or entertainment, gaining fame and prestige by virtue of their luxurious appearance. Our society is urban-oriented, and we mould rural society according to the model of our urban lives, almost without realising it. It is thought that religious celebrations are wasteful and should thus be banned. Meanwhile, the wasteful ostentatious aspects of urban life flourish, and its problems remain unresolved in spite of strict laws. At the same time, rural society's community conscience has begun to decline, due to a lack of suitable guidance from the authorities. (Chen 1990:128)

Chen's advice is aimed at the unsuitable *laissez-faire* attitude of the Nationalist authorities towards the luxury and waste of urban life, compared with their negative attitude to rural religious and *pai-pai* celebrations, which has led to

the gradual decline of a community identity in rural areas. He is however reluctant to suggest that village religious celebrations have threatened the legitimacy of the ruling authorities.

Similarly, another researcher of folklore, H. K. Chen, has noted the indulgent attitude of the Nationalist government to the luxurious and wasteful urban celebrations of Christmas, while, at the same time, it was oppressing religious celebrations in rural areas. He wrote: "I believe that if the government continues to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude to celebrations of Christmas, this will represent a double standard of fawning on foreign customs whilst despising our own traditions. The present policy of improving customs, by indulging one side and oppressing the other, is unreasonable and unfair." (Chen 1959, cited in Liu 1991:258) Taiwanese scholars recommend that, because religious celebrations are the only opportunity for the multitude of hard-working villagers to have some entertainment, the authorities should sympathise with the people's viewpoint. Unfortunately, the scholars' advice has never been accepted by the authorities.

6.4.1 The period of Japanese occupation (1895 - 1945)

During their period of occupation, the Japanese took a negative attitude to Taiwanese folk religions, which they considered to be backward and superstitious. For example, in 1914, there was an official religious census, which recorded:

The islanders, being afraid of gods and ghosts, have become very superstitious. The temples provide a centre of their beliefs and act as a hidden store of Chinese spiritual links. The smashing of these superstitious beliefs represents the most urgent mission of the governing and education of this island. (Cited in Chou 1989:86)

The basic Japanese policy towards Taiwanese religion is contained in the following measures:

(1) The introduction of Japanese Shintoism and Buddhism, in order to allow Taiwanese people to have the opportunity to come into contact with Japanese religion, and thus raise the level of their religious beliefs. The wild ambition of the Japanese was an attempt to control the Taiwanese people by these religious institutions. (Sangren 1980:135; Chuang F. J. 1987:101-102)

(2) The destruction of those old temples which represented the influence of the Ch'ing government. (Chuang F J. 1987; Yu 1988) For example, according to K. M. Yu's study, temples on the Penghu islands were either demolished or occupied and rebuilt as hospitals and post offices. (Yu 1988:69-71)

(3) The replacement of traditional temples with Shinto shrines, which would then become the centres of Taiwanese religious beliefs. Shinto shrines, as the symbol of the Japanese emperor, could be used to strengthen the Japanese spirits and control the Taiwanese people. (Chou S. C. 1989:119; Chen C. W. 1988:257) For the Japanese, the deities in the Shinto shrines in Taiwan were guardians, symbolically ruling the island in the place of the original Taiwanese guardians. The Japanese colonial government built new Shinto shrines in prominent locations in major cities throughout Taiwan, using them as foci for strengthening their rule of the island, and for emphasising the bravery of the Japanese people. This was a clear manifestation of their attitude towards the governing of Taiwan. (Chen C. W. 1988)

(4) From 1938 on, the Japanese, as part of a new policy of assimilation, began to abolish many local religious celebrations, including, for example, the annual inspection tour by the deities. (Hsu 1973:179-180) Many other religious activities, including pilgrimages, *pai-pai* celebrations, and performances of folk operas and martial arts were also banned. Within Taiwanese families, ancestor tablets were replaced with tablets in honour of the Japanese emperor, while even the most important family festival of all, the celebration of the New Year, was banned. (Liu 1991:294)

6.4.2 The period of Nationalist government (1945 - now)

The attitude of the Nationalist government towards traditional temples and religions has in essence been as negative as that of the Japanese. However, the methods used to implement this attitude have been different; whilst the Japanese applied policies which were completely oppressive, the Nationalists have applied both oppressive and conciliatory policies.

In the early years following the recovery of Taiwan, there was an incident on the Penghu islands where most of the temples were occupied by soldiers. The main *matsu* temple in the town of Makung was used as both a camp and a jail. The soldiers regularly took liberties with local women who came to the temple to pray: this led

to the decline of the temple. (Yu 1988:29) Because the affairs of the religious organisations of Taiwanese temples were in the hands of the committee members, (i.e. the *lu-chu* and *t'ou-chia*), the KMT authorities assigned party members to campaign for the election to these posts, in order to control directly the running of the organisations. (Weller 1981:35-39)

During the Nationalist period of rule which has now lasted for almost fifty years, *pai-pai* celebrations have turned into a phenomenon almost unique to indigenous Taiwanese communities and seldom seen within communities of mainland Chinese, and have gradually become the means by which Taiwanese people express their true aspirations.⁶³ However, in the eyes of the ruling mainlanders, the vigorous participation of the Taiwanese people in *pai-pai* celebrations does indeed reflect feelings of dissent towards the political situation. Consequently, the celebrations have been suppressed by the authorities, both directly and indirectly, in order to reduce this threat. (Rohsenow 1973) For example, since the late 1950s, they have used the "*pai-pai* unification" policy as a means of controlling the celebrations. This policy requires all neighbourhoods to hold their festivals on a specified date. Although this may seem to be of minor importance, nevertheless, it has major implications for the future of the *pai-pai* celebrations. The most important part of the celebrations is the inviting of guests from neighbouring areas to take part in special feasts. People invite outsiders rather than their own neighbours, since the latter will also be taking part in the festivities. If all the neighbourhoods hold the celebrations on the same day, the number of potential guests is much reduced: only people from distant areas are likely to have the free time to be able attend. The "*pai-pai* unification" policy thus cuts away at the function of the celebrations to preserve social networks. (Rohsenow 1973:93)

The official rationale for this policy is that the *pai-pai* celebrations are both wasteful and superstitious. The authorities continually use the directly controlled press, television and radio stations and schools to criticise the squandering, in extravagant religious celebrations, of energy and resources which could be put to more constructive use in projects of public interest. (DeGlopper 1973:92; Sangren 1980:225) The hostile attitude of the government towards religious celebrations

63 The population of Taiwan now stands at around 20 million people. Although Taiwanese form the largest part of the population, the limited amount of Chinese mainlanders dominate the government almost completely.

brings about tension between the Taiwanese people and the Chinese mainlanders. However, in spite of the government's consistent opposition, popular religious and temple festivals are flourishing in today's Taiwan.

In fact, the government's real intention, for all their criticism of the religious celebrations as being wasteful and superstitious, is to prevent the gathering of huge crowd of people. It does not require much imagination to understand that no coercive government is going to be willing to see large crowds gather together to take part in activities which it has not sanctioned. (Ahern 1981b:85) In fact, the actions of the KMT government are a reminder of the policies adopted during the Ch'ing period of rule. (Weller 1981:33) On occasions, the KMT authorities allow Taiwanese to engage in their own celebrations, but only under certain conditions. There have been rumours, for example, that permission to hold celebrations is given in exchange either for a reasonable degree of support being shown for KMT candidates at election time, or for an agreement to participate in parades such as the National Day celebrations. (Rohsenow 1973:90)

Apart from these measures, the KMT authorities have even used the influence of western religions to attract large numbers of intellectuals to change their beliefs, while, in the case of poor people, bribes of food and clothing have been used to persuade them to change their religion. The upshot of this is that traditional religion is oppressed while western religions flourish without any difficulty. Every year, western religious festivals, and especially Christmas, are celebrated in a more and more lively way, particularly by intellectuals and urban yuppies. (Liu 1991:297-298)

The Nationalist government, like the Japanese authorities, use buildings imbued with a political ideology, to express their dominating attitudes. Apart from the cases mentioned above of memorial halls commemorating dead KMT leaders acting as the foci of a national cult, throughout the island's towns and villages, institutions, including police stations, KMT party offices, schools, etc have been built next to the old temples in order to supervise and control traditional religious activities. In the course of my own field surveys in Taipei, I found the following examples of this policy: a KMT party office located beside a traditional temple in the Shen'eng 深坑 district, a police station located opposite the main *ching-shui tsu-shih* temple in the Sanhsia 三峡 district and a primary school built next to the main temple in the Shiht'ing 石碇 district. The slogan posted on the gate of this

school, which reminds people to smash superstition and economise on the extravagant costs of *pai-pai* celebrations, contrasts ironically with the flourishing atmosphere of the worshippers in the temple devoutly praying to their deities.

CONCLUSION

Although traditional architecture in Taiwan adopted the characteristics of the architecture of southern China, the value of studying Taiwanese vernacular houses and settlements is certainly not merely a matter of examining the meaning manifested in the adopted style of architecture. The true meaning is, rather, an expression of Chinese social and cultural traditions, including cosmological, religious, ethical and family notions. This is particularly apparent if we consider the matter from a religious viewpoint. Under the influence of the three traditional Chinese religious concepts of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism as well as the unique folk beliefs of Taiwan, the social and cultural traditions expressed in the vernacular houses and settlements of Taiwan preserve the attitudes, homologies and correspondences regarding the cosmos, the supernatural, society and ethics contained in traditional Chinese concepts.

These religiously-based concepts, in spite of passing through a variety of political and social changes over a long period of historical transformation, still exist in the lives of Taiwanese people as they did in the past. To make a comparison between the Chinese people living on either side of the Straits of Taiwan: although the living space of both groups of people is of a similar architectural style, the mainland inhabitants have lived for many years under an atheist doctrine, where a religious lifestyle has been taboo, with the result that there has been a grave disruption in people's daily lives of the relationship with the religious meanings originally implied in traditional architectural space. Chinese people living on Taiwan, on the other hand, in spite of the obstacles placed in their religious lives by different suppressive ruling powers, have, in general, preserved religious beliefs as the principal part of their lives. The detailed argument put forth in this thesis shows the close relationship which exists between Taiwanese people's religious lives and their houses and settlements.

As a way of summing up the arguments put forward in the chapters of this thesis, in addition to the individual conclusions at the end of each one, I wish to reaffirm here two important concepts present in Taiwanese vernacular houses and settlements.

- 1) The spatio-temporal consideration.

2) The homology of the body, the house and the cosmos.

The first of these concepts emphasises the arrangement of a "sacred space" in any arrangement of space in vernacular houses and settlements, while each of the ceremonies held both during the process of arrangement and the eventual use of the architectural space emphasises the selection of a "sacred time". As a whole, the arrangement of space and the holding of ceremonies thus satisfy people's needs to bring about "sacred space" and "sacred time".

The second of the two concepts, based on traditional *feng-shui* notions, in essence uses the human body and living spaces (houses and settlements) to simulate a reduced model of the universe. Through this kind of association, people are able to imagine their living space, both houses and settlements, to be an organic living body, identical to the universe. Thus, the various considerations and construction ceremonies carried out in the process of building a house can be explained as a special means of making the building come alive. Similarly, Chinese people attach great importance to both life ritual and annual rituals, in the belief that holding ceremonies can assist individuals to pass peacefully through the various difficult stages of life and families to pass peacefully through each year. Because the house is alive, it is naturally able to act in the different ceremonies as an intermediary between man and the supernatural world, and to assist in the communication between mankind and spirits, ghosts and ancestors. Apart from this, the spaces of vernacular settlements, through the *feng-shui* arrangement and, spatial *yasheng* ceremonies can, in a similar way, be brought to life. Man can thus attain the ideal world of a homology of the body, the house and the cosmos.

It is possible to reach an understanding of Taiwanese vernacular architecture and the use of space in the settlements, by looking at the matter in terms of two states: static and dynamic. I have first examined Taiwanese vernacular architecture in terms of the arrangement of static space. During the process of construction of a building, the arrangements of traditional *feng-shui* notions, the selection of auspicious measurements for every component of the building, the consideration of every architectural taboo and the positioning of each of the various spatial *yasheng* objects, in terms of religious meaning, Taiwanese vernacular architecture displays an idealised spatial prototype which also represents the aim of achieving a harmonious relationship with the cosmos.

Through the painstaking arrangement of this spatial prototype, the positions of the various spatial elements including the hall, bedrooms and kitchen, as well as components such as the main gate, the ancestral tablets, the altar, the courtyard, the stove and the bed are determined. This is very different from modern architectural theory which stresses the consideration of the functions and aesthetics of spaces, as opposed to the positioning of the elements of Taiwanese vernacular architecture, where the consideration of *feng-shui*, supernatural and ethical notions becomes the focal point of reflection. The intention is to achieve harmonious relationships between man and gods, ancestors and ghosts, because, according to traditional religious beliefs, only through a peaceful daily life can man and society develop in a successful way.

However, apart from the consideration of the arrangement of the elements of architectural space on a static level, Taiwanese people go a stage further and carry out a series of daily activities in order to preserve harmonious relationships between man and gods, ancestors and ghosts. This, then, leads on to the discussion of a dynamic level, the meaning of which is expressed most concretely by the various ritual and ceremonial activities of Taiwanese life. Thus, from early on in the construction process, construction ceremonies are held, with the aim of reinforcing these harmonious relationships.

Once the building has been completed, people can begin to use the architectural space. Similarly, the holding of the various ceremonies of the life rituals and the annual rituals ensures that an individual in the course of his life, as well as a family in the course of the whole year, can, with the help of the various spatial elements, further preserve harmonious relationships with gods, ancestors and ghosts. In traditional societies, ceremonial activities, which were imbued with a sacred meaning, frequently came to occupy a central position in daily life. In modern societies, on the other hand, such ceremonies have been replaced by different secular activities. In this thesis, through a discussion of the relationship between architectural space and a variety of ceremonial activities, the particular significance of these ceremonies in traditional societies has been identified. In contemporary Taiwan, however, these ceremonies and the significance of their connections with the use of architectural spaces have been preserved in their entirety.

Backgrounds factors relevant to the formation of Taiwanese vernacular settlements include economics (irrigation and land development organisations), the growth of clans, public security and religion. Although these factors all had a certain amount of influence on the formation of vernacular settlements, on the basis of my discussion, I have come to the conclusion that religious factors are the most important. Thus, when we consider the religious factors, the *feng-shui* arrangement and the use of spatial *yasheng* are, like the house itself, an attempt to create an idealised spatial prototype for vernacular settlement. Thus, this spatial prototype of the settlement is also a reduced model of the cosmos, built with the intention of achieving harmonious relations between man and gods, ancestors and ghosts.

However, this spatial prototype of a settlement only represents a static model of the cosmos. In order to go a stage further in understanding man's position in this reduced model of the cosmos and the various reciprocal relationships involved, it is necessary to use the concept of a worship sphere. This concept, which uses a religious meaning to explain Taiwanese vernacular settlements, has four components: a religious organisation, a sphere of influence, a temple and religious activities. Through this one can understand all the meanings reflected in the spaces of vernacular settlements.

In this thesis, I have used the temples, which are the religious heart of society, as the focal point of my discussion and have reached the following conclusion. Traditional temples are a guide to the spatial development of Taiwanese settlements. The temples directly determined the model for the development of urban space in the settlements, cities and towns, serving as a hub and guiding point for the overall development of an urban spatial construction. The squares in front of the temples created an open urban space, moulded in a particular style but of different shapes and sizes. Under the collective consciousness shown in the "fellowship of common destiny", the Taiwanese people have entrusted their destinies to the temples. Apart from their religious significance, the temples have also influenced to an even greater degree a number of the functions of social groups, including political, economic, social, educational and cultural functions, and have thus become the focal point of people's lives.

The various religious activities, which include tours of inspection, pilgrimages and *chiao* rituals, not only renew the relationships between the most important and the rest of the temples within a particular worship sphere, but, at

the same time, also re-establish the relationship between the gods and believers. In particular, the tour of inspection, through the route taken by the gods within the limits of the worship sphere, and the *chiao* celebrations, through the installation of the various platforms (*tan*) for holding *chiao* ceremonies and the positioning of *teng-kaio* in different temples, both represent the renewed designation of the limits of the worship sphere, through the manifestation of a spatial order.

However, the activities of the tour of inspection and the *chiao* rituals only speak for the activities within each particular worship sphere. The religious activities of the pilgrimage go a stage further in readjusting and defining the relationships between worship spheres of different levels. At the same time, the mutual activities of worship spheres of different levels transcend territorial limitations, underlining the significance of the uniting of different territories. Accompanying the various religious activities mentioned above - the tour of inspection, the pilgrimages and the *chiao* rituals - are the *paipai* celebrations and all the kinds of performance of religious opera. Such celebrations not only perform the function for man of expressing a respectful attitude towards gods and ghosts, but, even more importantly, satisfy social, cultural and even economic secular functions. These secular functions express the intellectual demands of the Taiwanese people for a passionate and inspirational "Taiwan identity". This has aroused the interest of different Taiwanese ruling organisations, with the result that they have each in turn tried to suppress all kinds of religious activities.

Interest in the research of vernacular architecture, a subject which has gradually taken shape to form a worldwide focus of debates, has reached a high point in Taiwan. Over the last few years this research has tended to concentrate for the most part on the preservation and investigation of traditional architecture. Whilst it is true that the collection of this material has made a certain contribution to the study of Taiwanese vernacular architecture and settlements, it is a matter of some regret that little attention has been paid in these studies to the religious nature of the meanings implied in the use of architectural space. In fact, through the research carried for the thesis, I have discovered that even the smallest architectural element is richly imbued with religious meanings. Such meanings which in essence reflect the experiences drawn from the long period of human life, are of inestimable value. I believe that through this kind of research, we can understand the religious meanings contained in Taiwanese vernacular architecture and the use of space in Taiwanese settlements, and from there understand the essential nature of the

meaning of life for Taiwanese people. This is sufficient to stimulate and encourage architectural designers and researchers to search for even more profound realisations of architectural space and form.

The modern architectural space and form currently popular in Taiwan are still wallowing in the influence of foreign styles, to the extent that it is very difficult to ascertain what has been produced or even influenced by a genuine indigenous Taiwanese culture. Throughout my discussion, apart from my own opinions, I have also drawn on the achievements of past researchers into various aspects of traditional Taiwanese society, including life, ceremonies, the essential nature of our spatial environment and religious thought. I have attempted to seek out all the corresponding relationships and principles relevant to religious life in vernacular architecture and the use of space in Taiwanese settlements. In other words, I have sought to show how the hidden meanings and practical functions present in the reality of the Taiwanese people's daily surroundings are a reflection of their religious beliefs. The greatest ambition of this thesis is the hope that, through an analysis of the meanings of Taiwanese vernacular architecture and the use of space in the settlements, it would be possible to develop an architectural theory which genuinely belongs to native Taiwanese thought as a means of remedying the long enduring vacuum in the world of architectural thought in Taiwan. Naturally the research which I have carried out can only be considered as a first step and further work on this subject is essential.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

Eight Trigrams	Twenty-four Shan	The correlation of the standing feet and the Nine Stars				
Ch'ien	Chia	1(yu-pi) 6(lien-chen) 11(t'an-lang)	2(t'an-lang) 7(wu-chu) 12(chu-men)	3(chu-men) 8(p'o-chun) 13(lu-ts'un)	4(lu-ts'un) 9(tso-fu) 14(wen-chu)	5(wen-chu) 10(yu-pi) 15(lien-chen)
Li	Jen Yin Wu Hsu	1(p'o-chun) 6(lu-ts'un) 11(tso-fu)	2(tso-fu) 7(win-chu) 12(yu-pi)	3(yu-pi) 8(lien-chen) 13(t'an-lang)	4(t'an-lang) 9(wu-chu) 14(chu-men)	5(chu-men) 10(p'o-chin) 15(lu-ts'un)
Tui	Ting Chi Yu Ts'ou	1(t'an-lang) 6(wu-chu) 11(chu-men)	2(chu-men) 7(p'o chun) 12(lu-ts'un)	3(lu-ts'un) 8(tso-fu) 13(wen-chu)	4(wen-chu) 9(yu-pi) 14(lien-chen)	5(lien-chen) 10(t'an-lang) 15(wu-chu)
Chen	Ken Hai Mao Wei	1(chu-men) 6(p'o-chun) 11(lu-ts'un)	2(lu-ts'un) 7(tso-fu) 12(wen-chu)	3(wen-chu) 8(yu-pi) 13(lien-chen)	4(lien-chen) 9(t'an-lang) 14(wu-chu)	5(wu-chu) 10(chu-men) 15(p'o-chun)
Sun	Hsin	1(lien-chen) 6(t'an-lang) 11(wu-chu)	2(wu-chu) 7(chu-men) 12(p'o-chun)	3(p'o-chun) 8(lu-ts'un) 13(tso-fu)	4(tso-fu) 9(wen-chu) 14(yu-pi)	5(yu-pi) 10(lien-chen) 15(t'an-lang)
Ken	Ping	1(wu-chu) 6(chu-men) 11(p'o-chun)	2(p'o-chun) 7(lu-ts'un) 12(tso-fu)	3(tso-fu) 8(wen-chu) 13(yu-pi)	4(yu-pi) 9(lien-chen) 14(t'an-lang)	5(tan-lang) 10(wu-chu) 15(chu-men)
K'an	Tsu Kuei Sheng Chen	1(wen-chu) 6(yu-pi) 11(lien-chen)	2(lien-chen) 7(t'an-lang) 12(wu-chu)	3(wu-chu) 8(chu-men) 13(p'o-chun)	4(p'o-chun) 9(lu-ts'un) 14(tso-fu)	5(tso-fu) 10(wen-chu) 15(yu-pi)
K'un	Yi	1(lu-ts'un) 6(tso-fu) 11(wen-chu)	2(wen-chu) 7(yu-pi) 12(lien-chen)	3(lien-chen) 8(t'an-lang) 13(wu-chu)	4(wu-chu) 9(chu-men) 14(p'o-chu)	5(p'o-chun) 10(lu-ts'un) 15(tso-fu)

Appendix B

Eight Trigrams	Twenty-four Shan	The correlation of the starting feet and the Nine Stars				
Ch'ien	Chia	1(p'o-chun) 6(lu-ts'un) 11(tso-fu)	2(tso-fu) 7(wen-chu) 12(yu-pi)	3(yu-pi) 8(lien-chen) 13(t'an-lang)	4(t'an-lang) 9(wu-chu) 14(chu-men)	5(chu-men) 10(p'o-chun) 15(lu-ts'un)
Li	Jen Yin Wu Hsu	1 (lien-chen) 6 (t'an-lang) 11 (wu-chu)	2 (wu-chu) 7 (chu-men) 12 (p'o-chun)	3 (p'o-chun) 8 (lu-ts'un) 13 (tso-fu)	4 (tso-fu) 9 (wen-chu) 14 (yu-pi)	5 (yu-pi) 10 (lien-chen) 15 (t'an-lang)
Tui	Yu Ting Chi Ts'ou	1(lu-ts'un) 6 (tso-fu) 11 (wen-chu)	2 (wen-chu) 7 (yu-pi) 12 (lien-chen)	3 (lien-chen) 8 (t'an-lang) 13 (wu-chu)	4 (wu-chu) 9 (chu-men) 14 (p'o-chu)	5 (p'o-chun) 10 (lu-ts'un) 15 (tso-fu)
Chen	Ken Hai Mao Wei	1 (tso-fu) 6 (wen-chu) 11 (yu-pi)	2 (yu-pi) 7 (lien-chen) 12 (t'an-lang)	3 (t'an-lang) 8 (wu-chu) 13 (chu-men)	4 (chu-men) 9 (p'o-chun) 14 (lu-ts'un)	5 (lu-ts'un) 10 (tso-fu) 15 (wen-chu)
Sun	Hsin	1 (chu-men) 6 (p'o-chun) 11 (lu-ts'un)	2 (lu-ts'un) 7 (tso-fu) 12 (wen-chu)	3 (wen-chu) 8 (yu-pi) 13 (lien-chen)	4 (lien-chen) 9 (t'an-lang) 14 (wu-chu)	5 (wu-chu) 10 (chu-men) 15 (p'o-chun)
Ken	Ping	1 (wen-chu) 6 (yu-pi) 11 (lien-chen)	2 (lien-chen) 7 (t'an-lang) 12 (wu-chu)	3 (wu-chu) 8 (chu-men) 13 (p'o-chun)	4 (p'o chun) 9 (lu-ts'un) 14 (tso-fu)	5 (tso-fu) 10 (wen-chu) 15 (yu-pi)
K'an	Tsu Kuei Sheng Chen	1 (wu-chu) 6 (chu-men) 11 (p'o-chun)	2 (p'o-chun) 7 (lu-ts'un) 12 (tso-fu)	3 (tso-fu) 8 (wen-chu) 13 (yu-pi)	4 (yu-pi) 9 (lien-chen) 14 (t'an-lang)	5 (t'an-lang) 10 (wu-chu) 15 (chu-men)
K'un	Yi	1(p'o-chun) 6(lu-ts'un) 11(tso-fu)	2(tso-fu) 7(wen-chu) 12(yu-pi)	3(yu-pi) 8(lien-chen) 13)t'an-lang)	4(t'an-lang) 9(wu-chu) 14(chu-men)	5(chu-men) 10(p'o-chin) 15(lu-ts'un)

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