

The Spatial Organisation of the Villages
of the P'eng-hu Archipelago
Taiwan
in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Lin, Hui-ch'eng

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1993



This thesis has been composed by myself and the work is
my own

Lin, Hui-ch'eng

Abstract

This study is a comprehensive investigation of the 81 villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago, where the original type of Han (the main tribe of Taiwan) settlements have been well preserved. The analysis uses a wide range of material obtained from local archives, personal investigations and field surveys, atlases, and relevant research papers to expose the complex of socio-cultural values within these traditional settlements, and to show that there is a spatial system concretely attached to physical form and all of its elements which has meaning for local people. The aim has been to establish a method which contains all information relevant to the spatial formation of the villages. The study demonstrates the general construction of the space of the villages, and shows how their spatial organisation was formed by the combination of many independent systems. It also shows how the factors which influenced the space of the villages derived from historical and natural contexts and location of the villages, as well as from socio-cultural conditions and the limited resources of the local people.

The different spatial elements of the villages were dominated by different factors. These factors were respected only on certain occasions and in places, and their importance varied in accordance with the changing needs of the villagers. The spaces were constructed by the villagers themselves under the influence of local intellectuals, masters of *feng-shui*, fortune tellers, craftsmen, *t'ung-chi* (a kind of Taiwanese shamanic priest), and *hei-t'ou shih-kung* (a kind of Taoist priest). In order to embody their ideas in their architecture, local people used two kinds of spatial model, a single craftsmen's rule defining lengths, and three different methods of checking the auspiciousness of the buildings.

Acknowledgements

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(Note: the Wade-Giles system of Chinese Romanisation is used throughout this essay)

Introduction

This study explores the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago (澎湖群島, also called the Pescadors) of Taiwan during the 18th and 19th centuries, and the following issues: the characteristics of the spatial organisation of the villages and the factors which influenced this organisation, the order of priority of these influential factors, the basic measurements which local people followed in constructing auspicious spaces, and the various people and their knowledge which influenced the way in which local people constructed these spaces.

The main sources of this study are three local archives, three field studies carried out by myself and colleagues in 1980, 1981, and 1991, and a 1:5000 atlas of the archipelago. The first archive was edited by Hu Chien-wei (胡建偉) and published in 1767, the second by Chiang Yung (蔣鏞), published in 1829, and the third by Lin Hao (林豪), published in 1893.¹ The field studies were as follows: three field investigations made by myself in the summers of 1980, 1981, and 1991; and a survey of a whole village -- Chung-she (中社) Village of Wang-an (望安) Island -- carried out by myself and two of my colleagues, Hsu Chih-ch'iang (胥直強) and Hsu Ssu-chieh (徐思潔), in the summer of 1981 (this took around two months to complete and records all the plans, some of the elevations and constructions, and the building materials of 151 houses and other buildings, and other materials relevant to the formation of this village.). The atlas was published by the Bureau of Forests of Taiwan Province in 1978 and 1985. Other material is taken from research papers as recorded in the References; of these, the seven which relate directly to the spaces and forms of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago are listed in the note below.²

¹. Apart from these, there are three official archives published after 1893 as follows: 1. Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, (陳正祥), 1955. 2. Li Shao-chang, (李紹章), 1960. 3. Yang Jui-nan, (楊瑞南), 1991. They are useful for this study as well.

². They are as follows: 1. Lin Hui-ch'eng, 1980, The Development and Form of Settlement, and the Architecture of Wang-an Island of P'eng-hu Archipelago, in *Architect* 1980 (10), pp. 53-61, Taipei. 2. Lin Hui-ch'eng, Hsu Chih-ch'iang, and Hsu

This study aims to provide a source of reference for architects, urban planners, and interested officials when they enact regulations or become involved in architectural projects or planning in Taiwan. Because of ignorance about the traditional cultures of their predecessors, such professions have been responsible for seriously damaging the landscapes of both urban and rural areas on Taiwan.

The processes of this study are, first, to categorise all possible influential factors upon the spatial organisation of the villages: their geographical location, the development and natural features of the villages; and the economic and social behaviour, and religious and other beliefs of the inhabitants. Next, the influence of each factor upon the spatial organisation of each of the 81 villages of the archipelago has been recorded in as much detail as possible (this takes from Chapter 1 to Chapter 5). The thesis concludes with an analysis of the issues mentioned at the beginning of this introduction.

The considerations behind the choice of the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago as the object of this study are as follows. Because human beings are social creatures, research on the spatial organisation of their settlements must be based on a social unit if all the relevant elements are to be fully revealed. There are three kinds of settlement in the traditional Han (漢) societies of Taiwan (including P'eng-hu): the walled city which is the political, military, and educational centre; the market town which is the rural centre of economic exchange, process of foods, etc.; and the village which is the base of food production. I have already studied on the spatial organisation of a market town, Lu-kang (鹿港), which is a well-preserved example, between 1976 and 1978.³

Ssu-chieh, 1982, Wang-an Chung-she -- An Old Fishing Village, in *Architect*, 1982 (1), pp. 42-48; 1982 (2), pp. 26-35, Taipei. This essay was then rewritten by Lin Hui-ch'eng as The Physical Environment of Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island, and published in 1988 in *The Collected Essays on the History of Development of P'eng-hu*, pp. 181-213, Ma-kung, Cultural Centre of P'eng-hu. 3. Kuan Li-wen, 1984, *The Study on the Development of Form of Traditional Settlements of P'eng-hu*, Master Thesis, Taipei, Taiwan University. 4. Wang Wei-jen, 1987, Prototype and Transformation of Courtyard House in P'eng-hu, in *Bulletin of Architecture and City Planning Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 87-118, Taipei, Taiwan University. 5. Lu Chin-jung, 1989, *The Preliminary Study on the Structural Theory of Physical Environment*, Master Thesis, T'ai-nan, Ch'eng-kung University. 6. Chang Yu-t'ung, 1991, *The Preliminary study of Methods of Constructing Traditional Houses at P'eng-hu Island*, Master Thesis, T'ai-chung, Tung-hai University.

³. This work is entitled *Spatial Organisation of Lu-kang in the Late Ch'ing Dynasty* and published by Ching-yu-hsiang Publication of Taipei in 1979 (second edition published in 1984).

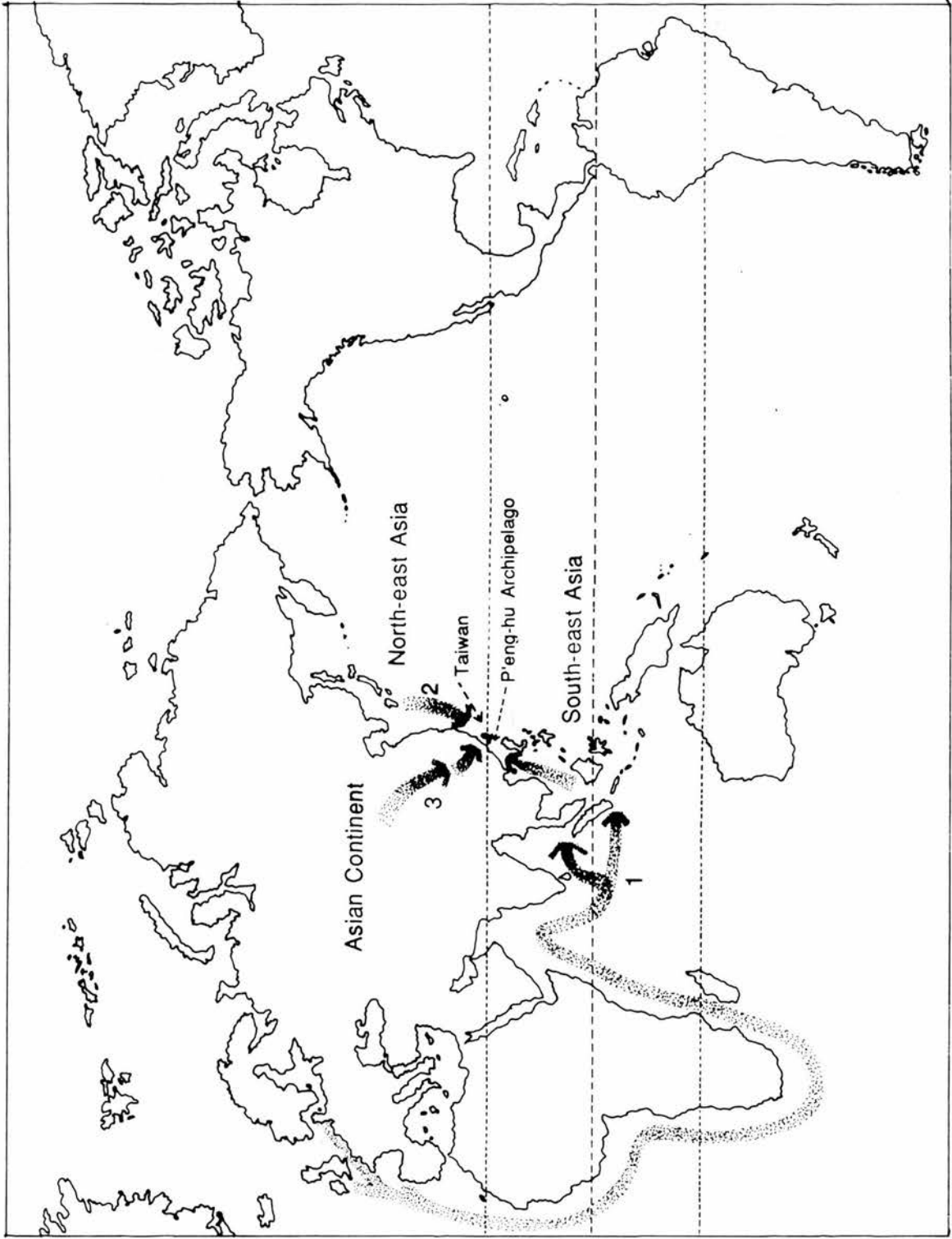
Villages are the second settlement form on my schedule, and I hope to make the walled-city my next subject.

The villages of P'eng-hu Archipelago are the earliest to have been formed in Taiwan. Some of them had survived in their original form until the time when I conducted my surveys. All the changes that had taken place in the villages had been made by local people themselves because hardly any official planning was ever imposed. Also, they displayed great clarity as social entities during the period of the previous two centuries: all villages owned distinct territory; the membership of each village was stable and clearly defined; the societies of the villages were largely independent, strong in cohesion, and highly homogeneous in all aspects including economic behaviour and ability, social structure, religious and other beliefs; the inhabitants of each constructed their own village, produced their own food, and maintained their own social order and safety. The majority of men (and women after marriage) spent their whole lives within the territory of the village.

The appearance and scale of all 81 villages were similar, and they were all small, two characteristics which facilitate the work of investigation. All of them were in secluded locations on small islands, so that until the present century their socio-cultural identity was comparatively simple and well maintained, and the social relationships between the inhabitants and outsiders were simple. Moreover, the natural circumstances of the villages were severe and their resources limited. All of these suggest that the causes and meaning of their spatial organisation, whether these are socio-cultural or to do with the natural context, will be comparatively easier to discover.

Finally, a choice was made to concentrate on the condition of the villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is because the general model of the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago which I intended to explore was established on the basis of the socio-cultural and natural contexts of these two centuries. The situation was initially established in 1683 when the islands were occupied by the Ch'ing (清) Dynasty, and generally maintained until the time when I engaged upon the work of a survey in 1981. I also had the benefit of official records, family archives, and the memories of elder villagers. There are two reasons for ending the study at the end of the 19th century. Firstly, although there were major socio-cultural changes after 1895 when the archipelago and Taiwan Island were occupied by the Japanese colonial government, these had little impact on the physical structures of the archipelago.

Secondly, in 1893, an important official archive entitled *P'eng-hu T'ing-chih* (澎湖廳志) edited by Lin Hao was published. As the last such archive to be produced during the traditional period, it is of great value for studying the societies of the P'eng-hu Archipelago. Nevertheless, as a result of natural factors (such as typhoons and monsoons) and the improvement of the economic situation of local people which has led to the re-construction of their houses using modern styles, and the lack of maintenance of abandoned houses, the physical form of some villages has now been changed , which is why the past tense is used throughout this essay.



1. The forces of western colonists
2. The force of Japanese Imperialism
3. The pressure of population of south-eastern China
(see Chapter 1-2)

The location of P'eng-hu Archipelago

Chapter 1

The characters of the villages

The P'eng-hu Archipelago (also called the Pescadors) is a cluster of islands of igneous rock which is composed of 64 short and flat islands. The 20 largest of these are populated; the 44 smaller ones are uninhabited. The three biggest islands -- Ma-kung Island (馬公, 64.2 sq km), Hsi-yu Island (西嶼, 18.2 sq km), and Pai-sha Island (白沙, 14.1 sq km) -- form an inverted "U"-shape to the north of the archipelago and constitute some 80% of the total land area. The rest are scattered over the sea in a rectangular area 60 km north-south by 40 km east-west; of these Wang-an Island (望安, 7.2 sq km), Ch'i-mei Island (七美, 7.0 sq km),¹ and Chi-pei Island (吉貝, 3.1 sq km) are the biggest. The total area of the archipelago is some 127 sq km. (Ch'en, 1961, p.1145) The distribution of the islands is shown in Fig. 1-1.

This archipelago lies some 24 sea-miles (ca. 44.4 km) west of Taiwan Island (also called Formosa), and 108 sea-miles (ca. 200 km) south-east of China. The Tropic of Cancer passes straight through the middle. It is the only archipelago located at such a distance off the Asian sea-shore within a broad area -- between 18° N and 36° N latitude, and between 112° E and 124° E, and it is like an extension eastwards of the Asian Continent into its neighbouring oceanic area. Because it is located between south-east Asia and north-east Asia, it became an important point of intersection between the Asian Continent and its oceanic area. The situation of the archipelago within Asia is shown in Fig. 1-2.

¹. This island was also called Nan-yu (南嶼). By the end of the seventeenth cent. A.D., because the surrounding sea area was dangerous for fishing and its inhabitants were often robbed by pirates, the Ch'ing (清) government moved all its inhabitants to a neighbouring island, Wang-an. (Kao, 1696, p. 11; Hu, 1767, p. 28) But, before the end of the nineteenth cent., it was occupied once again, by new immigrants. (Lin, 1893, p. 28)

澎湖

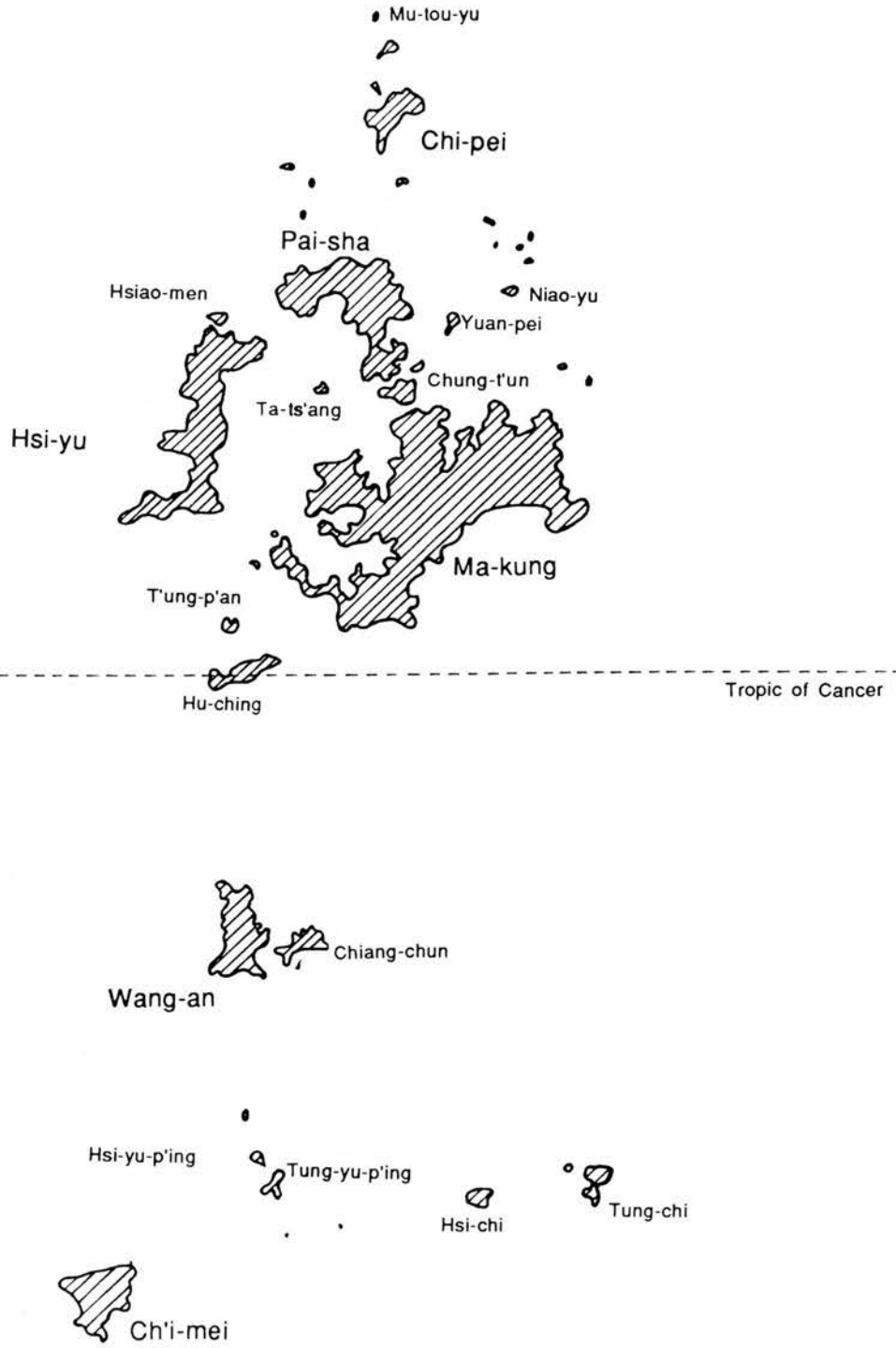
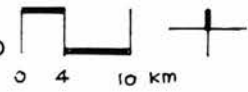


Figure 1-1 The distribution of the islands of P'eng-hu Archipelago



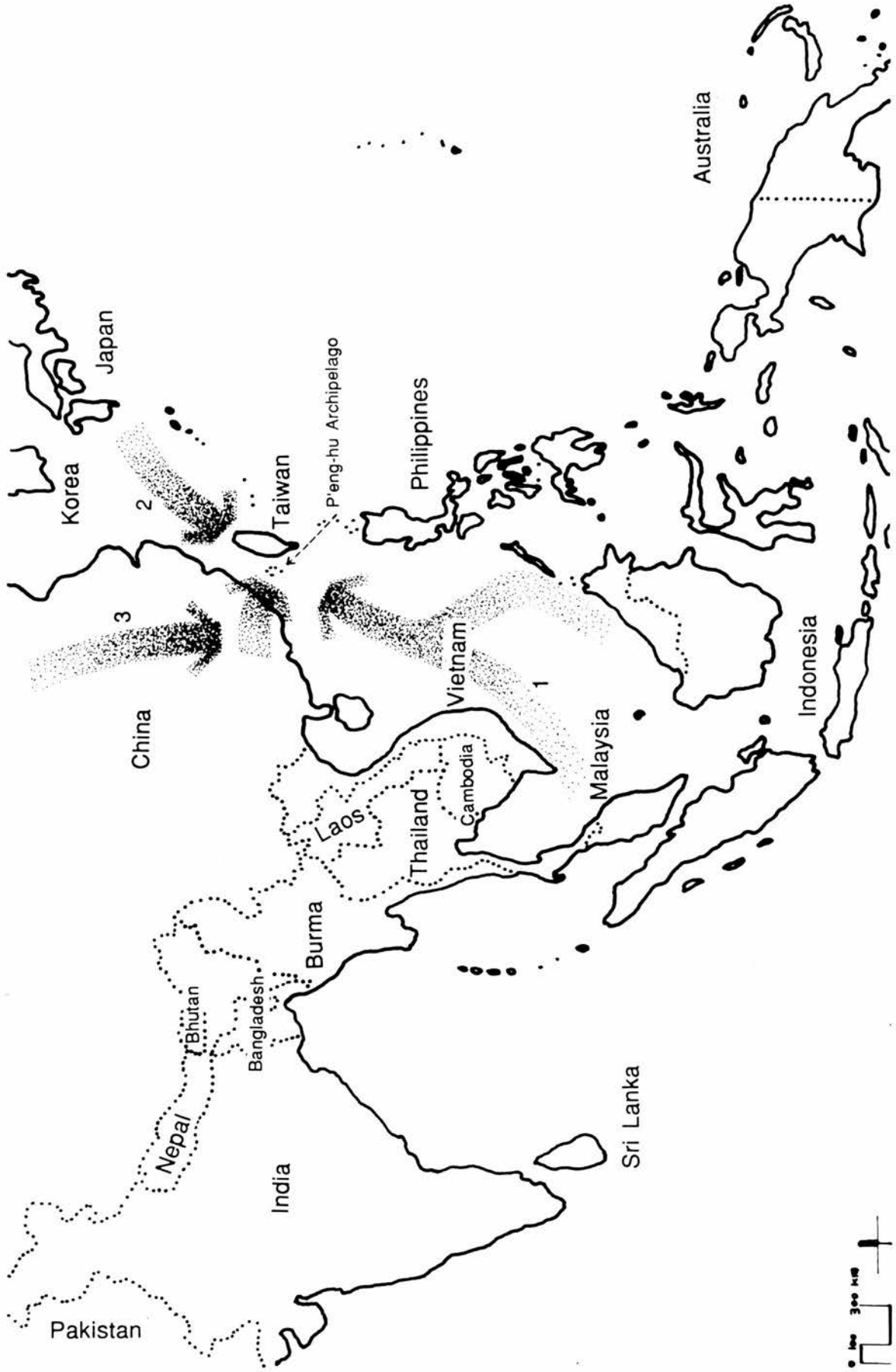


Figure 1-2 The location of P'eng-hu Archipelago in Asia

1. The forces of western colonists
2. The force of Japanese Imperialism
3. The pressure of population of south-eastern China
(see Chapter 1-2)

I. Natural features

The most obvious natural characteristic of this subtropical archipelago is its heat and humidity. Its yearly average temperature is 22.7° C, and 27.4° C in summer. The reflected heat from the surrounding ocean, and the lack of natural shelter make the islands feel much hotter than these figures suggest. It was because of its ability to allay the effect of heat that the betel-nut became so popular with local people in previous centuries. (Hu, 1767, p.4)

Strong wind is another distinctive feature. The monsoon season runs from September to the following May, and during this period the islands are subjected to severe winds from the north-east for an average of 144 days. These winds not only seriously damage vegetation by blowing sea water onto the land (a phenomenon called "salty rain" (鹹雨)) when its speed is over 18 m/sec, but it also prevents fishing.

The best time of year for the archipelago is from June to August. Then, the islands enjoy south-west winds which were welcomed by local people, because they are refreshing and bring what little true rain the land receives.

However, this season also has its hazards. In contrast to the pleasant south-west wind, typhoons pose a great threat to the buildings and crops of villagers and often severely damage them. The number of typhoons is variable: some years there can be more than ten, in others there are none.

The islands' most common scenery is gently sloping grass tablelands. The average height of the archipelago is 20 m above sea-level and its highest point is only 79 m. Along the edges of the tablelands, there are a number of small valleys which gradually incline to a sandy, rocky, or coral cove. The larger valleys cover 15 hectares or more, the moderate ones are around 10 hectares, the smaller ones 3-5 hectares. Some of them are not only the best sites for residence, in which people can be protected from of the monsoon winds, obtain fresh water, and safely berth their boats, but they are also the only places on the islands with a more ample growth of bushes such as cactus, hibiscus, paulownia, benth, and a few stately trees, such as banyan and catalpa.

The soils of the tablelands, generally, are poor because of the scarcity of rain, the fact that topsoil is blown away by the strong wind, the high percentage of salt, and the low degree of weathering. The smaller islands are worse, because their terrain offers hardly any protection at all from the weather. The agricultural capability of the small islands was, of course, lower than that of the bigger islands, although that of the latter was poor as well.

There is no river on the islands, just two ponds located one on each of two larger islands, each with an area of about 2 hectares. Only one of these has fresh water all year round. The more stable sources of fresh water are two kinds of underground reservoir. The first kind are about 150 m deep and are virtually inexhaustible, but of course, their water was not available to early dwellers. For them, the second kind, surface water, was the only source. This can be drawn from a depth of 3-5 m, but only in the valleys, and it tastes slightly salty. Not only this, but the flow of water is limited: some of them dry out during the dry season.²

Broad coral reefs which surround the northern islands form another impressive aspect of the landscape of the archipelago. The total area of coral reefs is as much as one third of that of the lands at low tide; for some of the smaller islands the ratio is as high as four times as much coral as land. In contrast to the barren land, the reefs are extremely fertile. In and around their crevices the shell-fish and seaweed are plentiful, and they became an important source of food and materials for local people over the ages.

Beyond the lands and coral reefs, is the sea of the Taiwan Strait. The waters of a number of the rivers of western Taiwan and south-eastern China flow into it and its average depth is only 50-60 m: few places are deeper than 80 m and some broad areas are as shallow as 10 m. (Hsu, 1976, pp. 84-88) The combination of the shallow sea-bed and the ample organic life from the rivers attract plentiful quantities of fish. (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 105-106)

On both sides of the archipelago, there are ocean currents. The west one is called *hung-shui-kou* (紅水溝), literally the red water ditch, which flows north-east to south-west between the islands and China. The other one, called *hei-shui-kou* (黑水溝), literally, the black water ditch, is a branch of the Kuroshio Current (黑潮) which runs south to north-east between the islands and Taiwan Island. The latter flows at impressively high speeds: repeated accounts of the perils of the ocean and the horrible experiences of passengers who sailed it by junk can be read in the histories. (Hu, 1767, pp. 269-272; Chiang, 1829, pp. 118-119; Lin, 1893, pp. 484-488) The ocean currents, as shown in Fig. 1-3, draw a natural boundary between the islands and Taiwan and China, contributing to the isolation of these remote island villages, but also providing them with a plentiful, if dangerous, fishery.

2. In 1972, the construction of a reservoir, named Ch'eng-kung Reservoir (成功水庫), was started, this project was finished 3 years later.

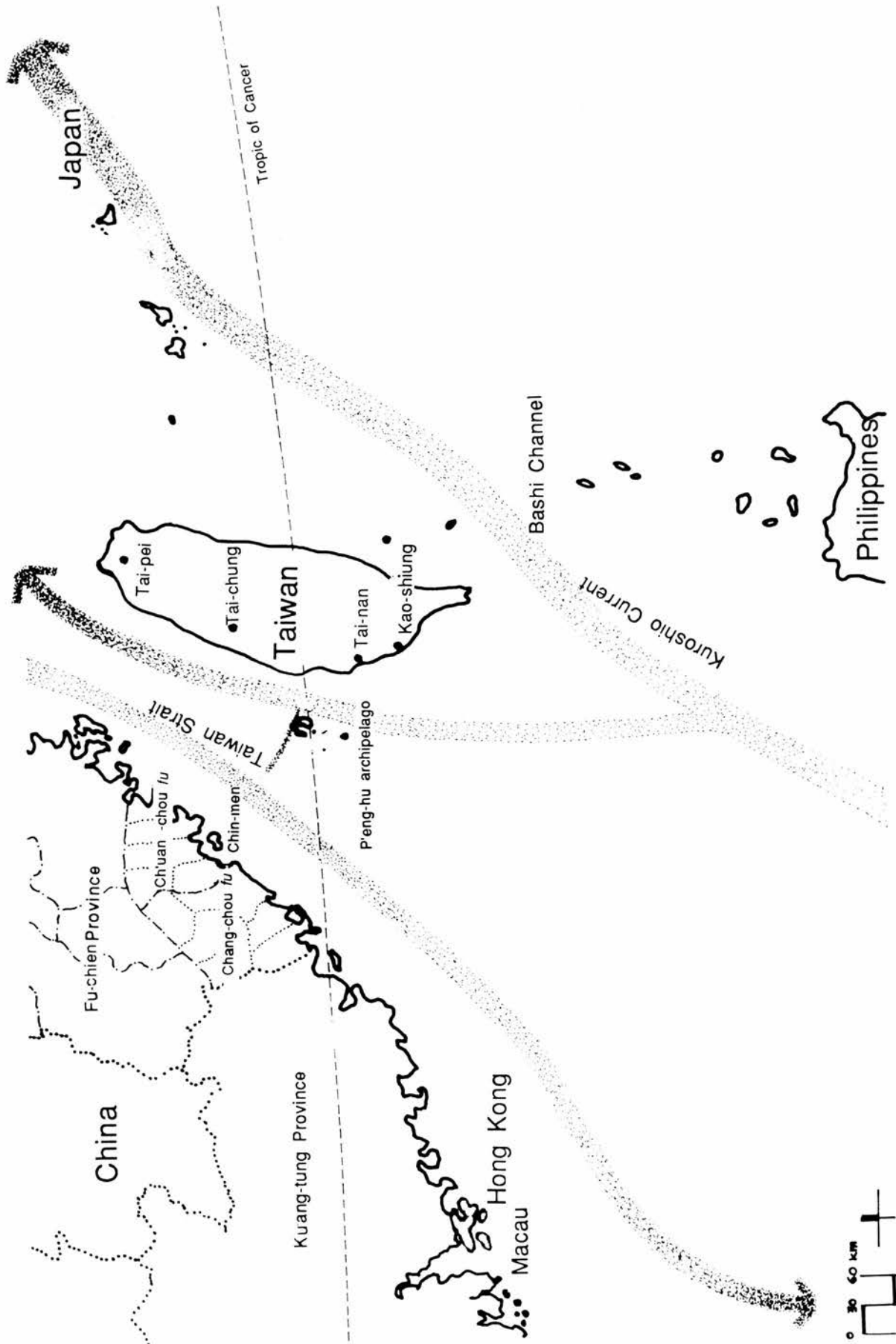


Figure 1-3 The sea currents in the neighbouring area of P'eng-hu Archipelago

Between these two ocean currents are some of their branches which run across the Taiwan Strait. Of these, one, which runs from north-west to south-east near to the north of the archipelago, was significant in history. This is because it is the route through which the mullet, a fish whose roasted eggs were favoured by the wealthy, pass once a year. It was through following these that the fishermen of south-east China landed on Taiwan and P'eng-hu Archipelago. Also, because of this sea current, many *wang-ch'uan* (王船), literally king's boats, landed on Taiwan and P'eng-hu Archipelago. These were small boats released from south-eastern China in the summer of every year as a symbolic gesture to rid their land of plague. In these boats were placed statues of the Five Plague God (五瘟使者) or the Twelve Plague Kings (十二瘟王), the beings who were believed by people at the time to spread plagues to the human world, as well as other ceremonial material. It was the unwelcome arrival of these on the islands that caused a new and very popular religious belief, namely Wang-yeh (王爺), to be established there. This will be discussed in Chapter 4-2.

Due to the complexity of the sea currents, the variety of wind directions, the shallowness of the sea-bed, and the numerous coral reefs, the hydrology of the sea area surrounding the archipelago is complicated. Especially, during the summer time, when, though the orientation of ebb and wind are the same, the speed of sea currents is much higher than at other times. (Li, 1960, pp. 558-559) The sailors and fishermen of the last century used many weird terms to describe the various phenomena of this sea, such as *pa-kua-shui* (八卦水), literally the eight trigrams water; *lo-chi* (落漈); *nan-feng-chi* (南風熾); *wan-shui chao-tung* (萬水朝東), literally all water flows towards the east. All these expressed the complexity of the flow and the fear of travellers.

2. A brief history of the development of the archipelago

As a result of its severe natural conditions, the archipelago kept its original landscape until late in the 12th cent. A.D..³ Even during the period between the 3rd cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. when the people of the Dong-son culture immigrated onto the majority of the islands of south-east and north-east Asia

³. The earliest material relating to the archipelago is a record in a book entitled *Kung-kuei Chi* (攻媿集) by Lo-yueh (樓鑰). This describes the rough conditions of the archipelago in 1171.

including those presently ruled by Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia, and Malaysia, (Janse, 1958) the archipelago was one of the few places which remained uninhabited.

(1). As a base of fishing (12th-13th centuries)

Nevertheless, because of these prosperous marine resources in its surrounding sea area, and its convenience as a stopover for shelter and water during voyages, at around the end of the 12th cent. A.D., the archipelago began to be adopted by the fishermen of Ch'uan-chou *fu* (泉州府) and Chang-chou *fu* (漳州府) in China's Fu-chien Province (福建省) as a temporary base for fishing. These pioneers lived in sheds, fished on the sea-shore, cultivated hemp and sorghum, and reared large numbers of goats. Also, in 1171, the Sung (宋) Dynasty of China constructed around 200 barracks on the islands, and despatched navies to protect their fishermen. (Chao, 1961; Chou, 1971, vol. 67; Wang, 1916, vol. 119) That is to say, during this period, these islands were collectively occupied by fishermen and soldiers. Some relics of their houses have been excavated by archaeologists. (Tsang, 1988, pp. 37-53)

(2). As a strategic base (13th-14th centuries)

Some 100 years later, during the Mongolian rule of the majority of the eastern part of the Asian Continent, the ambitious government of the Yuan Dynasty (元, 1279 to 1333), despatched navies which attacked Japan twice, in 1280 and 1281, and Taiwan once in 1291, in an attempt to control the islands of its eastern and southern sides. After the failures of her second expeditions, in around 1281, the Yuan Dynasty occupied the archipelago as a part of her administrative area and stationed some soldiers on it. That is to say, it was adopted as a gangplank between the Asian Continent and its neighbouring oceanic islands -- the advance base towards Taiwan and Japan. (Wang, 1916, vol. 119) These actions were, in fact, concerned with the occupation of land rather than the development of the islands, because the distance between the islands and the Asian mainland was too far to be managed by the naval forces of the time, the islands had no economic potential, and there were ocean currents on both sides which made sailing dangerous.

(3). As a base of international smuggling (14th cent.-1628)

In the late 14 cent. A.D., after the revolution in China in which the Ming

Dynasty (明, 1368-1644 A.D.) overthrew the Yuan Dynasty, some rivals of the new government deserted to the neighbouring oceanic islands of the southern and eastern parts of the country. To avoid the island's dwellers colluding with these rebel forces, the Ming Dynasty decided to clear the archipelago, and forced the inhabitants to move back to their ancestral homelands. But the fishermen and their successors did not in fact leave the archipelago, and after some time, a number of them began to occupy the islands again, only to be driven off once more. The same cycle of occupation and banishment recurred several times between 1387 and 1592 A.D.. (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 134)

At the end of 15th century, as a result of political stability, a rapid increase in the population of south-east Chin, and the consequent pressure on the land, (Shih, 1987, pp. 117-165), some people from this area began to engage in smuggling from their neighbouring islands to make a living. (Ts'ao, 1979, pp. 8-9) Also, because the long years of civil war were over, and as a result of Western colonialism, the Japanese government and people were eager to trade with China. (Ts'ao, 1979, pp. 137-146) The Western colonialists were beginning to extend their forces towards the eastern part of the Asian Continent and to north-east Asia, and attempting to trade with China and Japan.⁴ (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 26) The archipelago was located in the middle of the sea route between south-east and north-east Asia, (Chang, ca, 1580, vol. 9) in the intersection of the Asian Continent and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and outside three of the biggest harbours of south-east China: Fu-chou (福州), Ch'uan-chou, and Chang-chou. (Fig. 1-4 shows the sea route on an old map, Fig. 1-5 is another old map drawn in 1680) Lately, China had had a policy resistant to international trade and emigration. For these reasons, the archipelago began to be occupied by smugglers working as individuals, as co-operatives, or even on behalf of countries, and became an important base of international contraband.

These smugglers exported European, Japanese, and Mexican silver, Malay and Indonesia spices, and Cambodian sulphur to China; Chinese silk and sugar to Europe; and Taiwanese deer fur and sugar to Japan and Persia. (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 246) For their convenience as a trading post, Dutch colonists occupied the islands in 1622 A.D -- this was their second occupation of the country, the first

4. Western countries occupied various areas of Asia as follows: Spain held the Philippines (1565) and Taiwan (1626-1642), Holland held Indonesia (1597) and Taiwan (1624-1661), France held Indo-china (1885), Britain held India (1885), and Portugal held Macao (1557) and Malacca (1511).

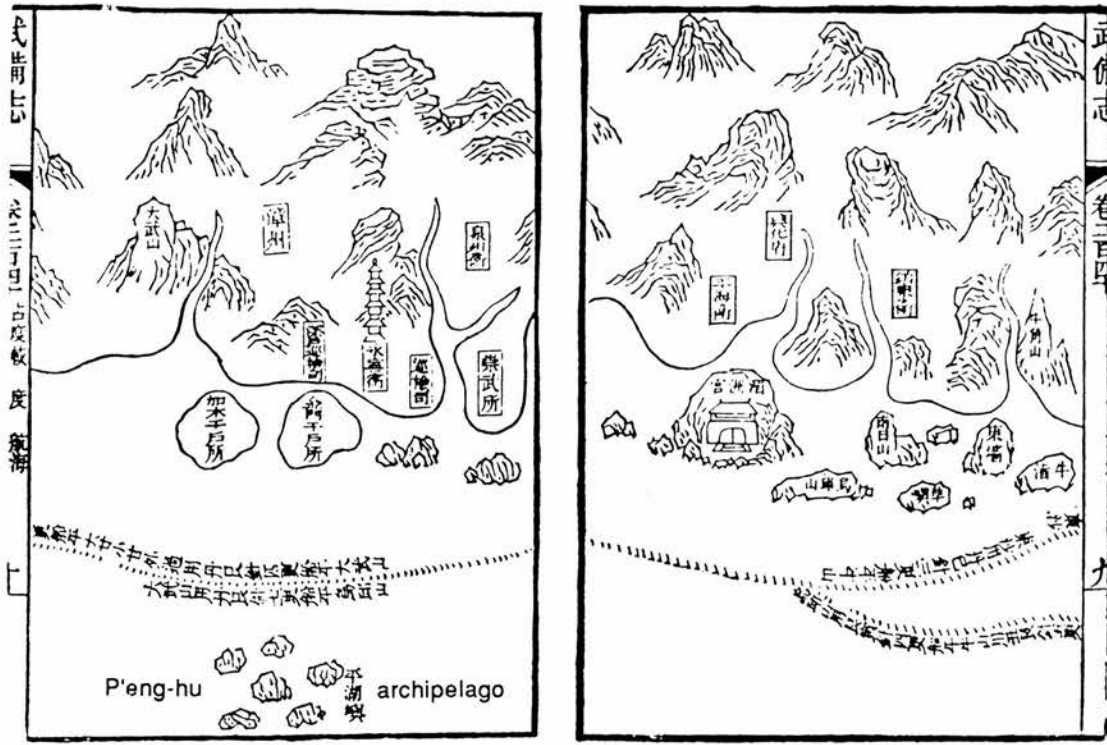


Figure 1-4 The sea route between south-east Asia and north-east Asia in the late 17th century (after Ts'ao, 1979)

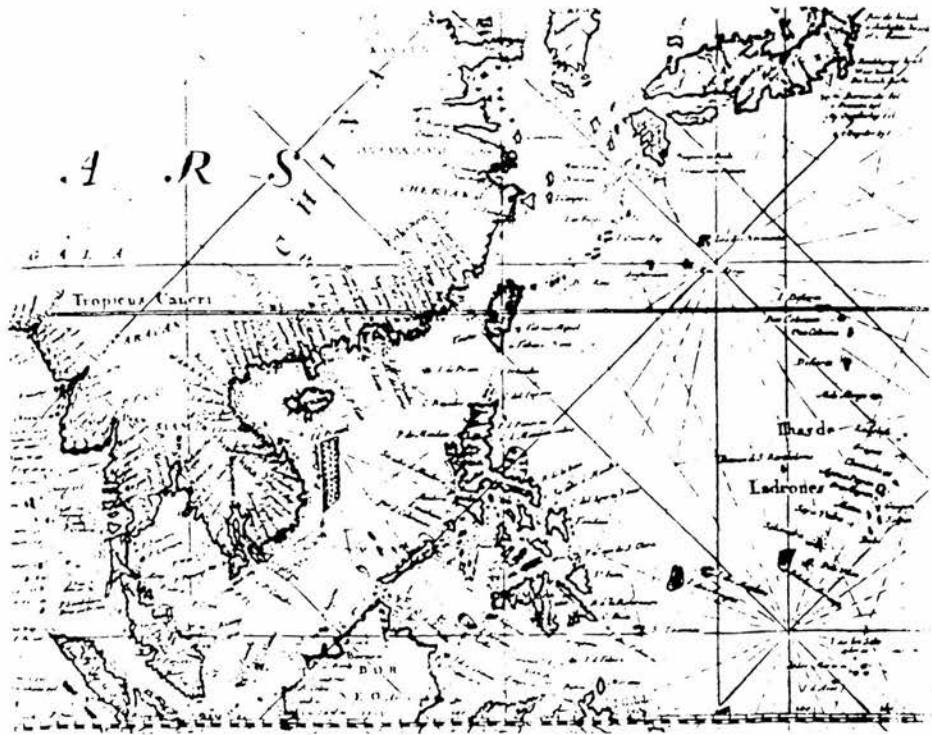


Figure 1-5 A old map of south-east Asia drawn in 1680 (after Ts'ao, 1979)

having been in 1604. Two years later, the Dutch transferred their base to Taiwan, and the islands once again fell under the control of the Ming. During their period of occupation, the Dutch built a number of military facilities on the islands: one battery in the southern part of Ma-kung Island is still well kept. (Ts'ao, 1988, p. 93-116)

In addition, the islands were the objects of occupation attempts by various countries during this period. There were three Japanese assaults (1593, 1609, and 1616), China gained control again in 1683, and in 1622 the archipelago was threatened by the united fleet of Holland and Britain.⁵ (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 27-33)

At the same time, Chinese and Japanese pirates, apart from being active in the surrounding area, began to occupy some parts of the islands as bases from which to rob both legal ships and those of smugglers,⁶ as well as the wealthy towns of south-eastern China. That is to say, illegal dwellers, pirates, and smugglers were the common users of the islands during this period.

The problems of pirates and smuggling were tentatively resolved in 1631 A.D., 242 years after the islands were first abandoned, after one major pirate leader, Cheng Chih-lung (鄭芝龍), surrendered, and the Japanese government strictly prohibited her people from going abroad (1639 A.D.). (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 520) The relics of one mountain stronghold used by pirates remains on the islands as testimony of that time. (Ts'ai, 1987, p. 138)

(4). The arrival of the first legal immigrants (1628-1683)

The key reason why for such a long time the archipelago was used as a temporary base rather than a permanent homeland by all its users was the fact that no economic plants could be grown well on its soils. This situation changed with the introduction of two new kinds of crop, peanut and sweet potato, which were suitable for the natural features of the islands. Native to south America, these were first planted in Spanish Asian colonies, and arrived on the islands towards the end of 16th cent. A.D. via the Philippines. (Ch'en, 1972, p. 21; Hu, 1767, p. 161; Ch'en, 1987, p. 26)

The first legal immigrants arrived between 1628 and 1635 A.D. immediately

⁵. Apart from these, the archipelago was later invaded twice by Japan (1887, 1895), eventually becoming her territory (1895-1945), and attacked once (1885) by a French fleet.

⁶. During this period, trade between China and her dependencies, such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, was legal.

after an expulsion of pirates and smugglers. Because of a serious famine in the Fu-chien Province of China, the people of that area were encouraged by the government to emigrate to Taiwan and P'eng-hu. They were given agricultural tools and cattle, and transported in official ships. (Sheng, 1977, pp. 61-63; Hsu, ca. 1846; Huang, 1911, p. 6) Lately historians have referred to these settlers as the first wave of immigrants.

Some thirty years later, 1662-1681 A.D., a large number of people from the same area moved onto the islands again because their homelands had become the main battlefields of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), the new dynasty of China, and the Ming Dynasty during 1647 and 1661, and 1663 and 1664. These new comers have become known as the second wave of immigrants by historians. (Huang, Y.H., 1985, p. 21)

Between them, these two groups of immigrants established the majority of the villages of the archipelago and were the ancestors of most of the present inhabitants.

(5). As a transitional stopover of the ships crossing Taiwan Strait (1683 - 1895)

After 1683, there was a huge change in both the economic and political circumstances of the archipelago. After assuming control of China, the Ch'ing Dynasty defeated the armed forces of the previous Ming Dynasty stationed in Taiwan and P'eng-hu, and after an unsuccessful attempt to control them, abandoned these two previously rebellious bases because they were comparatively tiny and, being located off-shore, were hard to manage. The Ch'ing government decided to prohibit international trade from being carried on there, so the archipelago lost all its original international position and function, and simply became a transitional stopover for internal ships sailing across the Taiwan Strait.

Not only that, immigration to these islands was also forbidden. The islands became tranquil places. During the early part of this period, the grasslands were gradually exploited into farm lands by the inhabitants who arrived before the change of dynasties. When the ban on immigration was lifted in around 1740 A.D., some 80 years later, the islands were already almost fully cultivated. The way in which this development occurred, and other social, economic, and politic conditions of this period, will be discussed in the later part of this chapter and in Chapter 2-6.

(6). As a frontier archipelago of Japan and Taiwan (1895-)

All these events eventually faded into history and the stage upon which they had taken place was transformed into an area of solitary frontier villages. After 1895 the archipelago was occupied by Japan, the fifth government of the islands after Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties and Dutch colonial government. It was deemed a remote extremity and used as one of bases to fulfil the policy of the new government "towards south-east Asia", and its old capital, Ma-kung Town was converted into a military base and an important commercial port. 40 years later, the sovereignty of the archipelago was taken over by Taiwan, and it became an important far flung military base because of its proximity to its old ruler, China, the rival of the Taiwanese government. It was deemed part of an area of no economic value and overlooked; none of its advantages occurred to the relevant people.

On the whole, because of its distinct geographical location and natural conditions, the archipelago exhibited something of a half-way stage between Asian Continental culture and Asian oceanic culture -- its dwellers came from the broad continent and lived on the tiny sub-tropical islands. Many times, it was occupied by continental rulers who were looking to opportunities from the ocean, and by forces from the ocean who were attempting to bargain with the continent. That is to say, the history of the development of the archipelago had both oceanic and continental characteristics.

3. The inhabitants

The population of the islands, according to official reports was around 5000 in 1668 A.D., 13417 in 1736 A.D., 25843 in 1767 A.D., 59182 in 1829 A.D., 67504 in 1893 A.D., and 73343 in 1946 A.D.. The rate of increase is 170% from 1668 to 1736 (68 years), 100% from 1736 to 1767 (31 years), 130% from 1767 to 1829 (62 years), 11% from 1829 to 1893 (64 years), and 8% from 1893 to 1946 (53 years). The density of population was 39.3 people/sq km in 1668 A.D., 105.6 people/sq km in 1736 A.D., 203.7 people/sq km in 1767 A.D., 466 people/sq km in 1829 A.D., and 532.3 people/sq km in 1893 A.D. (Shih, 1683, p. 27; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 34; Hu, 1767, p. 220-221; Chiang, 1829, pp. 64-65; Lin, 1893, pp. 85-87)

These statistics imply first of all that the population of the islands only slightly increased after 1829 A.D.. Moreover, the few places where the population was growing, were, according to regional census data, the town and the few villages with good harbours. That is to say, the population of most of the villages was hardly affected. Secondly, a population of some 60,000-70,000, or 500 people/sq km, was the maximum capacity of the islands under traditional modes of survival. Thirdly, the average rate of construction of courtyard houses was once every 23-53 years; that is to say, a typical household built a new house in that number of years. The models of the present villages were initially formed at around 1829 A.D., 160 years ago.

The ancestors of most local people were from the same area, Ch'uan-chou *fu* of Fu-chien Province of China, and particularly Chin-men (金門), an island off the coast of that area. The rest were from Chang-chou *fu* of the same province. Only a few came from elsewhere. (Lin, 1684, pp. 64-65) In the late Ch'ing Dynasty, the inhabitants were the 15th and 16th generation descendants of the last two waves of immigrants who arrived on the archipelago in the 17th century.

The majority of these inhabitants continued in the lifestyle of their ancestors -- fishing, crop cultivation, gathering, and stock breeding -- the exceptions being the townspeople and a few from the 5 bigger villages who were traders. There were very few intellectuals, 2 monks, less than 50 *hei-t'ou shih-kung* (黑頭師公, a kind of Taoist priest, see Chapter 4), and no nuns prior to 1893 A.D.. (Hu, 1767, p. 149; Lin, 1893, p. 32) The intellectuals were paid to teach children Confucian ethics. The *hei-t'ou shih-kung* devoted themselves to secular rituals, such as the ceremony of death, the resolution of misfortune, the banishment of ghosts, etc., rather than in research into the dogmas of Taoism.

In the late 19th century, the people of the archipelago lived in one market town and 81 villages. The market town and 36 of the villages were located on Ma-kung Island, 10 villages each on Hsi-yu Island and Pai-sha Island, 6 on Ch'i-mei Island, 4 on Wang-an Island, and the remaining 15 occupied one small island individually, their distribution is shown in Fig. 1-6 and Fig. 1-6a.

4. The market town

Ma-kung Town (馬公) is the name of the only market town of the archipelago. In the late 19th century, it had a population of 2000. (Yu, 1989,

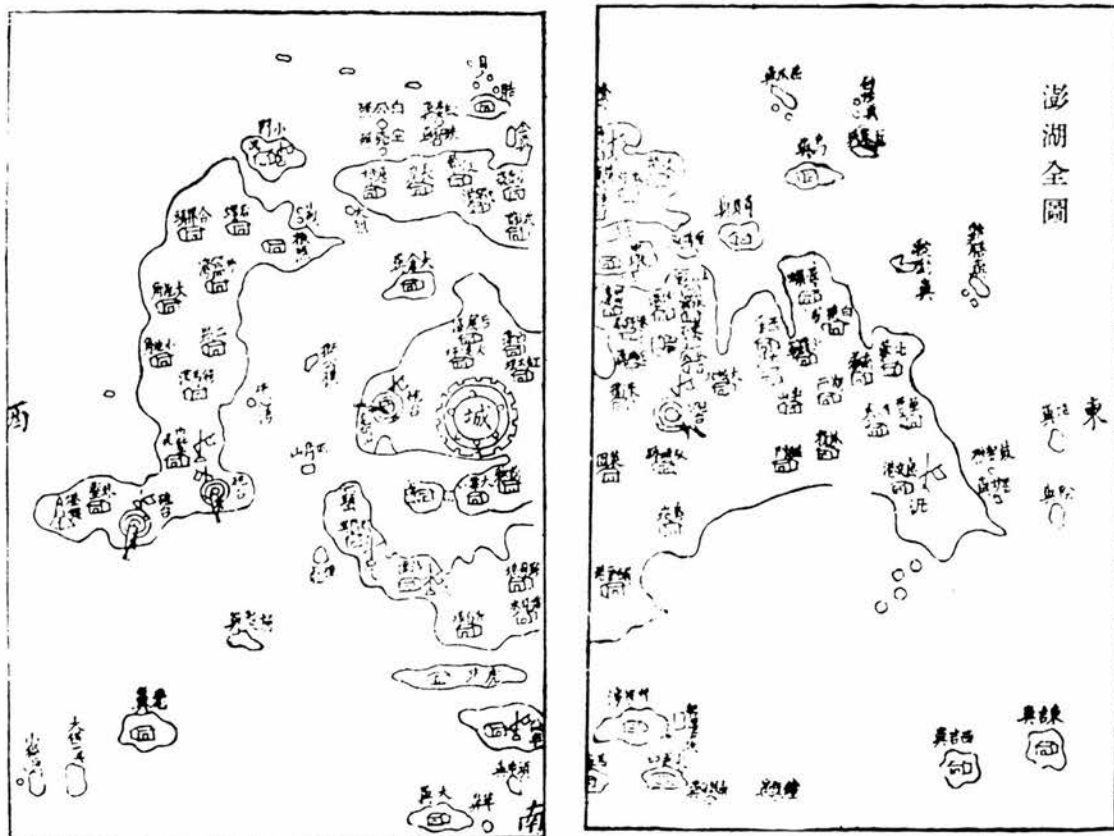


Figure 1-6a The distribution of villages on the islands in 1893 A.D. (after Lin, 1893)

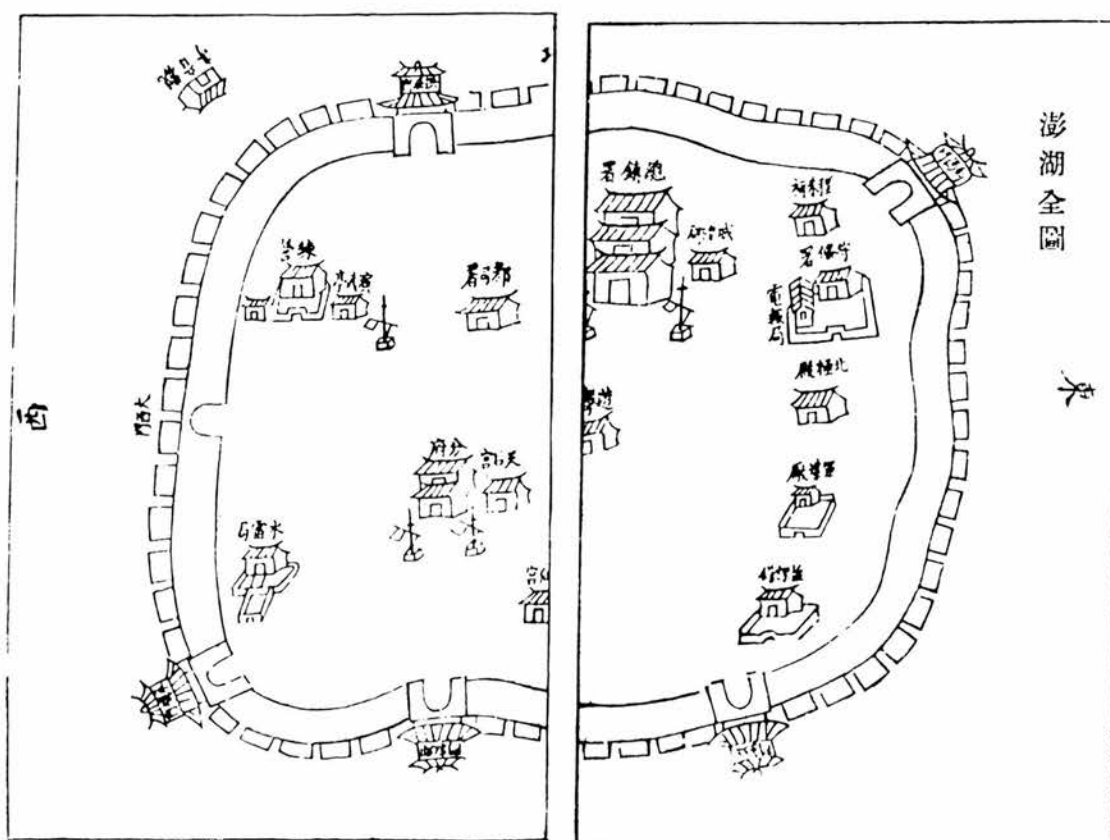


Figure 1-7 The market town, Ma-kung, in 1893 A.D. (after Lin, 1893)

p. 284) It was actually not much larger than some of the bigger villages, but it did have a prime location on the biggest island, and at the heart of the group of northern islands. Besides, until the 20th cent., Ma-kung Town had the only harbour in the archipelago in which junks and boats were able to berth all year round.

Ma-kung Town was also the only heterogeneous society of the archipelago, her townspeople such as merchants, coolies, sailors, and prostitutes coming either from neighbouring villages or from outside the archipelago. The officials and soldiers mainly came from China. Only a quarter of the population were the original residents engaged in fishing, agriculture, and trade.

Apart from that, the market town was developed by the Ch'ing government into a local centre of politics, the military, transportation, and education. Also, it was deemed by the people of the villages on the three biggest islands and their neighbouring small islands as the local centre for the commerce, religion, and social intercourse which were lacking in the rural areas. In fact though, all the villages on the archipelago were so independent that these kinds of needs were only very occasionally felt. In Ma-kung Town centre and its outskirts were government buildings, batteries, blockhouses, and so on. The only official school of the archipelago was located near the headquarters of local government. Some 10 (1767 A.D.) to 18 (1893 A.D.) temples, such as those dedicated to the Sea Goddess (媽祖), the City God (城隍爺), the Wind God (風神), the Dragon God (龍神), Kuan-kung (關公), Wang-yeh (王爺), T'u-ti Kung (土地公, the Duke of Earth), and the Goddess of Mercy (觀音菩薩) had been built either by local people themselves or under the encouragement of officials and the surveillance of the masters of *feng-shui* (地理師, geomancer). (Hu, 1767, pp. 36-42; Lin, 1893, pp. 56-68)

On the waterfront, several commercial streets and markets had been established. In 1767, there were seven commercial streets and one market in the town. (Hu, 1767, pp. 44-45) Merchants involved in import and export had formed a committee called *t'ai-hsia chiao* (台廈郊) in order to arrange shipping economically and to mediate disputes between members.⁷ In the harbour, local ships, sea-faring junks, and canoes shuttled constantly, busily

7. There are different versions as to the time when this committee was established. Some researchers believe that it was formed around the early 17th cent., but its name was first recorded in an official archive in 1893. (see Hsu, 1988a, p. 4; Cho, 1991, p. 7)

conveying various goods to be carried to and from the shops of the commercial streets with the help of oxcarts, rickshaws, and coolies.

The market town became the only checkpoint for soldiers travelling between Taiwan and China by ship before 1758 A.D., (Hsu, 1988a, p. 2) and in 1889 A.D., a wall was constructed around it, that is to say, from then on it had a simultaneous role as a market town and as a walled city, as shown in Fig 1-7.⁸

The houses in Ma-kung Town were of a different type to those in the villages. They were generally rectangular in form, had two or three storeys, and had no courtyard in the middle. Their ground floor generally served as a shop and storage space, and there was an altar dedicated to the ancestral tablets of the owner, to Kuan-kung, the patron god of merchant, and to other gods, which was placed at the back of this floor; their second and third floors served as living space for either the families of the owner or his staff. One example is shown in Fig. 1-8.

5. The villages

The scale of the 81 villages varied considerably. The larger ones had populations of around 2000, housed in 300-400 courtyard houses; the moderate ones 800-1000 people in 150-200 courtyard houses; and the smaller ones 200-300 people in 30-100 courtyard houses. They tended to be about 1-3 km apart as shown in Fig. 1-6.

The majority of the villages were located on the lower, gentle slopes of the valleys of the southern or western edges of the islands. The average area of the larger villages was 6-8 sq km, the moderate ones 3-4 sq km, the smaller ones 0.5-2 sq km. The villages, generally speaking, were crowded with courtyard houses, temples, vegetable gardens, and *shih-t'a* (石塔, literally stone towers). On street corners there were a few stately trees, and around 20 shallow wells, a number of *shih-kan-tang* (石敢當, literally slates which suppress all evil forces) and *shih-fu* (石符, literally slates of talismanic writing, for details about these three talismans, see Chapter 4-3) were scattered through the villages. Near the houses and coral reef walls, there were always clumps of

⁸. In Taiwan, there were three basic types of settlement: village, market town, and walled city. Villages were bases of agricultural production, market towns were centres of local trade and the processing of foods, and walled cities were political centres.

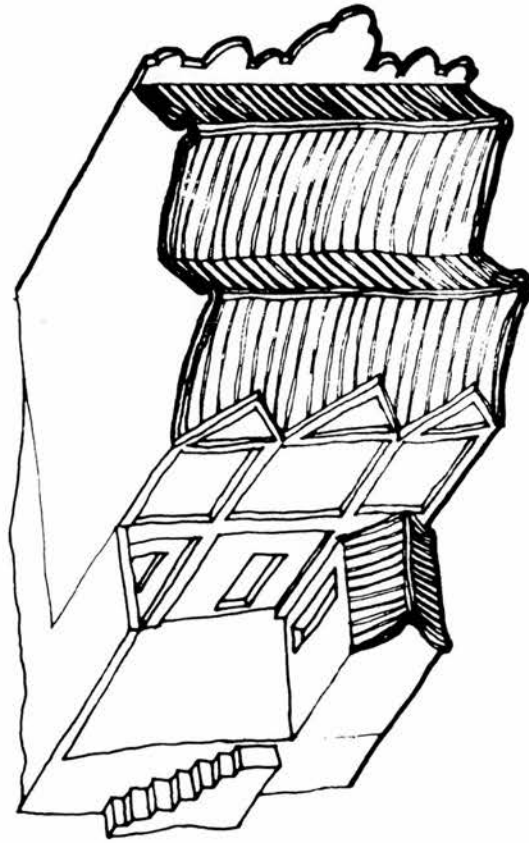


Figure 1-8 A Town house of Ma-kung Town (after G. I. B. P., 1979)

bushes.

The courtyard houses of the villages, generally speaking, were constructed along the inclination of the valley ingestion and faced the sea, that is, generally south or west. (Kuan, 1984, p. 65) In front of the villages, there was usually a beach or coral reefs. On the inner side of the beach, some boat houses, lime kilns, and jetties were built. Beyond the beach, it is blue ocean. On the north-eastern side of the villages, there is generally a hillock to protect the village from the monsoon. Outside the villages, the cemetery and dry farmland were spread out to view. The average area of a cemetery was 2.5 times that of the village, the dry farmland 20-30 times. Generally, the cemeteries were located on the lee-ward side, namely, an ideal place for residence; this is because local people believed that the condition of their ancestor's tombs, their *feng-shui* (風水), would influence their fortune. (G. I. B. P., 1983, p. 38; 1985, p. 38) This will be discussed in Chapter 5-2.

The majority of villages were home to between 2 and 6 clans. Only 5 villages were composed of just one clan. (Kuan, 1984, p. 38) In other words, except for these five villages of consanguinity, the rest were all synthetic villages of consanguinity and locality.

(1). A village

The area of a village was usually divided into many squares, some of them courtyard houses, others vegetable gardens. The latter were generally enclosed by a coral reef wall 0.5-1.5 m high designed to protect the vegetables from wind damage. Square pigsties, cattle sheds, and chicken coups were built around the edges, against the walls. The scale and shape of the gardens were similar to that of a courtyard house, because according to the accounts of local people, they were once building sites. They had been converted into vegetable gardens and used by the nearest clansmen, because a number of house-owners left the villages 160 years ago. In other words, the village would be completely covered by courtyard houses if the owners had not moved out. (Fig. 1-9 is the landscape of Chung-she (中社) Village of Wang-an Island, Fig. 1-9a that of Hsiao-men (小門) Village on Pai-sha Island, Fig. 1-9b those of Ta-ts'ang (大倉) Village (left) and Tung-chi (東吉) Village (right), and Fig. 1-10 is a diagram of the general structure of a village on the islands.)

Except for a few scattered exceptions, the majority of courtyard houses of a village were grouped in up to 12 regular clusters, the houses of a cluster all



Figure 1-9 The landscape of Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island (after Tseng, 1987)



Figure 1-9a The distribution of houses, farmland, havens, and cemetery in the village Hsiao-men (after G. I. B. P., 1983)

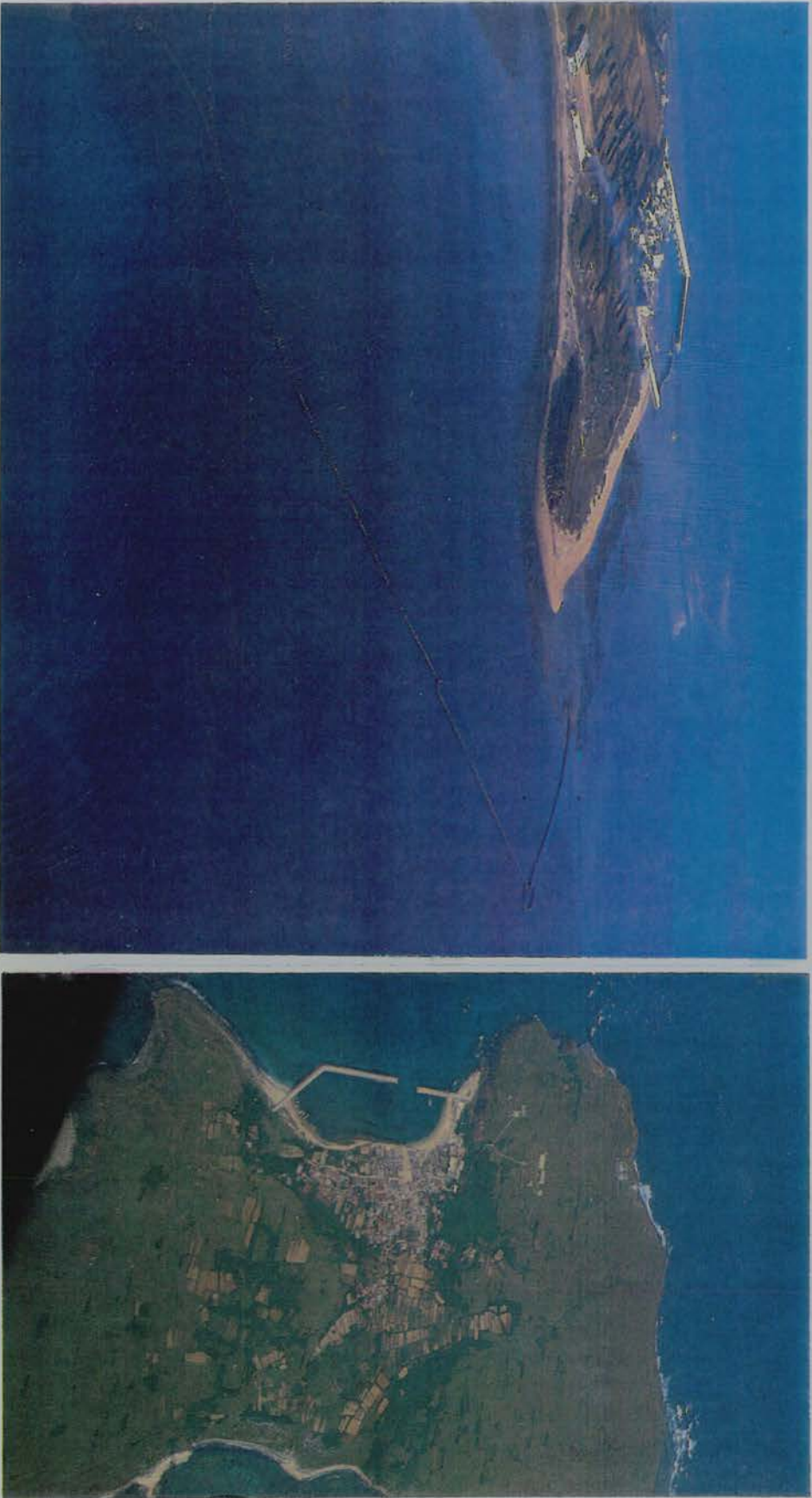


Figure 1-9b A bird's-eye view of Ta-ts'ang Village (left) and Tung-chi Village (right) (after Liang, 1987)

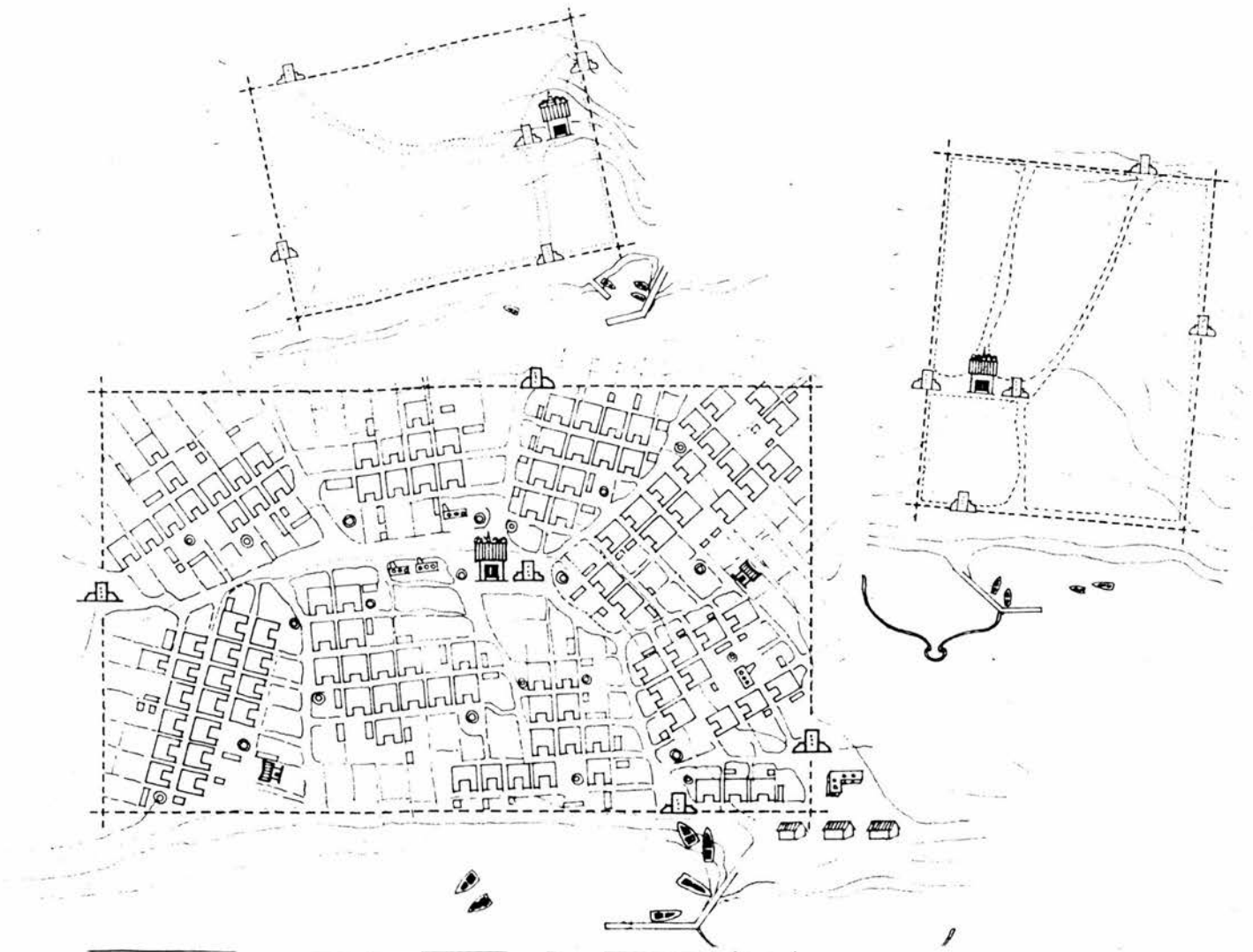


Figure 1-10 The general layout of a village on the islands



Figure 1-11 T'ien-chun Tien, the village temple of Kang-ti Village on Ma-kung Island

facing a certain direction. A cluster was inhabited by a branch of a larger clan, a whole small clan, or even several smaller clans, whose members possessed the same blood and surname, and worshipped common ancestors. Cheng (鄭) clan of T'ung-liang (通標) Village on Pai-sha Island seems to be the biggest clan, its clansmen owned 105 courtyard houses grouped in 7 clusters. Fig. 1-14 is the cluster of the Hsu (許) family of Hsu-chia (許家) Village on Ma-kung Island.

Gorgeous temples provided spectacular landmarks for each village, even the five villages of consanguinity. 59 villages of the archipelago had one temple, 17 villages two temples, 3 villages three temples, and 2 villages four temples. In other words, more than half the villages possessed just one temple, one fifth of the villages possessed two temples, and only a few villages possessed more than two temples. No matter how many temples there were in a village, only one of them had the status of village temple, except, that is, for five villages each of which had two village temples. (an example of a village temple, T'ien-chun Tien (天軍殿) of Kang-ti (港底) Village on Ma-kung Island is shown in Fig. 1-11) It was only the village temple in which every householder worshipped and had an obligation to contribute to its construction and maintenance costs. The other temples were built and worshipped in by groups of villagers for various reasons. For example they might be private shrines for certain families or commemorate the site of the death of a villager.

Inside a village temple, there would be more than 20 statues of gods behind numerous candles, censers, lamps, and offerings. Some of the gods belonged to the vernacular religion of Taiwan, such as Wang-yeh, Ch'ien-sui (千歲); some are the gods of Taoism, such as San-kuan Ta-ti (三官大帝); some are borrowed from ancient animism, such as the Birth Goddess (註生娘娘) and T'u-ti Kung (the Duke of Earth); some derived from legend, such as the Medical God (保生大帝); and a few are Buddhist gods, such as the Goddess of Mercy.

Among the gods of a village temple, there was one who was the "village god" (or *chu-chi shen*, 主祭神, literally, the main deity of a village). He or she was placed at the head of the god's table, and was the representative of the temple, also, local people usually used the name of the god as synonym of their villages.

The village temple and its village god, in fact, was the symbol of a social group of P'eng-hu Archipelago. The territory whose people collectively worshipped a village god is called a "religious sphere" (祭祀圈) by anthropologists, and it was the basic social unit of the Taiwan area. (Shih, 1981, pp. 224-240) The fact that five villages had two village temples implies that

they had two religious spheres or social groups instead of one. The main reason for two social groups being combined into one village was that one or both of them were too small to be an individual village or that their backgrounds were very different. This will be discussed in Chapter 4-2.

The village temple and the village god were the village's focal point, the place where villagers met to strike bargains with one another, to be punished by the leaders of the village, to celebrate festivals, or just to play or chat.

Apart from the village temple, there were four other kinds of religious construction or talisman: the five village shrines, namely, the five external battalions (外五營) of Wang-yeh, located on the four extremities of the village and beside the village temple; *shih-t'a* (literally, stone towers); *shih-fu* (literally, slates of talismanic writing); and *shih-kan-tang* (literally, slates which suppresses all evil forces). For their functions and other details see Chapter 4-3.

Other common properties were lime kilns, jetties, fishing walls and shallow wells. These were built by groups of villagers or by their predecessors. The lime kiln looked like a hemispherical mound, and was generally built on the sea-shore close to the source of its raw materials: sea-shells and limestone.

Fish trays were made by piling coral reef on the shallow sea-bed, usually in a huge circular form with an opening around 200 m wide; the circumference of a big one was around 1.8 km, a middle-sized one 1 km, and a small one 0.2-0.4 km, one example of this is shown in Fig. 1-12. They were built higher than the height of the low tide, lower than the high tide, so that during the period of high tide, the fish go inside in search of food and are then trapped when the water ebbs, the sea water escaping through the interstices of the wall. (G. I. B. P., 1985, p. 36)

Fig. 1-13 is an analytic figure of the villages on the archipelago.

(2). A cluster

A cluster, generally speaking, consisted of 10-40 orderly courtyard houses. These were of similar size and form, and faced in the same direction. The biggest cluster of the archipelago was that of the Chao (趙) clan of Nan-liao (南寮) Village, whose 49 courtyard houses covered an area of 0.8 hectares. The second biggest cluster was in Hsing-jen (興仁), which was occupied by the Ts'ai (蔡), Chi (紀), and Hung (洪) clans; its 43 courtyard houses covering 0.7 hectares. The distribution of two clusters, that of Hsu clan in Hsu-chia Village on Ma-kung



Figure 1-12 General feature of a fish tray (after Tseng, 1987)



Figure 1-12a General features of stoves for cooking fish (front) and boat houses (left and right)

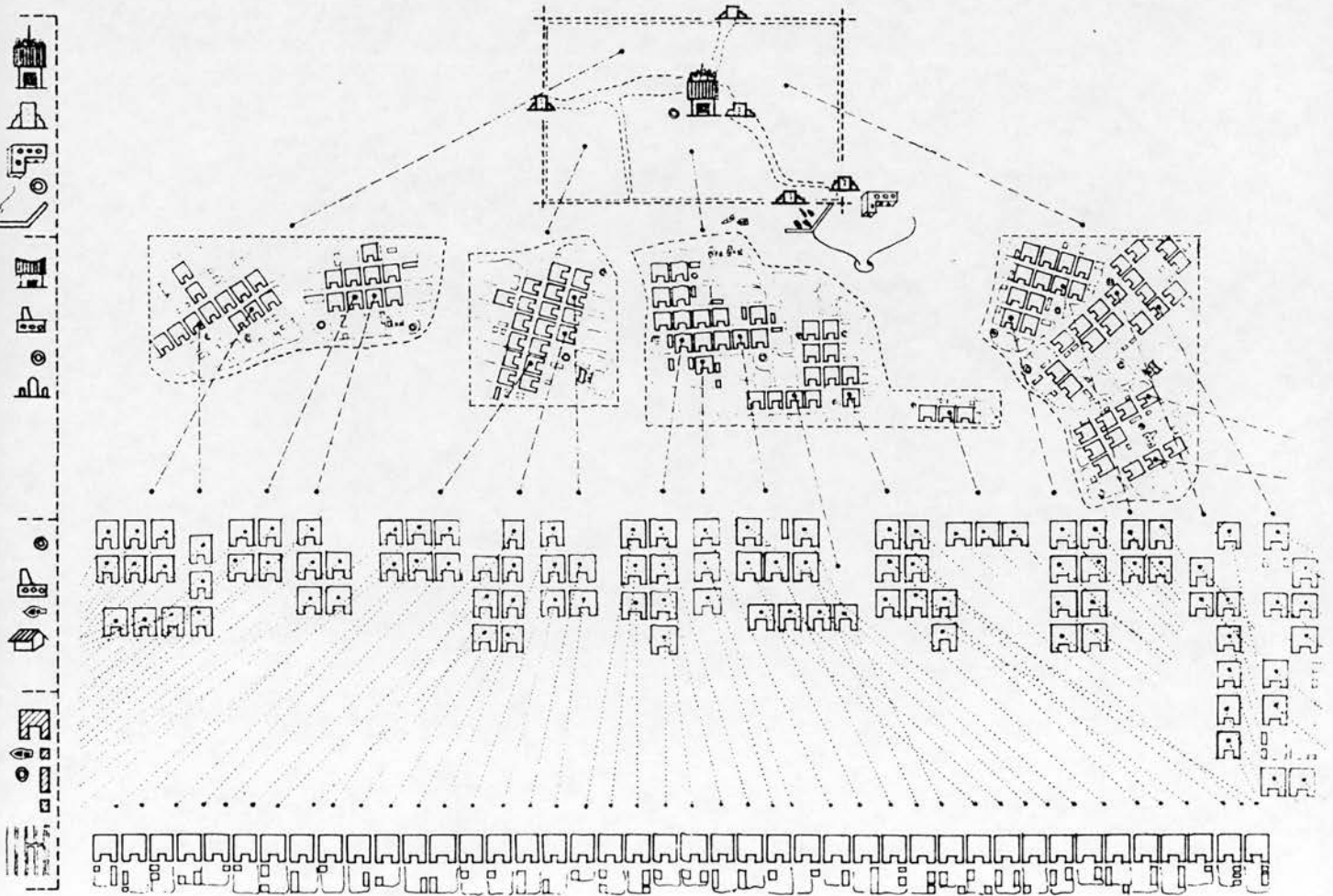
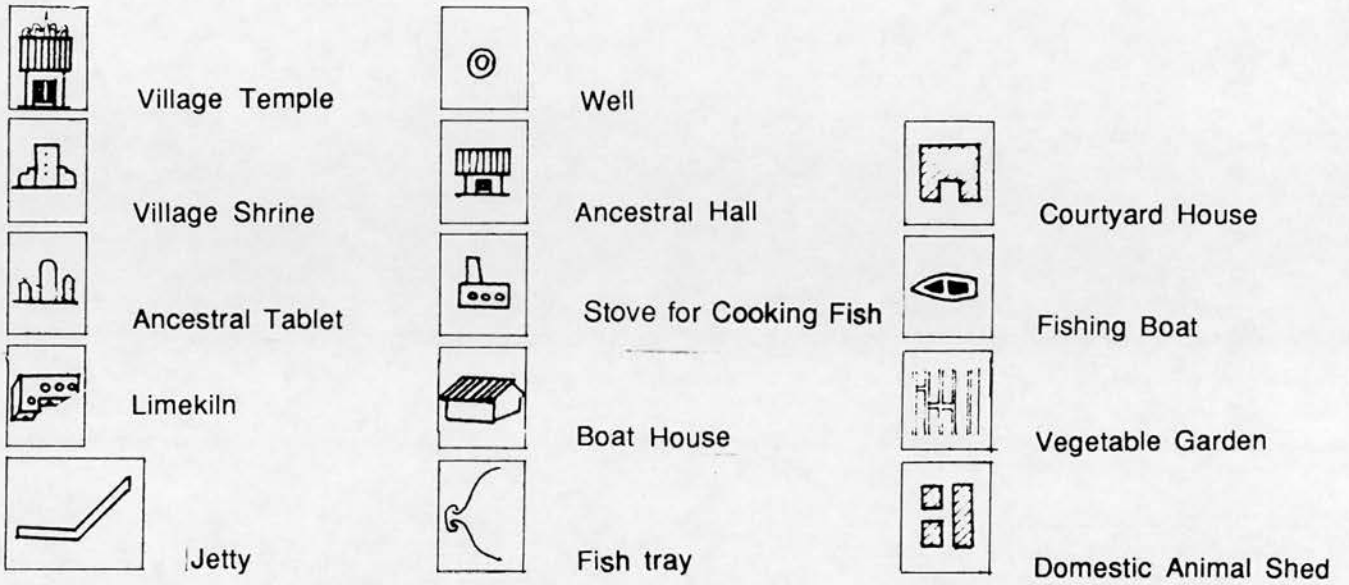


Figure 1-13 An analytic figure of a village

Island, and Yeh (葉) clan in Hsiao-ch'ih (小赤) Village on Pai-sha Island are shown in Fig. 1-14 and Fig. 1-15. Also, Fig. 1-16 is the scene of a corner of a cluster in Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island.

A cluster was not only a physical territory, but a social unit. For example, the residents of each cluster took it in turns to take charge of the worship of the gods in the village temple for a year. (Lu, 1989, p. 62) One man, who was given the title *lu-chu* (爐主), would be selected as the head of the management committee. This relay system was designed to distribute the duty and the honour fairly amongst the clusters of a village, as well as to reinforce the loyalty of the clusters to the village.

The architectural symbol of a cluster or several clusters in some villages was the ancestral hall. Over a third of villages had between 1 and 3 ancestral halls. (Ts'ai, 1987, p. 444-446) The total number on the archipelago was 51, in general, they were no bigger than an ordinary courtyard house, and, of course, they were much smaller than a village temple. One example of this, the ancestral hall of Ts'ai in Hsing-jen of Ma-kung Island is shown in Fig. 1-17.

On the facade of an ancestral hall, there was usually some coloured decoration and a tablet on which the name of the ancestral hall was inscribed.

Inside, a number of ancestral tablets were precisely arranged on a long rectangular god's table, which was at the centre to the rear wall of the hall. The rectangular tablets, generally speaking, were of two sizes, the larger ones were the tablets of early ancestors who had lived on the mainland; these were usually placed in line along the centre of the table. The smaller ones represented the ancestors in P'eng-hu, and were placed on either side of the former.

In front of the higher god's table, some censers, candles, wine vessels, vases of flowers, and pairs of lamps were arranged on a lower, square, god's table.

The inside walls of the ancestral hall were adorned with tablets of official honour or appreciation of the ancestors, as well as pairs of scrolls or calligraphy, explaining the origin of the family and its teachings. Beneath them there were benches.

The building of ancestral halls was influenced by the following beliefs: that the blood of a person was inherited from his ancestors, and his vitality or *ch'i* (氣) was also passed down from the ancestors, (see Chapter 3-5) that the ancestors' souls had supernatural power, (see Chapter 4-3) also that there was a special passion between the clansmen based upon their shared blood. In the villages of south-east China where the pioneers came from, ancestors' souls

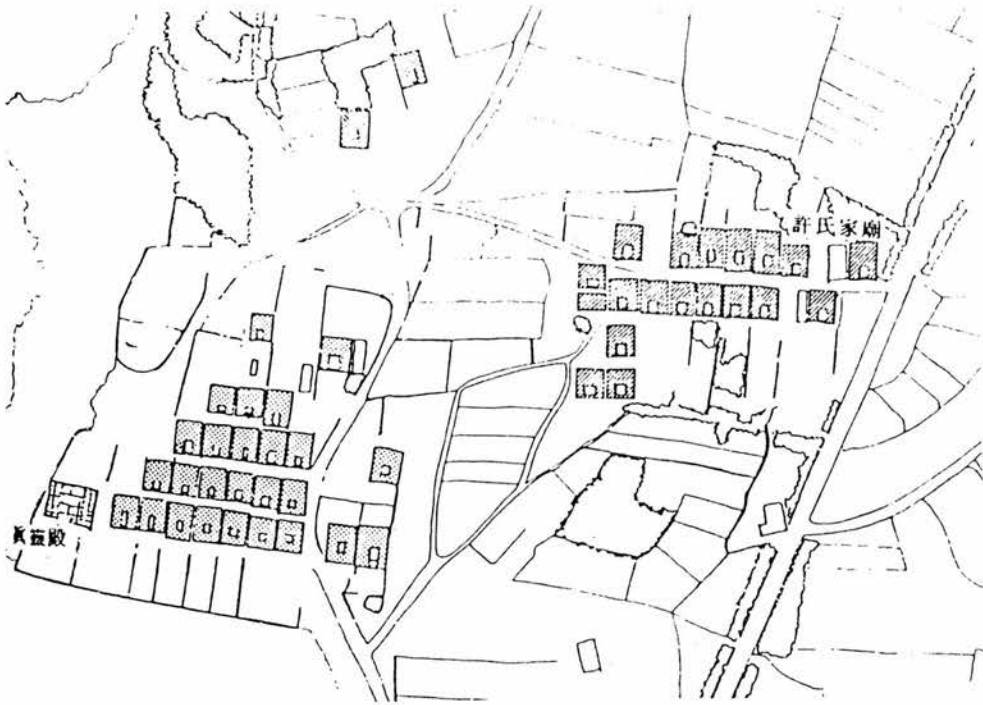


Figure 1-14 Two clusters of the Hsu clan in the village Hsu-chia (after Kuan, 1984)

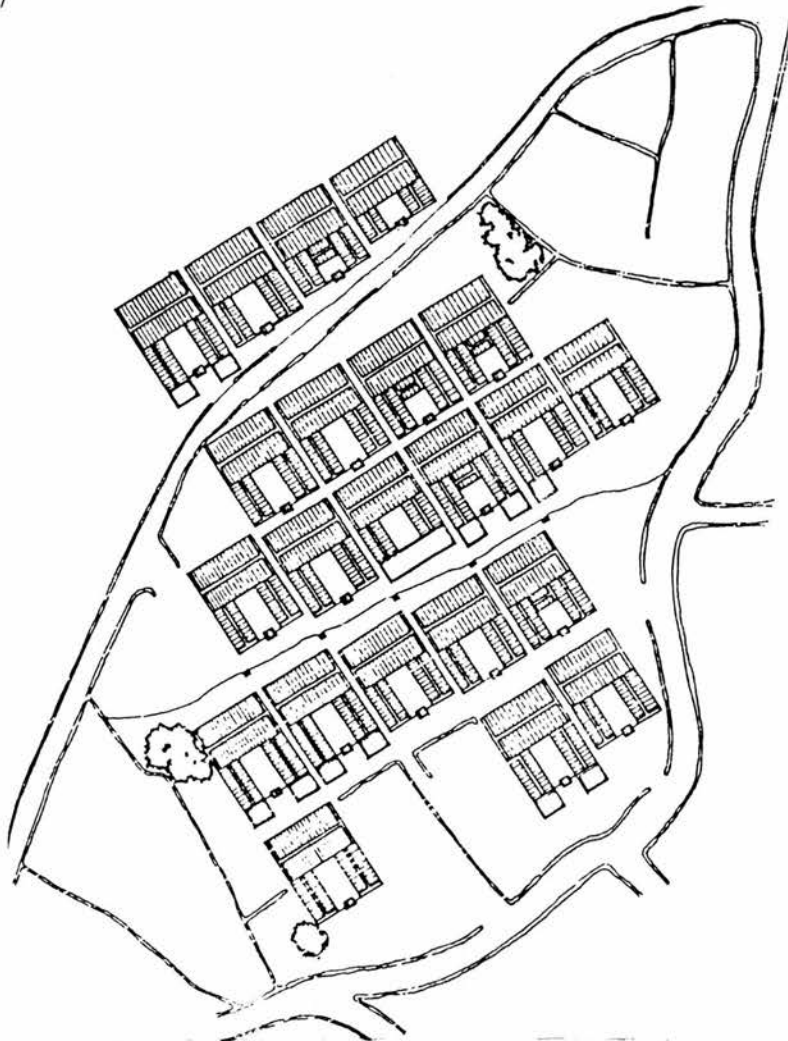


Figure 1-15 A cluster of the Yeh clan in the village Hsiao-ch'ih (after Kuan, 1984)

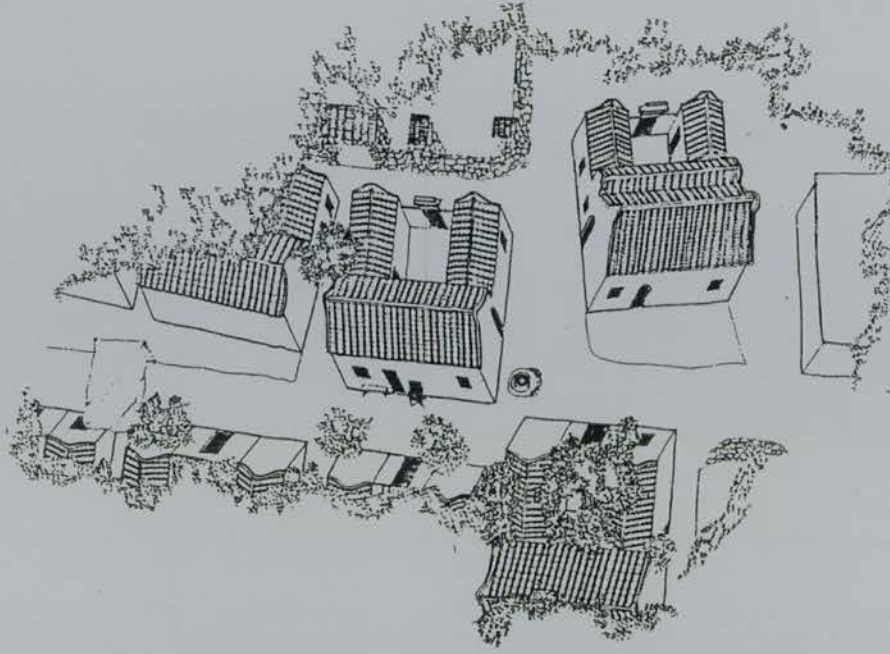


Figure 1-16 A scene of a corner of a cluster in Chung-she Village



Figure 1-17 The ancestral hall of Ts'ai clan in Hsing-jen of Ma-kung Island (after The government of P'eng-hu *hsien*, 1987)

became the base of authority, the reference point of knowledge and ethics by which the representatives of a clan maintained their own social order. Consequently, an ancestral hall became the symbolic centre of the clan (Freedman, 1958, p. 1; 1966, p. 1; Tai, 1979, p. 131): it was the house of dead clansmen, represented by the tablets, in contrast to the other areas of a village which were the domain of living clansmen. The ancestral hall in a village, as well as a place for worship, was also where meetings would take place to mark all important events, and to judge fellow clansmen or outsiders who offended inside their territory. One record even suggests that leaders might have sentenced clansmen to death under the supervision of the souls of their ancestors. (Tai, 1979, p. 153)

In contrast, the ancestral halls of the islands were used exclusively as places of worship. First, because most villages of the islands were composed of many clans with different blood relationship, the ancestral hall could not be a focus for village identity. Secondly, were a clan to engage in the private activity or decision making in its ancestral hall frequently, the harmony and cohesiveness of a village might be damaged. Thirdly, the ancestral halls belonged to all clansmen on the archipelago, not just those of a particular village. They were built in a certain village either because this was the initial dwelling place of the ancestors who arrived in P'eng-hu or because there were more numbers of a clan living here than elsewhere. Fourthly, the social intercourse of the islands was established through religion -- an emphasis on consanguinity would be divisive. A concrete example of the subordinate role of the ancestral hall was that all five villages of consanguinity of the islands owned a village temple, but two of them had no ancestral hall.

For these reasons, the ancestral hall was only regarded as one residence of the souls of the ancestors and a place where their descendants would gather once or twice a year to celebrate Ch'ing-ming (清明, the Pure Brightness Festival) and Tung-chih (冬至, the Winter Solstice Festival). Moreover, some clans did not even consider it worth building their own ancestral hall. They placed their ancestral tablets together in the atrium of a different clansman each year, or of any one of them who was getting married. (Ts'ai, 1987, p. 443)

Apart from an ancestral hall, a cluster would also own many stoves for cooking fish. These stoves were like several family stoves combined into one. They were usually built somewhere convenient, not far from the shore. During the fishing season, the location of the stoves became the most lively place in the

village. People congregated to play and chat, when they were not busy bringing in their catches, boiling them in the stoves, and carrying them home to dry. One example of this is shown in Fig. 1-12a.

As a whole, a cluster constituted a distinct sub-unit in the territory of a village but did not, in fact, have much social significance, except for as a sub-unit of the worship of the village gods. The inhabitants of a clan, of course, cooperated more frequently on matters of fishing, agriculture, construction, or finance, but this was on account of their common blood and the proximity of their houses, rather than any more formal social ties.

(3). A courtyard house

A courtyard house unit was the residence of a nuclear family or a stem family of 5-6 people, (Wen, 1975, p. 70) usually a married couple, and their own or adopted children. It was an independent economic unit of production and consumption. When the second generation of a family reached maturity or married, the family would be divided. Some new courtyard houses would be built beforehand elsewhere in the village, the old one would become the residence of one of the second generation. Some of the ashes from the kitchen stove of the old house would be used to start the fires in the stove of any new houses. The parents, generally speaking, would either live with each sons in turn for a certain period -- ten days or a month, this rotation was called *ch'ien-niu* (牽牛), literally to drag cattle; or stay in the old house and be looked after by all the sons communally.

A courtyard house compound would usually consist of the house itself and various accessories, such as a pigsty and latrine, cattle sheds, fowl sheds, vegetable gardens, and barns. Some families also possessed their own wells.

The one-storeyed courtyard houses with either three or four sides were built in two basic styles. Some of them had a pavilion added in front of the atrium (some one fifth in a thoroughly investigated village -- Chung-she of Wang-an Islands), (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982(2), pp. 26-35) in order to protect its occupants from strong sunlight. Moreover, the two wings and the front hall of many courtyard houses were adapted to provide flat roofs for drying fish, seaweed, and so on, but the sloping roof was deemed the traditional form. In the houses with flat roofs, a rough staircase was built in a corner of the courtyard to give access to the roof.

Most courtyard houses on the archipelago were similar in total breadth and

depth -- between 11-14 m long and 10-11 m wide. At both the front and back of these rectangular buildings, there was an alley 4 m wide each, this width determined by the breadth of an oxcart and the length of a coffin. On the right and left sides there was an alley 0.9 m, the size of these reflecting the minimum amount of space needed for a person to pass and the extent of the projecting foundations of two neighbouring house. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982(2), pp. 26-35; Chang, 1991, p. 83; also see Chapter 5-3) These patterns were adhered to all over the archipelago, even at the house of Chang P'ai-wan (張百萬) of Wa-t'ung (瓦碯) Village on Pai-sha Island, the richest man in P'eng-hu history, whose residence was composed of eight courtyard houses of the same size in two columns. Moreover, the house of Ts'ai Tien-lan (蔡廷蘭) of Hsing-jen of Ma-kung Island, the highest ranking official of P'eng-hu in Ch'ing Dynasty, which was just a general courtyard house also conformed to these measurements.⁹ The only difference for some houses was that their front and back alleys had been obliterated, so that they were joined to neighbouring houses in an uninterrupted column -- this situation was called *pei-lo-k'uang* (背籬筐) or bearing a basket. (see Chapter 3-4-1 and Chapter 3-4-2) Others only had one wing house -- in general, two and more of this type might be built in a line, so that all of them looked as though they had two wings from the facade. These variations, caused either by lack of house plot or lack of money, were not welcomed by local people.¹⁰ The building types in P'eng-hu Archipelago are shown in Fig. 1-18. Also, Fig. 1-19 shows the various plans of the house of P'eng-hu Archipelago.¹¹

Apart from their total length and breadth, almost all the scales of the spaces and elements of a house, including the height, breadth, and length of rooms, roofs, platforms, even windows, and doors, were similar throughout the archipelago. The general scales of some spaces and elements of a courtyard house

⁹. The only difference between the house of Ts'ai Tien-lan and those of others was that both sides of the end of the ridge pole of the former were constructed into a rising shape called a *yen-wei* (燕尾) -- it was said that this was a symbol of official degree -- whilst the rest were in the round shape called *ma-pei* (馬背).

¹⁰. One of a few exceptions was the house of the Ch'en (陳) brothers in Erh-k'an (二崁) Village of Hsi-yu Island, these two rich brothers intentionally constructed their common house into a line of combining three courtyard house. (Han-kuang, 1991)

¹¹. In the thoroughly surveyed village -- Chung-she of Wang-an Island, amongst the remaining 135 courtyard houses, only one had an additional wing house, one had two courtyards, and four had one wing house, all others were typical courtyard houses. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982(2), pp. 26-35)

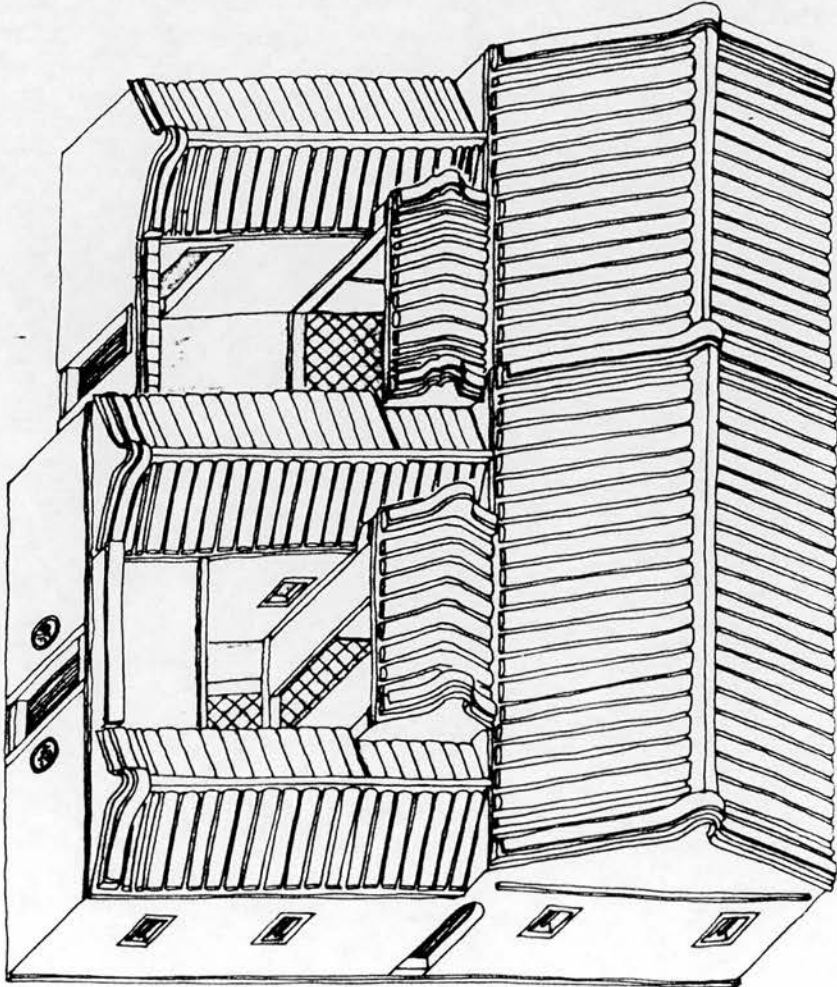
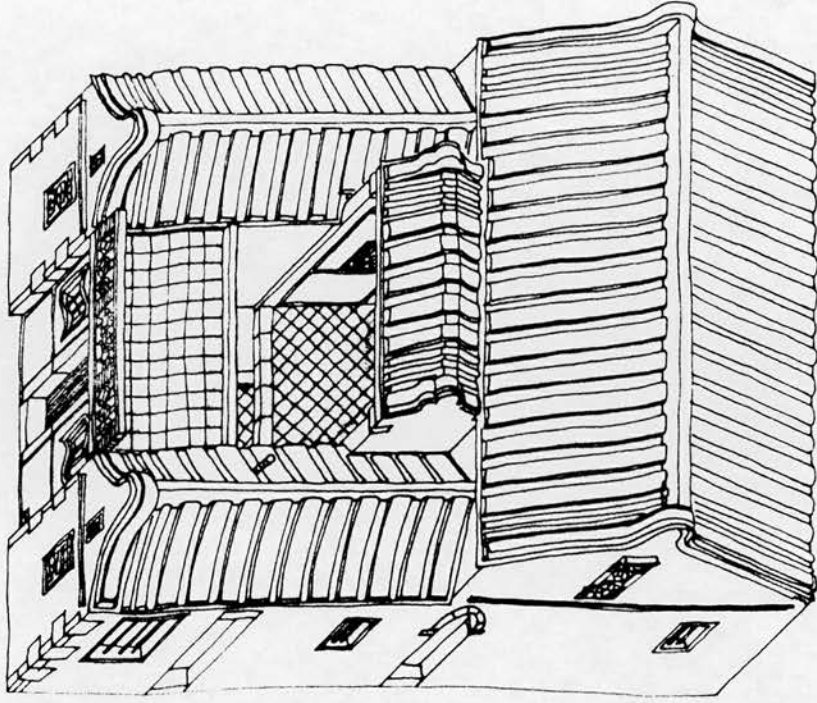


Figure 1-18 Building types on the archipelago

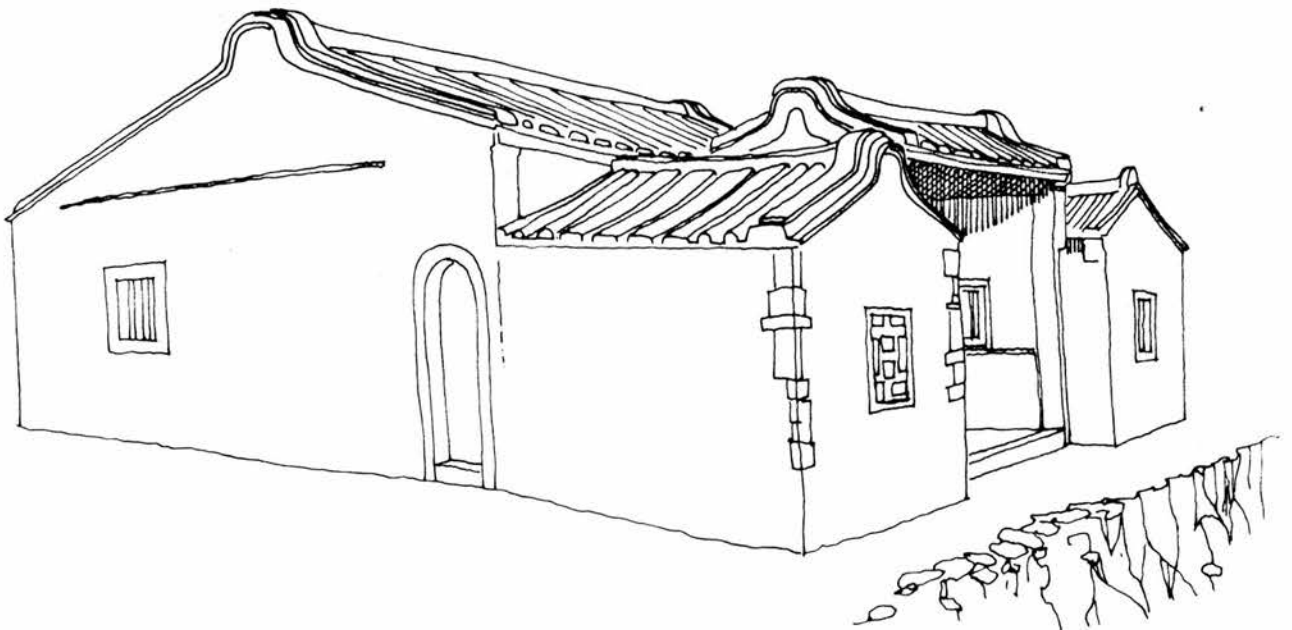
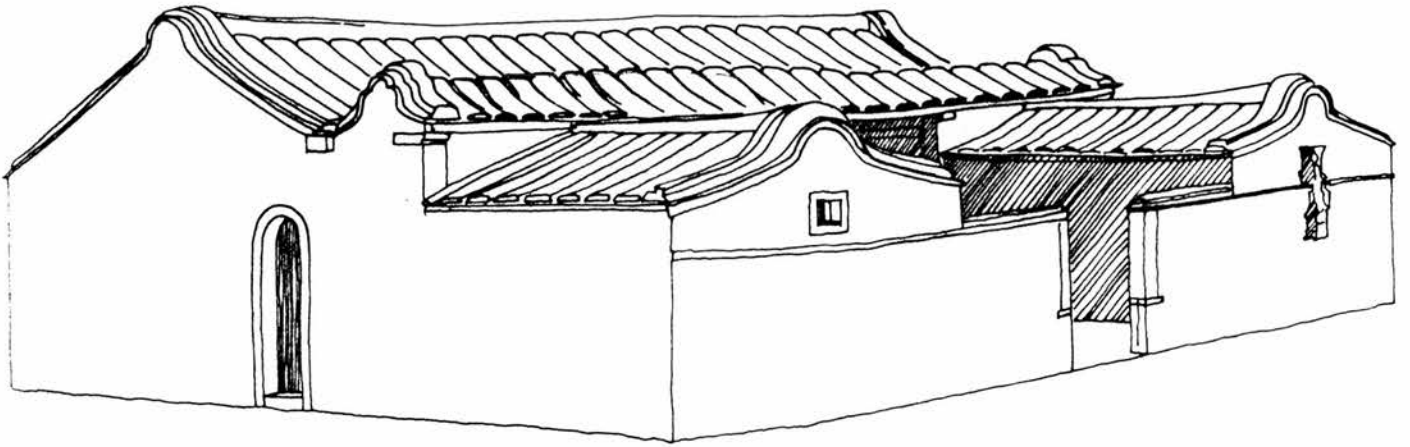
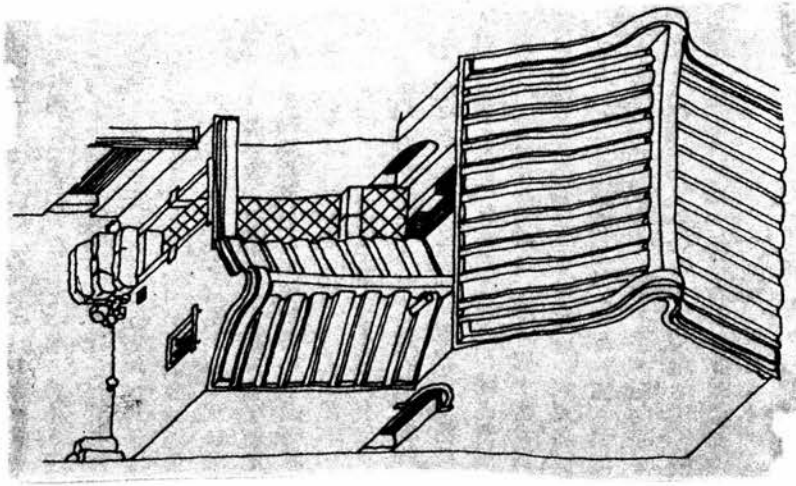


Figure 1-18a Building types on the archipelago

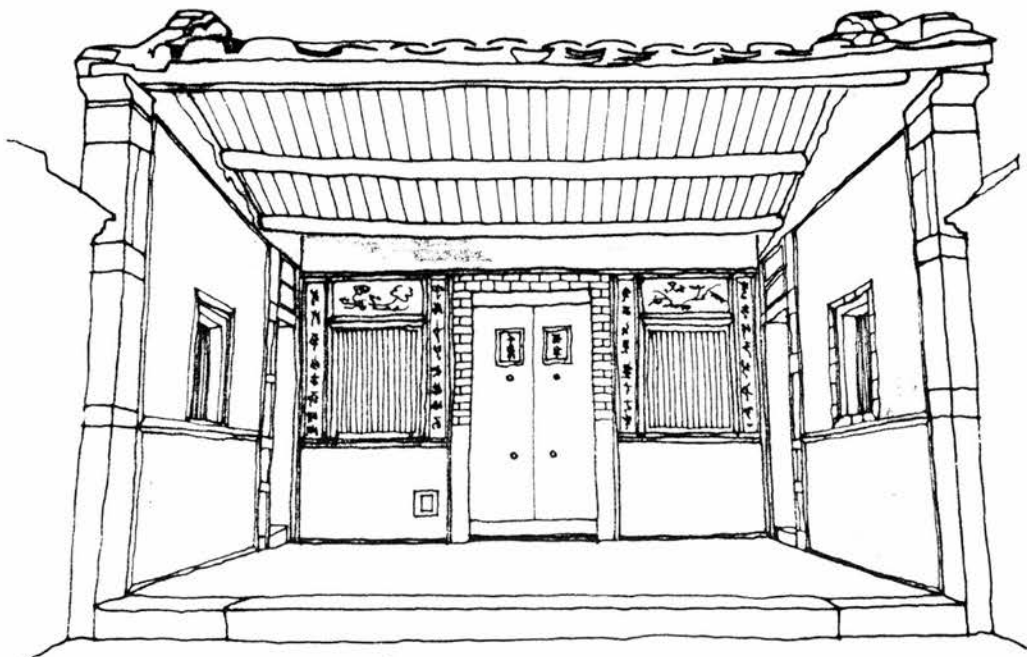
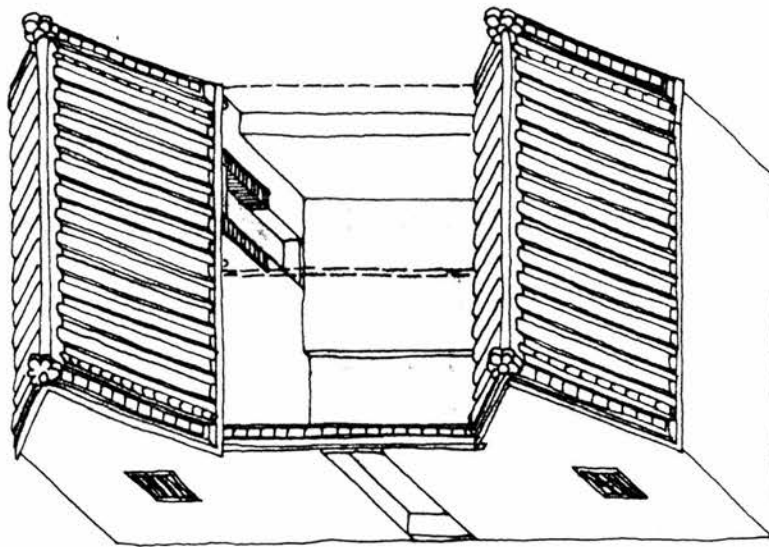
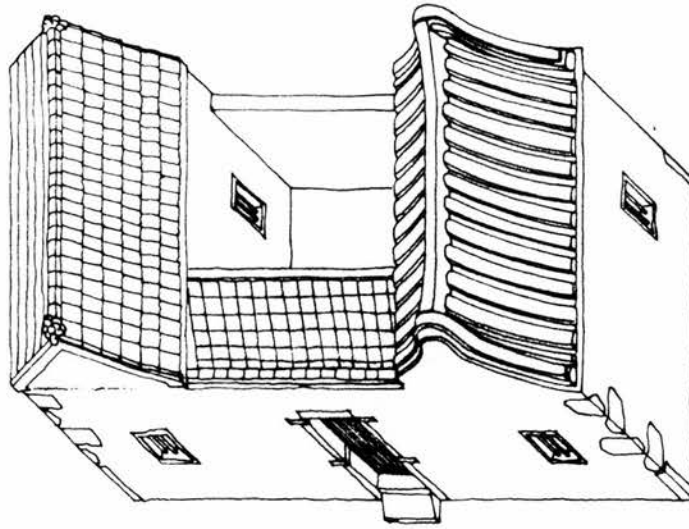


Figure 1-18b Building types on the archipelago

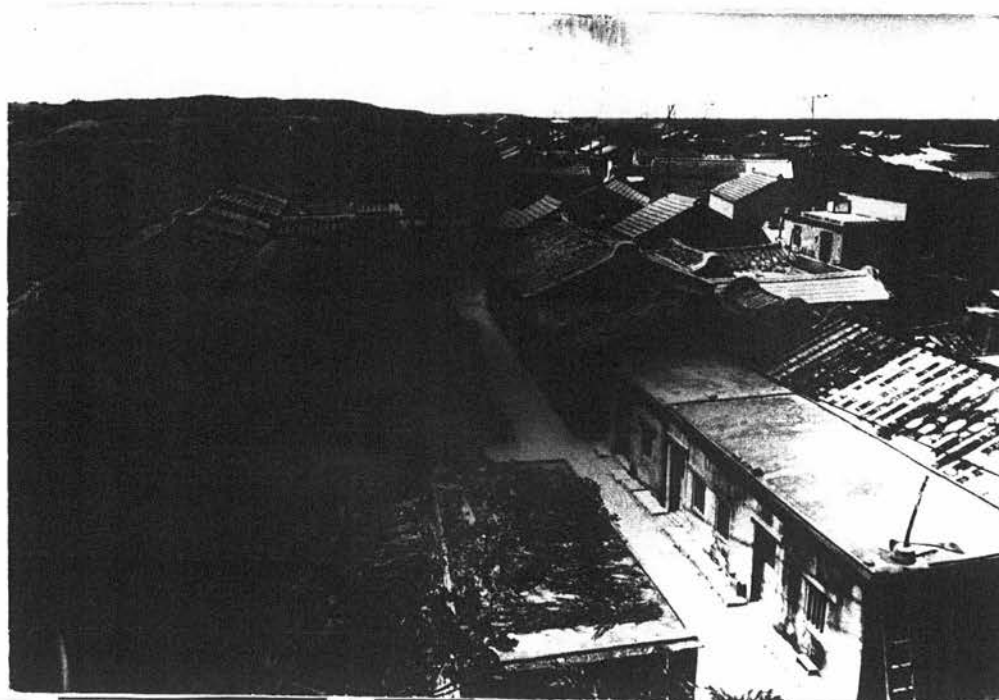
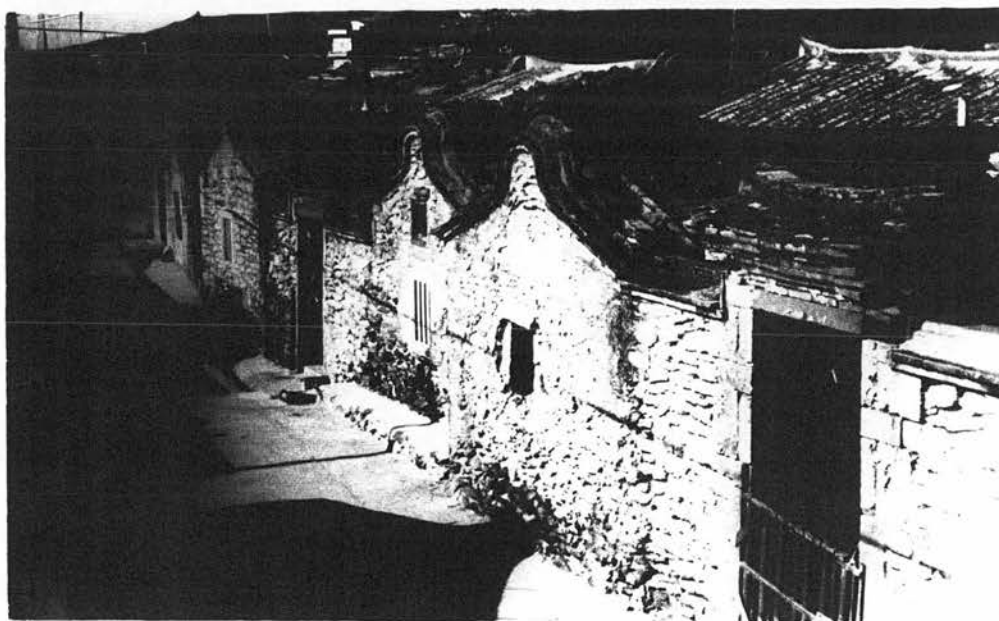
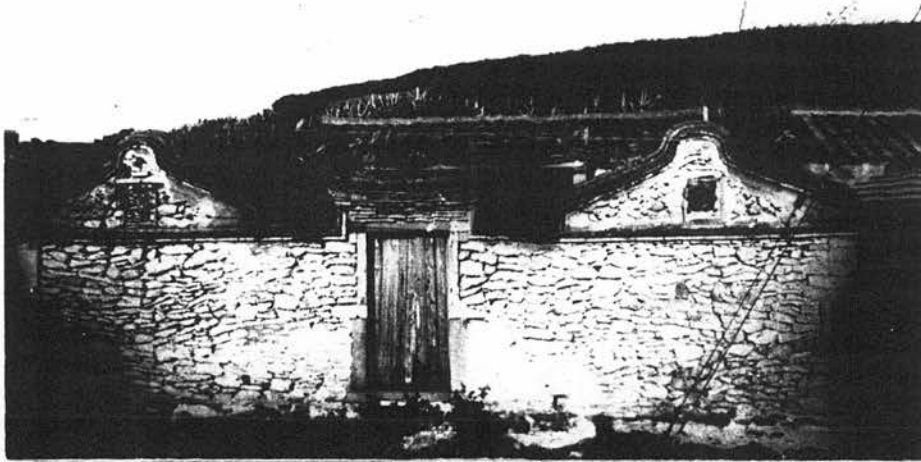


Figure 1-18c Features of courtyard houses in Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island

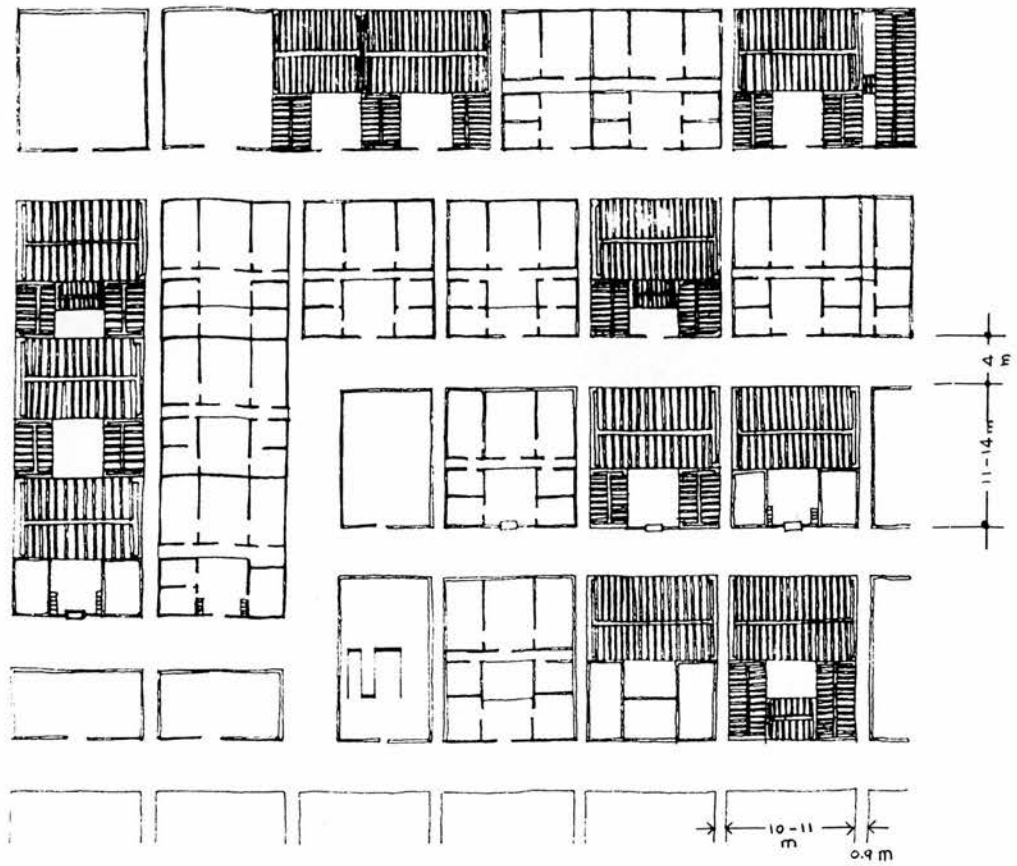


Figure 1-19 Plans of courtyard houses on the islands

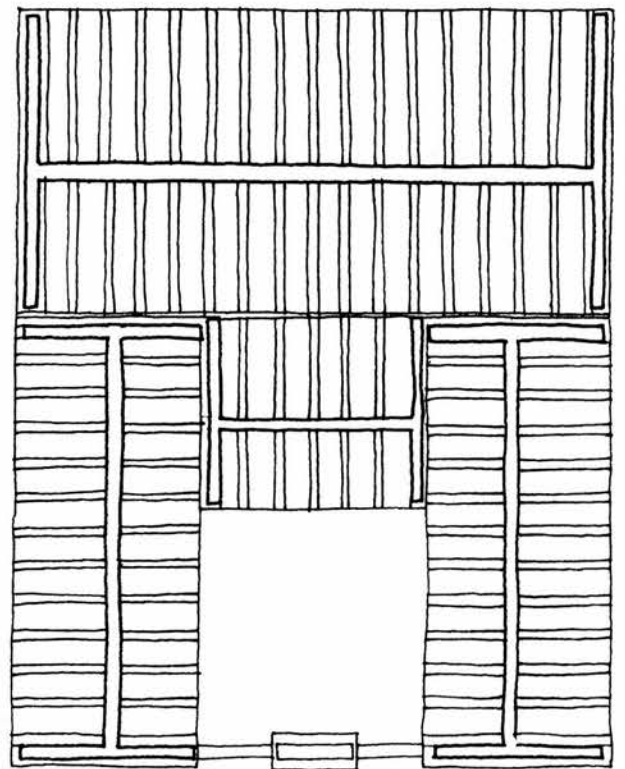
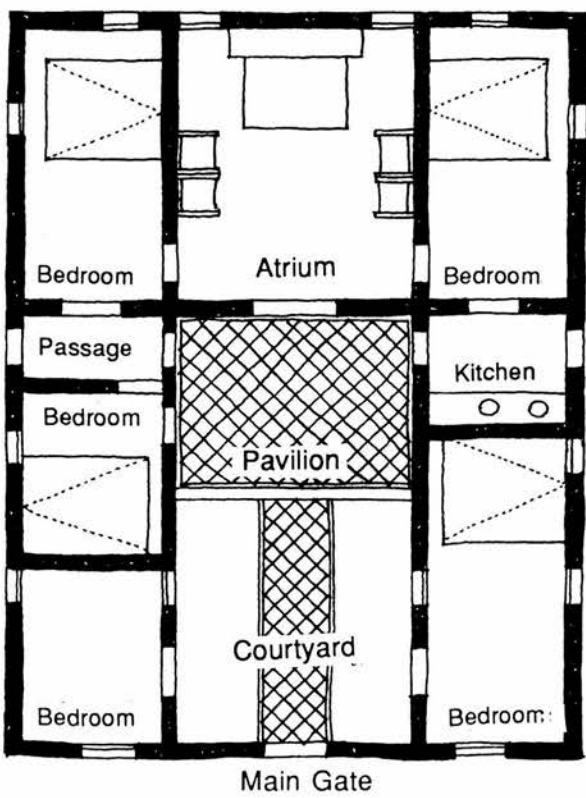


Figure 1-20 The distribution of the interior spaces of a courtyard house



surveyed from Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island are recorded in Footnote below.¹²

The divisions of the interior space of a house were similarly constant. The main hall was composed of a middle atrium and two bedrooms, one on each side of it. The atrium was a solemn place in which, generally speaking, a rectangular higher god's table and a square lower god's table were put against the middle of the rear wall. Some arm-chairs were placed against both side walls. On the higher god's table, stood the god statues, censers, candles, wine vessels, and god's lamps, as well as various offerings which were constantly tended and replaced. The table would also hold the ancestral tablets if the owner had no ancestral hall. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982 (2), pp. 26-35)

In the atrium, the members of the family offered devotions to the gods and the ancestors every morning after they had cleansed themselves. During seasonal festivals and the gods' or ancestors' birthdays, offerings and a number of cups of wine would be put on both god's tables in front of the god's statues and the ancestral tablets. Also, some god's bank notes would be burnt in a saucepan on the ground to indicate that the worshippers were sending sums of money to the gods or ancestors. At the end of a ceremony, family feasts would be held in the atrium, delicious meals being laid out, on the lower god's table of course. The distribution of interior spaces of a house is shown in Fig. 1-20.

A pavilion, if there was one, was the place for family affairs, chat, rest, and occasionally receiving visitors. It had taken over as the focus for informal communications amongst neighbours from the atrium which was deemed a living room by the traditional society of Taiwan Island.

The two rooms next to the atrium in the main hall usually served as bedrooms. The rooms in the two wings were often used as bedrooms as well or storage and kitchen space.

12. The important scales of the majority of the 151 traditional courtyard houses in Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island showed that the general total length and width of a house were around 34 ch'ih 5 ts'un (ca. 1035 cm) by 36 ch'ih 5 ts'un to 46 ch'ih (ca. 1095 cm to 1380 cm). The general area of their courtyard was 15 ch'ih (ca. 450 cm) by 10 ch'ih (ca. 300 cm), the height of their atrium from the ground to the bottom of the ridge pole was around 13 ch'ih (ca. 390 cm), that of the front eaves of the wing houses around 7 ch'ih 7 ts'un (ca. 230 cm). The majority of their outer doors was around 6 ch'ih 5 ts'un (ca. 195 cm) high by 3 ch'ih 5 ts'un (ca. 100 cm) wide, atrium doors around 7 ch'ih 2 ts'un (ca. 216 cm) high by 3 ch'ih 6 ts'un (ca. 108 cm) wide, side doors were 5 ch'ih 8 ts'un (ca. 174 cm) high by 2 ch'ih 2 ts'un (ca. 66 cm) wide. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982 (1), pp. 42-48; (2), pp. 26-35)

The location of the kitchen varied in different houses. It might be located in either of the corridors between the main hall and the wing houses, in the wing houses near the main hall, or even on a corner of courtyard. The kitchen, as well as being used for cooking and everyday meals, was the place, if it was an enclosed space, where the women of the family washed, while the men and children used the wells. (Wang, 1987, p. 94)

All the buildings in the unit were focused on the courtyard itself. This space, of about 4.5 m by 3 m, was particularly important for the family during the monsoon season. In front of the courtyard, there was an entrance hall or a main gate, on which the clan name of the family was written or moulded.

The pigsty was not only used for breeding pigs, but housed the toilet as well. A rough latrine was constructed in a front corner, which was used by the men, women and children during the day, but at night, the women and children used a round barrel with a cover kept in a corner of their bedrooms.

The building materials of most courtyard houses of the archipelago were similar. The walls of a house were constructed by stacking the rough textured dark grey coral reefs, and filling the middle and interstices with earth. Roofs were held up by wooden frames and timbers, and covered with red tiles, or, in the case of flat roofs, red brick. Their interior floors were covered with red bricks while part of the courtyard was covered with black basalt slate. The frames, sticks, and plates of the windows and doors, beams of roof were made from wood or brick. Except for brick, wood, and tiles, the materials that the houses were made from were gathered from the surrounding area. They generally looked very simple, only very few decorations could be found in even fewer houses. The general conditions of construction and building materials of a courtyard house are shown in Fig. 1-21.

A courtyard house, apart from its pragmatic functions, was also the seat of the gods. As well as the statues of gods, such as the Goddess of Mercy, Kuan-kung, etc., on the god's table, on the central axis near the front door of the atrium, a special censer to T'ien-kung (天公), the God of Heavens, a combination of the only god in the belief of heaven and the highest god of Taoism, (see Chapter 4-1) was hung from a beam. Apart from these, from the ritual behaviour of local people, it was evident that there were many other gods in a house who had no statues or symbol even, but were believed to be stationed in certain places and were periodically worshipped, for details see Chapter 4-1-2.

A courtyard house was also inhabited by ghosts. This could be perceived from

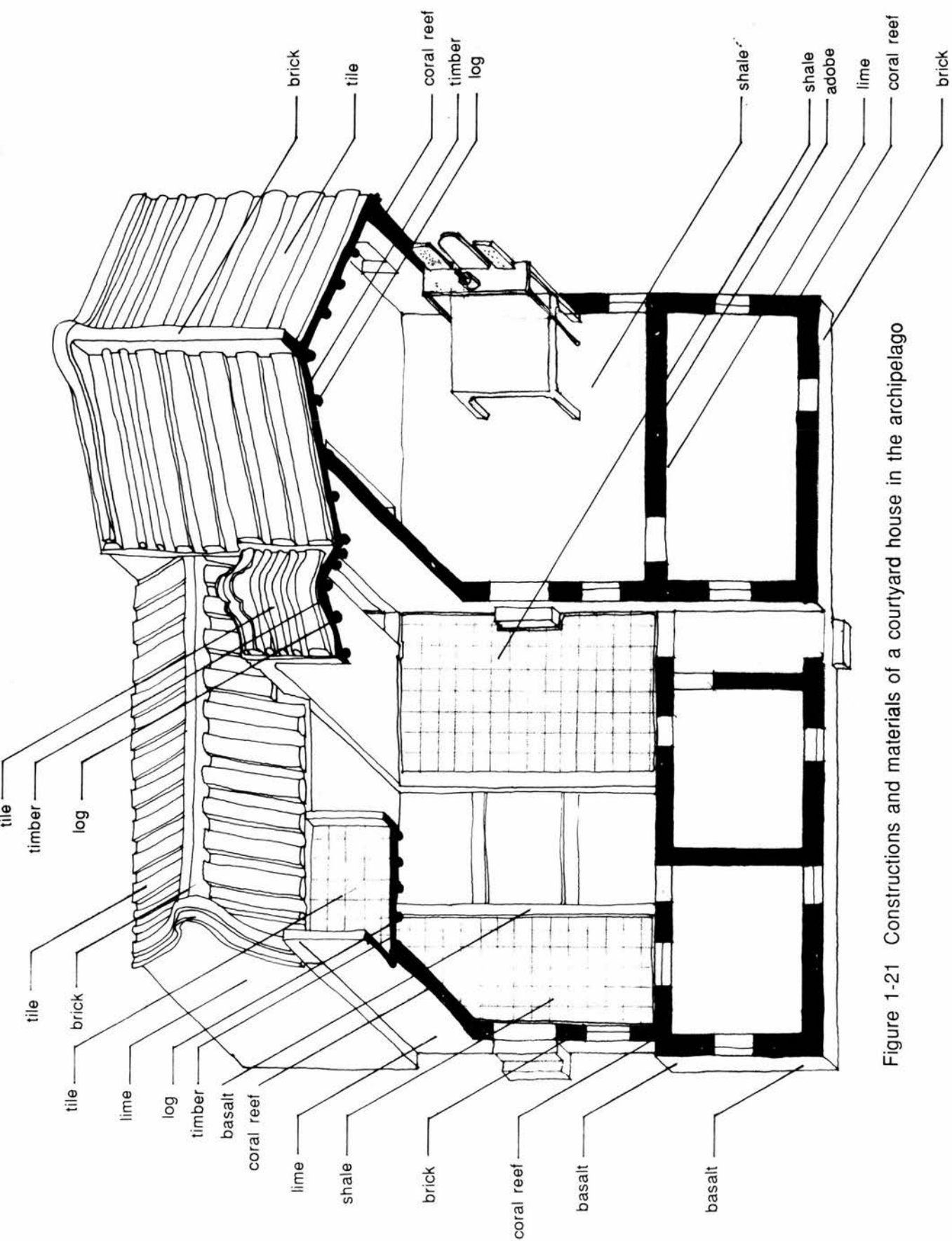


Figure 1-21 Constructions and materials of a courtyard house in the archipelago

the fact that there were generally some talismanic writings attached to the walls of the house; local people worshipped a kind of friendly ghost, *ti-chi chu* (地基主), at least three times every year in their house; there was a fervent ghost festival called *p'u-tu* (普度), held throughout the eighth lunar month by all villagers; and sometimes local people would invite a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* or a *t'ung-chi* (童乩)¹³ to their house to deport ghosts when their families were ill. The details about ghosts in houses will be discussed in Chapter 4-3.

The above facts imply that a courtyard house was a place common to gods, human beings, and other creatures, and sometimes ghosts would stay inside it as well, but they were not welcomed. Outside a house, space was freely accessible to any kind of being.

A courtyard house compound in the archipelago met all the spiritual and material needs of its owners -- men and women, children and elders, married and un-married members, from birth to death, and even after death.¹⁴ They were the places where all kinds of beings would stay, including supernatural beings worshipped as gods. That is to say, a courtyard house compound on the archipelago was design as an all-round home. This is quite different from some other cultures which construct many different buildings to satisfy their different needs.

Amongst the spaces of a courtyard house, the following three were most significant: the atrium, *t'ing* (廳), which symbolised the destiny of a household's inheritance of the past from its ancestors and represented agnatic solidarity and continuity of the family; the bedrooms, *fang* (房), which symbolised the

¹³. *T'ung-chi* is a kind of shamanic priest, see Chapter 4.

¹⁴. In generally, the spatial elements of a courtyard house compound of a P'eng-hu village was divided into nine categories, and each of them was associated with certain functions: the atrium (*t'ing*) was for public life, worshipping ancestral souls and gods, and holding banquets; the bedroom (*fang*) was for private life; the kitchen (*tsao-chiao*) was for cooking, dining, bathing, and informal social activities of women; the domestic animal sheds (欄, *tiao*) were for breeding animals and the toilet; the corridor (廊, *lang*) and the main gate (門樓, *men-lo*) for the communication of inhabitants; the courtyard (深井, *shen-ching*) for exterior activities and family works; the pavilion (庭, *t'ing*) for family working, communication, and informal social activities; and the vegetable garden (圃, *p'u*) for growing vegetables.

Also, apart from their ritual functions dedicated to supernatural beings, a courtyard house also had the function of ceremony for the life stage of their owners, these were held in the different spaces of a house, for example that of birth was held in the bedroom, the atrium, and the exterior space; that of initiation and marriage in the courtyard, the atrium, and the bridal room; and that of death in the courtyard and the atrium.

continuity of the present into the future by propagation, and represented the independence of the household; and the kitchen, *tsao-chiao* (灶 腳), symbolised the maintenance of present property, and represented the separation of domestic economics. Consequently, a courtyard was a physical container for a household to correlated its past, present, and future. (Ch'en, 1991, p. 7; Hsu, 1992, p. 86)

To sum up, a courtyard house, above all, was a basic social unit of existence and an obvious physical boundary on the islands. Secondly, it was a living container and the spiritual symbol of a certain family, which was generally called xxx (the name of the head of the family) family. Thirdly, a courtyard house was an independent territory of supernatural defence. In other words, if a village is composed of 100 courtyard houses, it means there were 100 territories of religious defence.

6. The livelihoods of the villagers

The modes of survival of local people distinctly responded to the ecological conditions of the archipelago. Most households of the islands, except for those of two villages and a small number of professional people, depended upon agriculture and fishing as their main livelihoods, with gathering and breeding as sidelines. The only difference between the work of one group of people and another was the distribution of time, generally speaking, there was a great emphasis on agriculture rather than fishing for villages on the larger islands, whereas for those of the smaller islands, the opposite would be true. (Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 27; Lin, 1893, p. 308) The only two exceptional villages were Ta-ch'eng-pei (大城北) and T'ai-wu (太武), whose dwellers were exclusively engaged in agriculture and breeding, because they were located in the central area of the biggest island -- Ma-kung Island -- where the soil is slightly better than elsewhere.

All the inhabitants of a village were workers except for young children and aged villagers. Amongst the work that was done, the fishing by boat on the sea and by pole net, set net, longline hooks, and trawl net on the sea-shore was mainly carried out by the men while the extensive cultivation of the fields was the task allotted to women. Fishing by hand-pulled drag net on the sea-shore, the intensive agriculture, the breeding of domestic animals in the courtyard house units, and the collection of fish and materials from coral reefs and fish trays were the responsibility of all members of the family although they were mainly

carried out by women and older children.

(1). Fishing

There were at least nine different methods of fishing undertaken by local people; these were beach seine, pole netting, and set netting on sandy beaches, hooking and rising netting on rocky or coral reef beach, and torch light netting, gill netting, trawl netting, and hook and line on the sea. (Li, 1960, pp. 569-585) Six methods of local fishing are shown in Fig. 1-22.

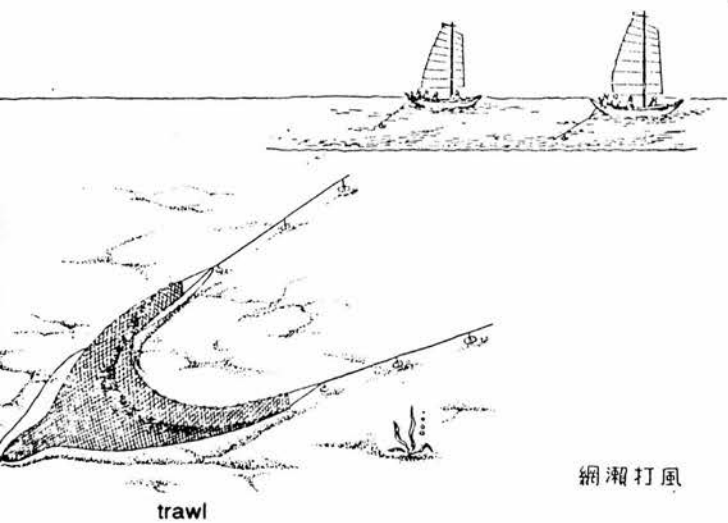
The best time for fishing by boat was indeterminate while the fishing on the sea-shore clearly depended on the tide. In general, the fishermen took their boats out during day-time in spring, autumn, and winter, and at night in summer in order to catch different kinds of fish with different habits.

At night in summer and in the early morning during the other seasons, some of the fishermen sailed to the fisheries. They sometimes operated individually, sometimes in group of 4-7 boats. (Lin, 1893, pp. 310-311) When they had secured a catch, they returned to the haven, on which a number of helpers or families crowded to share the gains and conveyed the fish to the stoves for cooking. The women then took over the work, boiling the fish, while the men went home to sleep, or rested beside the stoves.

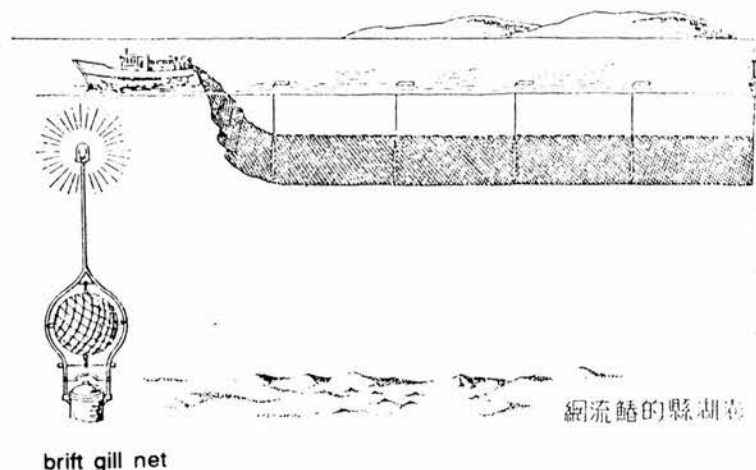
According to the official records, (Hu, 1767, p. 210; Chiang, 1829, p. 61; Lin, 1893, p. 96) there was approximately one boat for every 10-11 families on the archipelago. The majority of the boats were operated by three fishermen, (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 233) only a few by 5-6 fishermen, and the range of their activity was no farther than 20-30 sea-miles from the sea-shore. The statistical figures imply that less than half of the adult male population caught fish by boat, the rest only operated from the sea-shore. The general appearance of their fishing boats and other boats is shown in Fig. 1-23.

Fishing on the sea-shore was quite different from sea fishing. Among the five kinds of shore-fishing, only the beach seine on sandy beaches was a collective operation. First, the net was installed on the sea-bed by fishermen, then at low tide, 40-50 villagers gathered along the two main ropes of the net and dragged it onto the beach under the direction of the owner of the net. Everyone, who touched the ropes, including children and old villagers, would have a share of the gains. The scene on the beach at these times, like when the fishing boats returned to harbour, resembled a boisterous festival.

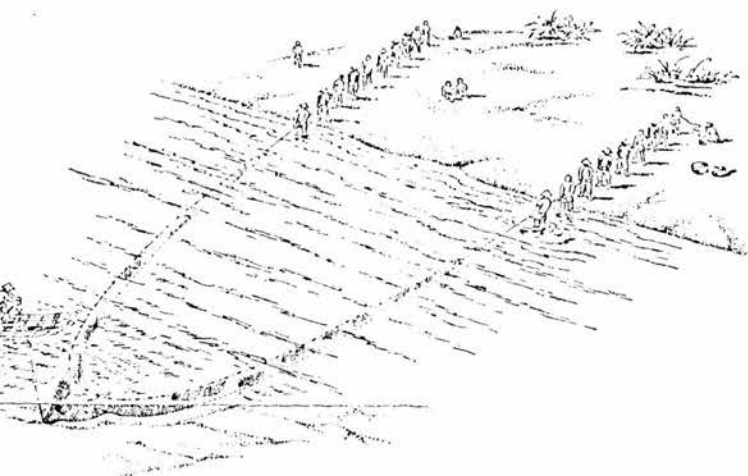
The majority of the catches in the archipelago consisted of sea-bream,



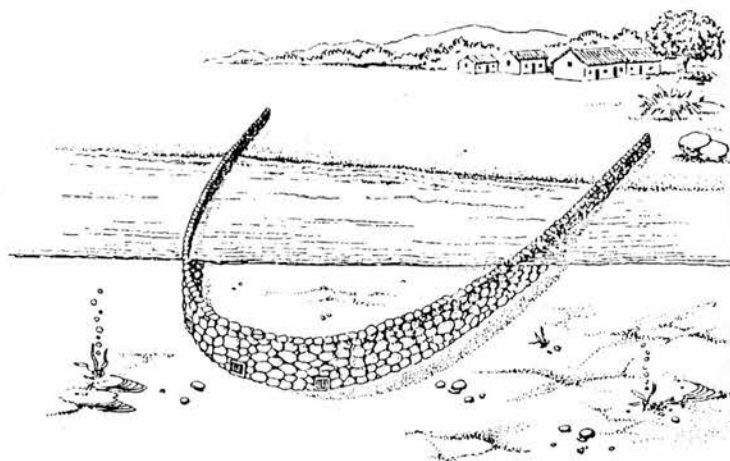
trawl



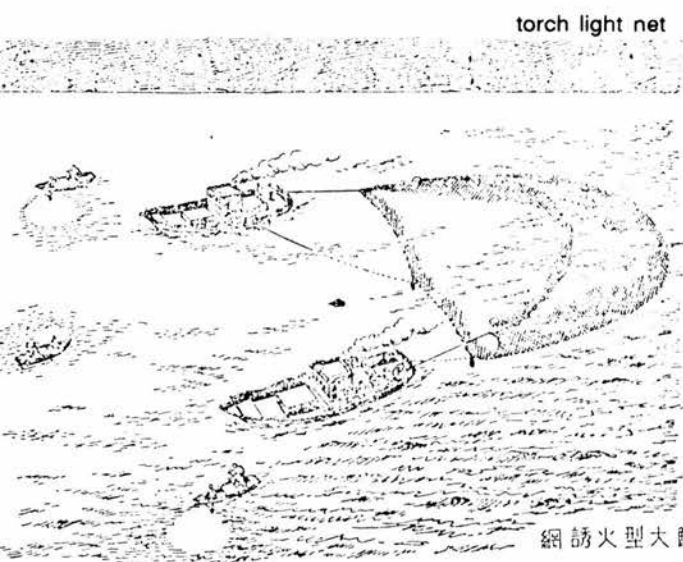
drift gill net



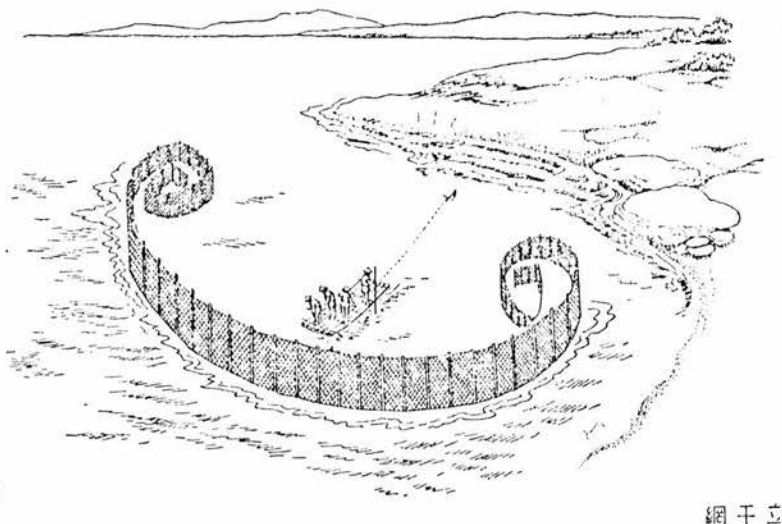
beach seine



fish tray

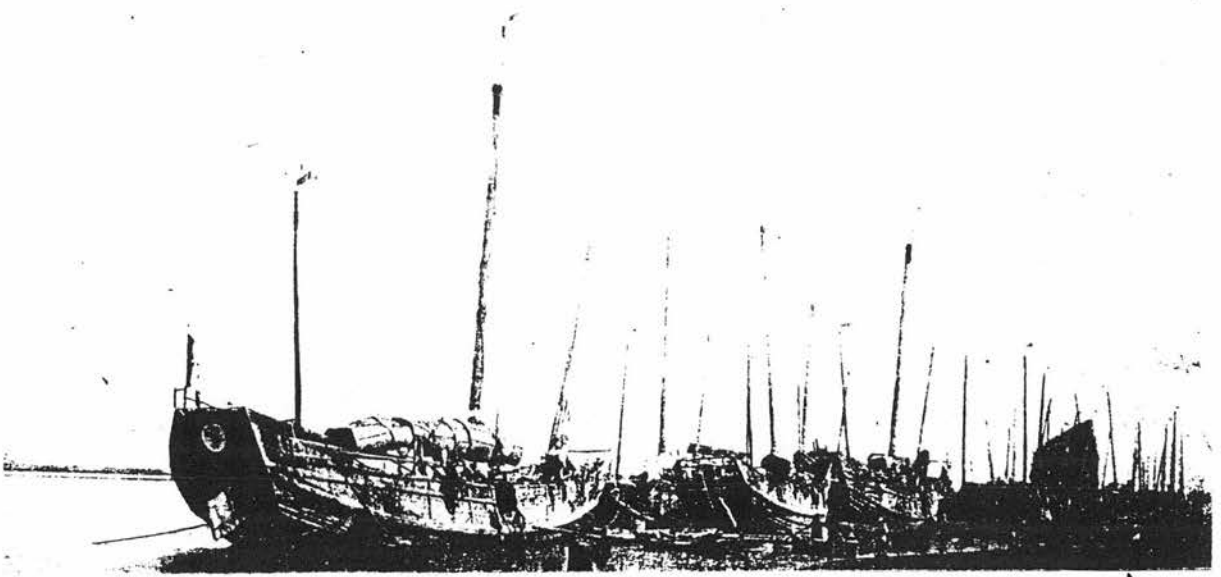


torch light net

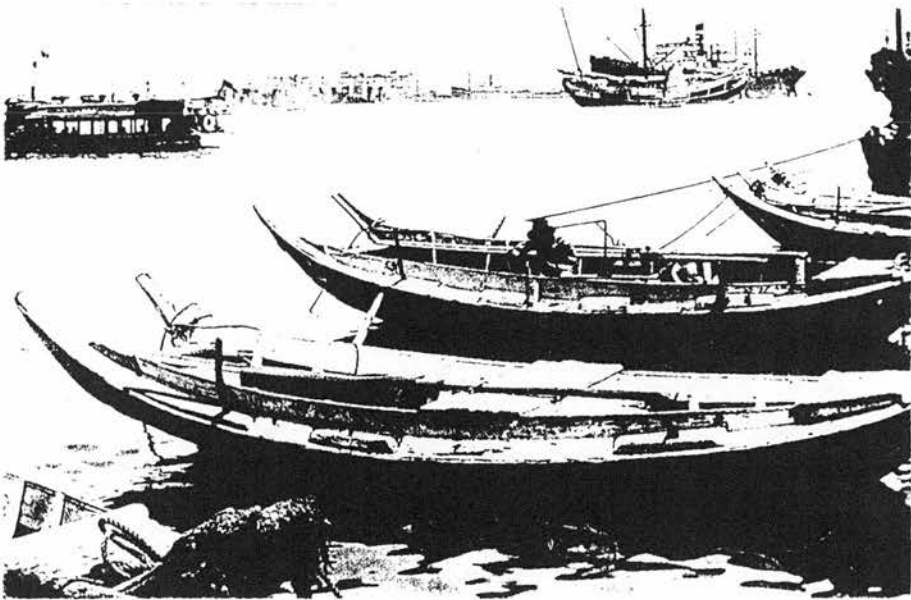


standing net

Figure 1-22 Six methods of local fishing (after Fisheries Agency of Japan, 1961; Lin and Hsu, 1959)



chieh-ch'ao



shan-pan

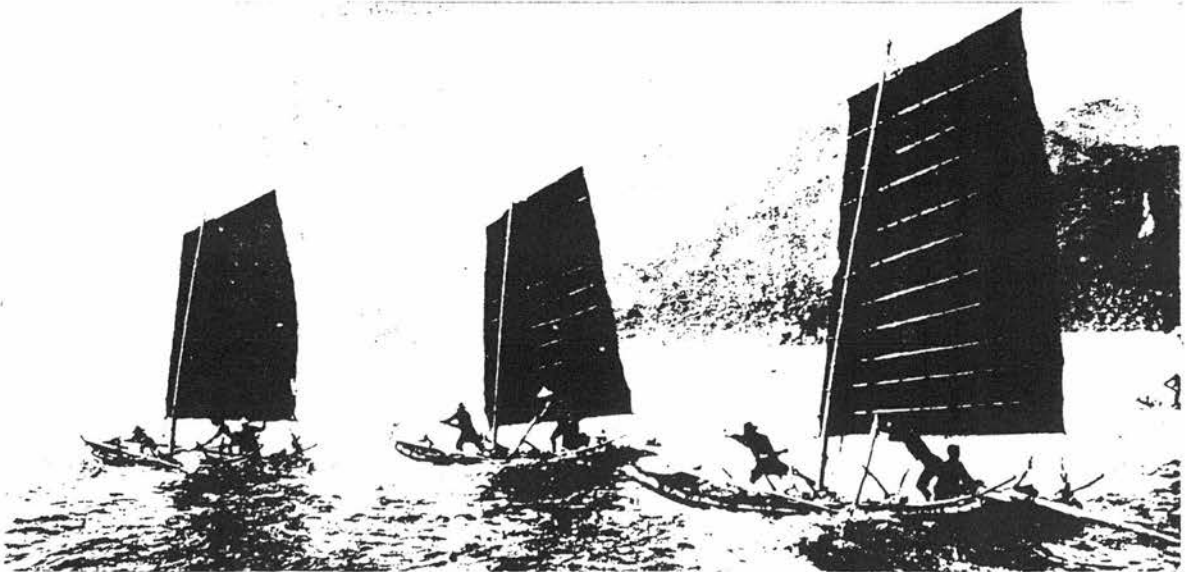


Figure 1-23 Three types of boat

hsiao-ku-ch'uan

oceanic bonito, water eel, pomfret, swordfish, tuna, squid, sardine, and prawn.

(2). Agriculture

The extensive agricultural work conformed to a regular annual cycle. All crops were sown between March and April, after the south-west wind had begun to blow and the rain to fall. (Lin, 1893, p. 305)

Peanut and sweet potato were the two main crops, while sorghum, maize, and broomcorn millet were secondary. Generally speaking, the sweet potato would be cultivated over an area whose yield would be enough to support a family all year round because it was the staple food of the villagers. Sorghum, maize, and broomcorn millet were planted on both sides of the column of the sweet potato field. Peanut would be planted on all the remaining land.

Agricultural work was mainly carried out by women, except for the ploughing at the beginning of cultivation and the harvesting, at which times the men would lend a hand. (Liu, 1855) This means that, on certain days of the year, the majority of villagers, even the dogs, would be found in the fields, whereas in the period of hottest weather, about 5 months, only women and children, with identical black and dark blue kerchiefs protecting them from the wind and sunburn twined around their heads, could be seen in the fields.¹⁵ The sight was a characteristic of summer time on the islands.

Between May and June, sorghum, maize, and broomcorn millet were reaped and dried on the open ground of the village. Some of this would be smashed to be cooked with dried potato slices or rice, supplementing the diet of the villagers. Some sorghum would be made into wine, its ears weaved into sweepers, its stalks used as fuel or plaited into fencing for houses or gardens. All these jobs were mostly done by women, elderly villagers, and children in the pavilions of their courtyard houses or the shady places inside or outside the buildings.

Between the end of August and the beginning of September villagers once again surged into the fields and swelled the alleys of the villages. It was at this time that all families filled their ox carts with sweet potatoes and peanuts in the fields and drove them to their village or market town. The open ground, lanes, and courtyards of houses were covered with drying peanuts and sweet potatoes.

¹⁵. The covering of the heads of local women-- their kerchief was called a *wen-kung-chin* (文公巾) -- when working was also a kind of etiquette -- the faces of women over 10 years old were not allowed to be seen by men other than their own husbands. (Chin-men, 1979, vol. 3, p. 398)

Some sweet potatoes would be cooked immediately, the rest would be cut into slices and dried as the food stock for other seasons, or turned into wine. The vine and leaves of the plant were used as fodder for cattle and goats, and as fuel.

Peanuts were the most valuable crop in this area. Some of them were sold to the factories to produce oil, others were dried for eating. The dregs were sold to sailors of sea boats -- they were heavy and stabilised their ships, and were then sold to people at the ship's destination to fertilise the soil. Once again, nothing was wasted, the shells were another source of fuel, and the remaining plant matter, fed to livestock.

The only crops that could be planted all year round were the vegetables grown in or near the courtyard house unit, for they were protected by the coral reef walls and intensively cared for with water and dung. The islands, did not in fact produce many vegetables, and those they did were not of high quality -- except for the loofah gourd.

(3). Gathering

Villagers were employed in two kinds of collection, one on the coral reefs, the other inside the fish trays.

Coral reefs were accessible to anybody who wanted to gather shell-fish, oysters, and seaweed. At the breezy time of low tide, the areas of coral reef often became the places where women and children, baskets in hands, congregated.

Fish trays, generally speaking, were made by many people because of the scale of work involved. If one of these had been constituted by one or more clans, it was the common property of those clansmen. Some had been made by unknown pioneers; these had become the common property of the villagers. On average, a fish tray was owned by between two and ten families. Ownership was handed down to designated heirs -- general this was all the sons of a family. (G. I. B. P., 1983, p. 37; 1985, p. 36)

The right to collect fish trapped within the trays was shared by distributing days. (Lu, 1989, p. 15) That is to say, every common owner was allocated a certain number of dates when he might fish. On these days, he was entitled to invite close friends to gather fish as well; the invitations, of course, were based on reciprocation.

(4). Breeding

Domestic fowl and livestock, were usually reared inside a square stone house

out of the wind. Pigs and chicken were popular in the villages, while goats had been popular in earlier times. (Wang, 1961, vol. 119) The latter were subsequently limited because they damaged the islands' grass.

To sum up, summer time was the period of intensive work for the villagers. At night, the village belonged to the menfolk, its sea-shore crowded with fishermen waiting to embark, while the rest of the village slept soundly in the many courtyard house bedrooms. In the early morning, the village was taken over once again by the sleepers who had woken up, women, children and old men thronged around the stoves for cooking fish while the bedrooms were now occupied by the men. In the afternoons, the farmlands were the domain of women and children while the shady corners of lanes and courtyards were the work places of men who repaired their fishing nets and other tools.

Late spring and early autumn were also busy times. The villages were full of shuttling villagers and oxcarts, its air filled with the smell of crops. After early autumn, the direction of the wind changes, the gentle rain stops falling, and the islands resound with the noise of the monsoon. Inside a village, the pace of activity of the dwellers slowed down, and outside, there was hardly a worker to be seen in the fields. On the sea-shore on breezy days, women and children gathered what they could from the sea, while men caught fish on the open sea. So it would continue until the next year, when the south-west wind began to blow and the rain began to fall. The inhabitants and the scene within the villages of the archipelago repeated a rhythm which responded to nature, year after year.

7. The social behaviours between villagers and outsiders

In these tranquil villages, the contact between villagers and outsiders was passive rather than active. That is to say, it resulted from the needs of existence and procreation, or some historical incident, rather than any attempt to break through the natural or man-made confines.

(1). Contact between neighbouring villages

One important way in which dwellers of neighbouring villages interacted was through marriage. According to some three hundred examples, (Hu, 1767, pp. 108-112; Chiang, 1829, pp. 32-51; Lin, 1893, p. 256-300) the majority of

marriages were between members of different clans within a village or neighbouring villages. Marriage, the third most important relationship after religion and blood lineage of villagers on the islands, was generally speaking, a matter between two families rather than the couple themselves. Events consequent upon it, such as the reciprocal visits of parents during the feast of the village god, marriages between other members of the two families concerned, the married daughter's return to her parent's home on the 2nd day of each lunar new year, visits to new born grandchilds with gifts, and so on, all fostered relationships between dwellers of neighbouring villages.

Another main instigator of social interaction between neighbouring villages was the custom associated with the god Wang-yeh, of Taiwanese vernacular religion. He was allocated a period of tenure and would patrol the whole area of his own village and visit some friendly neighbouring villages before the expiration of his tenure. (also see Chapter 4-2) When the procession -- the god's statue on a sedan chair or god's boat and a retinue of villagers -- arrived at the territory of other villages, the opposite god's sedan chair and entourage received the visitors and accompanied them around the host village. The visitors would be invited into some host temples to take a rest over midday or night, and there would be feasting. Generally speaking, this procedure of patrolling and visiting lasted for two or three days, and around ten villages would be involved in it. (Huang, 1988b, pp. 264-271) During this period, acquaintanceships were enforced, often leading to marriage negotiations and arrangements for mutually beneficial collective fishing.

Collective sea fishing was another form of social relationship between the men of neighbouring villages. In certain seasons, the fishing boats of neighbouring villages gathered in certain fisheries. The fisherman dragged their nets from different positions and directions according to preconcerted agreement in order to catch fish more effectively.

(2). Villagers and townspeople

Communication between villagers and townspeople was based on economic exchange. In the fishing seasons or late autumn when they had a good harvest, the villagers sold their fresh and salted fish, peanuts, and other agricultural produce in front of the Shui-hsien Kung (水仙宮) in Ma-kung Town or to the shops of some of the bigger villages, such as Wai-an (外垵), Wang-an, Chiang-chun (將軍), Ch'ih-ma (赤馬), and Shih-li (峙裡), and purchased various necessities to

bring back to their own villages. They usually carried their goods by boat or oxcart. These visits lasted no longer than half a day.

Some villages invited god's statues, such as those of the City God, the Birth Goddess, the Sea Goddess, the Five Sea Immortals (水仙尊王), and so on, from Ma-kung Town or other bigger villages; this meant that these believers had to send back their statues to the original temple once in a certain number of years, and generally, a small scale procession would be organised by some representatives of the villages. Also, villagers sometimes visited temples and festivals of Ma-kung Town, although this did not have much real impact on their lives.

The other communication was via 100 or more peddlers with boats and oxcarts. (Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 32) These merchants disseminated information while they shuttled between one settlement and the next to purchase local products and sell other goods. They usually landed at Wai-an, Wa-t'ung, or Shih-li if they were travelling by boat.

(3). Villagers and sailors

Non-official communication between villagers and people outside the archipelago often involved sailors on passing ships. Until 1784 A.D., the inhabitants of Ma-kung Town and some of the villages, such as Tung-an (東安), Shui-an (水垵), and Chiang-chun of the southern part of the archipelago, and Wai-an, Nei-an (內垵), Shan-shui (山水), Shih-li, Lung-men (龍門), and Ch'ih-ma of the northern part, were in frequent contact with sailors. (Lin, 1685, pp. 2-3; Kao, 1696, pp. 20-21; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 37; Hu, 1767, p. 36; Lin, 1893, pp. 13-14) This was because the ocean around P'eng-hu was the only legal sea route between Taiwan and China before that time. Secondly, after the navigation between Taiwan and P'eng-hu (around 10 to 12 hours) or China and P'eng-hu (around 17 to 18 hours), sailors generally were rather tired, also, their ships needed to replenish their water supplies. (Tu, ca. 1630-1647, p. 1; Lin, 1685, p. 65; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 27; Hu, 1767, pp. 3,15; Lin, 1893, p. 51) Third, the ships being quite primitive, both merchant junks and fishing boats, they had to use the archipelago to orientate themselves and to stop frequently at the places listed above to wait for the wind to change direction or its speed to slow down and the flow of the sea current, the "black water ditch", to subside, or other weather conditions to change.¹⁶ The sea route was

divided into two channels in this area as a result of the different direction of the wind. In summer time ships followed the southern channel while the rest of the time they followed the northern one. (Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 27) This accounts for the fact that sailors encountered villagers of both south and north parts of the archipelago. The transitional villages became centres of trade between sailors and dwellers, and some shops had been set up along their harbours. The sailors imported building materials, cloth, salt, rice, dye, sugar, china, pottery, and fuel, into villages, and exported local products to Taiwan and China. At the most prosperous period, there were over 1000 trading boats navigating this area, many of them stopping at the villages.

As a result of the two channels, the network of acquaintanceship of villagers of the archipelago was then divided into a big group and many small groups. The southern part of the archipelago was divided into many small groups, of them, the 7 villages as shown in Fig. 1-24a within a diameter of 10-15 km formed a bigger one, its central ones being villages Wang-an and Chiang-chun; some villages collectively formed a group, such as Tung-chi (東吉) Village and Hsi-chi (西吉) Village; others independent formed a single acquaintanceship, such as Ch'i-mei Island and Hua-yu (花嶼). The northern group comprised 65 villages over an area of 10-15 km, and its central town was Ma-kung Town. Its next most important villages were Wai-an and Ch'ih-ma of Hsi-yu Island, Ch'ih-k'an (赤崁) of Pai-sha Island, and Shan-shui and Shih-li of the southern part of Ma-kung Island.

This contact with sailors rapidly declined after 1784 A.D.. First of all, more sea channels were opened by the government. Secondly, the capability of sailing vessels improved: it became unnecessary to wait for the wind to change direction. Besides, the focus of activity on Taiwan Island had gradually transferred to the north of the island from the south. The numbers of ships docking dramatically decreased to less than one to two percent of the total passing this area. (Hu, 1767, p. 60) The trade between sailors and dwellers was therefore limited.

Not long after that time, a commercial committee, called *t'ai-hsia chiao*, was organised in Ma-kung Town by its merchants to maintain the exchange of goods between the archipelago and outside. (Hsu, 1988a, p. 4) The committee

¹⁶. According to the records of local archives, navigation across Taiwan strait generally took around 30 hours. Navigation between Ma-kung Town and T'ai-nan (台南) on Taiwan took 10 to 12 hours, that between Ma-kung Town and Ch'uan-chou in China 17 to 18 hours. (Tu, ca. 1630-1647, p. 1; Lin, 1685, p. 65; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 27; Hu, 1767, p. 3, 15; Lin, 1893, p. 51)

Before 1784 A.D.

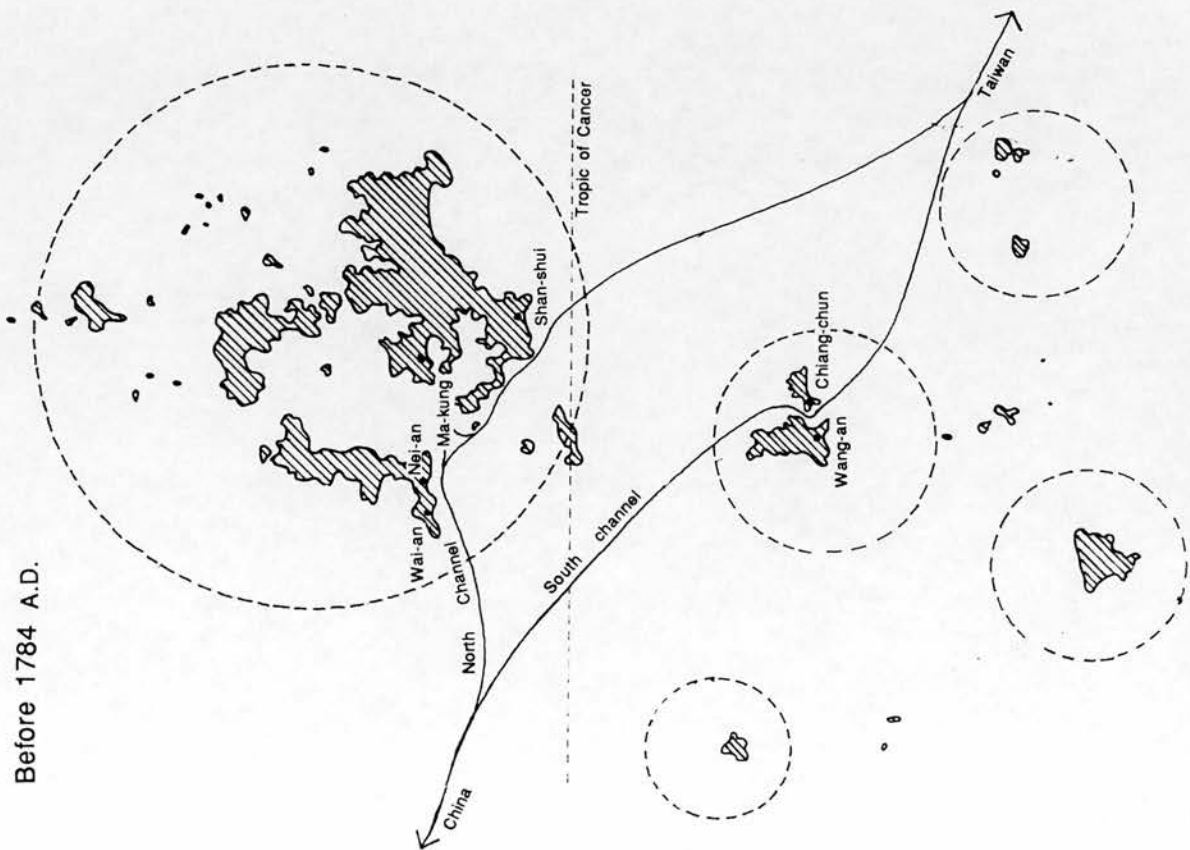


Figure 1-24a The acquaintanceship on the archipelago

After 1784 A.D.

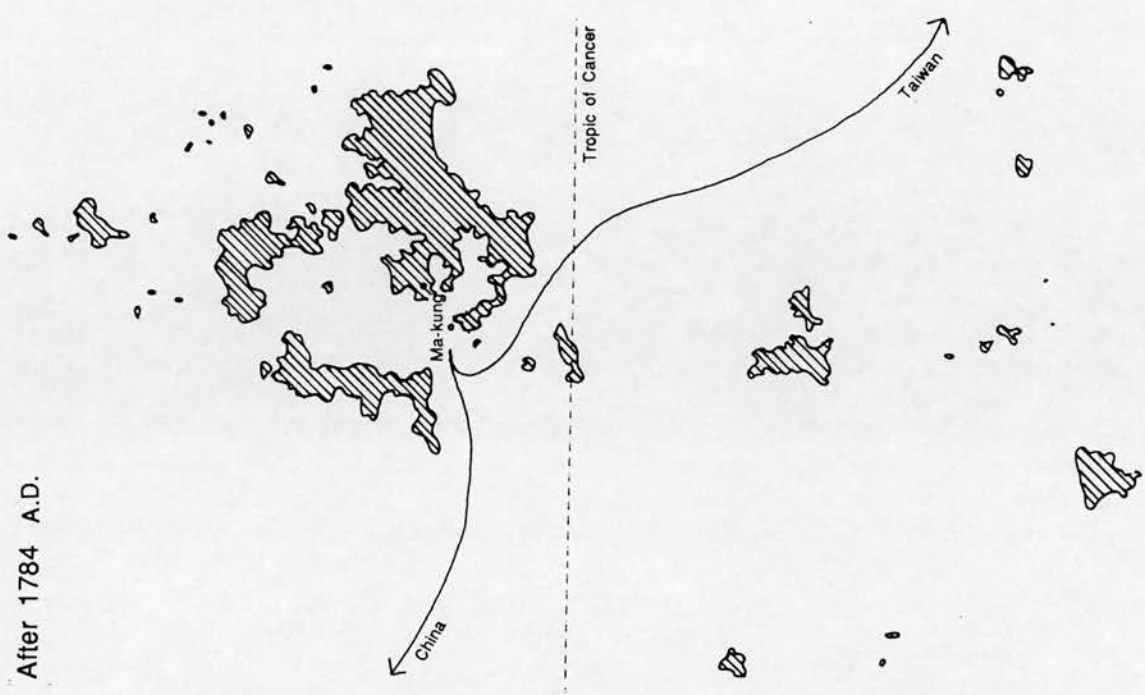


Figure 1-24b

monopolised all external trade with their own ships. The counter parts of trade of this committee included the merchants in many of the biggest harbours of south-east China, such as Amoy (廈門), T'ung-an (同安), Ch'uan-chou, and Chang-chou of Fu-chien Province, and Nan-au (南澳) of Kuang-tung Province (廣東); those in some harbour cities of Taiwan, such as T'ai-nan, Kao-hsiung (高雄), Lu-kang (鹿港), Tung-kang (東港), and Pei-kang (北港). (Cho, 1991, p. 18) From then on, independent communication between villagers and sailors almost ceased except for through a few boats on special missions. With regard to contact with the outside world, the archipelago became a single unit with Ma-kung Town as its core, as shown in Fig. 1-24b.

(4). Villagers and officials

The archipelago constituted an administrative unit which was called *t'ing* (廳), which ranked higher than a county (縣, *hsien*) but lower than a *fu*. It was then divided into 13 *aos* (澳). Under the *aos*, there were 82 *shes* (社, villages). Under a *she* again, every ten households was a unit called a *chia* (甲) which was the smallest administrative element of the archipelago. Since 1727 A.D. the head of local government had been called the *t'ung-p'an* (通判), and, as befits his position, his rank was slightly higher than that of the head of a county.¹⁷ (Hu and Chou, 1736, p. 38) He and his small number of inferiors were stationed in Ma-kung Town. As well as these civilian staff, the *t'ung-p'an* commanded a number of soldiers: in 1727 A.D. there were 2000, in 1893, 700 (Hu, 1767, pp. 127-131; Lin, 1893, p. 142) Half of the soldiers were also stationed at Ma-kung Town, the others distributed amongst 11 villages, so there were between 5 and 12 soldiers in each. In other words, only the dwellers of an eighth of villages were in constant contact with soldiers, and even then with very few of them. The relationship between villagers and officials tended to two extremes, the officials of higher rank were loved and respected, six of them were until recently worshipped in the temple as gods. (Lin, 1893, p. 222) In contrast, officials of lower rank and soldiers were extremely unwelcome amongst local people as a consequence of the fact that these soldiers were transferred from four (before

¹⁷. Because life on the archipelago was so tough that the majority of officials were not willing to undertake the position, this was proved by the fact that during the rule of 213 years by Ch'ing government (1683 to 1895), there were 132 head officials, that is to say, in average, the tenure of a head official was as short as one and half an years.

1684) or seven (after 1721) military bases,¹⁸ and had very different personalities and customs from the villagers. (Yu, 1988, p. 58) Also they were corrupt and ill disciplined. (Lin, 1893, pp. 239, 327) Fourthly, some villagers were assigned by local government as the voluntary representatives of their village, they were called *ao-chia* (澳甲).

Interaction between villagers and officials was mainly indirect, on account of the small number of officials. The first measure to be imposed upon the villagers by officials was the administrative system of *chia*. The original motivation behind the system was ease of management, but its effect seemed limited. Although the unit of *chia* was based on the distribution of clans, the social order of a village was maintained internally through the powerful force of consanguinity and locality. The villagers considered themselves supervised by the village god, rather than any political figure. Besides, the formation of the leadership of a village was based on generation and the balance of the clans. The *ao-chia* were not respected by villagers but feared, for they did have the power given them by the officials. (Ibid, p. 323) The measure was unsuccessful though, after a *chia* expands into the cluster of 30-40 households, it was transformed into a territorial unit of the distribution of the worship of village god in turn of one year, namely, it became a sub-unit of religion in a village.

A second way in which the authorities tried to exert control over the inhabitants of the archipelago was through education; something which was promoted by officials of high rank. The first school was established in 1701 A.D., it was then replaced by a new school, Wen-shih Shu-yuan (文石書院), 76 years later. Both of them were built on the outskirts of Ma-kung Town. The purpose of the officials who established the schools was, first, to disseminate Confucian theories, the doctrine of the government. Secondly, they aimed to discover talented individuals suitable to become fellow officials through a series of three examinations. According to the official archives, during the Ch'ing Dynasty, whilst over 60 people passed the first level, only 3 villagers passed the second level and just one the third, the qualification required of a high rank official. All of the successful candidates then became teachers, advocates of Confucian ideas; instruments for maintaining social order and the folk-customs of a village and mediators between officials and villagers: they had been taught to lay equal stress on both knowledge and personal morality. According to a local

18. The names of their original bases were recorded in Note 16, Chapter 5.

archive, during the period of the Ch'ing Dynasty, in average, there were 3 to 5 private schools in the bigger villages and 2 to 3 in the small villages, the teachers enlightened local children by San-tzu-ching (三字經), Pai-chia-hsing (百家姓), Ch'ien-tzu-wen (千字文), and so on. Some of these private schools still remain; their form was no different from that of a courtyard house. All the teachers of these private schools were ordered to sit a yearly examination held in February in the Wen-shih Shu-yuan of Ma-kung Town; this was supervised by local officials. (Hu, 1767, p. 89)

The policy of importing cattle and donating them to local people in 1628-1635 A.D. and 1735 A.D. (Hu, 1767, p. 73), was greatly appreciated by the islanders. The cattle subsequently assumed an important role in cultivation and transport -- they would even be used to carry the bride at wedding ceremonies. Moreover, their dried dung became a source of fuel after it had been soaked in water to eliminate odour. The range of activity of villagers was increased after the cattle were imported. Travel between villages and extensive cultivation became much easier thereafter. The villagers took great care in looking after the cattle, keeping them in sheds near their courtyard houses, and burying them within the village boundaries when they die, such was their contribution to the quality of life on the islands.

Amongst other measures instigated by the government were patrols over the whole archipelago and its sea area by the army, and the levy of taxes. There were around seven such patrols a year, the original purpose of them was to train the army and to inspect the villages. The soldiers regularly landed at Wai-an, Nei-an, Wa-t'ung, Shih-li, Wang-an, and Chiang-chun by ship, and marched to the other villages, their routes of patrol are shown in Fig. 1-25. They did not have much influence on villagers because they were corrupt. The inhabitants of the islands were obligated to pay three taxes: land tax, fishing net tax, and boat tax. There were four different taxations for the four kinds of boat: *chien-ch'ao* (尖槽) which was capable of crossing Taiwan Strait; *po-ch'ao* (舶槽) which navigated between islands of the archipelago; *shan-pan* (舢舨) which was a kind of larger fishing boat, its range of sailing was around 20 to 30 sea-miles; and *hsiao-ku ch'uan* (小船), another kind of fishing boat for fishing off the sea-shore. The appearances of three of them are shown in Fig. 1-23. (Hu, 1767, p. 200; Li, 1960, pp. 564-565) Although the system of taxation was detailed, because local people were so poor, the amount the government could get was limited. One reporter wrote that the sum they were expected to pay was the

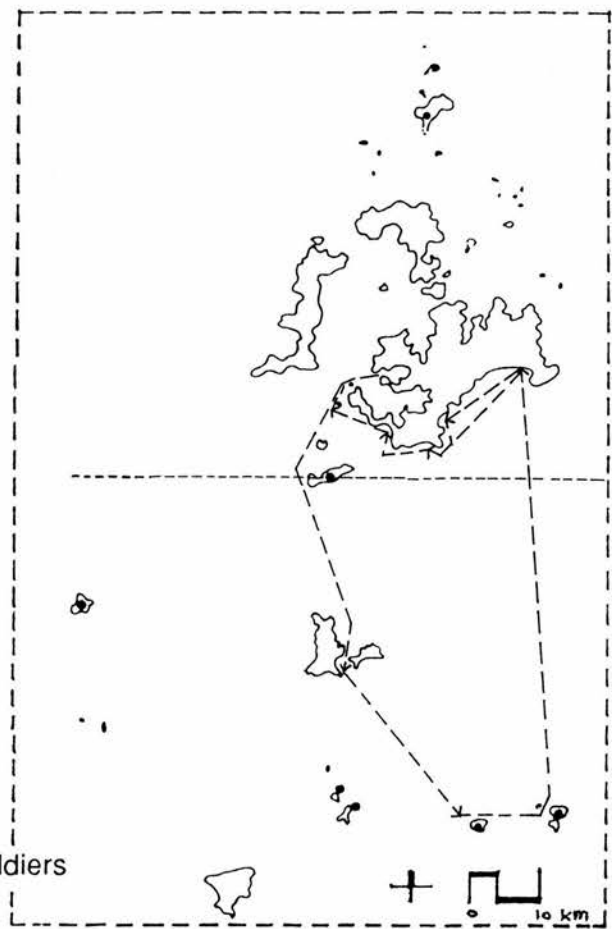
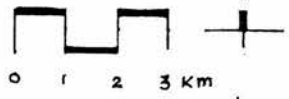
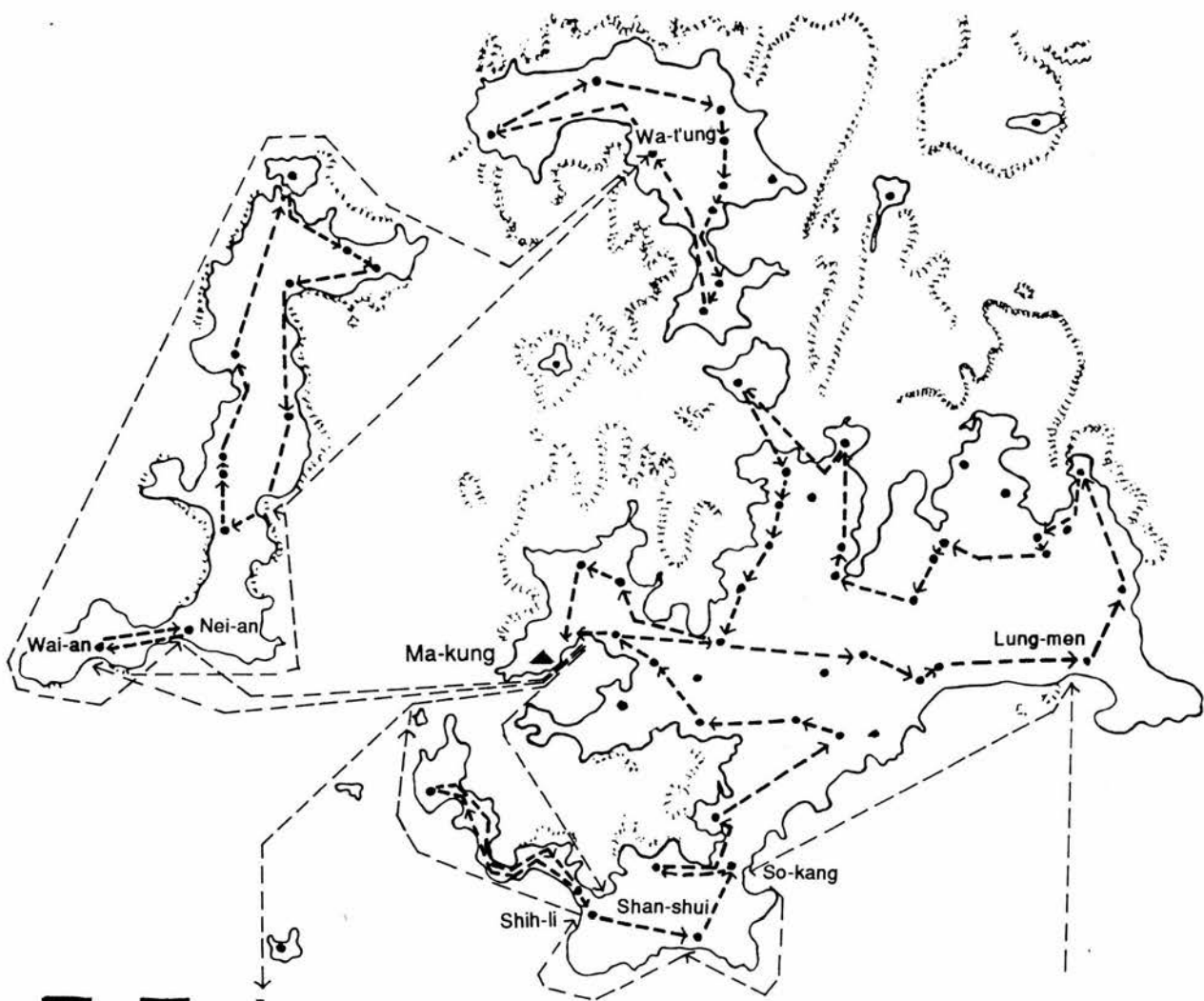


Figure 1-25 The routes of the patrol of soldiers

lowest he had ever seen.¹⁹ (Lin, 1893, p. 98)

(5). Villagers and outside intruders

After the Ch'ing Dynasty occupied the islands in 1683 A.D., their strategic value rapidly declined. Moreover, since their economic value was low, the villages generally avoided being fought over. Some parts of the archipelago had been attacked, twice by pirates and twice by foreign countries, but these attacks were either strategic or challenges to the government rather than attempts to acquire the villages as assets, in other words, the villagers were just pawns in a larger game.

The first assault by pirates happened in 1805 A.D. under the leadership of Ts'ai-ch'ien (蔡牽), a famous pirate chief. The villages were not damaged because the pirates did not actually land. (Ibid, p. 229-230) The second happened in 1863 A.D.. Two villages in the southern area of Ma-kung Islands, Shih-li and Ching-an (井垵), were burnt and looted before the pirates were defeated by villagers. (Ibid, p. 249)

The most serious damage to the villages was caused by the invasion of the French navy in 1885 A.D.. Seven villages in the same area were destroyed by fighting. The town centre of Ma-kung Town was dreadfully burnt and looted by the withdrawing soldiers of the Ch'ing Dynasty. (Ibid, p. 356) In 1895, eleven year later, other villages in the same area were attacked by the Japanese navy in the war between China and Japan. Some ten villages were damaged. The villages, after that war, like Taiwan Island, were held by Japan until 1945 A.D., this being the fifth sovereign occupation of the archipelago. All the damage done to the villages was soon restored by the villagers themselves.

As a whole, all the villages which suffered attack were located in the south of Ma-kung Island, the other villages were not involved. That is to say, they had suffered no man-made disaster at all since they were established.

¹⁹. According to local archives, the number of *chien-ch'ao* of the archipelago was 28 in 1736, 15 in 1767, 30 in 1828, and 2 in 1893; that of *po-ch'ao* was 1 throughout its history; that of *shan-pan* was 128 in 1736, and 520 in 1767 and 1828; and that of *hsiao-ku-ch'uan* was 547 in 1736, 365 in 1828, and 936 in 1893. (Chou and Hu, 1736, pp. 37-38; Hu, 1767, pp. 200-210; Chiang, 1829, pp. 61-62; Lin, 1893, pp. 88-96)

8. Conclusions

The character of the villages has gradually emerged after an overall examination of their historical and natural circumstances. Like any others, the villages of P'eng-hu presented certain dispositions which had been acquired through passive acceptance or active assimilation of tangible or intangible influences during the process of formation.

(1). The natural disadvantages of the villages

The hostile natural environment of the archipelago is principally caused by a combination of flat terrain, badly weathered soil, tiny surface land area, and location in the monsoon zone. The terrain and the small surface area are responsible for the scarcity of both rain and ground water. The same factors and the location of the islands cause them to be seriously damaged by monsoon, typhoon, and salty rain. All these factors contribute to the poverty of the soil. Official reports record 52 natural disasters in a space of 212 years (1683-1895). (Hsu, 1988b, p. 82-83) These include 22 incidents of salty rain, 3 storms and 3 tsunamis, as well as locust plagues, and cholera epidemics. (Lin, 1893, pp. 369-378) On average there was a natural disaster in the villages once every four years.

Another natural source of danger was the surrounding ocean. It was treacherous on account of the two ocean currents nearby, the varied sea-bed, and the submerged rocks, all of which, with the addition of strong wind, produce a complicated flow of sea water. These conditions had severely threatened the lives of local people. There was a proverb describing the feeling of local people before they went fishing: "burn incense sticks in front of the ancestor's tablets and say good-bye to them" (燒香辭公婆) -- implying that they did not know if they would come back or not. A big island, Ch'i-mei, was even described as a widow island, because there so many adult men had drowned at sea. (Huang, 1987a, p. 91; Ch'en, 1972, p. 33) Other ships were also seriously affected. 99 shipwrecks are recorded in archives as having taken place between 1665-1892 A.D., of these, 37 involved Chinese ships, 9 British ships, 4 French ships, two each from Germany, Norway, and Ryukyu Island, and one each from Denmark, Vietnam, and Japan. (Yang and Liu, 1988, pp. 218-237; Huang, 1956, p. 78-85) The two most serious of these ocean disasters were in 1765, when more than 30 ships sank in a short space of time, and 1826, when more than 300 persons drown. On average there were at least 10 accidents at sea every year.

(Yao, 1950, p. 121)

(2). The self-sufficiency and poverty of the villages

The villages were generally self-sufficient when it came to food. Most villagers only produced foods, and sold any surplus in order to buy all other necessities. For a family to produce sufficient food for 5-7 months on this poor soil, they needed to cultivate 0.6-0.78 hectares. Fishing provided food for the remaining 7-5 months. (Hsu, 1988b, p. 83) The villagers laid equal stress on agriculture and fishing, because both of them were unreliable. Cultivation, which could only be successfully carried out for 150 days a year as a result of the scarcity of rain and the ravages of the monsoon, might fail to yield a harvest at all because of salty rain or some other natural disaster. Gains from fishing were equally unpredictable, because there were on average 144 days of windstorm a year, leaving at most 200 possible fishing days. Since most of the land had been fully exploited for the last 160 years, most people lived at the mercy of the precariousness of their food supply. It is because of this that three times the present population of the islands had already emigrated to Taiwan Island or elsewhere.

The threat of natural disaster and the density of population forced the villagers to be thrifty: otherwise they would not be able to survive. All their products, even the vines, stalks, shells, dregs of crops, and the dung of cattle were fully used: there was no wastage. They had sweet potato, fish, and vegetables all year round, but only ate meat at religious or seasonal festivals and on particular days. In fact, the majority of their domestic animals were sold to the market town rather than eaten by themselves. On the whole, on account of these pressures and the limitation of their time, space, stamina, and knowledge, local people exploited their land and neighbouring sea in a system which rotated all of their resources, that is to say, they organised their villages into an independent ecological system. In this system, all the villagers were component parts rather than dominants. (cf. Shih, 1991, pp. 12-15)

When famine struck, they could do nothing but wait for help from officials. There were at least 15 periods of starvation recorded in official archives: there were times when the villagers could not even be rescued because of rough seas. The most serious example happened in 1757-1758. Three official rescue ships sank, one after another, and no aid reached the victims for three months. (Hu, 1767, p. 235) In 1850, a rescue ship was blown way off-course and eventually

arrived on the islands over a month later. (Chiang, 1829, pp. 127-128) In 1881, it was necessary to ship a huge number of villagers to Taiwan Island. (Lin, 1893, p. 370)

Their impoverished state, though, did not destroy the will of the local people, they continued to struggle to find a satisfactory way of living.

(3). The orderly, cumulative structure of the villages

The spatial organisation of the islands conformed to a consistent pattern. Each distinct territorial element contributed to a greater entity: single courtyard houses combined to form a cluster, clusters to form a village, several neighbouring villages to form a local unit, the local units together were the villages of a particular island and these finally constituted the whole archipelago. Within each element, there was a core and certain themes pertained to it. For example, the core of the courtyard house was the atrium, it was a fundamental economic unit and was associated with the nuclear or stem family, marriage and procreation, and a distinctly rectangular form. The core of the cluster was the ancestral hall, and it was associated with the ancestral souls and blood lineage, and an orderly form. The core of the village was the village temple, and it was the spatial domain of common belief, the village god, locality, and the rectangular territory within "five external battalions". The neighbouring villages were associated with marriage, the patrol of Wang-yeh and collective fishing. Before 1784 A.D., the cores of the archipelago were Ma-kung Town and three bigger villages in the north, as well as Wang-an and Chiang-chun in the south, and after that time, just Ma-kung Town and each of these was associated with economic exchange. The second characteristic of the villages was that most of them were similar to each other; the whole system of the archipelago was therefore distinct and consistent. (Fig. 1-26)

(4). The spontaneous growth of the villages

The growth of the villages, just like that of animals and plants, was an organic process dependent on historical factors. The first of these factors was that, in the main stage of growth there were no new immigrants. In other words, all the villages had been gradually established by the original settlers and their descendants. The second factor was that the political status of the islands had already declined before the villages were established. Also, the official powers never really touched the villages, they were not rated and so no practical

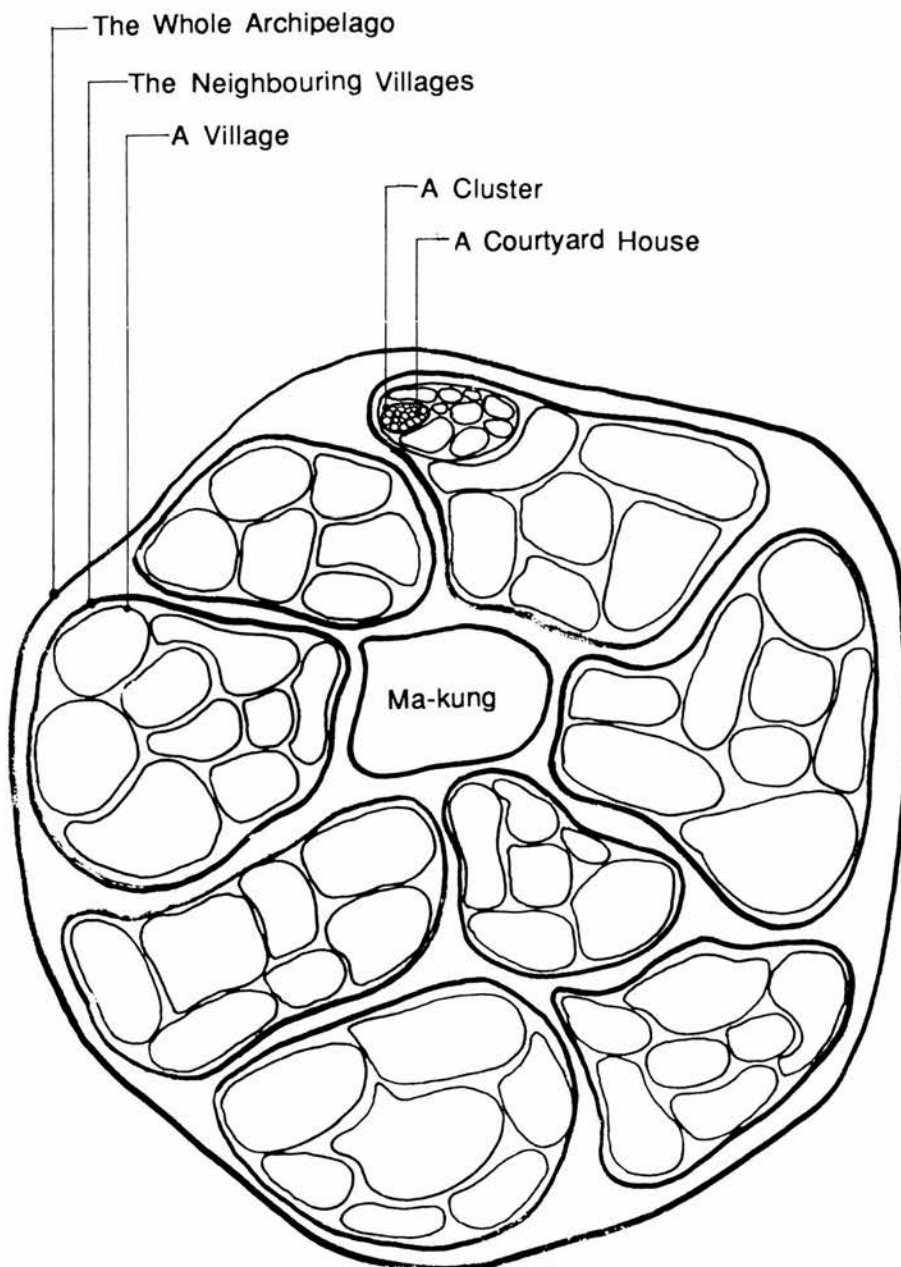


Figure 1-26 The spatial system of the whole archipelago

planning was imposed upon them. Thirdly, their poor economic potential and the homogeneity of villagers insulated them against intruders or dwellers of neighbouring villages. Fourthly, their principal building materials was coral reef which was hard to destroy, making major reconstruction of houses unnecessary.

In other words, over a couple of centuries villages had gradually been transformed from a few dispersed courtyard houses into congested ordered, settlements by the villagers themselves. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that all the spatial forms of the villages were similar and that they had not been subject to outside influence, which implies that though they had received no formal education, the majority of the villagers adhered to a common spatial ideology. It is this spatial ideology that is to be one of the subjects of this research.

(5). The protection and supervision of the villages by gods

A village, in religion terms, was a place where human beings, animals, plants, ancestral souls, gods, and ghosts all interacted. The survival, safety, and fortune of human beings were subject to this network of interaction. Human beings, gods, and ghosts were the principal actors in this domain, whilst ancestral souls, animals, and plants took secondary roles. The gods represented goodness, and protected and supervised human beings, whereas the ghosts represented evil and persecuted human beings. More details relating to this will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The decline in the influence of ancestral souls (which had become practically excluded from the supernatural network of a village and reduced instead to agents in the smaller area of the courtyard house) was another phenomenon of the islands, in contrast to China, where they were the main supernatural power in villages of consanguinity, as well as being the principal criteria for distinguishing the territory of a social group. (Hsiao, 1960, pp. 278-279)

(6). The patriarchal character of the villages

A villager's gender used to be grounds for social discrimination. Men were dominant and women subordinate. The patriarchal character of the villages manifested itself in the following way. First of all, the men owned all the property of a family while women were only entitled to use it. Secondly, family confirmity was established via the male line. Thirdly, a man was legally entitled

to marry several wives whereas widows were expected to remain faithful to their dead husbands. Fourthly, men were encouraged to learn whereas women were not allowed to enter the official school, because the virtuous woman was devoid of knowledge (女子無才便是德). Under this discriminatory system, the status of women was low, and they only constituted eight tenths of the population for a long period (Hu, 1767, p. 219-221): some female babies were intentionally deserted because they were deemed "useless in the procreation of their parent's family" and "a waste of money" (賠錢貨). (Lin, 1893, p. 312)

Despite this, the lives of men and women on the islands were similar. Women were expected to share in the work of survival, and they were strong and efficient; there is a popular proverb: "the women of P'eng-hu, the Taiwanese cattle" (澎湖女人, 台灣牛), which implies that the capacity for work of a local woman was equal to that of a Taiwanese cow. Of course they looked nothing like depictions of them in historical paintings and novels. Also, except for the fact that women of a few villages were prohibited from contact with the supernatural beings of the temples by some intellectuals, (Ibid, p. 240) the two genders actually made equal use of all the facilities of a village and courtyard house. This was despite Confucian theories which decree a systematic allocation of space according to gender, something which was actually respected by families of high social status on Taiwan Island. (Lin, 1985, p. 18)

The only difference was in the usage of the latrine and the bath, which, actually, was based on privacy rather than traditional ideology.

(7). The homogeneity of villages

Homogeneity in almost every aspect of their inhabitants was one of the most spectacular characteristics of the villages. First of all, most villagers had the same backgrounds, their ancestors came from similar places with similar folk-customs, and religious beliefs and they shared the Mandarin tongue. Secondly, their ancestors settled on the archipelago to avoid starvation or warfare, so all of them were poor when they arrived. Thirdly, most of their ancestors moved to the islands during a similar period, either alone or with a few members of their family: in other words, all the present clans had gradually formed rather than being a whole clan transported. Fourthly, most of villagers were engaged in similar work, and had similar economic ability: there was no differential hierarchy amongst the villagers. Fifthly, the religious inclination of villagers was consistent, all of them believed in Wang-yeh and took part in the

processions; and each village owned similar religious paraphernalia. Sixthly, all the villagers lived in similar spaces; from a courtyard house, to a cluster, to a village, to a valley. Their living facilities were similar as well. Even the administrative divisions of the villages were the same.

(8). The independence and centripetal effect of familiarity in the villages

The inhabitants of a village knew each other very well because the majority of them were born, grew up, and died within its boundaries. During their lifetime, they worked, took leisure, worshipped, and celebrated together everyday. Villagers, particularly the woman, seldom left their village at all except for economic exchange and religious festivals. The villages, were, effectively, self-contained and independent societies.

Because of familiarity and a common fate, the villagers were centripetal, all of them identifying with the name of their village god and village temple. The annual celebration of the god's birthday was the time for them to express the strength of their loyalty to the village; the proverb "fewer people, no less a parade" (輸人不輸陣) implies that the solidarity of a village was more important than the number of inhabitants it had.

The villages could be uncomfortable places for strangers initially, because they were constantly watched by suspicious eyes. But once they had made their intentions clear, the welcome they received often exceeded their expectations.

The independence of the villages also demonstrated the fact that they were designed by local people in the same way as their courtyard houses. That is to say, they were to satisfy all their inhabitants needs throughout the various stages of life -- from birth, to adulthood to death, and even after death. All the practical and ritual behaviours of each individual and of the whole village could be fulfilled inside the territory of that village.

(9). The self-government of the villages

Traditional Han society was regulated by three types of authority: secular law, the souls of ancestors, and the souls of ancestors with gods. The souls of ancestors with gods was enforced in the synthetic villages of consanguinity and locality whereas it was the souls of the ancestors which determined life in the villages of consanguinity. At county level (*hsien*) it was the secular law.

The administering of the system of rule of the souls of the ancestors and the

gods was determined by two factors. First, the individuals who exercised this power were chosen on grounds of gender, generation, and age. Women were excluded from the circle of power, then, the senior generation and older brothers took precedent over the junior generation and younger brothers. In addition, 16 was the age of maturity recognised by the villagers, boys younger than this had no right to participate in the affairs of a village. The second determining factor was the supernatural power of the gods and ancestral souls themselves.

The members of an administrative group were called *hsiang-laos* (鄉佬) or *lao-tas* (佬大), each clan elected one of them, the others were recommended by all the villagers. (Tai, 1979, p. 39)

The standard of judgement was the key problem of the system. To overcome this, common conventions had been drawn up by *hsiang-laos* under the supervision of the village god: after the draft of the convention was finished, the head *hsiang-lao* would have thrown a god's implement (神杯, *shen-pei*) to seek the agreement of the god. The content of the conventions of different villages were similar; all of them included around 15 regulations of prohibition and punishment. (Li, 1950, p. 199-200) According to these conventions, all fines extorted from villagers were put towards the expenditure of the village temple, physical punishments were to be executed in front of the village temple in order to present an apology to the village god, the symbol of a society.

This system of management seemed to work very well. The social customs of the villages, according to the official reports, were simple, the disputes between dwellers were effectively controlled by the voluntary *hsiang-lao*'s. (Tu, ca. 1630-1647, p. 2; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 38, 49; Hu, 1767, p. 147; Lin, 1893, p. 323)

(10). The Peaceful Villages

The stability of the villages was quite good after they had been initially established. To begin with, the men were mostly working on the sea, a wide enough area to satisfy everyone, conflicts were therefore minimised. Secondly, working on the sea was dangerous in this area; a proverb says that fishermen were "making a living before the doors of Hell" (鬼門關前討生活), they often needed one another's help to overcome adverse conditions, cooperation was more profitable than competition. Relationships between men of the same and neighbouring villages were therefore much stronger than those between people in other occupations. Thirdly, homogeneity, familiarity, religion, and the

effective system of management, as well as the power of traditional ethics suppressed possible conflicts. Fourthly, the poverty of villagers meant they had to work hard. Fishing had to be done when conditions were right, this might be any time of day or any possible day of the year, which made it difficult to organise armed force. Fifthly, the distance between villages as short as 1-3 km, that was only half an hour to one hour: communication between neighbouring villages was easy. Besides, the villages were very similar, their ancestors came from similar areas. It was difference of origin that provoked the numerous civil wars in Taiwan. Friendships amongst the villages were further reinforced by collective fishing, the patrol of Wang-yeh, and inter-marriage. Sixthly, the lack of strategic value and natural resources had deterred potential invaders from abroad.

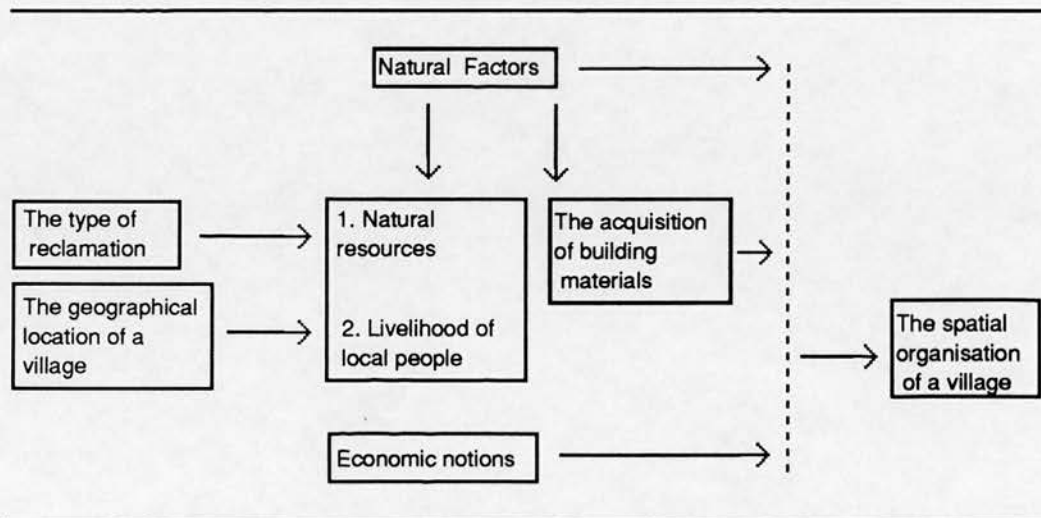
As a whole, none of the villages on the islands had any frequently hostile rivals, they therefore had no private defence facility at all.

Chapter 2

Adaptation to natural features and economic behaviour

The natural features of the P'eng-hu Archipelago produced two influences on the spatial organisation of its villages. The first was a direct affect upon the choices made by villagers as to the location, orientation, and volume of their constructions. The second resulted from the fact that nature provided villagers with materials for survival, the acquisition, quantity and management of which all reflected in the spatial organisation of a village. The relationship between these two influences is shown in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1



1. The acquisition of water

Amongst natural resources, water was probably of most crucial importance to the local people. According to the meteorological statistics for P'eng-hu

Archipelago, the average rainfall per year was around 1034 grams, and the average volume of evaporation per year was around 1800 grams.¹ (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 258, 884) This means almost all the rainwater and moisture in both the surface soil and the air evaporated; only a very small quantity penetrated deep underground or down the slopes to the lower places in the valleys.

Before the last century, because of limited knowledge and technology, local people found it hard to exploit the water resources in the tableland outside the valleys. There was one exceptional example, that of the Chao brothers of Nan-liao Village on Ma-kung Island, who excavated a well on a tableland outside their village in order to irrigate their vegetable garden, although it was several years before they eventually achieved this. Their effort was recorded in official archives and the well was even entitled Chao-chia Well (趙家井). (Lin, 1893, p. 21)

There were not only problems in the tablelands: clean water was also difficult to acquire in the lower parts of a valley. There are many archives which record this. In 1683 A.D., a fleet of the Chinese Ch'ing Dynasty, including around 300 warships and 20 thousands soldiers, under the command of General Shih-lang (施琅) attacked the garrison of the islands commanded by generals of the previous Ming Dynasty and originally lead by General Cheng Ch'eng-kung (鄭成功, known as Koxinga by Westerners), who was the son of General Cheng Chih-lung. (Sheng, 1977, p 235; P'eng, 1771, p. 94; also see Chapter 1-2) A critical problem for the expedition when they occupied some small islands, such as Wang-an and Hu-ching (虎井), was the acquisition of drinking water. In response to this difficulty, "General Shih-lang prayed to the Sea Goddess, then dug around 30 cm of soil, from which the clean water gushed". When the fleet landed on the bigger islands, "all the dry-wells watered again". What is more, after their mission had been finished and the fleet moved to Taiwan Island, "all the wells dried up again" except for one in Ma-kung Town, named Wan-chun Well (萬軍井), which had been excavated under the order of the General, when he had prayed to the Sea Goddess. The well is still in existence and has become a historical monument. (Lin, 1893, p. 23)

The conditions of water supply were no better for the villages. According to official archives, there was on average less than one well per village before

¹. Because the archipelago was humid, its ground was wet with dew in the early morning, but the majority of this evaporated as well.

1767 A.D., that is to say, some inhabitants had to carry their water from neighbouring villages. (Hu, 1767, p. 46) The circumstances gradually improved on account of better experience and knowledge of well excavation. By the early twentieth century, the average number of wells in a village had risen from 10 to 20, (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 877-878) but water supply was still problematic because the majority of these only had a little water and dried out in winter and spring. Because clean water was so precious, the 16 wells with good quality water and the amount of clean water were recorded in official archives. Some of them have been named, such as Hsi-liao Well (西寮井) in Pai-sha Island, Wai-k'an Well (外塹井) in Hsi-yu Island, Hsi-shih Well (西勢井) in Chi-pei Island, and Jui-ying Well (瑞應井) and Hu-hui Well (溥惠井) in Ma-kung Island, and so on. The best ones have even been endowed with myths or explained by the theory of *feng-shui* (風水). For example, the location of Hsiang-kung Well (相公井) in Ai-men Village (陰門) on Ma-kung Island was said to have been chosen by a god (or gods), (Lin, 1893, p. 22) and Wen-ao-she Shu-yuan Well (文澳社書院井) in Ma-kung Town was believed to be located on the best place of "the Vein of Earth" (地脈). (Hu, 1767, p. 43; also see Chapter 5-2)

Because of this shortage of water, the valleys became the only places for local people to establish their homes since the islands were reclaimed. What is more, all the villagers had to live as near as possible to one another, first, because on average each well was shared by around 15 to 20 households, and second because no well was guaranteed to have water, especially in winter and spring, and the further the distance between houses the more inconvenient the acquisition of water was in the dry-season. Also, the location of wells affected the location of stoves for cooking fish in villages. In general, the stoves had to be built near a well and not far from the harbour and the houses of users, because cooking fish needed a large amount of clean water. As a result of this, the area surrounding a well became the second most important social place, after the village temple and its square.

2. Shelter against monsoon

Another crucial problem caused by nature was the dry-monsoon from September to the following May, for its dreadfully destructive power lasted for such a long period.

Spatially, the choices which the early settlers were able to implement to alleviate so unalterable a threat were limited. Their first attempt was to settle in valleys or on low-lying land and to crowd the houses of a village close together. This could be seen all over the islands. (Hu, 1767, p. 148)

The orientation of a valley was another major consideration in the appraisal of a village site. Of the 8 cardinal orientations, the southerly, south-easterly, and south-westerly valleys of P'eng-hu Archipelago not only afforded the best protection for dwellers and their properties, but also allowed inhabitants to enjoy the refreshing south-west wind in the hot summer. In contrast, the northerly and north-easterly valleys received the full force of dry-monsoon and got no summer wind. The remaining three: easterly, south-easterly, and north-westerly ones were between the two extremes. In other words, the southerly, south-easterly, and south-westerly valleys were most favoured by local people from the point of view of wind whilst the northerly and north-easterly were least favoured.

The facts are clearly presented in the following statistics. According to a survey of the orientation of populated valleys throughout the archipelago, around 60% of them (48/81)² were on the lee side away from the monsoon, 20% (16/81)³ on the windward side, and the remaining 20% (17/81)⁴ between the two extremes. (Kuan, 1984, p. 65)

Along the coast of all the islands of P'eng-hu Archipelago, there were plenty of valleys. The second body of data, based on a thorough observation of local atlases shows that the majority of southerly valleys were full of houses, whereas northerly valleys were only thinly occupied. The situation was most obvious in the small islands with a single village (in total 21 villages). Only two northerly valleys -- those occupied by villages T'ung-p'an (桶盤) and Hu-ching -- were inhabited, the rest were all empty.

Another rough figure based on the ratio of location of villages on the islands, shows that more than 80% of villages (65/81) were located on the southern part of the islands, and only around 20% (16/81) on the northern part -- in

2. Amongst them, 26 faced south, 12 west, 7 south-west, 1 both west and east, 1 both south and west, and 1 both south east and south west.

3. Amongst them, 14 faced north, and 2 north-east.

4. Amongst them, 6 faced south-east, 8 east, and 3 north-west.

general, the area of the southern part of an island would be better sheltered than elsewhere.

In addition to the selection of a suitable village site, the choice of advantageous orientations for their courtyard houses was another remedial measure commonly employed by local people against the monsoon. According to the statistics of orientation of courtyard houses in villages,⁵ around 80% of them (73/91)⁶ faced the reverse side of the monsoon, 20% (18/91)⁷ faced south-east, east, or north-west, none of them faced either north or north-east. (Ibid, p. 65) Taking consideration of the orientation of a courtyard house and the valley in which it was located together, it is clear that if a valley was on the lee side, its courtyard houses would be constructed along the main slope, and have the same orientation. If not (i.e. if it was a northerly or north-easterly valley) the dwellings would be built along the slope of the micro-terrain within the valley and face a different direction from that of the main slope -- that is to say, the orientation of a courtyard house was always kept to the reverse side of the monsoon no matter what the orientation of the valley.

3. The utilization of micro-topography

The phenomenon of the relationship between the orientation of courtyard houses and valleys obviously indicates that the choice of that orientation was affected by the direction of the monsoon. However, the monsoon was not the only factor considered by local people when making that choice.

There was a widely respected local custom which also had a strong impact. Villagers believed that the front area of a courtyard house had to be lower than its back area so that the ancestral tablets (the symbol of the ancestors) in its atrium could see the sky as shown in Fig. 2-1. (Ibid, p. 74) Spatially speaking, these two considerations -- the monsoon and this custom -- present a potential conflict for the orientation of courtyard houses in the northerly valleys, because that of the houses and the valleys were always different. There were three ways

5. The total case of the statistics is 91 in 71 villages, the number is because the building type of ten villages almost have been changed and therefore are excluded, moreover, there are two main orientations of courtyard houses in 20 villages.

6. Amongst them, 37 faced south, and 18 south-west and west each.

7. Amongst them, 12 faced south-east, 5 east, and 1 north-west.



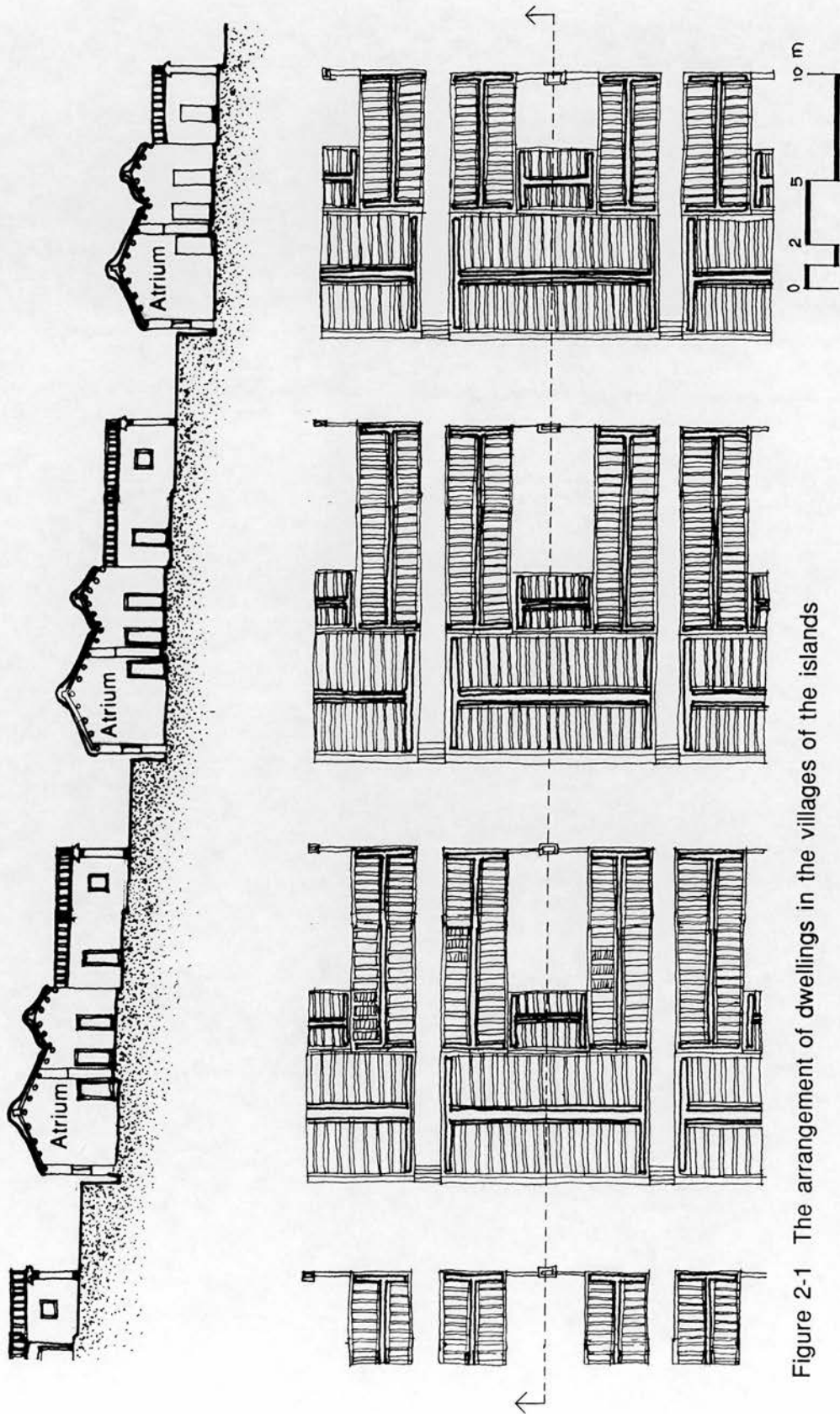


Figure 2-1 The arrangement of dwellings in the villages of the islands

commonly employed by local people to resolve this dilemma, all of which related to the utilization of local micro-terrains.

The first way was facilitated by the fact that, generally, there are mounds or hills within valleys. If they were constructed along the lee side of these, dwellings within windward valley not only enjoyed better shelter, but also conformed to the local custom. In addition, they also unintentionally satisfied a custom derived from the belief of the Mountain Form School (巒頭派) of *feng-shui* -- namely that the back area of a house, named *le-shan* (樂山), should to be higher than its front area, named *sha* (砂). (Han, 1983, pp. 123-150; also see Chapter 5-2) This did not seem to have been of much importance, but satisfied a few metaphysical needs of local people. But these kind of places were few and far between. The settlements were therefore generally constructed in several separate sub-groups. Sa-kang Village (沙港) on Ma-kung Island was an example. Its settlements were divided into four main clusters: Shang-she (上社), Hsia-she (下社), T'u-ti-kung-ch'ien (土地公前), and Shui-k'u (水窟), each of which leant against a mound individually. The direction of the houses of the four clusters were different: those of Shang-she faced south, Hsia-she west, T'u-ti-kung-ch'ien south-east, and Shui-k'u south-west as shown in Fig. 2-2. The lands between the four clusters were not used as building sites because the dwellers could not get enough protection against the monsoon there. Two other examples were Chung-hsi Village (中西) and Wu-te Village (五德) on Ma-kung Island. The former consisted of two small scattered clusters, the latter seven, all of which shared the same direction as their slopes.

Owing to its benefits, this strategy was not only applied in the windward valleys, but by the inhabitants of lee valleys as well. Once again, the lee side of interior mounds or hills was deemed the favourite building site and always occupied first, because here the dwellers could hope for even better protection against the monsoon. But since the whole area of the valley was suitable for residence, the intermediate areas between mounds were also built upon later, creating a compact and agglomerated form of settlement. Tung-an Village (東安) and Hsi-an Village (西安) on Wang-an Island were examples. Of these two neighbouring villages, the former was comprised of two main clusters: Chung-chieh (中街) and Shan-liao (山寮), the latter of three: Hou-liao (後寮), Hsi-p'u (西埔), and Ch'ien-liao (前寮). Although these clusters each leant against a mound with different orientations: south-east, west-east, south, or east, (Lin, H.C., 1980, pp. 53-61) their boundaries were indistinct because the clusters

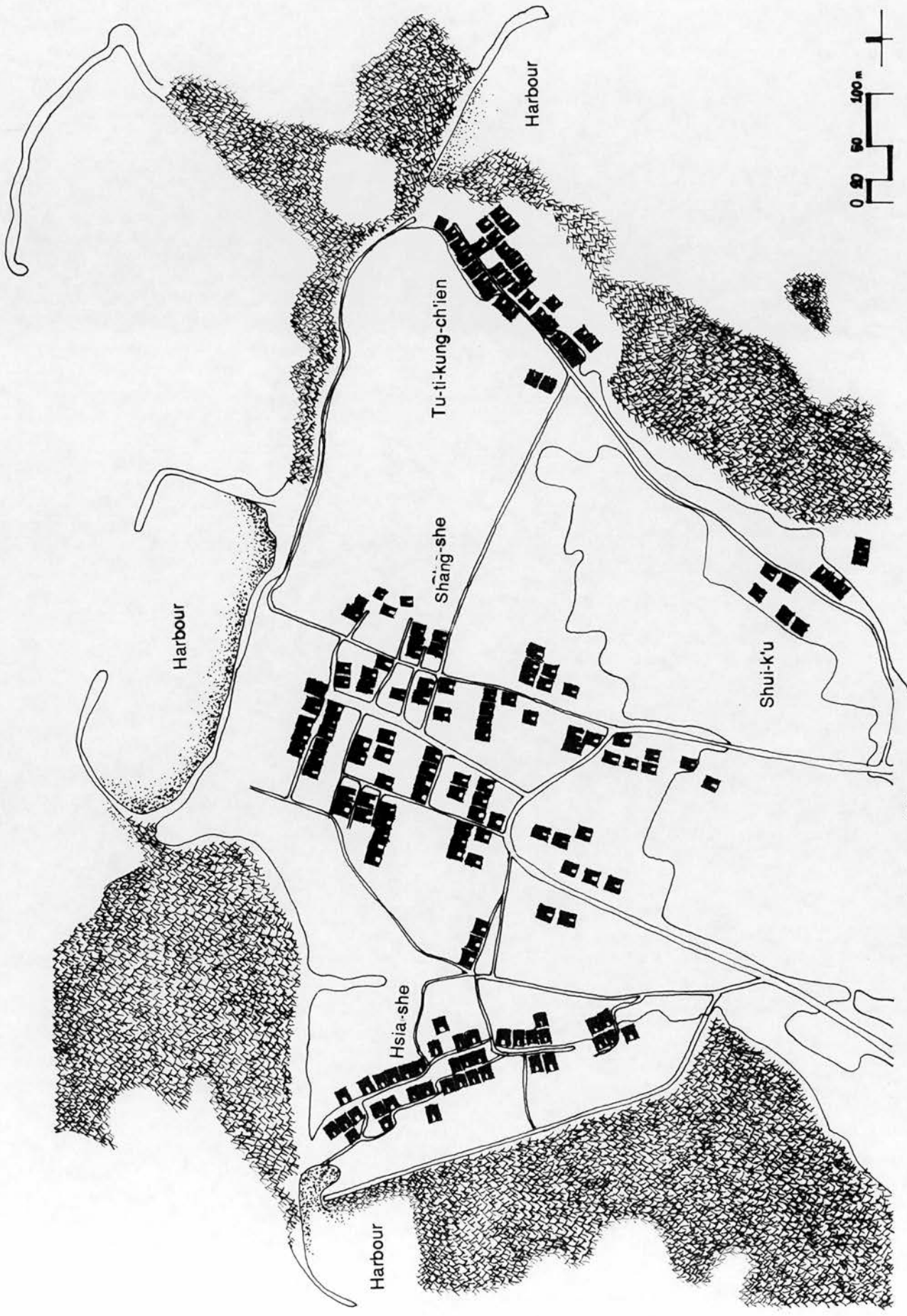


Figure 2-2 The distribution of clusters of Sa-kang Village

had expanded towards the land of their neighbours with limited space in between. The southern part of Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island as shown in Fig. 2-3 was another example. Due to there being two mounds in the westerly valley, the houses of this area have been constructed into a face-to-face distribution. The eastern part was occupied by three tidy rows of houses along the foot of one hill, named Hua-hsin (花心, literally, the "core" of the flower; also see Chapter 5-2), facing west; the western part had one row along the second, smaller, mound which faced east. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982 (1), pp. 42-48)

If there was no adequate micro-terrain within a windward valley, the second way for villagers to resolve the problem was to use the topographical characteristics of the valley itself. Shui-an Village (水垵) on Wang-an Island as shown in Fig. 2-4 was an example of this. The courtyard houses had been built along both sides of the steep slope of the valley face-to-face, six rows on the western side, three rows on the eastern side. The density of settlement was high and the distribution neat. (Lin, H.C., 1980, pp. 53-61) The steep slope afforded the inhabitants a certain degree of shelter from the monsoon, also, the orientation of these houses conformed to the above-mentioned custom and the notion derived from the belief of *feng-shui*.

If there was neither a good micro-terrain nor a steep slope within a valley, the last and only possible thing inhabitants could do was to orientate their houses to the opposite side of the monsoon. There were two cases of this on the archipelago, T'ung-p'an Village and Hu-ching Village as shown in Fig. 2-5. Because both had been located on a flat valley, and by means of choice of orientation, the courtyard houses also satisfied both the above-mentioned requirements.

The second micro-topographical factors which influenced the space of a village were the distribution of gradient and the orientation of each piece of land within a valley. Generally, the slope within a valley varied; those on the archipelago tend to be gentle, and smooth stretches with constancy of gradient and orientation were more desirable because they were easy to use for cultivation, and to maintain, and allowed for the expansion of a cluster. As a result of this the boundaries between these and steep areas were exploited by pioneers when they initially settled in the valleys, and by their descendants when they divided properties. In other words, the territory of each clan and branch of a clan was generally defined by a slight difference in slope.

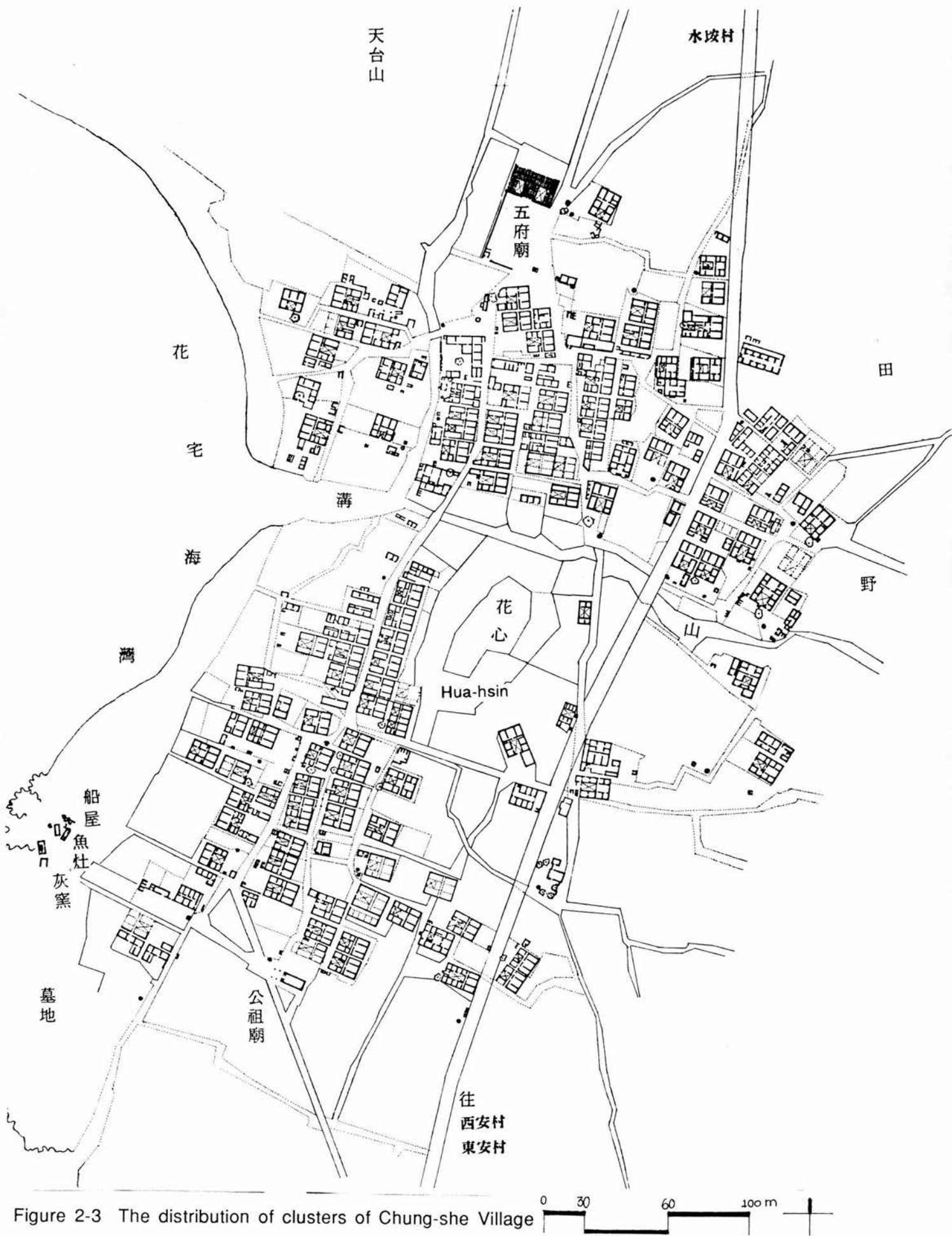


Figure 2-3 The distribution of clusters of Chung-she Village

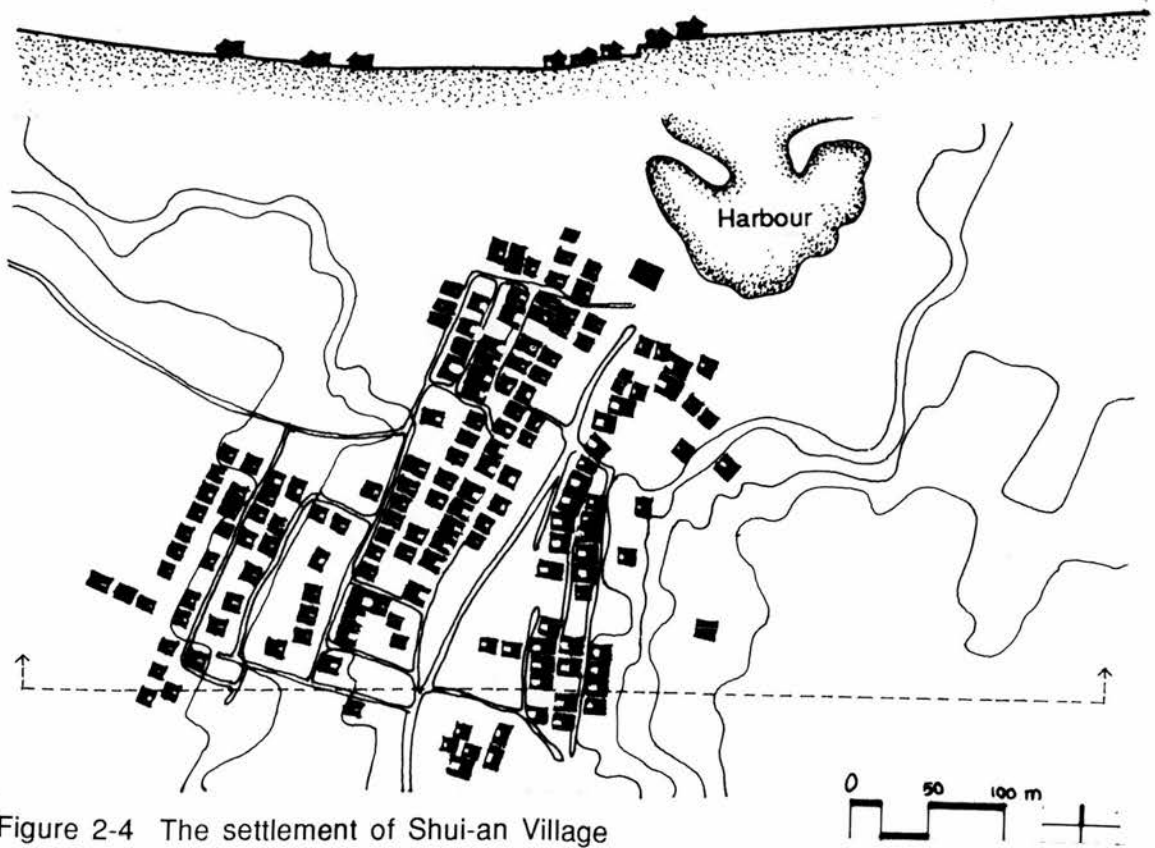


Figure 2-4 The settlement of Shui-an Village

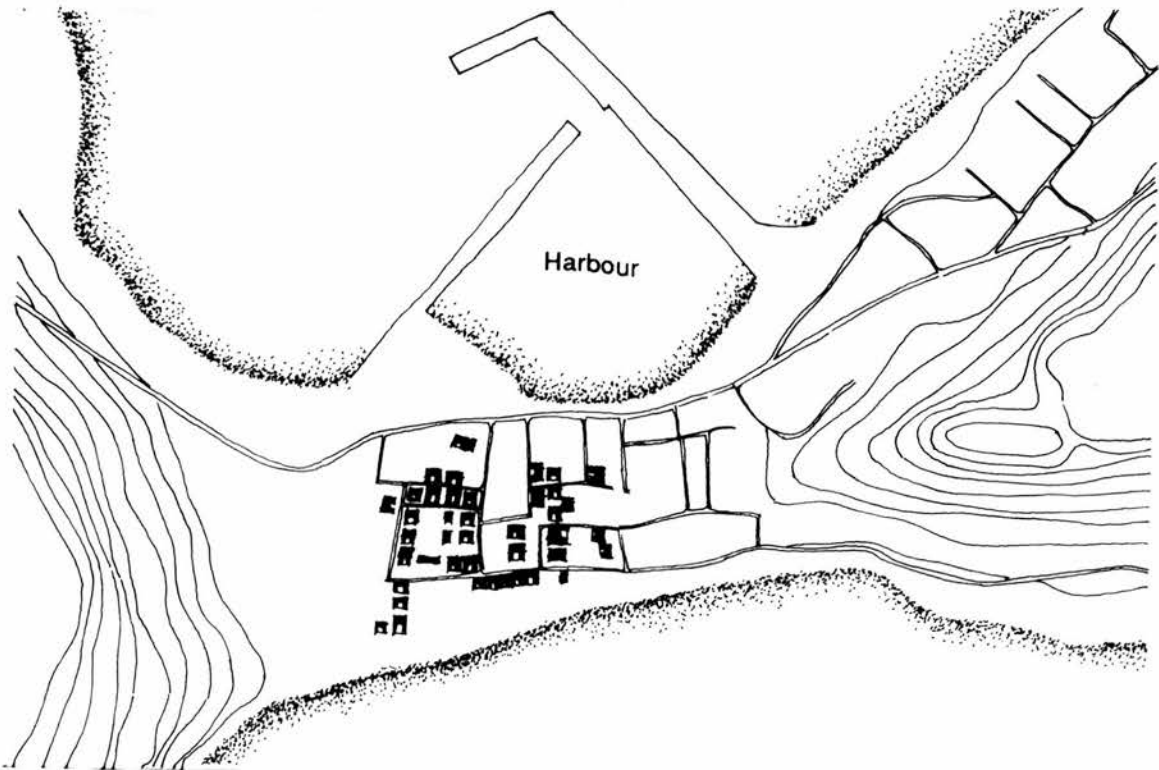


Figure 2-5 The settlement of Hu-ching Village

Once a valley had been constructed with rows of courtyard houses, the margin area of each piece of slope naturally became the boundary of a cluster or sub-cluster. Moreover, because the rows of courtyard house were built along the contour line of their own land, the skyline and orientation of each cluster or sub-cluster was slightly different as well, some rows had steep gaps between them, some more gentle ones. In other words, the different distribution of areas of similarity in gradient and orientation, and the location of steep areas created village landscapes of varying shapes. Nei-an Village on Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 2-6 is an example. The village was composed of seven clusters, each of which had a slight disparity in orientation and height between rows, also, the boundaries of each cluster were distinct. All of these were a consequence of the micro-topographical characteristics of the valley.

4. The shape and the area of shelter of a valley

Apart from the micro-terrain, the shape and the area of shelter of lee valleys were two other geographical factors which confined the expansion of the villages within them.

Under circumstances where there were sufficient materials for existence and the topography of a valley was smooth, no matter how large the area of a sheltered valley was, it would become full of neat houses and extra population would be forced to move out. In other words, the settlement would have the same shape as the valley. Chi-pei Village (吉貝) as shown in Fig. 2-7 was one example of this; both settlement and valley were fan-shaped, and all the courtyard houses were neat and faced a similar focus. Chiang-chun Village was another example, its settlement and valley were in a square, and most of its tidy houses were orientated towards the same direction -- south. Nei-an Village on Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 2-6 was another kind of example, because its valley consisted of several small valleys, and its settlement was in the form of a vein -- five clusters were located in five small sub-valleys and the other four were gathered together in the central part. The direction of each cluster differed considerably. Villages Ta-ts'ang (大倉), Hsiao-men (小門), and Chung-she had quite different shapes from the previous examples because their lee-ward sides were narrow. The settlement of Ta-ts'ang Village as shown in Fig. 2-8 had taken a linear shape. For the same reason, as well as the fact that part of the valley was slightly bigger, the settlement of Hsiao-men Village as shown in Fig. 2-9

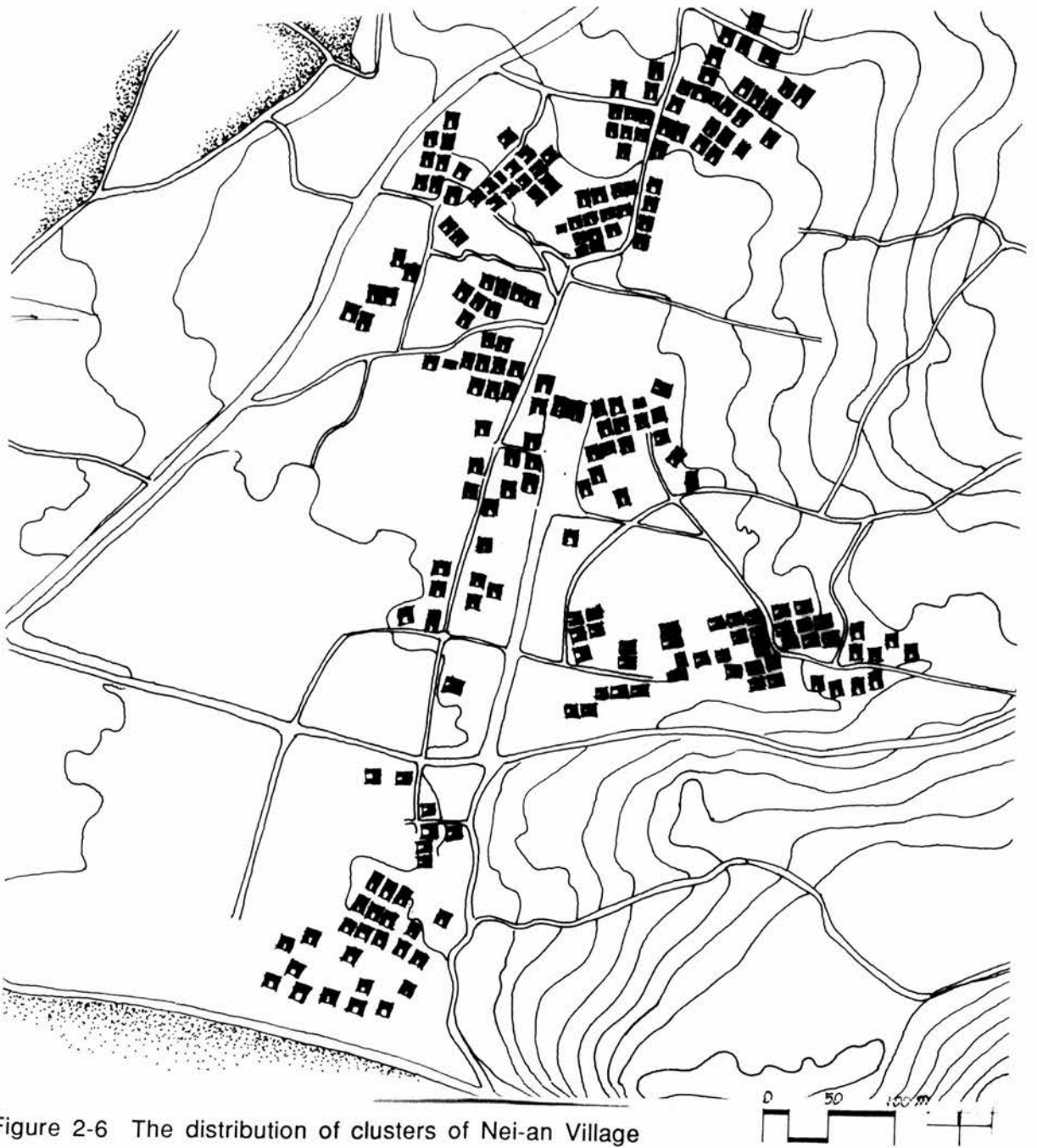


Figure 2-6 The distribution of clusters of Nei-an Village

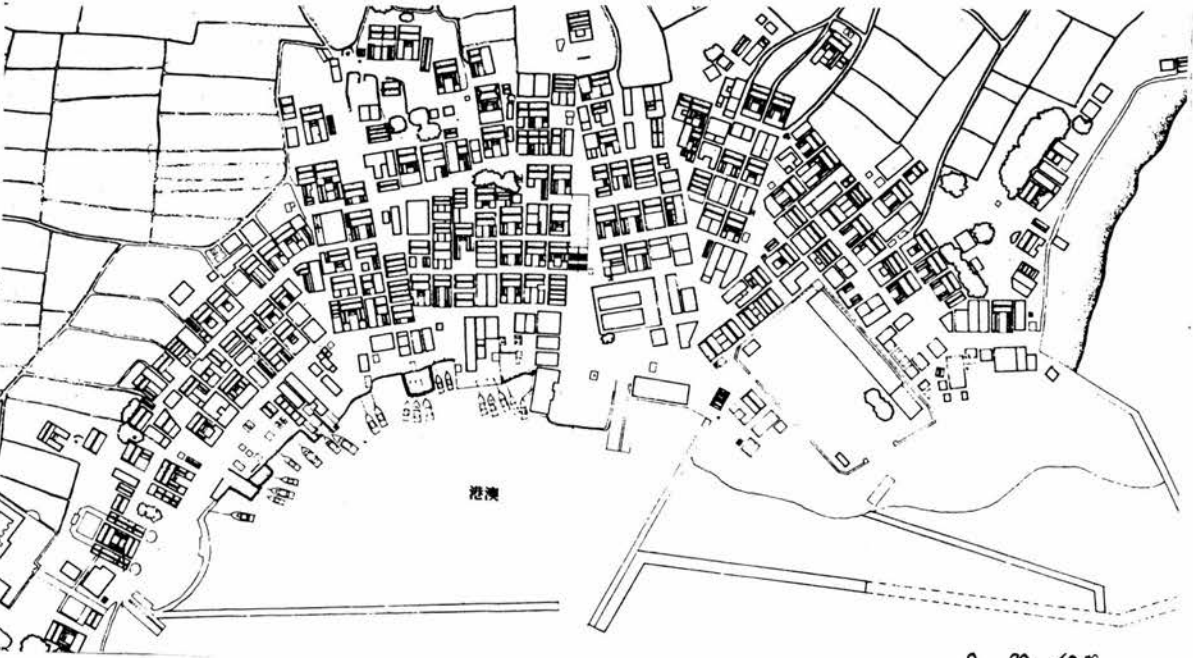


Figure 2-7 The settlement of Chi-pei Village (after G. I. B. P., Taiwan University, 1985)

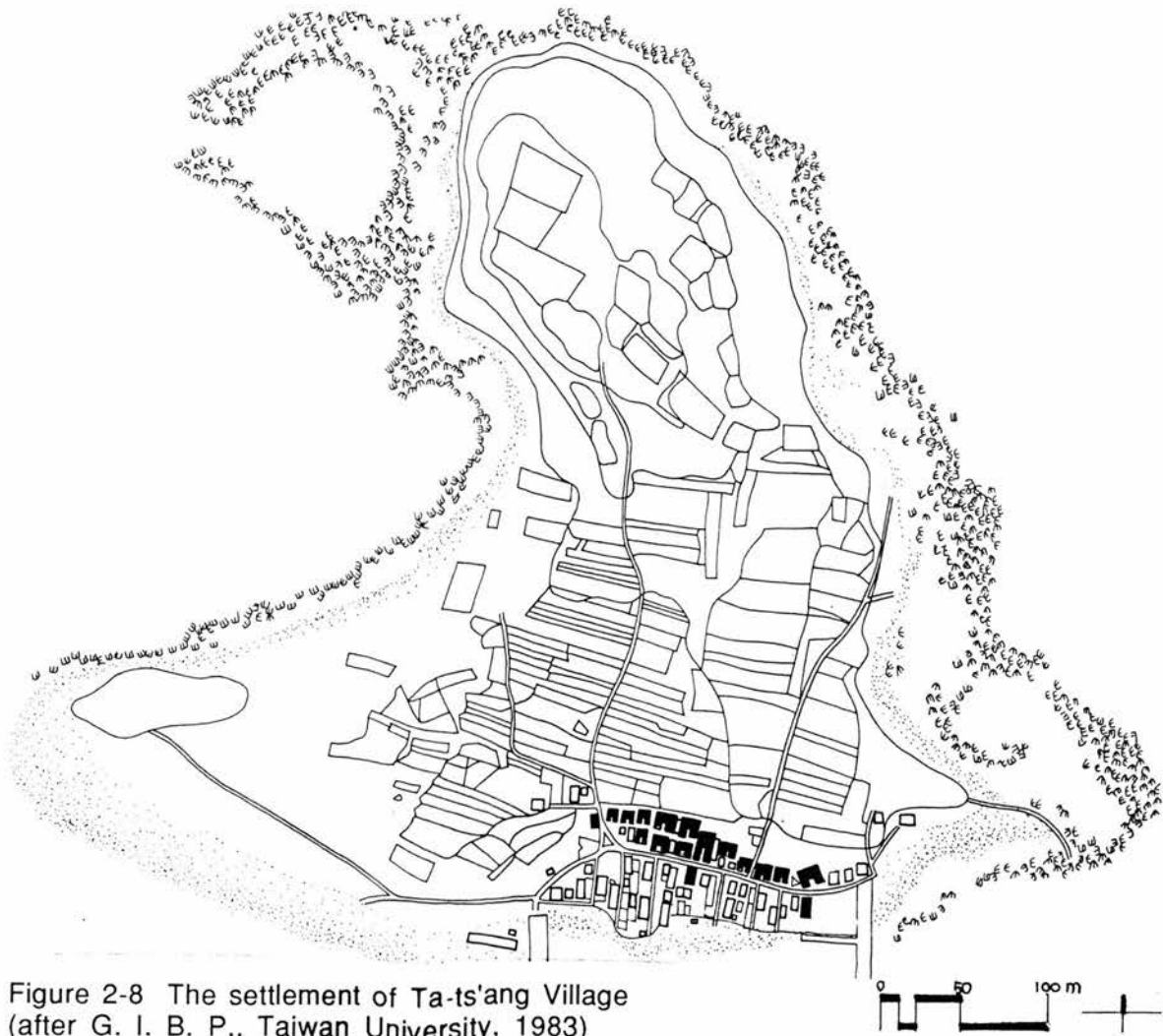


Figure 2-8 The settlement of Ta-ts'ang Village
 (after G. I. B. P., Taiwan University, 1983)

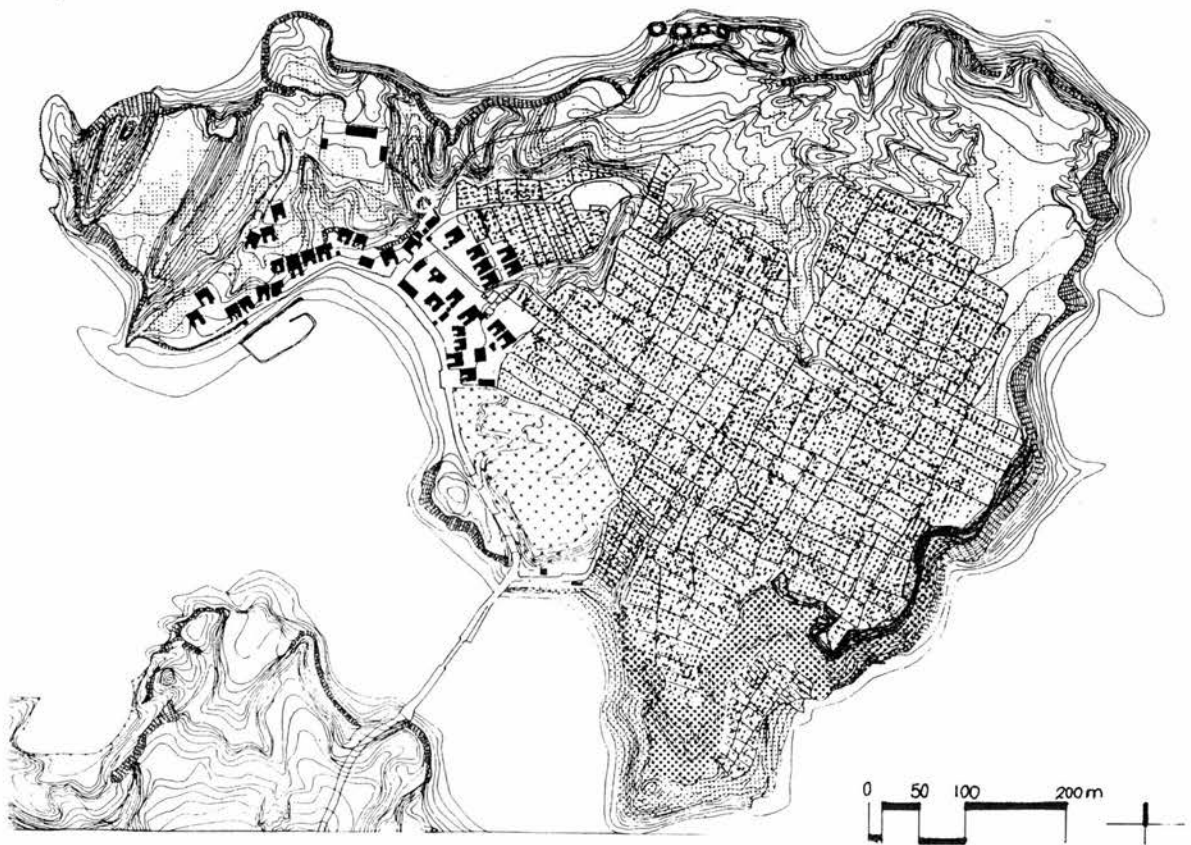


Figure 2-9 The settlement of Hsiao-men Village
 (after G. I. B. P., Taiwan University, 1980)

was in the shape of a lollipop. In Chung-she Village there is a big mound in the middle of the valley as shown in Fig. 2-3 so the settlement had been built in a shape like a dumbbell. As a rule, if the area of the valley was big enough, the settlements were built into a plane form, if not, a linear form.

In a partly-enclosed lee valley, the area of shelter became an important criterion for local people in their selection of building sites. Typical examples were villages Pei-liao (北寮), Niao-yu (烏嶼), and Yuan-pei (員貝) as shown in Fig. 2-10. All the settlements of these were square-shaped and located in the southern or south-western part of a hill or mound. The edge of the settlements coincided with the tangent line of the orientation of the monsoon to the mound. If the area of shelter was not big enough, it was generally not used as a building site.

Another circumstance concerns the relationship between the amount of necessary materials available and the size of a lee valley, if the former was not great whilst the latter was quite big, then the shape of the valley would not become a restrictive factor to that of the village. The settlements which had emerged in these cases had a loosely agglomerated form with many open patches, such as T'ung-liang Village on Pai-sha Island as shown in Fig. 2-11.

To sum up, under the threat of the dry-monsoon, the location of a village, the micro-terrain within a valley, and the orientation of courtyard houses all became sensitive factors for local people to deal with. Apart from the common influence of the distribution of both gradient and orientation of slope, the most influential factors in the arrangement of clusters or houses, their density, and the shape of the settlement varied in different kinds of valleys. In windward valleys it was the micro-terrain within the valley; in small lee-ward valleys with abundant necessary materials it was the shape and size of the valley as well as the micro-terrains; in partly sheltered valleys it was the extent of the area of shelter, and in lee-ward valleys without abundant materials there were no additional factors.

Monsoon and topography are two independent elements, but in P'eng-hu Archipelago, they represented two sides of a pair of opposites: the monsoon could be regarded as a persecutor whilst topography was a protector to the feeble villagers.

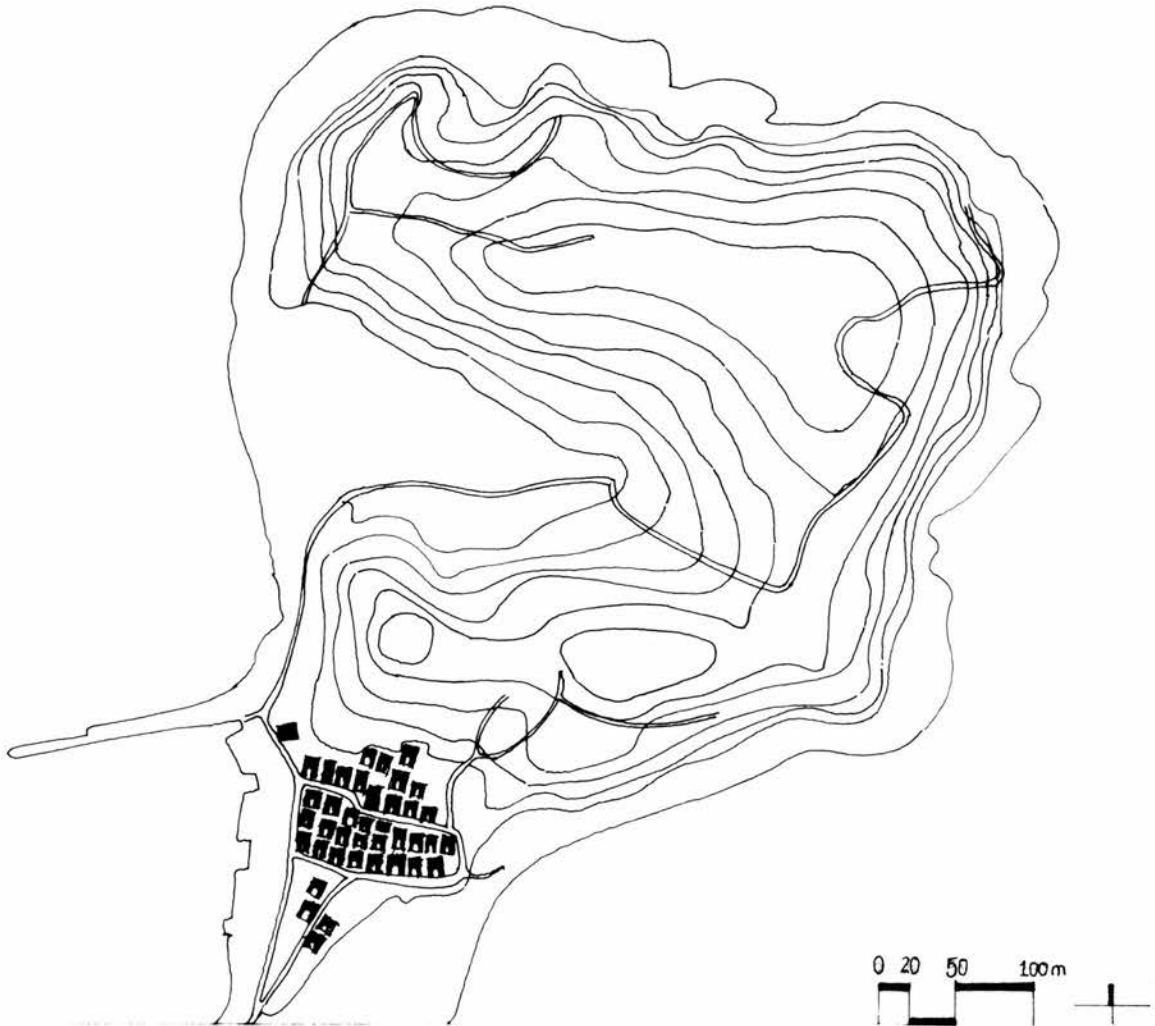
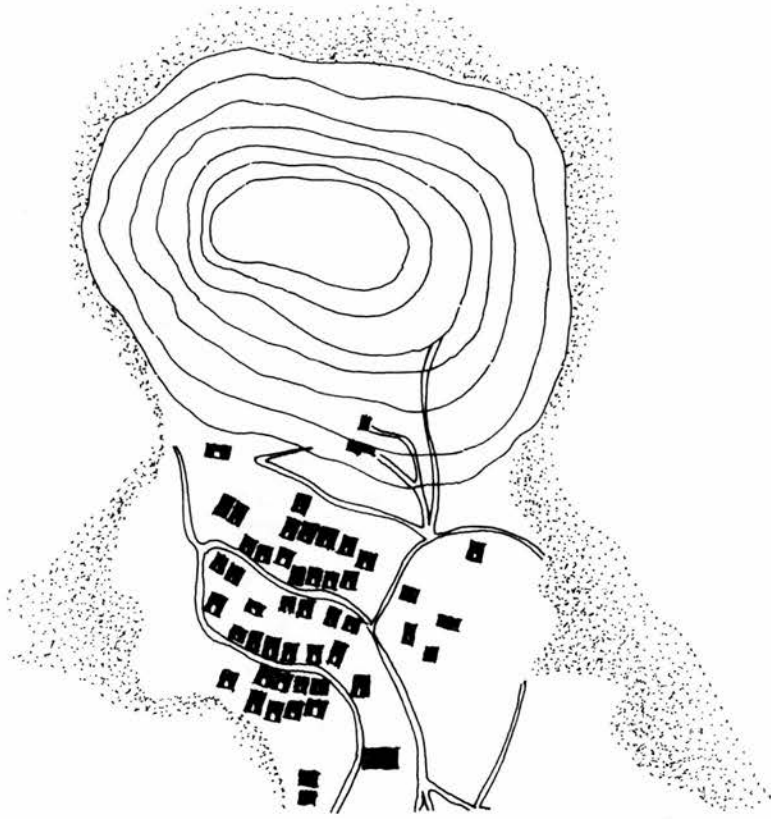


Figure 2-10 The settlements of Pei-liao Village (above) and Yuan-pei Village (below)

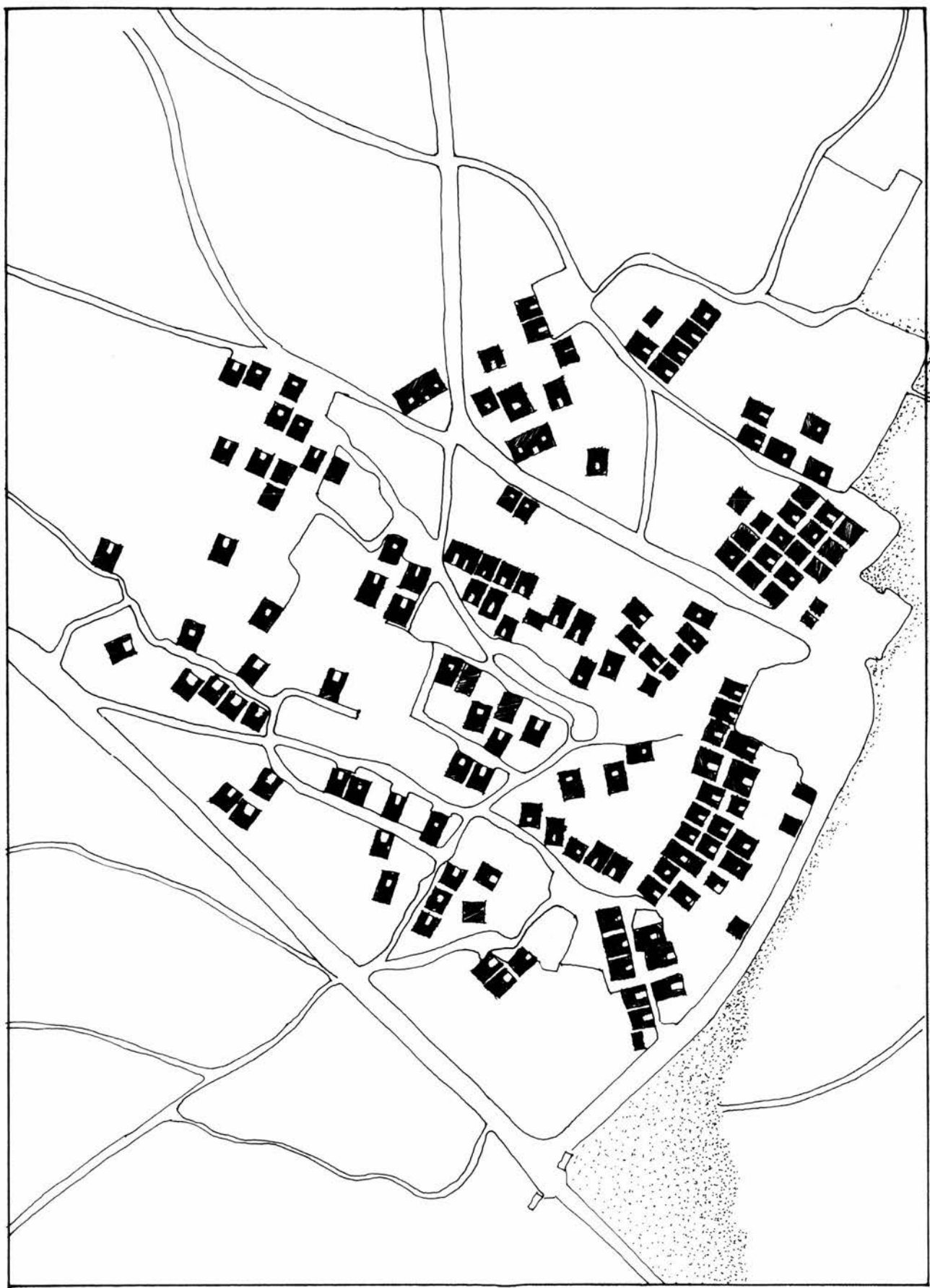


Figure 2-11 The distribution of clusters of T'ung-liang Village

5. The occupation of land

Relying on their general ability, the villagers achieved one of their basic material requirement, namely, to protect themselves from the damage of natural elements. Since they had no hostile rivals nor too many tyrannical officials to deal with, there was only one more material need for local people to concern themselves with: the acquisition of the materials necessary for existence.

Three factors need consideration. First, the Han people were forced to desert their homes and head for the archipelago in order to avoid starvation between 1628 and 1635, and wars between 1647 and 1664. (see Chapter 1-2) They would not have done this willingly, because traditionally they had a very strong attachment to their territory. Almost all of them arrived empty handed, except for small amounts of food left over from the voyage, some seeds for crops and tools for cultivation, the statues of gods or goddess or packets of dust of incense from their native village temple to bless their voyage and their settling on the islands. (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 401-440) Also, there were ancestral tablets which symbolised the fact that the blood (or *ch'i*, 氣 see Chapter 3-6 and Chapter 4-4) of their forefathers was being continued, and some packets of soil from their homeland intended to cure illness caused by the alienness of the new natural environment -- called *shui-t'u pu-fu*, 水土不服 literally unsuitable water and earth -- during their progress over the troubled ocean to the islands. Secondly, when the pioneers arrived on the archipelago individually, with a few of their families, or in groups of several friends together, they found no aborigine inhabitants, and apart from a few earlier illegal immigrants, the land was completely empty and they could occupy it as they wished. Thirdly, the acquisition of necessary materials from the islands, with their special natural conditions, did not in fact, seem that difficult for the pioneers, although what they gained did not necessarily satisfy them fully. The reason for this was that after peanut and sweet potato were introduced into the islands, its soil became cultivable. (see Chapter 1-2) The categories of materials on or around the archipelago -- the marine resources, the vegetables on the land, and the resources on the sea-shore -- were similar to those of their native villages, which were either near or surrounded by the same ocean. The livelihoods that the islands offered -- cultivation, fishing, gathering, and breeding -- were those that the immigrants had pursued at home. Also, the natural features of the archipelago -- such as strong wind, high temperature, lack of water resources, and flat topography -- were similar to their homeland: Ch'uan-chou fu, Chang-

chou *fu*, and Chin-men Island. (Ch'en, 1987, pp. 24-27) The pioneers could cope with these without difficulty. All these facts indicate that at the beginning of their occupation, survival (as well as procreation) did not seem difficult to the immigrants although conditions were tough.

The majority of the pioneers were bachelors or nuclear families, (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 318-324) so that when they initially settled on the islands, they had to ensure their survival independently. In other words, the interaction between an immigrant himself and the islands' natural resources was direct and individual, and the success or failure of the reclamation in the long term was mainly decided by the management of natural resources of the immigrant himself; collaboration between groups of relatives or settlers in the same valley only played a very minor role. Nevertheless, the pioneers were highly homogeneous, and their methods of reclamation were similar. Furthermore, we can deduce the quantity and quality of what the pioneers were able to produce under the limitations of natural conditions from the tools and facilities that they used, and the way land was divided.

Initially, cultivation seemed to be given more emphasis by pioneers than other means of support because the gains from it promised to be more stable. This is shown in the process of reclamation of the archipelago: the area of richer soil, such as the well-enclosed valleys in the lee side of the south-eastern, eastern, and middle parts of Ma-kung Island occupied by the following villages: Kuo-yeh (菓葉), Lung-men (龍門), So-kang (鎖港), Ts'ai-yuan (菜園), and so on, were adopted first; well-enclosed valleys in Pai-sha Island and those in the southern and western parts of Ma-kung Island were the next to be adopted; those in Hsi-yu Island and Wang-an Island were the third; and the windward valleys of the three biggest islands and the lee-ward valleys of the small islands were occupied last. (Li, 1960, pp. 131-135; Ch'en, 1972, pp. 19-26) But the situation so far as the acquisition of food was concerned gradually shifted, gains from cultivation and fishing becoming equally important after the area of richer soil had been fully occupied and the other soils were discovered to be inadequate as a sole means of support.

In general, when they first settled, pioneers occupied on average 0.3-0.4 hectares each within a valley (or 0.7-0.8 hectares between two or three brothers). Earlier comers often occupied a complete piece of land on a gentle slope with the best shelter, later comers were left with the inferior and/or patchy land. The pioneers established their home -- generally thatched house

using stems as frames -- in an appropriate place on their land. (Wang, 1961, vol. 119) The remaining area was planted with hemp, beans, sorghum, sweet potato, and so on. (Tu, ca. 1630-1647, p. 2; Chou and Hu, 1736, pp. 23-49) Outside the valley, the grassland was public to all settlers, and was used as pasture for goats. All goats were marked on their ear, horn, or fur so as to be easily distinguished. (Tu, *ibid*, p. 2) The ocean, unoccupied sea-shore, and uninhabited islands were common properties as well, except for that surrounding some uninhabited islands with prosperous materials, such as Ku-p'o Yu (姑婆嶼), Ch'u-chua Yu (屈爪嶼), Hsiao-pai-sha Yu (小白沙嶼), and Chi-shan Yu (雞膳嶼) which were rich in sea-weed. (G. I. B. P., 1985, pp. 48-59; Hsu, 1991, p. 16) Anyone could catch fish and gather marine resources at will. The settlers also built semi-circular fish trays by gradually piling up a huge number of coral reefs onto rocks in shallow water -- in general, a small one took around a year to complete, a large one as long as 16 years. (G. I. B. P., 1983, pp. 36-37; also see Chapter 1-5) These allowed them to trap fish at low tide. Through these measures, the settlers managed to alleviate the fear of starvation.

As well as facilities necessary for survival, the pioneers also constructed small shrines in their fields, which were dedicated to the statues of gods, goddess, or the packets of incense dust which the settlers brought with them across the ocean. Originally the statues were worshipped inside their houses, and the packets of incense dust were hung on the branches of trees (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 401-440), but their role evolved so that they were responsible for blessing and protection from pestilences or other illnesses, and from persecution by numerous evil ghosts, such as those of the victims of perils on the sea, of dead pioneers without descendants, and so on.⁸ After a period of time, settlers felt it necessary to unify their powers in order to deal with potential crises, to maintain social order within the new villages, and to relieve their psychological fear of the evil power of ghosts. According to local accounts, because there were few settlers at that time in relation to the area of the valleys which was comparatively large, ghost power (*yin-ch'i*, 陰氣) was considered stronger than human power (*yang-ch'i*, 陽氣). (*Ibid*, p. 433) Also, with the increase of population in the villages, common matters became more complicate, and there were frequent disputes between clans. In addition, because of the lack of common

⁸. According to local custom, the victims of perils on the sea would be transformed into evil ghosts, called *shui-kui* (水鬼), literally water ghost. (also see Chapter 4-3)

blood ties between all or the majority of clans, the base of authority popularly adopted by the societies of Han people to reinforce the power of the representatives of a lineage (see Chapter 1-5), namely the souls of the ancestors, had lost its applicability. As an alternative, another kind of supernatural being believed in by local people, namely a god or goddess, was substituted as the base of authority. These were adopted by village representatives either from one of the private shrines within that village or from another village on the basis of good fame. A temple, namely the village temple, was collectively established by villagers and dedicated to the chosen one or ones. This temple was usually located on unoccupied land, or a space donated by or purchased from an occupier after negotiations involving all the settlers of the valley. This was always in the middle of the village so that the gods could bless all the villagers equally. (Lu, 1989, p. 42)

On average, at that time a bigger valley was able to accommodate around 10 pioneers, a middle one 6 to 8, and a small one 2 to 3. In other words, the initial settlements of P'eng-hu Archipelago were in a widely dispersed form.

Originally, the motivation of pioneers who occupied the land within a valley was simply the need to produce food and construct a house. Their actions had, in fact, made a deep impression on the spatial organisation of the villages. Because a valley was reclaimed by between 2 and 10 settlers, the land in it was divided into the same number of plots. The immediate consequence was seen on the boundaries of occupied land: to avoid trespassing onto the land of other owners, the settlers usually came and went to the beach and other places, by way of the strip between two occupied plots. After a period of time, these paths gradually broadened and became common passages; some of them were even converted into the main roads of a village.

The next consequence was that, for convenience of usage, common wells and stoves for cooking fish were constructed on the road sides.

From a series of developments: the occupation of a piece of land, the formation of main roads, and the construction of various common facilities on public lands, the framework of spatial organisation of a village was intentionally or unintentionally formed by villagers in a natural and gradual way.

6. The adjustment of land-use

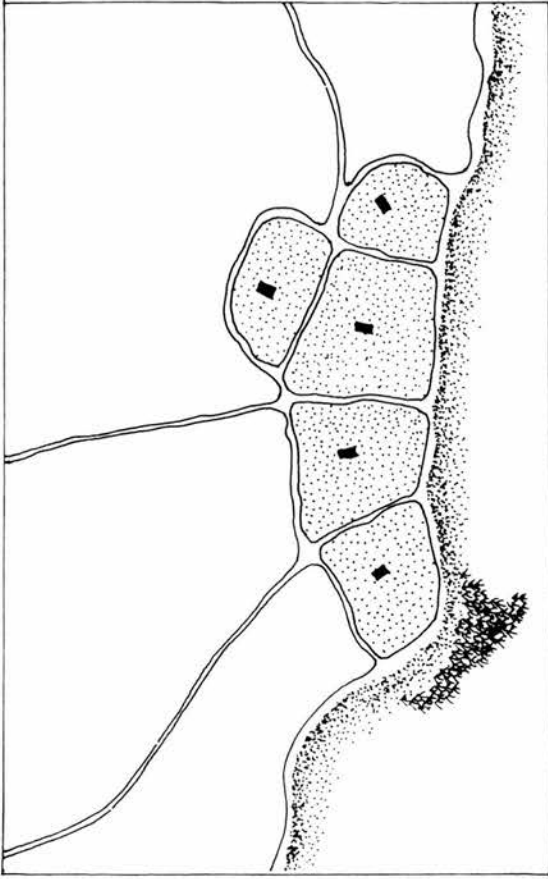
At the same time as the frameworks of spatial organisation of villages were being formed, the population of pioneers families was gradually increasing, and the need for a greater volume of food and more living space was considerable.

As well as increasing the amount of gains from fishing, gathering, and breeding, the most guaranteed way to meet these needs was to cultivate the tableland outside the valley. Subsequently, the unoccupied grasslands were gradually converted into private lots. On these, crops, such as maize, broomcorns millet, peanut, and so on were planted. (Hu, 1767, pp. 160-162) To protect the vegetables from damage, the goats were gradually expelled from the area and put into private sheds near the courtyard houses of their owners. Moreover, a common treaty was drawn up by the settlers, which established penalties for grazing cattle or goats on the tablelands. (Li, 1960. pp. 199-200) After this, the scene of herds of goats eating on the grassland under the blue sky was replaced by that of neat furrows of various crops.

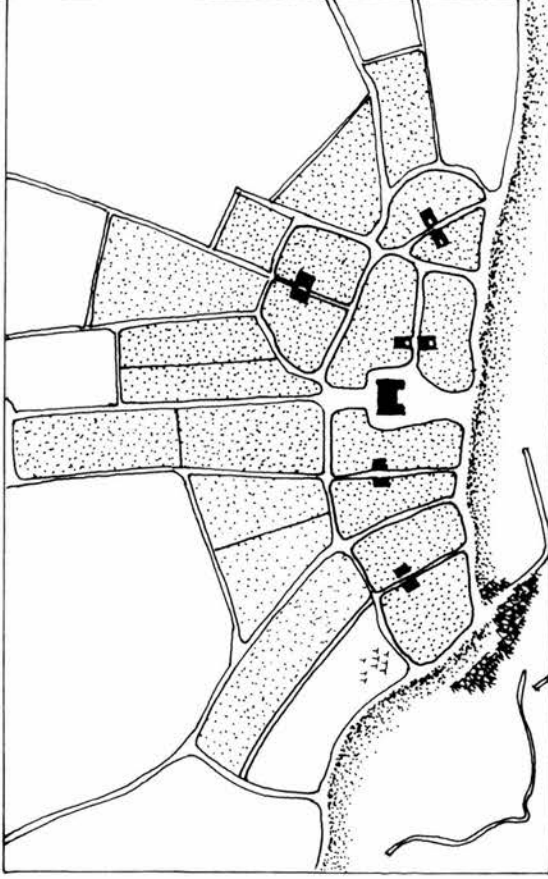
The solution to the requirement for more living space was to build new courtyard houses on the farmland inside the valleys. The density of settlement was therefore gradually increased, Fig. 2-12 shows the general pattern of this process.

These actions -- the conversion of agricultural fields into building sites and the tableland outside a valley into farmland -- stopped around 160 years ago after the majority of land within the valleys had been converted into residential areas, and almost all the smooth tableland outside had been occupied and planted. The most distinct alterations of spatial organisation were that the territory of a village had expanded into a much bigger area than ever before, and a new model for the land-distribution of a whole village had been founded. That is to say, the land of a village was distinguished into six categories. The first kind was the land within a valley, which had been converted into residential areas, the courtyard houses, which were divided into several groups, and each group was in a rectangular form. The second kind was smooth tableland outside a valley, which had been divided into a quantity of irregular lots and used as agricultural fields. The third kind was the area along the sea-shore, such as beach, rock, and coral reef, reserved as a public place, on which a number of jetties, fishing trays, limekilns, boat houses, and fishing stoves were constructed. The fourth kind was the patchy land inside or near residential areas, such as that used for roads, wells and fishing stoves on the road side, village temples and shrines with their

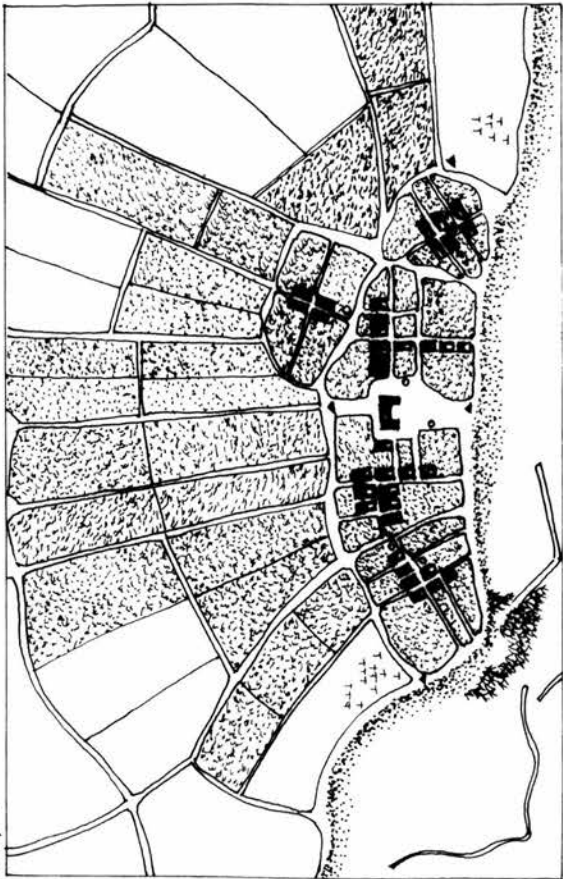
Step 1



Step 2



Step 3



Step 4



Figure 2-12 The general model of development of a village of the archipelago

squares, the reserved places significant to the belief of *feng-shui*,⁹ some areas preserved for their natural environment (usually near the beach), and so on. All of these last belonged to all villagers: some of the reserved places, and the regulations for punishments or penalties for either intentionally or unintentionally occupying these places, were recorded in the village treaty. (Ibid, pp. 199-200) The fifth kind was salt grassland near the coast and steep areas in the tablelands, which were public to all villagers and used as cemeteries. The sixth kind was waste land. An example of this distribution of land types within a village, Ta-ts'ang, is shown in Fig 2-13.

As a whole, after some 200 years of development, (from ca. 1628 to 1829 A.D.) a new model of spatial organisation for the villages of P'eng-hu Archipelago had been formed, which, just like the previous one, was based on reasonable and common economic usage. In the new model, the residential area was agglomerate in form as opposed to the previously dispersed form. The new model has lasted to the present day.

7. The quantity of resources

Several factors need to be recognised: first, the gains from cultivation, fishing, gathering, and breeding were the only source of income for most local people. Second, all the gains belonged to the workers themselves, and were in no danger of being either damaged or looted by outsiders because they had no hostile rivals, nor would they be exploited by officials -- at that time local officials, the same as those in other places under Ch'ing Dynasty rule, were generally corrupt -- or by other people because there was no social hierarchy and almost no officials in the villages. Third, the material condition of the villagers was just on the margin of survival; almost all produce was consumed by the families themselves. Fourth, all the social units of different levels on the archipelago: from a family, a clan, a village, to the whole archipelago were economically independent. Fifth, the difference between the volume of food consumed by adults and children was minimal.

We have seen that the gradual slowing to a standstill of the actions of occupation of land and adjustment of land-use -- both of which were motivated

⁹. One example of this was the place named Hua-hsin (literally, the "core" of a flower) in Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island.

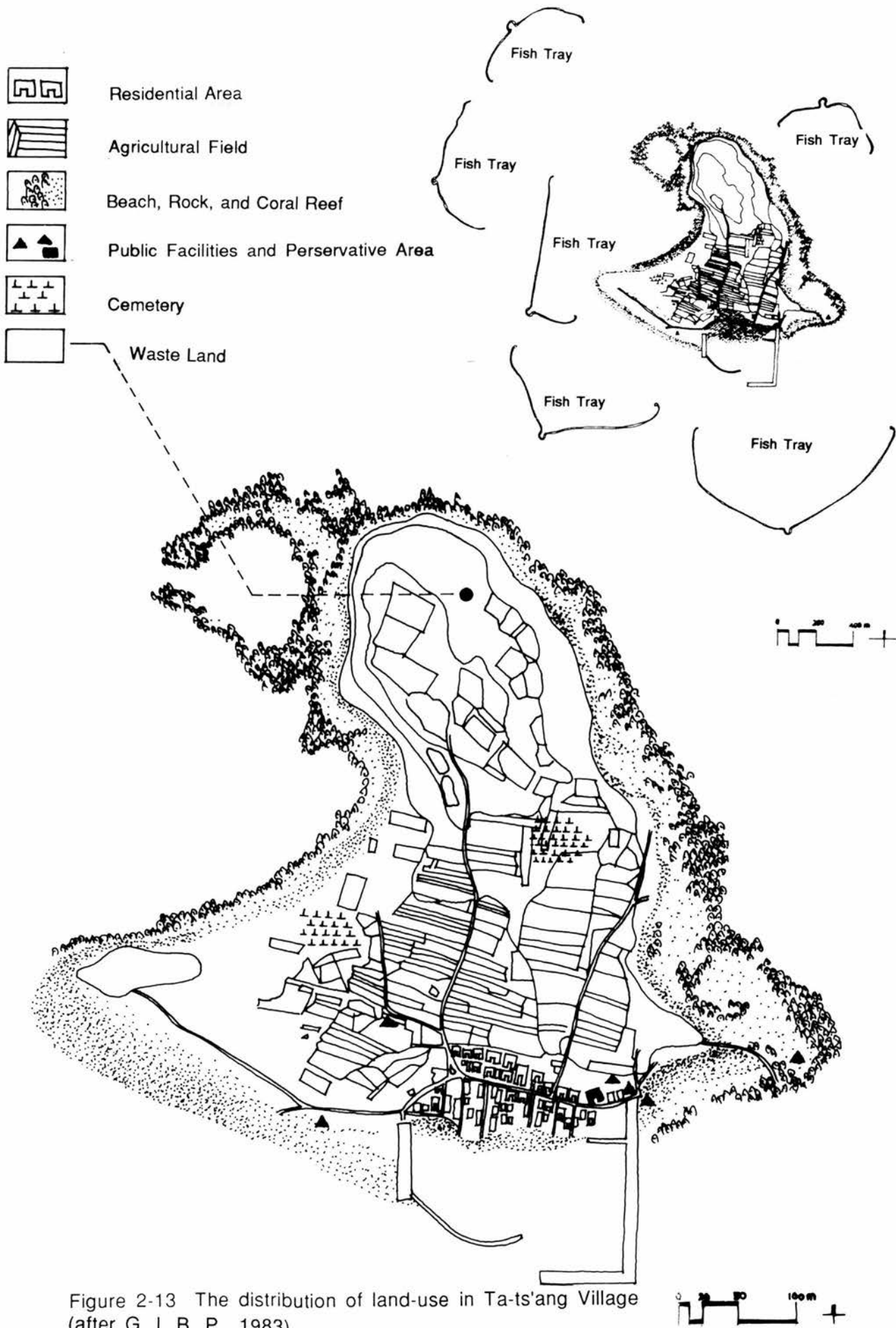


Figure 2-13 The distribution of land-use in Ta-ts'ang Village (after G. I. B. P., 1983)

by the need to acquire foodstuffs and other materials -- indicated that the exploitation of resources in the territory of a village under traditional modes of production had reached its maximum potential. Since this was the case, no matter how much building space was still available, it could not be used. That is why there were some vegetable gardens within villages -- except for in those few villages where the area of shelter had been fully occupied. Since the methods of production hardly changed, the population of the archipelago stopped increasing: the extra people emigrated to Taiwan Island or other places. Also, the average volume of gains of a family over the whole archipelago, in fact, substantially and separately reflected that of all social units of different levels. That is to say, most families or independent economic units on the archipelago produced around the same amount.

Moreover, all the local families -- nuclear families of 5-6 people -- lived in similar, individual, courtyard houses. The average floor area of a courtyard house was around 187 sq m,¹⁰ In other words, the average floor area of a person was around 30-47 sq m. The similarity of floor area of each resident indicates that the extent of residential area of a village had to reflect the volume of produce of that village.

The majority of families on P'eng-hu Archipelago depended for about half of their supplies upon cultivation and half upon fishing. Also, all the agricultural, geological and meteorological conditions were similar in villages throughout the archipelago, in other words, the average gains per unit of cultivable land was similar in different villages as well. This further implies that the harvest could be deduced from the area of farmland, and that this was a more or less constant correspondence all over the archipelago. All these facts again indicate that there had to be a similar ratio between the size of agricultural and residential areas for each of the majority of villages on the archipelago.

From the statistics recording the land-use of villages of the archipelago in 1915 A.D, (the earliest data available), for 60 villages that ratio was between 25:1 to 30:1, for 2 villages it was much higher, and for 19 villages it was lower. (Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 600-603)

¹⁰. The generally size of a courtyard house on the archipelago was 11-14 m long with 4 m alleys on the front and back; and 10-11 m wide with 0.9 m alleys on the right and left each. Also see Chapter 1-5.

The 60 villages were those typical villages which conformed to the general descriptions given above. The average area of farmland per family of these was around 0.48 to 0.6 hectares.

The two with a higher proportion of agricultural land were T'ai-wu Village (太武) and Ta-ch'eng-pei Village (大城北). The ratio of these were 62.2:1 (115.8 hectares/1.86 hectares in T'ai-wu) and 125:1 (110.6 hectares/0.89 hectares in Ta-ch'eng-pei). The average area of farmland of the families living there was between 0.95 and 1.89 hectares. In other words, it was around twice to four times that of typical villages. The reason for this higher ratio is that, these villages were the only two on the archipelago whose inhabitants were exclusively involved in cultivation, because both were located inland on Ma-kung Island. The families obviously needed far more land to meet their food needs for a whole year. Moreover, taking a comparison of the average area of farmland of a household and the days of consumption afforded by its harvests, it is known that the productivity of cultivation on the archipelago was constant.

The 21 villages with a smaller proportion of agricultural land fall into three categories. The first kind were located on small islands (6/21).¹¹ The second kind were located in windward valleys (5/21).¹² The third kind had no special location (11/21).¹³ The lowest two ratios were 3:1 that of Hou-liao Village on Pai-sha Island, and 3.2:1 that of Niao-yu Village. The average area of farmland per family in these villages was from 0.045 to 0.38 hectares, and harvests from this land made up 1/4 to 1/20 of the total consumption of a family. In other words, the average lack of foods per year of 1/4 to 19/20 had to be offset by fishing or other means. Since methods of fishing and gathering were similar in

11. These 6 villages were as follows: Tung-chi (東吉, 13.7; 86.8 hectares/6.38 hectares), Hsi-chi (西吉, 15.6; 23.0/1.48), Yu-p'ing (嶼坪, 11.1; 25.7/2.3), Niao-yu (3.2; 95.94/1.78), Ta-ts'ang (15; 5.92/0.4), and T'ung-p'an (10; 12.85/1.21).

12. There were 5 villages, but one of which overlapped with the previous condition, they were as follows: Sha-kang (16.4; 98.7/6.0), T'u-ti-kung-ch'ien (10.9; 6.54/0.6), and Wu-te (15; 60.5/4.0) on Ma-kung Island, and Chiang-mei (講美, 20; 97.9/4.9) on Pai-sha Island.

13. These 11 villages were as follows: Shih-li (7; 18.91/2.62), Ching-an (井坡, 12.8, 85.25/6.72), Shih-ch'uan (石泉, 12; 53.05/4.93), Ts'ai-yuan (9.2; 21.90/2.36), and Ch'ien-liao (前寮, 17.1; 43.42/2.53) on Ma-kung Island, Hou-liao (後寮, 3.0; 25.96/8.63) and T'ung-liang (15.8; 96.39/6.12) on Pai-sha Island, Ch'ih-hsi (池西, 17.3; 225.13/13.5), Nei-an (13; 103.09/7.85) and Wai-an (18; 90.23/5.15) on Hsi-yu Island, and Wang-an (11.1; 90.23/8.11) on Wang-an Island.

all villages, the increase of gains from these activities had to be due to the location of the villages themselves not to any feature of the work.

The beneficial conditions allowing villagers to offset the shortfall from cultivation were as follows. The first was that these villages were located along Ma-kung-wan (6/21).¹⁴ There are three layers of sea in the archipelago: Ma-kung-wan (馬公灣), P'eng-hu-wan (澎湖灣), and the outer sea as shown in Fig. 2-14. Amongst these three, the wave and wind conditions of Ma-kung-wan were comparatively the best whilst those of the outer sea were the worst. Also, Ma-kung-wan was the gathering place of fish during spring and summer. Villagers who inhabited the coastline along Ma-kung-wan could catch fish more safely and expect abundant gain simply using crude boats or rafts, and nets.

The second condition was that there was more rock and coral reef near the villages (7/21).¹⁵ As well as richer fishing and sea-weed, and more coral reef (as building material), fixed nets could be operated, and fish trays assembled. Both were efficient ways of fishing in the archipelago.

The third condition was that there was a sandy beach near the villages (2/21).¹⁶ On the beach, the mode of beach seine could be operated, which was one of the most efficient methods of fishing, with most stable catches in the archipelago.




The fourth condition was that these villages had better harbours (10/21).¹⁷ In general, all the villages of the archipelago, except for T'ai-wu Village and Ta-ch'eng-pei Village, had individual harbours not shared by any other people but exclusive to the villagers themselves. There was a distinct example, villages Ts'ai-yuan, Shih-ch'uan, and Ch'ien-liao as shown in Fig. 2-15 were less than 500 m apart but each of them occupied a separated cove as their harbour. The elements that made a better harbour in the archipelago before last century were, firstly, better shelter against either the north-east monsoon or typhoon, or both. Secondly, that it was a sandy, pebble, or rocky harbour. The former two were

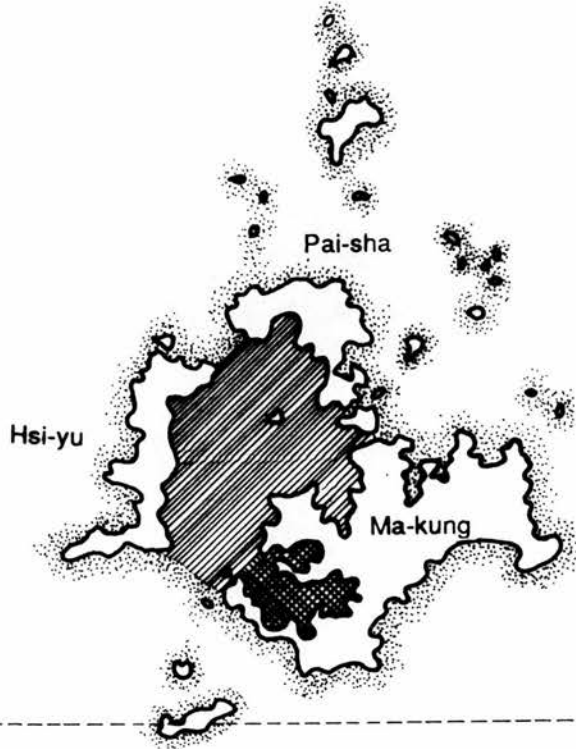
14. Three villages of this were as follows: Ching-an, Wu-te, and Shih-ch'uan on Ma-kung Island.

15. Two villages of this were as follows: Ch'ih-k'an (赤坎) on Pai-sha Island and Ta-ts'ang on Ma-kung Island.

16. They were as follows: Shih-li Village on Ma-kung Island and Wang-an Village on Wang-an Island.

17. One example of this was Sha-kang Village on Ma-kung Island.

-  The outer sea
-  P'eng-hu-wan
-  Ma-kung-wan



Tropic of Cancer

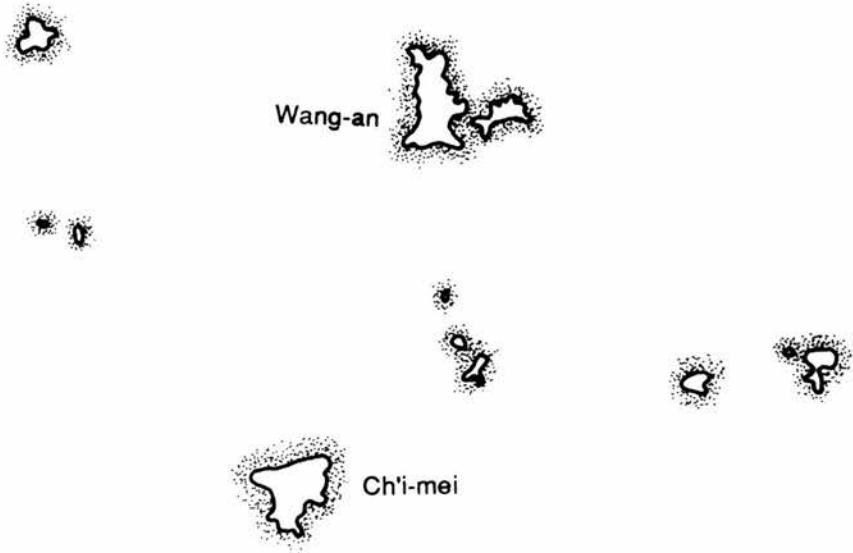


Figure 2-14 Three layers of sea area of the archipelago



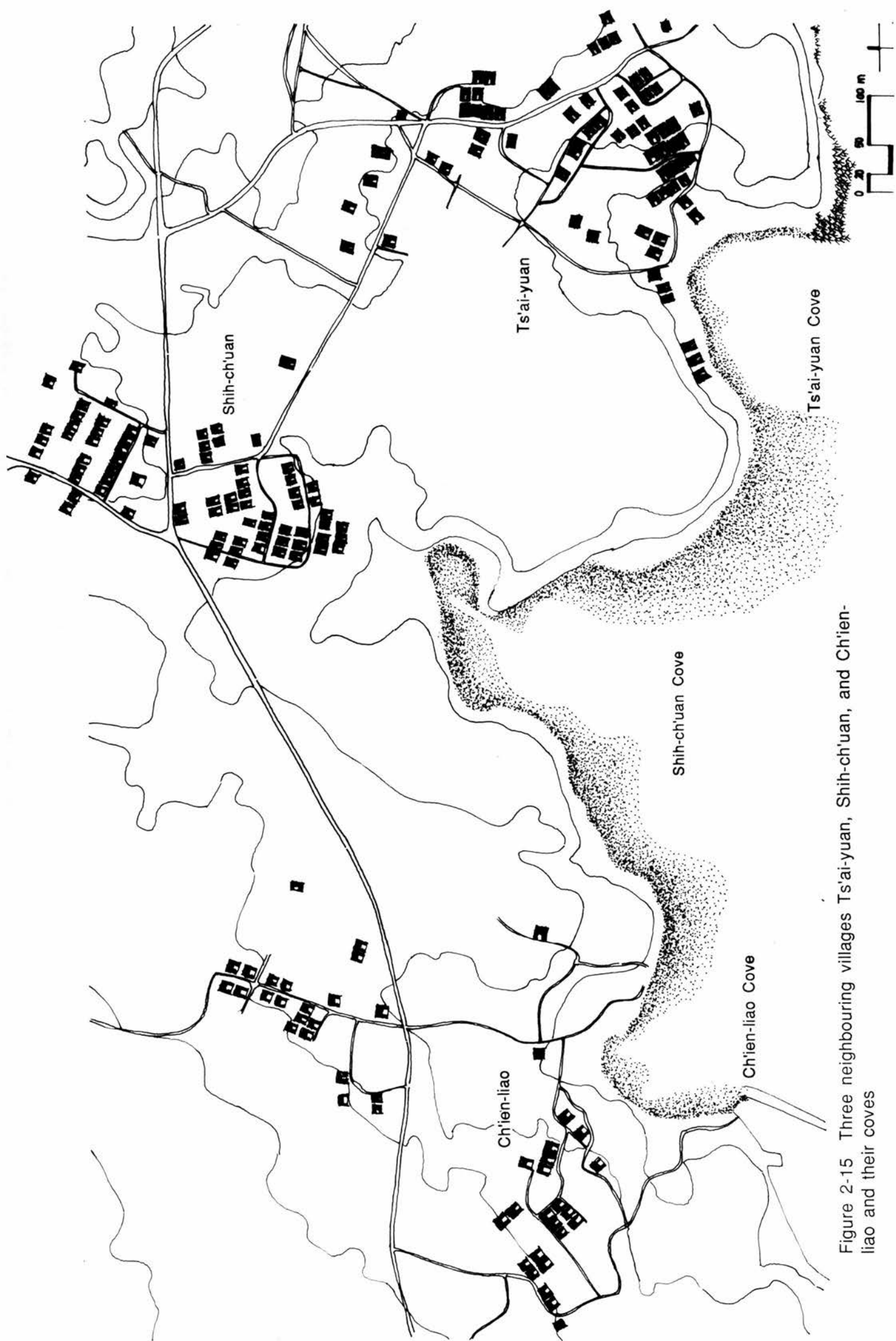


Figure 2-15 Three neighbouring villages Ts'ai-yuan, Shih-ch'uan, and Ch'ien-liao and their coves

suitable for the anchor of small boats, the latter one was suitable for bigger boats. The other kind, the coral reef harbour, was not good for fishing boats to berth. A good harbour could protect boats from damage by wave and wind, and made the operation of fishing more convenient. The best harbour on the archipelago, as has been mentioned in the last chapter, was that of Ma-kung Town. It was the only place where any kind of boat could berth all year round. Its water front, therefore, was developed into the only market town of the archipelago.

The fifth condition was that the villages were located near a superior fishing field (13/21).¹⁸ There were many fishing fields in the sea area of the archipelago, but only a few of them had fish all year round as a result of the habits of the fish and the conditions of the ocean. Amongst them, the "South-shallow fishing field" (南淺), "North-shallow fishing field" (北淺), the sea area near T'ung-p'an Island and Hu-ching Island, and the western sea area off Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 2-16 were the better ones. (Li, 1960, pp. 560-564) Owing to the fact that the ability to sail boats was limited, the inhabitants who lived near these areas were better able to prosper from the marine resources.

The sixth condition was that the villages were located on the official sea route between Taiwan and China (6/21).¹⁹ Some villagers benefited from trade with passing sea-going boats.

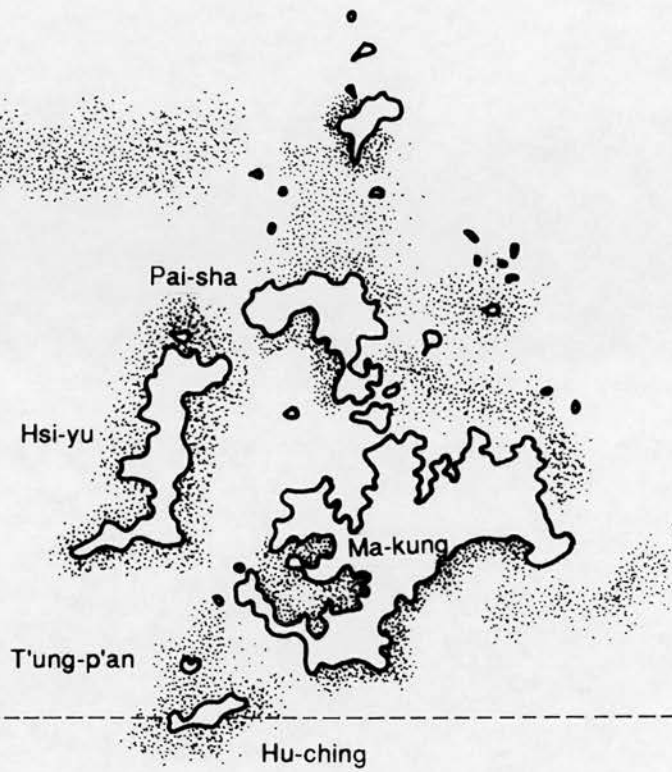
These six kinds of beneficial condition not only affected the 21 villages being discussed here, they also had a limited influence on some of the other villages. This is one reason why the ratios of the 60 villages were slightly different; other reasons are intricate, such as the condition of the soil, the monsoon, the area of shelter in a village, the area of farmland in a village, the ownership of land, and so on.

As a whole, as has been stated, the ratio of farmland to residential area in a village was between 25:1 to 30:1, namely, the area of farmland was 25 to 30 times that of residence. Correspondingly the more farmland there was, the larger the residential area, and vice versa. But under the above conditions, the

¹⁸. Seven cases of this were as follows: Niao-yu Island, Yuan-pei Island, Hsi-chi Island, Tung-chi Island, Yu-p'ing Island, T'ung-p'an Island, and Hu-ching Island.

¹⁹. Four villages of this were as follows: Shui-an and Tung-an on Wang-an Island, and Ching-an and Shan-shui on Ma-kung Island

North-shallow Fishing Field



Tropic of Cancer

Wang-an

South-shallow Fishing Field



Figure 2-16 The fishing fields around the archipelago

ratio of a village could be reduced. What is more, if a village benefited from more than one of those conditions, or if those conditions were the best, then the ratio might be as low as 3:1.

Moreover, since the livelihoods of local people remained similar through time, it means that the ratio of a village remained stable as well, and can be deemed a standard for evaluating the level of population of a village: whilst the ratio is higher than its average, its population could be increased, and vice versa.

Apart from this, the above statistics and the reasons for differences of ratio also indirectly reveal the reason why some people preferred to inhabit the windward valleys, small islands, or both, despite the fact that here they might suffer more damage from the monsoon and the soils were even worse (under the blowing of the monsoon, the soil of northerly valleys and small islands was more salty and poorer than elsewhere). It is because these villages had some of the best of the six kinds of beneficial conditions. Except for the 10 villages which have been conjointly discussed above, the conditions for the remaining were as follows. First, they were close to a superior fishing field (11/14).²⁰ Second, they were close to an area of more rock or coral reef (11/14).²¹ Third, they had good harbours (3/1).²² In other words, given the choice between good climate and geography and limited resources, or bad climate and geography and plentiful resources, a few villagers preferred the latter to the former.

Nevertheless, the existence of ample materials was not the only decisive factor for people planning to inhabit small islands. The fact is shown in the following statistics. First, amongst the 20 windward villages, 18 (90%) were located on bigger islands, 2 (10%)²³ on small islands. Second, the windward villages made up 1/5 (18/60) of the total number of villages on the bigger islands, and made up 1/10 (2/21) of those on small islands. The figures show that the proportion of windward villages in small islands was far smaller than that in bigger islands. Since the resource potential on and around small islands

20. They were as follows: Shui-an, Ch'i-mei, Hu-ching, He-chieh (合界) Hsiao-ch'ih, Ting-wan (鼎灣), Chung-hsi, Chi-pei, Chung-t'un (中屯), Chiang-chun, and Hua-yu (花嶼).

21. They were as follows: Hu-tung (湖東), Hu-hsi (湖西), Hsiao-ch'ih, Ting-wan, Chung-hsi, Chi-pei, Chung-t'un, He-chieh, and Hsi-hsi (西溪).

22. These three villages were as follows: Chiang-chun, Shui-an, and Hu-ching.

23. They were villages T'ung-p'an and Hu-ching.

was no less than that of some areas of bigger islands, this discrepancy suggests one more crucial factor considered by local people. That factor is safety. On small islands it was hard to get help from outsiders when there were natural disasters, such as salty rain, storms, tsunamis, typhoons, and so on. Because of this, all the places on small islands where security was in any way defective were given up as village sites, and that is why almost all the windward valleys on small islands were deserted. The two exceptions, Hu-ching Village and T'ung-p'an Village, were not far from Ma-kung Island, only around 2 sea miles away, so rescue was still relatively easy.

8. The management of livelihood

Apart from certain guarantees as to the availability of materials and the security of their existence, a convenient spatial arrangement for their livelihood was another concern of villagers.

Amongst four kinds of livelihood, the processes of fishing seemed the one which local people most sought to accommodate.

Fishing was a collective kind of work, all its processes, such as catching fish in the sea, moving catches from boats to stoves, carrying boats, nets, and other fishing equipment down to the sea or up to the sea-shore, and so on, needed many people. Easy contact between fishermen was therefore important. Also, it was work of continuity, mobility and danger; the fishermen would always gather around the harbour, and wait for information about the distribution of fish, the weather, and their friends who were out at sea, in order to make a correct and rapid decision on where to fish and what kind of fishing to employ, or to help or even rescue friends in trouble. In addition, it was work that varied as to time, duration, and place in different seasons, months, or even days, in other words, fishing dominated the time schedule of the male population. In summer, fishing was done at night. The work of processing fish needed a huge amount of water and, because of high temperatures it had to be done as soon as possible. This work was done by woman, who simultaneously took care of their children and domestic matters. Also, because fishing nets were huge, and fishing boats were heavy, the repair and maintenance of these had to be done near the sea-shore.

All these characteristics of the business of fishing indicate a common requirement on the space of a village, that is that the distances between fishing facilities, such as the boat house, stove for cooking fish, and well; the cove and

jetty; as well as the homes of fishermen, were as short as possible. In fact, the scale of villages on the archipelago never provided an obstacle for the fishing process.²⁴ The reason is that due to the limitations of area of both farmland and shelter within a valley, the distances between houses in a village and between houses and the harbours were less than 250 m. This fact implies that all the concerted conditions were not difficult to achieve.

9. Conclusions

Theoretically, there was a reasonable correspondence to the space of the villages made by villagers on the basis of their intuition, experience, or knowledge to deal with each influence, both those that were natural features and those to do with the villagers' livelihoods. But, in fact, the best spatial responses could not be wholly made by local people, because some of them contradicted each other, and some were given up because the influence was not so important. Only those adjustments that were deemed most necessary were visible in the spatial organisation of an individual village.

Out of the above-mentioned phenomena, those measures that were taken were: the abandonment of tableland outside the valleys as a village site because the water resources were too difficult to explore and the threat from monsoon was too big: the conversion of richest soil on the archipelago -- the land within valleys -- from farmland into residential areas in order to meet the needs for water and shelter against monsoon of dwellers; and the conversion of grassland outside the valleys from pasture into agricultural fields in order to maintain the harvest from cultivation. Some valleys on small islands near plentiful marine resources were abandoned as village sites because their security was less than those on bigger islands. Also, some windward valleys both on bigger islands and small islands were occupied as village sites, the villagers seeking micro-terrains or changing the orientation of their houses against the monsoon, because there were prosperous marine resources.

The following phenomena have not been mentioned yet because their influence upon the spatial organisation of villages of the archipelago was minimal or even zero. Typhoon and salty rain occasionally caused serious damage to local people

²⁴. A biggest village was composed of about 2000 villagers in the area of 6-8 hectares, or 250 m by 250 m.

but unfortunately because its orientation was just opposite to that of the dry-monsoon, the threat from it could not be considered. This is one of the main reasons why famines occurred so frequently in the villages. In addition, theoretically, the agricultural settlements were better in a dispersed form because this was easy for the farmer to take care of. (Chisholm, 1962, p. 48) But, for a variety of reasons, dispersed settlements were converted into agglomerate ones. These were the lack of water; the strong wind, and the sporadic nature of the work; the fact that agricultural work places and times were fixed and safe, the working season only five months a year -- from March to August; it was individual work done by women, except at the beginning and end of cultivation when they needed help; and finally, it was helped by cattle -- the distance between the house and its farmland was as short as 10 minutes by oxcart.²⁵ Another ideal requirement would be a big square in each farm house to dry grains. But because the harvests from cultivation only made up around half the gains of a household, and the price of these was low, and because the neighbours of the majority of families were their relatives, a big square was unnecessary. They built their courtyard houses on a smaller scale and dried their grains in neighbouring lanes and temple squares. The only discernible effects that cultivation had were to determine the width of lanes -- these had to allow for ox carts -- and to require some store houses for tools and grains, and cattle sheds near the houses. Apart from cultivation, ease of livestock breeding also made villagers construct some sheds near their houses. Strong sunlight could cause local people to add a pavilion to the front of their atrium. And lastly local building materials could determine the substance of villagers' houses, which might be slate or coral reef.

Spatially speaking, the priorities employed by local people in reaction to natural features and the requirement of their livelihoods have been explicitly presented. Obviously, the dominant factors were the distribution of water resources, the direction of the dry-monsoon, the distribution of marine resources, and security. Amongst these, water seemed to be the first priority, the other three were prioritized according to the individual preference of local people. The spatial requisition resulting from the needs of fishing seemed to be

²⁵. According to the statistics, the average distance between farm house and agricultural field in Europe is about 0.3-2.0 km. (Chisholm, 1962, pp. 35-36), and 0.6 km in China (Buck, 1937), the figures are similar to that of P'eng-hu villages where the average distance is about 0.5-1.5 km.

the next most important factor. The strong sunlight, the condition of the soil, the spatial requisitions derived from both cultivation and livestock breeding were subordinate. Humidity, heat, typhoon and salty rain, the problems caused by insects, the availability of local building materials and the requirements of gathering were not considered to be important factors. As a whole, due to the fact that their economic ability left them close to the survival line, the attitude of villagers to the spatial organisation and scale of their settlements was practical and economical. Their prime concerns were all directly related to their survival, other factors were tolerated or accommodated.

Apart from these, although the majority of the above priorities are comprehensible, it is worth noting that some factors, such as the problems of humidity, heat, and insects, could in fact, have been more effectively relieved by choosing a better building type, but the possibility seems to have been overlooked. In other words, the idea of developing a building type best suited to local natural features and livelihoods never seems to have been considered by local people. This is also true of the dwellings of Han people on Taiwan Island. 350 years ago, and before, the pile-dwelling with a broad opening, made of tree trunks, branches and grass, had been constructed all over the plains and tablelands of Taiwan Island by its aborigines -- namely the Nine Tribes of Kao-shan (高山九族) and Ten Tribes of P'ing-p'u (平埔十族), 19 tribes in total. This kind of dwelling was very effective at minimizing the problems of inhabitants, avoiding damage from humidity, heat, earthquakes, and insects, as well as being suitable for varied terrain. Also, the dwellings of one of the Nine Tribes of Kao-shan -- the Ya-mei Tribe (雅美族) on Lan-yu Island (蘭嶼) -- were even composed of three building types: a ground house, a pile-dwelling, and a semi-underground house as shown in Fig. 2-17, in order to meet the needs of different weather in different seasons. (Chijiwa, 1960)

After the Han people took over the island, assimilating the majority of the aborigines or expelling them to the frontier areas of the island, the rural landscape of Taiwan totally changed. All the pile-dwellings were altered into courtyard houses. This new kind of building type with its construction and materials, is in fact, a complete copy of the traditional dwellings of northern China. It was introduced into southern China 1200 years ago, and further into Taiwan (including Taiwan Island and P'eng-hu Archipelago) by refugees. Because it was developed in a cold, dry area with less insects and earthquakes, the space of this building type was enclosed, its structure not so well jointed, and the

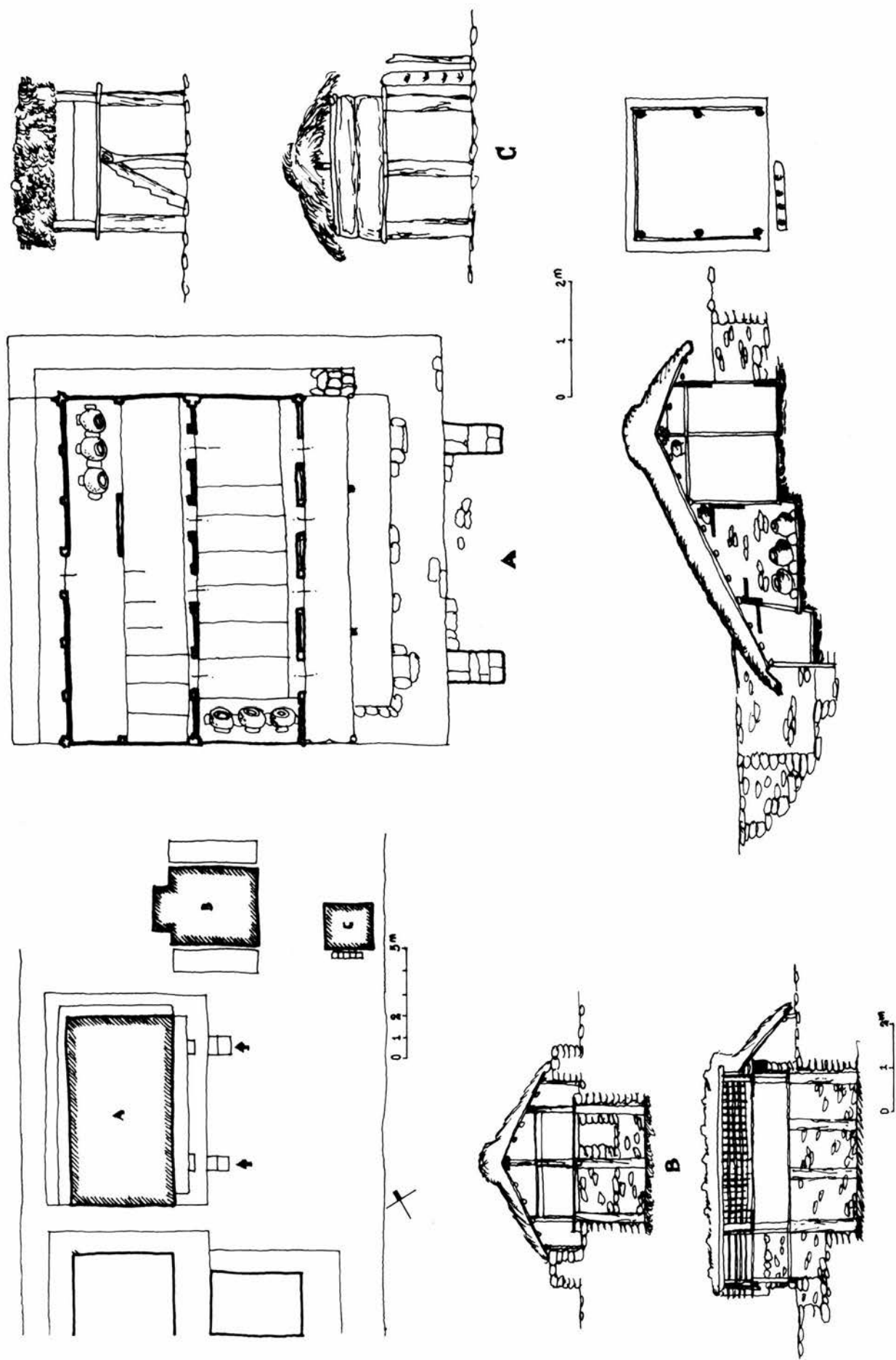


Figure 2-17 The dwellings of a family of Ya-mei tribe of Taiwan (after Chijiwa, 1960)

materials of which it was made were thick clay, brick, tile, wood, and stone. This kind of building, of course, is extremely unsuitable for the natural features of a sub-tropical area. Its defects, such as that its interior space is too warm, it is badly ventilated, and very humid in summer, its structure easily damaged by insects and earthquake, its wooden frame is quick to rot, its roof is leaky, and so on, obviously emerged on Taiwan and P'eng-hu. Nevertheless, the owners of these houses not only never attempted to positively give up or wholly adjust this design, but only minimally amended it -- any change was not allowed to affect the original spatial organisation. Under this premise, to drop the height of the roof in order to reduce the damage from the monsoon, to add a pavilion in front of the atrium to block sunlight, to use local building materials which presented the original feeling of their ancestral house, and to make the roofs of wing houses flat in order to dry fish or sea-weed, seemed the maximum alternation allowed. All other inconveniences were tolerated, or were even attributed with metaphysical functions so as to suppress physical considerations. There is an example; the dwellers of P'eng-hu Archipelago insisted that their small windows protected the *ts'ai-ch'i* (財氣), literally wealth breath, from being blown away (Lin, H.C., 1980, p. 61) despite the fact that it made the interior of the courtyard houses unbearably hot in summer

The essential cause for this phenomenon is that the courtyard house was not only firmly believed to be the orthodox type of dwelling by Han people, but also the spatial organisation of it was the culmination of many traditional ideologies developed by intellectuals over a long period of time. Once its spatial model and the meaning of this had been established, the courtyard house became the unchangeable residential type of the Han people, and was even capable of dominating the behaviour of its inhabitants. The local people were not able to change the model because its spatial structure had been based on a complicated web of metaphysical meanings; to do so would undermine all their ritual and secular behaviours, and obstruct their interaction with their friends. In other words, it would make chaos of the existing metaphysical value system, and isolate the house owner. The courtyard house had become synonymous with dwelling, and was customarily thought of as the only type of dwelling by a Han person intending to build a house.

The spatial ideologies of a courtyard house of the Han people were commonly derived from a combination of family economics; regulations of craftsmen; and beliefs in *feng-shui*, the relationship between supernatural beings and human

beings, and other supernatural powers. All these will be described, respectively, in Chapter 3 (family economics and ethics), Chapter 4 (supernatural beings), and Chapter 5 (*feng-shui*, other supernatural powers, and regulations of craftsman).

As a whole, on the level of a single house, between natural factors and spatial ideologies, the latter were generally more respected. In other words, the power of culture over-rided some of the material needs of the Han people.

Chapter 3

Maintenance of social order and the demarcation of housing plots

The villagers of P'eng-hu Archipelago believed that different points, lines, and planes in a certain space had different statuses, or honourable order. They also had a hierarchical conception of the members of a society, so that, there was for example, a system of status for the ancestral souls, for the living members of a clan, and one pertaining to the relationship between the ancestors and the living. Consequently, they considered that the usage, distribution, and demarcation of spaces had to be consistent with the status of people and human souls, namely, those of highest honourable order were to be used or occupied by the people with highest status, those of the secondary status by the second highest people, and so on, down to the least honourable space being allocated to the least honourable person.

1. Two spatial models and social status

There were two spatial models employed by local people to distinguish spatial elements, and both of them attributed each of the spatial elements with relative status. These two and the system of social status were three of many systems (see Note 1) established in an ancient movement of social reform in response to the frequent wars and social chaos which dogged Northern China between the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C..¹ (the materials of this period relating to those discussed

¹. Apart from these, the others systems by which society was ordered were as follows. First, there were six "social groupings" ranging from an individual, to a family, a clan, a society, a nation, and finally the whole cosmos. This was the most fundamental system of the movement of social reform. Having distinguished the relationships of the members of society to each other, they could then be classified, and a system of ethics drawn up. The second system involved the four life stages of an individual: birth, initiation, marriage, and death. The contents and procedures of ceremonies pertaining to these stages were detailed in many official archives, such as

below will be separately described in the footnotes after their texts) They had become incorporated into local customs and were handed down from one generation to another. They were respected by the people of P'eng-hu Archipelago because they were deemed traditional etiquettes, and because of the efforts of local officials and the graduates of the only government school of the islands -- Wen-shih Shu-yuan. (see Chapter 1-7-4) The officials, the majority of whom were educated in the various systems at the government schools, were ordered to promote them by the Chinese Imperial government as a means of reinforcing the power of the monarchy. The systems also had a very direct affect upon status, because it was by learning these orthodox theories and passing officials examinations that graduates of the islands' school could gain official positions. If they passed three levels of the official examinations, they would be assigned as a higher rank official, if not they became local teachers as mentioned in Chapter 1-7-4. Advocates deemed that only people who respected these systems of hierarchy were civilised, others were "no different from beasts".

In addition, the terminologies used by local people to distinguish spatial points were always based upon the orientation of a house or that of a most honourable person as shown in Fig. 3-1.

Yi-li and Chou-li; and Li-chi, Lun-yu, Meng-tzu, and so on. The third system, that of ethics, was principally established by defining reasonable attitudes and behaviour that one classification of people should adopt towards another, and towards supernatural beings (see Text). The system of ethics was generally reduced to the five to ten most fundamental morals (Ken, 1982, pp. 475-581), for example, the attitude of a father to his son had to be benign, that of a son to his father had to be pious, that of a husband to his wife had to be right and fair, and so on. These ethics were also held to be deduced from the theory of Tao (see Note 7), or proclaimed by the Heavens, (Yi-ching 8th-2nd cent. B.C.; Shang-shu, 3rd cent. B.C.; Ssu-ma, 11th cent. A.D., vol. 291; Tung, 179-104 B.C., vol. 15, p. 70; Li-chi, 50 B.C., p. 438-439; Chang, 1982, pp. 116, 150-160) which reinforced their power. The fourth system was the hierarchy of factors which related to human behaviour, such as space, time, colour, and so on, established with relation to the system of cardinal points. Fifth, adding the symbolisms to five cardinal directions, at least 24 kinds, such as water, fire, wood, metal, and earth; black, red, green, white, and yellow; tortoise and snake, phoenix, dragon, tiger, and human being (this might be deduced from the figure of constellations, see, Walters, 1987, p. 97); winter, summer, spring, and autumn (this was deduced from the orientation of the constellation of the Great Bear in different seasons, and there was no symbolism for the central point) (An, ca. 1756, p. 278); and so on; were respectively imposed on the north, the south, the east, the west, and the centre. (Forke, 1925, pp. 240-279; Creel, 1929, p. 34) Through these symbolisms, all factors which related to human behaviour, including points in a certain space, times, colours, materials, symbolic animals, and so on, were organised into a single, coherent system.

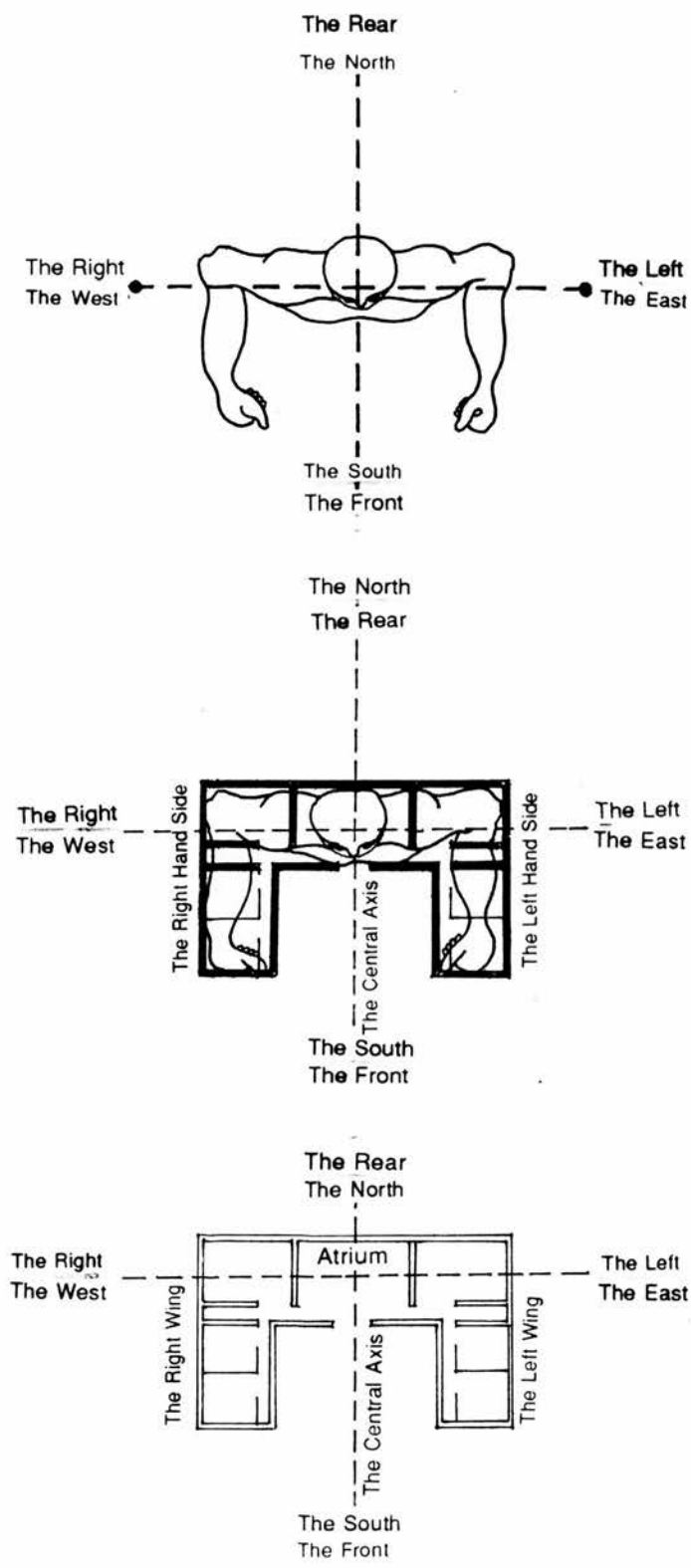


Figure 3-1 The spatial terminologies of P'eng-hu societies

(1). The spatial model of cardinal points

The basic elements of the first spatial model -- we shall call it "the spatial model of cardinal points" -- and their honourable order used by the people of P'eng-hu Archipelago were as follows: north, south, east, and west;² there were potentially numerous other points, but generally only four and eight cardinal points were considered.

The relative status of these four basic points was passed down from the ancestors, but it was, in fact, established by the philosophers of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C. who considered the intensity of sunshine falling upon each, in accordance with an interpretation of the relationship between *yang* and *yin* in the theory of Tao (道).³ This theory holds that the Sun, and consequently sunshine, is *yang* (陽), and therefore the more sunshine the more *yang*, the less sunshine the more *yin* (陰) (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 488; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 3-2) Since the *yang* was considered to be more honourable than the *yin*, the point where a person received

2. The four cardinal points were first confirmed by measuring the angle and length of shadow of gnomon from sunshine and the position of the Pole-star in around 3rd to 4th cent. B.C..(Chou-li, 8th-2nd cent. B.C., pp. 153, 642; Shih-ching, *ibid*, vol. 3-1, p. 114) The Han people seemed to have established four cardinal points before the 4th cent. B.C., but their use of a systematic method to confirm them probably started then. (see, Shih, 1959, pp. 2-27; Lin, 1984, p. 172) The fact that the cardinal points were arranged into a square seems to be affected by an ancient belief that "Heaven is round, Earth is square", which was very popular in the 4th cent. B.C.. For details, see Chou-li (8th to 2nd B.C., p. 614), Chou-pi-shuan-ching (ca. 6th-1st cent. B.C., p. 11), Yi-ching (8th-2nd cent. B.C., p. 185), Hua-nan-tzu (180-112 B.C., vol. 3, p. 7), and Ta-tai-li-chi (80-105 A.D.).

3. The outline of the theory of Tao was as follows. The cosmos (derived from *tao*, literally, way) is a whole, called *t'ai-chi* (太極, literally great absolute), which is composed of the heavens and the earth, and these two fundamental elements are also called *yang* (literally, male; heavens) and *yin* (literally, female; earth) (Li-chi, ca. 50 B.C., p. 438; Liu-an, 180-112 B.C., vol. 7, p. 2). The earth is subordinate to the heavens, every aspect of it being a duplicate of heavenly phenomena. (Yi-ching, 8th to 2nd cent. B.C., p. 183) Moreover, the intercourse of the heavens (or *yang*) and the earth (or *yin*) gives birth to *ch'i* (literally, breath), *ch'i*, in turn, gives birth to all creatures -- including human beings. (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 432; Shang-shu, 3rd cent. B.C., p. 152; Lao-tzu, 3rd cent. B.C., p. 86; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 7, p. 2) Also, the movement of the heavens, named *t'ien-tao* (天道或天文, literally Way of Heavens), and that of the earth, named *ti-tao* (地道或地理, literally way of Earth), are in perfect harmony. Since human beings not only are derived from the intercourse of the heavens and the earth but are also duplications of objects in the heavens, (Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 183) if they comprehend the principles of the movements of the heavens and the earth, and apply them to human society, as the standards of differentiation of status, and the measures for their behaviour and spatial organisation, then that society will be harmonious, like the movement of the heavens and the earth. (Li-chi, 50 B.C., pp. 436-439; Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 183; Tung, 179-104 B.C., vol. 12-48)

most sunshine would be more honourable than others. Accordingly, a person facing south directly faces the midday sunshine, so the north was considered to be the most honourable point of all. (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 90) The person facing north, faces the most honourable person, so the south was the second most honourable point. The east is the place where the Sun rises, it was therefore believed to be the third most honourable point. The Sun descends in the west, so it was regarded as the least honourable point of the four. (Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 90, 488; Chou-li, *ibid*, p. 523; Tuan, 1977, p. 40) Originally, the west was considered to be the third most honourable point of the four because a person sitting in the west would face the sun-rise whilst the east was the least honourable because a person there would face the sunset (Chou-li, *ibid*, pp. 461, 523): the dispute as to the relative honour of these two points lasted until the 12th cent. A.D.,⁴ (see, Chu-hsi, 1965, pp. 1-10) when the view adopted by P'eng-hu Archipelago took precedent. The relationships of the movement of the Sun, the formation of cardinal points, and the honourable order of spatial points are shown in Fig. 3-2.

The status attributed to points other than the four cardinal points did not seem to be consistent in P'eng-hu (and Taiwan) societies -- two examples as shown in Fig. 3-3e and Fig. 3-3f are different. (the former is adopted from Feutchwang, 1974, pp. 123-127; the latter from Lin, 1989, p. 140) This seemed to be a historical problem, for examples, there were two cases recorded in Chou-li as shown in Fig. 3-3a (*ibid*, p. 470) and Fig. 3-3b (*ibid*, p. 532,) and two in Li-chi as shown in Fig. 3-3c (*ibid*, p. 575) and Fig. 3-3d (*ibid*, p. 1005), none of them were the same, even those of east and west were interchanged. Only the original ranks of north and south were generally kept.

4. With the establishment of the systems outlined above, the intellectuals of the time believed that the basic frameworks of the theory of Tao, one of the theories of the social reform -- the idea of the Heavens as an authoritative and perceptive object was another (Ts'ai, 1982, p. 293) -- had been achieved. Their reasons were as follows. Because the formation of the spatial model of cardinal points followed by the spatial model of relative positions and their honourable order and symbolisms (*ti-tao*) were inducted from the significant phenomena of the movement of the Heavens (*t'ien-tao*), it signified that *t'ien-tao* and *ti-tao* were consistent. The principles of the status and the standards of attitudes and behaviour of the classified people were deduced from the same sources, it meant that they conformed to *t'ien-tao* as well. Since both people and spatial points had honourable order, allowing people to recognise spatial points in these spatial models which corresponded to their social status, it meant that status, ethics, and *ti-tao* were properly combined. In other words, "the way of the Heavens, *t'ien-tao*", "the way of the Earth, *ti-tao*", and "the way of the people 人倫 (status and ethics)" were united into a whole system. (Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 436-439; Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 183; Tung, *ibid*, vol. 12-48)

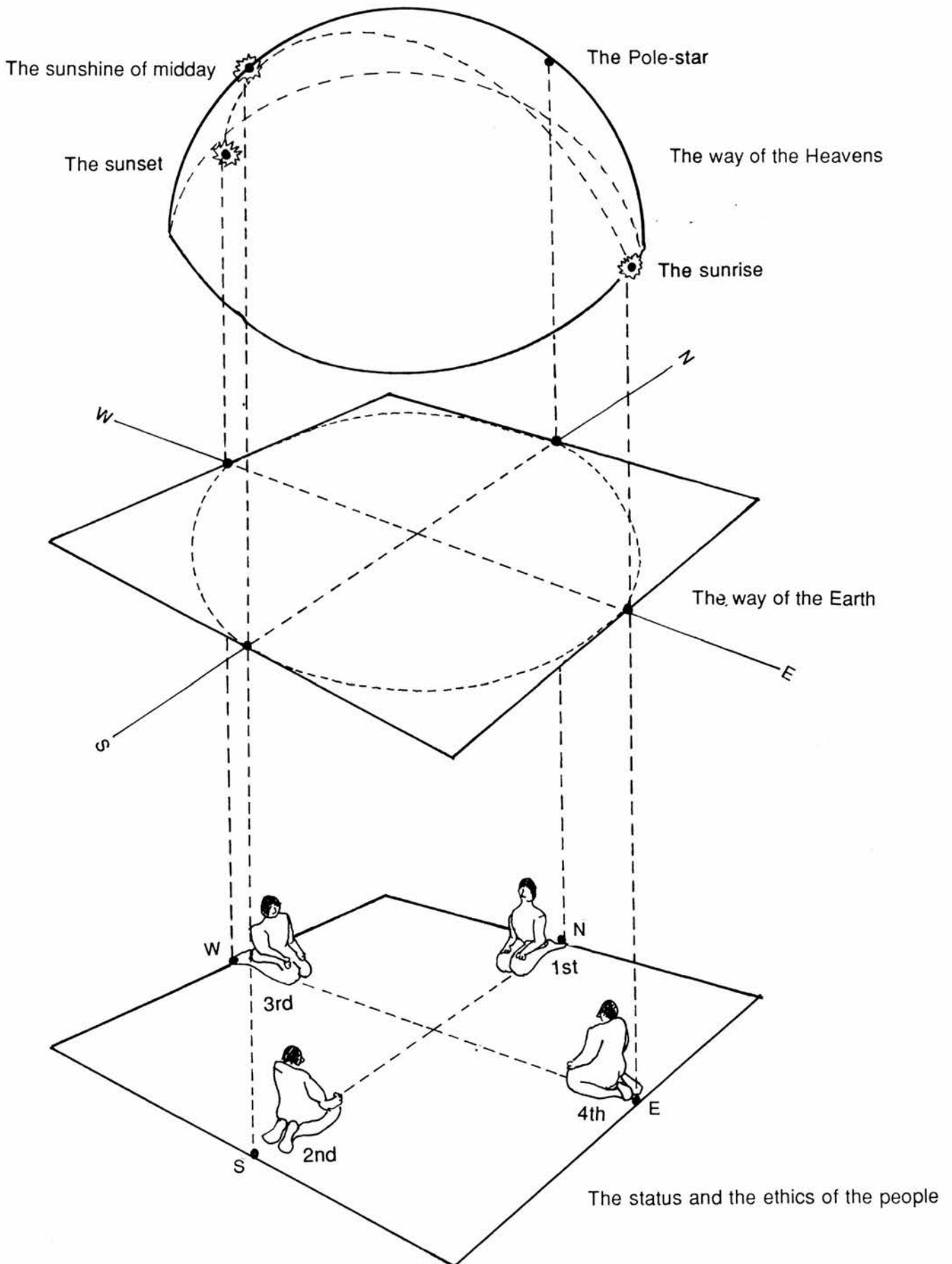


Figure 3-2 The formation of four cardinal points and their honourable ranks

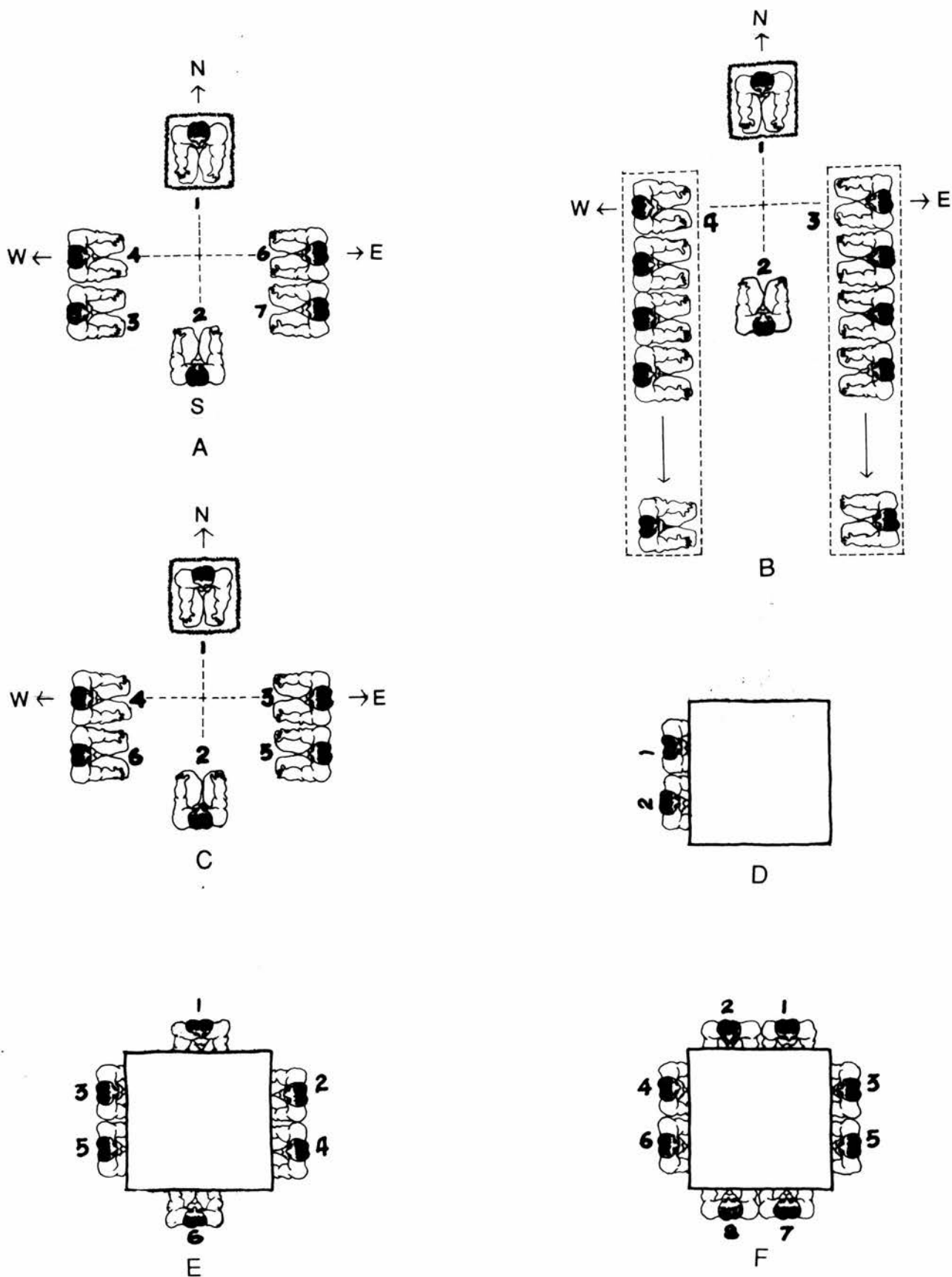


Figure 3-3 The honourable order of more than four cardinal points

(2). The spatial model of relative positions

The basic elements of the second spatial model employed by local people -- we shall call it "the spatial model of relative positions" -- were as follows: the centre, the rear, the front, the left, and the right. This order corresponds to the honour accorded to each position. This model, as has been mentioned above, was also established by Han intellectuals of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C..⁵ In fact, it was developed out of the spatial model of cardinal points, in response to the fact that the points of the latter and their honourable order were attached to absolute locations and could not therefore be applied to a group of constantly moving people, as shown in Fig. 3-4, or to a place where the directions were uncertain, or to a slope upon which the highest point was not located at the north, or to the rooms of a building complex with various orientations, as shown in Fig. 3-5, (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 43) and so on. The correspondence can be perceived from the fact that if "the rear" of the new system is in the north, then, the honourable order of the four basic elements of these two spatial models will be consistent; their equivalences are as follows: the rear / the north, the front / the south, the left / the east, and the right / the west, as shown in Fig. 3-6. (Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 32-44, 192, 535) The only exception is that there is an additional point in the later system, namely, the centre. This point was subsequently added and regarded as the most honourable one. With the new names, north becoming rear etc., the positions became not so much absolute places, but relative to the central figure.

Four patterns of this spatial model were employed by local people to accommodate different situations (these were also first established by the philosophers of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., for relevant references see Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 32, 44, 56, 174, 195, 479, 533, 535; Yi-li, *ibid*, p. 192; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 15, p. 13; vol. 10, p. 8; p. 127; Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 87). The first was composed of the following four points: rear (but its name was changed to centre), front, left, and right, and these kept their original honourable order. This was used in static ceremonies (for example, clansmen worshipping ancestors' souls

⁵. The establishment of the spatial model of relative positions by the Han people seems to have been earlier than 4th cent. B.C., but its eventually assignation of ranks seems to have been confirmed then. (see Lun-yu, ca. 465-450 B.C., p. 109-127; Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 32-56, 192-195, 535-553, 812-880; Meng-tzu, ca. 290 B.C., p. 108; Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 87; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 7, 15)

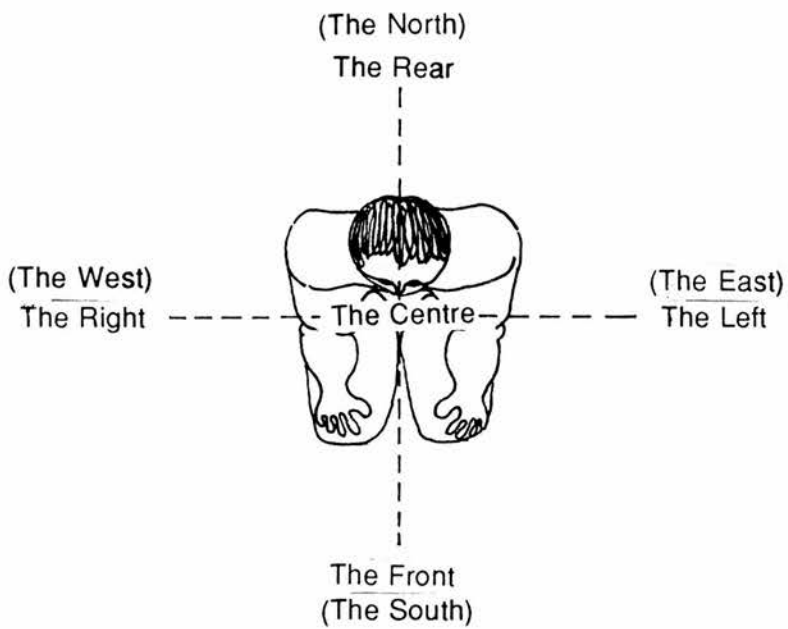
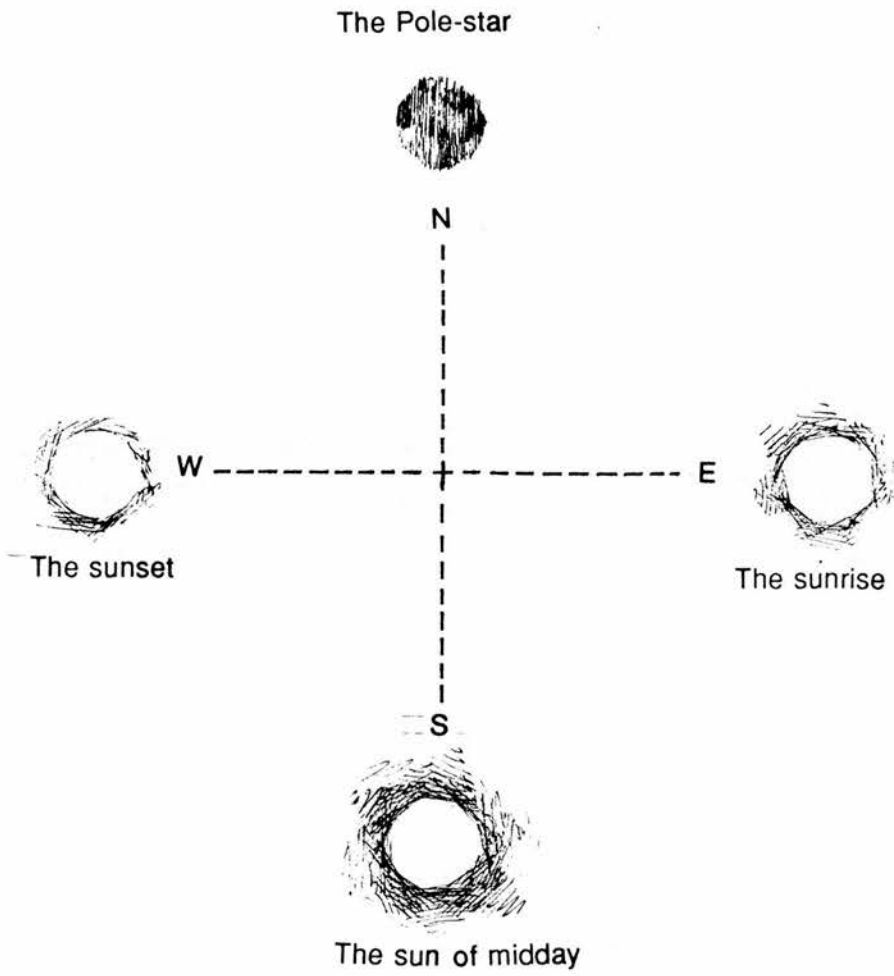


Figure 3-6 The transformation from the spatial model of cardinal points to that of relative positions

in their ancestors' halls), in space inside and out where the cardinal points were uncertain, on slopes which made cardinal points difficult to apply, and so on.

The second consisted of just three points: centre, left, and right, which also kept their original honourable order. This tended to be applied in situations with a group of moving people whose direction kept changing (for example, local officials inspecting villages and Ma-kung Town); in dividing and distributing the rooms of a house and demarcation of house plots (this will be discussed in the next sub-section); in folk ceremonies, for example at birth, initiation, marriage, and death, in which cases, the gods' statues and ancestral tablets were located in the centre, men, guests, and elder people sat on the left hand side whilst women, the host, and younger people sat on the right, and so on.

The third comprised all five points; it excluded their original honourable ranks but accepted all symbolism of the four cardinal points and their central point.⁶ (for details of these see Note 1) This was included into the theories of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui* which was employed by some local people and officials -- this will be discussed in Chapter 5-2.⁷

The fourth related to the distance between the various points. Five sets of opposites were employed by local people, four of them being the central axis (the centre, 正, *cheng*) and those to either side of it (the side, 偏, *pian*), the higher and the lower, the nearer and the farther away, and the upward and the downward.⁸ All the former positions were considered to be more honourable

⁶. With the third and fourth patterns in the philosophies of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., in addition to the fact that the concepts of *yang* and *yin* were imposed on the left and right respectively, (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 479; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 15, p. 13) their relative status was reinforced by observation of the movement of the Heavens, which was from left to right. (Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 10, p. 8) In accordance with the left's being seen as more honourable than the right, the left and the right also became associated with civilization and barbarism (Liu-an, *ibid*, p. 127) and morality and transgression (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 195) respectively.

⁷. In the 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., this pattern was mainly exercised in the deployment of the army. There is a typical paragraph recorded in Li-chi which describes the figures and colours of the flags of the emperor's troops as follows: the front one is the red phoenix, the rear the black tortoise and snake, the left the blue dragon, and the right the white tiger. (*Ibid*, p. 56). But it was then included into the theories of *feng-shui*, and passed from one generation to another.

⁸. In the philosophies of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., the central axis (the centre) and those either side of it (the side) respectively symbolised the appropriate / the inappropriate, the formal / the informal, the right course and the deviation from it. Secondly, as well as individually symbolising the emperor and the officials or the people (Lun-yu, *ibid*, pp. 131, 173), it also symbolised brilliance and stupidity, and so on. The relationship

than the latter ones -- this also had been decided by early philosophers by means of an operation which was similar to that of the theory of binary opposition (cf. Levi-strauss, 1963, pp. 132-163; Leach, 1970, pp. 28-31), from the theory of Tao.⁹ If there was a central axis and many pairs of axes parallel to it, the pair nearest the central axis was the most honourable, and so on out.

The fifth pair: "the inner and the outer",¹⁰ once equated with *yang* and *yin*, was employed by local people to distinguish between spaces rather than to confer

between the higher and the lower was specifically presented in the following paragraphs recorded in Li-chi: the height of the platform of the house of the emperor is to be nine *ch'ih* (尺, one *ch'ih* being around equal to one foot), those of the nobility seven *ch'ih*, of the *tai-fu* (大夫) five *ch'ih*, and of the *sh'ih* (士) three *ch'ih*. (Ibid, p. 455). In other words, the more honour accorded to a person, the higher his house. The notion was also employed to rank the spaces within a house complex itself. Subsequently, many heights of platform and roof co-existed in palaces, temples, and houses, the height always denoting the importance of the space. Third, the relationship between the near and the far was mainly employed in formal ceremonies and in the distribution of the rooms of houses. In general, people of higher status would be nearer to the most important person, and gain the rooms nearest to the atrium of a courtyard house. Fourth, the pair "the upward and the downward" general implied the Heavens and the Earth, the Heavens and the underground, the residences of gods and those of human beings, or the residences of gods and those of dead people. (Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 3, 8, 19; Shang-shu, *ibid*, p. 112; Needham, 1975, pp. 96-99)

⁹. The process of this operation was as follows. First, *yang* (the Heavens, the Sun) and *yin* (the Earth) were regarded as the original binary pair. Second, this was successively turned "the way of the Heavens / the way of the Earth", "higher / lower", "male / female", "man / woman", "mountain / valley", "husband / wife", "odd numbers / even numbers" (this was inducted from the fact that the circumference of the Heaven -- believed to be round -- is around three times its diameter, so that odd numbers belonged to Heaven; the girth of the Earth -- believed to be square -- is four times one of its faces, even numbers therefore belonged to the Earth, see Yi-ching, *ibid*, pp. 157, 182; Forke, 1925, pp. 52-53), "the king / an official", "the human world / Hell", "left / right", "elder people / younger people", "outer / inner", "spirit / body", and so on. (Yi-ching, *ibid*, pp. 21, 185; Liu-an, *ibid*, vol. 3 pp. 2-3, vol. 5; Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 438; Tung, *ibid*, vol. 1; Tai, 1975, pp. 227-249; Lu, 1990, pp. 32-41) Third, since the Heavens (or the *yang*) was believed to be higher than the Earth (or the *yin*), accordingly, all the former items of each binary pair were counted to be more honourable than the latter ones. (Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 143) The theory not only confirmed that the social status of a husband (or man) was higher than his wife (or woman), but also reinforced the honourable order between the elements of the other pairs of human relationships.

¹⁰. In the 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., this pair was sometimes regarded as the same as another pair "the front and the rear", for example when relating one part of a building to another: the royal palace had to have its courts at the front and its bedrooms at the rear, a courtyard house its halls at the front and its bedrooms at the rear. Apart from this, "the inner" and "the outer" also symbolised the self and the outsider. In the marriage ceremony, the bride had to face the outside of the house whilst the bridegroom faced inward, which implied that the bride was an outsider and the

honour upon people. (see Note 3 and 9) The outer was defined as the public space managed by men, and the inner was the private space managed by women. (this was also passed from the philosophers of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., see Yi-ching, *ibid*, p. 87; and Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 533)

All these four patterns employed in a local courtyard are shown in Fig. 3-7.

(3). The system of status

Briefly, in traditional societies of P'eng-hu Archipelago, human relationships were divided into either five, six, or seven basic categories. The principal five were those between a father and son, an emperor and his official, a husband (or man) and wife (or woman), an elder man and a younger one, and the self and a friend. An additional relationship, was that between a human being and a god or ghost. Two additional categories considered were those between a host and his guest, and between an elder and younger brother. There were two main ranks in the officialdom: the nobility and general officials, with five sub-ranks in the former and nine in the latter.¹¹ (for details of the original philosophies of 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., see Li-chi, *ibid*, pp. 267-269)

The social hierarchy of P'eng-hu Archipelago was basically as follows. The gods were considered to be more honourable than the ancestral souls, and in turn, the ancestral souls were more honourable than human beings.¹² The emperor was regarded as the most honourable person whilst the nobility was more honourable than general officials, and officials were more honourable than ordinary people. Of the following four pairs of family relationships: father and son, husband (man) and wife (woman), elder clansman and younger clansman,

bridegroom one of the family. Also "the front" and "the rear" symbolised the earlier generation / the later generation, the ancestor / the descendant, and so on.

11. The names and the order of ranks of nobility were as follows: *kung* (公), *hou* (侯), *po* (伯), *tzu* (子), and *nan* (男). There were nine sub-ranks of general official, called *jo-p'in* (九品), literally nine *pins*, in general, the head official of P'eng-hu Archipelago belonged to the sixth *p'in*. In 3rd to 4th cent. B.C., there were five sub-ranks of generally official: *shang-tai-fu* (上大夫) and *ching* (卿), *hsia-tai-fu* (下大夫), *shang-shih* (上士), *chung-shih* (中士), and *shia-shih* (下士). (Li-chi, *ibid*, p. 212) Also, the people was distinguished into four kinds according to their professions: *shih* (士, intellectual), *nung* (農, farmer), *kung* (工, labourer), and *shang* (商, merchant), but this did not seem to influence local societies, because most of them were farmers.

12. These beliefs were first instigated by the Han people between 16th and 11th cent. B.C.. See, Wang, 1982, p. 316; Ch'ien, 1975, p. 38; Chang, 1980, p. 202; and Chapter 4.

and elder and younger brother, the first in each pair was considered to be more honourable than the latter.

2. The spatial organisation of courtyard houses

Of the two spatial models already described, that of cardinal points was employed by the local people of P'eng-hu Archipelago in official and folk ceremonies, where the shape and size of the space permitted, and in other matters pertaining to religious beliefs. (see Chapter 4-1 and 4-2) The other, namely, the spatial model of relative positions, was employed by local people as a criterion by which to distinguish between the interior spaces of their courtyard houses, and to distribute these spaces amongst family members.

As has been noted in Chapter 1-5, the interior space of each courtyard house in P'eng-hu's villages was composed of two parts: the main body (大厝身, *ta-ch'u-shen*) and the wing houses (間仔, *chien-tsai*). The former consisted of three rooms, its middle one serving as the atrium, the two side rooms being used as bedrooms. The two wing houses were generally symmetrical, each of them comprising of between one and three rooms for private use and storage. The kitchen was generally located in the corridor between the bedrooms of the left wing house and the main building. A courtyard house was the residence of a nuclear family (a married couple and their un-married children), a stem family (the above members and the retired parents of the husband), or a joint family (the members of a stem family and some married sons before the house divided).

The hierarchy of the interior spaces of the courtyard houses was determined as follows. By referring to the relationship between the centre and the sides, the main building was considered to be more honourable than the two wing houses, and therefore the roof and floor of the former were slightly higher than those of the latter, in accordance with the relationship between the higher and the lower as shown in Fig. 3-8.¹³ The main body was reserved for supernatural beings and the most senior family members, and the wing houses were distributed amongst the rest in keeping with the system of status.

¹³. Some families divided the foundations of their courtyard houses into four to six different heights, the order from higher to lower of spaces were as follows: the atrium, the side rooms of the main body, the platform in front of the atrium and the corridor of the main body, the bedroom of the wing houses, the front hall, and the courtyard. (Chang, 1991, p. 117)

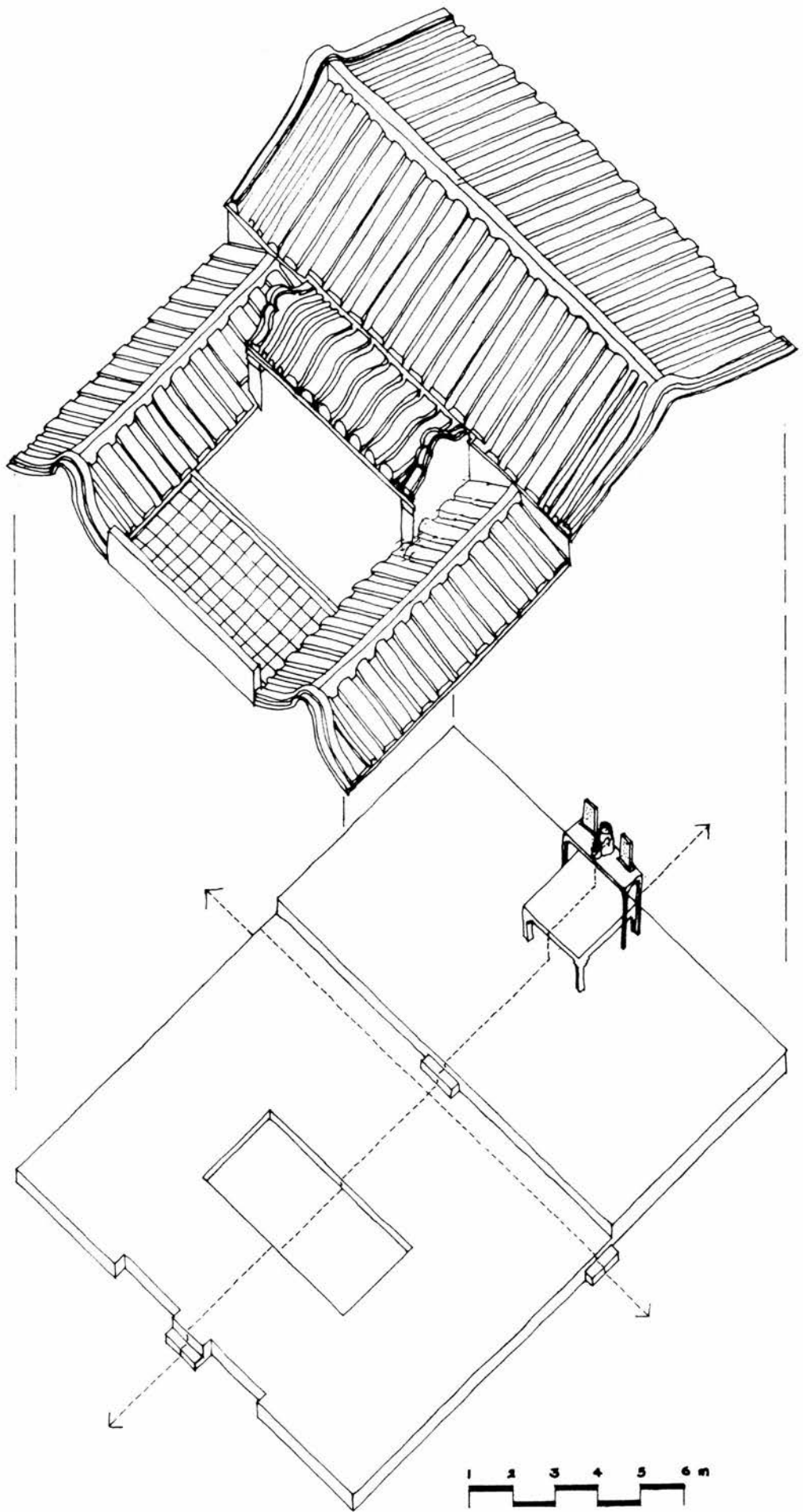


Figure 3-8 The different heights of platforms and roofs in a courtyard house

Because of the superiority of the central axis over the axes on either side of the former, the middle room of the main building was considered to be more honourable than the two side rooms, and this space would be dedicated to the gods and the ancestral souls. Since the gods were believed to be more honourable than the ancestral souls, their statues were placed right on the central axis against the rear wall of the house, whilst the ancestral tablets were arranged on either side. Even the order of ancestral tablets was determined by their generation and family status (generally, a tablet was shared by a couple, many couples, or brothers of the same generation), and the spatial model of relative positions as well. That is, those of the elder generations were generally put in the higher places of the family shrine, and the younger ones lower down. In a single row, the most honourable members would be located at the central axis, the second on the left next to it, the third on the right, the fourth next to the second, and so on, and so forth. On a tablet, the name of the husband was written on the left whilst that of his wife was on the right. If he had many wives, the legal one was written next to him, the second next to the legal one, the third next to the second, and so on. If many brothers were recorded on a tablet, their arrangement was the same as that of tablets in a single row; wives were either on the right next to their own husbands or omitted altogether.

Because of the respective honour accorded to left and right, the left bedroom was considered to be superior to the right, so the former was occupied by the head of the family and his wife. As this space was next to the kitchen, this implied that the users would take charge of the cooking of family meals, which, in traditional societies, meant that they handled the family economy. The right hand bedroom was occupied by the retired parents. For a nuclear or a stem family, the hierarchy of interior spaces only applied in the main building; all the children used the wing houses collectively without any special allocations as shown in Fig. 3-9a.

In contrast, in a joint family, the rooms of the wing buildings which were nearer (the inner) to the atrium were considered to be more honourable than those further away (the outer), and the left wing more honourable than the right. If there were two sons in a family, the left wing would be occupied by the first, the right by the second as shown in Fig. 3-9b. (women had no right of ownership, either in their own or their husband's families, see Chapter 1-8) If there were more than two sons in a family, the inner room of the left wing would belong to the eldest son, that of the right wing to the second son, the outer room of the left

△ Man
 ○ Woman

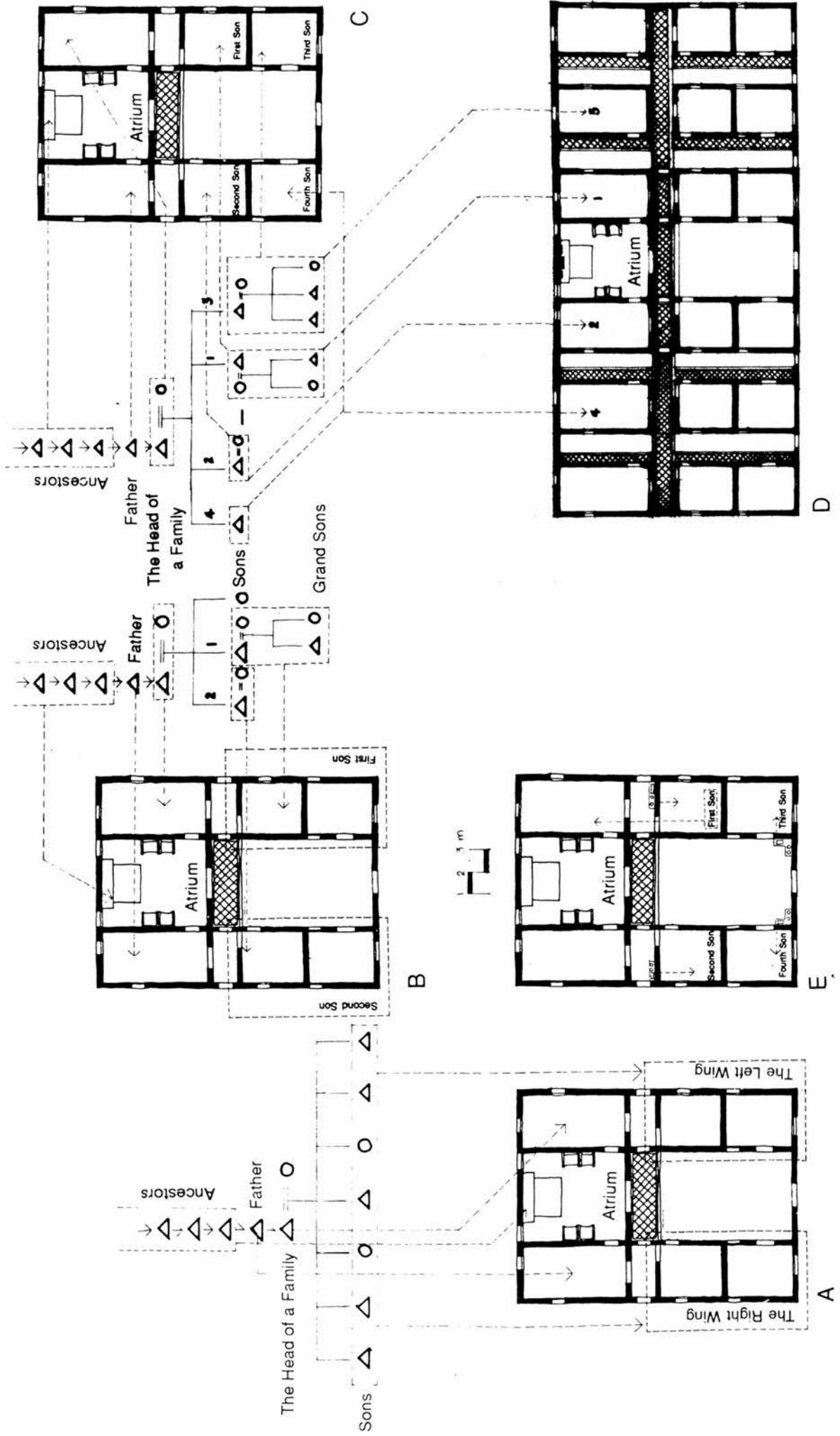


Figure 3-9 The principles of the distribution of the interior space in a courtyard house

wing to the third, and so on, as shown in Fig. 3-9c. If there were more than one pair of wing houses -- this was common in the courtyard houses of agricultural villages but rare in fishing villages -- the inner-left wing would belong to the eldest son, the inner-right one to the second son, the outer-left one to the third son, and so on, as shown in Fig. 3-9d. (Li, 1960, p. 138)

After the majority of the sons married, an old family would be divided into many new ones. Customarily, all the new families would have their own courtyard house and become independent economic units. But, due to the high cost of constructing a courtyard house, they might temporarily share their old home before enough additional houses were prepared.¹⁴ The criteria of the distribution of interior spaces for these families were no different from those applying to a joint family. However, more kitchens would be built adjoining the corridors next to their rooms for each independent family as shown in Fig. 3-9e, and the left bedroom of the main building would pass to the eldest son, the retired parents moving to the right.

To sum up, dominated by ancient theories, the three dimensional spatial organisation (it was mainly presented in two horizontal dimensions, and a little bit of vertical dimension) of a courtyard house was the physical embodiment of the family structure of traditional Han society; its rooms were not only the living spaces, but also the symbols of the status of their occupants. A courtyard house manifested far more than the need for shelter -- it presented a whole hierarchical socio-spatial system.

3. The mode of distribution of housing plots

The way in which plots were distributed when handed from one generation to the next was another influential factor in the spatial organisation of P'eng-hu villages.

(1). The principles by which houses were divided

Generally, the basic principle was that all sons and/or sons-in-law of uxorilocal marriage (a man marries to a woman, lives in her home and become a

14. In P'eng-hu villages, a fully independent family was called *yi-ko-tsao* (一口灶, literally, a stove), if two of these shared a house, it would be called *liang-ko-tsao* (兩口灶, literally, two stoves), three, and it would be called *san-ko-tsao* (三口灶), and so on. (Ch'en, 1988, p. 142)

member of her family) shared the properties of the old family.¹⁵ The eldest son might get double shares or a larger portion, which would, in fact, be obtained in the name of his eldest son, in recognition of his position as the orthodox successor of the family, and his responsibility for organising the worship of the ancestral souls periodically. The other brothers shared the rest equally.

The procedure by which a house was divided was as follows. The property of the old family was divided into several categories: the domestic plots, agricultural land, fishing and agricultural tools, cash (silver and copper coins), and so on. Then, each category was divided into equal shares (in both quantity and quality). If the amount of certain things, such as cattle, fishing nets and boats were not enough to be equally distributed, they would be substituted for something of equal value.

In addition to the area of each share of the land being equal, there were advanced principles governing the demarcation of the domestic plots. The slope of each portion had to be as smooth as possible, its form was generally square or rectangular, and for economical reasons, its breadth or length had to be the same or a little larger than that of a courtyard house with its passages, namely, 12 m across, 14-16 m long in total. As a result of this, the number of useful units affected the demarcation of the plot more than the area of land involved. Subsequently, except for those areas where there was a slope which prohibited building, and so on, these plots would be divided into columns, rows, or blocks.

(2). Two patterns of plot distribution

After the contents of property shares were confirmed and recorded on a list, an auspicious day for the ceremony of distribution would be chosen by referring to the *t'ung-shu* (通書) or *huang-li* (黃曆, literally the yellow calendar), or *nung-min-li* (農民曆, the farmer's calendar, a concise version of *t'ung-shu*).¹⁶ The ceremony would be held in the atrium or courtyard in front of the

¹⁵. This was because in traditional Han (漢) society, the distribution of property was related to the obligation to worship ancestral souls. (Ch'en, 1973, pp. 141-160; 1978, pp. 32-39; Ahern, 1973, pp. 137-149) If the ancestral souls were not worshipped, they were doomed to become ghosts. (see Chapter 4-3)

¹⁶. *T'ung-shu* was a kind of encyclopedia in the traditional societies of Taiwan, its contents included numerous informations about the auspiciousness of a year, such as the ideal day for marriage between a man and a woman of different ages, the ideal orientations for persons of different ages, the places occupied by the Foetus Goddess (胎神) everyday, suitable and unsuitable things to do everyday, the best time for

gods' statues and the ancestral tablets, and hosted by the head of the family, with the other members of the family and the elder men of the clan and/or the village in attendance.

There were two patterns employed by local people to decide upon the possession of these properties including the domestic plots. In the first, it was the head of the household who did the allocating. The left-most plot would be given to the eldest son, the middle plots to the middle sons in order of age, with the youngest son receiving the plot furthest to the right. There were two examples of this: the Hsi-tsai (西宅) branch of Hsu family of Hsu-chia Village as shown in Fig. 3-10a and the Ou-yang (歐陽) family of Sha-kang (沙港) Village on Ma-kung Island, as shown in Fig. 3-10b. (Kuan, 1984, pp. 118, 139) Alternatively, the allocation might be made in accordance with the system of status and the ranking of the central axis and those parallel to it, and of left and right in the spatial model of relative positions. If the sites were divided into columns, the middle one would be given to the eldest son, the next left to the second son, the next right to the third son, and so on. In the next generation, each of these columns would then be divided cross-ways. Since these plots were usually on a slope the lowest one would go to their eldest sons, the others from the lower to the higher to the brothers from the second to the youngest in turn. If the site was divided into rows, the lowest one belonged to the eldest son, the second to the second son, the third to the third son, and so on. There were two examples of this: the earlier period of the Ch'en family of Erh-k'an Villages as shown in Fig. 3-11a, and the Lu (呂) family of Nei-an Village on Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 3-11b. (Ibid, pp. 128, 137) Because the development of these clusters was dominated by regular patterns, their spatial arrangement remained orderly since they were initially established. If there were ample resources in the area, the clusters would eventually develop into larger blocks, such as that of the Lu family of Nei-an Village on Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 3-11b and the Hsu family of Hsu-chia Village on Ma-kung Island as shown in Fig. 3-10a. If not, the cluster would develop in a linear shape or separate small blocks, there were two examples of this, the Kuo (郭) family of Ch'i-t'ou (歧頭) Village on

burying the deceased of different ages, the best time for constructing a stove, etc.. All these were induced from many traditional theories including astrologies, the horoscopes of human beings, the choice of time, etc.. The majority of readers (including intellectuals and craftsmen) only knew how to practise part of it, and ignored its theoretical bases.

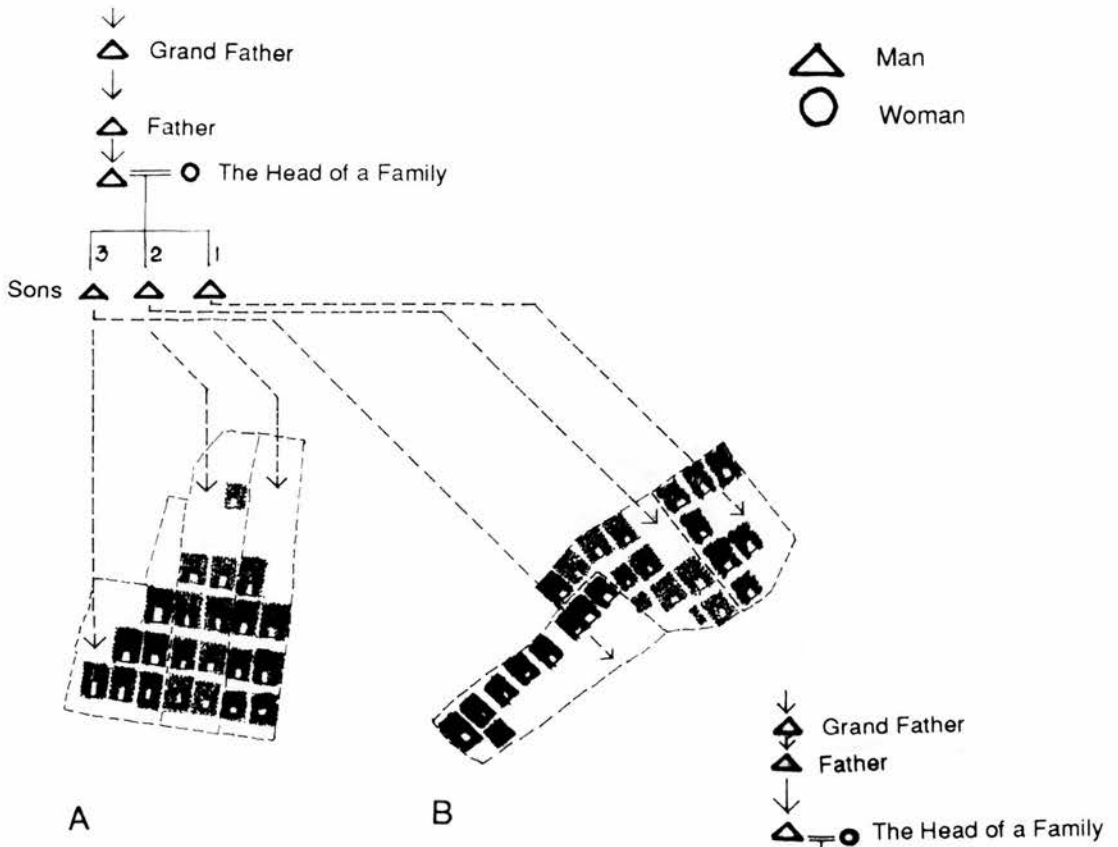


Figure 3-10 The division of a building site (A) (adapted from Kuan, 1984)

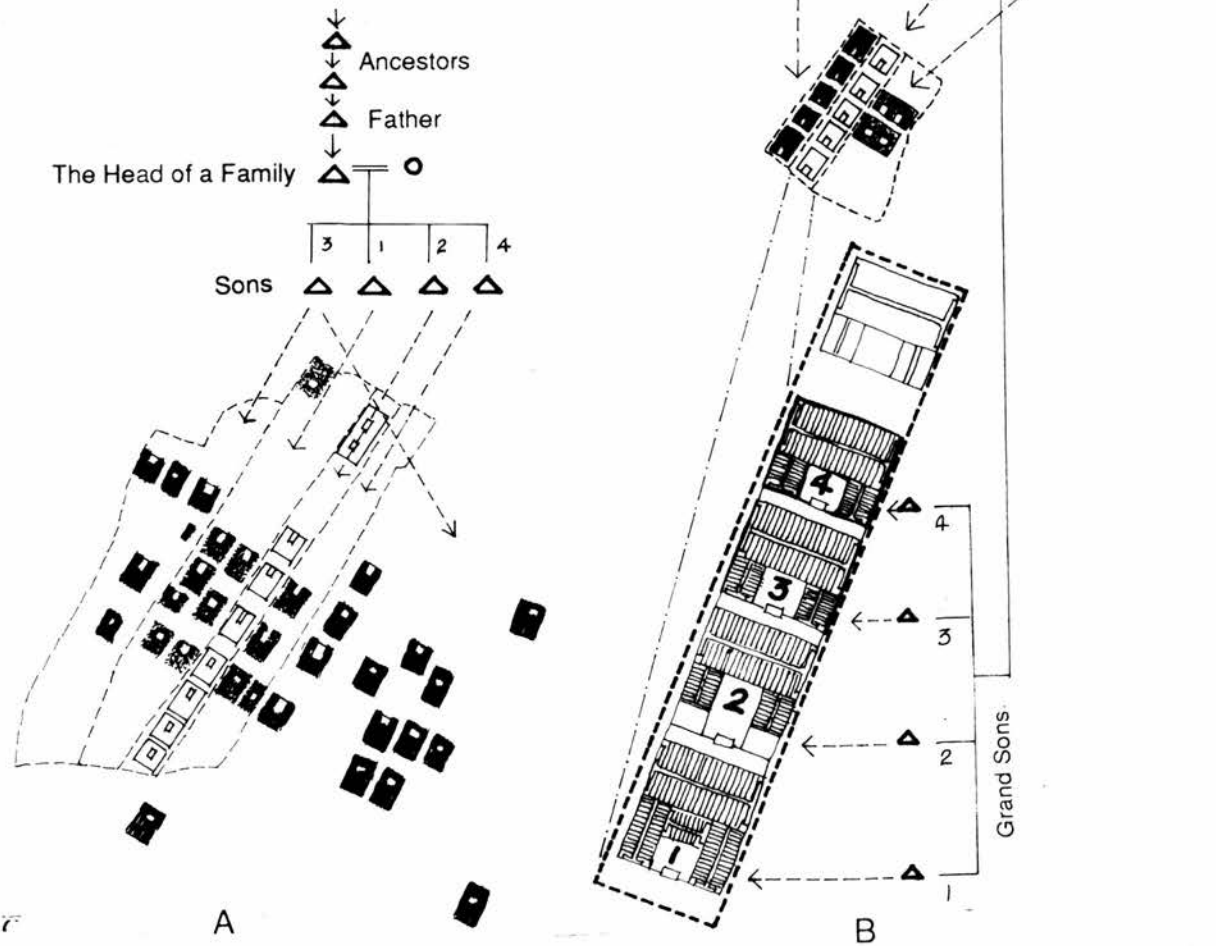


Figure 3-11 The division of a building site (B) (adapted from Kuan, 1984)

Pai-sha Island as shown in Fig 3-12a, and the Chao family of Nan-liao Village on Ma-kung Island as shown in Fig. 3-12b. (Ibid, pp. 135, 148)

The second pattern was achieved by drawing lots, and was more popular than the first. Its process was as follows. The sons, including the eldest son who had two chances, drew lots one after another in order of age. One of the sons would become the new owner of the old house, the others moved to their new houses if these had been built beforehand, or temporarily shared the old house if the old family was not well-off. Around the new boundaries of the agricultural lands and the domestic plots coral reef walls would be gradually piled up.

Due to the lack of a regular pattern of development, the spatial organisation of these clusters, like the procedure of a chess game, was subject to constant and irregular change. This can be perceived from the fact that the clusters in villages without abundant resources generally developed into loose forms with vegetable gardens in between. The Ou-yang family of Wu-te (五德) Village on Ma-kung Island as shown in Fig. 3-12c was one example of this. But, if material resources were good enough, even the clusters developed in the manner described above were organised into an orderly grid like those of the first pattern of distribution. There were two examples of this: the Lin (林) family of T'ung-liang Village on Pai-sha Island as shown in Fig. 13a. (Kuan, 1984, p. 145), and the later period of the Ch'en family of Erh-k'an village on Hsi-yu Island as shown in Fig. 13-b. (Lu, 1989, pp. 90-108)

To sum up, under the combined influences of these principles, namely, the tradition of dividing property equally, the size of courtyard house as the unit of measurement, and the desire for easy communication, the domestic areas of P'eng-hu villages were marked by many deliberately ordered and similar boundaries which had dominated the spatial development of the clusters in terms of the two horizontal dimensions since they were established. The patterns of distribution of house plots played a secondary role in the spatial organisation of clusters. Whichever pattern of distribution was employed, the clusters would eventually look similar, the main difference was the pattern of relationships of the inhabitants. The only exception to this was in villages without abundant resources. In those clusters which were developed with reference to the system of status and the spatial model of relative positions, the distance between any two houses was proportional to the relationship of their owners, the nearer their houses, the closer their blood relationship. In other words, the spatial organisation of these clusters constantly resembled the structure of the clan

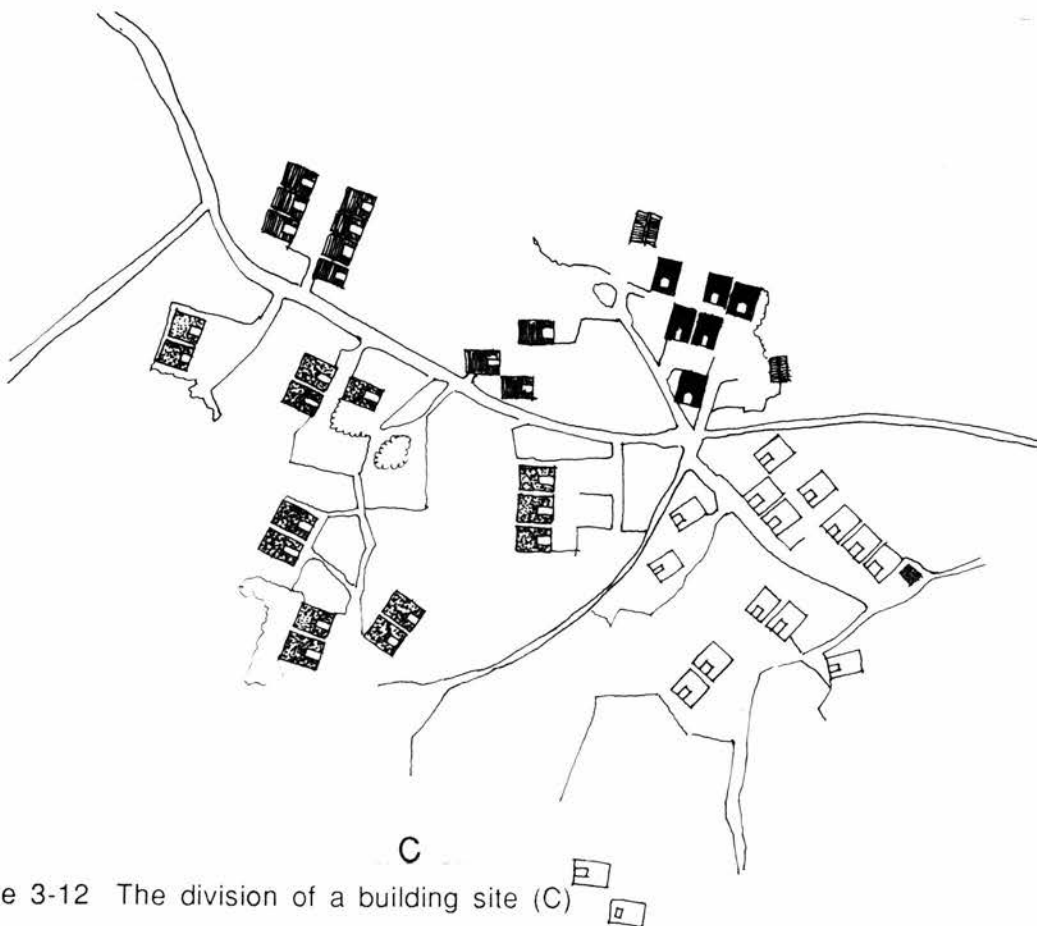
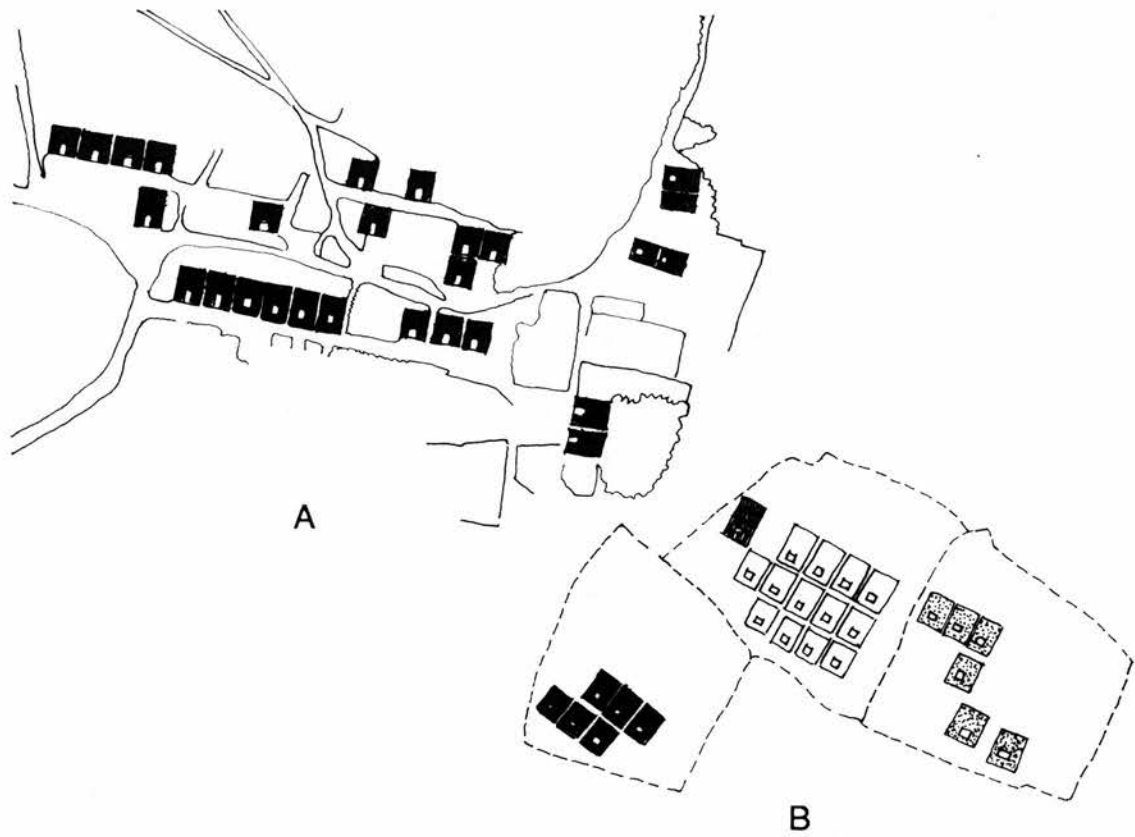


Figure 3-12 The division of a building site (C)

itself. This would not be true of those clusters whose development was determined by the second model and pattern; one example of this was Lin family of T'ung-liang Village of Pai-sha Island as shown in Fig. 13a.

(3). The spread of the spatial pattern

As has been noted in Chapter 1-5 and 2-7, the average size of a household on the archipelago before 1828 A.D was around 7-9 people and 5-6 thereafter, and the average gender ratio was around 1.278 men to 1 woman before 1828 A.D., and less than 1 man to 1 woman later (Ch'en, 1972, pp. 22-23). That is to say, before 1828, when a house was divided, the old family would be split into 2 to 3 new families on average, but after that date the rate decreased to an average of 1.5 new families per generation. Since each of the new families would have its own house, the number of courtyard houses in a village increased around 1-1.5 times before 1828 A.D., and 0.5 times after then, every 20 to 30 years, if the domestic plots and the other resources of the locality were able to support the increase in families. The average plot occupied by a pioneer was between 0.3 and 0.4 hectares, which meant that it could accommodate only 4 or 5 generations, or around the first 80-100 years. (ca. 1670-1750 A.D.) After then, one son, generally the eldest son of the family would be permitted to keep the original house. The others, and subsequent generations had to either explore a new and un-occupied valley for themselves, to purchase a site from another clan of the same valley, or to move to Taiwan Island. (Yin, 1969; Hsu, 1988b, pp. 86-88).

The excess who made their homes in other valleys on the islands would face similar conditions to those encountered by their earliest ancestors on P'eng-hu Archipelago and would be forced to repeat the same process of development. Subsequently, new clusters of similar spatial organisation to the parent ones grew up around the islands one after another until the first half of the 18th cent. A.D., by which time the majority of inhabitable valleys were occupied. (cf. Shih, 1683, p. 27; Chou and Hu, 1736, p. 34; Hu, 1767, pp. 220-221; Chiang, 1829, pp. 64-65; Lin, 1893, pp. 85-87)

Once the number of clansmen was large enough, an independent ancestral hall might be constructed in the clan's original village and duplicates of all the ancestral tablets placed inside (the tablets of all those who died thereafter would also be duplicated). All the expense was borne by the clansmen themselves, and the construction work carried out by them. Once the halls were established, clansmen (or their representatives) from all over the islands and even from



(after Kuan, 1984)

A



Figure 3-13 The division of a building site (D) (after Lu, 1989)

B

Taiwan Island would come back and worship the souls of their ancestors regularly once or twice a year. (see Chapter 1-5-2)

The Hsu clan is one typical example of this. The earliest members to settle on P'eng-hu Archipelago, Wu-shih-lang (五十郎) and two of his sons, Hsu ching-yi (許靖奕) and Hsu ching-chang (許靖暢), resided in the Kuo-yeh Village on Ma-kung Island ca. 1621 A.D.. Thereafter the family, like an organic cell, spontaneously multiplied, divided into several sub-units and eventually split into many new independent families. All their courtyard houses were gathered together in a large orderly cluster initially, and then they dispersed into many other valleys. Around 140 years later, in 1761 A.D., their descendants commonly constructed an ancestral hall, called Hsu-shih Chia-miao (許氏家廟), literally the family temple of the Hsu clan, on the site of their first house, in order to reinforce their own identity. It was re-built in 1973 A.D, around 200 years later. According to the family archive, 12 and more clusters of Hsu clansmen were established in the valleys of the five biggest islands of the archipelago before 20th cent. A.D., and all of them expressed similar spatial organisation, the locations of the new clusters are shown in Fig. 3-14. Hsi-tsai and Shen-ching-t'ou (深井頭), the only two clusters of the Hsu-chia Village on Ma-kung Island shown in Fig. 1-14, were just two of them. (Li, 1960, pp. 131-135; Ch'en, 1972, p. 20; Ts'ai, 1987, p. 489; Kuan, 1984, p. 117; Hsu, 1988, p. 66)

4. The formation of the concepts upon which the demarcation of domestic plots was based

The fact that the domestic plots of P'eng-hu villages were demarcated into similar and rectangular pieces, was influenced by three things: the aggregation of independent units, the standardisation of courtyard houses, and the composite pattern of grid form.

(1). The aggregation of independent units

The pattern of development of clusters in P'eng-hu villages was one of two main models seen in traditional Taiwanese rural settlements, and the one that obtained in fishing villages. In addition to being found on P'eng-hu Archipelago, this pattern was also exemplified in the clusters of Kuo-ts'u (郭厝) Village of Lu-kang in Chang-hua (彰化) County (Lin, 1979b, (9), pp. 28-33; (10), pp.

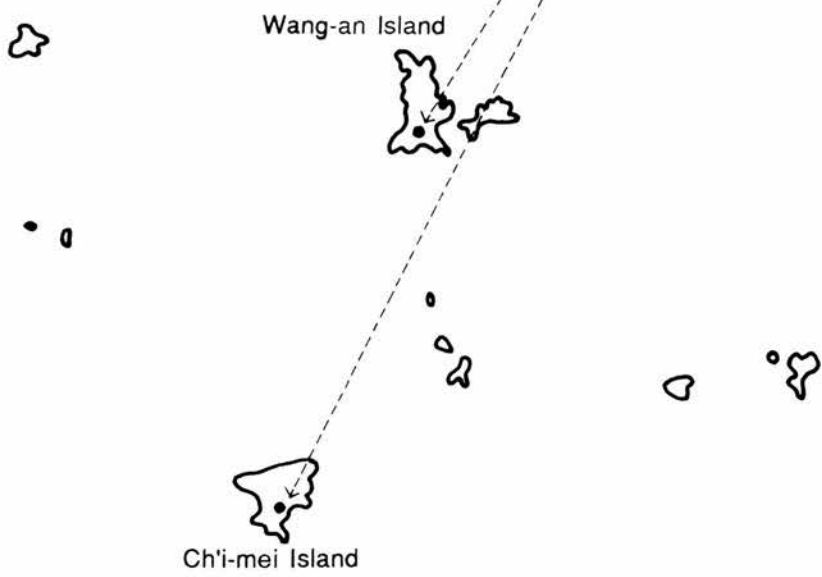
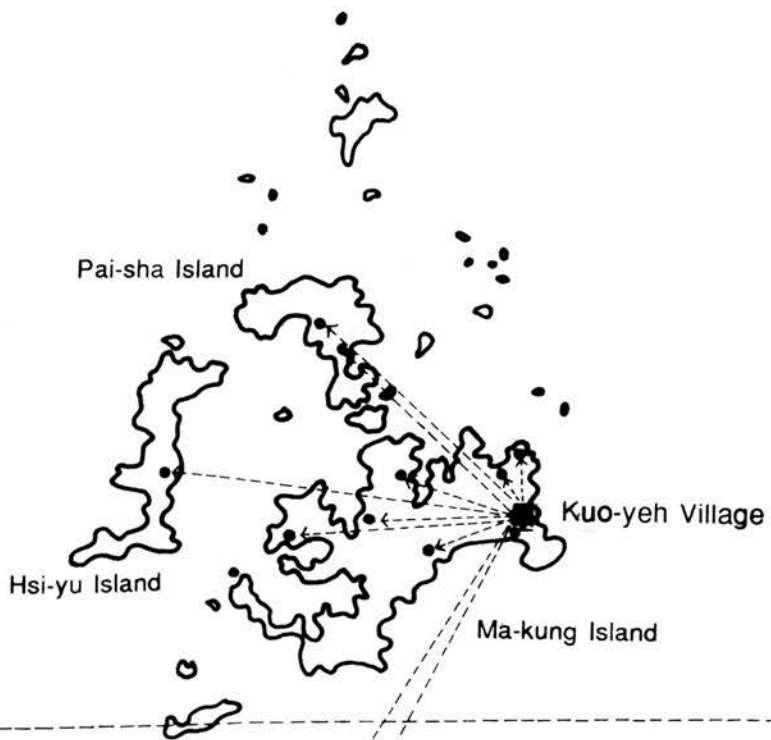


Figure 3-14 The spread of the Hsu family



33-36; (11), pp. 10-15) and An-p'ing (安平) Village of T'ai-nan City (Tseng, 1978; Ts'ai, 1989, pp. 49-55), the only two fishing villages to have been thoroughly surveyed, and in many of those along the north-western coast of Taiwan Island recorded through bird's-eye photography in the book entitled "Cities in China". (Schinz, 1989, pp. 403-404)

Another means of expansion was to add new parallel wing houses outside the old ones; anything from one pair to two, three, four, and more, as shown in Fig. 3-15a. This was commonly applied to farmhouses. Generally, Taiwanese farmhouses were much larger, with far more rooms than those of fishing villages (the main building might consist of five, seven, or more rooms, and the wings four to eleven and more, see Liang, 1988; Kuan, 1989, pp. 27-66; Hsu, 1990) There might be as many as 400 inhabitants -- which was as many as lived in a small P'eng-hu village. The spatial organisation of these huge houses looks like the figure of a genealogical tree as shown in Fig. 3-16a: the principles by which interior space was distributed and its usage determined,¹⁷ and the way farmers divided their property were no different from those used on P'eng-hu Archipelago, except because there were more than three generations living together, the middle rooms of each wing house would be converted into living-rooms for each of the independent families as shown in Fig. 3-16b. Inheritance was determined by assignment of interior spaces for the first three generations, and by lot thereafter. (Ch'iu, 1989, p. 105) This was because there were only two stages of division that a house could go through -- the second generation received possession of separate wing houses, and the third the rooms of each wing house.

17. For details, see 1. Wang Jen-ying, 1973, *The Social Change and Development of Lineage*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica, no. 35, Taipei. 2. Han Po-te, 1973, *The Research and Preservative Scheme of the Architecture and Garden of Pan-ch'iao Lin Family*, T'ai-chung, Tung-hai University. 3. Wang Sung-hsing, 1974, *Taiwanese Architecture and the Supernatural*, in A. P. Wolf (ed.), *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, Stanford, Stanford University. 4. Hsieh Chi-ch'ang, 1975, *The Collection of Labours in the Paddy and Cane Villages of P'u-li*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica, no. 40, Taipei. 5. Kuan Hua-shan, 1983, *The Study on the Architecture in the Novel Entitled "The Red Chamber"*, Taipei, Ching-yu-hsiang Publications. 6. Lin Hui-ch'eng, 1983, *Ma-hsing-yi-yuan-ta-ts'u (The Courtyard House of the Yi-yuan Family in the Ma-hsing Village)*, in *Lion Art*, 1983/6, Taipei. 7. Lin Hung-hsiang, 1989, *The Study on the Spatial Composition of Traditional Hakka Houses of Hsin-p'u in the Late Ch'ing Dynasty*, T'ai-nan, Master Thesis, Ch'eng-kung University. 8. Ch'iu Yung-chang, 1989, *Wu-kou-shui*, Master Thesis, T'ai-chung, Tung-hai University. 9. Hsu Ming-fu, 1990, *The Study of Traditional Houses in Taiwan and Their Local Historical Facts*, Taipei, Hu-shih Publications.

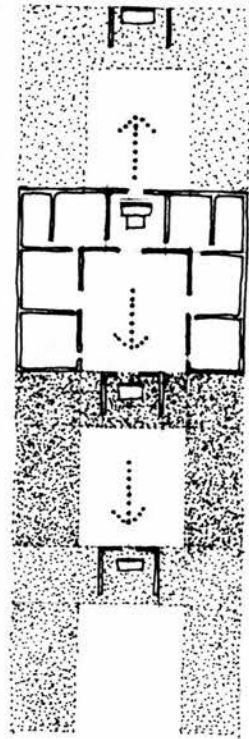
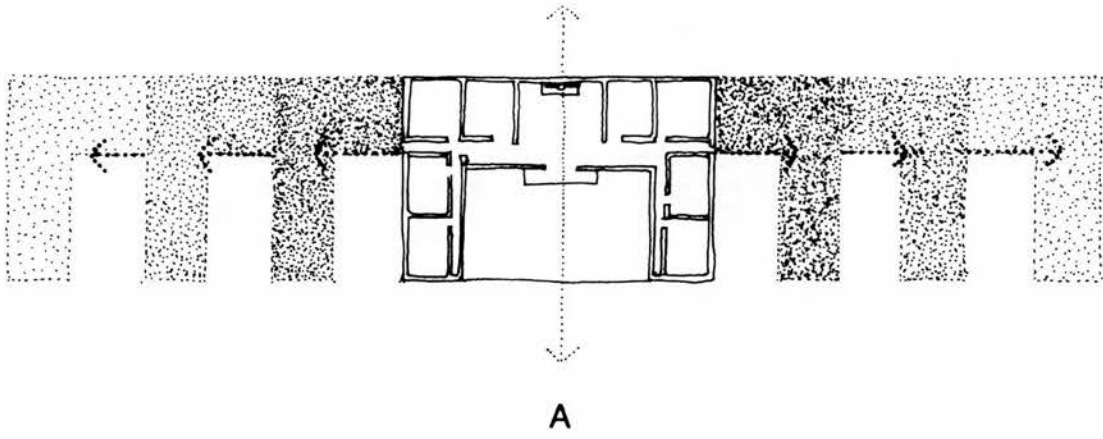


Figure 3-15 Two types of the extension of courtyard house

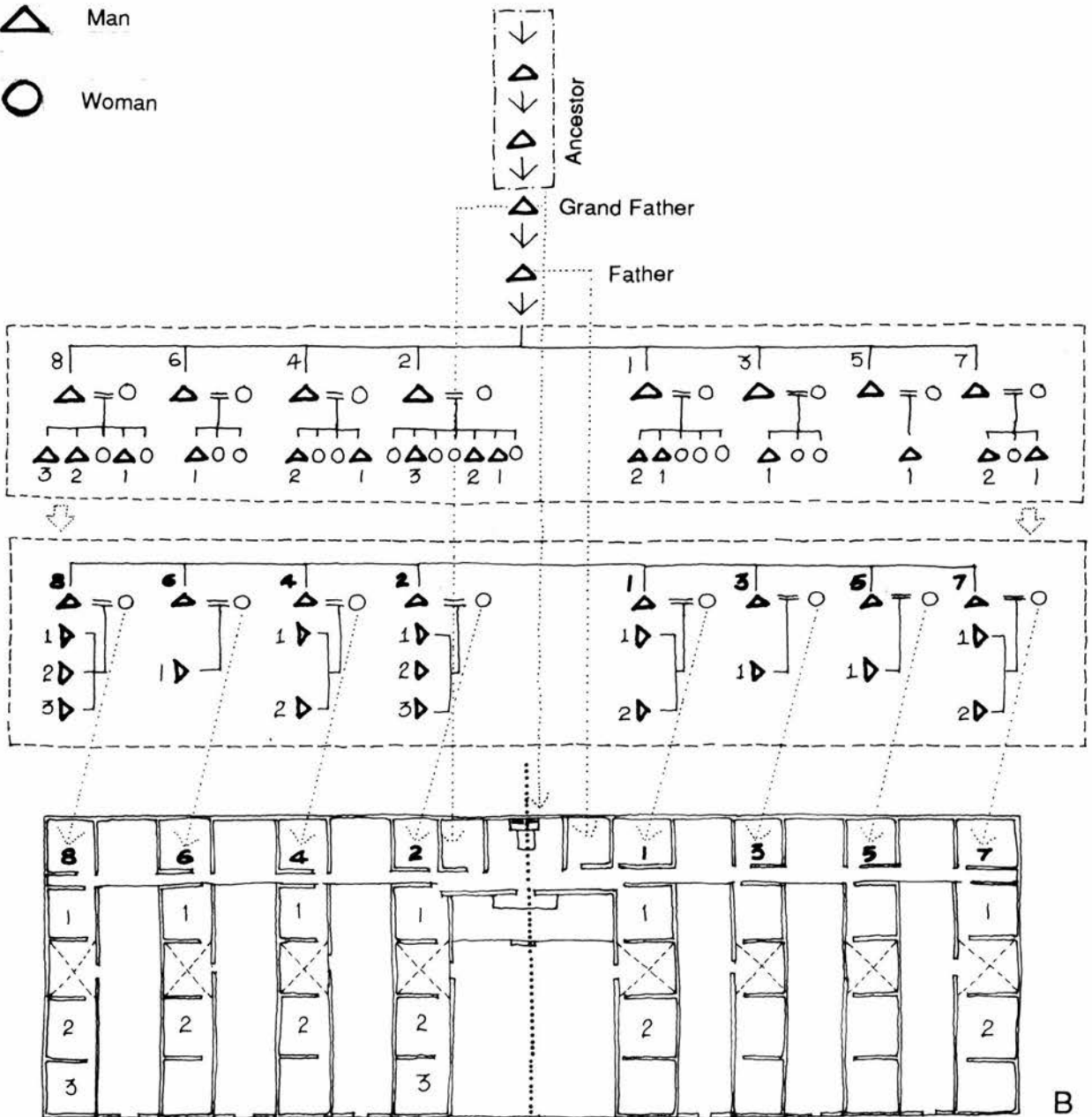
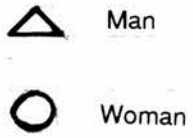
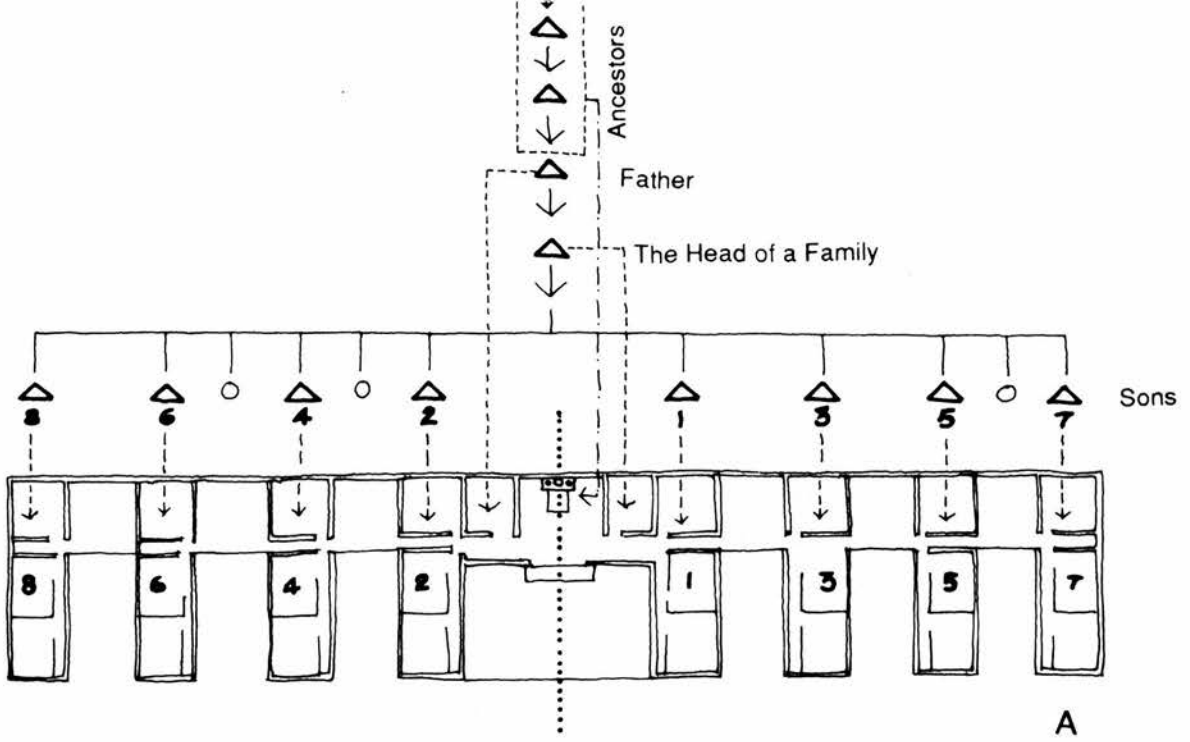


Figure 3-16 The distribution of interior space in the farmhouses

In addition to these, there was a third model for expansion. Whole new courtyard houses could be added in front of or behind the old one, and linked to it with a connecting column as shown in Fig. 3-15b. This was applied in a few agricultural settlements to the south of Taiwan Island. (Li, 1989, p. 78) A middle room in one of the main buildings, generally that of the third one, would serve as the atrium, the others as living-rooms. The bedrooms of the main building and the wing houses near to the atrium would be used by the head of the family, the furthest behind it by the retired parents, and the others by sons and un-married daughters.

The fact that of the two main models of development, one was employed by farmers and the other by fishermen, implies that the reasons behind the formation of clusters in P'eng-hu villages might be explored by comparing fishing and agricultural societies. Since their politics and culture as well as the basic family types (nuclear family, stem family, or joint family) were similar, as were their principles of distribution of properties, their building types and methods of construction, the difference had to be caused by other social and economic factors.

The difference between the average area of land expanded by these two patterns, 168-192 sq. m for that of fishing villages, and 140-160 sq. m for agricultural villages,¹⁸ implies that the first possible reason might be different attitudes forwards land economy. For farmers, the land was their main source of survival whilst it was not so important for fisherman, whose agricultural productivity was rather low. (see Chapter 1-6) This caused farmers to choose an economical pattern of dwelling whilst fishermen preferred a pattern which provided definition through possession.

The difference in the way in which food was produced and processed might be the second reason. The main product of farmers -- paddy -- was harvested in short periods once or twice a year; the quantity of the harvests was huge and they had to be sun-dried for quite a long time; also they were the only main food source for the farmers all year round. All these meant that a large, safe courtyard surrounded by houses was necessary to farmers: thus, their model of development simultaneously met the need for more rooms and for such a farmyard. In contrast, the main food of fishermen came from the sea day by day

¹⁸. This is calculated by taking the general size of courtyard house of P'eng-hu villages as a model.

or week by week, and the quantity of their catches was much smaller. Also the economic value of their agricultural production was lower. In other words, the same need for a courtyard did not exist in fishing societies.

The facts that paddy was a delicate crop and that its economic value was so high, led to frequent disputes between farmers over the distribution of water sources and drying fields, the boundaries of paddy fields, and so on. Consequently, a central mediator with the authority to resolve such disputes was necessary in agricultural societies at clan level. This was one reason why farm houses expanded in such a way as to preserve the centripetal spatial organisation -- the whole complex focused on a collective central symbol, the atrium. In contrast, the way in which fishermen developed their accommodation, providing separate units, each with a smaller, individual, central symbol, reflected the nature of fishing was a much more independent occupation.

In addition to these, there were some secondary reasons for the differences between agricultural and fishing family compounds. For example, the terrain on which they were located: the farmhouses were generally built on flat lands, which meant that adding wing houses was much easier, whilst fishermen's houses tended to nestle within a valley, an irregular landscape that favoured smaller units. Also, fishing villages were usually near the sea-shore: independent units would minimise wind damage, and there would be no question as to who was responsible for repair. The fact that a fishing family was a fully independent economic unit, informed the general personality of the fishermen, who were inclined to make everything as distinct as possible. The independent small house was just one reflection of this. A local proverb said that to add parallel wing houses to an old courtyard house was like putting a heavy basket on a man's shoulders -- that is to say, such an addition would be a burden to the original family. (Chang, 1991, p. 164)

(2). The standardisation of courtyard houses

The fact that these fishing houses were so small (they were amongst the smallest in Taiwan, enough for only 10 people to live in) and so similar all over the islands implies that their characteristics were caused by the collective background of these societies.

In addition to being most suited to local climates, smaller courtyard houses were much more flexible and easier to construct. This was very important for fishermen because originally they themselves built these houses in their limited

spare time. But, the most decisive factor so far as size was concerned might well have been that the inhabitants remained poor throughout history, and their families tended to have no more than nine members, so this size was good enough for them.

The critical reason for these courtyard houses being of similar size throughout the archipelago could well have been the availability of building materials. Except for coral reef, soil, lime, and slate, all logs, tiles, and bricks of P'eng-hu Archipelago had to be imported. According to one record, the following four standard lengths of log were most popular in the market of Amoy -- the harbour city of south-eastern China from which the logs for P'eng-hu were exported: 4.8 m long/12 cm diameter, 4.2 m long/10 cm diameter, 3.6 m long/6.25 cm diameter, and 3 m long/6 cm diameter. (Hsieh, 1965) Since logs were not only one of the most necessary materials for building, but also the most expensive, and inconvenient to transport, obtain, and store, they would be used economically.¹⁹ This is shown in a thorough survey of one village -- Chung-she on Wang-an Island. The sizes of the wooden frames of the majority its of 151 houses reflected the above lengths: their atriums were 4.5 m broad, the two bedrooms of their main building were 3 m broad, the wing houses were 3 m long, their doorcases were 6 m (twice 3 m), and so on. The total numbers of logs needed for a courtyard houses were 9, 4.5 m long (for the atrium), 42, 3 m long (18 for the left and right main bedrooms, 20 for the two wing houses, and 4 for the outer door and the inner door) and a few spare ones for windows, tables, chairs, and so on. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982(2), pp. 26-35)

A secondary reason for the uniformity might be that, until the late 19th centuries, the courtyard houses of P'eng-hu Archipelago were built by their owners with the voluntary help of relatives and friends. The principle of equal reciprocity would cause the size of courtyard houses to become standardised, and then become a local tradition. Because these rural societies were conservative, the standard size was passed down, and applied even after the construction of houses became a profession. (Lin, 1988, pp. 151-152; Lu, 1989, p. 50)

¹⁹. A local craftsman, Ch'en Ting-erh (陳頂額), is convinced that the length of log was the main factor which influenced the scale of a house, see Chang, 1991, p. 133.

(3). The composite pattern of grid form

So far as the spatial arrangement of settlements of the Han people is concerned, the reason why the clusters of clans of P'eng-hu Archipelago were constructed in grid form is still unclear -- in their ancestor's native places, namely, the villages of south-east China, many settlements, especially those of Chin-men Island, were constructed into grid form, but a few were not. Also, the grid form was not a popular type in other parts of China. The original use of the grid form in settlements of the archipelago was probably copied from the native places of the pioneers, and it was kept to because it was the most economical use of land under the principles described earlier by which housing plots were divided. Property would also be distinct, and the orderly passages would be convenient for villagers coming and going and their oxcarts. There were also the following advantages: first, in addition to the central axis -- the line which connected the central points of the atrium, the courtyard, and the outer door -- there was a secondary axis in a house which connected the central points of two side doors, and met the central axis at right angles. Both were important for social communication. This grid pattern would facilitate the contact between neighbouring clansmen because the secondary axis (or the side doors) of their houses were in the same position. Second, there were many taboos -- 300 at least -- believed in by local people about the shape of a house and its relationship to its surroundings. Two of the most serious things to be avoided were the facade of a house having a straight road aimed at it or equally, facing the corners of neighbouring houses (called *ch'ung*, 冲). (Han, 1987, pp. 5-55; also see Chapter 5-1) With the regular grid these situations would not occur.

5. Conclusions

To maintain social order, the intellectuals involved in the reform movement ca. 3rd-4th B.C., divided human society into six levels: an individual, a family, a clan, a society (a village), a nation, and the whole cosmos. They then established hierarchies of members of society, a system of ethics dependent upon that, and hierarchies of all matters which related to human behaviour, such as space, time, colour, and so on. They employed the regulation of marriage as the cohesive foundation of a family, and the blood relationship as that of a clan.²⁰ (Liu, 1982,

pp. 421-472) These collectively comprised a complete network of social behaviour for the Han people.

In addition to determining the social structure of villages, these dominated the spatial organisation and the distribution of usage of interior space at the level of a family, or an independent economic unit.

The three decisive concepts leading to the demarcation of housing plots (the aggregation of independent units, the standardisation of courtyard houses, and the composite pattern of grid form) were collectively responsible for the spatial organisation of the clusters. These concepts were influenced by the importance of land to the family's economy, the way they produced and processed food, the characteristics of the terrain, the state of the family economy, the dimensions of logs, the principle of reciprocity, the convenience of communication, the local taboos, and so on. At the level of the cluster, the distribution of house plots was mainly decided by lot, rather than being imposed by the senior member. Since this equated with the distribution of the survival resources for these poor

²⁰. Both were established around 11th cent. B.C.. Originally, the Han notion of blood relationship was established as a means by which noblemen could judge their degree of nobility, their right to property and to worship supernatural beings, and to reinforced the existing patriarchy, (Ch'en, 1990, pp. 216-226) in other words, its original function was to maintain the order of aristocracy. It became the symbol of social status of general families ca. 3rd-4th cent. A.D., and the instrument by which to distinguish the status of relatives and the correct behaviour of one to another in the 10th cent. A.D.. In traditional Taiwanese societies, it became the most important factor in ensuring the solidarity of family and clan; people who had the same blood shared the same surname, historical merits, properties, and so on. In addition to these, the maintenance of family ties in the traditional societies of Taiwanese Han people was helped by the following notions: the *ch'i* of a family, and the idea of immortality and the transmigration of souls. The former seems to have developed from a commentary of Chu-hsi (a famous Confucian scholar, 1130-1200 A.D., born in Fuchien Province of China and assigned as a local governor of Ch'uan-chou *fu*, the native place of the majority of the earliest settlers of P'eng-hu Archipelago, for quite a long time. His theories were popular in Taiwan and P'eng-hu; see Huang and Ch'uan, 1988, pp. 242-249) He held that the essential element of human life is *ch'i* (literally, breath) which is the same as and able to communicate with the *ch'i* of the theory of Tao. The *ch'i* of a man is relayed from, or created by, telepathy with his father, and in turn, his father's from his grandfather, and so on, and so forth. (Chu, 1969, p. 15) In other words, a genealogy was the result of transmission of a *ch'i* over a long period. The living members of a family were just the temporary owners of the *ch'i* and their courtyard houses, and after death both would be passed to their descendants. Their identities depended more upon being a part of their genealogy than upon their individual personalities. The more male descendants there were in a family, the more prosperous the *ch'i* of the family was seen to be. If there were no sons in a family and no corrective measure was employed, the *ch'i* of the family would vanish. This, of course, was a most unbearable situation for a family, and the men of the last generation would be considered the shame of the whole genealogy. The notion of immortality and the transmigration of souls will be discussed in Chapter 4-3.

villagers, it seems to imply that when it was a question of matters seriously related to their survival, people ultimately preferred to be fair rather than to stick to their ideologies.

The absence of blood relationship (see Note 20) at the level of the village further weakened the traditional ideological systems despite the efforts of local officials and the graduates of the local government school, goaded on by the central government of Imperial China. This manifested itself in the contrast between the orderly domestic cluster and its messy boundary area and the apparently random locations of temples, shrines, and other public facilities.

As a means of addressing this, mediatory representatives chosen from each of the bigger clans enacted agreements for their own villages in order to reinforce social order (see Chapter 1-8), but also a new social function was imposed upon the village god(s) and/or goddess(es). They were to authorize corrective measures and to manage common matters as well as unifying the power of the consanguineous clans. These efforts had an important influence upon the spatial organisation of the villages of P'eng-hu. (see Chapter 4-3)

Chapter 4

The villages in a cosmos and the cohesion of clans

The villagers in traditional societies on P'eng-hu islands, like those on Taiwan itself, believed that their cosmos was composed of two worlds, one being the material place they lived in, the other a supernatural world which consisted of a wide, high heaven, a thin earth, and an eighteen-storeyed hell that lay under both water (seas, rivers, ponds, etc.) and earth.

There were three kinds of beings in this invisible world. First were the gods who dominated the cosmos, supervising, protecting, and punishing all creatures and their souls after they died, confining ghosts in hell and preventing those of them that roamed the earth or sea from persecuting creatures.¹ In local temples, these gods were depicted as figures similar to human beings, (Fig. 4-1) as were most found elsewhere. The exceptions, according to portraits and writings contained in the book entitled *San-chiao Yuan-liu Sou-shen Ta-ch'uan* (三教源流搜神大全, *The complete book of the origin of gods of three religions: Confucian, Taoism, and Buddhism*) first published between 13th and 14th cent. A.D., were a few Gods of Nature. The Thunder God was a combination of a man and a chicken as shown in Fig. 4-2, the Wind God had a deer-shaped head and a tail, and the Rain God was like a bird. (Yeh, 1909, pp. 227, 336) All of their appearances were fixed. The majority of gods wore an official uniform or the dress of the emperors, kings, queens, princesses, high rank officials, and so on of Imperial China. Only the Buddhas, or *fous* (佛), some of whom were included in local belief systems, wore a *kasaya* (a patchwork outer vestment wore by Buddhism monks and nuns). All of the gods had the characteristics of human beings: gender, age, material and spiritual needs, and passions, they formed a social hierarchy, some were married, and some even had blood relationship.

¹. There are many legends about ghosts who were active on earth or sea, see Lin, 1893, p. 22; and Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 401-439.

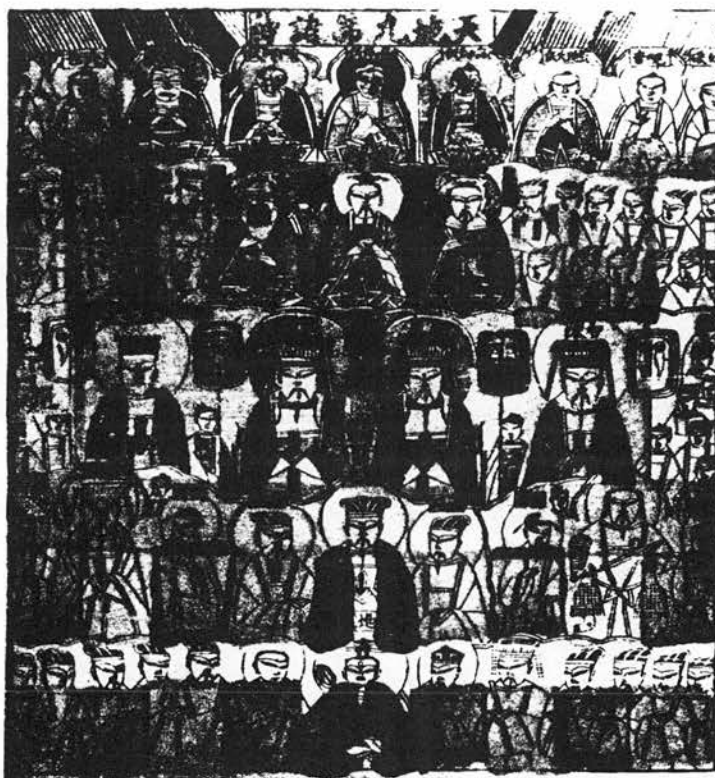


Figure 4-1 Figures of gods (after Lev Menshikov ed., 1988)



Figure 4-2 The Thunder God (after Yeh, 1909)

The second category of inhabitants of the supernatural world were ghosts; they were villains or miserable beings, who were believed to have human form but no substance, and to move over the earth or sea without touching the ground or sea surface. Their general appearance was horrible: they had long, dishevelled hair, wore tattered clothes without shoes, and were skinny; some of them were described as having no head, no hair, or unusually large heads, others had white-green faces, only one foot, teeth like a split pomegranate, or bodies like bamboo canes, and so on. Two appearances of them are shown in Fig. 4-3; and seven in Fig. 4-18b. (Tung, 1988, pp. 557-584) Ghosts also had gender, age, material and spiritual needs, passions, but there was no relationship between them, either in terms of marriage, kinship or a social system. They generally acted individually apart from those who had been killed simultaneously in a single place, for example in an accident at sea or in a battle on the islands. These would gather together and became a tough evil force.

The third group of supernatural beings were the souls of creatures. Local people believed that a person had three *huns* (魂, a kind of soul, for details see Sect. 3), two of which were immortal and would protect, supervise, and punish their own human descendants. (Ahern, 1973, p. 203; Wolf, 1978, pp. 164-165; Li, 1985, pp. 47-61) The remaining one was an intermediate and neutral being, which might be changed into a god or ghost, or re-incarnated as a creature (also see Sect. 3). All three souls of a person retained all the characteristics that his (her) material being had displayed whilst living, including form (see the figures recorded in the books of Eastman, 1988, p. 46 and Dien, 1987, p. 5; Fig. 4-4), temper, habits, etc..

Gods and the souls of dead people were invisible to ordinary people but the oracles of the gods, and news of the requirements of the souls of a family's dead and their conditions in hell (generally no more than those of the most recent two generations) could be delivered to concerned people in dreams. Also, on the seventh night after a person had died, their souls were believed to come back to their former home; relatives claimed to hear foot-steps wandering around. In fact, though, this was in contradiction with the belief that the souls of just dead people had a 49 day period of purgation (this will be discussed in Sect. 3 of this Chapter). Ghosts made their presence known by terrible screaming or will-o'-the-wisps, (Lin, 1893, p. 22) and they were sometimes seen in the evening or



Figure 4-3. Figures of ghosts (the lowest two, after Yeh, 1909)



Figure 4-4 Three *huns* and seven *p'os* of human souls (after Dien, 1987)

at night. They always brought illness, bad luck, or even death to those that encountered them.²

All these supernatural beings had magic powers, but, the gods were much more powerful than human souls and generally more powerful than ghosts. Also, all of them were capable of attaching themselves to people, either for their own purposes or because they had been invited: this would cause a total change in the voice and behaviour of the inhabited person.

Before 1893 A.D., the only people on the P'eng-hu Archipelago who could directly and actively contact or resist supernatural beings were *hei-t'ou shih-kungs* (黑頭師公), literally black headed priests; *t'ung-chis* (童乩); and Buddhist monks. (Lin, 1893, p. 326; Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 135) *Hei-t'ou shih-kungs* were a kind of Taoist priest,³ and they were able to invite gods from anywhere in the cosmos to resolve problems for villagers and the souls of the dead, and to resist ghosts by sorceries. They could also invite gods to attach themselves to *t'ung-chis* when the problem in hand was especially tough. In P'eng-hu Archipelago, there were less than 50 *hei-t'ou shih-kungs* before 1893 A.D. (Ts'ai, 1987, p. 377), the majority of them living in the market town, Makung and some bigger villages. They practised their art either in temples or in their own private shrines after having been trained by their predecessors. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, pp. 133-157) A *t'ung-chi* was a kind of shamanic priest,⁴ they themselves had no supernatural power, but when they were inhabited by gods invited by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, they were transformed: their eyes became tightly closed and saliva flowed from their mouths, their bodies

2. Local people also believed that dogs could see ghosts, and barked in different ways when one was present.

3. In Taiwan, there were two kinds of Taoist priest: *shih-kung* (師公) and *tao-shih* (道士), the former was further divided into two branches: *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and *hung-t'ou shih-kung* (紅頭師公). Amongst these three, *hei-t'ou shih-kung* learnt sorcery to help people after death, *hung-t'ou shih-kung*, literally red head priest, specialised in sorceries for the living. *Tao-shih* learnt the doctrines of Taoism. (Liu, 1983, p. 207) All of them and *t'ung-chis* had the ability to communicate with beings in heaven and hell. In addition to these four, Buddhist monks and nuns were able to help the souls of the newly dead to pass the trials of hell smoothly. But in P'eng-hu Archipelago, there were no nuns, *tao-shih*, or *hung-t'ou shih-kung* before 1893, (Lin, 1893, p. 326) and there, *hei-t'ou shih-kung* practised sorcery for both living and dead people. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 135) All the Taoist priests and *t'ung-chis* were allowed to marry whilst Buddhist monks were not.

4. This term is used in reference to the definition given by Mircea Eliade in his book entitled *Shamanism*, pp. 3-12, 337-374.

distorted and trembled, and they spoke in a strange tongue understood only by *hei-t'ou shih-kungs*. During the period of their possession they were seen as gods rather than people, and became so powerful that they could invite their god's generals and soldiers to station themselves in a village (this whole procedure was called *an-wu-ying*, 安五營); they could ask the leader of this supernatural military to train soldier-gods and to expel ghosts from their magistracy (this summoning of the divine military was called *ts'ao-ying ke-chieh*, 操營格界). The *t'ung-chi* could also go down to hell to resolve various problems of the people, such as miscarriage (this was called *chin-fa-yuan*, 進花園) or to call back the missing soul of a villager (this was called *lo-ti-fu*, 落地府), or to prophesy conditions for fishing and farming, and natural disasters. One of their general appearances when practising sorcery is shown in Fig. 4-5. A *t'ung-chi* could obtain the opinion of gods about the construction and maintenance of the village temple, resist ghosts in villagers' houses, and so on. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, pp. 142-152; Lin, 1893, p. 327) A *T'ung-chi* was believed to be selected by the gods, and the omen indicating that this selection had been made was that the medium-to-be suddenly fell into a trance, assumed all the above-mentioned characteristics of one possessed, and headed into the village temple. After re-examination and a 49 day training by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, they could become formal *t'ung-chis*. *T'ung-chis* were instruments of the gods only: for most of their lives, they were no different from other villagers, fishing and cultivating the land, and living in courtyard houses which were no different from those of their neighbours except for an additional altar dedicated to certain gods believed to be powerful or beneficial to them. The house of one *t'ung-chi* is shown in Fig 4-6; its altar was placed in the upper floor. They were able to retire from their supernatural duties when they were old and permitted to do so by the gods. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 136) In P'eng-hu Archipelago, there was at least one *t'ung-chi* and some of his (or her) apprentices in each village, the majority of them were woman (female *t'ung-chis* were called *wang-yis*, 尪姨) because men were too busy with the mundane business of working and survival. There were very few Buddhist Monks on the islands, possibly only two in 1893. (Lin, 1893, p. 326) These could help the souls of the dead to pass through purgatory smoothly by chanting Buddhist scriptures. In traditional Taiwanese societies, Taoist priests and Buddhist monks and nuns were deemed two of the nine categories of the highest class, whilst *t'ung-chi* (and *wang-yi*) was one of



Figure 4-5 A *t'ung-chi* practising sorcery -- *hua-chi* -- in front of a god's boat (see Sect. 2) (after Tseng, 1987)

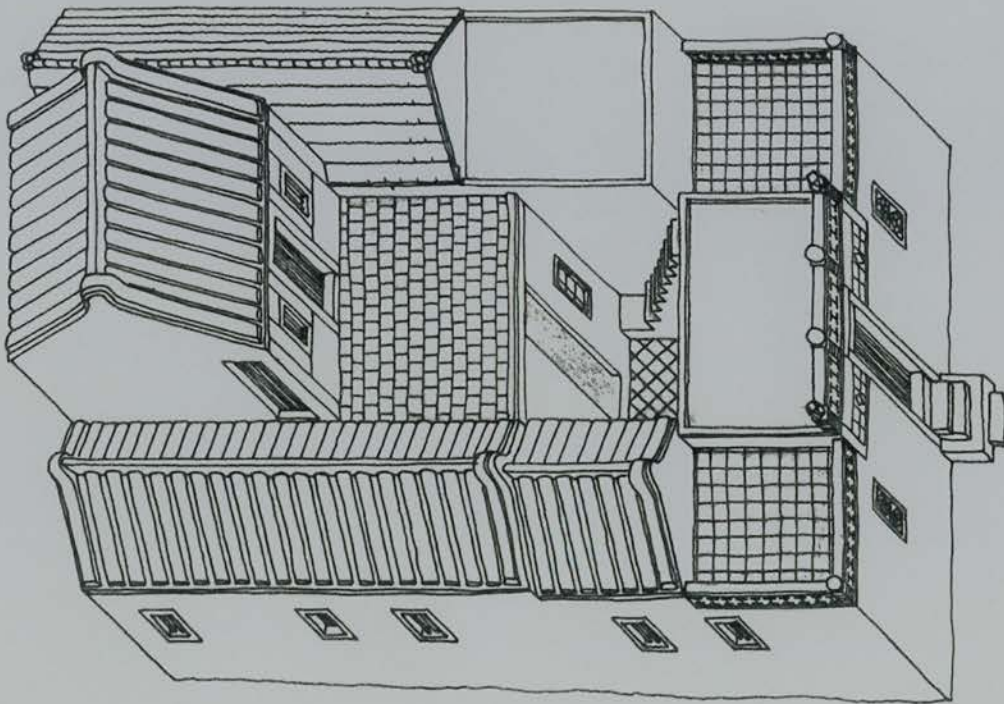


Figure 4-6 The house of a *t'ung-chi* on Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island

the nine categories of the lowest class.⁵ (Huang, W.P., 1990, pp. 39-51) All of their sorceries were deemed to be strategies for survival rather than respectable knowledge.⁶

1. The traditional model of the world of gods

The world of gods envisaged by the villagers of P'eng-hu Archipelago comprised a traditional model which was probably the result of years of construction and adjustment by Han intellectuals, and the village gods created by people, *t'ung-chis*, or Taoist priests in south-eastern China and Taiwan.

In the traditional model, there was a bureaucracy said to be similar to that of a human empire but local people were hazy as to its organisation. The only certain knowledge for them was that T'ien-kung (天公), literally the Duke of Heaven,⁷ was the head of the world of gods, and that all the other gods -- those from an ancient animism⁸ and from Taoism, many historical, mythical, and legendary figures,⁹ and a few from Confucianism and Buddhism -- were its

5. The other seven categories within the highest class were: intellectual, doctor, painter, geomancer, the two kinds of fortune teller, and musician. The other eight categories of the lowest class were: prostitute, dramatic player, the men who lead stud pigs to mate with a farmer's female pigs, hair dresser, tomb-digger, servant, and masseur.

6. At that time, Confucian theories were the orthodox knowledge, see Chapter 1-7-4.

7. T'ien-kung seems to derive from Ti (帝) (or Shang-ti, 上帝), Highness, or the Emperor and T'ien (天), Heaven; he was the only god in the earliest belief system of the Han people, established between the 16th and 11th cent. B.C.. In this, Ti dominated the whole cosmos and punished people by ordering the souls of dead Emperors to do his bidding, and the latter in turn commanded the souls of the ancestors of the people. (Hsu, F.K., 1976, pp. 194-196) T'ien-kung is also attributed to the Jade Emperor, Yu-huang Ta-ti (玉皇大帝), the supreme god of Taoism. (Cheng, 1990, p. 17)

8. This was established around 11th-2nd cent. B.C.: people believed that there were three kinds of supernatural being in the world: the heavenly gods (天神, *t'ien-shen*), the earth gods (地祇, *ti-chih*), and human "ghosts" (人鬼, *jen-kuì*). The heavenly gods, including the God of Heaven, the Star Gods, the Wind God, the Rain God, and so on, lived in the sky. The earth gods, including the Earth Gods, the Mountain Gods, the Stream Gods, the Forest Gods, the Crop Gods, the Stove Gods, the Atrium Gods, the Inner Door Gods, the Outer Door Gods, the Well Gods, and so on, lived on the earth. The ghosts were the souls of dead people, and they seemed to live in the space between heaven and earth. (Chou-li, 8th-2nd cent. B.C., pp. 36, 190, 270; Li-chi, ca. 50 B.C., p. 97; Shang-shu, ca. 3rd cent. B.C., p. 112; Liu-an, ca. 120 B.C., vol. 13, pp. 21-22)

members.¹⁰ All of them had official positions and titles, and were associated with different areas, or duties, within the cosmos. The animist Moon Goddess (月娘), for example, was responsible for the workings of the moon; Yu (禹), a legendary figure, was one of the gods who protected sailors; Li No-ch'ih (李那叱), a mythical figure, was the commander-in-chief of god's generals and soldiers; Kuan-yin, a Bodhisattva, helped people to overcome their difficulties; Ti-kuan (地官), a Taoist god, was one of those who took charge of the matters of hell; Kuan-kung, a historical figure, helped people to resist their enemies and achieve fair trade. (Yeh, 1909; Lin, H.T., 1980, pp. 243-306) In fact, the bureaucracy was flexible, and frequently changed in keeping with the knowledge and world-view of local people, and the interpretations of priests: new gods believed to be beneficial to local people were continuously either being created by priests or adopted from other religions, and expanding the existing heavenly host.¹¹ But, in fact, the number of gods that were trusted and regularly worshipped by local people was no greater than 30. Whilst these 30 gods had specific missions, they were often given new responsibility to satisfy the villagers' needs. Since local belief already incorporated many religious systems, often the specific responsibilities of the god's overlapped, or even contradicted each other, especially those which directly related to the pragmatic needs of local people: this will be perceived again and again in the following discussions. The

9. These figures were mainly derived from the following four sources. First, the legends and myths recorded in the book of Chuang-tzu (莊子, ca. 290 B.C., a famous Taoist). All of these immortals were able to dive into water without wetting their clothes, pass through fire without being burned, fly through the air on the clouds, visit fairyland, and so on. They lived in the Purple Place (紫宮) in the sky -- its form was similar to the palace of an empire; or on remote islands, such as P'eng-lai (蓬萊), Fang-hu (方壺), and Ying-chou (瀛洲); or on beautiful mountains, such as Ku-she (姑射) and K'un-lun (崑崙); and other famous mountains and caves. (Fu, 1988, pp. 5-6, 110; Li, 1982, pp. 195-200) Second, the popular novel entitled *Feng-shen-pang* (封神榜) published in 14th-17th cent. A.D.. The mythical characters it described could also drive the clouds, move within the earth, dive into water for long periods, and so on, as well as having various magic powers. The third source was the history of China, littered with famous heroes and legendary figures, and the fourth was the pre-historic period of China, from which legendary figures survived.

10. This was also true in traditional societies on Taiwan Island, see Jordan, 1985, pp. 40, 176.

11. According to the records of the book entitled *San-chiao Yuan-liu Sou-shen Ta-ch'uan* published between the 13th and 14th cent. A.D., the number of gods at that time was around 180, 170 gods and 10 goddesses. (Yeh, 1909) But in the 19th century, there were no less than 247 of them, or 370 if the 132 Wang-yehs are included.

origin of their gods, the doctrines of the various religions drawn upon, the way in which the world of the gods was organised, and the overlap of their duties were not topics which concerned local people, who worshipped any gods who were trusted, or recommended to them by *hei-t'ou shih-kungs*, *t'ung-chis*, intellectuals, elder people, or Buddhist believers.

In accordance with their responsibilities, the gods in this traditional model could be divided into three categories: the gods and goddesses of heaven, the god and goddesses of earth, and the god of hell.

(1). The gods and goddesses of heaven

The gods and goddesses of heaven, numerous beautiful maids and the gods' generals and soldiers, lived in a huge palace, called *t'ien-t'ing* (天廷), literally the court of heaven, high in the sky. It was believed to look like an imperial palace with five main gates: the Central Gate, the East Gate, the West Gate, the South Gate, and the North Gate.¹² The boundaries and gates of the court of heaven were strictly guarded by the generals and soldiers under the commandment of some famous martial gods.¹³

The court of heaven was the central government of the whole cosmos: it managed all natural phenomena and matters on Earth and in Hell. For most of the year, all the gods went to offices to deal with their daily responsibilities and/or met in a central court to report to or discuss emergencies or important matters with T'ien-kung. But, for nine days -- from the 24th day of the twelfth lunar month to the 4th day of the first lunar month of the following year -- all the gods of heaven left their palace and travelled around the sky inspecting the earth, under the leadership of T'ien-kung.

Because of his supremacy, the majority of families of P'eng-hu Archipelago would put a censer dedicated to T'ien-kung called a *t'ien-kung lu* (天公爐) on the central axis to the rear edge of their god's table, or hang it from the central point of a beam near the front door of their atrium (A few families had no

12. This is based on spells of local *hei-t'ou shih-kung* recorded in Huang, Y.H., 1987b, pp. 143-152.

13. Apart from this, there was also a version which described Heaven as being divided into five areas: Central, East, West, South, and North Heaven. Central Heaven was managed by T'ien-kung himself, each of the rest by a lower ranking god, for example, South Heaven was managed by Kuan-kung. But this idea did not seem to be popular in P'eng-hu.

separate censer for T'ien-kung, but would put incenses in a common one on their god's table). Villagers would stand in their atrium looking out towards the sky with three burning incense sticks in their hands to worship T'ien-kung either every morning or on those mornings of the season's festivals. Before the end of the ceremony, the incense sticks would be inserted up-right in the censer.¹⁴ The ninth day of the first lunar month was the birthday of T'ien-kung, and local people would worship him with offerings which were not only much more sumptuous than those for other gods, ancestral souls, or ghosts, but also were put on a special table which stood on two benches or on piles of "bank notes" made specially for T'ien-kung, and placed inside the outer door of their atrium. This was to symbolise the fact that the status of T'ien-kung was higher than that of any of the others.

Local people believed that since the gods of heaven not only had to manage all cosmic matters, but also stayed in the sky for most of the year, they might not be able to pay enough attention to the condition of a small place like P'eng-hu Archipelago. Subsequently, at the instigation of officials and local people, many statues of the gods were invited onto the islands from outside, and 10 temples¹⁵ dedicated to those heavenly gods or goddesses whose responsibilities were of most concern were constructed in Ma-kung Town.¹⁶ The idea was that if better

14. In some traditional societies of Taiwan, the people also worshipped the Outer Door God (門神), the Inner Door God (戶神), the Dragon God (龍神), Kuan-yin, their ancestral tablets, etc. every morning, see Chang, 1989, pp. 118-122; Ch'iu. 1989, pp. 108-110.

15. Three of them, Feng-shen Miao (風神廟), Lung-wang Miao (龍王廟), and Ch'eng-chu Tz'u (程朱祠) are no longer in existence. Lung-wang Miao was pulled down because of lack of maintenance, the statue of Lung-wang was moved to Kuan-yin T'ing (觀音亭), the other two were torn down in ca. 1900 A.D., because their sites were required for a new primary school -- the statue of Feng-shen was moved to T'ien-hou Kung. (Yu, 1988, pp. 49-51; Chuang, 1978, p. 21) The fact that these temples were not re-built implies that they were no longer needed by local people; the reasons might be that the gods were no longer familiar to local people (in the case of the former two) or that their functions were no longer relevant (true of the last one).

16. In Ma-kung Town, in addition to the above 10 temples and many private temples dedicated to the heavenly gods, there were seven temples constructed, worshipped at, and maintained by the garrisons from seven different military units of China. All of them were built between 1684 and 1744 A.D.. They had two functions, one, to serve as a temple; two, to serve as temporary residences when the military were on the move. The names of the temples and the gods they dedicated them to were as follows (Yu, 1988, p.62):

1. Feng-huo Kuan (烽火館), built by the battalion of Feng-huo, dedicated to Kuan-kung.

communication was established between these gods (or goddesses) and local people, local needs would be more effectively seen to by the gods concerned. The names of the temples and the gods or goddesses they were dedicated to were as follows.

1. T'ien-hou Kung (天后宮), built in 1604 A.D., (Hsu, 1988a, p. 1; Yu, 1988, pp. 25-26) dedicated to Ma-tsu, a sea goddess, a legendary figure of 10th cent. A.D., (Li, 1963, pp. 3-33; Huang, M.Y., 1988, pp. 68-70) who was one of the most popular gods on the coast of south-eastern China and Taiwan. Her general mission was to protect shipping.

2. Wu-sheng Tien (武勝殿), built in 1697 A.D., dedicated to Kung-kung, god of trust-worthiness and loyalty in war and trade. (Feuchtwang, 1978, p. 105) Born in the 3rd cent. A.D., he was one of the greatest generals in the history of China.

3. Kuan-yin T'ing, built in 1696 A.D., dedicated to Kuan-yin P'u-sha, the goddess of Mercy, the feminine form of the Buddhist Avalokitesvava Bodhisattva who would help people to overcome their pains and disasters.

4. Feng-shen Miao, built in 1790 A.D., dedicated to the Wind God, a mythical figure.

5. Lung-wang Miao, built in 1826 A.D., dedicated to the Dragon God, a mythical figure, who would help local people to have safe sailing and to get more rain. (Lin, 1893, pp. 439-440)

6. Shui-hsien Kung (水仙宮), built in 1696 A.D., dedicated to the Five Water Immortals: Yu, a legendary figure of 23rd cent. B.C., said to tame the Han River; Wu Tzu-hsu (伍子胥), a historical figure of the 7th cent. B.C., who was killed and his corpse deserted in a river after he gave advice to his king; Ch'u-yuan (屈原), 343-290 B.C., a patriotic poet who committed suicide by drowning

2. Ma-tsu Kuan (媽祖館), built by the battalion of chin-men, dedicated to the Sea Goddess.

3. Hai-t'an kuan (海壇館), built by the battalion of Hai-t'an, dedicated to the City God of Hai-t'an County of Fu-chien.

4. Nan-ao Kuan (南澳館), built by the battalion of Nan-ao, dedicated to Kuan-kung.

5. Min-an Kuan (閩安館), built by the battalion of Min-an, dedicated to the Sea goddess.

6. Ti-piao Kuan (提標館), built by the battalion of Ti-piao, dedicated to the Sea Goddess.

7. T'ung-shan Kuan (銅山館), built by the battalion of T'ung-shan, dedicated to the Sea Goddess, Kuan-kung, and Li No-ch'ih.

Five of them: Feng-huo Kuan, Ma-tsu Kuan, Hai-t'an Kuan, Nan-ao Kuan, and Min-an Kuan were destroyed once the garrisons had moved out, their statues were moved to other temples, that of Hai-t'an Kuan for example was moved to Shih-kung Tz'u.

himself in a river; Li-pai (李白), 701-762 A.D., one of China's greatest poets in the T'ang Dynasty and Wang-po (王勃), a famous literary man also of T'ang Dynasty who both drowned in rivers. These would help local people to sail in safety. (Hu, 1767, p. 42)

7. Ch'eng-chu Tz'u, built in 1885 A.D., dedicated to two famous Confucians, Ch'eng-hao (程顥), 1032-1085 A.D., and Chu-hsi (朱熹), 1130-1200 A.D.. (Huang and Ch'uan, 1988, pp. 80-107, 242-293) In the Ch'ing Dynasty, Confucian theories were deemed orthodox knowledge and the questions and problems in official examinations were based upon them, so these would help people to pass these examinations.

8. San-kuan Tien (三官殿), built in 1739 A.D., dedicated to the three Taoist gods: T'ien-kuan (天官), Ti-kuan, and Shui-kuan (水官), they separately took charge of the matters of heaven, earth, and the waters (rivers, ponds, seas, etc.). (Yeh, 1909, pp. 38-41; Fu, 1988, p. 100)

9. Wen-ch'ang Tz'u (文昌祠), dedicated to Wen-ch'ang Ti-chun (文昌帝君, also called Tzu-t'ung Ti-chun, 梓潼帝君), the god of the Wen-k'ui Star (文魁星), who was responsible for examination results and consequently official positions. (Yeh, 1909, pp. 38-41; Cheng, 1990, p. 54)

10. Shih-kung Tz'u (施公祠), built ca. 1696 A.D., dedicated to Shih-lang, a general of the Ch'ing Dynasty who lead the navy to defeat the garrisons of the late Ming Dynasty stationed on the islands, mentioned in Chapter 2-1.

These temples were similar both in their form and interior decoration, and looked like massive decorated dwellings with an extra independent short wall called a *chao-pi* (照壁) in front of their square. This wall was also built in front of those temples and shrines dedicated to other gods or ghosts; it was to protect the residents who lived in the courtyard houses in front of the temples from the *ch'ung* (冲) created by these religious constructions or from being influenced by the gods to whom these temples dedicated because they (in fact, all supernatural beings) were *yin*, whilst human beings were *yang*. (see Chapter 5-1-1) The size of these temples varied, the bigger ones (such as T'ien-hou Kung as shown in Fig. 4-7 and Wu-sheng Tien) were at least 3-4 times as large as a courtyard house, the middle ones (such as San-kuan Tien) were similar to one, and the small ones (such as Shih-kung Tz'u) were considerably smaller. Their size was determined by how much money and land had been donated. This, in turn, depended on how much the god's power was trusted, and how important their area of responsibility was considered to be. The locations of some of these



Figure 4-7 T'ien-hou Kung of P'eng-hu dedicated to the Sea Goddess
(after The government of P'eng-hu *hsien*, 1987)

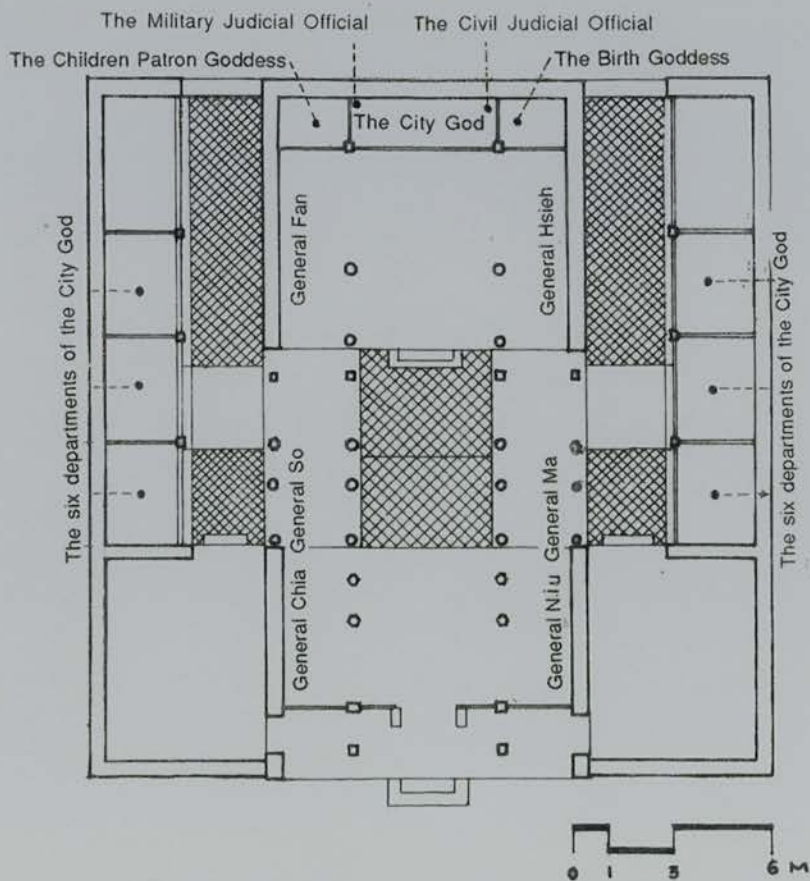


Figure 4-8 Plan of Ch'eng-huang Miao of Ma-kung dedicated to the City God

temples were specially chosen with reference to principles of *feng-shui* because people believed that a good location would reinforce the effect of their god's statues. (Lin, 1893, pp. 440-446) This will be discussed in Chapter 5-2.

In these temples, there were statues of many other gods in addition to those mentioned above, which were worshipped collectively. On the god's table of San-kuan Tien, for example, apart from those of three Taoist gods, there were the statues of a Literature Emperor (文帝), a Martial Emperor (武帝), and a Dragon God; (Hu, 1767, p. 41) on that of Kuan-yin T'ing, was placed a statue of T'u-ti Kung (土地公, literally the Duke of Earth). Also, beside or behind the statues of popular gods, there were many others, similar in figure and/or a little smaller (this also applied to the temples dedicated to the gods of earth and the gods of hell). These duplicates were put there after a ceremony hosted by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, a *t'ung-chi*, or collectively by them and the craftsman who engraved the statues.¹⁷ It was believed by villagers that after a period of time standing next to an original statue of a god, a replica would acquire power of its own. These new statues would be invited to village temples or families to be worshipped, the process was called either *fen-hsiang* (分香, literally the dividing of the incense) or *fen-ling* (分靈, literally the dividing of the divine). All guest statues would be sent back to their original temples periodically, escorted by believers under the supervision of the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* or *t'ung-chi*. This was called *chin-hsiang* (進香), and was intended to reinforce their power, but it also strengthened the relationship between the inhabitants of different villages, or villagers and the townspeople of Ma-kung.

Every morning, all these statues of the gods would be worshipped and an offering of incense sticks placed in the censers in front of them by the managers of the temples. On their birthdays, such as that of T'ien-kung, on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, of Wen-ch'ang Ti-chun on the third day of the second lunar month, of Kuan-yin P'u-sha on the nineteenth day of the second lunar month, of the Sea Goddess on the twenty-third day of the third lunar month, of Kuan-kung on the thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month, etc., and on festival

17. According to local custom, on a chosen auspicious day and hour after a god's statue was engraved, a live bee, cockroach, sparrow, or centipede would be put into a hole in its back (this ceremony was called *ju-shen*, 入神) and this hole sealed with lime. Next, a *t'ung-chi* or a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* dotted the eyes of the statue with a brush dipped in red paint (this ceremony was called *k'ai-kuang tien-ching*, 開光點睛). After the finish of these two ceremonies, the statue was believed to become a genuine god's statue. (Huang, 1988b, pp. 257-258; 1989, p. 191)

days -- generally twice or three times a year -- local people would hold ceremonies for them collectively.¹⁸

All these temples were open to the public, and anyone who had a request for the gods could just go inside, face the god's statue with some burning incense sticks in their hands, and speak of their needs as the smoke of the incense rose upwards. Local people believed that this way, their messages would be delivered to the gods and goddesses.

(2). The earth gods

The earth gods were like supernatural local officials who were assigned to all categories of territory of human society. For the villagers of P'eng-hu Archipelago, there were three main systems: the City God system (城隍爺), the T'u-ti Kung (literally, the Duke of Earth) system, and the family gods system (家神).

The City God, Ch'eng-huang Yeh, literally the god of city walls and moats, seems to be derived from animism, (Lin, H.T., 1980, p. 277) but thereafter was expanded into an independent system of divinities. During the Ch'ing Dynasty, the gods were divided by status into five categories, mirroring those of human administrative ranks of the time. From the highest to the lowest, they were as follows: *t'ien-hsia tu ch'eng-huang* (天下都, the City God of a nation), *tu ch'eng-huang* (都, the City Gods of provinces), *fu ch'eng-huang* (府, the City Gods of *fu*), *chou ch'eng-huang* (州, the City Gods of *chou*), and *hsien ch'eng-huang* (縣, the City Gods of *hsien*, including *t'ing* -- P'eng-hu Archipelago was one of this). (Cheng, 1990, p. 47) In the capital city of each of the above units there would be a temple dedicated to the appropriate god, which was constructed and maintained by government which also paid for the ceremonies.¹⁹ The general mission of a City God was to investigate, judge, and punish all beings, including the people and their officials, their souls after they died, and any ghosts within

¹⁸. Amongst the ceremonies to heavenly gods, those to the Sea Goddess in T'ien-hou Kung, Kuan-kung in Wu-sheng Tien, and Wen-ch'ang Ti-chun in Wen-ch'ang Tz'u were managed by local government. (Chou and Hu, 1736, pp. 34, 37-38; Hu, 1767, pp. 38-39)

¹⁹. Generally, the ruling governments of Han societies not only divided them into numerous administrative units and assigned officials to supervise their material behaviour, but also organised religious systems to control their spiritual behaviour because religious belief played such an important role in their life. The City God system was one of these political religious systems.

his jurisdiction. He was also to help local people get enough rain and yet avoid floods. (Hu, 1767, pp. 37-38) This he did with the assistance of many horrible-looking inferiors. Basically, the City Gods were thought to be the otherworld (*yin*) equivalents of the chiefs of the administrative capitals, the this-worldly (*yang*) rulers. It was customary that an incoming magistrate, before taking up office, first seclude himself in the City God temple and report to the god, (Feuchtwang, 1978, p. 123) and thereafter report on his achievements once a month. Some even visited the temple at night, hoping that the god could give some clues, when they were confronted with a particularly tough problem.

In the capital city of P'eng-hu islands, Ma-kung Town, because the local government site had moved once, there were two temples dedicated to the City Gods of *hsien*. One was constructed between 1691 and 1732 A.D., next to the original official buildings; it was around the size of a courtyard house. The other, built in 1779 A.D. next to new official buildings, was more than four times as big as the old one. Both of them were no different from other temples in outer appearance except for a few decorations: just inside the main door, hanging from the beam was a big abacus, which symbolised the fact that the City God counted the conduct of all beings within his jurisdiction all the time. Also, on the outer side of the door frame, there were many special tablets inscribed with words, such as "You are coming", "It is late to regret", etc..

The spatial patterns of these two temple complexes were slightly different, but they had the same stern and severe atmosphere in their interior space; the arrangement, size, and figures of their statues of the gods, were totally different from those of other temples. The new one, for example, was composed of a courtyard house with a wing house on each side as shown in Fig. 4-8. The central area of the main hall of its courtyard house was occupied by the statues of the City God and two of his main assistants: the Civil Judicial Official (文判官) on his left hand side and the Military Judicial Official (武判官) on the right hand side, and its two side rooms were dedicated to the Goddess of Birth (註生娘娘, Chu-sheng Niang-niang) and the Goddess who was patron of children (臨水夫人, Lin-shui Fu-jen). In the front of both sides of the main hall and in the front hall of the courtyard house, there stood six huge and horrible statues of gods (more precisely, they were puppets). They were General Hsieh (謝將軍) and General Fan (范將軍): the former was over ten feet tall, and lean, the latter less than five feet and fat. They guarded the bridge between hell and the place where human souls were re-incarnated, and pushed the souls of wicked people who had

just died down to hell. General Niu (牛將軍, literally General Cattle) and General Ma (馬將軍, literally, General Horse), were both half man half beast, and their job was to accuse the souls of immoral people and escort them to the court of hell. Finally, there were General Chia (枷將軍, literally General Cangue) and General So (鎖將軍, literally General Lock), who caught and punished the souls of immoral people. The wing houses of the temple of the City God were each divided into three rooms with special names -- Department of Rapid Report, Department of Age Registration, Department of Punishing Villains, etc.. These were three of six departments of the bureaucracy of the City God, and each of them was managed by his high ranking inferiors. (Huang, Y.H., 1987a, pp. 70-71)

Because the City God was not only the head of the government of the gods, with his numerous inferiors penetrating all levels of society, both human and supernatural in order to make their assessments, but also oversaw judgement and punishment, his temples were tended by residents of the city, both during the two annual official festivals, (Ch'eng, 1893, p. 448) and for the rest of the year.²⁰ Because the temple was always bustling with people, its surrounding area became the bazaar of Ma-kung Town. In contrast, in rural areas, his influence, like that of local officials, seems to have been limited: the reason for this will be discussed in the next section. Nevertheless, some duplicate statues of the City Gods were invited to village temples to satisfy the needs of certain villagers.

Both the City Gods and their inferiors made an annual inspection of their area of jurisdiction before the birthday of the City God -- the sixth day of the fifth lunar month, but like the majority of human local officials who contented themselves with inspecting only a small area, (see Chapter 1-6-4) this parade generally only covered part of the city and around six of its neighbouring villages, not the whole area of the archipelago. (Huang, Y.H., 1987a, pp. 88-89)

T'u-ti Kung, literally the Duke of Earth, derived from an ancient animism, was a collective name for the guardians of the land. Each of them was an independent god who either took sole charge of a piece of land, or had collective responsibility for a settlement with three or four others. In the latter case, each of these gods were given additional titles, such as the North T'u-ti Kung, the

²⁰. At the present time, apart from two regular festivals, there is a ceremony for the birthday of the City God which lasts around one month, the first nine days of it are held by the committee of the temple, the rest by believers. (Yu, 1988, p. 32)

South T'u-ti Kung, the East T'u-ti Kung, the West T'u-ti Kung, and the Middle T'u-ti Kung, which accorded to their part of the settlement, and were of equal status. The general missions of the T'u-ti Kung were directly related to domestic life: insuring that the inhabitants within their jurisdiction -- which was never bigger than a village (Lin, M.J., 1987, p. 55) -- had peaceful lives, good harvests and thriving domestic animals. For this reason, they became the closest of the gods to villagers. In traditional societies on Taiwan Island, their shrines would be found at the corner of paddy fields, at city gates, beside bigger trees, in the centre of market towns and villages, and on their boundaries facing each of the cardinal directions. There would also be extra ones down-stream of a settlement, facing up-stream, to prevent the wealth of the inhabitants from flowing away. There was a proverb which described this ubiquity: "in front of paddy fields, in rear of paddy fields, T'u-ti Kung (田頭田尾, 土地公)". (Lin, M.J., 1987, p. 71; Ch'iu, 1989, pp. 81-85; Lin, H.C., 1979a, p. 106; Wang, 1989; Cheng, 1989, pp. 68-98) All these shrines were very small, around 3 feet square and had no front door, as shown in Fig. 4-9. There was also a proverb describing this: "T'u-ti Kung, three-faced wall (土地公, 三面壁)". The small size and lack of a front door reflected the belief that these were the gods of lowest rank in the divine hierarchy.²¹ Arrangement within the shrines was simple: two statues, T'u-ti Kung and his wife, were put in the middle against the rear wall, and a censer placed in front of them. The figure of T'u-ti Kung was like that of a benevolent old man, with a long white beard, and dressed in rich clothes. His wife was an old woman said to have a bad heart. Shrines always faced the object -- the paddy field or settlement -- protected by them.

T'u-ti Kung was also said to be the god who lead the souls of the just to hell, so that at the right hand side of a tomb (opposite a similar shrine with two words 皇天 dedicated to T'ien-kung) there would be an even smaller shrine, around 30 cm cube, with no statues inside, but simply the two words: *hou-t'u* (后土) inscribed above its front door, to indicate dedication to the god.

In P'eng-hu societies, local people believed that on each piece of land there was a T'u-ti Kung. At the end of autumn, before harvest, a ceremony to him would be held in the fields, and on his birthday, the second day of the second lunar month, a ceremony would be held in the courtyard houses. But, apart from five

21. In some area of Taiwan, T'u-ti Kung was believed to be the inferior of the City God, (Lin, M.J., 1987, p. 54) but this did not seem to be popular in P'eng-hu Archipelago.



Figure 4-9 A shrine dedicated to T'u-ti Kung in the rural area of Taiwan



Figure 4-9a A deserted shrine originally dedicated to T'u-ti Kung (left), a god's barracks of Wang-yeh (middle), and a *Shih-kan-tang* (right) in the north border of Feng-kui Village

temples (which were much bigger than a usual shrine), two in Ma-kung Town, two in He-chieh Village and one in Ch'ih-hsi Village on Hsi-yu Island, dedicated to him, some statues to him worshipped in village temples and courtyard house atriums, and those in tombs, there was not much shrine building amongst local people, and certainly nothing was constructed in honour of the god after the late 19th cent. The reason, by my inference, may be that the position and functions of T'u-ti Kung had been replaced by a much more powerful set of gods, the Wang-yeh. This was because natural disasters occurred on the archipelago with such frequency and were so serious as to claim numerous victims, as well as making the lives of local people very tough. The T'u-ti Kung ceremonies became absorbed into new ones, and, since the spatial arrangement of the originally shrines, and their functions, were identical to those of the new ones, they were no longer constructed, maintained, or worshipped. This point of view is endorsed by the following facts; first, as my investigations have revealed, at each of the four cardinal points and in the middle of some villages, there was a deserted shrine originally dedicated to T'u-ti Kung next to the structure honouring Wang-yeh (the statue that they would have contained had in each case been moved to the village temple). The picture shown in Fig. 4-9a, taken from the north side of Feng-kui Village of Ma-kung Island, is just one example of this. Second, the dates when the military forces of the Wang-yeh system were regularly worshipped -- the first and fifteenth day (or second day and sixteenth day) of each lunar month -- were the same as those originally reserved for T'u-ti Kung. Third, the arrangement of the barracks of the Wang-yeh gods within a village (for details see Section 2), namely their posts at the four cardinal points on the boundary and right in the centre were consistent with the positions of the shrines to T'u-ti Kung. In addition, agricultural harvests were not nearly so important to P'eng-hu villagers as they were to their counterparts on Taiwan Island, so that constructing shrines to T'u-ti Kung in their fields was not a priority. Consequently, except for the few mentioned above, the only shrines to the god that were found were on the side of tombs, their purpose being to lead the souls of the newly dead to hell, and this became the main function of T'u-ti Kung in the context of the archipelago.

The family gods were another group within the category of earth gods. All of them derived from early animism. Originally, there were five basic types: Men-shens (literally, the Outer Door Gods), Hu-shens (literally, the Inner Door Gods), Ching-shens (井神, literally, the Well Gods), Chung-liu-shens (中 閻

神, literally, the Atrium Gods), and Tsao-shens (灶神, literally, the Stove Gods). But, in P'eng-hu societies, the Atrium God was unfamiliar to local people, his duty -- to ensure a peaceful atrium -- seems to have been seen as the responsibility of T'u-ti Kung by the villagers. This was demonstrated by the fact that the majority of families there invited a T'u-ti Kung's statue to their home, and worshipped it on their gods' table.²²

Apart from the Atrium God, in the traditional societies of P'eng-hu, the Outer Door Gods and the Inner Door Gods were collectively called Men-shen (門神, literally the Door Gods). Each of the former took charge of an outer door, and the latter an inner door. Their duty was to deter ghosts from entering a house or its rooms. Ti-chi-chu, the ghosts of former landlords, were allowed in, but they seem to have been one of a few friendly ghosts in the human world. The Well Gods were each assigned to a well and charged with insuring that the supply of water was maintained. The Stove Gods were stationed in the kitchens of families, and seem to be descendants of the Fire Gods. (Lin, H.T., 1980, pp. 264-265) These were the most interesting of the five, and there were many legends relating to them: they were said to be handsome and fond of peeping at women when they were bathing -- in traditional courtyard houses a kitchen also served as a bathroom. Because the Stove God had access to the most private life and the real conditions of a family -- as presented at meal times and through the chats of women, most of which took place in the kitchen -- he was most respected by people. There were many taboos related to him: for example, the foundation of a stove -- his symbol -- had to be constructed from piled up bricks or adobes, pebbles were strictly prohibited; a stove was not to be located at the site of a previous pigsty or pit; it should not face east or north; there were also regulations governing the scale of a stove, which was cuboid in shape; finally a stove was to be constructed, restored, pulled down, and used for the first time only on certain auspicious days recorded in the *t'ung-shu* or farmer's calendar (see Chapter 3-3). (Lin M.Y., 1989, pp. 208-212; Cheng, 1990, pp. 194-196) Local people worshipped the Stove God with delicious meals, which they placed on their stoves on his birthday, the third day of the eighth lunar month. This was the only ceremony reserved for a single one of this group of five family gods.

22. In Hakka villages of Taiwan, the tablet dedicated to the Atrium God was put in the central axis to the bottom of rear wall of their atrium. (see Lin, H.C., 1990, p. 103-104; Liang, 1988, p. 142; Ch'iu, 1989, p. 109; Lin, H.H., 1989, p. 81)

In addition to these five, in the bedroom, there was Ch'uang-mu (床母), literally the Mother of the Bed, and her twelve assistants, Shih-ern P'o-chieh (十二婆姐, literally twelve sisters of grandmother). These were the patron gods of children under sixteen, and they also offered help to married couples seeking to give birth to sons. Local people worshipped them on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month (Ch'uang-mu's birthday), during the season's festivals, at family ceremonies, and, if they had children, on the first and the fifteenth day of every lunar month. (Ts'ao, 1957, pp. 60-68) The Goddess of Foetuses (胎神), T'ai-shen, came to a house from the time a woman conceived until the end of the fourth month of her baby's life. She stayed in a different place in the house every day, as recorded on the *t'ung-shu* or farmer's calendar, and during her period of residence, villagers worshipped her in the atrium, and strictly prohibited anybody from hitting, moving, or even touching the places she occupied, for fear of provoking a miscarriage in the pregnant woman. (Lu, 1735, vol. 8, p. 16) Many other places within the courtyard house boundary were also believed to have a presiding deity, for example, cattle sheds, pigsties, some old pieces of furniture, and big trees. The locations of the family gods are shown in Fig. 4-10. (Wu, 1969, p. 179; Wang, 1956, p. 99)²³

Some of these family gods, had their symbols, such as a door, bed, well, etc., others did not, such as the Goddess of Foetuses. None of them had statues or individual shrines, and their presence was simply indicated by a piece of red paper or a tablet inscribed with their names or bearing their image, attached to the wall. All of them, except for the Siove God who was invited from the parent family by the head of the family, spontaneously stationed themselves in their places after the ceremony of completion of a courtyard houses -- in the same way as T'u-ti Kung.

All the earth gods had to go to Heaven for eleven days once a year -- from the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month to the fourth day of the following first lunar month -- to report on the conduct of the people under their jurisdiction to T'ien-kung, the Duke of Heaven. (Hu, 1767, pp. 155-158) These reports would become the evidence upon which people were judged when

²³. Apart from these, in some areas of Taiwan, there was even a goddess stationed in the latrine. Tung-sheng Niang-niang (冬生娘娘) was the patron of young ladies, and in the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, they would worship her by making puppets in her image, and giving her embroidered shoes, and chicken legs. This does not seem to have occurred in P'eng-hu Archipelago. (Lin, H.C., 1990, p. 104)

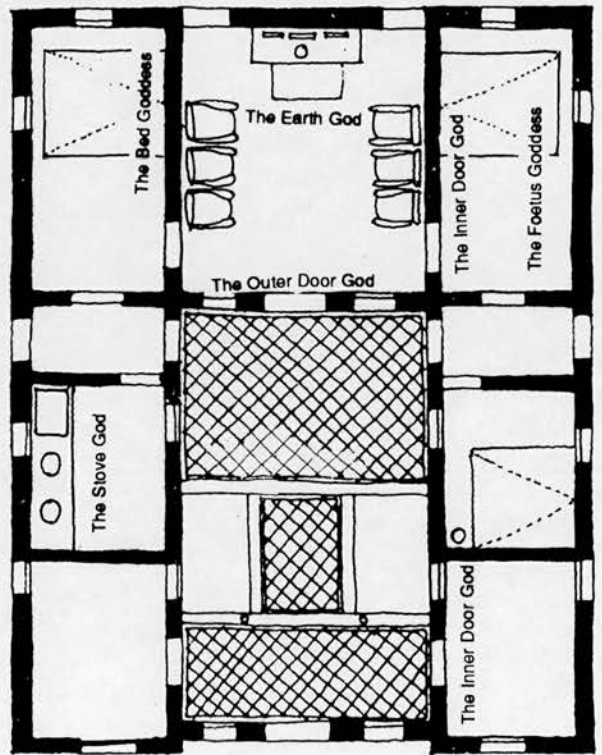
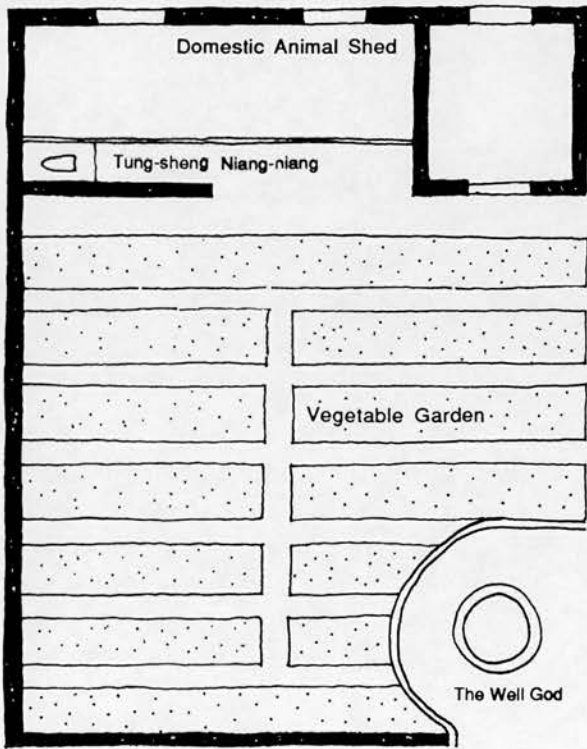


Figure 4-10 The distribution of the family gods in a house



they died and their souls were sent to the first court of hell. For this reason, before their annual departure, local people would worship their domestic gods and those in their atriums, placing offerings on their altars and in front of each of their symbols. In the course of the ceremony, some god's bank notes, and drawings on paper of the vehicles of the gods, sedan chairs, and horses,²⁴ would be burned, and throughout the house the gods' symbols would be marked with an auspicious red paper and a ball of glutinous rice. This latter was designed to gum up the mouth of the gods to prevent them giving bad reports at the court of heaven. The other things were all bribes designed to cajole the gods into reporting favourably on the family to T'ien-kung. Then, some burning incense sticks would be inserted on their symbols, such as in the crevice of a stove, a door, a well, or in front of a bed, a tree, etc.. (Lin, 1893, p. 318) Once the gods had left, people would clean their houses thoroughly, including all the god's statues and symbols, and the ancestral tablets. Also, during this period some families would marry their sons and daughters because since no gods were present, the ceremony could be much simpler. (Hu, 1767, p. 152)

(3). The gods of Hell

Apart from the above-mentioned belief that the City God decided the future of the souls of the newly dead, two of his inferiors manning the bridge to the place where human souls were re-incarnated and to hell, local people believed in a whole subterranean run by Yen-lo-wangs (閻羅王). The soul of everyone who died would be sent there before being either escorted to heaven, detained forever, or re-incarnated after having been purged. But details about the names and responsibilities of these Yen-lo-wangs, and the contents of this hell were unclear to local people. According to religious writings and from the ceremony of death hosted by *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, the organisation of hell seems to have been seen as follows. The head of the gods of hell was Tung-yu Ta-ti (東嶽大帝, literally the Great Emperor of the East Peak) who was a Taoist god, or Hsuan-t'ien Ta-ti (玄天大帝, literally the Great Emperor of Black Heaven; he was also called Yin-tu Ta-ti, 酆都大帝, and derived from the animist tradition.²⁵

²⁴. In addition to these two, clouds were also vehicles of the gods, as described in the spells of *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, see Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 83.

²⁵. The name of the god was mentioned in the spells of *hei-t'ou shih-kung* recorded in Huang, Y.H., 1989, p. 72.

Both of these were the inferiors of T'ien-kung. (Dien, 1987, pp. 1-15) Of the two, the former was more popular in the P'eng-hu Archipelago. With their inferiors, they took charge of investigating and deciding on the future of souls on the basis of the collective reports from the City Gods and the court of heaven based on those of the family gods, especially the Stove God. Beneath them, there were ten Yen-lo-wangs (literally King Yamas), each of which took charge of one of the courts of Hell. They had numerous inferiors, the majority of them seemed to be repentant ghosts, who were horrible-looking, thin and wearing only short trousers. (Cheng, 1990, pp. 48-49) The names of the ten Yen-lo-wangs and their responsibilities were as follows. King Ch'in-kuang (秦廣王) of the first court, bore the responsibility of escorting souls whose pre-existence had been virtuous over a golden bridge to the paradise of the western sky. King Ch'u-chiang (楚江王) of the second court took charge of the first three hells: the cutting tongue hell, the cutting by scissors hell, and the hanging by iron tree hell. King Sung-ti (宋帝王) of the third court presided over the fourth and fifth storeys hells: evil mirror hell and steaming hell. King Wu-kuan (五官王) of the fourth court managed the next three hells: the hot metal column hell, the blade mountain hell, and the ice hell. King Yen-lo (閻羅王) of the fifth court managed the ninth hell: the boiling oil hell. King Pien-ch'eng (卞城王) of the sixth court took charge of the next three hells: the manure pit hell, the pressing by stone hell, and the pounding inside a mortar hell. King T'ai-shan (泰山王) of the seventh court managed the thirteenth to fifteenth hells: the immersing in blood hell, the death as a result of injustice hell, and the dismemberment hell. King P'ing-teng (平等王) of the eighth court hosted the next two hells: the burning hell and the grinding hell. King Tu-shih (都市王) of the ninth court managed the last hell, namely; the saw and knife hell. Finally, King Lun-chuan (輪轉王) of the last court who took charge of the re-judgement and re-incarnation of purged souls. (see Fig. 4-24)

In Ma-kung Town, some time before 1837, local people built a temple called Ti-chang-wang Miao (地藏王廟) dedicated to a Buddha -- Ti-chang Wang (目犍連, Mu-chien-lien) -- to relieve the suffering of the souls of their dead relatives. It was said that the Buddha rescued his mother and all the ghosts from hell with the help of many monks who were offered sumptuous meals, (Yeh, 1909, p. 308) so he was believed to be the saviour of hell. This temple seems to have been ruined before 1893, and the statue of the Buddha was moved to a neighbouring temple called Hai-ling Tien (海靈殿). (Ts'ai, 1987, p. 309)

Nevertheless duplicate statues were invited to many village temples. Also, one god, Shui-kuan of San-kung Ta-ti, was believed to have influence in hell, so statues of him were invited into village temples from his temple, San-kuan Tien of Ma-kung Town, as well.

To sum up, local people constructed temples to the most important gods, worshipped them in spring and autumn, at seasonal festivals, on their birthdays, and on other special days, and invited their statues into village temples. They also annually worshipped traditional gods other than the above-mentioned ones in their own houses. The most popular ones were: T'ai-yang kung (太陽公), the Duke of the Sun worshipped on the nineteenth day of the third lunar month; the Goddess of the Tzu-nu Star (織女), worshipped on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month; and the Goddess of the Moon, who was worshipped on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. Also, on the fourth day and the seventh day of the first lunar month, the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, and the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month, people worshipped all the gods of the cosmos.

2. The village god(s)

The concept of village god(s) (or *chu-chi shen*, 主祭神, literally the main deity(ies) of a village) existing in P'eng-hu societies seems to have been affected by a local custom of south-eastern China. There, the people who lived in a certain territory -- which was around one to five times the size of a *hsien* (county) -- usually built a temple dedicated either to the leader of their own pioneers or to a local benevolent man now dead, or to some legendary characters. These figures became the patron god of their worshippers, and a symbol of the separate identity and cohesion of the society.

When people from those areas emigrated to Taiwan and P'eng-hu, they brought with them many statues of these patron gods. Amongst them, the following six were the most prominent: Ch'ing-shui tsu-shih (清水祖師), patron god of the residents of An-hsi county (安溪), in Ch'uan-chou *fu*, who was a monk and helped many local people; Pao-sheng Ta-ti (保生大帝), of T'ung-an county (同安) in the same *fu*, who was a doctor and cured many local people; Kuang-che Tsun-wang (廣澤尊王), of Nan-an (南安) county also in Ch'uan-chou *fu*, who was a legendary figure; K'ai-chang Sheng-wang (開漳聖王), of Chang-chou *fu*, who was a pioneer leader, killed by aborigines; San-shan Kuo-

wang (三山國王), of Ch'ao-chou *fu* (潮州), who were three spirits of three local mountains: Mt. Chin (巾山), Mt. Ming (明山), and Mt. Tu (獨山); Ting-kuang Ku-fou (定光古佛), of Ting-chou *fu* (汀州) who was a legendary monk. (Shih, 1973, p. 198)

For the various reasons mentioned in the Chapter 2-6, the idea of a patron god was borrowed by the inhabitants of P'eng-hu islands, who were attempting to reinforce the sense of shared identity of the inhabitants of a particular valley. As in south-eastern Chinese, they collectively worshipped a god or gods trusted by all of them; collectively constructed and maintained a temple dedicated to the selected god(s); and were obliged to share the expense of ceremonies. The village gods were also called upon to endorse and make binding folk-agreements. (see Chapter 1-8-10) A pair of divination horns was thrown to the ground in front of the god's statues. The way these implements landed was taken as a sign of the god's approval, indifference, or rejection of the treaty. If there was anyone who refused to accept all the obligations to the gods and the outcome of such an agreement, he (or she) might be excluded from the society of the valley, and eventually move away or establish another unit by himself (or herself). There were very few cases where this happened, in fact, only 5 were found; but this is why there were 86 village temples and only 81 rural settlements on P'eng-hu. (see Chapter 1-5) This tactic was undoubtedly successful, the village god becoming the key medium of cohesion and the spiritual centre of the traditional societies of Taiwan.²⁶ Consequently, the territory in which the villagers commonly worshipped at the same temple and share a village god then became a identified with the area of a particular social group. Inside the boundary, the inhabitants belonged to the same group, outside the boundary, the inhabitants, of course, belonged to other groups. This territory of worship is called a "religious sphere (祭祀圈)" by anthropologists, and it was the basic social unit of the Taiwan area.²⁷ Apart from their social functions, the village gods

26. Because civil wars were frequent during the period of Imperial China, the village god of a society also became a decisive factor by which to distinguish which inhabitants were friends and which enemies. (Hsu, 1973, pp. 165-190)

27. It was not only in rural areas that social and religious unity were so interlinked, in the market towns and walled cities of Taiwan, the equivalent gods were called *chiao-t'ou shen* (角頭神), and their temples, *chiao-t'ou miao* (角頭廟). In Ma-kung Town, there were four *chiao-t'ou miao*s, in other words, there were four religious spheres within the walled city. The names of the temples and religious spheres were as follows: Hai-ling Tien of Nan-chia (南甲) dedicated to Shu-fu Wang-yeh (蘇府王

were attributed with omnipotence and assigned the management of all matters of a village.

If the original settlers from each of the families in a valley of P'eng-hu Archipelago emigrated from the same area, with the same patron god, their original patron god might be accepted as the village god. There were five cases of this, Pao-sheng Ta-ti was chosen as the village god of three villages: Pei-liao, Hou-liao (後寮), and Wu-te; Ch'ing-shui Tsu-shih was chosen by two villages: T'ieh-hsien (鐵線) and Hsi-wen (西文); and K'ai-chang Sheng-wang was chosen by Sha-kang Village. All of these villages were on Ma-kung Island.

In other circumstance, an alternative would be found. A heavenly god or one or more Wang-yehs would be invited to become god of the village. Amongst the heavenly gods who were chosen, Pei-chi Ta-ti (北極大帝), literally the God of the Ultimate North or the God of the Pole-star, was the most popular, being adopted by 14 villages as shown in Fig. 4-11. His popularity might have been caused by the local landscape: there was a mountain near Ma-kung Town called Mt. Chin-kui-t'ou (金龜頭), literally Golden Head of Tortoise Mountain, the name describing its remarkable shape, also on the other side across the sea there was a snake-shaped hill, called Mt. She-t'ou (蛇頭山), literally Head of Snake Mountain, (Lin, 1893, p. 19) and both of these caused local people to believe that Ma-kung Island was a miracle wrought by Pei-chi Ta-ti. The reason that they made this association was that, around the 2nd cent. B.C., the Han people had divided the stars into four groups, and, based on the distribution of those stars, the eastern group was described as a blue dragon, the western one a white tiger, the southern one a red phoenix, and the northern one a combination of a black snake and a black tortoise as shown in Fig. 4-11a. (Walters, 1987, p. 97) Since the terrain of Ma-kung Island looked like the figures of the northern group of stars, the societies around these two hills invited the gods of the north, namely, Pei-chi Ta-ti, to be their village gods.²⁸

爺), Pei-ch'eng Tien (北辰殿) of Pei-chia (北甲) dedicated to Chu-fu Wang-yeh, Pei-chi Tien (北極殿) of Tung-chia (東甲) dedicated to Pei-chi Ta-ti, and Ling-kuang Tien (靈光殿) of Huo-shao-p'ing (火燒坪) dedicated to Chu-fu Wang-yeh (朱府王爺). (Yu, 1988, pp. 79-105) For further discussion of the concept of "religious sphere", see Yuzuru, 1938, pp. 1-22; Wang, 1972, pp. 1-38; Hsu, 1973, pp. 165-190; Shih, 1973, pp. 191-208; Lin, M.J., 1988, pp. 95-125.

²⁸. There was another inference, namely that, the prevalence of Pei-chi Ta-ti was due to his being promoted by General Cheng Ch'eng-kung (see Chapter 2-1) because the god was the symbol of the Ming Dynasty. (Wang, 1752, p. 176)



Figure 4-11 The distribution of the 16 temples dedicated to Pei-chi Ta-ti (14 in villages, 2 in Ma-kung Town)

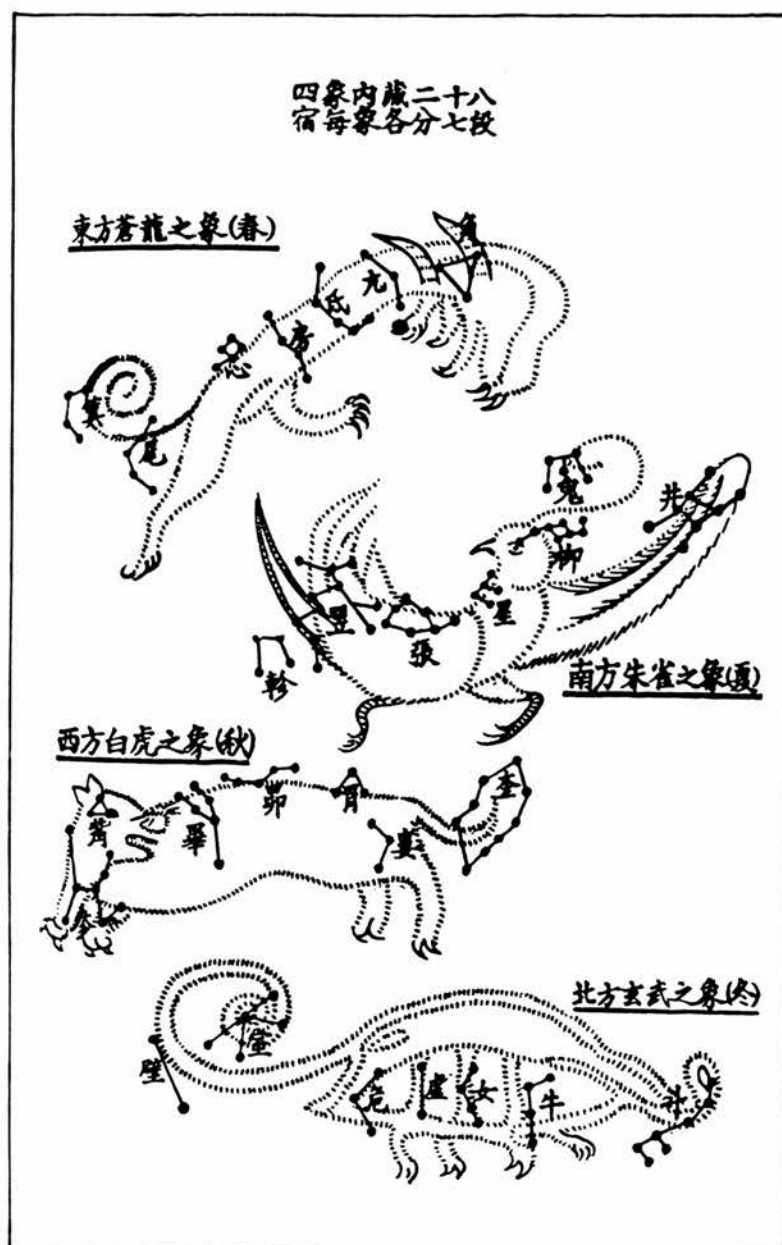


Figure 4-11a The imaginary shape of the four groups of star (after Walters, 1987)

These four figures were also included into the notions of *feng-shui* held by the Mountain Form School, each symbolising the respective cardinal directions (the symbol for the central point was yellow mankind). This can be seen in Fig. 4-12. These figures were part of many philosophies of the Han people, these will be discussed in Chapter 5-2. (see Note 1 of Chapter 3; also see Chapter 5-2)

Next in popularity to Pei-chi Ta-ti was Kuan-kung, the god of trustworthiness and loyalty in war and trade. He was adopted by 10 villages, being one of the most respected historical figures in Han society. In addition, San-kuan Ta-ti, the three gods of the heaven, the earth, and the water, were adopted by one village.

The most popular village god, in fact, was Wang-yeh(s),²⁹ who presided over forty-seven of the archipelago's villages. Wang-yeh was a collective name of a group of gods with 132 different surnames. (Katz, 1990, pp. 95-209) Their names do not seem to have bothered worshippers much, who attributed each with equal powers. (Huang, W.P., 1989, pp. 39-51, 92-110) The Wang-yehs were hardly recorded in historical archives, and were even deemed evil gods by local officials. (Hu, 1767, pp. 36-37) The origin of these gods may be associated with fear of plague.³⁰ In the summer, the coastal communities of south-eastern China generally released a *wang-ch'uan* (王船) or king's boat, from their seashores. On each of the boats, were the statues of the Five Plague Gods (五瘟使者) or the twelve Plague Kings (十二瘟王), (Yeh, 1909, pp. 156-157; Katz, 1990, pp. 160-161) together with sacks of rice, chickens, and lambs. The ceremony was intended to rid the people of the plagues that these gods were responsible for spreading. Some of the boats floated down a branch of the sea current named Hung-shui-kou, literally the Red Water Ditch (Ts'ao. 1979, p. 120; also see Chapter 1-1) which flowed through the north of P'eng-

29. In general, villagers invited between one and five Wang-yehs to their village temple; if the number of Wang-yehs was more than one, one of them would become the leader and called *ta-wang* (大王), literally, the first king; the others were called *erh-wang* (二王), literally the second king; *san-wang* (三王), the third king; etc.. (see Huang, Y.H., 1988a, pp. 165-166)

30. The origin of belief in the Wang-yehs is still argued by religious researchers. Five of the new gods may have been direct transformations of the Five Plague Gods, accounts of the sources of the others are inconsistent. In the text, I have related the most popular one. For the others see Huang, W.P., 1989, pp. 92-110; Liu, 1983, pp. 232-234; Ts'ai, H.H., 1989; Cheng, 1990, pp. 126-166; Katz, 1990, pp. 95-210.

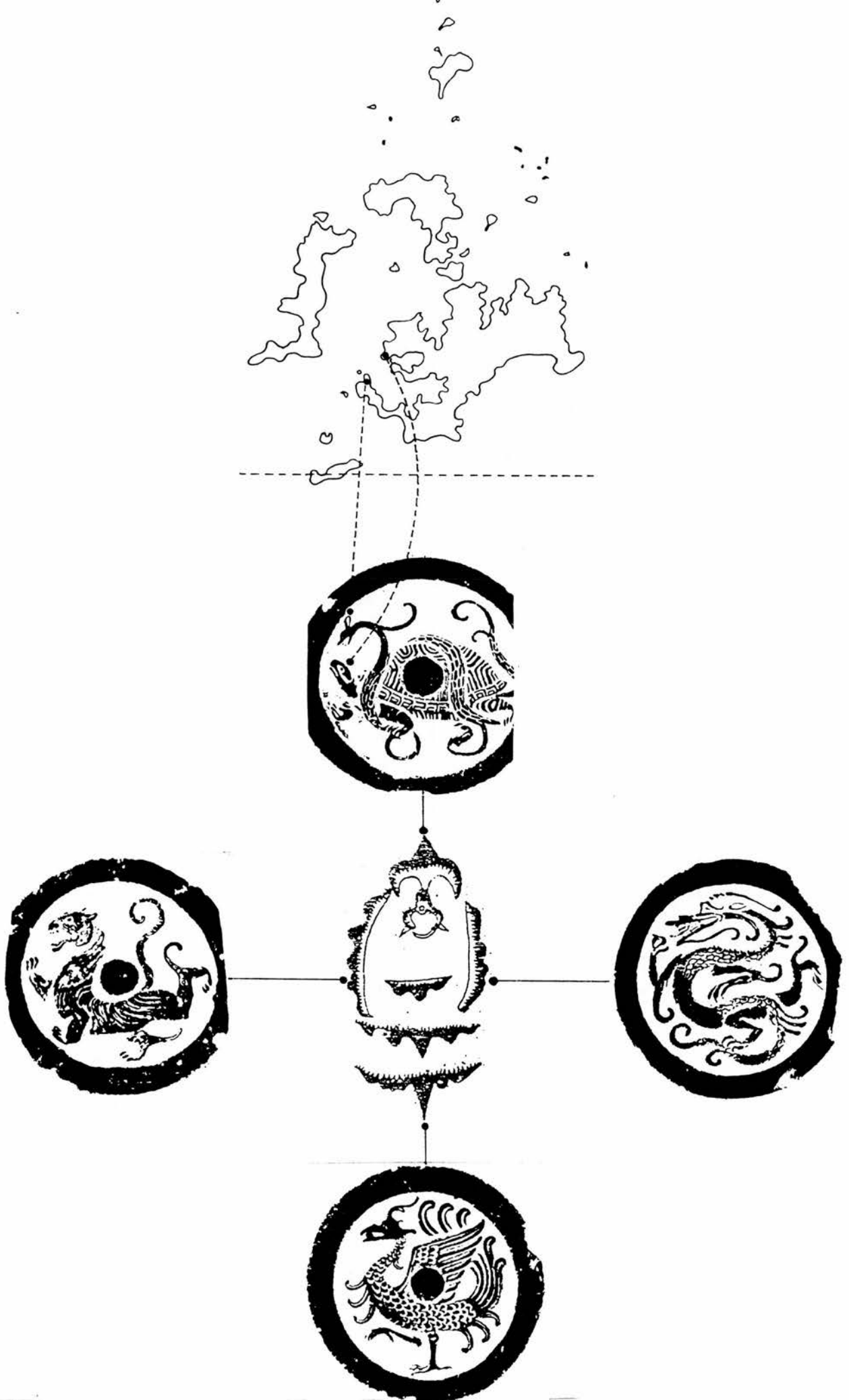


Figure 4-12 The symbolic figure of four faces, the middle one showing the outline of a good *feng-shui*

hu Archipelago, then between the archipelago and southern Taiwan, and were eventually washed up on the islands' beaches. (Lin, 1893, p. 325; Liu, 1979, pp. 74-79; Lin, H.T., 1980, pp. 267-268) This, of course, seriously upset the recipients, because it meant that the plagues were brought to them. Originally, these islanders had built temples dedicated to the sea-borne Plague Gods (Kings) or worshipped the statues in their village temples in order to prevent them from spreading plague. They would burn them or release them to the sea again after a ceremony in their honour or after a period of some years (generally three). But, the frequency of arrival of the boats caused them to develop a new god, namely Wang-yeh, The King, who specialised in expelling Plague Gods. Because plagues were rife in the period in which P'eng-hu Archipelago was developing (Lin, 1893, pp. 369-378; also see Chapter 1-7-2), the new god was rapidly accepted by the inhabitants there, and those of Taiwan. Not long after, the frequency of natural disasters in those areas caused the belief to develop into a complete independent system, its organisation was as follows. Each of the Wang-yehs was the head of an armed force composed of two branches, the *nei-wu ying* (內五營), literally, the five internal battalions; and the *wai-wu ying* (外五營), literally the five external battalions. Both of these were in turn split into five further divisions: the central battalion, the eastern battalion, the western battalion, the southern battalion, and the northern battalion -- this was in fact, a copy of the military system of the Chinese Ch'ing Dynasty. (see Hsu, 1987, p. 4; Lin, 1893, p. 141) The practical military duties of this army of gods were determined by the Wang-yeh's principal assistant, Li No-ch'ih, who was not only the *ta-t'ing-yeh* (大廳爺), literally commander-in-chief, of the whole force, but also the marshal, *yuan-shuai* (元帥), of the central battalions of both the five internal and five external battalions. Li is the only god in the Wang-yeh system who can be traced in historical writings. In the famous classic novel entitled *Feng-shen-pang*, he was a tragic hero with excellent fighting ability who was eventually forced to commit suicide. The reason why he was chosen to be the commander-in-chief of the god's soldiers is still unknown to present researchers of religion. Beneath him, in each of the battalions there were a marshal, many generals, and huge numbers of soldiers. The duty of the five internal battalions was to protect the Wang-yeh, so all of them were stationed in a corner or a lower god's table in village temples. They were symbolised by a pottery container -- their barracks -- containing lots of puppet-like figures and triangular flags as shown in Fig. 4-13. The former were marshals and

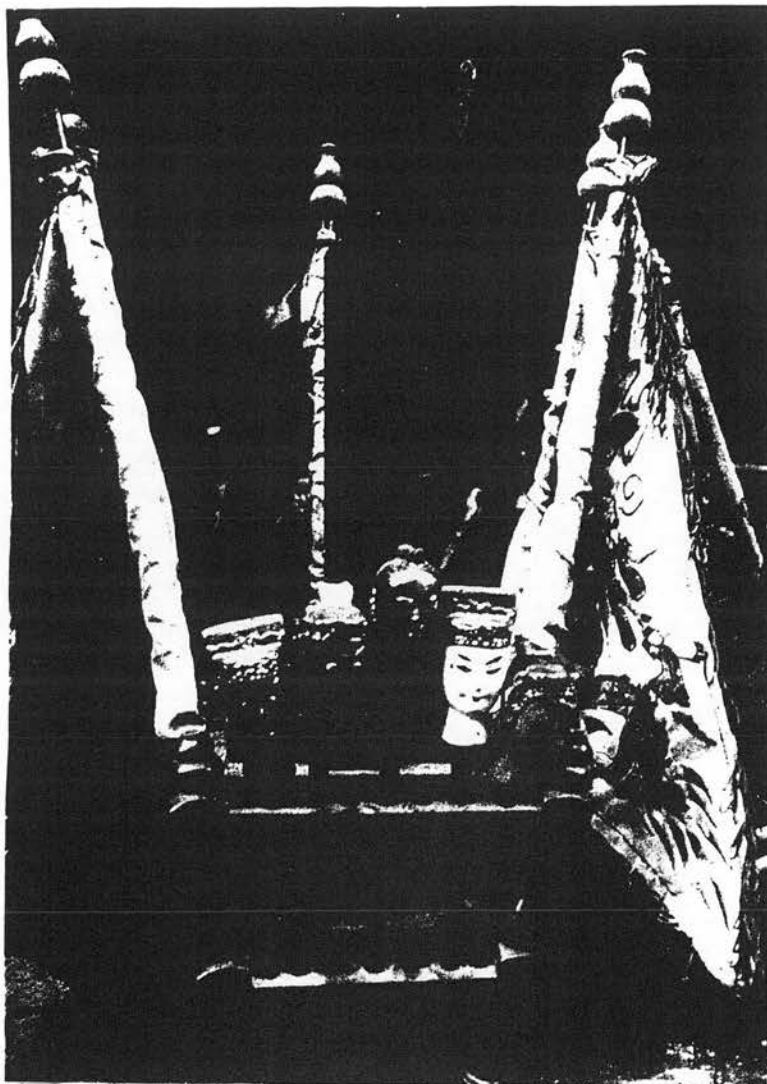


Figure 4-13 The symbols of the "five internal battalions"

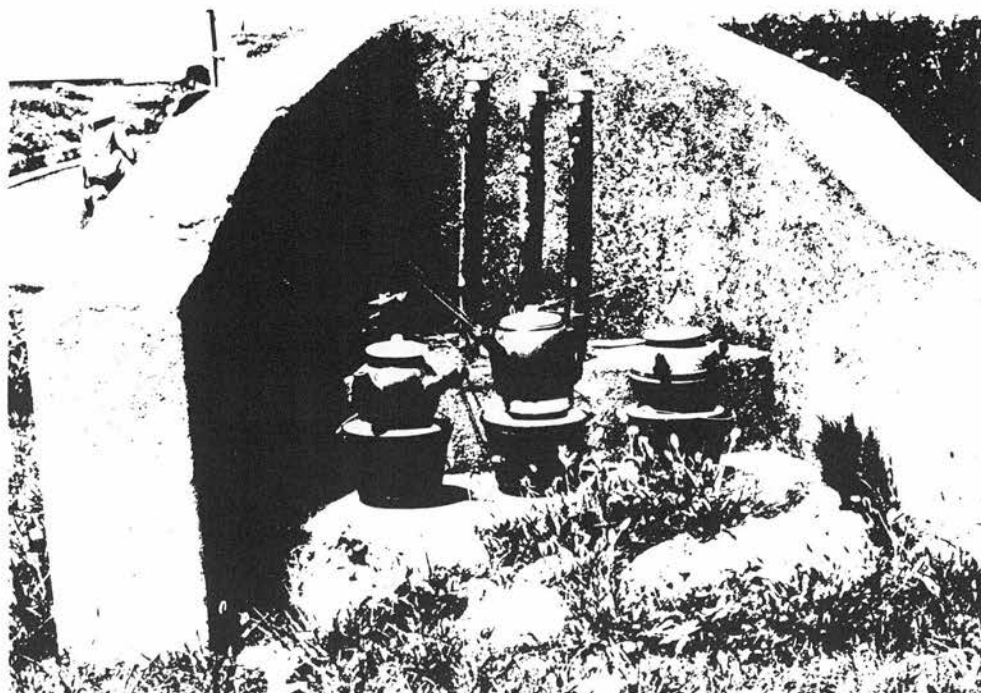


Figure 4-14 The symbols of one of the "five external battalions"

generals, the latter their military flags. The duty of the five external battalions was to protect the people of a village. Four of their symbols (one example of this is shown in Fig. 4-14) were constructed at the entrances to the village of roads from other villages or in dominant places in four opposite directions around the village boundary (because of the effect of the terrain and the location of roads, they were not usually put right on cardinal points). The symbols would face the outside world, whilst the central external battalion which stood beside the village temple, would face in the same direction as the temple. Fig. 4-15 shows their locations in Erh-k'an Village on Hsi-yu Island. These symbols were similar to those of the five internal battalions: round, or semi-circular, or some other mound enclosed by a short wall, some bamboo sticks with talismanic Taoist writings and a red cloth placed on the summit, or in front, and at the sides, many triangular army flags. The colour of these latter depended on the barracks, those of the central one were yellow, the eastern one blue, the western one white, the southern one red, and the northern one black -- in accordance with the star configurations discussed earlier in this chapter and a traditional philosophy, called *wu-hsing* (五行), literally the five elements. (see, Forke, 1925, pp. 240-241; Creel, 1929, p. 34; and Chapter 5-1-3) Also, in front of these barracks were some pots, bowls, cups, etc. -- the dinner service of the divine army and auspicious symbols.

The ceremonies associated with the Wang-yeh system were complicated and numerous.³¹ Every morning, different families would take their turn in bearing the responsibility of worshipping the god's barracks in their area; the first and fifteenth day (or second and sixteenth day) of each lunar month, villagers collectively rewarded the god's military with offerings in the square of their village temple; on the birthday of the Wang-yeh, a ceremony to train the god's soldiers -- *ts'ao-ying ke-chieh* -- hosted by *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and his five apprentices (called *hsiao-fas*, 小法) would be held in front of the village temple; from the first day to the last day of the seventh lunar month, that is, during the ghost festival (see Section 3) when was the ghosts were free to come up to the earth, a ceremony to withdraw all the god's soldiers back to their barracks would be hosted by *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, in order to avoid possible collisions between them and the ghosts.

³¹. The frequency of ceremony of Wang-yeh system was partly caused by the *t'ung-chis* because this promoted their social status and economic ability.

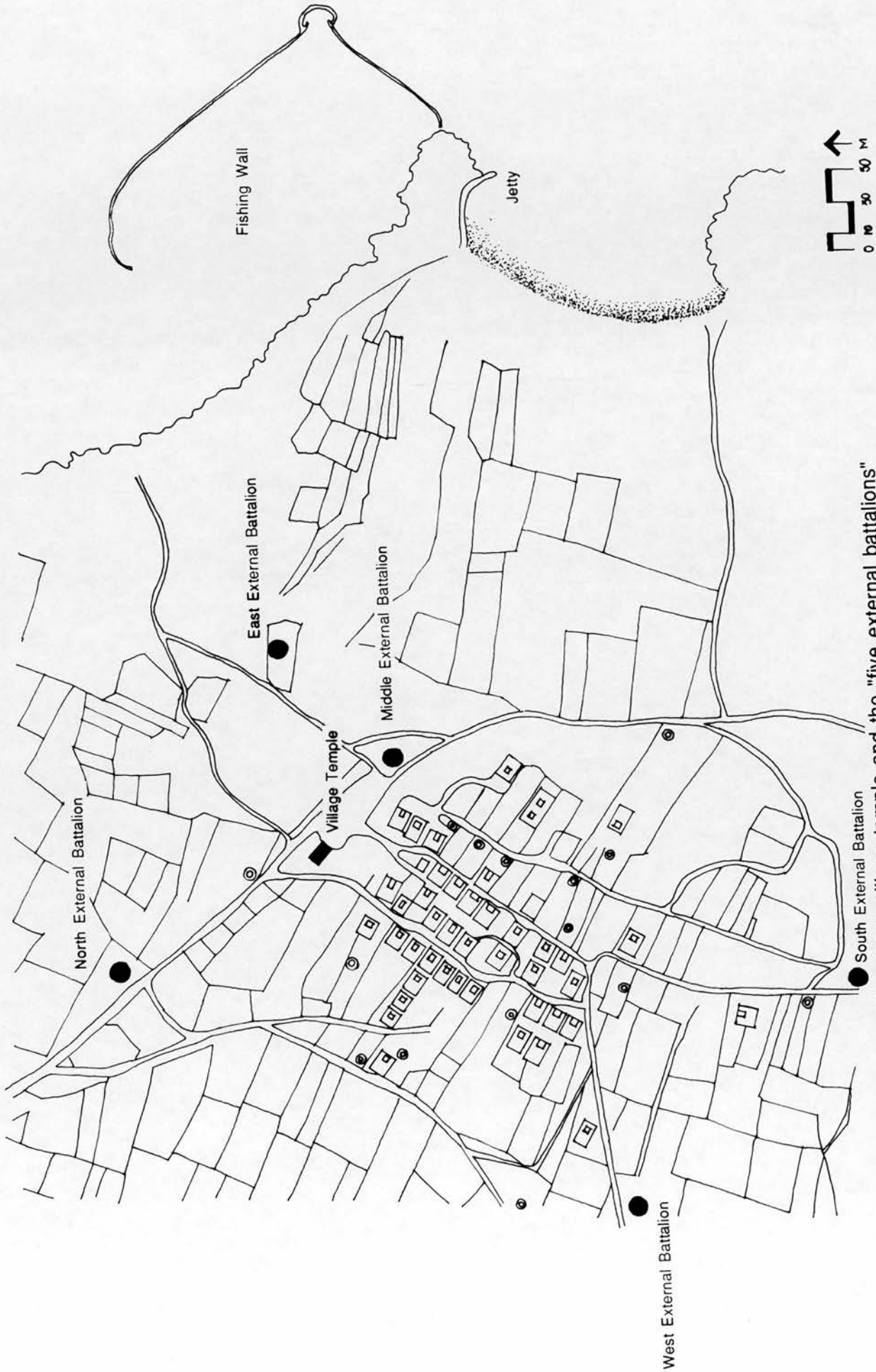


Figure 4-15 The location of the village temple and the "five external battalions" in Erh-k'an Village on Hsi-yu Island

People believed that the Wang-yehs had a limited tenure: every three years the old one and all his inferiors would be replaced by new ones (in fact the ceremony was usually only held every six years -- or even more infrequently -- because it was so expensive). Before the old Wang-yeh was relinquished, there were a series of fervent parades, *sung-wang* (送王), to friendly local villages. The god's statue(s) were either carried in a sedan chair (this parade was called *yu-t'ien-he*, 遊天河) or in a special boat, as substantial as a fishing boat but much more luxurious (this parade was called *yu-ti-he*, 遊地河). (Lin, 1893, p. 325; Huang, 1988a, pp. 165-206; 1989, pp. 51-89) Before the end of the ceremony, all symbols of the old Wang-yeh(s) and his boat would be burned on the beach near the village, this *hua-chi* (化吉) ritual (see Fig. 4-5) was to ensure that the god and his inferiors were sent back to their original place. The whole ceremony lasted for around 40 days.³² After the grand departure, another ceremony would be held to invite a new Wang-yeh(s). This was called *ying-wang* (迎王) and took place on a certain day consigned by a *t'ung-chi*.³³ Because the Wang-yeh(s) and his inferiors were believed to reach a village by sailing across the sea, (see, Huang, Y.H., 1989, p. 56; 1988a, p. 168; 1988b, p. 256) when warned by the *t'ung-chi* of the imminence of their arrival, all the leaders of a village would gather on a beach near their village with some sedan chairs. After the new Wang-yeh(s) were enthroned in these chairs (in fact, apart from the body language of *t'ung-chi*, nothing could be seen), they would be paraded all around the village on a tour of inspection, every family putting a table bearing burning incense sticks in front of their houses to welcome the new deities. (Huang, Y.H., 1989, p. 56)

The frequency of ceremonies to Wang-yeh and his inferiors and their forms reinforced relationships between villagers and clans, and gave the society of a village more organisation and solidity, and a stronger sense of identity. Also, the parade to neighbouring villages was an important opportunity for social interaction between neighbouring villages. Subsequently, villages with other village gods invited a Wang-yeh(s) to their own temples and constructed god's

32. None of the relevant documents mention the destination of Wang-yeh and his inferiors, except one which says that they were sent back to heaven. (see, Huang, Y.H., 1988a, p. 187)

33. The source of the messages relayed by *t'ung-chi* was uncertain, one document mentioned that it was T'ien-kung of the court of heaven. (see, Huang, Y.H., 1988a, p. 168)

barracks for his soldiers; some even swapped their village god for a Wang-yeh lest they be excluded from the acquaintanceship of the archipelago.³⁴ In time, no matter who their village god was, the majority of P'eng-hu villages had statue(s) of Wang-yeh and the symbols of the five internal battalions in their village temples, and those of one of the five external battalions in the middle of their villages, the remaining four at opposite points on the boundary of the settlement. In fact, these latter battalions became a means of distinguishing the boundaries of P'eng-hu villages.

In order to show their solidarity and power -- and their devotion -- all the villages of P'eng-hu Archipelago, even the poorest ones, constructed temples to their village gods. These were not only huge -- on average around five times the size of a courtyard house, or twice that of a bigger traditional temple -- but also much more complicated in design and more ornately decorated, Fig. 4-16 was the village temple of Chu-wan Village (竹灣) of Hsi-yu Island, and Fig. 4-17 was of Chiang-chun Village.

Inside these temples, the statue(s) of the village god(s) was placed in the centre of their altar; but around him, there were many other statues, generally 20 to 30, including those brought by pioneers from their home towns and those invited from other temples in the traditional way -- in response to the pragmatic needs of villagers, such as health, wealth, safety, offspring's, etc., at various times in their history. For example, if there was a decline in the birth rate or a serious famine, a Goddess of Birth or a Goddess of Mercy might be introduced into a village temple. Life on P'eng-hu Archipelago was so tough and subject to an endless succession of challenges, that most village temples accumulated numerous statues over the years. According to statistics, apart from the village gods, the most popular ones to be found in the village temples were as follows: Hsuan-t'ien Shang-ti; Ts'ai-shen (財神), the God of Wealth; Chu-sheng Niang-niang, the Goddess of Birth; Lin-shui Fu-jen, the Goddess who protected young children; Shih-chia Mo-ni (釋迦牟尼), a Buddha; Chun-t'i P'u-sha (準提菩薩), a Buddha; San-kuan Ta-ti; the Five Water Immortals; the Sea Goddess; the Duke of Earth; Pao-sheng Ta-ti; Ch'ing-shui Tsu-shih, etc.. (Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 69) Generally, all the statues would remain in the temples after they had been invited unless destroyed by accident, except for those

34. Two examples of this were Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island, and Wai-an Village of Hsi-yu Island; the original village god of the former was Kuan-kung, that of the latter was Kuan-yin P'u-sha.



Figure 4-16 Village temple of Chu-wan Village of Hsi-yu Island
(after The government of P'eng-hu *hsien*, 1987)



Figure 4-17 Village temple of Chiang-chun Village
(after The government of P'eng-hu *hsien*, 1987)

of the Wang-yeh(s), (in fact, villagers generally placed new statues of the old Wang-yehs and put them on their gods' table in memory). The way the gods' statues were arranged was based on their history and importance to villagers.

From observing the dates when a village temple was constructed, reconstructed, and restored; its contents, their distribution, and the different times that these gods' statues had been invited; as well as from reading the inscriptions on its wall, visitors could easily learn something about the natural, cultural, social, economic, and political events that shaped the history of a village. In other words, apart from being a focus for present activity, a village temple was a local museum -- a memorial to the past.

3. Ancestral souls and ghosts

Local people believed that a person was composed of a body and many souls. There were two kinds of soul: *hun* and *p'o* (魄), each individual having three *huns* and seven *p'os*.³⁵ (Fig. 4-4) After death, their body and seven *p'os* were buried underground and eventually vanished, whilst the three *huns* separated themselves, and existed in three places. One stayed in the tomb (the general appearance of a tomb is shown in Fig. 4-18); another attached itself to a tablet (the general appearance of ancestors' tablets are shown in Fig. 4-18a) after a process in the funeral ceremony called *tien-chu* (點主) hosted by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*. This latter would be invited back home to be worshipped in the atrium of its former courtyard house. These two were those mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, as supervisors, protectors, and even punishers of their own descendants. (Freedman, 1966, p. 151; Ahern, 1973, pp. 201-203; Wolf, 1978, p. 164-165) Because they believed in eternity and the supernatural power of these souls, local people generally worshipped their ancestral tablets every morning by burning incense sticks and giving offerings at the following ceremonies: the birthdays of the dead, the birthdays of some gods, seasonal festivals, and important life stages of the living members of the family (birth, initiation, marriage, birthdays after 40 years of age, the dividing up of the house, the fostering or adoption of a son, etc.). The most significant of these

³⁵. Originally, from about 16th cent. B.C., Han people believed that each person had a body and a soul -- *hun*, and that the soul was immortal and lived between the heaven and the earth. (see Note 8) Their notion about three *huns* and seven *p'os* was affected by Taoism. (see, Tung, 1988, pp. 562-563)

ceremonies were the Ch'ing-ming (清明, the fifteenth day after the spring equinox) and Tung-chih (冬至, the winter solstice) festivals. In addition to worshipping the tablets in their atriums, at the Ch'ing-ming festival, all families would go to the cemetery to clean and worship their ancestral tombs.

Whilst two of a person's *huns* were being tended to on earth, the third one would be being purged, and re-incarnated or detained in hell. The period of sentencing and purgation of the soul was 49 days (Wang, 1982, p. 336; Eastman, 1988, p. 45),³⁶ the process was as follows: all souls of newly dead people were sent to hell under the leadership of the local T'u-ti Kung or inferiors of the City God to be judged by Tung-yu Ta-ti or Hsuan-t'ien Ta-ti. The best souls would be sent to the first court of hell, then to the Ultimate Happiness of the Western World (西方極樂世界) escorted by inferiors of King Ch'in-kuang, Yen-lo-wang of the first court: they would become gods, (Dien, *ibid*, p. 10) and be appointed as T'u-ti Kungs, Wang-yehs, City Gods, etc., but if their behaviour once they were gods was not good enough, they, like all other gods, might be sent back to hell to be re-incarnated as human beings or animals, or even changed to ghosts. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 133) In the history of P'eng-hu Archipelago, there were some popular heads of local government, including Hu Chien-wei (胡建偉), Chiang Yung (蔣鏞), Han Fei-sheng (韓蜚聲), and Wang T'ing-kan (王廷幹), who were worshipped in the Hu-kung Tz'u (胡公祠) of Ma-kung Town. (Lin, 1893, p. 59) They were not called gods, but this worship was a symbol that they were believed to have become gods. Apart from these superior souls, some others would be exempted from punishment and sent directly to the last court -- the tenth -- to be re-incarnated. The rest were assigned punishments, either light or heavy according to their previous conduct. They would be sent to each court in turn and suffer the respective torments of these hells, better people only having to undergo the first few, the worst subjected to all eighteen hells. Fig. 4-18b is a drawing which described the conditions of punishment in hell. After forty-nine days, all the souls would be sent to the tenth court and re-examined by King Lun-chuan. They would be re-incarnated as human beings or animals (this depended on their conduct during life and during the period of purgatory). (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 133) They were given a potion to erase the memory of their suffering. (Eastman, *ibid*, p. 45) The exceptions to this were

³⁶. This was borrowed from Buddhism. Originally, the time of purgatory was from one to seven times seven days, that is, seven days, fourteen days, twenty-one days, and so on, to forty-nine days. (Tung, 1988, pp. 559-560)



Figure 4-18b A drawing which describes the conditions of punishment in hell (after Lu, 1990)

the souls of ruffians and un-married women,³⁷ and the people who had no offspring or no offering from their descendants. These were called *ku-hun* (孤魂), literally lonely souls, and would be detained in hell forever. They were only allowed to visit earth and enjoy banquets offered by human beings once a year during the period of *p'u-tu*, the ghost festival, which lasted the whole of the seventh lunar month. On the last day of the festival, some of these souls might forget or refuse to go back to hell on time, and they would remain on earth and become one kind of ghost of the human world. Also, some of the lonely souls might escape from hell because people digging on earth, for example the foundations of a building, might release them. (Chang, 1991, pp. 90-91; also see Chapter 5-3-3) In addition to preparing meals (腳尾飯, *chiao-wei-fan*) beside the feet of their dying relatives, the families of the dead would burn lots of objects made of paper -- houses, furniture, clothes, money, vehicles, treasures, and even servants -- on open ground near their houses. This was to relieve the suffering of purgatory, and to provide bribes for the officials of hell and thereby avoid the more horrendous punishments. Families worshipped the souls of their dead seven times, every seventh day, and might invite a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* or a Buddhist monk to hold a ceremony to help them pass through their trails smoothly. (Hu, 1767, p. 151)

Not all the souls of the newly dead would have the same experience of hell; local people believed that those who died outside their homes would not be able to find the way to hell because they would not have the guidance of their own T'u-ti Kung.³⁸ Also, people who died before time, those murdered or killed by accidents or those who committed suicide, would not be allowed to go to hell because their names were not yet on the roster of Yen-lo-wang. All these would become ghosts: if they had drowned, they were called *shui-kui* (水鬼), or water ghosts, if they died on land, *lu-kui* (路鬼), or land ghosts. All of these together with those who escaped from hell were collectively called *yeh-kui* (野鬼), literally wild ghosts.

37. Sometimes a ghost marriage between the tablet of an unmarried woman who had died and a living man would be conducted by her family, this would absolve her soul from this disastrous fate. This was also true in the societies of south-eastern China (see Freedman, 1958, p. 88) and Taiwan Island.

38. In traditional societies, people put the coffins of relatives who died in temporary shelters outside their courtyard houses instead of putting them in their atriums before burial. This was lest the ghost of the dead person stay in their home or because the Outer Door Gods were said to refuse entry to their souls (in fact they were already ghosts).

The existence of wild ghosts was very tough because they had nothing: no shelter, no vehicles, no money, and no food to eat -- that is why they were so skinny and slovenly, and tried their hardest to slip into houses when the Outer Door Gods were not looking in order to find a corner to live in. Unfortunately, if they succeeded in entering a house, their presence would cause the dwellers illness, so the ghosts were always under threat of being deported by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and/or *t'ung-chi*. The only way for them to break away from their predicament was to find a scapegoat and be re-incarnated in the name of this unlucky person, so water ghosts would hide near the water's edge or underwater, and try again and again to capsize boats or drag passers-by into the water. Land ghosts loafed on desolate areas of the earth seducing people to stray from their paths and eventually to die, or to meet their death by some accident. Since the sea surrounding the islands of P'eng-hu Archipelago was so treacherous, many people were drowned: during the summer, villagers went fishing in the middle of the night (see Chapter 1-6-1) -- the time when most water ghosts were about -- so all the victims were believed to have been caught by water ghosts. They, of course, became the new wild ghosts. This was just one of the reasons why local people described the work of fishing as "making a living before the doors of hell". (see Chapter 1-8-1) After an accident, the bereaved families generally invited a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* to the scene to execute sorceries and show the souls of the victims the right way to hell.

Not all ghosts were bad. There was a kind of ghost called *ti-chi chu*, literally the host of the land, who moved in and out of houses without hostility: the present house owner generally worshipped them with cheaper offerings on a bench (instead of a table because they were only ghosts) at least three times a year -- on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, and the sixteenth and the last day of the twelfth lunar month (sometimes it was even 24 times a year: the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month). Also, the souls of good people who had died by accident and those of people killed whilst protecting villagers, as well as ghosts who always helped human beings, were believed to be able to be permitted by the court of heaven to become gods. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 133) There were four examples of this. A Mr. Hung (洪先生), who helped and cured many neighbours before being killed in 1895 by the Japanese army when the latter attempted to occupy the archipelago, was honoured with a temple, called Chao-yang Tz'u (朝陽祠) built between 1895 and 1896 in Ma-kung Town, and deified by his neighbours. (Yu, 1988, pp. 90-91) Two heads of local government: Jao T'ing-

hsi (饒廷錫) and T'ang Shih-yung (唐世永) who died during their tenure leaving no descendants, were worshipped in a temple on Ma-kung Town, called Yin-yang T'ang (陰陽堂). (Yu, 1988, pp. 47-48; Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 71) In Shih-kung Tz'u, the tablets of 13 soldiers killed in a civil war in Taiwan Island during 1832 and 1833 were worshipped. (Yu, 1988, pp. 46-47; Cheng, 1980, p. 190-195) In 1862, some 170 soldiers from P'eng-hu were killed in a civil war in Taiwan Island, and all of them subsequently worshipped in a temple in Ma-kung Town called Chao-chung Tz'u (昭忠祠) built in 1862. (Lin, 1893, pp. 61-63) Also there was a temple in Ma-kung Town called Wu-chung Miao (武忠廟) specially dedicated to the souls of those killed in battles, but it seems to have been pulled down by 1893. The status of the above-mentioned figures was ambiguous; they were deemed to be gods rather than ghosts, but, in fact, ambiguity in distinction between gods and ghosts was a characteristics of Taiwanese domestic religion. The titles "god" and "ghost" were given by people themselves on the basis of whether or not a supernatural being would do good or harm to people rather than its more subtle attributes. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 133)

As well as all the ghosts already mentioned, there were some others believed in by local people.³⁹ In desolate areas, there was a kind of ghost called a *mao-shen tsai* (毛神仔), who would lead people astray and feed them with earth worms or cattle dung. Another kind of ghost who looked like an ugly old woman with a blue-white face, would cause people to have mental disorders, and so on. (cf. Tung, 1988, p. 566) Also, there were some more powerful ghosts, which seem to be derived from ancient belief in natural spirits; these were ghosts of the mountains, rivers, stones, trees, the wind, the plague, and so on. Some ghosts were also believed to take the form of animals, the black dog devils, or *hei-kou-ching* (黑狗精), were the most famous ones.⁴⁰ All these powerful ghosts were called *yao-ching* (妖精) or *yao-kuai* (妖怪), literally evil spirits. Amongst them, the Wind Ghosts seem to have been the toughest ones, their power so

³⁹. This was described in the spells of *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, see Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 148.

⁴⁰. The legends of these evil spirits were popular in P'eng-hu, there were two examples of this, one in Hou-liao Village, the other in An-shan Village (案山) of Ma-kung Island, see Huang, Y.H., 1987b, pp. 150-151. They were also popular in Taiwan, see Jordan, 1972, p. 24.

strong that they could destroy structures and plants by wind or by tides blown by wind.⁴¹ (Huang, 1987a, p. 72)

In addition to seeking protection from the gods, local people had many ways of resisting persecution from ghosts. First, it was said that there was a ghosts' kingdom, and that its door, *kui-men* (鬼門), was located in the north-east, therefore no Taiwanese or P'eng-hu house would ever face North-east. (Chang, 10-13th cent. A.D., p. 548; Tung, 1988, p. 565). If a ghost was encountered outside a house or believed to be active in an area near the village, people might put many cheaper offerings including burning incense sticks on a bench or chair, facing outside of their house or village, in the hope that it would be placated by the bribes and move away. On the first day of the seventh lunar month of each year, it was believed that the doors of hell were opened and all lonely souls allowed to wander the earth for the duration of the month. At this time, a festival called *p'u-tu* (ghost festival) would be held by all villages in order to appease these souls and all wild ghosts -- they were collectively called *ku-hun yeh-kui* (孤魂野鬼), literally, lonely souls and wild ghosts; or *hau hsiung-ti* (好兄弟), literally good brothers; or *wai-shen* (外神), literally outer gods. On the first day, every family would hang a lantern from a bamboo cane (this process was called *shu-den-kao*, 樹燈篙) in front of their house to show the way for land ghosts, and put another lantern on the sea for water ghosts, this process was called *fan-shui-den* (放水燈). One subsequent days, the villages took it in turns to receive ghosts. On their responsible day, all the families of these two, three, or more designated villages would place tempting foods, burning incense sticks, and wines outside their houses. Before the end of the worship, a banquet for friends from other villages would be held. In other words, during the 30 days, all the ghosts and villagers of the islands could enjoy free lavish dinners at one village after another even the day when they were hosts, so, whilst the damage inflicted by the ghosts was being minimised, the friendships between people of different villages were being reinforced. In the afternoon of the last day of the festival, a ceremony called *ch'iang-ku* (搶孤) would be held. In an area of open ground, a high wooden frame was erected (Fig. 4-19), with lots of meat hanging from it and three triangular god's flags at the top. All the men would eagerly climb the tower in order to seize the meat and the flags -- especially

41. Wind and tide damage were sometimes described as being caused by the Wind and Tide ghosts, sometimes by the evil force of wind and tide themselves, this will be further discussed in the late part of this chapter.

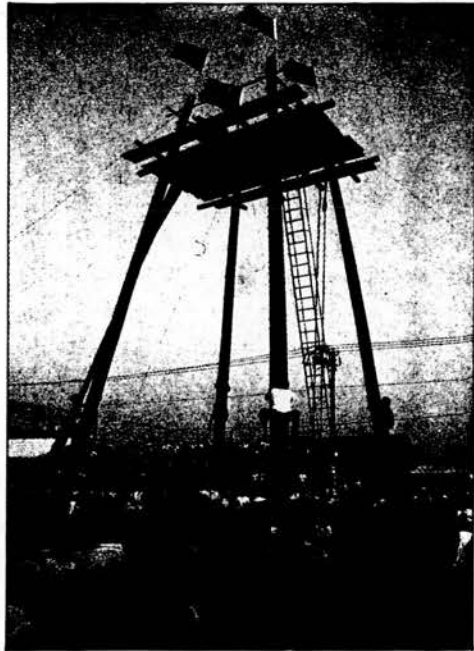


Figure 4-19 The wooden frame for the ceremony of *ch'iang-ku*
(after Huang, W.P., 1989)

these latter, because they were believed to secure safe sailing. The lucky ones could either keep their booty or sell it at an enviable price. The purpose of this ceremony was to demonstrate the bravery of the villagers and thereby drive the intimidated ghosts back to hell. (Huang, W.P., 1989, p. 213)

A more permanent attempt to conciliate involved constructing shrines for ghosts and periodically worshipping them, in the hope that they would stay inside these structures and enjoy the regular offerings, and not roam in villages or invade houses. This was generally only resorted to when ghosts refused to leave a certain place or when they were perceived to have great destructive potential. In form and size these shrines were similar to those dedicated to T'u-ti kung -- they were around 1 m square, with no door, and on the facade over the entrance, there was generally an inscription reading *yu-ying kung* (有應公, literally the Duke who responds to every plea) or *ta-chung yeh* (大眾爺, literally, Sir of the masses). Local people called these shrines *san-mien-pi* (三面壁), or three-faced walls, one example of this was shown in Fig. 4-20. (Feuchtwang, 1974, pp. 123-127) They were constructed in places where the ghost or ghosts were active or where the corpses of victims had been found, and generally faced the sea because the majority of victims died there. If the ghosts concerned were changed to gods, their shrines might be re-constructed on a larger scale, and the last word of the titles of their shrines might be changed from *tz'u* to *miao* or *kung* -- the difference between these terms was like that between a shrine and a temple, in general, the supernatural status of the former was lower than the latter.

According to local archives, there were around ten such shrines on the archipelago: they were Wu-ssu Tz'u (無祀祠) in Ma-kung Town built in 1684; Yi-Tz'u (義祠, or Chi-an Kung, 濟安宮) built in 1766 (30 or more ships sunk and over 120 villagers drowned in a storm in 1765) between villages Wai-an and Nei-an on Hsi-yu Island; Ku-niang-ma Miao (姑娘媽廟) in Wai-an Village on Hsi-yu Island; Hsiang-kung Miao (相公廟) in Nei-an Village on Hsi-yu Island; Liang-chun Miao (良君廟) in He-chieh Village on Hsi-yu Island; Kung-tsu Miao (公祖廟) in Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island; Nan-p'u Miao (南埔廟) built in 1622 (when 36 fishermen had been killed by a Dutch fleet) between Hou-liao Village and Wa-t'ung Village on Pai-sha Island; Ling-ying Miao (靈應廟) built in 1862 (12 victims were lost at sea) on Chung-tun Village (中屯). (Lin, 1893, pp. 41-42; Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 378-386, 1050-1051; Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 71) The first two, namely Wu-ssu Tz'u and Yi-tz'u, were constructed and ceremonies organised three times a year by local

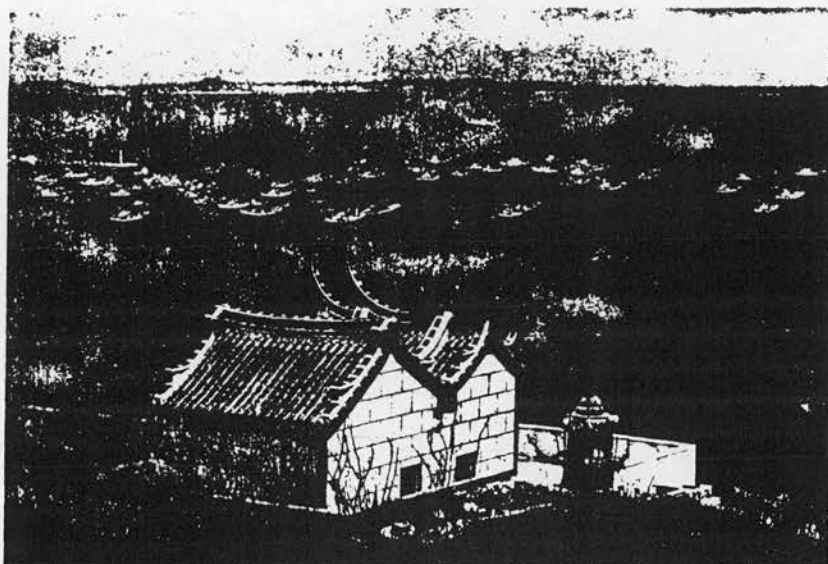


Figure 4-20 A shrine dedicated to ghosts (after Tseng, 1987)

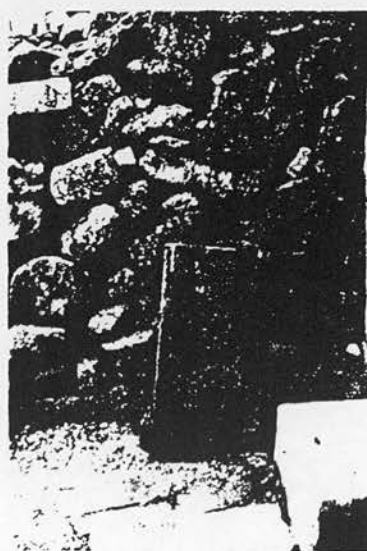
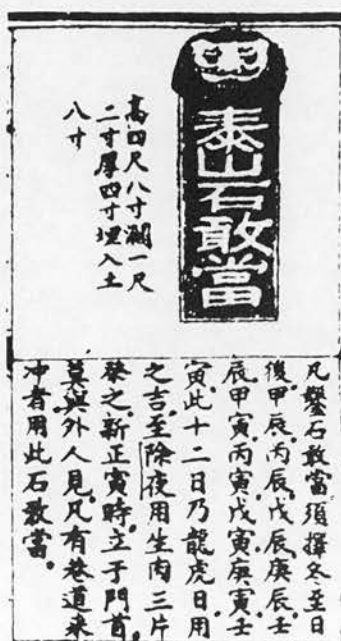


Figure 4-21 The standard figure of and the regulations of erecting a *shih-kan-tang* (left, after Wu, 1983), and a *shih-kan-tang* on Shui-an Village of Wang-an Island (right)

government. Before these ceremonies, the statue of the City God would be invited to the shrines and put on the centre of the gods' table surrounded by the victims' tablets and lots of food, fruit, wine, and candles. Before the end of the ceremony some gods' clothes and bank notes would be burned. (Hu, 1769, pp, 42-43) Also, in the afternoon before the festival of *p'u-tu*, local people would float some lanterns out to sea to guide the ghosts to the feast. (Yu, 1988, p. 41)

Sometimes the ghosts were so obstinate that they refused to leave a house or the territory of a village, and then local people would invite a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, or a *t'ung-chi*, or both, to use sorceries to expel them. The most popular form was *an-ts'u* (安厝, literally making a house peacefully): the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* chanted incantations and burned talismanic writings, etc., whilst the *t'ung-chi* wielded a sword and then took a pan of boiling oil into each of the rooms of the house. Alternatively, there was *an-ti-chuan* (安地磚): the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* engraved talismanic writings on a tile and attached it to the ground of the atrium of a house. This was a certificate informing the ghosts who had lived here before death that the land and the house now belonged to a new owner. (Huang, Y.H., 1987b, p. 152; also see Chapter 5-3-4) Before the end of both these ceremonies, a paper with Taoist talismanic writings which was believed to be a substitute for a god's decree would be attached to the beam of each of the doors of a house, so as to deter ghosts from passing through these entrances again. If it was a case of people being inhabited by ghosts, their families would take them to see a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* or *t'ung-chi*, who would carry out sorcery in order to detach the ghosts from them.

If the disturbance from ghosts was frequent, or their potential destructiveness very great, extreme measures would be taken to suppress them. Villagers would invite the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and *t'ung-chi* to install talismans in strategic places. Three kinds were particularly popular in P'eng-hu villages. *Shih-kan-tang*, literally slates which suppressed all evil forces, was one of these. It had three words "*shih-kan-tang*" inscribed on its facade as shown in Fig. 4-21. Originally, these talismans seem to have been used to resist *ch'ung*, literally "offence" (see Chapter 5-1), but their function was then expanded with the addition of some extra words, such as *t'ai-shan* (泰山, a metaphor for the name of the Great Emperor of the East Peak who was one of the heads of the officials of hell), *chih-feng* (止風, suppressing wind), *chih-sha* (止煞, suppressing evil), *ch'u-hsieh* (驅邪, deporting evil), *chu-sha* (拘煞, detaining evil), and so on. The standard size of a talisman was 144 cm high, 36 cm wide,

and 12 cm thick; (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 17) in P'eng-hu, the biggest one was about 200 cm high, 100 cm wide, the smaller ones, 40 cm high and 16 cm wide. (Yang, 1986, p. 158) On average, in each village of P'eng-hu there were around ten of these, some only had 2 or 3, others as many as 20. They looked like milestones, and were installed at the intersections of T junctions in roads, either on the ground or against a wall, at the corners of houses, and near the sea-shore -- where water ghosts (one of the three most evil forces in the archipelago, the other two being Wind Ghosts and Plague Ghosts) were believed to be active. (Yang, *ibid*, pp. 167-197)

A second type of talismanic slate was the *shih-fu* (石符), these were applied to detain ghosts. (Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 74) They were generally slightly bigger than the *shih-kan-tangs*, and on their facades, the talismanic writings of Taoism and the name(s) of the gods either of Taoism, Wang-yeh, or Buddhism were inscribed. One of these is shown in Fig. 4-22. There were usually around five of them erected in each P'eng-hu village in places where the ghosts were believed to be active. *Shih-t'a*, literally stone towers, was a structure built to resist the toughest ghosts, such as the Wind and Tide Ghosts -- it was, because the monsoons and tides caused by monsoon were so destructive that local people believed that they were dominated by evil forces or *hsieh-sha* (邪煞) rather than being natural phenomena. These were most often found on the sea shore, at the mouth of valleys, and on the peaks of mountains and hills surrounding villages, as well as in the centre of villages. These stone towers were much bigger than the former two, smaller ones being between 1 and 2 cubic m, the bigger ones as high as a three-storey building. The largest pair was located at So-kang, a village on Ma-kung Island, and they were about 10 m high. The shape varied; some *shih-t'a* were circular, others cylindrical, or bell-shaped, others were wooden fish (a percussion instrument made from a hollow block, originally used by Buddhist priests to beat a rhythm when chanting the scriptures), bottle-gourds (a symbol of fortune), corn-sheaves, dragons, or a combination of these different forms. The figure shown in Fig. 4-23 is an example of a middle-sized one. They were moulded from lime or cement, or piled up stones, and on the surface or at the summit there would be some talismanic writings from Taoism together with a god's name. In each of the P'eng-hu villages, there were generally between one and four of these structures, and because of their large size, they became a distinctive feature of the landscape of a village.

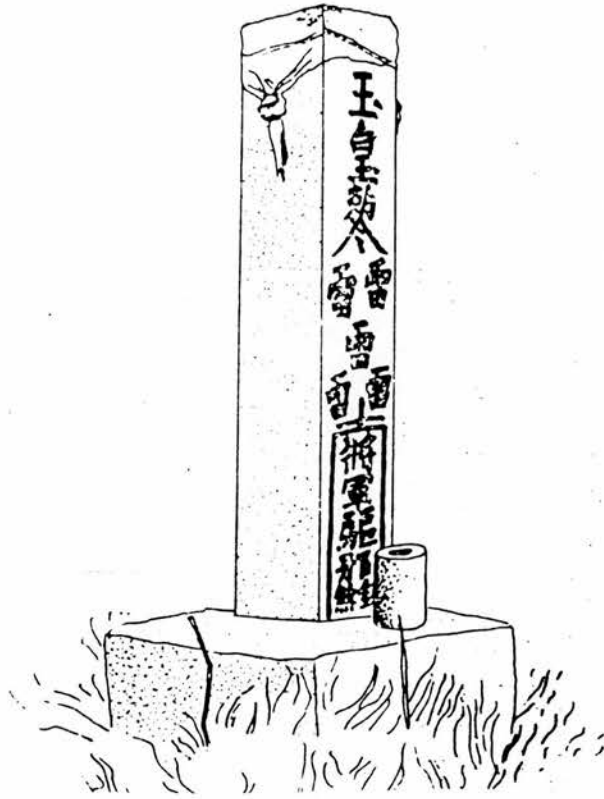


Figure 4-22 A *shih-fu* on Ch'i-meï Island (after Yang, 1986)



Figure 4-23 A *shih-t'a* on the seashore of Hsi-wei of Ma-kung Town

All these talismans had to be carved and inscribed (or piled up) on one of twelve days at the end of a lunar year, worshipped on the last day of a lunar year, and completed on the first day of the new lunar year. Since they were intended to resist powerful ghosts, the ceremony of installing them had to be hosted by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and a *t'ung-chi* whose joint power was to suppress the immediate challenge of their opponents. Before the tower was inaugurated, some food, wine, fruit, incense sticks, and candles would be put in front of it for the gods whom the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* had invited by chanting incantations, and some god's bank notes would be burned. Thereafter, incense sticks would be offered every morning, and incense sticks and additional gifts presented on the first and fifth days of every lunar month (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 17; Huang, Y.H., 1987a, p. 76; Yang, 1988, p. 178)

4. Conclusions

To sum up, in addition to building various structures dedicated to gods and ghosts, or to suppress ghosts in their villages, local people had a detailed spatial conception of their cosmology. Briefly, a cosmos was an integral whole whose three dimensional space was composed of many divisions. The spatial framework of these divisions was the result of the confluence of the four main belief systems.

In the traditional religious model, the cosmos was composed of three levels: heaven, earth, and an eighteen-storey hell, and the former two were further divided into five or nine areas, with reference to the cardinal points. This conception was the result of a significant development. That is to say, in the earliest religious beliefs of the Han people (established around 16th to 11th cent. B.C.), it was held that a cosmos comprised a heaven and an earth; heaven was the place of Ti (literally, the Emperor, or God of Heaven) who dominated the cosmos, the earth was the place of people. After the death of people, their souls became neutral stuff; those of dead kings would join Ti, but the destination of the rest was unclear, possibly they went to the sky as well. (Li-chi, ca. 50 B.C.; Ch'ien, 1975, p. 38; Chang, 1980, p. 202) This spatial framework was retained up until the 2nd cent. B.C., although the religion had developed into a form of animism. In this, the gods were divided into two kinds: gods of heaven and gods of earth, and Ti became one of the highest gods of heaven. (see Note 5) All of them seemed to live separately in the places in heaven and on earth which were

consistent with their names. That is to say, the Stream God lived in the river, the Moon God in the moon, etc.. As for human beings, they were confined to the earth. Around the 2nd cent. B.C., the religious spatial framework of the Han people expanded into three levels: heaven, earth, and water. All gods and some people who practised sorcery or who ate cinnabar could fly to the sky by means of the clouds, dive into water without wetting their clothes, and pass through fire without being burned. (Chuang, ca. 290 B.C.; Li, 1982, pp. 183-242) Another 300 years later, because Buddhism was introduced into China, (Yang, 1982, pp. 13-66) the religious beliefs of the Han people underwent a large-scale change. First, their religious spatial framework shifted, the three realms becoming: heaven, earth, and hell, and these three symbolised the three aspects of the cosmos: the perfect world above (heaven), the filthy world below (hell), and the world which owned both good and bad (earth). (Fu, 1988, p. 110; Li, 1982, p. 194; Dien, 1987, p. 9) Secondly, Buddhism affected the Han people with notions of transmigration and the formation of ghosts. Human souls were not only believed to be intermediate stuff, but also the source of gods, ghosts, and human beings. Not only the idea of the ghost expanded but the balance of relationships between human beings and the gods who protected them, and the ghosts who thwarted them was established for the first time. It was towards the end of the 19th century in Taiwan, that the real world and supernatural world were combined into a cyclic system. Human life and the temporary life of one of their souls after they died were deemed as a whole, and not only could human souls become gods or ghosts, but also gods (or ghosts) might be changed into ghosts (or gods) or re-incarnated as human beings. In this new model, all beings -- gods, ghosts, and human beings -- were neither absolutely good nor absolutely bad. But, amongst these supernatural beings, only gods could travel throughout the whole cosmos -- from the highest heaven to the deepest hell. Ghosts were confined in hell or wandered about the earth, and human beings (and other mortal creatures) lived on the surface of the earth -- the middle level of the cosmos. In other words, the surface of the earth was the place where the activities of gods, ghosts, human beings, and other mortal creatures overlapped. This spatial organisation and the relationships between all beings is shown in Fig. 4-24. To sum up, in all the above spatial models, like those of the majority of other religions, the main emphasis is upon the relationship between vertical spaces.

It seems that horizontal space only became a significant factor in the belief of the Han people when the family gods were introduced into folk areas from

imperial palaces and some earth gods were developed with independent systems based on political needs (before then, horizontal space was simply divided into either 5 or 9 areas based on the cardinal points). Referring to imperial administrative divisions -- which were comparable to a pyramid, the area of a village, each piece of land, and the area of a courtyard house and of its rooms, was divided into numerous sections, each with a rank in a hierarchy. Each of these areas was protected by either one earth god or a group of them: the archipelago by the City Gods, the village by T'u-ti Kung (before belief in Wang-yeh was popular in the archipelago), the courtyard house by the Outer Door Gods, the rooms by the Inner Door Gods, and each piece of land by T'u-ti Kung again. In other words, all of these were independently defended territories at different levels. Within each, there was an area forbidden to ghosts, whilst outside ghosts could roam free. (Fig. 4-25)

The third belief system affecting the conceptual spatial framework of villagers, was that of the village gods. Originally, the formation of this belief strengthened the identity of a village -- the territory became a religious sphere, also it changed the image of the position of each village. From being the smallest and outermost unit of a nation, each became a centre in the cosmos: a village was the confluent place of all supernatural and human beings, and it reflected all phenomena of the cosmos. In other words, each one was an independent, centred microcosm. Their village temples, being the focus of the various cosmic phenomena, were the core of these microcosms. There were 86 religious spheres in rural areas, and four in Ma-kung Town, (see Note 27) in other words, a total of 90 microcosms on the archipelago. (cf. Wilson, 1989, pp. 161-162)

Because the lives of the inhabitants of these villages were so hard, one of their village gods, namely Wang-yeh, became the head of an ever growing, strong, and completely independent religious system organised along the lines of the official, earthly military. The new system not only took over many duties traditionally assigned to the earth gods and heaven gods -- who were like the civil officials of the empire -- but also dominated the religious imaginations of local people, despite the fact that such a huge presence of divine militia seems excessive in villages so tiny that they could not begin to accommodate real soldiers. This strength of belief, and its modelling on real army deployment, (see Section 2) meant that, in P'eng-hu Archipelago, it was the horizontal rather than vertical dimension which was emphasised. This can be perceived

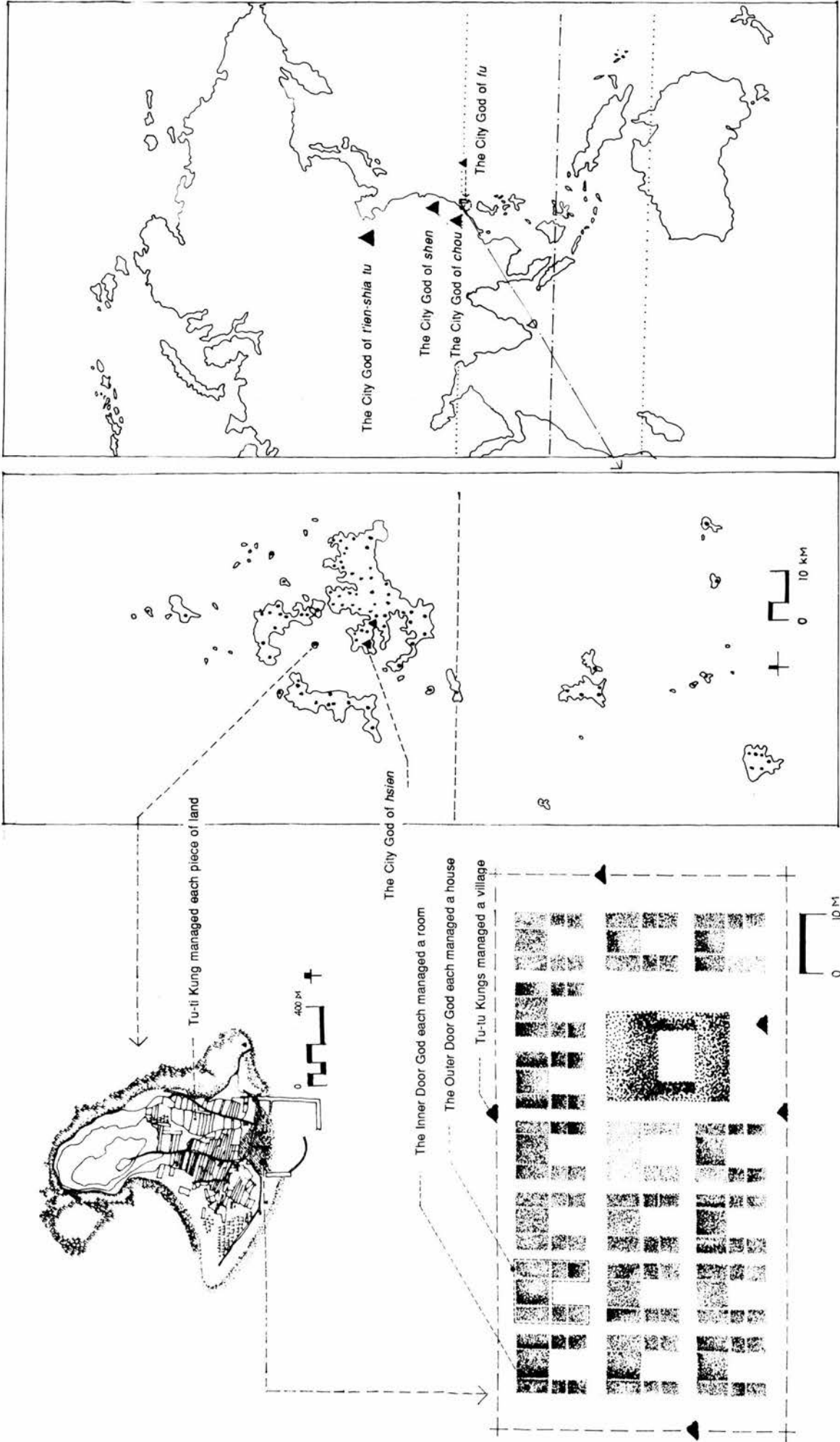


Figure 4-25 The five defensive layers in the human world in the traditional religious system

from the various ceremonies to Wang-yeh. The majority of them were not related to heaven except for two procedures in the ceremonies of *ying-wang* and *sung-wang* discussed in Note 32 and 33 of this chapter. As a result of the Wang-yeh system, it was its five cardinal points that became the distinctive points of a village. Also, from the way the god's soldiers were deployed, it is clear that, the territory of a village was divided into three regions: the area outside the village, which was a free zone for any being; the area within the protection of the "five external battalions", half of the god's soldiers, which was forbidden to devils; and the inner sanctum, namely the village temple, which was a special area for the Wang-yeh and protected by all the god's soldiers. (Fig. 4-26)

On the whole, within the context of traditional religious models and the village god, human beings were weak, and their impact tiny. Their existence and safety were dependent on the protection of five or so layers of god's networks. Even then, they were still not exempt from the threat of their enemies -- ghosts, personifications of the evils of the locality, had the power to break through their protective networks and cause turmoil and hardship. For this reason the villagers were constantly anticipating the ambitions of their persecutors, and re-adjusting their networks of gods to keep an acceptable balance between the power of good and evil, the fact that the T'u-ti Kungs were largely replaced by Wang-yeh was just one example of this. Nevertheless, there was ample consolation for this need for vigilance, and for the sufferings endured on earth, because after death, there was the chance of becoming a god and enjoying an enviable life.

The destinations of the two immortal *huns* which remained on earth after death also affected the spatial imaginations of local people. They believed that human life would never be extinct, but carry on existing eternally in different forms. Since one of their *huns* would remain in the village cemetery and another in the tablet in the atrium of their former home forever, then, a village and a courtyard house were believed to be two levels of eternal home (for women, it was their married home and village that counted). (Fig. 4-27) The commitment of local people to their space was affected by another notion: *ch'i* (氣, literally breath) which was the essential element of human life. It was obtained by a man from his father, and in turn by his father from his grandfather, so that a genealogy was the result of the transmission of a *ch'i* over a long period, and living members of a family were just the embodiment of the *ch'i* of their family (this has been discussed in Chapter 3; for details see Note 20 there and Chu,

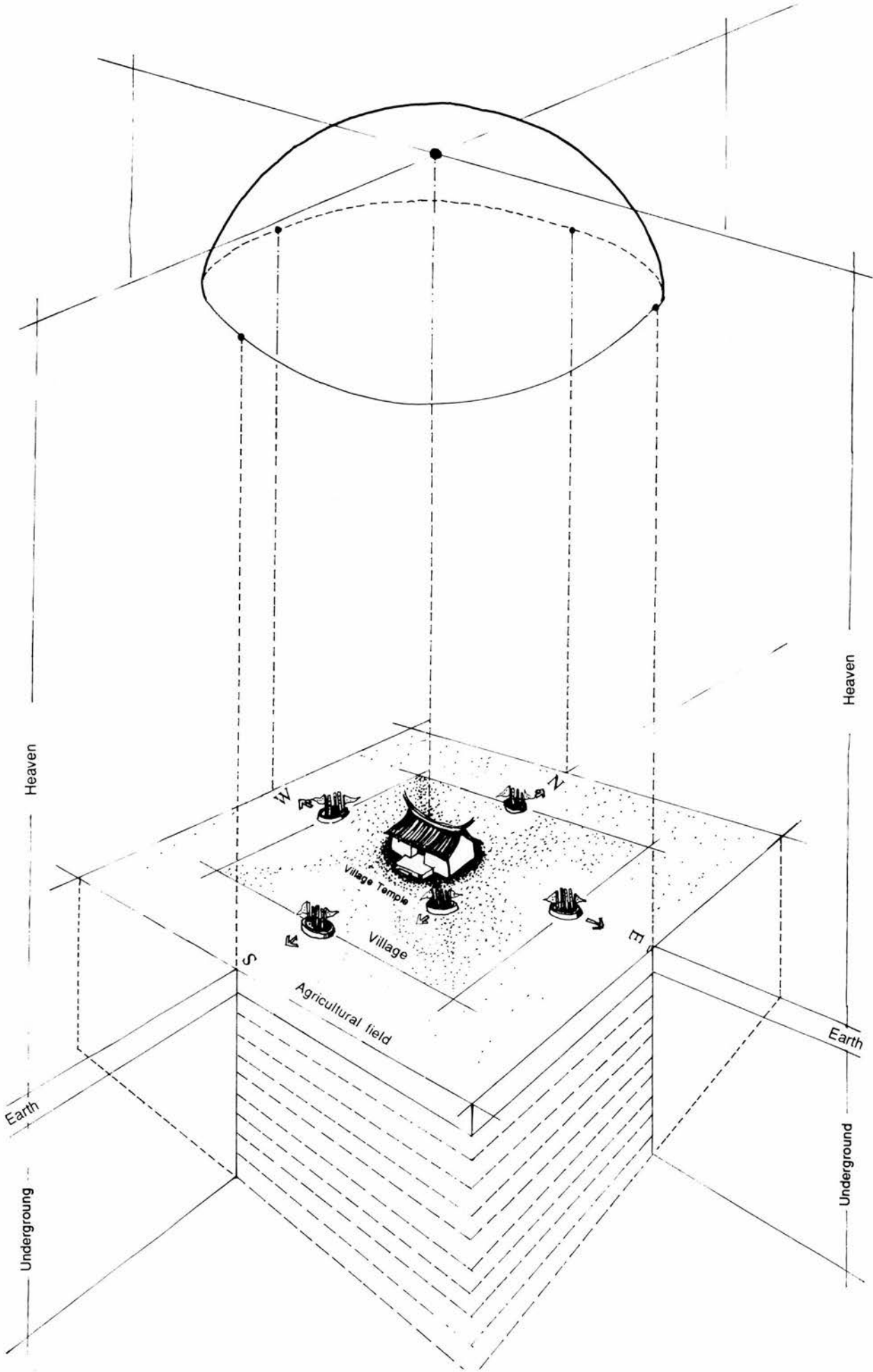


Figure 4-26 A village as a microcosmo and the three layers in the religious system of Wang-yeh

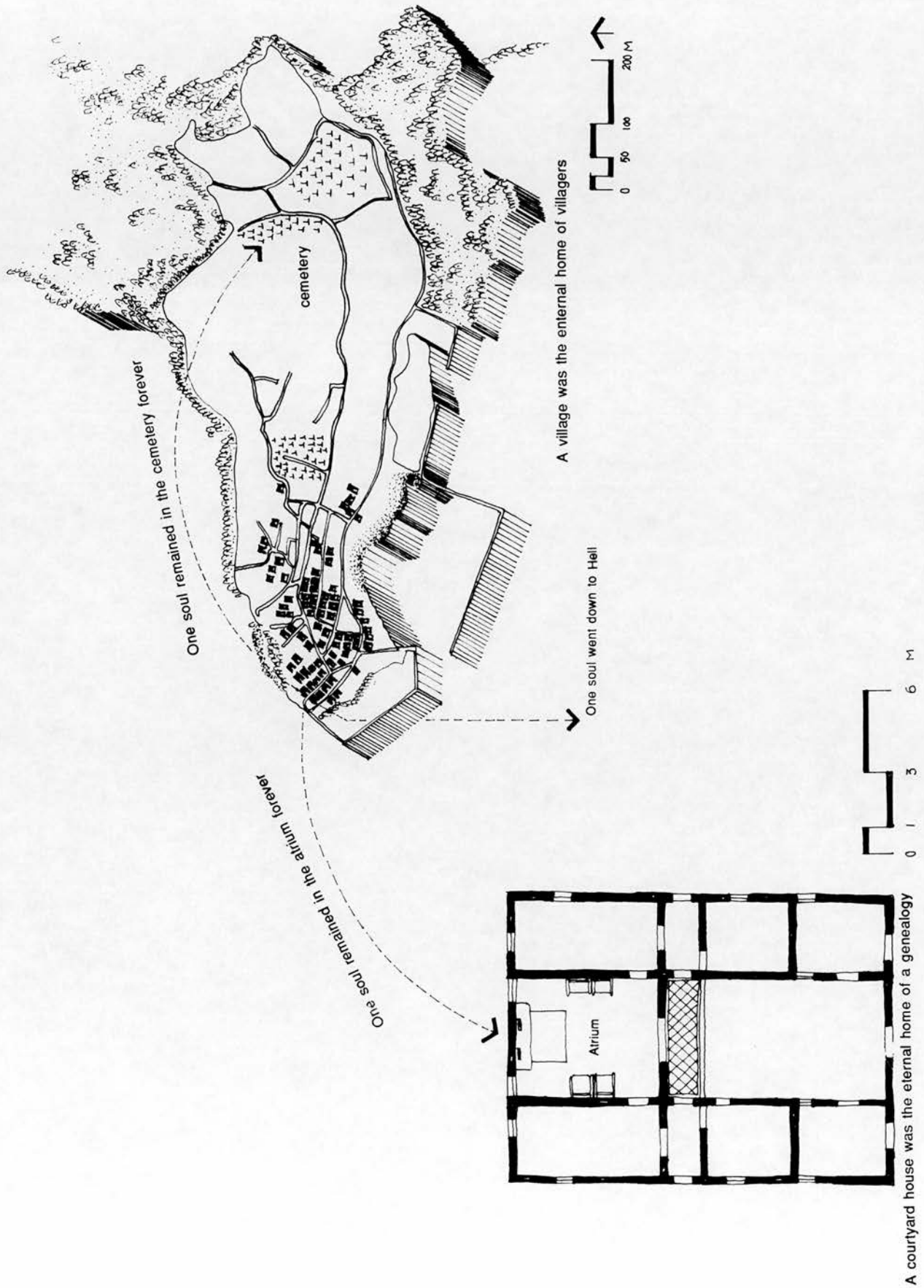


Figure 4-27 Two eternal homes of villagers

1969, p. 15). Also, local people believed that the location and orientation of their ancestral tomb (the origin of their *ch'i*) as determined by the theory of *hsing-li* (星曆), *feng-shui*, *wu-hsing*, and *pa-tzu* (八字) affected their *ch'i* or vitality; (see Chapter 5-1 and 5-2) they therefore protected their ancestral symbols, both tombs and tablets very carefully. This created a special local custom: some families kept their ancestral tablets in their original courtyard houses even once these had been deserted and periodically went back there to worship them and their ancestral tombs once all their members had migrated to faraway places; this also strengthened the attachment of the villagers of P'eng-hu to their land.

Chapter 5

The fates of heaven, earth, and human beings and the auspicious scales and craftsmen's regulations

Traditionally, the inhabitants of P'eng-hu Archipelago believed that their buildings and other constructions were not only material shelters, or a means of satisfying various practical needs, but also objects which would influence the wealth and status of the inhabitants, as well as their health, their relationships with one and other, and the number of offspring they produced.¹ A building would also have a similar impact on the lives of neighbouring families. That is to say, a good building could bring its owners or users good fortune, and a bad one, bad fortune.² The key factors affecting the auspiciousness of buildings -- their *ch'ung* (冲, see below) -- were their relationship to neighbouring objects, the conditions of their location, their orientation, their scale, and the earth form of their location. In order to avoid the negative impact that their constructions could have, or actively to make them positive factors in the fate of the family, people employed several criteria inherited from their ancestors. These are as follows.

1. Of the 18 kinds of construction in the villages on P'eng-hu Archipelago, the following 15 were considered to be able to exert such a supernatural influence: courtyard houses, ancestral halls, wells, tombs, temples, schools, official buildings, town houses in Ma-kung Town, stoves for cooking fish, boat houses, sheds for domestic animals, lime kilns, barracks and other facilities of local garrison, barracks of Wang-yeh, and talismans. Subsequently, their spatial organisations were separately influenced by some or all of the items discussed in this chapter. The three exceptions were jetties, the windbreak walls around vegetable gardens and fields, and fishing trays. The terms "buildings", "constructions", or others equivalents in the text of this chapter therefore refer only to the principal 15 kinds.

2. Misfortunes caused by ill-considered construction included: losing money, properties, and official positions; having no or only a few offspring; being frequently sick, prosecuted, robbed, broken, poor, or inharmonious; committing suicide or becoming robbers; family members or their domestic animals being killed or hurt in accidents; and so on. (Hsu S.K., 1987, pp. 904-916; Han, 1987, pp. 23-55)

1. Siting 1: the idea of *ch'ung*, and the theories of *hsing-li* 星曆 and the combination of *pa-tzu* 八字 and *wu-hsing* 五行

Siting, which involves the idea of *ch'ung*, the theories of *hsing-li* (literally, the almanac of stars) and the combination of *pa-tzu* (literally, the eight characters of an individual) and *wu-hsing* (literally, five elements), was the passive measure used by local people to protect themselves from inauspiciousness.

(1). Idea of *ch'ung*

Ch'ung was a general term used by the Han people to describe ill-luck, it could refer to either a kind of evil breath, to the act of offending or of being offended, or to inauspicious or inharmonious relationships between two different times, spaces, foods, personalities, constructions, and so on. The Han people believed that there were many conditions which would cause their constructions to be *ch'ung*. For example, if they faced a road, the short side of an independent wall, a ridge pole of the roof or wall of a neighbouring building, or a talisman; if their main doors faced a flag, a lantern pole, a platform, or a big tree; or if their main doors were faced by those of a palace, an official building, a city gate, a temple, a pagoda, a tower, a jail house, a warehouse, or a latrine; or if from inside, any of the above objects could be seen; or if their main entrances were darkened by the shadow of neighbouring constructions cast at an acute angle; and so on. (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, pp. 17-18; Fo, 1927, part 2, vol. 2, p. 4)

To avoid these situations, generally in P'eng-hu societies, the surroundings of a construction site would be carefully checked by the persons in charge and the craftsmen, and its location or orientation changed if necessary, before building commenced. Also, as has been mentioned in Chapter 4-1-1, it became compulsory for those responsible for local temples and official buildings to build an independent wall, called a *chao-pi* (照壁), about 3 m high and 4 to 5 m long along the far side of the square which generally faced them, blocking the line of their main door. This minimised the threat of *ch'ung* being inflicted on other buildings.

Also, due to the customary way of demarcating housing plots, courtyard houses on P'eng-hu Archipelago were constructed in groups in grid formation

(see Chapter 3-3) and the varied terrain meant that their foundations were at different heights, which safeguarded them from the threat of *ch'ung*. Likewise, town houses in Ma-kung Town were congested together, the area which could be faced by their surrounding objects and the sight which a person could be looked through from the inside of the house were largely limited, so that, the majority of them were exempt from the threat of *ch'ung* as well. Nevertheless, a few on the edges of rural clusters and urban blocks were not so lucky because the neighbouring houses on one or two sides belonged to other clans and had a quite different orientation. Subsequently, the possibility of *ch'ung* from neighbouring ridge poles or the corners of walls was largely increased. Fig. 5-1 shows two examples of this in the T'ung-liang Village of Pai-sha Island: House A was made *ch'ung* by House B of the neighbouring cluster, and House C by House D.

Confined by the inflexibility of their housing plots and the proximity of other houses in the cluster, these peripheral houses could not do much to protect themselves apart from slight adjustment to location or orientation. Instead, the majority of the owners of these boundary properties tried to free the key places, such as the main door and atrium, of their houses from being aimed at by the above mentioned objects, such as the ridge pole or a corner of the wall of a neighbouring house, and invited a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* or a *t'ung-chi* to construct or install one or many talismans on the house after it had been built as a corrective measure.³

There were six kinds of talisman that had been applied by the villagers of P'eng-hu Archipelago; their figures are as shown in Fig. 5-1a. Of these, *shou-p'ai* (獸牌, literally, an animal plank), a plate depicting a lion's head sometimes with one or two swords in its mouth, and *pa-kua-p'ai* (八卦牌), a plate depicting the eight trigrams, were two of the most popular ones. These were generally placed facing outside, fixed either to the central point of the lintel of the main door of the atrium or to the places which were aimed at by the inauspicious objects, or to a ridge pole of the roof or a wall of a neighbouring house a short distance away. (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 17) In general, about one third of the courtyard houses of the villages had a *pa-kua-p'ai*, including many which were not *ch'ung*, because local people believed that this talisman could also protect them from being damaged by other evil forces.

³. There were different auspicious times for installing these talismans, and regulations and taboos surrounding the process, see Wu, 1983, vol. 4, pp. 17-18.

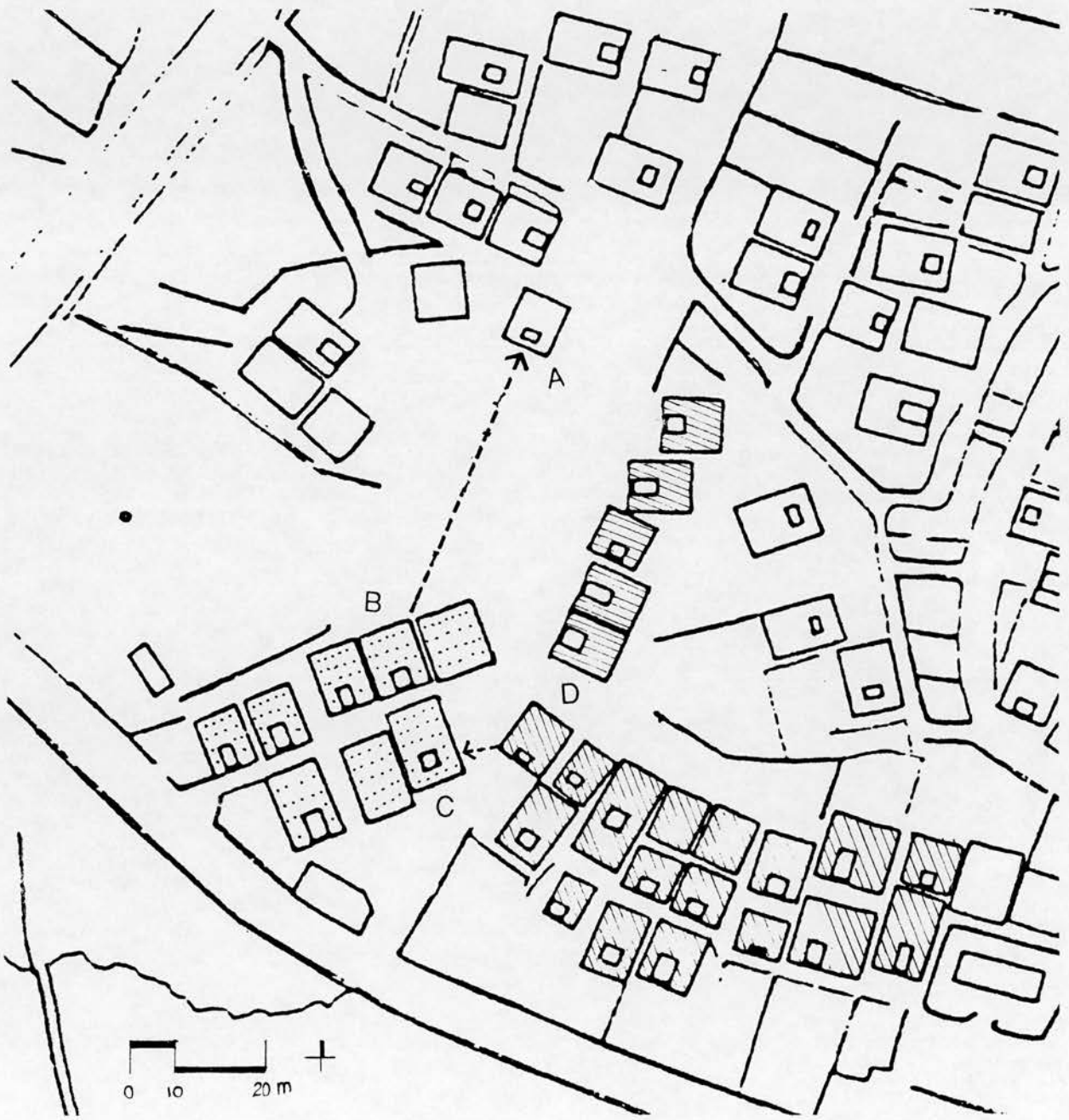
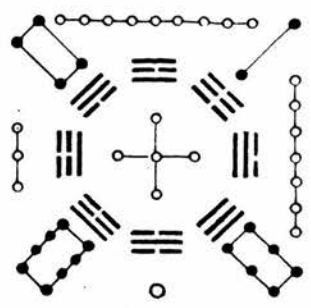


Figure 5-1 Examples of the peripheral houses of clusters of the T'ung-liang Village of Pai-sha Island to be *ch'ung* by those of their neighbouring houses which belonged to different clans

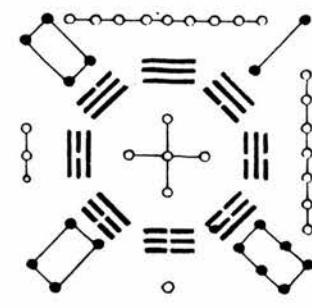
上湖八寸
按八卦下
六寸四分
按六十四
卦高一尺
二寸按十
二時兩邊
合廿四氣



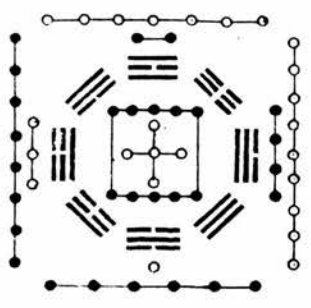
但有人家對近牆屋之香
用此數牌釘于窓頂上切
莫直釘檐下則對不着對
面之冲釘者須要准對不
可歪斜釘不可釘于歎面
若釘當中反凶也今有圖
式黑圈處釘釘之處也取
六寅日寅時吉居未東



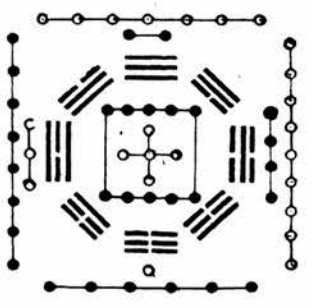
後天卦配洛書之數



先天卦配洛書之數



後天卦配河圖之象



先天卦配河圖之象

A shou-p'ai

Four kinds of pa-kua-p'ai



黃黑虎

飛虎將軍或臨盧戎版上
畫見有人家飛騰橫冲者
用此橫冲屋脊茅項亦用
此鎮之見有人家安酒瓶
者亦同用，三白酒內藏
五錢太平錢一文研成一
塊如品字樣

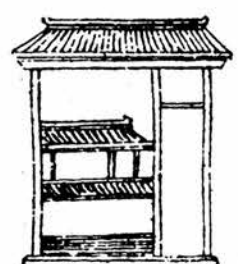
A feng-shih-yeh



又白虎鏡


此鏡鑄成如亭榭樣四圍
高中間陷不宜太深四角
磨亮不類人與物照之皆
倒也凡有一切廳屋宮室
高樓殿寺庵觀屋脊以及
旗竿相冲用此鏡鎮之最
妙

A tao-ching



凡有依屋脊及矮
牆頭冲者用如己
屋朝東朝西朝南
者恐日影暗於屋
脊影入門故用此
器以當其鋒

A chao-ch'iang



泰山敢當

高四尺八寸湖一尺
二寸厚四寸埋入土
八寸

凡鑿石敢當須擇冬至日
後甲辰丙辰戊辰庚辰壬
辰甲寅丙寅戊寅庚寅壬
寅此十二日乃龍虎日用
之吉至除夜用生肉三片
祭之新正寅時立于門首
莫與外人見凡有巷道來
冲者用此石敢當

A shih-kan-tang

Figure 5-1a Six kinds of talismans employed in P'eng-hu Archipelago (after Wu, 1983; Ch'ien-lung, 1741)

Feng-shih-yeh (風獅爺), literally lord of the wind lion, also called *tz'u-yu hsiang* (蚩尤像), literally the statue of *tz'u-yu* (a legendary figure said to be a powerful leader of a large tribe around 27th cent. B.C.), or Huang Fei-fu (黃飛虎), a mythical figure in a famous novel entitled *Feng-shen-pang*, was a ceramic statue about 20 cm square, of a general riding on a tiger (or a lion, in fact, it is hard to identify from local statues what the animal really is) with a bow and arrow in his hands. This was always installed on the middle point of the ridge of the roof of the atrium of a house, and was intended to deal with the same kinds of threats as the *shou-p'ai*, but those coming from farther away. If the statue was out of stock in the market of the islands, an unused ceramic or porcelain pot or bowl, a small portable stove, or a wine bottle would be adopted as a substitute; and because the effect of these was not as strong as that of the original, many of them might be installed together, or one after another, when the family felt anything uncomfortable going on. (Ibid, p. 18; Tseng, 1987) *Feng-shih-yeh* was rarely used by local people, only two have been discovered, one in Chiang-chun Village, another in Ch'ih-tung Village of Hsi-yu Island.

A *tao-ching* (倒鏡) or *pai-hu ching* (白虎鏡), literally an inverse mirror or a white tiger mirror, was a simple concave mirror, which reversed all figures. It was believed by the villagers of P'eng-hu Archipelago to be one of the most effective talismans if the doorway of a house faced a flag pole, or if some part of a house was aimed at by the ridge pole of a neighbouring building. This talisman was popularly found on the central point of the lintel of the main door of the atrium of local courtyard houses, because, like *pa-kua-p'ai*, local people believed that it would protect them from persecuted by all sort of other evil forces as well. (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 17)

A *chao-ch'iang* (照牆), literally a wall for reflection, was an independent wall generally constructed at the other side of a courtyard, in front of the main door of a house. It was similar to those in the same location belonging to temples or official buildings, but was shorter, lower, and plainer: generally only around 1.5 m long and 2 m high, and with less mouldings. This was applied to block any acute shaped shadow cast by the roof or walls of neighbouring houses, and to prevent any *ch'ung* from passing into the main entrance of the house. (Wu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 19) That is to say, it had the opposite function from those in front of temples and official buildings -- it resisted the *ch'ung* outside, whilst they prevented the buildings which they were attached to from infringing on those outside. In P'eng-hu societies, *chao-ch'iang* were not popular, a few of

them could be found in houses of neighbouring a temple because a temple was believed to be the place of *yin*: in Chung-she Village where I have carried out detailed fieldwork, I found only one *chao-ch'iang* in front of a courtyard house, and this house was located in front of, and to the east, of its village temple.

Apart from these, the *shih-kan-tang*, the popular talisman employed by local people to suppress the power of ghosts (see Chapter 4-3), was applied to resist *ch'ung* as well. It was commonly installed at the foot or in the middle of walls of houses or against wind-break walls aimed at by a road, and is often come across at T junctions by visitors today, travelling around the archipelago by car or on a motorcycle.

Also, because the left was deemed more honourable than the right (see Chapter 3-2), local people insisted that the left wing of their courtyard house should not be shorter than the right wing. Only a very few cases have been found on the islands, where this is not the case -- and these are generally due to the constraints of the area or the terrain of their housing plots -- a *shih-kan-tang* might be installed on the side wall of their left wing facing outside, one example of Chung-she Village of Wang-an Island is shown in Fig. 5-2.⁴

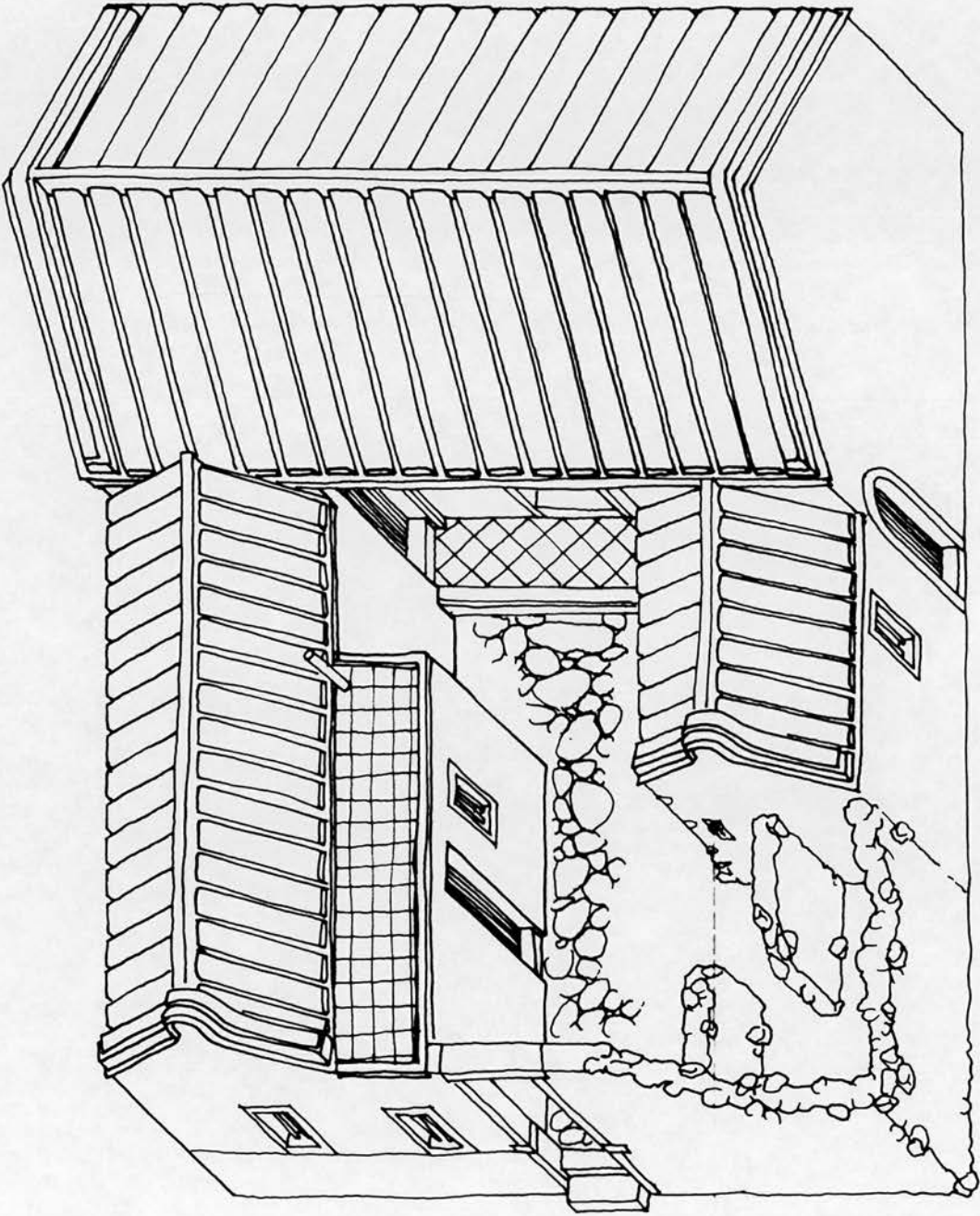
(2). *Hsing-li*

The *hsing-li*, or *liu-nien kua-li* (流年卦例), literally the calendar of rotation of years) was one of the popular forms of astrology of Han society. It was probably established under the influence of the ancient belief that the auspiciousness of matters on the earth could be ascertained by observing heavenly phenomena. (Ch'ien-lung, 1741, Preface; Fo, 1927, part 2, vol. 1, p. 2) It referred in particular to the location and speed of rotation of Jupiter; this being the biggest planet of the solar system, as well as the most brilliant and most twinkling star in the sky, it was believed to be the dominant cosmic omen. (Han, 1983, p. 130)

In view of the fact that Jupiter revolves around the Sun once every twelve years, Han astrologers devised a round divination plate with 24 cardinal points on it, as shown in Fig. 5-3, for tracing its exact position.⁵ Each year, the location given for Jupiter on the plate would revolve two divisions in a clockwise

4. This was the only example of this found in a thoroughly surveyed village -- Chung-she on Wang-an Island. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982 (2), pp. 26-35)

5. These 24 points were called 24 *shans*, literally 24 mountains: see Fig. 5-3.



A shih-kan-tang

Figure 5-2. A shih-kan-tang on the wall of the left hand wing of courtyard house no. 3, Chung-she Village

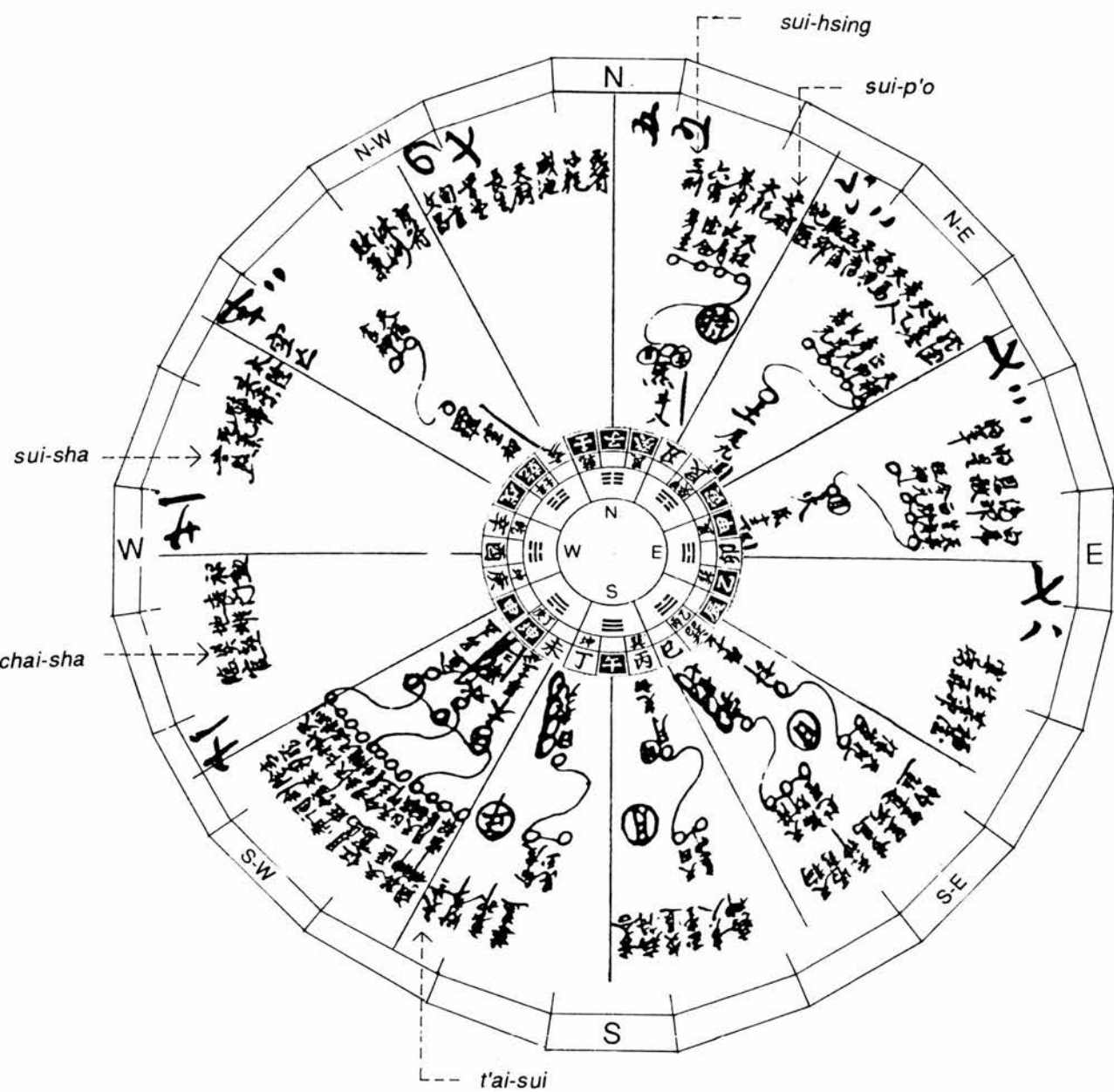


Figure 5-3 The *shens* on a divination plate at a certain time (adapted from Walters, 1987 and 1989)

direction, so that after twelve years the cycle would be complete. It was believed that the key factor on the divination plate (all factors in this system are called *shens* 神, literally gods) was always located directly opposite Jupiter, that is to say, if Jupiter was located in the west of the sky, then it would be found on the east point of the plate, and vice versa. This key factor, or *t'ai-sui* (太歲), was described in most relevant publications as the "ruler", "leader", or "king" of all other factors, and the most powerful "god" on the divination plate. (Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 56, 594-595; Wan, 1735, p. 42)

Apart from the *t'ai-sui*, there were as many as 230 other *shens* on the divination plate each with a different name. (see Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 196-215) Of these, around 60 were omens relating to the condition of the whole year that the particular plate referred to; and collectively they were known as *nien-shens* (年神) or the "gods" of the year and were created and given their positions on the divination plate by the operation of eight kinds of ancient theory: *pen-nien t'ien-kan* (本年天干), *san-he wu-hsing* (三合五行), *shih-erh chien-hsing* (十二建星), *wu-fu-tun* (五虎遁), *na-kua* (納卦), *na-yin* (納音), *ssu-fang* (四方), and *yang-jen* (羊刃). Some of these theories were established by referring to *t'ai-sui*, that is to say, certain *shens* were always placed relative to the position of *t'ai-sui* on divination plate: for details, see Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 1-195, 612. Apart from the divination plates drawn up annually, others, containing different *shens* could be drawn up to discover the auspiciousness of months, days, and hours. There were around 127 *shens* which collectively dominated the auspiciousness of months, these were called *yueh-shens* (月神, literally, the gods of the different months); 21 others dominated days and were called *jih-shens* (日神, literally, the gods of the day); and 29 affected the Chinese hour (one of these being equal to 2 hours) and were called *shih-shens* (時神, literally, the gods of the hour). All of these had different auspicious or inauspicious characters, and moved around the divination plate by a different distance at a certain time: *nien-shens* once a year, *yueh-shens* once a month (those of *jih-shens* and *shih-shens* were varied, see *ibid*, pp. 214-215).⁶ The *nien-shens*, for example, fell into three groups in terms of their distances of rotation, some rotated one twelfth of the cycle each year, some one tenth, and the

⁶. The regulation of movement of all these *shens* was organised into tables so that believers of the school could discover the exact location and distribution of either *nien-shens*, *yueh-shens*, *jih-shens*, or *shih-shens* at a certain time: for details of these tables, see Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 196-215, 657.

rest one fourth. That is to say, the same distribution of *nien-shens* on the plate would be repeated once every 60 years (this period was named one *chia-tzu* 甲子, see Section 1-3). Fig. 5-3 is an example of a divination plate and the distribution of *shens* in a certain time.

The distribution of the 60 *nien-shens* on the divination plate would be employed by astrologers to judge the auspicious or inauspicious conditions of each of its 24 cardinal points for the year in question. The 127 *yueh-shens* which referred to months do not seem to have been respected by local people. In contrast, the 21 *jih-shens* and 29 *shih-shens* became the criteria for judging the auspiciousness of certain days or Chinese hours, particularly those chosen for 37 kinds of behaviour of ordinary people.⁷ These included marriage; funeral ceremonies; planting vegetables; cutting trees; breeding domestic animals; constructing, restoring, and erecting the columns and laying the beams of buildings, as well as pulling them down, and cleaning them; furnishing beds; excavating wells; seeing a doctor; taking a bath; boarding a boat; visiting friends; having a hair cut; and so on. (Ibid, pp. 239-240, 247-593) It was, therefore, only the *nien-shens* which influenced the spatial application of believers in this theory.

Amongst the 60 *nien-shens*, the following ten were believed to be the most inauspicious ones: *t'ai-sui*, *sui-p'o* (歲破, always located opposite *t'ai-sui*, that is to say, in the location of Jupiter), *wu-tu-t'ien* (戊都天), *chi-tu-t'ien* (己都天), *sui-hsing* (歲刑), *chieh-sha* (劫煞), *tsai-sha* (災煞), *sui-sha* (歲煞), and two *fu-ping ta-huos* (浮兵大禍).⁸ Of these ten, *t'ai-sui*, *wu-tu-t'ien*, and *chi-tu-t'ien* were believed to be the three most inauspicious orientations (向, *hsiangs*), and no construction being built should face in any of these directions. The other seven were the most inauspicious *shans* (山) -- which meant that their opposite points were inauspicious orientations and no construction was allowed to face in these directions. In addition to this, the

7. According to a book entitled *Hsieh-chi Pien-fang Shu* (協紀辨方書) published under the name of Ch'ien-lung (乾隆), an emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty who ruled China from 1736 to 1795. For an emperor there were 67 kinds of behaviour governed by rules of auspiciousness from this theory, and generally 60 of these were included in the *t'ung-shus*. (see Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 239-240)

8. In addition to these, another one named *fu-t'ien kung-wang* (浮天空亡) was sometimes believed to be one of the most inauspicious *shen*, but sometimes not. (see Ch'ien-lung, 1741, p. 606) Also, *sui-hsing* (歲刑) was not always deemed an inauspicious *shen*. (Ibid, p. 69)

chieh-sha, *tsai-sha*, *sui-sha*, and two *fu-pin ta-huos*, apart from always occupying five serial divisions and revolving around the plate anti-clockwise one quarter each year, would also each in turn be situated on one of the four cardinal points. The inhabited point was believed to be the inauspicious *shan* for the year in question. Generally its two neighbouring cardinal points would be deemed auspicious,⁹ that is to say, if the west were the inauspicious *shan* of a year, then the north and south would be the auspicious two; the following year, the south would become the inauspicious point, and the east and west auspicious, and so on. The inauspicious *shan* was strictly prohibited, that is to say, its opposite point was not to be faced by constructions which were to be finished during the year in question.

These complicated theories, were in fact, only known in detail to a few astrologers of the school of *hsing-li*.¹⁰ Their transmission was maintained by documents known as *t'ung-shu*. These were published annually by certain astrologers of the school and set out their predictions about all the matters already mentioned for a year and its days and hours. Because of the influential nature of the folklore, selling *t'ung-shus* became one of the astrologers' main ways of subsistence. Generally, by the end of a year most intellectuals and craftsmen would buy a copy to use as a reference for standards of behaviour for themselves and the people of their villages -- at the time the majority of rural villagers were illiterate. Those of P'eng-hu Archipelago were no exception, they bought their *t'ung-shus* from the book shops of Ma-kung Town, Taiwan, or even south-eastern China.

The first influence of this theory upon the spatial organisation of P'eng-hu villages was the belief that one of the four cardinal points was inauspicious each year. But, possibly because of lack of confidence in their knowledge of the original theory of *hsing-li*, local people used neither the yearly inauspicious *shan*, nor its opposite point, even if this was decided to be a good one. That is to say, they only used two auspicious ones. Subsequently, if the orientations or

⁹. This was determined by a collective decision; occasionally, the most auspicious two might be found to be neighbouring cardinal points, such as south and west, south and east, etc.. There is an example recorded in a book entitled "Chinese Astrology" by Walters. (see, *ibid*, 1987, pp. 274-275)

¹⁰. In Taiwan, for example, at the present time, only around 20 people, who were all taught by three teachers, publish *t'ung-shus*. They are possibly the only ones who know all the theories in *hsing-li*. (Lu, 1990, p. 78)

locations of their building projects other than houses happened to be located at the inauspicious point or opposite this, they had to be changed -- providing there were alternatives. When it came to courtyard houses, because of the limitations of the housing plots, the only way for the village of P'eng-hu Archipelago to avoid inauspiciousness was to postpone the building project to the following year, when the inauspicious *shan* would have moved to the next cardinal point. (Kuan, 1984, p. 74; Chang, 1991, p. 75)

In the *t'ung-shus*, information was generally presented by means of a single sentence and a round or octagon figure like that shown in Fig. 5-4. This sentence was an overall interpretation of the figure below it, concisely conveying the messages which local people were looking for. The outermost ring of the figure was a simplified version of an astrological plate: but inside, except in the case of the most inauspicious *shens*, the names of other *shens* are replaced by the astrologer's conclusions about their different levels of auspiciousness or inauspiciousness, that is to say, details about the advantages and disadvantages of these spaces during the year.

Another influence from the same source upon the spatial organisation of P'eng-hu villages was the belief that the locations of the three inauspicious *shens* -- *sui-p'o*, *sui-sha*, and *sui-hsing* -- in the year of the birth of the head of a family were the three worst *shans* of the house of this family; that is to say, courtyard house should not face any of the 24 cardinal points which were opposite these three at the time.¹¹ Similarly, a person's tomb was not to point in the opposite direction from the inauspicious positions of the three *shens* during the year of his or her birth.¹² (Ch'ien-lung, 1741, pp. 609, 619)

If the orientation of a prospective house was inauspicious, its axis had to be adjusted away from the ominous 15 degree section -- which is why some houses in a regular cluster of a village of P'eng-hu Archipelago have slightly different orientations. In Fig. 5-4a, the two houses marked by dotting cycles of the Lin clan in T'ung-liang Village of Pai-sha Island, and another in Yeh clan of T'ung-

11. According to the explanations of the *t'ung-shus*, these three indicated the inauspicious times for the head of a family and subsequently those of constructing his house. But, in P'eng-hu Archipelago, they were regarded as both inauspicious times and *shans*. (see Lin, 1978)

12. There were generally 7 inauspicious *shens* for the head of a family and 4 for dead people recorded in the *t'ung-shus*, but only the above mentioned ones were respected in the societies of P'eng-hu.

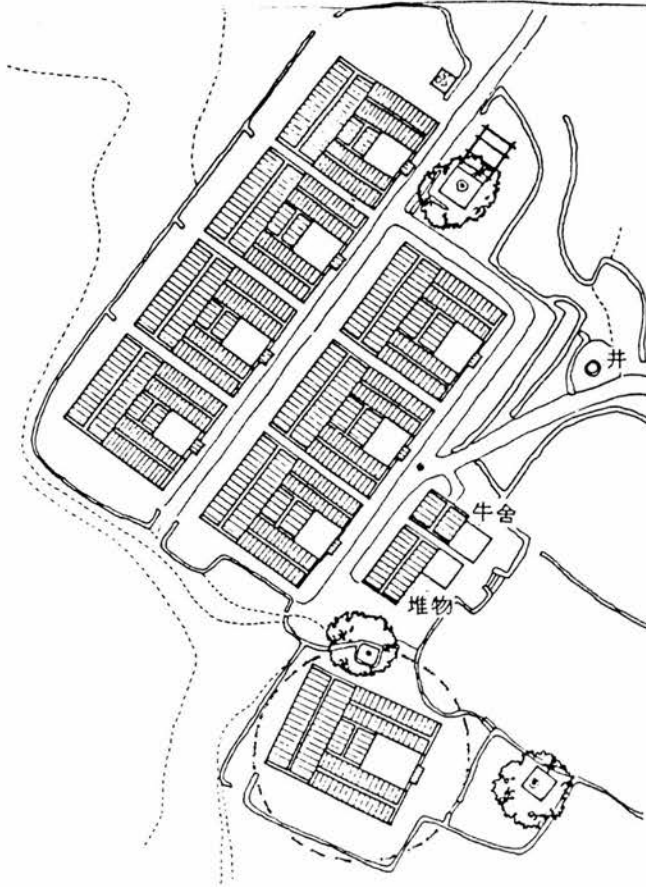
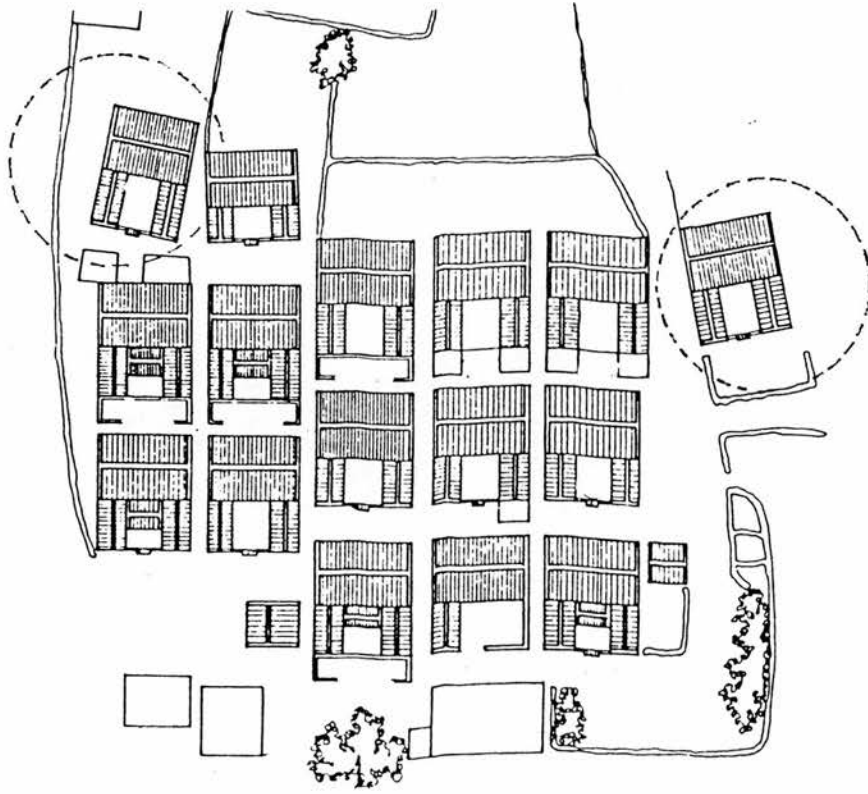


Figure 5-4a Three cases influenced by the theory of *hsing-li*: two in T'ung-liang Village (above), one in T'ung-P'an Village (below) (adapted from Kuan, 1984)

P'an Village, are three examples of this. As for tombs, because their areas were comparatively small and their locations more flexible, inauspicious directions could easily be avoided by choosing a new place or orientation.

The information relating to both, from the three inauspicious *shans* for a sixty year cycle (namely a *chia-tzu*, see the next sub-section), was generally presented in a table in the *t'ung-shus*: one example is shown in Fig. 5-5 -- these are two pages of a *t'ung-shu* which was popular in P'eng-hu Archipelago, I got it from an elder of Wa-t'ung Village on Pai-sha Island. The top row of both tables shows the years (this is presented by a special calculating system of the Han people, called *kan-chih* 干支, see the next sub-section), the three rows marked by round points on the left figure are the three inauspicious *shans* for constructing courtyard houses, those of the right for tombs.

(3). The combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing*

Pa-tzu represented the time when a person was born. It was composed of eight Chinese characters divided up into four pairs called *kan-chih*s (干支). These represented in turn the birth year, month, day, and hour.

Kan-chih was a calculating system unique to the Han people. It was composed of two sets of characters, the first set comprised ten serial characters, called 10 *t'ien-kan* (十天干, literally 10 celestial stems), the second, another twelve serial characters, called 12 *ti-chih* (十二地支, literally, 12 terrestrial branches). By combining the characters of these two sets in a regular way -- one of the 10 *t'ien-kan* as the first word, and one of the 12 *ti-chih* as the second one -- 60 different pairs were created. These were collectively called the 60 *kan-chih* and were deemed as a pack and as a cycle and used as the calculating base for distinguishing the flow of time. That is to say, the same pair would be repeated every 60 years (the 60 year period was called one *chia-tzu*) if applied to distinguish years, or 60 months (5 years) if distinguishing months, or 60 days (around 2 months) for days, or 60 Chinese hours (5 days) for hours. That is to say, the same *pa-tzu* (namely the four pairs of *kan-chih* of a person) would be repeated once every 60 years.

In traditional Taiwanese societies including those of P'eng-hu Archipelago, after a baby was born, the parents would record his or her exact birth time and take it to ask a fortune teller, the latter then wrote down his or her *pa-tzu*, namely the four pairs of *kan-chih* representing the year, month, day, and hour of birth. From the comparison of an individual's eight birth characters with the

many ancient theories they were based upon -- *ta-yun ch'i-yun* (大運起運), *liu-nien* (流年), *na-yin wu-hsing* (納音五行), *chi-shen* (吉神), *liu-chia kung-wang* (六甲空亡), and so on, (see Li, 1990, pp. 47-85) around 29 types of prediction could be made, for example which were the child's lucky or unlucky gods, years, and so on. These predictions would be written down on a list called *ming-shih* (命式) or *ming-tan* (命單), literally the list of fate, which would be kept until death.

In addition to these, the *kan-chih* of the birth year of a dead person would be used as a means of understanding his or her attribute (metal, wood, water, and so on) amongst the *wu-hsing*, literally, five elements (see below), and establishing his or her two inauspicious points amongst the cardinal four and inauspicious earth form so as to build his or her tomb correctly.

Wu-hsing (literally, five elements) was a popular philosophy of Han societies, possibly derived from an ancient astrology.¹³ (Tai, 1976, pp. 228-240) It holds that all the important features in the cosmos including directions, times, and the attributes of human beings can be equated to one of the following five kinds of element: metal, wood, fire, water, and earth.¹⁴

So far as the cardinal points were concerned, wood was attributed to the east, metal to the west, fire to the south, water to the north, and earth to the centre, as shown in Fig. 5-6a. The elements of years and days were decided by analysis of the ancient phonetics of their two *kan-chih* characters.¹⁵ The *wu-hsing* attribute of a person was considered to be the same as that of his or her birth

13. This astrology was possibly very similar to that mentioned in the conclusion of this chapter: that is to say, heaven as supreme and determiner of the fate of all matters on earth. The differences in terms of speed of movement, seasonal locations, colours seen from the earth, and so on, of the five innermost planets of the solar system: Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, and Jupiter were adopted as another key to disclose cosmic secrets. Like the way Jupiter was used in the theory of *hsing-li*, these five stars were then interpreted as the so called five essentials of the cosmos: water, fire, earth, metal, and wood with symbolic colours, figures, and locations in the cardinal points, and so on. (Tai, 1976, pp. 228-240)

14. There are 25 sets each of which was composed of five factors including the five elements of *wu-hsing* to be combined into a system, see Forke, 1925; and 12 in Creel, 1929. (see Forke, 1925, pp. 240-279; Creel, 1929, p. 34)

15. *Na-yin*, the theory behind this analysis is unknown to contemporary researchers, however the attributes of all 60 *kan-chih* were recorded in many historical archives, and subsequently copied into *t'ung-shus* in tabular form

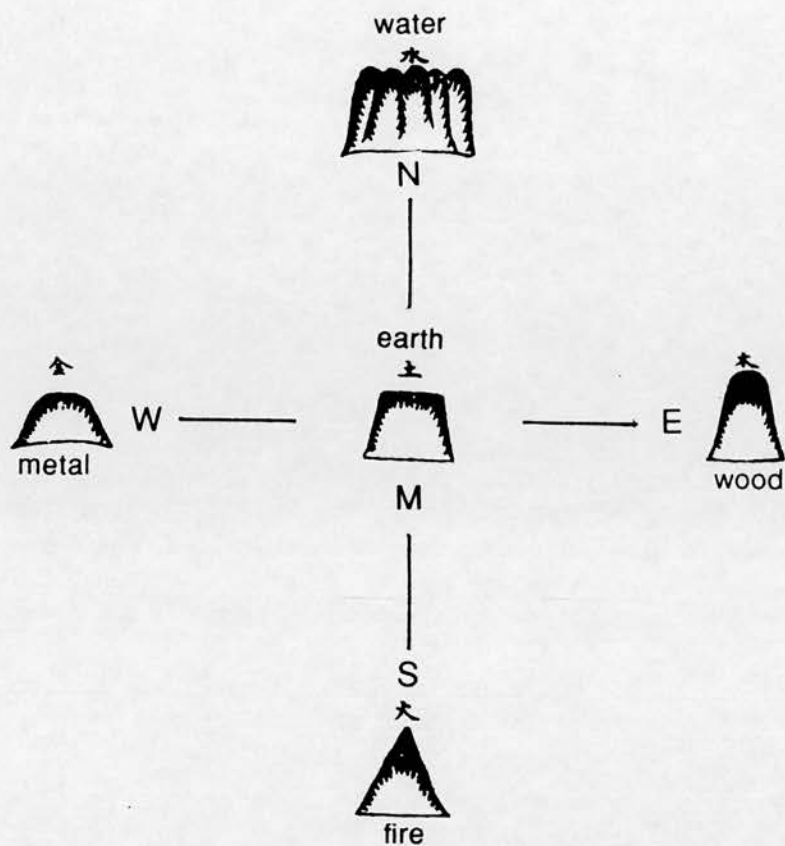


Figure 5-6a The locations and figures of the five elements in relation to the cardinal points

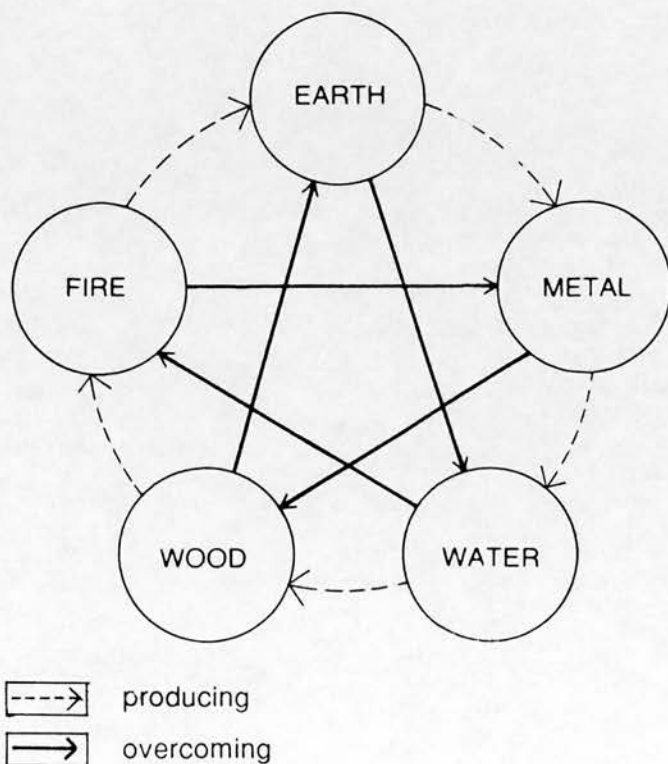


Figure 5-6b The relationship between five elements

year, that is to say, if a person was born in a "fire" year, then that person would be "fire" as well. These attributes rotated in a 60 year cycle.

Also, it was believed that there were distinct relationships between the five elements. Wood was said to "produce" fire, fire earth, earth metal, metal water, and water wood; Likewise, wood "overcame" earth, earth water, water fire, fire metal, and metal wood, as shown in Fig. 5-6b.

In deference to these ideas, villagers of traditional societies on P'eng-hu Archipelago believed that no tomb should be placed or allowed to face somewhere whose attributes would overcome that of the dead person. For example, if the attribute of the dead person was "fire" then his or her tomb should not face north, its attribute being "water" (if somebody's attribute was overcome in this way it was referred to as *tz'u-hsueh* 刺穴), or south, because this implied that the tomb was actually located in the north, namely the place of "water" (this situation was called *tz'u-hai* 刺害). The two inauspicious points for any individual were generally recorded on the bottom two rows of the same table of the *t'ung-shus* as their three inauspicious *shans* as mentioned above. (see Fig. 5-5, the above triangular point shows the row of *tz'u-hsueh*, the below *tz'u-hai*)

As well as this, earth forms were also given *wu-hsing* attributes, as shown in Fig. 5-6a. Subsequently, particular families of P'eng-hu Archipelago might refuse to bury a dead relative on the place with an attribute that would overcome that of the deceased. For examples, a "wood" person should not be buried on a round mound which signified "metal", or a "metal" person on a triangular one which signified "fire", etc..

2. Siting 2: the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui*

The theory of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui* variety, was another instrument employed by the people of P'eng-hu Archipelago to decide the auspiciousness of locations and orientations for buildings, particularly temples, the houses of richer villagers, official buildings, and the school in Ma-kung Town.

(1). The theory of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui*

Originating around the 3rd cent. A.D., the Mountain Form School version of *feng-shui* was one of two main streams¹⁶ to become firmly established around

the 12th cent. A.D., having been advocated by a famous Confucian, Chu-hsi (1130-1200). (Han, 1983, p. 126) Because of the commitment of many famous scholars to *feng-shui*, it was popularly respected and deemed an academic discipline by later intellectuals, some of whom practised its application as a profession.

The essence of the Mountain Form School version was *ch'i* (氣), literally breath. This invisible stuff was believed to circulate constantly around heaven, earth, and all creatures in five forms each with a different name (Fig. 5-7a): it was called *feng*, 風 literally wind, when it moved in the sky; *yun*, 雲 literally cloud, when it floated higher still; *yu*, 雨 literally rain, when it dropped down to the earth; *wai-ch'i*, 外氣 literally external breath, when it gathered or flowed on the surface of the earth in the form of ponds, streams, and rivers. (Kuo, ca 276-324 A.D., p. 92)

Ch'i could also be found within the earth, in which case it was referred to as *sheng-ch'i* (生氣 literally *ch'i* of life) or *nei-ch'i* (內氣 literally internal breath). One explanation for this idea was that it was produced by the rain when it penetrated into the soil. It was said to flow along the ridge of hilly terrains,¹⁷ from higher to lower, finally being stored in round soil mounds enclosed by water and/or sheltered by surrounding hills. In locations which fitted this description, it was prevented from being directly blown by the wind and dispersing into the air in the form of *feng* and *yun*; also, it was able to be stored in the soil, whereas geologies other than soil would allow it to escape; and lastly its flow would be stopped by water. Landscapes which afforded these conditions would be said to have good *feng-shui*, and the round mounds were called *hsueh-ch'angs* (穴場), literally the fields of *hsueh* (穴), a place on or in front of them would be called *hsuehs*, and these were the focus of *ch'i*.¹⁸ (see below)

¹⁶. Another main stream named the *li-ch'i* (理氣) School of *feng-shui*, or the Orientation School of the *feng-shui*, was established much earlier than that of the Mountain Form School, possibly in 1st cent. A.D., but, this does not seem to have been applied in the societies of P'eng-hu Archipelago. For details of this school, see de Groot, 1897, vol. 3, book 1, chapter 12, pp. 935-1056; Feuchtwang, 1972; Han, 1983, pp. 123-150.

¹⁷. It was believed that if the *ch'i* flowed inside the geologies other than soil, it would be gradually dispersed into the sky.

¹⁸. Generally, Han tombs were constructed as round mounds, which implied that they were *hsueh-ch'angs*. Also, in Hakka societies on Taiwan, people generally heaped up a round mound on the central axis just behind the rear wall of the atrium of their houses, which they called *fa-t'ais*. (literally, the "womb" of a flower) -- a local name for a

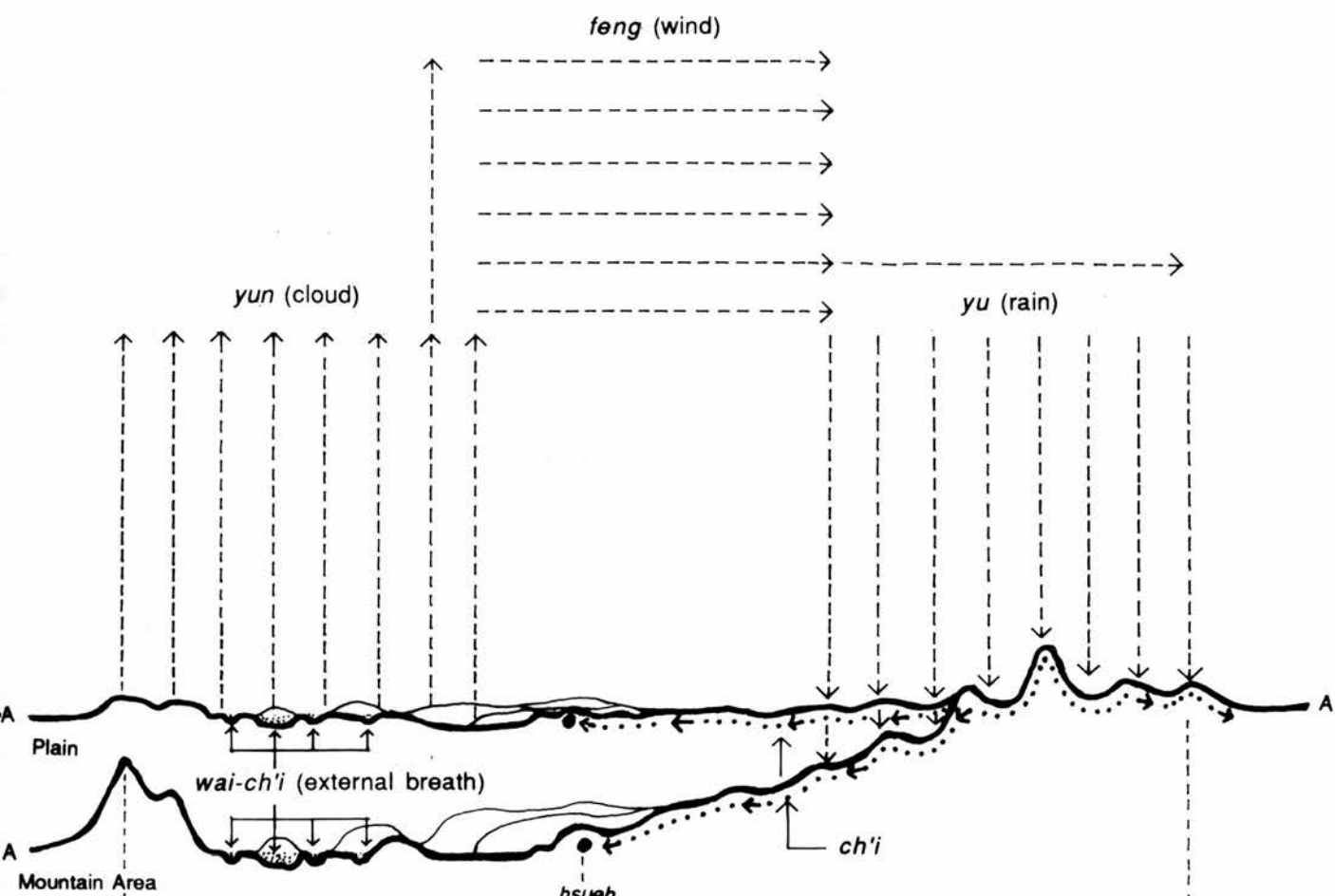


Figure 5-7a The five forms of *ch'i* (drawn with reference to the description of Kuo, ca. 276-324 A.D.)

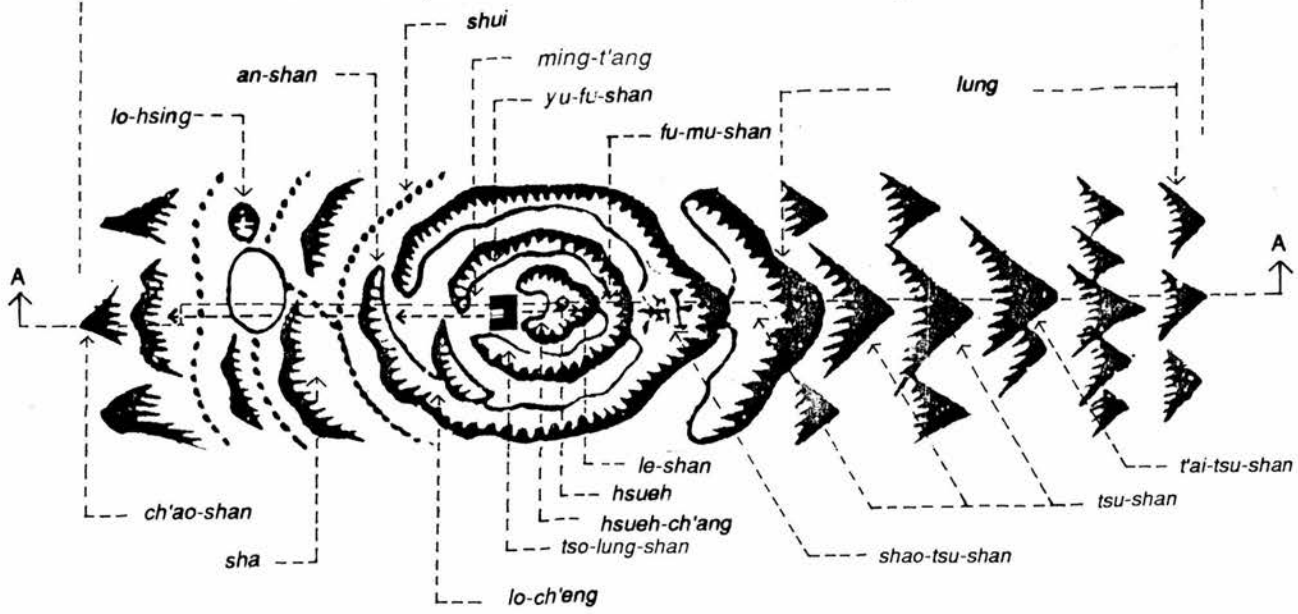


Figure 5-7b The names of the elements of Mountain the Form School of *feng-shui*

Amongst the five manifestations of *ch'i*, the *ch'i* which flowed within the soil was the one believed to be the origin of life. The fact that some vegetables grew much better than others in different parts of the same area was generally adopted as an example to demonstrate the validity of the theory: the former were situated in a place with good *feng-shui*, that is, a well enclosed *hsueh-ch'ang*, whilst the latter were not. The more *ch'i* a creature had access to, the stronger its vitality. (Ibid, pp. 91-96) Also, it was believed that if the corpses of the ancestors were buried in places with good *feng-shui*, their descendants would receive good fortune by means of telepathy. (Ibid, pp. 91-93; Chu, 1969, p. 15) This idea was then borrowed to create a new theory in around 12th A.D.; this held that if a house was situated on a place with good *feng-shui* or faced one of the ideal directions, all its residents would be lucky because they absorbed *ch'i* all the time. (P'u, ca 1130-1200, vol. 4, pp. 9-10; Fo, 1927, part 1, vol. 1, p. 1)

Later geomancers established a much more systematic model with many criteria as to the relative *feng-shui* of places. This divided all the landscapes of the earth into five constituent parts: *lung* (龍, literally dragon), *ming-t'ang* (明堂, literally square), *sha* (砂, literally sand), *hsueh* (literally cave or hole), and *shui* (水, literally water including ponds, streams, rivers, lakes, etc.). It then separately compared the good or bad conditions of their figures, scales, distances, and so on. (Fig. 5-7b)

Lung (also called *shan-lung*, 山龍, literally the dragon of the mountain; or *lung-mai* 龍脈 literally the "vein" of the dragon), the ridge of any terrain, was believed to be the passage way of *ch'i*. Its organisation was generally described as like that of a tree, as shown in Fig. 5-7b and 5-8a. One distant, high mountain would be judged by geomancers as the central mountain of a certain area -- it was equivalent to the trunk of the tree. This was called *t'ai-tsu shan* or *tsu-shan* (太祖山, 祖山, literally, the senior ancestral mountain), and deemed as the source of *ch'i* of the whole area. From it, there were many "boughs" of different levels through which it spread. All the mountains located at the nodes of their divisions would be called *tsu-chungs* or *chungs* (祖宗, 宗, the ancestral mountains), except for the lowest ones which were called *shao-tsu shans* (少祖山, the junior ancestral mountains).¹⁹ All of these were the central mountains

hsueh-ch'ang. (Ch'iu, 1989, p. 109; Li, 1989, p. 84; Lin, H.C., 1989, p. 16; 1990, p. 16; Chang, 1986, pp. 239-246)

and the origin of *ch'i* of their sub-divisions of the hierarchy. Again, from the *shao-tsu-shans*, there were many "branches"; the mountains on their nodes would in turn be called *fu-mu shans* (父母山, the parent's mountains), these were the direct sources of *ch'i* for the *hsueh-ch'angs* at the end of their "twigs", that is to say, at the end of the *lung*. It was believed that for good *feng-shui* the terrain between *fu-mu shans* and *hsueh-ch'angs* had to be as follows: the mountain ridges should become gradually lower down and narrower as they approached the *hsueh-ch'ang*; and the shape of the area near the *hsueh-ch'ang* should be like the neck of a bottle -- it was called a *ti* which means the sepal of a flower; and the progression of this whole landscape from the farthest point to the nearest was described in terms of *kuo-hsia* (過峽) or *kuo-mai* (過脈), which means passing into a narrow passage or vein, *ju-shou* (入首) which is plugging in, and *shu-ch'i* (束氣), which is holding breath. (P'u, *ibid*, vol. 4, pp. 4-5; Fo, *ibid*, vol. 3, pp. 1-4)

There were generally two categories of *lung*: that of mountain areas, and that of plains. The best shape for the former was described as wavy with an obvious descent from the distance to the foreground, in a word, it should be like the energetic dragon often depicted in Chinese art (it was called *tz'u-lou hsia-tien* 辭樓下殿 or *tieh-tuan po-fan* 跌斷剝換). In addition, on both sides, it should have some mountains; this was called *ch'uan-chang* (穿帳) or *kai-chang* (開帳). In flat areas, due to the limitations of the topography, the route of the *lung* was determined by looking at the distribution of rivers, and the ridges of the micro-terrain. (Kuo, *ibid*, pp. 95-98; P'u, *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 4; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 3, p. 7; part 2, vol. 1, p. 1)

Ming-t'ang was the name given to the plain in front of a *hsueh-ch'ang*. Its ideal size was decided with reference to the conditions of the surrounding area: the steeper and higher its surroundings, the larger it should be. This kind was called *wai ming-t'ang* (外明堂, outer *ming-t'ang*) or *ta ming-t'ang* (大明堂, big *ming-t'ang*). In contrast, the smoother and lower its surroundings, the smaller it should be. This kind was called *nei ming-t'ang* (內明堂, inner *ming-t'ang*) or *hsiao ming-t'ang* (小明堂, small *ming-t'ang*). (Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 1, pp. 9-10)

¹⁹. *Tsu-chungs* or *chungs* (the ancestral mountains), and *shao-tsu shans* (the junior ancestral mountains) were sometimes collectively called *chungs*, see Meng, 1680, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

Sha was the collective name given to the landscapes surrounding *hsueh-ch'angs*, and it generally encompassed the six kinds shown in Fig. 5-7b. There were various conditions under which a *sha* would be considered to have good *feng-shui*. It should have a mountain located on the left hand side of the *hsueh-ch'ang* (this was called *tso-lung shan* 左龍山 or the dragon mountain of the left hand side) and another on the opposite side (called *yu-fu shan* 右虎山 or the tiger mountain of the right hand side), these should not be too long, too high, or too steep, and their ideal shape should be that of a pair of hands embracing the *hsueh-ch'ang*. A round and lower mountain ideally located at the rear of the *hsueh-ch'ang*, was called *le-shan* (樂山). The hill to the rear front of the *hsueh-ch'ang* and *ming-t'ang* which was known as the *an-shan* (案山) or table mountain should be lower than the terrain behind, flat on top, and narrow -- like a real table. The area between the *le-shan*, *ming-t'ang*, and *an-shan*, also called *sha*, had to be lower still. This ideal landscape was, in simplified form, the basis of a widespread custom amongst local people, that of locating buildings in places that were lower at the front and higher at the back (see Chapter 2-4). The area farther in front of the *hsueh-ch'ang*, the *ch'ao-shan* (朝山) or mountain of orientation should be higher and steeper, with a smooth top. All the hills or mountains beyond the terrains mentioned above were collectively called the *lo-ch'eng* (羅城), literally, the city walls on four sides. These should enclose the *hsueh-ch'ang*, but leave the front open, and the more layers there were the better the *feng-shui*. (Kuo, *ibid*, pp. 106-107; P'u, *ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 6-7; vol. 3, pp. 3-8; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 5, pp. 1-6) Apart from these conditions, one particular landscape was believed to have special properties. This was, one where hills and mountains lined a river which flowed away from the area around a *hsueh-ch'ang*, and their shapes resembled fierce animals on guard. In this case, the mountains were called *han-men* (捍門), and it was believed that, in the area up-stream, that is inside the area of *lo-ch'eng*, officials were likely to be born. (P'u, *ibid*, vol. 3, p. 6; Fo, *ibid*, vol. 5, pp. 5-6; vol. 2, p. 9) Also, if there was a hill standing amid the river which flowed out from the *lo-ch'eng*, this hill would be called *lo-hsing* (羅星) or the star of *lo-ch'eng* and be regarded as a symbol of the fact that there was a place of good *feng-shui* up-stream. (Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 5, pp. 5-6)

Hsueh was the name of a point in *hsueh-ch'angs* which was believed to be the most ideally suited to the vent of *ch'i* and subsequently for burying the dead, or for building a house in front of. Its exact place had to be judged by a geomancer

who referred to the condition of *shas* and *shuis* in the neighbouring area. When it came to houses, the exact place of *hsueh* was generally that of the junction of the central axis and the rear wall, inside the atrium. In Hakka societies on Taiwan, people would install a slate inscribed with the words: *lung-shen* (龍神, literally, the dragon spirit or god), *t'u-ti lung-shen* (土地龍神, literally, the dragon spirit of earth), or *fu-te lung-shen* (福德龍神, literally, the god of the dragon of fortune and virtue) as a symbol of the "god" of their *feng-shui*, and regularly worshipped them. (Ch'iu, 1989, p. 109; Lin, H.H., 1989, p.81; Lin, H.C., 1990, p. 104; also see de Groot, 1890, pp. 31-32; Feuchtwang, 1972, p. 142)

Shui (water in the sense of pond, river, stream, etc.) was an element which could correct the deficiencies of *shas* and *lo-ch'eng* and prevent *ch'i* from being dispersed from the *hsueh-ch'ang*. The ideal situation for surrounding water if a place was to have good *feng-shui* was for it to flow from the back of the *hsueh-ch'ang* to the front in a winding figure, and its speed of flow had to be very slow; in a word, the ideal water was tranquil -- in contrast to its originally character which is mobility. (Kuo, *ibid*, p. 99; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 6, pp. 1-2)

The ideal combination of *shas*, *lungs*, *hsueh*, *hsueh-ch'ang*, and *ming-t'ang* was sometimes compared to the formation of a flower. *Shas* were described as the petals of a flower, the *hsueh-ch'ang* as the ovary or "womb", *lungs* as stems, and the *hsueh* as the stigma -- this was also named *fa-hsin*, literally the "core" of a flower. (P'u, *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 9; vol. 2, p. 13; An, ca. 1574, vol. 6, pp. 1-2; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 2, p. 6; vol. 4, p. 1; vol. 5, p. 2)

The ideal position for a building in terms of *feng-shui* was on the *ming-t'ang* in front of a *hsueh-ch'ang*, with its central axis aiming at the peaks of an *an-shan*, *ch'ao-shan*, and/or *le-shan* as shown in Fig. 5-7b.

Apart from exploring the details of different places in search for good *feng-shui*, at around the 9th cent. A.D., some masters of *feng-shui*, affected by the centralisation of imperial authority that was going on at the time, began to believe that all the world's *lung* formed part of a systematic whole, and that there was a central mountain from whence all *ch'i* originated. Subsequently, three similar versions -- possibly the most respected ones of many -- were developed, one by Yang Yun-sung (楊筠松) around the 9th cent. A.D., the other two by Ts'ai Mu-t'ang (蔡牧堂) and Liao-yu (廖瑀), both around the 11th or 12th. All of them were based upon the assumption that China was located at the centre of the world. These were then combined and further developed into a more

popular account which is illustrated in Fig. 5-8a. This held that Mt. K'un-lun (崑崙山), located at the western boundary of China, was the *tsu-shan*, the ancestral mountain, and origin of *ch'i* of the whole world. It was composed of eight main branches of *lung*. Five of them, the north, south, west, north-west, and south-west, ran into the territories of India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and C.I.S. (later Russia). Its north-eastern branch lay to the northern side of the Yellow River; its south-eastern one to the southern side of Yang-tzu River, ending up on the coast, and its eastern one ran between the above two rivers. This was the most respected one, because its surrounding area was the political and military centre of the Empire. (Yang, ca. 9th cent. A.D., p. 109; Ts'ai, 11th-12th cent. A.D., p. 71; Liao, 11th-12th cent. A.D., p. 157; Liu, 13th-14th cent. A.D., p. 345)

(2). The organisation of *feng-shui* of P'eng-hu Archipelago

Historically, China was a continental empire, concentrating its attention on the management of its broad territory; not only did it not know much about the distribution of islands off its seashore, but because their areas were comparatively tiny, it also had not much interest in knowing more.²⁰ In fact, between the 14th and 17th cent. A.D., trade with foreign countries by ship was strictly forbidden as a result of a succession of disturbances caused by rebellions, Japanese pirates, and Chinese and Japanese smugglers. (Ts'ao, 1979, 130-138).²¹ Nevertheless, after the 16th cent. A.D., because of a rapid increase in population and subsequent pressure on farm land, (Shih, 1987, pp. 109-165) lots of people in the south-eastern area began to take a risk and smuggle goods between Japan, other countries of south-eastern Asia, and China in order to get benefits. Piracy became a lucrative business, (Ts'ao, 1979, pp. 139-145) and some rough writings and maps relating to the islands were subsequently published. Also, the relationship between the organisation of their *lungs* and the so called *lung* of the whole world was discussed. Fig. 5-8b shows

²⁰. Before 16th cent. A.D. there was little contact between China and these islands, except during the period of Mongolian rule of the majority of Asia including China, when navies were despatched to attack Japan on two separate occasions in 1280 and 1281, and Taiwan once in 1291. (Ts'ao, 1979, pp. 111-112)

²¹. This order was lifted after 15 cent. A.D. but Japan was excluded. This did not resolve the problems of piracy and smuggling because the exchange of goods between China and Japan was much more important than that between China and any other places. (Ts'ao, 1979, p. 138)

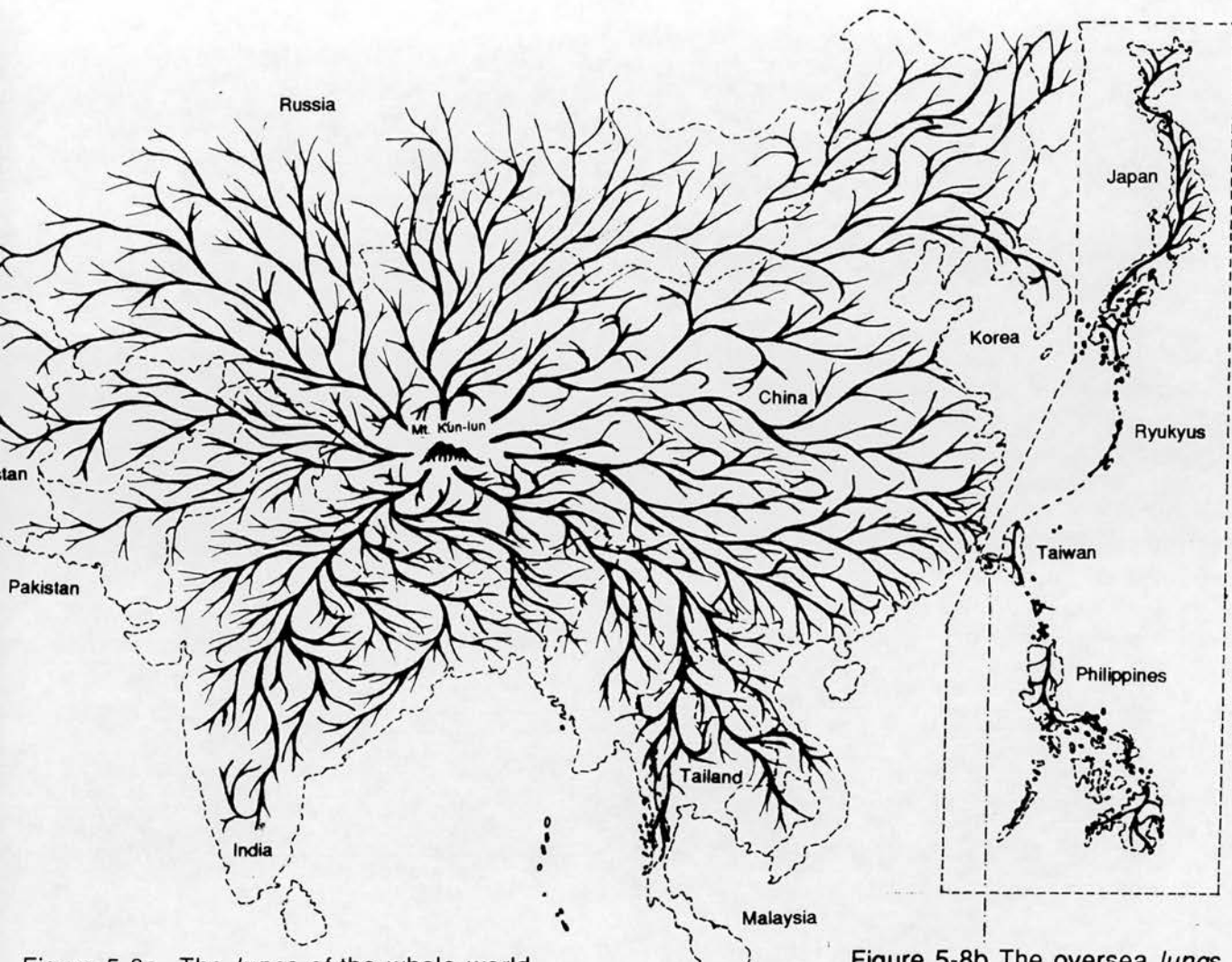


Figure 5-8a The *lungs* of the whole world

(drawn with reference to the description of Yang, ca. 9th cent. A.D., Cheng, ca. 1560)

Figure 5-8b The overseas *lungs*

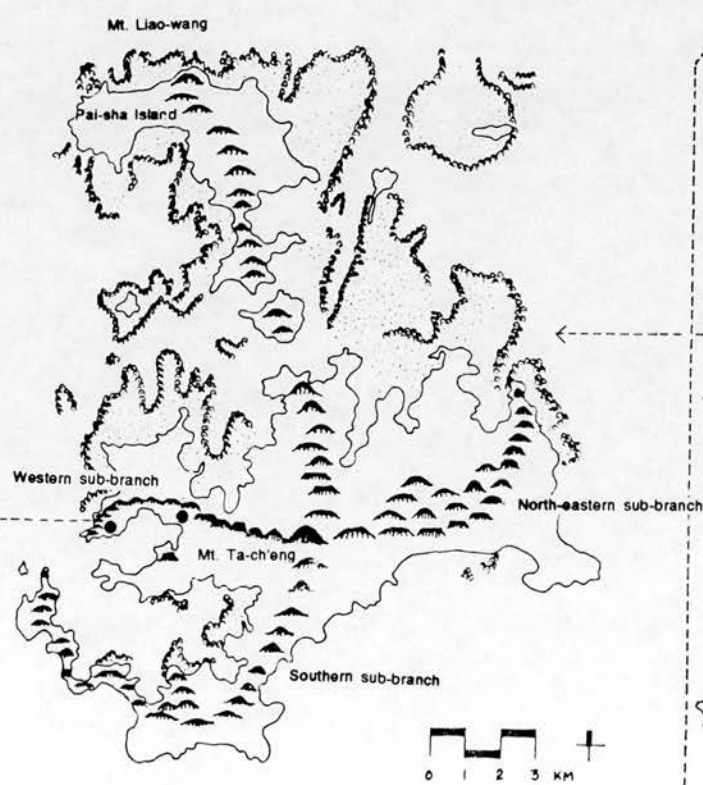
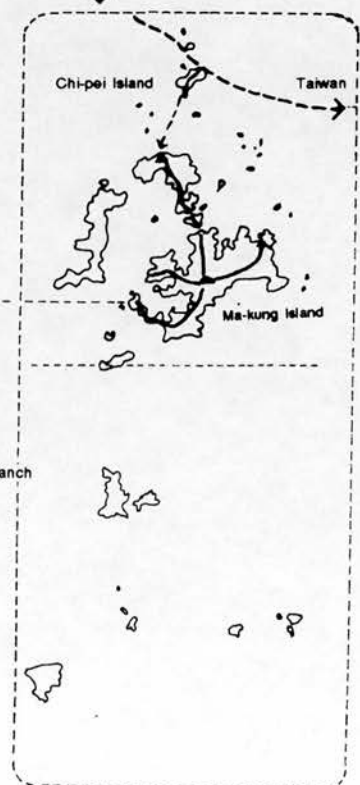


Figure 5-8c The *lungs* of the P'eng-hu Archipelago
(drawn with reference to the description of Lin, 1893)

the conclusions or citations recorded in the publication of Cheng Shun-kung (鄭舜功) who visited Japan in around 1560 A.D. and it is possible that this version was popularly accepted: according to his record, the *lungs* of the islands of south-eastern and north-eastern Asia were all derived from the south-eastern main branch of the *lung* of the whole world. It was thought that this branch first ran across the Taiwan strait to P'eng-hu Archipelago from a mountain named Ch'ing-yuan (清源山), near Ch'uan-chou, one of the biggest harbour cities of Fu-chien Province, then on to Taiwan Island. From there, it separated into two sub-branches, one running south-west to the Philippines, another north-east to the Ryukyus and then on to Japan. (Cheng, ca. 1560) This seems to have been deemed accurate, although there was some disagreement over the exact place where the continental *lung* and the overseas *lung* connected. Two mountains, one named Ku (鼓山) in Wu-fu-men (五虎門) near Fu-chou, capital city and one of the biggest harbours of the province, and another named T'ai-wu (太武山) on an important island, Chin-men, near Amoy, another big harbour city in the same province, were considered as alternatives to Ch'ing-yuan. (Kao, 1696, pp. 13-14; Lin, 1893, pp. 15-16)

When P'eng-hu Archipelago was occupied by China under the Ch'ing Dynasty in 1683, some of the leading colonising officials attempted to explore its organisation in terms of *feng-shui*, in more depth. Possibly for chauvinistic reasons, they tried to instil in local people the political ideology that said that the Chinese mainland and P'eng-hu (and Taiwan Island) were a natural whole, and that they shared the exalted traditions of the rest of the Empire. The first description of the *lung* of the archipelago, which is said to be cited from an anonymous geomancer, was recorded in an official archive, *P'eng-hu Chi-lueh* (澎湖紀略), published in 1767. According to this, the parts of P'eng-hu were like the stems, leaves, and flower of a lotus: Ma-kung Island was compared to the flower, and it was here that *hsueh*, *hsueh-ch'ang*, *ming-t'ang*, and so on would be found; all other islands were leaves or *lo-ch'eng*, and Shih-chiao-tzu Yu (四角仔嶼), a small island located at the mouth of Ma-kung Wan (see Fig. 5-9 above) was considered to be a *lo-hsing*. (Hu, 1767, pp. 28-29) This first version was a rough copy of the general model of good *feng-shui* as recorded in many publications of geomancy (some cases relating to this model are shown in Fig. 5-10, also see Liao, 10th-13th cent. A.D., p. 922; Chang, 10th-13th cent. A.D., pp. 509, 924-945; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 2, p. 6), but it was much looser than its original as a result of the lack of a *shao-tsu shan*, or central place and origin



Shih-chao-tzu Yu

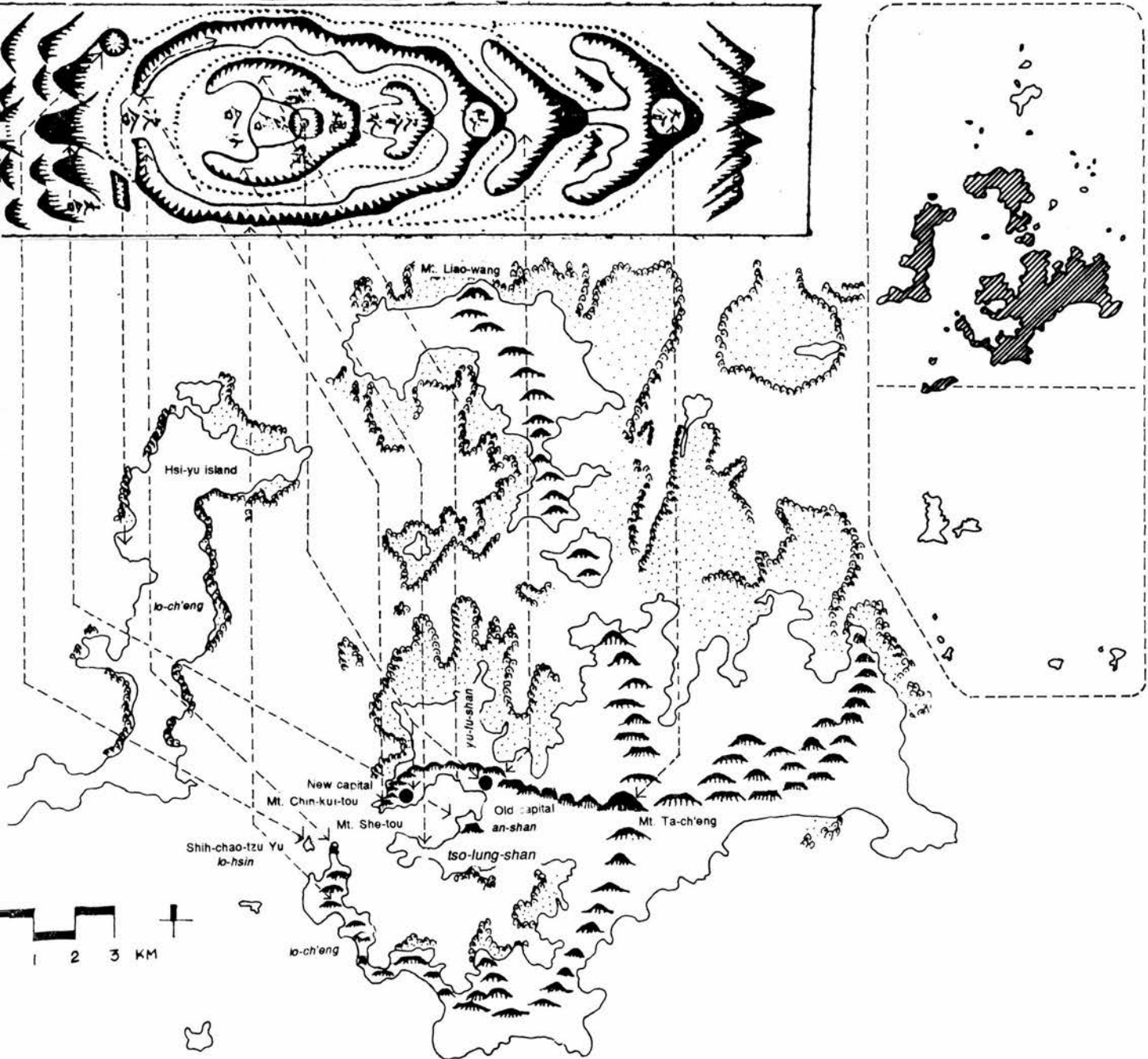


Figure 5-9 An analysis of the *feng-shui* of P'eng-hu Archipelago

▲蓮花結穴格



上地在彭澤九都土名橋亭。其龍來至鳴水山。過遠不。論。至計家。嶺。領。起。御。屏。柄。閃。數。節。橫。列。大。帳。中。峰。獨。聳。福。儲。又。數。節。入。首。列。三。台。中。台。推。出。正。體。太。陽。金。星。開。口。結。穴。穴。間。平。坦。左。右。包。裹。重。疊。取。作。蓮。花。形。花。心。穴。穴。下。餘。氣。鋪。壇。明。堂。橫。聚。近。案。順。水。拜。伏。

為謝恩領職。外洋諸峰。如掛榜。如天馬。文筆。席帽。前應。後照。齊全。水口。獅象。捍門。(水口。間。兩。山。對。峙。曰。捍。門。)繞青龍。纏玄武。諸吉。咸備。真全美之好地也。故葬。後。曾。尚。書。以。武。功。封。侯。九。代。官。祿。未。絕。

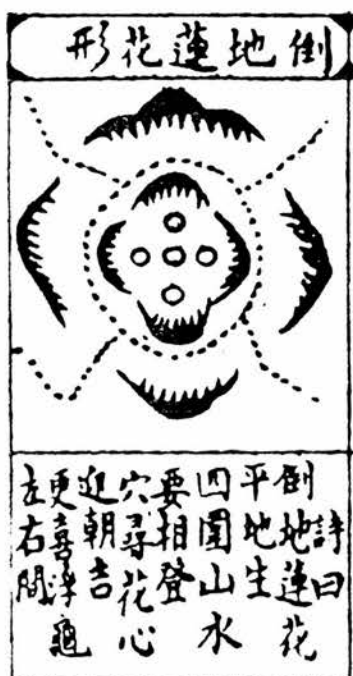


Figure 5-10 Four cases named after the lotus recorded in writings of geomancy (after Chang, 10th-13th cent.; Fo, 1927)

of *ch'i*, in its system. Also, it was presented in a very vague and uncertain manner -- probably because P'eng-hu was an archipelago whereas the theory of *feng-shui* had been established by the Mountain Form School with a continent in mind. The landscape of P'eng-hu was so different that it was hard to apply the theory directly.

A second account was established around 120 years later and is recorded in another official archive, *P'eng-hu T'ing-chih* (澎湖廳志), published in 1893 and edited by a famous scholar, Li Hao. This was not only much more systematic but also connected the *lung* of the archipelago with overseas ones. Its conclusions, as shown in Fig. 5-8c, are as followings. The branch of the south-eastern *lung* of the whole world first emerged in Chi-pei Island, of the P'eng-hu Archipelago, having been concealed for around 170 km under the Taiwan strait. Its main branch kept running to Taiwan whilst one of its sub-branches ran under the sea again for around 6 km in a north south direction and emerged at Mt. Liao-wang (瞭望山, also called Mt. Yen-tun, 煙墩山) located at the northern seashore of Pai-sha Island. This place was described as the *ti* (蒂, literally the sepal of the flower, the place of *ju-shou* or *shu-ch'i*) of the *lung* of the archipelago. The *lung* kept running from north to south for around 14 km until it reached Mt. Ta-ch'eng (大城山, also called Mt. Kung-pei, 拱北山). This was considered the *shao-tsu shan*, the junior ancestral mountain, of all *lungs* of the archipelago; in other words, it was the central mountain and origin of *ch'i* for the islands. From the mountain, the *lung* divided into three sub-branches. One, the southern sub-branch, first ran south to So-kang Village and Wu-te Village, then turned west to Shih-li Village and ended up in Feng-kui Village. Another, the north-eastern sub-branch, first ran east to Lin-t'ou (林投) Village then turned north-east to Hu-tung Village and Hu-hsi Village, and finally ended up in Pei-liao (北寮) Village. The final, western, sub-branch first ran west to the old capital of the archipelago, Tung-wen (東文), and hsi-wen (西文) Village, then in the same direction to the new capital, Ma-kung Town. (Lin, 1893, p. 16)

An analysis of the *feng-shui* of the two capitals of P'eng-hu Archipelago on Ma-kung Island was recorded in the same archive and is shown in Fig. 5-9. This held that the western sub-branch of *lung* which ran west from Mt. Ta-ch'eng to the rear of the old capital then on to the new one, was the source of *ch'i* of both capitals. A lower, flatter mountain to the south-west of the old capital was their *an-shan* (literally table mountain). Two peninsulas, on their south-western and north-western sides, were deemed to be their *tso-lung shan* (dragon mountain of

the left hand side), and *yu-fu shan* (tiger mountain of the right hand side) respectively. Hsi-yu Island and the southern part of Ma-kung Island were considered as their *lo-ch'engs* (city walls on four sides). A small island, Shih-chiao-tzu Yu, located in the mouth of Ma-kung Wan was considered a *lo-hsing*, and a tower was constructed on it by local gentry in 1871 so that it conformed better to the ideal shape. This tower was pulled down and replaced by barracks during a war in 1885, which was in turn destroyed in the course of the same war. (Hu, 1767, p. 28; Lin, 1893, pp. 23, 28) A mountain named Mt. Chin-kui-t'ou (literally, Mt. golden head of turtle) at the western side of Ma-kung Town, and another called She-t'ou shan (literally, Mt. head of snake) opposite it across the sea -- both mentioned in the last chapter as a miracle wrought by the God named great Emperor of the Ultimate North -- were considered as *hen-weis* (捍衛). All this implied that both capitals were located at *hsueh-ch'angs*, namely, the best places for *feng-shui* of P'eng-hu Archipelago. (Lin, 1893, pp. 13-17)

(3). The influence of *feng-shui* upon the spatial organisation of individual buildings

Because of the limitations of the archipelago in terms of weather, water resources, and flat terrain; as well as other pragmatic needs of local people, land ownership patterns and so on, it was very difficult to settle in many places which were fully consistent with the conditions for good *feng-shui*. Instead, under the direction of intellectuals and craftsmen, certain elements of the theory were separately employed as instruments for deciding the spatial organisation of buildings themselves -- temples, official buildings, the local school, and rich men's houses -- in order to fulfil the psychological needs of local people. Because of the lack of field investigation about this, there are only a few examples that have been explored, their situations are shown in Fig. 5-11. The orientation of the three most important buildings in Ma-kung Town: the new official head-quarters (Case 1), the local school (Case 2), and T'ien-hou Kung (a temple to the Sea Goddess, Case 3), and that of Shui-hsien Kung (水仙宮, a village temple to the Five Water Immortals, Case 4) on Ta-Ts'ang Island, were decided by regarding the peaks of Mt. Hsiao-an (小案山) in Ts'e-t'ien (測天島) Island as their *an-shan* and Mt. Sha-mao (紗帽山) near Shih-li Village as their *ch'ao-shan*. Also, because Mt. Sha-mao was flat, under the lead of one head of the local military, Li Wen-lan (李文瀾), people constructed a stone corn on

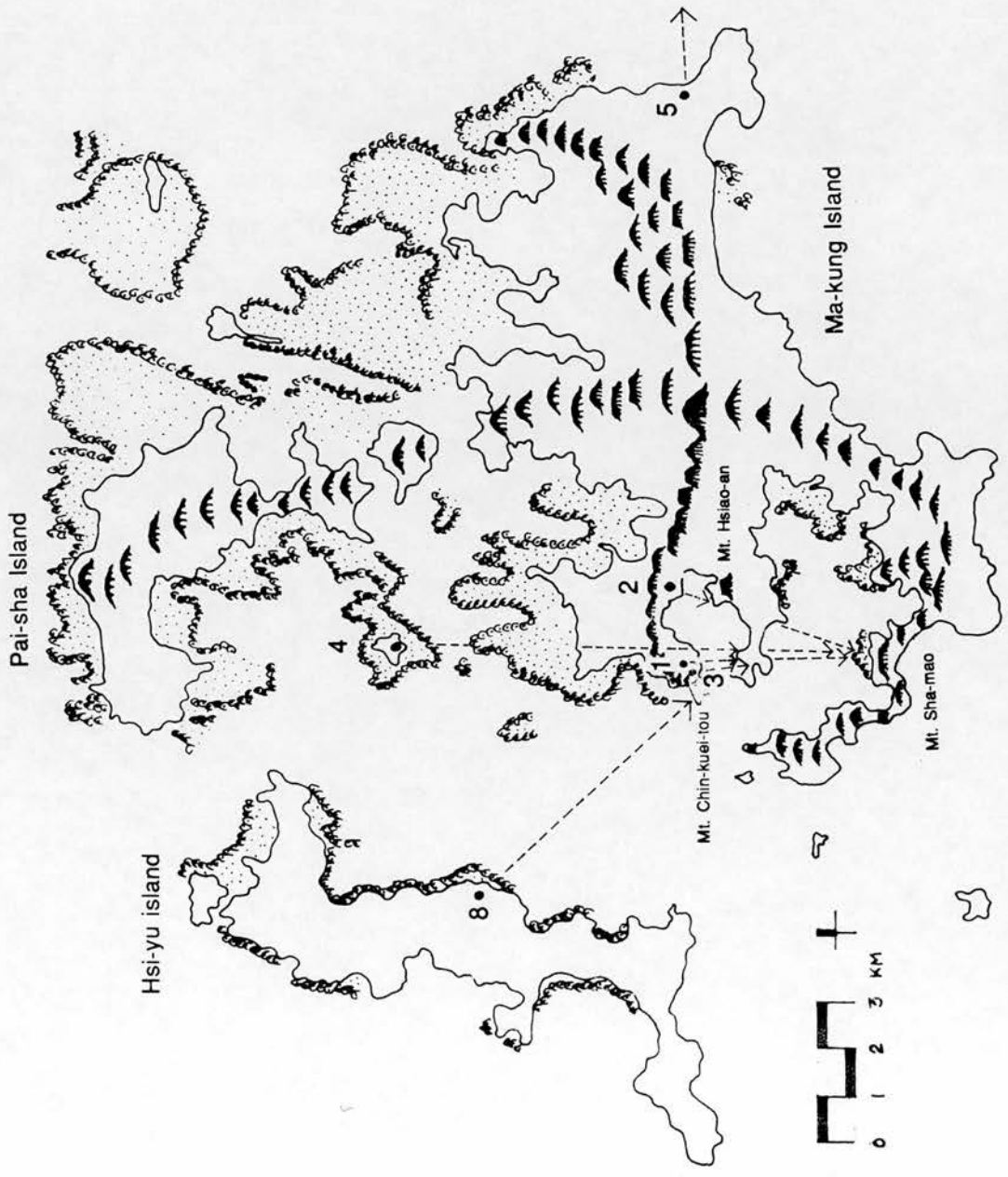
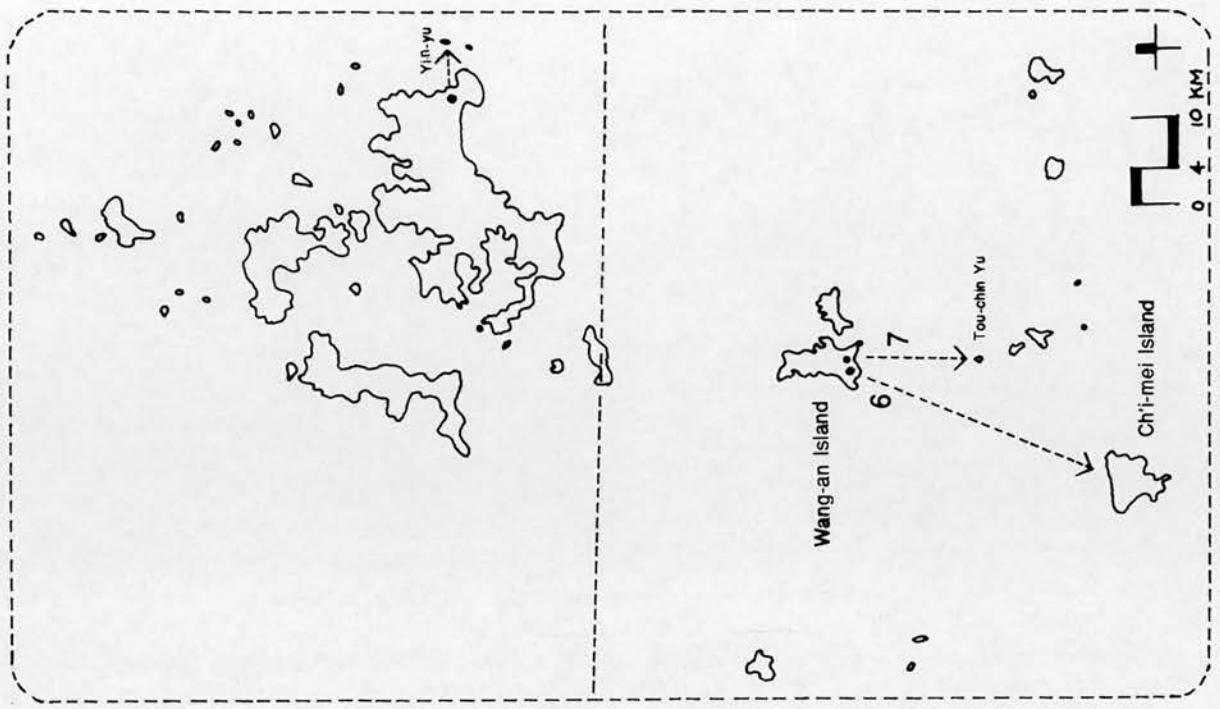


Figure 5-11 Eight cases influenced by Mountain Form School of feng-shui

its top in around 1800 A.D., so that it conformed to the ideal shape. The orientation of Pai-chi Tien (北極殿, a village temple to the Great Emperor of the Ultimate North, Case 5) of Kuo-yeh Village on Ma-kung Island was decided by looking at Yin-Yu (陰嶼, a small island) as its *an-shan*. Chung-kung (中宮, Case 6) and Hsien-shih Kung (仙史宮, Case 7), the two village temples dedicated to Wang-yeh in the same village, Tung-an, on Wang-an Island were positioned with reference to Ch'i-mei Island (the former) and T'ou-chin Yu (頭巾嶼, the latter) as their *an-shans*. The courtyard house of the Ch'en brothers, two rich medicine dealers (Case 8), in Erh-k'an Village on Hsi-yu Island, was placed by looking at Mt. Chin-kui-t'ou as its *ch'ao-shan*.²² (Lin, 1893, pp. 18-19; Kuan, 1984, p. 80; G. I. B. P., 1983, p. 38; Han-kuang, 1991, p. 18)

Apart from these, the location and orientation of no less than 14 other temples on the archipelago were also decided by referring to some elements of this theory: this fact was recorded in inscriptions on stone tablets. (see Ts'ai, 1987, pp. 401-439) The belief in the theory was so strong that Wu-miao, one of the most important temples in Ma-kung Town was rebuilt in a new place in 1697 A.D. because it was thought that the bad *feng-shui* of its old location prevented the power of the god to whom the temple was dedicated from being fully present, which accounted for the unsatisfactory number of visitors, and, all important, the small quantity of donations. (Liang, 1893, p. 446)

There were many legends about *feng-shui* on the islands. A ridge of hill in the middle of Hsi-yu Island was believed to be the *lung* of that island. A place under a mountain named Kuan-yin (觀音山) in the north, and the location of a temple named Ma-tsu Kung (媽祖宮) in Nei-an Village, of the same island, were considered as *hsuehs*. In the sea facing a low valley on the west coast of this village, there were some reefs that pointed like arrows towards the village, and this was believed to be a symbol of bad *feng-shui*. On the suggestion of an anonymous geomancer a local head man called Lu-lun (呂論) and a group of young villagers constructed two stone towers named *t'a-kung* (塔公, tower of granddad) and *t'a-p'o* (塔婆, tower of grandma) and two stone walls 150 m long, 2 m high, and 1 m thick each: one connecting the towers, the other to the north of *t'a-kung*. This construction was started in 1843, and finished between six months and a year later. (Huang, 1989, pp. 76-77)

22. Originally, this house was to have been constructed on a neighbouring plot called *niu-chi hsueh*, 牛臍穴 literally the cow's navel *hsueh*. But, this proposal was given up in spite of the good *feng-shui* because of strong wind. (Han-kuang, 1991, p. 18)

In the middle of Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island, there is a hill shaped like a round bench; this was considered to be *fa-hsin*, literally the "core" of a flower -- a local name for a *hsueh* -- and regarded as the origin of *ch'i* of the village. As such it was deemed holy ground by villagers, and scooping soil, constructing buildings, or cutting wood on it was strictly prohibited. (see Fig. 5-17) Because of it, the village was called *fa-t'ai* (花胎, literally the "womb" of a flower) -- a local name equal to *hsueh-ch'ang* -- before the present name was adopted. (G. I. B. P., 1982, p. 59; Lin, 1988, pp. 139-166)

There was a well inside the local school of Ma-kung Town, excavated in 1767, with water of the best quality; this was believed to be located at the best point of the western *lung* on the archipelago. (Hu, 1767, p. 46; Lin, 1893, p. 20) Also, a mountain called Ch'ing-lo (青螺山) was believed to be a part of the north-eastern *lung*, consequently, nobody dared to excavate coal inside it. (Lin, 1893, p. 348)

(4). The human body as an instrument for the interpretation of *feng-shui*

From the very beginnings of the theory of *feng-shui* at the Mountain Form School, the image of the human body, the relationship between the two genders, and the differences between their figures and the functions of their organs were borrowed as a means of interpreting the landscape. (see Kuo, ca. 276-324, p. 93; Ts'ai, 11th-12th cent., p. 75) The reason for this was probably that the human body was so influential a part of traditional Han philosophies -- early geomancers attempted to strike up a relationship with some of these popular philosophies in order to increase the persuasiveness of their theories. One of the earliest and most respected philosophies was that of Tao, which was mentioned in Chapter 3. This used the human body as an analogy for the formation of the cosmos (see Yi-ching, Liu-an, Shang-shu, Li-chi, etc. as recorded in the Reference of the essay), and some of its ideas were transferred to the new theory. Many societies have adopted the human body and its functions as a means of interpreting their environment simply because it is so familiar and accessible to people. (see Rykwert, 1988, pp. 168-192; Eliade, 1957, p. 38; 1964, p. 264; Douglas, 1966, p. 115)

With regard to *feng-shui*, the widespread application of the analogy probably stemmed from the publication of an important book from the Mountain Form School entitled *Hsueh-hsin-fu* (雪心賦), by P'u Tse-wei (卜則巍),

ostensibly written between 7th and 9th cent. A.D. (it is actually believed to have been written by Chu-hsi, 1130-1200 A.D., a famous Confucian). Because of its orderly presentation and fluent and vivid style, this book attracted numerous readers. Thereafter, the human body and its organs became standard metaphors in writings issuing from this school. The most popular ones were as follows. The organisation of a *lung* was equated to the system of muscles and veins of the body; a *hsueh-ch'ang* was seen as the round womb of a pregnant woman; a *hsueh* was her vulva; the *shas*, her labia (because descriptions of women's genitals were taboo in traditional societies, these were sometimes presented indirectly by another metaphor, that of a flower, see Section 2-1); the *tso-lung shan* and the *yu-fu shan* were the two arms or legs of a person; the *le-shan* was the head; and the connective point between a *lung* and a *hsueh-ch'ang* was the intercourse between the genitals of a man and a woman. (P'u, *ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 1-10; vol. 2, pp. 2-13; vol. 3, pp. 3-4; An, ca. 1574, vol. 6, p. 9; Han, 1983, p. 135)

This was then extended by geomancers of a later period to include the spatial organisation of a courtyard house: an atrium was the head of a person, its two side rooms the shoulders; and the wing houses the hands. (see Fig. 5-12a) If there were many pairs of wing houses in a courtyard house, all of them were described as hands. (see Fig. 5-12b; Fo, *ibid*, part 1, vol. 1, p. 17; part 2, vol. 3, p. 1; Kuan, 1989, p. 39) Consequently, a regular cluster in the village of P'eng-hu was described as an ordered group of people with their two hands extended straight forward, as shown in Fig. 5-13.

3. Auspicious scales and craftsmen's regulations

An other influential factor upon the spatial organisation of local buildings was the villagers belief that when it came to the scales of some important spaces and elements of their buildings, certain dimensions were more auspicious than others, and also, for a building to bring greatest good fortune to its inhabitants or users, it should be constructed with deference to certain special regulations drawn up by craftsmen.

(1). Auspicious scales

The people of P'eng-hu Archipelago believed that in constructing a building certain scales were more auspicious than others. Consequently, once the building type had been chosen (in fact, according to my investigation, in the P'eng-hu

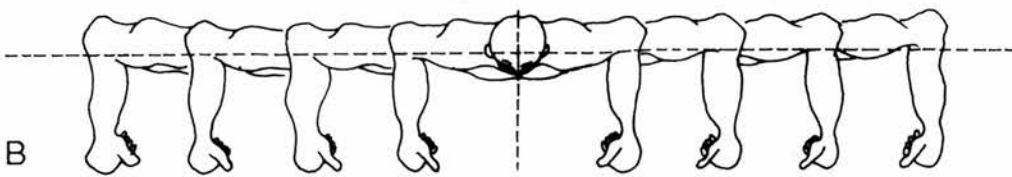


Figure 5-12 A house as a symbol of a human body

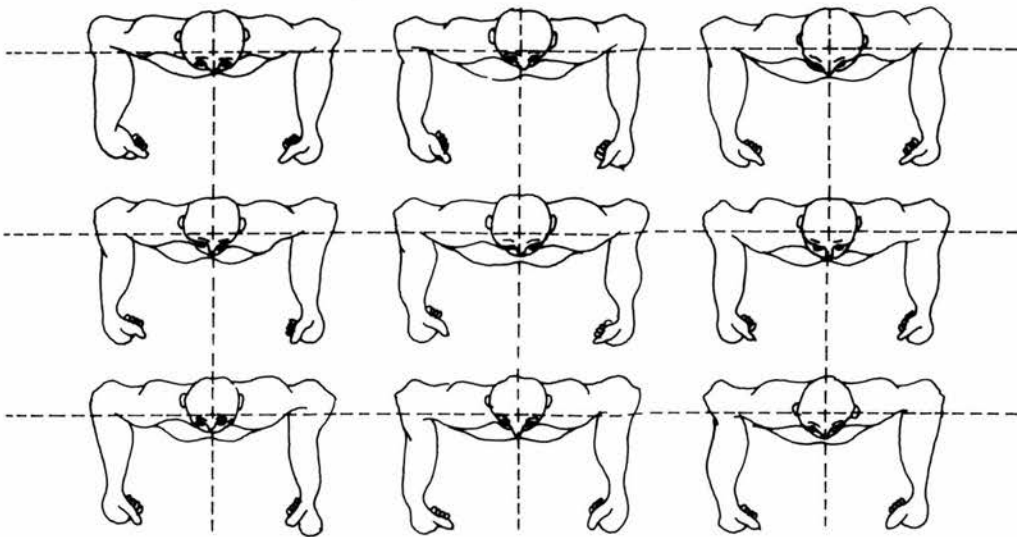


Figure 5-13 A cluster as the symbol of a group of people

societies, there were only a few similar models to choose between, see Chapter 1-5) and the scales of some of the important spaces and elements of their building had been roughly decided, a craftsman of P'eng-hu, either a professional or an amateur,²³ would write down these measurements using a measuring rod called a *t'ai-ch'ih* (台尺).²⁴ The basic unit of this was called a *ch'ih* (尺, literally, a foot), one of which was 29.96 cm long, and composed of 10 *ts'uns* (寸, literally, inches): one *ts'un* was equal to 2.996 cm.²⁵ Next, they used three methods to check them for auspiciousness.

The first method was called *ts'un-pai fa*, 寸白法 literally, the method of *ts'un-pai*. This was applied to check the total length and width of a building and the dimensions of all its rooms, the height of the ridge pole of its atrium, and the difference in height between the courtyard and the atrium floor. (Chang, 1991, pp. 105, 133, 155, 179). The principles of this method were as follows. First, there were nine terms arranged into a cycle, like a wheel of fortune; two of them were most auspicious, two good, and the rest inauspicious. Each of the terms represented one *ts'un*, so that the full circle was equal to nine *ts'uns*. Second, the orientations of a building were divided into 8 categories with reference to the cardinal points. Third, there were two sets of instructions, one called *t'ien-fu* (literally, father of heaven) *kua* (天父卦) for checking vertical scales, that is the height of buildings, another called *ti-mu* (literally, mother of

23. Before 1893, there were only a few professional craftsmen on the three biggest islands: Ma-kung, Pai-sha, and Hsi-yu, that is to say, the majority of buildings on other islands and some of those on the three biggest ones were constructed by local people themselves under the supervision of amateur craftsmen. (Lin, 1988, p. 206; Lu, 1989, p. 50)

24. Because their building types were fixed, in the traditional societies of Taiwan, except for when constructing bigger temples, or providing special details for the houses of rich families, craftsmen did not draw designs and working figures.

25. A thorough survey of the important scales of the majority of the 151 traditional courtyard houses in Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island made by the writer and colleagues in 1981 showed that the general total length and width of a house were around 34 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* (ca. 1035 cm) by 36 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* to 46 *ch'ih* (ca. 1095 cm to 1380 cm). The general area of their courtyard was 15 *ch'ih* (ca. 450 cm) by 10 *ch'ih* (ca. 300 cm), the height of their atrium from the ground to the bottom of the ridge pole was around 13 *ch'ih* (ca. 390 cm), that of the front eaves of the wing houses around 7 *ch'ih* 7 *ts'un* (ca. 230 cm). The majority of their outer doors was around 6 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* (ca. 195 cm) high by 3 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* (ca. 100 cm) wide, atrium doors around 7 *ch'ih* 2 *ts'un* (ca. 216 cm) high by 3 *ch'ih* 6 *ts'un* (ca. 108 cm) wide, side doors were 5 *ch'ih* 8 *ts'un* (ca. 174 cm) high by 2 *ch'ih* 2 *ts'un* (ca. 66 cm) wide. (Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982 (1), pp. 42-48; (2), pp. 26-35)

earth) *kua* (地母卦) for horizontal scales, or the length and width. These two indicated their different starting points on the "wheel" of different orientations. Fourth, from their assigned starting points, moving in a clock-wise direction, the numbers of auspicious, good, and inauspicious *ts'un*s amongst the nine for each of the eight directions of building would be explored. (Hsu, 1983, pp. 71-85)

If the total length, width, and height of the ridge pole of the atrium were unfortunate enough to be found to be inauspicious, then, the local craftsmen would adjust them. This, was not in fact a difficult task because the distance between auspicious and inauspicious scales was no bigger than 4 *ts'un* (ca. 12 cm). If the dimensions of rooms were inauspicious, the craftsmen would either adjust the location of interior walls, or if the scales were just a little bit out, change their thickness. (according to the survey of Chung-she Village made by myself and colleagues, the thickness of an interior wall was around 1 *ch'ih* 2 *ts'un*, namely 36 cm, and that of an exterior wall was around 1 *ch'ih* 3 *ts'un*, namely 40 cm). (Chang, 1991, p. 133; Lin, Hsu, and Hsu, 1982(2), pp. 26-35)

When it came to temples, not only the *ts'un*s, but also the *ch'ih*s of the above-mentioned dimensions were required to be auspicious because they were the most important buildings to villagers. The principles of checking the auspiciousness of *ch'ih*s was the same as that for *ts'un* except that the nine terms in the "wheel" and the starting point of both height and length of the different eight directions were different. This variation was called *ch'ih-pai fa*, 尺白法 literally, the method of *ch'ih-pai*. The solutions for inauspicious scales of *ch'ih* were similar to those for *ts'un*. According to an interview with local craftsmen, almost all the main scales of the important temples in Ma-kung Town including T'ien-hou Kung and Wu-miao, and those of the village temples in the rural areas of P'eng-hu Archipelago had been checked by both *ch'ih-pai fa* and *ts'un-pai fa*.

The second method for determining auspicious scales was called *pu-fa* (步法) literally the method of *pu*. This was applied by local craftsmen to decide the width and length of the courtyard and platforms in front of the main building and of the wing houses. A "*pu*" was a measure of length used by traditional Han societies, one of which was around 4 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* or 135 cm. Local craftsmen believed that 3 *pus* (ca. 405 cm), 5 *pus* (ca. 675 cm), 9 *pus* (ca. 1215 cm), and 11 *pus* (ca. 1485 cm) were the auspicious scales for the above spaces (some craftsmen believed that 8 *pus*, ca. 1080 cm was good as well). All others sizes

under 11 *pus* (generally, the spaces in question were no bigger than 11 *pus*) were inauspicious -- and these were strictly prohibited from being adopted. (Chuang, 1991; Hung, 1991) This method was applied in almost all the courtyard houses and temples of the archipelago.

Some smaller scales were checked by two kinds of measure: *men-kung ch'ih* (門公尺) and *ting-lan ch'ih* (丁蘭尺). These comprise the third method. These were generally marked either side of a ruler a called a *lu-pan ch'ih* (魯班尺). (see Fig. 5-14)

Men-kung ch'ih was used by local craftsmen to check the auspicious length, width, and height of doors, windows, the god's table and statues, other furniture, and religious implements. One *men-kung ch'ih*, which measured 42.76 cm, was divided into a cycle of eight sub-units, each of which was 5.345 cm. Of the eight, four were auspicious, the other four were not. All scales of the above objects had to be consistent with the auspicious four by continuously repeating the measure one *ch'ih* after another.

Ting-lan ch'ih was used to check the length, height, and width of tombs and ancestral tablets. One *ting-lan ch'ih*, 30.81 cm, was divided into a cycle of 10 sub-units, each of which was 3.081 cm. Of these, 6 were auspicious, and the other 4 were not; the scale of tombs and tablets had to be consistent with these auspicious six in exactly the same way as a door did to the four of the *men-kung ch'ih*. (Lin, 1987, p. 35; Chang, 1991, pp. 152, 163)

(2). Craftsmen's regulations

The basic three dimensional spatial framework of traditional buildings on P'eng-hu Archipelago was not much different from those of any other culture: it consisted of three or four rectangular units, each unit composed of vertical walls with doors and windows on its four sides, pitched roofs, and so on. For easy learning, the process of construction was formalised into a set of regulations. 17 of those directly related to spatial details which had auspicious and inauspicious meanings attached to them.²⁶ These, as mentioned below, according to a report of Chang who have conducted a fieldwork in 1991 (Ibid, 1991), were strictly respected by local craftsmen, and consequently created the spatial character of the buildings of the P'eng-hu Archipelago. (Han, 1987, pp. 5-55; Wu, 1983,

26. There were 28 regulations to be imposed with auspicious and inauspicious meanings, but 11 of them were not related to spatial aspects.

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Figure 5-14 A *men-kung ch'ih* (above) and a *ting-lan ch'ih* (below)

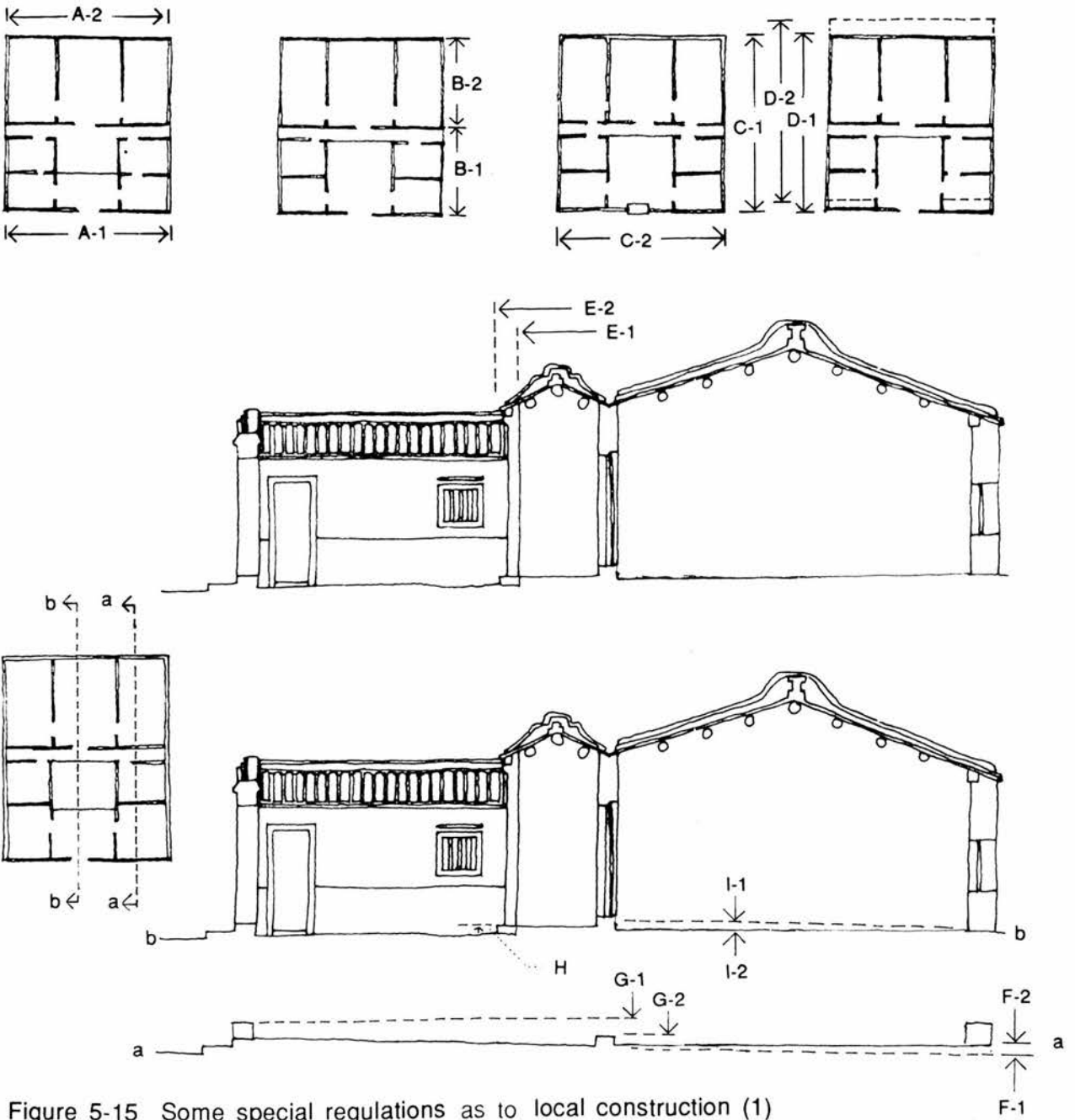


Figure 5-15 Some special regulations as to local construction (1)

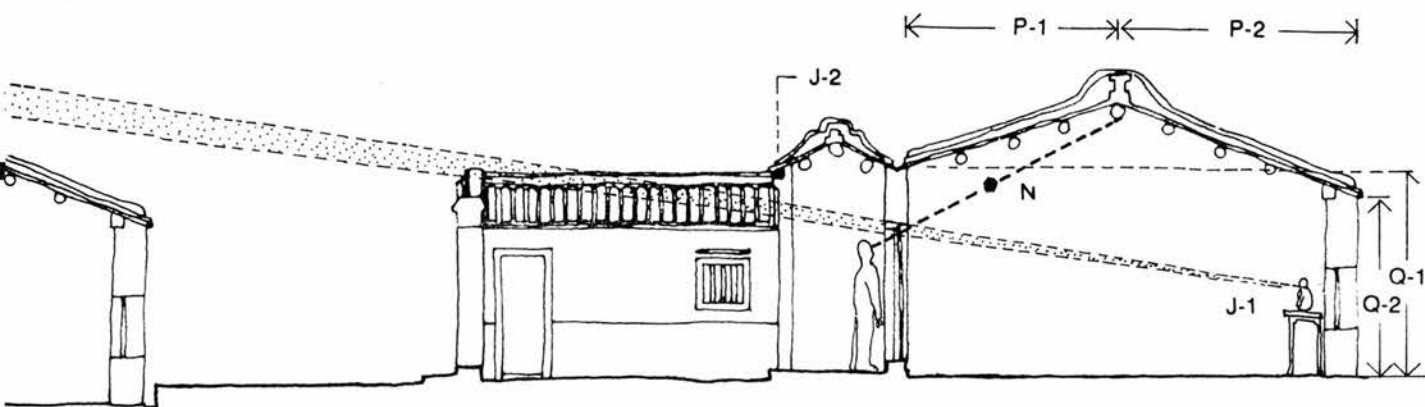
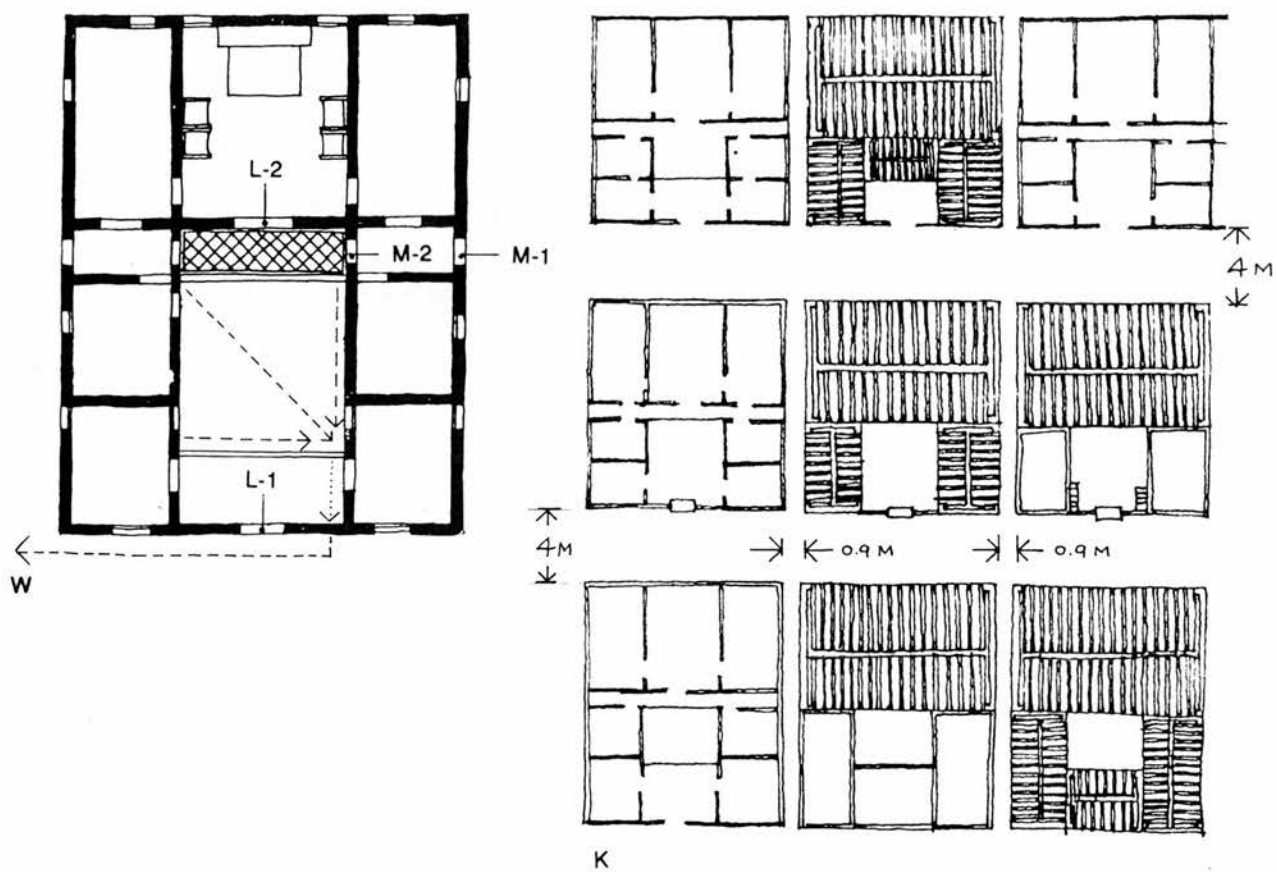


Figure 5-16 Some special regulations as to local construction (2)

vol. 1, p. 6; Hsu, 1983, pp. 71-85; Chang, 1991, pp. 103-106, 163-165, 226)

In the section of regulations relating to the plan of foundations of a building, it was believed that the following five conditions had to be respected. (compare the following sentences and Figure 5-15 and Fig. 5-16 by referring to the letter and number in brackets.). The total width of the front side (A-1) had to be no bigger than the rear side (A-2); the width of the wing houses (B-1) had to be larger than the depth of the main hall (B-2); and the total depth (C-1) of a house had to be larger than its total width (C-2). If a house was re-built, the new one (D-1) had to be moved forward a little bit from the old one (D-2). Also, the area of the front platform (E-1) of a house had to be smaller than the area of cover of its roof (E-2). (Chang, 1991, pp. 103-104, 106)

In the section on the height of foundations, it was believed that the following four measurement were necessary. The floor height of the atrium of a courtyard house (F-1) had to be higher than that of its wing houses (F-2) (the reason for this has been mentioned in Chapter 3-2); the height of the threshold of the outer door or that of the front hall (G-1) had to be higher than that of the atrium (G-2); the height difference between a courtyard and the floor of the front platform of the atrium had to be no less than 5 *ts'un* (ca. 15 cm) and no more than 1 *ch'ih* (ca. 30 cm) (H); and the height of the floor in the rear part of an atrium (I-1) had to be higher than at the front (I-2). (Ibid, pp. 104-105)

In the section specifying details of foundations, one measurement had to be respected: the drains of a building had to be assembled so that water flowed from the front of the left hand side of a house, to the right hand side along the front edge of the foundations, and finally left the house (W). (Ibid, p. 106)

There were six regulations relating to walls and doors. From the point 4 *ch'ih* 2 *ts'uns* (ca. 126 cm) up on the central axis of the rear wall inside the atrium of a courtyard house -- this being the location of the eyes of the god's statues and the middle or the top of the ancestral tablets -- the sky had to be visible (J-1), but the front eaves board of the atrium had to be hidden (J-2). This stipulation of the former (namely J-1) was called *chien-pai* (見白) or seeing light, and arrangements which violated the latter (namely J-2) were described as *yao-chien* (咬劍) or holding a sword in the mouth (of a lion). Also, no new construction was allowed to be attached to the outer walls of any old building; the new ones had to keep a certain distance (ca. 4 m away from other front or rear wall, or 0.9 m from side walls). If this was disregarded, it was

termed *pei-lo-k'uang* or bearing a basket, implying that the burden of the family would be increased (see Chapter 3-4-1) (K). The outer doors of a house (L-1) had to be smaller than the interior doors (L-2); outer side doors (M-1) had to be smaller than inner side doors (M-2). Also, three doors were not allowed to be arranged in a straight line, and the ridge pole, hanging lights, and the inner bottom of the lintel of the main door of an atrium had to be constructed in a slope (N). (Ibid, pp. 163-165)

There was also a regulation concerning the roof: the horizontal length of its front slope (P-1) had to be shorter than that of its rear one (P-2); and the height of eaves of the former (Q-1) had to be greater than that of the latter (Q-2). (Ibid, p. 226)

(3). The practice of construction

Constructing courtyard houses was an integral part of the day to day lives of the villagers of P'eng-hu. Local people generally used part of their leisure times to gather fully grown coral reef, cutting it into cubes around 50 cm by 25 cm by 15 cm, then piling these up around vegetable gardens as temporary wind-break walls.²⁷ Two to three, or ideally seven to eight, years later, these would become calcified and the salt inside diluted by the action of rain and wind, and as such, an ideal building material. (Chang, 1991, p. 130)

When it was decided to construct a new house -- this generally happened when an old family divided into several new ones because some or all of the sons had grown up and married, but also depended upon having enough money (this might last a whole generation, Wang, 1987, p. 117) -- families who lived on the three biggest islands (Ma-kung, Hsi-yu, and Pai-sha) would purchase or order timbers, logs, bricks, and tiles from one of the 3 or 4 building materials stores in Ma-kung Town. (Hu, 1767, p. 44) Those who lived on the other islands generally commissioned sailors from the boats which sailed across the Taiwan strait to purchase and transport their materials from south-east China. This might take some months or even as long as a year. There is an example of this; when the committee of Pei-chi Tien (北極殿) on Ma-kung Town attempted

27. This marine resource is available in massive quantities grown around the sea-shore of the archipelago; anybody who chooses can gather it. In the archipelago, coral is most abundant in the shallow areas of sea in the west of Pai-sha Island and the north of Ma-kung Island, some people who lived near there even gathered and sold them as a way of making a living in the early 20th cent. A.D..

to re-construct their temple, they obtained timbers, logs, bricks, and tiles from their agent who sailed from Tung-shan Island (東山島) of Fu-chien province.²⁸ This was achieved in a matter of months, and it was said that so short a period of time was the result of help from the god to whom the temple was dedicated. (see Ts'ai, 1987, p. 402)

At the appropriate time, the head of a family would visit a local intellectual and a craftsman to get the relevant information about the above mentioned *hsing-li*, *ch'ung*, and *pa-tzu*, and to confirm the auspicious times for the important stages in the process of construction, such as the start of digging, the erection of door frames, the laying of the ridge pole of the atrium, and so on. In addition to this, those who lived on the three biggest islands would invite a local craftsman to handle the practise of construction, and on other islands an amateur to advise on the principles regarding the framework, details, and scale of the building. Also, five or six close friends or relatives, often women because the men were busy with their routine lives, would be invited to help with moving building materials; mixing lime, sand, grass, and water; excavating the ground; cleaning the building site; making adobes; and so on. These would work under the direction of craftsmen -- in general the construction of a house needed 2 masons and 2 to 3 carpenters. (Lu, 1989, p. 50; G. I. B. P., 1982, p. 87; Chang, 1991, p. 50)

At the same time, some members of the family would be assigned to collect other necessary building materials, such as stones, slates, shells, soil, lime, and so on, which they would bring by carrying pole or oxcart from the neighbouring area. A example of this is Chung-she Village on Wang-an Island. According to my investigation made in 1980 and 1981, the villagers gathered local building materials from the places shown in Fig. 5-17. Oyster shells were collected from the rocks on the north-western sea-shore of the village, and other shells from the western, south-western, and eastern sea-shores; these were first piled beside the only lime kiln²⁹ -- in the west of the village. The shells were calcinated before the building project started to prepare them for use as a finishing surface for the walls. Broken coral reefs were gathered from the

²⁸. Generally, the building materials of temples, official buildings, and schools were much better than those for a house, they were therefore difficult to purchase from local shops.

²⁹. This lime kiln was collectively constructed by and open to all villagers.

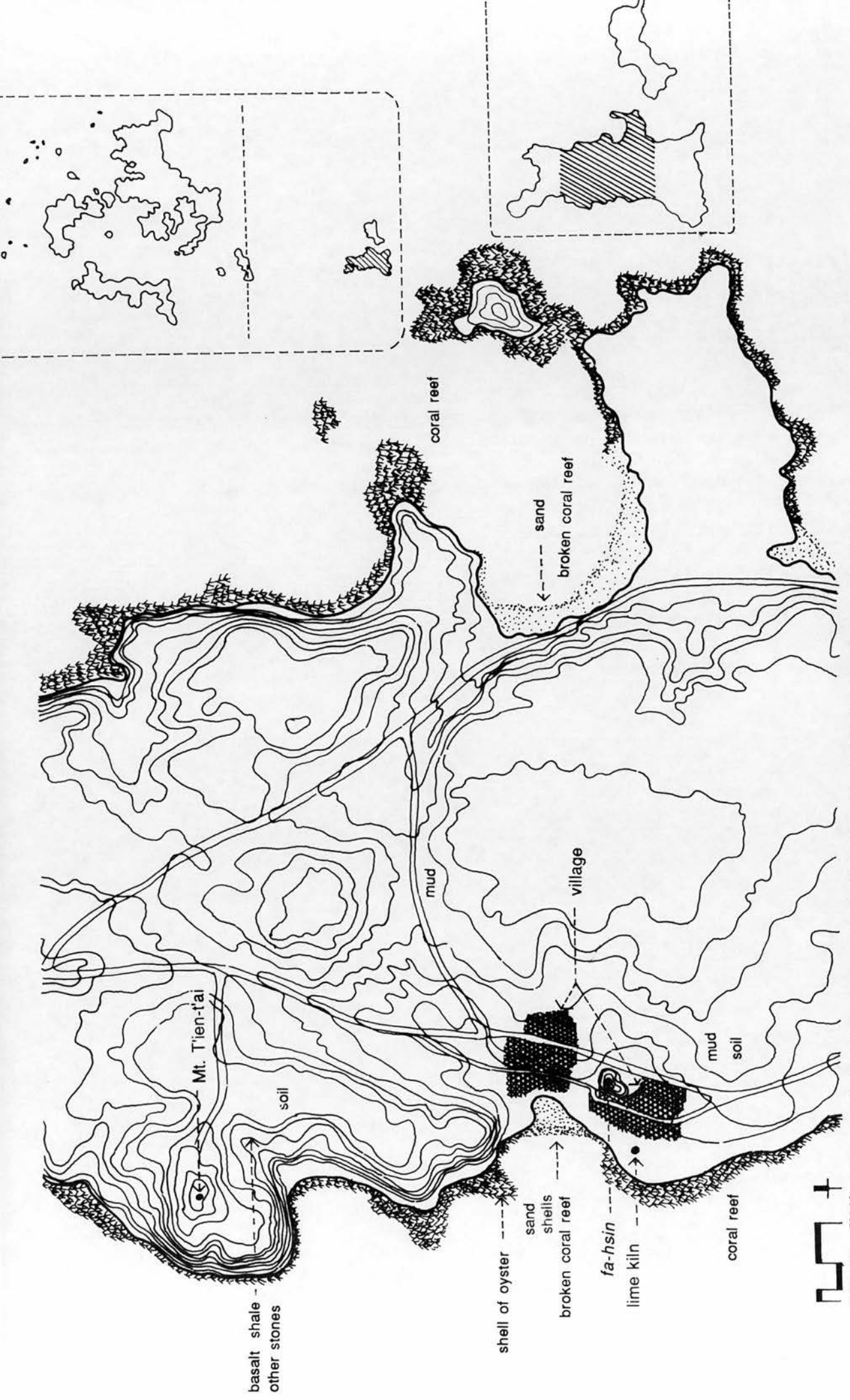


Figure 5-17 The places where the villagers of Chung-she gathered building materials (source: collected by the writer in the fieldwork of 1981)

surrounding sandy beaches, and these would become the sticky material to bind the wall after they had been calcinated as well. Basalts, shales, and other stones were cut or gathered from the sea-shore and the neighbouring areas of Mt. T'ien-t'ai to the north of the village. The former two would become the materials for the edges of the foundations, the latter that for paving -- either interior spaces, courtyards and passages to the side lanes, or roads in front of houses. Lime and sand were scooped from beaches and some areas inside the village; the former would be mixed with water to make the binding materials for the coral reef walls, also, added together in a ratio of 1 to 2 with some grass, they could be used as adobes (the blocks were about 30 cm by 36 cm by 12 to 15 cm) for interior walls. (Lin, 1989, pp. 206-207)

After all these preparations had taken place, the practice of construction would begin on a chosen auspicious day and at a chosen hour. There were three stages in the process of constructing a house. They were, in turn, the construction of the foundations; of the walls, windows, and doors; and of the roof. That of the foundations was further divided into five steps: indicating the central axis by erecting two poles connected by a string; defining the house plan on the building site; flattening the ground; excavating the foundations of the walls; and constructing the foundations of the walls. There were also five steps to building walls, windows, and doors: erecting door frames; laying walls; fixing window frames; constructing the gables of wall; and finishing the surface of walls. A roof was completed in six steps: laying logs as the main frame; nailing timbers above the logs; building the two sides of the ridges of the roof; constructing the ridges; covering timbers with soil; and covering the soil with tiles.

(4). The ceremonies of construction

The work of constructing a courtyard house of P'eng-hu Archipelago generally lasted 100 working days. (Chang, 1991, p. 50) During this period, there were at least 10 ceremonies to be held -- around one every 10 days. Before beginning the excavation of the foundations, a statue of the village god would be invited to and worshipped on the building site in order to suppress the ghosts that might escape from hell as a result of the disturbance of the soil, (see Chapter 4-3) and/or some offerings would be put on a bench to bribe Ti-chi Chus, the friendly ghost of the previous resident. Before the first stone of the foundations was allocated, the rulers, gauging trowels, and axes of the head mason, then the patron god of masons, He-yeh Hsien-shih (荷葉仙師), and Ti-

chi Chus, were worshipped in turn inside the housing plot. Next, five symbols: god's bank notes, human coins, iron nails, five kinds of grain, and charcoal would be buried in the four corners of the house. After the last of the edging stones of the floor of the atrium were fixed, another set of the same symbols would be buried at the front point of the axis of the atrium. The above three ceremonies were hosted by the head mason. (Ibid, pp. 89-102)

On completion of the foundations, a piece of tile or slate with the following contents inscribed on it: the method and date of acquisition and the price of the housing plot, the orientation of the house, and the times of the ceremonies of construction, would be buried on the axis to the end of the atrium in order to inform the ghosts of the previous owner, namely Ti-chi Chus, that this place had been taken over by someone new. This ceremony was hosted by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, or a *t'ung-chi*.

After all the door frames had been fixed, a table with some offerings on it would be put in the courtyard for the relevant gods and some fire-crackers would be set off. This was hosted by the head carpenter. Next, after all the walls of the house were laid, the third set of the five symbols would be buried at the site of the stove. This would again be hosted by the head mason. (Ibid, p. 161)

There were three ceremonies surrounding the construction of the roof. After the log of the ridge pole of the atrium was put on a shelf right under its eventual location, some offerings, burning incense sticks, and wine would be put in front of it, under the supervision of the head carpenter. All the craftsmen and their assistants would worship the patron god of carpentry, Lu-pan (魯班), then their leader symbolically sawed away the surplus length at either end of it. Next, immediately after the previous ceremony, another five symbols: golden paper flowers, god's bank notes, a farmer's rain coat made of grass, a cattle collar, and a bag of five grains and charcoals would be suspended from the ridge pole; a figure of eight trigrams would be drawn on the bottom of its central point; and the rulers, ink makers, axes, and other tools of the head carpenter would be put in front of it. At the auspicious time, and under the direction of the head carpenter, all the workers first worshipped Lu-pan, then raised the pole to the top of the roof on its fixed points where some god's bank notes had already been put. Before the end of the work of laying bricks above the ridge pole from either end towards the centre, the head mason would put the fourth set of the first five symbols into a hole in the last crevice of the central point of the ridge pole: this was the last step in the construction of a house. (Ibid, pp. 251-261)

At an auspicious time soon after the house was finished, all the god's statues and ancestral tablets from the old home would be invited into the new atrium and put on a god's table. All of them and T'ien-kung were then worshipped with burning incense sticks, lamps, fire wood, rice, and water. On the night of the same day, the Door Gods would also be worshipped, then the ancestral tablets would be worshipped by all the married daughters who had specially come back to their parents' home for the ceremony. Next, a banquet would be held by the owner of the new house: the craftsmen were invited to sit in the most honourable places; and with their assistants and the neighbours, relatives, and families of the owners, they would enjoy a lavish meal.

4. Conclusions

The fact that the people of P'eng-hu Archipelago decided the location and orientation of their buildings by referring to the theories of *hsing-li*, *pa-tzu*, *wu-hsing*, and the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui*, was probably the result of a particular sequence of interpretations.

That is to say, the practice was derived from certain influential fragments of ancient belief systems, in particular the idea that heaven was the supreme power which dominated the fate of all objects on earth including human beings (see Note 4, Chapter 3; Note 7 Chapter 4); that human beings were created by *ch'i*, produced by the intercourse of heaven and earth; and that everything on the earth was an embodiment of heavenly phenomena (namely a section of the theory of Tao, see Note 3 Chapter 3). It was believed that the fortune of human societies (named *ming* and *yun*, literally, the inbred and post-natal fates) of all levels ranging from the world as a whole, through nations, and right down to villages, as well as to individuals, were dominated by the celestial phenomena or *t'ien-wen* (天文, 天道, literally, the texture of heaven) and the landscapes of the earth or *ti-li* (地道, 地理, literally, the organisation of the earth), and only by achieving a harmonious relationship with the fates of heaven and earth, would human societies succeed in being peaceful and contented. Subsequently, many forms of astrology were established to help fulfil this goal, and as parts of these were then developed into the theories of *feng-shu*³⁰ and *pa-tzu*, or the fate of human beings.³¹

A house was believed to be the physical representation of the vitality of its dwellers and even of their genealogy. It was therefore believed necessary to decide its spatial organisation by referring to the fates of heaven, and earth, and of the male head of the family (believed to be the natural representative of a family). This was meant to ensure that the house was an embodiment of the perfect integration of these three elements, and a source of auspiciousness for its inhabitants.

Subsequently, the theory of *hsing-li* and *wu-hsing* were adopted as the criteria of the fates of heaven, the theories of *feng-shui* that of earth, and the theory of *pa-tzu* that of a human beings. Gradually, all of these considerations became necessary factors in the process of constructing buildings.

The fact that local people used the criteria of being *ch'ung*, and three kinds of scales with auspicious and inauspicious dimensions, to decide the spatial organisation of their buildings was possibly derived from another tradition of the Han people.

It seems that, since quite early times, the methods of construction of the Han people had been unified and fixed. These methods, including those mentioned above, became standards of construction and customs, and were inherited by one generation from the one before until becoming the preserve of the traditional craftsmen -- either professional or amateur -- of P'eng-hu Archipelago. This can be perceived from the fact that of the surviving 14 handbooks belonging to local craftsman -- these being the transcription of dictation from their masters -- the contents of each was similar, despite their owners having been taught by different masters (see Chang, 1991, pp. 358-375). Some of the contents of them were even like concise versions of a manual entitled *Lu-pan Ching* which was compiled in the 15 cent. A.D. on the basis of materials dating from the 11th-12th cent. A.D.. It was named after *Lu-pan*, a master craftsman who lived around the 5 cent. B.C., and who was later considered as the patron god of carpenters. (Ruitenbeek, 1989, p. 1)

30. This can be perceived from the fact that the majority of the original theories of *feng-shui*, such as the notion of *ch'i* and *pa-kua*, and the names of its four cardinal points: blue dragon, white tiger, red phoenix, and black tortoise and snail were all derived from astrological theories.

31. This can be perceived from the fact that the establishment of the essentials of *pa-tzu*, namely the 10 *t'ien-kan* or 10 celestial stems, and the 12 *ti-chih* or 12 terrestrial branches which were the calculating base of the flow of time were founded on the basis of the movement of stars.

That is to say, the criteria of being *ch'ung* and the usage of these scales was based upon a professional or customary reference to the experiences of craftsmen and folklore from as early as the 11th cent. A.D.. Also, the nine basic terminologies used as a set in the operations of *ch'ih-pai fa* and *ts'un-pai fa*, and those in *pu-fa* were all derived from the names of stars, and inherited their original auspicious and inauspicious characters and positions from astrology. (see Ch'iu, 1991, pp. 273-292) This expressed the fact that these methods were formulated on the basis of the original belief that heaven dominated the fate of all objects on the earth including human beings.

Chapter 6

Summary, a case study, and conclusions

1. Summary of the factors which related to the spatial organisation of the villages

To sum up, the general model of the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago was a composition resulting from the efforts of local people to explore their surroundings and to construct spaces in order to satisfy their needs, both material and imaginative. Its structure can be divided into the following four elements: point, line, plane, and volume. "Point" refers to the selection of location, and as such its scale can vary: a point might be as large as 10 acres or the distance one can walk within 7-8 minutes, that is the area of a village, or as narrow as 25 sq. cm -- the central point of the altar of the atrium of a courtyard house -- which was used to confirm the exact rear point of the central axis of a courtyard house. There were two kinds of "line" in this model of spatial organisation, one was simply used to define two spaces, such as the boundary line between two fields, another had a direction and was used to define two spaces and a certain orientation, such as the central axis of a courtyard house. The "plane" was used to distinguished horizontal or vertical spaces; one example of the former use was the difference between lee-ward side and wind-ward side of a hill; one of the latter was that the many levels of different height in a courtyard house. The most distinct example of "volume" was the villagers' belief that their cosmos was a three dimensional whole.

Of these elements, some were clearly defined by substantial objects, such as the area (or the volume) of a courtyard house and the symbols of the five external Wang-yeh battalions; some were perceptible from the relationship between two or more objects, such as the intangible lines which confirmed one construction to be *ch'ung* to another, and those which ran between the peak of a hill and the central axis of a building, according to the theory of *feng-shui* of the Mountain Form School. The others, which existed only in the imagination of the villagers, included the spatial organisations of heaven and hell, the intangible lines between the central axis of a building and either the yearly inauspicious

point of the four cardinal ones, or one of the three inauspicious points of the 24 cardinal points of the head of the family decreed by the theory of *hsing-li*, etc. (see Chapter 5).

The vertical space of this general model was usually made up of three main levels: heaven above, earth in the middle, and hell below. These three had different meanings for local people: heaven was an ideal world for good souls, hell was a horrible one for evil souls, and earth was an intermediate area incorporating the characteristics of each of the above two. In spite of these different meanings, the spatial webs of these levels were all similar. The earthly horizontal space generally comprised three territorial hierarchies: the village, the cluster, and the courtyard house. Although the scales were different, the spatial organisations were similar to each other: thus, a village was similar to an expanded cluster, which in turn was similar to a courtyard house. This similarity was based on the fact that their elements had comparable relationships: the roles of the village temple and its square in the spatial organisation of a village were similar to the roles of the ancestral hall and its square in a cluster, and the atrium and courtyard in a house. At the same time, the significance of the cemetery in the spatial organisation of a village was similar to the significance of the tablets in an ancestral hall, or an atrium, etc.. The extent of the functions of the different spatial organisations were also comparable, reflecting the functions of each of the three territorial hierarchies -- they represented different levels, satisfying a range of the needs, in terms of behaviour and beliefs from birth to death, and after death, of the members of the three social units: a village's needs for all the villagers, a cluster's needs for a clan, and a courtyard house's needs for a family.

In addition to these, there were various sub-divisions, either imaginative or substantial, created by local people, within each of these three vertical and horizontal divisions.

(1). The cognitive principles of space

The spatial web of the villages resulted either from the spatial reaction to natural features, caused by people's intuition, experience, and vision, coupled with the factors of individual stamina and the amount of time available; alternatively, it was established by the use of two spatial models and one measure for the recognition of points, lines, planes, and volumes, and by the use of three

methods as the criteria for distinguishing the auspicious and inauspicious measurement of scales.

The first spatial model, the cardinal points, was established, like the regulation of time, by referring to the order of movement or location of the stars. It thus was part of the section of the general model of spatial organisation which derived from or was related to the interpretations of various cosmic phenomena, including the belief that there were four main gates in heaven; the locations of the symbols of the five external battalions; the inauspicious points based upon the theory of *hsing-li* or the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing*, etc.. Since the spatial outcomes of the last two were decided on the basis of temporal conditions, the times chosen for constructing part of the spatial elements of the general model were embodied in the physical forms of these villages.

The second spatial model was based on the relative positions and the honourable order of its elements. This was established by adopting the location and orientation of a certain object, such as a person, a construction, a space, or a special landscape as the central point and axis from which could be distinguished the relative relationship between the surrounding points, lines, and planes. It was employed as the standard in the distribution of the interior spaces of a house and the housing plots of a family, as existed originally in the spatial frames of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui* and the craftsmen's regulations.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the *t'ai-ch'ih* was the measure used as the basis for all measurement of length. The three kinds of method employed to explore the auspiciousness of the scales of construction were as follows: the *ch'ih-pai* and *ts'un-pai fa*, the *pu-fa*, and the *men-kung ch'ih* and *ting-lan ch'ih*.

(2). The contexts and contents of influential factors

There were many factors which derived from ten kinds of contexts which influenced the general model of the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago.

(a). The geographical location of the archipelago

Due to the fact that between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, these villages were located on isolated islands that represented the furthest frontier of the Chinese Empire, the dissemination of information and knowledge from outside was comparatively difficult. Consequently the customs of their societies tended to be conservative. However, since the archipelago was located in the middle of the sea route between Taiwan and China, some of the villages were chosen by the

ships which sailed across the Taiwan strait as resting places or trading stations, some were even assigned by the Ch'ing government as administrative posts for checking these sea boats.

(b). The natural features

As a result of the destructive power of monsoons and typhoons, high temperatures and the scarcity of rain, a tiny land surface area and flat terrain, the archipelago had poor, barren soil, and few native plants and animals: apart from some valleys which conformed to minimum living standards, the archipelago was unsuitable for habitation. These factors also ensured that because only low-yielding cultivation could be carried out on it, the land was not respected by local people as highly as it was in agricultural areas, and the residential areas of the villagers and their farm land were forced to be separated. Also, because the ocean currents flowed in opposite directions on the eastern and western sides of the archipelago, and because the surrounding sea area was shallow and was the confluent area of many rivers of Taiwan and south-eastern China, the water surrounding the archipelago was a prosperous but dangerous fishing field. All the above factors ensured, firstly, that local people had to get what they could from both fishing and cultivation in order to secure a livelihood, with the result that their leisure time was severely limited; second, the quantity of food gained or harvested was barely enough for their own survival. This, perhaps, was one of the main reasons for the large numbers of nuclear and stem families on the archipelago. Third, the survival of the local people was under continuous threat: consequently religious and supernatural beliefs were popular, and social cohesion was strong.

(c). The historical background to the development of the archipelago

The village pioneers emigrated empty-handed to the archipelago in order to avoid starvation and wars, either individually, or with a few family members or some close friends. The majority were illiterate farmers and fishermen. The islands had neither aborigines nor any system of land ownership. Also, their tools of production, transport, and so on, were simple; and their level of technological skill for digging wells, building boats, fishing, transportation, etc., was comparatively low.

(d). The conditions of a valley and the surrounding area

There were various differences in the conditions in the villages: the size, form, orientation, micro-terrain, and location, depth, and other relevant circumstances of the harbour of a valley; the relative location of the valley in the

archipelago and in relation to the sea routes between Taiwan and China; and the area of farm lands and the quantity of marine and other resources in the area surrounding a valley. For details, see Chapter 1.

(e). The inclinations of the villagers

This included the villagers' individual or collective inclinations which derived either from ideologies or their own senses.

(f). The limitation of stamina and the use of time of villagers

Due to the limitations of human stamina and the slowness of the three kinds of local transport, boat, oxcart, and foot, the men had to spend all their time catching fish while the women took care of family matters, cooking fish, cultivation, and collecting marine resources. Local people not only had to make economical use of their limited stamina and time for all the necessary matters including the construction of the village, they, also had to arrange all their facilities in an ideal spatial relationship based upon this principle of making the most economical use of stamina and time.

(g). The social relationship of villagers

There were six kinds of social relationship in the villages. After 1683 when the archipelago came under the rule of the Chinese Empire, relationships between villagers and foreigners were forbidden: thus, the outstanding potential of the archipelago as the transitional centre of trade and transport between the east part of the Asian continent and its neighbouring ocean area, and South-eastern Asia and North-eastern Asia, was not fulfilled. The social relationships between villagers and the sailors and townspeople of Ma-kung Town were mainly based upon the need for trade. The three other relationships were as follows: between villagers and local officials, between villagers of neighbouring villages, and between members of the same village. Officials were ordered to reinforce the power of identifying local people with China, disseminate so called orthodox knowledge by educating some local people and enticing them with high official positions and high incomes, and to establish the religious belief of the City God in their administrative area. In general, the last two forms of relationships were both smooth and friendly.

(h). The social background of the villagers

There were three social characteristics in the villages: first, local people distinguished their society according to their ancestors' native place, incorporating different dialects, religious beliefs, and other customs; second,

there were no social hierarchies in a village; third, all these societies were patriarchal, and blood relationships were respected.

Within individual families, the male head was deemed to be the natural representative. Generally, all the sons shared both the quantity and quality of the property equally, including housing plots and farm lands, the demarcation of the former being based upon the scale of a house. However, there was a symbolic hierarchy between sons which conformed to the order of their birth.

(i). The three beliefs of the villagers

Local people believed that there was an honourable order amongst the points, lines, and planes of a certain space.

They also believed that there were two worlds in the cosmos, one of human beings, animals, and plants; the other made up of gods who generally protected human beings, ghosts who generally persecuted human beings, and ancestral souls who were intermediate forces.

Third, they believed that the location, orientation, and scale of a construction; the earth form; as well as the relationship between two constructions, or two and more spatial elements of a construction, would influence the fate of their residents. Also, they believed there to be some criteria which could be employed to realise the auspicious or inauspicious aspects of the above conditions, and some talismans, such as *chao-ch'iang*, *feng-shih-yeh*, and *shih-kan-tang* (see Chapter 5) capable of resolving some of these inauspicious situations.

(j). The standardisation of construction and building materials

Local people considered the courtyard house to be the normal type of residence. The method of construction and the sizes of some of the important building materials, especially the lengths of logs, were standardised.

(3). The dominant factors

The dominant factors considered by local people in the process of constructing buildings to influence individually the spatial elements or conditions of a village were as follows.

(a). The site of a village: the location of the water source, the orientation of the monsoon, fishing matters and the process of the catch, and the safety of villagers.

(b). The orientation of a village: the orientation of the valley and the monsoon, and the micro-terrain within a valley.

(c). The area and shape of a village: the area, shape, orientation, micro-terrain, and the quantity of marine and other resources and the area of farm land in the area surrounding a valley; the condition of the harbour; and the distance between the village, the harbour, and the farm land.

(d). The boundary of a village: the religious beliefs of the villagers, the size of the valley, and the area of the residential and farm lands of a village.

(e). The sub-divisions of a village: the numbers of pioneers, the divisions of clans in a village, and the micro-terrain within a valley.

(f). The formation of an agglomerate village: the strength of the wind; the location of the water source; the increase of population, the principle of dividing properties, and the economic behaviour of the villagers.

(g). The area of a cluster: the quantity of harvest from the land and the micro-terrain within a valley.

(h). The orientation of a cluster: the orientation of the monsoon; the micro-terrain within a valley; and the principle of demarcation of housing plots, and the beliefs of *hsing-li*, *feng-shui*, and the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing* as observed by the villagers.

(i). The spatial arrangement of a cluster: the principle of demarcation of housing plots, the belief in *ch'ung*, and the principle of the economical use of land by the villagers; the convenience of oxcart transportation; the strength of the wind; and the need for social interaction between neighbouring clansmen in a village.

(j). The texture of a cluster: homogeneous economic conditions, the types of family unit, the patriarchal society, and the principle of equal inheritance of the men in a village family.

(k). The location of a house: the principle of demarcation of housing plots and the village patterns of plot distribution.

(l). The orientation of a house: the orientation of the monsoon; and the demarcation of housing plots, and the beliefs of *hsing-li*, *feng-shui*, and the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing* as observed by the villagers.

(m). The scale of a house: the average numbers of members of a family and its economic conditions; the standardisation of logs; the craftsmen's regulations; and the demarcation of housing plots, the principle of equal reciprocity, and the conservative folklore of village society.

(n). The spatial model of a house: the craftsmen's regulation.

(o). The location, orientation, scale, form, and amount of religious constructions and ancestral halls: the doctrines of religious beliefs; and the economic conditions, the beliefs of *feng-shui*, *hsing-li*, and the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing* of villagers; the micro-terrain within a valley; etc.. All the other facilities: the economic behaviour and condition of villagers, the material functions of these facilities, and so on.

(4). The priority of influential factors

Due to the following eight phenomena, which derived either from the character of the space or the attitudes of villagers towards the requisition and definition of spatial elements, most potential of conflict between the spatial results was eliminated.

Firstly, the fact that the point, line, and plane can be divided infinitely allowed people to use space flexibly. Second, human beings had a quite broad range of ways of enduring and resisting the natural conditions (such as to construct walls to resist strong wind). One distinct example of this seen in the archipelago was the location of many villages in northerly valleys, in spite of the destructive power of dry-monsoon, because there were ample marine resources there.

There were three characteristics in the requisition of space by villagers which reflected their spiritual needs. First, these spatial results being based upon individual interpretation, were relative rather than absolute, and could be shifted in line with different interpretations. The patterns of distribution of housing plots was one example of this. Some families preferred to consider the central piece as the most honourable one and subsequently it was given to the eldest son, the near left side, being next, was given to the second son, the near right side, next in line went to the third son, etc.. Other families preferred the order from left to right, so that, the left one, being the most honourable, was given to the eldest son, followed by the near right given to the second son, etc., with the farthest right going to the youngest son. Both of these two patterns were considered to conform with the principle of honourable order of space.

The second characteristic was that the inauspicious spatial ranges determined by villager's beliefs, such as *hsing-li*, the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing*, and *feng-shui*, were limited. For example, the theory of *hsing-li*, as mentioned in Chapter 5, affected only one quarter or one eighth of the area of a cycle each

year; moreover, the former range could be avoided by postponing a house project till the year had passed.

Third, in P'eng-hu societies, the majority of beliefs, such as *feng-shui* and *wu-hsing*, which influenced the spatial notions of villagers could be simplified into a few principles, so their range of influence on the spatial organisation of villages was again limited. Two examples of this were, firstly, the adoption by the majority of villagers of the spatial notion "front lower, rear higher" in the consideration of their building site as a substitute for, and representation of their attitude of respect towards, the theory of Mountain Form School of *feng-shui*, and second, the avoidance of orientating their constructions to face three auspicious *shens* as a symbol of respect for the theory of *hsing-li*.

Apart from these, the spatial terminologies used in the societies of the P'eng-hu Archipelago were deemed to be flexible rather than rigid. For example, the symbols of the five external battalions according to the belief of Wang-yeh, although named east, west, north, south, and central, were constructed on the four sides and inside a village with reference to the conditions of terrain and roads, rather than having to be located on the exact places according to the cardinal points.

Also, the definition of spatial terminologies varied according to the different points of view of the local people. One example of this was the boundary of a village, which had three different definitions: the outermost borderlines of the farm lands of a village based upon the consideration of their economic behaviour; the four lines between the symbols of the four external battalions based upon the Wang-yeh belief system, and the idea that the area within these lines was protected by gods; and the outermost borderlines of the residential area of the village based upon the knowledge that within this area the villagers collectively participated in and paid the money for all religious ceremonies.

Generally, there were always alternatives available in the villagers' requisition of space. The use of talismans to resolve the dilemma between the limitations of space and the inauspicious power which derived from belief in the power of *ch'ung*, was one example of this. A further example can be seen in the four acceptable modes employed by local people to decide the location of their temple: allowing it to be determined by a god whose will was interpreted by the local *t'ung-chi*, coming to a compromise between all the villagers, having it assigned by a *feng-shui* master, and by sharing the god's power fairly -- which meant that the temple had to be located at the geographical centre of the village.

Nevertheless, some conflicts between different spatial needs were inevitable. In such cases, those influential factors which directly and seriously related to the material life or resulted from some theories of supernatural power, such as *hsing-li*, *ch'ung*, and the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing* were considered first. The fact that the orientations of only seven of the eight buildings, which were built with reference to the Mountain Form School theory of *feng-shui*, faced south was one example of this. It confirms that the influence of the theory was subordinate to the influence of the orientation of the monsoon.

(5). The characteristics of the general model of spatial organisation

From the point of view of the extent of their influence on the spatial organisation of the villages, the factors mentioned above were divided into three categories. One, the factors which only influenced the spatial location -- or only one spatial dimension -- of the villages, one such was the location of the water source. Two, the factors which affected the two horizontal dimensions, namely, the location and orientation, of villages. These were as follows: the orientation of the monsoon; economic behaviour, the social background, the principle of demarcation of housing plots, the types of family unit, and some beliefs related to supernatural powers, such as *ch'ung*, *hsing-li*, and the combination of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing*, etc.. Three, factors which influenced all three dimensions of the villages, such as the micro-terrain within a valley; the category and size of building materials; the religious beliefs, *feng-shui*, and the auspicious scales used by local people; the craftsmen's regulations, and so on.

The general model was composed of many individual spatial reactions of local people, as well as some independent spatial models which originally existed in religious beliefs, supernatural powers, and craftsmen's regulations, etc. -- namely it was an aggregative and not simply a systematic model. Moreover, all the spatial elements of the model were meaningful and functional both individually or collectively to local people and were relative to each other. These expressed a characteristic of the spatial organisation of the villages of the P'eng-hu Archipelago, that is, it was like the organisation of an organism -- its elements corresponded to those in the different systems of an organism, collectively supporting the vitality of the village while the physiology and psychology of the villagers corresponded to the "heart" of it, in activating the operation of the whole system of the spatial organisation of a village.

Also, this general model substantially presented the following characteristics and formed its unique style: the frontier, the distinction of the natural features, and process of development of the villages; and the peaceful social security, patterns of economic behaviour, an limited use of their original cultures, and the social structure of the villages, clans, and families and the importance of religion. These were the outcomes in response to one or some most significant contexts or factors as mentioned above.

(6). The constructors of the spatial organisation

The spatial web of the villages was created on the basis of the material and spiritual needs of all the villagers, by their individual or collective wills, in order actively to obtain benefits or passively to avoid damage. According to local description, this included the safety of life and the permanent establishment of family blood (安身立命). As a collective spatial presentation of the needs of its people, the village, was, in other words, formed upon the accumulation of the needs both of each individual and of each of the three social levels mentioned above: the whole collection of villagers, the clan, and the family.

The wills of local people, in fact, were influenced by the following five major and one minor powers.

The first major power was their own intuition, experience, vision, knowledge, and beliefs, which dominated the section of the spatial organisation of the villages influenced by natural features and folklore.

Second was the collective power of a society either active, as shown for example by their collective efforts, or passive, for example the increase of population of the villagers.

The interpretation by local *t'ung-chi* and *hei-t'ou shih-kung* of the imagination or phenomena of supernatural beings was a third power. This affected the section of the spatial organisation which derived from the belief in the spatial organisation of supernatural world and the acceptable amounts, location, orientation, scale, and form of religious objects.

Fourth was the cognition of local intellectuals of the so called orthodox knowledge advocated by local officials supported by the central government of the Ch'ing Dynasty. This included the idea of an honourable order amongst spatial elements and the members in a family, the theories of *feng-shui* and the conclusions derived from the analysis of astrologists.

The specialised knowledge of craftsmen was the fifth power. Obtained by them from their independent educational system, i.e., passed from the theories and practices of their own masters, this knowledge not only embodied the overall construction projects, but also dominated those sections of the spatial organisations, such as the general model of a construction, which derived from the beliefs of *feng-shui* and other supernatural powers.

In addition to these major powers, the specialised knowledge of a fortune teller sometimes played a minor role affecting the section of the spatial organisation influenced by the combination of the theories of *pa-tzu* and *wu-hsing*.

When, the spatial organisation of the villages involved an adaptation of one or more of the above mentioned five major and one minor powers, the spatial organisation of the village was altered. In fact, this rarely happened in these conservative villages, the only exceptions being as follows. Due to the harshness of their lives, the spatial elements of the general model which were dominated by the villagers' belief of T'u-ti Kung became instead dominated by the belief of Wang-yeh. Subsequently the original points created by referring to the doctrine of the former were abandoned and five new points -- the locations of the symbols of the five external battalions -- were established according to the latter doctrine. Not only were these points included in the general model but also the intangible lines between them became the symbols of the village boundary. The change of location, according to *feng-shui* theories, of the Wu-miao Temple dedicated to Kuan-kung, was another alternation. But, the most distinct change was caused by the inevitable increase of population during the development of a village. As a result of this, the spatial web of the settlement of the village became agglomerate instead of dispersed.

2. The spatial organisation of Chung-she Village -- a sketch

Chung-she Village was one of four villages on Wang-an Island -- the central and the fourth biggest island of the P'eng-hu Archipelago, with an area of around 7.2 sq. km at high tide or 4 km south-north by 1.8 km east-west. (see Fig. 1-1) In the summers of 1980 and 1981, I stayed in Chung-she with two colleagues for around two months. We surveyed all its constructions, investigated relevant materials about the formation of the village and the social backgrounds of the

villagers, observed the economic and social behaviour of the society, and, by coincidence, recorded a ceremony for the birthday of the village god and another for helping the soul of a dead member to pass smoothly through the purgations of hell. Six years later, I visited the village again to gain more information about local folklore. After having spend around four years (from 1989 to 1993) concentrating on the study of the spatial organisation of the villages of P'eng-hu Archipelago, on my return I found that there were many necessary materials which still had not been dealt with. Nevertheless, the information which I have obtained offers concrete support for much of what has been discussed in the previous chapters.

In this section, the descriptions of physical conditions and villagers' behaviour, and the photographs and figures of Chung-she Village refer to it as it was in 1981, except for those specially indicted its dates.

(1). A brief history of the village

Chung-she Village is composed of around 223 acres of land in the central area of the island. Its eastern, northern, and southern parts are smooth tablelands. Its near south-western part is a steep tableland, its far south-western part a steep, small valley called Hsiao-hua-chai (小花宅) -- this valley was being turned into a reservoir when I last visited the island in 1987. Its north-western part is a hill, named Mt. T'ien-t'ai (天台山), 57 m high and the third highest one of the archipelago. The middle-western part of the village is a valley, about 300 m long and 150 m wide in a rectangular shape. The sea is on both the eastern and western sides of the village; between the land and the sea, there are sandy beaches, the western one, called Ta-hua-chai Ao (大花宅澳), is around 20-25 m wide, the south-western one, called Hsiao-hua-chai Ao (小花宅澳), around 20 m wide, and the eastern one, called Pu-tai Ao (布袋澳), around 15 m wide. To the north of the village is Shui-an Village, to its south are Tung-an and Hsi-an (西安) villages -- these two have been combined into a new village named Wang-an Village, which serves as the administrative centre of Wang-an Island, Chiang-chun Island, and the surrounding small islands. Fig. 6-1 shows the geographical condition of Wang-an Island in 1981.

Within the middle-western valley, there is a 4.5 acre stretch of land which inclines smoothly towards the western coast. There are two dried-up ditches, one running from east to west which divides the valley into two equal-sized areas, another running from north to south, which divides the northern part of

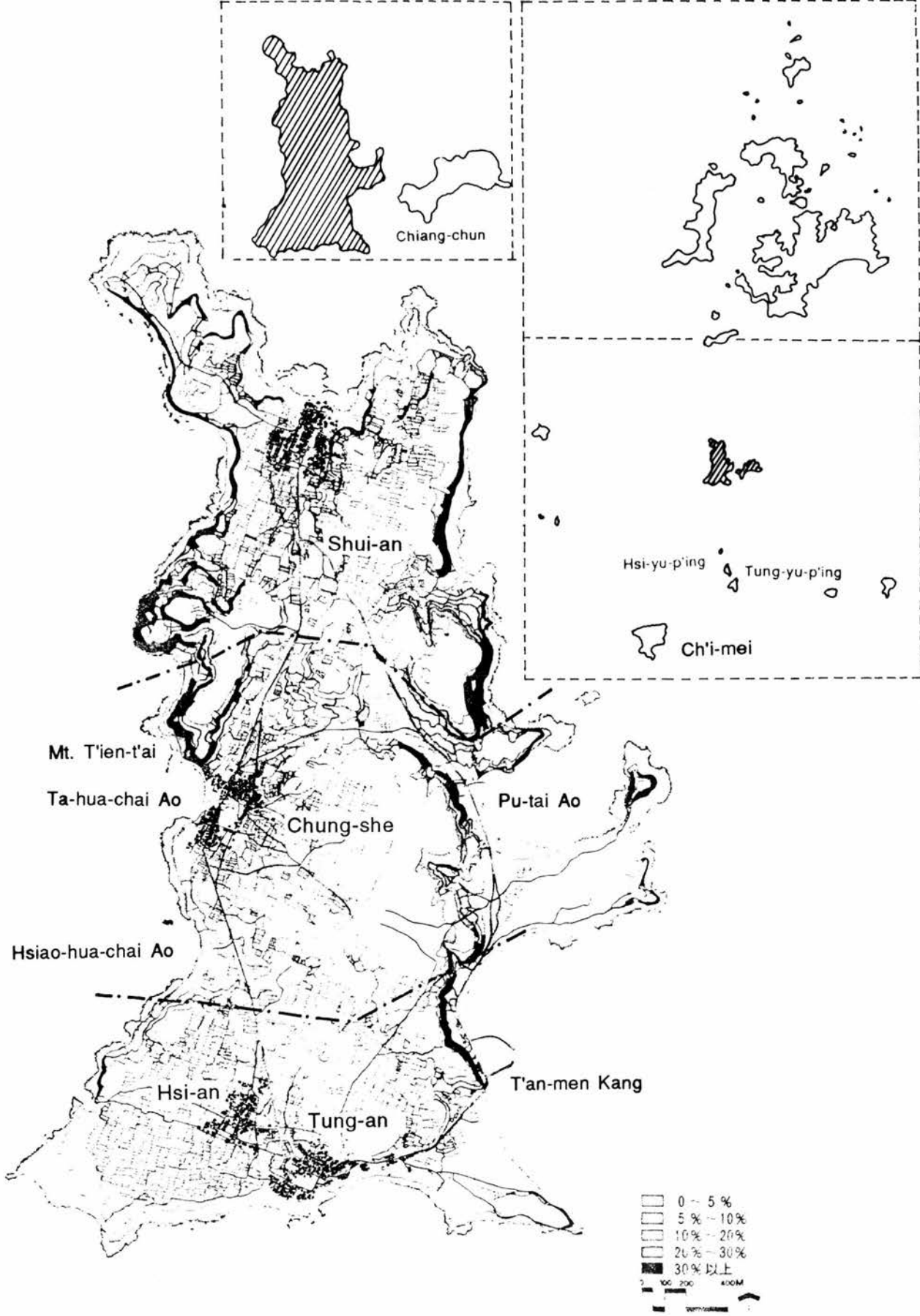


Figure 6-1 The geographical conditions and settlements of Wang-an Island (after G. I. B. P., 1982)

the valley into two sub-divisions. In the middle of the valley stands a round, flat-topped hill, around 20 m high, 80 m long, and 60 m wide, which the local people call the *fa-hsin* or *hsueh* -- the most important place in terms of *feng-shui* theory. Because of the hill, before 1945, the village was called Hua-chai (花宅), literally the womb of a flower, a local name for *hsueh-ch'ang*, the place where *ch'i* gathers. (see Chapter 5-2) These geographical conditions are shown in Fig. 6-2.

Because of its location near to an important fishing field -- the South-shallow fishing field, (see Fig. 2-16) the site of the village was chosen by fishermen from south-eastern China as a temporary residence as early as the 12th cent. A.D.. Some of their relics have been unearthed by archaeologists. (Tsang, 1988, pp. 37-68) Some 300 years later, Wang-an Island was known as "Trovers Ely", literally the Island of Pirates, by the Dutch colonists. This implies that the middle-western valley of Chung-she Village was being used as one of the bases of the pirates active at the time. (Yang and Liu, 1988, pp. 213-250) Around 1630, because of famine in south-eastern China, some people were allowed by the Ming Dynasty to emigrate to P'eng-hu Archipelago. (Sheng, 1977, pp. 61-63) Some 70 years later, Kao Kung-ch'ien (高拱乾), the most important Ch'ing official on Taiwan, noted that Wang-an Island was crowded with inhabitants, and that they were making efforts to acquire knowledge about Confucian theories. (Kao, 1969, p. 21) He also mentioned that all three coves of Chung-she Village: Ta-hua-chai Ao, Hsiao-hua-chai Ao, and Pu-tai Ao were used by local people as harbours. Around the same year, in 1710, the Ch'ing Government moved all the inhabitants of the fifth biggest island of the archipelago, Ch'i-mei Island, onto Wang-an Island, because the surrounding area of the former was dangerous for fishing, and people there were frequently robbed by pirates. Some of them may have settled in Chung-she Village (Ibid, p. 21) 15 years later, in 1726, the villagers of Chung-she collectively constructed their village temple -- Kuan-sheng Ti-chun Miao (關聖帝君廟), dedicated to Kuan-kung. The temple eventually changed its name to Wu-fu Miao (五府廟), and the village god was replaced by the Wang-yehs, Wu-fu Ch'ien-suis (五府千歲). However, the villagers did not construct the symbols of the five external battalions of Wang-yeh, the *wai-wu-ying*, at the four extremities of their settlement and beside their village temple until 1987 -- Chung-she Village was one of the few villages of the archipelago which had none of these. Also, in the same year, 1726, villagers instituted a common code of behaviour, later called

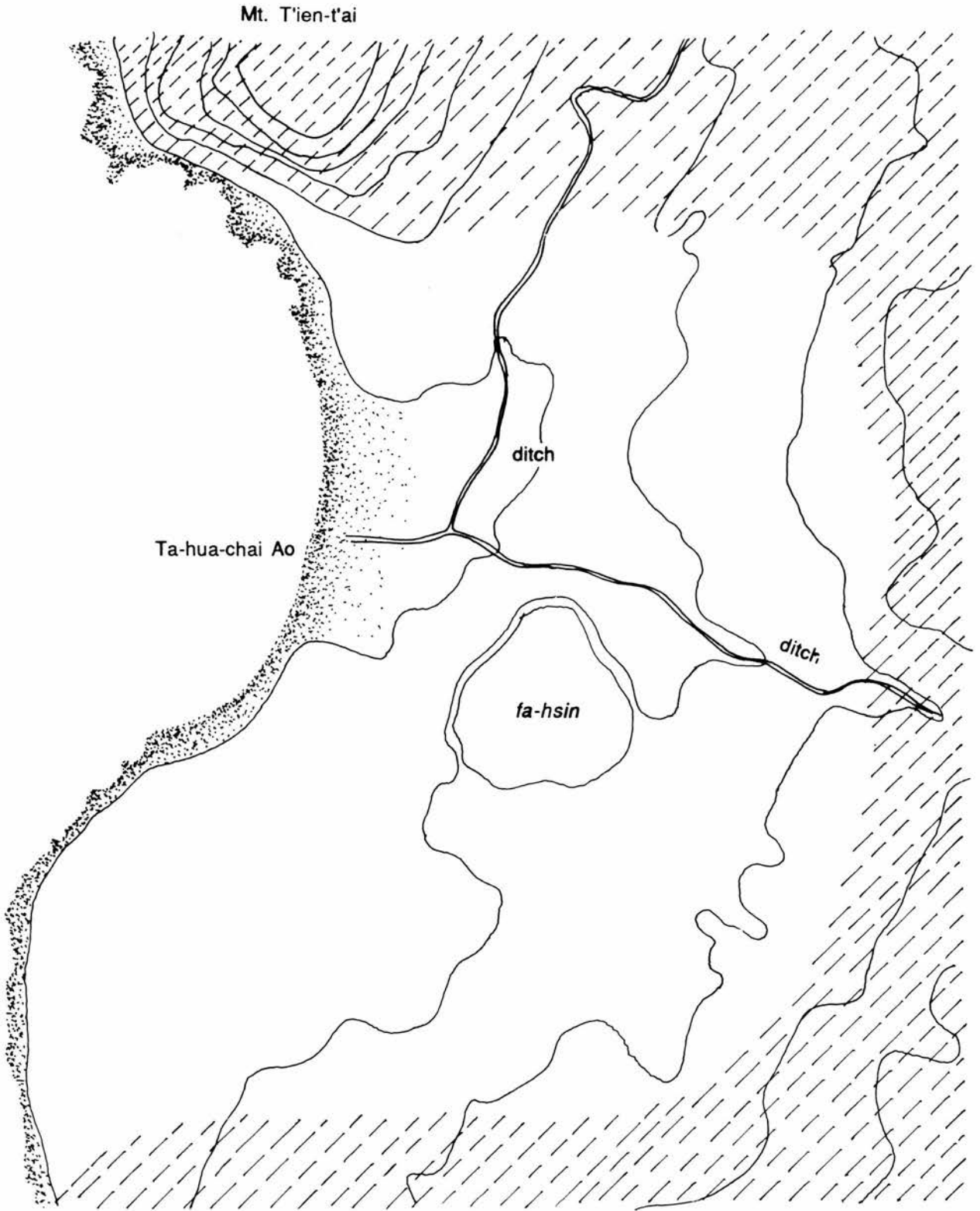


Figure 6-2 The geographical conditions of the middle-western valley

P'eng-hu Pa-chao Ao Hua-chai-hsiang Kung-yueh (八罩澳花宅鄉公約), in order to unify their social power and to maintain social order. This listed preserved areas in the village (one of which was the *fa-hsin*), and required villagers not to cut the grass, crops, or vegetables of other families; not to steal domestic animals, the ropes used to tie oxen, the dung of oxen, or firewood; and not to allow their oxen and goats to devastate the fields and vegetable gardens of other families. Anyone who violated these rules would be fined, with the money transferred to the funds of the village temple. The code also prohibited gambling -- any villagers caught gambling would be whipped or humiliated in public. (Tai, 1979, p. 153) This common code was applied until the early twenty century, before a new law was introduced on the archipelago by the Japanese government.

According to statistics, the population of the village was around 312 in 1767, 577 in 1829, 550 in 1893, 578 in 1945, and 440 in 1980. (Hu, 1767, p. 221; Chiang, 1829, p. 65; Lin, 1893, p. 86; Lin, 1988, p. 166) Amongst the four villages of the island, Chung-she Village was the smallest in terms of population. Tung-an had around one point five times as many villagers as Chung-she, Hsi-an had one point three times, and Shui-an one point two times.

Between 1767 and 1829 the population of Chung-she Village increased by 80 %. Between 1829 and 1893 the population decreased by 5 %; between 1893 and 1945, (when the sovereignty of the archipelago passed into the hands of the present government) it again decreased 5 %, while between 1945 and 1980 it decreased by a further 23 %. That is to say, 150 years ago, the village had reached maximum capacity, the material needs of local people exactly matching the resources which the soil and surrounding sea could offer. As a result, after that time, the surplus population had to move out. The average number in a family on the archipelago was 6.6 in 1829, (Ch'en, 1972, p. 22) that is to say, there were around 100 courtyard houses in the village at the time -- around the same as the total number of occupied houses in the village in 1980, (around one third of houses in Chung-she had been deserted long before 1980), this implies that the settlement of Chung-she Village had been fully established 150 years ago.

The native places of the majority of the original pioneers of the village was Ch'uan-chou *fu* of China's Fu-chien Province; in other words, most of them came from a similar social background. In 1981, there were two major clans, Ch'en and Yen (顏), two minor ones, Cheng and Chang, and a few others in the village.

(2). The influences of monsoon, drinking water, the area and shape of a valley, and the quantity of resources

The traditional landscape of the village was still well preserved in 1981 (Fig. 6-3 shows three scenes of the village in 1981) -- unfortunately, a couple of years later some of it was seriously damaged by a strong typhoon. On the whole, prior to that date, the land of the village was divided into five categories. The eastern, southern, and north-eastern tablelands, around 155 acres or 70 % of the land of the village, were exploited as farm lands, except for some depressions where bushes were growing, and a steep area near Pu-tai Ao around 1200 m from the village, which was chosen by the Ch'en clan as their private cemetery. The northern hill, namely the area surrounding Mt. T'ien-t'ai, which was around 40 acres or 18 % of the village, was kept in its original form -- grassland. At the top of the hill, there were two small *shih-t'as*, literally stone towers, constructed by villagers under the direction of the local *t'ung-chi* in order to suppress the evil forces of the wind. The south-west tableland, around 19 acres or 8.5 % of the village, a lee-ward slope, too steep for cultivation and habitation, around 100 m or 3-5 minutes walk from the middle of the village, served as the public cemetery of the village. The western sandy beach, namely Ta-hua-chai Ao, around 0.6 acres, was used as a harbour; a jetty was collectively constructed there by villagers to protect their fishing boats, as shown in Fig. 6-4. The other two beaches, around 1.2 acres together, were kept in their original forms.

From the start, the western valley was the only inhabited part of the village, because it was the only place which had all the following advantages: its surrounding terrain protected inhabitants and their fishing boats from the effects of the monsoon; drinking water was easy to come by; its area was big enough for some cultivation, and its cove, namely Ta-hua-chai Ao, was suitable for the berthing of fishing boats. In contrast, of the other two coves neither Hsiao-hua-chai Ao nor Pu-tai Ao had any nearby tableland for cultivation, while the latter also faced east, the direction of the monsoon, and had many rocks within its cove and along its sea-shore thus making it dangerous for sailing. As a consequence, both valleys were never considered by immigrants as places of residence. The land-use of the village in 1981 is shown in Fig. 6-5.

In 1981, of the area of the middle-western valley, 4 acres served as residence, and the other 0.5 acres comprised the preserved hill, *fa-hsin*, vegetable gardens, and two ditches. That is to say, the area under construction



Figure 6-3 Three scenes of Chung-she Village in 1981

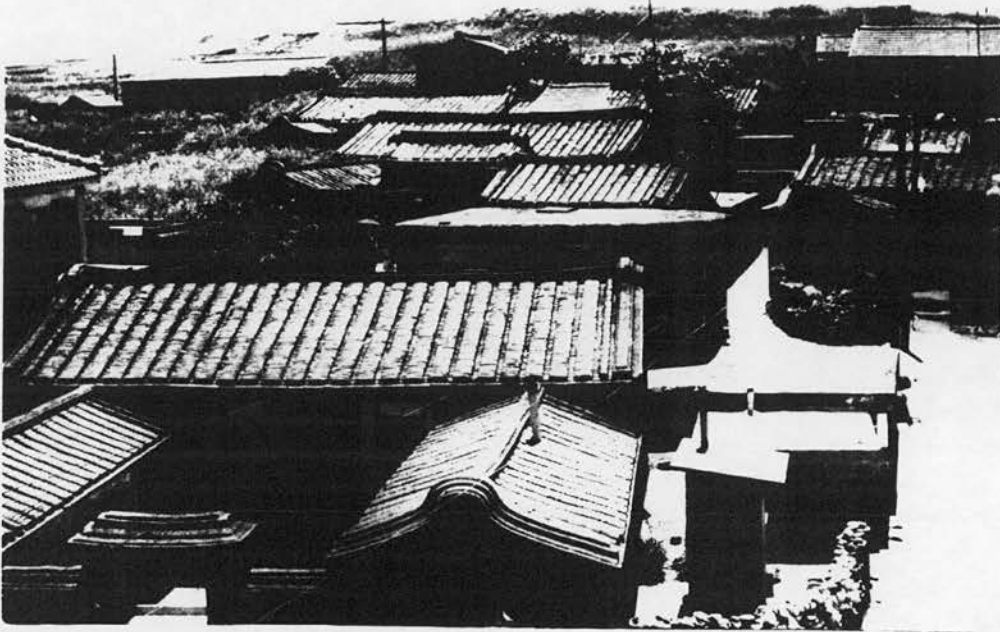


Figure 6-3 (continued) Three scenes of Chung-she Village in 1981



Figure 6-4 The Ta-hua-chia Ao of Chung-she Village

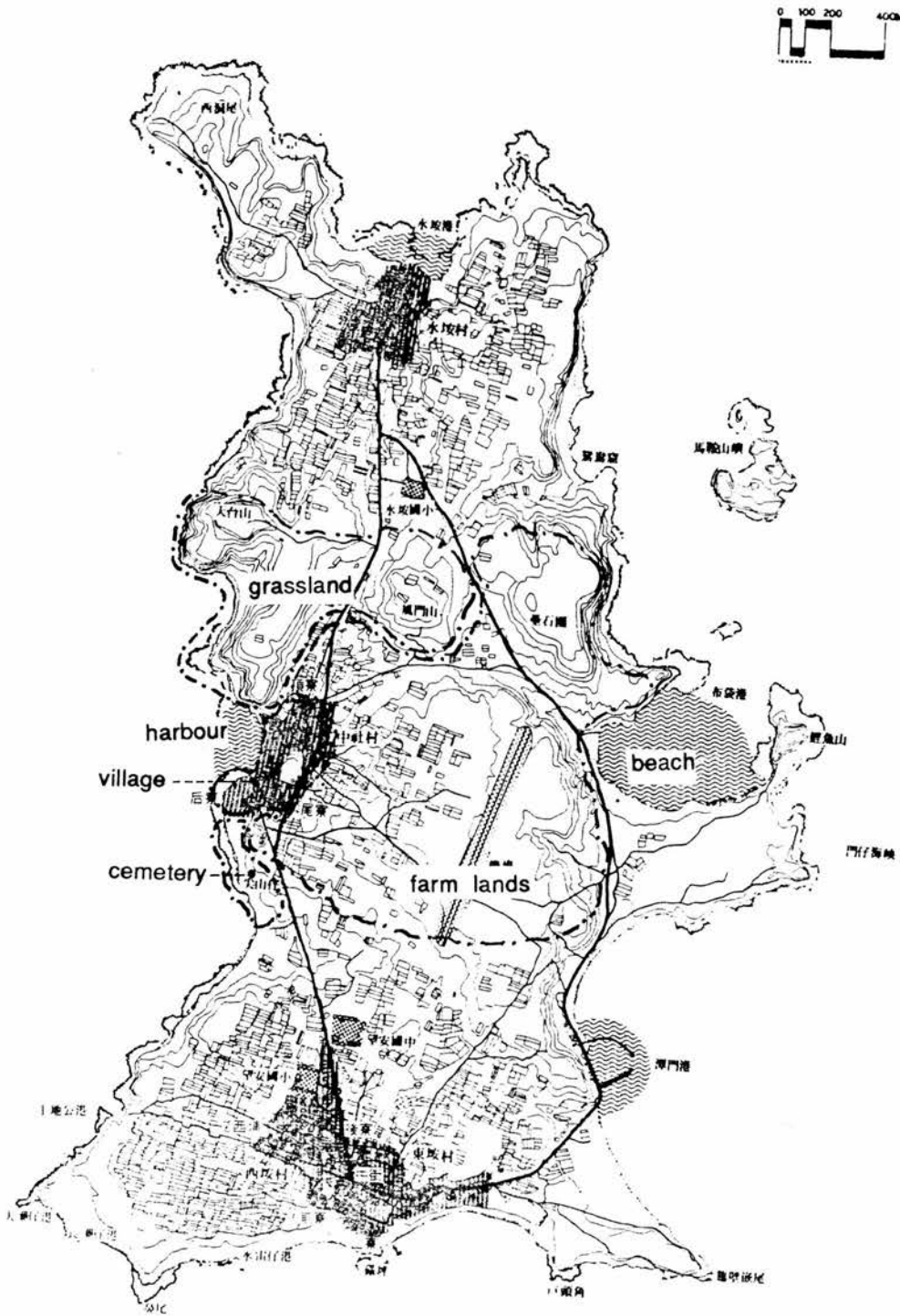


Figure 6-5 The land-use of Chung-she Village (after G. I. B. P., 1982)

composed around 80 % of the area of the valley; also the shape of the settlement of Chung-she Village was similar to that of the valley. The residential area accounted for 1:59 of the land of the whole village, 1:5 of that of the cemeteries, or 1:37 of that of the agricultural fields -- the latter ratio was slightly higher than average for villages on the archipelago (it was 25:1 to 30:1; see Chapter 2-7), because the resources around the sea-shore of the village were of only average quality.

The residential area was composed of 151 housing complexes, two temples, around 20 wells, numerous stoves for cooking fish, three boat houses, one limekiln, and many wind-break walls for protecting vegetables against the wind. All of these, as well as a few stately trees, and some dense bushes, were compacted together, as shown in Fig. 6-6.

Generally, a courtyard house in Chung-she Village was occupied by between 5 and 9 people during the 18th and 19th centuries, (Hu, 1767, p. 21; Chiang, 1829, p. 65) and, after then, by a nuclear or stem family of around 5 people. (Ch'en, 1972, p. 22) There were two kinds of house in the village in 1981, one was simply a courtyard house, another was composed of a house, a patch of vegetable garden either in the front or rear yards, and a number of domestic animal sheds in the front yard. In general, these sheds were cubic in shape with three enclosed sides and one open, irrespective of whether they housed pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, or even oxen. There were also 16 modern houses in the village in the time, the majority of them constructed after 1970.

Wu-fu Miao, the village temple, was located in the northern extremity of the valley, at the foot of Mt. T'ien-t'ai. This gave it an impressive appearance. The temple had always faces south since its construction, towards the settlement, and was effectively a courtyard house with double wing houses, and about twice the usual land area. The village temple was a distinctive landmark in the village, not only because of its location, but also its height, which was one and half times that of the average house, and its colourful decorations. Inside it, there are a set of symbols of the "five internal battalions" of Wang-yeh, placed on a free-standing table in the south-western corner of the temple, and around 20 statues of gods. In front of it, is a square around 45 m by 30 m; which constitutes the biggest area of open ground in the village. On its far edge, opposite the main entrance of the temple, there was a *chao-pi* for preventing the *yin-ch'i* of the village temple from being *ch'ung* to the neighbouring houses (see Chapter 4), and a stage for presenting operas during various festivals. The square was the busiest place in



Figure 6-6 The settlement of Chung-she Village in 1981

the village during the period in which ceremonies were held for the village gods (one of these will be described below) and the yearly ceremony, *p'u-tu*, for ghosts. On the latter occasion, a huge altar with numerous sacrifices is placed in the square and all the villagers gather there to enjoy the rare opportunity for leisure time and to meet their friends.

There was another temple in the village when I surveyed the village. Constructed in 1923, it is called Hsiao-fu Kung-tsu Miao (蕭府公祖廟), and is dedicated to a ghost called Hsiao. Located at the south end of the settlement, the temple faces west towards the sea: it is around one third of the size of a courtyard house with limited decorations and no square.

The three boat houses and the lime kiln are located between the residential area and the cove, Ta-hua-chai Ao, about 40 m or 1 to 2 minutes walk from the residential area. The former served as workshops for building boats, or shelters for the ships during the season of typhoon. The latter, which was used to burn shells into lime, was collectively constructed by and public to all villagers. The kiln was always surrounded by numerous shells when I visited the village in 1981. The layout of the boat houses, lime kiln, and three neighbouring stoves for cooking fish in 1981 is shown in Fig. 6-7.

The wells and other stoves for cooking fish were scattered within the settlement. The majority of the former were around 3.5 m deep, and gave water with a slightly salty taste. Also, some would dry out during the dry season, namely the winter. On average, around 10 households of the village shared one well, that is to say, villagers had to walk for no longer than 2 minutes to obtain drinking water during the traditional period. (Fig. 6-8 shows two local wells) In around 1980, the local government attempted in vain to excavate deep wells at the foot of Mt. T'ien-t'ai: as a result, the shallow wells are still the only water resource of present villagers. The stoves for cooking fish, which look like a cluster home stoves, were mainly constructed near the sandy beaches, on the corners of streets or in other open spaces.

There was only one *shih-kan-tang* -- a stone for suppressing evil forces -- to be explored in 1981. It was installed on the outer wall of the left wing of courtyard house no. 3 because this was shorter than the right wing. As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, based upon the honourable order in the spatial model of relative positions, local people believed that the left wing of a house should not be shorter than its right one. In those cases where the left wing was shorter, a *shih-kan-tang* had to be installed in order to suppress *sha-ch'i*. The isometric

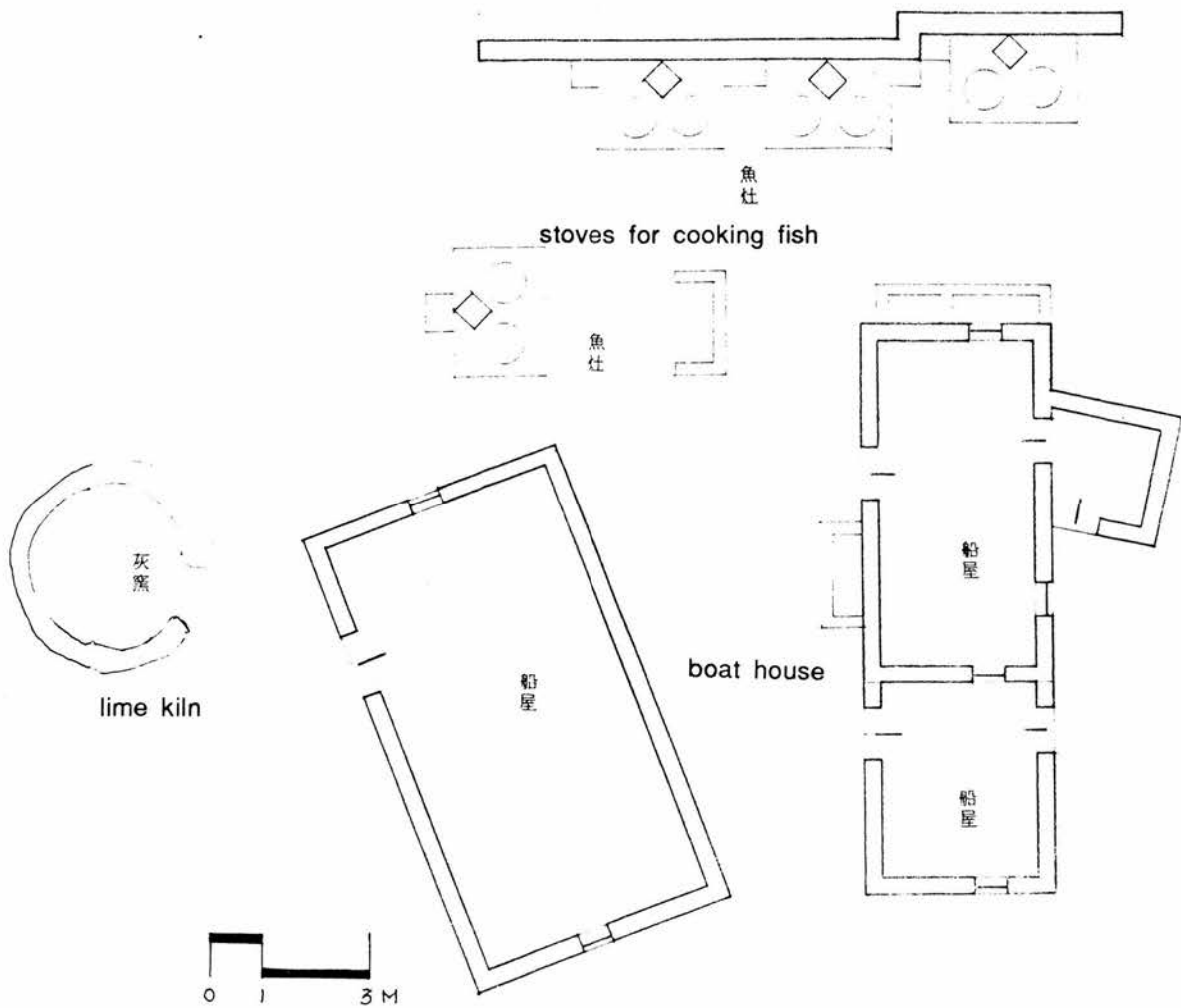
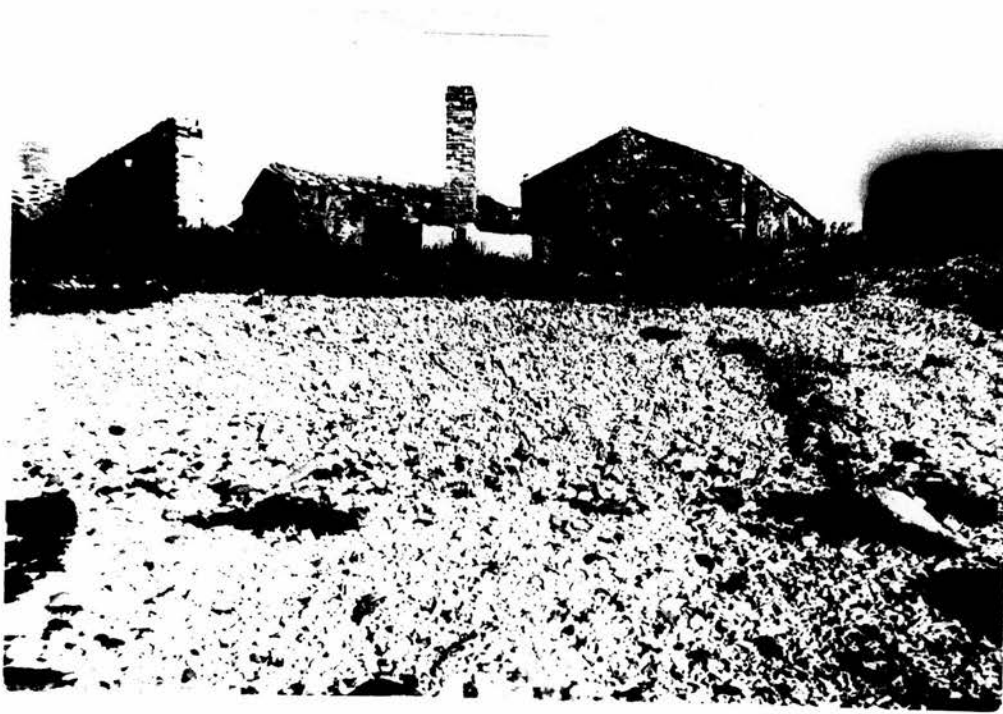


Figure 6-7 Features and plans of boat houses, lime kiln, and stoves for cooking fish in Chung-she Village

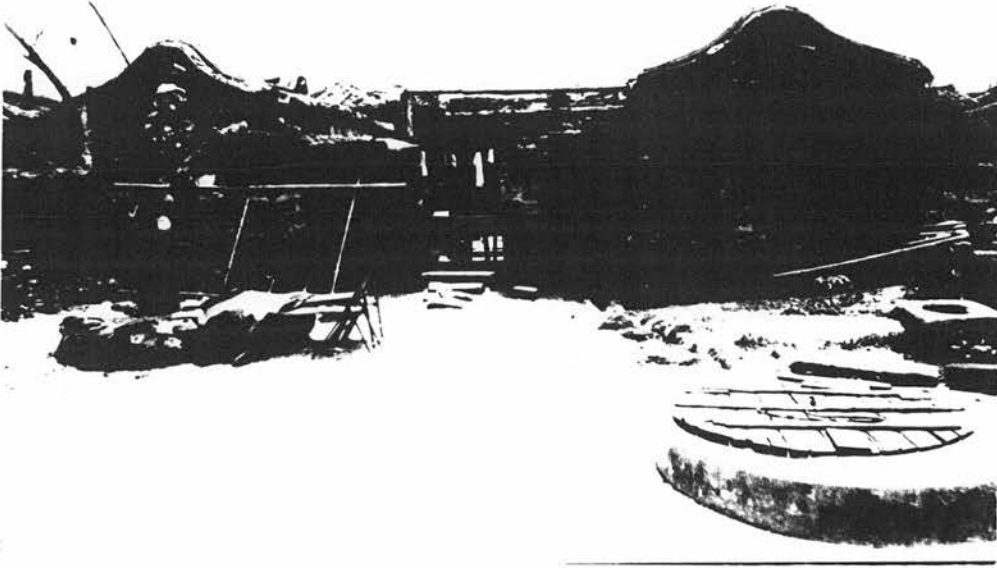


Figure 6-8 Wells in front of courtyard houses

figure of this house has been shown in Fig. 5-2. (also see Chapter 5-1) Other talismans were rare in the village at that time. It is quite possible that Chung-she Village had fewer talismans than any village in P'eng-hu Archipelago during the traditional period. In contrast, there were at least 20 *shih-kan-tang* installed on the corners of the lanes of Shui-an Village when I visited the village in 1981.

(3). The influences of micro-terrain, *feng-shui*, and the spatial model of relative positions

Originally, the residential area of Chung-she Village was composed of four *chias*, the boundaries of which are shown in Fig. 6-9. A *chia* was the smallest administrative unit of the Ch'ing government; originally it was composed of 10 households, (Hu, 1767, p. 59; also see Chapter 1-8) but with the increase of population, at around the beginning of the 19th cent., one *chia* in Chung-she Village was expanded to encompass 20 to 40 households. After 1895, this administrative unit was abolished by Japanese government, but the names and areas were kept by local people as a unit responsible for hosting ceremonies at the village temple (see below).

In 1981, the north-eastern *chia* of Chung-she Village, named Ting-liao (頂寮), comprised two clusters belonging to the Ch'en clan -- the biggest clan of the village. The eastern cluster was composed of 22 courtyard houses arranged into a 5 by 6 grid, all of them facing south-west in response to the terrain. The north-western cluster included 10 west facing houses in a linear shape; this distribution was also determined by the terrain.

The north-western *chia*, named Hsia-liao (下寮), also belonged to the Ch'en clan and was also divided into two clusters. The eastern one comprised 30 west facing houses arranged in three orderly rows. The houses of the western one were scattered along the side of a ditch, and as a result of a hillock on the western side, included 10 east facing houses.

The south-western *chia*, named Wei-liao (尾寮), was composed of 40 houses placed in an orderly pattern. Its northern part, of around 24 houses, belonged to another Ch'en clan, and was mainly constructed in three rows. All the houses were located in front of the *fa-hsin* and faced west. The southern part was composed of 16 houses, belonging to the Yen clan -- the second biggest clan of the village. This cluster was arranged into three rows, the eastern two facing west,

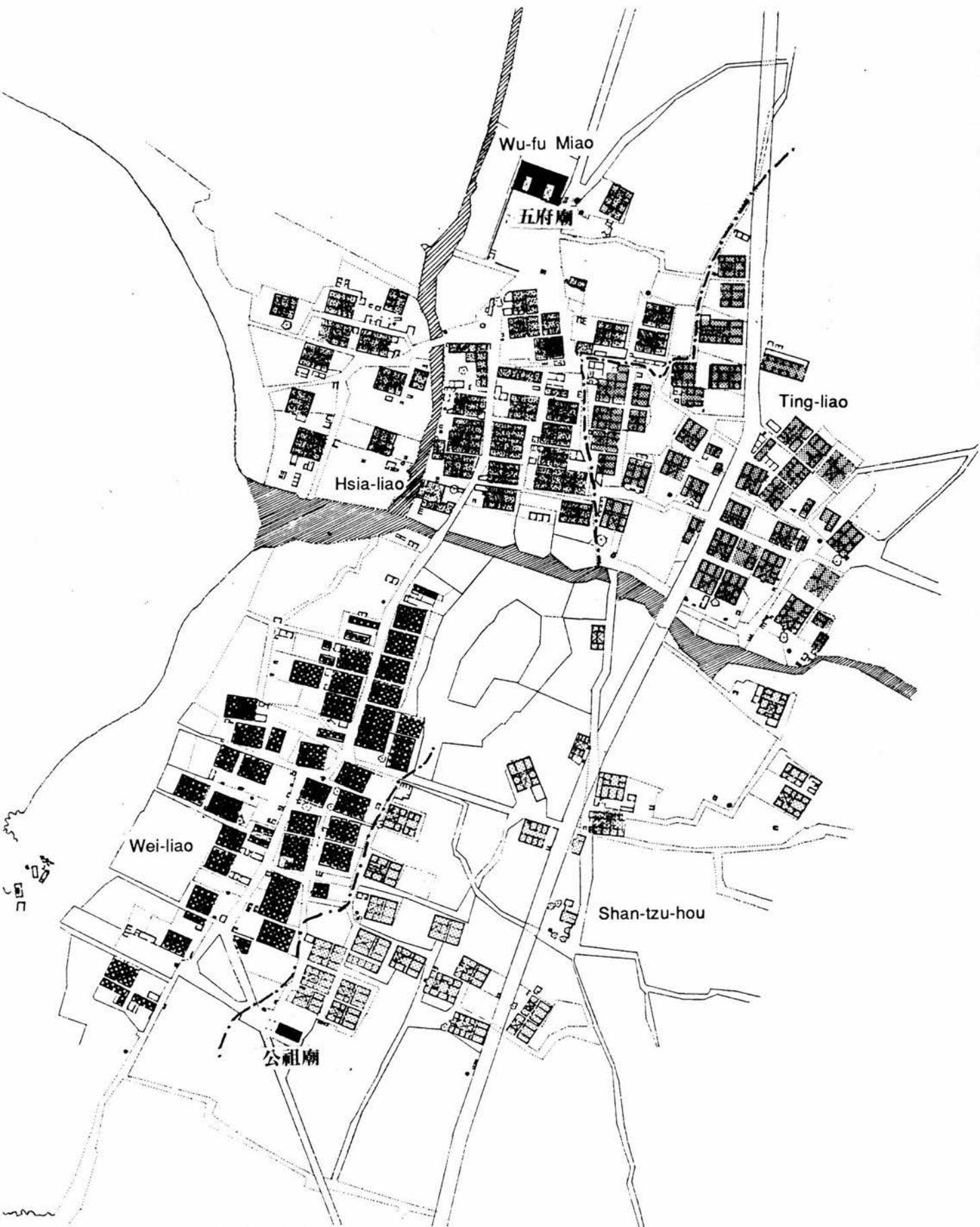
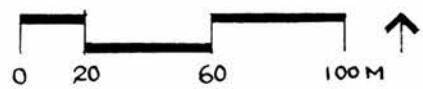


Figure 6-9 The boundaries of the four *chias* of Chung-she Village in 1981



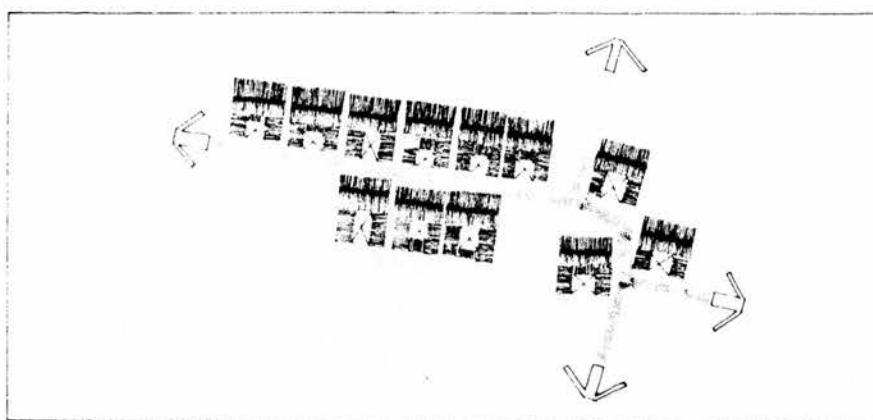
the west one facing east, that is to say, they were built face-to-face because there were hills on both its eastern and western sides.

The fourth *chia* of the village was called Shan-tzu-hou (山仔后). This cluster was composed of 20 scattered houses with vegetable gardens in between. The majority of the houses face north-west. While some face either south-east or south in accordance with their surrounding terrain.

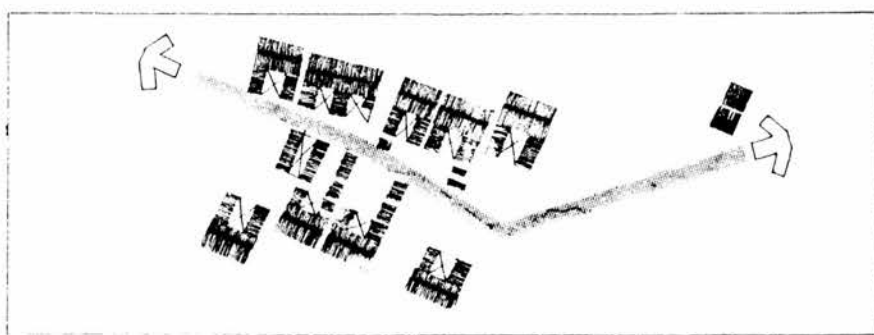
In all, there were seven clusters in the village in 1981: six orderly ones and a dispersed one. Of the six orderly ones, 4 belonged to the Ch'en clan, one to the Yen, and another one was mainly shared by the Cheng and Chang clans; the dispersed one was collectively used by the members of the four clans and by other villagers. The general pattern of the spatial organisation of the clusters is shown in Fig. 6-10.

As to the formation of the eastern cluster of Ting-liao and the northern cluster of Wei-liao, two clusters belonging to different Ch'en clans, the only material we obtained is as follows. The earliest house of the former, marked by "A" in Fig. 6-11, was located on the lowest part of the land of the cluster, in front of a ditch, and facing south-west. According to my informants, its siting was made with reference to the slope of the land, the belief derived from the theory of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui* that a house site had to be "low at the front, high at the back", and the principle of economical use of land. House "B" was the second one of the cluster. This used to serve as the residence of the second son of the founder, and the old one served as that of the eldest son. This house was sited in accordance with the honourable order in the spatial model of relative positions, that is to say, the belief that the left hand side was more honourable than the right hand side. Thereafter, new houses were constructed from the front to the rear. Group "C" belonged to the descendants of the first branch of the eldest son, group "D" to the second branch, and group "E" to the third branch of the same son. Group "F" was occupied by the descendants of the first branch of the second son and group "G" by those of the second branch of the second son. This also deferred to the honourable order in the same spatial model.

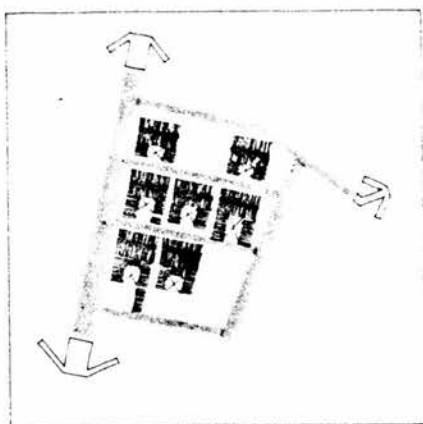
The formation of the cluster of the Ch'en clan of the Wei-liao *chia* was started from house "L"; I was told that this housing plot was occupied by the village's earliest inhabitant. This pioneer decided to choose this position for his house because there were two layers of hills on its eastern and northern sides which would protect his house and family from the effects of the monsoon: the tableland in the eastern and northern sides of the valley was the outer layer, and the



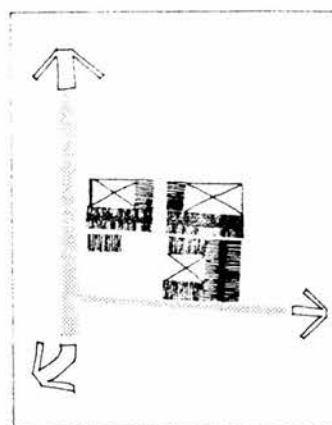
A



B



C



D

Figure 6-10 Three general patterns of Cluster and a special one (D) in Chung-she Village



Figure 6-11 The formation and distribution of the clusters of the Ch'en clan of Ting-liao (above) and Wei-liao (below) *chias*

hillock to the east, namely the *fa-hsin*, was the inner layer. This house was later described by villagers as being located in front of the *hsueh*, namely the best point of the whole valley in terms of theory of the Mountain Form School of *feng-shui*. The houses of this clan first expanded in a linear shape north and south in accordance with the edge of the *fa-hsin*; the distribution of these houses was determined by the head of the family who referred to the honourable order in the spatial model of relative positions. To accommodate the next generations, some new houses were constructed in front of the old ones. The process of the formation of these two clusters is shown in Fig. 6-11.

On the whole, because the housing plots within the valley were well protected by the surrounding terrain and drinking water was not difficult to obtain, and also because the distance between the farthest point of the valley and the beach was no farther than 200 m, or around 3 to 5 minutes by walking, local people concentrated on the micro-terrain, the economical use of land, and the customs derived from the theory of *feng-shui*, when they were planning the construction of their first house. Thereafter, they adopted orderly patterns to expand their cluster: the distribution of houses was determined by the head of the family instead of by drawing lots, and he did this by referring to the honourable order of "the spatial model of relative positions".

(4). The influences of craftsmen's regulations and the spatial model of relative positions

Of the 151 houses of the village, 135 still retained their original form in 1981. Amongst these traditional houses, 105 of them, or around 77 %, were the typical courtyard house described in Chapter 1-4: they were around 10 m wide and 11 to 14 m deep, and had two wings; 9, or 7 % had only one wing; 7 had two wings but no main body, or had only a main body but no wing houses; 4 were combined from two courtyard houses, one on the left, another on the right; 2 had double wings; one had two courtyards, one in the front, another in the rear. These building types and the numbers of them in Chung-she Village in 1981 are shown in Fig. 6-12, for some of their isometric figures of the time see Fig. 1-18. In general, the houses other than typical courtyard house were deemed incomplete and represented a compromise owing to the lack of an adequate housing plot or money.

Generally, to the front and the rear of these houses, there were lanes 4 m wide, and to the right and left hand sides, there were alleys 0.9 m wide.

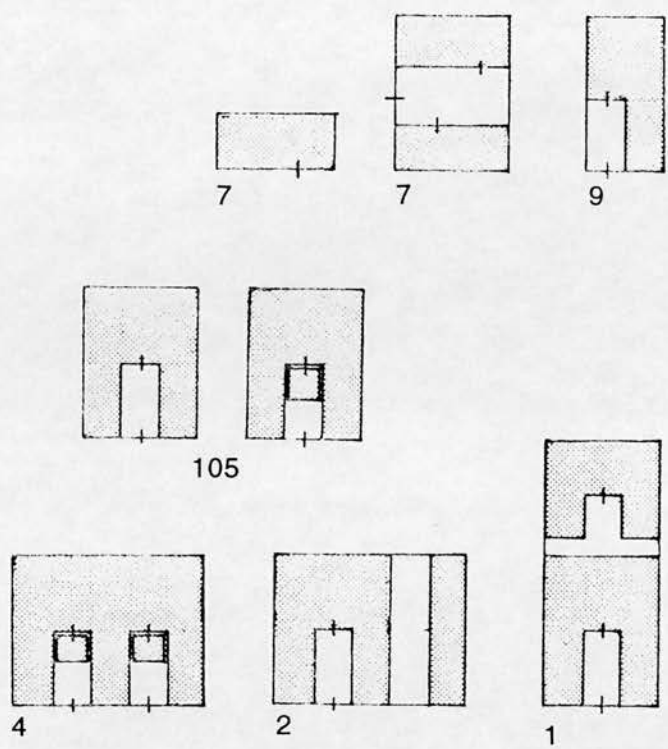


Figure 6-12 The building types and their numbers of Chung-she Village in 1981



Figure 6-12 a

The composition of the interior spaces of a typical courtyard house in Chung-she Village in 1981 was the same as that described in Chapter 1-4, and the use and distribution of these interior spaces were consistent with those described in Chapter 3-2. That is, generally, the middle room of the main body of the house was dedicated to the ancestral souls and gods, their tablets and statues were placed on the god's table on the central axis against the rear wall of the atrium. In addition to serving as a living room, this space was also used as the place where villagers worshipped the heaven gods and the earth gods in the festivals that have been mentioned in Chapter 4-1. The left room of the main body served as the bedroom of the head of the family, the right room as that of grandparents. The left wing of a house was used by the eldest son, its right wing by the second son if the householder had two sons; or distributed according to the pattern shown in Fig. 3-19 if there were more than two sons. The kitchen was usually located in one of the corridors; in addition to cooking meals, it was also the place where villagers worshipped Ti-chi-chu, the friendly ghost and the Stove God (*tsao-shen*). The Outer Door God or *men-shen*, and the Stove God were the only two amongst the five family gods worshipped by local people during the period when we surveyed the village; the other three were the Atrium God or *chung-liu shen*, the Inner Door God or *hu-shen*, and the Well God or *ching-shen*.

The general construction methods and materials of the courtyard houses of Chung-she Village during the traditional period were the same as those in other villages of the archipelago, as shown in Fig. 1-21. Before 1895, the following building materials: logs, timbers, bricks, and tiles were imported from south-eastern China. After then, they were imported from Taiwan. Other materials, such as soil, sand, slate, shale, coral reef, and shells were collected from the village and its neighbouring areas. This remained the case was kept until about 20 years ago before steel and reinforced-concrete became widely used by the people of P'eng-hu Archipelago. The places where the villagers of Chung-she gathered local building materials during the traditional period is shown in Fig. 5-17.

Before the early twenty century, all the traditional constructions of Chung-she Village were built by villagers themselves under the advice of local amateur craftsmen. The only two exceptions were the temples, which were constructed by professional craftsmen and their apprentices from Ma-kung Town, with the help of local people. The regulations, the auspiciousness of scales, the processes, and the ceremonies of construction in Chung-she Village were similar to those on the

three biggest islands, and have been described in Chapter 5-3. Villagers took great care to respect the yearly inauspicious direction of one of the four cardinal points and the three inauspicious directions amongst the 24 cardinal points derived from the theory of *hsing-li*, and the belief of *ch'ung*; the solutions used when a house project violated these situations were the same as those described in Chapter 5-1. Also, the dates for first breaking the soil and for the important ceremonies in the process of constructing a local house were decided with reference to *t'ung-shu*. The general scales of a courtyard house of Chung-she Village in 1981 have been recorded in Note 25 of Chapter 5. According to our survey, the important measurements of the majority of traditional houses of Chung-she Village were consistent. For example, the majority of the front eaves of their wing houses were 2.3 m high, the door frame of their outer doors was 105 cm by 195 cm, the width of the inner door was 85 cm, and that of the side door was 66 cm. Some of these measurements did not conform to the auspicious measurements derived from the theory of *ts'un-pai fa*, (see Chapter 5-3) possibly because there were no professional craftsmen in the village during the traditional period. The similarity of the houses showed the fact that the house form, measurements, construction, process of building, and building materials of Chung-she Village had been standardised for many years, villagers of traditional society only repeating the same pattern one generation after another. Fig. 6-12a is a photo taken in 1981 which shows the application of a regulation relating to the form of a local house: the horizontal length of the front roof of a house had to be shorter than that of its rear one, whilst the height of the eaves of the former had to be greater than that of the rear. This was respected in houses and temples throughout the archipelago during the traditional period. (see Chapter 5-3 and Fig. 5-2)

The builders of a house were the members of the family and their close relatives or friends who either lived in the same village or one of the other three villages of the island: Tung-an, Hsi-an, and Shui-an, and this assistance was based upon reciprocity. This situation remained the case in 1987 when I visited the village. My landlord, Mr. Ch'en, the head man of the village at the time who offered us the use of a free room in his house for two months while we engaged upon the survey in 1981, constructed a new house with the help of one of his relatives and one close friend, both living in Shui-an Village. But, this time, he constructed a modern house instead of a traditional one -- a cubic box in

rectangular form. Traditional houses had not been constructed in this village for many years.

(5). The influence of the livelihood of the villagers

In 1981, the villagers still kept the original life-style of their ancestors, that is to say, fishing and cultivation were their major livelihoods, with the breeding of domestic animals as a sideline. However, in the last 20 years, because of the rapid development of industries in Taiwan, some villagers have abandoned their traditional life style, leaving to work in Taiwan and only coming back home for holidays.

During the period when I observed this village in the summers of 1980, 1981, and 1987, men netted fish by torchlight (see Fig. 1-22) at night in the South-shallow fishing field, around 20 km to the south of the village (see Fig. 2-16). Summer was the best time for fishing because the speed of the south wind and the temperature were ideal. At around 11 pm, a lot of noise and strong lights would be suddenly heard and seen emerging from many places of the village; these would gradually move off in a procession towards the south -- they were motorbikes used by the fishermen to transport them to their boats berthed in the T'an-men Kang (潭門港) of the neighbouring village, Tung-an, the harbour of Chung-she only being big enough for 4 to 7 boats. About the same time, torchlights would be seen first within the villages, and then moving slowly westwards before finally gathering on the beach -- this lasted around ten minutes. Then, engines would be heard starting up, and the twinkling light of fishing boats would be seen. All these sped south and gradually disappeared into the dark sky. Around an hour to an hour and a half later, they would join the boats of their neighbours who embarked from Tung-an Village and those of neighbouring villages, in the fishing field to catch fish collectively. Around 7 to 9 hours later, the dotting fishing lights would be seen again in the remote sea in the dim light of dawn, and some women would already be waiting around on the beach ready to help remove the catches from the boats -- in fact, only a few catches would be landed here, because the majority were directly transported to Ma-kung Town. The traditional cooking of fish outside the houses was rarely seen in the village. In fact, I never saw it in Chung-she. By contrast, it was a regular morning scene in neighbouring Tung-an, where I stayed around two weeks in total over my three visits in 1980, 1981, and 1987.

At around nine o'clock in the morning, the women with their heads covered by a multi-coloured kerchief (rather than the traditional one which was blue or black) went to the fields. This scene would be repeated at around 3 pm when they started their afternoon work. In general, the distance between houses and fields was less than 1200 m, and took no more than 20 minutes on foot or 10 minutes by oxcart. The main crops of the village were no different from those of other villages: sweet potato and peanut. These would be harvested in the autumn (right after the harvest, villagers would bring offerings and incense sticks to the field to worship T'u-ti Kung, the Duke of Earth) and dried on the lanes of the villages -- I have observed the procession of these crops in another village, Hsu-chia on Ma-kung Island in 1980. Between 1 pm and 3 pm, it was rare to see people in the village. Some exceptions might be found in the shadow of their houses or walls who were engaged in some kind of house work. This was the bedtime of men; they would wake up at around midday, to begin their routine domestic work, such as mending fishing nets, stringing hooks, and so on.

Villagers usually collected seafood in both the eastern and western beaches of the village. In the harbour to the north, around 200 m from the village or 5 minutes on foot, there were rich oyster beds. Other beaches including the neighbouring areas of the harbour and the eastern seashore, Pu-tai Ao, around 2000 m from village or a 40 minute walk or 20 minute oxcart ride, were sources of various types of shell-fish and sea-weed. On summer evenings, many villagers, the majority of whom were women and children, would be found there.

Chickens and pigs were the common domestic animals in the village when I stayed there. Generally, these animals and the vegetable garden were taken care of by elders.

In a word, the settlement had been organised compactly on a human scale, and people of traditional period could use it with great ease.

(6). The influence of the social behaviour of the villagers

Because of the lack of blood ties, as mentioned above, the villagers of Chung-she constructed a village temple collectively. Before 1981, the ceremony of the village temple was hosted annually in turn by one the four *chias* of the village: Ting-liao, Hsia-liao, Wei-liao, and Shan-tzu-hou. One elder of one of the *chias* would be chosen as the head of the committee of the temple: he was called a *lu-chu*, and organised the schedules of the worship of the god, and assigned relevant duties to other villagers.

In addition to this, local women usually brought offerings to the temple in the early morning to clean the temple and worship their village gods, the five Ch'ien-suis. For these women, the distance from home to the temple was no further than 250 m or a 5 minute walk. Generally, they stayed in the temple for around 10 to 30 minutes. Because there were no symbols of the "five external battalions" of Wang-yeh in the village, the behaviour popular in other villages which involved villagers from different districts separately worshipping their own "battalion", was not seen in Chung-she.

Another temple, Hsiao-fu Kung-tsu Miao, was only taken care of by those who lived in the neighbouring houses -- they cleaned the temple and worshipped the god's tablets with three burning incense sticks every morning.

Because the majority of the founders of the village were immigrants from the three biggest islands (Ma-kung, Pai-sha, and Hsi-yu) of the archipelago rather than having come directly from south-eastern China, the clans of Chung-she Village did not construct ancestral halls within their village until 1981 (the same was true of the three neighbouring villages). They placed all their ancestral tablets in the atrium of one of their clansmen in turn for a certain year or in that of a family one of whose members was to marry. That is to say, there were no special ceremonies held jointly between the clansmen of the village; instead they chose some representatives to join with their relatives who lived in other villages of the archipelago for the two ceremonies of worship of ancestral souls in the Ch'ing-ming and Tung-chih festivals. They would congregate in their common ancestral hall which was either built in their original village or the village which had the largest member of their clansmen -- before 1981, those of the Ch'en clans either went to Shan-shui Village or Kuo-yeh Village (they belonged to two different branches), those of the Yen clan to Ch'ih-hsi Village, and the Chang clan to Hsing-jen Village, all of which were located on the Ma-kung Island. In addition to having more private communications, this seemed to be the only distinctive matter involving people of the same blood.

During the Ch'ing Dynasty and the early part of the period of Japanese rule, the men of Chung-she Village mainly married women either of other clans of their village or from their three neighbouring villages, Tung-an, Hsi-an, and Shui-an. Some of them married women from the Chiang-chun Islands, the sixth biggest land mass of the archipelago and around 500 m to the east of Wang-an; and a few married those in their other small neighbouring islands, such as Tung-Yu-p'ing Island and Hsi-yu-p'ing Island. Ox carts would serve as the ceremonial

vehicles if the men married women from the same island, a fishing boat if the bride lived on another island. The marriage reinforced the relationships both between the villagers of Chung-she, and between them and the inhabitants of their neighbouring villages.

After the early years of the 20th cent., because the range of social activities of the villagers was widened and because of the improvement to their fishing boats, the area of marriage of local people came to cover the whole Taiwanese area.

The gains from land and sea of local people during the traditional period were enough for their own personal consumption. If there was a good yield either from the land or the sea, they would sell the surplus to purchase clothes, medicines, utilities, or other necessities, or deposit the money for the construction of new houses. Because the harbours of the three neighbouring villages, T'an-men Kang of Tung-an Village, and those of Shui-an and Chiang-chun villages, were comparatively better than the others of the southern part of the archipelago, in addition to having some barracks and some military forces stationed there, they were also chosen by the Ch'ing government as administrative posts for checking the sea boats which sailed across the Taiwan strait during the summer when the south wind blew. Before 1758, all trade boats were compelled to stop there, (Hsu, 1988a, p. 2; also, see Fig. 1-24a) Thereafter the order was lifted but these harbours were often chosen as refuges by sea boats when weather conditions were not good enough, or as trade posts for the purchase of crops or fish and the sale of goods, or as stopovers for replenishing food and water supplies, or simply for taking a break. Subsequently, Tung-an and Chiang-chun became the most important places of economic exchange of the southern part of the archipelago during the traditional period. (Ch'en, 1720, p. 113; Hu, 1767, p. 60; Lin, 1893, p. 150) The villagers of Chung-she generally sold their surplus crops and fish to and bought what they needed from the limited shops of Tung-an Village. (Hu, 1767, p. 45) Sometimes, they would go directly to T'an-men Kang, the harbour of Tung-an Village around 1500 m to the east of the village, to trade with the sailors who regularly sailed on this sea route, or to order logs, timbers, tiles, and bricks from them if they were attempting to construct new houses. The sailors then purchased these materials at their next destination, either Fu-chou, Ch'uan-chou, or Tung-shan, and delivered them to their island customers on their next voyage. The harbours of the villages of

Shui-an and Tung-an were the two main places where the villagers of Chung-she could see officials, soldiers, and people who lived outside the archipelago.

The distances between Chung-she and Tung-an and Shui-an villages were similar, around 1600 m -- 40 minutes on foot or 25 minutes by oxcart. That is to say, during the traditional period, communication between the villagers of the four villages of Wang-an Island, and even Chiang-chun Village, was very convenient, and reinforced through marriage, collective fishing, economic exchange, and religious ceremonies (see next section).

After 1895, because of the improvement in their fishing boats, generally, the local people's sea harvest was generally more important than the lands harvest. Also, villagers often directly sold their catches to and purchases their needs from the shops of Ma-kung Town, or even over the last twenty years, in the harbours of Taiwan. This considerably changed the acquaintanceship of local people.

On the whole, since the island came under the rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty in 1683, the villages were not attacked by pirates or foreign forces. That is to say, the need for defence was eliminated from the consideration of local people when they constructed their living environment.

(7). Heaven and hell

In late July of 1981, the villagers of Chung-she collectively held a ceremony called *chien-chiao* (建醮) for the birthday of their village gods, Wu-fu Ch'ien-sui (literally the five Wang-yehs). The ceremonies of *ying-wang* (inviting a new Wang-yeh) and *sung-wang* (sending the old Wang-yeh back; for details of these two ceremonies see Chapter 4-2) had not been held by this village for a long time.

In the first five days of the ceremony, the local *t'ung-chi* (a man of around 40) and the committee of the village temple gathered inside the village temple; hosted by *lu-chu*, they discussed the details of the processes of the ceremonies one after another. After a set of decisions had been taken, the *lu-chu* would write them on a piece of paper, which he then placed on the god's table, in order to relay them to the god's statues; he then threw a pair of *shen-pei* (a god's implement, see Chapter 1-8) onto the floor to see whether or not the village god agreed with these decisions. If the god did not agree, the committee would make some changes according to the opinions of the god interpreted by the *t'ung-chi*. They repeated the same action until the two *shen-pei* had different orientations when they stopped rotating. In the late morning of the sixth day, villagers

gathered in the temple square. Inside the temple, the local *t'ung-chi* held the god's statues, and, under the supervision of the *hei-t'ou shih-kung*, he started to tremble. This meant that the village god had *chiang-lin* (降臨) or descended down into his statue. This is the only point in the ceremony which implies that the village god came from a higher place -- possibly heaven. Next, the god's statue was placed inside a sedan chair, then under the lead of the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* and *t'ung-chi*, was carried at the head of a procession going north. Around 30 minutes later they reached Shui-an Kung, the village temple of Shui-an Village dedicated to Li Wang-yeh (李王爺).

In Shui-an, the *t'ung-chi*, members of the committee, and believers from the host village had already assembled in the square. After a ceremony at which the host welcomed the visitors, the procession first turned back to the south for around 400 m, then headed south-east, reaching Pu-tai Ao, the eastern cove of their own village around 45 minutes later. There, three god's sedan chairs with a god's statue inside each of them, and a crowd of believers were waiting. These people were descendants of Chung-she villagers, who had moved to Kao-hsiung and T'ai-nan City on Taiwan Island 150 years ago, where they had established their own societies, constructed their own village temple, and worshipped new village gods. They came back to the island with their new village gods specially to celebrate the birthday ceremony of their old village god. After a ceremony which presented thanks from the old god and congratulations from the new gods, all of the villagers took a break and had lunch.

Afterwards, the four village gods and all the believers visited one after the other Hsien-shih Kung (仙史宮) of Tung-an Village, a village temple dedicated to Wu-an Kung (五恩公); Chung-kung (中宮), another village temple of the same village dedicated to Su-fu Wang-yeh (蘇府王爺); and Hou-liao kung (后寮宮), the village temple of Hsi-an Village dedicated to Wu-fu Wang-yeh (五府王爺). In these three temples, there were similar ceremonies to that held in Shui-an Village. Next, they visited the only temple dedicated to the Sea Goddess, T'ien-hou Kung in Hsi-an Village. After the last visit, the members of the procession headed for their own village, where they arrived at around 6 pm. Within their village, each family had placed offerings and lit incense sticks on a table in front of their courtyard house, in order to worship their god. Many villagers had congregated on the square, including those who had come back specially from Taiwan Island or Ma-kung Town; many plates of pork, one for each family, had been placed on the ground. After a break, all the people took

their share of the food and went back home, except for a few who remained in the temple to deal with necessary work. In this ceremony, there was no banquet. Fig. 6-13 is a scene showing the procession coming back to the village, Fig. 6-14 shows the route of the procession in 1981.

Around ten days prior to the ceremony of *chien-chiao*, there was a ceremony for helping the soul of a dead villager of Hsia-liao to pass smoothly through the purgation of hell. It was hosted by a *hei-t'ou shih-kung* from Ma-kung Town, who was helped by one of his assistants. The ceremony lasted 7 nights, running from around 8 pm until 10 pm on each evening. During this period, the *hei-t'ou shih-kung* not only chanted Taoist texts, but also described to the soul the condition of the eighteen storeys of hell one after another. Sometimes he would ask the kings (see Chapter 4) of the different hells to forgive the evil conduct of the dead person using a strange Taiwanese accent which was hard to recognise. His assistant changed his suit many times in accordance with the instructions of his master, and presented various actions like an actor. The sons and wife of the dead man who wore white clothes knelt beside an altar, and some other relatives stood around.

(8). Summary

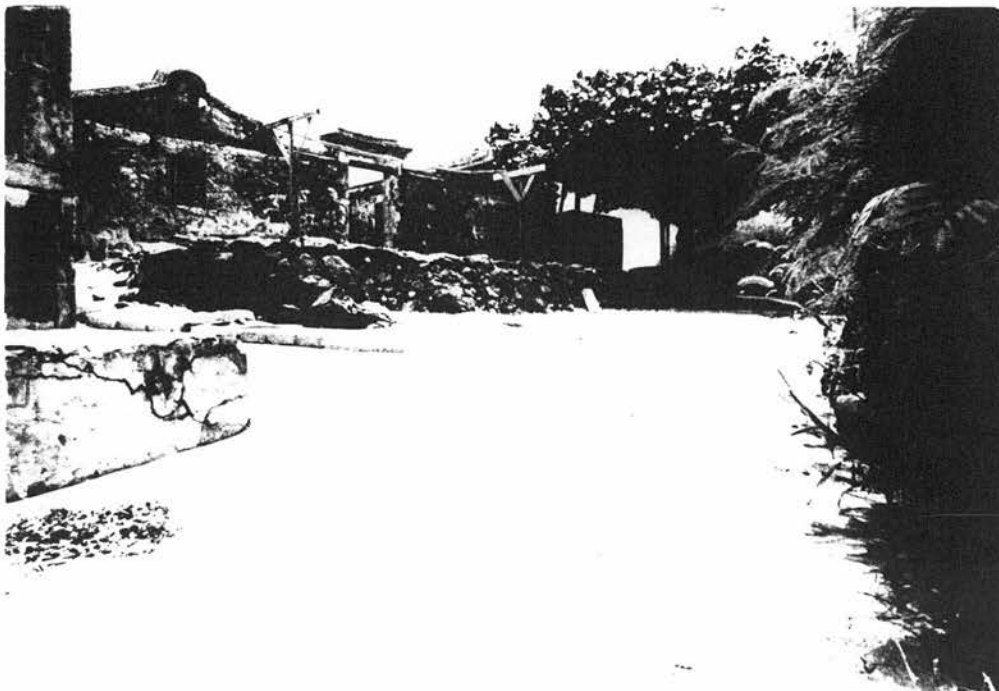
To sum up, the spatial organisation of Chung-she Village during the traditional period and even up until 1981 was mainly consistent with the general model of that of the villages on the archipelago explored by the writer, and summarised in the first section of this chapter.

In a word, it was collectively established under the influences of natural features, the condition of resources, and the economic behaviour and three principal beliefs of local people: that there was an honourable order amongst spatial elements; that there were two worlds in the cosmos; and that there were auspicious alternatives in terms of the location, direction, and area of a construction.

The village was believed to be located in the middle of the cosmos: there was an eighteen storey hell below, and a heaven above. It was the intersecting place of the activities of gods, ghosts, ancestral souls, human beings, and other creatures. It was also the place where villagers lived eternally -- either in the courtyard house or in the cemetery, the distance between which was no greater than 1200 m, or a 20 minute walk. Also, it satisfied the majority of the needs of villagers, both material and spiritual.



Figure 6-13 A scene during the ceremony for the birthday of the village god in 1981



A scene of Chung-she Village in 1981

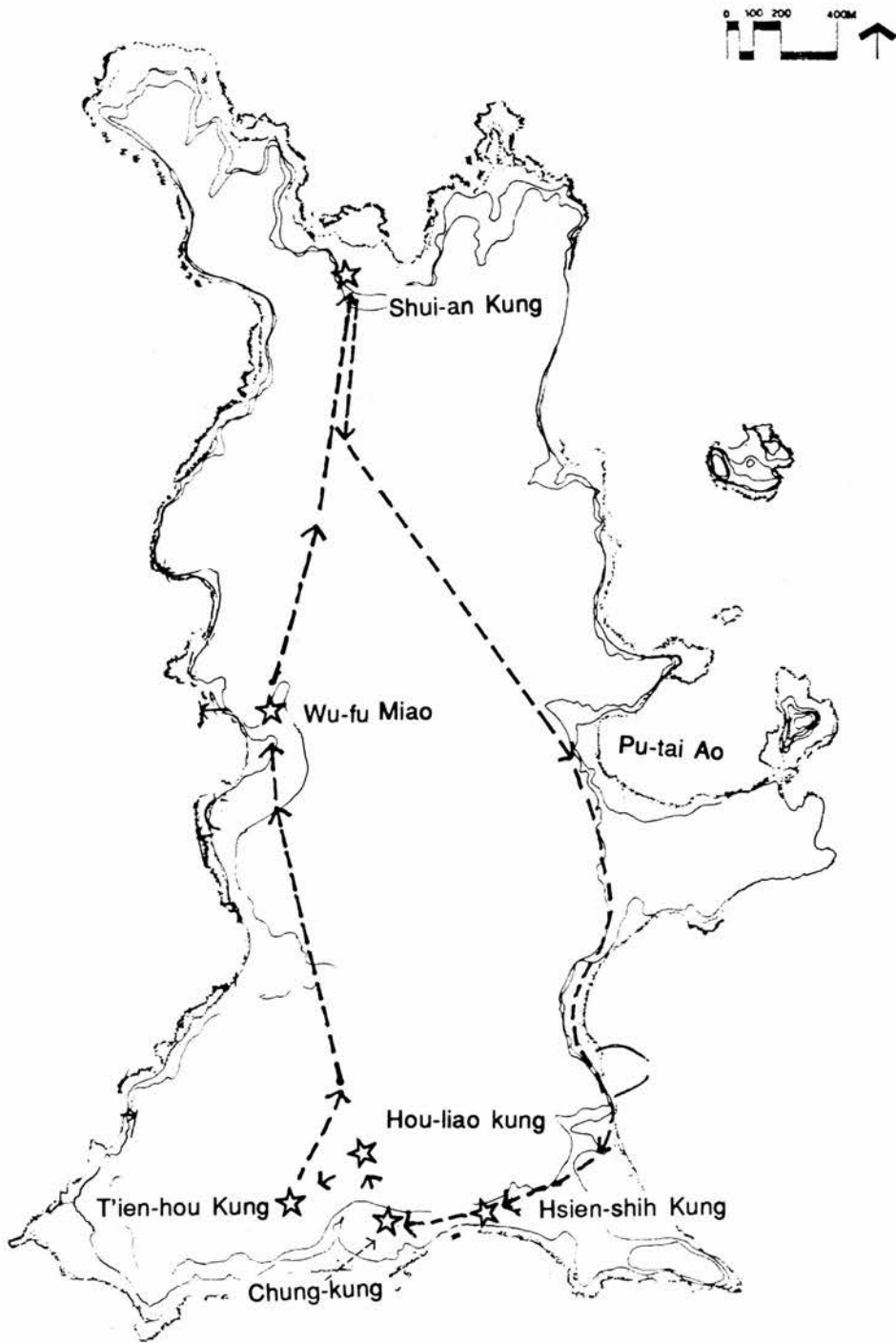


Figure 6-14 The route of procession for the birthday of the village god in 1981

There were three hierarchies in the village: the whole village, the cluster and the courtyard house.

The factors which dominated the different elements of the spatial organisation of Chung-she Village were also similar to those explored in last section. For example, the location of the village was decided by referring to the orientation of the monsoon, the ease of acquisition of water, the area of the valley, and the condition of its cove. The scale of the village was determined by the area of its agricultural land, and its shape by that of the valley. The spatial organisation of the cluster was determined by the demarcation of housing plots and its orientation was made with reference to the slope, the economical use of land, and the theory of *feng-shui*. The form of the courtyard house had been standardised for a long time, its spatial organisation and constructions were made by referring to the craftsmen's manual. Its scales were determined by the length of logs, and its orientation was decided by the distribution of housing plots, and the theory of *hsing-li* and *ch'ung*.

The major differences between the spatial organisation of Chung-she Village and the general model of the archipelago were that there were no symbols of the "external five battalions" of Wang-yeh in the village, so that its religious boundary was uncertain; the use of talismans and the worship of the earth gods were not very popular in the village; and the theories of *feng-shui* and *ts'un-pai fa* were not very influential.

3. Further discussions

This study has established a methodology for the study of the spatial organisation of a human settlement. Also, it explores a general model of spatial organisation of human society, the relative importance of factors which influence it, and the methods by which villagers constructed their space. All these can serve as the basis for comparison with other cultures.

In addition, it demonstrates some facts, such as that the spatial organisation of the societies of P'eng-hu Archipelago was established by all its members and under the collective influence of various factors. The different elements in this spatial model were dominated by different factors -- that is to say, there were no absolutely dominant factors in this model. These factors were respected only on certain occasions and places, not always and everywhere, and their importance was variable in accordance with the changing needs of villagers. All this

expresses the fact that the spatial model of human societies and the factors which influence it are temporary rather than permanent, flexible rather than rigid.

However, because this study covers a broad range of territory, time, and domain of knowledge -- it involves the relevant knowledge of 81 villages over a 200 year period, including geography, meteorology, hydrology, history, anthropology, sociology, ethnology, and architecture, etc. -- it is concerned with exploring the general conditions of the spatial model, and some special cases are inevitably excluded. Theoretically, these exceptions may be important clues for a more precise exploration of this general model. Also, there is a lack of precise topographical maps of the islands, of hydrological information for the surrounding areas of the archipelago, and of field material about the practice of *feng-shui*, *ch'ung*, and *wu-hsing*. Furthermore, official archives are inclined to record official events relating to the whole archipelago rather than the conditions of ordinary people. These various limitations make this discussion of the subjects relating to them, less complete than I would have hoped.

4. Perspectives for further research

There are many aspects relating to this study which deserve further research.

1. To explore the conditions of the change of the spatial organisation of these villages and the factors which had influenced it after 1893 when the societies of the archipelago came under the rule of the Japanese government which altered socio-cultural contexts on a large scale.

2. To concentrate the study, using the same methodology, on some other villages, or choose one or several influential factors, especially the theories of *feng-shui*, *ch'ung*, and *wu-hsing* (where the present writer was unable to get enough field materials), as independent subjects in a comparison of the spatial response of all the villages. This would make the general model of spatial organisation which I have disclosed that much more precise.

3. As I have mentioned in the introduction of this essay, the village was one of three main settlements in the traditional societies of Taiwan and I have already done a study on the spatial organisation of a market town. The third types of settlement, the walled city, would make a good topic for a further similar study, and the completion of that would mean that all the basic types of spatial organisation of Taiwan had been explored. Through the comparison of these

three, some more influential factors, such as politics and economics could also be explored.

4. Also, the comparison between the spatial model of the villages of P'eng-hu Archipelago with settlements which either have similar socio-cultural contexts but different natural features, or have similar natural features but different socio-cultural contexts, would allow for the exploration of some issues which would make the methodology more comprehensive.

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